1 – John Sherwin, silver-gilt mether, Dublin, 1811
(courtesy National Museum of Ireland)

The production of silver in late-Georgian Dublin

ALISON FITZGERALD AND CONOR O'BRIEN

THE HISTORIC ASSAYING OF SILVER AND GOLD OBJECTS HAS GIVEN RISE TO VARIous terms which have found their way into common usage. To declare that a product has been 'tried and tested' affords it a desirable measure of reliability in the eyes of a consumer. Similarly, the words 'sterling' and 'hallmark' imply quality, excellence and genuineness. These terms have long been linked to the process of assaying, by which silver and gold objects are tested for purity, and marked accordingly. In this article we will analyse one particularly detailed assay ledger from the Dublin Assay Office for the period 1787 to 1789, giving statistics for the calendar year 1788 (Appendix: table 1). Comparative material will be provided by a second set of assay records compiled over two decades later, focusing on the year 1810 for statistical purposes (Appendix: table 2). These manuscripts afford a remarkable insight into the market for silver in late-Georgian Dublin.

THE GOLDSMITHS' GUILD

In 1637 the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin was incorporated by Royal Charter and given the responsibility for assaying and hallmarking all gold and silver wares produced in Ireland.[1] Since silver (and also gold) in its pure state is too soft to use for hard-wearing objects, it is therefore alloyed with a base metal, usually copper, to form a more durable alloy. Before gold and silver wares could be placed on the market, it was the Company's responsibility to test them for compliance with the required standards of purity. The charter stipulated that for silver this should be 'his Majesty's standard, otherwise called eleven ounces two pennyweights', it being understood that this referred to the proportion of pure silver in one pound troy of the alloy. At twenty pennyweights to the ounce and twelve ounces to the pound this translates in modern terminology to 92.5% purity, commonly called sterling standard.[2] This process of assaying or testing was, essentially, a reassuring form of

quality control. Items which did not meet the designated standard were broken in the Assay Office.[3] Those which complied were marked with a series of punches. The 'harp crowned' indicated that the silver was the correct purity, and from 1730 the figure of Hibernia was struck to denote payment of a duty of sixpence per ounce imposed by Act of Parliament. Letters intended to indicate the year of assay were also stamped on pieces, but prior to about 1770 these were used with much irregularity and selectivity.[4] A further stamp comprised the initials of the goldsmith asserting responsibility for the piece.

The terms of the goldsmiths' charter obliged each craftsman in Ireland who was engaged in the manufacture of gold or silver objects to send his wares to Dublin to be tested for purity and to be hallmarked. In practice, however, this was not always followed in provincial centres. Provincial craftsmen in centres such as Cork and Limerick faced a number of difficulties which placed them at a distinct disadvantage to their Dublin counterparts. For instance, aside from the delays and expense involved in sending their wares to Dublin to be assayed, there was also a chance that the objects could be damaged in the process or, worse still, stolen. Consequently, many provincial goldsmiths did not send their goods to Dublin for assaying.

During the course of the eighteenth century, the Cork goldsmiths expressed their desire for an assay master within the city but none was forthcoming. Undeterred, they were still campaigning in 1807, petitioning the Chancellor of the Exchequer John Foster for his support. In a strong memorial they complained that they could import goods on better terms than undertaking 'the enormous expense, delays and losses attendant' on sending their manufactured goods to Dublin to be marked, and pointed out that many of them were forced to discharge workmen as a consequence.[5] This was rejected by the Dublin Assay Office who claimed that it was uneconomical to set up an assay office in Cork.[6]

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DUBLIN ASSAY RECORDS: FORMAT AND PURPOSE

The assay books for the period in question focus on the Dublin market, and there are few entries for provincial craftsmen. Nevertheless they document a key branch of the guild's activities and provide a valuable perspective on the production of silver objects in a city which by 1700 was already established as 'the second city of the empire'.[7] By analysing the information contained in these working ledgers it is possible to note fluctuations in the demand for silver, as well as identifying those individuals who were dominating the market during a specific period. It is also possible

to distinguish makers who consistently took chances with quality, and had particularly large quantities of their goods broken as a consequence.

A number of assay ledgers survive for the eighteenth century.[8] They were kept as a record of the goods which came through the guild headquarters during this period, and as a register of the fees which had been paid accordingly. Consequently, they reveal the extent to which production fluctuated during this period and provide valuable material for analysis. From 1709 Goldsmiths' Hall was located on Werburgh Street, close to Dublin Castle, with many goldsmiths occupying premises in the immediate environs. This location, close to the nerve centre of fashionable activity around the viceregal court, provided an advantageous position for patronage. An assay master was employed by the guild to test and hallmark gold and silver items, and the revenue generated, known as the touch money, was divided equally between the Assay Master and the guild.

In Dublin during this period there were normally three assay days per week – Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. The assay ledgers record the goldsmiths' surnames as well as the weight of their parcels of goods submitted. From this information it is clear that the volume of silver being produced in Dublin increased considerably during the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the eleven years from 1638 to 1649, a total of 10,393oz of silver was submitted to Goldsmiths' Hall for assaying. By 1696/97 this figure had risen to over 25,000oz for a single year, and in 1708/09 the total amounted to 45,000oz.[9] This quantity had almost doubled by the late 1780s.

A number of factors account for this impressive increase in production. Irish population growth was high by European standards during the period 1700 to 1845.[10] Dickson has pointed out that no other European region, comparable in terms of scale, quadrupled its inhabitants between the late seventeenth and mid-nineteenth century.[11] The economy witnessed a transformation from the 'technologically archaic, economically unintegrated and almost autarkic' system of the seventeenth century to an industrialised rural economy equipped to meet demands in terms of overseas trade.[12]

Within this equation Dublin occupied a charmed position. Not only was Dublin the viceregal and administrative capital, it also dominated Irish trade as a port city, generating almost 40% of customs revenue.[13] The population of the city increased enormously during the course of the eighteenth century, from about 60,000 residents in 1700 to around 224,000 in 1821.[14] Coupled with population growth and economic expansion, as Hill has pointed out, the landed classes were seeking increasingly 'an urban expression of power'. This was reflected in the development of town houses in the capital and the attendant expenditure on furnishings, stuccowork and plate. She estimates that during the 1780s there were in the

region of forty-six earls and viscounts alone with town houses in Dublin, aside from affluent gentry.[15] While these were undoubtedly key patrons of the Dublin goldsmiths – a fact that is reflected in the rhetoric of the goldsmiths' advertising – they were not the only ones. Commissions came as well from corporate bodies such as civic authorities and guilds. Dublin Corporation appears to have been an instigator of this practice in 1656 by presenting three pieces of plate to the Lord Deputy, Henry Cromwell, on the occasion of his son's baptism.[16] Equally, the Dublin Society, which endeavoured to promote native manufactures, awarded silver palettes at least once.[17]

This raises the question of taste. Which objects were the most desirable, and what does this indicate about contemporary social practices? While the majority of the Dublin assay books neither itemise objects individually nor provide data revealing fluctuations in the demand for particular items, there are exceptions. Particularly noteworthy is a ledger for the period 3 February 1787 to 31 January 1789, which provides a tantalisingly detailed window into the silver trade at this time. As well as recording the dates, surnames, weights and charges generally listed in assay records, this ledger actually itemises, object by object, each individual parcel that was handed in for assaying. Consequently, this manuscript offers answers to a range of important questions, especially those pertaining to the supply and demand of plate in eighteenth-century Dublin. It allows us to identify which items were the most desired objects, and also informs us about the contemporary terms used to describe and classify wrought silver.[18]

Before analysing the contents of the assay book in detail, it is helpful to take stock of the period which it reflects. It was compiled in the years immediately following the winning of legislative independence and during a period of prodigious development for Dublin. Nevertheless, the 1780s had not been consistently buoyant for the country at large. A series of economic fluctuations during the early part of the decade resulted in one of the most acute economic crises of the eighteenth century. A combination of falling demand for Irish linen in Britain, poor harvests and rising food prices placed a strain on the economy, from which it was only beginning to recover by the end of 1784.[19]

While this would perhaps have prompted the more cautious landlord to contain his expenditure – at least in the short term – it did not appear to curb him unduly. In 1788 *Finn's Leinster Journal* declared that 'what is called hospitality swallows up everything: eating, drinking and rural sports fills up the whole of our Irish country gentlemen. The principal point of ambition is to outdo his neighbours in hospitable profusion.' [20] Certainly, the total figure of over 84,000oz of silver which was submitted to Goldsmiths' Hall between January and December 1788 is an impressive one.

GOLDSMITHS' NETWORKS

The ledger in question lists forty-nine makers by surname. The full name and accurate identity of the maker can generally be determined from references in other period sources such as street directories and lists of freeman and quarter brothers.[21] However, since there were a number of makers with the same initials operating in Dublin at the same time, the potential for incorrect attribution of marks is considerable. This is one area where the 1787-89 ledger can prove to be helpful. For example, there are a significant number of spoons in circulation from the late eighteenth century marked with the initials JS. In the standard reference works this mark is attributed to John Shields, who, however, does not appear to feature in the Assay Master's accounts at any stage during the period that is under review.[22] This fact, coupled with the clear evidence from the assay entries showing that John Stoyte was a major spoon maker and a dominant figure in that sector of the market, confirms the reattribution.[23]

Those represented in the assay records vary tremendously in terms of individual submissions. A prominent goldsmith, such as John Pittar, submitted over 10,000oz during the course of the year, while his contemporary John Bolland could hardly have eked out a living from the 61oz which he submitted in the same period. But how representative of the precious metals trade as a whole is the picture provided by the ledger? How do these forty-nine names fit into the overall equation of employment, sub-contraction and retailing? By surveying *Wilson's Dublin Street Directory* for the year 1789 the figure more than doubles.[24] Over one hundred individuals who were involved either directly or in a peripheral way with the industry are listed in Wilson's publication. These include goldsmiths, silversmiths, clock makers, watchmakers and jewellers. Admittedly, a number of those included would not have been required to send goods for assaying. George Barton and Samuel Guinness advertised independent services as gold beaters, which would have connected them not only with the precious metal trade but also with painters, bookbinders and other craftsmen. Samuel Bennet, located on Aungier Street, offered the potential of a less costly alternative to silver, operating as a silver plater. Equally, manufacturers of gold and silver lace, while trading in a desirable commodity, were not clients of Goldsmiths' Hall.

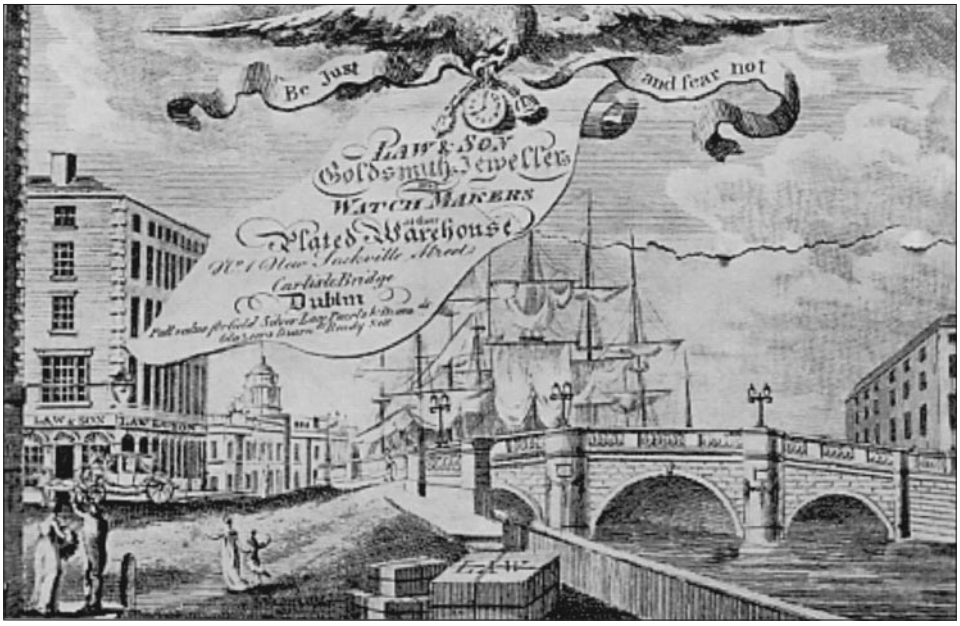
One of the most striking characteristics of the profile provided by Wilson's listings is the large number of watchmakers operating in the city. While gold and silver watches were clearly desirable both as conspicuous and practical signifiers of prestige, the extent of demand for these items is nonetheless impressive. Forty-seven of the craftsmen who were included in Wilson's directory in that year were described as watchmakers, yet only three makers – Bridgeman, Harrison and

O'Neill – submitted watchcases for hallmarking in 1788. In May 1780 the Assay Master expressed his concern to the guild about the paucity of watch cases which were being sent for assaying.[25] The guild was clearly concerned about 'articles of small silver work' which had not been hallmarked coming on the market. In September 1782 they took out a notice in the *Dublin Evening Post* warning the public against such items and advising that such goods were being passed off on an unsuspecting public as English wares.[26]

Thus, the forty-nine names recorded in the assay records for 1788, while clearly representing the key figures in the goldsmiths' trade at this time, were at the core of a much wider network of specialist craftsmen and allied traders. When it comes to analysing the proportion of silver production for which each of these individuals was responsible, another interesting fact becomes apparent. A much smaller number again, this time of the most successful and commercially aware goldsmiths, were actually monopolising a significant proportion of the market.[27]

In 1788 the leading maker in terms of weight was the flatware specialist John Pittar, who, as previously noted, submitted close to 10,000oz in that year. He was in close competition with his contemporary John Stoyte, with whom he shared a specialisation and whom he rivalled in terms of output. However, the quantities of spoons attributed to these makers, and which bear their marks, could hardly have been produced single-handedly, even by the most industrious and committed maker. By looking at the statistics for 1810, a decade after the Act of Union, it becomes increasingly apparent that organised workshops and, presumably, effective sub-contraction networks were well advanced. By this date, the leading maker in terms of weight was Richard Sawyer, and he was submitting more than 22,000oz as his yearly output. This figure represented close to 17,000 items of an extremely wide-ranging nature.

