



**CRAFT AND CULTURE:  
THE DESIGN, PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF  
SILVER IN IRELAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY**

**(Two volumes)**

**by**

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## Abstract

Silver was acquired, used and treasured at many levels of Irish society in the seventeenth century. On church altars, in the bed chambers of nobility, within the strongboxes of town corporations and on the dining tables of merchants, silver was a practical and decorative feature of day-to-day life in Ireland. This thesis accounts for the history of silver – its design, production and consumption – in Ireland during this century of considerable change.

This thesis will examine both extant objects and documentary sources to redress the imbalance in the existing literature that has cultivated the impression that the production and consumption of silver in Ireland in this period, particularly in the century's first half, was sparse or, indeed, non-existent. The producers of silver in Ireland – the goldsmiths – were a diverse group of native and immigrant skilled craftsmen whose numbers in Dublin and in other urban centres grew exponentially over the course of the century. The increasing numbers of these craftsmen and the corresponding rise in their production of silver, as this thesis will present, mirrored the unprecedented demand among consumers for items of silver with which to showcase their wealth, civility and taste.

Images of extant Irish silver – domestic, ecclesiastical, civic and ceremonial – will be deployed throughout this study to illustrate the considerable variety of form, ornamentation and technique of Irish goldsmiths' output. These objects bear the marks of their makers, the inscriptions of their owners and the evidence of engagement with prevailing styles of the period, positioning Irish goldsmiths and consumers within the vibrant exchange of European design innovations and fashions. Documentary evidence will demonstrate the extent to which items of silver were commissioned, produced, donated, presented, recycled, sold or stolen.

This interdisciplinary thesis will show how, as both artefact and symbol, and within the wider context of European design and consumption, silver played an undeniably important role in seventeenth-century Irish society.



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## Note

Ireland retained the Julian (or 'Old Style') calendar until 1752. Until that date, the new year commenced on 25 March.

In the instances in this thesis where documentary sources refer to a date within the period 1 January – 24 March (e.g. 1 February 1638) the date will be written with a double reference (e.g. 1 February 1638/9) to provide clarification.

The Dublin Goldsmiths' Company commenced hallmarking items of silver submitted for assay in 1638. In line with the company's internal organisation, each assay year ran from 1 November – 31 October. Because of this, the items hallmarked in the first assay year are attributed to 1638-9. This pattern will follow in the dating of all items of Dublin-hallmarked silver for the remaining years of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century. In some instances, the date letter correlates to two or more years (e.g. 'L' for 1696-9).<sup>1</sup> For items not hallmarked (those produced in Dublin and in provincial centres) an approximate date is indicated (e.g. c.1682). These estimated dates have been informed by one or all of the following: the maker's years of operation, the style and decoration of the piece, an engraved inscription or armorial relating to the original owner or institution.

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<sup>1</sup>Ida Delamer and Conor O'Brien, 'Dublin hallmarks: a reappraisal of date letters used 1638-1756' in *The Silver Society Journal*, xi (1999), pp 158-67.

## **List of abbreviations**

*CARD*: J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin* (19 vols, London, 1889-1944)

*Cal. S. P. Ire*: C. W. Russell, J.P. Prendergast and R. P. Mahaffy (eds), *Calendar of the state papers relating to Ireland, 1603-47* (24 vols, London, 1860-1912)

DCA: Dublin City Archives

DGC: Dublin Goldsmiths' Company

NAI: National Archives of Ireland

NLI: National Library of Ireland

RCB: Representative Church Body

TCD: Trinity College Dublin

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Aims and objectives

Silver was acquired, used and treasured at many levels of society in seventeenth-century Ireland. On church altars, in the bed chambers of nobility, within the strong boxes of town corporations and on the dining tables of merchants, silver was a feature of day-to-day life.<sup>1</sup> Items of silver, or ‘plate’ as it was also called in the early-modern period,<sup>2</sup> were produced by goldsmiths whose numbers in Dublin and in other Irish urban centres grew exponentially over the course of the century.<sup>3</sup> The increasing numbers of these craftsmen and the corresponding rise in their production of silverwares mirrored the growing demand among consumers for luxury items. Silver, as this thesis will show, occupied a pre-eminent position with regard to fulfilling the requirement by seventeenth-century consumers for decorative, practical and symbolic luxury wares.

This thesis will account for the history of silver in Ireland during this century of considerable change. It will examine the features of, and the factors that contributed to, the design, manufacture, acquisition and use of domestic, ecclesiastical, civic and ceremonial silver. It will present its stylistic and technical development in Ireland through an integrated assessment of the body of extant plate together with evidence

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<sup>1</sup>Unless otherwise specified, the use of the word ‘silver’ within this study refers to items made of wrought silver, as distinct from silver bullion or coin. This follows the example established and reinforced by numerous scholars of the subject (e.g. Gerard Taylor, *Silver through the ages* (London, 1956); Douglas Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver* (London, 1972); Philippa Glanville, *Silver in England* (London, 1987); Helen Clifford, *Silver in London: the Parker and Wakelin partnership 1760-1776* (New Haven and London, 2004)) who use the word synonymously with ‘silverware’ to describe items produced in sterling silver.

<sup>2</sup>The word ‘plate’ derived from the Spanish word for silver: *plata*. As the majority of primary documentary sources from the period refer to wrought silver (or silverwares) as ‘plate’, this thesis will use the terms interchangeably.

<sup>3</sup>Though silver was the predominant precious metal used in the production of decorative and practical wares, the term ‘goldsmith’ was more commonly used in the early-modern period to describe craftsmen who produced and sold items made of gold, silver and precious stones.

gleaned from documentary sources relating to the functions, forms and features of silver which has not survived. These tasks will position the research of silver in seventeenth-century Ireland within the broader European context of design-historical and material-cultural studies of the period. To this end, this thesis will interrogate the extent to which the design, production and consumption of silver in Ireland paralleled British and continental European developments and practices.

This project proposes to redress an imbalance in the existing literature that has cultivated the impression that the production and use of silver was sparse in Ireland in this period. Apart from the inclusion of a selection of seventeenth-century domestic, ecclesiastical, civic and ceremonial silverwares in exhibition catalogues and journal articles, there is a paucity of scholarship devoted to this subject.<sup>4</sup> Research and writing have demonstrated a focus on eighteenth-century Irish silver.<sup>5</sup> Douglas Bennett's seminal publication, *Irish Georgian silver*, justifiably referred to the eighteenth century as a period in which Irish silver reached its 'finest flowering', reflecting the advanced levels of production and consumption at this time and the remarkable craftsmanship evident from the large quantities of extant plate.<sup>6</sup> However, his assertion that in the period before the incorporation of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild in 1637, items of silver in Ireland were made 'purely for ecclesiastical use' and that domestic items were not made until after 1660, is guided only by the evidence of extant silver and not through complementary analysis of documentary sources which would disprove such a claim.<sup>7</sup> While it is true that the quantities of extant silver, particularly domestic items, produced in the years prior to the Restoration are meagre, mainly due to government proclamations in 1642 and 1643 compelling citizens to submit their plate for coinage 'to supply the exigencies of the state'<sup>8</sup> and the widespread practice of selling silver for the purpose of releasing capital or purchasing plate of a more current style, there is a wealth of sources from which one can re-construct the features of its lively production and consumption

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<sup>4</sup>Notable exception: Ragnall O Floinn (ed.), *Franciscan Faith: sacred art in Ireland 1600-1750* (Dublin, 2011).

<sup>5</sup>Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*; Douglas Bennett, *Collecting Irish silver 1637-1900* (London, 1984); Alison FitzGerald, 'The production and consumption of goldsmiths' work in eighteenth century Dublin', (Ph.D. thesis, Royal College of Art, London, 2005).

<sup>6</sup>Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, xii.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>C.J. Jackson, *English goldsmiths and their marks* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London, 1921), p. 563.

from the early decades of the century. The myriad consumers of silver in seventeenth-century Ireland may all have been acquiring different types of objects to fulfil a variety of specific functions, but the extensive acquisition and retention of plate by individuals and institutions reflected a universal appreciation of its intrinsic, practical and symbolic value. An examination of the design history of silver, therefore, benefits from a collective, comparative approach. This line of enquiry analyses the motivations and features of the acquisition and use of plate by the numerous consumer groups and assesses the socio-cultural contexts of its production and consumption.

## **1.2 Historiography**

The multiple and overlapping strands which constitute the history of silver in Ireland in the seventeenth century – its production, acquisition, design and use – invite an integrated, thematic structure for this thesis. This approach represents a departure from much of the existing literature which has traditionally favoured the analysis and appreciation of Irish silver according to object type, marks and style, in line with cataloguing conventions using, as observed by Alison FitzGerald in her examination of eighteenth-century Dublin goldsmiths' work, the well-established methodology of connoisseurship.<sup>9</sup> This typological approach, evident across the decorative and fine arts, found (and continues to find) popular appeal with collectors, dealers, curators and students alike in its prioritisation of an object's aesthetic features, authorship and provenance. These are undoubtedly important factors in considering the history of Irish silver but so too are the environments which informed its production and consumption. Synthesising these approaches, therefore, generates a comprehensive history of the subject, as Beth Carver Wees has articulated with regard to eighteenth-century English, Scottish and Irish silver:

We recognise an octagonal teapot as “Queen Anne” and a sugar basket with bright-cut engraving as “George III”, but where can we go from there? What about the people who drank tea from that pot? What other silver did they own?

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<sup>9</sup>FitzGerald, 'Goldsmiths' work in eighteenth century Dublin', p. 2.

How did they acquire it? Was the goldsmith's shop they patronised manufacturing its own silver or contracting out to other craftsmen? Who determined the design and decoration, and what were their sources? What were the costs involved? Questions such as these invite us to explore the rich social and economic contexts within which silver was produced and used.<sup>10</sup>

Successive publications relating to seventeenth-century Irish silver have demonstrated an overwhelming emphasis on the traditional approach of connoisseurship and a corresponding shortfall of studies which encompass the social, cultural and economic conditions of the period.<sup>11</sup> The opportunity to redress this imbalance is evident. Notwithstanding the limitations of the literature on the subject, however, several publications supply an invaluable quantitative foundation of data relating to makers, hallmarks and extant plate. The literature from which this study develops and diverges, therefore, informs an essential component of this research.

Amongst the earliest of these publications is *English goldsmiths and their marks* which includes the author, Charles Jackson's, examination of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company records, the records of other Irish corporations and extant objects.<sup>12</sup> It provides a guide, though not definitive, to the names of goldsmiths, their marks, date letters and hallmarks. Jackson adds to his Dublin lists the names of many of the guild's apprentices, journeymen and 'quarter brothers'<sup>13</sup> who, as this thesis will develop, amounted to a significant portion of the capital city's craftsmen and about whom little has been explored. Subsequent, numerous publications, in seeking to identify Ireland's goldsmiths and to trace their productivity over the past four centuries, have also apportioned sections of their histories to uncovering craftsmen operating in the seventeenth century.<sup>14</sup> Like Jackson's extensive study, the authors of

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<sup>10</sup>Beth Carver Wees, *English, Irish and Scottish silver in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute* (New York, 1997), p. 11.

<sup>11</sup>For example: Robert Wyse Jackson, *Irish silver* (Cork, 1972); Bennett, *Collecting Irish silver*; Ida Delamer and Conor O'Brien, 'Dublin hallmarks: a reappraisal of date letters used 1638-1756' in *The Silver Society Journal*, xi (1999), pp 158-67.

<sup>12</sup>This was first published in 1905. Its second, and more widely used, edition was published in London in 1921.

<sup>13</sup>Quarter brother goldsmiths, as chapter two will discuss, were craftsmen who did not enjoy full guild membership.

<sup>14</sup>For example: Dudley Westropp, 'The Cork goldsmiths, silversmiths, jewellers, watchmakers and apprentices' in *Cork Historical and Architectural Society Journal*, xxxi (1926), pp 8-13; Dudley Westropp, 'The goldsmiths of Limerick' in *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, i (1936-9), pp 159-62; G.F. Mitchell, *Goldsmiths admitted freemen, city of Dublin, 1468-1800 ; Principal goldsmiths of Dublin 1627-1800 abstracted from the records of the Corporation of goldsmiths or Guild of all saints* (Dublin, undated publication [c.1955-1960]); E.M. Fahy, 'The Cork Goldsmiths Company, 1657' in



these works, particularly Westropp and Bennett, compiled their lists of goldsmiths largely through their analysis of maker's marks evident on extant items of silver.

In tandem with the literature identifying Ireland's goldsmiths, catalogues also offer a great deal of quantitative data of value to this project. They supply a visual and descriptive database of items of domestic, civic, ceremonial and ecclesiastical silver which can be deployed in conjunction with the main public and private collections of Irish silver produced in this period.<sup>15</sup> One of the earliest illustrated sale catalogues was formed by the pioneering connoisseur of Irish silver Robert Day in 1888 and included descriptions and a rare photograph relating to mid-seventeenth century Cork plate.<sup>16</sup> Likewise, the auction catalogue of G.W. Panter's silver collection in 1929 incorporated the photographs and descriptions of several important pieces of domestic silver produced in seventeenth-century Ireland.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, other older catalogues and studies of Irish collections have focused on ecclesiastical and civic plate.<sup>18</sup> These publications are of value in tracing items which are seldom on public display or have since been disbursed to private collections.

Of direct relevance to this thesis is *Irish Stuart silver* by Tony Sweeney.<sup>19</sup> It is arguably the most important quantitative source for this project with its catalogue of

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*Journal of Cork Historical and Archaeological Journal*, lviii (1953), pp 33-8; Bennett, *Collecting Irish silver*, pp 123-58; Jack Mulveen, 'Galway goldsmiths, their marks and ware' in *Galway Archaeological Society Journal*, xxiv (1994), pp 43-63; John Bowen, 'Names of known, believed or possible Huguenot goldsmiths of Cork' in Tessa Murdoch (ed.), *Beyond the border: Huguenot goldsmiths in Northern Europe and North America* (Brighton, 2008), pp 146-9; Tessa Murdoch and Thomas Sinsteden, 'Names of known, believed or possible Huguenot goldsmiths of Dublin', in Murdoch (ed.), *Beyond the border*, pp 150-5.

<sup>15</sup>The following institutions contain in their general collections of silver pieces of domestic, ecclesiastical, civic and ceremonial Irish silver dating from the seventeenth century: The National Museum of Ireland, Trinity College, Dublin, The Hunt Museum, Limerick, The Ulster Museum, Dublin Civic Museum, Waterford's Medieval Museum, Limerick City Museum, Cork Public Museum, Galway City Museum, Belfast City Museum, The Representative Church Body (The Church of Ireland), The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

<sup>16</sup>*Catalogue of the important and valuable collection of silver plate formed by Robert Day, Esq.* Auction by Messrs Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge (Dryden Press, London, 1888).

<sup>17</sup>*The Panter Collections. Catalogue of the superb collection of Early Irish Silver[...] Thursday July 18<sup>th</sup>, 1929*, (Sotheby & Co, London, 1929).

<sup>18</sup>John Prim, 'The Corporation insignia and olden civic state of Kilkenny' in *The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, i, no. 1 (1870), pp 280-305; Charles A. Webster, *The church plate of the diocese of Cork, Cloyne and Ross* (Cork, 1909); W.G. Strickland, 'The civic insignia of Dublin' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xii, no.2 (Dec. 31, 1922), pp 117-32; St John Seymour, *Church plate and parish records, diocese of Cashel and Emly* (Clonmel, 1930); J.J. Buckley, *Some Irish altar plate* (Dublin, 1943).

<sup>19</sup>Tony Sweeney, *Irish Stuart silver* (Dublin, 1995).

all known, extant silver produced in the period 1603-1714 and, along with more recent exhibition publications, it reflects the developing appreciation for the study of Irish silver. Major catalogues of permanent and temporary exhibitions similarly demonstrate the transition in Irish silver studies from exclusive and commercial viewings of private collections to a subject of popular interest within the decorative arts deserving public display.<sup>20</sup> All together these form an important foundation for this thesis.

In marked contrast to the literature on Irish silver is the more wide-ranging approach evident in a selection of publications concerning British silver. These help to situate the current project within broader stylistic and cultural contexts as well as to facilitate comparisons on the development of the craft and the consumption of silver in Ireland in this period. A number of mid-twentieth century authors of publications on British silver, like their Irish contemporaries, continued the tradition of the connoisseur but, since the 1970s, there have also been those whose direction has been guided by the comprehensive methodology of design history. These more current studies consider the life-span of an object from its design to workshop conditions of production, and from its purchase and use to its re-sale, repair or destruction. This thesis emulates this approach.

Gerald Taylor's *Silver through the ages*, divided the Stuart period into three stylistic sections corresponding with political and dynastic developments, considering the 'principle articles' and the style and ornamental features of objects and vessels of the three sub-periods.<sup>21</sup> His successive monograph, *Continental gold and silver*, represented a significant development.<sup>22</sup> In it he considered European stylistic innovations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with attention to prints and engravings which support questions and themes regarding the dissemination and transmission of design across Europe in the early-modern period. Similarly, *Caroline silver* by Charles Oman represented a transition from the traditional approach to appreciating English silver to a more design-historical survey

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<sup>20</sup>Douglas Bennett, *The silver collection, Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin, 1987); Ida Delamer and Conor O'Brien (eds), *500 Years of Irish silver* (Dublin, 2005); John Bowen and Conor O'Brien (eds), *Cork silver and gold: four centuries of craftsmanship* (Cork, 2005); John Bowen and Conor O'Brien, *A celebration of Limerick's silver* (Cork, 2007); O Floinn, *Franciscan faith*.

<sup>21</sup>Taylor, *Silver*.

<sup>22</sup>Gerard Taylor, *Continental gold and silver* (London, 1967).

of the subject. He examined the different forms and development of domestic plate in the pre-Cromwellian, Interregnum/'Puritan' and Restoration periods, while also taking into consideration the economic, artistic and social contexts informing their manufacture.<sup>23</sup>

Two later publications on English silver, both published in the 1980s, are of particular value to this research and build on the research and writing of Taylor and Oman. The first, Philippa Glanville's *Silver in England*, provides a breakdown of each stylistic period within which further divisions of object type and categories supply an object-centred structure to the author's exploration of the development and variation of form and style.<sup>24</sup> Her analysis is rooted in contemporaneous sources, providing well-rounded evidence of object use in domestic and non-domestic environments. The second section of the publication considers themes relating to the production and consumption of silver: patronage, technique, craftsmanship, ornament, immigrant craftsmen, design development and transmission. The other publication of note is *English domestic silver 1500-1900* by Timothy Schroder.<sup>25</sup> With chapters devoted to the early seventeenth century, the Restoration and the 'Huguenot contribution', this publication, though focused on primary documentary sources of English consumers, is also engaged with European influences on the development of English domestic silver. Each chapter frames the development of silver within the social, economic and political contexts of the period, so that each section supplies a complete picture of the development of the craft at the time.

Workshop practices, the transmission of design and technique in the craft, and the interaction between English and alien goldsmiths in London in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries are all themes which are closely examined in *Goldsmiths, silversmiths and bankers: innovation and the transfer of skill 1550 to 1750*, a collection of essays edited by David Mitchell.<sup>26</sup> Goldsmiths' workshops are also central to Helen Clifford's publications, as are the retail practices governing the craft and attitudes guiding the consumption of silver in England in the eighteenth

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<sup>23</sup>Charles Oman, *Caroline silver 1625-1688* (London, 1970).

<sup>24</sup>Glanville, *Silver in England*.

<sup>25</sup>Timothy Schroder, *English domestic silver* (London, 1988).

<sup>26</sup>David Mitchell (ed.), *Goldsmiths, silversmiths and bankers: innovation and the transfer of skill, 1550-1750* (Stroud, 1995).

century.<sup>27</sup> Clifford's examination of the significance of silver in the lives of its consumers and the relationship between patrons and goldsmiths in contributing to the evolution of design is of particular relevance to this study.

The nearest Irish equivalent to the methodologies and themes employed by historians such as Clifford, Mitchell, Glanville and Schroder is the work that has been produced by Alison FitzGerald on the history of Irish goldsmiths in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>28</sup> FitzGerald has analysed the multiple facets which contributed to the production and consumption of plate in Ireland in these periods. This is achieved through the synthesis of quantitative data and more focused research into individual craftsmen and consumers to provide thorough analysis on the structure and development of the guilds and the craft, as well as the social and economic environments within which Irish goldsmiths and consumers were operating. Her work builds on shorter studies by other historians of Irish silver, notably by Conor O'Brien, Joseph McDonnell, Thomas Sinsteden and Toby Barnard, which have illuminated the value of artefact analysis, design sources and guild records to developing an understanding of the subject in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, these publications, along with the body of FitzGerald's work, have exposed the necessity for similar research to be carried out with regard to the design, production and use of silver in Ireland in the seventeenth century. A thematic approach, as proposed above, provides the most suitable structural model for achieving this.

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<sup>27</sup>Helen Clifford, 'Of consuming cares: attitudes to silver in the eighteenth century' in *The Silver Society Journal*, xii (2000), pp 53-8; Helen Clifford, *Silver in London*.

<sup>28</sup>FitzGerald, 'Goldsmiths' work in eighteenth century Dublin' ; 'Cosmopolitan commerce: the Dublin goldsmith Robert Calderwood' in *Apollo*, clxii, no. 523 (2005), pp 46-52; 'Oliver St George's passion for plate' in *Silver Studies*, xxii (2007), pp 51-61; 'Fighting for a 'small provincial establishment': the Cork goldsmiths and their quest for a local assay office' in Raymond Gillespie and R.F. Foster (eds), *Irish provincial cultures in the long eighteenth century* (Dublin, 2012), pp 170-80. With Conor O'Brien: 'The production of silver in late-Georgian Dublin' in *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies: The Journal of the Irish Georgian Society*, iv (2001), pp 8-31.

<sup>29</sup>Joseph McDonnell, 'Irish Rococo silver' in *Irish Arts Review*, xiii (1997), pp 78-87; Thomas Sinsteden, 'Four selected assay records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company' in *The Silver Society Journal*, xi (1999), pp 143-57; Conor O'Brien, 'The early records of the Dublin Goldsmith Company' in *The Silver Society Journal*, xii (2000), pp 80-1; Conor O'Brien, 'The Goldsmiths of Waterford' in *Journal of Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, cxxiii (2003) pp 111-29; Toby Barnard, *Making the grand figure: lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven and London, 2004), pp 134-42.

### 1.3 Structure and methodology

Several research methodologies will be deployed in the integrated and thematic analysis envisaged by this thesis. As well as the aforementioned quantitative tasks which will draw on publications centred on the methodology of connoisseurship, theoretical, comparative and contextual research methodologies will be used in each chapter in order to fulfil the several aims of this study. Each of these approaches is complemented by extensive primary and secondary research in order to thoroughly present, according to each successive chapter, the production, acquisition, design, use and meaning of silver in Ireland in the seventeenth century. It will be evident that each of these themes complements its preceding and ensuing one, reflecting the rich interconnectedness of the design, production and consumption of silver.

Chapter two establishes the environments of the production of silver in Ireland and answers several questions that aim to draw out numerous features of the craft: Where was silver produced? Who were the goldsmiths and how many were in operation throughout this period? What evidence is there of the craft's organisational structures and to what extent can this inform themes relating to regulation, training and specialisation within the craft? This chapter will examine the composition of the goldsmiths' guilds in Ireland and will develop these themes with regard to the craft in Dublin and in provincial urban centres. Production is an essential component of the history of silver, as the writings of Glanville, Clifford and FitzGerald have all underlined.<sup>30</sup> Uncovering the features of the goldsmiths' guilds generates evidence on the volumes and profiles of craftsmen from which further analysis regarding the themes of design dissemination and technical development can be drawn in this and subsequent chapters.

A great deal of ground in identifying the country's goldsmiths has already been covered, as noted above. Chapter two will demonstrate, however, that the published lists of goldsmiths are far from definitive. Further quantitative analysis, particularly

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<sup>30</sup>Particularly: Glanville, *Silver in England*, pp 145-65; Clifford, *Silver in London*; FitzGerald & O'Brien, 'Production of silver in late-Georgian Dublin', pp 8-31; FitzGerald, 'Cosmopolitan commerce'.

with regard to the Dublin guild, of the demographics of master goldsmiths, the patterns relating to the careers of apprentices and the numbers and status of journeymen and other craftsmen who did not enjoy civic freedom will be realised through the synthesis of a range of primary and secondary sources. This integrated and analytical use of the source material represents a new approach to the examination of Ireland's goldsmiths and the production of silver from this period. The records of the Dublin guild of goldsmiths, incorporated by royal charter in 1637 and thereafter known as the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company<sup>31</sup>, are extensive and, as observed by Jackson, are 'more perfect and complete than those of any other company of goldsmiths'.<sup>32</sup> Combined with the capital city's municipal records, which include Dublin Corporation's registers of freemen, the proceedings of the City Assembly and treasurer's accounts, a large body of information and data has been assembled from which numerous new insights and conclusions relating to the city's goldsmiths have emerged.<sup>33</sup> Chapter two presents these rich findings in order to draw out the evolution of the craft in seventeenth-century Dublin. At the same time, material from these sources relating to the lives and fortunes of individual craftsmen will be detailed in order to complement general conclusions with specific experiences. Of note, a disproportionate body of documentation relating to the Dublin goldsmith John Cuthbert (Senior) (fl. 1670-1705) supplies compelling evidence on a range of themes including workshop productivity, collaboration, training, the employment of journeymen, migration and mobility. These, too, will be presented in the chapter to illustrate the complex and sophisticated environments within which plate was produced.

In contrast to Dublin, the source material relating to goldsmiths' guilds (or guilds within which goldsmiths were included) in other Irish cities and towns is comparatively sparse. None of the provincial guild records of relevance have

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<sup>31</sup>From 1637 the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company managed the operations of the Dublin guild of goldsmiths. The terms 'guild' and 'company' will thus be used interchangeably in this work when referencing the organisation from the period 1637 onwards.

<sup>32</sup>Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, p. 625. Of relevance to this study are the following manuscripts within the archives of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company (henceforth DGC) (Assay Office, Dublin Castle): Minute Books (DGC MS 1), Assay Books (DGC MS 13), Account Books (DGC MS 70), Enrolment Book and Registration Book (DGC MS 94) and Enrolment Book of Apprentices, Freemen and Journeymen 1637-1702 (DGC MS 95).

<sup>33</sup>The datasheets relating to the Dublin guild are reproduced in volume two of this thesis in Appendices A, D and E.

survived. Nevertheless, much can be pieced together through combined analysis of the literature, municipal corporation records and extant plate.<sup>34</sup> Municipal records are a valuable source and chapter two will show how they have supplied material for reconstructing the quantitative scope and operational features of goldsmiths and their associated guilds in seventeenth-century provincial Ireland. No two towns were the same, however. The chapter will, therefore, tease out the evidence to illustrate unique features relating to craftsmen, guilds and the production of silver in the various urban centres. Overall, a diverging picture of the goldsmiths' craft in provincial Ireland and Dublin inevitably emerges. The pre-eminence of the capital city and the Dublin guild, especially following its incorporation, ensured that the goldsmiths of Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Galway and other towns never achieved comparable size or productivity.

Comparative analysis of the Dublin guild with its counterparts in London and Edinburgh will also be undertaken in order to position the development of the Irish craft within the larger sphere of the British Isles. None of the publications relating to this subject have considered this wider viewpoint. Fortunately, this approach benefits greatly from valuable quantitative data available in both manuscript and digital form.<sup>35</sup> The comparison between Dublin and London is particularly appropriate given the self-conscious modelling of the newly-incorporated Dublin Goldsmiths' Company on the London company in 1637 and the migration of goldsmiths between the two cities. Meanwhile, the extant manuscript material relating to the Edinburgh guild is analogous to that relating to Dublin in the seventeenth century, with its lists of freemen, apprentices, journeymen and assay data from the period. This parallel evidence will be fully exploited to present a more objective view of the goldsmiths' craft and production of silver in Dublin. The chapter will argue that even though

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<sup>34</sup>While some of these municipal records are in manuscript form, many more, as the bibliography details, have been reproduced in complete or calendar form within journals and edited volumes. More recently, transcriptions of civic corporations have been published and made available on the internet, i.e. Corporation of Londonderry Minute Books: 1673-86 (PRONI MS LA79/2A/1); 1688-1704 (PRONI MS LA/79/2A/2), (Public Record Office, Northern Ireland: <http://www.proni.gov.uk>).

<sup>35</sup>Though many of London and Edinburgh's goldsmiths are accounted for in Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, additional and more integrated evidence can be traced through the manuscript and digital sources, e.g. The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths (Goldsmiths' Hall, Foster Lane, London) Apprentice Books (MSS 1, 2 and 3); The Record of London's Livery Companies (ROLLCO) database: [www.londonroll.org](http://www.londonroll.org); Henry Steuart Fotheringham (ed.), *Minute books of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of Edinburgh 1525-1700* (Edinburgh, 2006); the database of Edinburgh's Incorporation of Goldsmiths: [www.incorporationofgoldsmiths.org](http://www.incorporationofgoldsmiths.org).

Dublin and Edinburgh shared similarities in structure, composition and position in relation to London, the Irish capital's goldsmiths' guild ultimately achieved greater productivity due to its inclusion of immigrant craftsmen.

Ireland's economy in the seventeenth century, as L.M. Cullen and Raymond Gillespie have both discussed, underwent a transformation.<sup>36</sup> Driven by political, legal and socio-demographic forces, dramatic economic changes occurred as Ireland underwent a concerted programme of Anglicisation over the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This second chapter explores these unique contexts which had a direct impact on the composition and fortunes of Ireland's goldsmiths and the production of silver. As Gillespie identified, the developing economic landscape largely succeeded in encouraging the conditions within which Irish craft and luxury trades thrived. In this way, the flourishing guilds of early-modern Ireland have much in common with their British and continental European counterparts.<sup>37</sup> Like Britain and Europe, guilds had been in existence in Ireland since the medieval period and supplied an effective system of urban economic regulation. Far from losing relevance as the country underwent significant political and demographic shifts, however, the new order strengthened the role of the guild so that it reached its apogee in the seventeenth century.

Key texts have examined the proliferation and features of Dublin's guilds: J. J. Webb's *The guilds of Dublin*, Mary Clarke and Raymond Réfaussé's *Directory of historic Dublin guilds* and Jacqueline Hill's *From patriots to unionists* have variously identified the characteristics of early-modern guilds, their important relationship to the city's government and infrastructure and the changing religious,

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<sup>36</sup>L.M. Cullen, *An economic history of Ireland since 1660* (London, 1972); Raymond Gillespie, *The transformation of the Irish economy, 1550-1700* (Dundalk, 1991).

<sup>37</sup>Geoffrey Crossick (ed.), *The artisan and the European town, 1500-1900* (Aldershot, 1997); Joseph P. Ward, *Metropolitan communities: trade guilds, identity, and change in early modern London* (California, 1997); S.R. Epstein and Maarten Prak, *Guilds, innovation and the European economy 1400-1800* (Cambridge, 2008); Bert De Munck, 'Guilds, product quality and intrinsic value; towards a history of conventions?' in *Historical Social Research*, xxvi, no. 4 (2011), pp 103-24; Bert De Munck, 'Skills, trust, and changing consumer preferences: the decline of Antwerp's craft guilds from the perspective of the product market, c.1500-c.1800', *International Review of Social History*, liii (2008), pp 197-233.



political and economic environments in which they operated.<sup>38</sup> In particular, Hill's study elaborates on uniquely Irish features of the development of guilds in Dublin, such as the necessity for quarter brothers in accommodating Catholic and non-conforming Protestant craftsmen and tradesmen. As it will be discussed, it was within these conditions that seventeenth-century goldsmiths negotiated their internal organisation and their position within local municipal economic and political structures.

The pivotal event which reflected the developing productivity of goldsmiths in early-seventeenth century Ireland and which fuelled the increasing prominence and strength of the craft as the century progressed was the incorporation of the Dublin guild by royal charter in 1637. The ramifications of this important development within the craft will be fully investigated in chapter two. The charter, it will be contended, supplied an organisational template which successfully regulated the craft, at least in the capital city. This regulation responded to demands on multiple fronts: from the capital city's goldsmiths requiring recognition for their unique position in the production of precious metal wares and jewellery, from the Dublin guild demanding pre-eminence in the policing of silver, gold and precious stones throughout the country, and from institutional and domestic consumers preferring a native system of quality control authenticating the value of plate with ready money. In all, the charter articulated the desire for a system mirroring the operational and economic model in existence in London and expressed ambitions for autonomy. It succeeded in positioning the Dublin guild as the dominant force in the production and regulation of Ireland's silver. Concurrently, goldsmiths in provincial centres of production established their own systems of authentication which will also be surveyed. These 'illegal' hallmarks associated with the individual cities and towns were struck by goldsmiths frustrated by the impractical centralisation of quality control by the Dublin guild. Despite these initiatives, however, the strength of the 1637 charter prevailed so that, by the late-seventeenth century, the composition and large-scale productivity of the Dublin guild towered over the country's regional guilds.

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<sup>38</sup>J.J. Webb, *The guilds of Dublin* (Dublin, 1929), Mary Clark and Raymond Refaüssé, *Directory of historic Dublin guilds* (Dublin, 1993); Jacqueline Hill, *From patriots to unionists: Dublin civil politics and Irish politics and Irish Protestant patriotism 1660-1840* (Oxford, 1997).

As chapter three will develop, the production of silver in this period was intricately bound up with the demands of a consumer-driven market. The patronage of goldsmiths in Ireland, Britain and continental Europe by Irish consumers reflected discernment and mobility but also exposed the supply and quality within the domestic market. Consequently, the central theme of this chapter is acquisition and asks: Who were the main consumers of silver in Ireland? And from where and how did they source their plate? It will be argued that the development of the craft in Irish urban centres was directly connected to the growing body of consumers, the individuals and institutions, who required and acquired a range of silverwares for numerous practical and symbolic purposes. Balancing the detailed profiling of Ireland's goldsmiths from the previous chapter, therefore, this and subsequent chapters will draw on a considerable range of sources which will identify and situate Irish consumers from this period. These consumers were many and diverse and were made up of a combination of wealthy, land-owning elites, professional and merchant classes, the Catholic and Protestant churches and other institutions which included municipal corporations, urban guilds and Trinity College Dublin.

The quantity and quality of extant primary sources from this period naturally dictates the extent to which an understanding of seventeenth-century individual consumers' lives and the operations of institutional consumers can be realised. Inevitably, in considering a luxury material such as silver and its consumption by a comparatively narrow field of elite consumers, tensions arise between the limited empirical evidence supplied by documentary and object sources and the desire to construct a general narrative based on these select sources. This challenge is not unique to the study of early-modern Irish silver; Toby Barnard has identified the difficult task presented to historians of other aspects of Irish material culture.<sup>39</sup> Confronted with the challenges of recounting the history of early-modern material culture, therefore, it is clear that the blending of a wide range of sources – artefacts, legal and property transactions, household inventories, testamentary records, parish records, state papers, personal correspondence and autobiographical accounts, contemporary literature, and corporation and guild records – is necessary in order to

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<sup>39</sup>Toby Barnard, *A guide to sources for the history of material culture in Ireland* (Dublin, 2005), pp 20-6.

sketch out the profile of seventeenth-century Irish consumers and their material environments. This approach, as Barnard has found in relation to the period 1641-1770, largely favours insight into the 'prospering minority of Protestants'.<sup>40</sup> The synthesis of documentary and object sources for this project yields a similar predilection. However, a selection of sources, particularly early-seventeenth century sources relating to Gaelic Irish consumers and those relating to Roman Catholics and their church, also demonstrate that the consumption of silver often transcended the social and economic pre-eminence of the Protestant ascendancy. Consequently, the approaches undertaken in this thesis and the conclusions drawn from the body of evidence will be as far-reaching as possible and will reflect the uniquely diverse social landscape of seventeenth-century Ireland.

It will be apparent in chapter three, therefore, and throughout this thesis, that the history of Ireland's consumers in the seventeenth century is, in many ways, the history of Irish society from this period. As already alluded to, seventeenth-century Ireland underwent a great deal of change. This change was manifest on many levels: economic, political, religious and social. Historians acknowledge the unique transformation of Irish society in this period, finding no parallel in contemporary Europe. Raymond Gillespie observed that the 'composition of the Irish social and political elite underwent a dramatic shift in the years between 1580 and 1700 in a way that did not happen in most other countries'.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, he believes that the Irish position in this period was a paradox: an 'Old World' kingdom defined by a new, colonial social order.<sup>42</sup> The societal layers of Gaelic Irish, Old English and New English inhabitants, all claiming legitimacy, each had distinct historical, linguistic, religious and cultural characteristics. Of interest to this study is the way in which each of these groups behaved as consumers. Their acquisition and consumption of silver was representative of their engagement with fashion, etiquette, worship, display and social conventions. It is necessary, therefore, in conjunction with the analysis of primary sources, to survey several other historical texts which have analysed the cultural shifts within seventeenth-century Irish society in order to position these individuals and groups within the consumer environment of the period.

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<sup>40</sup>Barnard, *Grand figure*, xxii.

<sup>41</sup>Raymond Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), p. 3.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 6.

Among these histories of early-modern Irish society is Edward MacLysaght's *Irish life in the seventeenth century* which was notable when it was first published with its aim to 'obtain a picture of the everyday life of the citizen of Ireland'.<sup>43</sup> Nicholas Canny's *The upstart earl* and *Making Ireland British 1580-1650* are both centred on the establishment of English settlers in Ireland and the effect of their settlement on Irish landscape and society.<sup>44</sup> On the subject of the consumption habits of the early-modern Irish elite, it is also enlightening to consult the publications of Toby Barnard. His many articles and books, especially *Making the grand figure*, are concerned with domestic life, consumer behaviour and material culture in the early modern period and 'how buildings, lodgings, furnishings and objects were made, used and regarded'.<sup>45</sup> In this and previous publications, he has shown how the consumption of the Irish was guided by requirements for subsistence, comfort, amusement and display but above all by a desire to cut the 'best figure'.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, Barnard's *Irish Protestant ascents and descents* looks at the fortunes and the profile of settlers in Cork in his chapter 'The political, material and mental cultures of the Cork settlers, c.1650-1700', which includes insight into their expenditure and hospitality.<sup>47</sup> *Making Ireland English*, by Jane Ohlmeyer, is one of the most recent extensive studies on this subject of the Irish social revolution and the ascent of a wealthy, consuming elite.<sup>48</sup> The author tabulated data relating to the income and expenditure of Ireland's elite in the seventeenth century and the motivation behind their conspicuous consumption of expensive luxury goods. She shows how a large proportion of these consumers incurred large debts in order to maintain a social profile of excessive wealth and material affluence. The acquisition of plate, among a range of other expensive material goods, used to decorate and equip newly-constructed homes was a common feature of the consumption patterns of this section of society.

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<sup>43</sup>Edward MacLysaght, *Irish life in the seventeenth century* (Dublin, 1969).

<sup>44</sup>Nicholas Canny, *The upstart earl* (Cambridge, 1982); *Making Ireland British: 1580-1650* (Oxford, 2001).

<sup>45</sup>Barnard, *Grand figure*, xviii.

<sup>46</sup>Toby Barnard, 'Public and private uses of wealth in Ireland, c.1660-1760' in Jacqueline Hill and Colm Lennon (eds), *Luxury and austerity* (Dublin, 1999), pp 66-83.

<sup>47</sup>Toby Barnard, *Irish Protestant ascents and descents* (Dublin, 2004).

<sup>48</sup>Jane Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English* (New Haven and London, 2012).

The history of Irish society in the seventeenth century cannot be separated from the country's complex and changeable religious contexts. Faith occupied an important role in how individuals and families negotiated their social position as the established church – the Church of Ireland – contended with the Roman Catholic and non-conformist Protestant religions. Within the wider European setting of Reformation and Counter Reformation and the more direct impact of colonial policy, religious devotion, recusancy, tension and violence were evident throughout Irish society and have been the subject of numerous texts.<sup>49</sup> Once again, Ireland was exceptional in this period notably because, as Barnard has succinctly summarised, 'a large majority of [the country's] population adhered to a confession – Catholicism – that was not the official religion of the state'.<sup>50</sup> Religious expression occupied a central part in how people defined themselves and the material components of this expression offer insight into a world where God and Christianity were intrinsic to daily life, regardless of denomination, as numerous historians have explored.<sup>51</sup> Chief among these components were the items of communion plate utilised by the three main Christian faiths. As chapter three will present, some of these components were common to all religions, namely a silver chalice and paten, while others reflected the individual features defining each religion's celebration of the Eucharist. It will be shown in this chapter and in chapter six that the acquisition by the churches of these items of altar plate was very often bound up with the relationships that existed between the laity and the parishes, clergy and religious orders within their jurisdictions. The donating and bequeathing of items of altar plate, or the money to purchase such items, was common practice of devout, wealthy members of the lay

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<sup>49</sup>P.J. Corish, *The catholic community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Dublin, 1981); S.J. Connolly, *Religion, law and power: the making of Protestant Ireland 1660-1760* (Oxford, 1992); Phil Kilroy, *Protestant dissent and controversy in Ireland* (Cork, 1994); Alan Ford, *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland, 1590-1641* (Dublin, 1997); Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted people: religion and belief in early-modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997).

<sup>50</sup>Toby Barnard, 'Fabrics of faith: the material worlds of Catholic Ireland and Protestant Ireland, 1500-1800' in O Floinn, *Franciscan faith*, p. 21.

<sup>51</sup>Colm Lennon, 'Mass in the manor house: the Counter-Reformation in Dublin, 1560-1630' in J. Kelly and D. Keogh (eds), *History of the Catholic diocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 2000), pp 112-26; Clodagh Tait, "'As legacie upon my soule": the wills of the Irish Catholic community, c.1550-1660' in Robert Armstrong and Tadhg O hAnnrachain (eds), *Community in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), pp 179-98; Ralf Loeber and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber, 'Kildare Hall, the countess of Kildare's patronage of the Jesuits, and the liturgical setting of Catholic worship in early seventeenth-century Dublin', in E. Fitzpatrick and R. Gillespie (eds), *The parish in medieval and early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), pp 242-65; James Lyttleton, 'Faith of our fathers: the Gaelic aristocracy in Co. Offaly and the Counter-Reformation', in J. Lyttleton and C. Rynne (eds), *Plantation Ireland: settlement and material culture, c.1550 – c.1700* (Dublin, 2009), pp 182-206; Toby Barnard, 'Fabrics of faith', pp 21-31.

community. The desire to publicly display personal piety and patronage and the wish to create a physical personal legacy, it will be evident, were well met by the munificent donation of a piece of altar plate.

As well as examining the interconnections between the donating laity and religious organisations, chapter three will also examine the churches as principal consumers of silver in their common celebration of Holy Communion. This theme will be continued into chapters five and six where it will be shown how the Church of Ireland's parish records, clerical testamentary records and inventories, in tandem with additional texts which deal with the history of the churches and the development of communion plate in this period, demonstrate the extent of this consumption which fulfilled both practical and symbolic functions.<sup>52</sup> It will be shown that, common to each religion, the acquisition of silver or silver-gilt chalices, patens and other components of communion silver was less a preference and more a stipulation prescribed by governing religious hierarchies. Similar to British and continental European counterparts, silver was deemed by the churches as the appropriate material for liturgical vessels and accessories. Likewise, the country's municipal corporations prioritised silver as the preferred material for the instruments and vessels of ceremony and symbols of authority. By the mid-seventeenth century it is apparent, from corporation records, charters and surviving items, that Irish civic corporations followed the pattern established in Britain in their acquisition of many items of silver insignia, chief among which were maces, swords, chains of office and seal matrixes. Furthermore, as consumers of plate, these corporations, like other institutions such as guilds and Trinity College, acquired silver for other functions which ranged from official gifts to visiting grantees to vessels used in convivial contexts. The overall picture that emerges is one in which silver was the material *par excellence* for equipping and decorating the country's institutions. Within these favourable conditions, the goldsmiths' craft in Ireland flourished.

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<sup>52</sup>Webster, *Church plate of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*; Seymour, *Church plate of Cashel and Emly*; Buckley, *Irish altar plate*; R.J. Johnson, J.L. Robinson, and R.W. Jackson, *A history of the Church of Ireland* (Dublin, 1953); Charles Oman, *English church plate 1597-1837* (London, 1957); James Gilchrist, *Anglican church plate* (London, 1967); Malgorzata Kranodebska-D'Aughton, 'Me Fieri Fecit': Franciscan Chalices, 1600-1650', in O Floinn, *Franciscan faith*, pp 71-81.

Notwithstanding the immeasurable value of wide-ranging evidence relating to Ireland's private and institutional consumers, chapter three of this thesis will also introduce an individual whose remarkable large-scale acquisition of plate supplies a compelling case study of seventeenth-century domestic consumption. Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork (1566-1643), maintained meticulous diaries and letters within which he recorded decades of transactions, agreements, exchanges, purchases and gifts, many of which involved items of silver, for the furnishing and appointment of his principal homes in Youghal, Lismore and Dublin and those belonging to his large family.<sup>53</sup> His consumption of silver will be presented in order to show the multiple means by which plate was acquired. Additionally, it will be proposed that the preferences of an important patron like Boyle for domestic plate, in turn, encouraged the development of the craft in Dublin and other centres of production.

The fortunate survival of material relating to the earl of Cork is immensely rich though it is evident that, with his unprecedented wealth, he was, in many respects, an exceptional consumer. It is important, therefore, to be cautious and not employ this individual case as representative of the universal experience. Nonetheless, a case study such as this ultimately complements the sparser evidence supplied from the aforementioned documentary sources and facilitates in highlighting patterns of consumption and illuminating disparities among the body of consumers.<sup>54</sup> This thesis will, thus, balance the evidence relating to Boyle with the spectrum of other Irish consumers in this period: other members of the aristocracy, the gentry and, to a lesser extent, considering the expense of silver in this period, those of more modest means, whose lives preceded, coincided with and followed the earl of Cork's. The legacy of their consumption, contained in wills, inventories, letters, diaries and depositions, permits broader insight into the features of the acquisition, use and attitudes informing domestic consumers, as the transition in the seventeenth century from the

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<sup>53</sup>Richard Boyle's papers were edited and published by Alexander B. Grosart in two series of collected volumes: *The Lismore papers; autobiographical notes, remembrances, and diaries* (5 vols, London, 1886) (henceforth cited as *Lismore papers: diaries*) and *The Lismore papers; selections from the private and public (or state) correspondence of Sir Richard Boyle* (5 vols, London, 1887) (henceforth cited as *Lismore papers: correspondence*). Boyle married his second wife Katherine Fenton in 1603. Their large family, born in the years 1606-27, amounted to fifteen children – seven sons and eight daughters – two of whom died in infancy.

<sup>54</sup>The use of a case-study to examine general themes relating to early-seventeenth century material culture is employed by Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and gender in the early seventeenth-century household: the world of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford, 2012).

earlier grandeur of self-conscious ‘old luxury’ to the ‘new luxury’ desires of consumers in the middle of the century emerged.<sup>55</sup>

Alongside the sources within which the preferences and patterns of Irish consumers can be traced, Richard Boyle’s consumption of plate will also be threaded through chapters four, five and six. Having established in chapters two and three the characteristics of silver’s production and acquisition, these chapters set out to examine the numerous factors encouraging and defining its consumption. The several functions uniquely inherent to plate – its effective storage of financial capital, its ability to demonstrate status, its suitability in expressing fashion, its practical utility and its role in social practices – all combined to ensure a steady increase in demand which, in turn, stimulated production. These chapters will show how aesthetic, financial, symbolic and practical factors were of relevance to domestic and non-domestic consumers alike. Chapter four centres on the theme of design and decoration and examines the intersecting concerns of value, cost, fashion and craftsmanship to consumers. Plate’s unique relationship to ready money and the versatility with which it could be mended, re-fashioned or exchanged found appeal with all consumers. It will be argued that consumers’ stylistic preferences were intricately connected to cost; the more decorative an item of plate, the greater its price due to increased time spent on its production, in contrast to plainer pieces. Because of this, silverwares could be simultaneously used to demonstrate aesthetic refinement *and* the existence of surplus wealth. Conversely, unornamented pieces were suggestive of financial conservatism. In light of the financial constraints determining the choice for plain or decorative plate, therefore, it will be asked in this chapter: who was leading fashion in this period, the patron or the goldsmith?<sup>56</sup>

Developing the themes of fashion and design, chapter four also undertakes to survey the wide range of extant plate. Through an integration of the visual evidence of domestic and institutional pieces it will trace the features of the stylistic

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<sup>55</sup>Jan de Vries discusses ‘old’ and ‘new’ luxury in ‘Luxury in the Dutch Golden Age in theory & practice’, in Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (eds), *Luxury in the eighteenth century* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp 41-56.

<sup>56</sup>This theme is developed, within the eighteenth-century English context, by Helen Clifford, *Silver in London*, pp 128-9, 151-75.



development of Irish silver in the seventeenth century.<sup>57</sup> Close examination of the body of extant plate in conjunction with catalogues and studies on contemporary British and continental silver illuminates considerable diversity of forms and styles. It will be proposed that, rather than exhibiting insular design features, silver from this period, particularly domestic and ecclesiastical items, displays the active engagement by Irish goldsmiths and their patrons with prevailing international styles. Furthermore, the analysis of engraved, chased, embossed and applied ornamental arrangements provokes exploration into broader aspects of design development pertinent to the seventeenth century which, in turn, will be shown to facilitate an understanding of how the design of Irish silver evolved within the greater European context.

Select publications complement this course of analysis: Michael Snodin and Michael Howard's *Ornament: a social history since 1450* discusses the growth of print culture in continental Europe.<sup>58</sup> It shows how designers, craftsmen and consumers used the rising popularity and effectiveness of the print to disseminate ornamental design, a practice that was certainly in evidence in early-modern Britain and Ireland.<sup>59</sup> Alain Gruber's edited volumes on *The Renaissance and Mannerism* and *Classicism and the Baroque* provide essays on the origins, development and dissemination of ornamental features across the decorative arts on motifs such as acanthus, strapwork, *rincaux* and grotesques.<sup>60</sup> These decorative features, it will be shown, are to be found embellishing items of silver connected to domestic, ecclesiastical, civic and ceremonial consumers, offering proof of the widespread adoption by Irish goldsmiths and consumers of prevailing European fashions on silver used in numerous contexts and for a variety of functions. There is also evidence that other stylistic trends were more appropriate to plate associated solely

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<sup>57</sup>Within the context of seventeenth-century English and continental European silver this has been achieved by: Taylor, *Silver*, pp 108-83; Douglas Ash, *Seventeenth century Dutch silver* (Cambridge, 1965); Oman, *Caroline silver*; Carl Hernmarck, *The art of the European silversmith 1430-1830* (2 vols, London, 1977), i, 51-66; Glanville, *Silver in England*, pp 50-75; Schroder, *Domestic silver*, pp 86-138.

<sup>58</sup>Michael Snodin and Michael Howard (eds), *Ornament: a social history since 1450* (New Haven and London, 1996).

<sup>59</sup>Discussed by: Christopher Hartop, *The Huguenot legacy: English silver 1680-1760 from the Alan and Simone Hartman collection* (London, 1996), pp 56-65; McDonnell, 'Irish Rococo silver'; Clifford, *Silver in London*, pp 151-75; Christine Casey and Conor Lucey (eds), *Decorative plasterwork in Ireland and Europe: Ornament and the early modern interior* (Dublin, 2012).

<sup>60</sup>Alain Gruber (ed.), *The Renaissance and Mannerism in Europe* (New York, 1994); Alain Gruber (ed.), *Classicism and the Baroque in Europe* (New York, 1996).

with domestic consumption. Notably, a distinct chinoiserie ornamental style was manifest on Irish domestic silver in the 1680s, mirroring the vogue evident on English silver produced in the same period. Little has been examined with regard to this important facet of design in Irish silver though, again, broader studies can assist with positioning this feature of Irish silver within a wider context.<sup>61</sup> Overall, therefore, this chapter uses the comparative visual evidence to argue that Irish craftsmen and consumers were in tune with international fashions and used silver to express this engagement.

Chapters five and six both explore the diverse and complementary functions of plate. How Irish consumers used their silver underpins the direction of these chapters. Chapter five examines the practical use of silver in numerous contexts: for dining and drinking, furnishing and clothing and worship and ceremony. The utility of plate, this chapter contends, was arguably considered of equal value to its monetary and decorative attributes, thus contributing to its widespread acquisition. The seventeenth century did not herald the arrival of luxury, household wares, as Susan Flavin has demonstrated with regard to the material culture of Ireland in the sixteenth century.<sup>62</sup> However, it will be shown that the acquisition of a vast array of silver table vessels and accessories, household utensils such as hearth furniture and lighting components, along with practical items such as buckles and buttons, signalled the extensive employment by seventeenth-century Irish consumers of silverwares for a multitude of purposes. Furthermore, these functions reflected the development of early-modern social conventions in line with the practices evident in polite society in contemporary Britain and Europe. The use of silver in the equipping of dining tables, tea tables, bed chambers, drawing rooms and personal apparel expressed the self-conscious adoption by consumers of perceived superior models of household organisation, refined behaviour and deportment. This interconnection of luxury, material culture with social development was pervasive in early-modern

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<sup>61</sup>Oliver Impey, *Chinoiserie: the impact of Oriental styles on western art and decoration* (London, 1977); David Beevers (ed.), *Chinese whispers: Chinoiserie in Britain 1650-1930* (Brighton & Hove, 2008).

<sup>62</sup>Susan Flavin, 'Consumption and material culture in sixteenth-century Ireland' in *Economic History Review*, lxiv, no. 4 (2011), pp 1144–1174; Susan Flavin, *Consumption and culture in sixteenth century Ireland: saffron, stockings and silk* (Suffolk, 2014).

Europe.<sup>63</sup> Several publications have noted that the seventeenth century marked the beginning of a consumer society in which luxury and novel goods occupied an important position.<sup>64</sup> This chapter shows that the acquisition and utilisation of silverwares offers an appropriate lens with which to view an aspect of this consumer revolution in Ireland.

The practical and aesthetic attributes of plate coexisted alongside numerous symbolic functions. These will be the focus of chapter six which will examine the meaning of silver in seventeenth-century Ireland. As encountered earlier, silver was used by consumers to display refinement and taste. Additionally, it was foremost among luxury material goods – in both domestic and institutional contexts – in advertising status and wealth. This chapter will identify, amidst the evidence of the plethora of seventeenth-century plate, the silver and silver-gilt vessels and pieces which became the established signifiers of status. These items were very often acquired by Irish consumers primarily for display purposes. They were, thus, prominently located in public spaces such as on dining chamber sideboards and at ceremonial events for maximum visibility. Using material goods to communicate personal, familial and corporate identity and aspiration was not exclusive to silver nor, indeed, to seventeenth-century consumers, as numerous critical and theoretical studies have discussed.<sup>65</sup> Silver does, however, uniquely possess material attributes which convey both the existence of financial capital and the ability to visually demonstrate legitimacy and authority, namely through the application of heraldry and the inscription of mottoes and donations. Furthermore, the hallmarking of plate

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<sup>63</sup>Publications examining the development in contemporary European domestic interiors and household wares include: Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-century interior decoration in England, France and Holland* (New Haven and London, 1978); Sara Pennell, ‘Pots and pans history’: the material culture of the kitchen in early-modern England’ in *Journal of Design History*, xi, no. 3 (1998), pp 201-16; Bruno Blondé, ‘Tableware and changing consumer patterns. Dynamics of material culture in Antwerp, 17<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries’ in Johan Veeckman (ed.), *Majolica and glass* (Antwerp, 2002), pp 295-311; Philippa Glanville and Hilary Young, (eds), *Elegant eating* (London, 2002).

<sup>64</sup>Notably: Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer behaviour and material culture in Britain 1660-1760* (London, 1988); John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds), *Consumption and the world of goods* (London, 1993); Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (eds), *Consumers and luxury: consumer culture in Europe 1650-1850* (Manchester and New York, 1999); Linda Levy-Peck, *Consuming splendour; society and culture in seventeenth-century England* (Cambridge, 2005).

<sup>65</sup>Among these are: Thorstein Veblen, *The theory of the leisure class: an economic theory of institutions* (1<sup>st</sup> ed., New York, 1899); Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The world of goods: towards an anthropology of consumption* (London, 1978; reprinted London and New York, 1996); Russell W. Belk, ‘Possessions and the extended self’, *Journal of Consumer Research*, xv, no. 2 (1988), pp 139-68.

supplied a unique form of customer assurance. These exceptional characteristics positioned silver to the fore among material luxury goods.

This chapter will also uncover how Irish consumers used their gifts, bequests and donations of plate to reinforce their social bonds and strategically advertise their generosity and status. The ritualistic convention of gifting was utilised across early-modern European society in creating, maintaining and strengthening familial, fraternal, political and professional bonds.<sup>66</sup> It will be shown how, at a municipal level, Ireland's civic corporations and guilds increasingly patronised local goldsmiths, particularly following the Restoration, with their regular practice of presenting items of plate to prominent political figures and members of the nobility. The expectation on corporations to disburse funds on silver boxes and other 'pieces' of plate which were, very often, engraved with the donor's and recipient's arms, was widespread by 1700. Wealthy members of the laity, likewise, increasingly gifted and donated items of communion plate to their churches to advertise their families' benevolence, piety and social position. On a more intimate and sentimental level, the presentation of gifts of silver at important events in the life of an individual, at annual celebrations and on special occasions is evident from the documentary and object evidence relating to Ireland's domestic consumers. Testamentary records will demonstrate how these consumers used their bequests to express close familial and fraternal bonds. Items of silver gained additional symbolic resonance when passed from one individual to another, particularly when the bequest was specified to remain intact for the successive generation. In this way, consumers used their plate to project aspirations for personal legacy. The common desire for cherished objects to out-live individuals and perpetuate aspects of identity and personal history imbued silver with an extra-material significance that certainly extended beyond its monetary and practical worth.

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<sup>66</sup>Discussed by: Linda Levy Peck, *Court patronage and corruption in early Stuart England* (London, 1990) and Natalie Zemon Davis, *The gift in sixteenth-century France* (Oxford, 2000).

## 1.4 Conclusion

Each of the following chapters, it has been outlined above, is anchored by a theme. Though each of these themes is characterised by distinct sources, methodologies and subject matter, it is also apparent that the ensuing study on the production, acquisition, design, use and meaning of silver in seventeenth-century Ireland is an interconnected one. The themes are undoubtedly complementary and it will be evident that it is difficult, if not limiting, to consider these mutually-informative aspects to the history of silver separately if a comprehensive understanding of each is required.

This thesis will not only address the necessity to account for the history of silver in Ireland in the seventeenth century but aims also to supply a case study of an important micro-economy in early-modern Europe. It will simultaneously underline the importance of studying silver as an important facet of early-modern material culture *and* will demonstrate the role of luxury goods, their craftsmen and consumers in the development of a demand-driven consumer society. Furthermore, in its examination of extant items of silver, it will illuminate the diversity of the stylistic and technical output of Irish goldsmiths and will position this within the narrative of European silver studies and the decorative arts. The documentary and object sources, along with the existing literature, have shown the opportunity and necessity for this research to be carried out.

## Chapter 2

### **The production of silver in seventeenth-century Ireland**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

Items of silver were produced in each of the main and several of the peripheral Irish urban centres in the seventeenth century. These centres of production ranged considerably in degrees of organisation, output, regulation and numbers of goldsmiths with Dublin, unsurprisingly, occupying a position of pre-eminence. The history of the craft in Ireland in this period has yet to be comprehensively recounted or analysed and, yet, it is implicit from the range of catalogues and articles relating to Irish silver that its production was a consistent feature of the seventeenth-century urban economy.<sup>1</sup> The nearest collective account relating to the manufacture of silver by goldsmiths throughout Ireland is to be found in the introduction to the National Museum of Ireland's catalogue, *500 years of Irish silver*, which states that 'in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries most major towns ... were able to support one or more local goldsmith'. It briefly introduces the evolving structures of the craft within different locales in tandem with a more detailed account of the capital city's goldsmiths' guild.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding this, it is evident that greater quantitative and qualitative research and analysis is required in order to thoroughly examine the extent to which the production of silver was situated within the cities and towns of seventeenth-century Ireland. This chapter undertakes these tasks and aims to supply this missing component in the history of Irish silver. It will profile the individual centres of production and will compare these to each other in order to assess their relative impact on the development of the craft.

The production of silver and the careers of goldsmiths in Ireland in this period existed within a rapidly changing society and economy. Analysis of the goldsmiths'

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<sup>1</sup>Fahy, 'Cork Goldsmiths Company'; Mulveen, 'Galway goldsmiths'; O'Brien, 'Goldsmiths of Waterford'; Bowen & O'Brien, *Cork silver and gold*; Bowen & O'Brien, *Limerick's silver*.

<sup>2</sup>Delamer & O'Brien, *500 years*, pp 13-9.

craft, therefore, necessitates contextual investigation in order to frame the numerous features which contributed to the development of the production of silver over the course of the seventeenth century. Early-modern economic organisation, urban expansion, immigration and municipal politics each, it will be shown, contributed significantly to the formation of the guilds, the fortunes of individual goldsmiths and the technical and aesthetic advancements of the craft. Furthermore, comparative analysis will enrich an understanding of these developments within a European context. As such, this chapter will not only highlight the comparisons (and reveal the disparities) among the Irish guilds producing silver, it will also examine the evidence relating to the Dublin guild and how its organisational features, productivity and demographics measured against centres of production outside Ireland, namely London and Edinburgh. Particularly, the comparative development of the craft in Ireland and Scotland's capital cities – both provincial satellites of London – fruitfully illuminates features indigenous to Dublin. Conversely, this course of analysis will also reinforce an understanding of the application by the Dublin guild of characteristics common to the trade and craft guilds within the cities and towns of early-modern Europe.

## **2.1 Guilds and the urban economy**

All the Goldsmythes, sylver Smytthes, copper smytthes, Plummers, Peutres, Glasiers, Cuttlers, Armorers and Sadlers Inhabiting within this Citie and Suburbres to be together one yeld [guild] by the name of Hammermen.<sup>3</sup>

A unifying economic and social feature of the towns and cities of early-modern Ireland was the guild. These economic associations had much in common with their British and European counterparts: they regulated commerce, set standards of workmanship through apprenticeship training with member masters, imposed fines on fraudulent work and behaviour and protected their members' rights to the

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<sup>3</sup>Waterford Corporation, 1577. (Niall J. Byrne (ed.), *The great parchment book of Waterford: Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterfordiae* (Dublin, 2007), pp 171-2.)

exclusive practice of their trade or craft within the boundaries of the municipality.<sup>4</sup> This exclusivity was a feature of most commercial centres across Britain and continental Europe where ‘the merchants of every important town became [in the late-medieval period] associated in fraternities or brotherhoods, the main purpose of which was to secure to the brethren a monopoly of the profits of trading’.<sup>5</sup> From the fifteenth century onwards, this economic model had become the standard throughout much of north-western Europe and, rather than stifling expansion through a monopolistic system, succeeded in encouraging economic growth in the early-modern period. As De Munck has proposed, this was achieved through the use of important cultural factors associated with guilds such as trust and reputation for fulfilling contracts, and advanced social networks for reliably conveying information.<sup>6</sup>

Public perceptions of authority and legitimacy were also advanced by the interconnection of guilds with civic government. In Edinburgh, six masters (or deacons) from the city’s fourteen incorporated guilds were chosen each year to be members of the town council, while all guild members, as town burgesses, could be called upon to serve as aldermen or, indeed, chief magistrate.<sup>7</sup> London’s guilds, known as livery companies, appointed their senior members to the city’s Common Hall. The liverymen annually elected two members to the Court of Aldermen, the upper house of the City of London Corporation, one of whom was to be selected as lord mayor, along with the election of other city Corporation positions.<sup>8</sup> A similar interplay existed within the municipalities of Ireland: the proceedings of Waterford Corporation in the late-sixteenth century show that the city’s guild of hammermen was to ensure ‘an Alderman ... shall have care and intelligence of there [sic] doings’ and that ‘every of them from tyme to tyme’ were to be under the direction and

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<sup>4</sup>George Unwin, *The gilds [sic] and companies of London* (London, 1908); Webb, *Guilds of Dublin*; Clark & Refaüssé, *Historic Dublin guilds*; Crossick, *Artisan and the European town*; Gadd & Wallis, *Guilds, society & economy*; Epstein & Prak, *Guilds, innovation & the European economy*.

<sup>5</sup>Webb, *Guilds of Dublin*, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup>De Munck, ‘Skills, trust and consumer preferences’, p. 200.

<sup>7</sup>G. Dalgleish & S. Maxwell, *The lovable craft, 1687-1987* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 5; The Conventry of the Trades of Edinburgh:

[http://www.edinburgh-trades.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=172&Itemid=221](http://www.edinburgh-trades.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=172&Itemid=221) (21 Nov. 2014).

<sup>8</sup>William Carew Hazlitt, *The livery companies of the city of London* (London, 1891), p. 80.



government of the mayor.<sup>9</sup> Additionally, no guild member was free to exercise his trade or craft without first presenting himself to the city mayor to whom he was to swear the oath of supremacy, ensuring the primacy of the city government over the guilds' authority.<sup>10</sup> Incoming tradesmen and craftsmen to Limerick were also required to first present themselves to the city corporation, pay the required fines and swear the oaths of conformity and supremacy before admission to their guilds. The city's burgesses, who made up a portion of the city's Common Council, were elected from the guilds.<sup>11</sup> In Dublin the city corporation's lower house, the City Assembly, consisted of two sheriffs, up to forty-eight sheriff peers and the Commons: ninety-six elected representatives from each of the city's guilds who were citizens of Dublin. Only guild representatives who had served their time as master warden of their guild could be considered eligible for election to the Commons and, in order to enter into any of the city's guilds and to climb its ranks, it was necessary for an individual to first attain his freedom of the city.<sup>12</sup> The charter of Cork's Goldsmiths' Company, written in 1657, summarises well in its opening lines the interconnection of the city corporation and its constituent guilds, articulating that the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs and common council 'being one entire body politique' were 'devided [sic] into diverse members, crafts, companies and occupations'.<sup>13</sup>

Dublin's goldsmiths formed an identifiably independent guild as far back as the late-fifteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Prior to this date it is likely that the goldsmiths of the capital city were, much like the provincial goldsmiths in the seventeenth century, clustered with other crafts within one larger guild. In Waterford, where guilds had been in

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<sup>9</sup>Byrne, *Great parchment book of Waterford*, pp 171-2.

<sup>10</sup>Seamus Pender (ed.), *Council books of the Corporation of Waterford, 1662-1700* (Dublin, 1964), p. 16.

<sup>11</sup>Limerick City Assembly Book (1672-80), (NLI MS 89), ff 10-11.

<sup>12</sup>In this period freedom could be attained in a number of ways: by service (for those who completed the necessary apprenticeship training), by birth (for the sons and daughters of free citizens), by special grace (generally bestowed as an honour on nobility and dignitaries, but increasingly used by Dublin Corporation to justify and award freedom to immigrants), and by fine (the payment by already qualified tradesmen and craftsmen immigrating to Dublin of a sum of money enabling them to become freemen of the city. This measure was introduced at different stages over the course of the seventeenth century by Act of Parliament or by acts of the city Corporation.) Further elaboration on the freedom of Dublin city: Hill, *Patriots to unionists*, pp 29-32.

<sup>13</sup>Cork's Goldsmiths' Company original charter (1657) is held at Cork Public Museum and reproduced in Fahy, 'Cork Goldsmiths Company'.

<sup>14</sup>'Records are extant of goldsmiths playing a prominent part in the Corpus Christi pageant of 1498 suggesting that they possibly had a guild of their own by then. At least five goldsmiths were given the freedom of the city in the fifteenth century.' (Douglas Bennett, *Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, 1637-1987* (Dublin, 1987), p. 3).

operation since the thirteenth century, a similar grouping of the crafts existed.<sup>15</sup> In 1577 the large guild of hammermen was dissolved and replaced with two guilds, a re-constituted guild of hammermen and a guild of timbermen, in response to the growing diversity and quantity within the parent guild, though O'Brien also notes acrimonious relations had developed between the metal and timber workers.<sup>16</sup> Thereafter the hammermen of Waterford incorporated the city's goldsmiths, coppersmiths, plumbers, pewterers, glaziers, cutlers, armorers and saddlers. The records of the town of Clonmel also indicate a group identified as hammermen in 1608 but it was not until October 1629 that the hammermen were incorporated like the town's other 'free craftes'.<sup>17</sup> It is realistic to presume that among these hammermen were goldsmiths (hammermen encompassed all craftsmen who worked with metals and hammers), though none is listed by profession in the extant records of Clonmel Corporation.

The harbour towns of Youghal and Kinsale contain numerous references to both hammermen and goldsmiths.<sup>18</sup> In 1608, Youghal was granted by royal charter the right to arrange craftsmen into guilds and in September 1657 the Company of Hammermen, which included goldsmiths, blacksmiths and pewterers, was incorporated.<sup>19</sup> In Kinsale there is no explicit reference to such a guild until it was noted on 19 March 1687/8 that 'Wm Walsh [was] sworne Master of the Company of Blacksmys, Gooldsmys, Silversmys, Cutlers, Glaziers, Braziers, and other Hammermen that work by fire'.<sup>20</sup> Kilkenny, too, had a Company of Hammermen and the goldsmith William Keogh was noted as its master in 1686, a fact that correlates with the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company's minute in 1687 regarding 'one Keogh a pretended Goldsmith in Kilkenny' and his sub-standard plate.<sup>21</sup> Cork's goldsmiths, governed from 1657 by the 'Charter of the Master, Wardens, and Company of Goldsmiths', misleadingly lends prominence in its title to the city's goldsmiths but its content states that its jurisdiction of membership and regulation, much like the

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<sup>15</sup>Byrne, *Great parchment book of Waterford*, xxiii, xxiv.

<sup>16</sup>O'Brien, 'Goldsmiths of Waterford', p. 112.

<sup>17</sup>Brid McGrath (ed.), *The minute books of the Corporation of Clonmel, 1608-1649* (Dublin, 2006), pp 21, 92, 170.

<sup>18</sup>Richard Caulfield (ed.) *The council book of the Corporation of Youghal* (Surrey, 1878); Richard Caulfield (ed.), *The council book of the Corporation of Kinsale* (Surrey, 1879).

<sup>19</sup>Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, p. 701.

<sup>20</sup>Caulfield, *Corporation of Kinsale*, p. 176.

<sup>21</sup>Delamer & O'Brien, *500 years*, p. 18; Minute recorded 19 Mar. 1687/8. (DGC MS 1, f. 16r.)

aforementioned guilds of hammermen in other provincial centres, encompassed saddlers, bridle-makers, pewterers, plumbers, tin-makers, lattin-workers, founders, braziers, glaziers and upholsterers, although all were to be 'taken and reputed as one particular company of the said Citty and bee incorporate by the name of the master wardens and company of goldsmithes', indicating a perception of the superiority of goldsmithing above all other metalworking and associated crafts.<sup>22</sup>

It is understood that a goldsmiths' guild was in existence in Galway, as a by-law of 1585 acknowledged the goldsmiths' adoption of regulations relating to their craft.<sup>23</sup> However, there is no reference to such a guild in the corporation records of Galway from the seventeenth century. The corporation records of Limerick, extant for the years 1672-80, identify goldsmiths who were involved within the corporation's council, but there was no guild of goldsmiths or, indeed, hammermen. There was, however, a guild of smiths and the goldsmiths were incorporated within this guild whose charter was granted in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>24</sup> It can be presumed that a guild of smiths was as multifarious as a guild of hammermen, if not more compatible with metalworking. Waterford's hammermen had, by the eighteenth century, further subdivided and the city's goldsmiths were thereafter members of the guild of smiths.<sup>25</sup>

The uniting of crafts into large guilds and incorporated companies was more a reflection of the policies of local municipal administration and the practicalities of economic regulation rather than an expression of shared identity among diverse craftsmen. Demographic growth necessitated municipal and guild regulatory adjustments over the course of the seventeenth century. In the period 1600-40 Ireland's population grew and diversified considerably. L.M. Cullen estimates that the country's population stood at 1.4 million in 1600, increasing to 2.1 million by 1641, encouraged by the resettlement of Munster after the Nine Years War (1594-

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<sup>22</sup>Fahy, 'Cork Goldsmiths' Company'.

<sup>23</sup>J. Hardiman, *History of the town and county[...] of Galway* (Dublin, 1820), p. 209.

<sup>24</sup>Jennifer Moore 'Goldsmiths and Limerick city, 1640-1840', in Bowen & O'Brien, *Limerick's silver*, pp 18-39.

<sup>25</sup>Seamus Pender, 'Studies in Waterford history – XI; The guilds of Waterford' in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, lxi, no. 15 (1954), pp 13-4.

1603), the subsequent Ulster plantation and a falling death rate.<sup>26</sup> With immigrant English and Scots, along with the application by the government of the 1537 act for ‘English order, habit and language’, fundamental economic features of Irish society were transformed.<sup>27</sup> As Gillespie has identified, common-law property rights, already in existence in England, changed the economic landscape from lordships controlled by Gaelic lords who levied customs duties within their own jurisdictions to one characterised by a new concept of private property and land title which encouraged an economy based on rent and purchase. This in turn released cash which could be used by both natives and immigrants within a new market-orientated Irish economy, one in which craft could develop and in which luxury wares of gold, silver and jewellery had an increasingly relevant place. Correspondingly, over 500 grants authorising new markets across Ireland were issued in the period 1600-49.<sup>28</sup>

Within this promising economic context, the numbers of native and immigrant craftsmen increased thus prompting the formation and regulation of guilds by craftsmen and city corporations alike. Depending on quantities, therefore, goldsmiths were either sufficiently numerous to form and be recognised as their own guild, as was the case with Dublin in the fifteenth century, or they were, by necessity due to smaller numbers, grouped with other associated crafts, as seen in all of the centres of production outside of Dublin. As such, the experience of goldsmiths in provincial Ireland, like those in the regional burghs of Scotland, was noticeably different to that enjoyed by goldsmiths in the capital cities, undermining, to some extent, the oft-reputed shared identity among craftsmen.<sup>29</sup> A similar disparity has been identified in regional English urban centres where ‘guild and artisanal identities did not always coincide’.<sup>30</sup> For example, the town of York had several metalworking guilds, including smiths, locksmiths, blacksmiths and cutlers, while Norwich incorporated them all within one smiths’ guild. As Crossick has concluded: ‘The meanings of

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<sup>26</sup>L.M. Cullen, ‘Population trends in seventeenth-century Ireland’ in *Economic and Social Review*, vi (1975), pp 149-65.

<sup>27</sup>‘An act for the English order, habit and language’, 28 Henry VIII, c.15.

<sup>28</sup>Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish economy*, p. 28.

<sup>29</sup>George Dalgleish and H. S. Fotheringham (eds), *Silver; made in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2008), p. 87; The European guilds of this period were noted for their organisation of social and political events and their charity to members and their families. (Clark & Refaüssé, *Historic Dublin guilds*, pp 11-12; Patrick Wallis, ‘Controlling commodities: search and reconciliation in the early modern livery companies’, in Gadd & Wallis, *Guilds, society & economy*, p. 87.)

<sup>30</sup>Geoffrey Crossick, ‘Past masters: in search of the artisan in European history’, in Crossick, *Artisan and the European town*, pp 2-40.

guilds to their members in seventeenth-century ... Norwich would have been real, but not necessarily occupational, because members' actual occupations were often very different from that of the guild or company to which they belonged.'<sup>31</sup> Outside of Dublin, in towns and cities which lacked a guild dedicated specifically to the craft of goldsmithing, one which could provide the organisational infrastructure to sufficiently support and regulate production, training and membership, the growth of the craft was substantially less than that witnessed in the capital.

## 2.2 Master goldsmiths in Irish urban centres

Although it is implicit from the records relating to municipal corporations that goldsmiths were among the numerous craftsmen contributing to the socio-economic and political environments of growing urban centres, little analysis has been carried out with regard to their numbers, patterns of growth (and decline) and demographics. Furthermore, their existence within the towns and cities of seventeenth-century Ireland has yet to be examined from a collective and comparative viewpoint. Jackson supplies several chronological lists of goldsmith masters, apprentices, quarter brothers and journeymen from Dublin, and sparser lists of goldsmiths from Cork, Limerick, Kinsale, Youghal, Belfast and Galway, but these, though invaluable, are not exhaustive nor do they consider broader contextual factors such as migration, immigration and the political and economic conditions which directly impacted on the quantities and diversity of these craftsmen.<sup>32</sup> Subsequent publications have built on the foundations laid by Jackson, with indexes of makers associated with specific commercial centres, but these are, similarly, presented in isolation.<sup>33</sup> By combining these lists and indexes with new quantitative research and analysis of the numbers of goldsmiths operating in commercial centres, together with contextual examination, this chapter supplies additional insight into an understanding of the extent to which goldsmiths featured within the guilds of individual towns and cities in this period.

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>32</sup>Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, pp 625-715.

<sup>33</sup>Mitchell, *Goldsmiths admitted freemen of Dublin*; Bennett, *Collecting Irish silver*, pp 138-58; Sweeney, *Irish Stuart silver*, pp 186-220; Bowen & O'Brien, *Cork silver & gold*, pp 180-87; Bowen and O'Brien, *Limerick's silver*, pp 190-209.

Moreover, it can expand on the aforementioned apparent dichotomies that existed between the guild in Dublin and the guilds throughout provincial Ireland.

Over the course of the seventeenth century 298 goldsmiths were admitted to the goldsmiths' guild and greater franchise of Dublin city, a number which greatly surpassed the combined total of the goldsmiths of the provincial Irish centres in the same period, where approximately 80 have been identified and collated from a variety of sources.<sup>34</sup> The largest proportion – 44% or thirty-five – of these provincial goldsmiths were operating in Cork city. This was followed by ten (12.5%) in Limerick and nine (11%) in Youghal, in the county of Cork. It is notable that Youghal, a harbour town in the seventeenth century, had such a relatively large number of goldsmiths, especially when it is considered that the larger city of Waterford only produced five (or 6%) of the country's provincial goldsmiths in the century, reflecting the comparative affluence of the busy harbour town.<sup>35</sup> The datasheets in Appendix B also demonstrate that small numbers of goldsmiths were operating in Galway (six), Kilkenny (four), Kinsale (four) and Belfast (three). Bandon in county Cork and the county of Donegal each also had one goldsmith recorded as working there in the period. Several more, undoubtedly, went unrecorded; when it is considered that the corporation records of towns such as Coleraine and Londonderry reveal that each new freeman for a period in the mid-seventeenth century was required to supply a silver spoon to the corporation on his admission to the franchise, it would strongly suggest local craftsmen were capable of supplying this regular demand.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, the records of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths, Edinburgh, notes the departure of one of their members, Andrew

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<sup>34</sup> Appendices A and B.

<sup>35</sup> Waterford's population towards the end of the seventeenth century was approximately 4,000. (Seamus Pender, 'Studies in Waterford history – I' in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, lii, no. 21 (1947), p. 12.) The estimated population of Youghal in this period was nearly half Waterford's population with 2,390 people. (David Dickson, *Old world colony: Cork and South Munster 1630-1830* (Cork, 2005), p. 114).

<sup>36</sup> In the period 1650-69 eighty-one spoon fines, ranging in value from 5s. to 13s. 4d. each, were levied on newly-admitted freemen to Coleraine Corporation, (Bríd McGrath (ed.), *Acts of the Corporation of Coleraine, 1623-1669* (Dublin, 2015)). Similarly, in the periods 1673-83 and 1688-1700 sixty-two Londonderry freemen paid for their freedom with a spoon to the town's corporation. (Corporation of Londonderry minute books (PRONI MSS LA79/2A/1-2).)

Merston, to Londonderry in approximately 1673, suggesting there were opportunities for mobile craftsmen in the Ulster town.<sup>37</sup>

Notwithstanding the wide scope of goldsmithing throughout Ireland, Dublin's dominance in the country's production of silver is undisputed. The majority of the goldsmiths in the datasheet Appendix A were recorded and listed in literature relating to Irish silver, firstly by Jackson in 1921, with several more added by Mitchell in approximately 1955-60. In addition, research for this thesis has uncovered more goldsmiths who were omitted in the existing literature along with further information regarding the lives and careers of the documented majority. Cross-referencing municipal, guild and parish sources has not only identified these undocumented (or incorrectly documented) goldsmiths, but it has also yielded a wealth of additional information.<sup>38</sup> The means by which the goldsmiths attained their civic freedom, the date and fine paid for their guild freedom, the master to whom they were apprenticed, whether or not they entered the guild first in the capacity of quarter brother or journeyman before advancing to the status of master craftsmen and full free brother, their craft specialisation, the numbers of apprentices they subsequently employed and where in the city they were located, has all, to varying degrees, been captured by these combined sources. The datasheet, therefore, supplies a comprehensive snapshot on each individual from which collective conclusions can be drawn. For example, the means by which an individual acquired civic freedom communicates much about their social background, whether or not they were a native to Ireland or a recent immigrant and, to a certain extent from the latter half of the seventeenth century, the religion to which they belonged. In general, it can be concluded that those whose freedom was achieved through service, birth or marriage

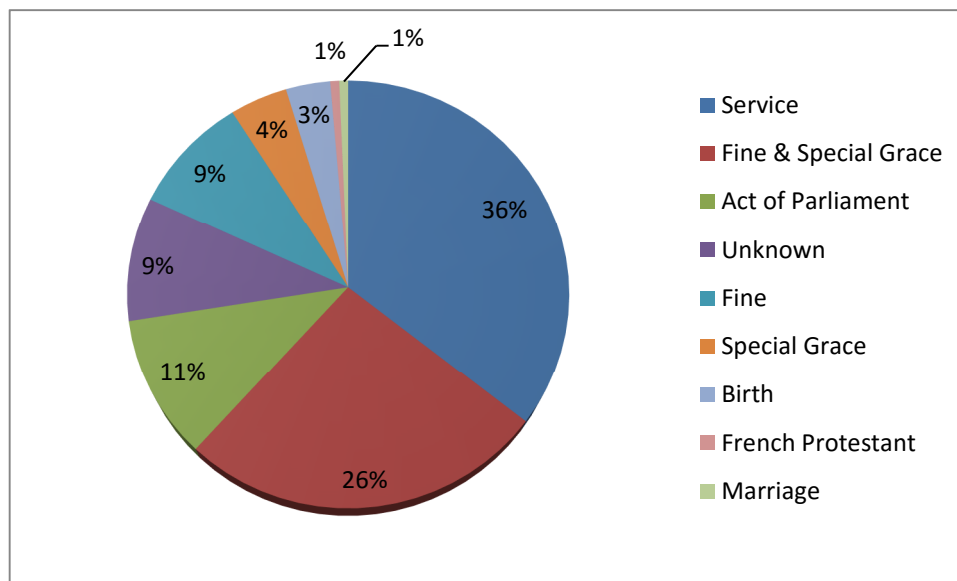
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<sup>37</sup> Andrew Merston's details are listed in the Incorporation of Goldsmiths' online database: [www.incorporationofgoldsmiths.org](http://www.incorporationofgoldsmiths.org) (9 Dec. 2014).