Other contemporary sources provide insights into networks of supply. In 1786, William Law (Plate 2), one of the goldsmiths included in the 1787-89 ledger, advertised that as well as being a 'gold and silver manufacturer' himself, and having had extensive experience both 'in England and Ireland in the manufacturing lines', he had 'the different Branches of his Business executed under his own immediate Inspection by ingenious Artists with the Care and Attention which he flatters himself, will give general Satisfaction'.[28] What is interesting is the fact that he addressed his notice, not only to the 'nobility and gentry' but also to the 'traders of Ireland'. Could this simply mean that Law was seeking to attract business from affluent merchants in the course of their personal expenditure, or was there another motive implied? The *marchands merciers* of eighteenth-century Paris who traded in a wide range of luxury goods would, on occasion, acquire stock from one another in order to satisfy the demands of important clients with speed and efficiency.[29]



2 – Trade card of Law & Son (William and Matthew Law), c.1810
(courtesy Sotheby's, New York)

Perhaps Law was able to supply items which could assist other traders in completing orders, or objects which could be acquired at competitive prices by provincial retailers for resale.

QUALITY STANDARDS AND BREACHES

While all of the goldsmiths operating in eighteenth-century Dublin had to satisfy quality standards in order to have their work legally marked, some took more chances then others when it came to maintaining those standards. For instance, an assessment of the figures for 1788 reveals that most of the makers who specialised in making larger items of hollowware, such as tureens, teapots and epergnes, had very small quantities of their work broken when their work parcels were 'tried and tested' at Goldsmiths' Hall. The manufacture and decoration of an item such as a tureen could be time-consuming and expensive, and clearly makers were loath to tie up their resources in objects which might literally end up 'in pieces' because the raw material was inferior. The surface decoration on a luxury tureen could take more than thirty days work by a chaser to complete, and this represented a considerable investment of time on the craftsman's part.[30] Equally, those craftsmen who were

operating at this exclusive end of the market traded on their reputation for quality, and would not have compromised this reputation if at all possible.

On the other hand, contemporaries who were responsible for making smaller, less lucrative items like buckles, buttons and even flatware were more inclined to run into difficulties with the Assay Master. They were operating in a fiercely competitive sector of the market, and some of these craftsmen stand out in the ledger for consistently having items broken. One of these was Jonas Osborne, a manufacturer of flatware who had more than a quarter of his goods (in terms of weight) destroyed by the Assay Master in 1788. Osborne's contemporary, Ambrose Nicklin, who specialised in buckles, had approximately 16% of his items rejected, and both of these statistics signal insufficient attention to quality on the makers' parts.

At times the infringements appeared entirely unintentional. For example, in 1790, while the goldsmith John Kavanagh was in England, twelve pairs of 'tea tongs' were sent to Goldsmiths' Hall on his behalf for assaying. All of the tongs were deficient in fineness, although three pairs were particularly bad. In his defence it was argued that since he was out of the country 'it would be a great hardship for him to suffer on account of the carelessness, or inattention of his workman'. They had been made from recycled silver, and it was asserted that Kavanagh had not intended any fraud. Three of the offending items were broken as a consequence.[31]

While Kavanagh ran into difficulty simply by leaving his workshop unattended in the short term, others took a more laissez-faire attitude when it came to the use of their mark-punch, and were apprehended accordingly. In November 1787 Walter Harley was summoned before officials at Goldsmiths' Hall to account for sub-standard buckles which had come to light with his mark on them. He declared that he did not recollect making them, and thought that the marks had been soldered in. However, he did admit marking and selling a number of pairs of buckles 'of other peoples make', and for this negligence, which constituted a 'very inattentive' use of his mark-punch, he was fined half a guinea.[32]

SUPPLY AND DEMAND

A considerable amount of information in relation to makers and levels of production can be gleaned from the combined assay books over the course of the century. However, one of the particularly exciting possibilities offered by the 1787-89 manuscript is that it allows us to see precisely what was being made in Dublin at this point in time. While period objects themselves are undoubtedly an essential point of reference for the historian, the picture they provide is inevitably a fragment-

ed one. As a readily convertible asset, many silver objects did not stand the test of time and were melted down, remodelled or simply broken as fashions and individual circumstances dictated. The 1787-89 assay book on the other hand indicates exactly how many pieces were sent for hallmarking at this time, and how they were described. From this information, a much more detailed analysis of the market can be constructed. For instance, although contemporary recipe books mentioned a significant number of dishes involving sauces and gravy, only one argyle (a gravy or sauce-warmer) was assayed in Dublin in 1788. Since the design of argyles incorporated some type of heat-preserving element, one would have thought them to be preferable to open sauceboats for hot sauces like gravy. *The English Art of Cookery*, printed in Dublin in 1798, included ten pages relating to the preparation of gravy and sauces.[33] As argyles were particularly in vogue in England from 1765 to 1800, it is all the more surprising that only one, described as such, was assayed in Dublin in 1788.[34] This raises the question not only of terminology but also of possible alternatives to silver argyles. In 1774 Wedgwood advertised his ceramic argyles as 'gravy cups'.[35] The Dublin ledger does refer to 'two gravy pots' sent in by Michael Homer, and it is possible that they may have been argyles. Nevertheless, while imported or ceramic alternatives were options for the Dublin elite, the fashion did not appear to take off amongst native goldsmiths.

The range of items described in the ledger variously as bowls and dishes invites the possibility of distinction between the function of such vessels, but if a distinction did exist, it is elusive. Sugar vessels, which were made in considerable quantities, tended to be described more frequently as dishes than bowls or basins. As prices for tea fell during the course of the eighteenth century, thereby widening consumption and inevitably diminishing its cachet, demand for sugar increased.[36] During the 1780s the Conollys of Castletown in Co Kildare typified conspicuous consumption in this regard. Their annual consumption of nearly 1,900lbs of sugar and 50lbs of tea is all the more expansive when one considers that the average annual consumption for sugar was 25 to 30lbs and for tea 2 to 3lbs.[37] The Conollys even factored in a regular allowance of sugar for their maids, but while they allowed them 2lb of sugar a month above and beyond their salaries of £8 a year, their generosity did not extend to allowances of tea.[38]

Aside from sugar bowls, smaller items like sugar tongs were produced in prodigious quantities. The fact that the quantity of the latter well exceeded the former during this period in the 1780s suggests that ceramic bowls and dishes were more popular than silver examples during this period, while silver was infinitely more practical and efficient for tongs. Such comparatively small items of plate could also make very acceptable gifts. In January 1758 Richard Edgeworth of Edgeworthstown paid the Dublin goldsmith James Warren £3 1s 2d for two small

silver casters which he intended as a gift 'to the Revd. Mr Norris at Drogheda', and just a year later recorded an additional payment to Mr Warren, this time 'for change of a pair of tea tongs'.[39]

Returning to the assay ledger, silver boxes appear to have been the preserve of specialist makers. In 1788 the goldsmith James Kennedy produced 128 'snuff boxes' and two 'tobacco boxes'. While he did make small quantities of other items during this year, boxes were by far the most numerous items being sent to the Assay Office from his workshop. As well as being useful wares, boxes were also in demand as presentation pieces. In 1790 a box made by Kennedy in 1788 was presented by the Corporation of Glovers and Skinners to Travers Hartely Esqr., representative of the city of Dublin, with an inscription acknowledging his 'incorruptable [sic] integrity in Parliament' (Plate 3).

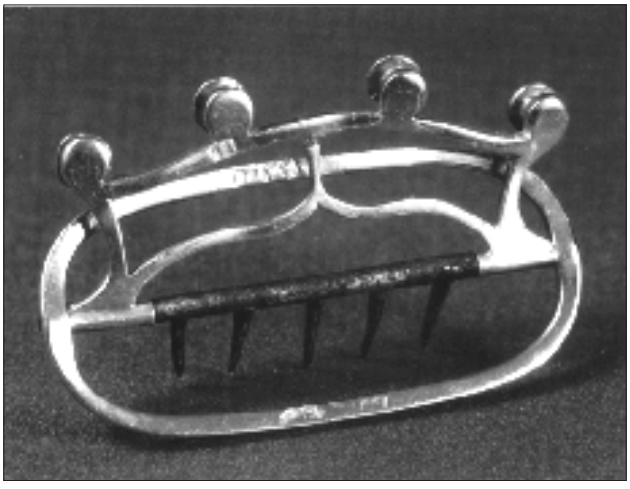
One of the really striking characteristics of the assay results from 1788 is the extent of the demand for silver buckles of various sorts. These actually accounted for a very significant part of the silver industry in Dublin during the 1780s. More than 24,000 were sent in to the Assay Office in 1788 – knee buckles, shoe buckles, and, much more rarely, stock buckles, used to fix a neckcloth in place (Plate 4). This figure seems all the more impressive since so few have actually survived. Goldsmiths like William Law and Ambrose Nicklin were major producers, and these two manufacturers between them sent in more than 5,000 buckles for assaying that year. With such large quantities being made in a single year, one would expect to find a range of varieties being advertised. Newspaper notices can be helpful in determining the range of buckles which were available in every price category, but other, less obvious sources can be equally revealing. One contemporary poem by the Ulster poet John Anketell describes a young woman stepping out extremely proudly at a local festival in her gleaming buckles which only set her back four pence:

> Here Oonagh stands; her pumps, you see are new,
> Her gown stripp'd linen, and her stockings blue;
> Last week in Glasslough were her buckles bought,
> How bright they shine, tho' purchased for a groat![40]

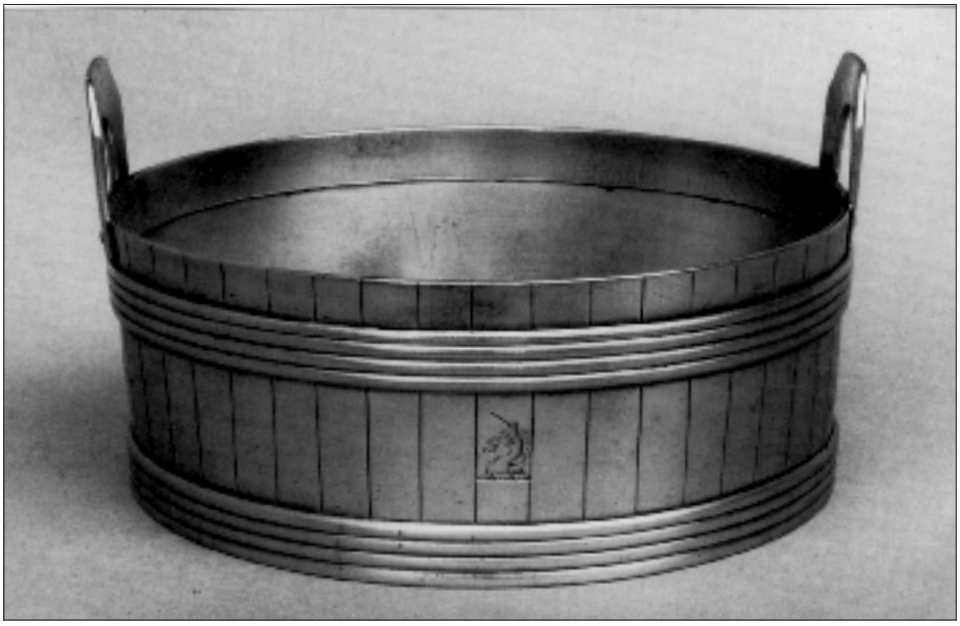
As small and comparatively inexpensive items, buckles, even silver ones, would have become well worn, broken or recycled, and inevitably fell from fashion. The assay book for 1810 contains the same type of detailed information as the earlier ledger, and it is interesting to discover that the demand for buckles had plummeted to just eighteen in that year, from over 24,000 in 1788. By then they clearly no longer served a fashionable purpose, and many must have been traded in and melted down.

In contrast to the ubiquitous buckles, these detailed assay records can also

3 – James Kennedy, silver freedom box engraved with armorials of the Corporation of Glovers and Skinners, Dublin, 1788
(courtesy Phillips, London)



4 – John Laughlin, 22ct gold stock buckle, Dublin, c.1780
(private collection)



5 – Robert Williams, silver butter cooler, Dublin, 1810
(private collection)

indicate just how rare certain items were. For instance, in March 1788 Christopher Haines submitted a mysterious item which was recorded intriguingly as a 'bushiea'. The curious nature of the description coupled with the uniqueness of its occurrence invites speculation as to the appearance and function of this rare item. It is probable that the term 'bushiea' is a variant spelling of 'bougie'. Bougie boxes were taper stands or wax jacks, which were useful components on a bureau, and were used in sealing correspondence for privacy.[41]

Equally, out of thousands of things submitted for assaying between February and December 1787, just one mether was entered in the assay book.[42] In her monograph on Irish vernacular furniture, Claudia Kinmonth refers to methers as traditional drinking cups made in Ireland from the medieval period to the nineteenth century.[43] Methers were carved out of wood, and were round at the bottom and quadrangular at the top. They usually had four handles, though sometimes two are found. Kinmonth cites the nineteenth-century novelist William Carleton quoting an Irish expression for a stormy night as 'the wind ris, and the rain fell as if it came out of methers', indicating the quantity of beverage which could potentially be consumed from these copious cups. However, silver examples of methers are rare, and two-handled cylindrical cups seem to have been more favoured for this kind of ceremonial vessel. A rare silver-gilt mether by John Sherwin dating to 1811 is in the col-

lection of the National Museum of Ireland (Plate 1). Another object in short supply was a vessel described as a butter cooler. A mere five were submitted for assaying in 1788, and only one in 1810. The latter butter cooler may well be the object illustrated in Plate 5, which was made by Robert Williams and dates to 1810. A noteworthy feature of this example is the evocation of rusticity. The faux wood effect is reminiscent of coopers' work. Generally, the concept of social emulation requires the aspirant to look higher up the social scale for design sources. The piggin was another object that was made in silver and transplanted from the modest rural kitchen to the elegant tables of the fashionable elite.[44] Originally, these vessels were made from wood, and were used for milking and as containers for porridge, milk and water in country homes across Ireland. The rarity of the silver piggin is suggested by the absence of the term from the 1787-89 and 1809-11 registers.

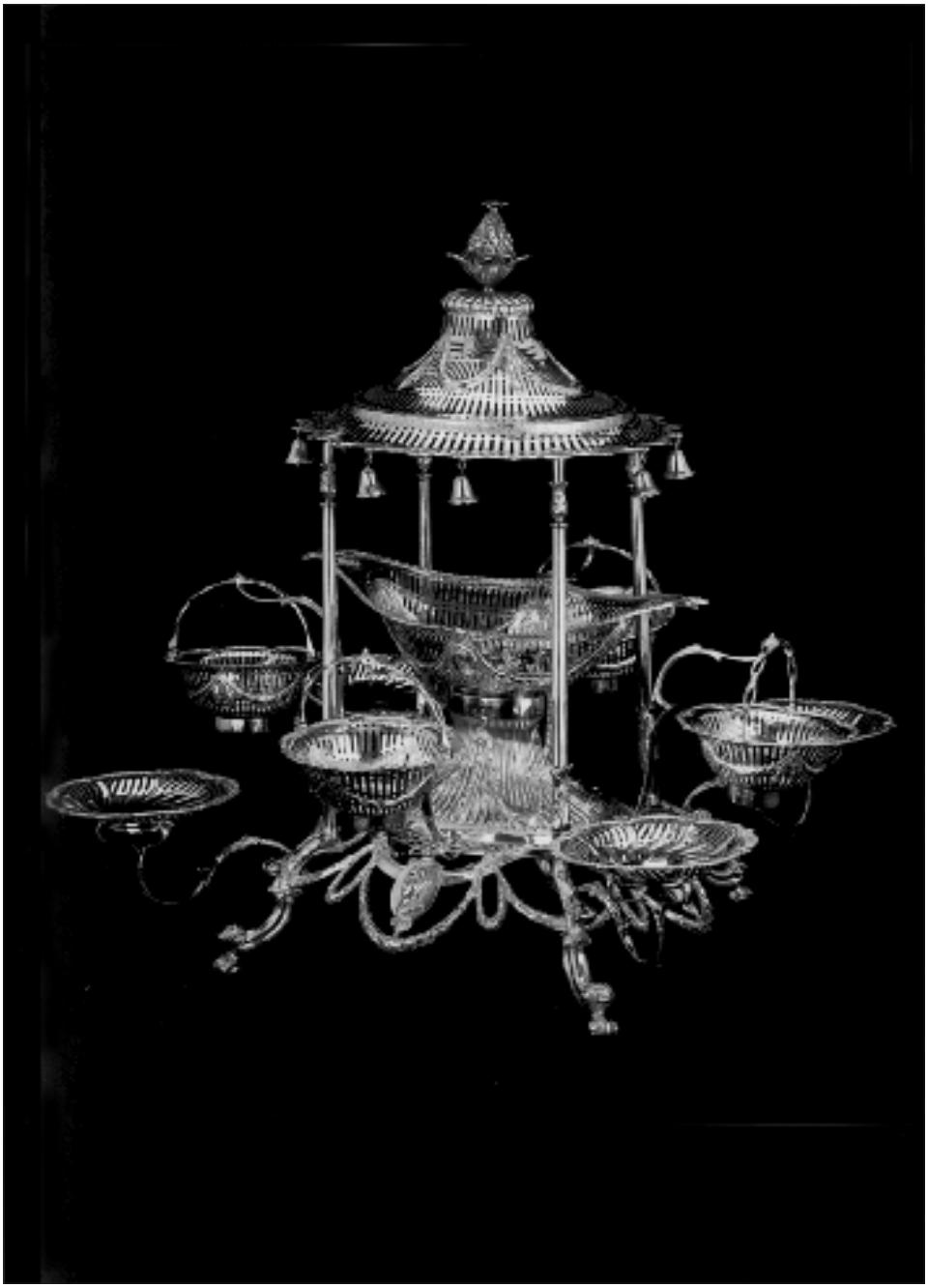
Although a major part of the demand was obviously for smaller items of silver, presumably partly because they were more affordable, practical and accessible to a wider proportion of the buying public, there were certain larger items of plate which were in considerable demand. Among such objects which were made in substantial quantities were two-handled cups, essentially ceremonial pieces which could be passed from person to person for communal drinking. One of the Dublin goldsmiths who specialised in making these was Matthew West. West sent in 280 cups to Goldsmiths' Hall in 1788.[45] Aside from those being supplied by Dublin goldsmiths, silver cups were also being imported from London. In December 1777 the Birmingham manufactory of Boulton and Fothergill supplied Cornelius O'Callaghan of Shanbally, near Clonmel, with a silver cup and cover, among other items.[46] A sector which may have encouraged the use of these convivial objects were the increasingly popular fraternal societies and clubs which, from the 1780s, became less tavern-based and increasingly private entities. These gentlemen's clubs generally met for dinner in the late afternoon, and proceeded to endless toasts which could meander into the early hours.[47] The Sportsman's Club, which met at the Rose Tavern in Dame Street, was responsible for organising the prizes as well as the races run at the Curragh.[48] Two-handled cups were also used during the course of the century as racing trophies. A trophy cup in the collection of the National Museum, made by the prominent Dublin goldsmith Robert Calderwood, is engraved with the inscription: 'Given by the Kildare-Hunt on Tuesday the 13th September 1757, and won by Sir Ralph Gore's Grey Horse Spot'.[49]

Among such large-scale items which Dublin goldsmiths produced for the homes of a privileged few were silver epergnes or specialist centrepieces (Plate 6). These table or sideboard showpieces were introduced from France, and incorporated branches which could accommodate candle sockets and small receptacles like sweetmeat dishes. Aside from the lavish visual spectacle which they provided, they

could also incorporate cruets and castors, and some even included rotating components to facilitate use, as the French verb *épargner* (to save) implies.[50] While they were certainly eye-catching focal points, epergnes competed with a range of alternatives, like porcelain, and even ephemeral ornaments sculpted from sugar, as centrepieces on the most gracious European tables. By the late eighteenth century, few were being made in silver in Dublin. Analysis of the assay entries for January to December 1788 reveals that only three epergnes were actually submitted to Goldsmiths' Hall for assaying during that period. When these epergnes were submitted, component parts like baskets, branches and stands were entered separately in the ledger, so that each part could be assayed individually. This minimised the danger that a substandard section could escape detection, and signalled attention to quality control. What is interesting about these entries, however, is the fact that the component parts do not always add up to provide entire epergnes for individual goldsmiths. To give one example, Denis Fray submitted three epergne frames during the course of the year, and these are not fully complemented by other epergne parts entered against his name. This could simply be because he had additional parts already available in his workshop, but the fact that it is not unusual to find epergnes with parts made by different makers suggests the possibility of sub-contraction. Interestingly, in 1810, when two epergnes were noted, no component parts were listed.

In terms of flatware, there was a considerable demand, since such items were generally more affordable and therefore more accessible to a greater proportion of the buying public. While most of these items are clearly defined and easily identifiable, there were inevitably idiosyncrasies and curiosities. For example, on 8 February 1787 the goldsmith Jonas Osborne submitted a parcel containing thirty teaspoons, a pair of sugar tongs and two 'fecques', weighing 19oz in total. By a process of elimination, the two unusual items could not have weighed more than a couple of ounces, which, added to the fact that Osborne was a flatware specialist, suggests that they may have been a small items of domestic tableware. As *feice* is an Irish word for spade, it seems possible that the two pieces in question were butter spades.[51] Conversely, terminology from the assay book which may appear extremely familiar in terms of modern usage should also be treated with circumspection. While a number of entries occur for fish knives, it should not be presumed that these were knives of the modern variety, since the description applies in this case to fish slices or trowels.

As well as yielding useful information in regard to demand within the market place, the assay entries can, by extension, throw interesting light on contemporary social practices. For instance, while forks have become commonplace household goods, their use was by no means widespread in eighteenth-century Dublin and the multipurpose spoon was thought to be considerably more useful. The volume of



6 – Robert Breading, silver epergne, Dublin, 1787
(courtesy Christie's, London)

tablespoons recorded in 1788 was more than five times the quantity of table forks, and the volume of dessert spoons exceeded dessert forks almost sixteen-fold. This disparity had been largely resolved by 1810 when the shortfall between tablespoons and table forks was by no means as great. While this preference for spoons was partly because their design made them more adaptable and useful in a wide variety of contexts, it also reflects to some extent trends in contemporary cuisine. Tablespoons were practical utensils in the preparation and serving of dishes like casseroles and ragouts, which could be served from silver or porcelain tureens. *The Ladies Companion: or accomplish'd director in the whole art of cookery*, published in Dublin in 1767, includes a recipe for a ragout of cockscombs which specifies the use of a 'plate spoon' in its preparation.[52]

Close to 40,000 tea, table and dessert spoons alone were recorded in the assay records for 1788, suggesting that they were items which many contemporaries could realistically aspire to own. The attendant privilege of being 'born with a silver spoon in one's mouth' was widely appreciated. Richard Edgeworth's children had their own personal silver spoons ordered from Dublin when they were born, and other contemporary sources reveal telling commentary in relation to attitudes to plate.[53] Jonathan Swift's rather tongue-in-cheek advice to the cook in his *Directions to Servants*, published in 1745, was: 'Never make use of a spoon in anything that you can do with your hands for fear of wearing out your Master's plate.'