<sup>38</sup> Dublin City Archive Freemen of Dublin ([www.dublinheritage.ie/freemen/about.php](http://www.dublinheritage.ie/freemen/about.php)) This online resource is derived from original records held by Dublin City Archives, including Dublin City Assembly Rolls; the Dublin City Franchise Roll, 1468-1512; Dublin City Freedom Registers, 1595-1774; and Freedom Beseches, which were collated and transcribed by Gertrude Thrift in 1919; J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin* (19 vols, London, 1889-1944) (henceforth cited as *CARD*); In addition to the manuscript parish records contained at the Representative Church Body Library (RCBL) of the Church of Ireland, published parish sources of relevance to this study are: Raymond Refaüssé (ed.), *The vestry records of the parish of St John the Evangelist Dublin, 1595-1658* (Dublin, 2002); Raymond Gillespie (ed.), *The first chapter act book of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin 1574-1634* (Dublin, 1997); Raymond Gillespie (ed.), *The vestry records of the parishes of St Catherine and St James, Dublin, 1657-1692* (Dublin, 2004); W.J.R. Wallace (ed.), *The vestry records of the parishes of St Bride, St Michael Le Pole and St Stephen, Dublin, 1662-1742* (Dublin, 2011).

were natives of the city, if not recent migrants from different regions of Ireland who served their training in the capital city as apprentices, while those craftsmen whose freedom was awarded by fine, special grace, Act of Parliament or because of their identity as a French Protestant, were, by and large, recent arrivals to Dublin.<sup>39</sup> Table 1 details the variety of avenues by which the city's goldsmiths achieved their civic freedom, quantifying this diversity:

**Table 1 – Source: Appendix A**  
**Goldsmiths' freedom of Dublin city, c.1600-1700**



It is unsurprising to note that 36% of goldsmiths were awarded their freedom by service, a figure that correlates with the large number of apprentice goldsmiths registered for this same period.<sup>40</sup> The data also shows that the city admitted a significant number – 26% – of goldsmiths by the seemingly contradictory combination of fine and special grace. Although the city corporation utilised the existence of the honorary method to confer freedom on generally already-qualified immigrant goldsmiths, it also sought to profit from this exchange by simultaneously imposing a fine which varied from a sum of money to the symbolic gesture of a pair of gloves to be presented to the mayor's wife. From around 1680, however, the city

<sup>39</sup>Webb, *Guilds of Dublin*, pp 23, 158-160; Hill, *Patriots to unionists*, p. 36; Mary Clark, 'Foreigners and freedom: the Huguenot refuge in Dublin city, 1660-1700' in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, xxvii, no. 3 (2000), pp 382-91.

<sup>40</sup>215 goldsmith apprentices were recorded in the seventeenth century (Appendix E).



increasingly utilised the 1662 act of parliament ‘to encourage Protestant strangers’ to confer freedom on immigrant craftsmen, nearly two decades after it had been enacted.<sup>41</sup> An additional freedom method – entry to the city on account of a petitioner’s status as a ‘French Protestant’ – was specifically enacted to facilitate refugee Huguenots from the mid-1680s. Just 1%, or two of the city’s goldsmiths, were listed as receiving freedom in this way, a figure that does not correlate with the larger number of Huguenots within the guild in this period.<sup>42</sup> Several more were admitted by other methods – by act of parliament, special grace and fine – showing that there was considerable cross-over in the methods by which the city awarded civic freedom. Regardless, a bias towards creating a Protestant population was evident.

Over the course of the century Dublin Corporation, like other town corporations, came under increasingly forceful directives from the crown to limit the participation of Roman Catholics in the city’s government. From approximately 1650 a discernible shift towards creating a Protestant majority in Dublin’s population began, resulting in the gradual exclusion of Catholics from the franchise. In June 1651 the corporation, prescient of parliamentary acts and also keen to increase the city’s population following significant decline over the 1640s, strategically extended the franchise, declaring that it was ‘instrumentall to bringe into this cittie a number of manufacture men that are Englishmen and Protestants, such are of honest life and conversacion’ and that these immigrants were to be ‘admitted freemen of this cittie without disturbance or molestacion.’<sup>43</sup> Such favourable conditions were undoubtedly appealing to qualified English, conforming Protestant goldsmiths. By 1678 all freemen were required to swear the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, effectively excluding all non-conformist and recusant tradesmen and craftsmen from the body politic.<sup>44</sup> Dublin was not alone; as shown above, these oaths were also imposed on all freemen in the cities of Waterford and Limerick from the 1660s and 1670s.

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<sup>41</sup>‘An act for encouraging Protestant strangers, and others, to inhabit and plant in the Kingdom of Ireland’, 14 and 15 Charles II, c. 13.

<sup>42</sup>Murdoch & Sinsteden, ‘Names of known, believed or possible Huguenot goldsmiths of Dublin’; Jessica Cunningham, ‘Dublin’s Huguenot goldsmiths, 1690-1750: assimilation or divergence?’ in *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies: The Journal of the Irish Georgian Society*, xii (2009), pp 158-85.

<sup>43</sup>CARD, iv, 4. The population decline of Dublin in the 1640s was approximately 10%. (Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, p. 184.)

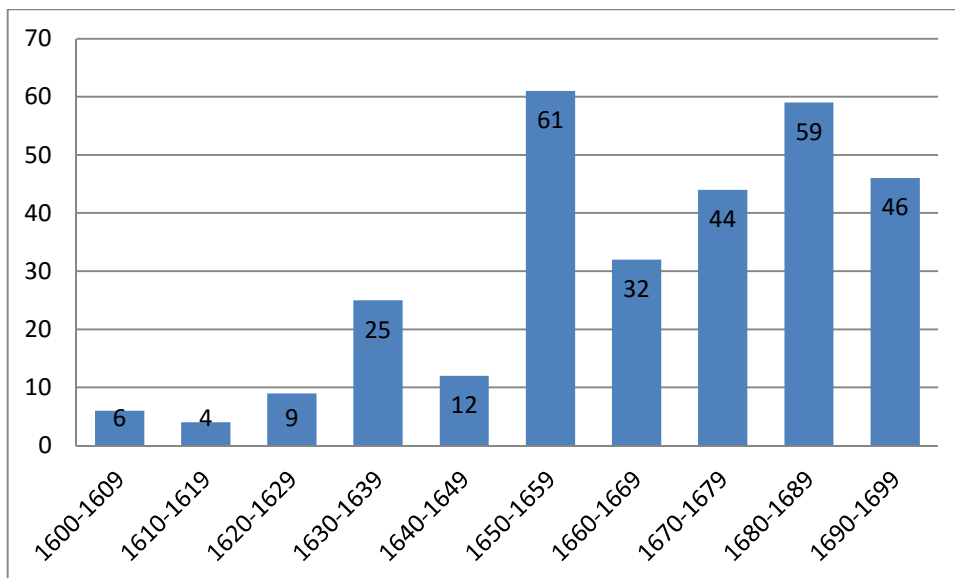
<sup>44</sup>Hill, *Patriots to unionists*, pp 31-3.

Municipal policies soon trickled down to the guilds. From the middle of the seventeenth century the goldsmiths' guild, like their contemporaries in other guilds such as St Luke's, the guild which encompassed the city's cutlers, stationers and painter-stainers, outwardly conformed to the established church.<sup>45</sup> The oath of supremacy presented a conflict to refugee French Calvinists and Catholics alike. Though some Huguenots chose to conform to the Church of Ireland, many others remained outside the established church and, like their Catholic colleagues, were excluded from the franchise from the last quarter of the century. Their accommodation within the guild as 'quarter brothers' will be discussed in greater detail below.

Nevertheless, the quantities of master goldsmiths entering Dublin city increased exponentially during the seventeenth century. Appendix A details the year in which each goldsmith received his civic freedom and by collectively charting this data for each decade of the century, the expansive growth of the goldsmiths' guild is demonstrated:

**Table 2 – Source: Appendix A**

**Numbers of goldsmiths admitted to Dublin city per decade, c.1600-1700**



<sup>45</sup>The oath of allegiance was transcribed into the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company minute books on 2 Feb. 1698/7 (DGC MS 1, f. 7v). The letters patent to the Guild of St Luke, issued by Charles II in 1670, stipulated that its guild members were to swear the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. (Records of the Guild of St Luke (NLI MS 12121, pp 43-8).)

The dramatic surge in membership in the 1630s can be explained, in part, by a marked increase of immigration in Dublin in this period. Many years before Protestant, English craftsmen were encouraged to settle in the city, dozens of craftsmen were migrating and establishing themselves in an increasingly diverse Dublin where foreigners were noted by the corporation's City Assembly in 1620:

[a] number of people with their families doe dayly resort into this cittie out of England, Flaunders, and other places, and doe inhabit therein ... the deputie, aldermen and constables of the severall wardes throughout the cittie and suburbs therof, shall every moneth certifie the Maior of Dublin for the time being of all such persons as doe newly come... from forraine places.<sup>46</sup>

The changing character of Dublin in the early-seventeenth century has been noted by Patricia Stapleton who examined the city's freedom rolls from this period in her study of the merchant community, noting the presence of Dutch and English merchants among the new citizenry.<sup>47</sup> Of the twenty-five new goldsmiths who entered the guild in the 1630s, the evidence relating to freedom methods supports the hypothesis that many of these men were also immigrants: only four were recorded as having received their civic freedom by service. Six goldsmiths received theirs through a combination of fine and special grace, three of whom have names suggesting French and Low Country origins: George Gallant, Peter Vaneinhoven and James Vanderbeck (Fig. 1). Another goldsmith with a foreign name – Gilbert Tonques – received his freedom through marriage, while Nicholas Meyler, for whom there are no additional records of, received his freedom by birth.

For the remaining thirteen goldsmiths, the method of freedom is unknown. However, research for this thesis has uncovered the duplication of names of London-trained goldsmiths suggesting that some were English and recent immigrants to Ireland: a William Cooke commenced his eight-year apprenticeship in London in 1606, while George Gallant, Nathaniel Stoughton, William Crawley and Thomas Duffield all attained their freedom of the London Goldsmiths' Company in the period 1615-21.<sup>48</sup> Whether these were the same individuals who appear in Dublin in

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<sup>46</sup>CARD, iii, 117.

<sup>47</sup>Patricia Stapleton, 'The merchant community of Dublin in the early-seventeenth century: a social, economic and political study' (Ph.D thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2008), p. 75.

<sup>48</sup>The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, London, Apprentice Books, (MS 1), pp 146, 156, 169, 172, 215.

the 1630s is a matter of conjecture, but, notably distinctive names such as Nathaniel Stoughton and Thomas Duffield, allows for the reasonable presumption that these were the same men. Jackson also notes that Sylvanus Glegg had been admitted to the freedom of Chester's goldsmiths in 1631, while Pollard also notes Glegg worked within the guild of St Luke in the same decade as a wood-cutter, demonstrating the craftsman's mobility.<sup>49</sup> Glegg, like his immigrant goldsmith contemporaries, undoubtedly observed the growth of Dublin and its commercial opportunities for craftsmen of luxury wares, as had been experienced in London, albeit on a much grander scale, from the late-sixteenth century.<sup>50</sup>

The next notable spike in the numbers of Dublin's goldsmiths in the 1650s to over sixty new freemen can, for the most part, be attributed to the corporation's policy in this period to entice English 'manufacture men'. The immigrant profile of this influx is supported by the documentation in the freedom rolls: of the sixty-one new goldsmiths for whom the freedom method was recorded, only three received theirs by service, while forty-four had their freedom bestowed by fine and special grace, five by special grace and four by fine. With the proliferation of Anglo-Saxon names among these goldsmiths, it can be presumed that the majority of these men were English, a trend that continued for the rest of the century, albeit to a lesser extent. This migration of goldsmiths from Britain to Ireland is complemented by the evidence of Dublin-based goldsmiths travelling to London, indicating the existence of familial and professional connections. During their tenures as master wardens in the 1680s and 1690s, John Cuthbert, Benjamin Burton and John Humphries were each noted to have departed for England, though it is not clear if this was in an official or unofficial capacity (Fig. 2).<sup>51</sup> Many other goldsmiths were regularly noted for their journeying to England: in 1675 Isaac John drew up his will before leaving Dublin.<sup>52</sup> In 1677 the company noted that John Farmer was four years in arrears for payment of his quarterly fee on account of the fact that he was 'in England 2 years &

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<sup>49</sup>Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, p. 566; M. Pollard, *The Dublin book trade, 1550-1880* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 241.

<sup>50</sup>London's expansion as a centre for luxury consumerism, the beginnings of consumer culture and the corresponding growth in the volume and diversity of crafts from the late-sixteenth century, have been analysed in Levy-Peck, *Consuming splendour*.

<sup>51</sup>Minutes recorded: 16 Feb. 1688/9, 18 March 1695/6 and 1 May 1699. (DGC MS 1, ff 19r, 56v, 80r.)

<sup>52</sup>Will of Isaac Jean, Dublin, 9 Aug. 1675. (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, f. 297v.)

more'.<sup>53</sup> Later, in 1692, the margins of the annual ledgers indicated that free brothers Gerald Grace, Samuel Marsden, Walter Lewis, Francis Coffey, Richard Webb, Francis Sherwin, George Taylor, John Deane, Ebenezer Cawdron, Nathaniel Unit, Alexander Forbush and John Hopkins and quarter brothers Doble and George Lyon all also went to England at different stages during the year.<sup>54</sup> These goldsmiths, by and large, returned to Dublin, bringing with them, it can be presumed, their experiences which may have included exposure to the practices and products of goldsmiths in the neighbouring country. This path was also frequently taken by goldsmiths in Edinburgh where apprentices on completing their training worked abroad, mainly in London, as journeymen before returning home.<sup>55</sup>

There is also considerable evidence to indicate that numerous apprentice goldsmiths working within the London goldsmiths' guild originated in Ireland, offering further proof of the 'two-way traffic' between both countries and the existing and potential future networks this presented within the craft. The research undertaken for this thesis has identified twenty-seven Irish apprentice goldsmiths who were indentured to London master goldsmiths in the period 1604-94.<sup>56</sup> Notably, two of the apprentices were the sons of goldsmiths: Teg Fining from an unspecified location within the province of Connaught and Patrick Coffy from Dublin. Though several decades apart, both were sent by their goldsmith fathers to train with London masters, suggesting their parents believed the opportunities available to them in the larger city was superior to that available in Dublin or elsewhere in Ireland. Two of the apprentices' surnames indicate they were dispatched to London goldsmiths to whom they were possibly related: John Rolle was bound to Henry Rowlande in 1609, while John Jordan of Wexford was employed by Francis Jordan in 1671. It is interesting to note that Patrick Coffy was indentured to a female goldsmith, Rebeckah Vaughan, in 1681 and received his freedom of the London company in 1688. Vaughan is not listed among the city's goldsmiths in Jackson nor in more recent publications regarding female goldsmiths,<sup>57</sup> though it would appear she was a

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<sup>53</sup>DGC MS 95, f. 27r.

<sup>54</sup>DGC MS 95, f. 47.

<sup>55</sup>Dagleish & Fotheringham, *Silver: made in Scotland*, p. 56.

<sup>56</sup>Appendix F.

<sup>57</sup>Philippa Glanville and Jennifer Faulds Goldsborough, *Women silversmiths 1685-1845* (Washington, 1990).

member of an established family within the craft in London in c.1660-90, which included master goldsmiths Elizabeth, John and William Vaughan.<sup>58</sup>

From the Restoration period onwards, the issuing of guild freedom was afforded a large proportion of the Dublin Goldsmith's Company's focus, with regular documentation of petitions and details on fines dispensed and received. All incoming free brothers were required to pay a fine, in the form of a 'peece of Plate',<sup>59</sup> although it is unclear as to the weight and value at which this was set, with the variety of evidence suggesting each case was calculated on an individual basis: in 1668 it is noted that Andrew Ram gave a 'sugar dish of silver' to purchase his freedom of the guild and two years later, in 1670, Ferdinand Mathews paid for his with 'a silver mustard pott and spoons'. John Cuthbert paid the fine for his freedom in 1670 with a 52oz tankard.<sup>60</sup> In May 1694 James Thompson, a 'fforeigner', who received his freedom of the city by Act of Parliament in 1690, was required to pay £2 6s. along with a cup weighing four ounces.<sup>61</sup> More often than not it would appear that fines were paid with money, and items of silver became the exception to the rule. Freedom fines in this period ranged from as little as 10s., as was the case with Cyriac Mallory who received his freedom by service in 1699, to as much as £12, the amount imposed on John Mosely who, a likely immigrant due to the bestowal of his freedom by special grace, entered the guild in 1676.<sup>62</sup> These unfixed amounts may have reflected the guild's appraisal of the incoming goldsmith's personal financial circumstances, but it also may have been calculated based on the extent of their arrears of 'quarterage' – the required quarterly fee imposed on all goldsmiths – or other outstanding fines, such as non-attendance at guild council meetings, a fine which amounted to 1s. 6d.<sup>63</sup>

Civic freedom in the seventeenth century was open to women though, within the goldsmiths' craft, the role of women was at best peripheral and their documentation

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<sup>58</sup>ROLLCO: [www.londonroll.org](http://www.londonroll.org) (1 Dec. 2014).

<sup>59</sup>'Severall Lawes Orders and Rules made, agreed upon and assented unto by the Wardens and brethren of the Corporacion of Goldsmiths in the Cittie of Dublin', 8 Nov. 1667 (rewritten 2 Feb. 1686/7). (DGC, MS 1, f. 2r.)

<sup>60</sup>8 Oct. 1670 (DGC MS 95), f. 88r.

<sup>61</sup>1 May 1690 (DGC MS 95), f. 80r.

<sup>62</sup>Appendix A.

<sup>63</sup>Minute recorded 2 Feb. 1686/7. (DGC MS 1, f. 2r.)

was exceptional. No female trainee goldsmith is listed in the enrolment of apprentices in Dublin, in keeping with European norms where female access to crafts was restricted from at least the fifteenth century.<sup>64</sup> Any woman fulfilling the role of ‘master’ goldsmith was usually there by default of her husband’s death, propelled by financial necessity for herself and her family to keep the workshop operating. Mrs Elizabeth Slicer was one of just a few women whom the Dublin Goldsmiths’ Company recognised as a master in her own right, following the death of her husband John Slicer in 1672. The lists of free brothers and their quarterage payments in the years 1672-5 include ‘Mrs Elizabeth Slicer Wid[ow]’.<sup>65</sup> In all instances she is listed at the bottom of the ledger page. A ‘Mrs John’ is listed underneath her name in 1674. In the same year it is noted that the goldsmith Isaac Jean (or John) was dead, presumably leaving his widow to carry on his workshop; she is also listed in the following year. By 1683 the company may have started to alter their outlook with regard to widow-masters. Elizabeth Lovelace, who was widowed on the death of Paul Lovelace in 1680, was listed in the ledgers for 1680, 1681 and 1682 with payment of quarterage fully met. In 1683 the ledger described her as ‘Mrs Lovelace a sister’, a remarkably significant definition at this time, indicating some level of equality during a period in which the role of women went undocumented and, even when they were noted, their careers were short-lived.<sup>66</sup>

This growth and evident diversity within the Dublin guild from the early decades of the seventeenth century contrasts somewhat with the composition of Edinburgh’s goldsmiths’ guild in the same period. Though the Scottish capital was of a similar population size to Dublin in the 1630s, with approximately 20,000-25,000 inhabitants, the collective profile of its goldsmiths shows it did not attract immigrant craftsmen.<sup>67</sup> The Edinburgh incorporation was of a similar size to the Dublin guild in the century’s first four decades – it had thirty-eight goldsmiths flourishing in this period while its Irish counterpart had forty-four – but its members were exclusively

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<sup>64</sup>Crossick, ‘Past masters’ in Crossick, *Artisan and the European town*, p. 14.

<sup>65</sup>DGC MS 95, ff 22-5.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*, f. 30r.

<sup>67</sup>R.A. Houston and I. D. Whyte (eds), *Scottish society 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 5; David Dickson has discussed the acceleration of Dublin’s population in the opening decades of the seventeenth century and estimates that, in the aftermath of the deaths and exodus precipitated by the 1641 rebellion, approximately 20,000 inhabitants inhabited the capital in 1642. (David Dickson, *Dublin: the making of a capital city* (London, 2014), pp 56, 63.)

Scotsmen, with the vast majority originating within Edinburgh.<sup>68</sup> Scottish demographic trends showed the population was characterised by its emigration rather than immigration in the seventeenth century.<sup>69</sup> Though internal migration within Scotland was comparable with the movement of people in England, the mechanisms facilitating guild and civic freedom to ‘foreigners’ were not forthcoming, with many qualified apprentices and journeymen thwarted in their attempts to achieve freedom, ensuring the maintenance of a homogenous population of elite craftsmen.<sup>70</sup> No English goldsmiths migrated to Edinburgh in this period nor, indeed, later in the century, and just one goldsmith who originated from outside Britain entered the guild in 1672.<sup>71</sup> As such, the goldsmiths’ guild of Edinburgh did not expand to nearly the same extent as Dublin where membership gained exponential pace from the 1650s; a total of ninety-seven free goldsmiths flourished in the Scottish city for the entire seventeenth century, less than a third of the number in Dublin in the same period.<sup>72</sup>

Immigration and migration within the provincial centres in Ireland was also evident at this time. Cork, whose second-largest goldsmith population offers the best comparison, did have immigrants among its members, particularly from the later decades of the century; Samuel Pantaine, Anthony Semiroit and Adam Billon are all understood to have been Huguenots while Charles Begheagle, warden of the Cork Company in 1693, had his origins in Flanders.<sup>73</sup> Two other prominent members of the Cork guild, Edward Goble (fl. c.1657-90) and his son Robert (fl. c.1672-19) have also been identified as Huguenots, though the dates of their careers precede the main influx of French refugees from the mid-1680s.<sup>74</sup> Several of the city’s other goldsmiths were likely to have their origins among the province’s New English settlers.<sup>75</sup> Port towns such as Cork and Youghal probably doubled their populations

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<sup>68</sup>Appendix C.

<sup>69</sup>S.G.E. Lythe and J. Butt, *An economic history of Scotland* (Glasgow and London, 1975), pp 6, 13; I.D. Whyte, ‘Population mobility in early modern Scotland’, in Houston & Whyte, *Scottish society*, p. 37;

<sup>70</sup>Houston and Whyte, *Scottish society*, pp 20, 48.

<sup>71</sup>Zacharias Mellinus (fl. 1672-90).

<sup>72</sup>Appendices A and D.

<sup>73</sup>Bowen, ‘Huguenot goldsmiths of Cork’ in Murdoch, *Beyond the border*, pp 146-9.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid.

<sup>75</sup>Munster’s New English population expanded from 5,000 in 1611 to 22,000 in 1641, a third of whom resided in the province’s cities and towns. By 1660 ‘English’ residents formed 65% of Cork city’s inhabitants. (Dickson, *Old world colony*, pp 25, 114.)



in the period 1600-41 when English immigrants were settling in Munster.<sup>76</sup> Waterford Corporation recorded in 1672 that all English Protestants, on their application, could receive civic freedom ‘on moderate tearmes’<sup>77</sup> and in the same year in Limerick all ‘fforaigners Stranger and Aliens [and] Protestants’ were, likewise, to be admitted to the franchise.<sup>78</sup> It is, thus, very likely that at least some of the goldsmiths from each of these towns were English immigrants.

The lists of provincial goldsmiths show the duplication of some names suggesting goldsmiths were also opportunistically relocating themselves around Ireland. This mobility was occasionally necessitated by the lack of local skill; the Council Book of Munster, as it related to Kinsale in October 1610, recorded that the town’s mace was in need of repair. For this a goldsmith from Kilkenny was sent.<sup>79</sup> There were no documented goldsmiths working in Kinsale in the earlier decades of the century but it is intriguing that a goldsmith was dispatched from Kilkenny for this job and not one of the few goldsmiths in neighbouring Cork or Youghal. Bartholomew Fallon (fl. 1683-1718) was from a family of goldsmiths in Galway (his brother was the goldsmith Mark Fallon) and extant items marked in both his home city and the town of Youghal, approximately 200 kilometres apart, bear his maker’s mark.<sup>80</sup> Hercules Beere (fl. c.1660-90) is understood to have been a Clonmel-based craftsman.<sup>81</sup> Two marks attributed to him, one on a communion cup (c.1663) and another mark on a tankard (c.1670) suggest he also worked in Cork city and Youghal.<sup>82</sup> The council books of Youghal indicate that the movement of tradesmen and craftsmen between the town and Clonmel was commonplace and, in 1609, a mutually beneficial arrangement between the two corporations was enacted which allowed for the freemen of both towns to exercise their trade within the two jurisdictions.<sup>83</sup> These cities and towns, however, did not experience anything approaching the population growth seen in Dublin in the second-half of the century and, therefore, did not present a significant opportunity for larger numbers of

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<sup>76</sup>Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, p. 80.

<sup>77</sup>Pender, *Council books Waterford*, p. 97.

<sup>78</sup>Minute recorded 23 Sept. 1672. (NLI MS 89, f. 9v.)

<sup>79</sup>Caulfield, *Corporation of Kinsale*, p. 315.

<sup>80</sup>Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, pp 701, 706.

<sup>81</sup>Delamer & O’Brien, *500 years*, p. 18.

<sup>82</sup>Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, p. 690; Bowen & O’Brien, *Cork silver & gold*, p. 147.

<sup>83</sup>Caulfield, *Corporation of Youghal*, p. 67.

continental and British craftsmen of luxury wares whose survival depended on a vibrant, local consumer market.<sup>84</sup> This contrast was just one facet of the continuing divergence of the provincial goldsmiths' guilds from their Dublin counterpart.

### **2.3 The Dublin Goldsmiths' Company: foundations, organisation and regulation**

The increased numbers and demographic diversity of master goldsmiths within the Dublin guild in the 1630s coincides with and, to some degree, explains the organisational changes which the guild underwent in this decade. It was no coincidence that there were several continental and English goldsmiths, among them London-trained craftsmen, when the guild was incorporated by royal charter in 1637.<sup>85</sup> These immigrant goldsmiths undoubtedly influenced the guild's ambitions which were articulated within the charter. The document asserted that the new Dublin Goldsmiths' Company was to enjoy equal authority over the craft in Ireland as its London counterpart did in England: 'in the self-same manner and form as the Wardens and Company of the said mystery of Goldsmiths of our said city of London within our said Kingdom of England.'<sup>86</sup> Close reading of the charter supplies a valuable snapshot of the goldsmith's craft in Ireland and the concerns of Dublin's goldsmiths' in this period. Its endorsement by Charles I represented an enormously significant development, resonating for the remainder of the century and into the next. As an organisational template, it impacted on the guild's structural evolution over the remaining decades of the century and the extent to which it regulated the country's production of plate. This and subsequent sections of this chapter will explore these several important aspects which related to goldsmiths' operations and the production of silver in seventeenth-century Ireland.

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<sup>84</sup>Cork's population in the 1660s stood at approximately 6,300. (Dickson, *Old world colony*, p. 114). Dublin's population in this period, meanwhile, was 'well in excess of 30,000'. (Dickson, *Dublin: making a capital city*, p. 92).

<sup>85</sup>The following goldsmiths were listed in the charter as the founding corporation of Dublin's goldsmiths: William Cooke, John Woodcocke, William Hampton, James Vanderbeck, William Gallant, John Banister, Nathaniel Stoughton, James Acheson, Clement Evans, George Gallant, Sylvanus Glegg, William St. Clere, Gilbert Tonques, Edward Chadsey, Peter Vaneinthonen, Matthew Thomas, William Crawley, Thomas Duffield, John Cooke and John Burke.

<sup>86</sup>Extract from the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company's 1637 charter. The complete document is reproduced in: Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, pp 565-74.

The 1637 charter reveals much about the issues within the craft in Dublin and the rest of the country. In its opening paragraph it complained about the ‘great abuses and deceits’ carried out by ‘bold’ and ‘unskilful’ goldsmiths within the kingdom. It detailed that ‘divers men both native and foreign’ were regularly committing fraud with regard to the silver, gold, stones and gems they ‘cunningly wrought’ and sold in ‘fairs, markets ... cities and boroughs’.<sup>87</sup> Above all, the grave concern regarding the quality and standard of silver was stated. At its core, therefore, the charter established and confirmed the ratio of silver to copper in the manufacture of plate – 11oz 2dwt of silver and 18dwt of base metal in every troy pound – and reiterated that this ‘Majesty’s standard’ was not to be ‘of less value than that of the Standard in our said realm of England’.<sup>88</sup> The English standard – sterling – had been established at this level in the early-fourteenth century and, though this ratio fluctuated in the intervening centuries, it was re-established during Elizabeth I’s reign.<sup>89</sup> As early-modern European currency was based on a system that equated value with the weight of silver coin, the intrinsic worth of silver, and therefore plate which was readily (and regularly) convertible into specie, had to be rigorously maintained at the standard. This was essential for safeguarding against economic devaluation.<sup>90</sup>

The issues faced by Dublin’s goldsmiths regarding the apparent fraudulent practices of others within their craft was thus of concern not just to those working with silver but to civic and kingdom-wide authorities too. Some eighty years earlier, in April 1557, Dublin Corporation set down the goldsmiths’ guild’s rights and responsibilities to ‘have the correction order and punishment of all such of the said faculty’ but, significantly, only on the provision that the city mayor ‘shall have the oversight and correction of these orders’.<sup>91</sup> In October 1605, the city assembly noted a complaint regarding the ‘great abuse in this cittie by the indirect and synister dealinge of the gouldsmythes ... [which included] ... divers parcelles of plate made of every base and corrupt silver’. This prompted the Corporation to issue rules and

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<sup>87</sup>Ibid., pp 565, 570-1.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., pp 567, 569.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>90</sup>The issue of fraudulent goldsmithing, devalued coinage and the constant short supply of silver coin in Ireland was highlighted in c.1623 in a manuscript entitled ‘Advertisements for Ireland: being a description of the state of Ireland in the reign of James I’. (Reproduced by *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* in a volume edited by George O’Brien, (Dublin, 1923), pp 22-9, 45.)

<sup>91</sup>Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, p. 561.

regulations relating to the craft and, notably, to preside in the role of ‘saymaster’ [assay master] and stipulated:

that every gouldsmyth that shall exercyse that trade within this cittie shall have a speciall marke to stampe all suche plate as he shalle woorke or sell; and withal that the Mayor and constables of the Staple yearly shalbe saymasters of all plate wrought or to be sould from the first of Januarie next within this cittie, and that a stampe shalbe made with the figures of a lyon, an harpe and a castell.<sup>92</sup>

Any goldsmith found guilty of producing ‘corrupt’ silver was to be fined £20. This is probably what happened to James Bee who, in January 1605/6, petitioned the assembly to reduce the £20 fine imposed on him ‘for a comtempt’.<sup>93</sup> Extant items exhibiting the marks of a lion, harp or castle are not evident in the catalogues or collections of silver pertaining to the early-seventeenth century. A chalice and paten produced for the Dublin parish of St Audeon in c.1624, however, are both marked with fleur-de-lis stamps and suggest the city corporation’s prescribed marks and efforts to impose uniformity were short-lived (Fig. 3). A more rigorous system was clearly needed.

Successful efforts to establish assay and hallmarking procedures in England were connected to parliamentary acts or charters issued by the reigning monarch: in 1378 an act prescribed that ‘the assay of the touch belongs to the Mayors and Governors of the cities and boroughs’ in England, and, in 1423, a statute established seven provincial assay towns, which included Bristol, Newcastle, Norwich, York, Lincoln, Salisbury, and Coventry.<sup>94</sup> In 1462 the regulation and maintenance of gold and silver in England and Wales was devolved to the London Goldsmiths’ Company, following Edward IV’s grant of a new charter of incorporation.<sup>95</sup> Dublin’s goldsmiths claimed in 1555 that their guild was incorporated by royal charter by Queen Mary but that their charter had been accidentally burned. Though their plea to have a copy of their charter made was authorised by Dublin Corporation in 1557, no references to the sterling standard or procedures for assay were minuted by the City Assembly.<sup>96</sup> Accordingly, as recounted above, the city authorities assumed the

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<sup>92</sup>CARD, ii, 450.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid, 456.

<sup>94</sup>2 Henry VI c.14, (Susan Hare (ed.), *Touching silver and gold* (London, 1978), p. 24.)

<sup>95</sup>Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, p. 11.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid, pp 560-1.

responsibility for regulating the quality of Dublin-made plate. It was not until the goldsmiths' guild successfully petitioned Charles I in 1637 that they finally achieved the autonomy to regulate their own craft. The charter was tremendously significant and elevated them to the status enjoyed by their counterparts in London. From that date onwards, it was the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company's responsibility, not the city corporation's, to regulate and police goldsmiths' workshops, to appoint a master of the assay, and to issue the stamps of compliance. Additionally, just like the privilege extended to London, the charter authorised the Dublin guild to regulate goldsmiths and their wares throughout Ireland.

As the charter details, from the first assay year – 1638-9 – all plate was to be 'tried and touched', and no item was to receive the 'King's Majesty's Stamp', unless it met the standard.<sup>97</sup> The company's hallmark – the harp crowned – carried the appropriate connotations of legal and royal sanction which, crucially, connected the value of hallmarked Irish silver with English silver. Consumers of plate could be assured, thereafter, that their silver purchases were equal to those hallmarked in London, a recurring concern of institutional and private consumers in Ireland in the early-seventeenth century who believed Irish-made silver was of inferior quality and, thus, of lesser value. Dublin Corporation's requirement for repairs to a pair of maces in 1607, for example, was instructed on the understanding that 'the silver bestowed upon them to be as good as London touch'.<sup>98</sup>

The charter ordained that goldsmiths in provincial Ireland, like those in provincial England and Scotland, were expected to register their marks with the company and to have all of their silver assayed in Dublin's guildhall.<sup>99</sup> In practice this was highly impractical, expensive and time-consuming. In addition, the regular occurrence of highway robbery deemed it dangerous.<sup>100</sup> The significantly lesser numbers of goldsmiths operating in Irish regional centres, however, and the lack of a

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<sup>97</sup>The early-modern touch stone and cupellation assay methods are explained in detail in J.S. Forbes, 'Assay methods 1478-1978' in Hare, *Touching silver & gold*, pp 10-12

<sup>98</sup>*CARD*, ii, 482.

<sup>99</sup>The Edinburgh incorporation was similarly authorised to assay all Scottish silver, though there were several regional centres of production in burghs such as Glasgow, Canongate, Dundee and Aberdeen. From 1681 legislation required all goldsmiths in these towns to bring their silver to the capital for assay. (Dalglish and Fotheringham, *Silver: made in Scotland*, pp 87-8.)

<sup>100</sup>As noted by O'Brien, *Goldsmiths of Waterford*, p. 117.

homogenous guild craft identity within these locales goes some way towards explaining why craftsmen did not contest the capital's primacy, at least not at a level which would provoke concern from Dublin's goldsmiths who relished this pre-eminent role in the country.<sup>101</sup> A closer look at the charters belonging to the Waterford guild of hammermen (1656) and Cork's Goldsmiths' Company (1657) further exposes the limitations of provincial regulatory ambitions. Neither expressed the maintenance of standards of quality, workmanship and manufacture in the production of silver and gold. On the contrary, as they were concerned with the regulation of multifarious crafts, they did not specifically articulate or promote goldsmithing and the quality of silver training, authenticity and production. The Waterford charter merely stated that incoming strangers to the city who may come to 'sell any mettall worke or ware', were to be examined by the guild's master and wardens who were authorised to seize any that were 'not made and wrought as becometh'.<sup>102</sup> The Cork charter does not even make such peripheral mention of the standards in metal wares, merely promoting the ideal that the company and its members should from henceforth 'bee the better able to increase their [kn]owledge in their occupations'.<sup>103</sup>

Faced with such challenging prospects for the lawful practice of their craft and with evidently little advocacy for quality standards at guild level, regional Irish goldsmiths evolved their own systems of assay and sterling authentication. This was achieved through paralleling practices that were in existence in England from the previous century and where, due to greater quantities of extant plate, coherent sets of town marks have been identified in centres such as York, Norwich, Exeter, Newcastle, Lincoln, Leicester, Hull and Chester.<sup>104</sup> Much less coherence, given the paucity of extant plate, surrounds the identification of town marks for provincial Irish silver. Jackson commented with regard to plate produced in Cork that 'there were nearly as many forms of the town mark as there were goldsmiths'.<sup>105</sup> Nonetheless, it is evident that makers from Cork, and elsewhere in Ireland, understood the greater

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<sup>101</sup>In contrast to the situation in the eighteenth-century when Cork's goldsmith actively petitioned for their own assay office, as discussed by FitzGerald, 'Fighting for a small provincial establishment'.

<sup>102</sup>Seamus Pender, 'Studies in Waterford history – V; The old council books of the Corporation of Waterford' in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, liii (1948), p. 47.

<sup>103</sup>Fahy, 'Cork Goldsmiths Company', p. 35.

<sup>104</sup>The history of each town's assay is recounted in Hare, *Touching silver & gold*, pp 24-33.

<sup>105</sup>Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, p. 686.

value of collective marks associated with guilds and municipalities over personal marks which, as De Munck has explored, was a common feature of craft guilds in early-modern Europe.<sup>106</sup> Many seventeenth-century Cork marks consisted of a ship duplicated, or a ship between two castles, in imitation of the city's arms. The ship is sometimes found in a separate stamp, between two castles, also struck separately (Fig. 4). Youghal-produced plate was marked with a small single-masted sailing boat.<sup>107</sup> The Galway town mark was identified as an anchor, found in a shaped stamp<sup>108</sup> while it is understood that Clonmel's town mark was that of its bridge. Items believed to have been produced by Hercules Beere of Clonmel were marked with a comb-like device, representing the bridge incorporated in the town's coat-of-arms.<sup>109</sup> Limerick's marks varied: in the 1660s there is evidence on extant plate to suggest it was a castle or a star (Fig. 5).<sup>110</sup> There are scant quantities of Waterford plate from which a town mark can be concluded. The only extant item from the city for the period is a communion cup marked Edward Russell in c.1670 and stamped with a triple-towered castle flying flags (Fig. 6).<sup>111</sup> No guild or civic documentation exists to support these marks which were designed to communicate adherence to the sterling standard. Consequently, the dating of provincial Irish silver from this period is always an approximation based on the goldsmith's years of operation, engraved inscriptions and the stylistic and ornamental features exhibited on items.

From the first assay year Dublin Goldsmiths' Company assay master ensured, in theory, that all submitted, compliant plate was struck with the harp crowned, to denote sterling, a date letter, to indicate the year as was the practice in London (though this was not stipulated in the charter), and the maker's mark (Fig. 7). It was from this date onwards, too, that details and weights of assay submissions commenced. The assay records from this period are sparse, however: in the years 1638-49 the total recorded quantity of silver submitted for assay was just 10,393oz, translating to an annual average of less than 1,000oz. When it is considered that

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<sup>106</sup>Bert De Munck, 'The agency of branding and the location of value; Hallmarks and monograms in early modern tableware industries', *Business History*, liv, no. 7 (2012), p. 1055.

<sup>107</sup>'Edward Gillett, a goldsmith working in Youghal at the turn of the seventeenth century, stamped his work with a ship; the same symbol is used on the municipal seal.' (Delamer & O'Brien, *500 years*, p. 19.)

<sup>108</sup>Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, p. 702.

<sup>109</sup>Delamer & O'Brien, *500 years*, p. 18.

<sup>110</sup>Moore, 'Goldsmiths and Limerick' in Bowen & O'Brien, *Limerick's silver*, p. 23.

<sup>111</sup>O'Brien, 'Goldsmiths of Waterford', pp 118-9.

among typical items assayed in the period were ewer and basin sets which could weigh up to 120oz, the diminutive value of this annually recorded amount becomes apparent.<sup>112</sup> Growth was slow but by the 1660s this yearly quantity had increased to 10,000oz, reflecting the increased numbers of goldsmiths operating in the city in the period and the relative prosperity which peace had brought.

It is apparent that most, if not all, of submitted plate came from the workshops of Dublin goldsmiths; despite the goldsmiths' company's assertion of its kingdom-wide jurisdiction in the quality regulation of all silver, the records indicate the assaying of provincial goldsmiths' plate seldom took place. This supports the aforementioned evidence regarding regional goldsmiths and their indigenous 'hallmarks'. One or two incidences reveal that the compliance of provincial goldsmiths was the outside of common practice: the Limerick goldsmith Adam Buck had twelve salt cellars weighing twenty-four ounces assayed in 1694.<sup>113</sup> This rare provincial submission is more understandable given Buck's training in the capital city and his achievement of guild freedom in 1690 before his return to the Munster city. Other references indicate the interaction in this period between goldsmiths from other urban centres and the Dublin guild was exceptional: John Wall of Cork was fined for submitting sub-standard plate to the assay in November 1687 and later, in March 1687/8, the aforementioned 'pretended' William Keogh was also fined for selling sub-standard plate.<sup>114</sup>

In the final decade of the seventeenth century the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company witnessed an unprecedented boom in productivity. Annual records survive for the period February 1693/4 to October 1699 during which time a total of 158,317oz of plate were assayed.<sup>115</sup> This amount translates into an average of nearly 32,000oz per annum, though it is evident that each annual amount outstripped the last: in the assay year 1697-8, nearly 38,000oz of silver passed through the assay master's hall,

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<sup>112</sup>The Dublin Goldsmiths' Company assay records for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including the books extant for the periods 1638-49 and 1694-99, have been collated and analysed in Sinsteden, 'Selected assay records', pp 143-57.

<sup>113</sup>Sinsteden, 'Selected assay records', p. 151; Adam Buck was the son of George Buck, also a goldsmith, who was a Burgess of Limerick Corporation and regularly noted in corporation records for the period 1672-80. Adam served his apprenticeship in Dublin. (Bowen & O'Brien, *Limerick's silver*, pp 190-1.)

<sup>114</sup>Minutes recorded: 30 Nov. 1687 and 19 Mar. 1687/8. (DGC MS 1, ff 12v, 16r.)

<sup>115</sup>Ibid.



followed by 45,743oz the following year. Significantly, 51,647oz of this grand total, or nearly one third, was produced in the workshops of five goldsmiths: David King, Joseph Walker, John Phillips, John Cuthbert and Thomas Bolton. In 1697/8 alone, Bolton submitted 10,436oz, an extraordinary yield from one workshop.<sup>116</sup> Meanwhile, his cohort of productive colleagues sustained respectable yearly amounts: Cuthbert maintained an annual submission of approximately 2,000oz, making him at times, as was the case in 1693-4 and in 1694-5, the second most productive goldsmith in Dublin (Fig. 8).

The remarkable leap in output by Cuthbert, Bolton and others heralded the flourishing of the craft throughout the long eighteenth century.<sup>117</sup> A similar increase in production was to be found in Edinburgh, though not to the same extent. The Scottish city's goldsmiths produced, on average, 10,000oz (Scottish weight) of silver annually in the 1680s, increasing to just over 17,000oz per year during the 1690s, roughly half the output of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company in that decade.<sup>118</sup> The comparatively smaller size of the Scottish incorporation and the fewer quantities of that city's consumers of plate help to explain this notable difference between Edinburgh and Dublin by the end of the century. It still remains, however, that a significant portion of Dublin's great productivity was achieved by just a handful of master goldsmiths. This success was not evenly spread among the many other goldsmiths in the city for whom assay records, very often, do not exist. The disparity between these apparently unproductive craftsmen and the elite who manufactured disproportionate volumes invites further investigation into the layers which operated within workshops at this time.

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<sup>116</sup>Thomas Bolton was the most successful and productive goldsmith in Dublin in the period c.1690-1710. His career is recounted in John McCormack, 'The sumptuous silver of Thomas Bolton (1658-1736)' in *Irish Arts Review*, xi (1995), pp 112-6.

<sup>117</sup>FitzGerald & O'Brien, 'Production of silver in late-Georgian Dublin', pp 8-31.

<sup>118</sup>Assay Master's Accounts (Day Books) 1681-1690 and 1690-1708 (Incorporation of Goldsmiths, Edinburgh, MSS GD1-481-15/16). In this period Scottish ounces were not the same as English (imperial) troy measurements, the system by which Irish silver weights were measured. There were sixteen ounces in one Scottish troy pound, whereas there were twelve ounces in an imperial troy pound. This meant that Scottish pounds were one-third heavier than Irish pounds. Troy ounces and troy grains in Scotland, however, were the same as ounces and grains in England. (H.S. Fotheringham, 'Scottish goldsmiths' weights' in *The Silver Society Journal*, xv (2003), pp 68-72.)

## 2.4 Goldsmiths' workshops in Dublin

This day Mr Cuthbert ent[e]red a Dutchman as a q[uarte]r brother at 2s. 6d. p[er] q[uarte]r. Samuell Wilder admitted as a quarter brother. John Humphreys entered Rich[ard] Hill as a journey-man at 2s. 6d. p[er] quar[ter].<sup>119</sup>

Successful goldsmiths like Thomas Bolton and John Cuthbert flourished within the tightly-regulated conditions set-down by the 1637 charter and enforced by the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company. These strictures naturally evolved over time in response to a range of internal and external factors. Further investigation of the guild in the seventeenth century will, therefore, supply greater insight into the conditions governing goldsmiths' workshops in Dublin. In addition to regulating the systems which awarded freedom, facilitated trade and policed quality, early-modern European artisan guilds were also centres characterised by trainee-craftsmen and craftsmen who operated outside of the guild.<sup>120</sup> Apprentices, journeymen, quarter brothers and so-called 'fforeigners' constituted a significant proportion of the numbers of goldsmiths working within Irish workshops, particularly in Dublin. Their undeniable contribution to the production of silver in this period has been largely over looked. This section will demonstrate how the sources indicate the diverse origins, employers and fortunes of several of these often anonymous craftsmen in Dublin. Tracing the activity of journeymen goldsmiths in Ireland, together with an examination of the careers of apprentice goldsmiths, this section supplies some answers to over-arching questions relating to the production of silver: the mobility of craftsmen, the dissemination of design and technique and the practice of sub-contracting. These themes have been considered to some extent with regard to eighteenth-century Irish silver and, more extensively, in literature concerning English silver from the early-modern period.<sup>121</sup>

In common with other Irish guilds and those across the British Isles, the Dublin goldsmiths' guild prescribed a seven-year apprenticeship under a recognised master for all trainee goldsmiths. The Dublin Goldsmiths' Company charter and subsequent

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<sup>119</sup>Minute recorded 2 Feb. 1692/3. (DGC MS 1, f. 32r.)

<sup>120</sup>Ward, *Metropolitan communities*, pp 34-42; Crossick, 'Past masters', p. 9; Gadd and Wallis, *Guilds, society & economy*, p. 7; De Munck, 'Skills, trust & changing consumer preferences'.

<sup>121</sup>Mitchell, *Goldsmiths, silversmiths & bankers*; FitzGerald, 'Cosmopolitan commerce'; Clifford, *Silver in London*.

'laws' articulated in the minute books also stipulated that following the seven-year training period each goldsmith was required to submit a masterpiece, in demonstration of skill and adherence to the sterling standard.<sup>122</sup> It is difficult to determine the extent to which the company policed the submission and testing of masterpieces as a means of skills appraisal, given the absence of such records. Occasionally, however, the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company listed these masterpieces within the guild's property, suggesting that the practice was commonplace and certainly continued to the end of the century: Abel Ram, who received his freedom of the guild in 1665, presented the company with his masterpiece which weighed 11oz 'or thereabouts' that year and engraved it accordingly: 'The Gift of Abell Ram to the Corporavion of Goldsmiths'.<sup>123</sup> Three decades later, in 1694, the list of guild property included the immigrant Huguenot John Jarrett's (or Gerard) masterpiece spoon.<sup>124</sup> These exceptional instances would suggest that masterpieces were retained by apprentice goldsmiths (or, perhaps, their masters) in the majority of cases and, when goldsmiths sought the favour of the company, they were presented to the guild as a gift. Regardless, if one was not submitted the apprentice was required to pay the same quarterly fine (5s.) as required by a 'fforeigner', though no instances appear in the records regarding transgressions or omissions in this regard.

The apprenticeship system was understood to be an essential function of early-modern craft guilds' provision of training, as S.R. Epstein has discussed:

Guild coercion was ... essential as a means of enforcing apprenticeship rules in the presence of training externalities in transferable skills. Before the introduction of mass schooling, a degree of formal training was needed to iron out initial differences in skills among children and to socialise adolescents into adulthood; artisans required skilled labour to produce goods to a standard quality and to raise output.<sup>125</sup>

Goldsmith apprentices entered into a seven-year bond with their masters, an indenture which was recorded and witnessed by the company and the apprentice's parent.<sup>126</sup> Masters who circumvented this system or did not fulfil the full term of the

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<sup>122</sup>Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, p. 573; DGC MS 1, ff 2-4.

<sup>123</sup>1 Aug. 1665 (DGC, MS 95, f. 88v).

<sup>124</sup>30 Nov. 1694 (DGC MS 70, p. 15).

<sup>125</sup>S.R. Epstein, 'Craft guilds, apprenticeship, and technological change' in Epstein & Prak, *Guilds, innovation & the European economy*, p. 60.

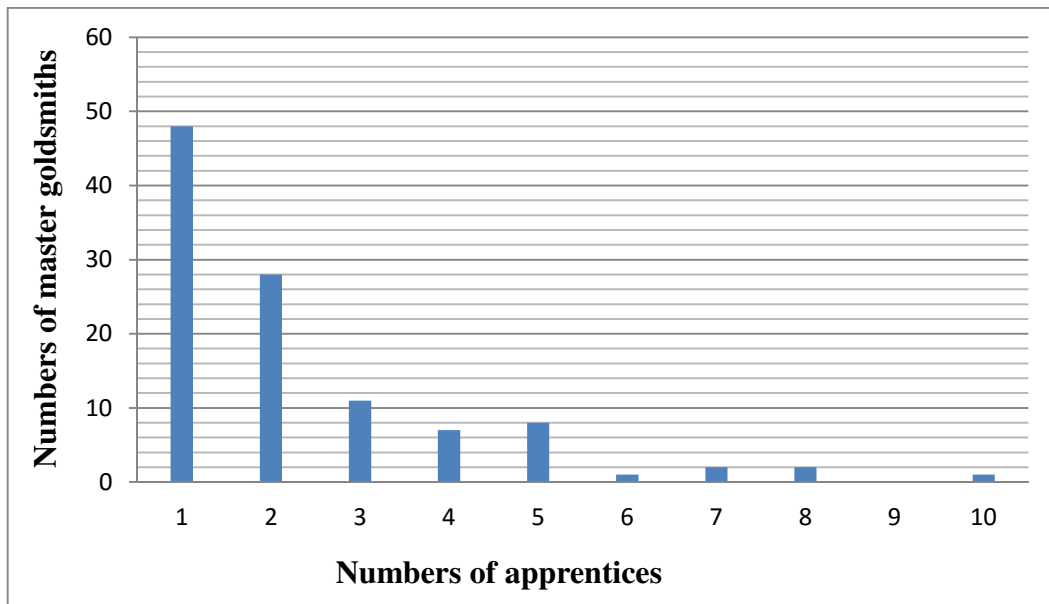
<sup>126</sup>The enrolment of apprentices in the period 1637-1703 is contained in DGC MS 95.

contract, were found to be in violation. In 1694 it was noted that Abraham Voisin and John Phillips took their apprentices for less than seven years ‘contrary to the orders of this Corporation’, leading to their prosecution at the goldsmiths’ hall and subsequent fines.<sup>127</sup> Phillips’ apprentice Charles White was ordered to serve the full term of seven years from the date of the original contract of indenture or he would not be admitted as a free brother, though there is no record of White achieving his freedom, suggesting he did not fulfil the apprenticeship terms.<sup>128</sup>

A master goldsmith typically employed one apprentice at a time during his career; it was expensive to accommodate more than this in a household which also was home to the goldsmith’s family and, occasionally, journeymen. Out of the 301 master goldsmiths operating in Dublin in the century, records show that approximately a third, or 108, employed apprentices.<sup>129</sup> The collation of these goldsmiths and the numbers of their apprentices yields interesting results:

**Table 3 – Source: Appendix A**

**Master goldsmiths and numbers of indentured apprentices, Dublin, c.1600-1700**



In general, it is apparent that there was an even spread of apprentices employed among Dublin’s master goldsmiths in this period. The majority – forty-eight –

<sup>127</sup> Minutes recorded 9-12 Nov. 1694. (DGC MS 1, ff 48-9.)

<sup>128</sup> Minute recorded 23 Nov. 1694. (DGC MS 1, f. 49v.)

<sup>129</sup> Appendix A.

enrolled one apprentice while twenty-eight employed two. Exceptionally, just one goldsmith out of the 108 recorded, John Cuthbert, engaged ten apprentices over the course of his career, while others such as Abel Ram, Edward Slicer and Abraham Voisin took on seven or eight. Thomas Bolton had five apprentices indentured to him.

The employment of several apprentices was not unusual outside Ireland: in Edinburgh, for example, of the seventy-seven goldsmiths who employed apprentices in the seventeenth century, at least ten took on ten or more apprentices over the course of their careers.<sup>130</sup> Cuthbert's ability to accommodate a large number of apprentices is another indication of his flourishing workshop and suggests he enjoyed a prestigious reputation as a master.<sup>131</sup> The period of each indenture very often overlapped so that at any one stage there may have been up to three apprentices living and working on site. The miscellaneous origins and parents of Cuthbert's apprentices, information that can be gleaned from the enrolment contracts drawn up by the guild between each trainee and his master, reveal no explicit social or geographical bias. Local indentures included the Dublin orphan George Montgomery in 1681 who was closely followed the next year by David King, the son of the Dublin gentleman James King. Joseph Walker, whose father was a weaver in the city, was enrolled in 1683 and, over a decade later, was followed by Conway Mace, also a Dubliner, in 1686 and Cuthbert's own son, John Cuthbert Junior in 1694. The details and background of two other apprentices, Henry Bond (c.1675) and Alexander Mackay (c.1678), are not as forthcoming. More is known of his apprentices drawn from more distant regions: Joseph Teate, enrolled in 1678, who was from Kilkenny while Alexander Sinclare (1687) was the son of a Belfast merchant. Finally, Charles Crompton, the son of a Wexford gentleman, was apprenticed to Cuthbert in 1694.

This spread of apprentices' geographical backgrounds was not out of the ordinary. Of the 215 trainees apprenticed in the seventeenth century the origins of 131 were recorded. Of these, seventy-one were from counties outside of Dublin, with

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<sup>130</sup>Appendix C.

<sup>131</sup>FitzGerald notes that the fourteen apprentices engaged by Robert Calderwood in the period 1727-64 was exceptional, especially when it is considered that approximately 90% of Dublin masters in the eighteenth century enrolled no more than three apprentices during their careers. (FitzGerald, 'Cosmopolitan commerce', p 47.)

eighteen of these noted as originating outside Ireland, primarily within Britain.<sup>132</sup> As seen with the case of Adam Buck of Limerick, the opportunities for training in regional Ireland were not as forthcoming as in the capital city. Several of the provincial apprentice goldsmiths hailed from respectable backgrounds, with details regarding their father's occupation indicating wealth and land: James Kelly, the son of the Limerick merchant Philip Kelly, was apprenticed to John Slicer in 1654; in 1662 George Benson, son of the gentleman George Benson of county Kerry was apprenticed to John Thornton. Other noted goldsmiths of the period who were sons of gentlemen and merchants residing outside of Dublin included John Shelley (1674), David Swan (1675), Alexander Sinclare (1687), and Anthony Stanley (1685). The career of goldsmith was considered with respect and regarded as a suitable occupation for the son of a gentleman.

The Dublin Goldsmiths' Company was occasionally petitioned by complainants relating to the relationship between masters and their apprentices which, inevitably, sometimes fell foul. In 1695 the company heard the petition of James Brennan against his master David Swan. Brennan had served Swan for two and a half years and stated that he had paid him £10 for clothes but even so, he was not taught his trade, was mistreated and not allowed 'any tollerable cloathes or food'. The company ordered that Brown was to be released from the bond and Swan was to repay him the £10 and to equip him with new attire.<sup>133</sup> Given his extraordinary number of apprentices, it is unsurprising that at least one of John Cuthbert's apprentices similarly fell out with his master. Charles Crompton petitioned the guild to state that Cuthbert 'refuses to entertaine him' and, despite his father's payment of £35 when the bond was originally drawn up, the goldsmith denied the apprentice his money.<sup>134</sup> There was a high cost associated with indenturing a boy to a master goldsmith and, with it, expectations for correct training and treatment. The expense ensured the craft generally attracted apprentices from families with financial means and, as seen above, of respectable social standing.<sup>135</sup> Occasionally, when relationships deteriorated or when a master died or became insolvent, apprentices were turned over

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<sup>132</sup>Appendix E.

<sup>133</sup>Minute recorded 9 May 1695. (DGC MS 1, f. 53r.)

<sup>134</sup>Minute recorded 1 May 1696. (DGC MS 1, f. 57r.)

<sup>135</sup>Apprenticeships in the trades of shoe making and hosiery in late-seventeenth and eighteenth century Dublin, meanwhile, typically cost in the region of £3 or £4. (Toby Barnard, *A new anatomy of Ireland: the Irish Protestants, 1649-1770* (New Haven and London, 2003), p. 310.)

to other master goldsmiths. Thomas Taylor, an apprentice from county Cavan, was indentured to Daniel Burfeldt in 1640 and, despite the fact that Burfeldt did not die until 1654 and he engaged another apprentice during the 1640s, Taylor was transferred to John Williams during the course of the contract.<sup>136</sup> Another episode highlights the position of widows of goldsmiths in the running of their husbands' workshops and the fate of apprentices within the households of deceased masters. In 1676, a year following the death of Timothy Blackwood, Joanna Blackwood transferred the trainee John Shelly into the workshop of Elizabeth Slicer who had been a widow since 1672. It was agreed that Shelly would serve out the remainder of his apprenticeship with Mrs Slicer 'or her assigned', the craftsmen whom she may have employed within the workshop.<sup>137</sup>

It did not always follow, as seen with the case of Charles White, that an apprentice completed his training and received his full freedom and newly-elevated status as a master goldsmith. As shown above, 35% of all master goldsmiths received their freedom through service so it is surprising to note a high rate of attrition among apprentices: out of the 215 recorded in the period c.1600-1700, slightly more than half, or 52%, did not proceed to guild freedom.<sup>138</sup> In some cases reasons were provided: Edmond Palmer, who was indentured to Edward Swan in 1655, was noted as a runaway in 1657, as was Samuel Pierson who was apprenticed to Timothy Blackwood in 1673.<sup>139</sup> Others, like Charles Crompton, simply did not complete the seven-year training period. A number of apprentices must inevitably have died at a young age while others would have emigrated. For those who did complete their training, freedom did not bring automatic independence. Setting up a workshop was expensive and required capital. Consequently, many 'graduate' goldsmiths undoubtedly found employment within the workshops of other masters and existed for a period in a dependent status. The city's freedom rolls note that Richard Woodcock, who received his civic freedom by service in 1673, was residing with the goldsmith Edward Harris. Similarly, Walter Lewis, who was an apprentice of Abel Ram, achieved his freedom in 1674 and was noted to be residing with the goldsmith

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<sup>136</sup>Jackson, (London, 1921), p. 641.

<sup>137</sup>DGC MS 95, f. 86r.

<sup>138</sup>Appendix E.

<sup>139</sup>Ibid.

Edmond Coughlan after receiving his citizenship.<sup>140</sup> The domestic status of these newly-qualified goldsmiths indicates that they, like their contemporaries in Edinburgh, out of preference or economic necessity, served as employees to established masters.<sup>141</sup>

The names of nearly 13% of seventeenth-century Dublin goldsmith apprentices are also to be found in the lists of quarter brothers and journeymen. Significantly, of these thirty-one goldsmiths, only eighteen went on to achieve their freedom.<sup>142</sup> Among these was David King (fl. 1690-1730) who, following his tenure as an apprentice to John Cuthbert, remained on as a journeyman in his workshop. King, who completed his apprenticeship in c.1688, was entered by Cuthbert as his 'jourman' at 2s. 6d. per quarter for the year 1690-1 before he attained his freedom of the guild in the same year.<sup>143</sup> The status of journeymen in workshops, like quarter brothers, was a matter which occupied a significant portion of the rule-making and fine-issuing of guilds in this period. The rules contained in the charters of both Cork and Waterford guilds demonstrate that they were part of the economic landscape in provincial Ireland: the 'Orders agreed on by the Company of GoldSmithes within the City of Cork' of 1658 included several rules relating to journeymen that prohibited them from engaging apprentices, 'double-jobbing' with other master goldsmiths, stipulating four weeks' notice to a master goldsmith if they chose to depart, and rules relating to their payment of quarterage fines.<sup>144</sup> The Waterford charter for the guild of hammermen in 1656 permitted its members, in the absence of required skill within the city and guild, to 'bring to ye said citty... all such workmen as hee or they shall thincke necessary for ye finishing of ye said work' provided that the workman comply with the rules of the guild and pay one penny out of every shilling he earned to the guild.<sup>145</sup> Guilds in England and Scotland, likewise, made accommodations for the growing numbers of journeymen, but within the framework of protecting the interests of their freemen. In 1665 Edinburgh's incorporation enacted the decision to

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<sup>140</sup><http://www.dublinheritage.ie/freemen/search.php> (17 Dec. 2014).

<sup>141</sup>Dalgleish & Fotheringham, *Silver: made in Scotland*, p. 56.

<sup>142</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>143</sup>Minute recorded 2 Feb. 1690/1. (DGC MS 1, f. 20v.)

<sup>144</sup>Fahy 'Cork Goldsmiths' Company', p. 36.

<sup>145</sup>Pender, 'Old council books of the Corporation of Waterford', p. 48.



prohibit journeymen from exercising their craft within four miles of the town, except when under the employment of a free master.<sup>146</sup>

Dublin's guild articulated its initial opposition to journeymen in 1667 stipulating that any brother found employing one was to be fined 10s.<sup>147</sup> By 1686 the employment practice amongst master goldsmiths evolved, prompting the alteration of this regulation with an addendum which provided a degree of flexibility to journeymen, in line with that already afforded to quarter brothers: namely, on the payment of quarterage 'as the Corporation shall thinke fitt'.<sup>148</sup> With these documented fines and quarterage payments, data from 1661 onwards shows that the total number of quarter brothers and journeymen operating in Dublin in the final four decades of the city far exceeded the numbers of free brothers in the same period. The names of these 242 goldsmiths have been gleaned from the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company minute books and ledgers for the period c.1660-1700.<sup>149</sup> These lists significantly also provide *ad hoc* the names of master goldsmiths who were paying the fines for individual journeymen.<sup>150</sup> This unique feature, discontinued by 1700 probably due to increased volumes of journeymen and quarter brothers making it more laborious to keep these records, presents a rare opportunity to view the operational layers that were in existence in the guild in this period.

Among the names of numerous goldsmiths who were identified for their 'sponsorship' of these goldsmiths, the regular references to John Cuthbert within these lists is notable, supplying further evidence of his diverse and industrious workshop. In 1672 it was noted that the journeymen Lewis Ffaran and Thomas Brookes had their fines paid 'by Mr Cuthbert'. The following year lists Andrew Cleghorne alongside the note: 'entered by Mr Cuthbert' and James Kirkwood also

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<sup>146</sup>Fotheringham, *Minute books: Incorporation of Goldsmiths of Edinburgh*, p. 264.

<sup>147</sup>DGC MS 1, f. 2v.

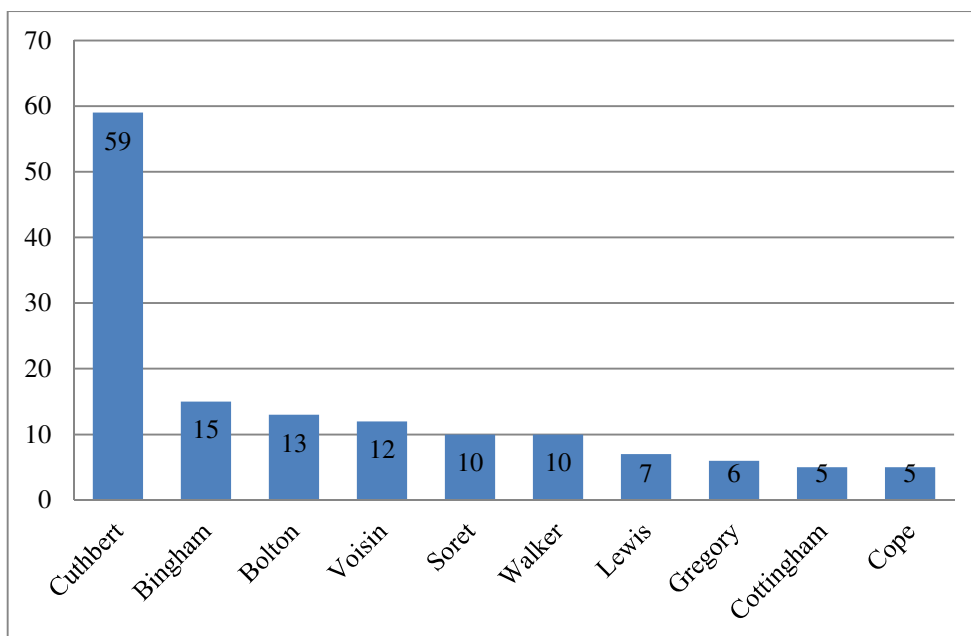
<sup>148</sup>Minute recorded 2 Feb. 1686/7. (DGC MS 1, f. 38r.)

<sup>149</sup>C.J. Jackson lists most of these journeymen and quarter brothers but does not include detail on their employers or 'sponsoring' masters. (Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, pp 656-7.) The quarter brothers and journeymen for the period c.1660-1700 are listed and detailed in Appendix D.

<sup>150</sup>According to Hanspeter Lanz, there are no extant lists of foreign journeymen for any European city, a statement that has apparently overlooked this thirty-year window period within the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company. Hanspeter Lanz, 'Training and workshop practice in Zurich in the seventeenth century' in Mitchell, *Goldsmiths, silversmiths & bankers*, pp 32-42.

‘by Mr Cuthbert’.<sup>151</sup> In 1679 and 1680, Cuthbert had three journeymen listed. This had increased to five journeymen whose quarterage was paid by him in 1681. The regularity of Cuthbert’s continued employment of these journeymen is conveyed in the years 1682–7 when the enrolment ledger grouped these craftsmen together in the category of ‘Mr Cuthbert’s men’.<sup>152</sup> By this stage Cuthbert had, as a matter of course, between two and five journeymen listed as working for him annually and, judging from the reoccurrence of other masters’ names alongside those of journeymen in these annual lists, this was not unusual practice. Collation of the number of journeymen employed by him and his colleagues for the period 1670-98, however, reveals Cuthbert’s disproportionate pre-eminence, in his employment of at least fifty-nine journeymen in the three decades:<sup>153</sup>

**Table 4 – Source: Appendix D**  
**Numbers of journeymen employed by Dublin master goldsmiths, c.1670-98**



These journeymen were often immigrants: Cuthbert entered a nameless ‘Dutchman’ in 1692 and 1693, and a ‘ffrenchman’ in 1694. The surnames of many other journeymen suggest English or continental origins. It is plausible that these craftsmen were in a position to financially undercut the established ‘natives’ which,

<sup>151</sup>DGC MS 95, ff 22-3.

<sup>152</sup>Ibid., ff 32-8.

<sup>153</sup>Appendix D.

in turn, made their 'cheap labour' attractive to busy master goldsmiths like Cuthbert. Furthermore, these immigrant craftsmen potentially brought with them stylistic knowledge and technical abilities which their Irish counterparts did not possess.

Over the course of three decades, Cuthbert continued to enter and pay for numerous journeymen. The names of several individuals recur annually. Their successive appearance in the records undermines the assumption that journeymen were transitory, temporarily lodging with their masters and free of dependants. Cuthbert's employment of Thomas Oven was entered into the ledgers annually from 1678 until 1696. This long-standing employee was well-established in the city; the parish of St John the Evangelist records the baptisms of four of his and his wife Judith's children in the period 1680-96. The baptism of their son William detailed their residence at 'Fleec Alley' which was located just off Fishamble Street.<sup>154</sup> While it is likely that many of 'Mr Cuthbert's men' did lodge with their master, it is also probable that a portion of these men like Oven and John Melkerkearne (Cuthbert's journeyman from 1682-8) settled independently in the city. In 1696 Oven's quarterage was paid, as usual, by Cuthbert, but alongside his name it was subsequently detailed: 'left Mr Cuthbert to work for himself'.<sup>155</sup> Within the decade that followed, Oven's name recurs without any master goldsmith's sponsorship but he never became a freeman of the city or a free brother of the company and there is no record of his maker's mark. Like the majority of journeymen and quarter brothers (75%), he did not achieve freedom of the city and guild.<sup>156</sup>

What, then, sustained independent journeymen like Thomas Oven? How did he and dozens of other journeymen, quarter brothers and free goldsmiths who do not feature within the extant assay lists and cannot be traced within the body of plate subsist within the cut and thrust of seventeenth-century Dublin? Certainly, it is evident that a number of journeymen and newly-qualified craftsmen found employment in the workshops of established masters but, even so, a large body of unaccounted goldsmiths remains. This discrepancy invites investigation into plausible alternatives on how they survived. As discussed earlier, nearly a third of all

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<sup>154</sup>Parish records of St John the Evangelist, Dublin, 15 Sept. 1680, 26 Oct. 1690, 11 Apr. 1693, 8 Mar. 1696/7 (<http://churchrecords.irishgenealogy.ie/churchrecords>, 13 Mar. 2012).

<sup>155</sup>DGC MS 95, f. 52r.

<sup>156</sup>Appendix D.

plate assayed in the period 1694-9 was submitted by five goldsmiths: Thomas Bolton, David King, John Philips, Joseph Walker and John Cuthbert. The enormous output connected to these and other prolific individuals prompts further consideration into how the craft developed to meet these demands. Although the practice of professional collaboration and subcontracting is never articulated within the records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company, it is very likely that these working practices were evident in the late-seventeenth century, supplying many of these less visible craftsmen with their livelihoods.<sup>157</sup> Demand for silverwares reached unprecedented levels in the late-seventeenth century and Dublin's goldsmiths wishing to keep apace undoubtedly developed ways and means to increase their levels of production. This was a common challenge facing their European counterparts. Lis and Soly have argued that guild restrictions in the early-modern period stimulated entrepreneurial thinking among master artisans who expanded their businesses through the delegation of productive or organisational tasks to colleagues.<sup>158</sup> Similarly, Giorgio Riello has concluded, in consideration of the numerous conditions impacting on early-modern crafts, that subcontracting emerged in response to 'innovative changes in the typology and quality of manufactures, new patterns of consumption and changing notions of artisanal life'.<sup>159</sup>

The potential for advanced levels of productivity and specialisation associated with subcontracting within the goldsmiths' craft reached its apogee in pre-industrial eighteenth-century London, as Helen Clifford has examined.<sup>160</sup> The lack of Irish goldsmiths' account books from this period has thwarted similar analysis. Nonetheless, sparse and crude indicators suggestive of subcontracting are evident within the object and documentary evidence connected to Dublin's goldsmiths. A number of late-seventeenth century pieces exhibit two maker's marks and indicate collaboration between goldsmiths on individual items. A pair of standing cups are marked by both Thomas Tennant and Edward Swan (Fig. 9) while a dram cup with

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<sup>157</sup>FitzGerald discussed aspects of this practice in eighteenth-century Dublin though, like the previous century, there is also a lack of documentary evidence detailing the practice of sub-contracting within the goldsmiths' craft in this period. (FitzGerald, 'Goldsmiths' work in eighteenth-century Dublin', pp 63-4.)

<sup>158</sup>Catharina Lis and Hugo Soly, 'Subcontracting in guild-based export trades' in Epstein & Prak, *Guilds, innovation & the European economy*, pp 82-4.

<sup>159</sup>Giorgio Riello, 'Strategies and boundaries: subcontracting and the London trades in the long eighteenth century' in *Enterprise and Society*, ix, no. 2, (2008), p. 245.

<sup>160</sup>Clifford, *Silver in London*, pp 60-6.

no hallmark dating to c.1700 shows Robert Smith's marks struck twice on its base along with another maker's mark – a conjoined 'JP' – indicating either of the quarter brothers John Pattison or John Paturle (Figs 10 and 11). An exceptionally rare set of twelve forks, dating to 1699, each also bear the maker's marks of Edward Workman and Cyriac Mallory (Fig. 12). C.N. How believes these were produced by Workman who, still a quarter brother in 1699, required a free goldsmith to 'counter sign' his work to facilitate hallmarking.<sup>161</sup> It is also plausible that Mallory received the commission to produce the forks and employed Workman for their manufacture.

Among other double-marked items noted by Sweeney are two tankards and two flagons, including one tankard bearing the marks of John Cuthbert and his less-prominent colleague Edward Swan (Fig. 13).<sup>162</sup> A leading expert on antique Irish silver, Jimmy Weldon, attests to witnessing several more tankards from the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with two maker's marks and believes there were goldsmiths who specialised in producing handles in this period.<sup>163</sup> Notably, a tankard hallmarked in 1696-8 bears the mark of David King on the body of the vessel, while the marks of his equally prominent colleague, Joseph Walker, are to be found on the handle.<sup>164</sup> The extent to which collaborations took place with handled-vessels bearing just one maker's mark remains a matter of conjecture, though the infrastructure for out-sourcing parts and collaborating within Dublin's goldsmiths' craft was clearly in existence in the later decades of the seventeenth century.

The practice by goldsmiths of striking their marks over those belonging to another goldsmith is more suggestive of the development of retailing within the craft. This was certainly not unique to Dublin. In London retail-goldsmiths purchased plate from their colleagues and struck their own marks over the original maker's before selling them on.<sup>165</sup> Sweeney accounts for a handful of extant items demonstrating the practice of over-striking in Dublin. In the majority of cases these items were connected to prominent goldsmiths of the 1690s, supporting the contention that these

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<sup>161</sup>C.N. How, *The Connoisseur*, ccclxiv (Dec. 1931).

<sup>162</sup>These items are detailed in Sweeney, *Irish Stuart silver*, pp 75, 90, 96 (two items), 101, (two items), 105, 107.

<sup>163</sup>Conversation with Jimmy Weldon, Weldon Jewellers, Dublin (1 Dec. 2015).

<sup>164</sup>Sweeney, *Irish Stuart silver*, p. 101.

<sup>165</sup>Discussed within the context of London's early-modern goldsmiths by Glanville, *Silver in England*, pp 172-3.

prolific makers were employing numerous methods to increase productivity and profitability. David King's mark is to be found overstriking an unidentifiable maker's mark on a pair of casters, hallmarked in 1694-5, and over Anthony Stanley's mark on a table spoon hallmarked in 1696-8.<sup>166</sup> On a tankard bearing two of James Weldon's marks on the handle and body, King's mark is also to be found overstriking Weldon's on the tankard's lid (Figs 14 and 15). John Phillips's mark overstrikes that belonging to Andrew Gregory on an altar paten produced in the mid-1690s.<sup>167</sup>

The documentary evidence supplies further insight into collaboration between goldsmiths' workshops in Dublin in this period and potential delineations between makers and retailers: confiscations and fines imposed by the guild included a set of buttons which were taken from Henry Sherwin in February 1691/2 and which, it detailed, were 'markt wth Mr Vozines mark', referring to the goldsmith Abraham Voisin. Similarly, sets of buttons were taken from William Myers (or Myas), one set 'marked wth Mr Kidders mark' (Vincent Kidder) and the other 'belonging to Mr Phillips' (John Phillips).<sup>168</sup> The following year once again more buttons were removed, this time from the workshop of Henry Nelthrop 'for being coarse silver', one set of which was 'marked with Mr Walls mark [John Wall of Cork]... & the other sett marked with Mr Sherwins marke'.<sup>169</sup> The possession by master goldsmiths of buttons which bore the marks of their colleagues was not considered unusual. The issue of quality and standards remained, however, and necessitated tracing items back to their makers. Meanwhile, it would seem goldsmiths like Henry Sherwin, William Myers and Henry Nelthrop were in the business of selling silverwares and were supplied the buttons from the workshops of their colleagues. The likely divisions between makers and sellers are, thus, more apparent. The developing professional diversity and specialisation within the goldsmiths' craft will be explored in the next and final section of this chapter.

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<sup>166</sup>Sweeney, *Irish Stuart silver*, pp 90, 101.

<sup>167</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>168</sup>Minute recorded 2 Feb. 1691/2. (DGC MS 1, f. 24r.)

<sup>169</sup>Minute recorded 29 Jul. 1693. (DGC MS 1, f. 35v.)

## 2.5 Craft specialisation and the professional diversity of Irish goldsmiths

The 1637 charter of incorporation of the Dublin goldsmith's guild articulated a range of terms indicative of established professional specialisation and diversity within the craft: 'makers, sellers and workers', 'workman or craftsman' both 'native and foreign' were spelled out in the document. Furthermore, the charter gave licence to the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company to search and police workshops producing not just gold and silver but also 'precious stones and stones of pearl, coral, or precious ring, or girdles, or otherwise in any manner wrought'.<sup>170</sup> The variety of materials within the guild's jurisdiction and the different kinds of craftsmen associated with their production and sale brought an inevitable increase in the specialisation of craftsmen working within the guilds of goldsmiths and hammermen in seventeenth-century Ireland. Surveying and quantifying this diversification and specialisation will be the focus of this final section. In addition, moving beyond the workshop, the documentary evidence will be analysed to consider the range of other professional interests with which goldsmiths became associated in this period; banking, property development and politics, especially. With this research, this section will supply new insights into the developed systems in operation within the goldsmiths' craft in Ireland and the significant contribution goldsmiths made to seventeenth-century urban society.

The freedom rolls of Dublin city often noted the craft specialisation of incoming freemen. Together with occasional details on individual goldsmiths contained in the guild records, it is possible to quantify this specialisation. While the majority of free brothers were identified simply as goldsmiths – a term which in itself encompassed craftsmen who worked with gold, silver and jewellery – the composition of the remaining minority (where it is known) provides an indication of this diversity.<sup>171</sup>

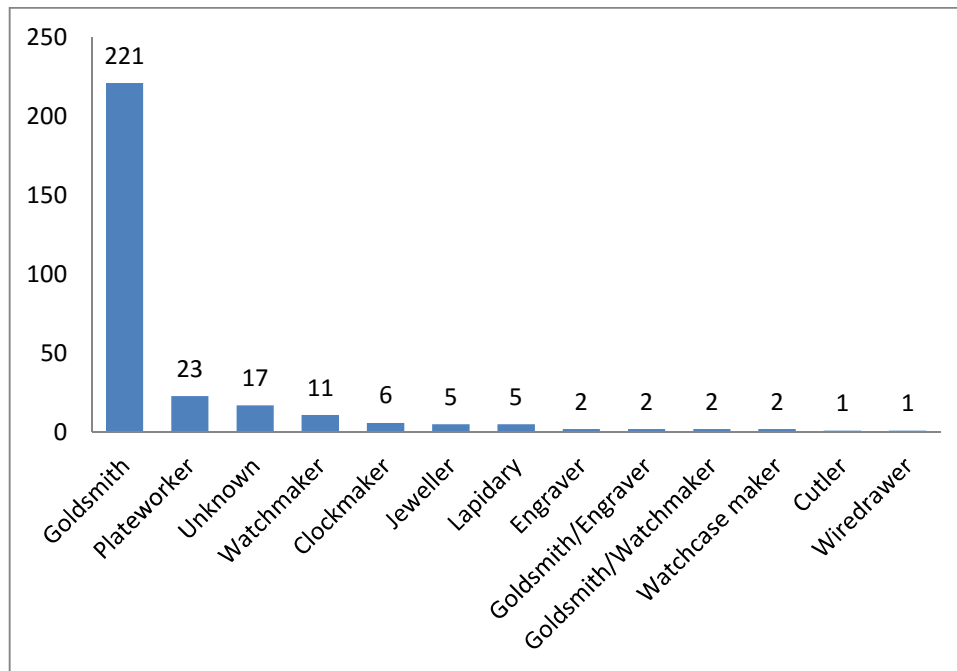
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<sup>170</sup>Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, p. 571.

<sup>171</sup>Appendix A.

**Table 5 – Source: Appendix A**

**Craft specialisation within the Dublin guild of goldsmiths, c.1600-1700**



The goldsmiths' guild functioned as an umbrella organisation for the regulation of the jewellers, lapidaries,<sup>172</sup> watch and clock-makers, watch-case and clock-case makers of Dublin, whose products involved the use of gold, silver and precious stones. The technical complexity of goldsmithing presented further demarcation of craftsmen working with silver with the above table showing that a portion of the free brothers were identified as engravers, plateworkers and wire-drawers.<sup>173</sup> In addition, the inevitable occasional cross-over between cutlers and goldsmiths can be seen with the classification of one cutler member of the guild.<sup>174</sup> Greater technical diversity existed in England in this period with further distinction identifying chasers, modellers, small- and large-workers and refiners.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>172</sup>Lapidaries worked in the cutting and finishing of gemstones, which were often used in necklaces, earrings and other jewellery. As a result they were often mounted on a silver or gold base but these being so small were not required to be assayed.