By far the most popular items produced by Irish silversmiths in 1788 were teaspoons. Almost 28,000 of them were recorded in this year alone, placing flatware manufacturers like John Pittar and John Stoyte in an enviable position as suppliers. In contrast to the enormous volume of silver teaspoons recorded in 1788, only twenty-seven teapots were submitted. This indicates that ceramic teapots were much more popular than silver versions in the late 1780s. In May 1784 Messrs Sellaway and Co advertised 'to the nobility and gentry' that they had 'just arrived from London, the largest Assortment of Foreign China that has ever been exposed to this city, being the finest Patterns sold at the last India sales'. The goods which they proposed to sell by auction included 'a variety of complete tea sets of the best Nanking Blue'.[54] Aside from porcelain, high-quality earthenware was also a very acceptable alternative to silver for the fashion conscious. A later notice in *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, contemporary with the assay ledger, remarked that 'the finer kinds of Queen's ware are to be found in every genteel house throughout all Ireland'.[55] Both notices serve as remainders of the abiding influence of London fashions on the Dublin trade. The entrepreneurial Josiah Wedgwood was quick to recognise the appetite for novelty which London goods could sate. In 1770 he wrote to his partner Thomas Bentley: 'Will not the people of Ireland like these things better that come from London. A certain degree of difficulty in coming at fine things may excite,

increase and keep up the attention to and appetite for them.' [56] Despite competitive alternatives, silver teapots were in demand again by 1810, with more than 250 submitted to Goldsmiths' Hall in that year.

The quantities of alcohol consumed in eighteenth-century Ireland provided fuel for vitriolic comment and moralising in abundance. In 1745 the 4th Earl of Chesterfield vigorously criticised the disparate excesses of the Irish gentry:

> Drinking is a most beastly vice in every country, but it really is a ruinous one in Ireland; nine gentlemen out of every ten are impoverished by the great quantity of claret which, from the mistaken notions of hospitality and dignity, they think it necessary should be drunk in their houses; this expense leaves them no room to improve their estates by proper indulgence upon proper conditions to their tenants, who pay them to the full, and upon the very day, that they may pay their wine-merchants.[57]

The bacchanalian imports of wine, which had totalled 12.4 million gallons annually in the 1720s, had eased relative to population growth by the late-eighteenth century but had been supplemented by an increased consumption of locally distilled spirits.[58] Needless to say, goldsmiths were not complaining since this spirit of largesse had very positive economic consequences for them. Silver tundishes or wine funnels for use in decanting alcohol, wine labels (Plates 7, 8), coasters and wine tasters all feature in the assay ledgers, as well as goblets, tankards and cups of various sorts. Other manufacturers and traders reaped similar benefits. In August 1789 *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* reported with more than a hint of patriotic pride that:

> White glass of Irish manufacture is at present in very good demand at the American market, and a considerable quantity of wine glasses, goblets and decanters have been exported within these few days for Philadelphia. These articles are manufactured here superior to what they are in England and we are able to undersell the English in this branch of manufacture at a foreign market, from ten to fifteen per cent.

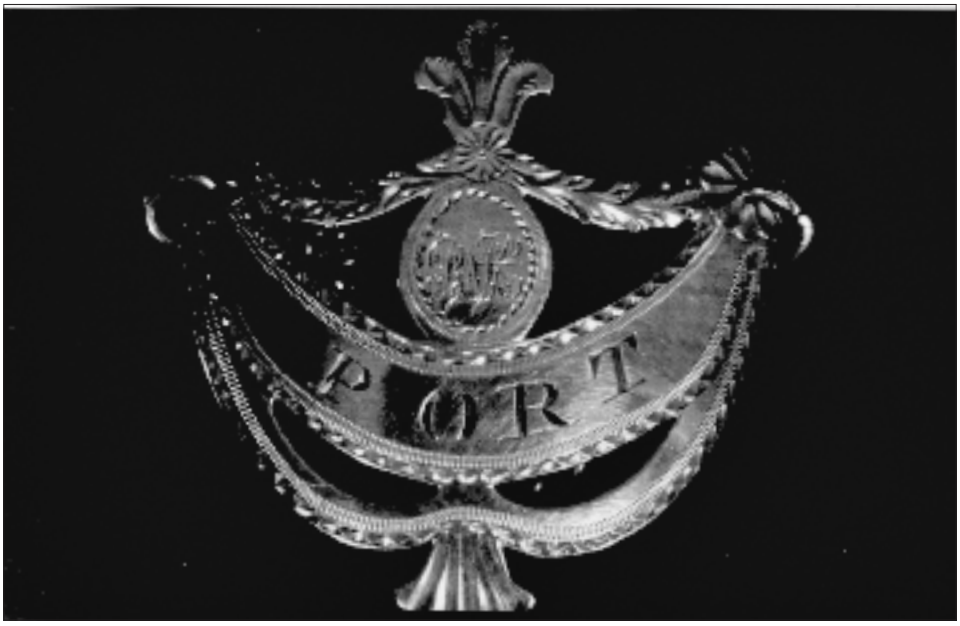
In 1788 the leading wine label specialist was John Sherwin Jr who submitted over three hundred that year (Plate 8). The contrast provided by the two assay ledgers reveals an interesting profile of Sherwin's development as a goldsmith. While specialising in smaller wares as a younger man, by 1810 his scope had broadened considerably. In that year he submitted teapots, cups, bowls and even an epergne to Goldsmiths' Hall. The quality of his work was such that in May 1812 the Corporation 'resolved unanimously that the freedom of the Corporation of Goldsmiths be presented to Mr John Sherwin Jr. in testimony of the sense they entertain of his distinguished talents as an artist by which he has successfully

improved the manufacture of chased plate in this country'.[59]

While the use of rhetoric and hyperbole is employed in the advertising of those commodities which appear in the assay ledger for 1787 to 1789, a further point should be made with regard to terminology. As well as revealing idiosyncrasies like 'fecques' or 'bushieas', and qualifying the way that objects were categorised, it is also interesting to see the language of neoclassicism pervading certain descriptions in the assay book. For example, the term 'cream ewer' is used much more readily than 'cream jug' in 1788, and among the entries for 1787 were three 'sugar urns' and two 'sugar vases'. Clearly even quite functional, widely used objects like sugar vessels were occasionally afforded a loftier association by employing a term and form like 'vase', which would have been immediately associated in fashionable contemporary circles as a leitmotif of the neoclassical style, and would have suggested connotations of refinement and taste. A major manufacturer like Wedgwood was happy to declare an ambition to be 'Vase Maker General to the Universe', and, indeed, vases, urns and ewers were among the objects which he retailed in late-eighteenth-century Dublin. [60]

The cumulative evidence derived from guild records, personal correspondence, family papers and contemporary advertisements indicates very clearly the extent to which the London market impacted on Dublin trade and fashions. However, London does not necessarily provide the most useful model of comparison in terms of production. Where Dublin goldsmiths were producing over 84,000oz in 1788, their London counterparts frequently submitted well in excess of one million ounces annually to their assay office during the last three decades of the century.[61] While responsibility for the Dublin total was credited to forty-nine makers over the entire year, close to two thousand makers were recorded during an average month in London.[62] Clearly the London market was a highly sophisticated one, and it seems appropriate to consider other centres such as Birmingham, Exeter and Newcastle, which, like Dublin, sought to negotiate their precious-metals trades both in relation and response to London trends.

A notice in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* in 1773 claimed that Birmingham produced 'more Manufactures in Gold and Silver than all the other Towns put together, and is universally acknowledged the Seat of Mechanic Ingenuity in this Kingdom'.[63] Despite these assertions, the assay totals for Birmingham in 1788 were considerably lower than in Dublin, with only 13,531oz recorded.[64] The peak in terms of late-eighteenth-century silver production for Birmingham was 61,220oz in 1779, still well short of Dublin totals.[65] The profile of production in Newcastle was significantly smaller in scale than in London, Birmingham or Dublin. In 1788 only six individual makers or firms were recorded in the assay records there, and between them they submitted a modest 6,912oz.[66]



7 – William Law, silver wine label, Dublin, c.1790
(private collection)

8 – John Sherwin, silver wine label, Dublin, c.1788
(private collection)

THE TRADE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

At the close of the eighteenth century, the outlook for the production and consumption of silver in Dublin appeared positive. The volume of silver being produced in the city had effectively doubled during the course of the century. Dublin goldsmiths had adapted to keep pace with fashions and fulfil demand for a wide range of specialist items. While the market sustained the activities of an extremely wide range of goldsmiths and allied traders, a much smaller number were realising the lion's share of the profits and operating major workshops as key suppliers. However, the heady days of such conspicuous consumption in this sector were not to last. As the prospect of union with Britain loomed ever closer, manufacturers at large were voicing anxieties. Those in opposition to the union expressed their anxiety on a number of fronts. The exodus of MPs and peers from the city with the Act of Union in 1800 was a cause of very real concern for merchants and manufacturers whose livelihoods were sustained by such patronage. The fate of artisan industries in the face of an open market without protection by parliamentary import tariffs was uncertain. Equally, the dissenters feared that the general appearance and maintenance of the city at large would suffer with Anglo-Irish union.[67]

While not all harbingers of doom were accurate in their predictions, the demand for silver did decline as the nineteenth century progressed. What is essential to note, however, is that the decline was not as immediate as predicted.[68] Dickson has pointed out that 'wartime prosperity, shared by rentier, merchant and the rural consumers of Dublin's goods and services, had masked the dislocating effects of the parliamentary exodus' in the early nineteenth century.[69] By 1810, almost a decade after parliamentary union, the volume of silver which was being produced in the city was still substantial. Between January and December of that year items totalling more than 113,000oz were submitted to Goldsmiths' Hall for assaying.

By the mid-nineteenth century the decline in native production was a cause of concern, addressed by the Mayor of Cork at the time of the National Exhibition of 1852. Referring to what he termed the 'late disaster' in terms of the silver trade, Francis Maguire offered a variety of reasons for its demise.[70] Aside from citing macro-economic factors such as famine, which 'stripped the sideboard of its gorgeous ornaments', he also blamed legislative measures. The withdrawal of duty on imported plate and jewellery, which had protected native industry, was one of the factors which he believed had resulted in negative consequences. Nevertheless, he was in no way laying the blame entirely on politicians and devastating harvests. Not only did he rebuke the gentry for their 'gradual and increasing absenteeism', he also pointed the finger of blame at consumers at large for what he saw as a failure to encourage native industry. He urged them to demonstrate interest and judgement in

opting for Irish-made objects as opposed to the 'complete indifference' which he felt was more the norm. Citing the predilection of the Irish for making testimonials of plate, he advised that the instigators could insist on having the article required made in Ireland, 'the alternative being the loss of revenue and craftsmen from the country'. While looking back nostalgically to the glory days of the eighteenth century, he was not entirely pessimistic, commenting that while the trade 'continued to fall away rapidly since the Union', some work 'of an excellent quality' was still being produced in Dublin.[71]

An earlier testimony which gives an intriguing perspective on the post-union marketplace is that provided by the goldsmith and jeweller Jacob West.[72] Reporting before a Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry in Dublin in 1821, West's evidence offers an unusually close look at the silver trade from someone who had been in business for over two decades by this stage. In response to questioning, he estimated that watches, plated goods and the greater proportion of jewellery were imported, remarking that 'all the expensive jewellery comes from England'. In relation to plate his evidence was not so straightforward. While asserting on one hand that the value of plate produced in Ireland was a hundred times greater in value to the quantities imported for sale, he then went on to qualify that the quantity of plate imported for private use was substantial. When pressed on this sensitive issue he concluded that the volume of plate which was imported 'for the use of Ireland' was probably 'equal to that made in Ireland'. While he also commented on the effects of the duties which bore 'upon the intercourse between the two countries', not all the terms placed Irish craftsmen at a disadvantage. For example, West cited the instance of one manufacturer who was exporting a 'great quantity of spoons' to Liverpool since there was no duty payable on the importation of plate into England and he could obviously offer advantageous terms.[73]

With respect to technology, West made some interesting comments which could also account for a downturn in the fortunes of native craftsmen. While he opined that the labour-intensive technique of chasing was more expensive in England than at home, Irish goldsmiths were evidently not as competitive when it came to keeping abreast of technological advances.[74] He noted that dies were being used in Sheffield and London for a great proportion of the plate manufactured there. He did not spell out the fact that such tools allowed for a labour and therefore cost-effective form of large scale production, but did specify that the dies in question were produced extremely cheaply there and that access to such affordable resources would assist the Dublin trade. With respect to the jewellery trade, he also pointed out that the work which was executed was carried out by hand rather than by dies or engine turning, 'for we have no engines here, to make articles to match'.[75] Evidently there were a series of factors which contributed to a reduced demand for silver in

nineteenth-century Dublin, from the impact of the union to the repercussions of changing technologies and the widening availability of cheaper alternatives to silver.