<sup>173</sup>Silver wire was used as an embellishment within decorative fabrics by weavers, lace-makers and embroiderers. Silver wire-drawers employed specialist skill in manufacturing this valuable thread. (G.B. Hughes, 'The ancient craft of the wire-drawer' in *Country Life*, (19 Apr. 1956), pp 817-8.) Plateworkers worked specifically in the hammering, raising and production of silver vessels and larger items.

<sup>174</sup>The Dublin Goldsmith Company's monopoly of assay testing and hallmarking meant that cutlers, members of the Guild of St Luke, producing knife and sword blades with silver mounts and hafts, regularly interacted with the goldsmiths' guild.

<sup>175</sup>Glanville, *Silver in England*, pp 172-80.



Outside of Dublin, diversification and cross-over within metalworking crafts was also to be found. Although the charters of Waterford and Cork suggest that goldsmiths were operating within provincial guilds that did not promote and protect the strict adherence to the material sensitivities and standards of workmanship associated with the precious metals of gold and silver, it can be proposed that the broad structure of hammermen guilds promoted material and technical versatility. It was unlikely that craftsmen operating in small provincial towns and cities could subsist solely on the production of goods made of expensive, luxury metals. The basic techniques associated with metalworking – hammering, raising, soldering, casting, planishing – were readily transferable from one craft to another and common patterns were found in goods produced in silver, pewter and brass.<sup>176</sup> It is interesting to note that among the founding trustees of the Cork Company of Goldsmiths in 1657 were Robert Goble and Edward Goble, who were both identified as braziers.<sup>177</sup> Presumably brothers, their father was John Goble, also a brazier, operating in Cork in the 1630s.<sup>178</sup> Jackson includes Edward Goble, who was a master of the guild in 1659, in his lists of Cork goldsmiths, suggesting that the brass founder may also have been employed in working with silver. His son, also Robert, was Cork’s most prominent goldsmith in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, and a prolific manufacturer of domestic, ecclesiastical and civic plate. It is reasonable to presume that Robert learned the rudiments of his craft from his father’s metalworking workshop. Other Gobles were pewterers. The council book of Cork notes in September 1708 that ‘Daniel Harris, pewterer, having served Edwd Goble, an ancient freeman, to be admitted free.’<sup>179</sup>

Fluidity between the trades was characteristic of other provincial cities. Goldsmiths’ understanding of precious metals and alloys made them the natural experts to be engaged on matters concerning coinage and money weights. In 1643, during the crisis precipitated by the 1641 rebellion, the crown tasked Peter Vaneindhoven and Gilbert Tonques with coining the plate brought in by Dublin’s

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<sup>176</sup>On the interchanging patterns and designs found on silver, pewter and brass see Schroder, *Domestic silver*, pp 16, 105-7.

<sup>177</sup>Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, p. 678

<sup>178</sup>Grace Lawless Lee, *The Huguenot settlements in Ireland* (London, 1936), p. 48.

<sup>179</sup>Richard Caulfield (ed.), *The Council Book of the Corporation of the City of Cork, from 1609 to 1643, and from 1690 to 1800* (Surrey, 1876), p. 331.

loyal subjects.<sup>180</sup> When Waterford city's circulation of silver coinage dwindled in 1672, the city corporation's solution to this crisis was to issue copper tokens into the local economy and employ the local goldsmith Edward Russell to cut the copper dies.<sup>181</sup> Later, in 1675, Russell was paid by the city corporation to make money weights.<sup>182</sup> Similarly, in Limerick, the corporation ordered in October 1673:

Scales & Weights for weighing of mony [and] do order & desire Mr Mayor to treat wth some Gouldsmith to make equall & \_\_\_ Weights & Scales for ye use aforesd with ye Corpcon Armes stamped thereon & all persons in this Citty be required to receive & pay mony thereby.<sup>183</sup>

Richard Smart was appointed to a similar task in Cork city in 1679 while John Cuthbert was employed in Dublin in 1683 to make coins whose stamps were to be 'flat and the circle to be smooth and polished, that no dust may gather in, and each weight to be stamped with the number of pennyweights it bears on one side and the crown and harp on the other side'. A decade and a half later, in February 1697/8, the Lord Justices of Ireland declared that Cuthbert's coins were 'unskilfully made, sold, and uttered' as they were made with unequal weights and that Cuthbert had committed a 'great misdemeanour'. Accordingly, the commission was transferred to Vincent Kidder, reflecting the seriousness of the matter and the grave responsibility entrusted to goldsmiths.<sup>184</sup>

The trading and manufacturing of precious metals may have also encouraged Irish goldsmiths, like their British and European counterparts, into the associated roles of money-lending, valuation and banking. Ireland's comparatively late creation of a mint and an official banking system – the Bank of Ireland was not founded until the mid-eighteenth century – exacerbated issues relating to regular shortages of minted coin, the circulation of foreign coinage, little availability of credit and the export of bullion and coin by those of means to their interests abroad.<sup>185</sup> These

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<sup>180</sup>Douglas Bennett, *The silver collection, Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin, 1988), p. 134.

<sup>181</sup>Pender, *Corporation of Waterford*, p. 108; O'Brien, 'Goldsmiths of Waterford', pp 118-19.

<sup>182</sup>Pender, *Corporation of Waterford*, p. 146.

<sup>183</sup>Minute recorded 20 Oct. 1673. (NLI MS 89, f. 47r.)

<sup>184</sup>Dudley Westropp, 'Notes on Irish money weights and foreign coin current in Ireland' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, xxxiii (1916-17), pp 43-72.

<sup>185</sup>George O'Brien, *The economic history of Ireland in the seventeenth century* (Dublin, 1919), pp 203-10.

problems were observed in the early-1620s by an English inhabitant of Ireland who also proposed solutions centring on establishing a coherent system of banking:

if the merchants [in Ireland] would erect a bank of such money as they receive for their wares there and which they used to bring hither under-hand, and to afford money at such rates and upon such terms as they use in the like in other countries, and the like banks to be here for correspondency [sic], it would avoid this mischief and in some measure repair the loss the country there sustained heretofore by their secret transport of moneys hither.<sup>186</sup>

Within this institutional vacuum, money lending between individuals flourished. A sophisticated credit network was regulated by the Irish Statute Staple.<sup>187</sup> Between 1596 and 1687, the Staple recorded over 10,000 transactions between debtors and lenders.<sup>188</sup> There is little evidence to suggest that Irish goldsmiths were prominent within the latter category, however, and that they practiced exclusively as goldsmith-bankers like Edward Blackwell did in mid-seventeenth century London.<sup>189</sup> Even so, other sources indicate goldsmiths loaned sums of money throughout this period, indicating some features of the practice: the London-trained goldsmith Nathaniel Stoughton who immigrated to Dublin in the 1630s deposed several financial losses following the 1641 rebellion amounting to £554. His debtors, who ranged from the bishop of Kilfenora to Alderman Watson of Dublin, had taken out bonds or loans for sums ranging from a few pounds to larger amounts such as £100.<sup>190</sup> Later in the century, alderman, knight and goldsmith Abel Ram loaned Dublin Corporation two sums totalling £500 in the early-1680s, at an interest rate of 10%.<sup>191</sup> By 1686 Ram petitioned the corporation for the repayment of loans amounting to £1,300.<sup>192</sup> The city was also indebted to numerous other lenders who included the French immigrant goldsmith Isaac Jean.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>186</sup>O'Brien, 'Advertisements for Ireland', pp 26-7.

<sup>187</sup>Jane Ohlmeyer and Eamonn O Ciardha (eds), *The Irish Statute Staple Books, 1596-1687* (Dublin, 1998), p. 2.

<sup>188</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>189</sup>Only five goldsmiths feature as lenders within the Irish Statute Staple. (Ohlmeyer & O Ciardha, *Irish Statute Staple Books*, pp 66, 83, 86, 154); Stephen Quinn, 'Balances and goldsmith-bankers: the co-ordination and control of inter-banker debt in seventeenth-century London', in Mitchell, *Goldsmiths, silversmiths & bankers*, pp 53-76.

<sup>190</sup>Deposition of Nathaniel Stoughton, Dublin, 29 Mar. 1642. (TCD MS 810, ff 181r-182v.)

<sup>191</sup>Dublin City Assembly Treasurers Accounts (DCA MS MR36), ff 399v, 415r.

<sup>192</sup>CARD, v, 382.

<sup>193</sup>DCA MS MR36, f. 415v.

Several of Dublin's goldsmiths were, like Abel Ram, well-located to take advantage of opportunities that came their way.<sup>194</sup> Ram, whose workshop address was noted at Castle Street, was positioned at the epicentre of the city, in close proximity to the city's and country's government and vice-regal court. Along with fifty-five of the city's 301 goldsmiths whose street address was recorded, it is interesting to note the clustering of workshops around these streets near to the castle, at Castle Street, Skinner Row, Werburgh Street, St George's Lane, Dame Street, Hoey's Court, Cole Alley, Copper Alley, Fishamble Street and Winetavern Street (Fig. 16). The city's pre-eminent goldsmiths in the century's final decade, who included Thomas Bolton, John Cuthbert, David King and John Phillips, were all located on Skinner Row which, along with Castle Street, was the nexus of goldsmith activity. Around the corner, on Werburgh Street, the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company instituted their new guildhall in 1709, where they remained until 1812, underlining the commercial significance of these neighbouring streets which had become an established centre for workshops, retail and the guild operations. Prior to the company's move to Werburgh Street, details regarding its location throughout the seventeenth century are vague: in 1593 the company took out a sixty-one year lease of premises at Golden Lane, also close to the Castle.<sup>195</sup>

In the Restoration period, Dublin Corporation initiated the development of streets and buildings to the east of the city, a move which signalled the beginnings of expansion for the ensuing one hundred and fifty years. The city's goldsmiths featured within this new era of opportunity for property development and speculation. The first development of this kind was St Stephen's Green which was laid out in building lots in 1663.<sup>196</sup> Number eighteen on the north side of the green was allocated to Joseph Stoker, and on the west side's lengthier lots number twelve was allocated to Richard Lord.<sup>197</sup> North of the river Liffey, Daniel Bellingham invested in property on Oxmantown Green where, in December 1662 he paid £410 for a 'parcel of ground'.<sup>198</sup> His colleague Joseph Stoker purchased the neighbouring number ninety-

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<sup>194</sup>The street location of the workshops of the city's goldsmiths are, where it is known, detailed on the datasheet of Appendix A.

<sup>195</sup>Bennett, *Collecting Irish silver*, p. 13.

<sup>196</sup>Constantia Maxwell, *Dublin under the Georges* (Dublin, 1997), p. 57.

<sup>197</sup>CARD, iv, 301-6.

<sup>198</sup>Ibid., 254.

five.<sup>199</sup> Given Bellingham's existing residence at Cow's Lane, within the walls of the city, and Stoker's other interests at Castle Street and Stephen's Green these goldsmiths emerge as speculative property developers in this period.<sup>200</sup> They were not singular in their growing property portfolios among the city's goldsmiths: Nathaniel Stoughton's 1641 deposition also included his property losses which amounted to £100 for money 'spent and disbursed, in building houses upon ... Alderman Watsons Lands in the Countie of Catherlugh [Carlow]'.<sup>201</sup> The Dublin goldsmith David Jean bequeathed in his 1667 will his houses in 'Kennedys Land' and Castle Street to his wife Sarah and his 'brick house' on St James's Street in the city to his goldsmith brother Isaac. His business interest in the developing glass manufacturing industry in Ireland is also indicated by his additional bequest to his wife to whom he also gave 'all my shair in the Glass House in the County of Cavan'.<sup>202</sup>

In addition to banking and property ownership, Ireland's master goldsmiths, as members of guilds and, therefore, citizens of their municipalities, were also noted for their participation and prominence in politics in this period. The interplay between the city corporation and the guilds was inevitably steered by the interests and ambitions of individuals. In the course of the century several goldsmiths were elevated to prominent positions within Dublin Corporation. Henry Cheshire was elected as a city sheriff in 1618, which was followed by his elevation to the office of alderman; John Woodcock was also elected sheriff, in 1641, and was followed by Peter Vaneindhoven in 1648. Richard Lord, joint-assay master for the period 1644-9 and master warden in 1673-4, was, in the 1660s, an 'agent to the city' charged with overseeing the city watercourse, and in the 1670s was appointed collector of the watercourse. In 1676 he was appointed reader of the bills in the City Assembly and, in 1680, was appointed by the Lord Mayor to regulate all weights.<sup>203</sup> Abel Ram, already well established within his trade as both goldsmith and a noted money-lender to the city, also achieved prominence in city politics. He was elected as alderman and knighted in 1670 and, in 1684, was elected Lord Mayor. Daniel Bellingham was

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<sup>199</sup>Ibid., 329-52.

<sup>200</sup>Janet Redmond, 'Daniel Bellingham, goldsmith and first Lord Mayor of the city of Dublin' in *Irish Arts Review*, winter (2002), pp 120-3.

<sup>201</sup>TCD MS 810, ff 181r-182v.

<sup>202</sup>Will of David Jean, Dublin, 28 Aug. 1667. (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, ff 259v-261r.)

<sup>203</sup>CARD, v, 584.

the first mayor to enjoy the title 'Lord Mayor', in 1665, and had a particularly illustrious political career (Fig. 17).<sup>204</sup> Prior to this position he was a sheriff in 1655, followed by his election as a city alderman in 1656. He, too, was knighted, in 1662, and appointed Deputy Receiver General and Vice Treasurer for Ireland for the period 1663-6. Bellingham's rise through Dublin's political ranks enabled his acquisition of coveted commissions for civic and ceremonial plate, to be discussed in the following chapters.

In other towns and cities goldsmiths likewise were noted for their political careers. George Buck was a regular fixture among the burgesses of Limerick city assembly in the 1670s as was Robert Smith who served as treasurer and later was appointed as 'Common Speaker' of the council in 1680.<sup>205</sup> Meanwhile one of Waterford's few seventeenth-century goldsmiths, William Smith, also climbed the political ranks. In 1686 he was listed as a common councilman of the city's corporation and by 1690 he was an alderman. In 1698 he was elected mayor of Waterford.<sup>206</sup> His rise to power, like Bellingham's, though not as lucrative, saw him receive some of the city's few commissions for ceremonial plate.

## 2.6 Conclusion

By 1700, the ethnic and professional profiles of Ireland's goldsmiths, the developed structures within workshops and the organisational systems governing status and quality had completely changed the environments in which silver was produced. In Dublin and, to a lesser extent, Cork and other cities, the influx of craftsmen from Britain and continental Europe, it has been shown, contributed significantly to these changing conditions, practices and standards. Though Ireland represented commercial opportunity and refuge to many of these immigrant goldsmiths, among whom were apprentices and journeymen, the gains the country acquired by their arrival were immeasurable and far-reaching. The quantitative

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<sup>204</sup>Redmond, 'Daniel Bellingham', pp 120-3.

<sup>205</sup>NLI MS 89, f. 221r.

<sup>206</sup>Pender, *Corporation of Waterford*, pp 270, 350.

growth of craftsmen and their corresponding boom in output by the century's last decades, the independent, systematic organisation of the craft, namely by the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company, and the technical diversity within the trade cannot be imagined without the significant role played by these immigrants. Their international professional and familial networks along with the mobility of itinerant craftsmen and trainee-craftsmen played an important part in conveying ideas, designs and fashions, a theme that will be developed in chapters four and five.

This chapter has shown that seventeenth-century Irish goldsmiths' workshops were industrious and populated places. John Cuthbert may have been atypical in the disproportionate numbers of apprentices and journeymen in his employment, but his example reveals the potential that existed within the craft for workshop expansion in order to meet ambitions for pre-eminence in production. A great deal of documentation has, fortunately, survived relating to Cuthbert, mainly on account of his contravention of rules, his failure to pay fines and other 'misdemeanours'. It is possible that his more lawful and prolific colleagues were declaring and sponsoring journeymen in a timely manner, thus avoiding their documentation, and operating similarly busy, peopled workshops. In any event, the material relating to Cuthbert shows that several workshop employees were needed in order to produce the volume of silver that he had assayed; the ideal of the master goldsmith making, finishing, marking and selling all his own wares was not practical or realistic, particularly when other matters such as political advancement and property development were competing ambitions. Developing this line of enquiry further, this chapter has shown that though there is no explicit reference to subcontracting, the quantitative evidence connected to the numbers of master goldsmiths, quarter brothers, journeymen and the assay of plate combines to provoke investigation in this direction. The handful of objects exhibiting double marks and over-struck maker's marks, along with some documentary evidence, indicates that by the end of the seventeenth century in Dublin, at least, features of subcontracting and collaboration between goldsmiths were in existence. These craftsmen were responding to unprecedented demand from Irish consumers for plate. The next and subsequent chapters examine their patterns of acquisition and consumption which, in turn, complements the conclusions drawn above.

## Chapter three

### The acquisition of silver in seventeenth-century Ireland

#### 3.0 Introduction

The economic symbiosis that existed between consumers and producers of silver and other luxury wares in seventeenth-century Ireland has received little attention.<sup>1</sup> Greater analysis has been devoted to the relationship between eighteenth-century Irish consumers and makers, and consumers and retailers, aided by the wider availability of documentary source materials such as receipts, trade cards, bills, account books and letters.<sup>2</sup> However, a consumer society was well-established in seventeenth-century Ireland, as it was in Britain and continental Europe, and with it came interactions, networks and demands which stimulated product availability and development.<sup>3</sup> Close examination of documentary and object sources shows that robust demand for plate was evident among Irish consumers from the century's early years and that this demand was satisfied through a variety of methods and means, not least through the time-honoured relationship between craftsman and customer, as succinctly illustrated with this rare letter from Nathaniel Stoughton to George FitzGerald, Earl of Kildare in 1632:

Let me entreat your honour to make me over money by Exchequer, and I will be sure to furnish you with salt, bacon, and ewer, tankards, bearboles [sic] and what else I shall be enjoined by your honour to do which will not amount to less than

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<sup>1</sup>A notable exception, though with greater emphasis on the eighteenth century, is Barnard, *Grand figure*, pp 122-50.

<sup>2</sup>Barnard, *Grand figure*.; Desmond FitzGerald, 'Early Irish trade cards and other eighteenth-century ephemera' in *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, ii (1987), pp 115-32; Sarah Foster, 'Going shopping in eighteenth-century Dublin' in *Things*, iv (1996), pp 33-43; FitzGerald, 'Oliver St. George'; Valerie Moffat, 'A map of her jurisdiction: the account books of Meliora Adlcrcon of Dawson Street, Dublin, 1782-94', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies: The Journal of the Irish Georgian Society*, xv (2012), pp 128-49.

<sup>3</sup>Brewer & Porter, *Consumption & the world of goods*; Berg & Clifford, *Consumers & luxury*; Levy-Peck, *Consuming splendour*; Whittle & Griffiths, *Consumption & gender*; Flavin, *Consumption & culture*.



£140 more so that my good Lord you shall no way doubt of my readiness or look out after any other for any other of our commodities.<sup>4</sup>

As this communication demonstrates, where consumers and makers intersected, and where it is possible to trace this intersection, lies compelling evidence of an evolving consumer society within which the demand, manufacture, retail and purchase of silver played an important role. Furthermore, records of acquisition by other means – second-hand purchases, fines, payments-in-lieu, donations, bequests and gifts – supply evidence of the value and significance consumers attached to silver. This chapter will present these numerous avenues by which Irish consumers acquired their plate. Examining them reveals significant cultural and economic features and, simultaneously, contributes to understanding the parallel development of Ireland's goldsmiths' craft which, like all commercial enterprises, was predicated on consumer demand.

Though several catalogues and articles relating to Irish silver have identified the various components of plate within the broad categories of the domestic, ecclesiastical, civic and ceremonial, most of the existing literature has not sufficiently examined the consumers who were stimulating the demand for these items.<sup>5</sup> The wide range of consumers of silver in Ireland and the environments in which plate was displayed and used – in homes, churches, town halls, corporations and institutions – became more clearly defined over the course of the seventeenth century. This chapter will, thus, identify these individuals and institutions, illuminate comparisons and differences among them with regard to their acquisition and consumption of silver, and locate them within the ecclesiastical, political and social contexts of the period.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Excerpt of a letter from the London goldsmith Nathaniel Stoughton to George FitzGerald, sixteenth earl of Kildare, 11 Aug. 1632. (Aidan Clarke and Brid McGrath (eds) *The letterbook of the sixteenth earl of Kildare* (Dublin, 2013), p. 51.)

<sup>5</sup>Exceptions: Bennett, *Silver collection, Trinity College Dublin*; Thomas Sinstedden, 'Household plate of the dukes of Ormonde' in *Silver Studies*, xxiii (2008), pp 123-34; Kranodebska-D'Aughton, 'Me fieri fecit' in O Floinn, *Franciscan faith*.

<sup>6</sup>Toby Barnard surveyed the material culture of Roman Catholic and Protestant worship in Ireland in the period 1500-1800 and this included a concise consideration of the communion silver in the seventeenth century. (Barnard, 'Fabrics of faith' in O Floinn, *Franciscan faith*.)

### 3.1 The consumers of silver

Have you a fit and convenient seat for the Minister to read divine service in a surplice and a decent Pulpit set upp in a convenient place for the preaching of God's word together with a comely pulpit Cloath and Cushion for the same, ... have you a fair Communion Table, a Chalice with a Cover of silver, a stoope or Flagon of Pewter (if not of purer metal) for the celebration of the holy Communion.<sup>7</sup>

Among the main consumers of plate in the seventeenth century were the churches in Ireland. The Roman Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian churches all celebrated the sacrament of Holy Communion and the legacy of preceding centuries deemed it appropriate, if not essential, that the central act of Christian worship had a cup of precious metal to contain the symbolic blood of Christ.<sup>8</sup> Baser metals or wood could taint or, worse, absorb the precious contents. The preservation of chalices and other altar plate by the Christian institutions has ensured their predominance among extant Irish silver. Sweeney's calculations, quantified according to the periods of reigning monarchs, show that in the period from the accession of James I to the death of William III, 60.7% of all existing pieces of Irish silver were produced for ecclesiastical use.<sup>9</sup> It is clear that altar silver was valued for both its symbolic and

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<sup>7</sup>Articles to be enquired of by the Churchwardens and Questmen of every Parish in ye Primary Visitation of ye most Reverend Father in God Thomas Fulwar, Archbishop of Cashel. [c.1662], reproduced by Venerable St. J. D. Seymour in 'Calendar of a Register of Cashel preserved in Diocesan Registry, Armagh' (1931) (RCB MS GS 2/7/3/34), pp 4-5.

<sup>8</sup>As well as the Presbyterian Church, the dissenting Protestant churches in Ireland in the seventeenth century were The Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), Baptists, Independents and Huguenots (French Calvinists). The Quakers did not retain any of the sacraments and no plate associated with any of the other churches survives from this period.

<sup>9</sup>Sweeney, *Irish Stuart silver*, un-paginated index entitled 'Analysis of extant Irish Stuart silver recorded by me'. According to Sweeney's calculations, 1,220 items of Irish silver dating to the period 1603-1701 are extant. Within this number, 300 pieces are associated with the Roman Catholic silver and 426 pieces with the Church of Ireland silver. Aside from the inclusion of items of Catholic and Protestant altar silver in the catalogues of collections of Irish silver, the literature which deals specifically with ecclesiastical silver are few. On Catholic ecclesiastical silver: Robert Day, 'The altar plate of the Franciscan Church, Cork' in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, iii, no. 26 (1897), pp 44-50; *ibid.*, no. 29, pp 161-68; Martin Blake, 'Some old silver chalices connected with the counties of Galway and Mayo' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xviii, no. 1, (1928), pp. 22-43; Buckley, *Irish altar plate*; Kranodebska-D'Aughton, 'Me fieri fecit'; Ragnall Ó Floinn 'Irish Franciscan Church furnishings in the pre-reformation period' in Ó Floinn, *Franciscan faith*, pp 7-19. On Church of Ireland plate: John Davis White, 'Some account of the Church plate of the Diocese of Cashel and Emly' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (1887), pp 176-82; Webster, *Church plate of Cork, Cloyne & Ross*; Seymour, *Church plate of Cashel & Emly*; C. B. Warren, 'Notes on the church plate of Waterford diocese' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xcvi, no. 2 (1967), pp 119-27; David J. Butler, 'The churches and plate of the Church of Ireland in the dioceses of Cashel, Emly, Waterford and Lismore' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, cxxxiv (2004) pp 91-165.

material worth by each of the religious denominations. Furthermore, the motivations of the clergy and the devout to acquire and retain items transcended confessional status. The environments within which church plate was consumed, however, frequently differed.

Extant, documented Catholic chalices, of which there are just over 250, and other items of recusant plate – monstrances, patens, pyxes, ciboria, crosses, censers, cruets, and sanctuary lamps – are physical evidence of the endurance of the Catholic Church during a period in which it operated as an officially outlawed religion.<sup>10</sup> Despite government efforts to enforce religious conformity with the imposition of recusancy fines and proclamations expelling clergy from Ireland in 1624 and again in 1629, Catholicism flourished in the opening decades of the seventeenth century.<sup>11</sup> Under James I and Charles I Irish Catholics were treated with a degree of leniency that was not forthcoming for their English counterparts. With 2,000 Old English Catholics controlling about a third of the most fertile land in Leinster, Munster and Connaught, along with the commerce within the majority of the country's urban centres, Ireland could not be governed without their co-operation.<sup>12</sup> These powerful Old English Catholics, along with the Gaelic Irish nobility, ensured the widespread patronage of individual clergy and religious orders in the early-seventeenth century. In 1613 a government official complained of the 'great favour they [Catholic clergy and religious orders] find from the noblemen and gentlemen of worth ... who continually harbour and maintain them'.<sup>13</sup> Most of the country's peerage was Catholic in the opening decade of the century and by 1641, though not as dominant, the Catholic nobility shared an equal position with their counterparts who subscribed to the established faith. It was not until the early-eighteenth century that the Catholic elite were in the minority.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Act of Supremacy (Ireland) and Act of Uniformity (Ireland), 1560. The former recognised the monarch as the temporal and spiritual head of the church while the latter prescribed the liturgy and laid down penalties for those who did not attend services (recusants) of the established Church of Ireland. (Robert Dudley Edwards, *Church and state in Tudor Ireland*, (Dublin, 1935), pp 182-91.)

<sup>11</sup>Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, pp 20, 39-41; Gillespie, *Devoted people*, p. 4.

<sup>12</sup>Corish, *The catholic community*, p. 24.

<sup>13</sup>Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, p. 142.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 135.

Wealthy Roman Catholics, therefore, formed a substantial section of Irish society and were well-placed and well-resourced to support their church for most of this period. Catholic merchants and nobility facilitated priests with the provision of their homes and properties for the celebration of Mass. They supplied money for their subsistence and funds for the maintenance and equipping of convents, friaries and the construction of chapels which Anglicans disparagingly referred to as 'Mass houses'.<sup>15</sup> The Catholic laity also frequently remembered clergy and religious orders in their wills.<sup>16</sup> For example, Mathew Archbold left the Franciscan abbey at Multyfarnham five pounds in 1618.<sup>17</sup> In 1649, Ellen Shee bequeathed £100 to Our Lady's Church in Kilkenny, £4 to the archbishop of Cashel, forty shillings to the bishop of Waterford, besides other bequests to individual clergy.<sup>18</sup> In addition, she donated a chalice for the local chapel's use.<sup>19</sup> This was common practice among devout Catholics of means (Fig. 18). Many of these recusants also affirmed their religious identity by sending their sons to European seminaries for their education or for clerical training, thereby creating and maintaining transnational links with foreign Catholics.<sup>20</sup> In these continental locales Irish priests often acquired chalices and other items of altar plate which were brought home on their return (Fig. 19).

In contrast, though it appropriated the infrastructural legacy of the deposed Catholic Church and enjoyed legitimacy as the established faith, the Church of Ireland's prospects in the early seventeenth century appeared unpromising. Parishes had few clergy, churches were impoverished and in ruinous condition since the Nine Years' War (1596-1603) and much of the church's lands and properties had been sequestered by laymen.<sup>21</sup> In 1623 the crown issued a directive to Irish bishops to oversee the rebuilding and refurbishment of their churches. Despite some improvement, the situation proceeded to worsen. Within the capital the situation was

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<sup>15</sup>Corish, *The catholic community*, p. 33; Lennon, 'Mass in the manor house' in Kelly & Keogh, *Catholic diocese of Dublin*, pp 46-69; Lyttleton, 'Faith of our fathers', in Lyttleton & Rynne, *Plantation Ireland*, pp 182-206.

<sup>16</sup>Discussed by Tait, 'Wills of the Irish Catholic community', p.192. The bulk of these wills are transcribed in the documents of the Record Commissioners, Wills and Deeds, (NAI MSS RC/5; RC/10).

<sup>17</sup>Will of Mathew Archbold, Westmeath, 1618. (NAI MS RC/5/11, p. 70.)

<sup>18</sup>J.F. Ainsworth and E. MacLysaght, 'Power-O'Shee Papers' in *Analecta Hibernica*, xx (1958), p. 233.

<sup>19</sup>Will of Ellen Shee, Freinistowne, County Kilkenny, 13 Oct. 1649. (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, f. 33v.)

<sup>20</sup>Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, p. 138.

<sup>21</sup>Ford, *Protestant Reformation*, p. 64.

grim with two-thirds of Dublin's churches in ruins in 1630.<sup>22</sup> The rebellion of 1641, the ensuing warfare and the Interregnum radically decreased the numbers of clergy and laity and many properties were confiscated. During the Restoration the re-established Church of Ireland once again assessed its ruins; north of Dublin it was observed that churches were 'without ornaments, and most of them without roofs, without doors, without windows, but the holes to receive the winds to entertain the congregation'.<sup>23</sup> The physical and economic environment only began to slowly improve in the last two decades of the century though it was still far from perfect; Queen Mary, in 1690, declared the church 'the worst in Christendom'.<sup>24</sup>

Amidst these impoverished conditions a policy regarding the furnishing of altars with appropriate silver vessels and utensils was established, in line with the Church of England.<sup>25</sup> Initially at theological odds with its parent church, the Church of Ireland leaned towards Calvinism in the early-seventeenth century.<sup>26</sup> Greater compliance came during the Convocation of 1634-5 which saw the church adopting the English canons of 1604 and the establishment of its constitution of Thirty-Nine Articles. This development directly impacted on the church's requirement for communion plate and the form of these vessels and items. Prior to these changes the Irish church's altars were simply equipped with a communion cup which, in its design, had more in common with the contemporary domestic wine cup than with a chalice, representing the simplified and communal approach towards the sacrament (Fig. 20). The increased consumption of sacramental wine to the laity was also addressed by the inclusion of an altar flagon (or pair of flagons), the contents of which would be blessed during the sacrament and used to replenish the cup during communion. During the 1620s and 1630s, however, liturgical changes within the Church of England precipitated by the reforms initiated by the clerics Launcelot Andrewes (1555-1626) and William Laud (1573-1645) had a significant influence on the development of the Anglican communion during Charles I's reign. Andrewes developed the concept of a set of communion plate with alms dishes placed on altars flanked by candlesticks, while the Laudian reforms of the 1630s featured high church

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>23</sup>Johnson, Robinson & Jackson, *History of the Church of Ireland*, p. 209.

<sup>24</sup>Connolly, *Religion, law & power*, p. 178.

<sup>25</sup>Oman, *English church plate*.

<sup>26</sup>Johnson, Robinson & Jackson, *History of the Church of Ireland*, p. 185.

rituals which employed the decorative potential of suites of altar silver (Fig. 21).<sup>27</sup> Though the restored Anglican Church in 1660 returned to a more moderate celebration of the communion, sets of altar silver had become the standard and the Church of Ireland followed suit (Fig. 22).

The quantities of silver belonging to both the Catholic and Anglican churches in Ireland effectively charts their opposing fortunes: there are far greater quantities of extant altar silver from the period that corresponds with the theological moderation and relative economic improvement of the Church of Ireland in the post-Restoration period than the number of items predating these comparatively harmonious decades. Sweeney has shown that in the years corresponding with the reigns of James I and Charles I only thirty-four items of Anglican silver still exist while, from the same period, there are 156 items of Catholic plate.<sup>28</sup> A marked shift, reflecting the burgeoning affluence of the established church and its patrons is apparent from the reign of Charles II with a correlating decline in the fortunes of the Catholic Church. From the years corresponding with the Restoration, there are 145 pieces of Church of Ireland silver, while only forty-nine Catholic items from this period are extant. By the time of William III's death in 1701, the Church of Ireland was clearly the pre-eminent ecclesiastical consumer of silver; 165 pieces of church plate connected to the established church survive from his reign whereas a mere twenty-three items of Catholic silver can be attributed to this period, reflecting the radical economic decline and delegitimisation of that church's clergy and laity.<sup>29</sup> This growing dearth of silver chalices was observed by some Catholic clerics on the eve of the early penal era. John Brennan, archbishop of Cashel (1677-93) noted the tattered vestments and pewter vessels in some of the parishes he visited and, in an effort to encourage the acquisition of more plate, declared he would no longer consecrate pewter chalices.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Oman, *English church plate*, pp. 145-7; Gilchrist, *Anglican church plate*, pp 71-3; Robin Emmerson, *Church plate* (London, 1991), pp 11-12.

<sup>28</sup>Sweeney, *Irish Stuart silver*, 'Analysis of extant Irish Stuart silver recorded by me', (un-paginated index).

<sup>29</sup>Penal legislation began to be enacted in the 1690s, the most radical measure of which was the Act of Banishment of 1697: 'The first act of the Irish parliamentary session of 1697 provided for the banishment of all Catholic clergy exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction and also of all regular clergy', J.G. Simms, 'The bishop's banishment act of 1697 (9 Will. III, c. 1)' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xvii, no. 66 (1970), pp 185-99.

<sup>30</sup>Patrick Power (ed.), *A bishop in penal times, being the letters and reports of John Brennan, Bishop of Waterford (1671-93) and Archbishop of Cashel (1677-93)* (Cork, 1932), pp 30, 86, 92.

Extant items of communion silver belonging to the country's Presbyterian Church from this period are very few. A communion cup for the Presbyterian Church at Capel Street in Dublin dating to c.1696 has been recorded, while a matching set of eight cups for the Plunkett Street congregation was marked in the assay year 1700-1 (Fig. 23).<sup>31</sup> Features of the distinct Presbyterian celebration of Holy Communion, 'the Lord's Supper', were detected as early as 1634 when the Anglican Bishop Bramhall reported that northern Irish churches were deviating from the established faith, having long tables instead of altars at which 'good fellows' sat to receive the sacrament.<sup>32</sup> The popularity of Presbyterianism saw it spread across the country from the middle of the century, aided by both Scottish and English settlers, with greater numbers to be found in the north, particularly in the counties of Down and Antrim, where the first presbytery was established in Carrickfergus in 1642.<sup>33</sup> As well as Capel and Plunkett streets, there were also congregations situated in Wood Quay, New Row, Bull Alley and Cooke Street in Dublin. In other parts of the country immigrant ministers were to be found in urban centres such as Cork, Athlone and Drogheda.<sup>34</sup> The infrequent celebration by these churches of the Lord's Supper – performed two or three times a year – required a great deal of organisation. Flour and wine were purchased, tokens of admission for communicants were issued, and co-ordinated procedures for serving communion to several hundred people were established, as seen in Templepatrick in June 1647 when several church elders were appointed to cut bread, and fill and serve wine from the 'coups'.<sup>35</sup> The presbytery at Carnmoney, county Antrim recorded over 600 communicants on the Sabbath in August 1697 for which eight communion tables were required.<sup>36</sup> Aghadowey church, near Derry, noted its decision to purchase new cups and flagons in 1703 which were

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<sup>31</sup>Sweeney, *Irish Stuart silver*, pp 97, 123; Delamer & O'Brien, *500 years*, p. 37.

<sup>32</sup>Letter quoted in John M. Barkley, *A short history of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, (Belfast, 1939), Chapter 1 [unpaginated], published online: <http://www.lisburn.com/books/history-presbyterian/history-presbyterian-1.html#1> (7 Jun. 2014).

<sup>33</sup>By 1660 there were 100,000 Presbyterians in Ireland, a figure that continued to grow, necessitating the establishment of the Ulster Synod in 1690 and the Munster Synod in 1696 in order to govern the increasing numbers of presbyteries. (Raymond Gillespie, 'The Presbyterian revolution in Ulster 1660-90' in W.J. Sheils and Diana Woods (eds), *Studies in Church History*, xxv: *The churches, Ireland and the Irish* (Oxford, 1989), pp 159-70; James G. Ryan, *Irish church records* (Dublin, 1992), p. 73.)

<sup>34</sup>Kilroy, *Protestant dissent & controversy*, pp 36-44.

<sup>35</sup>W.T. Latimer, 'Old Session Book of Templepatrick Presbyterian Church' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xxxi, no.3 (1901), p. 266.

<sup>36</sup>Carnmoney Session Book, 22 Aug. 1697 (PRONI MS MIC/IP/37/4, unpaginated).

sourced in Dublin.<sup>37</sup> These scant records, the dearth of extant cups and documentary material precludes extensive analysis on the acquisition, consumption and design of seventeenth-century Presbyterian communion silver. However, the procedure and features of the religion's communion and the volume of its communicants clearly necessitated the requirement by many churches for more than one communion cup. This conclusion is supported by the survival of the set of eight silver cups acquired by Plunkett Street church in Dublin in 1700-1.

Beyond the country's ecclesiastical structures, city and town corporations, along with urban guilds and Ireland's only university, Trinity College, comprised other important institutional consumers of silver in seventeenth-century Ireland. The records and material legacy of Ireland's guilds demonstrate the importance of plate in advertising their legitimacy and embellishing ceremony (Figs 24 and 25). They followed the practice established by municipal corporations who equipped their offices with silver insignia and used symbolic items such as maces and swords for decorating ceremonial occasions (Figs 26-29). A preoccupation with displaying civic authority and legitimacy was a motif of many civic corporations whose status was established or re-asserted in this period of urban creation and expansion.<sup>38</sup> Ireland's landscape was composed of both 'old' and 'new' (or 'plantation') towns in the seventeenth century: 'the new towns founded in the Irish east midlands, Munster and Ulster between c.1580 and 1630 ... were essentially adjuncts to the existing medieval (or earlier) urban network'.<sup>39</sup> Old or new, the practice of carrying and displaying items of silver insignia was a common feature of municipal corporations, as seen in Youghal in 1685:

Ordered, that to-morrow, 23 April, being the day of the Coronation of our Sov. Lord King James the Second, &c., Mr Mayor, Recorder, and Ballives [sic], being attended by the Aldermen, Burgesses and Freemen do walk in their

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<sup>37</sup>Aghadowey Session Book, 8 Jun. 1703, 18 Jan. 1703/4 (Presbyterian Historical Society, Belfast, pp 9, 22).

<sup>38</sup>R.M Young (ed.), *The town book of the Corporation of Belfast 1613-1816* (Belfast, 1892), pp 301-46; R.A. Butlin, *The development of the Irish town* (London, 1977), pp 61-100; Avril Thomas, *The walled towns of Ireland* (Dublin, 1992); Peter Borsay and Lindsay Proudfoot (eds), *Provincial towns in early modern England and Ireland* (Oxford, 2002); John Bradley, 'From frontier town to Renaissance city: Kilkenny, 1500-1700' in Borsay & Proudfoot, *Provincial towns*, pp 29-52.

<sup>39</sup>Borsay & Proudfoot, 'Ireland and England: the urban experience' in Borsay & Proudfoot, *Provincial towns*, p. 11.



gowns, &c., with the Sword, Maces, and the Constables before them to the Church.<sup>40</sup>

Kilkenny city's documents contain many references to its civic silver regalia: the city charter of 1609 conferred the right for the mayor to have a sword carried before him. In June 1638 the city's corporation ordered that the sword and four maces were to be carried before the mayor at the burial of aldermen and their wives, but at the burial of a sheriff's peer or their wives, the sword and only two maces were to be carried, highlighting the growing number of insignia.<sup>41</sup> In 1658, both the sword-bearer's and 'great mace' bearer's salaries were set by the city corporation at £8 each.<sup>42</sup> The necessity for employing such individuals demonstrated the consistent use of these important items by Kilkenny Corporation. This pattern is to be seen in other corporations.<sup>43</sup> In the absence of an official mace-bearer in less wealthy, newly-established towns such as Coleraine, the town's sergeants-at-mace, usually occupied with carrying out the corporation's day-to-day government, were instructed in 1623 to also fulfil the ceremonial role of processing in front of the mayor in order to signify his authority and thus imitate the procedure established in grander urban centres.<sup>44</sup>

The corporation records and extant items of civic plate indicate that several towns and cities had an existing stock of silver insignia that pre-dated the seventeenth century.<sup>45</sup> Nonetheless, alongside the repair of these older items and in line with the incorporation of several old and new towns, the period witnessed a surge in the acquisition of silver civic insignia, most of which were sourced from Irish goldsmiths. Kinsale's silver mace was declared 'well-nigh ruined and worne'

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<sup>40</sup>Caulfield, *Corporation of Youghal*, pp 366-7.

<sup>41</sup>Prim, 'Corporation insignia of Kilkenny', p. 282.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 283.

<sup>43</sup>Mace and sword bearers were also employed by Dublin Corporation throughout the seventeenth century with numerous instances in the records of the City Assembly and the City Treasurer noting their salary payments. (*CARD*, iii, 48, 67, 74; *DCA MS MR36*, ff 7r, 13r, 112v, 129r.)

<sup>44</sup>McGrath, *Corporation of Coleraine*, f. 3r.

<sup>45</sup>Three of Waterford's four old maces date to the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century. Kilkenny owned a silver gilt mace since at least 1507 when the sovereign Richard Rothe ordered one to be purchased from the town's funds. Fethard's mace dates to approximately 1575, while in Youghal, the corporation's records in 1610 included both an old and a new sword in its possession. (Anne-Marie Quinn, 'Irish Civic Maces: a study of their historical, artistic and social contexts' (M.A. thesis, The National College of Art and Design, Dublin, 2003). Dublin's 'king's' or 'city' sword pre-dates the seventeenth century. (Claude Blair and Ida Delamer 'The Dublin civic swords' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, lxxxviii, no. 5 (1988), pp 87-142.)

in 1657 and a decision to purchase a new one was made by the town's council.<sup>46</sup> Maces were also acquired at this time by the towns of Naas (c.1660), Kilkenny (1676), Navan (1680-1), Carlow (1680-3), Bandon (c.1700) and Ardee (c.1700) (Figs 30 and 31). In 1682 Ennis town corporation raised funds from a tax on the town's traders and spent £31 8s. on 'the maces, seal, clothes and hat, and man and horse's charge in fetching them from Limerick'.<sup>47</sup> Following its incorporation by Charles I in 1637 the newly established 'City of Cashel' commissioned a sword and a pair of sergeant's maces (Fig. 32).<sup>48</sup> Maces produced for the towns of Belfast (c.1635), Armagh (1656-7) and Castlemartyr (c.1685), are also extant, all also produced by Irish goldsmiths (Figs 33 and 34). Further items of silver insignia were acquired in increasing quantities by municipal corporations and institutions as the century progressed, supplying the goldsmiths with greater demand. They included seal matrixes, smaller maces for sergeants-at-arms, pocket maces, water-bailiff oars and chains of office (Figs 35-37).<sup>49</sup> These also required regular renewal and repair; in 1655 Dublin's guild of merchants decided its arms, featuring a crucifix, was 'superstitious' and commissioned another depicting a ship under sail. For this they engaged the goldsmith Joseph Stoker who was paid 30s.<sup>50</sup> In 1686, following the recent accession of James II, Cork Corporation purchased two maces, two sheriffs' maces, a pocket mace, seal, water-bailiff's oar and sword, all engraved with the new monarch's arms and costing over £67.<sup>51</sup> Standing cups, frequently gilded and produced with or without covers, had likewise become a common component of a corporation's suite of silver. These enormous ceremonial vessels, engraved with the institutions' arms and the names of the patrons or office holders enjoying their term in power, were also regularly acquired by guilds and Trinity College Dublin (Figs 38 and 39).

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<sup>46</sup>Caulfield, *Corporation of Kinsale*, p. 25.

<sup>47</sup>Brian O Dalaigh (ed.) *Corporation book of Ennis 1660-1810* (Dublin, 1990), p. 67.

<sup>48</sup>Delamer & O'Brien, *500 years*, p. 65.

<sup>49</sup>Several of these components, within the context of Dublin, are discussed in: John Ribton Garstin, *Maces, swords and other insignia of office of Irish corporations* (Dublin, 1898); Strickland, 'Civic insignia of Dublin', pp 117-32; Conor O'Brien supplies a brief history of the water bailiff oar in his article considering an eighteenth-century oar: 'The silver oar of the water-bailiff of Waterford' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, cxxv (1995), pp 135-7.

<sup>50</sup>DCA MS 78, ff 129-30.

<sup>51</sup>Caulfield, *Corporation of Cork*, xxv.

Despite the evident proliferation of municipal and ceremonial silver the quantity of extant pieces of silver identified within this category numbers thirty-four items or fewer than 3% of all surviving seventeenth-century Irish plate.<sup>52</sup> This small figure does not accurately represent the frequency with which silver was acquired and used by corporations and institutions in this period nor the importance of these organisations as consumers of silver. To be sure, several of the aforementioned ceremonial items have withstood the passage of time due to their symbolic importance but their acquisition and consumption was concurrent to the purchase by institutions of other items of ceremonial plate since lost *and* plate which was used for the purposes of honouring politicians or nobility, or for corporate dining and entertainment. Items such as these were often dispersed, sold, re-fashioned, lost or discarded over time, but they represented a significant feature in the institutional consumption of plate in this period. For example, Dublin's lord mayor's office was frequently occupied with entertaining and honouring visiting grandees, events at which silver featured prominently. Lord Mayor William Smith stated in 1676 that he had been 'at extraordinary charges and expence for the maintenance of the honour and dignity of this cittie in byeing plate necessary for accommodating of it which formerly the Mayors were furnished withall' and was accordingly compensated £200 by Dublin Corporation for his disbursements in enhancing the city's stock of dining plate.<sup>53</sup> Several of these items would have included forks, spoons, cups, tankards, plates and bowls, tableware which, in the final quarter of the seventeenth century was deemed polite and fashionable. Indeed, the city treasurer noted the disbursement of funds for replacing a lost silver spoon and fork following an important dining occasion at the Tholsell in 1685.<sup>54</sup> Trinity College also had a large stock of silver dining vessels and utensils. A great deal of this was submitted or sold over the course of the century in response to the country's crises or to replenish the college's coffers. A large proportion of Trinity's plate was purchased by the Dublin goldsmith Benjamin Burton in 1688, leaving few seventeenth-century specimens in the college's collection today.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>Sweeney, *Irish Stuart silver*, un-paginated index entitled 'Analysis of extant Irish Stuart silver recorded by me'.

<sup>53</sup>*CARD*, v, 127, 134.

<sup>54</sup>DCA MS MR36, ff 451-2.

<sup>55</sup>Bennett, *Silver collection, Trinity College Dublin*, pp 11, 141-6.

Several more traditionally domestic items were also commissioned by institutions, particularly by municipal corporations and guilds, and included silver tobacco boxes, cups and unspecified ‘peeses’ of plate which, engraved with arms and inscriptions, were presented to notables whom they wished to flatter and influence.<sup>56</sup> Chapter six will discuss in greater detail the political and strategic significance of these presentations, an expensive example of which included a gold cup and gold box given to the first duke of Ormond by Dublin Corporation in 1662 costing £371.<sup>57</sup> Many of the less lavish silver boxes routinely bestowed on dignitaries were modelled on the domestic tobacco box. In 1683 Dublin Corporation’s treasurer detailed that the city paid the goldsmith James Cottingham £1 13s. ‘on the exchangeing of an old silver tobacco box for a new one – and engraveing the Cittie armes thereon as by the Lord Mayors warrt’.<sup>58</sup> The paralleling of this practice by guilds can be seen in the records of the Dublin guild of merchants. In the period 1668-1700, the merchants’ guild presented fifteen ‘pieces of plate’, mainly to successive lord mayors of the city.<sup>59</sup>

Civic, corporate and educational institutions were, of course, made up of individuals whose ambitions and sensibilities, like those of Dublin’s Lord Mayor William Smith, very often dictated the acquisition by their companies of items which reflected the taste and priorities of the few. Daniel Bellingham, goldsmith and Dublin’s first mayor to take up the title Lord Mayor in 1665, saw fit to supply (from his own workshop) the office of Dublin’s first citizen with a large silver-gilt mace that same year, for which he was paid £93 18s. 9d. (Fig. 40).<sup>60</sup> Less prestigious office holders also strove to equip themselves with silver insignia: the city marshal Richard Prudfoote petitioned Dublin Corporation in January 1610/11 for £3 17s. bestowed by his late predecessor for the specific purpose of ‘making uppe of the mace belonging to his place’ and in 1664, the officer of the commons, Christopher Duffe, petitioned the City Assembly seeking reimbursement of £6 for the mace that he had purchased

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<sup>56</sup>Ida Delamer accounts for the practice by seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century municipal corporations in bestowing ‘freedom boxes’ along with other items of plate. (Ida Delamer, ‘Freedom boxes’ in *Dublin Historical Record*, xxxii, no. 1 (Dec. 1978), pp 2-14.)

<sup>57</sup>DCA MS 36, f. 215r.

<sup>58</sup>DCA MS MR36, f. 436r

<sup>59</sup>DCA MSS 78-79

<sup>60</sup>CARD, iv, 424, 440.

to ‘carry before the sword and cheife [sic] magistrate of this citty’.<sup>61</sup> In 1673 the mayor of Limerick, William York, put forward the motion to the city corporation that honorary freedom should be presented in a silver box to the Lord Viscount of Clare. The motion was carried with York appointed as the presenter of the box and honour to Clare.<sup>62</sup> It is likely that this was engraved with the city’s arms and an inscription noting York’s mayoralty as can be seen on the box Limerick Corporation presented by one of his successors to Lieutenant William Brown in 1693 (Fig. 29). The prominence of the 1693 mayor’s name – John Craven – on this second box illustrates how suitable such pieces were to advancing the prestige of those with influence. Though such donations or acquisitions were largely made on behalf of an institution, their inscriptions demonstrate the significance of their acquisition by individuals intent on creating personal legacy. Similar engraved examples detailing the terms of office of individuals can be seen in the objects connected to a range of municipal corporations and institutions, including the churches, each of which hint at the self-aggrandising motivations of magistrates, guild masters, guild wardens and church wardens (Figs 24, 41 and 42).

These opportunistic individuals operated within a society where silver featured as a powerful status symbol, and where the acquisition and prominent consumption of plate within the home was aspired. Domestic consumers’ increasing utilisation of silver was, therefore, a vital component in the development of the goldsmith’s craft in Ireland. The quantities of extant domestic silver indicate its great popularity in this period: 36.5% of all catalogued plate belongs to this category.<sup>63</sup> As outlined in the thesis introduction, these consumers ranged from those of extraordinary wealth such as Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, in the early decades of the century and the dukes of Ormond in the post-Restoration period, to those of more modest means whose valuable objects were detailed in wills, depositions and inventories.<sup>64</sup> Household

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<sup>61</sup>CARD, iii, 2-3; *ibid.*, iv, 291.

<sup>62</sup>Minute recorded 23 Jan. 1673/4. (NLI MS 89, f. 55r.)

<sup>63</sup>Sweeney, *Irish Stuart silver*, un-paginated index entitled ‘Analysis of extant Irish Stuart silver recorded by me’.

<sup>64</sup>Boyle’s income was the greatest enjoyed by all of Charles I’s subjects at this time (Canny, *Upstart earl*, p. 6). In 1630 the extent of Richard Boyle’s properties in Ireland was unmatched and his annual rental revenue was £20,000. Boyle explained in a letter to his sons’ tutor, Mr Marcombes, dated 9 Mar. 1641/2, this rental income was ‘besides my houses, demesnes [sic], parks, fyshings, yronworkes, and other royalties’ (*Lismore papers: correspondence*, v, 20). On the estates and material consumption of the first and second dukes of Ormonde: Toby Barnard and Jane Fenlon (eds), *The*

silver served numerous practical, decorative and symbolic functions (themes which will be discussed in the final three chapters), ensuring its position of pre-eminence in domestic environments. The Dublin assay records which itemise the forms and quantities of this silver in the 1640s and 1690s, along with the wide range of extant plate, supply proof of its popularity among consumers.<sup>65</sup> The acquisition and use of silver flatware and vessels by other Irish consumers shows that its cost did not make it the exclusive reserve of the aristocracy, though, like lesser nobility, these lower-end consumers combined their few items of silver at the table with items made of pewter, brass, earthenware and wood. For example, William Moorhead, a farmer from Tyrellspass, County Meath deposed in 1641 that among his stolen household goods was fifteen pounds worth of silver plate. Margaret Buttevant from Fermanagh, described as a ‘widow of a gentleman’, also claimed that among the ‘household goods ... husbandary geare and other goods’ taken from her home during the rebellion, was silver amounting to £20.<sup>66</sup> Meanwhile, those at the upper end, like Cork and Ormond, acquired quantities of silver at a phenomenal level: Calculations for this project conservatively estimate that Richard Boyle spent over £2,500 on silver in the period 1612-41.<sup>67</sup> Later in the century the first and second dukes of Ormond exceeded the earl of Cork’s hitherto unprecedented extravagance. The combined 1674/1684 inventory of the household plate for the first duke’s residences in Ireland and England alone amounted to a staggering 22,000oz, worth approximately £7,150.<sup>68</sup>

The Butlers and Boyles, though atypical in the great size of their estates and wealth, represented both the Old English and New English ethnic groups, respectively, in Ireland. Those of means within the country’s third main ethnic group

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*dukes of Ormonde*, (Suffolk, 2000); Household inventories of Kilkenny Castle, Dublin Castle and Ormond House reproduced in Jane Fenlon (ed.), *Goods and chattels* (Dublin, 2003); Household plate inventories reproduced in Sinstedden, ‘Plate of the dukes of Ormonde’, pp 123-34.

<sup>65</sup>Sinstedden, ‘Selected assay records’, pp 144-9.

<sup>66</sup>Deposition of William Moorehead, Tyrellspass, County Westmeath, 19 Jul. 1642 (TCD MS 817, ff 32r-33v); Deposition of Margaret Buttevant, County Fermanagh, 4 Jan. 1642 (TCD MS 835, f. 88). Discussed in the contemporary English context by Whittle & Griffiths, *Consumption & gender*, p. 144.

<sup>67</sup>Data accumulated from diary entries and correspondence in the period. (*Lismore papers: diaries; Lismore papers: correspondence*.)

<sup>68</sup>The retail amount of 6s. 6d. per ounce of sterling silver is calculated from the combined 1674 and 1684 Kilkenny Castle and Dublin Castle inventories which details the amount paid by the duke of Ormonde for tankards, flatware and salts for equipping the inn of Mr Wright in Kilkenny for the use of the Butler family. It shows that salts weighing 24 ounces costs £7 17s. (Sinstedden, ‘Plate of the dukes of Ormond’, pp 129-31.)

– the Gaelic or native Irish – were also regularly consuming material luxury goods.<sup>69</sup> The balance of wealth and power among these demographic sets shifted considerably over the course of the seventeenth century. As Ohlmeyer has examined, this can be measured somewhat through analysis of the ethnic distribution of peers throughout the period. In 1603, the Gaelic Irish comprised 19% of the resident peerage of Ireland with five peers, the remainder (twenty-two titles) belonging to those of Old English or Anglo Norman descent. In 1628 there were just six (9%) Gaelic Irish peers and thirty (46%) Old English peers, while twenty-two New English (34%) settlers had newly acquired their titles in the intervening period. Scots and Welsh settlers comprised the additional 11% at this time. The pre-eminence of the Old English was sustained in the Restoration and James II periods as they continued to make up nearly half of the country's total peers. Their main competition was the New English whose numbers made up 32% of the peerage in 1670, increasing to 33% in 1685. The Gaelic Irish peers, meanwhile, never improved on their numbers in the latter half of the century, comprising only seven (9%) of the total resident peerage.<sup>70</sup> All together these groups comprised a unique social blend which inevitably created anxieties regarding status and legitimacy, a trait of insecurity particular to the Irish which, as Barnard has observed especially with regard to the country's Protestants, lingered well into the eighteenth century.<sup>71</sup> The purchase and display of goods was one important way in which this was communicated. Silver advertised the eminence of its owners, through its display and use in public and intimate domestic environments. The greater the volume of plate amassed, the greater the impression of the owner's wealth and status. The many methods by which these aristocratic consumers, along with the country's less prestigious individuals, churches and institutions, acquired their plate will now be examined.

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<sup>69</sup>Evidence relating to the luxury consumption of Gaelic Irish consumers is contained in the following sources: Record Commissioners' Reports (NAI MSS RC/5 and RC/10); Richard Caulfield, 'Wills and inventories, Cork' in *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review* (May 1861 – Apr. 1862); Brian O'Dalaigh, 'The inventory of the contents of Bunratty Castle and the will of Henry, fifth Earl of Thomond, 1639' in *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, xxxvi (1995), pp 139-65; Fenlon, *Goods and chattels*.

<sup>70</sup>Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, pp 34-57.

<sup>71</sup>Toby Barnard, 'Integration or separation? Hospitality and display in Protestant Ireland, 1660-1800', in L. Brockliss and D. Eastwood (eds), *A union of multiple identities* (Manchester and New York, 1997), pp 127-46.

### 3.2 The purchase of silver from outside Ireland

I received out of England by Robert Taylor of Tallagh six silver great platters, six smaller silver platters, six lesser than those of silver, vi silver Sallett dishes, 24 Silver plates, vi Silver Sawcers, one great Silver Sawlt, 3 trenchers Saltes of Silver, a dozen of Silver spoones & 4 Silver Candlesticks, all weighing 1013 ounces and coste 280*li.* 10*s.* 10*d.*, besides extraordinary chardges.<sup>72</sup>

The sourcing of new plate was not a simple task for consumers in Ireland in the early decades of the seventeenth century. As discussed in the previous chapter, the small number of goldsmiths dictated a sparse supply of locally-wrought plate, while that which was being produced was considered to be of a low quality. The intrinsic validation of plate was paramount to consumers. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the absence of a cohesive assay and hallmarking system Irish consumers preferred items ‘of London touch’ and compared Irish plate unfavourably against that which was of the English sterling standard.<sup>73</sup> Many consumers purchased directly from English goldsmiths while others procured their plate from continental sources. As a result, consumers were exposed to international producers from whom designs, techniques and fashions were transmitted into Irish domestic, ecclesiastical and ceremonial environments. This product demand and movement of wares undoubtedly assisted in stimulating the craft in Ireland. It can also be argued that this dynamic contributed to the aesthetic and the proliferation of Irish silver as the industry developed in the century’s second half.

Richard Boyle’s diaries show that he regularly sourced plate in London and arranged for its transportation to Ireland, suggesting this was common practice, at least, for English settlers of means. In 1617 he wrote that a Peter Coortop [sic], presumably an agent, brought him a silver pot costing £27 1*s.* 8*d.* and, as detailed in the extract quoted above, in August 1624 he received a large consignment of dining plate. Both deliveries, he noted, were ‘out of England’.<sup>74</sup> A year later, in February 1625/6, Boyle detailed the arrangements for reconciling £62 outstanding to his London goldsmith ‘Mr wakefeild ... at the black Spread Eagle in cheapside’ for the

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<sup>72</sup>Diary entry of Richard Boyle, Aug. 1624 (*Lismore papers: diaries*, ii, 137).

<sup>73</sup>Burt De Munck discussed the interconnected themes of early-modern product quality control, workmanship, guild marks and hallmarks, and consumers. (De Munck, ‘Agency of branding & location of value’.)

<sup>74</sup>Diary entry of Richard Boyle, Nov. 1617 (*Lismore papers: diaries*, i, 177).



items of plate he commissioned and again, in June 1628, Boyle noted that he owed the same goldsmith the substantial sum of £800.<sup>75</sup> In the 1630s and 1640s the earl patronised other London goldsmiths; in the period March 1631/2 – February 1633/4 he recorded transactions concerning plate he commissioned from the aforementioned Nathaniel Stoughton of Lombard Street for several items which he specified were all to be of ‘playn silver London towch’.<sup>76</sup>

Boyle’s preference for London-made plate was shared by other Irish consumers. James Moroghe FitzAndrew, an alderman of Cork city, detailed in his 1633 will that a pair of silver goblets which a Dominick Tirry ‘brought me out of England’ were to be shared between his sons,<sup>77</sup> while among the items of plate in the will of Thomas Rice Burgess of Dingleycaush, Co Kerry, is a silver bowl described as being ‘of London touche’.<sup>78</sup> The 1639 inventory of Bunratty Castle drawn up on the death of the fifth earl of Thomond, Henry O’Brien, divided the household plate into that of ‘London Touch’ and that of ‘Plate made at Dublin Not Touch’, indicating that the manufacture of this latter collection pre-dated the recent incorporation of the Dublin guild and therefore lacked recognised hallmarks. The inventory, thus, valued the English plate at 4s. 10d. per ounce and the Irish silver at the significantly lesser amount of 3s. 10d. per ounce.<sup>79</sup> Boyle’s son-in-law, George FitzGerald, the sixteenth earl of Kildare, was introduced to the Lombard Street goldsmith Nathaniel Stoughton whose wares were to be found in Maynooth Castle as well as Lismore Castle in the 1630s.<sup>80</sup> It was not simply familiarity informing the silver purchases made by consumers in Ireland in this period, as may be presumed with regard to English settlers, but an economic appreciation of the regulated, hallmarked sterling quality of English plate and its consequent monetary stability. Furthermore, a desire among consumers for imported European and Asian goods meant Irish consumers, like their

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<sup>75</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, ii, 177-8, 265, 273. A Thomas Wakefield is listed as achieving his freedom of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths in London through servitude in 1610 ([www.londonroll.org](http://www.londonroll.org)), (6 Aug. 2014).

<sup>76</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iii, 132.

<sup>77</sup>Will of James Moroghe FitzAndrew, Cork, 1633 (NAI MS RC/5/18, pp 194-5).

<sup>78</sup>Will of Thomas Rice, Dingleycaush, Co Kerry, 1633 (NAI MS RC/5/20, p. 89).

<sup>79</sup>O’Dalaigh, ‘Inventory of Bunratty Castle’, pp 139-65.

<sup>80</sup>Clark & McGrath, *Letterbook of the earl of Kildare*, p. 51.

English counterparts, naturally gravitated towards London for their luxury purchases.<sup>81</sup>

London had become the epicentre for the import luxury trade and the developing indigenous craft trade which sought to complement and reproduce these merchandises. Goldsmithing, a well-established craft by the seventeenth century, flourished in these favourable conditions, supplying consumers with an increasing range of domestic silver. Even when the craft was well-established and regulated in Ireland by the end of the century, Irish consumers, particularly those who had households on both sides of the Irish Sea, continued to acquire plate from English goldsmiths. The first duke of Ormond presented the city of Kilkenny with a new great mace which was sourced in London in 1677.<sup>82</sup> The first and second dukes' extensive purchases of plate were made almost entirely in London, a practice that is underlined by the identification of the few items described as 'Irish make' or 'made in Ireland' among the extensive lists.<sup>83</sup> Many rich consumers continued to spread their patronage between Irish and English craftsmen well into the eighteenth century.<sup>84</sup>

Numerous extant items, meanwhile, provide additional evidence of the regular acquisition by Irish consumers of English plate. This is especially apparent among the church collections. Webster's catalogue of the Church of Ireland communion plate within the diocese of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, listed seven communion cups, four patens and one flagon all with seventeenth-century London hallmarks.<sup>85</sup> The earliest of these was produced in 1606-7, while the date marks and inscriptions on the rest indicate church plate was sourced from England by the Church of Ireland and its patrons throughout the century (Figs 43-45). London was also the chief source for the communion silver purchased by the Anglican churches in the neighbouring dioceses of Cashel, Emly, Waterford and Lismore in the period; over a dozen items

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<sup>81</sup>In the period 1600-40 the value of imported goods rose by 40% in England. (Levy-Peck, *Consuming splendour*, p.14.) Irish household inventories from this period detailing luxury material goods: Fenlon, *Goods & chattels*; Desmond FitzGerald and James Peill, *Irish furniture: woodwork and carving in Ireland from the earliest times to the Act of Union* (New Haven and London, 2007), pp 13-6.

<sup>82</sup>Prim, 'Corporation insignia of Kilkenny', pp 295-6; John Bradley (ed.), *Treasures of Kilkenny: charters and civic records of Kilkenny city* (Kilkenny, 2003), p. 118

<sup>83</sup>Sinsteden, 'Plate of the dukes of Ormond', pp 132-3.

<sup>84</sup>Barnard, *Grand figure*, pp 143-50.

<sup>85</sup>Webster, *Church plate of Cork, Cloyne & Ross*.

demonstrate this (Fig. 46).<sup>86</sup> In Christ Church Cathedral Dublin the dean and chapter sold the communion plate for £116 13s. 4d. to Thomas Otway, bishop of Ossory, in 1683 who, in turn, placed it in St Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny. These items consisted of two chalices with patens, two plates, one alms dish and two flagons, all of silver-gilt and all, but the alms dish, of London manufacture (Fig. 47). Christ Church then spent nearly £370 on a new suite of communion vessels which it purchased from the London goldsmith John Johnson. The treasury of plate was further increased in 1699 when William III presented the cathedral, which was also the royal chapel, with a large set of silver-gilt communion vessels and two large candlesticks, all with London marks, in commemoration of his victory at the Battle of the Boyne (Fig. 48).

The altars of the country's Catholic Church were also enhanced with English-made vessels though, in consideration of the catalogued extant items, not to the same extent as the Church of Ireland. Buckley accounts for just two London-marked chalices, both of which were made and acquired in the first half of the century (Fig. 49).<sup>87</sup> Greater evidence supports the fact that the clergy and laity of the Catholic Church were sourcing items of plate from locations on continental Europe, a pattern that tallies with the large numbers of Irish clergy training in Spanish, French and Flemish seminaries at this time.<sup>88</sup> Blake believes at least one of the old Galway chalices was made in Spain, in c.1630, and Buckley's catalogue includes four French chalices, possibly with Parisian marks, dating from the 1650s, and two of Spanish production (Figs 19 and 50).<sup>89</sup>

Unless individuals were personally procuring and transporting their silver from these foreign locations, early-seventeenth century consumers utilised agents and contemporaries to organise the payment, transportation and delivery of their purchases. For Richard Boyle, these arrangements were often tied up with other outstanding credits and debts so that the most expedient solutions could be found. Boyle's notes on his carefully balanced systems of *quid pro quo* illuminate both the limitations involved in financial exchanges in this period, particularly between

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<sup>86</sup>Butler, 'Plate of the Church of Ireland in Cashel, Emly, Waterford & Lismore', pp 92-3.

<sup>87</sup>Buckley, *Irish altar plate*, pp 58, 85.

<sup>88</sup>Corish, *The catholic community*, pp 25-6.

<sup>89</sup>Blake, 'Some old silver chalices', pp 24-5; Buckley, *Irish altar plate*, pp 46, 99, 100, 111, 113, 126.

Ireland and England, and the necessity to capitalise on personal connections and trustworthy travellers in order to reconcile personal debts. The organisation involved in the payment of the debt to the Cheapside goldsmith Wakefield is a fitting example of one such complex arrangement involving house-guests, colleagues, agents and guarantors:

This day Mr John Glanville the Lawyer & Secretary to the f fleet, Mr cecill Bushie, and Mr godolphin, after they had staid heer with me at Lismoor sick & vpon Recovery 9 weeks, departed to yoghall to take shipping for England & I lent them in money 90*li.* ster : & ten pounds before to Mr ffletcher their consort, taking Mr glanviles bill to paie the whole *Cli.* [£100] to Mr wakefeild my goldsmythe at the black Spread Eagle in cheapside, to whome I owe for the remayn of my laste proporcion of plate 62*li.*: for which he hath Sir Georg Horsey & Sir John Leeks bond ; which is vpon this payment to be returned me ; thither xxxvii*li.* [£38] to be in part payment of 4 livery silver basons & Ewers that I haue sent for.<sup>90</sup>

In June and July 1628, Boyle organised another payment to Wakefield via a Mr Burlymachy for the commission costing £800.<sup>91</sup> The partial payment of the items he commissioned from the goldsmith Stoughton in 1632 was ‘layed owt’ by Sir Edward Bagshaw<sup>92</sup> and by his employee William Barber, ‘owt of my moneis repaid him’. Bagshaw then delivered the plate to Boyle in Ireland.<sup>93</sup> The following year another commission of plate from Stoughton involved a series of agents, middle-men and envoys. Boyle instructed Randall Aldersie, whom he identified as the factor to the London alderman Robert Parkhurst, to ask the alderman to receive his plate from Stoughton and to pay the bill of £288 2*s.* 2*d.* on his behalf.<sup>94</sup> Aldersie then delivered the goods to Boyle in Youghal.<sup>95</sup>

Following such lengthy transactions customs fees also had to be paid on imported plate. In the midst of disbursements relating to his silver Boyle sought to

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<sup>90</sup>Diary entry of Richard Boyle, Feb. 1625/6 (*Lismore papers: diaries*, ii, 177-8).

<sup>91</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, ii, 265, 273. Philip Burlamachy was a London financier whom Boyle also employed for the organising of payments in the procurement of the wardship of George FitzGerald, earl of Kildare in 1630 (Clarke & McGrath, *Letterbook of the earl of Kildare*, p. 22).

<sup>92</sup>In 1624 Edward Bagshaw, from Finglas, was customer of the ports of Dublin, Malahide, Skerries, and Wicklow and was knighted in 1627. It is likely it was in his capacity as port official that Richard Boyle and he became acquainted. (F.E. Ball, *A history of the county of Dublin: The people, parishes and antiquities from the earliest times to the close of the 19th century* (6 vols, Dublin, 1620), vi, 93.)

<sup>93</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iii, 132, 144.

<sup>94</sup>A factor is another word for business agent. (Oxford English Dictionary.)

<sup>95</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries* iii, 179, 210.

minimise these ‘extraordinary chardges’. In March 1633/4 he paid the secretary to the Lord Treasurer forty shillings in order to purchase a warrant so that his plate and that belonging to his contemporaries – Lord Donsaines, Sir Gerard Lowther and Lady Anne Parsons – whom he was presumably helping, all avoided search and taxation on their English silver ‘as if it had been myne’.<sup>96</sup> In the absence of customs records relating to the importation of plate to Ireland from this period, and indeed for the entire seventeenth century, this note draws attention to the customs charges applied on items of imported silver.<sup>97</sup> It is sustained by a warrant issued by Dublin Castle to the port of Chester dating from this period issued on behalf of an individual identified as ‘W.H. Esquire’ sanctioning him with the right to bring from England two silver pots and two tankards ‘without any your letters or stays whatsoever’.<sup>98</sup> Numerous instances contained in the State Papers of Ireland relating to the first four decades of the century offer further proof that individuals were routinely bringing silver from England to Ireland and, equally, sought to avoid punitive charges.<sup>99</sup> In December 1609 King James I supplied the Lord Treasurer of Ireland with a licence for Nicholas Wise to transport 900oz of ‘wrought plate’ into Ireland and, in June 1620, the Customer of Chester was issued with a warrant to ‘suffer the Lord of Delvin to transport into Ireland 200*li* worth of gilt and silver plate for his own use’.<sup>100</sup> In June 1637 the Lord Treasurer was ordered to supply a license to permit Lord Slane ‘to carry over’ two dozen silver trencher plates and one sugar-box ‘for his necessary use in Ireland’.<sup>101</sup> These costly and time-consuming processes unquestionably contributed to consumers’ desires for greater expedience in acquiring plate and, by extension, contributed to the development of the craft in Ireland.

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<sup>96</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iv, 14.

<sup>97</sup>The extant customs records for seventeenth-century Irish imports (CUST 15, National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew) dating from 1698 list the range of perishable and material goods imported to Ireland but do not list silver bullion nor items made of silver. As Philippa Glanville has discussed, there no was legitimate export trade in wrought silver in early-modern England due to the fear of diminishing the stocks of bullion in the country. Hence, special licences were required to export plate. (Glanville, *Silver in England*, p. 13.) Accordingly, licences were required by Irish officials for admitting foreign plate.

<sup>98</sup>Warrant for plate from the Calverley-Rudston collection at the East Riding of Yorkshire Archives at Beverley (DDCR/7/1/1/1), p. 31. The manuscript dates from 1633-5.

<sup>99</sup>Seventeen such licences and warrants are contained in the *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland* (henceforth cited as *Cal. S.P. Ire.*) in the periods corresponding to the reigns of James I and Charles I.

<sup>100</sup>James I to the Lord Treasurer, 13 Dec. 1609. (*Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1608-10, p. 329); Warrant to the Customer of Chester, 9 Jun. 1620. (*Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1615-25, p. 287.)

<sup>101</sup>Charles I to the Lord Treasurer, 9 Jun. 1637. (*Cal. S.P. Ire. 1633-47*, p. 161.)

### 3.3 The purchase of plate from Irish goldsmiths

Though goldsmiths were operating in Irish cities and towns well before the seventeenth century it was not until the 1630s when consumers, particularly those acquiring domestic plate, began to appreciably transfer their patronage to Irish goldsmiths. The parallel regulation of the craft with the incorporation of the Dublin guild within this decade was, of course, an important facet informing this consumer shift, but so too were broader economic and demographic factors which were stirring demand and enabling production. The case of Richard Boyle once again illuminates how a wealthy consumer's purchasing patterns supply evidence of this changing socio-economic landscape. Since 1620 he had been elevated by James I to the title of Lord Viscount of Dungarvan and Earl of Cork and by the 1630s his income was the greatest enjoyed by all of Charles I's subjects.<sup>102</sup> Boyle's desires for expedience in the equipping of his homes and his ambitions for the greater industry of his vast estate were neatly aligned. For his wide-ranging building projects across the province, the importation of glass was inconvenient to him, prompting his exploration for local alternatives. However, the scarcity of skilled labour in Ireland in this period was an obstacle that he and his enterprising contemporaries had to address with imported labour and expertise.<sup>103</sup> It is believed he was behind the establishment of three glasshouses in Munster in the early decades of the seventeenth century, many of which were manned by craftsmen who came from England, France and the Low Countries.<sup>104</sup> His role in the instigation and development of ironworks in the province was also renowned, a venture which, according to Boate's *Ireland's naturall history*, brought him profits 'above one hundred thousand pounds'.<sup>105</sup> Like the mines belonging to other wealthy New English settlers throughout the country, Boyle employed miners from England and the Low Countries because, according to

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<sup>102</sup>Boyle's title cost him £5,000 (Dorothea Townshend, *The life and letters of the great earl of Cork*, (London, 1904), p. 97); Boyle's income from rent in the 1630s amounted to an estimated £20,000 per annum (Canny, *Upstart earl*, p. 6).

<sup>103</sup>Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish economy*, pp 7-11.

<sup>104</sup>Nessa Roche 'Seventeenth-century Irish flat glass: its makers and their markets' in J. M. Hearne (ed.), *Glassmaking in Ireland* (Dublin, 2010), pp 55-82.

<sup>105</sup>Gerard Boate, *Ireland's natural history* (London, 1652), pp 127-9.

Boate, it was understood that ‘the Irish having no skill at all in any of those things’.<sup>106</sup>

The silver craft, too, evidently benefitted from Boyle’s strategic stimulation of industry: Youghal, a thriving port town at the heart of his Munster estate, boasted seven goldsmiths in the 1620s and 1630s. This was a disproportionately large number of goldsmiths for a provincial town, particularly when measured against the two that were recorded in the larger urban centre of Cork city in the same period.<sup>107</sup> It is plausible that some of these craftsmen were immigrants, like the glass and iron workers, and that Boyle played an instrumental role in their establishment in Ireland. The scope of his influence in encouraging foreign craftsmen to work in Ireland was impressive and certainly was not confined to the southern province. This is particularly apparent in consideration of the career of Nathaniel Stoughton.

Stoughton, as encountered in chapter two, was a London-trained goldsmith. The son of a gentleman from Watford in Surrey, he achieved his freedom of the guild in 1612.<sup>108</sup> Boyle’s diaries detailed that the goldsmith’s workshop was located on Lombard Street in London, a street which, after Cheapside, was the second-most important thoroughfare for the silver trade in that city.<sup>109</sup> In March 1631/2, Stoughton received large commissions from Boyle for items of domestic plate which included a ewer and basin, four dozen dinner plates and eight candlesticks.<sup>110</sup> It is probable that the earl introduced his ward and son-in-law George FitzGerald, Earl of Kildare, to him; the young man corresponded with the goldsmith regarding household silver for equipping Maynooth Castle later that same year.<sup>111</sup> Such prestigious patrons are indicative of Stoughton’s favourable reputation and business acumen in cultivating clientele among Ireland’s elite. Records relating to the goldsmith’s apprentices provide additional signs of his success: in 1631 he was listed as the master to whom the newly-qualified Robert Cordell had been indentured. A second apprentice, John Stokes, was also employed by Stoughton in c.1633 but,

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<sup>106</sup>Ibid., p. 144

<sup>107</sup>Appendix B; Bowen & O’Brien, *Cork silver & gold*, p. 145.

<sup>108</sup>Freedom of Nathaniel Stoughton, 1612, Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, London, [www.londonroll.org](http://www.londonroll.org) (1 Dec. 2014).

<sup>109</sup>Hazel Forsyth, *The Cheapside hoard: London’s lost jewels* (London, 2013), p. 49.

<sup>110</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iii, 132.

<sup>111</sup>Clarke & McGrath, *Letterbook of the earl of Kildare*, pp 50-1.

significantly, the trainee was turned over to his former student Cordell during the course of the apprenticeship, a move which indicates the likelihood of Stoughton's departure from London.<sup>112</sup> This departure and the subsequent appearance of his name on the charter of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company in 1637 and on the Dublin Freedom Roll in 1639 strongly suggest he relocated his workshop to Ireland in the mid-1630s. This decision was certainly encouraged by his recent patronage from Ireland's pre-eminent peers which, together with the growth and regulation of the craft and the burgeoning wealth of the country's resident elite, presented several attractive conditions for an opportunistic craftsman of luxury wares. Stoughton remained in Dublin for at least a dozen years. He was master warden of the company from 1648-9 and his name appeared among the few recorded assay records for the period 1644-9 for domestic items similar to those he supplied Boyle and FitzGerald (Fig. 51).<sup>113</sup> Furthermore, his depositions in 1642, as encountered in the previous chapter, offer evidence of his flourishing business networks with the detailing of several debtors identified by the goldsmith.

Stoughton was, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, one of several London goldsmiths who moved to Dublin in the 1630s. It has been shown that municipal policies regarding the accommodation of foreign, Protestant craftsmen played an important part in their immigration to Ireland. However, the role of powerful consumers such as Boyle arguably contributed an equally significant share in encouraging goldsmiths to establish themselves in promising commercial cities such as Dublin. Though no further correspondence or records of commissions between Stoughton and Boyle or FitzGerald are extant, it is clear that the demand from consumers for plate was instrumental in his decision to establish his workshop in Dublin. The patronage by Irish consumers of craftsmen like Stoughton was, at first, understandably tentative, particularly prior to the implementation of sterling standard regulation in 1638. Boyle's arrangement with the Dublin goldsmith William Cook in July 1634 amplifies this genuine concern regarding quality and the simultaneous desire for convenience and expedience in patronising more proximate immigrant goldsmiths:

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<sup>112</sup>Freedom of Robert Cordell, 1631 and freedom of John Stokes, 1640, Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, London, [www.londonroll.org](http://www.londonroll.org) (1 Dec. 2014).

<sup>113</sup>The surviving assay records for the period 1638-49 show that Stoughton submitted 142 ounces (Sinsted, 'Selected assay records', p. 146).



I paid Mr Cook, the goldsmyth, for two veary great silver fflaggons weighing 228 oz., at vs. viiid. the ounce, and 4 new badges for 2 footmens vellvet coates ; all which coste xxxij*li.* iijs. ster [£82 3s.]; & Cook is bound to me in 20*li.* [£20] that the 2 fflaggons are as good and fFyne silver as any plate of London towche.<sup>114</sup>

Cook's workmanship was evidently of sufficient quality for no further notes were made which might suggest the goldsmith had to forfeit the £20 bond he entered into with the earl should the silver not meet London standards. Furthermore, the following February, Boyle paid Cook 6s. 8*d.* for engraving his son Lewis's arms upon the pair of flagons, thus conveying his confidence in the goldsmith's technical ability.<sup>115</sup>

Boyle's willingness to patronise Cook illustrates the gradual shift by Irish consumers towards local goldsmiths. One measure of this transfer of custom can be seen in the exponential quantities of plate submitted annually for assay, a figure which, as discussed in chapter two, grew from less than 1,000oz in the late-1630s to over 46,000oz by the end of the century. The prospering of the craft in Ireland and the growth of a consumer base can also be identified from the evidence demonstrating the interconnections between local goldsmiths and their customers. Consumers' trust in the intrinsic and technical quality of silver produced within Irish workshops is implicit from the survival of hundreds of items of plate bearing the marks of local goldsmiths and the documentation indicating their patronage by institutional and individual consumers. The numerous examples of documented commissions awarded by Dublin Corporation from the middle of the century to goldsmiths such as Abel Ram, Daniel Bellingham, Joseph Stoker, John Partington, William Drayton and Thomas Bolton (amongst several others) for civic and ceremonial plate show that a self-sustaining system benefitting both the consumer and the craftsman existed within the capital city. The churches and other institutions

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<sup>114</sup>Diary entry of Richard Boyle, Jul. 1634 (*Lismore papers: diaries*, iv, 36-7). William Cook (or Cooke) was admitted to the franchise of Dublin Corporation in January 1638 by special grace and on payment of a fine, though this arrangement with Boyle indicates he was operating in Dublin prior to receiving his civic freedom. It is likely that he was an immigrant from London and, it is possible, one of the two William Cooks named in the London Goldsmiths' Apprentice Records and bound to their masters in 1606 for a period of eight years. He was named on the charter incorporating the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company in 1637, was the Company's first master warden for the year 1637-8 and held the position of Assay Master from 1638-44.