The eighteenth century, however, is frequently cited as an era of enlightened patronage across the spectrum of design from stuccowork to silver. The picture of the precious-metals trade that ultimately emerges from the goldsmiths' records is a complex one of fluctuation and development, tempered by political, economic, and social change. These factors could be as weighty as the prospect of Anglo-Irish union or as apparently inconsequential as the fashion for hot beverages. In the face of such challenges, Dublin goldsmiths negotiated their positions bravely. The results of their efforts have been tried and tested successfully, not just in terms of quality and purity, but also by the formidable judges of time and taste.

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ENDNOTES

1 The term 'goldsmith' was used to describe craftsmen working in both gold and silver, although in reality the volume of silver items manufactured exceeded considerably the quantities produced in the more costly and, therefore, rarer medium of gold. Gold objects are not specified in the assay records for 1788, and in 1810 are confined to small items such as boxes and watch-cases. This suggests that, at least in 1788, additional gold objects may have been logged in a separate ledger which is untraced.

2 The full text of the charter is given in C.J. Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, 2nd ed. (London 1921; reprinted New York 1964) 565-74. The charter and Jackson's essays on Irish silver are omitted from the revised 3rd edition of this work, published in 1989.

3 This consumer-friendly approach to quality control did not extend across the spectrum of the luxury goods trade. For instance, between 1729 and 1731 the French dealer Rudolphe Lemaire enjoyed a lucrative arrangement with the Meissen porcelain factory in Germany, selling imitation oriental porcelain on commission. It seems that Lemaire, who was a 'sharp operator', intended to pass the Meissen porcelain off as oriental originals in Europe since he was keen to have the pieces made without the factory mark. See C. Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets: the marchands merciers of eighteenth-century Paris* (London 1996) 75.

4 For more on this subject see K. Ticher, I. Delamer and W. O'Sullivan, *Hall-marks on Dublin Silver 1730-72* (Dublin 1968); T. Sinsteden, 'Four selected assay records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company', *Silver Society Journal*, 11, autumn 1999, 143-58; I. Delamer and C. O'Brien, 'Dublin Hallmarks: a reappraisal of date letters used', *Silver Society Journal*, 11, autumn 1999, 158-68.

5 Goldsmiths' Hall, Dublin, Mss 106, 45. This letter is undated, but Douglas Bennett in *Irish Georgian Silver* (London 1972), refers to a concerted application made to Foster in 1807.

[6] Goldsmiths' Hall, Dublin, minutes, 8 October 1807.

[7] J. Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists: Dublin civic politics and Irish protestant patriotism 1660-1840* (Oxford 1997) 19.

[8] In terms of eighteenth-century material, assay books for the following years survive and are preserved in the Dublin Assay Office: 2 November 1705 – 31 July 1713; 4 May 1725 – 30 October 1728; 1729 – 13 July 1733; 2 November 1744 – 13 April 1748; 27 March 1752 – 1 August 1755; 18 July 1758 – November 1758; 3 February 1787 – 31 January 1789; 1 November 1788 – 22 January 1799; and 31 December 1795 – 3 July 1802. However, some of these are incomplete.

[9] Sinsteden, 'Four selected assay records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company', 146-50. Sinsteden's figures refer to the Dublin Assay Office accounting year, 1 November to 31 October. See also M.S.D. Westropp, *National Museum of Ireland, Dublin – general guide to the art collections: part vi, metalwork* (Dublin 1914) 49-50.

[10] D. Dickson, 'The Demographic Implications of Dublin's Growth, 1650-1850' in R. Lawton, and R. Lee (eds), *Urban population development in western Europe from the late-eighteenth to the early twentieth century* (Liverpool 1989) 178-89.

[11] *ibid*., 178.

[12] *ibid*.

[13] Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists*, 19.

[14] D. Dickson (ed.), *The Gorgeous Mask: Dublin 1700-1850* (Dublin 1987) vii.

[15] Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists*, 22.

[16] Later in July 1662, when it was decided to confer the Duke of Ormond with the freedom of the city, the Corporation decided that the freedom should 'be presented to him in a golden box to be made for that purpose'. Thereafter, the presentation of certificates of corporate freedom or laudatory addresses in gold or silver boxes became a regular practice throughout the country. J.T. Gilbert, *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, iv, 92 (Dublin 1894) 243

[17] *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 1-3 April 1788.

[18] The information contained in this ledger has been input into a computer database. Both Table 1 (Appendix) and the analysis which follows are based on the results. Unless otherwise specified, the figures cited refer to silver submitted to the Dublin Assay Office between January and December 1788 since this is the only complete calendar year covered by the ledger. The figures for 1810 presented in Table 2 are also based on the twelve months between January and December of that year.

[19] R. Refaussé, 'The economic crisis in Ireland in the early 1780s', *Irish Economic and Social History*, ix (1982) 76-7.

[20] Quoted in T. Barnard, 'Integration or separation? Hospitality and display in protestant Ireland 1660-1800' in L. Brockliss and D. Eastwood (eds), *A Union of multiple identities: the British Isles c.1750 – c.1850* (Manchester 1997) 127.

[21] Working goldsmiths who were not freemen of the Goldsmiths' Company paid fees quarterly, and were known as 'quarter brothers'. They included foreigners, time-expired apprentices awaiting election as freemen, and others ineligible for election by virtue of their religion. Strictly applied, the law permitted only freemen to retail plate in the city.

[22] For example, I. Pickford (ed.), *Jackson's silver & gold marks of England, Scotland & Ireland* (Suffolk 1989) 639.

[23] This line of enquiry may also be approached from a different perspective. The maker John

Sherwin was clearly a well-regarded and important goldsmith, yet, despite this, no maker's mark is cited for him in the standard reference works. The mark I•S (with a dot separating the initials, contained within an oblong), which is usually attributed to John Stoyte or the watchmaker John Scott, should be given to John Sherwin.

[24] The information in the directory for 1789 provides a profile of what was happening in 1788.

[25] Goldsmiths' Hall, Dublin, minutes, 11 May 1780.

[26] Quoted in S. Foster, 'Going Shopping in 18th-century Dublin', *Things*, iv, summer 1996, 45.

[27] This point is also noted in Sinsteden 'Four selected assay records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company', 156.

[28] *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 23-25 February 1786.

[29] Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets*, 31.

[30] See J. Tann, *Birmingham Assay Office 1773-1993* (Birmingham 1993) 16, commenting on Matthew Boulton's underestimation of the time involved in making 'a fine article for a noble table'.

[31] Goldsmiths' Hall, Dublin, minutes, 8 November 1790.

[32] *ibid*., 10 November 1787.

[33] Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, 97.

[34] For a useful definition and brief commentary on argyles, see M. Clayton, *The collector's dictionary of the silver and gold of Great Britain and North America* (New York 1971) 14-15.

[35] *ibid*., 14.

[36] Barnard, 'Integration or separation?', 139.

[37] L.A. Clarkson, 'Hospitality, housekeeping and high living in eighteenth-century Ireland' in J. Hill and C. Lennon (eds), *Luxury and Austerity* (Dublin 1997) 98.

[38] *ibid*., 87.

[39] National Library of Ireland, Edgeworth Mss 1524, 52, 229.

[40] A. Carpenter, *Verse in English from eighteenth-century Ireland* (Cork 1998) 493.

[41] Alison FitzGerald acknowledges the assistance of Dr Peter Kaellgren, Royal Ontario Museum, for offering this suggestion independently.

[42] There were no methers recorded between January and December 1788.

[43] C. Kinmonth, *Irish Country Furniture* (New Haven and London 1993) 198-201.

[44] For further information on piggins, see M. Boydell, 'The Origins of the Glass Piggin', *Irish Arts Review*, iii, 3 (Dublin 1986) 22.

[45] This figure refers to items specifically described as cups. He also submitted one tankard and eleven tumblers.

[46] K. Quickenden, 'Boulton & Fothergill's bullion supplies for assay silver', *Silver Society Journal*, xii, autumn 2000, 47.

[47] See T. Mooney and F. White, 'The Gentry's Winter Season', in Dickson (ed.), *The Gorgeous Mask*, 13-14. Mooney and White also note that in June 1784 the 'Funny Club' of Kildare Street, a gentlemen's club, organised two balls to support Irish manufactures.

[48] *ibid*., 13.

[49] National Museum of Ireland, inventory no. 13-1973.

[50] Clayton, *The collector's dictionary of the silver and gold of Great Britain and North America*, 122, notes that the foreign spelling accorded to this item generated confusion and difficulty for English clerks making invoices or inventories, leading to the use of the word 'machine' in many cases.

[51] N. Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir Gaelige-Béarla* (Dublin 1977) 529.

[52] *The Ladies Companion: or accomplish'd director in the whole art of cookery*, printed for John Mitchell in Skinner Row (Dublin 1767) 29.

[53] National Library of Ireland, Edgeworth Mss 1510. For instance, on 13 June 1733 the following entry is noted in his accounts; 'pay'd to Kinnersly [9 shillings] for a spoon for the child'.

[54] *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 13-15 May 1784.

[55] *ibid*., 12-15 December 1789.

[56] M. Reynolds, 'Wedgwood in Dublin, 1772-1777', *Irish Arts Review*, i, 2 (Dublin 1984) 36.

[57] Clarkson 'Hospitality, housekeeping and high living in eighteenth-century Ireland', 84.

[58] Barnard, 'Integration or separation?', 137.

[59] Goldsmiths' Hall, Dublin, minutes, 1 May 1812.

[60] H. Young (ed.) *The Genius of Wedgwood* (London 1995) 51.

[61] J.S. Forbes, *Hallmark, A History of the London Assay Office* (London 1999) 320.

[62] Goldsmiths' Hall, London, *Total Book 1782-1791*. This figure is based on an average made by combining the following specified categories: large workers, workers under 4lb, small workers, watch case makers. Gold parcels are also recorded in this ledger but have not been used for the purposes of these calculations since gold objects are not specified in the Dublin ledger for 1788.

[63] Tann, *Birmingham Assay Office 1773-1993*, 21

[64] *ibid*., 70. These figures relate to the Assay Office trading year in Birmingham – 1 July to 30 June. The total refers to the year ending 30 June 1788.

[65] *ibid*., 70.

[66] M. Gill, *A Directory of Newcastle Goldsmiths* (London 1980) 335-6.

[67] D. Dickson, 'Death of a capital? Dublin beyond the Union' in P. Clark and R. Gillespie (eds) *Two Capitals: London and Dublin, 1500-1840* (forthcoming). Dr Dickson kindly allowed access to this text prior to publication.

[68] Dickson, 'Death of a capital? Dublin beyond the Union' makes this point in relation to the 'prophesied exodus' of peers and upper class families from the city. There is a perceived view that the negative effects on trade were immediate. In fact, the volume of silver produced in 1810 was still substantial.

[69] *ibid*.

[70] J.F. Maguire, *The industrial movement in Ireland as illustrated by the National Exhibition of 1852* (Cork 1853) 133-8.

[71] *ibid*.

[72] *Appendix to Third Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, Revenue Arising in Ireland*, xiii, 1822, 19-23.

[73] *ibid*.

[74] Chasing is defined by Clayton in *The collector's dictionary of the silver and gold of Great Britain and North America*, 59, as 'the art of decorating metal by hammering, and so raising it or driving it to one side, that a pattern is produced either in relief or incuse without the loss of any of the metal'.

[75] *Appendix to Third Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Collection and Management of the Revenue Arising in Ireland*, xiii, 1822, 20.

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APPENDIX

Tables of objects submitted to the Dublin Assay Office for 1788 (Table 1) and 1810 (Table 2) based on records still preserved there (see note 8).

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Table 1

OBJECTS SUBMITTED TO THE DUBLIN ASSAY OFFICE
between January and December 1788

Item	*Total*	*Goldsmith and Number of Objects*
Argyle	1	Jackson 1
Belt Tip	20	Bolland 20
Boss	4	Bond 4
Boat (n.s.)	247	Bond 14, Boxwell 7, Breading 6, Fray 5, Jackson 43, Jones 21, West 148, Williams 3
Boat, Sauce	6	Homer 2, Jackson 1, Jones 2, West 1
Bowl (n.s.)	5	Fray 1, Haines 2, Jones 2
Bowl & Cover	1	Homer 1
Bowl, S.	3	Haines 3
Bowl, Slop	5	Fray 1, Jackson 3, Jones 1
Branch	1	Bond 1
Bread Basket	13	Fray 1, Homer 2, Jackson 2, Jones 5, Kennedy 1, Williams 2
Buckle (n.s.)	3,849	Bolland 6, Cassidy 78, Connor 251, Gopell 2, Hamill 178, Harley 1,258, Hart 12, Henfrey 202, Hill 203, Jackson 2, Kavanagh 24, Law, W. 252, Nicholson 19, Nicklin, A. 516, Nicklin, J. 712, Peter & Co. 134
Buckle, Belt	20	Bolland 12, Nangle 8
Buckle, Boot	8	Nicklin, A. 8
Buckle, Bridle	4	Williams 4
Buckle, Child's	20	Law, W. 20
Buckle, Girdle	3	Bolland 1, Cassidy 2
Buckle, Knee	9,061	Cassidy 950, Connor 1,979, Hamill 108, Harley 4, Henfrey 77, Kavanagh 58, Law, W. 1,321, Law & Co. 1,188, Nicholson 2192, Nicklin, A. 792, Peter & Co. 392
Buckle, Knee & Stock	33	Nicholson 33
Buckle, Shoe	11,141	Cassidy 827, Connor 3,842, Green 2, Hamill 255, Harley 234, Hart 25, Henfrey 477, Hill 157, Kavanagh 30, Law, W. 1,003, Law & Co. 2,100, Nicholson 13,

		Nicklin, A. 1,199, Nicklin, J. 124, Peter & Co. 851, Pittar 2
Buckle, Shoe (Small)	24	Cassidy 24
Buckle, Shoe & Knee	29	Cassidy 29
Buckle, Stock	60	Cassidy 2, Connor 2, Law, W. 8, Law & Co. 25, Nicholson 22, Nicklin, J. 1
Bushiea	1	Haines 1
Button (n.s.)	49	Huddy 30, Law, W. 4, Teare 15
Button (Small)	202	Bolland 58, Fray 72, Nangle 72
Button, Coat	960	Cooley 67, Henfrey 56, Kavanagh 24, Law, W. 166, Nangle 58, Taitt 16, Teare 573
Button, Coat & Vest	304	Law, W. 93, Teare 211
Button, Sleeve	921	Green 24, Law, W. 368, Nangle 387, Teare 142
Button, Vest	536	Cooley 9, Law, W. 221, Nangle 28, Teare 278
Caddy	2	Bond 1, Jackson 1
Candlestick (n.s.)	8	Bond 4, Haines 1, Jones 3
Candlestick, Flat	3	Jackson 2, Williams 1
Candlestick, Hand	6	Breading 4, Fray 1, Jackson 1
Can	9	Fray 1, Haines 2, Homer 1, Jackson 3, Jones 2
Can (Large)	1	West 1
Castor	2	Bond 2
Castor Top	28	Bond 2, Haines 26
Chalice	5	Bond 2, Boxwell 1, Jackson 2, Jones 1
Chalice & Paten	2	Bond 1, West 1
Chalice & Plate	2	Jackson 1, Jones 1
Chalice Server	1	Bond 1
Chapes	2	Connor 2
Clasp, Shoe	471	Law, W. 66, Nangle 383, Teare 22
Coaster	151	Bond 2, Haines 141, Kavanagh 8
Coffee Pot	3	Jackson 1, West 2
Coffee Urn	4	Breading 2, Jackson 1, Jones 1
Cooler, Butter	5	Haines 2, Jackson 1, Jones 2
Cork Screw	14	Green 2, Haines 1, Taitt 1, Tickell 10
Cream Boat	45	Bond 2, Boxwell 9, Breading 1, Fray 6 Jackson 2, Jones 7, West 17, Williams 1
Cream Bowl	2	Haines 2
Cream Ewer	19	Bond 1, Breading 3, Fray 6, Homer 2, Jackson 3, West 4
Cream Pan (Small)	1	Jones 1
Cross Pen	2	Bolland 2
Cruet Bottom	1	Haines 1
Cruet Collet	2	Haines 2
Cruet Frame	20	Haines 17, Kavanagh 1, Williams 2
Cruet Frame Bottom	2	Haines 2
Cruet Frame Handle	1	Haines 1

Cruet Mount	23	Haines 15, Jackson 8
Cruet Ring	27	Haines 12, Jackson 15
Cruet Top	176	Bond 2, Haines 171, Williams 3
Cruet Top & Mount	49	Haines 49
Cup (n.s.)	351	Bond 19, Boxwell 13, Breading 6, Fray 2, Homer 19, Jackson 9, Jones 11, West 267, Williams 5
Cup & Cover	5	Jackson 3, West 2
Cup, Dram	1	Williams 1
Cup (Large)	4	Boxwell 1, Homer 1, West 2
Cup, Pint	12	West 9, Fray 1, Jones 2
Cup (Small)	1	Jones 1
Dish (n.s.)	1	Jones 1
Dish, S.	2	Bond 1, Williams 1
Dish & Cover	2	Williams 2
Dish Cover	12	Breading 4, Jones 8
Dish Ring	16	Bond 2, Breading 2 Jackson 9, Jones 2, Williams 1
Dish Stand	8	Jackson 7, Williams 1
Dish, Table	78	Breading 30, Fray 8, Homer 10, Jones 30
Dish, Table, Corner	8	Homer 4, Jones 4
Egg Cup	23	Haines 6, Jackson 11, Jones 6
Epergne	3	Breading 1, Haines 2
Epergne Basin	1	Jackson 1
Epergne Basket	18	Breading 9, Fray 1, Haines 4, Jackson 4
Epergne Bottom	8	Fray 1, Haines 7
Epergne Branch	48	Fray 8, Haines 36, Jackson 4
Epergne Canopy	2	Fray 1, Homer 1
Epergne Collet	6	Haines 5, Jackson 1
Epergne Collet & Basin	1	Haines 1
Epergne Collet & Basket	1	Breading 1
Epergne Collet & Bottom	1	Breading 1
Epergne Frame	16	Fray 3, Haines 10, Homer 1, Jackson 1, Jones 1
Epergne Frame & Bottom	1	Homer 1
Epergne Saucer	4	Haines 4
Ewer	110	Bond 5, Boxwell 3, Breading 1, Fray 10, Haines 2, Homer 4, Jackson 23, West 61, Williams 1
Extinguisher	6	Breading 4, Haines 1, Jones 1
Feeding Boat	5	Jackson 4, Williams 1
Fish Slice	3	Haines 2, Law, W. 1
Fish Trowel	5	Breading 4, Law, W. 1
Fork (n.s.)	17	Daly 2, Keating 2, Kennedy 2, Osborne 11
Fork, Dessert	338	Daly 48, Keating 47, Kenzie 18, Osborne 60, Pittar 164, Stoyte 1
Fork, Salad	19	Daly 4, Keating 2, Pittar 12, Stoyte 1
Fork, Table	1,004	Daly 205, Keating 69, Kenzie 208, Law, W. 24, Osborne 105, Pittar 377, Stoyte 13, Williams 3

Goblet	52	Bond 2, Boxwell 6, Fray 2, Homer 10, Jackson 20, Jones 12
Grater	2	Kennedy 2
Gravy Pot	2	Homer 2
Gun Guard	4	Jones 4
Gun Mount	1	Jones 1
Haft (n.s.)	60	Bond 10, Fray 2, Jackson 2, Jones 46
Haft, Dessert	92	Jones 92
Haft, Dessert Fork	24	Jones 24
Haft, Fork	12	Williams 12
Haft, Knife	134	Fray 8, Haines 4, Homer 1, Jones 37, Keating 4, Tickell 20, Williams 60
Haft, Knife & Fork	60	Jones 60
Jug (n.s.)	4	Fray 2, Jackson 1, Jones 1
Jug, Cream	2	Homer 2
Jug, Water	2	Fray 2
Kitchen, Tea	3	Fray 1, Jackson 2
Knife (n.s.)	2	Kennedy 2
Knife, Butter	33	Boxwell 4, Jackson 13, Jones 1, Taitt 9, Teare 6
Knife, Fish	54	Breading 11, Fray 4, Haines 18, Jackson 15, Kennedy 1, Law, W. 2, Williams 3
Knife Blade	32	Jones 32
Knife Blade, Dessert	14	Jones 14
Knife Handle	1	Haines 1
Label, Wine	631	Dafforn 37, Haines 2, Jackson 6, Law, W. 36, Nangle 78, Sherwin 315, Taitt 157
Ladle (n.s.)	1	Keating 1
Ladle, T.	99	Daly 18, Keating 23, Osborne 14, Pittar 22, Stoyte 17, Ward 5
Ladle, Tureen	84	Daly 17, Keating 14, Osborne 3, Pittar 21, Stoyte 28, Williams 1
Marrow Scoop	4	Osborne 2, Pittar 2
Mason Jewels	3	Bolland 1, Kennedy 2
Mason Jewels (Set)	10	Bolland 9, Peter & Co. 1
Mason Pen	8	Bolland 8
Mason Square	1	Kennedy 1
Milk Tub	4	Fray 4
Mustard Pot	14	Haines 8, Jackson 5, Kennedy 1
Noggin Cover	1	Fray 1
Orange Strainer	2	Haines 1, Jones 1
Pap Boat	2	Jackson 2
Pen	2	Nangle 2
Pepper Box	2	Haines 2
Pepper Castor	3	Bond 3
Pistol Cap	6	Jones 6

Pistol Guard	4	Jones 4
Pistol Mount	8	Jones 8
Porringer	1	Breading 1
Porringer Cover	1	Fray 1
Porringer Plate	5	Breading 1, Fray 4
Salt	439	Bond 34, Breading 18, Haines 313, Jackson 4, Kavanagh 42, Kennedy 16, Williams 12
Saucepan	17	Bond 1, Daly 6, Fray 2, Jackson 2 Jones 3, West 3
Saucer	139	Bond 126, Haines 4, Jackson 6, Williams 3
Scoop (n.s.)	38	Keating 8, Osborne 8, Pittar 8, Stoyte 10, Ward 4
Scoop, Beef	4	Stoyte 4
Screw	1	Law, W. 1
Shell, Escallop	3	Jones 3
Shell, Tea	15	Daly 13, Osborne 2
Shovel (n.s.)	14	Taitt 14
Skewer	142	Dafforn 28, Daly 4 Haines 5, Homer 1, Keating 9, Kennedy 3, Law, W. 2, Osborne 14, Pittar 15, Stoyte 6, Taitt 48, Ward 1, Williams 6
Skewer Head	21	Dafforn 13, Osborne 8
Snuff Box (n.s.)	173	Kavanagh 7, Kennedy 128, Ryan 19, Tickell 19
Snuff Box (Round)	2	Eccleston 2
Snuffers	14	Jones 3, Kennedy 10, Sherwin 1
Snuffers Tray	8	Boxwell 5, Fray 2, Jackson 1
Sockets	6	Bond 4 Jackson 2
Spoon (n.s.)	8	Haines 3, Taitt 5
Spoon (Small)	22	Osborne 22
Spoon, Butter	132	Daly 5, Keating 50, Kenzie 9, Osborne 4, Stoyte 64
Spoon, Cream	89	Dafforn 1, Daly 7, Keating 1, Law, W. 6, Osborne 15, Pittar 22, Stoyte 6, Taitt 31
Spoon, Dessert	5,403	Daly 883, Keating 886, Kenzie 143, Osborne 529, Pittar 1,647, Stoyte 1,206, Ward 109
Spoon, Egg	12	Keating 2, Pittar 10
Spoon, Gravy	564	Daly 51, Keating 77, Osborne 58, Pittar 200, Stoyte 159, Ward 19
Spoon, Marrow	19	Daly 1, Keating 3, Pittar 2, Stoyte 13
Spoon, Milk	1	Daly 1
Spoon, Mustard	7	Keating 1, Taitt 6
Spoon, Salt	2,824	Broome 112, Connor 6, Dafforn 501, Daly 146, Kavanagh 34, Keating 54, Law, W. 181, Law & Co. 6, Osborne 189, Pittar 208, Stoyte 146, Taitt 1,235, Ward 6
Spoon, Sauce	276	Daly 51, Keating 33, Osborne 14, Pittar 144, Stoyte 30, Ward 4
Spoon, Sugar	20	Daly 1, Osborne 1, Pittar 18
Spoon, Table	5,618	Breading 2, Daly 647, Keating 838, Kenzie 154,