<sup>115</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iv, 73.

also patronised local goldsmiths: as shown above, the Dublin merchants' guild employed Joseph Stoker to re-design and manufacture its new seal in 1655. Limerick Corporation commissioned its resident goldsmith Robert Smith to produce three silver boxes for embellishing the honorary freedom awarded to three notable gentlemen in 1678 while the Dublin parish of St Catherine and St James noted in its vestry records the payment to Thomas Bolton for a new communion cup in 1702.<sup>116</sup> The sparser records relating to private consumers suggest patrons cultivated commercial relationships with individual craftsmen with whom, it can be presumed, they established credit accounts.<sup>117</sup> As FitzGerald has examined, Oliver St George patronised numerous English and Irish goldsmiths in the period 1695-1729, though his personal accounts demonstrate he often favoured the work of Huguenot craftsmen, including the Dublin goldsmiths David Roummieu, Mary Girard and Peter Gervais.<sup>118</sup> Other consumers also re-engaged the services of individual goldsmiths; a nameless gentleman in Dublin in 1700 advertised the theft of several items of jewellery and plate from him in the city which, he detailed, included a gold and corral necklace and an engraved silver box, both of which were 'made by Mr [Joseph] Walker Goldsmith in Skinner Row, Dublin'. Should the items be found, the advertisement continued, they were to be returned to Walker who would dispense the £5 reward.<sup>119</sup>

The convenience of skilled, local goldsmiths in recycling, repairing and re-fashioning existing stocks of plate was also utilised by domestic consumers. In 1666, for example, Boyle's son Roger, Earl of Orrery, sold a quantity of his old plate to his tenant and Limerick goldsmith John Bucknor from whom he also commissioned new items for his home in Charleville, County Cork.<sup>120</sup> In Dublin, Christ Church Cathedral paid a local goldsmith to weigh, mend and burnish its plate on different occasions. It also paid Benjamin Burton £2 10s. to keep the church plate safe in 1687-8.<sup>121</sup> That same year Trinity College sold nearly 4,000oz of its stock of plate to

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<sup>116</sup>Minute recorded 2 Apr. 1678 (NLI MS 89, f. 167v); Vestry book of St Catherine and St James's Parish, Dublin (RCB MS P/117/5/2, p. 240).

<sup>117</sup>As discussed with regard to eighteenth-century London by Clifford, *Silver in London*, pp 145-50.

<sup>118</sup>FitzGerald, 'Oliver St George's passion for plate', pp 40-3.

<sup>119</sup>*The Flying Post*, 19 Feb. 1700/1 (NLI MS Reel no. 5).

<sup>120</sup>Barnard, *Protestant ascents and descents*, p. 56.

<sup>121</sup>Christ Church Cathedral, Proctor's Accounts, Extraordinary disbursements 1683-4, 1688-89 and 1692-3 (RCB MS C/6/15/1) (unpaginated).

Burton, a goldsmith whose diverse services obviously appealed to consumers' numerous requirements regarding the security and exchange of their silver.<sup>122</sup> By the end of the century it is clear that, notwithstanding the continuing patronage of English goldsmiths by Irish consumers, the demand for plate and the associated functions and services goldsmiths provided could sustain several dozens of craftsmen in Dublin on an annual basis, with proportionately smaller quantities in the provincial centres.

### **3.4 The acquisition of plate by other means**

The direct sale transactions that took place between goldsmiths (Irish, English or otherwise) and their consumers constituted just one method among several others by which individuals and institutions acquired their plate in the seventeenth century. Silver was also accumulated through private transactions with other consumers, as well as through payments, pawning, fines, bequests, gifts and presentations. The evidence relating to these means of procurement offer insight into systems of exchange and the extent to which plate circulated within Irish society, frequently in the capacity of second- or third-hand ownership (or more). The latter three methods of acquisition – bequests, gifts and presentation – were connected to inter-personal relationships and social custom and are illustrative of the multi-dimensional function of plate in society in this period. This socio-cultural aspect of the consumption of silver has several features and will be discussed in the final chapter of this thesis. This section will, therefore, continue examination of the myriad of financial transactions surrounding the acquisition of plate that took place beyond the goldsmith's workshop. They are each illustrative of the enduring appeal and value of silver to Irish consumers.

The earl of Cork's diaries reveal that he was content to combine his purchases of new silver from English and Irish goldsmiths with 'parcels of plate' which he purchased directly from his contemporaries. In February 1631/2 he recorded a

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<sup>122</sup>Bennett, *Silver collection, Trinity College Dublin*, pp 139, 141.

substantial transaction he made with his son-in-law Arthur Jones, Viscount Ranelagh, amounting to over £200. Boyle's characteristically meticulous detailing of weights and values of this enormous purchase is fully evident here, with the cost of each item calculated to the exact ounce:

I this daie bought of the viscount Rannelagh (which were the Lo. viscount fFalklands), those parcels of plate following, viz: A silver voyder, a boat Rabbett dishe, 2 boylde meat disshes, & fFower smale sallet dishes, weighing 183 ownnces, which at vs. iij*d.* the owncce amounts vnto [blank space], I also bought of his Lo[rdshi]p this daie, those parcels of guilt plate ensewing: viz: a Bazon and an Ewer weighing 143 ownnces, Two great guilt covered bowles weighing 137 ownnces, one other highe, covered, great guilt standing bowle weighing 48 ownnces, 3 quarter, Two guilt fflaggons weighing 83 ounces & a halfe, Two great guilt sawlts with covers, weighing 81 ownnces, A low guilt sake covered sault, and a cupp of assaie guilte, weighing in bothe 18 ownnces, so as the guilt plate conteynethin all 513 ownnces, which at xjs. ster., with the silver vessell at vs. 3*d.* the owncce, amounts in all vnto 202*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.* ster :, which is now paid for.<sup>123</sup>

Interestingly, as Boyle noted, this collection previously belonged to Lord Viscount Falkland. For an upwardly-mobile individual such as Boyle for whom the accumulation of luxury goods mattered greatly, this third-hand purchase did not present any issues pertaining to his sense of status. On the contrary, the purchase of old plate and other luxury and material goods between contemporaries was considered expedient and economically adroit, particularly in the century's early decades when local commercial supply could not always meet demand. The 1633 will of James Moroghe FitzAndrew, alderman of Cork, for example, included a double-gilt silver goblet which he notes 'I bought of Mr John Coppinger Alderman'.<sup>124</sup> The 1630 inventory for Kilkenny Castle detailed that David Rothe purchased tapestries, curtains, a chair and cushion for £12, while a further four tapestries were sold to the earl of Ormond and eighteen tapestries to Boyle for £103.<sup>125</sup> Indeed, most of the household goods at Kilkenny were sold on in 1630. This was the typical outcome for impoverished estates following the death of the head of a household and supplied consumers with the opportunity to acquire second-hand

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<sup>123</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iii, 126.

<sup>124</sup>NAI MS RC/5/18, p. 189. 'Double' gilt items of silver were coated with a thicker layer of gold for greater durability. An expensive embellishment, double gilding was favoured for domestic dining and drinking vessels for which silver was perceived to taint the taste of the vessel's contents: e.g. wine goblets, salt cellars and cups.

<sup>125</sup>'A true inventory of all the goods and chattles [sic] of the earl of Desmonde in the Diocese of Ossary ... dated 20<sup>th</sup> Dec 1630', reproduced in Fenlon, *Goods & chattels*, pp 26-9.

goods of visual and practical value.<sup>126</sup> The re-circulation of goods in this way, as Sara Pennell has argued, was not only commonplace but an essential feature in the early-modern economic development of a consumer society:

In an under-industrialised, but increasingly industrious society, household access to what [Jan] de Vries has called ‘desired consumption bundles’ was in part founded on the increasingly speedy circulation of used, but not used up, goods ... auction sales of domestic, husbandry and occupational goods, as well as of stock-in-trade and real estate, were recognised forms of commodity circulation by the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and probably well before that.<sup>127</sup>

The second-hand market was also thriving in continental Europe in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. Ilja Van Damme’s study of urban retailing in Antwerp, for example, has identified the operations of the city’s guild of second-hand dealers, known as *oudekleerkopers*.<sup>128</sup> The majority of their public auctions dealt in household effects, with a combination of expensive luxury items, attracting wealthy consumers, and objects of more ordinary materials which appealed to consumers of less affluent backgrounds.<sup>129</sup> Boyle’s purchases from Kilkenny Castle in 1630 and his considerable purchase of plate from his son-in-law the following year indicate that such second-hand consumption patterns were well-established in early modern Ireland.

Second-hand purchases of plate were not confined to private dealings. In England, goldsmiths advertised their new stock alongside the second-hand plate they had to sell from the late-seventeenth century, indicating the widespread appeal of used items to consumers and the social acceptability of this practice.<sup>130</sup> It is likely that Irish goldsmiths followed suit at this time. The trade certainly demanded the dynamic of re-selling and re-cycling plate – it was one important method by which

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<sup>126</sup>Ibid., p. 26. Kilkenny Castle’s contents were sold in 1630 following the deaths of Richard Preston, Earl of Desmond and his wife Elizabeth. Preston, a lavish spender, died leaving enormous debts.

<sup>127</sup>Sara Pennell, ‘‘All but the kitchen sink’’: household sales and the circulation of second-hand goods in early modern England’ in J. Stobart and I. Van Damme (eds), *Modernity and the second-hand trade* (Hampshire, 2010), p. 38.

<sup>128</sup>Ilja Van Damme, ‘The lure of the new: urban retailing in the surroundings of Antwerp (late seventeenth-early eighteenth centuries)’ in B. Blondé, N. Coquery, J. Stobart and I. Van Damme (eds) *Fashioning old and new: changing consumer patterns in Western Europe 1650-1900*, (Turnhout, 2009), pp 97-120.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid., p. 111.

<sup>130</sup>Glanville, *Silver in England*, pp 191, 315-20.

goldsmiths sourced their silver for the production of new wares. Though a portion of traded-in plate was melted down, the provision by goldsmiths of good quality second-hand wares alongside new stock suggests consumers' requirements for less expensive plate saw the frequent prioritisation of financial savings over current fashion. This tension will be explored in greater depth in the next chapter. For elucidation on the theme of consumer acquisition, however, it is clear that the purchase of second-hand plate circumvented the additional costs associated with craftsmanship.

As seen with Boyle's careful detailing, the value of an item (or collection of items) was very often calculated based on weight alone, thus representing a saving to consumers when compared with the combined costs of weight and workmanship associated with newly-wrought plate.<sup>131</sup> For these reasons, opportunistic consumers of silver often pursued opportunities to acquire used plate as they arose. For example, Boyle accepted items of plate in lieu of outstanding payments: in April 1616 he received from Thomas Ball six dishes, worth £20 6s., 'uppon accompt for his rent to me due'.<sup>132</sup> In exchange for the fine of a silver basin and ewer in November 1632, he promised Christopher Martin the settling of the terms of a lease, and in that same year he agreed to lease his silvermines at Ardmore to Captain Burgh for seven years in exchange for a basin and ewer, four dozen plates and eight candlesticks.<sup>133</sup> The inventory of plate drawn up for the duke of Ormond in January 1689/90 includes a tankard which, it details, is 'a gift of chief rent from N.P. [Nicholas Plunkett] to ye duke of ormonde'.<sup>134</sup> Items of plate were also acquired by early pawning enterprises. Susan Flavin has noted, from surviving wills, the prevalence of this practice among merchants in late-sixteenth century Cork.<sup>135</sup> Alderman Andrew Galwey's 1580 will is a particularly replete example of pledges of plate he received from his debtors and pledges he, in turn, delivered in pawn to others. Most of the items involved in these transactions were items of domestic plate: cups of different sizes, goblets and silver salts.<sup>136</sup> The practice continued in the seventeenth century: Doctor Thomas Arthur of Limerick gave Joan Hourugaine [sic] £3 in exchange for her silver cup in 1635. He

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<sup>131</sup>Ibid., p. 318.

<sup>132</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, i, 108.

<sup>133</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iii, 132, 166.

<sup>134</sup>Sinsteden, 'Plate of the dukes of Ormond', p. 131.

<sup>135</sup>Flavin, *Consumption and culture*, pp 207-8.

<sup>136</sup>Ibid.; Caulfield, 'Wills and inventories, Cork', pp 257-62.

retained it until she repaid the debt a decade later.<sup>137</sup> In 1648 James Nugent of Coolamber, County Westmeath and his son, also James, entered into a two year bond with their cousin Oliver Nugent amounting to £40 for which they pledged ‘3 Beere boales, one broade wine cupp, one salte, and aquavite cupps’.<sup>138</sup>

The country’s institutional consumers, meanwhile, imposed fines on its members and constituents in order to augment its stocks of plate. Fines were issued for a myriad of reasons: for misdemeanours, on appointment to an office, for declining office, or simply for admission to the franchise of a city or town. Dublin City Assembly issued a fine in the form of a nest of ‘silver boles’ valued at ten pounds to aldermen Sir John Tirrell and John Cusake in 1607, who had fines outstanding to the city.<sup>139</sup> Similarly, in Cork, in 1616, two merchants, Henry Goold FitzPiers and Morris Roch FitzJames, were fined for their importation of wine into the city, their fine to be paid in the manner of ‘one gilt salt [standing salt] wanting a cover, and a silver cup’.<sup>140</sup> The specification of the items by the corporations would suggest they wished to replace existing pieces or enhance collections which were lacking certain components. As one of the primary landlords of city property, Dublin Corporation issued fines, often payable in plate, to petitioners seeking leases of landholdings. In June 1666 Sir James Ware petitioned the Corporation for the lease of premises on Cow Lane. The lease was granted on payment of a fine of a dozen silver plates.<sup>141</sup> Alderman William Fownes, in 1699, on his petition for the lease of ‘part of Hoggen Green, alias Colledge Green’ was permitted on the condition that he pay ‘a piece of plate like to and of equall value with that given the citty by sir Joseph Williamson, knight’, in reference to the large standing cup given by Williamson to the corporation a few years earlier (Fig. 38).<sup>142</sup> In the towns of Coleraine and Londonderry all incoming freemen, for a time, had to pay for their freedom with a silver spoon. Using spoons as a token of admission was common practice in English corporations and companies in the period.<sup>143</sup> In the period 1650-69 eighty-one spoon fines were recorded by Coleraine Corporation. In 1650 the town wished to increase

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<sup>137</sup>Entry book of Thomas Arthur M.D., 1619-1666 (British Library MS 31885), f. 103r.

<sup>138</sup>J.F. Ainsworth and E. MacLysaght, ‘Nugent Papers’ in *Analecta Hibernica*, xx (1958), p. 146.

<sup>139</sup>*CARD*, ii, 473.

<sup>140</sup>Caulfield, *Corporation of Cork*, p. 62.

<sup>141</sup>*CARD*, iv, 376-7.

<sup>142</sup>*CARD*, vi, 229.

<sup>143</sup>Glanville, *Silver in England*, pp 328-9.

its quantity of freemen by allowing tradesmen and craftsmen freedom ‘by redemption’, and initially set the spoon fine value at 5s.<sup>144</sup> Later that year the fine was applied to apprentices and the stipulated value of the spoon was increased to ten shillings. The spoon fine for all was made official in August 1651 and by 1658 the proscribed value of the spoon had risen to 13s. 4d.<sup>145</sup> Coleraine Corporation used the spoons to both furnish the municipal plate and also, at times, for the release of cash for the corporation’s use.<sup>146</sup> A similar spoon fine system was in existence in the town of Londonderry. In the periods 1673-83 and 1688-1700 sixty-two incoming freemen paid for their freedom with a spoon.<sup>147</sup>

Guilds, Trinity College and parishes also accumulated a portion of their plate through systems of fines and the imposition of levies. As seen in the previous chapter, the Dublin Goldsmiths’ Company regularly received fines from incoming freemen in plate. Incoming freemen to the capital city’s guilds of cutlers, painters, printers and tailors also occasionally paid for their special admission with plate.<sup>148</sup> Trinity College followed the pattern established by its counterpart in Oxford by requiring all incoming scholars to pay for their admission with the ‘gift’ of a piece of plate.<sup>149</sup> Its regular receipt of numerous silver pots, cups, goblets, bowls, beakers, salt cellars and spoons in the seventeenth century have been recounted and discussed by Douglas Bennett.<sup>150</sup> Most of these items were payment and did not represent the incoming students’ benefaction to the college: ‘The admission fee in the seventeenth century ... for the sons of noblemen included a gift of plate to the value of £6’ (Fig. 52).<sup>151</sup> This amount must have varied, however, as the earl of Cork noted in 1630 that his sons Lewis and Roger ‘must present plate’ for their admittance to Trinity and accordingly gave his chaplain Mister Thomas 50s. to convey the amount in silver to the college.<sup>152</sup> In the country’s churches, the vestry records of the Church of Ireland parishes frequently list the names of parishioners who paid the parish cess, along

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<sup>144</sup>McGrath, *Corporation of Coleraine*, f. 122.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid., ff 132r, 160r, 168v, 169r.

<sup>146</sup>Ibid., f. 196v.

<sup>147</sup>PRONI MSS LA79/2A/1-2.

<sup>148</sup>NLI MS 12123, p. 1; DCA MS 80, ff 77-8.

<sup>149</sup>Helen Clifford, *A treasured inheritance: 600 years of Oxford College silver* (Oxford, 2004), p. 30.

<sup>150</sup>Bennett, *Silver collection, Trinity College Dublin*.

<sup>151</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>152</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iii, 32.



with the inventories of parish property.<sup>153</sup> Occasionally, these cesses were deployed to replace or augment the altar plate. In March 1687 the Dublin parish of St Catherine and St James levied a cess on its parishioners in order to raise £20 towards numerous ends including the ‘changing of the Chalices’.<sup>154</sup> In 1699 the parish spent a further £3 17s. 6d. on communion plate, following its cess of 1697.<sup>155</sup> St Werburgh’s parish, also in Dublin, acquired a paten through the imposition of a fine on its parishioner the goldsmith John Cuthbert in c.1693. Cuthbert declined the office of churchwarden that year and paid for this fine with a paten salver he inscribed accordingly: ‘Fine of Mr John Cuthbert For Not Serving Churchwarden To Ye Parish Church of St Werburghs Dublin In Ye Year 1691’.<sup>156</sup> Unlike Trinity College, however, the greater portion of plate belonging to the Church of Ireland, like the Catholic Church, was acquired through donations. This physical expression of piety and benefaction will be examined in chapter six.

### 3.5 Conclusion

It is clear that across society in seventeenth century Ireland plate was desired, needed, acquired and consumed. This chapter has illuminated the diversity and quantities of the country’s consumers – both institutional and individual – and has connected the social, political and cultural contexts of the period with the motivations informing the acquisition of ecclesiastical, civic, ceremonial and domestic plate. Silver’s high visibility in early-modern society, thus, cannot be underestimated as its several practical and symbolic features ensured its widespread appeal. The increasing rate at which it was produced and purchased shows that, by 1700, it was the material of choice for equipping and embellishing religious worship, municipal ceremony, dining and drinking. This ubiquity created a high demand for plate in Ireland consistent with prevailing consumer patterns in contemporary Britain and continental Europe. Such demand was met domestically and internationally through the new and second-hand markets. Significantly, this demand also

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<sup>153</sup>Refaussé, *Vestry records: St John the Evangelist, Dublin*, pp 23, 28.

<sup>154</sup>Gillespie, *Vestry records: St Catherine & St James, Dublin*, p. 178.

<sup>155</sup>RCB MS P 117/5/2, p. 137.

<sup>156</sup>Sweeney, *Irish Stuart silver*, p. 84.

precipitated the concerted development of the goldsmiths' craft in Ireland creating, in turn, greater consumer demand, convenience, quality control and product availability.

The growing wealth of Ireland's elite and the changing ethnic and religious profiles of this upper section of society saw the country's aristocracy engage in levels of luxury consumption hitherto unseen. Amongst the country's less wealthy consumers, meanwhile, the aspiration to own and use plate was realised with smaller purchases of choice articles and, as will be discussed, through inheritance. The case of Richard Boyle has richly illustrated several facets of consumers' purchasing patterns. His acquisition of silver from London, Dublin, from his peers, through fines and in lieu of payments, demonstrates the numerous creative avenues by which luxury wares could be accumulated by the wealthy in Ireland. His means of procurement were not atypical though his spending power was, indeed, extraordinary. More particular to the 'Great Earl', however, was his stimulation of industry in Ireland, including the goldsmiths' craft. Though it cannot be proven definitively that his patronage of Nathaniel Stoughton instigated the goldsmith's immigration to Dublin, it is plausible that he, along with the earl of Kildare, featured prominently amidst the several factors encouraging Stoughton (and others) to relocate to Ireland.

## Chapter four

### **The design and decoration of silver in seventeenth-century Ireland**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

The previous chapter proposed that seventeenth-century Irish consumers like the earl of Cork occasionally prioritised the financial costs of plate over its socio-cultural value in advertising the owner's engagement with current fashion. This was particularly apparent with regard to the acquisition of second-hand items. This chapter sets out to explore these interconnecting factors in greater detail. Unravelling the themes of value, fashion and craftsmanship provokes numerous avenues of empirical research and theoretical analysis. Synthesising these approaches will enable a better understanding of contemporary attitudes and stylistic sources and how these contributed to the aesthetic development of Irish silver in this period. Little has been explored on this subject to date despite the proliferation of studies which centre on early-modern design and the importance of ornament in expressing taste.<sup>1</sup> As Sara Pennell has discussed, these studies are frequently defined by 'the motivating concerns of aesthetics and aspiration ... [which] situate these issues within a world of 'designed' luxury goods'.<sup>2</sup> An important exception within Irish silver scholarship is the recent work of Malgorzata Kranodebska-D'Aughton which has examined the corpus of Irish Franciscan plate, most of which dates to the early-seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup> This pertinent analysis of the religious order's collection underscores the value of considering the intersecting concerns of makers and consumers, and the dissemination of styles and ornamental sources. The author's approach marks a considerable development from the numerous catalogues and publications which have encompassed seventeenth-century Irish silver. Some of these alluded to the

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<sup>1</sup>Hernmarck, *European silversmith*; Glanville, *Silver in England*; Schroder, *Domestic silver*; John Styles, 'Manufacturing, consumption and design in eighteenth-century England' in Brewer & Porter, *Consumption & the world of goods*, pp 527-53; Snodin & Howard, *Ornament*; Gruber, *Classicism & the Baroque*; Beevers, *Chinese whispers*; Casey & Lucey, *Decorative plasterwork*.

<sup>2</sup>Sara Pennell, 'Consumption and consumerism in early-modern England' in *Historical Journal*, xlii (1999), p. 553.

<sup>3</sup>Kranodebska-D'Aughton, 'Me fieri fecit'.

proliferation of domestic silverwares manufactured from 1660 onwards and briefly summarised prevailing design and ornamental features from the Restoration period to the close of the century.<sup>4</sup> By and large, however, they neglected to consider stylistic sources or the role of goldsmiths and consumers in shaping these trends. This chapter aims to redress this imbalance.

A significant obstacle supplies an immediate challenge to fulfilling this aim. It explains the traditional dearth of analysis on the subject, namely the paucity of extant Irish silver from the first half of the seventeenth century, particularly domestic silver. Further to this is the limited quantity of, and detailed content within, documentary source material, as encountered in the previous chapters. This challenge is not unique to the study of Irish silver, though the extreme dearth of primary sources from the century's early decades makes it especially apparent. Beth Carver Wees, in consideration primarily of eighteenth-century English silver, has identified this issue and proposes one methodology with which it can be addressed: 'Although the histories of many objects remain unwritten, the consequence of little or no relevant documentation, those that can be traced supply sufficient evidence to hypothesise about the rest.'<sup>5</sup> Such an approach can certainly be harnessed in order to trace the evolving design and decoration of seventeenth-century Irish silver. Moreover, in the complete absence of some objects dating to earlier years, such as domestic plate in the century's first four decades, it is illuminating to draw on the integrated methodology established at the outset of this project and consider, from contemporaneous ecclesiastical or ceremonial items, evidence of stylistic crossover. In this way a more comprehensive visual catalogue of the variety of Irish silver can be achieved. Furthermore, in contrast to Wees's status quo, where sources relating to Irish consumers of plate *have* out-survived objects, it will also be shown that contemporary documents recounting the forms, style and ornament of plate can reconstruct somewhat the artefacts of the time. This chapter aims, therefore, to provide new material on the design and development of silver in early-modern Ireland. This material, in turn, will permit analysis regarding the aesthetic position of the craft and its consumers within contemporary Europe.

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<sup>4</sup>Bennett, *Collecting Irish silver*, pp 17-21; Delamer & O'Brien, *500 years*, pp 24-5.

<sup>5</sup>Carver Wees, *English, Irish & Scottish silver*, p. 12.

#### 4.1 Goldsmiths, consumers and the question of ‘fashion’

I gave my daughter, the countess of Barrymore, a fair standinge guilt cupp with a cover. And to my Ladie clayton a silver suger boxe of the skallop fashion, for their New years guyftes.<sup>6</sup>

Analysis of the design and decoration of silver unpicks numerous themes, some of which have been sketched out above. At its core are questions both specific to the craft and relevant to more general lines of enquiry into the design of luxury goods in the early-modern period: Who led design in seventeenth-century Ireland? To what extent did Irish consumers participate in fashion? Was it the goldsmith or the consumer who determined the style and ornamentation of plate? And from where and how did they receive information to transmit their knowledge of these aesthetic features? Once again, the diaries and correspondence of Lord Cork supply a unique glimpse of an elite seventeenth-century Irish consumer’s involvement with the style of his silver. A letter from Boyle’s agent Sir John Leeke to the earl in August 1624 succinctly conveys how this engagement contributed to the articulation of style and the expression of taste:

for the 30*li*. if it were receued you commanded to haue bestowed in a playne silver standerd sault. Itt is more mony then any of the greatest haue in ther playne saults, but ther is of late a Spanish fashioned sault come vpp and vsed of all, which many doe putt 40 onz into itt, but because I doe ymagine you would haue yours extraordinary fayer, I haue put into your sault 60 and odd onz. and tooke the example by the Lady of Carliles: and I dought not but you will very well like itt, for yndeed itt is a brave one.<sup>7</sup>

For the earl of Cork, like many of his contemporaries, the design of his household wares was inter-connected with refinement and wealth. Leeke understood that the earl would wish to be current and acquire a ‘Spanish fashioned’ standing salt like that used ‘of all’ instead of one of a plainer style, implying that a more ornate, continental style was in vogue in London in the 1620s and, therefore, desirable. At the same time, he would also require the salt to be more substantial than those used

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<sup>6</sup>Diary of Richard Boyle, Jan. 1636/7 (*Lismore papers: diaries*, iv, 217).

<sup>7</sup>*Lismore papers: correspondence*, iii, 120.

by most – at ‘60 and odd’ ounces – so that it would be as weighty (and therefore as expensive) as Lady Carlisle’s, and thus mark him out for distinction and innovation amongst his peers.<sup>8</sup> Early-modern consumers realised that the superior form and style of a piece was dependent on its conspicuous use and display by those who ‘mattered’ and *vice versa*. Such transient social and psychological factors were important in determining the creation of fashion:

Fashion was ... conveyed not just by the object but by those who possessed or displayed an object. It was a quality endowed by association with the high ranking or the rich. It was manners, gestures and style as much as the physical attributes of the object itself which lent it fashion. ... Fashion thus changed continuously.<sup>9</sup>

Leeke’s letter also ably demonstrated how a provincially-located Irish consumer’s luxury acquisitions could keep immediate pace with the latest fashions finding currency at the centre of London court society. Boyle’s network of agents, his regular correspondence and diary entries regarding his purchases and his determination to utilise these purchases in order to remain fashionable all offer evidence of the up-to-date consumption habits of a rich, image-conscious early-seventeenth century consumer in Ireland. It challenges some established views which have proposed that, when it came to fashion, the Irish often lagged behind their counterparts in England.<sup>10</sup> Though some early-modern Irish consumers (and the craftsmen they employed) can be found ‘plodding in the tracks of others in Britain’, newer research has shown that others were acting as cultural innovators or, in some instances, going directly to the sources of fashion in continental Europe.<sup>11</sup> The evidence relating to Boyle’s fashionable consumption is consistent with this revised

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<sup>8</sup>Lucy Hay (née Percy), Countess of Carlisle (1599-1600), was the second wife of the first earl of Carlisle. She was a popular and conspicuous figure at the court of Charles I.

<sup>9</sup>Berg & Clifford, *Consumers & luxury*, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup>This is particularly apparent with regard to analysis of eighteenth-century Irish silver. For example, Douglas Bennett stated that the Rococo was ‘late to arrive in Ireland’ and that craftsmen in Ireland ‘always hastened slowly and were in no hurry to adopt the fashions of London society.’ (Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, p.105.) Similarly, Kurt Ticher stated that there was no evidence of Rococo ornamentation on Irish domestic silver until a decade after its application on English silver in the 1730s. (Kurt Ticher, *Irish silver in the Rococo period* (Shannon, 1972), p. 2.) More recently, Joseph McDonnell has shown that extant pieces of Irish silver disprove this apparent time lag and that items marked in the mid-1730s by Irish goldsmiths demonstrate an engagement with current Rococo patterns. (McDonnell, ‘Irish Rococo silver’, p. 80.)

<sup>11</sup>Barnard, *Grand figure*, xx.

viewpoint. In addition to the letter from Leeke, his diaries also point to his ongoing preoccupation with fashion and novelty: for the gifts he disbursed in January 1628/9 he described both a chafing dish and a set of knives as ‘curious’,<sup>12</sup> while in January 1636/7 he presented his friend Lady Clayton with a decorative sugar box described as being ‘of the scallop fashion’.<sup>13</sup> He recognised the need to regularly improve his existing plate, noting his decisions to dispatch old plate in order to upgrade it. Although the physical tracing of the evolving fashions of plate has been complicated by this consumer practice of exchanging and re-fashioning collections, the fact that it occurred is proof of active engagement with fashion; an outdated or hard-worn item of silver on display could do more harm than benefit, notwithstanding its possible sentimental value.<sup>14</sup> In November 1620 he sent a voyder<sup>15</sup> to London to be exchanged for a new one and, in March 1625/6, he noted a consignment of ‘owld silver vessells’, weighing just over 600 ounces was likewise to be sent by an agent in order to be ‘exchanged into new dishes’.<sup>16</sup> In August 1641, while in London, he paid a goldsmith £24 for exchanging dishes and for mending other items of plate.<sup>17</sup>

Other sources confirm the similar practice of re-fashioning and re-purposing plate among the Irish elite: Boyle’s son Lord Orrery sent silver to the Limerick goldsmith John Bucknor in 1666, among which were four large London-made flagons, to be re-made into dinner plates, communion chalices and a powder box for his wife.<sup>18</sup> The second duke of Ormond, on succeeding to the title in 1688, inherited his father’s plate, a collection which, evidently, expressed the fashion of an older generation. Accordingly, in January 1689/90 he traded in 2,500oz of old silver, an enormous volume, for 2,100oz of new plate which he received over two years later. The new collection included dinner plates, a new basin and ewer, flatware, two sets of casters, and sets of candlesticks described as ‘pillared’, the fashionable fluted column pattern of French and Dutch influence in this early-Williamite period (Fig. 53). The duke’s new dining plate also included trencher salts described as ‘knurled’,

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<sup>12</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, ii, 293.

<sup>13</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iv, 217.

<sup>14</sup>Glanville, *Silver in England*, p. 314.

<sup>15</sup>A voyder was a tray which was used to dispense and collect dishes from the dining table.

<sup>16</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, i, 265; *Ibid.*, ii, 179.

<sup>17</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries.*, v, 187.

<sup>18</sup>Barnard, *Protestant ascents & descents*, p. 56.

indicating the popular embellishment of semi-circular gadroons chased on domestic silver in the late-seventeenth century (Fig. 54).<sup>19</sup>

Irish consumers' expression of fashion through their purchase, use and display of silver can also be traced through the types of objects they acquired. This is especially apparent in light of the conspicuous emphasis placed by early-modern European consumers on the continental and Oriental sources of their domestic objects and furnishings and on their consumption of the imported new commodities of tea, coffee, sugar, chocolate and tobacco.<sup>20</sup> The move by consumers towards goods associated with the vogue for continental manners and expensive, foreign-sourced consumables contributed to fashion's close affiliation with novelty.<sup>21</sup> The description of items by allusion to their origin was a deliberate means of demonstrating an alignment with the prevailing fashions of a country of perceived cultural superiority and the existence of funds to purchase items of exotic material and foreign manufacture. Though the bulk of domestic silver consumed in Ireland was, more often than not, produced in either Ireland or England in this period, some early records indicate a desire to imitate continental fashions or origins. The earl of Cork, as discussed above, was advised to purchase a 'Spanish fashioned' standing salt in 1624. Spanish-influenced style is likewise to be seen in the sparse assay records of 1638-49 which detail the submission of 'Spanish cupps' for assay by the immigrant goldsmith William Cooke. The earl of Thomond's 1639 inventory of silver included, in the collection of plate of Dublin manufacture, two 'small Spanish ewers',<sup>22</sup> and, in c.1666, a Dublin woman, Penelope Baily, bequeathed two 'Spanish cups' to her relative.<sup>23</sup> The aesthetic features of this 'Spanish' style are unclear, given the wholesale absence of these Irish silver vessels, but the distinctiveness of their form is implicit by the descriptive specification. These limited descriptive references are consistent with contemporary inventories which list 'Holland' and 'Normandy'

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<sup>19</sup>Sinsteden, 'Plate of the dukes of Ormond', pp 131-2.

<sup>20</sup>As discussed by Peter Brown, *In praise of hot liquors: the study of chocolate, coffee and tea-drinking 1600-1850* (York, 1995); Glanville & Young, *Elegant eating*, pp 108-11; Maxine Berg, 'In pursuit of luxury: global history and British consumer goods in the eighteenth century' in *Past & Present*, no. 182 (Feb., 2004), pp 85-142.

<sup>21</sup>Bruno Blondé and Ilja Van Damme, 'Fashioning old and new or moulding the material culture of Europe (late seventeenth - early nineteenth centuries)', in Blondé *et al.*, *Fashioning old & new*, pp 1-13.

<sup>22</sup>O'Dalaigh, 'Inventory of Bunratty Castle', p. 148.

<sup>23</sup>Will of Penelope Baily, Dublin, c.1666 (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, f. 104r).



fabrics, cushions of ‘cloth of Turkey’, Spanish blankets and tables, ‘Venis’ glasses and ‘Portingall’ mats, though it is more likely that these furnishings were imported from foreign sources and were not of native manufacture in imitation of a style, as was the case with the silver.<sup>24</sup>

The duke of Ormond’s 1674-84 inventory of plate included three ‘Indian’ cups, five French silver ‘pottingers’, and two German flagons, though it is unclear whether these vessels were sourced in the countries specified or if they exhibited a style attributed to these origins.<sup>25</sup> In addition are items which were used for the fashionable consumption of tea, coffee, chocolate and sugar. The first duchess had her own silver teapot in her bed chamber at Kilkenny Castle as early as 1674.<sup>26</sup> The 1689 Ormond inventory contained two sugar boxes, two gilt ‘tea dishes’, and a silver-gilt teapot worth a hefty £10 4s. The 1702-3 inventory increased the collection with characteristic opulence: several teaspoons, a chocolate pot, a tea kettle and coffee pot along with a silver-gilt set of a chocolate pot and cover and cup were all listed.<sup>27</sup> Prior to the mid-century introduction of these new beverages, earlier consumers like Richard Boyle recognised how the consumption of sugar dispensed from expensive containers indicated refinement. He presented his friend Lady Clayton with a sugar box in 1636. Others, likewise, equipped their sideboards and dining tables with accessories for sugar: the 1639 Bunratty Castle inventory included a ‘sugar hoe and spoon’ in the collection of Dublin-made silver.<sup>28</sup> Both Lord Slane and one John Hatton were issued licenses to bring their silver sugar boxes among their other items of plate from England to Ireland in 1637 and 1639 respectively.<sup>29</sup> These were standard items of Stuart domestic silver and were often fitted with a hinged lid and clasp, reflecting the preciousness of its contents which were used to sweeten wine.<sup>30</sup> Four sugar boxes were included in the extant Dublin assay records

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<sup>24</sup>The inventories of Thomas Butler, Geashill, Co Offaly, and the dukes of Ormond, reproduced in Fenlon, *Goods & chattels*, pp 15-18, 20-3, 41-86.

<sup>25</sup>Sinsteden, ‘Plate of the dukes of Ormond’, pp 129-31.

<sup>26</sup>English silver and silver-gilt teapots were first modelled on tapering cylindrical coffee pots and were not made in any discernible quantities until the last quarter of the seventeenth century. (Schroder, *Domestic silver*, pp 136-7.)

<sup>27</sup>Sinsteden, ‘Plate of the dukes of Ormond’, pp 131-3.

<sup>28</sup>O’Dalaigh, ‘Inventory of Bunratty Castle’, pp 139-65.

<sup>29</sup>Charles I to the Lord Treasurer, 9 Jun. 1637; Warrant [of the Privy Council] to the Customs Officers, 9 Sep. 1639. (*Cal. S.P. Ire. 1633-47*, pp 161, 223.)

<sup>30</sup>Glanville, *Silver in England*, pp 59-60.

for the period 1638-49.<sup>31</sup> Numerous items of Irish-manufactured plate offer additional evidence of the appetite among consumers for silverwares with which to consume sugar and the range of other new commodities. Sweeney's index of domestic plate includes, from the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries one tobacco box, one sugar box, twenty sugar casters, one kettle, one kettle stand and lamp, five chocolate pots, eight teapots, seven teapots, nine teaspoons and three teaspoon trays (Fig. 55).<sup>32</sup>

The evidence would suggest, therefore, that seventeenth-century Irish consumers of plate were participating in British and continental fashions, as proven by their engagement with both the types *and* the styles of the items they were acquiring. Closer stylistic analysis of extant domestic and non-domestic silver will follow in order to show how Irish craftsmen articulated these fashions. It remains, meanwhile, to consider the extent to which consumers such as the earl of Cork and the dukes of Ormond were leading Irish fashions. Were these elite patrons establishing the most current styles in Irish silver, demonstrating in their lavish collections a refinement to which their peers and inferiors aspired? Or, is it more likely that a more nuanced dialogue existed between them and their goldsmiths? This is difficult to detect but a letter from the goldsmith Nathaniel Stoughton, while he was still located in London in 1632, to Boyle's young ward and son-in-law George FitzGerald, Lord Kildare, provides rare insight. The correspondence between the English goldsmith and his Irish patron indicates how the priorities and sensibilities of each determined the form and decoration of silver:

my Lord tell me whether the candlesticks shall be all one size or no and how near they shall be to those I sent my Lord of Cork by Sir Edward Bagshaw, or whether the three dozen spoons shall be all of one size, all of a fashion, because we make 6 pounds a dozen ... but the fashion and price I will wait upon your Lordship for direction.<sup>33</sup>

From this letter it can be surmised that the spread of fashion was guided by both the exposure of consumers to the newest styles in the homes of their contemporaries as well as the goldsmith's knowledge of and ability to replicate these current trends.

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<sup>31</sup>Sinsteden, 'Selected assay records', p. 146.

<sup>32</sup>Sweeney, *Irish Stuart silver*, pp 245-65.

<sup>33</sup>McGrath & Clarke, *Letterbook of the earl of Kildare*, pp 50-1.

Stoughton's adept reference to Boyle's candlesticks supplied a common understanding as to 'how near' in style Kildare's should be to those made by the goldsmiths for the young earl's father-in-law. And, as encountered earlier, Boyle was himself guided by his knowledge of (and exposure to) the items of plate owned by his peers, such as Lady Carlisle. As Helen Clifford has discussed with regard to eighteenth-century London, this symbiosis between patron and goldsmith was central to the development of fashion.<sup>34</sup> Wealthy patrons, reflecting on styles seen abroad, in publications, in the homes of their contemporaries, or informed, like Boyle, by reliable sources, commissioned items from their goldsmiths who simultaneously interpreted these commissions *and* supplied a ready-made market for their less-wealthy clients:

the power of the patron was not only for ensuring but also for stimulating the quality of art, design and manufacture ... their custom provided the opportunity to make high-profile objects, which signalled taste and attracted other customers.<sup>35</sup>

The Irish Sea did not impede elite Irish consumers from participating in the latest trends; their engagement with fashion and their relationships with adept craftsmen kept them current so that the forms and styles of the plate on their dining tables was similar to that decorating the tables belonging to their English counterparts. Furthermore, as in eighteenth-century London, seventeenth-century Ireland had a sufficient range of consumers which simultaneously encompassed those, like Richard Boyle, whose fashionable commissions led the way and less prestigious consumers who followed suit.

#### **4.2 The consumption and design of 'plain' plate**

Nathaniel Stoughton's note to the earl of Kildare and Sir John Leeke's correspondence with the earl of Cork both highlighted the implications of the higher cost of plate when the matter of 'fashion' was under negotiation. The London

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<sup>34</sup> Clifford, *Silver in London*, pp 128-9.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

goldsmith's query regarding whether Kildare's three dozen spoons should be 'all of one size, all of a fashion' was directly connected to how the eventual cost was to be calculated. If Kildare desired all of the spoons to be of the same dimension and style it was understood that this would be the most cost-effective commission 'because we make 6 pounds a dozen', thus neatly demonstrating how the extra time expended on producing different forms and styles translated into the economic principle of diminishing returns in the goldsmiths' craft. The implications of higher cost were similarly presented to Boyle when the option to commission a standing salt decorated in the newer fashion was offered against the less expensive 'playne' one he originally intended to purchase. The contemporary understanding of 'fashion', therefore, did not simply relate to decorative forms and motifs consistent with a prevailing, popular style. It was also connected with craftsmanship which, in turn, corresponded to superior technical skill and time. The craft of raising, forming and finishing unornamented pieces was, of course, calculated and charged by the goldsmith in addition to the price of the metal but time-consuming chased, embossed or engraved decoration was even more costly and did not add to the intrinsic value of plate. Thus, plain, uniformly wrought utensils and vessels were invariably less expensive than corresponding commissions for those which were stylistically diverse.

The financial cautiousness of consumers throughout the period, together with the evidence of extant plate, contest widely-held views that heavy gauge, unornamented plate was a feature of early-eighteenth century Irish silver.<sup>36</sup> It has been incorrectly asserted that this plain, 'Queen Anne' style was introduced and disseminated by immigrant, non-conformist Protestant craftsmen.<sup>37</sup> Certainly, heavy gauge, geometric-formed unornamented plate was popular in the early-eighteenth century, but it is incorrect to attribute the innovation of the style to this period, or, indeed, to the later decades of the seventeenth century. Plain items of domestic and institutional silverware were produced and consumed throughout the seventeenth century in Ireland. Former Secretary of State to Ireland, Sir Jeffrey Fenton, the father of Katherine Boyle, Lord Cork's second wife, bequeathed his 'plaine' silver basin to his

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<sup>36</sup>Robert Wyse Jackson, *Irish silver* (Dublin, 1972), p. 20; Bennett, *Collecting Irish silver*, pp 24-6.

<sup>37</sup>Delamer and O'Brien discuss the plain style in Irish silver in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries and the role of immigrant Huguenots in its dissemination. (Delamer & O'Brien, *500 years*, p. 24.) Refuted in Cunningham, 'Dublin's Huguenot goldsmiths', pp 158-85. .

wife in his 1608 will.<sup>38</sup> Charles Oman acknowledged the existence of the style in England in the period prior to the English Civil War (1642-51) and the ensuing ‘Puritan’ Interregnum which, much like the simplistic association of plainness with immigrant Huguenots from the 1690s onwards, had likewise been erroneously credited with fostering an austere aesthetic consistent with an iconoclastic confession.<sup>39</sup> In addition, as Hernmarck has shown, extant pieces of French and Dutch silver, dating from the late-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, are evidence of the existence of the style in continental Europe, suggesting that there was widespread appetite for the unornamented which was disseminated by craftsmen and consumers well before the Restoration.<sup>40</sup>

As encountered in the previous two chapters, the purchase of plate was considered a secure method of storing personal financial reserves due to the interconnected relationship of plate with specie.<sup>41</sup> The social and practical currencies of plate, therefore, were often trumped by its intrinsic worth as ‘money was bullion in the form of coin, and coin was frequently in short supply, [therefore] it made rational sense to put money into plate’.<sup>42</sup> This interchangeable relationship between plate and money was understood by seventeenth-century Irish consumers: in 1644, when coin was at its shortest supply in Ireland, Anne Parsons, from Birr, stated in her will that she wished Lord Lorothe to assist her grandson in the recovery of what was ‘due unto him’ by instructing £20 of her plate to ‘bee Coined’ in order to finance a legal case on his behalf.<sup>43</sup> Trinity College’s bursar noted the coining of numerous items from its collection in the period 1642-7, as was directed by the crown, among which were pots, bowls, candlesticks, spoons, salts and other ‘parcels of plate’.<sup>44</sup> Given the regularity with which seventeenth-century consumers sold, coined, pawned or re-fashioned their plate it is unsurprising to note that many opted to acquire unornamented items so that they did not forfeit excessive loss on their original purchase price. In March 1641/2 Richard Boyle noted such a financial loss on a selection of his silverwares which may have included items such as his ornate

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<sup>38</sup>Will of Sir Jeffrey Fenton, 1608 (NAI MS 999/525(1)).

<sup>39</sup>Oman, *Caroline silver*, p. 15.

<sup>40</sup>Hernmarck, *European silversmith*, i, 60-2.

<sup>41</sup>As discussed by FitzGerald, ‘Goldsmiths’ work in eighteenth-century Dublin’, pp 154-63.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 156.

<sup>43</sup>Will of Anne Parsons, Birr, 1644 (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, f. 81).

<sup>44</sup>Bennett, *Silver collection: Trinity College Dublin*, pp 134-5.

standing salt decorated in the ‘Spanish fashion’. Severely depleted from paying and arming troops to defend towns within his jurisdiction in Munster from rebels he wrote to his sons’ tutor, Monsieur Marcombes, explaining how he had managed to meet the teacher’s fees:

I know I am the greatest looser [sic] of any man in this kingdome, for I am deeply indebted and haue neither money, revenue, nor stock left me, nor can no longer subsist for want of means. ... I scraped together, and with much difficulty gott together two hundred and fifty pounds by selling of plate (wherein I lost the fashion) and haue made it over to be paid.<sup>45</sup>

As ever, Boyle was meticulously aware of his disbursements and he saw fit to communicate to Marcombes the financial loss he suffered on the ‘cashing in’ of his presumably lavishly decorated silver amidst his tale of woe. It is understandable, therefore, that for many consumers the high cost of decoration coupled with the monetary function of plate were important determinants in the widespread production and acquisition of pieces produced in a plain, unornamented style so that their inevitable losses were not so difficult to bear.

It is instructive to look to ecclesiastical plate produced in the seventeenth century in order to appreciate the wide scope of the plain style in Ireland, particularly in light of the absence of domestic examples from the early decades of the seventeenth century. This is more apparent in Protestant altar plate than Roman Catholic, though a proportion of the latter faith’s early-seventeenth liturgical silver does suggest some preference for predominantly unornamented, geometric forms and plain surfaces (Figs 56 and 57). The late-sixteenth century iconoclasm of the reformed churches was certainly compatible with the preference for largely undecorated silver. A ‘plain’ ideal in which scripture was prioritised over iconography was cultivated throughout the seventeenth century among Protestants, particularly among non-conformists in Britain and Ireland.<sup>46</sup> Vessels and utensils with sparse decoration, therefore, are typical of much of the Anglican and Presbyterian plate from the seventeenth century.

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<sup>45</sup>*Lismore papers: correspondence*, v, 21.

<sup>46</sup>David Brett, *The plain style*, (Cambridge, 2004), pp 13, 52.

Stylistic comparisons can be drawn between Church of Ireland and Church of England communion cups and other altar equipage which, in turn, share features with contemporary domestic vessels. Cups from late-sixteenth and seventeenth century England and Ireland bore a strong resemblance to the cylindrical domestic silver beaker (Fig. 58). In its existing form or applied to a simple stem and standing on a plain, circular foot, it served as a capacious communion cup, as the continental Calvinist churches discovered. The pattern was wide-reaching; provincially-produced Irish Anglican examples can be detected with a small Cork-made cup, dating to approximately 1627, used at St Mary's Church at Shandon and one attributed to the Limerick goldsmith Robert Smith later in the century (Figs 59 and 60). Another beaker-styled, plain cup acquired by the parish church at Ballymoden in Bandon, County Cork with London marks, hallmarked in 1630-1, is modestly decorated with a band of strap-work foliate ornament, in imitation of the flat-chased decoration typically seen on domestic beakers from the Netherlands in this period.<sup>47</sup> It is plausible that this decoration informed the similar band of ornament found on another cup from this Cork town approximately ten years later bearing the mark of local goldsmith John Moore (Fig. 61).<sup>48</sup> This later vessel also exhibits the development towards a more bucket-shaped cup with an incurving base which the c.1611 communion cup from the Dublin parish of St Nicholas shares. Standing at just over twenty centimetres in height this substantial communion cup is distinguished by its clean, plain aesthetic (Fig. 20).

Irish Anglican plate from the mid- and late-seventeenth century is also noted for its simple forms and unornamented surfaces. Again, many of these styles correspond with domestic equivalents. One of the earliest examples of Irish plate hallmarked by the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company is a 1638 communion cup marked by William Hamilton (Fig. 62). With its flat, circular foot, baluster stem and plain, everted cup, it bears a strong resemblance to the contemporary goblet or wine cup, much like the specimen marked by William Cooke the following year (Fig. 63). As both vessels had the shared function of dispensing wine this design crossover is unsurprising. The endurance of the simple, goblet style as a pattern for communion cups can also be seen in provincially-produced cups: one from Waterford marked by Edward Russell

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<sup>47</sup>Douglas Ash, *Seventeenth century Dutch silver* (Cambridge, 1965), pp 25-6.

<sup>48</sup>Webster, *Church plate of Cork, Cloyne & Ross*, p. 79.

in c.1670 and another from Cork from c.1697 both supply examples of the design's longevity and the persistence of the unornamented in Church of Ireland silver (Figs 6 and 64). Conical-bowled communion cups emerged in the final decades of the century. Extant examples marked by the Limerick goldsmith James Robinson in this period offer further proof of the swift adoption by provincial Irish consumers and craftsmen of this popular, simple style for which English and continental domestic equivalents can likewise be identified in glass and other materials (Figs 65-67). The final late-seventeenth century evolution of the Anglican communion cup saw the elongation of the bowl, resulting in a tall, slender cylindrical vessel resting on a modest stem and circular base. These cups continued the trend for plain forms and unornamented surfaces (Fig. 68).

Plain cups were complemented on the altar by unornamented broad-rimmed dish-patens and cylindrical flagons whose connection to domestic wares is equally evident. It will be shown in chapter six that the appropriation by the Church of Ireland of domestic wares for liturgical use was common practice, particularly when the church was in receipt of donated items from the household collections of their pious parishioners. Similar to the above survey of cups, therefore, an understanding of the forms and styles of early- and mid-seventeenth century domestic plates, dishes and flagons is enriched through consideration of contemporary ecclesiastical equivalents. One of the earliest Dublin examples of the latter vessel, the 'Moses and Edward Hill' flagon, was marked by the goldsmith James Vanderbeck in the assay year 1638-9. Standing thirty-five centimetres in height, its form is typical of flagons from the period with its spreading circular base and low-domed hinged lid (Fig. 69). Like tankards, their decoration was limited to the applied thumb-piece which took the form of a reeded shell or bifurcated cork screw on a hinged lid, as seen in later altar flagons (Fig. 70). The practical addition of a spout was established at the end of the century (Fig. 71). The evolution of the paten, meanwhile, from a small cup cover with a flat disked finial-foot to a larger sized plate with a plain depression developed in line with the Anglican shift from the taking of communion wafers to the adoption of the Calvinist preference for bread at the Eucharist.<sup>49</sup> The examples of larger Irish patens reflect the growing inclination towards plate-like patens. One marked by the

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<sup>49</sup>Oman, *English church plate*, p. 151.



Limerick goldsmith John Bucknor in c.1665, measuring over fifteen centimetres in diameter, and another, larger example produced some thirty years later in Dublin both reveal the rudimentary form and style of these plates which were equally ubiquitous on post-Restoration altars and dining tables (Figs 72 and 73).

### 4.3 Decoration

The appetite in Ireland for unornamented plate continued, as outlined, well into the eighteenth century. Though financial and stylistic attributes continued to ensure its appeal to consumers, it was not, as shown with the discussion on fashion, the only aesthetic available in this period. A large quantity of extant domestic, ecclesiastical, civic and ceremonial Irish silver displays numerous varieties of forms, surface decorations and applied ornamental features that developed and diverged from the unornamented style. The ornate, in its several manifestations, co-existed alongside the austere plain and Irish goldsmiths were adept at producing several styles to suit their customers' preferences. Specimens marked by the Dublin goldsmith John Cuthbert (Senior), for example, illustrate the variety of concurrent designs and fashions. These include a plain tankard sparsely ornamented with engraved heraldry, a church paten with a simple border of gadroons, sugar casters exhibiting intricate piercings and cut-card<sup>50</sup> decoration, and a two-handled octagonal cup with an elaborate multi-leaved finial, knurled handles and flat-chased pictorial chinoiserie-styled panels (Figs 13, 42, 74 and 75).

Consumers like the earl of Cork used their acquisitions of decorative plate to demonstrate surplus wealth and an engagement with the latest tastes. For the churches and the country's civic and ceremonial consumers, the application of decoration to vessels and insignia heightened the visibility of important ceremonial items and signalled the prestige and prosperity of the institution and their benefactors. The transmission of designs, frequently from continental and English sources, to Irish consumers and workshops, together with the advancing technical

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<sup>50</sup>'Cut-card' was a decorative technique which involved the soldering of pieces of thin, patterned sheets of silver on to the body of vessels. (Oman, *Caroline silver*, p. 19.)

ability of goldsmiths to execute engraved, embossed, pierced, flat-chased, chased or applied decoration resulted in a rich stylistic diversity that the literature has largely overlooked. The ensuing sections of this chapter will identify the distinct decorative strands in the design development of Irish plate during the seventeenth century. Inevitably, several of these strands overlapped so that many examples exhibit a myriad of stylistic and technical features. These following sections will consider the sources and dissemination of these numerous designs and, as in previous sections, will achieve this through an integrated examination of the body of Irish silver.

### 4.3.1 Heraldry

I sent by Wm ffitz olliver Terry to Sir Randall cleyton, to present, as a token from me to his Lady, a dozen of faier silver Trencher plates, with his own & her armes engraven on every of them, they weighing 123 ownces ; which at *vs. 7d.* ster: the ownce amounted vnto *34li. 10s 6d.*; and for graving the 12 coates of Armes xxiiijs. In all *35li. 14s. 6d.*<sup>51</sup>

Among the more affordable and widely available methods of silver decoration was engraved ornament. And, as several items show, domestic and institutional silverwares were frequently embellished with engraved coats-of-arms and crests. Engraved heraldry was considered entirely suitable to the ornamentation of plate, simultaneously supplying decoration and proclaiming the status of the owner. This can be seen in the silver used by each of the main consumer groups in Ireland in the seventeenth century, with the exception of the Catholic Church whose preference for other forms of decoration will be examined below (Figs 29, 70 and 76). For municipal corporations, the addition of engraved or chased heraldry to ceremonial items like maces usually consisted of the town's arms or motto along with the reigning monarch's arms (Figs 34 and 77). With these clearly displayed, often with sparse additional ornament, royal-sanctioned legitimacy and authority was communicated through common visual signifiers.

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<sup>51</sup>Extract from Richard Boyle's diary, Feb. 1635/6 (*Lismore papers: diaries*, iv, 162).

A survey of extant Irish silver shows that the range of heraldry, most of which was engraved, was similar to the quality and style evident on contemporary English silver, with features and motifs consistent with popular European ornament. One of the oldest items of Dublin-hallmarked silver, the Vanderbeck-marked flagon donated to Trinity College Dublin in 1638, is distinguished by two engraved arms, one for each brother (Fig. 69).<sup>52</sup> The shields are framed by gently scrolling acanthus leaf mantling, expressing an engagement with contemporary Baroque ornamental patterns. The acanthus leaf, employed since antiquity to frame and embellish architectural fixtures, was invigorated during the Italian Renaissance and applied across the decorative arts, including metalwork. The subsequent flourishing of print patterns throughout Europe disseminated the acanthus making it an ubiquitous and unobtrusive element of Baroque ornament by the seventeenth century with ‘a small repertory of motifs – festoons, garlands, and volutes, to name three – [which] rarely interfered with basic structural elements’ making it the ideal embellishment to plain silver surfaces.<sup>53</sup> Dutch and German engravers had been printing Italian-influenced ornamental prints since the early-sixteenth century.<sup>54</sup> It is likely that Vanderbeck, an immigrant to Dublin whose name suggests Low Countries origin, or indeed an engraver in his employment, was exposed to such prints (or items whose decoration was inspired by these prints) which were the main vehicles of style dissemination to makers and consumers alike.<sup>55</sup> As noted in chapter one, at least four members of the Dublin goldsmiths’ company were identified as engravers. The craft specialism of many more, certainly, went unrecorded. The expertise of these goldsmith-engravers in reproducing popular patterns resulted in a high level of technical and stylistic consistency in the engraved heraldry evident on a large amount of Irish plate.

Acanthus-framed heraldry can be seen on several items of Irish domestic silver. Tankards, two-handled covered cups (Fig. 78), sideboard dishes (Figs 79 and 80), monteiths (Fig. 81) and bowls (Fig. 82) all reveal its regular application.<sup>56</sup> The latter

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<sup>52</sup>Bennett, *Silver collection, Trinity College Dublin*, pp 32-3.

<sup>53</sup>Ursula Reinhardt, ‘Acanthus’ in Gruber, *Classicism & the Baroque*, p. 95.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>55</sup>Snodin & Howard, *Ornament*, p. 42.

<sup>56</sup>A monteith is a punchbowl which is distinguished by a scalloped rim, which, in some models, can be removed. It is thought that it was named after a Scottish man by the name Monteith, who appeared in Oxford in the 1680s with a cloak decorated with a notched hem. (Bennett, *Silver collection: Trinity College Dublin*, p. 41).

two examples show that acanthus mantling was so well-established that it was integrated into the vessel's ornamental scheme with it applied and chased around the plain boss containing the engraved heraldry of the owner. Similarly, the ornamental arrangement of a porringer marked by John Phillips in 1685 incorporates the framing and presentation of the owner's arms on both the vessel and its cover. An applied oval panel containing the engraved arms is flanked by chased, bracketed acanthus leaves and surmounted by a lion's head, creating the porringer's central decorative feature (Fig. 83). Plate belonging to the Church of Ireland and other institutions such as Trinity College also reveal the ubiquity of acanthus-framed heraldry. For these consumers, more often than not, these decorated coats-of-arms advertised the prominence of their donors (Figs 84 and 85). Acanthus volutes combined with strapwork cartouches frame the engraved heraldry on a ewer marked by Thomas Bolton in 1699 (Figs 86 and 87). It is an excellent example of the adoption by Irish engravers of popular European ornamental patterns. Volutes and strapwork cartouches, whose origins derived from representing partially unrolled scrolls, became popular among the decorative arts in the late Renaissance and Baroque periods and were particularly suited to framing monumental inscriptions.<sup>57</sup> A printed design in this idiom for a metalwork cartouche from Paris in the late-sixteenth century, for application to a hand mirror or ewer, though more elaborate than the heraldic cartouche on Bolton's ewer, suggests the Irish maker and his engraver were drawing on French graphic sources (Fig. 88).

Other items of Irish silver decorated with heraldry reveal concurrent stylistic trends. An embossed dish marked by Abel Ram in approximately 1660, is engraved with two coats of arms, one of which belongs to the donor Nehemiah Donelan and the other to Trinity College (Fig. 52). The shields are simply engraved with the decorative flourish provided by the mantling of ribbon-tied crossed ostrich plumes. Ostrich plumes, with their regal connotations, were a popular choice for mantling decoration in the Restoration period. The style and execution of the heraldry on Ram's dish, consistent with English examples from the same decade, indicates the ready availability and timely application of London decorative trends on Dublin silver. The plume motif can be found on other Irish items dating from the last

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<sup>57</sup>Margherita Azzi-Visentini, 'Strapwork and cartouches' in Gruber, *Renaissance & Mannerism*, pp 347-431.

decades of the century: a toilet service casket produced in Dublin (c.1680-5) and a pair of casters with the mark of the Cork goldsmith Robert Goble, dating to c.1690, are evidence of its continuing popularity (Figs 89 and 90). The latter pair, it can be seen, is decorated almost identically to an English caster engraved with regal arms, marked in 1672 (Fig. 91). They indicate that Goble was exposed to patterns commanding the attention of consumers at the highest level of English society. Less elaborate were other items which show much simpler reproductions of heraldry on items of dining silver, with many consumers opting for just engraved crests on flatware (Fig. 92), dishes (Fig. 93), salvers and casters (Fig. 94).

#### **4.3.2 International flavours: floral patterns and chinoiserie scenes**

Plain, heavy gauge plate was suited to engraved ornamentation. It was not compatible with more time-consuming, complex decorative techniques such as embossing (or *repoussé*) which was applied to vessels of thinner metal. Punching or hammering decorative patterns from the underside into relief on the surface followed by chasing to complete the design on the front gave thin silver greater structural strength and, indeed, greater aesthetic appeal.<sup>58</sup> The production of embossed patterns on domestic and ceremonial wares is detected on plate produced in the early Restoration period. Contrasting with the prevailing plain style, these embossed patterns were characterised by abundant flowers and foliage. This ‘floral baroque’ was a distinct stylistic strand within seventeenth-century Irish silver and once again indicates the close emulation by craftsmen and consumers of popular English and continental styles.<sup>59</sup> Numerous items of silver and silver-gilt demonstrate the influence of the fashion (Figs 24, 52, 95 and 96). Hernmarck believes that this mid-century style originated in the goldsmiths’ workshops of Augsburg, but it was in Holland where it found full expression.<sup>60</sup> In the aftermath of the ‘tulipomania’ of the 1630s and the abstract auricular style of that approximate period, the decorative arts in The Netherlands widely adopted the easily-recognisable floral style in the 1650s

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<sup>58</sup>Taylor, *Silver*, pp 134-5; Hernmarck, *European silversmith*, i, 61.

<sup>59</sup>Hernmarck, *European silversmith*, i, 60-1.

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, 58.

and 1660s.<sup>61</sup> Though the quality of craftsmanship inevitably varied, a description of the reproduction of popular picturesque patterns on Dutch silver can equally be applied to its execution on English and Irish examples:

The arrangement of the stems and tendrils with leaves and blossoms was always different and so were the flowers themselves. The fine chasing conveys with great skill and accuracy the structure of the flower, the shape of its petals, their silkiness, and the veins on the surface. The various states were expressed most clearly: from the bud just beginning to open through its glorious flowering to rich maturity and then the sad withering of the flower with its lifeless, wilting corolla and even falling petals. The silversmiths seem to be vying with one another in their portrayal of carnations, irises, roses, narcissi and tulips.<sup>62</sup>

Numerous two-handled, covered cups with cast figurative, s-shaped handles dating to the 1670s and 1680s, display distinct features of the style. A large covered cup marked by the Cork goldsmith Richard Smart, for example, exhibits on the bowl and cover intricately detailed flowers in full bloom, with leaves finely chased and matted to supply texture and dynamic (Fig. 78). The addition of an elephant followed the fashion of the time. English and Irish goldsmiths adeptly incorporated ‘birds, beasts and monsters’ amidst the popular embossed motifs of free-flowing flowers and foliage.<sup>63</sup> These animals – elephants, deer, lions – provided additional opportunity to supply visual curiosity and vibrancy, often with one ‘chasing’ another on the opposite side of the cup. The widespread production of cups in this style – the Dublin goldsmith Timothy Blackwood’s mark is found on two almost identical pieces dating to c.1680 (Figs 97 and 98) – provides compelling evidence that Irish goldsmiths were using printed designs to supply popular demand for these vessels.

The fashion for embossed and chased foliage was soon followed by another unique decorative style: flat-chased chinoiserie ornamentation. Like engraved coats-of-arms and crests, these oriental-inspired scenes and motifs were added to a wide range of post-Restoration domestic silverwares but did not interrupt the clean lines and familiar forms of tankard, bowls, boxes, candlesticks and cups. The vogue for

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<sup>61</sup>Ash, *Seventeenth-century Dutch silver*, pp 32-3; Schroder, *Domestic silver*, p. 114; G.A. Markova, *Dutch silver: the armoury and its treasures* (Moscow, 2003), pp 14-15.

<sup>62</sup>Markova, *Dutch silver*, pp 14-15.

<sup>63</sup>Oman, *Caroline silver*, p. 17.

this decoration on silver was just one facet of a wider appetite among the affluent in the British Isles and Europe for goods decorated in a style which was labelled, much later, 'chinoiserie':

This style seems to have begun at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Imitations of oriental objects were beginning to give way to pastiches of oriental objects... most of all in textiles, engraving, japanning and ceramics. And above all, this style derived not from the Near East, nor from India, but from China, or rather from the imaginary China known as Cathay which was so well known from depictions on imported Chinese goods.<sup>64</sup>

In silver, the fashion for exotic pictorial scenes informed by this imaginary 'Cathay' occurs almost exclusively on domestic items produced in the relatively brief period of c.1680-90, with the bulk of silver of this style hallmarked in the mid-1680s. The frivolity of the abundant decorative style leant itself more readily to items and vessels associated with intimacy and conviviality: two-handled cups, bowls, sugar-boxes, the components of toilet services. James Lomax believes this style was unique to English silver but there is a sufficient quantity of Irish silver decorated in this style to undermine this assertion.<sup>65</sup> Significantly, the parallel of its production in Ireland with the period of its popularity among English goldsmiths and consumers highlights the immediacy of the adoption of international trends by Irish craftsmen, once again challenging views of a fashion time-lag between the two countries.

The typical manifestation of these oriental 'pastiche' on domestic silverwares was of scenes containing Chinese figures, draped in costume or wearing pointed hats, floating landscapes containing pagodas, fountains, arches, exotic birds, floral sprays and plants. Almost all of these features are included in the unrestrained decorative scheme of a two-handled cup marked by John Shelley (or John Segar) in Dublin in 1685-7, though the chaser's grasp of the orient is mingled with more familiar details: a distinctly European garden fountain is encircled by large, exotic birds and plant-life while the figures sport outlandish hats and costume, though one of the men's knee-length trousers and tunic are more in tune with European fashions in this period (Fig. 99). Other items, which include John Cuthbert's impressive two-handled cup (Fig. 75) and a pair of chamber candlesticks offer additional evidence of the application of

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<sup>64</sup>Impey, *Chinoiserie*, p. 80.

<sup>65</sup>James Lomax, 'Chinoiserie silver in Britain', in Beevers, *Chinese whispers*, pp 39-53.

this distinct ornamental style to Irish silver (Fig. 100). A certain amount of inventiveness was doubtless employed by the freehand of the chaser in the workshop, but, given the striking similarity of pieces produced in this period, even the noted parallels between London-marked and Dublin-marked chinoiserie-styled plate, it is more likely that goldsmiths were working from printed sources and patterns circulating at this time, although no such sources for silver have survived dating to the seventeenth century. These were certainly available in the following century: Joseph McDonnell has shown that eighteenth-century Dublin goldsmiths were attuned to such publications and among these were prints and publications used for the ‘japanning’ of silverwares such as dish rings and two-handled cups.<sup>66</sup> Seventeenth-century publications relating to other mediums suggest that such sources were readily available: Johannes Nieuhoff’s *An Embassy from the East India Company to the Grand Tatar Cham, Emperor of China* (1665) was first published in the Netherlands in Flemish with the first English edition soon following in 1669. With more than one hundred illustrative prints, it became an important source for decoration.<sup>67</sup> John Stalker and George Parker’s *Treatise of Japanning and Varnishing* was published in 1688 and provided instruction on the imitation of Asian lacquer with more than 100 patterns ‘for Japan-work in imitation of the Indians’ for furniture. This popular book went through four editions in one year.<sup>68</sup> Some of the publication’s prints supplied detailed images of exotic flora and fauna (Fig. 101) while others provided scenes of unusual characters, complete with striking dress, headwear and moustaches against a backdrop of curious structures (Fig. 102). It is not difficult to link these distinctive scenes with the flat-chased depictions seen on items of Irish plate which similarly express moments of allegorical curiosity, as seen on a pair of boxes hallmarked in Dublin in c.1685 (Fig. 103).

The vogue for chinoiserie of this distinct style burned out quickly in Ireland, as it did in England, with scarcely any examples dating beyond 1690. It is most unusual, therefore, to note the survival of a pair of covered bowls, each on a matching stand, bearing Dublin hallmarks for 1699-1700 (Fig 104). Curiously, the covers of each bowl are marked by John Cuthbert and hallmarked for 1684-5 while the bowls and

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<sup>66</sup>McDonnell, ‘Irish Rococo silver’, pp 85-6.

<sup>67</sup>Alain Gruber, ‘Chinoiserie’ in Gruber, *Classicism & the Baroque*, pp 233-7.

<sup>68</sup>David Beevers, ‘“Mand’rin only is the Man of Taste’: 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century chinoiserie in Britain’, in Beevers, *Chinese whispers*, pp 13-25.



stands bear the mark of Thomas Bolton and were hallmarked at the later date. A comparison of the flat chasings on the covers and the bowls suggests a different hand; the birds and leafy fronds on the stands, for example, appear to be much freer than the comparatively static depictions on the cover indicating that the decoration, too, was executed at different dates, most likely in 1685 and 1699 respectively (Fig. 105). With fifteen years between their dates of assay, how was it that they were paired together? The National Museum of Ireland's silver collection catalogue, which includes these bowls and stands, supplies one possible explanation: the covers were originally paired with porcelain bowls which had perished and the owners were in a position to replace them and to add matching salvers in plate.<sup>69</sup> However, given the geographic proximity of these two goldsmiths – both of their workshops were on Skinner Row in Dublin – and the environment of collaboration that existed among craftsmen in the city, which chapter two proposed, it is also plausible to consider Cuthbert sold these covers to Bolton some time following the apex of the chinoiserie style in silver when he no longer had a use for them. Bolton, who enjoyed unprecedented success in the final years of the seventeenth century, had a large number of patrons. It is possible that among these consumers was one who chose to augment a collection of toilet plate decorated in the style of the previous decade, an opportunity which saw Bolton recycle Cuthbert's covers to supply the covered bowls and stands decorated in a similar fashion. The anomaly of these bowls and their stands serve as a reminder that individual taste did not always align with prevailing fashions.

### **4.3.3 Continental styles and techniques**

The consistent parallels in the forms and decoration of Irish plate with English and continental pieces prove that Irish consumers and goldsmiths observed and participated in international trends. As the quantities of craftsmen increased and the demographic profile of goldsmiths in Ireland diversified over the course of the century, particularly in Dublin, a corresponding variety of stylistic influences and

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<sup>69</sup>Delamer & O'Brien, *500 years*, p. 99.

greater technical ability can be observed from the body of extant domestic and non-domestic silverwares. At their most restrained, these styles and techniques ranged from the application of engraved heraldry and cut-card foliate patterns to the junctions of handles and spouts on vessels, to the chasing of gadroons or beading to the rims and bases of vessels. On their own each of these ornamental features amounted to modest decoration (Fig. 54). When combined, as seen with a two-handled covered cup marked by Thomas Bolton in 1694, the result could be as sophisticated and of comparable quality to the finest baroque-styled items produced by immigrant Huguenot master goldsmiths in contemporary London (Figs 106 and 107).<sup>70</sup>

International stylistic influences on Irish silver in the early-seventeenth century can be traced through a survey of Roman Catholic chalices from this period. At first glance this external impact on the craft in Ireland is not apparent. The faceted, geometric forms of early-modern Irish chalices were, much like those favoured by the English church since the thirteenth century, variations of the enduring large-knopped hexagonal or octagonal-base patterned medieval vessels (Fig. 108).<sup>71</sup> From the sixteenth century the form and decoration did not develop in step with the new Counter-Reformation ecclesiastical style seen in continental Catholic altar silver nor, indeed, with English recusant plate. Oman argues that patterns which reached England from Europe in the early-sixteenth century did not make their way to Ireland due to the Reformation which ‘froze the development of Irish church plate’.<sup>72</sup> The ubiquitous faceted pattern of the majority of early-seventeenth century Irish chalices, therefore, contrasts with French, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian chalices from the post-Reformation period. These were characterised by circular or multi-foil domed bases with small-knopped or baluster stems, and applied and richly-chased decoration (Fig. 109).<sup>73</sup>

In contrast to Oman’s hypothesis, however, though the forms of Irish chalices adhered to pre-Reformation tradition, it would be simplistic to presume they were the product of insular craftsmanship. On the contrary, as Kranodebska-D’Aughton has

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<sup>70</sup>Hartop, *The Huguenot legacy*.

<sup>71</sup>Oman, *English church plate*, p. 43.

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 269.

<sup>73</sup>Hernmarck, *European silversmith*, i, 309.

shown, the translation by Irish goldsmiths and engravers of Counter-Reformation iconography in their ornamentation of early-seventeenth century Franciscan vessels demonstrates an engagement with continental sources (Fig. 18):

Irish ecclesiastical art of the seventeenth century responded immediately to new iconographic ideas formulated on the continent as manifested by the image of the Immaculate Conception. Such new expressions might have been transmitted to Ireland by means of portable prints. These prints also reinvigorated traditional themes by providing them with a new stylistic rendition.<sup>74</sup>

The direct correlation between early-seventeenth century Flemish prints and the engraved iconography on contemporary Franciscan chalices leaves little doubt that intellectual links between Franciscans in the Low Countries and Ireland were informing Irish goldsmiths. The consistent application of the Franciscan icons of the crucifixion, the Virgin Mary and St Francis receiving the stigmata which ‘draw on long-established visual and textual traditions present both in late-medieval and early-modern Ireland and Europe’ challenge assumptions regarding Ireland’s stylistic insularity.<sup>75</sup> Given the strong links between Catholics in Ireland with the establishment of several Irish seminaries from the 1590s in Spain, the Low Countries, France and Italy, along with secular transnational links dating from the period corresponding with the Nine Years War, it is unsurprising that these continental visual and textual sources influenced the decoration of Irish Catholic plate.<sup>76</sup>

Concurrent with the production of these richly iconographic faceted chalices was the transition by Irish goldsmiths to producing chalices whose form and ornamentation displayed even greater alignment with continental designs. This stylistic shift took place sometime in the 1630s and was certainly facilitated by the introduction of continentally-produced altar plate to Ireland by returning clerics:

[Some clergy] presented churches and convents with liturgical utensils and sacred mementoes made outside Ireland ... [which] provided prototypes for Irish

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<sup>74</sup>Kranodebska-D’Aughton, ‘Me fieri fecit’, p. 78.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., pp 73-8.

<sup>76</sup>Corish, *The catholic community*, p.19; Ciaran O’Scea, ‘The devotional world of the Irish Catholic exile in early-modern Galicia, 1598-1666’ in Thomas O’Connor (ed.), *The Irish in Europe, 1580-1815* (Dublin, 2001), pp 27-48.

artificers and craftworkers to copy. These borrowings inevitably hamper any attempt to evaluate distinctively Irish forms and ornamentation.<sup>77</sup>

One such sacred memento was the silver-gilt chalice presented by Bishop Richard Arthur to the diocese of Limerick in 1625. It is believed to be of Spanish or, perhaps, Portuguese origin and was most likely acquired by Arthur during his time at the Irish seminary in Douai, Spanish Netherlands in the approximate period 1594-8 (Fig. 19).<sup>78</sup> In 1625 he presented the chalice to the diocese of Limerick following his consecration there as bishop two years earlier. Its design and decoration is strikingly different to Irish chalices of this period with its circular base, low-domed foot and complex baluster stem. The bowl is straight-sided and hemi-spherical and its lower half is decorated, as is the stem and base, with several oval bosses. It is typical of the Spanish Counter-Reformation style which, according to Johanna Hecht, originated at the court of Philip II. Liturgical items with baluster stems – chalices, ciboria and monstrances – were characterised by ‘truncated cones, spools, moulded vase forms – of swelling and contracting volumes and of bold contrasts of light and shadow’.<sup>79</sup>

Such a visually distinct vessel could not fail to influence Irish consumers and craftsmen; Bishop Arthur’s chalice undoubtedly contributed to the design of the Sarsfield-White silver-gilt chalice given to the Dominican Priory of St Saviour’s Limerick fifteen years later in 1640 (Fig. 110).<sup>80</sup> Although it is not decorated with oval bosses, nor is it as substantially proportioned as the more grandiose import, it shares numerous distinct features and marks a radical departure from the hexagonal patterns which were so prevalent at this time. In addition, it is distinguished by several applied winged cherubs’ heads, crosses and fleur-de-lis which punctuate the foot, knop and bowl. Winged cherubs can be found embellishing the feet, knops and bowls of many late-sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spanish, French and indeed English recusant chalices, monstrances and ciboria, in relief, like the 1640 Limerick

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<sup>77</sup>Barnard, ‘Fabrics of faith’, p. 24.

<sup>78</sup>Buckley, *Irish altar plate*, pp 46-7; Michael Moloney, ‘Richard Arthur, bishop of Limerick, 1623-46’ in F. Finegan (ed.), *Commemoration of the siege of Limerick: tercentenary commemoration of the siege of Limerick, 1651-1951* (Limerick, 1951), p. 45.

<sup>79</sup>Johanna Hecht, ‘New identities for some old Hispanic silver’ in *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, xxix (1994), p. 77.

<sup>80</sup>Bowen & O’Brien, *Limerick’s silver*, pp 57, 71-2.

example, or amidst richly chased ornamental arrangements (Fig. 111).<sup>81</sup> Angels were frequently applied by religious orders and clergy during the Counter-Reformation, particularly by the Jesuits, for the representation of heavenly glory and were considered a fitting symbol to adorn the most central liturgical vessel of the Mass.<sup>82</sup> Many other Irish chalices dating from the 1640s right up to the early-eighteenth century show the continuing popularity of this ornamentation on Irish chalices and monstrances with circular or multi-foil bases, demonstrating the engagement by consumers and goldsmiths with this continental fashion (Fig. 112).

Mid-century French chalices provide additional evidence of the dissemination of continental designs and ornament on Irish plate. In particular, a selection of Breton chalices bear striking similarities to Irish chalices produced from the middle of the period.<sup>83</sup> Many dating from the 1630s and 1640s have low-domed, circular bases, baluster stems and large, pear-shaped knops embossed and chased with foliate and floral designs.<sup>84</sup> The foot of some vessels show further ornament with openwork patterns of leaf motifs (Fig. 113). Several Irish Catholic chalices from the same period followed the distinct elements of this design and reproduced the ornament in varying degrees, from formal leaf borders and egg-and-dart rims to intricately chased knops and gadroons (Fig. 114). The strength of this style is fully appreciated when examples of contemporaneous Church of Ireland communion cups are also taken into account. Vessels marked by the Cork goldsmith Robert Goble shared the distinct decorative features, both with peg-shaped, flat-chased ornamented knops and circular bases (Figs 115 and 116). One 1692 example has an open-work leaf pattern border on the base while the later 1698 cup's base is chased with gadroons. These ornamental arrangements were in keeping with French decorative patterns associated with the style emanating from the court of Louis XIV from the middle of the seventeenth century and were to be found on both ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical wares.

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<sup>81</sup>Examples of English recusant silver of this style illustrated in Timothy Schroder (ed.), 'Treasures of the English church' in *Silver Studies*, no. 24 (2009), p. 34.

<sup>82</sup>Heinrich Pfeiffer, 'The iconography of the Society of Jesus' in J. W. O'Malley and G. A. Bailey (eds), *The Jesuits and the arts 1540-1773* (Philadelphia, 2005), pp 221-4

<sup>83</sup>*Bretagne d'or et d'argent: les orfèvres de Basse Bretagne XIVE – Xxe siècles* (Abbaye de Daoulas, 1994), pp 48, 50, 56-58.

<sup>84</sup>*Ibid.*, catalogue numbers: 74, 75, 77, 94, 95, 97, 100.

The mid-seventeenth century onwards witnessed the pre-eminence of French styles across the decorative arts in Europe.<sup>85</sup> Late-baroque European silver was heavily influenced by French designs and superior techniques such as casting, chasing, cut-card and piercing which were widely disseminated by printed patterns and mobile craftsmen.<sup>86</sup> The designs drew on a vocabulary of classicism with abundant use of the acanthus leaf, caryatids, fluting and beading. These features can be seen, as shown above, in some Irish Catholic chalices but are more appreciable through a survey of domestic and ceremonial wares produced in the last quarter of the century. These ranged from exemplary display pieces such as the aforementioned two-handled cup marked by Thomas Bolton in 1694 and an impressive caryatid-handled ewer he produced some five years later (Fig. 86), to numerous practical and ceremonial vessels embellished with convex and concave fluting and gadroons. Many of these standing cups, two-handled cups, tankards, monteiths and punchbowls produced in the final decade of the century were additionally decorated with cast acanthus or figurative finials and animal mask-handles (Figs 39 and 81). The consistency of the style epitomises the design of Irish silver produced in the Williamite period and corresponds with the quantitative evidence regarding the large numbers of immigrant goldsmiths and migrant craftsmen in Ireland, particularly Dublin, at this time. Their technical ability to reproduce popular European patterns and ornamentation made them important agents in the dissemination of fashionable designs in Irish silver.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

This chapter has examined the multiple factors which contributed to the design development of Irish silver in the seventeenth century. A web of inter-relating and often competing forces gave rise to the variety of forms and styles of plate, including those connected to consumers' monetary, socio-cultural and confessional priorities.

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<sup>85</sup>For a case study on the impact of French fashions on Antwerp society in this period see Ilja Van Damme, 'Middlemen and the creation of a 'fashion revolution': the experience of Antwerp in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' in Beverly Lemire (ed.), *The force of fashion in politics and society: global perspectives from early modern to contemporary times* (Farnham and Burlington, 2010), pp 25-6.

<sup>86</sup>Gruber, *Classicism & the Baroque*, pp 13-14.

The dissemination and execution of desired decorative features was achieved with the availability of expert craftsmanship and familiarity with ornamental schemes, particularly in the later decades of the century. The chapter has elucidated on the numerous elements, both consumer-led and craft-led, which resulted in a broad stylistic range, often of exceptional quality.

The comparison of Irish silverwares with those of British or continental provenance has facilitated the tracing of the design development of Irish plate within this period alongside the craft's international progress. With the exception of the body of early-seventeenth century Roman Catholic altar plate, the majority of Irish silver exhibits considerable design and decorative parities with contemporary European and British wares. The strength of this stylistic adherence was, as shown with the earls of Cork and Kildare and dukes of Ormond (among others), due to the determination of Irish consumers to remain fashionable with both the types of silver they were acquiring and the style of these items. Then again, as put forward in chapter two, it is also arguable that the mobility and demographic diversity of the country's craftsmen equally contributed to the developing dialogue of design in Ireland and its implementation.

There is little evidence to suggest that the country's goldsmiths were innovative in the production of new designs or forms, unlike their eighteenth-century counterparts who have been credited with developing and perfecting domestic tablewares such as the dish ring and the piggin.<sup>87</sup> However, it is clear from the wide range of silverwares that Irish goldsmiths readily turned their hand to consumers' demands, be they prioritised by finance, fashion or function, and were proficient at supplying demand in current styles, both plain and decorative. Furthermore, the object evidence indicates that they were not curtailed by confessional divides in meeting their consumers' requirements. The Cork goldsmith Robert Goble, as shown with a selection of the objects above, was exposed to a wide range of sources and borrowed popular designs from the recusant faith in order to supply his Church of Ireland consumers with appealing patterns. Meanwhile, other goldsmiths were punching their marks on pieces of altar plate made for Catholic and Protestant

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<sup>87</sup> A piggin was a vessel used to contain and dispense cream. (Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, pp 101, 132-5.)

denominations: the Galway goldsmith Bartholomew Fallon marked two Catholic chalices in c.1683 and an Anglican communion cup in c.1702, while the Dublin goldsmith Andrew Gregory's mark is found on a chalice from 1680/1 and also on a large number of communion cups, flagons and alms plates from the 1680s and 1690s. Similarly, the Dublin goldsmith Anthony Stanley's mark is found on a chalice with date letters for 1696-9, a number of Church of Ireland communion cups and patens from the 1690s and a set of cups made in 1700 for the Presbyterian Church at Plunkett Street, Dublin.<sup>88</sup> The adaptability and commercial opportunism of Ireland's goldsmiths was, thus, an essential component in design dissemination and development. At the same time, society's increasing requirement and use of silver – both for its function and symbolism – supplied the craft with greater demand, fuelling this development and stylistic diversity. The next two chapters will examine these themes further.

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<sup>88</sup>Sweeney, *Irish Stuart silver*, pp 195, 198, 212.



## Chapter five

### The use of silver in seventeenth-century Ireland

#### 5.0 Introduction

On 13 October 1640 Lady Lettice Goring, Richard Boyle's daughter, wrote to her father from London. In the letter she expressed her delight with the earl's plan to spend the ensuing winter in her home but she was concerned with her household's shortcomings, specifically the quantities of plate she had:

and for plate, we haue but a dossen of Dicches [dishes], wherof I haue but 3 heare; the rest Mr Goring hath at Yorke: for none of his things as yet Com Back nor shall tell the Peace bee Concluded: therfor if your lordship Please I desier you would Bring with you a Dossen and halfe of the ueray [very] Biggest Disches you haue, and no littell ones, too dossen of plate, too Baccon [basin] and youers [ewers] and 3 payer of siluer Candelsticks: for I haue but one payer, and too voyder.<sup>1</sup>

Douglas and Isherwood's 'utility theory' recognised the impact of social contexts on the wants and needs of consumers. The theory concluded that 'wants come out of individuals' own private perceptions of their needs, [and] it is not auspicious for an idea about consumption that puts social interaction first'.<sup>2</sup> So widespread was the consumption of plate in Britain and Ireland in the seventeenth century that it would appear that there was no acceptable alternative, for the aristocracy, to silver for the serving of food, with the exception, perhaps, of imported porcelain. Lettice's requirement for silver dishes, ewers and candlesticks (which her husband prioritised for his own use in York) was so pressing that she needed her father to bring such items from Ireland to be used in the place of her usual service. The elite social environment within which she and her family circulated reinforced their belief that silver dining vessels and utensils were a genuine domestic need. Thus, Lettice

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<sup>1</sup>*Lismore papers: correspondence*, iv, 151.

<sup>2</sup>Douglas & Isherwood, *The world of goods*, xxv.

Goring's letter to her father succinctly conveys the practical value of plate to seventeenth-century consumers, the theme which forms the focus of this chapter.

Wealthy families such as the Boyles were not the only consumer group for whom plate's practical utility was employed. Preceding chapters have shown how widely silver was acquired by both domestic and institutional consumers in Ireland. As discussed, the design and ornament of plate conveyed consumers' refinement, wealth and taste while chapter six will examine its numerous socio-symbolic functions in advertising status, creating and maintaining social bonds and in commemorating individuals and organisations. It remains, therefore, to examine in this chapter why and for what purpose plate was used by each of the consumer groups and what these uses tell us about the social and material worlds of seventeenth-century Ireland. Douglas Bennett observed that silver was acquired by the Irish for both use and display in the Georgian period.<sup>3</sup> This dual function was by no means an eighteenth-century innovation of Irish consumers and their goldsmiths. The multiple forms and functions of plate, evident from extant items and documentary sources, indicate its well-established use-value across Irish society in the early decades of the seventeenth-century. The range of consumers in Ireland who owned plate – Gaelic Irish, Old English and New English, from the modest to the magnificent – shows how universally it was used and, though it may have represented money, status or taste, its day-to-day utility was arguably of equal value. These interdependent functions are at the core of understanding the value of objects. As Sara Pennell has discussed, the phenomenon of early-modern consumption cannot be solely concerned with themes of social perception and presentation. The subject must also address practice and 'what consumers did with the goods they consumed'.<sup>4</sup> This chapter will, therefore, examine the functional development and features of plate and the environments in which it was consumed: for dining and drinking, furnishing and clothing, worship and ceremony. Contemporary evidence regarding the maintenance and repair of plate will also be marshalled in order to underscore how pieces and collections were frequently and vigorously used and, at times, abused. The picture that emerges is not one in which plate was simply acquired, displayed and coveted for its intrinsic and aesthetic worth. Its practical features and

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<sup>3</sup>Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup>Pennell, 'Pots & pans history', p. 202.

everyday utility were of equal importance in informing its acquisition and consumption.

### 5.1 Dining and drinking

I leave and bequiete to my said wife a double silver salte a silver Jugg parcel gilt two Silver bolles parcel gilt one smale aquavite cupp and ... all my spoones ... two bruinge pans of brasse one brasses pott to distill aquavite and one brasse pott to boyle meate one brasenet of brasse with such other necessaries of stuffe and implements of Ireonworke as are remayninge in the house of Ballyglissin.<sup>5</sup>

The kitchens, side boards and dining tables of the Irish gentry and aristocracy in the seventeenth century were replete with a myriad of wares. Like their counterparts in Britain and continental Europe, Irish people utilised a range of vessels, dishes and utensils in the preparation, serving and consumption of food and drink.<sup>6</sup> Early-seventeenth century sources reveal the widespread use of silverwares among these. This evidence challenges the assumption that Irish consumers were slow to acquire and accumulate domestic silver prior to the latter half of the century and complements research that has shown that from at least the mid-sixteenth century Irish consumers were actively consuming a range of perishable and material luxury goods through personal acquisition and merchant trade with British and continental ports.<sup>7</sup> As illustrated with the extract from the above will of 1612, domestic wares were regarded as valuable personal property, frequently out-living their owner's lifespans. Their materials and quantities varied in accordance with the social and financial status of individuals but all together they amounted to social capital, communicating civility and effective household formation and maintenance.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Will of Henry Shee, Esq., City of Kilkenny, 2 November 1612 (NAI MS RC/5/5, pp 766-7).

<sup>6</sup>Recently discussed by: Pennell, 'Pots & pans history', pp 201-16; Blondé, 'Tableware & changing consumer patterns', pp 295-311; Whittle & Griffiths, *Consumption & gender*; Flavin, *Consumption & culture*.

<sup>7</sup>Douglas Bennett, whose studies on Irish silver are centred on the evidence presented by extant pieces, concluded that the use of silver for domestic articles 'did not develop in Ireland to any great extent until after 1660'. (Bennett, *Collecting Irish silver*, p. 17). Recent studies concerning early-modern Irish households and the consumption of imported goods include: Fenlon, *Goods & chattels*; Flavin, 'Consumption & material culture'; Flavin, *Consumption & culture*.

<sup>8</sup>Pennell, 'Pots & pans history', p. 211.

Clearly, items of base metals or cheaper ceramics were not as valuable as those made of silver or imported porcelain and glass; it is usual to note from early-modern wills and inventories the prioritisation given to plate in these documents in recognition of its superior intrinsic worth. Such hierarchies of material value within domestic wares saw the intersection of novelty with functionality (to paraphrase Pennell, a silver chafing dish expressed a different set of values than those associated with a brass chafing dish, for example), but this does not preclude an examination of the utility of plate in dining and drinking.<sup>9</sup> In fact, parallel with contemporary England, the period witnessed an increase in the production and use of plate connected to eating and drinking in Ireland due to its greater affordability, availability and the changes in contemporary dining customs.<sup>10</sup>

The most practical and, indeed, most abundant item of dining silver, as revealed by Irish inventories, wills and assay records, was the spoon. A spoon made of silver was understood to be a hygienic eating implement and this undoubtedly contributed to its widespread production, acquisition and use.<sup>11</sup> This is measured by the data contained in the assay records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company: in the period 1638-49 the greatest number of items submitted were spoons – 432 in total – while, in the detailed recorded six month period of 1694, the quantity of spoons, at 848, far exceeded anything else, with 263 forks a distant second place in the tally of items assayed.<sup>12</sup> Sets of spoons were standard in early-modern Ireland: <sup>13</sup> several dozen were owned by the Cork alderman, Andrew Galwey, in 1580,<sup>14</sup> the Dublin merchant Robert Fitzsymons' household inventory lists a dozen silver spoons in 1600,<sup>15</sup> and the 1628 inventory of Geashill included a set of ten.<sup>16</sup> Richard Boyle acquired a

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Schroder, *Domestic silver*, pp 98-100.

<sup>11</sup>This is in contrast to the evidence presented by Susan Flavin which contends that, in sixteenth-century Ireland, spoons were scarce and, perhaps, confined to ceremonial environments and contexts. (Flavin, *Consumption & culture*, pp 206-7.)

<sup>12</sup>Sinsteden, 'Selected assay records', pp 146, 149. This pattern of high demand for spoons above all other items of dining plate continued into the eighteenth century, when assay records indicated five times as many spoons were produced in Dublin as there were forks. (FitzGerald & O'Brien, 'Production of silver in late-Georgian Dublin', pp 22-4.)

<sup>13</sup>In England, from the mid-fifteenth century, those of modest means – yeomen, parsons, craftsmen, tradesmen, etc... – typically owned six or twelve spoons, whereas wealthy merchants and the aristocracy would own up to several dozen. (David Mitchell, 'The clerk's view', in Peter Brown (ed.), *British cutlery* (York, 2001), p. 22.)

<sup>14</sup>Caulfield, 'Wills & inventories, Cork', pp 257-62

<sup>15</sup>Fenlon, *Goods & chattels*, pp 13-14.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp 20-22.

dozen in 1619 and again in 1624. Trinity College's bursar noted sixteen silver spoons were 'in ye butler's custody' in 1621, increasing to 'two dozen ... & three odd' in the following decade.<sup>17</sup> Art Bryan, a yeoman from Wexford, was entrusted with half a dozen spoons belonging to a Mrs Alcocke, when they were plundered from him in December 1641, while William Walsh, a gentleman from County Sligo, claimed that among the goods taken from him were a dozen and a half silver spoons.<sup>18</sup> Sets of silver spoons were passed down as valuable property: Gerald Nugent, a County Longford gentleman, left his wife Margery seven in his 1637 will,<sup>19</sup> Elizabeth Bourke received six spoons, following the death of her uncle Thomas in Dublin in 1665<sup>20</sup> and Benjamin Powell, a merchant in Waterford city left a set of six to each of his children in 1683.<sup>21</sup>

The spoon went through numerous changes over the course of the century. Francis Aungier, Lord Longford, described six silver spoons in his 1628 will as being 'marked with the carbuncle', indicating they were a matching set, each decorated with a knop or finial in line with fifteenth and sixteenth-century spoon designs which typically had circular-shaped bowls, cylindrical or hexagonal cast stems and finials featuring a baluster, a flattened disc (seal-top) or a small sculptural figure such as an apostle or an animal.<sup>22</sup> The earliest Irish silver spoons show the development of this form in the British Isles, retaining the rounded bowl, but dispensing of the finial leaving an oblique, plain terminal, in a style known as 'slip-top', referred to in the 1639 Bunratty Castle inventory simply as 'slip' spoons (Fig. 117). Shortened, flattened stems with egg-shaped bowls evolved from the slip-top spoon, coinciding with the Interregnum (Fig. 118) and were followed by longer, more developed spoons later in the century. The stems of these were more refined and culminated in a rounded terminus, often notched on either side. This latter pattern was styled 'trefid' and was an import of a French design (Fig. 119).<sup>23</sup> Extant Irish spoons indicate that

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<sup>17</sup>Bennett, *Silver collection, Trinity College Dublin*, pp 144-5.

<sup>18</sup>Deposition of Art Bryan, Wexford, 28 Feb. 1654 (TCD MS 819, f. 56v); Deposition of William Walsh, County Sligo, 28 Feb. 1644 (TCD, MS 831, ff 65r-66v). ([www.1641.tcd.ie](http://www.1641.tcd.ie)).

<sup>19</sup>Will of Gerald Nugent, County Longford, 1637 (NAI MS RC/5/6).

<sup>20</sup>Will of Thomas Burke, Esq., City of Dublin, 6 Apr. 1665 (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, f. 168v).

<sup>21</sup>Will of Benjamin Powell, Waterford, 23 Apr. 1683 (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, f. 415v).

<sup>22</sup>'Testamentary Records from Lettice Evoryna O'Hanlon' in *The Irish Genealogist*, ii, no. 6 (Oct. 1948), pp 180-9. Further reading on fifteenth and sixteenth century spoon design: Taylor, *Silver*, pp 82-3, 105-6; Schroder, *Domestic silver*, pp 83-5.

<sup>23</sup>Hernmarck, *European silversmith*, i, 209.

this pattern was widely adopted in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries both in the capital and in provincial centres of production (Fig. 120).

The absence of sets of silver-handled knives from early records is conspicuous, despite the fact that enormous quantities of knives were annually imported in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century from Bristol and Chester.<sup>24</sup> It can be presumed that the hafts of the vast majority of these knives were made of baser metals or, indeed, non-metallic materials.<sup>25</sup> The earl of Thomond had twenty-three slip-top spoons but only one knife listed in the 1639 inventory of plate. Silver-hafted knives were apparently rare at Lismore Castle too. The earl of Cork noted a gift of twelve knives with agate handles, presented to him in a case of green velvet laced with silver in January 1628/9.<sup>26</sup> In the later decades of the seventeenth century steel-bladed knives were often paired with silver hafts which, in this period, were usually of cylindrical form and rounded at the end with a small finial (Figs 121 and 122). The earl of Kildare listed a set of twelve knives in a 1663 inventory of plate<sup>27</sup> and, in 1681, John Morphy, a Dublin lawyer, left his cousin, Mrs Sullivan, a case of knives.<sup>28</sup> A total number of 123 hafts were assayed in Dublin in the six-month period of 1694 indicating their established presence on dining tables by the end of the century.

Forks, too, became a fixture on aristocratic dining tables by 1700 but were a lot scarcer in the early decades of the century. This was not just the case in Ireland. Blondé notes that only a small minority possessed forks in Antwerp in the 1630s and the earliest surviving silver dining fork in England dates to 1632.<sup>29</sup> In Ireland the earliest extant forks were produced in the 1690s but they were certainly produced much earlier than this given that by 1694 they were the second most numerous item

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<sup>24</sup>Over 17,000 were imported in 1594-5 and nearly 10,400 in 1600-1 from Bristol; 12,240 in 1592-3 and nearly 14,550 in 1602-3 from Chester. (Flavin, *Consumption & culture*, pp 204-5.)

<sup>25</sup>Though the handles of early-modern knives are often to be found in silver, handles were also made of ivory, wood, bronze, bone and even glass. (Bill Brown, 'An introduction to evolution and design', in Brown, *British cutlery*, pp 12-13.)

<sup>26</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, ii, 293.

<sup>27</sup>'An Inventory of the Lynnen and other things delivered to Mrs Wixsted ye 26<sup>th</sup> day of May 1663', Four seventeenth-century inventories of goods of the earls of Kildare (NLI MS 18,996).

<sup>28</sup>Will of John Morphy, Dublin, 10 Mar. 1681/2 (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, f. 441v).

<sup>29</sup>Blondé, 'Tableware & changing consumer patterns', p. 298.

of plate submitted by goldsmiths to assay in Dublin.<sup>30</sup> Their form generally followed the pattern of spoons with which they were paired by the end of the century. The earliest extant Irish forks, therefore, in spite of the variance in the number of their tines, are of the ‘dog nose’ and trefid, double-notched design (Figs 12 and 123). The dukes of Ormonde possessed dozens of knives, forks and spoons, with engraved arms or crests segregating them into sets.<sup>31</sup> Helen Clifford explains that the spread of the Italian fashion of eating from individual plates rather than bowls or communal platters in the early-modern period encouraged the use and production of knives and forks in seventeenth-century Britain.<sup>32</sup> However, sets of silver plates or ‘trencher’ plates are found in Ireland well before sets of silver flatware and cutlery were acquired, suggesting that for many decades food was eaten by hand or spoon, combined with knives of base metals, from silver plates by wealthy Irish consumers. Richard Boyle purchased four dozen from Nathaniel Stoughton in 1633. His friend Lady Clayton was the recipient of a set of twelve in 1635 and at Bunratty Castle there were two dozen trencher plates, half of which were made in Dublin.<sup>33</sup> In 1637, William Fleming, Baron Slane brought two dozen silver trencher plates home with him to Ireland.<sup>34</sup>

The ubiquity of silver spoons, the use of dinner plates and the gradual acquisition of sets of cutlery and flatware reflected culinary and dining development in seventeenth-century Ireland. According to Clarkson and Crawford, the diet of Gaelic Irish and Old English inhabitants in the sixteenth century was dominated by meat, offal and milk products but arable farming and the production of cereals and grains were gradually being introduced.<sup>35</sup> In the late-sixteenth century an English observer recounted how the Irish subsisted on ‘whey milke and Beef broth’ along with blood puddings spread with butter, while another traveller to Ireland in the period 1600-04 wrote at length on the foul local diet of the ‘wild’ and ‘barbarous’.<sup>36</sup> A Gaelic source from around the same time shared this view but also remarked on

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<sup>30</sup>263 forks were submitted for assay in the six month itemised assay period of 1694. (Sinsteden, ‘Selected assay records’, pp 146, 149.)

<sup>31</sup>Sinsteden, ‘Plate of the dukes of Ormond’, pp 129-31.

<sup>32</sup>Helen Clifford, ‘Knives, forks and spoons, 1600-1830’, in Glanville & Young, *Elegant eating*, p. 54.

<sup>33</sup>O’Dalaigh, ‘Inventory of Bunratty Castle’, pp 139-65.

<sup>34</sup>Charles I to the Lord Treasurer, 9 Jun. 1637. (*Cal. S.P. Ire. 1633-47*, p. 161.)

<sup>35</sup>L.A. Clarkson and E. Margaret Crawford, *Feast and famine: a history of food and nutrition in Ireland 1500-1920* (Oxford, 2001), pp 11-13.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*

the 'delicate and palatable foods' of the nobility and aristocracy who, it was observed, also drank 'sweet intoxicating liquor', indicating the dietary changes.<sup>37</sup> Recent quantitative analysis of the Bristol-Ireland port books has yielded interesting conclusions regarding late-Elizabethan consumption in the south-east of Ireland and its hinterland. In the period 1503-76 the volume of imported hops increased from an average of nearly 5,000 lbs per annum to 34,300 lbs by 1594-5, reflecting the appetite in Ireland for beer. Likewise, imported quantities of luxury foodstuffs such as raisins, spices, sugar and rice also steadily rose.<sup>38</sup> The Irish palate, it can be proposed from these findings, was less 'backward' in its development than previously understood with, as Flavin has concluded, 'access to the increasingly sophisticated and diversified range of consumer goods produced and traded in England and mainland Europe at this time'.<sup>39</sup>

Imported and natively-produced foods were prepared, cooked and served in numerous ways, increasing in variety at the higher levels of Irish society. In her analysis of Irish manuscript recipe books, Madeline Shanahan concludes that the food, tastes and fashions of the Irish elite in the period 1660-1830 were similar to their English counterparts, with recipes for preserves, pickles and sweet and savoury dishes contained in the volumes.<sup>40</sup> Although Shanahan's study provides some indication of the kinds of dishes and foods that the wealthy were consuming in the later decades of the seventeenth-century Ireland, her work is more centred on the culinary landscape of the wealthy in the Georgian period.<sup>41</sup> In the absence of manuscript evidence regarding the recipes and dishes consumed by the elite in Ireland for the early and mid-seventeenth century the descriptive details contained in documentary sources relating to dining plate addresses this lacuna, providing information on vessel and utensil types and their associated culinary function.

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>Flavin, 'Consumption & material culture', p. 1166; Flavin, *Consumption & culture*, pp 148-68.

<sup>39</sup>Flavin, 'Consumption & material culture', p. 1172.

<sup>40</sup>Madeline Shanahan, 'Dining on words: manuscript recipe books, culinary change and elite food culture in Ireland, 1660-1830' in *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies: The Journal of the Irish Georgian Society*, xv (2012), pp 83-97.

<sup>41</sup>The earliest recipe manuscript used in this study is that of the Inchiquin O'Brien family (NLI MS 14786) which was started in the mid- to late-seventeenth century. The rest are eighteenth and nineteenth century manuscripts.



Some of Richard Boyle's numerous consignments of dining silver were described by him as having a particular purpose, suggesting that they were acquired in order to serve specific dishes and delicacies. In August 1624 he acquired six 'Sallett' [salad] dishes and six 'Sawsers',<sup>42</sup> while the plate which he purchased from Viscount Ranelagh in 1631 included a 'boat Rabbett dishe', two 'boylde meat' dishes, and four small salad dishes.<sup>43</sup> Six fruit dishes were included in his will.<sup>44</sup> These examples alone are evidence of established dishes, such as salads, boiled and roasted meat and game (the latter two perhaps served with 'sawses'), with delicacies such as native and exotic fruits presented in specific, prominent dishes (Fig. 96). The earl of Thomond also had fruit dishes – six in total – along with six 'boats for vinegar'.<sup>45</sup> These 'boats' were early cruets, which, towards the end of the century were paired with oil and used to dress salad.<sup>46</sup>

Condiments such as vinegar, pepper, mustard and spices appear to be established on dining tables by the middle of the century, where they were appointed in individual boxes and vessels and were used by diners to flavour savoury dishes. Lord Longford had a silver-gilt pepper box in the 1620s.<sup>47</sup> In the Restoration period Lord Orrery and the first duke of Ormonde both listed pepper and mustard boxes among their dining plate.<sup>48</sup> Ormonde also owned an early cruet frame which contained '4 silver potts for oyle vinegar pepper & mustard with a little spoone' as well as what would appear to be an early epergne – 'one large chased frame with fine great plates whereof one fastend to ye frame & 4 small plates for fruite chased about ye brims' – on which both sweet and savoury dishes and fruit were served.<sup>49</sup> The size and many branches of the epergne, or centrepiece, also provided the table with a focal point. The increasing use of condiments at the table prompted the production of casters for dispensing pepper, spices, mustard and sugar. These were made in matching pairs or trios in the second half of the seventeenth century. They were typically of cylindrical form with pierced covers which were topped with decorative finials and applied

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<sup>42</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, ii, 137.

<sup>43</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iii, 126.

<sup>44</sup>Richard Boyle's will is reproduced in Townshend, *Life & letters of the great earl*, pp 497-8.

<sup>45</sup>O'Dalaigh, 'Inventory of Bunratty Castle', pp 139-65.

<sup>46</sup>Glanville, *Silver in England*, p. 66.

<sup>47</sup>Testamentary records from Lettice Evoryna O'Hanlon', pp 180-9.

<sup>48</sup>Edward MacLysaght (ed.), *Calendar of the Orrery papers* (Dublin, 1941), p. 234.

<sup>49</sup>Barnard, *Protestant ascents & descents*, p. 55; Sinstedden, 'Plate of the dukes of Ormond', pp 129-31.

ornament. Several extant sets produced by Irish goldsmiths offer proof of their widespread use (Figs 90, 94 and 124).

The 1638-49 assay records list an array of dining table items that include fruit dishes, caudle cups, 'sawsers', porringers, sugar boxes and chafing dishes. Caudle, like posset, was a sweet, spicy broth made from ale or wine to which gruel, curdled milk or eggs were added. Caudle cups were two-handled vessels, with cast, scrolled handles, sometimes in caryatid form, bowls of bulbous 'pot belly' form and high-domed covers (Fig. 95). The word 'porringer' derived from 'pottinger', a vessel used to serve a thick soup known as potage.<sup>50</sup> These were similar to caudle cups, having two handles and sometimes paired with a cover, but were bucket-shaped with straight sides (Fig. 75).<sup>51</sup> 'College pots', an early-seventeenth century variant of these two-handled multi-purpose cups, were noted in large volumes in the collections of plate in Trinity College.<sup>52</sup> They were a typical item of plate which incoming students brought as their 'gift' to the college and, presuming they followed the pattern of college or 'ox-eye' pots acquired by Cambridge and Oxford colleges in this same period, they were distinguished by their circular, ear handles and pot-belly bowls.<sup>53</sup>

The proliferation of condiment containers along with vessels and utensils of specific form and function such as these on dining tables was an indication of the gradual adaptation by the Irish to self-consciously adjusting their social behaviour. The use of new objects and conventions at the dining table signalled this civilising process which was underway in seventeenth-century Europe.<sup>54</sup> Dining became an increasingly performative, social practice and an opportunity for individuals not only to showcase their expensive wares but their understanding of how these vessels and utensils were to be used, thus demonstrating refinement. As indicated by the earl of Cork's diaries, these important convivial opportunities could be impromptu, as he found when at his Dublin home in 1635:

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<sup>50</sup>Delamer & O'Brien, *500 years*, p. 115.

<sup>51</sup>Some confusion exists in the literature regarding the nomenclature of the differing forms of two-handled cups. Porringers and caudle cups, in particular, are sometimes regarded as one and the same (Schroder, *Domestic silver*, p. 102) though Gerald Taylor clarifies their physical distinctions (Taylor, *Silver*, pp 141-2).

<sup>52</sup>Bennett, *Silver collection, Trinity College Dublin*, pp 142-6.

<sup>53</sup>Schroder, *Domestic silver*, p. 101.

<sup>54</sup>Blondé, 'Tableware & changing consumer patterns', pp 296-7.

This mondaie, as I and my fFamvly were sytting at supper in my house in Dublin, vnknown to any, vp cam the L. Deputy attended with thearle of ormond & the Mr of the Rolles ; his Lo[rds]hip very nobly and neighbor lyke satt down and took part of my super with [out] any addicon, and Cath his lo[rds]hip's daughter cam & dynd with me that day.<sup>55</sup>

The acquisition and use of new table wares indicated Irish society's embrace of the fashionable style of dining in a manner popularised at European regal courts. As the century advanced, one court above all others dominated in fashion and social refinement: Versailles. During Louis XIV's reign (1643-1715) a comparatively more intimate method of dining came into vogue. Known in England as dining *a la française*, it departed from the formal banqueting convention of the preceding period and enabled diners to help themselves, rather than relying on servants, to the dishes and condiments placed in easy reach at the table at each course.<sup>56</sup> Accordingly, while the quantities of plate for the serving and consuming of different courses increased by the late-seventeenth century, reaching its zenith in the eighteenth century, the sideboard lost its position of pre-eminence in the dining room and the table (with its equipment) became the primary focus. Though it is believed that it was not until the Restoration that this dining style began to be introduced to English tables, the documentary evidence suggests this was beginning to be seen in Ireland earlier in the century. This is not to say that Irish consumers were prescient of English and continental trends, rather it shows that closer analysis of documentary sources reveals that the kinds of vessels and utensils associated with dining evolved gradually and that 'French' practices were, in effect, a blend of existing (and developing) English and Irish table forms and adopted continental ritual.

Trencher salts, for example, were associated with newer dining styles but had been in use well before the seventeenth century.<sup>57</sup> They were conceived as smaller, practical vessels to accompany the trencher plate at the table, as opposed to the centralised, larger 'standing' salt cellars (Figs 125 and 126). When they were produced in sets they supplied diners with their own stock of salt and, as such, were

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<sup>55</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iv, 142-3.

<sup>56</sup>Further reading on dining *a la française*: Glanville & Young, *Elegant eating*, pp 48-51; Barnard, *Grand figure*, pp 122-4.

<sup>57</sup>Sets of silver trencher salts are included in fifteenth-century English household inventories. (Glanville, *Silver in England*, p. 15)

appropriate equipage for new dining trends. Richard Boyle's father-in-law, Sir Jeffrey Fenton, differentiated between the two items, detailing in his 1608 will that his wife was to receive, among other items, 'a silver salt with the trencher salt used daily at the table'.<sup>58</sup> Seventy trencher salts were recorded by the Dublin assay master in the period 1638-49 signalling their well-established presence on dining tables.<sup>59</sup> Similarly, the production and acquisition of chafing dishes, though not an innovation of the seventeenth century, was considered novel in the period, and in keeping with the new culinary and dining features of the French style.<sup>60</sup> Maintaining dishes hot at the table remained a challenge, prompting technical innovation and manufacture of wares in plate and other materials.<sup>61</sup> Boyle both gave and received silver chafing dishes as gifts. His own, he noted, came 'with a stool in it' which housed the burner.<sup>62</sup> George Gallant submitted one for assay in Dublin in 1638, the only one apparently to be assayed in the decade-long recorded period.<sup>63</sup> They became a popular dining table accessory in the later decades of the century: Lord Kildare listed in his 1663 inventory of plate '1 Close Stoole & pan',<sup>64</sup> the 1675 Kilkenny Castle/Dublin Castle inventory of plate listed one large and six small chafing dishes,<sup>65</sup> and, among the items of plate sold by the dowager countess of Orrery in 1680 was a silver 'chafindish'.<sup>66</sup> Other new culinary and dining conventions requiring specific vessels or implements were also produced in silver. These included mazarin dishes – a platter with a pierced upper layer, designed for the straining of poached or stewed fish and meat which were served at the table – nutmeg graters, skillets, apple corers, pap spoons and preserving spoons (Fig. 127). They each demonstrate the technical versatility of goldsmiths.

For the serving and drinking of liquids – both alcoholic and non-alcoholic – several silver vessels were in widespread use. The variety of their form and capacity was often connected to the kinds of liquid they were associated with but older forms, such as the beaker, tumbler, tankard and two-handled cup (with or without a cover)

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<sup>58</sup>NAI MS 999/525(1).

<sup>59</sup>Sinsteden, 'Selected assay records', p. 146.

<sup>60</sup>Glanville & Young, *Elegant eating*, p. 68.

<sup>61</sup>Schroder, *Domestic silver*, pp 108-9.

<sup>62</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iii, 117.

<sup>63</sup>DGC MS 13, ff 1-3v.

<sup>64</sup>NLI MS 18,996.

<sup>65</sup>Sinsteden, 'Plate of the dukes of Ormond', pp 129-31.

<sup>66</sup>MacLysaght, *Orrery papers*, p. 234.

ranged in capacity and were multi-functional.<sup>67</sup> As Flavin observed with regard to late-sixteenth century Cork, silver and silver-gilt vessels associated with the consumption of drink were the most predominant items of plate bequeathed by testators, indicating their ubiquity in Irish homes at this time.<sup>68</sup> This trend continued into the next century, both within domestic and institutional contexts. Beer bowls, wine bowls, aqua vitae cups, goblets, tankards, beakers, dram cups<sup>69</sup> and non-specified ‘cupps’ were commonly-listed seventeenth-century vessels connected to the consumption of alcohol.<sup>70</sup> Robert Fitzsymons’ 1600 inventory, which listed tankards, a goblet and an ‘acquavite’ cup among his plate, shows that beer, ale, wine and whiskey were all consumed in his household.<sup>71</sup> Sir Richard Shee of Kilkenny bequeathed to his grandson a vessel described as a ‘double gilt bowl of plate, with its cover’ in 1603 which, he added, ‘wherein I commonlye drincke aquavitae and clarett wyne’.<sup>72</sup> Robert Blake, a Galway merchant, bequeathed to each of his seven sons ‘one jug of silver for bere and one cup of silver for wine’ in 1616.<sup>73</sup> As discussed above, the increasing quantities of imported hops indicate the growing appetite for beer among the Irish. Beer was largely brewed in homes or, within the Pale, in breweries. Wine, imported from France and Spain, was also popular among the elite and the powerful.<sup>74</sup> Dublin Corporation’s treasurer noted the disbursement of £26 12s. in 1661 for four hogsheads of claret in celebration of the duke of Ormonde’s appointment as Lord Lieutenant. This purchase was swiftly followed by an additional £36 expended on a further six hogsheads of wine on the day ‘declaring his success’.<sup>75</sup> One of the earliest extant items of Irish hallmarked-plate is a wine goblet with the mark of William Cooke, produced in 1639-40 (Fig. 63).

Tankards were produced and acquired in great numbers during this period and were used for both symbolic and commemorative purposes as well as for convivial

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<sup>67</sup>Glanville, *Silver in England*, pp 33-3; 59-63.

<sup>68</sup>Flavin, *Consumption & culture*, pp 207-8.

<sup>69</sup>Aqua vitae was an alcoholic spirit drink. Aqua vitae cups, according to Sinsteden, were small, on average one ounce in weight, and were the pre-cursors to the ‘dram’ cups of the late-seventeenth century. (Sinsteden, ‘Selected assay records’, p. 145.)

<sup>70</sup>Delamer & O’Brien, *500 years*, p. 115; Numerous goblets, ‘bolls’, cups and tankards are listed in the bursar’s books and inventories of plate belonging to (and sold by) Trinity College in the period 1603-1700. (Bennett, *Silver collection, Trinity College Dublin*, pp 134-46.)

<sup>71</sup>Fenlon, *Goods & chattels*, pp 13-14.

<sup>72</sup>Ainsworth & MacLysaght, ‘Nugent & Power O’Shee papers’, p. 226.

<sup>73</sup>Martin J. Blake (ed.), *Blake family records, 1600 to 1700* (London, 1905), p. 249.

<sup>74</sup>Flavin, *Consumption & culture*, pp 180-1.

<sup>75</sup>DCA MS MR 36, f. 198r.

domestic drinking. Extant Irish tankards, in their cylindrical form, flat or domed hinged cover and C-shaped or S-shaped handles, did not change a great deal in form over several decades and those produced within Dublin and provincial Ireland were similar to their English counterparts (Figs 13, 76 and 128). Dram cups were modelled on two-handled cups in miniature, while beakers, of which there are some still in existence from the period, were also similar to English models, with straight sides, moulded bases and measuring approximately fifteen centimetres in height (Figs 58 and 129). Large quantities of beer were likely imbibed in the 1630s in Bunratty Castle: the earl of Thomond owned six silver ‘tuns’,<sup>76</sup> three beer bowls and two beer tankards.<sup>77</sup> Six ‘tunnes’ (a variant on the ‘tun’) were assayed in Dublin in the period 1638-49 along with twenty-seven ‘cans’ (beer mugs), ten wine cups, five beer bowls, five aqua vitae cups and three wine cups.<sup>78</sup> Silver mugs from the 1680s and 1690s, from Cork and Dublin, suggests the vessel was modelled on the tankard, with their cylindrical form and S- and C-shaped handles, but at half the height, measuring approximately 14 centimetres (Figs 130 and 131). Certainly, these various vessels were also produced in pewter and ceramics, but for the very wealthy it was understood that, apart from signalling status and refinement, there were also health benefits to be gained from using drinking vessels made of silver or silver-gilt; in 1602, a Doctor Vaughan published his *Fifteen Discourses for Health* which advised: ‘The cups whereof you drink should be of silver or silver and gilt’.<sup>79</sup> Nonetheless, silver domestic drinking vessels are noticeably fewer towards the end of the century. In the detailed inventories belonging to the Ormond households, apart from sets of tumblers there is little mention of silver drinking vessels. This was indicative of the move towards the production of glass vessels in Ireland and Britain in the seventeenth century for the consumption of wine and other beverages.<sup>80</sup> In ceremonial contexts, however, large and decorative silver cups, often referred to as standing cups as they required the consumer to be standing in order to drink from them, continued to be acquired and used (Figs 24 and 38).

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<sup>76</sup>A tun was a large beer cask. (OED definition).

<sup>77</sup>O’Dalaigh, ‘Inventory of Bunratty Castle’, pp 139-165.

<sup>78</sup>Sinsteden, ‘Selected assay records’, p. 146.

<sup>79</sup>Carver Wees, *English, Irish & Scottish silver*, p. 43. See Schroder, *Domestic silver*, pp 16, 38-40, 105-9, 131-4 for discussion on the relationship between silverwares and similar items in pewter or brass in early-modern England.

<sup>80</sup>R. J. Charleston, *English glass: and the glass used in England, circa 400-1940* (London, 1984); John M. Hearne (ed.), *Glassmaking in Ireland* (Dublin, 2010); Flavin, *Consumption & capture*, pp 211-4.

## 5.2 Furnishing and clothing

Utilitarian domestic plate was not produced and acquired exclusively for the consumption of food and alcohol. Candlesticks, as seen with Lettice Goring's letter to her father, were also regarded as a domestic priority necessary for the illumination of principal reception rooms. She asked the earl of Cork to bring six with him in 1640 to add to the two that she already had. Wax candles were expensive and consumed by the rich, as opposed to the odorous rush or tallow candles of the period. The lighting of several wax candles at once, therefore, was considered extravagant.<sup>81</sup> The consumption of silver candlesticks is evident throughout the century, contrary to Bennett's assertion that they were not produced or consumed until after the Restoration:<sup>82</sup> Thomas Butler had a dozen new pewter candlesticks in 1603 but by 1613 he had sets of silver as well as pewter candlesticks.<sup>83</sup> Lord Slane, again requesting a licence for transporting silver to Ireland, this time in 1638, brought six pairs of candlesticks home with him 'for his own use'.<sup>84</sup> The candlesticks which Boyle purchased from Stoughton in 1632 were described as 'lardg new silver scrued' and weighed 115 ½ ounces in total, or approximately a sizeable thirty ounces each.<sup>85</sup> Their large size, it is suggested, required for them to be made in component parts which were then screwed together, facilitating their easier transportation. The Church of Ireland acquired large silver candlesticks too: the parish of St Catherine and St James in Dublin noted its 'great' candlestick amongst its collection of plate in 1661 while the neighbouring parish of St Bride, St Michael Le Pole and St Stephen also catalogued a 'great' candlestick with twelve sockets in the same decade, suggesting substantial pieces were placed on or beside altars.<sup>86</sup> Five silver-gilt candlesticks were among the objects listed in the dining room at Kilkenny Castle (or Dunmore House or Ormond Castle) in 1639 and seven were listed in the assay records dating to 1638-

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<sup>81</sup>Thornton, *Seventeenth-century interior decoration*, p. 268.

<sup>82</sup>Bennett, *Collecting Irish silver*, pp 20-1.

<sup>83</sup>Fenlon, *Goods & chattels*, pp 16-17.

<sup>84</sup>Charles I to the Lord Treasurer, 5 Jun. 1638. (*Cal. S.P. Ire. 1633-47*, p. 191.)

<sup>85</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iii, 144.

<sup>86</sup>Gillespie, *Vestry records: St Catherine & St James, Dublin*, p. 40; Wallace, *Vestry records: St Bride, St Michael & St Stephen, Dublin*, p. 26.

49.<sup>87</sup> George Wilde bequeathed a silver candlestick to his kinswoman Elizabeth Saxby in 1665,<sup>88</sup> while thirty-four were submitted for assay in the period April – October 1694, along with one ‘topp piece’ (socket and drip pan) of a candlestick and one ‘hand’ (chamber) candlestick.

Several of the extant candlesticks from this decade have multi-knopped baluster stems which rise from square or hexagonal step-moulded bases (Fig. 132). They were produced concurrently with the popular European fluted column ‘monument’ candlestick pattern and range in height from fifteen to thirty centimetres.<sup>89</sup> A pair in this style, marked by the Dublin goldsmith Joseph Walker in 1694-5, was used by Trinity College on its chapel altar (Fig. 53).<sup>90</sup> Sconces, also consistently produced, served the practical function of elevating candles in principal reception rooms while simultaneously providing wall-mounted decoration; five were listed in the assay submissions of 1694.<sup>91</sup> Many had plain back reflector plates which were designed to double the illuminating power of the flame, as seen with the only extant set of Irish manufacture (Fig. 133).<sup>92</sup> Unsurprisingly, the Ormonds owned several: in 1674 their seven pairs, each with double sockets, were of the more decorative variety, described as ‘chased’.<sup>93</sup> For these sconces and the multitude of candlesticks at Kilkenny Castle were silver snuffers or ‘extinguishers’.

Peter Thornton’s analysis of the early-modern grand house concludes that though ceremonial, public spheres were the main fora for display, private quarters could also be opulently furnished.<sup>94</sup> The culture of luxury consumption in the seventeenth century, therefore, created opportunities for the simultaneous display and utilisation of silver in both public and private areas of the homes of the wealthy.<sup>95</sup> Aside from the large quantities of dining plate in all of the Ormond inventories there are details relating to individual rooms in Kilkenny Castle in 1674 and Dublin Castle

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<sup>87</sup>Fenlon, *Goods & chattels*, p. 30.

<sup>88</sup>Will of George Wilde, Dublin, 1 Nov. 1665 (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, f. 79r).

<sup>89</sup>Timothy Schroder, *British and continental silver and gold in the Ashmolean* (London, 2009), catalogue no. 170.

<sup>90</sup>Bennett, *Silver collection, Trinity College Dublin*, p. 39.

<sup>91</sup>Sinsteden, ‘Selected assay records’, p. 149.

<sup>92</sup>Sweeney, *Irish Stuart silver*, p. 92.

<sup>93</sup>Sinsteden, ‘Plate of the dukes of Ormond’, pp 129-31.

<sup>94</sup>Thornton, *Seventeenth-century interior decoration*, p. 57.

<sup>95</sup>As discussed by Levy-Peck, *Consuming splendour*, p. 348.



in 1684 where silver also featured prominently.<sup>96</sup> At Kilkenny Castle a chamber referred to as ‘the alcove’ was opulently furnished with a silver-framed looking glass, silver table and two stands. These were complemented by silver sconces and items for the hearth: silver andirons, a fire shovel, tongs and their hooks (also of silver), items which were also to be found at the drawing room’s fireside. The first duke of Ormond, James Butler, was clearly influenced by his exposure to the style of the court of Louis XIV and Charles II during the latter’s exile period in the 1650s where the silver furniture was intended to create a tremendous impression on visitors.<sup>97</sup> ‘Silvered’ wooden tables or solid, cast sterling silver tables were presented there with large silver-framed mirrors and two candlestand tables (or *guéridons*) either side. This suite was replicated in Restoration England and Ireland by those with the means to demonstrate to visitors their familiarity with the fashionable French court and their excess wealth. The Kilkenny drawing room also displayed a silver perfuming pan and a frame for holding a myrtle tree. This excessive attitude to silver was not new: Lord Longford also owned a silver perfuming pan decades earlier, while the earl of Cork purchased two silver chamber pots in 1641.<sup>98</sup>

Ladies’ bed-chambers were likewise equipped with silver, ranging from small trinkets to full toilet services. In 1632 Richard Boyle gave Lady Clayton a case containing silver tweezers<sup>99</sup> and, in 1665, Lord Viscount Massereene of Antrim specified in his will that his wife’s ‘chamberplate’ was to be left for her to ‘enjoy to herself’.<sup>100</sup> In Limerick, a powder box was acquired from the local goldsmith John Bucknor in 1666 for Lady Orrery’s use.<sup>101</sup> The first duchess of Ormond’s chamber or ‘dressing’ plate is itemised in the Kilkenny Castle inventory. Both a new set and her older ‘plaine’ suite are accounted for and components included silver-framed mirrors, comb boxes, powder boxes, salvers, a pin cushion box, covered porringers, silver-handled brushes, perfume bottles and boxes dedicated to containing ‘patches’. By 1700 it had become customary for a woman of high station to receive a toilet service of silver or silver-gilt on the occasion of her marriage, making these sets,

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<sup>96</sup>Sinsteden, ‘Plate of the dukes of Ormond’, p. 124.

<sup>97</sup>Frances Buckland, ‘Silver furnishings at the Court of France 1643-1670’ in *The Burlington Magazine*, cxxxi, no. 1034 (May, 1989), pp 328-36.

<sup>98</sup>‘Testamentary records from Lettice Evoryna O’Hanlon’, pp 180-9; *Lismore papers: diaries*, v, 193.

<sup>99</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iii, 132.

<sup>100</sup>Will of Lord Viscount Massereene, County Antrim, 1 Nov. 1665 (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, f. 57v).

<sup>101</sup>Barnard, *Protestant ascents & descents*, p. 56.

after dining and drinking silver, the next largest collection of plate in aristocratic homes.<sup>102</sup> The remarkable survival of a Dublin-made toilet set – a jewel casket, a pair of silver-mounted brushes, lidded boxes, pincushion stand and silver-mounted mirror frame – produced in the period 1680-3 along with the 1694 assay evidence of a comb box, powder boxes, patch boxes, a ‘glas [sic] frame’ and one ‘dressing plate set’, demonstrate that it was a well-established feature of Irish goldsmiths’ output before the eighteenth century (Figs 89, 134 and 135).<sup>103</sup> Silver items for male private consumption were also produced: the 1694 assay records list the submission of one ‘trimming bason’ and one ‘trimming pott’, vessels which were presumably used when shaving. The same two vessels along with a box ‘for a wasball’ [washball] were included in the 1689 Ormond plate inventory and are noted as being in the charge of the ‘valet de chambre’. Among the items advertised as stolen from a gentleman in Dublin in 1700 were an ‘old fashion silver tooth-picker and an ear picker folding into a silver Hoop with a hole in the end’ once again illustrating the myriad of demands for personal grooming which goldsmiths answered effectively with small silver utensils.<sup>104</sup>

For clothing, silver buttons and buckles used to decorate and fasten apparel were also produced and acquired in large quantities. Unsurprisingly, several of the earl of Cork’s garments were fitted with silver buttons: in 1621 he noted in his diary a ‘gown’ in his possession which was distinguished by its ‘silver lace and buttons’ and cost him the large sum of £28 8s.<sup>105</sup> In October 1640 he gave his stonemason John Hopkins his purple riding coat which he noted was ‘laced with long silck [sic] and silver buttons’ and the following year to ‘young Mr Bingham’ he gifted his russet-coloured riding coat with ‘silver great buttons’. In August 1643 he presented to the beleaguered portrieve of Lismore, Brian Cavanagh, several items of his own clothes including a new, unworn coat which was ‘garnished down before with silver buttons of goldsmithes worck’.<sup>106</sup> Silver-buttoned outer clothing was commonplace among the elite in this period. An account book belonging to an English nobleman, William Freke, dating from 1619 to 1630 demonstrates their ubiquity on garments and their

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<sup>102</sup>Elise Taylor, ‘Silver for a countess’s levee: the Kildare toilet service’ in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, xiv (1998), pp 115-24.

<sup>103</sup>Delamer & O’Brien, *500 years*, pp 182-5.

<sup>104</sup>*The Flying Post*, 19 Feb. 1700/1 (NLI MS Reel no. 5).

<sup>105</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries* ii, 14.

<sup>106</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, v, 163, 218, 231.

relative affordability.<sup>107</sup> Freke noted the disbursement of 2s. 6d. on three dozen silver buttons in 1619.<sup>108</sup> Later in the century, Benjamin Vaughan of Clonmel noted, in 1698, the personal and household goods his father William left him. Among the plate were items associated with apparel: three pairs of silver buttons worth 1s. 6d., ‘old silver belonging to a belt’, (presumably a belt buckle) valued at 8s. 6d. and a silver-handled walking cane.<sup>109</sup>

As encountered in chapter two, increased activity in the Dublin Goldsmiths’ Company’s policing of the quality of silver in the early-1690s revealed numerous instances in which silver buttons were identified for failing to pass the assay with the consequent issuing of fines to goldsmiths. The several descriptions reveal their variety and commonplace use on contemporary clothing (Fig. 136). Many of these were simply described as small, middling or large in size and were produced in sets.<sup>110</sup> Other descriptions illustrate their more direct relationship to contemporary clothing: eleven ‘coat buttons’ were taken from Henry Sherwin’s shop in February 1691/2 while two sets of ‘plate breast buttons’ were seized from Henry Nelthorp in July 1693.<sup>111</sup> Later that same year sets of ‘wastcoat’ buttons and coat buttons were removed from the quarter brother William Cooper.<sup>112</sup> Some button sets were apparently more decorative than others: Anthony Stanley was fined in June 1702 for two ‘[en]graved buttons’<sup>113</sup> while John Cuthbert was fined for both his sub-standard gold buttons and a silver set which were described as having ‘wier on the topps’ (Fig. 137).<sup>114</sup>

Silver buckles were also made in a variety of sizes for different functions. Boyle received ‘massiv Spanish buckles’ from Lady Offaly in the new year of 1626/7.<sup>115</sup> Pairs of shoe buckles were removed from the workshops of David Swan and Henry

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<sup>107</sup>G. W. Prothero, ‘A seventeenth-century account book’ in *The English Historical Review*, vii, no. 25 (Jan. 1892), pp 88-102.

<sup>108</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>109</sup>C.L. Vaughan-Arbuckle, ‘A Tipperary farmer and Waterford tradesman of two centuries ago’ in *Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, viii (1902), p. 82.

<sup>110</sup>Fines and confiscations recorded 2 Feb. 1691/2, 26 Jul. 1693 and 15 Apr. 1695. (DGC MS 1, ff 24r, 35v, 36r, 51v.)

<sup>111</sup>Fines recorded 2 Feb. 1691/2 and 26 Jul. 1693 (DGC MS 1, ff 24r, 35v).

<sup>112</sup>Fine recorded 4 Oct. 1693 (DGC MS 1, f. 38v).

<sup>113</sup>Fine recorded 8 Jun. 1702 (DGC MS 1, f 108r).

<sup>114</sup>Fine recorded 30 Nov. 1704 (DGC MS 70, f. 220v).

<sup>115</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, ii, 205.

Sherwin in 1693 and 1694 while many other undescribed buckles were likewise confiscated from their contemporaries.<sup>116</sup> They served many functions, typically affixed to clothing, footwear and riding bridles (Fig. 138). By the end of the eighteenth century, the production of silver buckles accounted for a large proportion of Dublin goldsmiths' output with more than 24,000 submitted for assay in 1788 alone.<sup>117</sup>

### 5.3 Worship and ceremony

Whereas on Sunday the 12<sup>th</sup> of Aprill 1696 there was Publick Notice given that a Vestry should be held in the Parish Church of Powerscourt to Consider of what Utensills were wanting in the Church for the Minister to Celebrate divine Service and to Administer the holy Sacraments with Decency and in Order.<sup>118</sup>

The common requirement by the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches for silver altar wares in the celebration of Holy Communion revealed the established use-value of plate in liturgical settings and its prioritisation by ecclesiastical hierarchies in the seventeenth century. The Tridentine decrees and canons of the sixteenth century reaffirmed the Catholic commitment to Holy Communion and the continuing use of vessels of precious metal for its celebration.<sup>119</sup> Diocesan visitations were carried out to ensure compliance: the archbishop of Cashel observed during his diocesan visitations in the 1670s that, though many parish churches had correct vestments and ornaments, others had only pewter chalices which he declared he would no longer consecrate and were to be replaced by ones of silver.<sup>120</sup> Church of Ireland parishes were also expected to furnish their communion tables with at least a cup or chalice of silver and diocesan visitations were carried out to ensure such standards were implemented.<sup>121</sup> Archbishop Bulkeley's visitation of the Dublin

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<sup>116</sup>Fines recorded 26 Jul. 1693 and 28 Sept. 1694 (DGC MS 1, ff 35v, 46v).

<sup>117</sup>FitzGerald & O'Brien, 'Production of silver in late-Georgian Dublin', p. 18.

<sup>118</sup>Vestry book of Powerscourt Parish, County Wicklow (RCB MS P 109/1/1, f. 2v).

<sup>119</sup>As per the seventh (1547), thirteenth (1551) and twenty-second (1562) sessions of the council. (J. Waterworth (ed.), *The council and decrees of the sacred and ecumenical Council of Trent*, (London, 1848), pp 53, 77, 157.)

<sup>120</sup>Power, *A bishop in penal times*, pp 30, 86, 92.

<sup>121</sup>John McCafferty, *The reconstruction of the Church of Ireland; Bishop Bramhall and the Laudian reforms, 1633-1641* (Cambridge, 2007), pp 41, 98-99.

diocese in 1630, for example, identified the parish churches which had the ‘ornaments befitting’ to the churches’ communion equipage. Nineteen were without the ‘necessary ornaments’ required for Holy Communion, reflecting the impoverished state of the Church of Ireland at this time.<sup>122</sup> During a visitation of St John’s Church, Cashel in County Tipperary in 1698 Archbishop William Palliser urged his clergy to procure more communion plate and, by way of setting a good example, he subsequently presented items to the parishes of Knockaney, Holycross and Cahirconlish.<sup>123</sup>

Though there were several aesthetic features distinguishing the plate of the different Christian denominations, as discussed in the previous chapter, the churches shared similar Eucharistic components, chiefly the chalice and paten. Both items fulfilled important functions and their widespread acquisition was guided by the needs of parishes, religious orders and individuals and the volumes of their communicants. Individual Catholic religious orders often possessed several chalices at once, particularly during the early decades of the century. In the first half of the seventeenth century there was a resurgence in the production of Catholic silver in Ireland, partly in response to the depredations of stocks from the previous century, and partly due to the strength of patronage of religious orders and of the clergy in the period.<sup>124</sup> The Franciscan friar Donatus Mooney’s recollection of his time at the abbey in Donegal is illustrative of the considerable quantities of altar plate, particularly chalices, in the order’s possession at the turn of the century:

In the year 1600 we were, in that convent, forty friars in community... I was then sacristan and had under my charge forty suits of vestments, with all things necessary for their use. Many of them were of cloth of gold and of silver, some interwoven and wrought out with gold, and all the others of silk. We had also sixteen silver chalices, all washed with gold except two, and two ciboriums for preserving the Most Holy Sacrament.<sup>125</sup>

Several other Franciscan abbeys and convents were similarly enriched with well-stocked altars. Kilconnell Abbey in County Galway despatched three silver-gilt and

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<sup>122</sup>M.V. Ronan, ‘Archbishop Bulkeley’s visitation of Dublin, 1630’ in *Archivium Hibernicum*, viii (1941), pp 56-98.

<sup>123</sup>Seymour, *Church plate in Cashel & Emly*, p. 4.

<sup>124</sup>Kranodebska-D’Aughton, ‘Me fieri fecit’, p. 71.

<sup>125</sup>Donatus Mooney, ‘A history of the Franciscan Order in Ireland’ in *The Franciscan Tertiary*, v (1895), p. 130.

one silver chalice to St Anthony's College in Louvain in 1654. In 1689 the abbey drew up another list, this time of twenty-seven silver and silver-gilt chalices and one ciborium, perhaps in anticipation of the coming war.<sup>126</sup> In 1698, following the banishment act, they listed nearly fifty chalices, some of which were still in the abbey's possession and others with their benefactors.<sup>127</sup> The papers of Meelick Abbey in County Galway include an inventory, also dated 1698, which included fourteen silver and silver-gilt chalices.<sup>128</sup>

The possession by the Franciscans of these large quantities of chalices was not unusual. The Jesuits, under the patronage of Elizabeth Nugent, the dowager countess of Kildare, were given the newly-constructed Kildare Hall in Dublin in 1623.<sup>129</sup> The hall contained a school for lay students, a novitiate and a sodality where the Jesuit confraternity met. A report from 1629 stated that the hall's furnishings and equipment included seventeen sets of vestments and eleven silver chalices.<sup>130</sup> The Dominicans at the Claddagh in Galway also listed their valuable materials in 1698 which included ten silver chalices 'whereof four are gilted w[ith] gould'.<sup>131</sup> Certainly these large collections of chalices represented the wealth, patronage and status enjoyed by the various orders, but it was also understood that each chalice served a purpose within the institution, as Kranodebska-D'Aughton explains with regard to the Franciscans in this period:

The reason why comparatively more chalices survive than any other type of liturgical vessel may be related to their function, form and meaning. A chalice is a prerequisite for the celebration of the Eucharist, as it is a vessel used to hold the wine during Mass. Franciscan friars used chalices both at the daily conventual Mass and at the private Masses celebrated by each friar-priest, which explains the need for a number of chalices in each friary.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>126</sup>Brendan Jennings, 'The chalices and books of Kilconnell Abbey' in *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, xxi, no. 1/2 (1944), pp 63-70.

<sup>127</sup>J.G. Simms, 'The bishop's banishment act of 1697 (9 Will. III, c. 1)' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xvii, no. 66 (Sept., 1970), pp 185-99.

<sup>128</sup>Cathaldus Giblin, 'Papers Relating to Meelick Friary, 1644-1731' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, no. 16 (1973), pp 69-70.

<sup>129</sup>Rolf Loeber and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber, 'Kildare Hall, the countess of Kildare's patronage of the Jesuits, and the liturgical setting of Catholic worship in early seventeenth-century Dublin' in E. Fitzpatrick and R. Gillespie (eds), *The parish in medieval and early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), pp 242-65.

<sup>130</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 252.

<sup>131</sup>Eustás Ó Héideáin (ed.), 'Church valuables put in safe keeping before exile: receipt from Vallentine Browne: 1698' in *The Dominicans in Galway 1241-1991* (Galway, 1991), p. 67.

<sup>132</sup>Kranodebska-D'Aughton, 'Me fieri fecit', pp 71-2.

The inscriptions on several extant pieces indicates that donated chalices were identified with individual clergy within Catholic religious orders, to be used by them during their lifetime and retained in perpetuity of their memory on their demise. A small silver chalice with a gilt cup interior made for the Franciscan friary at Trim, County Meath in c.1633, for example, is engraved on its base in this manner connecting the donor, Friar Alexander Plunkett, with the order (Fig. 139). Secular counterparts likewise possessed and used their own chalices. Doctor James Phelan, Bishop of Ossory made several bequests to individual priests in 1693 including a silver chalice each to Father Robert Phelan and Father Richard Shorthall. To his successor he left yet another chalice.<sup>133</sup> The will of John Dempsey, Bishop of Leighlin and Kildare, who died in 1707, shows that he bequeathed all of his items, including his chalices, to be disbursed by his benefactress Lady Ann, Viscountess Clanmalure ‘as she shall thinke fitt’.<sup>134</sup> Evidently, many Roman Catholic priests needed their own chalices in order to celebrate Communion within the covert confines of Mass Houses, several of which were the homes of their patrons; in 1638 Father James Hussey from County Louth bequeathed to his cousin James Bath, also a priest, ‘my challice, booke and vestments wch he hath, to continue in the house of Drum condrath, for my lady Warren’s soule and myne’.<sup>135</sup> Chalices, therefore, were safeguarded by priests as essential Mass equipage. For further safe-keeping, particularly by the end of the century and during the height of the Penal era in the first half of the eighteenth century, some were made in three components so that the bowl (or gloria, in the case of the monstrance), stem and foot could be unscrewed and concealed.<sup>136</sup>

A chalice (or communion cup; the terms were used interchangeably within Protestant faiths) of silver was also regarded by the country’s Anglican and

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<sup>133</sup>William Carrigan, ‘Catholic Episcopal wills in the Public Record Office, Dublin. 1683-1812’ in *Archivium Hibernicum*, iv (1915), pp 85-8.

<sup>134</sup>*Ibid.*, pp 80-2.

<sup>135</sup>L. P. Murray (ed.), ‘The will of James Hussey of Smarmore, Co. Louth, “Priest” (A.D. 1635)’ in *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (1936), pp 303-21.

<sup>136</sup>As Buckley points out, this three piece composition of chalices has meant that some chalice pieces were interchanged with other chalices if one or more of the original parts became worn, damaged or lost. (Buckley, *Irish altar plate*, p.4.)

Presbyterian churches as an altar necessity. Though usually not owned by individual members of the clergy, the methods by which it was acquired by the Church of Ireland, as discussed in chapter three – through parish disbursement, cess and donation – underline its importance during periods in which the church was frequently impoverished. Vestry records from the decades prior to the Restoration are sparse but, nonetheless, reveal the established presence of silver communion cups within parish churches, complementing the body of extant items. The parish of St John the Evangelist in Dublin noted in 1623 that 18s was expended on the mending of the ‘Communon Cupp’ and, towards the end of the Cromwellian period, a note in the parish’s cess books listing the church’s property included a silver communion chalice.<sup>137</sup> The churchwardens at St Catherine and St James’s united parishes in Dublin also noted a silver chalice in this period and, in 1661, noted the addition of a silver gilt chalice to the collection of property in their care.<sup>138</sup> In 1659 the vestry clerk of Finglas parish detailed the church’s ‘large’ silver communion cup.<sup>139</sup> These modest acquisitions of altar plate were typical of the Church of Ireland at this time.

As the church’s fortunes improved in the last decades of the seventeenth century additional vestry records reflect the growing trend towards the enlarging of altar plate collections. With increased consumption of communion wine and the growth of congregations, more than one cup and the addition of a singular or pair of flagons increasingly became an altar necessity.<sup>140</sup> The united parishes of St Bride, St Michael Le Pole and St Stephen in Dublin owned ‘4 Challices with the covers to them’ and two flagons in 1665.<sup>141</sup> Holy Trinity, Christ Church in Cork paid the city’s prominent goldsmith Robert Goble £6 16s. 6d. in 1676 for supplying a new chalice and cover and for silver ‘he added to ye bowles’, presumably of older, worn chalices.<sup>142</sup> St Peter’s, also in Dublin, listed two communion cups, two covers and a silver flagon in 1686.<sup>143</sup> By the beginning of the next century it owned four silver flagons.<sup>144</sup> Pewter flagons sufficed when the funds were not available to acquire the

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<sup>137</sup> Refausse, *Vestry records: St John the Evangelist, Dublin*, pp 35, 220.

<sup>138</sup> Gillespie, *Vestry records: St Catherine & St James, Dublin*, pp 26, 40.

<sup>139</sup> Vestry book of Finglas Parish. (RCB MS P/307/1/1, p. 10.)

<sup>140</sup> This pattern mirrored the development within the Church of England. (Oman, *English church plate*, pp. 162-3.)

<sup>141</sup> Wallace, *Vestry records: St Bride, St Michael & St Stephen, Dublin*, p. 26.

<sup>142</sup> Webster, *Church plate of Cork, Cloyne & Ross*, pp 19-20.

<sup>143</sup> Vestry book of St Peter’s Parish, Dublin. (RCB MS P/45/6/1, p.22.)

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 100, 125.



more desirable silver vessels. The silver chalice at St Catherine and St James was accompanied on the altar by two pewter flagons in 1658.<sup>145</sup> So, too, were the Finglas parish chalices in the same period. Both churches acquired silver flagons by the turn of the century (Fig. 140). Meanwhile, the country's Presbyterian Church also addressed its need to dispense wine to large numbers of communicants by acquiring additional communion cups. The matching set of eight silver cups belonging to the Dublin presbytery at Plunkett Street, hallmarked in 1700-1, is illustrative both of this high demand and the Presbyterian practice of administering the Lord's Supper at tables to several communicants concurrently (Fig. 23).

The ciborium, monstrance and pyx, used to contain, display and transport the sacramental bread respectively, were vessels unique to the Roman Catholic Church and were not carried over by the Protestant faiths. Though not as essential (nor as numerous) as the chalice, they were required by religious orders and parishes in the seventeenth century and were produced in both base and precious metals (Figs 112, 141 and 142). For the serving of communion bread, the Church of Ireland did, however, retain the Catholic paten. In the early-seventeenth century these were, like their Catholic counterparts, small dishes with slight depressions and often doubled as chalice covers (Figs 20 and 143). Gilchrist notes that an Anglican chalice was usually expected to mean both a chalice and a paten.<sup>146</sup> However, the Church of Ireland's vestry records indicate that because silver patens, as parish property, were valuable, they were almost always itemised adjacent to their accompanying chalice. Furthermore, the word paten was seldom used in contemporary records; 'cover', 'dish', 'plate' or 'server' were more commonly used terms in Church of Ireland vestry books and reflected its physical evolution and developing function. In keeping with the Protestant interpretation of the Lord's Supper everyday bread replaced the communion wafer, making the small paten-cover less practical.<sup>147</sup> As a result the Church of Ireland paten became larger, bearing greater similarity with contemporary domestic dishes and plates. In the parish church of Finglas the vestry recorded in 1682 'one Small Sillver platte to cover the Challise and one other large Sillver platte ffor the bread', indicating this practical transition and the growing number of altar

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<sup>145</sup>Gillespie, *Vestry records: St Catherine & St James, Dublin*, p.26.

<sup>146</sup>Gilchrist, *Anglican church plate*, p. 61.

<sup>147</sup>Oman, *English church plate*, p. 151.

silver components in the Church of Ireland.<sup>148</sup> By 1708 the same parish listed two ‘servers’ and two paten-covers among its collection of altar plate. Extant server-patens (or bread plates) reveal their utilitarian function with knife marks scratched into their surfaces accumulated through years of cutting bread within the vestry prior to Holy Communion (Fig. 73). Others, with their pedestal feet, closely resembled contemporary salvers, elevating the sacrament on the altar and facilitating the easier dispensing of communion bread (Fig. 144). Often confused with bread plates, alms dishes were also acquired and used by the Church of Ireland in the collection of money among parishioners for the parish poor. They were also flat, broad-rimmed dishes and became larger and more decorative as the century progressed.

Plate also featured prominently within Ireland’s non-religious institutions for both practical and symbolic purposes. As discussed in the previous chapters, a variety of symbolic silver instruments and ceremonial components were acquired by municipal governments, guilds and Trinity College in this period. Though plate’s pervasiveness in these institutions was well-established by the seventeenth century due to common practice and expectation, it is also evident that, like the churches, silver was prescribed by governing hierarchies. For example, Waterford city’s renewed charter, granted by Charles I in 1626, articulated the city’s right:

to have within the said city, four other officers who shall be called sergeants-at-mace, for the execution of process, writs, mandates and other processes and that each of them ... shall be attendant upon the mayor and sheriffs of the county of the said city and carry gilded or silver maces, engraved and adorned with the sign of our arms.<sup>149</sup>

Anne Marie Quinn notes that this specification regarding the city’s civic regalia was not new; Waterford’s earlier charter of 1461 entitled the city to have a silver-gilt mace to be borne before the mayor and bailiffs while a statute of 1481 permitted a similar privilege to the town of Ardee.<sup>150</sup> By the seventeenth century, therefore, the acquisition of silver or silver-gilt insignia by city and town corporations was the norm, becoming more widespread due to the increasing numbers of new town

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<sup>148</sup>RCB MS P 307/1/1, p. 123.

<sup>149</sup>Eamonn McEaney and Rosemary Ryan (eds), *Waterford treasures: a guide to the historical and archaeological treasures of Waterford city* (Waterford, 2004), p. 138; and as cited and discussed by Quinn, ‘Irish civic maces’, p. 19.

<sup>150</sup>Quinn, ‘Irish civic maces’, p. 16.

incorporations and the re-issuing of charters to existing cities and towns. In 1610 Youghal Corporation listed the delivery of its insignia which included ‘[an] old and newe sword... three Sergeants’ maces [and] three seals’.<sup>151</sup> The 1650 frontispiece to Dublin Corporation’s treasurer’s accounts indicate that he was expected to take account of all of the city’s plate ‘which follows the Sword’, demonstrating the existence of several components of silver insignia (Fig. 145).

As corporations grew and their quantities of office holders proliferated in this period, it became increasingly necessary to equip numerous positions with such items. A list of newly acquired items by Cork Corporation in 1686 underlines how widely plate was utilised in this way:<sup>152</sup>

‘The Maces, Sword, and other Ensignes of the Corporation’	
2 Maces, containing 63½oz at 5s. 3d.	10li. 10s. 9d.
making and engraving at 2s. 6d.	7li. 17s. 6d.
52oz in Sheriffs’ Maces, at 5s. 3d.	13li. 13s.
making and engraving at 2s. 6d.	6li. 10s.
Pocket Mace 7oz at 5s. 3d.	1li. 16s. 9d.
making and engraving at 2s. 6d.	17s. 6d.
Waterbailiffs oar, 17oz at 5s. 3d.	3li. 13s. 6d.
making and engraving	1li. 15s.
City seal, making and silver	1li. 10s.
Mayoralty seal	1li. 5s.
Sword, 20oz at 5s. 3d.	5li. 5s.
making and engraving	2li.
scabbard,	35s.
gilding	3li.
blade	10s.
[total for sword]	12li. 10s.
Total	67li. 19s.

The list succinctly conveys what was considered essential equipage for a city corporation’s ceremonial and administrative functions. The maces, sheriffs’ maces, pocket mace, water bailiff’s oar, seal and sword were among the most valuable

<sup>151</sup>Caulfield, *Corporation of Youghal*, pp 1-2.

<sup>152</sup>From the ‘Annals of Cork’, (Caulfield, *Corporation of Cork*, xxv.) It is reasonable to propose that in 1686, one year after the succession of James II to the throne, the corporation of Cork city decided to equip itself with a new, appropriately decorated and engraved suite of insignia. The accession of a new monarch was a sufficient reason for the acquisition or re-fashioning of civic plate.

material possessions of a municipal corporation. Items of civic plate were deployed by several individuals on a regular basis who, it can be detected, ranged from the city's sheriffs to its water bailiff, the officer charged with policing the city's ports. Guilds adopted ceremonial features of municipal governments among which were similar items of plate. In the 1670s St Luke's guild owned a 'seal of the hall' while the Merchants' Guild listed two silver seals among its property in 1676.<sup>153</sup> The Dublin Goldsmiths' Company also possessed a silver seal along with a 'large staff with a silver head' among its list of 'plate & other utensils' in 1696 and 1702.<sup>154</sup> An account of ceremonial events in Dublin city in 1691 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak of the 1641 rebellion illustrates the use of maces by agents of the crown too: 'At the Second Course at Dinner, the King [at Arms] and Herraald at Arms, with the Maces before them, came before the Lords-Justices ... [and] ... proclaimed Their Majesties Title.'<sup>155</sup>

The pairing of an item of silver insignia with a civic office was an obvious symbolic device, communicating authority and legitimacy. The form and decoration of these items evolved from this vocabulary of symbolism. However, they were also each used in specific contexts so that their practical utilisation co-existed with their symbolic attributes. The 'great' maces of large towns and cities, sometimes made in pairs as seen with the two maces at the top of the Cork list, signified the mayoral status of the municipality's chief office holder and were carried by appointed mace-bearers on a daily basis. These maces enjoyed similar ceremonial status as the swords of state belonging to municipalities: in Kilkenny city in 1658 it was noted in the annual disbursements of the corporation that both the sword-bearer's and great mace-bearer's salaries were set at £8 each.<sup>156</sup> A mace- and sword-bearer were likewise appointed by both Dublin and Drogheda corporations.<sup>157</sup> It was understood that these often weighty items, each measuring one metre (or more) in length, were to be 'carryed before the cheife magistgrate of this citty'.<sup>158</sup> Extant silver and silver-gilt great maces were produced in the post-Restoration period and, in their forms and

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<sup>153</sup>Guild of St Luke (NLI MS 12121), p. 19; DCA MSS 78, f. 25r.

<sup>154</sup>DGC MS 70, ff 7, 131.

<sup>155</sup>*Dublin Intelligence*, 21 Oct – 28 Oct 1690. (NLI MS Reel no. 5)

<sup>156</sup>Prim, 'Corporation insignia of Kilkenny', p. 283.

<sup>157</sup>CARD, iii, 48, 67, 74; DCA MS MR 36, ff 7r, 13r, 112v, 129r; T. Gogarty, *Council book of the Corporation of Drogheda, Vol. I (1649-1734)* (Drogheda, 1915), p. 40.

<sup>158</sup>CARD, v, 418.

features, were largely uniform in pattern and mirrored the design of their English counterparts.<sup>159</sup> A great mace typically comprised of a hollow, cylindrical shaft, punctuated with knops to assist with its carriage. Wooden rods were inserted into the shaft to give it additional strength and it terminated with a boss and flattened disc to facilitate its standing. The bowl-shaped head supplied the decorative focus of the instrument on to which a coronet, of varying ornamental detail, was applied along with the chased and engraved heraldry identifying it with the municipality and the monarch. Curved bands and a cross surmounted the coronet within which was contained an orb. Due to their large size they were produced in parts which could be unscrewed, for ease of storage, transportation and, when necessary, their maintenance. The great maces of Dublin Corporation, Cork Corporation, Kilkenny, Bandon and Drogheda are all examples of this popular form (Figs 30, 31 and 40). Outside of civic governments, guilds and other institutions adopted the great mace to assert their identity and self-importance. The mace belonging to the trade guilds of Cork city, marked by Robert Goble in c.1696, and Trinity College's mace, produced in the workshop of Thomas Bolton in Dublin in 1708-9, are both illustrative of the re-production of the pattern (Fig. 25).

The smaller and lighter 'sheriffs' maces' detailed in the 1686 Cork disbursement referred to maces assigned to less-prestigious civic office holders. They fulfilled a function similar to that of the great mace, but were more practically employed in the day-to-day government of cities and towns. Prior to the acquisition of the great mace (and, indeed, in the absence of a great or mayoral mace in many jurisdictions) sheriffs or sergeants-at-arms were expected to carry their maces at ceremonies associated with the mayor and other senior office holders of the corporation, as seen with the charter of Waterford in 1626. The sergeants-at-arms in Coleraine, for example, were ordered in 1623 to accompany the mayor 'att all times when [he] goeth eyther to church, or unto any Court or Courts, goe before the Mayor for th[e] t[i]me being, wth either of them with a haulbert [mace] on his shouldior'.<sup>160</sup> However, these civic officers also used their maces as emblems of authority outside

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<sup>159</sup>Llewellynn Jewitt, 'Corporation plate and insignia of office' in *The Art Journal*, vi (1880), pp 46-9; Quinn, (2003).

<sup>160</sup>McGrath, *Corporation of Coleraine*, f. 3r. A halberd, originally a combined spear and battleaxe, was, more likely, referring to the ceremonial mace in this context.

of these more ceremonial contexts.<sup>161</sup> At least six were needed by Dublin Corporation office holders in the mid-seventeenth century. In 1652 it paid the goldsmith Daniel Bellingham £66 for six silver maces ‘for the officers’ and eight years later Abel Ram made a further six maces further six ‘maces for the officers’.<sup>162</sup>

Besides these maces, as seen in chapter three, Dublin’s city marshal and the officer of the commons both sought a mace to accompany their positions. The small size of these items is implied by their cost, at £3 17s. and £6 respectively. It is likely that, at just a few pounds each, the sheriffs’ maces purchased by Cork in 1686 were also modestly sized while that city’s pocket mace, weighing just seven ounces, was clearly intended, like the water bailiff’s oar, to fit comfortably within an officer’s apparel to be displayed accordingly as he went about his civic tasks. Drogheda Corporation, which owned a great mace and sword from at least 1654, noted its sergeant’s ‘smale mace’ in 1658.<sup>163</sup> In form, these maces were similar to the great mace, with their flattened base, knopped shaft, bowl-shaped and coronet-embellished head but extant items suggest that these smaller (and plainer) maces measured approximately half a metre in length, making them a good deal more portable than their grander counterparts.<sup>164</sup> The maces of Cashel, Youghal and Castlemartyr typify the design (Figs 26, 32 and 34). Two of the eight sergeant-at-arms maces used by Kilkenny Corporation are extant and, with the arms of France and England decorating the flat top of the semi-spherical heads, are believed to have been produced in the early years of the seventeenth century, if not the sixteenth century (Fig. 36).<sup>165</sup> A more fitting illustration of the pocket mace is the smaller of the pair of extant Belfast maces which date to c.1637. Measuring approximately twenty centimetres in length, its functional attributes are apparent due to its distinct lack of ornamentation, save for the engraved heraldry on the flattened crown of the head (Fig. 37).

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<sup>161</sup>Delamer & O’Brien, *500 years*, p. 63.

<sup>162</sup>CARD, iv, 443.

<sup>163</sup>Gogarty, *Corporation of Drogheda*, p. 58.

<sup>164</sup>The pair of maces made for Cashel in c.1635 are each fifty-three centimetres in length while the Carlow town mace measures nearly fifty-six centimetres. (Delamer & O’Brien, *500 years*, pp 65-6.)

<sup>165</sup>Bradley, *Treasures of Kilkenny*, p. 118.

## 5.4 Maintenance and repair

The evidence relating to the maintenance, repair and alteration of plate arguably offers the most persuasive proof of its considerable use in this period. Though favoured by consumers for its durability, plate was not immune to wear and tear which could occur as a matter of course through daily usage or due to misuse. Richard Boyle complained in 1631 that his ward and son-in-law Lord Kildare had ‘battered & abused my silver trencher plates’ by ‘knocking marybones [marrowbones] vpon them’.<sup>166</sup> More typically, though, the earl’s plate required routine repairs as was the case in August 1641 when he paid the London goldsmith Vaughan £24 for exchanging pieces and for ‘other mendings of plate’.<sup>167</sup> Repairs to plate were also regularly sought by Ireland’s institutional consumers in this period. This is particularly apparent with regard to civic plate, as seen with a petition to Dublin Corporation in October 1633:

Whereas the commons preferred petition ... praying that a present course might bee taken in this assemblie for repaying and amending the cittie plate, which is much broken and defaced: it is therefore ordered, by the authoritie aforesaid, that Mr Maior, sir Thadee Duffe, knight, Mr Alderman Barry, Mr Alderman Jans, Mr Alderman Malone, and Mr Alderman Usher, and the Sheriffes, or any three of them, shall ... viewe and peruse the plate, and soe much of it as is unserviceable or unrepaired to cause to bee amended or altered, at the chardge of the cittie.<sup>168</sup>

A similar observation regarding the condition of the City of London’s plate was made by the English goldsmith Francis Meynell in 1662 who declared that the collection was ‘battered and unhandsome for service’.<sup>169</sup> The maintaining and conserving methods applied to these ‘battered’ pieces and collections of plate represented an important aspect of the consumption of goods in the early-modern period, as Pennell has discussed: ‘[the] part-exchange and repair of objects ... emerge as alternative practices entailing alternative types of early-modern

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<sup>166</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iii, 121.

<sup>167</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, v, 187.

<sup>168</sup>*CARD*, iii, 282.

<sup>169</sup>Glanville, *Silver in England*, p. 314.

consumption'.<sup>170</sup> Moreover, as Donald Woodward has argued, the re-use of durable goods (achieved through recycling and repair) was widespread in pre-industrial Europe due to 'pervasive poverty'.<sup>171</sup> Certainly, the exchanging of worn out old plate for new was usually preferred by consumers, particularly those conscious of current fashions, but due to the higher costs associated with replacing plate and the symbolic attributes attached to items of civic, ceremonial and, indeed, ecclesiastical silver items, the maintenance and repair of pieces was frequently the preferred course of action by consumers in seventeenth-century Ireland.

Several notes contained within the records of municipal corporations indicate items of civic plate underwent heavy usage over long periods of time rendering it in a poor state of repair. The 1633 petition to Dublin Corporation was not unique; in June 1607, the city's assembly ordered for the repair of two sergeants' maces.<sup>172</sup> In 1640 another complaint declared that 'this cities plate is altogether out of repaire and is nowise serviceable' with a decision for the 'changeinge and alteringe such of the said plate as is not serviceable, and for repairing and mendinge at the cities chardges soe much of the plate aforsaide as is serviceable', indicating that the extent of damage to items varied.<sup>173</sup> In 1683 the great mace was found to be 'much broken, out of order, and the gilding worn off'. The goldsmith Edward Harris petitioned Dublin Corporation for the large amount of £27 17s. for his work in remedying these evidently substantial flaws.<sup>174</sup> In Waterford, reparations to civic plate were undertaken on a more modest scale. Peter Madden was paid just 4s. 6d. in 1662 for mending a sergeant's mace and later that year the sheriff agreed with a cutler and goldsmith for mending the city sword 'as cheape as they cann'.<sup>175</sup> The corporation of the town of Trim in County Meath, meanwhile, noted that its 'high mace' was 'oute of repaire' in 1674 and that six days' work was needed to mend it.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>170</sup>Pennell, 'Pots & pans history', pp 209-10.