		Osborne 526, Pittar 1,750, Stoyte 1,554, Taitt 4, Ward 143
Spoon, Tea	27,971	Daly 2,893, Keating 2,463, Kenzie 152, Osborne 2,268, Pittar 9,936, Stoyte 9,316, Taitt 20, Ward 923
Spoon Tray	25	Bond 6, Boxwell 14, Homer 1, Jackson 3, Williams 1
Spurs	13	Cassidy 2, Law, W. 9, West 2
Steak Dish	6	Breading 4, Jackson 2
Steak Dish & Cover	3	Bond 1, Breading 2
Steak Dish & Stand	1	Williams 1
Sugar Bowl	35	Bond 3, Breading 2, Fray 3, Haines 8, Jackson 7, Jones 3, West 9
Sugar Dish	129	Bond 8, Boxwell 14, Breading 8, Fray 5, Haines 3, Jackson 14, Jones 7, Kennedy 3, West 67
Sugar Nut Foot	1	Haines 1
Sword Hilt	6	West 6
Table Plate	39	Fray 3, Williams 36
Tankard	5	Bond 2, Jackson 1, Jones 1, West 1
Tea Pot	27	Bond 6, Fray 6, Homer 4, Jackson 7, Jones 2, Kennedy 1, Williams 1
Tea Pot Plate	1	Fray 1
Tea Pot Spout	2	Tickell 2
Tea Pot Stand	6	Breading 2, Fray 3, Jones 1
Tea Urn	2	Jackson 1, Jones 1
Toast Rack	2	Boxwell 1, Jackson 1
Tobacco Box	2	Kennedy 2
Tongs (n.s.)	271	Dafforn 24, Daly 49, Keating 8, Law, W. 6, Osborne 19, Pittar 71, Stoyte 40, Taitt 54
Tongs, Asparagus	35	Dafforn 2, Law, W. 3, Osborne 4, Taitt 18, Teare 8
Tongs, Sugar	1,505	Broome 61, Connor 9, Dafforn 327, Daly 69, Kavanagh 47, Keating 24, Law, W. 142, Nangle 48, Nicklin, A. 3, Osborne 28, Pittar 183, Stoyte 140, Taitt 418, Ward 6
Tray	16	Bond 10, Boxwell 1, Haines 1, Homer 1, Jackson 1, West 1, Williams 1
Tray (Large)	1	Jones 1
Trowel, Butter	2	Jackson 2
Tumbler	26	Bond 5, Boxwell 2, Fray 4, Jackson 1, West 11, Williams 3
Tundish	155	Bond 144, Jackson 10, Williams 1
Tundish Plate	3	Bond 3
Tundish Saucer	6	Bond 6
Tureen, Sauce	16	Boxwell 2, Breading 8, Jones 2, Williams 4
Tureen & Cover (n.s.)	4	Bond 2, Breading 2
Tureen & Cover, Sauce	12	Bond 4, Breading 8
Tureen Stand (n.s.)	8	Bond 8

Tureen Stand, Sauce	6	Breading 6
Tureen & Stand, Sauce	4	Breading 4
Waiter	101	Bond 21, Boxwell 2, Breading 4, Fray 8, Homer 7, Jackson 42, Jones 11, Williams 6
Waiter, Hand	2	Williams 2
Waiter, Large	2	Homer 1, Jones 1
Waiter, Small	5	Jackson 5
Watch Box	15	Bridgeman 7, O'Neill 8
Watch Case	61½	Bridgeman 40½, Harrison 9, O'Neill 12
Water Pot	1	Kennedy 1
Wine Taster	2	Bond 2

NOTES

n.s. = type not specified

Based on Assay Office Records, Wilson's Dublin Directories and makers' marks on contemporary pieces, the goldsmiths named above may be more fully identified as: BOLLAND, John; BOND, William; BOXWELL, Ambrose; BREADING (BREADEN), Robert; BRIDGEMAN, Jeremiah; BROOME, John; CASSIDY, Owen (probably) or Robert (possibly); CONNOR, George; COOLEY (forename untraced); DAFFRON, Joseph; DALY, John; ECCLESTON, Robert; FRAY, Dennis; GOPELL (forename untraced); GREEN, Thomas; HAINES, Christopher; HAMILL, James; HARLEY, Walter; HARRISON, Richard; HART, Thomas; HENFREY, Benjamin; HILL, Thomas; HOMER, Michael; HUDDY, John; JACKSON, Joseph; JONES, Thomas; KAVANAGH, John; KEATING, Michael; KENNEDY, James; KENZIE, James; LAW, William; LAW & CO., [Law & Bayley]; NANGLE, George; NICHOLSON, either Henry or William; NICKLIN, Ambrose; NICKLIN, John; O'NEILL, Arthur; OSBORNE, Jonas; PETER & CO., [David Peter & John Bayley]; PITTAR, John; RYAN, Eneas; SHERWIN, John; STOYTE, John; TAITT, Benjamin; TEARE, John; TICKELL, Alexander; WARD, William; WEST, Matthew; WILLIAMS, Richard.

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Table 2

OBJECTS SUBMITTED TO THE DUBLIN ASSAY OFFICE
between January and December 1810

Item	*Total*	*Goldsmith and Number of Objects*
Basin	8	Mahony 4, Seymour 4
Basket	30	Harris 4, Le Bass 17, Sherwin 9
Beef Skewer	1	Pittar 1
Belt Plate	12	Breading 7, Egar 4, Teare 1
Blade	201	Le Bass 2, Sawyer 199,

Blade, Dessert	18	Williams, R. 18
Boat (n.s.)	6	Harris 4, Le Bass 2
Bowl (n.s.)	313	Breading 13, Buckton 62, Burne 15, Doyle 17, Egan 5, Harris 30, Le Bass 32, Sawyer 98, Sherwin 29, Stubs 12
Bowl, Slop	2	Breading 1, Burne 1
Box	69	Clarke & West 1, Egar 29, Green 6, Ryan 2, Sawyer 30, Sherwin 1
Box & Paten	1	Breading 1
Box, Gold	1	Robinson 1
Box Top	1	Egar 1
Box Crosses	3	Teare 3
Box Mounting	1	Teare 1
Branch	1	Harris 1
Bread Basket	7	Breading 4, Williams, J. 3
Buckle (n.s.)	18	Garde 16, Teare 2
Button (n.s.)	67	Sawyer 19, Teare 48
Button, Coat	38	Teare 38
Button (for cup)	1	Sawyer 1
Button, Sleeve	158	Teare 158
Caddy Shell	20	Sawyer 20
Can	19	Doyle 6, Egan 2, Harris 1, Le Bass 1, Sawyer 6, Sherwin 3
Candlestick (n.s.)	34	Breading 6, Buckton 2, Egar 4, Harris 2, Le Bass 6, Sawyer 2, Sherwin 12
Cane Head	1	Teare 1
Case		Egar 1
Castor	2	Sherwin 2
Castor Head	3	Le Bass 3
Chalice	40	Bond 3, Breading 3, Egan 9, Harris 2, Le Bass 2, Sawyer 18, Sherwin 3
Chalice Plate	1	Sherwin 1
Cheese Digger	1	Sawyer 1
Ciborium	3	Sherwin 1, Le Bass 2
Clasp	94	Egar 48, Teare 46
Coaster	39	Breading 12, Harris 10, Sawyer 1, Sherwin 8, Williams, R. 8
Coffee Beggin	2	Le Bass 1, Sherwin 1
Coffee Pot	6	Green 1, Harris 1, Le Bass 1, Sawyer 1, Sherwin 2
Coffee Urn	1	Sawyer 1
Cooler	1	Sherwin 1
Cooler, Butter	1	Williams, R. 1
Cover	13	Breading 2, Harris 4, Le Bass 2, Sawyer 4, Sherwin 1
Cork Mount	12	Harris 12
Cream Ewer	51	Breading 13, Doyle 6, Green 12, Mahony 5, Seymour 3, Stubs 8, Williams, R. 3, Williams, J. 1

Cruet Frame	11	Breading 1, Harris 1, Le Bass 1, Sherwin 6, Williams, R. 1, Williams, J. 1
Cruet Mount	1	Sherwin 1
Cruet Stand	1	Buckton 1
Cup (n.s.)	131	Breading 4, Burne 16, Egan 40, Harris 1, Heyland 2, Le Bass 5, Sawyer 40, Sherwin 21, Williams,R. 1, Williams, J. 1
Cup & Cover	9	Burne 2, Egan 4, Le Bass 1, Sawyer 2
Cup (Chased)	2	Breading 2
Cup Cover	3	Burne 2, Egan 1
Cup, Large	2	Egan 2
Dish (n.s.)	36	Breading 6, Harris 12, Sawyer 4, Sherwin 14
Dish & Cover	4	Harris 4
Dish Cover	12	Breading 4, Sherwin 8
Double Funnel	6	Burne 6
Egg Cup	7	Sawyer 6, Sherwin 1
Epergne	2	Harris 1, Sherwin 1
Ewer	403	Breading 24, Buckton 8, Burne 43, Doyle 32, Green 12, Harris 30, Le Bass 38, Mahony 2, Sawyer 146, Seymour 6, Sherwin 33, Stubs 16, Williams, J. 13
Feet for Shells	2	Le Bass 2
Fish Trowel	7	Buckton 2, Whitford 5
Flagon	1	Sawyer 1
Foot	2	Sherwin 2
Foot for a Nut	1	Le Bass 1
Fork (n.s.)	4097	Archbold 49, Egar 1, Garde 24, Green 24, Keating 40, Nangle 68, Neville 1904, Pittar 216, Sawyer 579, Seymour 14, Tudor 733, Ward 155, Whitford 188, Williams, J. 102
Fork, Dessert	381	Keating 18, Nangle 178, Neville 36, Pittar 12, Sawyer 36, Tudor 40, Whitford 31, Williams, J. 30
Fork, Large	14	Williams, J. 14
Fork, Pickle	105	Keating 12, Pittar 9, Sawyer 10, Seymour 7, Whitford 60, Williams, J. 7
Fork, Salad	47	Archbold 2, Bayly 1, Garde 3, McNamara 2, Nangle 22, Pittar 6, Sawyer 3, Tudor 2, Whitford 4, Williams, J. 2
Fork, Small	36	Nangle 36
Fork, Table	2,276	Doyle 9, Keating 64, Murphy 6, Nangle 595, Neville 62, Pittar 427, Sawyer 191, Seymour 11, Tudor 6, Ward 164, Whitford 723, Williams, J. 18
Frame	2	Le Bass 1, Sawyer 1
Funnel Lining	1	Breading 1
Funnel	50	Bond 8, Harris 15, Le Bass 2, Sawyer 19, Sherwin 23, Williams, J. 6