<sup>171</sup>Donald Woodward, '“Swords into ploughshares”: recycling in pre-industrial England' in *The Economic History Review*, xxviii, no. 2 (May, 1985), pp 175-6.

<sup>172</sup>CARD, ii, 482.

<sup>173</sup>CARD, iii, xxi, 282, 377.

<sup>174</sup>CARD v, 358.

<sup>175</sup>Pender, *Corporation of Waterford*, pp 32, 40.

<sup>176</sup>'Assembly book of the borough of Trim from 1659 to 1720' (NLI MS P 8976, p. 10.)



The mending work performed by goldsmiths for such jobs was, indeed, time consuming and represented a significant portion of goldsmiths' output. Fixing dents and splits and re-soldering broken off components in the metal was just one aspect to repair; the burnishing, re-gilding, re-chasing and cleaning of plate was also required and regularly carried out by goldsmiths. This constituted an important aspect of how they acquired, cultivated and maintained their clientele.<sup>177</sup> The Dublin goldsmith John Pennyfather was engaged by Kilkenny Corporation in 1702 and paid 15s. for 'worke done to, & cleansing of, ye Large Mace' and in 1706 three of the city's smaller maces required the addition of silver in parts of considerable wear, a task for which they employed the city's resident goldsmith Mark Kelly.<sup>178</sup> Swords, too, required ongoing maintenance: in Dublin in 1609 an order was issued for a pommel and cross to be 'newly sett on the king's sworde dayly carried before mr maior' at a cost of £7 15s.<sup>179</sup> In 1681 the goldsmith John Cope petitioned the Corporation for payment for the 'gold, silver, fashion, gilding and graveing' which he added to the sword, reparation tasks which amounted to £6 9s.<sup>180</sup> Eleven years later William Drayton made a new scabbard and carried out repairs to the city's sword (presumably the same one) due to 'the silver being much worn and broken and some pieces lost', underlining the wear and tear to which the much-used sword underwent in a relatively brief period of time.<sup>181</sup> The corporation's sword in Kilkenny also underwent reparations: in November 1621 it was ordered that it was to be 'platted [sic] with silver, and to have an newe Scabard of Velvet' and in 1680, £3 16s. was expended on a 'new covrd scabert, plates, and gilding of the City's Sword'.<sup>182</sup>

The churches equally resorted to repair rather than replacement in the maintenance of their much-used altar wares. This is apparent in many instances with the Church of Ireland in the period. St John's parish in Dublin, as discussed above, paid for the mending of its communion cup in 1623 and, in the year 1637, 6d. was spent mending two 'Dishes for ye Comm table' and 1s for mending one candlestick, though it is unclear whether these additional items were made of silver or pewter.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>177</sup>Glanville, *Silver in England*, pp 78, 186-7.

<sup>178</sup>Prim, 'Corporation insignia of Kilkenny', pp 293, 298.

<sup>179</sup>Blair & Delamer, 'The Dublin civic swords', pp 131-2.

<sup>180</sup>CARD, v, 222-3.

<sup>181</sup>Strickland, 'Civic insignia of Dublin', p. 120.

<sup>182</sup>Prim, 'Corporation insignia of Kilkenny', p. 298.

<sup>183</sup>Refausse, *Vestry records: St John the Evangelist, Dublin*, pp 111, 115.

Christ Church Cathedral regularly disbursed funds for the maintenance of its growing collection of plate, spending 3s. 6d. for mending a candlestick in 1632, £2 for gilding a chalice in 1674 and 2s. 2½d. in 1684 to a goldsmith for mending and weighing the cathedral plate.<sup>184</sup> In 1693 the cathedral paid another goldsmith £1 3s. for burnishing its plate.<sup>185</sup> On two separate occasions in 1690 St Catherine and St James's parish paid 4s. for the mending of the parish communion cups.<sup>186</sup>

The Church of Ireland also maintained its plate through routine cleaning and careful storage. At St Catherine and St James's in 1663 11s. 6d. was paid to the individual responsible for 'washing ye surplus, cleaning ye Candlestick & cleaning ye flagons & cupps for [the] whole yeare' and again in 1666 one Mary Phillips was paid 18s. 6d. for menial tasks which included 'Scouring ye Cups, flaggons, & Candlestick'. The cleaning of the parish's plate and pewter is further listed in the disbursements of 1667, 1668, 1671 and 1679, the latter two years when it was listed as the task of the sexton's wife.<sup>187</sup> Powerscourt parish also paid for the 'scouring' of its plate.<sup>188</sup> Boxes and cases were procured specifically for the safe keeping and storage of these 'scoured' altar wares. St Mary's in Dublin had a wainscoted cupboard with 'Convenient Presses' constructed for that purpose in 1706.<sup>189</sup> Christ Church spent £5 in 1664 on the construction of bespoke cases for 'ye two sorts of Comunion [sic] Plate' which they had repaired in 1680-1. The proctor purchased a canvas bag for other altar silver items the following year, presumably in an effort to minimise dents and damage.<sup>190</sup> Confronted with renewed civil unrest in the country in 1689, the cathedral went to great lengths in order to keep this plate secure, as the proctor's accounts attest, employing the services of the goldsmith Benjamin Burton and others for securing, constructing appropriate cases, transporting, burying, unearthing and cleaning the collection during the two-year period of war.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>184</sup>Muniments of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity commonly called Christ Church, Dublin, Proctor's Accounts 1541-1668 (RCB MSS C/6/1/26/3, C/6/1/15).

<sup>185</sup>Ibid.

<sup>186</sup>Gillespie, *Vestry records: St Catherine & St James, Dublin*, p. 198.

<sup>187</sup>Ibid., pp 68, 79, 93, 116, 201.

<sup>188</sup>RCB MS P 109/1/1, f. 10r.

<sup>189</sup>Vestry book for St Mary's Parish, Dublin (RCB MS P 277/7/1, p. 44).

<sup>190</sup>RCB MS C/6/1/15.

<sup>191</sup>Ibid.

Disbursements 1688-89:

To Mr Burton for keeping the Church Plate	£2 10s.
To Mr Onion for two boxes for the Plate	14s.
for brun [?] & nailes in putting up the Plate	1s. 7d.
To fflood & Wolfe for helping to bury the Plate	12s.

Disbursements 1689-90:

To fflood & Wolfe to taking up the Plate	6s.
To a Carman for bringing it home	1s. 6d.
To a woman for scouring it	6s.

It made financial sense, of course, to conceal such valuable collections but these processes also spoke of a material world in which plate was used and re-used.

## 5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has cast new light on the widespread and regular use of plate in Ireland throughout the seventeenth century. It has shown that, though appreciated and acquired for its financial, decorative and symbolic attributes, plate's practical features were equally valued and utilised by consumers. These concurrent strategies of consumption did not necessarily prioritise one attribute of the material over another, rather it was through the interconnected development of contemporary perceptions of silver as a material that was simultaneously suited to storing capital, advertising taste, conveying status and fulfilling numerous practical functions that it became so ubiquitous and valued in this period. It has been shown that the employment of plate for both symbolic and practical purposes was particularly apparent with regard to items used in ecclesiastical and institutional contexts where the prescription for the use of silver was often articulated. The maintenance and repair of plate by these consumers is particularly illuminating of its value and, indeed, of its frequent and heavy usage. Irish consumers' motivations for 'needing' plate, therefore, be these prescribed or perceived, in no way lessened the value of its utility which this chapter has examined in its numerous forms.

This chapter has also advanced an appreciation of the richly diverse domestic environments of seventeenth-century Ireland, particularly for the earlier decades of the century which have hitherto received little attention. The evidence that centres on the acquisition and consumption habits of the earl of Cork, which is complemented by sources relating to Irish consumers from throughout the period, has positioned the use of plate as an important component in early-modern domestic formation. The use of silver vessels and utensils alongside those of pewter, brass, glass and ceramics for eating, drinking, furnishing and clothing reveals a sophisticated consumer society, keen to partake in contemporary European conventions in equipping public and private domestic spaces. Furthermore, a close reading of the kinds of items of silver owned by the Irish has addressed somewhat the dearth of literature relating to the palates, behaviours and apparel of people from this period. It is clear that a social, consumer evolution was underway from the early-seventeenth century and that the consumption of silver was an important feature of this material world. This more comprehensive grasp of Irish society from this time complements the evidence advanced in earlier chapters of this thesis regarding the economic symbiosis of the production and consumption of silver in Ireland: the widespread utilisation of plate by Irish consumers was undoubtedly a central force in stimulating its production in urban centres.

## Chapter 6

### The meaning of silver in seventeenth-century Ireland

#### 6.0 Introduction

I sent a message to my cozen Tompkins to receive my daughter Goringe if she should be constreigned to come, & lye there, & vse her, & her attendants curteously, & I would gratefie her with so muche plate, as shoulde defraie my daughters expence, & chardge: for money from her, or me, I know, she would not take.<sup>1</sup>

Irish consumers such as the conscientious earl of Cork naturally understood the monetary worth of plate but, equally, they recognised its value in creating, maintaining and defining social relationships. Concomitant to the financial, aesthetic and practical attributes which contributed to silver's favourable position in early-modern Ireland, therefore, were its multiple socio-symbolic functions. Alison FitzGerald examined this 'social currency' of plate with regard to eighteenth-century Irish consumers, identifying the 'extra-material significance' attached to particular items in addition to the symbolic functions of silver in enhancing status through acquisition and display.<sup>2</sup> Her conclusions follow studies undertaken by historians of English silver such as Philippa Glanville whose analysis of the 'sociology of silver' recognised the prominence of plate in domestic and institutional contexts when gifted and bequeathed.<sup>3</sup> More recently, Helen Clifford explored the interplay between the intrinsic, aesthetic and moral worth of silver in tracing the attitudes of eighteenth-century English consumers.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, she has considered the tradition and legacy of the presentation of plate in relation to Oxford University's collection.<sup>5</sup> These less tangible, but no less important, features constituted a significant motivation for silver's widespread production and consumption, though they have

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<sup>1</sup>Extract from Richard Boyle's diary, October 1633. (*Lismore papers: diaries*, iii, pp 214-5.)

<sup>2</sup>FitzGerald, 'Goldsmiths' work in eighteenth-century Dublin', pp 164-182.

<sup>3</sup>Glanville, *Silver in England*, pp 302-337.

<sup>4</sup>Helen Clifford, 'Of consuming cares: attitudes to silver in the eighteenth century', *Silver Society Journal*, vol. 12, (2000), pp 53-8.

<sup>5</sup>Clifford, *A treasured inheritance*, pp 19-34.

yet to be comprehensively discussed in relation to seventeenth-century Ireland. As discussed in earlier chapters, Irish elite society in the seventeenth century was characterised by a diversity of social, ethnic and confessional features which contrast with the more homogenous anglicised and Protestant profile of the country's eighteenth-century aristocracy. Furthermore, the kinds of objects that were consumed and, indeed, the ways in which they were used differed to the patterns of consumption evident in the Georgian period. Through an integrated examination of consumers and extant silver this chapter will, therefore, examine the methods in which individuals and institutions used plate as a status symbol, as an instrument in the creation and maintenance of social bonds and for commemoration and legacy-making purposes in seventeenth-century Ireland.

The meanings created and attached by society to material goods is a subject that has been extensively discussed in numerous critical and theoretical texts.<sup>6</sup> Among these are publications concerned more specifically with the consumption of luxury goods in the early modern period.<sup>7</sup> How expensive commodities were used to make the 'right impression' was a common preoccupation in Stuart and Georgian Ireland and silver's role in this social process was significant.<sup>8</sup> To return to Douglas and Isherwood:

It is standard ethnographic practice to assume that all material possessions carry social meaning and to concentrate a main part of cultural analysis upon their use as communicators. [...] material possessions provide food and covering ... but at the same time it is apparent that [they] have another important use: they also make and maintain social relationships.<sup>9</sup>

Though the types of goods, methods of acquisition and the ways in which objects were used in the early modern period contrast with modern practices, the multi-

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<sup>6</sup>Veblen, *The theory of the leisure class*; Douglas & Isherwood, *The world of goods*; Russell W. Belk, 'Possessions and the extended self' in *Journal of Consumer Research*, xv, no. 2 (Sept., 1988), pp 139-68; Brewer & Porter, *Consumption & the world of goods*; Ian Woodward, *Understanding material culture*, (London, 2007).

<sup>7</sup>Levy Peck, *Court patronage and corruption*; Peter Burke, 'Res et verba: conspicuous consumption in the early modern world' in Brewer & Porter, *Consumption & the world of goods*, pp 148-161; Lorna Weatherill, 'The meaning of consumer behaviour in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England', in Brewer & Porter, *Consumption & the world of goods*, pp 206-17; Zemon Davis, *The gift in sixteenth-century France*; Barnard, *Grand figure*; Whittle & Griffiths, *Consumption and gender*.

<sup>8</sup>Barnard, *Grand figure*, pp xxi, 122-50.

<sup>9</sup>Douglas & Isherwood, *The world of goods*, pp 38-9.

dimensional role of material goods within society has not altered a great deal. In addition to examining the evidence demonstrating consumers' deployment of plate for socio-symbolic purposes this chapter will draw on general and specific theoretical studies in order to thoroughly examine the 'meaning' of silver in seventeenth-century Irish society. It is illuminating to position the consumption of plate within this framework in order to understand how luxury objects operated as both functional and expressive agents of social intercourse in this period.

## 6.1 Display and status

I paid Mr Barnard the dutche factor for Mr Lattfewe, one *Cli.* ster [£100] which I purposed to haue added to some other moneis I had in London, to furnishe my howse of Lismoor with plate.<sup>10</sup>

Russell Belk developed the thesis that connected the use and display of possessions with the concept of the 'extended self'.<sup>11</sup> Though admittedly not a novel view (he traced the evolution of theoretical explorations concerning materialism and identity back to the 1890 writings of William James), he clarified the numerous psychological and social factors underpinning the motivation to project an image of 'self-plus-possession'. Among these features of selfhood and consumer behaviour was the linking of objects with personal history, nostalgia, a desire to create personal legacy and status.<sup>12</sup> This is echoed by Peter Burke who argued that status seeking is one of the messages desired by consumers in the presentation of self through consumption.<sup>13</sup> This is certainly apparent with regard to consumers of the early modern period when individuals of means actively consumed goods to which they aligned their rank and identity: 'Material goods were used to reinforce and enhance social status by embodying wealth. All the most expensive objects ... were on regular display.'<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Extract from Richard Boyle's diary, December 1624 (*Lismore papers: diaries*, ii, 146).

<sup>11</sup>Belk, 'Possessions & the extended self', pp 139-68.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup>Burke, 'Conspicuous consumption in the early modern world', p. 149.

<sup>14</sup>Whittle & Griffiths, *Consumption & gender*, pp 146-7.

As contended in chapter three, the unique ethnic and religious mix of Ireland's elite in the seventeenth century created anxieties regarding status as well as the desire to announce legitimacy. As a New English immigrant with tenuous claims to nobility, Richard Boyle's strategies to regularly 'furnish' Lismore Castle with collections of decorative and practical silverwares can be readily understood when socially-conscious motivations are taken into consideration. Nicholas Canny believes that the earl's insecurity regarding his lack of noble ancestry and his desire to manufacture legitimate status were the primary motivators for his lavish expenditure.<sup>15</sup> His acquisitions spoke of a continuous aspiration to advance his social prestige and perceptions of his considerable wealth and power. These visual manifestations of wealth were central to bolstering him against accusations of social pretensions but this materialism, ironically, also fuelled the snobbery of Thomas Wentworth (Lord Deputy of Ireland (1632-9), and other English aristocrats who sneered that the 'upstart' Boyle regarded himself as 'great and magnificent' and that he had boasted he was 'a better gentleman than any Geraldine'.<sup>16</sup> Such criticisms did not succeed in curtailing the earl's ambitions for magnificence as he continued to disburse funds throughout the 1620s and 1630s on luxury goods, furnishings and clothing. Jane Ohlmeyer's analysis of Boyle's expenditure for the period 1637-41 concluded that the pattern of his spending, though his income was extraordinarily high and he was unencumbered with debts, was typical of Irish aristocrats and middle-ranking lords, many of whom borrowed in order to project a state of grandeur. Furthermore:

Members of the titled nobility were expected to live in a style commensurate with their rank and status ... While this did not represent a revolutionary departure for Irish lords, who traditionally indulged in elaborate feasts and costly entertainment, the *scale* and *form* of expenditure underwent radical change after 1603. In order to demonstrate publicly their superior social status, their 'civility', and above all, their 'Englishness', Irish magnates now had no alternative but to engage in almost frenzied spending.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Canny, *Upstart earl*, pp 42-3.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>17</sup>Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, pp 389, 401-6.



Such frenzied acquisition of expensive goods saw Richard Boyle devote large portions of his London shopping excursions to the accumulation of new plate amongst other luxury household wares, as was the case in October 1628:

and so spent since the xxi<sup>th</sup> of Aprill 1628, that I left Lismoor till this 22 of October 1628, 2862*li.* 19*s.* 4*d.* ster., of which laid owt for plate, Silver vessel, Tapestry hangings, bedding, Lynnen, pewter, brass, and other vtensils much about one thowsand pownd.<sup>18</sup>

As shown in chapter three, Boyle spent at least £2,500 on silver in the period 1612-41. The inventory of the entire collection of the considerably less affluent earl of Thomond's plate, valued at just over £770, pales in comparison to this unprecedented and extravagant materialism.<sup>19</sup> Boyle kept an inventory of his growing plate collection, which he referred to as his 'book of plate & howshowld stuff', managed by his servant William Barber, in order to keep account of the quantities, location and value of each item.<sup>20</sup> This is no longer extant but its necessity is an indication of the large volumes of plate he owned and transported between his households in Lismore, Youghal, Dublin and England. Boyle's son Orrery adopted his father's spendthrift ways in the Restoration period in the furnishing and equipping of his homes at Charleville and Castlemartyr. His investments in furnishings and luxury goods, according to Barnard, were closely connected to his social and political ambitions. On his death, his widow inherited his plate, amounting to over 3,700oz.<sup>21</sup> Unlike his father, though, Orrery had to borrow in order to meet these expenses.<sup>22</sup> As Ohlmeyer noted, many members of the Irish elite became insolvent in the pursuit of conspicuous consumption.<sup>23</sup> Disbursements on collections of domestic silver undoubtedly contributed to this as consumers sought to emulate the glittering standards of fashion and refinement established by the country's leading aristocrat, the duke of Ormond, whose household plate in 1684 amounted to a phenomenal 22,000oz.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, ii., 283.

<sup>19</sup>O'Dalaigh, 'Inventory of Bunratty Castle', pp 139-165.

<sup>20</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iv, 51.

<sup>21</sup>Barnard, *Protestant ascents & descents*, p. 55. 3,700oz was an enormous collective weight of silver. The weight of a tankard, a typical domestic item, was approximately twelve ounces.

<sup>22</sup>Barnard, *Protestant ascents & descents*, p. 49.

<sup>23</sup>Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, p. 418.

<sup>24</sup>Sinsteden, 'Plate of the dukes of Ormond', p. 125.

Typical of Ireland's wealthy consumers in the seventeenth century, the bulk of Richard Boyle's plate was acquired primarily for the equipping and embellishing of his buffet and dining table. The concentration of these items in the 'dining chamber' (or 'dining parlour') was not accidental as this was the principle room where family and visitors assembled.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, as a collection, the mass of plate implicitly expressed the owner's confidence in its visual impact on viewers in its compelling display of wealth:

Goods assembled together in ownership make physical, visible statements about the hierarchy of values to which their chooser subscribes. Goods can be cherished or judged inappropriate, discarded and replaced ... [and] in their assemblage present a set of meanings more or less coherent, more or less intentional.<sup>26</sup>

The principal trappings of collections of display plate were established in the centuries preceding the Stuart period and generally consisted of substantial vessels – sets of ewers and basins, standing salts, standing cups and two-handled cups – whose original practical utility had, in many ways, been superseded by their widely-understood value in exhibiting capital. The collective statement of such wares was enhanced even further when the items were gilded, in acknowledgement of their visual distinction and greater expense. Among the large consignment of plate purchased by Boyle from Viscount Ranelagh in February 1631 was a silver-gilt basin and ewer, two silver-gilt covered bowls, a silver-gilt standing cup, two silver-gilt flagons and two 'great' silver-gilt standing salts amounting to a substantial 513oz.<sup>27</sup>

Sets of ewers and basins were weighty and expensive and, consequently, a fitting marker of status. No Irish-made set from this earlier period survives but their weight was commensurate with those manufactured in England – the Dublin goldsmith William Hampton submitted one for assay in 1638 totalling 117oz, just a dozen ounces less than the silver-gilt set among the plate of 'London touch' in the

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<sup>25</sup>'The unqualified term 'dining-room' ... did not acquire its modern meaning until some time in the second half of the seventeenth century and this meaning was not generally accepted until well into the next century ... What primarily distinguished a dining-room ... was the presence of a buffet (alias a cup-board) or sideboards at which drink could be dispensed or which would be of assistance to the servants in performing their duties during the meal.' (Thornton, *Seventeenth-century interior decoration*, pp 282; 284.)

<sup>26</sup>Douglas and Isherwood, *The world of goods*, ix.

<sup>27</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iii, 126.

1639 Bunratty Castle inventory.<sup>28</sup> Originally used by diners to rinse their hands after eating, they were no longer needed for this function as flatware and cutlery gradually came into wider use, moving the set from the table to the sideboard for display.<sup>29</sup> As such, they became more associated with presentation plate and were suitable gifts for gestures of courtesy, the commemoration of individuals and for marking celebrations. Wills, inventories and assay submissions reveal their popularity in early-seventeenth century Ireland: Thomas Butler, the tenth earl of Ormond, had one set of silver-gilt and two further of 'white' (i.e. not gilt) plate in 1603.<sup>30</sup> Among the several sets owned and presented by Richard Boyle was one he paid £20 for as a gift to his cousin's child on the occasion of his christening.<sup>31</sup> The sparse early records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company show that at least seven ewers and six basins were assayed in 1638-49.<sup>32</sup>

Standing salt cellars, produced and acquired in great volumes in the early and mid-seventeenth century, were also originally practical vessels whose form and material reflected the great value of their precious contents.<sup>33</sup> By the early-modern period their role had become more symbolic, positioned on the dining table to the right of the host as an indication of status. Their description in Irish sources reflects the perception of their figurative importance: the 1611 will of Henry Shee of Kilkenny listed a 'greate gilt silver salte'<sup>34</sup>, the 1628 inventory for Geashill included 'four great silver salts',<sup>35</sup> and Bunratty's list of Dublin plate included one 'great standing salt cellar'.<sup>36</sup> Larger salts of the spool-shaped pattern with applied scrolls served the additional function of receiving a decorative piece of fabric or elevating an important dish on the dining table (Fig. 125).<sup>37</sup> Institutional records also reveal standing salts featured prominently among the stock of plate: Dublin Corporation owned a gilded standing salt and cover in 1599, Dublin's guild of tailors listed a

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<sup>28</sup>The plate of 'London touch' in the 1639 Bunratty Castle inventory lists a silver-gilt ewer and basin with a combined weight of 132 ounces. (O'Dalaigh, 'Inventory of Bunratty Castle'.); DGC MS 13, f. 2.

<sup>29</sup>Glanville & Young, *Elegant eating*, pp 22-5.

<sup>30</sup>'White', i.e. not gilded silver. (Fenlon, *Goods & chattels*, pp 16-7).

<sup>31</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, ii, p. 28.

<sup>32</sup>Sinsteden, 'Selected assay records', p. 146.

<sup>33</sup>Glanville, *Silver in England*, pp 42-4.

<sup>34</sup>Will of Henry Shee, Kilkenny, 1611 (NAI MS RC/5/5, p. 772).

<sup>35</sup>Fenlon, *Goods & chattels*, p. 22.

<sup>36</sup>O'Dalaigh, *Inventory of Bunratty Castle*, pp 139-65.

<sup>37</sup>Taylor, *Silver*, p. 124.

double gilt salt in their property in 1633 and Trinity College noted the coining of one gilt salt and one double gilt salt in 1647.<sup>38</sup>

The display value of these large salts and ewer and basin sets, among other items of sideboard plate, is underscored when the consumption patterns of less-wealthy consumers from the period are considered. In imitation of the elite, lesser nobility, members of the gentry and merchant classes sought to transmit similar expressions of their means and social standing through their display of choice items of plate associated with drinking and dining. This section of society, as observed by Whittle and Griffiths with regard to early-seventeenth century England, carefully invested in vessels and items of silver associated with display but on a day-to-day basis they used pewter and other cheaper wares at the dining table.<sup>39</sup> The wills and household inventories of Irish merchants and gentry from this period suggest, with the exception of the widespread use of silver spoons, a similar priority given to purchases of plate for this purpose: Andrew Galwey and Christopher Galwey, both aldermen of Cork city, bequeathed standing cups, standing salt cellars, silver-gilt cups and goblets to their families in 1580 and 1582 respectively, with no mention of any other items of household plate.<sup>40</sup> The merchant Robert Fitzsymons listed dozens of pewter dishes and pots in his inventory of 1600, but had just ‘one salt seller [sic] and one silver tanckard [sic], double gilt’ along with a silver goblet and an aquavita cup in the 1600 inventory of his comfortable Dublin house.<sup>41</sup> The majority of the silver, valued at £24, in Sir John Mare’s household inventory in 1636 was also for display purposes; a ewer and basin, a silver standing cup and a salt, together with five beer bowls and seven spoons, formed the collection of silver at his home in Croghan, King’s County.<sup>42</sup>

The lingering symbolic function of ewer and basin sets and standing salts as high status, symbolic pieces can be appreciated by the evidence of their continued use by domestic consumers towards the end of the century and their continued

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<sup>38</sup>CARD, ii, xi; Documents of the Guild of Tailors of Dublin (DCA MS 80), f. 77r; Bennett, *Silver collection, Trinity College Dublin*, p. 135.

<sup>39</sup>Whittle & Griffiths, *Consumption & gender*, p. 144.

<sup>40</sup>Caulfield, ‘Wills & inventories, Cork’, pp 257-62.

<sup>41</sup>Fenlon, *Goods & chattels*, pp 13-14.

<sup>42</sup>Brian Mac Cuarta SJ, ‘Sir John Mare’s inventory of Croghan, King’s County, 1636’ in *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*, xix, no.1 (2000-1) pp 206-17.

manufacture by Irish goldsmiths into the early-eighteenth century. The duke of Ormond's 1674-84 collection of plate listed three 'plain' and three 'chased' ewers along with six oval and two round basins. Two 'large silver square salts' were also included in the list, weighing forty-five ounces between them, contrasting with the twenty-four trencher salts which weighed just nine ounces more.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, Ambrose Bedell of Carne, County Cavan included his 'greate salt of silver' along with his two small trencher salts in his 1682 will differentiating, as many did, between the older, larger decorative piece and the newer, more practical dining vessels.<sup>44</sup> A silver-gilt ewer and basin set engraved with royal arms and marked by the Dublin goldsmith John Humphreys was hallmarked in 1693-5 while Thomas Bolton marked an elaborate, helmet-shaped ewer in 1699 showing that their popularity endured right up to the final decades of the Stuart period (Figs 86 and 146). Within the ensuing century, however, these items were seldom to be found in Irish dining rooms. The duke of Leinster's famously extravagant London-made dining service, produced in 1745-7, did not include ewers and basins, standing salts or standing cups among its 190 pieces.<sup>45</sup> Dublin goldsmiths' output also revealed the changing preferences among Irish consumers whose acquisitions of epergnes, dish rings and tureens were items more typically associated with conspicuous consumption in the eighteenth century.<sup>46</sup>

Older display vessels such as standing cups and two-handled cups did endure within institutions. This was as much to do with the longevity afforded to gifted civic and ceremonial pieces as it was to do with their continued symbolic function in reinforcing a corporation's ambitions for high status and its members' shared identity. For example, successive generations within Dublin Corporation issued instructions regarding the repair and maintenance of its collection of plate – most of it used for ceremony and display – which, in 1640, made provision for the 'great standing cuppes bestowed by noblemen [which] shall not bee alt[e]red, but onelie mended upon the cities chardge'.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, Dublin Corporation and other institutions, continued to acquire vessels such as standing cups and two-handled cups

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<sup>43</sup>Sinsteden, 'Plate of the dukes of Ormond', p. 130.

<sup>44</sup>Will of Ambrose Bedell of Carne, Co Cavan, Esq, 22 Jun. 1682 (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, f. 381).

<sup>45</sup>John Cornforth, *Early Georgian interiors* (Yale, 2004), p. 110.

<sup>46</sup>Sinsteden, 'Selected assay records', p. 155; FitzGerald & O'Brien, 'Production of silver in late-Georgian Dublin, pp 21-2.

<sup>47</sup>CARD, iii, 377.

in the late-seventeenth century. Trinity College's late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth lists of plate are dominated by cups of substantial weight (with and without covers) identified by the names of their donors.<sup>48</sup> Like civic corporations and guilds, the college used and displayed these cups in ceremonial contexts. Their survival attests to their enduring function as status markers with the required level of visual prominence for display (Figs 24, 38 and 39). The two-handled cup (or 'loving cup') gained greater prominence in the last decade of the century, becoming a permanent fixture in the practice of communal drinking, ceremonial display and prize giving in the eighteenth century (Fig. 147).<sup>49</sup>

Both institutional and domestic consumers embellished their silverwares with heraldry. As shown in chapter four, this was a widespread decorative device. It also implicitly signalled the utilisation of plate for display. Such ornament, used since the late-twelfth century, arguably served as an additional expression of wealth and status, supplying an explicit visual connection between owners and their possessions. As Glanville has discussed, it was considered essential for armigerous families to decorate their display and presentation plate with their heraldry in the early-modern period: 'From the sixteenth century the most consistent use of armorials, whether engraved, cast and applied or enamelled on bosses, was on sideboard plate intended for display throughout the meal.'<sup>50</sup> The language of heraldry was commonly understood in this period and its application to plate facilitated what Ian Woodward has identified as the 'categorical function' of status symbols; seventeenth-century society could 'read' the credentials of owners from the engraved arms on silver and, consequently, socially place the consumer.<sup>51</sup> Title, lineage and marriage alliances were all concisely communicated through an engraved coat-of-arms.<sup>52</sup> In early-seventeenth century Ireland there was an acute awareness of this as Gaelic Irish, Old English and New English peers and landholders jostled for pre-eminence. This situation was heightened by the 'drastic enlargement' of the Irish peerage during the

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<sup>48</sup>Bennett, *Silver collection, Trinity College Dublin*, pp 146-50.

<sup>49</sup>Sinsteden, 'Selected assay records', p. 155; FitzGerald & O'Brien, 'Production of silver in late-Georgian Dublin', p. 21.

<sup>50</sup>Glanville, *Silver in England*, pp 197-210.

<sup>51</sup>Woodward, *Understanding material culture*, p. 114.

<sup>52</sup>Ailfrid Mac Lochlainn, 'The interpretation of heraldry' in *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society*, xii, no. 4 (1952), pp 239-42.

reigns of James I and Charles I with the bulk of new titles created in the 1620s.<sup>53</sup>

This transformation of the landscape of the Irish elite inevitably brought social contention:

Between 1603 and 1641 the Crown conferred 116 peerages upon eighty-five individuals, eighty of whom were new to the ranks of the Irish nobility. Of these eighty new peers, only twenty-four were Irish or Anglo-Irish while six were Scots. The fact that the remaining fifty – approaching two-thirds – were Englishmen provoked Sir Edward Walker in the mid-seventeenth century to observe that “many Persons who could not procure Titles of Honour in England, for Money and other Reasons have with great ease gotten them . . . [in Ireland]; so as there is hardly a Town of note, much less a County, but hath some Earl, Viscount or Baron of it”. It was a double misfortune, he added, for it made the Irish unhappy to see strangers ennobled when they were not, while on the other hand it made the English lords furious to see their equals, or in some cases inferiors, take place before them.<sup>54</sup>

Old English lawyer, Richard Hadsor, arguing in his early-1620s tract ‘Advertisements for Ireland’ in favour of the old Irish order, advocated for the reform of the Herald’s Office – established in the mid-sixteenth century – so that his contemporaries would ‘know their own arms, descents and pedigree as a bulwark against the *nouveau riche*’.<sup>55</sup>

Regardless of the power of heraldry to communicate legitimacy, however, recently-created peers such as the earl of Cork enthusiastically applied their newly-augmented arms to their buildings, furniture, paintings, luxury wares and tombstones in recognition of their ability to convey title, status and powerful alliances. Boyle’s meticulous instructions conveyed his preoccupation with the matter: in April 1639 he commissioned a Bristol mason to decorate his chimney pieces and staircase at his house in Stalbridge in Dorset, specifying that the arms should be ‘compleate’ with crest, helmet, coronet, supporters and mantling.<sup>56</sup> He also ensured his plate was appropriately engraved with the emblems of his title. In 1624 his London agent Sir John Leeke wrote to him explaining that he had ‘some troble to gett armes’ because his usual source was not in town, indicating the intricacy involved in faithfully

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<sup>53</sup>Charles R. Mayes, ‘The early Stuarts and the Irish peerage’ in *The English Historical Review*, lxxiii, no. 287 (Apr. 1958), pp 227-51.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 247.

<sup>55</sup>Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, pp 72-3.

<sup>56</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, v, 84.

reproducing arms. Leeke was happy to report, however, that he found Boyle's old baronetcy arms and another engraver who could add his earl's coronet and appurtenances.<sup>57</sup> In March 1631/2 Boyle's order to Nathaniel Stoughton for a ewer and basin, forty-eight large plates and eight candlesticks included the instruction to have 'my armes engraven on them',<sup>58</sup> and in February 1634/5 he paid the Dublin goldsmith William Cook for engraving his son's arms on two flagons.<sup>59</sup> Boyle's prioritisation for engraved heraldry on silver was so consistent that when he presented a dozen trencher plates to his friend Lady Clayton the following February, he made sure these were each to be engraved with her arms, and, when he purchased a second-hand silver kettle, cistern and ladle in London in 1641, he paid an additional £4 to erase the previous owner's arms and re-engrave them with his own 'with supporters [sic]'.<sup>60</sup>

The earl of Cork's application of heraldry to substantial items of silver associated with display *and* practical items used for dining and drinking indicated material extravagance and an eagerness to constantly advertise his ensigns. He was one of the earliest Irish consumers who established a practice which the wealthy were to develop in the later decades of the century in engraving suites of tableware with coats-of-arms and crests. This was in keeping with the prevailing trend in Britain – more evident from the Restoration period onwards – and assisted in the identification of items. Boyle's son, Lord Orrery ordered a set of dinner plates which were to be engraved with his crest in 1666.<sup>61</sup> The Ormonds' inventories of plate detailed that among the 8,775oz of silver taken from St. James's Square to Ireland in 1702 were twelve forks and spoons which were noted to have arms 'at large' while sixty knives, forty-eight forks and thirty-six spoons were simply embellished with crests. Meanwhile, a list of plate belonging to the duchess included a silver-gilt chocolate cup, plate and silver warming pan which were all identified as being 'without arms or crest', underlining the unusual feature of the small set in their lack of engraved heraldry.<sup>62</sup> The 'Dublin Intelligence' newspaper reported in 1693 that a servant had stolen from Garrat Wall of Coolenamucky, County Waterford a dozen

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<sup>57</sup>*Lismore papers: correspondence*, iii, 121.

<sup>58</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iii, 132.

<sup>59</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries* iv, 73.

<sup>60</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iv, 162, 183, 187.

<sup>61</sup>Barnard, *Protestant ascents & descents*, p. 56.

<sup>62</sup>Sinsteden, 'Plate of the dukes of Ormond', pp 132-3.



silver spoons ‘on each of which is engraved, the coat of arms of the family of the Wall’s, which is a Lion Rampart with three crosses quartered with nine Gold Martlets’, both illustrating the adoption of the fashion in provincial Ireland and the identifying function of engraved arms.<sup>63</sup> Less-wealthy consumers had to be more selective and reserved the application of arms to prominent items: Francis King, of Radooney, County Sligo singled out ‘one Silver boule with my own Armes upon it’ amongst his bequests in 1664 while, amongst the items of plate in the will of Thomas Bourke of Dublin city the following year was a silver tankard ‘marked with my Coat of Armes’.<sup>64</sup>

Aside from the ubiquitous application of civic and royal arms to insignia, institutions applied their arms and those of their patrons on display-worthy items both received and bestowed: Dublin’s tailors’ guild noted a silver tankard among its property in 1651 which was embellished with the guild’s arms.<sup>65</sup> Dublin Corporation paid the goldsmith Richard Lord £12 6d in 1665 for ‘dipicting [sic]’ the arms of several important freemen of the city on items of plate marking their honorary freedom and, when Waterford Corporation presented a gold box to the earl of Clarendon in 1686, it was decided that the substantial item should have ‘the citty armes engraven’.<sup>66</sup> The items identified by the engraved arms of their donors in Trinity College’s collection in the first decade of the seventeenth century were chiefly display vessels: college pots, goblets, cups and bowls. Among them was an item from Lord Cromwell described as a ‘standing piece with his arms’ and a silver cup given by ‘Neile the seniour’ with ‘armes on hande’.<sup>67</sup> Though it was a requirement for incoming students to present such expensive items to the college, individuals used the opportunity to advertise their family’s credentials on objects which would have received prominent usage (Figs 52 and 69).

Donations of church plate also reveal, with their engraved armorials, the desire by religious benefactors to publicise their personal and familial status. An early Church of Ireland example is the Nicholas Loftus communion cup which, donated in

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<sup>63</sup>*Dublin Intelligence*, 1-22 Apr. 1693 (NLI MS (reel 59)).

<sup>64</sup>Will of Francis King, Radooney, Co Sligo, 19 Oct. 1664; Will of Thomas Bourke, Dublin, 6 Apr. 1665 (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, ff 50v, 168v).

<sup>65</sup>DCA MS 80, f. 78r.

<sup>66</sup>DCA MS MR 36, 1651-1717), f. 241r; Pender, *Corporation of Waterford*, xv.

<sup>67</sup>Bennett, *Silver collection, Trinity College*, pp 142-3.

1639, is engraved with a discreet and unelaborate armorial (Fig. 21).<sup>68</sup> More obvious is a Limerick-made cup given by Lady Elizabeth Southwell to Rathkeale parish church in 1703 which is dominated by her family arms, complete with rampant crest and scrolling plumed mantling (Fig. 85). Examples are less evident among pieces belonging to the Catholic faith.<sup>69</sup> However, the ‘Cornelius and Catherine Yelverton’ chalice (c.1640) has on one of the facets of the hexagonal foot heraldic symbols of three lions rampant, a helmet engraved with a trefoil, a lion rampant as its crest and the motto ‘Non vi virtute melius’ (Fig. 148).<sup>70</sup>

## 6.2 Creating and maintaining social bonds: gifts and bequests

Portable luxury objects were considered entirely suitable for initiating and sustaining relationships, enriching and flattering recipients and reflecting the wealth and generosity of the donor in the early-modern period. For ambitious individuals such as the earl of Cork, the presentation of domestic plate to family members, peers, superiors, and political figures was, generally, borne out of the motivation to further personal interests.<sup>71</sup> His diary note regarding his disbursement of New Year’s gifts in January 1628/9 is illustrative of the full extent of this extravagance and the frequent usage of silver as a suitable token of his desire to compliment important individuals:

Given this day those new years guiftes following, viz, to the Lo[rd] Treasurer a great gilt covered cup weighing 63 oz 11 gr[ains] at vijs. vjd. the ownce, to thearle of Mowntgomery the lyke, to the Lo[rd] Keeper coventrie the lyke, to the L[ord] privie Seale the lyke, To the Lo[rd] of Dorchester the lyke, To Sir Frances Cottington the lyke. To thearle of pembrock, Lo[rd] high steward, a great cream bowl guylt ... To thearle of Holland a curious silver chafing dishe ... To Sir Humfrey Maie a silver standish, and a pair of silver snuffers ... To Sir Wm Jones a standish of silver, a candlestick of silver, & a pair of snuffers of silver.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>Sweeny, *Irish Stuart silver*, p. 30.

<sup>69</sup>Buckley’s catalogue of Irish Catholic altar plate (*Irish altar plate*), includes just nine examples of chalices embellished with heraldry.

<sup>70</sup>Buckley, *Irish altar plate*, p. 79.

<sup>71</sup>Boyle’s political appointments included Lord Justice of Ireland (1629) and Lord Treasurer of Ireland (1631).

<sup>72</sup>Extract from the diary of Richard Boyle, Jan. 1628/9 (*Lismore papers: diaries*, ii, 293).

These gifts were also indicative of a grandiose self-image of boundless generosity and benevolence. Like many of his contemporaries, Boyle was mirroring the behaviour at royal courts when, particularly on the occasion of the New Year, gifts were presented by those seeking to ingratiate themselves into the king's favour, a custom which can be dated to the early sixteenth century and which lasted until the last quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>73</sup> The practice of gift-giving was intricately bound up with Renaissance humanist ideals which centred on the language of benefits, patronage, reciprocity and virtue. In the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, virtue, it was understood, 'included the giving of favour and reward' and gift-giving embodied this highly ritualistic and symbolic process.<sup>74</sup>

Gifted silver or silver-gilt objects were undoubtedly appreciated for their monetary and aesthetic worth, but their principal value was in their symbolic function inasmuch as they reflected on the status of the relationship at the centre of the exchange:

Early modern European society, based on a patronage system, was thoroughly imbued with a highly codified rhetoric of gift-making, which depended on one's belonging to the circle of beneficiaries at court or in the family... While a favour paid for in money might put an end to a relationship of patronage, gift exchange continued to sustain it, since its incommensurability kept a feeling of obligation alive in the person receiving it... A gift enabled one to start or strengthen a relationship of fidelity, by cultivating a feeling of dependence.<sup>75</sup>

In addition, the gifting of objects was not simply a symbol of the message of admiration, support or affection; the object constituted the information itself, for without them the intercourse between both parties ceased to exist: 'In being offered, accepted, or refused, they either reinforce or undermine existing boundaries.'<sup>76</sup> The physical function of items of plate in these contexts and their consumption thereafter, therefore, was of great significance. Furthermore, the value of the exchange could be perpetuated by the status conferred on it by its recipient who ensured that the association between the giver and the object endured. The wills of seventeenth-

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<sup>73</sup>Glanville, *Silver in England*, pp 324, 327; Levy-Peck, *Court patronage & corruption*, pp 1-19; Zemon Davis, *The gift in sixteenth-century France*, pp 18-23.

<sup>74</sup>Levy-Peck, *Court patronage & corruption*, p. 13.

<sup>75</sup>Diana Carrioinvernizzi, 'Gift and diplomacy in seventeenth century Spanish Italy' in *The Historical Journal*, li, no. 4 (Dec. 2008), pp 881-99.

<sup>76</sup>Douglas & Isherwood, *The world of goods*, p. 49.

century Irish individuals are illuminating in this regard: Thomas Butler specified a silver-gilt ewer and basin ‘which my Lord of Arundel gave’ in the will and deeds of Kilkenny Castle in 1604 while one of the chief items bequeathed by Lord Longford to his wife in 1628 was ‘the cup which my Lord Grandison gave unto her at our marriage’, both instances revealing that its chief value was in its association with the donor and the occasion of its original presentation.<sup>77</sup> Similarly, the will of John Steevens of Athlone, dated 1682, included a silver tankard which he bequeathed to his daughter and described it as that ‘wch was given mee by the Inhabitants of this Burrough of Athlone’.<sup>78</sup>

The superiority of gifts of silver in strengthening personal relationships was acknowledged by Richard Boyle when he sought a fitting compensation for his cousin’s accommodation of his daughter Lettice in 1633. As shown at the outset of this chapter, the suitability of gifting plate to her rather than other remuneration was spelled out by the earl who reflected that ‘I would gratefie her with so muche plate ... for money from her, or me, I know, she would not take.’<sup>79</sup> An object (or objects) of high intrinsic worth which could boast additional value with aesthetic, symbolic and practical features was clearly regarded as a more appropriate reward than cash following transactions conducted on a peer-to-peer basis. Furthermore, gifts of plate were considered a fitting reflection of the relationship status between the giver and the receiver. The alternative – a gift of cash or, indeed, no gift at all – would diminish or damage the relationship.

Silver also played a central role in the celebration of important rites of passage. Both Glanville and Clifford have noted that plate was acquired by individuals or presented by third parties at baptisms, marriages and deaths where it played an essential role in initiating, maintaining and celebrating relationships.<sup>80</sup> This practice was certainly evident from the late-sixteenth century in Ireland: among the pawned effects in the 1582 will of the Cork alderman Maurice Roche FitzEdmunde was a standing cup ‘had in marriage’ belonging to Margaret Roche and Maurice of

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<sup>77</sup>FitzGerald & Peill, *Irish furniture*, pp 13-14; ‘Testamentary records of Lettice Evoryna O’Hanlon’, pp 180-9.

<sup>78</sup>Will of John Steevens, Athlone, CoWestmeath, 1682 (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, f. 421).

<sup>79</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iii, 214-5.

<sup>80</sup>Glanville, *Silver in England*, p. 302, Clifford, ‘Attitudes to silver in the eighteenth century’, pp 55-8.

Desmond.<sup>81</sup> As noted above Francis Aungier, Lord Longford, who died in 1632, listed in his will a cup given to his wife from Lord Grandison on the occasion of their marriage. Richard Boyle, as god-father to his cousin Gerrald Lowther's first son, named Richard, presented the infant with a basin and ewer on the occasion of his christening.<sup>82</sup> In 1677 the duke of Ormond purchased a set of 'dressing plate' which, an inventory detailed, was 'Given to Mrs Eyres at her wedding',<sup>83</sup> and, the following decade, the rector of Clonsheene, Queen's County, Richard Segar, specified in his will that his granddaughter Mary Whittle was to receive a silver caudle cup and cover, but not until her marriage.<sup>84</sup>

Richard Boyle's grandest gifts of silver were those he presented to his family and close friends and the occasion for their presentation often coincided with important events or instances which maintained or elevated the family's status. In April 1628, for example, he presented a basin and ewer to his daughter Alice, Countess Barrymore, shortly after her husband, David Barry, had been invested as earl of Barrymore.<sup>85</sup> In June and July of that same year he purchased £800 worth of 'vessell & plate' for his son Lewis, who at nine years of age, was created first viscount of Kilnameaky. In September 1634, the earl gifted the finest items from the collection of plate he purchased from Viscount Ranelagh, the silver-gilt pieces, to his new daughter-in-law Lady Elizabeth Clifford, the new Lady Dungarvan, 'for her welcome into Ireland'.<sup>86</sup> This extravagant presentation was as much about the earl's generosity as it was about his own ambitions for magnificence; the union of his eldest son to Elizabeth Clifford was a highly advantageous marriage alliance with a well-established English aristocratic family. Lady Dungarvan understood well her father-in-law's ulterior motivations, as conveyed in a letter to him in August 1637, which hinted at the self-aggrandising motivations informing his gift which, though vaunted, was not yet received by the young woman. Her skilfully chosen words conveyed the public nature of gift-giving and the desire of givers (and, indeed, recipients) to advertise their relationship and the objects expressing the importance of their bond:

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<sup>81</sup>Caulfield, 'Wills & inventories, Cork', pp 167-8.

<sup>82</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, ii, 28.

<sup>83</sup>NLI MS 2521, ff 108 – 109v.

<sup>84</sup>Will of Richard Segar, Clonsheen, Queen's County [undated] (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, f. 510r).

<sup>85</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, ii, 260.

<sup>86</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iv, 46.

I must beseech your lordship to command Will barber to deliver the guilt plate you gave me ... [so] that my friends heer may see your Lordships bounty to me: for they were assured by some of your back friends in Ireland that you only gave it me for a show and tooke it backe againe. therefore I desire to prove them liars by shewing them heere that plate; which at that time will doe me much credit, and I assure your lordship shall noe way be embezled but retained still by me as a marke of your lordships bounty entire.<sup>87</sup>

The earl of Cork was not just a gift-giver. He also meticulously recorded his receipt of many expensive items, among them silverwares, gifted to him on an annual basis, providing further evidence that the practice was well-established among the elite in early-seventeenth century Ireland. In December 1620 Sir Randall Clayton gave him a silver standish,<sup>88</sup> and in January 1631/2 he noted his receipt of a silver chafing dish from Sir John Vele, a girdle and 'hanger of gold & silver' along with peach-coloured silk stockings from Arthur Loftus, a silver bell from his son-in-law the earl of Kildare and 'fyne Holland shirts laced' from Mary Jones and his daughter Kate.<sup>89</sup> Boyle, always resourceful, occasionally re-gifted his presents. He received a case of knives from a Mr Simpson, who was identified as an officer of the customs in Cork, and promptly re-distributed these to Lord Conway as a New Year's gift in January 1628/9.<sup>90</sup> In May 1632 he sent his friend Lady Clayton the case of silver tweezers that his daughter, Lady Kildare had given to him, his unsentimental re-distribution underlining once again the social function of gifting.<sup>91</sup> However, within the practice of gift-exchange Boyle was not always on familiar ground, as he swung from one extreme to the other: in 1639 he thanked his London agent for reminding him to send a New Year's gift to the king and on other occasions he was excessively liberal in his distribution.<sup>92</sup> On occasion, some items were returned to him as can be noted from his diary entry in January 1628/9 when he detailed that the silver standish he presented to Sir John Denham was 'not accepted'.<sup>93</sup> As Zemon Davis has observed, the lack or rejection of a gift, was just as powerful in communicating the

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<sup>87</sup>*Lismore papers: correspondence*, iii, 269-70.

<sup>88</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, i, 271.

<sup>89</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iii, 117.

<sup>90</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, ii, 293.

<sup>91</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, iii, 42.

<sup>92</sup>Canny, *Upstart earl*, p. 71.

<sup>93</sup>*Lismore papers: diaries*, ii, 293.

status of a relationship: 'it represented distance, a cool zone where correct behaviour and prescribed payment could operate, but not favour and communication.'<sup>94</sup>

The function of plate in creating and reaffirming the bonds of family and friendship can be most explicitly seen in the bequests of silver detailed in Irish wills. Whittle and Griffiths have observed that wills are one of the few sources in which it can be seen that people 'us[ed] their goods to create meaning: they show how goods were used to reinforce social relationships and to discriminate between recipients'.<sup>95</sup> Items of plate bequeathed from one individual to another demonstrates the importance with which testators regarded individual objects *and* their esteem for those to whom they bequeathed objects of symbolic, practical and monetary worth. Glanville states that it was only when there was little to divide that plate was specified and, in these instances, these items were likely to be cups and spoons.<sup>96</sup> This is only true to a certain extent with regard to the evidence presented in Irish wills and is certainly contradicted in the will of Richard Boyle. In it he bequeathed 'All that Plate and Silver Vessells [engraved with the arms of Kilnameaky] unto my said son Sir Roger Boyle, Knt, Baron of Broghill', but specified that a Lady Smith receive his silver chafing dish, his daughter-in-law the Viscountess Dowager of Kilnameaky two silver bowls, six fruit dishes, and one of his silver chamber pots, and his son Francis's wife 'my double guilt Salt and cover wch Stands upon four pillars with a Christial Globe in the Middle thereof'.<sup>97</sup> The late-sixteenth century Cork wills of members of the city's merchant and political class divided household plate among wives and children in order of seniority, providing eldest sons with the best items, wives with the second best, and other children with lesser items, all listed, as in the case of James Browne FitzAndrew, Andrew Galwey and Maurice Roche FitzEdmunde.<sup>98</sup>

Moving into the early-seventeenth century, the 1612 will of Henry Shee of Kilkenny bequeathed a 'greate gilt silver salte three newe standinge cupps of silver pcell [gilt] two beakers or tonns of silver parcel gilt a tankard of silver parcel gilt and

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<sup>94</sup>Zemon Davis, *The gift in sixteenth-century France*, p. 67.

<sup>95</sup>Whittle & Griffiths, *Consumption & gender*, p. 150.

<sup>96</sup>Glanville, *Silver in England*, p. 320.

<sup>97</sup>Townshend, *Life and letters of the great earl*, pp 497-8.

<sup>98</sup>Caulfield, 'Wills & inventories, Cork'.

the best of my spoones' to his son Robert.<sup>99</sup> In 1665 Sir James Ware willed to his eldest son Robert all of his plate but added that two silver drinking cups were to be given to his son James, a silver fruit dish to his daughter Margaret, a basin and ewer to his daughter-in-law Elizabeth, and a voyder and knife to his grandson James.<sup>100</sup> A brewer in Dublin city, John Gayton, bequeathed all of his plate to his wife in 1706, 'except the biggest Tankard which I leave to my Daughter Mary Pilkington as [a] perticuler toaken of remembrance'.<sup>101</sup> These examples show that even for those whose collections of plate were large, individual items were singled out for bequests in order to reaffirm close family bonds.

In other instances, many Irish wills follow the rule stated by Glanville with regard to more modest collections of plate: Ellen Shee, a widow from Co Kilkenny, whose will was drawn up in 1649, gave a silver beer bowl to her cousin George Shee and a silver-gilt wine cup to another cousin, Peirce Dobbyn.<sup>102</sup> Alice Godwin, a widow from Dublin, bequeathed her silver porringer to her son Arthur in 1662 and three years later Thomas Waring of Belfast left to his wife 'one Silver Cupp and two of the best silver spoones'.<sup>103</sup> Christian Purfield left to her son a silver bowl and to her daughter a silver salt in 1666,<sup>104</sup> while another widow, Gwen Santley, in Dublin, gave her minister John Edwards £10 in her will, along with her silver tobacco box.<sup>105</sup> These each suggest sparse collections of plate within modest estates but highlight the significant value of silver to testators wishing to honour relationships.

### **6.3 Strategic gifting: 'peeces of plate' and freedom boxes**

From the middle of the seventeenth century, Irish municipal corporations increasingly used gifts of silver in order to honour and flatter members of the political and landed elite. The earliest instances can be found with Dublin

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<sup>99</sup>Will of Henry Shee, City of Kilkenny, 2 Nov. 1612 (NAI MS RC/5/5, p. 772).

<sup>100</sup>Will of Sir James Ware, Dublin, 10 Aug. 1665 (NAI MS PRCT/1/2, ff 178-9).

<sup>101</sup>Will of John Gayton, Dublin, 29 Jun. 1706 (NAI MS PRCT/1/2, f. 10r).

<sup>102</sup>Will of Ellen Shee, Freinestown, Co. Kilkenny, 13 Oct. 1649 (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, ff 34r).

<sup>103</sup>Will of Alice Godwin, City of Dublin, 11 Mar. 1662 (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, f. 59).

<sup>104</sup>Will of Christian Purfield, Co. Dublin, 3 Apr. 1666 (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, f. 117).

<sup>105</sup>Will of Gwen Santley, Dublin, 23 Jul. 1706 (NAI MS PRCT/1/2, f. 66r).



Corporation which, in 1656, on the birth of Henry Cromwell's son and amidst much public celebration, presented three 'fair pieces of plate' to the infant on the occasion of his baptism in the city.<sup>106</sup> A few years later, in 1662, in acknowledgement of the duke of Ormond's favour to the city, the corporation presented him with a gold cup, along with his freedom of the city enclosed in a gold box. The enormous sum of £371 was disbursed for the making of these two pieces with a further £4 spent on engraving the duke's arms on the items.<sup>107</sup> Such a gift, they believed, had a dual function in that it 'may aunswere the dignities of his place and the honnor of this cittie'.<sup>108</sup>

Provincial cities were quick to follow Dublin's lead in their presentation of plate to the monarch's representatives. These gestures ensured the practice swiftly became embedded in the Irish political process so that, by the end of the century, silver was a ubiquitous feature in expressing a corporation's esteem, gratitude and, of course, its ambition for favourable recognition. Cork Corporation presented the duke of Ormond with the right to the customs revenue of imported wine into the city and presented a document conferring this honour to him in an engraved silver box in 1666.<sup>109</sup> When Waterford Corporation was making preparations in 1669 for their address to the new Lord Lieutenant on his arrival to Dublin, it was decided that a piece of plate worth £16 should be presented to his secretary, presumably to curry favour in order to enable them to present their address. However, the city was evidently not familiar with the etiquette surrounding the relatively novel practice or indeed of the availability of suitable items either locally or in Dublin to fulfil the important gesture. Waterford did boast at least one goldsmith in this period, namely Peter Madden, but it was decided that the purchase was to be made on their arrival to the capital and that it should 'be left to the discretion of Mr Mayor and Mr Recorder whether the said present to the secretary shalbe made in plate or in gold or in neither, according as they find it convenient and seasonable when they come to Dublin'.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>106</sup>CARD, iv, p. x.

<sup>107</sup>DCA MS MR 36, f. 215r.

<sup>108</sup>CARD, iv, p. xxi, 243-4.

<sup>109</sup>Delamer & O'Brien, *500 years*, p. 64.

<sup>110</sup>Pender, *Corporation of Waterford*, p. 60.

City guilds imitated the strategic gestures of civic corporations, though it was in their interest to bestow such gifts on their municipal leaders rather than those occupying the higher echelons of power. On numerous instances throughout the 1650s Dublin's guild of tailors noted in its annual expenses items of plate presented to the city mayor. These items ranged in cost from £1 1s. to £2 7s. and were described as either a piece of plate or a silver cup.<sup>111</sup> Dublin's merchant's guild raised the bar a good deal higher than the tailors and, between 1668 and 1700, presented thirteen successive city mayors with a piece of plate ranging in value from £20 to £50.<sup>112</sup> The guild's 'thankfulness' and 'respects' were frequently noted in the instructions accompanying the decisions regarding the gifts and, though in 1671 it was decided that 'the said gift may not be a precedent for the future', it is clear that there was an expectation to carry forward the custom to new mayors in order to retain favour. As the merchants noted in April 1680 a piece of plate for the Lord Mayor was issued 'of the value of the last piece of plate presented any Lord Mayor'.<sup>113</sup>

Municipal corporations also noted their gratitude to individuals with presentations of silver. Frequently, the presented items were simply referred to as 'a piece of plate' and corporations usually saw fit to supply reasons for why it was financing and awarding these expensive gestures. In 1661 Dublin Corporation wished to acknowledge Sir Theophilus Jones for 'procureinge his majesties graunt for the foote companie to the successive Maiors, and likewise, for his affectionatt care of this citties welfare and concernmentes', and, therefore, decided to present him and his wife with a piece of plate worth £50 which was to have the city's arms engraved on it.<sup>114</sup> A piece of plate, also worth £50 and engraved with the city arms, was presented to Sir Richard Kennedy in 1664 in recognition of 'his paines and care about the citty affaires'.<sup>115</sup> Lesser amounts were allocated in smaller municipalities. In Kinsale, in February 1661/2, a nameless 'gent' who was noted for being 'very useful in and about the takeing the houses and lands the last year' was rewarded with plate to the value of £10. The following year Kinsale Corporation also decided

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<sup>111</sup>DCA MS 80, ff 71r-75r.

<sup>112</sup>DCA MSS 78-79.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid., f. 166r.

<sup>114</sup>CARD, iv, 221, 225.

<sup>115</sup>CARD, iv, 320-1.

to give Robert Southwell a piece of plate worth the same amount ‘or thereabouts’ on account of ‘his pains at Dublin’.<sup>116</sup> Londonderry Corporation honoured two individuals with gifts of plate in 1699: a Mr Jenkins was to be given a piece of plate, engraved with the city’s arms, to the value of £10 ‘as a token of ye City’s kind acceptance of his good service to ye City’ and, similarly one Doctor Maxwell was also honoured in consideration of his ‘merit’ with an item of plate worth the same amount, a sum that was considered less than generous by the Corporation but necessary ‘considering ye Low State of ye Chamber’.<sup>117</sup>

The majority of corporation presentations of plate were bestowed on the recipients of honorary civic freedom. As the practice evolved, it became commonplace for these items of plate to take the form of boxes within which the document conferring the freedom was apparently inserted. The primary function of these freedom boxes was in their role in facilitating the creation and maintenance of political alliances. Several references to this practice in Ireland’s capital and provincial centres pre-date evidence of its deployment in England, the earliest example being the gift of a gold box enclosing the duke of Ormond’s freedom of Dublin city in 1662, as discussed above. Delamer and O’Brien propose that the custom originated in Ireland and was brought to London in 1674 when Ormond proposed the idea to the city’s mayor, Robert Vyner, (who was also a goldsmith) for the city’s presentation of freedom to the king, repeating the gesture as he had received from Dublin’s mayor some twelve years earlier and similar to Cork’s gesture to him in 1666.<sup>118</sup> Charles II was accordingly honoured with city freedom which was presented to him in a large square gold box decorated with diamonds.<sup>119</sup> However, the custom never gained the same widespread popularity in Britain as it enjoyed in Ireland. The widespread adoption by Irish municipal corporations of the freedom box saw it develop in a uniform manner, as Ida Delamer has discussed:

These boxes were small – the outer dimensions usually did not exceed three and a half inches. ... The workmanship of the boxes was generally excellent. The arms of the town or corporation in the style of the period were usually engraved

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<sup>116</sup>Caulfield, *Corporation of Kinsale*, pp 71, 79.

<sup>117</sup>Corporation of Londonderry Minute Book, 20 Apr. 1699 and 18 Mar. 1699/1700 ([http://www.proni.gov.uk/la\\_79\\_2\\_aa\\_2\\_1688-1704\\_pdf1.pdf](http://www.proni.gov.uk/la_79_2_aa_2_1688-1704_pdf1.pdf), pp 167, 183).

<sup>118</sup>Delamer & O’Brien, *500 years*, p. 64.

<sup>119</sup>Glanville, *Silver in England*, p. 305.

on the lid or the underside of the box. Sometimes an inscription was engraved either on the outside or the inside.<sup>120</sup>

Few examples from the seventeenth century are extant, but the circular silver box issued by Limerick Corporation to Lieutenant William Brown in 1693 and a gold specimen bearing the arms of both its recipient Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Richard Freeman, and Dublin City, with a hallmark for 1707-8, supply evidence of the homogenous form of freedom boxes as they became well-established throughout Ireland by the eighteenth century (Figs 29 and 149).<sup>121</sup>

The list of recipients of freedom boxes in Ireland in the last four decades of the seventeenth century is a roll-call of political and aristocratic players of the period. Dublin city's 'thankfulness' to Sir Paul Davys was marked in 1666 when it was decided that both a piece of plate worth £50 and his honorary freedom of the city in a silver freedom box be presented to him.<sup>122</sup> Davys was clerk to the Privy Council in Ireland and later Secretary of State in Ireland. In 1670 the city decided to honour the duke of Ormond's son, Thomas Butler, Earl of Ossory, as a token of the city's 'gratitude and affection' with honorary freedom of the city. However, it would seem that their gratitude was not as generous as that bestowed on his father; the Corporation decided 'the said freedome shall be presented in such a box as the Lord Maior and Sherriffs shall thinke fit.'<sup>123</sup> By 1673 when the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Essex, was presented with his freedom of Dublin city, the City Assembly noted that this should be presented in a gold box 'as hath been usuall'.<sup>124</sup> When it was decided to honour the Lord Chief Justice, Sir John Povey, with his freedom in January 1674/5, it was stipulated that this should be 'with his armes depicted in vellum and a seale in a box of silver', underlining the material worth of the freedom parchment as well as its container.<sup>125</sup> Galway Corporation's silver freedom box issued to The

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<sup>120</sup>Delamer, 'Freedom boxes', pp 3-4.

<sup>121</sup>A large collection of eighteenth-century Irish freedom boxes is contained in the National Museum of Ireland (Delamer & O'Brien, *500 years*, pp 68-73). Further examples of Dublin and provincial Irish freedom boxes can be found in John D. Davis (ed.), *The genius of Irish silver: a Texas private collection* (San Antonio, 1993), pp 42-6.

<sup>122</sup>*CARD*, iv, 398.

<sup>123</sup>*Ibid.*, 488.

<sup>124</sup>*CARD*, v, p. 22.

<sup>125</sup>*Ibid.*, 65.

Honourable Arthur Lord Forbes in 1686 was to be decorated in its interior too with an ounce of silk included in the commission.<sup>126</sup>

Cork Corporation was also keen to impress senior political figures with the honour of civic freedom presented in a silver box. This is not apparent until the last decade of the seventeenth century, as records for the period 1643-90 did not survive, but it is likely that the practice of issuing freedom in silver freedom boxes pre-dates the earliest extant record of the practice in 1690 when Lord Marlborough and the governor of Cork were both presented with such.<sup>127</sup> In that decade alone a further ten individuals were honoured with the same gesture, including the lord chief justice of Ireland, Sir Richard Pyne (1698) and the earl of Inchiquin (1699). In Limerick in the period for which corporation records are extant (1672-80) eleven honorary freedoms of the city enclosed in silver boxes were issued in the eight year period.<sup>128</sup>

Waterford's distinct lack of issuing of freedom boxes, at least from the records of the corporation, reflects a comparative poverty of the corporation in that city. In August 1684 William, Lord Viscount Mountjoy was presented with the freedom of Waterford, and the lack of reference to a presentation box is conspicuous. Two years later a host of personages were honoured with the freedom of Waterford city including the lord archbishop of Dublin, and Sir Paul Rycott, Secretary of State. These dignitaries were part of Henry Clarendon's entourage during his visit as lord lieutenant in 1686. The corporation did, however, see fit to present the latter with an engraved gold box for which £15 10s. was disbursed.<sup>129</sup> More remote municipal centres, such as Ennis, were keen to honour their visiting grandees in the accepted and popular manner: in 1691 the freedom of the borough was bestowed in a silver box to the Earl of Inchiquin, at a cost of two guineas.<sup>130</sup> Eight years later Ennis Corporation issued the directive for a cess to be laid on the inhabitants of the town in

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<sup>126</sup>J. Rabbitte (ed.), 'Galway Corporation MS. C.' in *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, xii, no. 3/4 (1924/1925), pp 73-4.

<sup>127</sup>Caulfield, *Corporation of Cork*, p. 209.

<sup>128</sup>NLI MS 89.

<sup>129</sup>Pender, *Corporation of Waterford*, p. 270.

<sup>130</sup>O Dalaigh, *Corporation book of Ennis*, pp 23-4. William O'Brien, Earl of Inchiquin (1666-1719) was Privy Councillor and Lord Lieutenant of County Clare.

order to raise £2 5s in order to purchase a silver box within which the freedom of the borough was to be presented to Captain Conor O'Brien.<sup>131</sup>

The intrinsic worth of freedom boxes evidently reflected the wealth of the corporation supplying the gift. Within corporations, too, the amount disbursed on individual boxes revealed an *ad hoc* hierarchical honour system: in Dublin, for example, the greater aristocratic and political recipients were honoured with their freedom presented in a gold box while lesser notables were bestowed silver boxes of varying value. The cost for making a gold box was much greater than one of silver. Oliver Nugent, goldsmith, petitioned for his payment of the earl of Tyrconnell's gold freedom box in 1688, a box which weighed 8oz 5dwt and which cost £46.<sup>132</sup> £30 was allocated for the commission of a gold freedom box for the Lord Deputy General, Lord Capel in 1695.<sup>133</sup> Dublin Corporation was keen to sustain a parity in the amounts disbursed on freedom boxes, particularly those of gold, so that each presentation reflected the recipient's status; in September 1696 the earls of Mountrath and Drogheda (lords justice) were presented with honorary freedom in gold boxes which, it was ordered, should 'be of the same value as the boxes formerly given to the lord chancellor Porter and the lord Coningsby'.<sup>134</sup> The Lord Chief Justice Thomas Coningsby had been presented with a gold box five years earlier in 1691. It is clear that the risk of causing offence by the presentation of lesser-value gifts to nobles of equal aristocratic and political standing was to be avoided, even if several years elapsed between the presentations. However, in the presentation of freedom boxes to individuals of higher rank, the differentiation of expenditure and worth was permitted: in 1697 the lords justice were once again honoured by Dublin Corporation with gold freedom boxes, each not to exceed £30, while, on the same day the honorary freedom of city was also ordered to be presented to the lord chancellor, also in a gold box, but at the lesser allocated cost of £20.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>131</sup>O Dalaigh, *Corporation book of Ennis*, p. 73. Conor O'Brien of Dromore was heir presumptive to the earldom of Thomond and the appointed equerry to Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Queen Anne.

<sup>132</sup>*CARD*, v, 418.

<sup>133</sup>*CARD*, vi, 103.

<sup>134</sup>*Ibid.*, 154-55.

<sup>135</sup>*Ibid.*, 179-80.

Boxes of silver cost a fraction of these high amounts and were deemed appropriate for lesser political influential individuals or those of lesser nobility. The goldsmith Richard Lord petitioned Dublin Corporation for £12 6s. for three freedom boxes he produced and engraved in 1665. Outside of Dublin, municipal corporations did not usually issue honorary freedoms in anything finer than a silver box, reflecting the limitations of their relative corporate wealth compared to that enjoyed in the capital city. A silver box was ordered by Kinsale Corporation in 1692 to the value of £3, for the presentation of the honorary freedom of the town to John Berkley Lord Viscount FitzHarding,<sup>136</sup> while Limerick Corporation expended £2 on the silver box enclosing Lord Clare's freedom in January 1674/5.<sup>137</sup> New Ross paid just 20s. for two silver freedom boxes they commissioned, one in 1687 for a judge of the court of the King's Bench, The Hon. James Nugent, the other in 1692 for James, Earl of Anglesey.<sup>138</sup> It would seem, however, that Kilkenny Corporation did issue gold freedom boxes, perhaps to an unsupportable level. In 1701 a directive was issued by the corporation to address the matter of this extravagance:

Ordered that from and after this instant no person or persons whatsoever (except the king and queens majesty, or some one of the royall family, or the government for the time being) shall on any colour or pretence be entertained, feasted, or treated at the charge and expence of this citty or presented with his or their freedoms in a gold box.<sup>139</sup>

Gold or silver, it is apparent that frequent and widespread commissions for freedom boxes and pieces of plate by municipal corporations and guilds constituted an important source of revenue for the country's goldsmiths. Their livelihoods were, once again, augmented by the increased expectation for (and utilisation of) silver within social and political intercourse, particularly, as seen in chapter two, if they occupied positions of political prominence within the commissioning corporations.

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<sup>136</sup>Caulfield, *Corporation of Kinsale*, p. 195.

<sup>137</sup>Disbursement recorded 14 Jan. 1674/5. (NLI MS 89, f. 75r.)

<sup>138</sup>Philip D. Vigors (ed.), 'Extracts from the Books of the Old Corporation of Ross, County Wexford (Part III)' in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, fifth series, iv, no. 2 (Jun., 1894), p. 179; *ibid.*, vol. xxxi, no.1, (Mar. 31, 1901), p. 53.

<sup>139</sup>Bradley, *Treasures of Kilkenny*, p. 38.

## 6.4 Legacy, commemoration and donation

Municipal records occasionally reveal the mutually-beneficial custom of gift-exchange. In Drogheda in 1664, for example, Lord Drogheda was presented with honorary freedom of the town in a gold box. The following year Lord Drogheda reciprocated the gesture with his presentation to the corporation of a large silver bowl.<sup>140</sup> Honorary freedom was likewise presented to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State in England, when he came to Dublin in 1696, this time in a silver box. In return, he presented the city with a large, covered standing cup engraved with his arms and inscribed: *The gift of the Honorable Sir Joseph Williamson Knight to the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor Sheriffs Commons and Citizens of the City of Dublin Anno Dom 1696*. At seventy-three centimetres in height, is understood to be the largest piece of extant Irish plate (Fig. 38). Williamson had set a new standard of extravagance which the Corporation was keen to capitalise on. Alderman William Fownes, in 1699, on his petition for the lease of ‘part of Hoggen Green, alias Colledge Green’ was permitted on the condition that he pay ‘a piece of plate like to and of equall value with that given the citty by sir Joseph Williamson, knight’ resulting in the presentation of a cup of similar form and dimension and, likewise, inscribed in acknowledgement of the donor’s generosity (Fig. 38).<sup>141</sup>

These instances show that the custom of gift-exchange was mutually advantageous, supplying donors with the chance to ingratiate themselves with important figures and presenting recipients with the opportunity to create a personal legacy: ‘Every gift produced a return gift in a chain of events that accomplishes many things all at once: goods are exchanged and redistributed ... peace is maintained and sometimes solidarity and friendship; and status is confirmed or competed for.’<sup>142</sup> When plate was donated to institutions by benevolent or pious individuals, therefore, it was commonplace for the donor to ensure their generosity was identified with prominence, through engraved inscriptions or heraldry. In this

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<sup>140</sup>Gogarty, *Corporation of Drogheda*, pp 116, 130.

<sup>141</sup>CARD, vi, 229; Delamer, ‘Freedom boxes’, pp 4-5.

<sup>142</sup>Zemon Davis, *The gift in sixteenth century France*, p. 4.



way, the gift-giving transaction was wholly self-interested and silver's function in this process was of great significance.

This legacy-creating patronage is evident within the records and artefacts of municipal corporations. The citizens of cities and towns donated and bequeathed items of silver to corporations as a sign of their loyalty, generosity and their contribution to its government. These items took the form, more often than not, of a drinking vessel – a tankard, beaker or cup – or a silver bowl. As Glanville notes: 'Par excellence [silver] was the gift for one's king, one's patron, one's brotherhood, the parish church, the local hero and one's heirs; and always a cup was the first choice.'<sup>143</sup> In Kinsale, in 1653, a 23oz tankard was bequeathed by Hugh Persivall, late sovereign of the town, which was to be inscribed '*The Gift of Hugh Persivall, Suffra. to the Corporation of Kinsale, Jan 15, 1652*'.<sup>144</sup> On his death in 1659, another ex-sovereign of Kinsale, Thomas Browne, also donated an item of plate to the town's corporation.<sup>145</sup> In 1712 Kinsale Corporation decided to combine these two bequests into one larger item of corporation plate, a punch bowl weighing fifty ounces bearing the marks associated with the local goldsmiths William and James Wall. This was engraved on both sides with the following two inscriptions:

*The Guift [sic] of Thomas Browne to the Corporation of Kinsale thirce Soueraign of the same who departed this life ye tenth Day of December Anno Domini 1659 Aetatas Suae 58.*  
*The Gift of Hugh Percivall Sovereigne to the Corporation of Kinsale Jan ye 15, 1652. These two Gifts being Added together and six ounce by the Corporation Thomas Lacey Esq. Soveraigned Feb ye 9h 1712 (Fig. 150).*<sup>146</sup>

Correspondingly, in the Drogheda collection of plate is a covered two-handle cup of eighteenth-century production which was also made with plate from the seventeenth-century bequests. It perpetuates the original donor's memory with its inscription: '*This cup partly made of an old one unfit for use given by Mr. Thomas Percival, merch., to the Corporation of Drogheda in the year 1672*'.<sup>147</sup> These donated items conferred both prestige on both the corporation and the donor. Other donations

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<sup>143</sup>Glanville, *Silver in England*, p. 302.

<sup>144</sup>Caulfield, *Corporation of Kinsale*, p. 13.

<sup>145</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>146</sup>Bowen & O'Brien, *Cork silver & gold*, p. 151.

<sup>147</sup>Joseph Carr, 'The Drogheda Corporation Mace, Sword of State and Plate' in *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society*, xiv, no. 1 (1957), p. 40.

sought to preserve the legacy of individual victors: in 1690 Youghal Corporation received a bowl from Captain Thomas Ponel, to whom the town surrendered in August of that year.<sup>148</sup> The bowl was inscribed with '*The gift of Capt Thomas Ponel to the Corporation of Youghal, 1690*' on one side and decorated with Ponel's crest, a lion's gamb holding a key, on the other. The London-made mace presented by the duke of Ormond to Kilkenny Corporation, meanwhile, explicitly drew attention to its donor's patronage with its inscription: '*The illustrious prince, James, duke of Ormonde gave this insignia of mayoralty for the use of the city of Kilkenny, 1676*' (Fig. 30).<sup>149</sup>

The Roman Catholic and Anglican churches boasted a great deal of plate acquired through donations. Engraved inscriptions, usually in Latin or English, occasionally in Irish on Catholic pieces, ensured items of communion silver remained a constant reminder of donors' generosity and piety. Analysis carried out for this thesis has shown that of the 250 documented extant Roman Catholic chalices from the century there are inscriptions and marks on 227 which show that over half can be attributed to the period 1620-50.<sup>150</sup> Of the inscribed chalices, 199 (nearly 80% of the overall corpus of chalices) were contemporary donations, proving the strong patronage among Irish Catholics towards their church and their desire to maintain a level of visibility in local society. Such acts of munificence by Catholics, according to James Lyttleton, were as much to do with the motivations of the pious as they were an expression of the existing social hierarchy and an assertion of status:

Despite the decline in the fortunes of the native nobility, certain families were able to maintain their pre-eminence in local society as illustrated by their continued patronage of church buildings, their donation of communion plate and their erection of memorials, plaques and statues.<sup>151</sup>

This is certainly true in consideration of the Nugent family of County Westmeath. A Jesuit chalice, whose Latin inscription reads '*The Society of Jesus: The gift of the most noble Elizabeth, Countess of Kildare, 1634*' is just one legacy of the long-

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<sup>148</sup>Caulfield, *Corporation of Youghal*, p. lviii.

<sup>149</sup>Bradley, *Treasures of Kilkenny*, p. 118.

<sup>150</sup>Roman Catholic chalices have been comprehensively documented in Buckley, *Irish altar plate*, Sweeney, *Irish Stuart silver* and O Floinn, *Franciscan faith*.

<sup>151</sup>Lyttleton, 'Faith of our fathers', p. 182.

standing support the Catholic Church in Ireland received from the Nugent family (Fig. 151).<sup>152</sup>

Other members of the Catholic nobility provided similar gestures of support which function as memorials to their faith and social prominence. The ‘Viscount Mayo Chalice’, carries the Latin inscription: ‘*Pray for the souls of Theobald Lord Viscount Mayo and his wife, Maud O’Connor, who caused me to be made for the Monastery of Murrisk 1635*’.<sup>153</sup> Theobald Bourke, first Viscount Mayo was granted the barony of Murrisk where the Augustinian friary was located, among other lands in County Mayo in 1616, in recognition of his loyalty to the crown during the Nine Years War.<sup>154</sup> Another Galway chalice, from 1667, also draws association between the resident nobility and the local religious order under their patronage with its inscription ‘*The Lady Countess Elisabeth Butler caused me to be made for her soul and that of her deceased husband Richard, Earl of Clanricard, and dedicated me to the Convent of Meelick*’.<sup>155</sup> Richard Burke, sixth earl of Clanricarde, inherited, among other landholdings in Galway, the land of Meelick on which the Franciscan friary of Meelick stood.<sup>156</sup> More typical of lay-donated Catholic chalices are inscriptions with the names of less-prominent husbands and wives, such as one from 1612: ‘*Orate pro Joane Medo et Elleonora Miagh ejus uxore qui me fieri fecerut 1612*’ (‘Pray for John Mead and his wife Eleanor Miagh who caused me to be made in 1612’).<sup>157</sup> A Franciscan chalice from Donegal, inscribed in Irish: ‘*Mary daughter of Maguire, wife of Brian Oge O Ruairc caused this chalice to be made for her soul, for the friars of Donegal, the age of Christ 1633*’ indicates that the practice of donating and self-memorialising with items of altar plate was also a feature of Gaelic Irish culture (Fig. 108).<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>152</sup>Walter FitzGerald, ‘A chalice presented to the Jesuits in 1634 by the Countess of Kildare’ in *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*, vol. 5, no. 1 (Jan. 1906), pp 60-2. The Nugent family is discussed by Benjamin Hazard, ‘“An Ark in the Deluge”: Multyfarnham Abbey and the Nugents of Delvin’ in *Ríocht na Midhe*, xxii (2011), pp 113-23.

<sup>153</sup>Blake, ‘Some old silver chalices,’ p. 26.

<sup>154</sup>Martin Blake, ‘Castle Bourke: Formerly Kilboynell Castle in Carra Barony, Co. Mayo’ in *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, xiv, no. 3/4 (1929), pp.101-8.

<sup>155</sup>Blake, ‘Some old silver chalices’, p. 31.

<sup>156</sup>Bernadette Cunningham, ‘Clanricard Letters’ in *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, xlvi (1996), p. 168.

<sup>157</sup>Buckley, *Irish altar plate*, p. 37.

<sup>158</sup>P. O Gallchobhair, ‘A missing Maguire chalice’ in *Clogher Record*, i, no. 3 (1955), unpaginated.

The Church of Ireland's patrons, consisting mainly of converted Old English families and New English settlers, were equally motivated to assert or maintain their social prominence. Toby Barnard believes that the gifting of pieces of altar silver by members of the Church of Ireland should be regarded within the context of altruism and as an indication of a parishioner's affection for their place of worship.<sup>159</sup> Altruism may well have partly accounted for the motivations of Church of Ireland donors but it is also true that they, like their Catholic counterparts, were keen to maintain a level of social visibility through their association with their church and used altar silver to advertise their status and generosity. The vestry records for some Church of Ireland parishes provide further evidence of the social opportunism of certain individuals and the means by which church plate donations facilitated their ambitions. This is particularly apparent with registers relating to the donation of domestic items such as flagons, plates and two-handled cups which were readily converted for use on the altar. Glanville has observed that churchwardens saw 'nothing improper in accepting other secular plate, particularly rosewater basins and flagons' but, at least in Irish examples, it would seem that a mutually advantageous exchange took place.<sup>160</sup> St Peter's Parish in Dublin, whose benefactors were listed as contributing towards the church building work in 1686 and included notable elites such as Lord Arran, the lord archbishop of Dublin, Lady Antrim and the primate of Ireland, also noted the donations received in kind by its less-prominent parishioners. These included a silver flagon given by a Madam Savage and a silver plate and £7 10s. in currency from one Madam Ward who were subsequently assigned moderately conspicuous seats seven years later when the refurbished pews were allocated.<sup>161</sup> At the Cork parish of Innishannon a comparable exchange took place where the vestry recorded in 1700 that Gershom Herrick Esquire donated a silver flagon for the church's use. In exchange, at the request of Mr Herrick, the vestry granted him and his family a pew.<sup>162</sup> Likewise, the vestry at St Mary's in Dublin city agreed on 30 May 1711 that because Joseph Nuttall paid £5 15s. towards the parish communion

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<sup>159</sup>T.C. Barnard, 'Parishes, pews and parsons: lay people and the Church of Ireland, 1647-1780' in R. Gillespie and W.G. Neely (eds), *The clergy of the Church of Ireland, 1000 – 2000: all sorts and conditions* (Dublin, 2006), p. 70.