Funnel Plate	19	Breading 18, Mahony 1
Funnel & Plate	1	Green 1
Funnel & Saucer	1	Buckton 1
Funnel Stand	8	Mahony 8
Goblet	4	Sawyer 4
Grape Scissors	2	Egar
Grater Bottom	1	Egar 1
Haft, Knife	3	Sawyer 3
Haft, Table	45	Williams, R. 45
Handle	938	Breading 1, Harris 2, Le Bass 2, Sawyer 933
Head	11	Le Bass 2, Sherwin 9
Head for Dish	4	Breading 4
Jug (n.s.)	87	Buckton 64, Egan 17, Mahony 4, Sherwin 2
Jug, Cream	2	Breading 1, Stubs 1
Jug, Small	2	Sawyer 2
Knife (n.s.)	126	Doyle 3, Neville 60, Tudor 5, Whitford 58
Knife, Asparagus	1	Buckton 1
Knife, Butter	277	Archbold 4, Doyle 4, Green 4, Keating 9, Mahony 2, Nangle 91, Neville 14, Pittar 54, Sawyer 31, Seymour 3, Tudor 28, Ward 8, Whitford 21, Williams, J. 4
Knife, Dessert	2	Nangle 2
Knife, Fish	190	Archbold 1, Buckton 8, Burne 6, Doyle 17, McNamara 1, Nangle 99, Neville 21, Pittar 6, Sawyer 15, Whitford 7, Williams, R. 5, Williams, J. 4
Knife Blade, Dessert	1	Nangle 1
Knife Handle	59	Sawyer 59
Knife Rack	24	Harris 24
Knife Rest	12	Le Bass 6, Sawyer 2, Whitford 4
Knife Tray	1	Williams, R. 1
Label	780	Egar 45, Teare 733, Tudor 2
Label & Chain	(n.s.)	Hamy (n.s.)
Label, Wine	51	Teare 51
Ladle (n.s.)	(n.s.)	Harris (n.s.)
Ladle, Butter	293	Buckton 6, Garde 8, Nangle 102, Pittar 32, Sawyer 46, Ward 9, Whitford 72, Williams, J. 18
Ladle, Cream	36	Nangle 12, Sawyer 2, Whitford 22
Ladle, Fish	1	Archbold 1
Ladle, Large	1	Green 1
Ladle, Punch	117	Archbold 5, Egar 3, Keating 48, Nangle 12, Pittar 12, Sawyer 37
Ladle, Salt	269	Nangle 266, Whitford 3
Ladle, Sauce	157	Archbold 6, Pittar 56, Sawyer 95
Ladle, Small	18	Green 6, Nangle 12
Ladle, Soup	269	Murphy 3, Pittar 13, Sawyer 25, Whitford 2
Ladle, Sugar	6	Whitford 6

Ladle, Tureen	127	Garde 3, Heyland 2, Nangle 42, Neville 11, Pittar 16, Sawyer 22, Seymour 5, Whitford 21, Williams, J. 5
Marrow Scoop	4	Sawyer
Mason Jewels	37	Doyle 37
Medal	2	Egar 2
Milk Pot	4	Breading 4
Mount	4	Le Bass 3, Sawyer 1
Mount for Box	4	Sawyer 4
Mounting	14	Harris
Muffineer	2	Le Bass 2
Mug	3	Harris 1, Le Bass 2
Mustard Pot	5	Egan 1, Keating 1, Sawyer 1, Sherwin 2
Oil Stock	14	Bond 7, Breading 7
Pap	1	Breading 1
Pap Boat	1	Egan 1
Paten	10	Breading 4, Sawyer 6
Pendant	27	Francis 27
Pepper Box	3	Le Bass 1, Sawyer 2
Pepper Top	2	Sawyer 2
Pix	13	Sawyer 13
Pix Box	14	Bond 6, Sawyer 8
Pix, Small	6	Breading 6
Plate	54	Bond 6, Breading 1, Harris 8, Le Bass 4, Sawyer 16, Sherwin 19
Plumb Level & Square	5	Teare 5
Pot	47	Buckton 24, Burne 3, Le Bass 16, Sawyer 3, Sherwin 1
Pot Stand	6	Burne 6
Purse Rim	1	Sawyer 1
Rummer	5	Le Bass 1, Sawyer 4
Salt	c.100	Breading 8, Burne 6, Doyle 6, Harris (32 + entry n.s.), Le Bass 10, Sawyer 10, Sherwin 28
Salver	4	Harris 2, Sawyer 2
Saucepan	9	Breading 2, Burne 1, Le Bass 1, Sherwin 4, Stubs 1
Saucepan & Cover	2	Le Bass 2
Saucer	52	Breading 27, Buckton 1, Burne 6, Doyle 1, Sherwin 10, Williams, J. 7
Scent	12	Sawyer 12
Scent Box	13	Sawyer 13
Scissors	3	Egar 3
Scoop (n.s.)	41	Neville 24, Pittar 6, Sawyer 1, Tudor 1, Whitford 9
Scoop, Beef	5	Neville 1, Sawyer 4
Scoop, Cheese	2	Tudor 2
Scoop, Sugar	26	Pittar 26
Shell	35	Archbold 1, Sawyer 12, Tudor 21, Williams, R. 1
Shell Box	2	Sawyer 2

Shell Label	21	Teare 21
Shell, Tea	40	Archbold 8, Tudor 4, Ward 1, Whitford 27
Shuttle Box	1	Sawyer 1
Skewer	162	Doyle 2, Green 2, Keating 2, Nangle 25, Neville 34, Pittar 16, Sawyer 25, Tudor 18, Ward 13, Whitford 13, Williams,R. 6, Williams, J. 6
Snuff Box (n.s.)	84	Breading 2, Egar 4, Sawyer 73, Sherwin 1, Teare 2, Williams, R. 1, Williams, J. 1
Snuffers	46	Breading 8, Doyle 9, Harris 6, Sawyer 4, Sherwin 13, Williams, R. 6
Snuffers Stand	2	Sawyer 2
Snuffers Tray	6	Doyle 1, Williams, R. 2, Williams, J. 3
Sockets	2	Buckton 2
Spectacle Case	1	Sawyer 1
Spoon (n.s.)	9,114	Green 2, Nangle 171, Neville 7,862, Pittar 449, Sawyer 227, Tudor 1, Whitford 289, Williams, J. 113
Spoon, Butter	3	Archbold 2, Sawyer 1
Spoon, Coffee	737	Archbold 54, Keating 12, Pittar 220, Sawyer 252, Tudor 6, Ward 58, Whitford 135
Spoon, Dessert	4,689	Archbold 105, Buckton 36, Green 48, Keating 220, McNamara 50, Murphy 30, Nangle 656, Pittar 963, Sawyer 1,235, Seymour 130, Tudor 324, Ward 52, Whitford 750, Williams, J. 90
Spoon, Egg	718	Archbold 18, Doyle 11, Keating 24, Murphy 47, Nangle 151, Neville 7, Pittar 192, Sawyer 66, Seymour 20, Tudor 42, Ward 6, Whitford 114, Williams, J. 20
Spoon, Gravy	481	Archbold 11, Buckton 2, Green 2, Heyland 4, Keating 22, McNamara 2, Murphy 2, Nangle 72, Pittar 62, Sawyer 129, Tudor 46, Ward 17, Whitford 110
Spoon, Marrow	8	Archbold 4, Ward 2, Whitford 2
Spoon, Salt	2,632	Archbold 287, Bayly 27, Buckton 24, Egar 6, Green 2, Keating 100, McNamara 66, Murphy 71, Nangle 169, Neville 1, Pittar 608, Sawyer 192, Seymour 1,322, Tudor 284, Ward 143, Whitford 431, Williams, J. 99
Spoon, Sauce	2	Pittar 2
Spoon, Sugar	35	Keating 3, Nangle 8, Sawyer 6, Tudor 16, Whitford 2
Spoon, Table	6,631	Archbold 163, Bayly 12, Buckton 36, Doyle 9, Garde 24, Green 33, Heyland 8, Keating 213, McNamara 12, Murphy 55, Nangle 881, Neville 66, Pittar 1,406, Sawyer 1,792, Seymour 114, Tudor 506, Ward 104, Whitford 1,070, Williams, J. 127
Spoon, Tea	33,251	Archbold 1,936, Bayly 348, Buckton 198, Doyle 77, Garde 162, Green 127, Keating 1,087, Martin 24, McNamara 134, Murphy 306, Nangle 3,458, Neville 90, Pittar 7,131, Sawyer 9,553, Seymour 1,074, Tudor

		2,071, Ward 1,185, Whitford 3,839, Williams, J. 451
Spoon, Tureen	4	Nangle 4
'S.T.' (?)	2	Sawyer 2
Stand	13	Buckton 1, Le Bass 4, Sawyer 3, Sherwin 5
Strainer	3	Bond 3
Sugar Basin	25	Garde 1, Green 15, Seymour 2, Stubs 1, Williams, J. 6
Sugar Bowl	36	Breading 22, Doyle 3, Green 1, Mahony 7, Stubs 1, Williams, R. 2
Sugar Tub	6	Breading 4, Doyle 2
Tankard	1	Sawyer 1
Taper Stand	1	Egar 1
Tea Kettle & Stand	1	Williams, R. 1
Tea Pot	c. 258	Breading 41, Buckton 25, Burne 11, Doyle 7, Green 5, Harris 18, Le Bass 22, Mahony 2, Sawyer (74 + entry n.s), Sherwin 30, Stubs 6, Williams, R. 2, Williams, J. 15
Tea Pot & Handle	11	Harris 11
Tea Pot Handle	3	Egan 2, Harris 1
Tea Pot Lid	1	Sawyer 1
Tea Pot, Square	1	Sawyer 1
Tea Pot Stand	6	Breading 3, Buckton 2, Sawyer 1
Tea Urn	2	Harris 1, Sherwin 1
Toast Rack	1	Le Bass 1
Tongs (n.s.)	445	Archbold 26, Keating 23, Nangle 1, Neville 61, Sawyer 212, Seymour 12, Tudor 96, Ward 12, Whitford 2
Tongs, Asparagus	21	Garde 1, Keating 3, Nangle 9, Neville 2, Pittar 4, Williams, J. 2
Tongs, Sugar	679	Archbold 16, Breading 3, Buckton 8, Egar 11, Green 20, Heyland 12, Keating 1, Nangle 153, Neville 29, Pittar 134, Sawyer 37, Seymour 37, Teare 1, Tudor 28, Whitford 169, Williams, J. 20
Tongs Top, Asparagus	1	Nangle 1
Tongs, Vegetable	1	Sawyer 1
Top	2	Sherwin 2
Tray	18	Breading 1, Doyle 6, Harris 1, Sawyer 2, Sherwin 7, Williams, R. 1
Tray, Tea	7	Breading
Trowel	3	Brush 1, Buckton 1, Sherwin 1
Tub	6	Buckton 6
Tumbler	5	Sherwin 5
Tundish Stand	1	Williams, R. 1
Tureen	2	Sherwin 2
Tureen, Sauce	2	Harris 2
Urn	1	Sherwin 1

Wafer Box	1	Le Bass 1
Waiter	36	Breading 3, Le Bass 14, Sawyer 5, Sherwin 8, Williams, R. 4, Williams, J. 2
Waiter, Round	2	Breading 2
Waiter, Small	2	Williams, R. 2
Watch Box, Silver	43	Bridgeman 7, Hull 10, O'Neill 26
Watch Box, Gold	6	O'Neill 6
Watch Case, Various, Gold,	153	Bridgeman 27, O'Neill 126
Watch Case, Various, Silver	502	Bridgeman 32, Hull 161, O'Neill 309
Wine Funnel	21	Breading 20, Williams, R. 1
Wine Funnel & Plate	6	Sawyer 6
Wine Funnel & Saucer	3	Buckton 3
Wine Jug	1	Williams, R. 1
Wine Taster	1	Breading 1

NOTES

n.s. = type/quantity not specified

The clerk responsible for compiling the 1809-11 assay register was not always as careful or as consistent as his predecessor who drew up the 1787-89 folio. Almost 950oz of silverware from various goldsmiths was hallmarked without the objects being itemised or quantified. Abbreviations were occasionally confusing – the term 'salt' (without further specification) was used to signify both salt spoons and salt cellars – but in most cases we were able to determine the identify of the objects by analysing the weight or the goldsmith's specialisation. Any remaining discrepancies that we were unable to clarify have minimal bearing on our conclusions. Adjudged full names of goldsmiths listed above: ARCHIBOLD, Richard; BAYLEY, John; BOND, William; BREADING (BREADEN), Robert; BRIDGEMAN, Jeremiah; BRUSH, James; BUCKTON, Joshua; BURNE (BYRNE), Gustavus; CLARKE & WEST, John Clark & Jacob West; DOYLE, William; EGAN, Daniel; EGAR, John; FRANCIS, Joseph; GARDE, Richard (Cork); GREEN, Samuel; HAMY, William; HARRIS, Charles; HARSTONG, Henry; HEYLAND, William (Cork); HULL, Francis; KEATING, James; LAW, William; LE BASS, James; MAHONY, Kean (Cork); MARTIN, Laurence (Kilkenny); McNAMARA, Patrick; MURPHY, Arthur; NANGLE, George; NEVILLE, Samuel; O'NEILL, Arthur; PITTAR, John; ROBINSON, Jonathan; RYAN, Eneas; SAWYER, Richard; SEYMOUR, John (Cork); SHERWIN, John; STUBBS, William Deane; TEARE, John; TUDOR, Thomas; WARD, William; WHITFORD, Richard; WILLIAMS, Robert; WILLIAMS, Jane (Cork).

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