<sup>160</sup>Glanville, *Silver in England*, p. 283.

<sup>161</sup>Vestry records of St Peter's Parish, Dublin (RCB MS P 45/6/1), pp 2-6, 66-73.

<sup>162</sup>Vestry records of Innishannon Parish, Cork, 15 Apr. 1700 (RCB MS P 142/1/1).

plate, he should be allowed to have ‘halfe the seat No. 19 formerly engaged by his father Mr Richard Nuttall’.<sup>163</sup>

Dozens more items of extant communion plate attest to the patronage bestowed on the Anglican Church by its laity. One of the oldest items of these is a communion cup which was donated, along with a paten, to the parish of St Audeon’s, Dublin and engraved ‘*St Audoen Ex Dono Petri Harion anno 1624*’. The donation corresponds directly to the period during the 1620s and 1630s when parishioners, such as Peter Harrison, assisted in the renovation and refurbishment of the church which was in a ruinous condition.<sup>164</sup> Another cup donated to the Church of Ireland during the period in which it was disestablished during the Interregnum is engraved with the inscription: ‘*From Mrs Ursula Carpenter to St Davids’ Church at the Naas the 18th of Janeivari 1656*’ and provides physical evidence of the sustained relationship between the church and its laity during this fractious period.<sup>165</sup> The political prominence of some individuals was also to be found on items of silver used for communion. A cup donated to St Werburgh’s parish in Dublin by the goldsmith alderman Abel Ram in 1676, and produced in the workshop of Andrew Gregory, noted the donor’s standing within Dublin Corporation: ‘*DEO in Usum Eclia De Sta Weburga Denominata in avitat Dublin Diaivit Abel Ram ejusdem Civitatis Aldermannus Ano Dom 1676*’, simultaneously announcing Ram’s relationship with the parish and the interconnection of parish and city corporation.

Like the Catholic Church, the Church of Ireland enjoyed patronage from its resident nobility. A provincially-made communion cup and paten bearing the inscription: *THE \* GIFT \* OF \* THE \* DUKE \* OF \* ORMONDS \* TROOP \* TO \* Ye \* PARISH \* OF \* CARRICK \* ANNO \* DOMINI \* 1673* were commissioned by the first duke of Ormond, and given to the Church of St Nicholas in Carrick-on-Suir.<sup>166</sup> They announced the patronage of the small, rural parish church by the pre-eminent member of the Irish aristocracy. His largesse provided Ireland’s Anglican nobility with the example of suitable, benevolent behaviour. In 1665 his wife

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<sup>163</sup>Vestry records of St Mary’s Parish, Dublin (RCB MS P 277/7/1), p. 73.

<sup>164</sup>Colm Lennon, ‘The shaping of a lay community in the Church of Ireland, 1558-1640’ in Gillespie & Neely, *The clergy of the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000*, p. 61.

<sup>165</sup>RCBL collection of plate.

<sup>166</sup>Butler, ‘Plate of the Church of Ireland in Cashel, Emly, Waterford & Lismore’, pp 138-9.

presented Christ Church Cathedral with two silver gilt flagons and one large flagon.<sup>167</sup> Christ Church also noted in 1674-5 the gift of ten guineas and twenty pounds from Lady Percival towards the purchase of a silver gilt chalice which was to match the existing pair already in the cathedral.<sup>168</sup> Finglas parish, on 8 October 1706, recorded that the Lady Trid [sic] Stephens, who had donated a plate to the church in the 1680s, left as her further legacy to the parish a collection of church plate to the value of £40. The substantial collection included two chalices, two flagons, an offering dish, and two 'servers' (Fig. 140).<sup>169</sup>

The existing literature does not highlight the significant role of the clergy in this period, in their patronage of their own churches and the donation by them of items of plate to their parishes, orders and to individual priests. Of the 199 documented, inscribed Roman Catholic chalices, it is interesting to note the sub-division between those donated by the laity and those by the clergy: eighty-three chalices were the gift of the Catholic laity but an equally substantial seventy-six pieces were in the name of secular and regular clerics. Some clerics made multiple donations over the course of their careers. Richard Arthur, a member of the well-established Catholic merchant Arthur family of Limerick, was consecrated as bishop of Limerick in 1623, a position he held until his death in 1646.<sup>170</sup> Three chalices and a gilt crucifix, all inscribed in his name, are extant (Figs 19, 57 and 152). Doctor Jasper White of Limerick city recounted, sometime in the 1660s, further items of silver, silver-gilt and enamelled altar plate, as well as these chalices and cross, donated by the cleric and described Bishop Arthur as a 'great benefactor to this see':

In 1624 he gave two plate cruets for wine and water, engraved and partly gilt; in 1625 he gave a large plate gilt crucifix hollowed within side for relicts, nicely engraved, with a pedestal or degrees of plate, set with stones, and in the upper cross there is inlaid in the form of a cross a very large relic of the holy cross of Christ; it was designed to be carried before the bishop in 1627. The same year he gave a large gilded chalice and patena enamelled; he gave a plate pax nicely enamelled, and the enamelled work representing the Crucifixion and the soldier

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<sup>167</sup>Muniments of Christ Church Cathedral: register of gifts (RCB MS C/6/1/4, p. 2).

<sup>168</sup>Muniments of Christ Church Cathedral: Proctor's accounts (RCB MS C/6/15/1).

<sup>169</sup>A server was another term for paten or salver. Vestry records of Finglas Parish, County Dublin (RCB MS P 307/1/1, p. 222).

<sup>170</sup>Michael Moloney, 'Richard Arthur, bishop of Limerick, 1623-46', pp 43-9.

piercing Christ's side with a lance. In 1634 he gave a gilt plate remonstrance for the sacrament, supported by four pillars and a cover over it.<sup>171</sup>

The inscriptions on other items show that Richard Arthur, though extraordinarily generous, was not unusual. The inscription on a paten from 1598 notes its donation from Father William Miagh (Fig. 56). A 1607 chalice made for the church at Cloyne, County Cork is typical with the inscription on its foot noting the benefaction of Father Maurice Gostun: 'MAURICIVS GOSTVN SACERDOS HANC CALICEM D D ALTARI CAPELLAE BEATAE MARIAW CLOIN 1607'.<sup>172</sup> Three chalices and a ciborium donated by Friar William Ferris for the Franciscan friary in Shandon, Cork, in the approximate period 1610-14 all carry similar inscriptions highlighting his association with the order and convent. The 1611 chalice and the silver-gilt ciborium are both engraved underfoot, with the ciborium's inscription reading '*Pro Conuentu de Seandon Prope Corck fireri fecit fr Guilielm farrais Anno 1614*' (Fig. 153).<sup>173</sup> Comparatively inconspicuous inscriptions such as this are suggestive of modesty and are more apparent in clerical donations than those associated with the laity; each of the extant Richard Arthur chalices and the gilded cross are engraved under the base.

Wills offer further evidence of clerical patronage. Within the Church of Ireland, George Wilde, Bishop of Derry, made provision in his will, dated November 1665, for a large bequest to a 'Reverent Smittesson' [sic] for 'the finishing of' the church at Faughen, County Donegal, among which were two silver flagons, 'the best of my silver and Gilt Chalices', and his largest silver-gilt paten. As an afterthought he also gave the chapel his 'lesser' silver-gilt chalice.<sup>174</sup> John Pooley who during his clerical career served as Dean of St Canice's Kilkenny, Bishop of Raphoe and Bishop of Cloyne also left generous legacies during his lifetime and on his death in 1712. His gifts included a large gilt basin to St Canice's and a large cup and paten to St Michan's, Dublin before he died. In his will he bequeathed £5 to buy a paten for

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<sup>171</sup>Quoted in Maurice Lenehan, *Limerick, its history and antiquities* (Dublin, 1884), p. 589. The White MSS according to Lenehan is 'an account of the parishes, benefices, chapels, and other regulations of the Diocese of Limerick, which the Rev. James White (the compiler of the MSS.) states he copied from an old MS. which Dr. Jasper White, Pastor of St. John's parish, wrote.' Jasper White lived in Limerick in the 1660s.

<sup>172</sup>Buckley, *Irish altar plate*, p.33.

<sup>173</sup>O Floinn, *Franciscan faith*, p. 144; Buckley, *Irish altar plate*, pp 35, 36, 38.

<sup>174</sup>Will of George Wilde, Dublin, 1. Nov. 1665 (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, ff 78-80).

Leixlip Church and £20 apiece for communion plate to St Mary's and St Paul's Churches, Dublin, Youghal Church and Cloyne Cathedral.<sup>175</sup> Other wealthy clergy, during their lives and in their bequests, commissioned new items for the church's use. Lord John Parker, Archbishop of Dublin, who died in 1681, bequeathed £40 in his will for his son to buy a pair of silver candlesticks for the altar of Christ Church Cathedral.<sup>176</sup>

The wills of seventeenth-century laity expressed an even greater desire for using silver to construct a personal legacy. The precise wording in wills, as Helen Clifford has observed, regularly conveyed the personal and sentimental valuing of items which prioritised the 'memory of the person who had purchased it, [rather] than its material value'.<sup>177</sup> Seventeenth-century Irish consumers of domestic silver occasionally supplied a detail or, indeed, a proviso within their wills indicating their desire for remembrance through objects which they also sought, on their demise, to continue to control. Items of silver in these situations were invested with additional symbolic resonance and, consequently, were afforded a much longer life-span. The wills of some would suggest they were merely custodians of silverwares bequeathed by previous generations and which were envisaged to continue in like manner: Sir Randall Clayton was the recipient of a silver cup which his brother Lawrence 'left me as a Legacy' and which, in 1637, he specified was to be passed on to Lawrence's son on his own death.<sup>178</sup> Henry Jones of St Nicholas Street, Dublin stated in 1646: 'I give & bequeath my Coker nutt Sett in Silver ... to my son & heire to remain ... in perpetuall succession'.<sup>179</sup> In 1704, Sir William Kinge of Kilpecon, County Limerick, entailed all of his plate to his nephew and to each successive heir on the condition that they remain in his house and were not be sold off on his demise.<sup>180</sup>

In the absence of specific items of silver, testators often bequeathed sums of money to individuals specifying a purchase of plate in order to create an object of remembrance. Sir Christopher Nugent left his cousin Edward Dowdall £20 so that he could commission a ewer and basin and have his benefactor's arms engraved upon

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<sup>175</sup>Webster, *Church plate of Cork, Cloyne & Ross*, p. 77.

<sup>176</sup>Will of Lord John Parker, Archbishop of Dublin [undated] (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, f. 338r).

<sup>177</sup>Clifford, 'Attitudes to silver in the eighteenth century', p. 58.

<sup>178</sup>Will of Sir Randall Clayton, St Dominickes Abbey Cork, 1637 (NAI MS RC/5/18, p. 393).

<sup>179</sup>Will of Henry Jones, Esq., St Nicholas Street, Dublin, 29 Jul. 1646 (NAI MS PRCT/1/1, f. 296r).

<sup>180</sup>Will of Sir William Kinge, Kilpecon, Co. Limerick, 6 Sept. 1704 (NAI MS PRCT/1/2, f. 23r).



the set.<sup>181</sup> Nugent's example had a lasting impression on Dowdall whom, on his own death, bequeathed £40 to his son-in-law Richard Barnewell to have a ewer and basin set made on which, he specified, 'memento me' were to be engraved.<sup>182</sup> In her 1666 will Christian Purfield also left a sum of money to her son James, who, she instructed was to buy a cup and have it engraved with 'my owne name upon it'.<sup>183</sup> In the early-eighteenth century, Nathaniel Foy, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, gave his friend Sir John Mason £30 to buy a piece of plate which, the bishop specified, was to 'perpetuate my Memory with him'.<sup>184</sup> These examples show that instructions beyond the grave determined silver's sentimental endurance and continued symbolic function in expressing personal memorialisation and social relationships.

## 6.5 Conclusion

What was the meaning of silver in seventeenth-century Ireland? This final chapter has examined the evidence demonstrating silver's numerous socio-symbolic functions and has shown that seventeenth-century Irish society attached multiple meanings to the positioning of silver in a range of domestic and institutional contexts. These ranged from the use of plate in advertising status, affirming and nurturing familial and social connections, creating political alliances and publicising religious patronage. Though diverse evidence has been marshalled to illustrate these several and often distinct social functions it is clear that, essentially, silver played an important role in expressing ideas of selfhood and in connecting individuals and organisations in early-modern Irish society. In this way, Ireland's experience generally mirrored that of contemporary Britain and, indeed, pre-empted the patterns which were to evolve in Ireland the eighteenth century. However, it is also clear that there were several unique features characterising silver's socio-cultural consumption in this period which reflected the ethnic, social, religious and political conditions of the time. The tensions evident in seventeenth-century Irish society, namely between

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<sup>181</sup>Will of Sir Christopher Nugent, Co Meath, 1620 (NAI MS RC/5/8, p. 32).

<sup>182</sup>Will of Edward Dowdall, Co Meath (undated) (NAI MS RC/5/8, p. 392).

<sup>183</sup>NAI MS PRCT/1/, f.117r.

<sup>184</sup>Will of Nathaniel Foy, Lord Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, 6 Dec. 1707 (NAI MS PRCT/1/2, f. 180r).

those claiming long-held legitimacy and settlers enjoying new-found prominence and power, were not reflected in the increasing embrace by the elite of luxury consumption. The evidence has shown that individuals and institutions across Ireland used plate in similar ways, prominently displaying it in their homes in order to convey wealth, lineage and marital alliances, gifting and donating it in order to create and affirm social bonds, and bequeathing it in order to provide an appropriate legacy.

This chapter has complemented preceding ones which have examined the conditions informing silver's widespread production, acquisition and practical use. Without the recognition silver enjoyed as an agent of social intercourse in seventeenth-century Ireland, it is difficult to fully account for its widespread manufacture and consumption. Drawing on the rich evidence generated by an individual consumer such as the earl of Cork along with generous consideration of a range of other domestic and institutional consumers from the period, parities in contemporary attitudes have been revealed. Positioning this evidence within theoretical frameworks centring on consumerism and identity and historical studies which have examined early-modern themes of gift-giving and self-memorialisation has illuminated the social motivations propelling silver's continuous and favourable use. The frequency with which certain items used to communicate status and wealth are to be found in inventories, wills, corporation records and the diaries and correspondence of a prominent individual such as Richard Boyle attests to the commonly understood language of conspicuous display which silver ably articulated. The application of engraved heraldry to these wares additionally explicitly expressed the association between personal, familial and institutional identity and expensive luxury goods with high-status resonance.

It is also clear that silver was regarded as a fitting solution to numerous social obligations which cash alone could rarely fulfil. Boyle knew that money would not be a polite or appropriate reward for his hospitable cousin. Likewise, municipal corporations would never have given money to visiting grandees as a token of their respect. Even so, a fundamental component of silver's attraction and ability to create and acknowledge social relationships was its readily understood monetary value, both by donors and recipients. Although items of plate carried additional value as symbolic representations of interpersonal connections, markers of important life

events and legacies of personal achievement, they could never be entirely separated from the monetary worth for which they were also identified and appreciated.

## Conclusion

In 1700 the goldsmith's craft in Ireland was unrecognisable from its profile 100 years earlier. This thesis has presented and analysed the craft's exponential growth and composition over the course of the seventeenth century and has shown how diverse and interconnected external factors such as immigration, legislation, population growth, socio-cultural development and economic progress all combined to encourage the flourishing of goldsmithing in Ireland. Internally, important organisational features, particularly evident within the Dublin guild, were established in the period and benefitted the craft immeasurably as it continued to thrive throughout the eighteenth century. Significantly, these characteristics frequently paralleled European guild practices, reflecting the international exposure and profile of the goldsmiths, and included systems of assay and hallmarking, the policing of standards, the organisation of trainees and the regulation of craftsmen operating on the guild margins. At the same time, this thesis has illuminated features unique to Ireland's guilds which evolved in tandem with the country's exceptional religious, political and social contexts of the period.

This study has shown that by the close of the seventeenth century the goldsmith's craft had become a great deal more sophisticated with regard to its productivity and development of professional networks than hitherto realised. New analysis of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company's records relating to the numbers of apprentices employed by master goldsmiths, the annual 'sponsorship' of journeymen and quarter brothers and the volumes of plate assayed in the last decades of the century indicate that several successful men were operating populous, industrious workshops. Furthermore, it has been shown that object and documentary sources suggest that Dublin's goldsmiths were collaborating with each other in the production and retail of plate. The sparse evidence, though by no means definitive, indicates that, like their British and European counterparts, they were developing entrepreneurial methods of increased productivity, namely through sub-contracting, albeit at a basic level.

By teasing out the ‘terms and conditions’ of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild’s 1637 charter of incorporation this thesis has also unravelled the factors which saw the increasing dominance of the capital city over the provincial centres of production. The authority vested with the Dublin Goldsmiths’ Company from 1637 to assay, hallmark and police the quality of all silver produced in Ireland effectively stunted any potential for the goldsmiths’ guilds of Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Galway and other towns to flourish as the craft did in the capital. Though the numbers of goldsmiths increased somewhat in these locales, reflecting, at least, modest growth in the production and consumption of plate in provincial Ireland, there remained a severe disparity between the craft’s development in Dublin and the rest of the country. Unofficial systems of ‘hallmarking’ in provincial centres testify to the efforts of goldsmiths to continue to supply consumers with silverwares but a lack of extant plate bearing homogenous marks and guild documentation preclude effective analysis of the extent to which these efforts were implemented. In any case, Dublin’s pre-eminence continued to soar into the eighteenth century, a bitter fact not lost on provincial goldsmiths who campaigned for local assay offices in line with their contemporaries in provincial British cities.

The growth of the goldsmith’s craft – both in Dublin and provincial Ireland – was not simply due to increased organisation and membership within the guilds. Indeed, this study has developed the simple economic thesis of supply and demand to identify the numerous consumers driving the development of the craft in Ireland from the early-seventeenth century. It has shed new light on the pervasive consumption of silver across Irish society in domestic and institutional contexts. Extant plate and documentary sources have illustrated the vast array of silverwares consumed. A demand-driven consumer market, it has been abundantly illustrated through the case of Richard Boyle and other consumers, was established in the early decades of the seventeenth century. The demand for these items was met by both Irish and international sources. Although it is clear that items of plate were being produced for ecclesiastical, civic and ceremonial purposes, the demand by consumers by the end of the century for items associated with display, novelty and luxury consumption was ultimately driving the exponential growth of the craft. The country’s goldsmiths richly benefitted from the shift in consumer behaviour and

changing social expectations in dining, drinking, furnishing, personal decoration and entertainment.

The consumption patterns of the elite like Richard Boyle, his extensive family and the dukes of Ormond have been balanced with evidence relating to more modest consumers, both domestic and institutional. Though undeniably a favoured status symbol of wealthy consumers, silver was not the exclusive reserve of the aristocracy in seventeenth-century Ireland. Numerous instances recorded in depositions, wills and inventories support the argument that less-affluent consumers were also driving consumer demand and contributing significantly to the production and widespread consumption of plate in this period. These consumers, like the elite in their society, recognised and utilised plate's numerous attractive features in advertising capital, fulfilling practical functions, creating and maintaining social bonds and articulating taste and civility.

Within this environment of silver's ubiquitous presence in Irish society, consumers, like the status-conscious earl of Cork, opted to distinguish themselves through their acquisition of decorative plate. In these instances, consumers certainly gambled on the inevitable loss of capital tied up in the 'fashioning' of plate. Other, more cautious consumers sought, throughout the period, to procure plain, unornamented items. The result was a wide array of silverwares produced in visually diverse designs. The examination of these in this thesis has shown that Irish silver exhibits distinct stylistic and technical features finding concurrent popularity in contemporary Britain and Europe, demonstrating both the continuing discernment by consumers of fashion's high social value and Irish goldsmiths' timely ability to meet the demand for desired patterns, forms and finishes. This conclusion challenges perceptions of the 'time lag' of early-modern Irish patterns of consumption, repositioning Ireland's consumers and makers within the vibrant narrative of European luxury consumption.

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**CRAFT AND CULTURE:  
THE DESIGN, PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF  
SILVER IN IRELAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY**

**(Two volumes)**

**by**

**JESSICA CUNNINGHAM**

**THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF PHD  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,  
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND, MAYNOOTH**

**HEAD OF DEPARTMENT: Dr Jacinta Prunty**

**Supervisor of Research: Dr Alison FitzGerald**

**May 2016**

**VOLUME 2**

## Illustrations

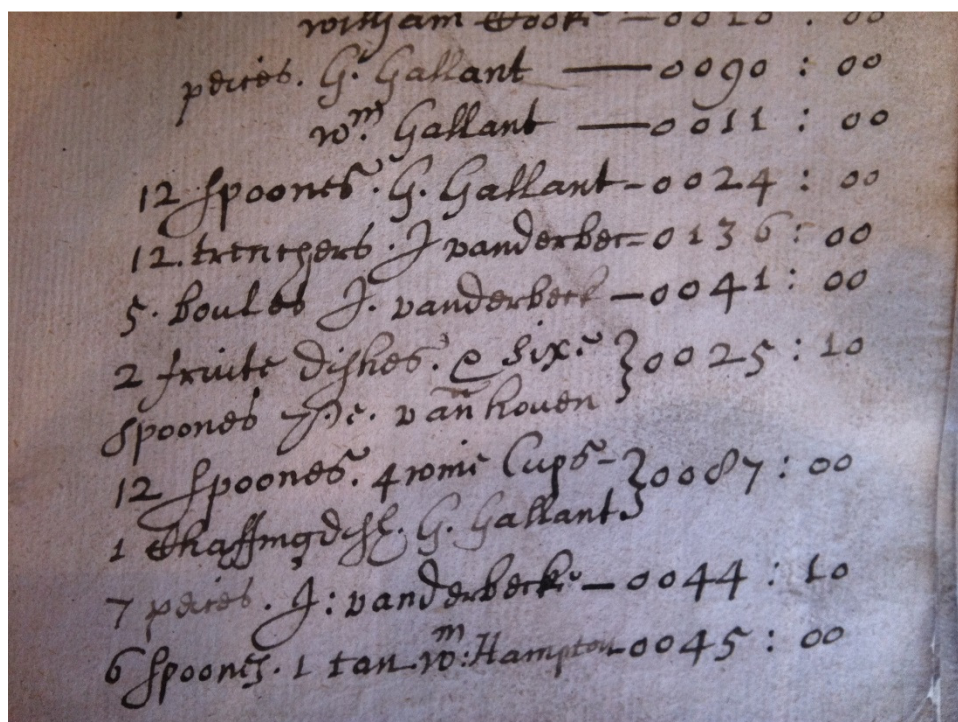


Figure 1: Detail from the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company Assay Book showing submissions by immigrant goldsmiths George Gallant, James Vanderbeck and Peter Vaneindhoven, 1638-9

Dublin Goldsmiths' Company, Assay Office, Dublin

Whereas John Cuthbert Gent Master-warden of the Goldsmiths  
 Company in Dublin doe intend (by Gods Permission) shortly to transport  
 England aboute my necessary occasions And therefore I doe hereby  
 the consent of the subscribers) nominate appointe & make Ma<sup>r</sup>  
 in Dickson an abient Butcher & formerly Master-warden of the said  
 Company my deputie, in my stead to act doe & cause to be done all acts  
 & things concerning & that shall concern the said Company &  
 good government thereof during my absence, as fully, freely, &  
 lawfully as if I were personally present to doe or to cause the same to be  
 done. Witness my hand this 16<sup>th</sup> day of febr; 1688:

Wm: Drayton  
 Wm: Clifton  
 Joh Copp  
 Wm Kelly  
 Gregory

John Cuthbert

Figure 2: Statement signed by the Master Warden of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company, John Cuthbert, 16 February 1688/9, detailing his departure to England

Dublin Goldsmiths' Company, Assay Office, Dublin



Figure 3: Paten (unknown maker) with fleur-de-lis marks, possibly Dublin, c.1624

Representative Church Body, Dublin





Figure 4: Spoon with the mark of Samuel Pantain, Cork, c.1690

Private collection



Figure 5: Communion cup with the mark of Robert Smith, with Limerick city marks, c.1675

Representative Church Body, Dublin





Figure 6: Communion cup with the mark of Edward Russell, c.1670, Waterford city marks

Waterford Museum of Treasures, Waterford



Figure 7: Communion cup (detail), with the mark of William Hampton, Dublin, 1638-9, exhibiting the first Dublin Goldsmiths' Company assay hallmarks

Private collection

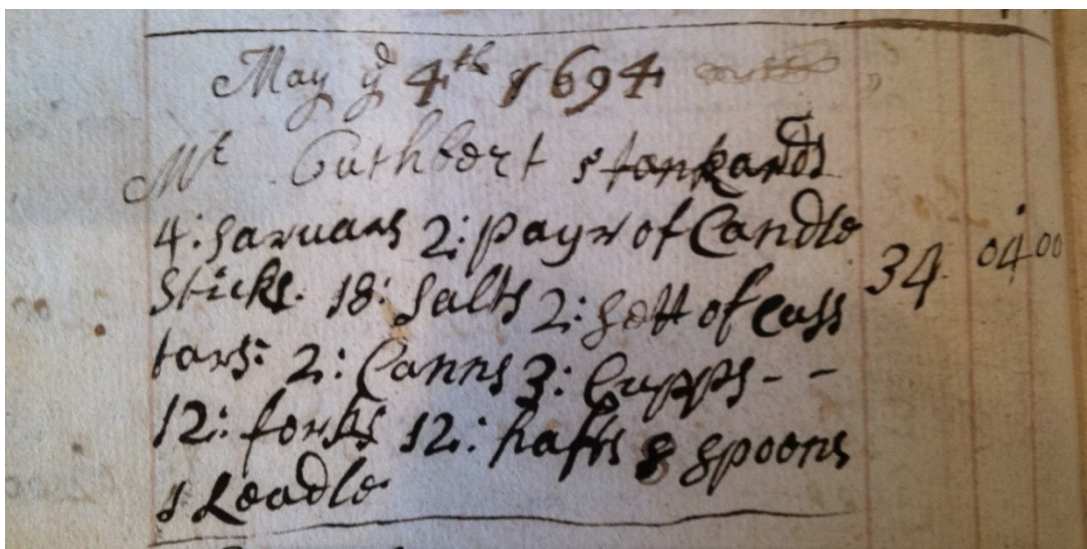


Figure 8: Assay submission of Dublin goldsmith John Cuthbert, 4 May 1694

Dublin Goldsmiths' Company, Assay Office, Dublin Castle



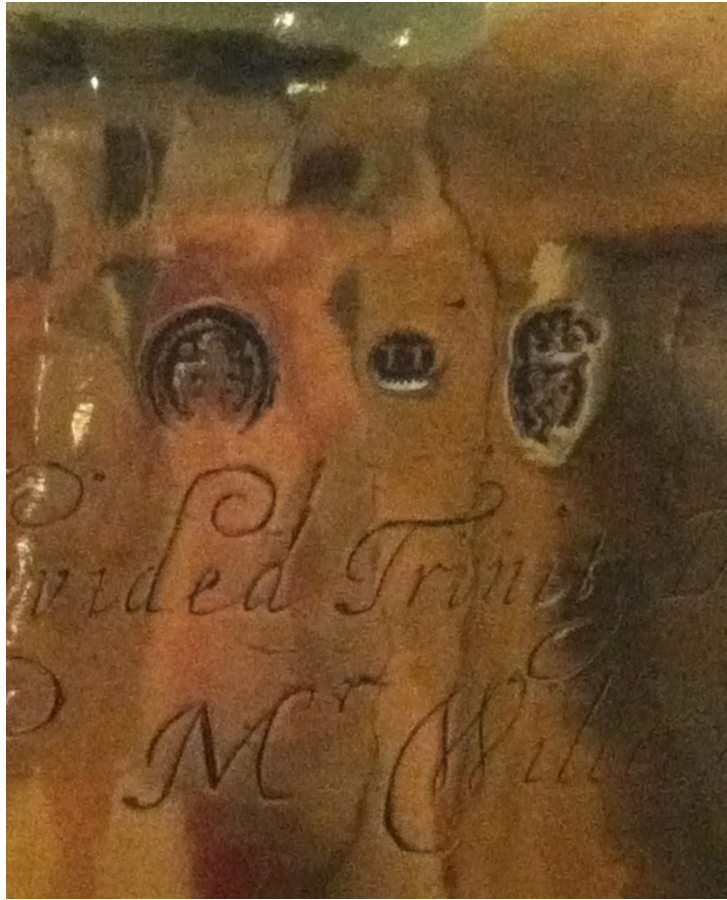


Figure 9: Detail of silver-gilt standing cup (one of a pair) with the makers' marks of Dublin goldsmiths Edward Swann and Thomas Tennant, 1674-80

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

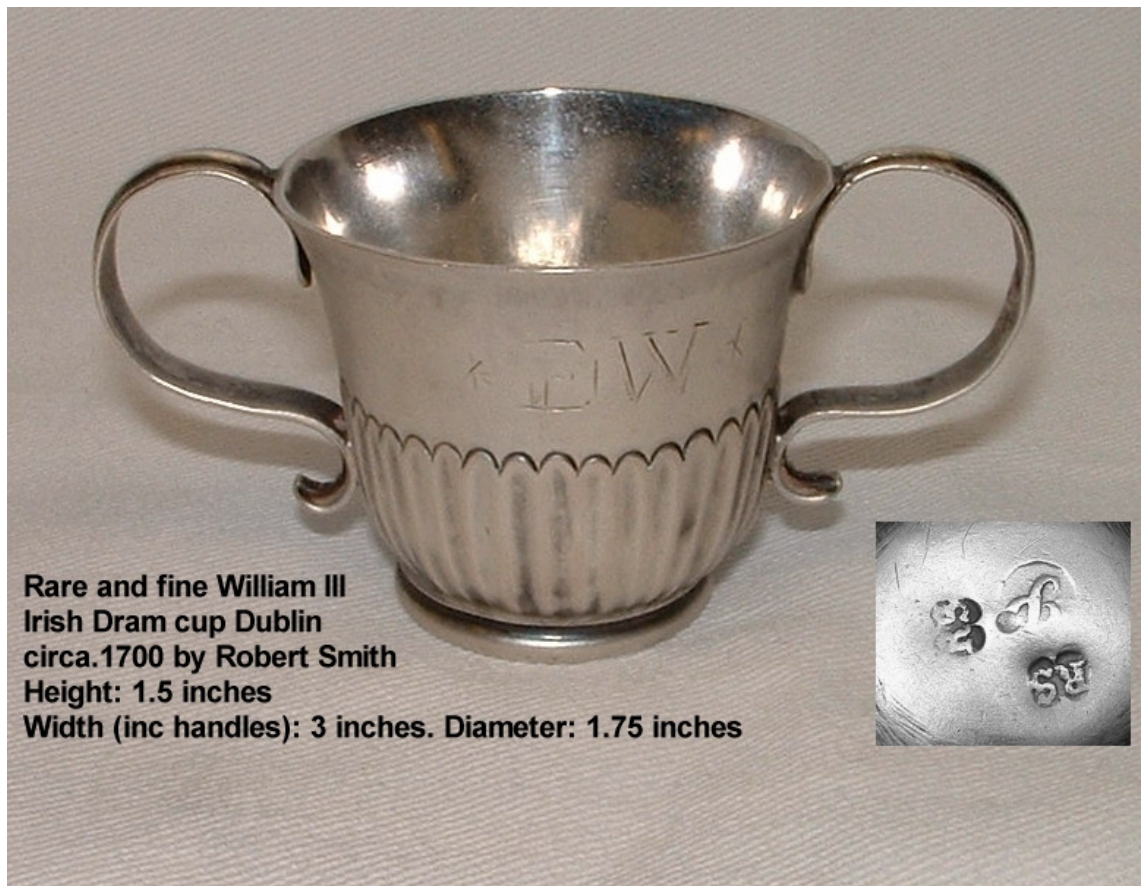


Figure 10: Dram cup with the maker's marks RS (Robert Smith) and JP (John Pattison or John Paturle), no hallmark, Dublin, c.1700

Photograph courtesy of Weldon's Jewellers, Dublin

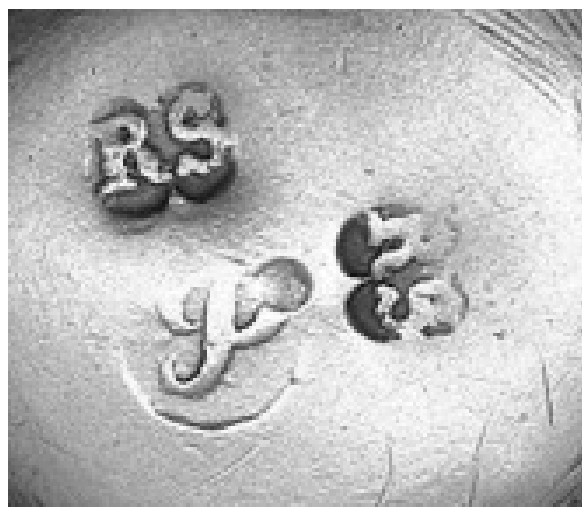


Figure 11: Detail of maker's marks as described in Figure 10.

Photograph courtesy of Weldon's Jewellers, Dublin

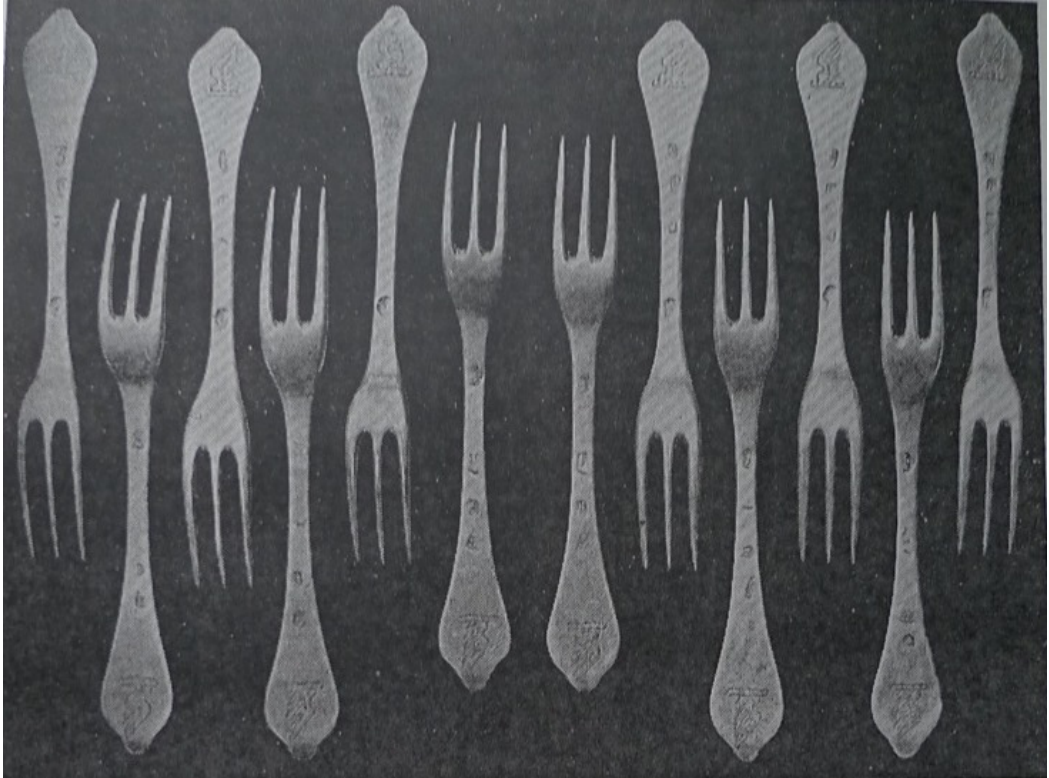


Figure 12: Set of twelve forks with the maker's marks of Cyriac Mallory and Edward Workman, Dublin, 1699-1700

*The Connoisseur*, (Dec. 1931).





Figure 13: Tankard with the mark of John Cuthbert and Edward Swann, Dublin, c.1685.

Photograph courtesy of Sotheby's, London.



Figure 14: James Weldon's mark on the body of a tankard, Dublin, 1694-5

Photograph courtesy of Thomas Sinsteden



Figure 15: David King's mark overstriking James Weldon's mark on the lid of the tankard detailed in Figure 14

Photograph courtesy of Thomas Sinsteden



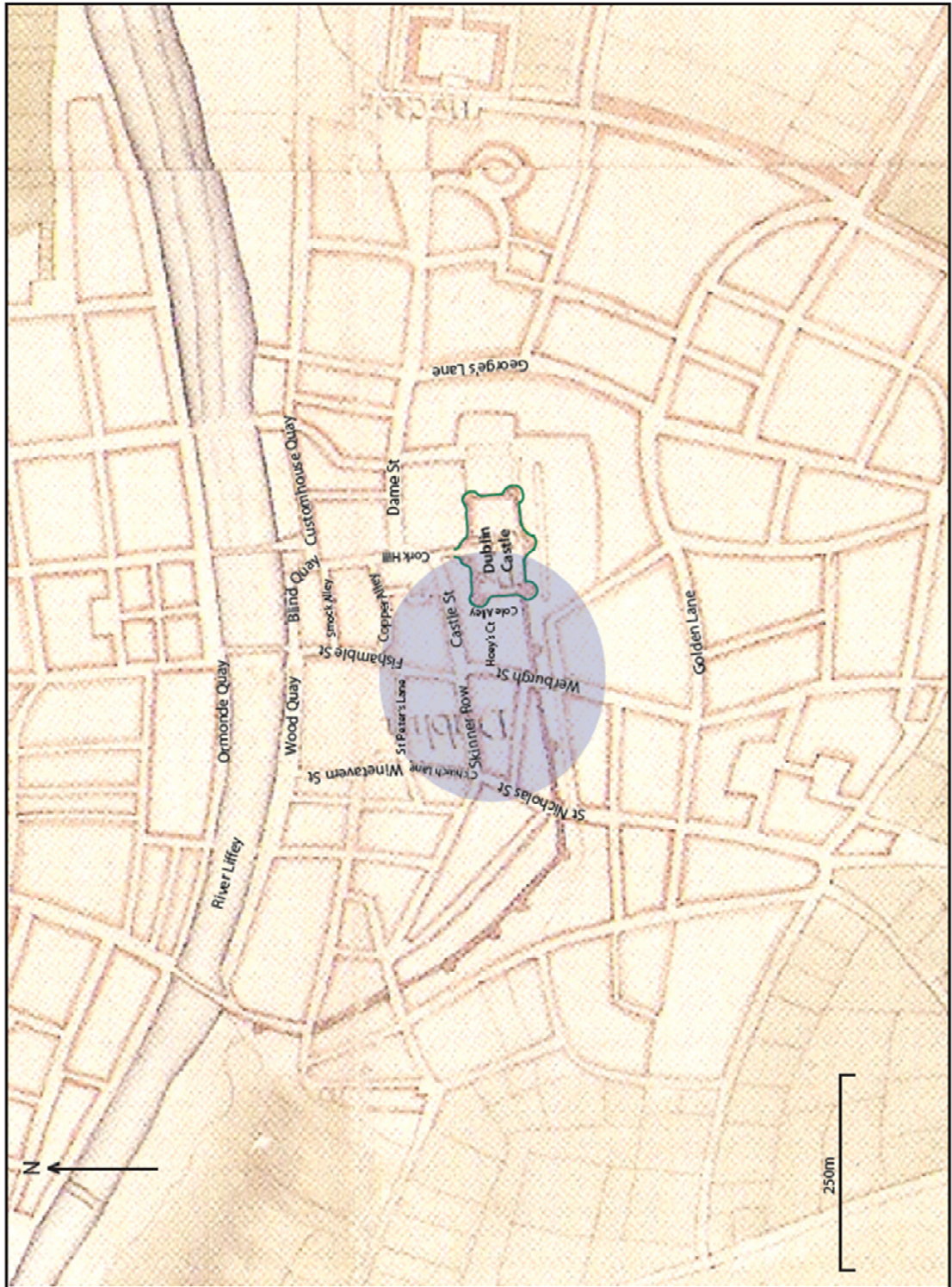


Figure 16: The location of Dublin's goldsmiths, c.1600-1700

Detail of Dublin city from 'An exact survey of the city of Dublin and part of the harbour, anno 1685' by Thomas Phillips (British Library) from *Irish Historic Towns Atlas*, no. 9 (Dublin, 2008), compiled by Jessica Cunningham, 2012.





Figure 17: Portrait of goldsmith and Lord Mayor of Dublin Daniel Bellingham (c.1665), oil on canvas, artist unknown

Dublin City Council



Figure 18: 'Anastasia Rice' silver-gilt chalice, maker unknown, c.1626

Franciscan Order of Ireland



Figure 19: 'Richard Arthur' chalice, maker unknown, Spanish or Portuguese, c.1625

Hunt Museum, Limerick



Figure 20: Communion cup and paten-cover, maker unknown (possibly John Moore),  
Dublin, c.1611

National Museum of Ireland





Figure 21: 'Nicholas Loftus' communion cup with the mark of John Thornton, Dublin, 1639-40

Representative Church Body, Dublin





Figure 22: Collection of Limerick Church of Ireland communion plate: Flagon with the mark of John Bucknor, Limerick, c.1660; Bread plate with the mark of Hercules Beere, Youghal, c.1660; Communion cup with the mark of John Bucknor, Limerick, c.1660

Representative Church Body, Dublin



Figure 23: Communion cup (one of a set of eight), mark of Alexander Sinclaire, Dublin, 1700-1, with later-eighteenth century engraved inscription

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin





Figure 24: Silver-gilt standing cups, makers' marks of Edward Swann and Thomas Tennant, Dublin, 1674-80

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin





Figure 25: Cork Trade Guilds mace, maker's mark of Robert Goble, Cork, c.1696  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London



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Youghal Town Council, County Cork



Figure 27: Dublin civic sword, c.1690

Dublin City Council, Dublin



Figure 28: Silver seal matrix, maker unknown, Navan Corporation, c.1661

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



Figure 29: Freedom box, maker unknown, Limerick, c.1693

Limerick City Museum, Limerick





Figure 30: Kilkenny Corporation mace, London hallmarks, 1676

Kilkenny Corporation



Figure 31: Bandon Corporation mace, maker's mark of Robert Goble, Cork, c.1700

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



Figure 32: Cashel mace (one of a pair), maker unknown, c.1637

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin





Figure 33: Belfast city mace (detail) with the maker's mark 'SG' (possibly Sylvanus Glegg), c.1635

Belfast City Council, Belfast



Figure 34: Castlemartyr Mace, maker unknown, Cork or Youghal, c.1685

Cork Public Museum, Cork



Figure 35: Lord Mayor's chain of office (silver-gilt chain with gold medal), London, c.1698

Dublin City Council, Dublin





Figure 36: Kilkenny Corporation sergeant-at-arms maces, maker unknown, c.1600

Kilkenny Corporation



Figure 37: Pocket mace, Belfast Corporation, maker unknown, c.1635

Belfast City Council, Belfast



Figure 38: Standing cups: (l) the Sir Joseph Williamson cup (1696) and (r) the Alderman William Fownes cup (1700), both with the mark of Thomas Bolton, Dublin

Dublin City Council, Dublin



Figure 39: Standing cups: (l) 'The Dunscombe Standing Cup', with the mark of Thomas Bolton, Dublin (1694) and (r) 'The Palliser Standing Cup', with the mark of Joseph Walker, Dublin, (1706)

Trinity College Dublin



Figure 40: Great mace of Dublin Corporation, originally produced in the workshop of Daniel Bellingham in 1665-6 and later re-fashioned in the workshop of Thomas Bolton in 1717-8.

Dublin City Council, Dublin



Figure 41: Head of Bandon Corporation mace, with the mark of Robert Goble, Cork, c.1700 National Museum of Ireland, Dublin





Figure 42: Paten of St Werburgh's parish church, Dublin, with the mark of John Cuthbert, Dublin, 1685

Representative Church Body, Dublin



Figure 43: Communion cup, maker's mark R.C., London hallmarks, 1630-1.

Parish church of Ballymodan, County Cork. (Reproduced in Charles A. Webster, *The church plate of the Diocese of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, (Cork, 1909), p. 51.)



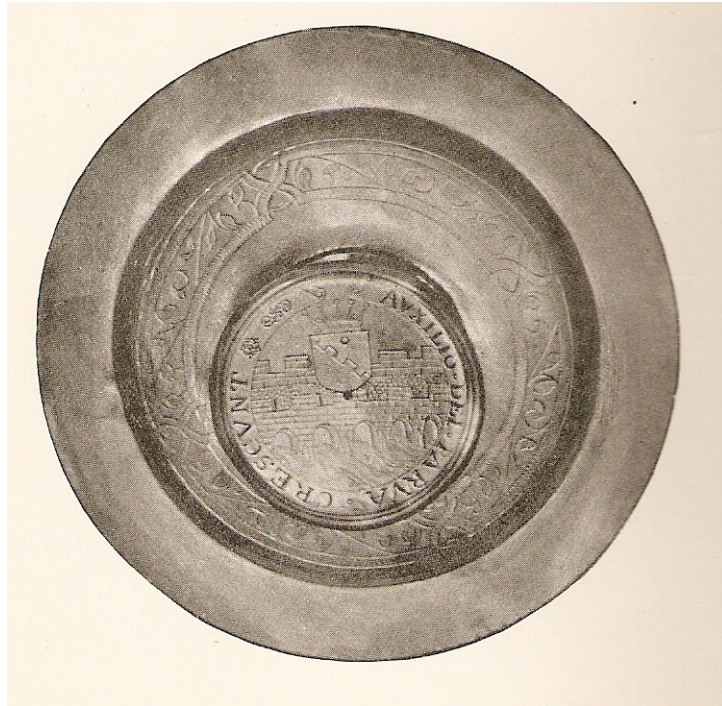


Figure 44: Paten cover, maker's mark R.C., London hallmarks, 1630-1.

Parish church of Ballymodan, County Cork. (Reproduced in Charles A. Webster, *The church plate of the Diocese of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, (Cork, 1909), p. 51.)



Figure 45: Flagon, with the mark of Thomas Parr, London hallmarks, 1699-1700.

Holy Trinity, Christ Church, Cork. (Reproduced in Charles A. Webster, *The church plate of the Diocese of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, (Cork, 1909), p. 19.)



Figure 46: Communion cup and paten, London marks, 1679-80

Representative Church Body, Dublin





Figure 47: Silver-gilt paten and flagon (maker unknown), London 1662-3 and silver-gilt alms dish, mark of Joseph Stoker, Dublin, 1663-4

St Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny



Figure 48: Silver-gilt altar plate (the 'Royal Plate') of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, London hallmarks, 1698-9

Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin



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National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



Figure 50: 'John Mulhall' chalice, maker unknown, Paris hallmarks, 1678  
(Reproduced in John Buckley, *Some Irish altar plate*, (Dublin, 1943) p. 112)



Plati Assayd of tounes in 148:12  
 1648 and 1649 the latter  
 being L Peter vanijnd-  
 houn & Gilbert Conquib  
 Assay masters

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 Gilbert Conquib in plati-094:05  
 Peter vanijndhoun 2 Carri-036:00  
 Nath: Stoughton 2 yorlonger-024:00  
 Dan: Bellingham 2 Carri-038:00  
 Natha: Stoughton 2 tumbler-030:00  
 Dan: Bellingham 2 Spoon-009:00  
 Peter vanijndhoun 2 Carri-012:00  
 Nath: Stoughton, Spoon-027:00  
 Dan: Bellingham 2 Supp-024:00  
 Peter vanijndhoun 2 Carri-040:00  
 Gilbert Conquib 2 Carri-005:00  
 Daniel Burfolt 2 sandli supp-044:09  
 Dani: Bellingham 5 tumbler-026:00  
 now in Tumbler & Spoon-080:00  
526:05

Figure 51: Dublin Goldsmiths' Company assay record 1648 and 1649, including submissions made by the London-trained goldsmith Nathaniel Stoughton

Dublin Goldsmiths' Company, Assay Office, Dublin Castle





Figure 52: Alms dish, (no maker's mark, though attributed to Abel Ram), Dublin, c.1660

Trinity College Dublin





Figure 53: Candlesticks with the mark of James Weldon (Welding), Dublin, 1694-5

Trinity College Dublin



Figure 54: Salver with the mark of Joseph Walker, Dublin, 1696-8

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 55: Chocolate pot with the mark of Thomas Bolton, Dublin, 1696-9

National Museum of Ireland



Figure 56: 'William Miagh' paten, maker unknown, c.1598  
(Reproduced in John Buckley, *Some Irish altar plate*, (Dublin, 1943) p. 27.)



Figure 57: 'Richard Arthur' chalice, maker unknown, c.1626  
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



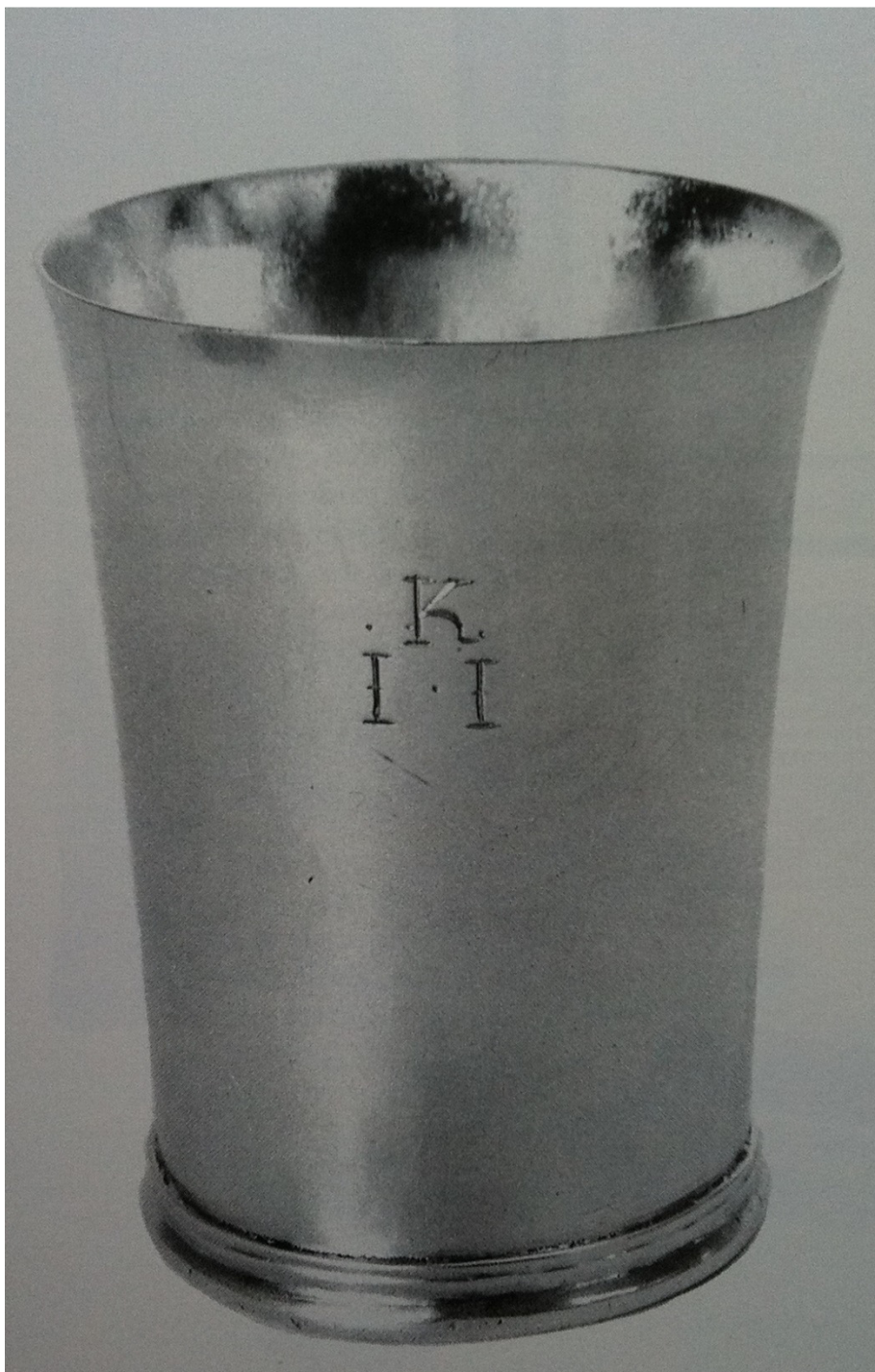


Figure 58: Beaker with the mark of Francis Coffey, Dublin, 1663-9

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



Figure 59: Communion cup, maker unknown, c.1627

Parish of St. Mary's Shandon, Cork, (Reproduced in Charles A. Webster, *The church plate of the Diocese of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, (Cork, 1909), p. 23.)

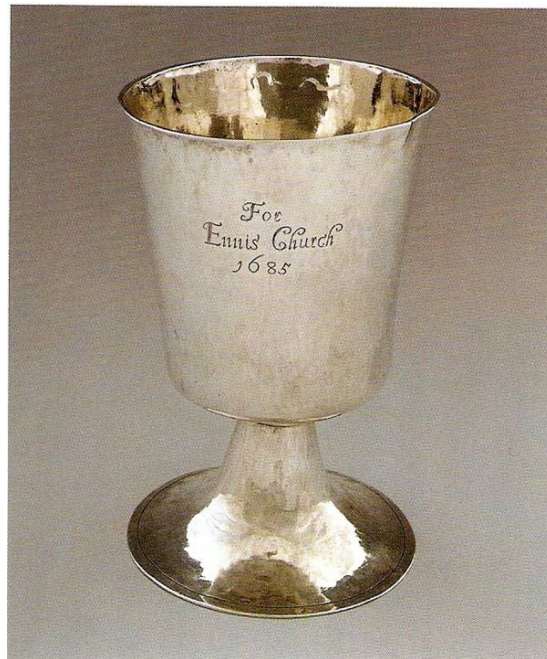


Figure 60: Communion cup with the mark of Robert Smith, Limerick, c.1685

Representative Church Body, Dublin



Figure 61: Communion cup and paten-cover with the mark of John Moore, Bandon, c.1640

Cathedral Church of St Colman, Ballycotton and Kilmahon, County Cork.  
(Reproduced in Charles A. Webster, *The church plate of the Diocese of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, (Cork, 1909), p. 79.)





Figure 62: Communion cup with the mark of William Hampton, Dublin, 1638-9

Private collection





Figure 63: Goblet with the mark of William Cooke, Dublin, 1639-40

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



Figure 64: Communion cup with the maker's mark 'C.M' and lion rampant (possibly provincial English marks), c.1697.

Parish church of Castletownroche, County Cork. (Reproduced in Charles A. Webster, *The church plate of the Diocese of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, (Cork, 1909), pp 106-7.)



Figure 65: Communion cup with the mark of James Robinson, Limerick, c.1699

Representative Church Body, Dublin



Figure 66: Wine glass, England, c.1680-90  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Figure 67: Fragments of seventeenth-century wine glasses from the excavation at  
Rathfarnham Castle, Co. Dublin

Photograph courtesy of Archaeology Plan, Dublin

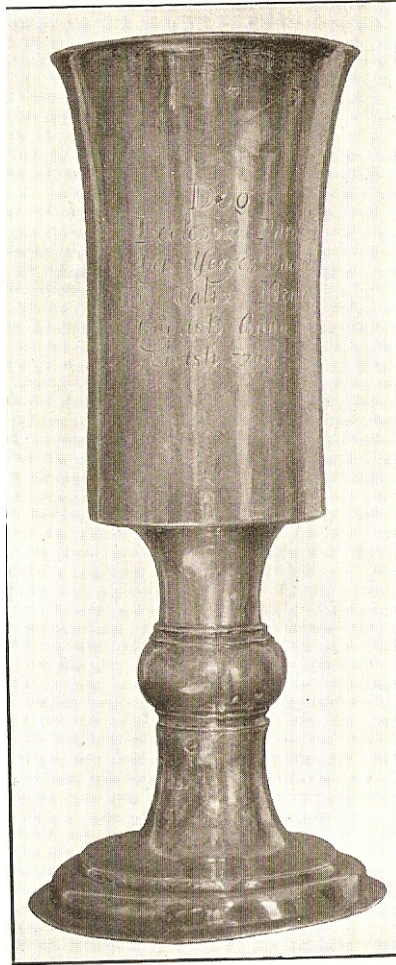


Figure 68: Communion cup with the mark of Thomas Bolton, Dublin, 1702-3.

Parish church of Desertserges, County Cork. (Reproduced in Charles A. Webster, *The church plate of the Diocese of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, (Cork, 1909), p. 66.)





Figure 69: Flagon with the mark of James Vanderbeck, Dublin, 1638-9

Trinity College Dublin



Figure 70: Flacon with the mark of James Robinson, Limerick, c.1695

Representative Church Body, Dublin





Figure 71: Flagon with the mark of Robert Goble, Cork, c.1705

Holy Trinity, Christ Church, Cork. (Reproduced in Charles A. Webster, *The church plate of the Diocese of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, (Cork, 1909), p. 19.)



Figure 72: Paten with the mark of John Bucknor, Limerick, c.1665

Representative Church Body, Dublin



Figure 73: Paten with the mark of Joseph Walker, Dublin, 1693-96  
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin





Figure 74: Caster with the mark of John Cuthbert, Dublin, 1685-7,  
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



Figure 75: Two-handled covered cup with the mark of John Cuthbert, Dublin, 1685-7,  
National Museums of Northern Ireland, Belfast

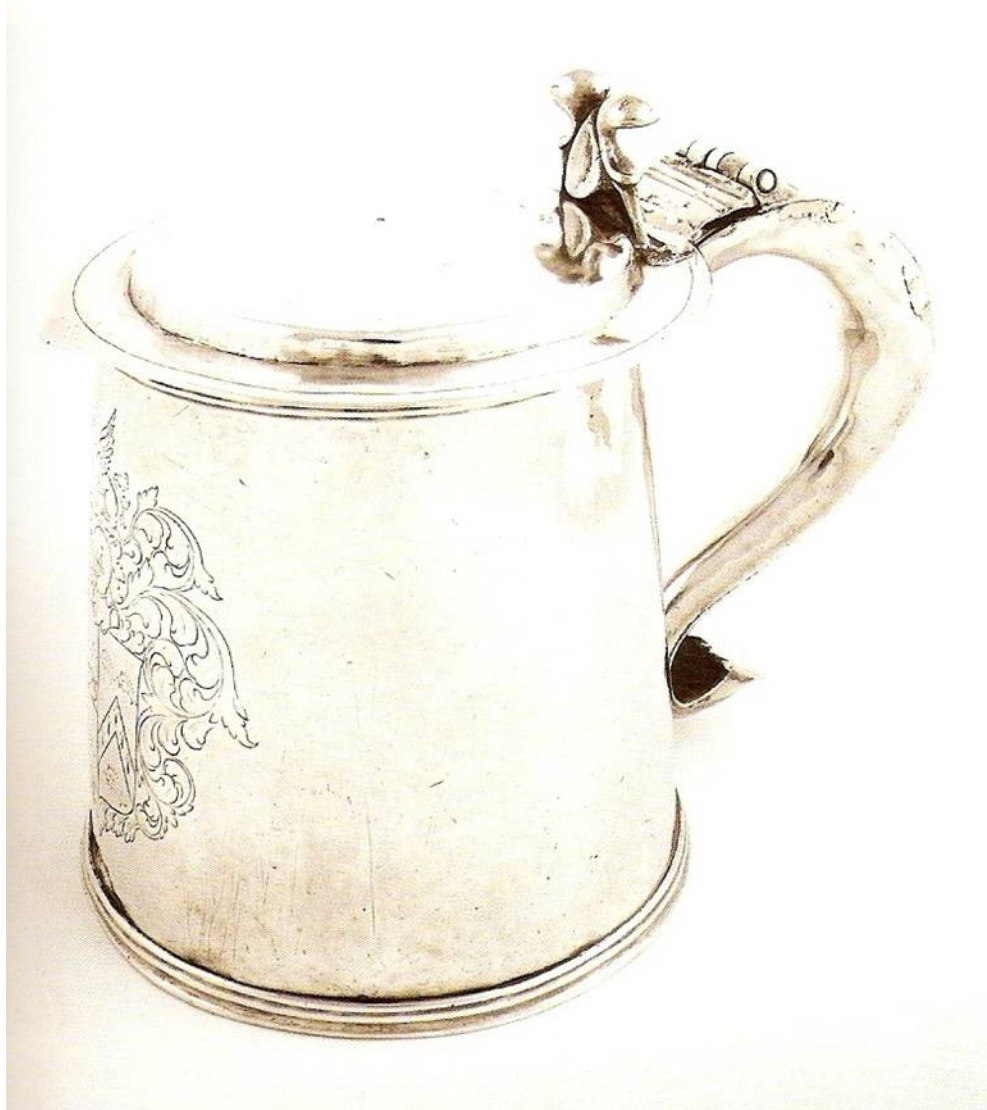


Figure 76: Tankard with the mark of Robert Smith, Limerick, c.1675

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



Figure 77: Head of the Belfast mace, maker's mark 'SG', c.1635

Belfast City Council, Belfast





Figure 78: Two-handled covered cup (or cauldle cup) with the mark of Richard Smart, Cork, c.1680

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



Figure 79: Sideboard dish with the mark of Thomas Bolton, Dublin, 1702-3

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

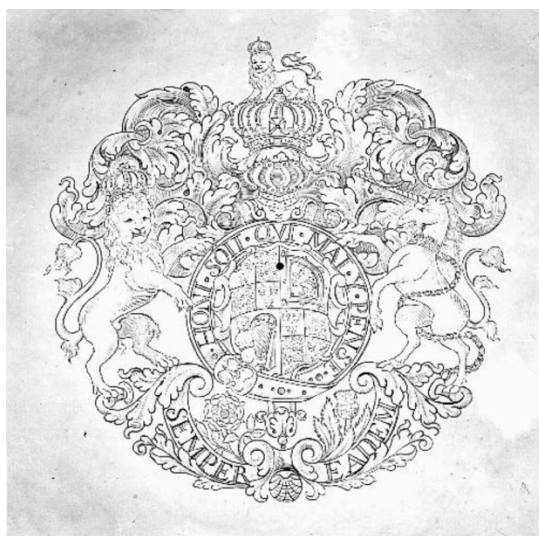


Figure 80: Engraved royal arms on sideboard dish, Thomas Bolton, Dublin, 1702-3

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston





Figure 81: Monteith with the mark of Joseph Walker, Dublin, 1700-1

Photograph courtesy of Sotheby's, London



Figure 82: Bowl with the mark 'C. H' (possibly Chris Hardwick), Dublin, 1703-4

Photograph courtesy of Sotheby's, London



Figure 83: Two-handed cup (or caudle cup) with the mark of John Philips, Dublin, 1685

Private collection





Figure 84: Communion cup and paten with the mark of John Bucknor, Limerick, c.1665

Representative Church Body, Dublin



Figure 85: Communion cup with the mark of James Robinson, Limerick, c.1703

Representative Church Body, Dublin



Figure 86: Ewer with the mark of Thomas Bolton, Dublin, 1699-1700

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



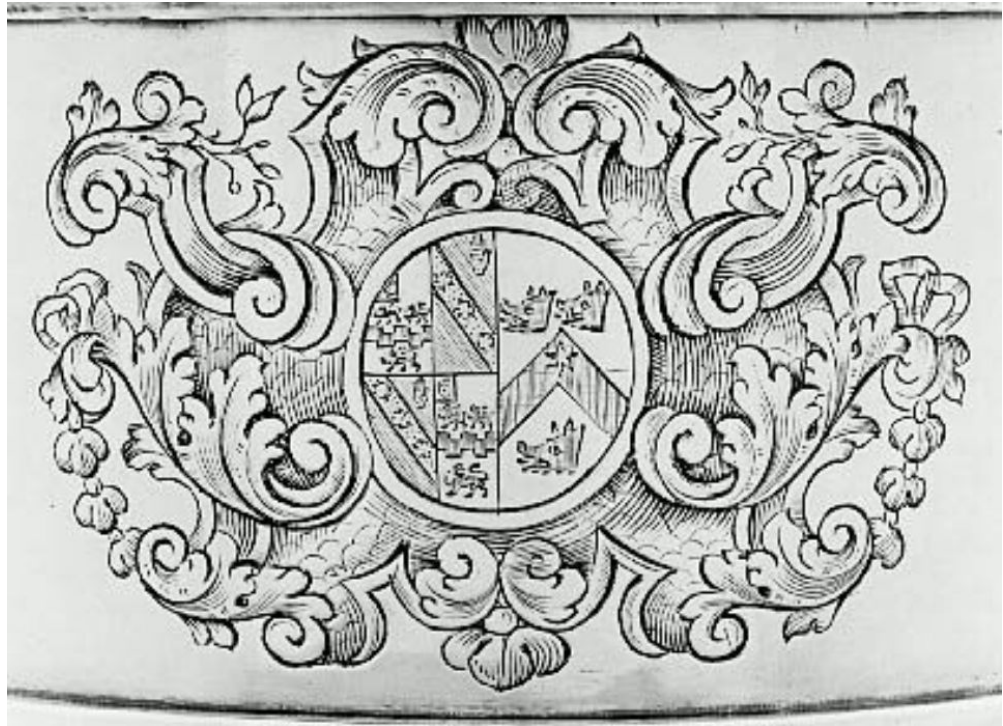


Figure 87: Engraved armorials on ewer, Thomas Bolton, Dublin, 1699-1700

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 88: Design for metalwork cartouche or mirror, Master Guido, Paris, c.1595

(Reproduced in Alain Gruber, *Renaissance*, p. 373)





Figure 89: Toilet casket with the mark of John Philips, Dublin, 1680-3

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



Figure 90: Casters with the mark of Robert Goble, Cork, c.1690

Photograph courtesy of Sothbey's, London



Figure 91: Caster with the maker's mark 'W.C', London hallmarks, 1672.

(Reproduced in Timothy Schroder, *English domestic silver*, p. 7.)



Figure 92: Pair of forks with the mark of David King, Dublin, 1696-99

Photograph courtesy of Sotheby's, London





Figure 93: Dish with the mark of Robert Goble, Cork, c.1700

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



Figure 94: Pair of casters with the mark of Thomas Bolton, Dublin, 1699-1700

San Antonio Museum of Art, Texas





Figure 95: Two-handled cup (or caudle cup) with the mark of Abel Ram, Dublin, c.1665

Courtesy of Kathleen Durdin



Figure 96: Dish with the mark of Joseph Stoker, Dublin, c.1673,  
Private collection. (Originally in the collection of George Panter.)





Figure 97: Two-handled covered cup (or caudle cup) with the mark of Timothy Blackwood, Dublin, c.1680

Private collection



Figure 98: Two-handled covered cup (or caudle cup) with the mark of Timothy Blackwood, Dublin, c.1680

Private collection



Figure 99: Two-handled cup (both sides) with the mark 'J.S' (John Shelly or John Segar), Dublin, 1685-7

Private collection



Figure 100: Pair of candlesticks with the maker's mark 'J.S' (John Shelley or John Segar), Dublin, 1685-7

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin





Figure 101: Print from *Treatise of Japanning and Varnishing* by John Stalker and George Parker, 1688



Figure 102: Print from *Treatise of Japanning and Varnishing* by John Stalker and George Parker, 1688



Figure 103: Pair of boxes with the marks of John Slicer and James Welding, Dublin, c.1685

Photograph courtesy of Weldon's Jewellers, Dublin



Figure 104: Covered bowls and matching salvers. Bowls and salvers with the mark of Thomas Bolton, Dublin, 1699-1700; Covers with the mark of John Cuthbert, Dublin, 1684-85

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



Figure 105: Covered bowl and matching salver. Bowls and salver with the mark of Thomas Bolton, Dublin, 1699-1700; Cover with the mark of John Cuthbert, Dublin, 1684-85

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin





Figure 106: Two-handled covered cup with the mark of Thomas Bolton, Dublin, 1694-6

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 107: Two-handled covered cup with the mark of David Willaume, London, 1720-5

Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Figure 108: 'Maguire' chalice, with inscription underfoot: 'John O'Mullarkey O'Donel's silversmith made me', c.1633

(Reproduced in P. O Gallchobhair, *Clogher Record*, 1955)



Figure 109: Chalice, maker unknown, Spain, c.1600

Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Figure 110: 'Sarsfield-White' chalice, maker unknown, Limerick, c.1640

The Dominican Community, Limerick



Figure 111: Chalice and paten with the mark of Blaise Perlan, Paris, 1633-4

Victoria and Albert Museum, London





Figure 112: 'FitzSimon' monstrance, maker unknown, c.1664

The Franciscan Order of Ireland



Figure 113: Chalice, with the mark of Jacques Pépin, Landerneau, Brittany, c.1635

(Reproduced in *Bretagne d'or et d'argent: les orfèvres de Basse Bretagne XIVe – Xxe siècles*, (1994), catalogue no: 74)





Figure 114: Chalice with the mark of Richard Fennell, Limerick or Ennis, c.1670

St Flannan's (Killaloe) Diocesan Trust



Figure 115: Communion cup with the mark of Robert Goble, Cork, c.1692,  
(Reproduced in Charles A. Webster, *The church plate of the Diocese of Cork, Cloyne  
and Ross*, (Cork, 1909), p. 48.)



Figure 116: Communion cup with the mark of Robert Goble, Cork, c.1698,  
(Reproduced in Charles A. Webster, *The church plate of the Diocese of Cork, Cloyne  
and Ross*, (Cork, 1909), p. 52.)



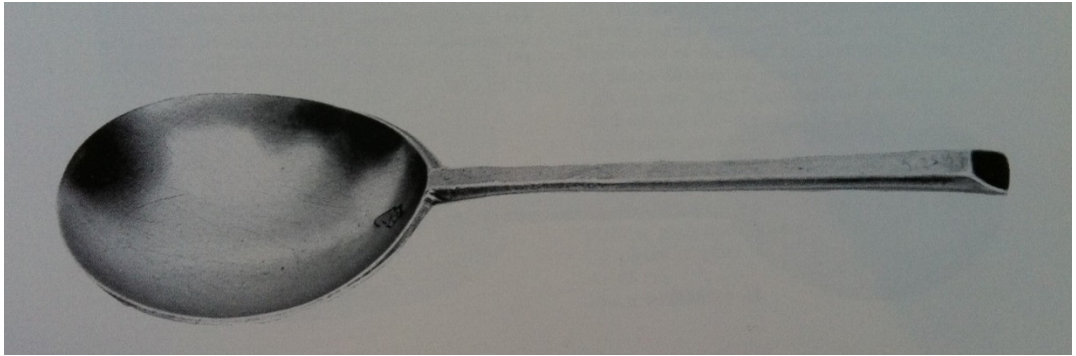


Figure 117: 'Slip top' spoon with the mark of George Gallant, Dublin, 1639-40

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



Figure 118: Spoon with the mark of Abel Ram, Dublin, 1663-9

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



Figure 119: Pair of 'trefid' spoons with the mark of Edward Swann, Dublin, 1679

Photograph courtesy of Weldon's Jewellers, Dublin



Figure 120: 'Trefid' spoon with the mark of Robert Goble, Cork, c.1700

Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Figure 121: Knife with the mark of John Cuthbert, Dublin, 1705-6  
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

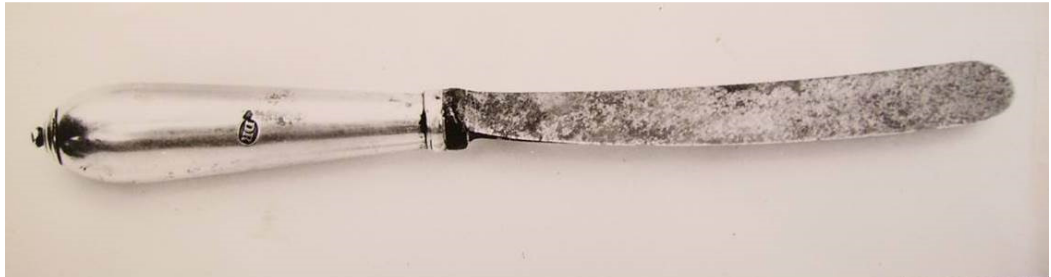


Figure 122: Knife with the mark of David Rummieu, Dublin, 1706-7  
Representative Church Body, Dublin



Figure 123: Fork with the mark of James Welding, Dublin, 1693-6

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



Figure 124: Pair of casters with the mark of Robert Goble, Cork, c.1690

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



Figure 125: 'Scroll' salt with the mark of George Gallant, Dublin, c.1640

Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minnesota





Figure 126: Caster with the mark of Thomas Bolton, Dublin, 1699-1700 and set of trencher salts with the mark of Henry Sherwin, Dublin, 1715-6

San Antonio Museum of Art, Texas



Figure 127: Apple corer with the maker's mark 'R.S' (possibly Robert Smith), Dublin, c.1690

Photograph courtesy of Sotheby's, London.





Figure 128: Tankard with the mark of Richard Joyce, Galway, c.1705

Private collection





Figure 129: Dram cup with the mark of Joseph Stoker, Dublin, c.1668

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



Figure 130: Mug with the mark of Robert Goble, Cork, c.1685

Photograph courtesy of Sotheby's, London





Figure 131: Pair of mugs with the mark of Joseph Walker, Dublin, 1696-99,  
Photograph courtesy of Sotheby's, London



Figure 132: Set of four candlesticks with the mark of Anthony Stanley, Dublin, 1696-  
9,

Photograph courtesy of Sotheby's, London



Figure 133: Scone with the maker's mark 'C.R', Dublin, 1694-5,  
Photograph courtesy of Sotheby's, London





Figure 134: Box (one of a pair) with the mark of John Phillips, Dublin, 1680-3

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



Figure 135: Silver-mounted brush (one of a pair) with the mark of John Phillips, Dublin, 1680-3

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



Figure 136: Sleeve buttons (silver and quartz) and button (silver or pewter), c.1690, excavated from Rathfarnham Castle in 2014

Courtesy of Archaeology Plan, Dublin

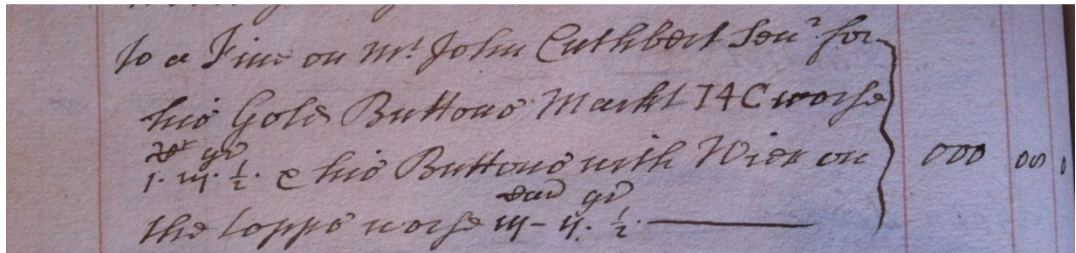


Figure 137: Dublin Goldsmiths' Company Minute Book (MS 1) detailing the fine issued to John Cuthbert for sub-standard buttons, 1704

Dublin Goldsmiths' Company, Assay Office, Dublin Castle



Figure 138: Buckle (possibly silver), c.1690, excavated from Rathfarnham Castle in 2014

Courtesy of Archaeology Plan, Dublin



Figure 139: 'Alexander Plunkett' chalice, maker unknown, c.1633

The Franciscan Order of Ireland



Sunday June 27. 1708.

At the Vestry within menconed, the following peices of Plate belonging to the Church of Finglass, were delivered up by Godfrey Richards Esq. one of the late Church Wardens, to Thom: Everard Esq. by George Thornton Esq. present Church Wardens.

	oz. : Dr <sup>th</sup>
An Offering Dish - weight	61 : =
One Flagon	36 : 16
Another Flagon	37 : =
One Chalice	16 : 9
Another Chalice	15 : 14
One Server	18 : 7
Another Server	18 : 1
A cover to a chalice	5 : 3
Another Cover to a chalice	4 : 16

213 : 6.-

Total according to their Marks & Engrav'd, Two hundred thirteen Ounces

With six Six penny weight. &  
The Danson, Curat.

Figure 140: Vestry record for the parish of Finglas, County Dublin

Representative Church Body, Dublin





Figure 141: Brass and enamel ciborium, maker unknown, c.1629  
Waterford Museum of Treasures, Waterford



Figure 142: Pyx, maker unknown, c.1670  
Hunt Museum, Limerick



Figure 143: 'Eleanor FitzGerald' chalice and paten, maker unknown, c.1621  
(Reproduced in J.J. Buckley, *Some Irish altar plate*, (Dublin, 1943), p. 35)



Figure 144: Paten with the mark of John Phillips, Dublin, 1696-99  
San Antonio Museum of Art, Texas



A  
B O O K E  
MADE OF THE  
A C C O U N T S  
OF THE CITY OF  
D U B L I N :  
Wherein the Treasurer of the City,  
the Sheriffs, and all other Accomptants yeeldeth  
their Accounts yearly before the Mayor and Auditors  
appointed by the CITY;  
In which Booke there is an Entry made of the  
REVENUES as they are Let out this day.  
VVith an Entry of such PLATE vvhich belongs  
to the City, which follows the Sword.  
And also the Stipendary with their Fees.

---

2 Decemb. 1650.

---

*Raphael Hunt*, Mayor.

*Richard Cooke* }  
*George Gylbert* } Sheriffs.

*Daniel Hutchinson* Treasurer of DUBLIN.

Figure 145: Frontispiece of Dublin Corporation's treasurer's account book (1650)

Dublin City Archives, Gilbert Library, Dublin City Council



Figure 146: Silver-gilt ewer and basin with the mark of John Humphreys, Dublin, 1693-5

Photograph courtesy of Christies, London





Figure 147: Two-handled cup with the mark of Joseph Walker, Dublin, c.1701

San Antonio Museum of Art, Texas



Figure 148: The 'Cornelius and Catherine Yelverton' chalice, maker and location unknown, c.1640

(Reproduced in J.J. Buckley, *Some Irish altar plate*, (Dublin, 1943), p. 79)





Figure 149: Gold freedom box (front and back) with the mark of Thomas Bolton, Dublin, 1707-8

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin





Figure 150: Bowl with the mark of William Wall or James Wall, Kinsale, c. 1712

Kinsale Museum, County Cork



Figure 151: 'Countess of Kildare' chalice, maker and location unknown, c. 1634

(Reproduced in J.J. Buckley, *Some Irish altar plate*, (Dublin, 1943), p. 58)





Figure 152: Silver-gilt crucifix, made by Philip Lyles, Limerick, c. 1624

The Hunt Museum, Limerick



Figure 153: Silver-gilt ciborium, maker and location unknown, c. 1614

Franciscan Order of Ireland

**Appendix A: Dublin's free goldsmiths, 1600-1700**

**Appendix A**

**Dublin's free goldsmiths, 1600-1700**

**Abbreviations:**

QB: Quarter brother

J'man: Journeyman

App'tices: Apprentices

W'case Maker: Watchcase Maker

Sp. Grace: Special Grace

F. & Sp. Gr.: Fine & Special Grace

A. P'ment: Act of Parliament

Fr. Prot.: French Protestant

	<b>Surname</b>	<b>First name</b>	<b>Year of indenture</b>	<b>Master</b>	<b>City Freedom</b>	<b>When QB/J'man</b>	<b>Date freedom</b>	<b>No. of app'tices</b>	<b>City location</b>	<b>Craft specification</b>
1	Bee	Robert			Service		1578	2		Goldsmith
2	Fyan	Nicholas			Service		1591			Unknown
3	Milles	George			Sp. Grace		1603			Goldsmith
4	Gerland	James	c.1598	Robert Bee	Service		1605			Goldsmith
5	Bee	James			Birth		1605	2		Unknown
6	Thring	Tremor			Unknown		c.1609		St Patrick's St	Goldsmith
7	Cheshire	Henry			Sp. Grace		1611	3		Goldsmith
8	Ratlyffe	Bryan	c.1605	Robert Bee	Service		1612	1		Goldsmith
9	Bee	Thomas			Birth		1613			Goldsmith
10	Calfe	William			Unknown		c.1618			Unknown
11	Bee	William			Birth		1626		Rosemary Ln	Goldsmith
12	Murry/Murray	Edmund		James Bee	Service		1622			Goldsmith
13	Medley/Medly	Edmund		James Bee	Service		1622			Goldsmith
14	Ward	William			Unknown		c.1625			Goldsmith
15	Coulson	John			F. & Sp. Gr.		1627		Fishamble St	Goldsmith
16	Coffey	Robert	c.1620	Brian Ratlyffe	Service		1627	1	Cork Hill	Goldsmith



## Appendix A: Dublin's free goldsmiths, 1600-1700

	Surname	First name	Year of indenture	Master	City Freedom	When QB/J' man	Date freedom	No. of app'tices	City location	Craft specification
17	Gallant	William			Service		1627			Goldsmith
18	Woodcock(e)	John	c.1622	Henry Cheshire	Service		1629	3		Goldsmith
19	Mennan/Manning	Thomas	c.1622	Henry Cheshire	Service		1629	1		Goldsmith
20	Hampton	William	c.1625	Henry Cheshire	Service		1631		Castle St	Goldsmith/ Watchmaker
21	Meyler	Nicholas			Birth		1631			Watchmaker
22	Hogan	Christian			Unknown		c.1632		Fishamble St	Goldsmith
23	Tonques	Gilbert			Marriage		1636	1		Goldsmith
24	Chadsey/Shadsey	Edward			Unknown		c.1637			Goldsmith
25	Cook(e)	William			Fine		1637	1	Blind Quay	Goldsmith
26	Gallant	George			F. & Sp. Gr.		1637	1		Goldsmith
27	Vanderbeck	James			F. & Sp. Gr.		1637	1		Goldsmith
28	Banister	John			Unknown		c.1637	1		Goldsmith
29	Vaneindhoven	Peter			F. & Sp. Gr.		1637	2	Castle St	Goldsmith
30	Stoughton	Nathaniel			Sp. Grace		1639			Goldsmith
31	Acheson	James			Unknown		c.1637			Goldsmith
32	Burke	John			Unknown		c.1637			Goldsmith
33	Crawley	William			Unknown		c.1637			Goldsmith
34	Cooke	John			Unknown		c.1637			Goldsmith
35	Duffield	Thomas			Unknown		c.1637			Goldsmith
36	Evans	Clement			Unknown		c.1637	1		Goldsmith
37	Glegg/Clegg	Sylvanus			Unknown		c.1637		Fishamble St	Goldsmith/ Engraver
38	St Cleere/Sinclair	William			Unknown		c.1637			Goldsmith
39	Thomas	Matthew			Unknown		c.1637			Goldsmith
40	Browne	Ambrose		John Banister	Service		1638			Goldsmith
41	Hulme	William			Fine		1638			Plateworker
42	Bentley	Edward		John Woodcock	Service		1638	1		Goldsmith
43	Thornton	John			F. & Sp. Gr.		1639	2		Goldsmith
44	Carny	David		Thomas Mennan	Service		1639			Goldsmith

### Appendix A: Dublin's free goldsmiths, 1600-1700

	Surname	First name	Year of indenture	Master	City Freedom	When QB/J' man	Date freedom	No. of app'tices	City location	Craft specification
45	Aprill	Israel			Unknown		c.1639			Unknown
46	Huggard	William			Birth		1640			Goldsmith
47	Bellingham	Daniel	1637	Peter Vaneindhoven	Service		1644	5	Cow's Lane	Goldsmith
48	Bould/Gould	Daniel	1637	John Woodcock	Service		1646			Goldsmith
49	Murry	David			Service		1646			Goldsmith
50	Stoaker/Stoker	Joseph		Gilbert Tonques	Service		1646	1	Castle St	Goldsmith
51	Stoughton	Nathaniel (Jnr)			Unknown		c.1647			Jeweller
52	Burfeldt/Burfield	Daniel (David)			F. & Sp. Gr.		1648	2		Goldsmith
53	Futrell	Ambrose			Fine		1648			Goldsmith
54	Wright	Christopher		William Cooke	Service		1648			Goldsmith
55	Carmick	George			F. & Sp. Gr.		1649			Goldsmith
56	Butterton	Jonathan			F. & Sp. Gr.		1649			Platworker
57	Webb	William			F. & Sp. Gr.		1649			Watchmaker
58	Bevans	John			F. & Sp. Gr.		1650			Goldsmith
59	Taylor	Thomas		Daniel Burfeldt	Sp. Grace		1651			Goldsmith
60	Powell	John			Sp. Grace		1651	1		Goldsmith
61	Browne	Mathew			Fine		1651	1		Clockmaker
62	Goodwin	Giles			F. & Sp. Gr.		1651	1		Goldsmith
63	Padmore	Arthur			Sp. Grace		1651			Goldsmith
64	Fisher	George			F. & Sp. Gr.		1651			Platworker
65	Heiden/Heydon	Thomas			F. & Sp. Gr.		1652			Goldsmith
66	Carr	John			F. & Sp. Gr.		1652			Goldsmith
67	Harris	Edward			F. & Sp. Gr.		1652		Winetavern St	Goldsmith
68	Bostock	Stephen			Unknown		c.1652			Goldsmith
69	Harris	Francis			F. & Sp. Gr.		1652			Goldsmith
70	Swan(n)	Edward			F. & Sp. Gr.		1653	3		Goldsmith
71	Thornton	Robert			F. & Sp. Gr.		1653	1	Skinner Row	Goldsmith
72	Burgess	Edward			F. & Sp. Gr.		1653			Goldsmith
73	Hewet/Hewitt	George			F. & Sp. Gr.		1653		Fishamble St	Goldsmith



### Appendix A: Dublin's free goldsmiths, 1600-1700

	Surname	First name	Year of indenture	Master	City Freedom	When QB/J' man	Date freedom	No. of app'tices	City location	Craft specification
74	Thornton	John			F. & Sp. Gr.		1653			Goldsmith
75	John/Jean	Isaac			F. & Sp. Gr		1654	5		Goldsmith
76	Bellingham	Henry			Fine		1654			Goldsmith
77	Barker	Thomas			F. & Sp. Gr.		1654	1		Goldsmith
78	East	James			Unknown		c.1654			Unknown
79	Hughes	Bryan			F. & Sp. Gr.		1654			Goldsmith
80	Slicer/Slycer	John			F. & Sp. Gr		1654	2	Werburgh St	Goldsmith
81	Lawe	Robert			F. & Sp. Gr		1654	2		Goldsmith
82	South/Sowth	Edward			F. & Sp. Gr		1654			Goldsmith
83	Street(e)	Richard			F. & Sp. Gr		1654			Goldsmith
84	Wale/Waller	Thomas			F. & Sp. Gr		1654			Goldsmith
85	Hughes	Robert			Fine		1654			Goldsmith
86	Allen	Ralph			F. & Sp. Gr		1654			Goldsmith
87	Heydon	James			F. & Sp. Gr.		1654			Goldsmith
88	Russell	Patrick			F. & Sp. Gr.		1655			Goldsmith
89	John/Jean	David			F. & Sp. Gr.		1655		St Nicholas St	Goldsmith
90	Burniston	John			F. & Sp. Gr.		1655			Goldsmith
91	Turnell	Isaac			F. & Sp. Gr.		1655			Platworker
92	Holme	Thomas			F. & Sp. Gr.		1655			Platworker
93	Davys	William			Service		1655			Platworker
94	Ogden	Amos			F. & Sp. Gr.		1655			Goldsmith
95	Mason	Edward			F. & Sp. Gr.		1655			Goldsmith
96	Seward	Nicholas			F. & Sp. Gr.		1656	1		Goldsmith
97	Parnell	John			F. & Sp. Gr.		1656	1		Goldsmith
98	Williams	David (Daniel)			F. & Sp. Gr.		1656			Goldsmith
99	Hoyle	Edmund			F. & Sp. Gr.		1656			Goldsmith
100	Lee	James			F. & Sp. Gr.		1656			Goldsmith
101	Sandford	Theophilus			F. & Sp. Gr.		1656			Goldsmith
102	North	William			Sp. Grace		1656			Watchmaker
103	Osbourne	Thomas			F. & Sp. Gr.		1656			Clockmaker

### Appendix A: Dublin's free goldsmiths, 1600-1700

	Surname	First name	Year of indenture	Master	City Freedom	When QB/J' man	Date freedom	No. of app'tices	City location	Craft specification
104	Graham	Miles			Unknown		c.1657			Unknown
105	Lambert	George			F. & Sp. Gr.		1657	2		Goldsmith
106	Lord	Richard			F. & Sp. Gr.		1657		St Stephen's Green	Goldsmith
107	Burton/Burston	Stephen			Unknown		c.1657			Unknown
108	Partington	John	c.1650	D. Bellingham	Service		1657	2	Skinner Row	Goldsmith
109	Southaick/Southwick	George			F. & Sp. Gr.		1658	3	Skinner Row	Goldsmith
110	Harris	Adam			Service		1658			Plateworker
111	Butler	Charles			F. & Sp. Gr.		1658			Goldsmith
112	Short(e)	Edward			F. & Sp. Gr.		1658			Goldsmith
113	Grymes	Myles			F. & Sp. Gr.		1658			Goldsmith
114	Jones	Philip			Fine		1659			Clerk
115	Wheatley/Whatly	James			F. & Sp. Gr.		1659		Wood Quay	Wire drawer
116	Powell	Thomas			Sp. Grace		1659		Wood Quay	Goldsmith
117	Parnell	Thomas			F. & Sp. Gr.		1659	2		Goldsmith
118	Harrison	William			F. & Sp. Gr.		1660			Goldsmith
119	Edwards	Andrew	c.1653	Giles Goodwin	Service		1661			Goldsmith
120	Taylor	George			Sp. Grace		1662			Unknown
121	Coffey	Francis	1647	Robert Coffey	Service		1662	1	Fishamble St	Goldsmith
122	Rutter	Thomas			F. & Sp. Gr.	1661	1663	1	Castle St	Goldsmith
123	Hopkins	Samuel			Fine		1663			Lapidary
124	Marsh	Robert			F. & Sp. Gr.		1663			Lapidary
125	Slaman	Eugene			Birth		1663			Lapidary
126	Wedd	Thomas			Unknown		c.1663		Fishamble St	Goldsmith
127	Blackwood	Timothy			Fine		1664	4		Goldsmith
128	Walsh	Robert	c.1654	William Webb	Service	1661	1664			Watchmaker
129	Clifton	Francis			F. & Sp. Gr.	1662	1665			Goldsmith
130	Byans/Byas	Thomas			Service		1665			Plateworker
131	Ram	Abel	c.1658	D. Bellingham	Service		1665	8	Castle St	Goldsmith

### Appendix A: Dublin's free goldsmiths, 1600-1700

	Surname	First name	Year of indenture	Master	City Freedom	When QB/J' man	Date freedom	No. of app'tices	City location	Craft specification
132	Coghlan/Coghill	Edmond	1654	Isaac John	Service	1664	1665	1		Goldsmith
133	Dillon	Robert			Fine	1661	1665			Goldsmith
134	Drake	Nathaniel			Fine	1661	1665			Goldsmith
135	Harpoll	John			Service		1666			Plateworker
136	Dickson/Dixon	John			Fine	1661	1666	4		Goldsmith
137	Hanway	William			F. & Sp. Gr.		1667			Goldsmith
138	Tennant	Thomas			Fine		1667	1		Goldsmith
139	Cope	John			Fine	1666	1668	4	Castle St	Goldsmith
140	Cottingham	James	c.1660	John Partington	Service		1668	5	Skinner Row	Goldsmith
141	Kirkman	George			F. & Sp. Gr.		1668			Goldsmith
142	Hyatt/Hyett	John			F. & Sp. Gr.	1666	1669	2		Goldsmith
143	Godfrey	Thomas			Fine	1661	1669	3		Goldsmith
144	Culme	William	1639	Edward Bentley	Service		1669			Goldsmith
145	Cuthbert	John (Snr)			Fine		1670	10	Skinner Row	Goldsmith
146	Farmer/ffarmer	John			Fine	1669	1670	1		Goldsmith
147	Webb	Richard	1656	D. Bellingham	Service		1670	1		Goldsmith
148	Matthews	Ferdinand			F. & Sp. Gr.		1670			Goldsmith
149	Destaches	John			A. P'ment	1670	1670			Engraver
150	Stoaker	Joseph (Jnr)	1664	J. Stoaker (Snr)	Birth		1671			Goldsmith
151	Ashton	Edward	c.1654	G. Southwick	Service		1671	1		Goldsmith
152	Madden	Hugh			F. & Sp. Gr.		1671			Goldsmith
153	Kelly/Keally	James	1654	John Slicer	Service	1662	1672	2		Goldsmith
154	Lucas	William			F. & Sp. Gr.		1672	2		Goldsmith
155	Sterne	Thomas	c.1663	Isaac John	Service	1670	1672	2		Goldsmith
156	Davison	William			Fine		1672			Goldsmith
157	Slicer	Elizabeth			Unknown		c.1672	1		Goldsmith
158	Popkins	John			F. & Sp. Gr.		1672	1	Fishamble St	Goldsmith
159	Powell	John			F. & Sp. Gr.	1671	1672			Goldsmith
160	Barry	Thomas			F. & Sp. Gr.		1672			Goldsmith
161	Davidson/Davison	William			Fine		1672			Goldsmith

### Appendix A: Dublin's free goldsmiths, 1600-1700

	Surname	First name	Year of indenture	Master	City Freedom	When QB/J' man	Date freedom	No. of app'tices	City location	Craft specification
162	Marsden	Samuel	1665	T. Blackwood	Service		1672	3	Wood Quay	Goldsmith
163	Gregory	Andrew			Fine	1664	1673	5	Cole Alley	Goldsmith
164	Woodcock	Richard	c.1666	John Woodcock	Service		1673			Goldsmith
165	Lord	Richard (Jnr)	1666	Isaac John	Service		1673			Goldsmith
166	Taylor	George			F. & Sp. Gr.		1673	2		Goldsmith
167	Lewis	Walter	1666	Abel Ram	Service		1674	4		Goldsmith
168	Linnington/ Lanington	Thomas	1667	Abel Ram	Service		1674	1		Goldsmith
169	Child	Kildare			Service		1674			Plateworker
170	Voisin/Voyseen	Abraham			F. & Sp. Gr.	1661	1675	7	Castle St	Goldsmith
171	Lovelace	Paul	c.1654	Mathew Browne	Service	1661	1675	2	Castle St	Goldsmith
172	Grace	Gerard		John Partington	Service		1675	1	Skinner Row	Goldsmith
173	Rutter	Thomas (Jnr)		Thomas Rutter	Service	1675	1675			Goldsmith
174	Soret(t)	Adam			F. & Sp. Gr.		1675	4	Christchurch Yard	Watchmaker
175	Byrne/Bryan	Denis			Marriage	1669	1675	3	Winetavern St	Goldsmith
176	Palles/Pallas	Christopher	c.1668	T. Blackwood	Service		1675	5	Skinner Row	Goldsmith
177	Totterdale	John			F. & Sp. Gr.		1676			Plateworker
178	Reyner	Timothy			Service		1676			Plateworker
179	Hewetson	William			F. & Sp. Gr.		1676		Essex St	Goldsmith
180	Higgins	Nathaniel			Service		1676			Cutler
181	Roberts	Henry			F. & Sp. Gr.		1677			Lapidary
182	Mosely	John	1674	Isaac John	Sp. Grace		1677	1	Skinner Row	Goldsmith
183	Potter	Peter			Sp. Grace		1677			Plateworker
184	Elphinston	William			Fine		1677			Goldsmith
185	Martin/Martyn	John			F. & Sp. Gr.	1675	1677	2		Goldsmith
186	Norton	William			Sp. Grace	1674	1677			Goldsmith
187	Walshman/ Welchman	William			F. & Sp. Gr.		1678			Goldsmith
188	Emerson	Ralph	c.1670	John Slicer	Service		1678			Goldsmith

### Appendix A: Dublin's free goldsmiths, 1600-1700

	Surname	First name	Year of indenture	Master	City Freedom	When QB/J' man	Date freedom	No. of app'tices	City location	Craft specification
189	Ram	Andrew			F. & Sp. Gr.		1679			Goldsmith
190	Philips	John	1666	Abraham Voisin	Service	1675	1679	6	Skinner Row	Goldsmith
191	Segar	John	1672	Thomas Sterne	Service		1679	1	Skinner Row	Goldsmith
192	Ross(e)	James	c.1672	Edward Swan	Service		1679			Unknown
193	Sherwin	Francis	c.1672	Thomas Godfrey	Service		1679	1		Goldsmith
194	Myers/Myas	William			A. P'ment		1680	2		Goldsmith
195	Stodhard	John			Service		1680			Plateworker
196	Gibson	Robert			Service		1680			Plateworker
197	Bingham/ Bellingham	Walter	1673	Edward Ashton	Service		1680	3	George's Ln	Watchmaker
198	Barnard	John			A. P'ment	1679	1680			Goldsmith
199	Keating	William	1673	Richard Webb	Service		1680			Goldsmith
200	La Roch(e)	Mathew			A. P'ment	1675	1680	2	Castle St	Goldsmith
201	Lovelace	Elizabeth			Unknown		c.1680	1		Unknown
202	Mosely	James			Unknown		c.1680			Unknown
203	Nevill	Francis	1673	J. Cottingham	Service		1680			Goldsmith
204	Taylor	George			A. P'ment		1680			Goldsmith
205	Clifton	John (Snr)	1670	John Cope	Service		1681	2	Skinner Row	Goldsmith
206	Mellshopp	William			Service		1681			Plateworker
207	Archbold	William			Birth	1680	1681	2		Goldsmith
208	Ohem/ O'Heime	John			A. P'ment	1679	1681			Jeweller
209	Symbrell/ Somervill	Thomas	c.1674	William Lucas	Service		1681			Clockmaker
210	Bowern	Thomas			Service		1682			Plateworker
211	Shelly/Shelley	John	1674	T. Blackwood	Service		1682	2		Goldsmith
212	Deane	John	1672	Paul Lovelace	Service		1682	3		Goldsmith
213	Bond	Henry	c.1675	John Cuthbert	Service		1682			Goldsmith
214	Baskett	John	1673	Abraham Voisin	Service		1682			Goldsmith
215	Dermott	William	1674	John Cope	Service		1682			Goldsmith
216	Cartwright	George	1675	J. Cottingham	Service		1683			Goldsmith

## Appendix A: Dublin's free goldsmiths, 1600-1700

	Surname	First name	Year of indenture	Master	City Freedom	When QB/J' man	Date freedom	No. of app'tices	City location	Craft specification
217	Drayton	William	1676	Andrew Gregory	Service		1683	1	Skinner Row	Goldsmith
218	Cuffe	Burleigh	1675	Abel Ram	Service		1683			Goldsmith
219	Cobham	Joshua			A. P'ment		1683			Goldsmith
220	Caudron	Ebenezer	1676	James Kelly	Service	1682	1683	1		Goldsmith
221	Swan	David	1675	Abraham Voisin	Service		1683	1	Dame St	Goldsmith
222	Unit(t)	Nathaniel			Birth		1683			Goldsmith
223	Dugast	Stephen			Fr. Prot.		1683			W'case Maker
224	Bryerly/Brearily	John	1675	T. Linnington	Service		1684	2		Goldsmith
225	Billinghurst	William			A. P'ment	1677	1684	2	Copper Alley	Goldsmith
226	Bayly	Joseph	c.1675	Paul Lovelace	Service		1684	1		Goldsmith
227	Forbes	Alexander			A. P'ment	1679	1684			Goldsmith
228	West	Benjamin	1676	John Farmer	Service		1684			Goldsmith
229	Humphreys	John			A. P'ment	1682	1685	2		Goldsmith
230	Mackey/Mackay	Alexander	c.1678	John Cuthbert	Service		1685			Goldsmith
231	Smith	Robert			A. P'ment		1685	1		Goldsmith
232	Wesencraft	Joseph	1675	Adam Soret	Service		1685		Castle St	Goldsmith
233	Chaloner/ Chabenor	Henry	1678	George Southwick	Service		1685	1	Castle St	Watchmaker
234	Teate/Tate	Joseph	1678	John Cuthbert	Service		1685			Goldsmith
235	Turner	John	1677	John Martin	Service		1685	1	Fishamble St	Watchmaker
236	Beziers	Henry			A. P'ment		1685			Goldsmith
237	Bowett	Francis			A. P'ment		1685			Watchmaker
238	Sorett	Joseph			A. P'ment		1685			W'case Maker
239	Sedgrave	Oliver			A. P'ment		1685			Goldsmith
240	Bolton	Thomas	1676	Gerard Grace	Service		1686	7	Skinner Row	Goldsmith
241	Burton	Benjamin	1678	Abel Ram	Service	1680	1686			Goldsmith
242	Weldon/Welding	James			A. P'ment	1680	1686	4		Goldsmith
243	Bryan/Byrne	Arthur	1679	Denis Bryan	Service		1686			Goldsmith
244	Devin(e)	Peter	c.1677	John Philips	Service	1685	1686			Goldsmith
245	Hopkins	Robert			A. P'ment		1686			Goldsmith

### Appendix A: Dublin's free goldsmiths, 1600-1700

	Surname	First name	Year of indenture	Master	City Freedom	When QB/J' man	Date freedom	No. of app'tices	City location	Craft specification
246	Rigmaiden	Robert			A. P'ment		1686	2		Watchmaker
247	Holl	Edward			A. P'ment		1686			Goldsmith
248	Townsend	Paul	c.1678	John Dickson	Service		1686			Goldsmith
249	Heyvin/Heaven	Timothy			F. & Sp. Gr.	1683	1687			Goldsmith/ Engraver
250	Barrington	Samuel			F. & Sp. Gr.		1687			Goldsmith
251	Savage	Thomas			Fine		1687			Goldsmith
252	Goodwin	Thomas			Unknown		c.1689			Unknown
253	Kidder	Vincent	c.1683	J. Cottingham	Service		1690			Goldsmith
254	Buck	Adam			A. P'ment		1690			Goldsmith
255	Billing	John	1679	John Mosely	Service		1690			Goldsmith
256	Montgomery	George	1680	John Cuthbert	Service		1690			Goldsmith
257	King	David	1681	John Cuthbert	Service	1690	1691	5	Skinner Row	Goldsmith
258	Walker	Joseph	1683	John Cuthbert	Service		1691	1		Goldsmith
259	Soret	Abraham			A. P'ment	1685	1691			Goldsmith/ Watchmaker
260	Clarke	Samuel	1683	Abraham Voisin	Service		1691			Goldsmith
261	Nelthorp	Henry			A. P'ment		1691			Goldsmith
262	Ribton	James			Service		1692			Platworker
263	Fisher	William			Service		1692			Platworker
264	Basby	Clement			Service		1693			Platworker
265	Slicer	Edward			Birth		1693	8		Jeweller
266	Haines	Michael	1679	John Powell	Service	1690	1693			Goldsmith
267	Mace	Conway	1686	John Cuthbert	Service	1692	1693			Goldsmith
268	Pemberton	Benjamin			A. P'ment		1693	1	Fishamble St	Goldsmith
269	Martin	Thomas			A. P'ment		1693			Lapidary
270	Newman	Thomas			Service		1693			Clockmaker
271	Parker	Thomas	c.1686	W. Billingham	Service	1693	1694	3		Watchmaker
272	Sinclair/Sinclare	Alexander	1687	John Cuthbert	Service		1694	3		Goldsmith
273	Thompson	James			A. P'ment	1692	1694			Goldsmith



### Appendix A: Dublin's free goldsmiths, 1600-1700

	Surname	First name	Year of indenture	Master	City Freedom	When QB/J' man	Date freedom	No. of app'tices	City location	Craft specification
274	Smyth	Samuel			A. P'ment		1694			Plateworker
275	Beech	Robert			Service		1694			Plateworker
276	Mosell	John			Fr. Prot.		1694			Plateworker
277	Wilder	Samuel	1693	John Hyett	Service	1692	1694	1		Goldsmith
278	Harris	John			A. P'ment		1694	5		Jeweller
279	Browne	Thomas			Fine		1694			Engraver
280	Pontaine	Nicholas			Unknown		c.1694			UnknownJo
281	Berry	William			Service	1690	1694			Unknown
282	Ince	Robert	1686	John Brearly	Service	1692	1694	1		Goldsmith
283	Garrett/Jarrett	John	1688	John Dickson	Fine		1695			Goldsmith
284	Sherwin	Henry	1678	Francis Sherwin	Service	1685	1695	2	Copper Alley	Goldsmith
285	Billing	Thomas			A. P'ment		1695	2	Skinner Row	Goldsmith
286	Booth	Joseph			A. P'ment		1695			Clockmaker
287	Downes	Richard			Fine		1695			Goldsmith
288	Desbrough	Thomas			Fine	1692	1696			Unknown
289	Six/Sykes	Florin			A. P'ment	1692	1696			Goldsmith
290	Whitfield	Richard			Unknown		c.1697			Goldsmith
291	Grosvenor	Richard			Fine		1697	1		Unknown
292	Waggoner	Christopher			A. P'ment	1694	1698	1		Goldsmith
293	Mallory	Cyriac	1692	John Philips	Service		1699	1		Goldsmith
294	Racine/Russeen	Benjamin	c.1692	Abraham Voisin	Service		1699	2	Copper Alley	Jeweller
295	Byrne	James			Service		1699			Goldsmith
296	Meekins/Meeking	Thomas	1681	Walter Bingham	Service	1696	1699	1		Clockmaker
297	Mathews	John			Sp. Grace	1692	1700	5	Smock Alley	Goldsmith
298	Dunoe/Dunow	Anthony			A. P'ment	1692	1700			Goldsmith

## Appendix A: Dublin's free goldsmiths, 1600-1700

### Sources:

Dublin Goldsmiths' Company MSS: Enrolment book and registration book (MS 94), Apprentices, Freemen and Journeymen 1637-1702 (MS 95).

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**Appendix B****Provincial Irish goldsmiths, c.1600-1700****Cork**

	Surname	First name	Dates flourishing
1	Roche	Richard	c.1570-1600
2	Gogh	Alexander	c.1570-1600
3	Leyles	Morice	c.1601-17
4	Gould	Richard	c.1618-56
5	Huethson/Hewitson	John	c.1624-56
6	Rowe	James	c.1626-30
7	Piersey	James	c.1643
8	Sharpe	John	c.1656
9	Goble	Edward	c.1657-90
10	Beere	Hercules	c.1660-90
11	Gamble	Nicholas	c.1667-75
12	Harris	William	c.1669
13	Goble	Robert	c.1672-1719
14	Ridge	James	c.1673-1700
15	Withers	Thomas	c.1674
16	Smart	Richard	c.1674-1691
17	Webb	John	c.1675-87
18	Pantain/Pontaine	Samuel	c.1678-86
19	Hawkins	John	c.1680-1702
20	Eason	Arthur	c.1682
21	Wall	John	c.1682
22	Morgan	Charles	c.1682-1701
23	Whitcroft	Francis	c.1684
24	Semirot	Anthony	c.1685-1740
25	Webb	Caleb	c.1688-1700
26	Robinson	George	c.1690-1729
27	James (?)	John	c.1691-1729
28	Harris	Daniel	c.1693
29	Begheagle (Bekegle)	Charles	c.1690-1697
30	Burnett	Walter	c.1670-1720
31	Burchill	Jerome	c.1697
32	Billon	Adam	c.1699-1719
33	Agherne	John	c.1690-99
34	Russell	Henry	c.1699
35	Freke	William	c.1700

## Appendix B: Provincial Irish goldsmiths, c.1600-1700

### Limerick

	Surname	First name	Dates flourishing
1	Lyles	John	c.1608
2	Lyles	Philip	c.1625
3	Bucknor	John	c.1660s
4	Smith	William	c.1660s
5	Hicks	Randal	c.1660s
6	Fennell	Richard	c.1670s
7	Buck	George	c.1672
8	Smith	Robert	c.1670-1700
9	Robinson	James	c.1680-1720
10	Buck	Adam	c.1694-1720

### Waterford

	Surname	First name	Dates flourishing
1	Milne	Henry	c.1600s
2	Ronan	Jasper	c.1600s
3	Madden	Peter	c.1660s
4	Russell	Edward	c.1670s
5	Smith	William	c.1676-1715

### Youghal

	Surname	First name	Dates flourishing
1	Lawless	Morrish	c.1620
2	Lawless	James	c.1625
3	Adams	Edward	c.1628
4	Wright	Daniel	c.1632
5	McRory	Daniel	c.1632
6	Sharpe	John	c.1620
7	Smith	John	c.1638
8	Green	John	c.1640-55
9	Fallon	Bartholomew	c.1683

Appendix B: Provincial Irish goldsmiths, c.1600-1700

**Galway**

	Surname	First name	Dates flourishing
1	G	E	c.1630-40
2	Joyce (Joyes)	Richard (Snr)	c.1648
3	Fallon	Bartholomew	c.1683-1718
4	Joyce (Joyes)	Richard	c.1691-1737
5	Fallon	Mark	c.1696-1731

**Kilkenny**

	Surname	First name	Dates flourishing
1	Rothe	Edward	c.1609-24
2	Keough	William	c.1686
3	Kelly	Mark	c.1690
4	Pennyfather	John	c.1690

**Kinsale**

	Surname	First name	Dates flourishing
1	Rew	David	c.1660
2	Walsh	William	c.1680-90
3	Meade	Thomas	c.1689
4	Wall	William and/or Joseph	c.1700-25

**Other towns:**

	Surname	Name	Town	Date
1	"John O'Mullarkey O'Donnell's goldsmith"		Donegal	c.1633
2	Moore	John	Bandon	c.1630
3	McCullough	Andrew	Belfast	c.1660
4	Barnett	William	Belfast	c.1671
5	McCune	Thomas	Belfast	c.1679
6	Gahey	Thadeus	Unknown provincial	c.1630

## Appendix B: Provincial Irish goldsmiths, c.1600-1700

### Sources:

Assembly Book of Limerick City 1672-1680 (NLI MS 89).

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Appendix C: Edinburgh free goldsmiths, c.1600-1700

## Appendix C

### Edinburgh free goldsmiths, c.1600-1700

Abbreviations:

App'tices: Apprentices      J'men: Journeymen

	Surname	First name	Origin	Date free	Last date	No. of app'tices	No. of j'men
1	Palmer	David	Edinburgh	1577	1615	1	0
2	Foullis	Thomas	Edinburgh	1581	1622	4	1
3	Stalker	William	Stirling	1586	1617	5	0
4	Lindsay	Hew	Edinburgh	1587	1626	6	0
5	Crawford	Daniel	Edinburgh	1589	1630	8	0
6	Crawford	James	Edinburgh	1591	1636	4	0
7	Heriot	David	Edinburgh	1593	1612	5	0
8	Foullis	George	Edinburgh	1594	1633	3	0
9	Heriot	James II	Edinburgh	1594	1633	0	0
10	Cokkie	Robert	Edinburgh	1594	1604	3	0
11	Stalker	Andrew	Edinburgh	1597	1644	0	0



Appendix C: Edinburgh free goldsmiths, c.1600-1700

	Surname	First name	Origin	Date free	Last date	No. of app'tices	No. of j'men
12	Fairlie	Robert	Edinburgh	1597	1608	3	0
13	Lamb	John	Edinburgh	1597	1635	0	0
14	Denneistoun	Robert	Edinburgh	1597	1622	4	0
15	McAulay	James I	Edinburgh	1598	1639	3	0
16	Denneistoun	James	Edinburgh	1598	1650	5	0
17	Wilson	Adam	Edinburgh	1599	1609	2	0
18	Brown	John	Edinburgh	1602	1602	0	0
19	Lindsay	John	Dundee	1605	1635	7	0
20	Crawford	George	Edinburgh	1606	1641	8	0
21	Cleghorne	Thomas	Edinburgh	1606	1659	6	0
22	Weddell	Hercules	Edinburgh	1608	1617	2	0
23	Kirkwood	Gilbert	Edinburgh	1609	1645	4	0
24	Boyce	Andrew	Edinburgh	1610	1635	0	0
25	Crawford	Thomas	Edinburgh	1616	1632	2	0
26	Robertson	George	Edinburgh	1616	1653	4	0
27	Stalker	James I	Edinburgh	1618	1635	1	0
28	Reid	Alexander I	Edinburgh	1618	1632	3	0
29	Lamb	Adam	Edinburgh	1619	c.1647	3	0
30	Scott	John I	Edinburgh	1621	1649	2	0
31	Fraser	John	Edinburgh	1624	1653	2	0
32	Crawford	William I	Edinburgh	1627	1647	2	0
33	Gibson	Robert I	Symington	1628	1665	6	0
34	Kirkwood	Thomas	Edinburgh	1632	1637	2	0
35	Cunningham	James	Edinburgh	1635	None	1	0

Appendix C: Edinburgh free goldsmiths, c.1600-1700

	Surname	First name	Origin	Date free	Last date	No. of app'tices	No. of j'men
36	Troter	Nicoll	Edinburgh	1635	1654	2	0
37	Denneistoun	Andrew	Edinburgh	1636	1654	3	0
38	Aytoun	James I	Canongate	1636	1672	0	0
39	Cleghorne	George	Dumfries	1641	1659	5	0
40	Fairbairn	James	Berwickshire	1641	1660	3	0
41	Borthwick	Patrick	Edinburgh	1642	1685	5	0
42	Wardlaw	John	Libberton	1642	1683	1	0
43	Burrell	Andrew	Edinburgh	1642	1661	7	0
44	Heriot	Alexander	Edinburgh	1642	1642	0	0
45	Robertson	George II	Edinburgh	1643	1666	2	0
46	McAulay	James II	Edinburgh	1644	1661	0	0
47	Milne	John	Edinburgh	1644	1668	2	0
48	Symontoun	James	Edinburgh	1645	1682	2	0
49	Neilson	Peter	Dirleton	1647	1663	1	0
50	Scott	Alexander I	Edinburgh	1649	1677	11	3
51	Cleghorne	Edward I	Edinburgh	1649	1682	8	0
52	Scott	Thomas	Edinburgh	1649	1664	1	1
53	Boog	David	Edinburgh	1653	1694	2	0
54	Lawe	Robert	Kirkaldy	1658	1671	0	0
55	Reid	Alexander II	Edinburgh	1660	1712	14	0
56	Lawe	John	Edinburgh	1662	1694	11	0
57	Lawe	William I	Edinburgh	1662	1684	6	0
58	Leishman	John	Edinburgh	1662	1667	0	0
59	Gray	William	Edinburgh	1662	1685	0	0

Appendix C: Edinburgh free goldsmiths, c.1600-1700

	Surname	First name	Origin	Date free	Last date	No. of app'tices	No. of j'men
60	Gibson	Robert II	Edinburgh	1663	1666	0	0
61	Meickle	Samuel	Edinburgh	1663	1679	0	0
62	Cleghorne	Thomas II	Edinburgh	1665	1674	3	0
63	Merston	Andrew	Inveresk	1668	1673	1	0
64	Cockburn	James I	Canongate	1669	1700	11	0
65	Mellinus	Zacharia	Europe	1672	1690	6	0
66	Yorstoun	Thomas	Corstorphine	1673	1685	5	0
67	Rae	William	Edinburgh	1673	1684	0	0
68	Penman	James	Edinburgh	1673	1733	13	5
69	Thripland	John	Perth	1674	1683	3	0
70	Borthwick	John	Edinburgh	1675	1708	0	0
71	Rolland	George	Raith	1675	1675	0	0
72	Scott	George II	Edinburgh	1680	1683	4	0
73	Wallace	William	Edinburgh	1681	1683	0	0
74	Aikman	John	Edinburgh	1681	1684	0	0
75	Yorstoun	George	Corstorphine	1684	1700	6	0
76	Scott	Walter	Edinburgh	1686	1696	3	0
77	Lawe	William II	Edinburgh	1686	1734	7	3
78	Gilmore	Andrew	Edinburgh	1686	1694	2	0
79	Inglis	Robert	Edinburgh	1686	1734	9	0
80	Hutcheson	Thomas	Edinburgh	1687	1689	0	0
81	Simpson	James	Edinburgh	1687	1700	0	0
82	Bruce	Robert	Edinburgh	1688	1716	9	2
83	Maine	George	Edinburgh	1688	1738	10	3

Appendix C: Edinburgh free goldsmiths, c.1600-1700

	Surname	First name	Origin	Date free	Last date	No. of app'tices	No. of j'men
84	Seaton	John	Edinburgh	1688	1731	12	5
85	Cleghorne	Thomas III	Edinburgh	1689	1724	4	1
86	Turnbull	Patrick	Edinburgh	1689	1725	2	1
87	Kincaid	Alexander	Edinburgh	1692	1737	10	2
88	Forbes	Alexander	Unknown	1692	1730	10	1
89	Cleghorne	Edward II	Edinburgh	1694	1705	5	1
90	McKenzie	Collin	Inverness	1695	1735	11	3
91	Gordon	Adam	Edinburgh	1696	1710	1	2
92	Scott	Robert	Edinburgh	1697	1698	1	0
93	Scott	George II	Edinburgh	1697	1719	4	0
94	Yorstoun	John	Corstorphine	1697	1737	2	1
95	Mitchell	David	Edinburgh	1700	1744	9	5
96	Penman	Edward	Edinburgh	1700	1729	2	0
97	Burton	William	Edinburgh	1700	1703	1	0

Sources:

Nominal Roll of freemen of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths, Edinburgh, reproduced in H.S. Fotheringham (ed.), *Edinburgh goldsmiths' minutes, 1525-1700*, (Edinburgh, 2006), pp 13-16 with further details regarding the dates of individual goldsmiths from the Incorporation of Goldsmiths online database: [www.incorporationofgoldsmiths.org](http://www.incorporationofgoldsmiths.org)

Appendix D: Dublin quarter brother and journeymen goldsmiths, c.1660-1700

**Appendix D**

**Dublin quarter brother and journeymen goldsmiths, c.1660-1700**

Abbreviations:

App: apprentice

QB: quarter brother

J' man: Journeyman

	Surname	First name	Indentured app (Y/N)	Master (if known)	First date as QB/J'man	Name of sponsor and date	Freedom (Y/N)	Date freedom
1	East	James (John)	Y	Daniel Bellingham	1661	Abel Ram (1673)	N	
2	Rutter	Thomas	N		1661		Y	1663
3	Voisin (Voyseen)	Abraham	N		1661		Y	1662
4	Lovelace (Lovelance)	Paul	Y	Matthew Browne	1661		Y	1664
5	Walsh	Robert	Y	William Webb	1661		Y	1663
6	Dillon	Robert	N		1661		Y	1665
7	Drake	Nathaniel	N		1661		Y	1665
8	Dickson (Dixon)	John	N		1661		Y	1666
9	Godfrey	Thomas	N		1661		Y	1669
10	Haynes (Haines)	John	N		1661	James Cottingham (1673)	N	
11	Hiol (Hill?)	Richard	N		1661	Gerard Grace (1679)	N	
12	Claw	William	N		1661		N	

Appendix D: Dublin quarter brother and journeymen goldsmiths, c.1660-1700

	Surname	First name	Indentured app (Y/N)	Master (if known)	First date as QB/J'man	Name of sponsor and date	Freedom (Y/N)	Date freedom
13	Vallance	John	N		1661		N	
14	Clifton	Francis	N		1662		Y	1665
15	Kelly (Keally)	James	Y	John Slicer	1662		Y	1672
16	Coghlan (Coghill)	Edmond	Y	Isaac John	1664		Y	1665
17	Gregory	Andrew	N		1664		Y	1673
18	Johnson	Ralph	N		1664		N	
19	Cope	John	N		1666		Y	1668
20	Hyatt (Hyett)	John	N		1666		Y	1669
21	Mansell	Frederick	N		1666		N	
22	Cox	John	N		1666		N	
23	Bennett	Francis	N		1666		N	
24	Davison	William	N		1666		N	
25	Shaw	John	N		1668		N	
26	Arras	Nicholas	N		1668		N	
27	Farmer (ffarmar)	John	N		1669		Y	1670
28	Bryne (Bryan)	Denis	N		1669	F Coffee (1669); T Rutter (1674)	Y	1675
29	Walsh	Thomas	N		1669	James Cottingham (1669)	N	
30	Mercer	Peter	N		1669		N	
31	Boltee (Bultee)	Daniel	N		1669		N	
32	Sterne	Thomas	Y	Isaac John	1670		Y	1672
33	Destaches	John	N		1670		Y	1670
34	Barnard	William	N		1670		N	
35	Racine	Peter	N		1670		N	
36	Corry	Ferdinand	N		1670		N	
37	Rowse	William	N		1670	Timothy Blackwood (1670)	N	
38	Brooks	Thomas	N		1670	John Dickson (1670); John Cuthbert (1672)	N	
39	Henman	John	N		1670	Abraham Voisin (1670)	N	

Appendix D: Dublin quarter brother and journeymen goldsmiths, c.1660-1700

	Surname	First name	Indentured app (Y/N)	Master (if known)	First date as QB/J'man	Name of sponsor and date	Freedom (Y/N)	Date freedom
40	Powell	John	N		1671		Y	1672
41	Archbold	Richard	N		1671		N	
42	Clement	Thomas	N		1671		N	
43	Hutchinson	Nathaniel	N		1671	James Cottingham (1673)	N	
44	Balme	Robert	N		1671	John Hyatt (1671)	N	
45	Hartstone	Thomas	N		1671	Abraham Voisin (1671)	N	
46	Farran	Lewis	N		1671	John Cuthbert (1672)	N	
47	Cobham	Francis	N		1671	Abraham Voisin (1672)	N	
48	Wyse (Wyes)	John	N		1673	Timothy Blackwood (1673); James Kelly (1674)	N	
49	Mainwairing	Andrew	N		1673	Elizabeth Slicer (1673)	N	
50	Cleghorne	Andrew	N		1673	John Cuthbert (1673)	N	
51	Kirkwood	James	N		1673	John Cuthbert (1673)	N	
52	Norton	William	N		1674	John Cope (1674)	Y	1677
53	Webster	George	N		1674		N	
54	Boillot	John	N		1674		N	
55	Souder	Francis	N		1674		N	
56	Atkins	James	N		1674		N	
57	Rutter	Thomas (Jr)	Y	Thomas Rutter	1674	Thomas Rutter (1674)	Y	1675
58	Phillips (Philips)	John	Y	Abraham Voisin	1674	Abraham Voisin (1674)	Y	1679
59	Martin	John	N		1675	William Hewetson (1675)	Y	1677
60	La Roche (La Roch)	Matthew	N		1675		Y	1680
61	Elphinstone	William	N		1675		N	
62	Jones	Henry	N		1675	William Hewetson (1675)	N	
63	Rousseau (Rewsoe)	Andrew	N		1675	John Destaches (1675)	N	
64	Mysser	Peter	N		1675	John Destaches (1675)	N	
65	Heath	Peter	N		1675		N	
66	St Lawrence	Richard	Y	Thomas Godfrey	1677	James Cottingham (1677)	N	



Appendix D: Dublin quarter brother and journeymen goldsmiths, c.1660-1700

	Surname	First name	Indentured app (Y/N)	Master (if known)	First date as QB/J'man	Name of sponsor and date	Freedom (Y/N)	Date freedom
67	Billinghurst (Bellinghurst)	William	N		1677	Lawrence Salmon (1677); John Powell (1678)	Y	1684
68	Salmon	Lawrence	N		1677		N	
69	Godfrey	Edmond	N		1677		N	
70	Fitzgerald	William	N		1677	Denis Bryan (1676, 1678)	N	
71	Johnson	Glover	N		1677		N	
72	Bedford	William	N		1677	John Cope (1677)	N	
73	Elphinstone	Robert	N		1677	J Cuthbert (1677); C Palles (1679, 1680, 1681)	N	
74	Blanchard	Abraham	Y	Isaac John	1677	John Mosely (1677)	N	
75	St Lawrence	Richard	Y	Thomas Godfrey	1677		N	
76	Nevill	Humphrey	N		1677	John Cuthbert (1677, 1679, 1680, 1681)	N	
77	Pomfrett	George	N		1677	Walter Lewis (1677, 1678, 1680)	N	
78	Chappell	Robert	N		1678		N	
79	Cressy	John	N		1678	Walter Lewis (1678)	N	
80	Barnard	John	N		1679		Y	1680
81	Ohem (O'Heime) (O'Hem)	John	N		1679		Y	1681
82	Forbes	Alexander	N		1679	J Cuthbert (1679, 80); W Myas (1681-3)	Y	1684
83	Oven (Ovin)	Thomas	N		1679	John Cuthbert (1678-96)	N	
84	Lewis	John	N		1679		N	
85	Weston	David	N		1679		N	
86	Lambe	Edmond	N		1679		N	
87	Shaller	Nicholas	N		1679		N	
88	Hanwell	Humphrey	N		1679		N	
89	Canard	John	N		1680		N	
90	Archbold	William	N		1680		Y	1681

Appendix D: Dublin quarter brother and journeymen goldsmiths, c.1660-1700

	Surname	First name	Indentured app (Y/N)	Master (if known)	First date as QB/J'man	Name of sponsor and date	Freedom (Y/N)	Date freedom
91	Weldon (Welding) (Wilding)	James	N		1680	Walter Lewis (1680-2)	Y	1686
92	Hopkins	John	N		1680		N	
93	Elkins (Ecklin)	John	N		1680	A Voisin (1681); James Cottingham (1682)	N	
94	De La Main	Charles	N		1680		N	
95	Nollably	Stephen	N		1680	Adam Soret (1680-1)	N	
96	Barrett	James	N		1680	George Southwaick (1680-1)	N	
97	Humphreys (Humphrys)	John (Tom)	N		1681	J Cuthbert (1681-2); J Segar (1682-5)	Y	1685
98	Cawdron (Caudron)	Ebenezer	Y	James Kelly	1682	John Shelly (1681-2)	Y	1683
99	Pantain (Pountain)	Nicholas	N		1682	John Cope (1681, 1682, 1693)	N	
100	Dalston	Thomas	N		1682	Walter Bingham (1681-7)	N	
101	Walker	Edmond	N		1682		N	
102	Melcarkern (Melkerkern in 1690)	John	N		1682	John Cuthbert (1682-8)	N	
103	Heyvin (Heaven)	Timothy	N		1683	David Swan (1683)	Y	1687
104	Bulkeley	John	Y	Walter Lewis	1683		N	
105	Marker	John	N		1683	John Cuthbert (1683-4)	N	
106	Delamain	Nicholas	N		1683		N	
107	Doble	?	N		1683	Abraham Voisin (1683-7)	N	
108	Devine (Devin)	Peter	Y	John Philips	1685		Y	1686
109	Soret (Sorett)	Abraham	N		1685	Adam Soret (1684)	Y	1690
110	Sherwin	Henry	Y	Francis Sherwin	1685	David Swan (1684); Denis Bryan (1686)	Y	1695
111	Nevill	Robert	N		1685		N	
112	Lyon (Lyons)	George	N		1685	George Taylor (1684-7)	N	

Appendix D: Dublin quarter brother and journeymen goldsmiths, c.1660-1700

	Surname	First name	Indentured app (Y/N)	Master (if known)	First date as QB/J'man	Name of sponsor and date	Freedom (Y/N)	Date freedom
113	Nevill	Henry	N		1685	John Hyett (1684-5); John Phillips (1692)	N	
114	Farr	Edward	N		1685	William Drayton (1684)	N	
115	Maungee	Arthur	N		1685	William Myas (1684); John Cuthbert (1685)	N	
116	Platt	Oliver	N		1685	Benjamin West (1684); Henry Chabenor (1685)	N	
117	Gordon	Alexander	N		1685	John Cuthbert (1686)	N	
118	Snelling	Michael	N		1685	James Cottingham (1685)	N	
119	Williamson (or Wilson)	Samuel	N		1685		N	
120	Fisher	Thomas	N		1685	John Deane (1685)	N	
121	Fawcett	James	N		1685	John Brearly (1685)	N	
122	Wall (Wale)	John	N		1685	John Brearly (1686)	N	
123	Starkey	Edward	N		1685	David Swan (1686)	N	
124	Goughagan	Walter	N		1685	David Swan (1686)	N	
125	Jenkins	Thomas	N		1685	Joshua Cobham (1686)	N	
126	Street	Gregory	N		1685	Chris Palles (1686)	N	
127	Garren (Gavan)	Michael	N		1685	Robert Smith (1686)	N	
128	Morphy (Murphy)	John	N		1686		N	
129	Morphy (Murphy)	John	N		1686		N	
130	Cooke	Mark	N		1686		N	
131	Berry	Samuel	Y	John Humphreys	1688		N	
132	Haines (Haynes)	Michael	Y	John Powell	1690		Y	1693
133	Berry	William	N		1690	Adam Soret (1694-6)	Y	1694
134	Jones	Joseph	N		1690	Thomas Bolton (1694)	N	
135	Wall	Edward	N		1690		N	
136	Cooper	William	N		1690		N	
137	Paris (Parry)	Peter	N		1690		N	
138	King	David	Y	John Cuthbert	1690	John Cuthbert (1690)	Y	1691

Appendix D: Dublin quarter brother and journeymen goldsmiths, c.1660-1700

	Surname	First name	Indentured app (Y/N)	Master (if known)	First date as QB/J'man	Name of sponsor and date	Freedom (Y/N)	Date freedom
139	Thompson	James	N		1691	John Cuthbert (1691)	Y	1690
140	Stanley	Anthony	Y	Christopher Palles	1692		N	
141	Mace	Conway	Y	John Cuthbert	1692	Thomas Bolton (1692)	Y	1693
142	Wilder	Samuel	Y	John Hyett	1692		Y	1694
143	Hill	Richard	N		1692	J Cuthbert (1692); T Bolton (1694, 1696)	N	
144	Ince	Robert	Y	John Brearly	1692	J Cuthbert (1692); Bolton & Humphreys (1693)	Y	1694
145	Dutchman	?	N		1692	John Cuthbert (1692-4)	N	
146	Desbrough	Thomas	N		1692	Bolton (1693,94,97,98); Gregory (1695-6)	Y	1696
147	Six (Sykes) (Sicke)	Floris (Florin)	N		1692		Y	1696
148	Matthews (Mathews)	John	N		1692	William Jones (1696)	Y	1700
149	Donoe (Dunow)	Anthony	N		1692	Robt Rigmaiden (1693)	Y	1700
150	Stanley	Anthony	Y	Christopher Palles	1692		N	
151	Whitechurch (Whitchurch)	Joseph	Y	Andrew Gregory	1692	Weldon (1693); Weldon & Sinclair (1694) Alex Sinclair (1695-7)	N	
152	Lavell	Jasper	N		1692		N	
153	Thurlby	Jarvis	N		1692		N	
154	Dono (Deno)	Anthony	N		1692		N	
155	Dalhusius	John Daniel	N		1692	Robert Smith (1693)	N	
156	Hawkins	Jabin	N		1692	Henry Chabenor (1693-4)	N	
157	Tims	John	N		1692	John Cuthbert (1694)	N	
158	Parker	Thomas	Y	William Billinghamurst	1693		Y	1694
159	Goodaire	Solomon	N		1693	A Soret (1693-5); John Turner (1697)	N	

Appendix D: Dublin quarter brother and journeymen goldsmiths, c.1660-1700

	Surname	First name	Indentured app (Y/N)	Master (if known)	First date as QB/J'man	Name of sponsor and date	Freedom (Y/N)	Date freedom
160	Waggoner (Wagoner)	Christopher	N		1694	John Cuthbert (1695-6)	Y	1698
161	Rivers	Francis	N		1694	Joseph Walker (1693-8)	N	
162	Doutoung	John	N		1694	John Cuthbert (1694)	N	
163	Parker	John	N		1694	William Parker (1694)	N	
164	Bennett	John	Y	Thomas Bolton	1694		N	
165	Graves	Joseph	N		1694	William Lucas (1694)	N	
166	Croft	William	N		1694	Thomas Parker (1694, 1696)	N	
167	Morris (Moris)	Jabes (Jabez)	N		1694	John Cuthbert (1694)	N	
168	Price	William	Y	John Deane	1694	M Haines (1693); W Bingham (1694-7)	N	
169	Cooper	Thomas	N		1694		N	
170	Smart	Richard	N		1694	Robt Rigmaiden (1694-6)	N	
171	Meekins (Mekins) (Meeking)	Thomas	Y	Walter Bingham	1696	Walter Bingham (1696-7)	Y	1699
172	Lyng (Ling)	George	N		1696	John Cuthbert (1696-7)	Y	1706
173	Beaulieu (Bolio)	Peter	N		1696	Abraham Voisin (1696-8)	N	
174	Rouston (Ruston)	John	N		1696	Andrew Gregory (1695-8)	N	
175	Cooke	Thomas	N		1696	Joshua Cobham (1696)	N	
176	Ffrenchman		N		1696	John Phillips (1696)	N	
177	Mullineux	Timothy	N		1696	Joshua Cobham (1696-7)	N	
178	Pridham	William	Y	John Phillips	1696	John Cuthbert (1696-7)	N	
179	Haycock (Haycott)	?	N		1696	Joseph Walker (1696-7)	N	
180	Skinner	William	N		1697	Thomas Bolton (1697)	Y	1701
181	Walker	James	N		1697		N	
182	Rummieu	David	N		1697		N	
183	Swan	Isaac	N		1697	Thomas Bolton (1697-8)	N	

Appendix D: Dublin quarter brother and journeymen goldsmiths, c.1660-1700

	Surname	First name	Indentured app (Y/N)	Master (if known)	First date as QB/J'man	Name of sponsor and date	Freedom (Y/N)	Date freedom
184	Norris	William	N		1697	Walter Bingham (1697) ; Samuel Wilder (1698)	N	
185	Rossiter	Charles	N		1697		N	
186	Gurusch (Gowrsuch)	Robert	N		1697	Walter Bingham (1697)	N	
187	Daniel	Thomas	N		1697		N	
188	Hartwick	Ahasuerus	N		1698	John Cuthbert (1698)	Y	1701
189	Barrett	Edward	Y	Joseph Walker	1698	Joseph Walker (1698)	Y	1702
190	Hartwick/Hardwick	Christopher	N		1698	John Cuthbert (1698)	Y	1702
191	Palmer	William	N		1698	Joseph Walker (1698)	Y	1702
192	Eycott	Richard	N		1698		Y	1712
193	Pilkington	Robert	N		1698		N	
194	Sumpner	Thomas	N		1698		N	
195	Elliott	Thomas	N		1698		N	
196	Leroy	Peter	N		1698	John Cuthbert (1697)	N	
197	Bradshaw	Thomas	Y	John Hyett	1698		N	
198	Finch	Isaac	N		1698	John Humphrey (1698)	N	
199	Masterson	Alexander	N		1698	John Cuthbert (1698)	N	
200	Bollard	John	N		1698		N	
201	Burne	John	N		1698	Chris Waggoner (1698)	N	
202	Shepperd	Robert	N		1698	Thomas Bolton (1698)	N	
203	Pennet	Peter	N		1698		N	
204	Smith	Patrick	N		1698	Robt Rigmaiden (1698)	N	
205	Preston	Richard	N		1698	Christopher Waggoner (1698)	N	
206	Burton	Thomas	N		1698		N	
207	Lemesier	Peter	N		1698	John Harris (1698)	N	
208	Sinckler (Sinclair)	William	N		1698	George Parker (1698)	N	
209	Hall	Thomas	N		1698		N	
210	Cousin	Isaac	N		1698		N	

Appendix D: Dublin quarter brother and journeymen goldsmiths, c.1660-1700

	Surname	First name	Indentured app (Y/N)	Master (if known)	First date as QB/J'man	Name of sponsor and date	Freedom (Y/N)	Date freedom
211	Teare	Anthony	N		1698		N	
212	Venables	Peter	N		1698		N	
213	Kingham	Jonathan	N		1698		N	
214	Boyd	Francis	N		1698		N	
215	Joyce	George	N		1698		N	
216	Sherlock	Walter	N		1698		N	
217	Donoe	Gideon	N		1698		N	
218	Pilkington	Robert	N		1698		N	
219	Gamuell	?	N		1698	John Cuthbert (1698)	N	
220	Workman	Edward	Y	James Welding	1700		Y	1702
221	Dowling	Mortagh	N		1700		Y	1704
222	Paturle (Paturell)	John	N		1700		Y	1703
223	Champion	James	N		1700		Y	1714
224	Pattison	John	N		1700		N	
225	Cotton	James	N		1700		N	
226	Sale	John	N		1700		N	
227	Smart	Nicholas	N		1700		N	
228	Colton	James	N		1700		N	
229	Chosey	?	N		1700		N	
230	Bouchett	Richard	N		1700		N	
231	Cotton	James	N		1700		N	
232	Keys	William	N		1700		N	
233	Leiness	Nicholas	N		1700		N	
234	Court	Thomas	N		1700		N	
235	Anderton	Robert	N		1700		N	
236	Bulling	Nathaniel	N		1700		N	
237	Pattison	John	N		1700		N	
238	Law	Hugh	N		1700		N	



Appendix D: Dublin quarter brother and journeymen goldsmiths, c.1660-1700

	Surname	First name	Indentured app (Y/N)	Master (if known)	First date as QB/J'man	Name of sponsor and date	Freedom (Y/N)	Date freedom
239	Norris	Daniel	N		1700		N	
240	Tyre (Tyrer)	Henry	N		1700		N	
241	Lemesier	Samuel	N		1700		N	
242	Reily	Fergus	N		1700		N	
243	Noble	Robert	N		1700		N	

Sources:

Dublin Goldsmiths' Company MSS: Minute books (MS 1), Enrolment book and registration book (MS 94), Apprentices, Freemen and Journeymen 1637-1702 (MS 95).

C.J. Jackson, *English goldsmiths and their marks* (London, 1921).

Appendix E: Apprentice goldsmiths, Dublin, c.1600-1700

**Appendix E**

**Apprentice goldsmiths, Dublin, c.1600-1700**

Year	Apprentice name	Name of parent	County/Origin	Master	Achieved guild freedom (Y/N)	
1	c.1605-12	Brian Ratlyffe		Robert Bee	Y	
2	c.1598	James Gerland		Robert Bee	Y	
3	c.1615-22	Edmond Medley (Medly)		James Bee	Y	
4	c.1615-22	Edmond Murry		James Bee	Y	
5	c.1620	Robert Coffee		Brian Ralyffe	Y	
6	c.1622	John Woodcock		Henry Cheshire	Y	
7	c.1622	Thomas Mennan		Henry Cheshire	Y	
8	c.1625	William Hamilton		Henry Cheshire	Y	
9	c.1630	Ambrose Browne		John Banister	Y	
10	c.1630	Edward Bentley		John Woodcock	Y	
11	1632	Thomas Penn	Humphrey Penn	Clement Evans	N	
12	1632	David Carny		Thomas Mennan	Y	
13	1637	Daniel Bellingham	Robert Bellingham	Peter Vaneijndhoven	Y	
14	1637	Daniel Bould (Gould)	Peter Bould	Chester	John Woodcock	Y
15	1637	Peter Hacket	William Hacket	Preston	George Gallant	N

Appendix E: Apprentice goldsmiths, Dublin, c.1600-1700

	Year	Apprentice name	Name of parent	County/Origin	Master	Achieved guild freedom (Y/N)
16	1639	William Culme	William Culme	Barnstaple	Edward Bentley	Y
17	1640	Joseph Stoaker	Thomas Stoaker	Drogheda	Gilbert Tonques	Y
18	c.1640	Christopher Right			William Cooke	Y
19	1641	Roger Pointon	Edward Pointon	Chester	James Vanderbeck	N
20	1643	John Kinge	John Kinge	Edenderry	Daniel Bellingham	N
21	1640	Thomas Taylor	Thomas Taylor	Bellurbet, Co Cavan	Daniel Burfeldt	Y
22	1644	John Parnell	Orphan of Dublin	Dublin	Thomas Parnell	N
23	1646	Thomas Hall	Orphan of Dublin	Dublin	Daniel Burfeldt	N
24	1646	Benjamin Baysatt	Benjamin Baysatt (decd.)		Peter Vaneijndhoven	N
25	1647	Francis Coffee	Patrick Coffee (decd.)		Robert Coffee	Y
26	c.1650	John Partington			Daniel Bellingham	Y
27	c.1653	Andrew Edwards			Giles Goodwin	Y
28	1656	John East	John East (watchmaker)	London	Daniel Bellingham	Y
29	1656	Richard Webb			Daniel Bellingham	Y
30	1653	Edward Meredith	Elizabeth Meridith (widow)	Dublin	John Thornton	N
31	1654	James Kelly (Keally)	Philip Keally (merchant)	Limerick	John Slicer	Y
32	1662	George Benson	George Benson (gent.)	Kerry	John Thornton	N
33	1654	Nathaniel Withers			Robert Lawe	N
34	1655	Thomas Castle (Cashell)			Robert Lawe	N
35	c.1655	Richard Woodcock			John Woodcock	Y
36	c.1658	Abel Ram			Daniel Bellingham	Y
37	c.1658	Paul Lovelace			Mathew Browne	Y
38	1666	Richard Lord	Richard Lord		Isaac John (Jean)	Y
39	c.1654	Robert Walsh			William Webb	Y
40	1654	Edmond Coghlan (Coghill)	Daniel Coghlan (gent.)	Garrycastle, King's County	Isaac John (Jean)	Y

Appendix E: Apprentice goldsmiths, Dublin, c.1600-1700

	Year	Apprentice name	Name of parent	County/Origin	Master	Achieved guild freedom (Y/N)
41	1655	Edmond Palmer	Emanuel Palmer (gent.)	Ballyturlagh, Co Roscommon	Edward Swan	N
42	1656	William Williams	Robert Williams (ironworker)	Dublin	Nicholas Seward	N
43	1660	William Trevis	William Trevis (gent.)	Dublin	George Lambert	N
44	1662	William Harborne	William Harborne (gent.)	Dublin	John Parnell	N
45	1663	David Aickin	Robert Aickin (brother) (merchant)		George Lambert	N
46	1658	Charles Brackenberry	John Brackenberry (gent.)	Dublin	Thomas Barker	N
47	1658	Hugh Hughes	Elizabeth Hughes (widow)	Holyhead	Robert Thornton	N
48	1658	Valentine Hammond	Henry Hammond	Preston	George Southwaick	N
49	1659	Thomas Doran	Charles Doran (maltster)		Miles Graham	N
50	c.1659	John Harpoll			George Fisher	Y
51	c.1660	Thomas Sterne			Isaac John (Jean)	Y
52	c.1660	James Cottingham			John Partington	Y
53	1660	Andrew Presland	Richard Presland (gent.)	Issaroyd, Denbeigh, Wales	Thomas Parnell	N
54	1658	Lancelott Brauthwaite	Anthony Brauthwaite (yeoman)	Lamplouth, Cumberland	Edward Swan	N
55	1664	Joseph Stoaker (Jr)	Joseph Stoaker	Dublin	Joseph Stoaker	Y
56	1664	Thomas Rutter (Jr)	Thomas Rutter	Dublin	Thomas Rutter	Y
57	1665	Samuel Marsden	Samuel Marsden (tallow chandler)	Dublin	Timothy Blackwood	Y
58	c.1665	Edward Ashton			George Southwaick	Y
59	1666	John Phillips	Griffantius Phillips (gent.)	Gloucester	Abraham Voisin	Y

Appendix E: Apprentice goldsmiths, Dublin, c.1600-1700

	Year	Apprentice name	Name of parent	County/Origin	Master	Achieved guild freedom (Y/N)
60	1666	Walter Lewis	Thomas Lewis (joiner)	Dublin	Abel Ram	Y
61	1667	John Moore	Thomas Moore		Abel Ram	N
62	1667	Thomas Linnington	George Linnington	Wexford	Abel Ram	Y
63	1667	Walter Lloyd	Jenkin Lloyd (D.D.)	Treaprise, Pembrokeshire, Wales	John Dickson (Dixon)	N
64	c.1668	Gerard Grace			John Partington	Y
65	c.1668	Christopher Palles			Timothy Blackwood	Y
66	1669	Richard St Lawrence	Michael St Lawrence (gent.)	Rathenie, Co Dublin	Thomas Godfrey	N
67	1669	Abraham Blanchard	Isaac Blanchard (gent.)	Rowslouch, Co Worcester	Isaac John (Jean)	N
68	c.1670	Ralph Emerson			John Slicer	Y
69	1670	John Clifton	Francis Clifton (goldsmith)	Dublin	John Cope	Y
70	1673	Walter Bingham	Walter Bingham (gent.)	Dublin	Edward Ashton	Y
71	1673	Samuel Pierson	John Pierson (gent.)	Cominstown, Co Westmeath	Timothy Blackwood	N
72	1673	Edmond Coffey	Edmond Coffey	Ballykeran, Co Westmeath	Francis Coffey	N
73	1673	John Baskett			Abraham Voisin	Y
74	1672	John Deane			Paul Lovelace	N
75	1674	William Dermott			John Cope	Y
76	1674	John Mosely			Isaac John (Jean)	Y
77	1673	Francis Nevill			James Cottingham	Y
78	1673	Thomas Tennant	Thomas Tennant		Thomas Tennant	N
79	1674	Stephen Marmion			Abel Ram	N
80	1672	John Segar	Richard Segar (clerk)		Thomas Sterne	Y
81	1674	Thomas Bradshaw	Edward Bradshaw (gent.)	Woodstock, Co Kildare	John Hyett	N
82	1675	William Close	William Close, Esq.	Liburn, Co Antrim	Thomas Sterne	N

Appendix E: Apprentice goldsmiths, Dublin, c.1600-1700

	Year	Apprentice name	Name of parent	County/Origin	Master	Achieved guild freedom (Y/N)
83	1676	Benjamin West	Thomas West (gent.)	Balgeight, Co Meath	John Farmer	Y
84	1676	Ebenezer Cawdron	George Cawdron (gent.)	Dublin	James Kelly	Y
85	1674	John Shelley	John Shelley (gent.)	Ratoath, Co Meath	Timothy Blackwood	Y
86	c.1674	Thomas Symbrell			William Lucas	Y
87	1675	John Bennett	John Bennett	Kidwelly, Carmarthenshire, Wales	John Popkins	N
88	1675	David Sibbald	Henry Sibbald (gent.)	Carrickmeroe, Co Wicklow	Samuel Marsden	N
89	1675	David Swan	John Swan Esq	Baldwinstown, Co Wexford	Abraham Voisin	Y
90	1675	John Bulkeley	William Bulkeley (gent.)	Anglesey, Wales	Walter Lewis	N
91	1675	Thomas Yeates	Robert Yeates (vintner)	Dublin	Christopher Palles	N
92	1676	Joseph Bayly	Joseph Bayly (apothecary)	Casterton, Cumberland	Paul Lovelace	N
93	1676	James Walsh	Edmond Walsh (gent.)	Shanganoth, Co Dublin	Denis Bryne	N
94	1676	Benjamin Breviter	Richard Breviter (clerk)	Norwich	Abraham Voisin	N
95	1675	George Cartwright	Orphan		James Cottingham	Y
96	1676	William Drayton			Andrew Gregory	Y
97	1675	Charles Wilton	Roger Wilton (gent.)	Curglass, Co Cavan	James Cottingham	N
98	1675	Joseph Wesencraft	Ralph Wesencraft (hammerman)	Dublin	Adam Soret	Y
99	1676	Thomas Bolton	Henry Bolton (clerk)	Ratoath, Co Meath	Gerard Grace	Y
100	1677	John Turner	John Turner (periwig maker)	Dublin	John Martin	Y
101	1677	Ezekiel Bourne	John Bourne (physician)		John Martin	N
102	1678	Henry Chabenor (Chalenor)	Thomas Chabenor (gent.)	Dublin	George Southwaick	Y
103	1677	John Ebzery			Samuel Marsden	N

Appendix E: Apprentice goldsmiths, Dublin, c.1600-1700

Year	Apprentice name	Name of parent	County/Origin	Master	Achieved guild freedom (Y/N)
104	1677	Thomas Osborn		John Cope	N
105	1678	Benjamin Burton		Abel Ram	Y
106	1675	Burleigh Cuffe		Abel Ram	Y
107	c.1675	Henry Bond		John Cuthbert	Y
108	1679	Michael Haynes		John Powell	Y
109	1673	William Keating	Brother: Oliver Keating (gent.) Dublin	Richard Webb	Y
110	c.1670	James Ross		Edward Swan	Y
111	c.1672	Francis Sherwin	Robert Sherwin (shoemaker) Dublin	Thomas Godfrey	Y
112	c.1678	Alexander Mackay		John Cuthbert	Y
113	1679	Thomas Bayly		Thomas Godfrey	N
114	1679	George Thornton		James Kelly	N
115	c.1679	Paul Townsend		John Dickson (Dixon)	Y
116	1679	George Newbold	Francis Newbold (gent.) Ballyfinnen, Queen's Co	Walter Lewis	N
117	1675	John Brearley (Bryerly)	John Brearley (gent.) Dublin	Thomas Linnington	Y
118	1678	William Mainwaring	William Mainwaring (gent.) Athy, Co Kildare	Adam Soret	N
119	1678	Henry Sherwin	Francis Sherwin (goldsmith) Dublin	Francis Sherwin	Y
120	1679	John Billing	John Billing (gent.) Kingstown, Co Dublin	John Mosely	Y
121	1679	Timothy Charnock	George Charnock Gallygallerie, Queen's Co.	John Segar	N
122	1677	John Nowlan	Patrick Nowlan (tailor) Dublin	Edmond Coghlan	N
123	1679	Arthur Bryne	Barnaby Bryne Esq Colebuck, Co Westmeath	Denis Bryne	Y
124	1680	Charles Danter	Father in law: John Durey (gent.) Limerick	John Phillips	N
125	1679	James Willoe		Elizabeth Lovelace	N



Appendix E: Apprentice goldsmiths, Dublin, c.1600-1700

	Year	Apprentice name	Name of parent	County/Origin	Master	Achieved guild freedom (Y/N)
126	1680	Stephen Shatling	Daniel Shatling (merchant)	Dublin	Matthew La Roche	N
127	1678	Joseph Whitechurch	Joseph Whitechurch	Dublin	Andrew Gregory	N
128	1680	Oliver Nugent	Nicholas Nugent (gent.)	Castledelvin, Co Westmeath	Christopher Palles	N
129	1681	Henry Moore	Nicholas Moore Esq	Ardestown, Co Louth	Walter Lewis	N
130	1680	John Webb	Richard Webb (gent.)	Kilkenny	John Farmer	N
131	1681	George Stewart	James Stewart (gent.)	Newry	Andrew Gregory	N
132	1681	John Peryman	George Peryman (gent.)		Samuel Marsden	N
133	1681	Thomas Meekins	John Meekins (blacksmith)	Dublin	Walter Bingham	Y
134	1681	Christopher Fitzgerald	Richard Fitzgerald Esq	Rathrone, Co Meath	Christopher Palles	N
135	1681	Walter Dougherty	Daniel Dougherty		William Myers (Myas)	N
136	1682	Walter Fitzgerald	Thomas Fitzgerald (gent.)		Denis Bryne	N
137	c.1680	Peter Devine			John Phillips	Y
138	1681	James Moussoult			Abraham Voisin	N
139	1683	Samuel Clarke	Henry Clarke (innkeeper)	Belfast	Abraham Voisin	Y
140	c.1683	Vincent Kidder			James Cottingham	Y
141	1682	William Ormsby	William Ormsby (gent.)	Grange, Co Roscommon	John Deane	N
142	1683	Alexander Dickson	Archibald Dickson	Tourland, Scotland	John Dickson	N
143	1678	Joseph Teate	Joseph Teate	Dean of Kilkenny	John Cuthbert	Y
144	1680	George Montgomery	Orphan		John Cuthbert	Y
145	1681	David King	James King (gent.)		John Cuthbert	Y
146	1683	William Pridham	William Pridham		John Phillips	N
147	1681	Joseph Chiven	James Chiven (merchant)	Drogheda	William Archbold	N

Appendix E: Apprentice goldsmiths, Dublin, c.1600-1700

	Year	Apprentice name	Name of parent	County/Origin	Master	Achieved guild freedom (Y/N)
148	1681	John McLoughlin	Phelim McLoughlin (butcher)	Dublin	William Archbold	N
149	1681	William Stockley	Thomas Stockley (innholder)	Liverpool	George Taylor	N
150	1683	Samuel John	Isaac John (jeweller)	Dublin	Abraham Voisin	N
151	1683	Samuel Wilder	Matthew Wilder (gent.)	Carlingford, Co Louth	John Hyett	Y
152	1683	Joseph Walker	John Walker (weaver)	Dublin	John Cuthbert	Y
153	1683	John Powell	Robert Powell (gent.)		Walter Lewis	N
154	1683	Robert Sheilds	Robert Sheilds (gent.)		John Shelly	N
155	1685	Joseph Malbon	Samuel Malbon (clerk)	London	William Billinghamurst	N
156	1684	Robert Mollineux	Richard Mollineux (gent.)	Newhall, Darby, Lanc.	George Taylor	N
157	1685	John Harlin	Edmond Harlin (innholder)	Dublin	Joseph Bayly	N
158	1684	Alexander Tweedy	Patrick Tweedy (gent.)	Dublin	William Myers	N
159	1685	William Price	Lewis Price (shoemaker)	Dublin	John Deane	N
160	1686	John Martin	Thomas Martin (gent.)	Rabuck, Co Dublin	Ebenezer Caudron	N
161	1686	Isaac Dawson	John Dawson (weaver)	Heaton Rhodes, Lanc.	William Drayton	N
162	1685	Isaiah Grosvenor	Francis Grosvenor (brewer)	Dublin	John Deane	N
163	1686	Robert Ince	Robert Ince (harberdasher)	Dublin	John Brearly	Y
164	1686	Conway Mace	Elizabeth Berry	Dublin	John Cuthbert	Y
165	1686	Patrick Cadell	Richard Cadell (baker)	Dublin	John Morphy (Murphy)	N
166	1681	Francis Bovet	Elias Bovet (merchant)	Rochelle, France	Adam Soret	N
167	c.1687	Thomas Parker			William Billinghamurst	Y

Appendix E: Apprentice goldsmiths, Dublin, c.1600-1700

	Year	Apprentice name	Name of parent	County/Origin	Master	Achieved guild freedom (Y/N)
168	1687	Alexander Sinclare	William Sinclare (merchant)	Belfast	John Cuthbert	Y
169	1685	John Ward	William Ward (butcher)	Dublin	John Shelly	N
170	1686	John Bennett	John Bennett (victualler)	Dublin	Thomas Bolton	N
171	1690	James Kinnier	Brother: William Kinnier (clerk)		John Humphreys	N
172	1685	Anthony Stanley	Christopher Stanley (merchant)	Drogheda	Christopher Palles	N
173	1686	Thomas Melaghlin	Thomas Melaghlin	Ardrum, Co Meath	Christopher Palles	N
174	1686	Henry Sharp	Henry Sharp	Lazyhill, Dublin	John Phillips	N
175	1686	Joseph Bennett	John Bennett (victualler)	Dublin	Robert Smith	N
176	1686	Benjamin Hasslehurst	John Hasslehurst (joiner)	Dublin	John Brearly	N
177	1688	Samuel Berry	John Berry (gent.)	Clonehan, King's Co	John Humphreys	N
178	1688	John Gerrard	William Gerrard (woodmonger)	Dublin	John Dickson (Dixon)	Y
179	c.1695	Edward Barrett			Joseph Walker	Y
180	1692	Cyriac Mallory	Thomas Mallory (minister)	Maynooth, Co Kildare	John Phillips	Y
181	1692	John Cuthbert Jr	John Cuthbert (goldsmith)	Dublin	John Cuthbert	Y
182	c.1692	James Borne (Byrne)			John Cuthbert	Y
183	1693	Samuel Ruchant			Matthew La Roche	N
184	1692	James Brenan	Brother: Daniel Brenan		David Swan	N
185	1692	James Standish		Dublin	Thomas Bolton	N
186	1693	Robert Evers			William Lucas	N
187	1690	Henry Miller	John Miller (gent.)	Dublin	Henry Chaloner	N
188	1694	Charles White	John White	Ballymore Eustace, Co Wicklow	John Phillips	N
189	1693	Edward Workman	R. Workman (tanner)	Portadown	James Welding	Y

Appendix E: Apprentice goldsmiths, Dublin, c.1600-1700

	Year	Apprentice name	Name of parent	County/Origin	Master	Achieved guild freedom (Y/N)
190	1694	Charles Crompton	Thomas Crompton (gent.)	Co Wexford	John Cuthbert	N
191	1695	John Sterne	Thomas Sterne (goldsmith)	Dublin	Edward Slicer	Y
192	c.1695	George Pilkington	Thomas Pilkington (gent.)	Dublin	Robert Rigmaiden	N
193	1694	Edward Fitzgerald	Oliver Fitzgerald (gent.)	Tara, Co Meath	Walter Bingham	N
194	1695	James Drysdale	James Drysdale (clerk)	Co Kilkenny	Thomas Bolton	N
195	1695	William Archdall	John Archdall (clerk)	Lusk, Co Dublin	David King	Y
196	c.1695	John Gregory			Edward Slicer	Y
197	1695	Philip Tough	Thomas Tough	Dundalk, Co Louth	James Welding	Y
198	1697	Thomas Paris	Lt. Col. Henry Paris	Dublin	Francis Cuthbert	N
199	1698	Edward Hall	Thomas Hall (gent.)	Dublin	John Harris	Y
200	1698	Charles Brigham	Sebastian Brigham (gent.)	Dublin	John Harris	N
201	1698	Erasmus Cope			John Cope	Y
202	1699	James Blanchard	Samuel Blanchard (farrier)	Dublin	Joseph Walker	N
203	1699	Gilbert Lane	William Lane (gent.)	Co Tipperary	Joseph Walker	N
204	1699	Anthony Walsh	Pierse Walsh (milliner)	Dublin	Edward Slicer	N
205	1700	James Foucault	Peter Foucault (surgeon)	Dublin	John Harris	N
206	c.1700	Peter Le Maistre			Adam Soret	Y
207	c.1700	Daniel Pineau			Benjamin Racine	Y
208	1700	William Ross	Henry Ross (gent.)	Drogheda	James Welding	N
209	1700	Mark Mottershead	John Mottershead (farmer)	Dublin	Samuel Wilder	N
210	1699	Richard Brown	Richard Brown (yeoman)	Dublin	Richard Grosvenor	N
211	1697	Thomas Racine	E. Racine (victualler)	Dublin	John Turner	Y

Appendix E: Apprentice goldsmiths, Dublin, c.1600-1700

	Year	Apprentice name	Name of parent	County/Origin	Master	Achieved guild freedom (Y/N)
212	1700	William Sheilds	Roger Sheilds (gent.)	Wainestown, Co Meath	Alex Sinclare	N
213	c.1700	John Hamilton			David King	Y
214	1699	John Whitfield (Whitefield)	Robert Whitfield (girdler)	Dublin	Thomas Bolton	Y
215	1700	Nehemiah Donnellan	Dorothy Jones		Thomas Bolton	N

Sources:

Dublin Goldsmiths' Company MSS: Minute books (MS 1), Enrolment book and registration book (MS 94), Apprentices, Freemen and Journeymen 1637-1702 (MS 95).

Ancient Freemen of Dublin incorporating material from: Dublin City Assembly Rolls, Dublin City Franchise Roll, Dublin City Freedom Register and Freedom Beseeches, compiled by Gertrude Thrift ([www.dublinheritage.ie/freemen/index.php](http://www.dublinheritage.ie/freemen/index.php)).

J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin* (19 vols, London, 1889-1944), ii-vi.

C.J. Jackson, *English goldsmiths and their marks* (London, 1921).

Appendix F: Irish apprentices in the London Company of Goldsmiths, c.1600-1700

**Appendix F**

**Irish apprentices in the London Company of Goldsmiths, c.1600-1700**

	Surname	First name	Parent	Origin	Master	Year	Achieved freedom (Y/N)
1	Fining	Teg	Brian Fining (goldsmith)	Connaught	Edmond Maydly	1604	Y
2	Rolle	John	Morice Rolle (gent.)	Ireland	Henry Rowlande	1609	
3	Holcomb	Christopher	Edward Holcomb	Ireland	Edward Thatcher	1619	
4	Barnham	Thomas	Thomas Barnham (gent.)	Dinowen, Ireland	John Noel	1647	
5	Bishop	Thomas	William Bishop (knight)	Dublin	William Lukin	1647	
6	Chappell	Richard	Richard Chappell (esq.)	Armagh	Charles Cokayne	1649	
7	Palmes	Clement	Stephen Palmes (gent.)	Dublin	William Purifie	1649	
8	Morgan	Robert	Richard Morgan (gent.)	Ennis, Co Clare	John Wraxhall	1651	
9	Dransfeild	Richard	Richard Dransfeild (grocer)	Bellichelle, Ireland	Aleander Jacson	1652	Y
10	Dillon	Robert	John Dillon (merchant)	Dublin	William Bayley	1655	
11	Blackwood	Phineas	Christopher Blackwood (clerk)	Dublin	Samuel Drapes	1656	
12	Hollis	William	William Hollis (yeoman)	Waterford	Edward Treene	1663	
13	Plunkett	Walter	Nickolas Plunkett (esq.)	Dublin	Thomas Prince	1666	
14	Woolveridge	Joseph	James Woolveridge (doctor)	Cork	Philip Treherne	1667	

Appendix F: Irish apprentices in the London Company of Goldsmiths, c.1600-1700

	Surname	First name	Parent	Origin	Master	Year	Achieved freedom (Y/N)
15	Sarsfield	Peter	Patrick Sarsfield (merchant)	Cork	Jeremy Johnson	1670	
16	Jorden	John	John Jorden (gent.)	Wexford	Francis Jorden	1671	Y
17	Battie	Jerome	Thomas Battie (gent.)	Clonmel	Ezekiell Hutchinson	1675	
18	Richardson	John	Samuell Richardson (gent.)	Dublin	John Sweetapple	1677	
19	Short	John	John Short (gent.)	Ossory, Queen's Co	William Dry	1678	
20	Coffy	Patrick	Francis Coffy (goldsmith)	Dublin	Rebeckah Vaughan	1681	Y
21	Palmer	William	William Palmer (gent.)	Dublin	Thomas Allen	1685	
22	Hood	Samuel	Robert Hood (gent.)	Mount Sorell, Leinster	Robert Copper	1685	Y
23	Parr	Thomas	Henry Parr (clerk)	Co Cork	Simon Noy	1687	Y
24	Lewis	Walter	Thomas Lewis (joiner)	Dublin	William Carter	1688	
25	Goodrick	Joseph	William Goodrick (vintner)	Waterford	Edward Scapes	1690	
26	Trotter	John	Robert Trotter (limner)	Dublin	William Cossens	1691	
27	Elger	Peter	Peter Elger (gent.)	Dublin	Benjamin Rhodes	1694	

Source:

The Record of London's Livery Companies (ROLLCO) online database: [www.londonroll.org](http://www.londonroll.org).