



# Dublin's Huguenot goldsmiths, 1690-1750: assimilation and divergence

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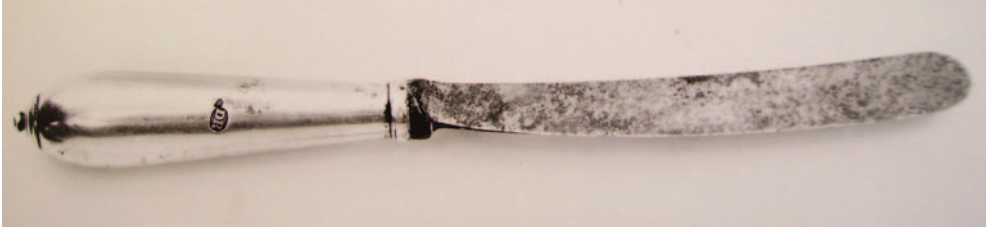
JESSICA CUNNINGHAM

IN A SHORT ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN THIS JOURNAL'S PREDECESSOR, THE *QUARTERLY BULLETIN of the Irish Georgian Society*, in 1972, the late Dr Kurt Ticher marshalled evidence that bound together three Huguenot goldsmiths living and working in Dublin in the first two decades of the eighteenth century – David Rummieu, Francis Girard and Peter Gervais.<sup>1</sup> Both Girard and Gervais became free brothers of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company, and David Rummieu was listed as a quarter brother in the period 1697 to 1706.<sup>2</sup> Pieces have survived that bear their maker's marks – a knife (1706-07), now the property of the Representative Church Body (Plate 2), and a goblet, dated for 1708-10, both have Rummieu's 'DR' stamp. This unusual goblet, with a wide band of stippling across the body of the bowl, is almost identical to three goblets made in 1707-08 by his co-religionist Francis Girard, one of which is displayed in the National Museum's permanent exhibition of Irish silver (Plate 1). From this, Ticher surmised the probability that Rummieu was associated with the more established Girard, and may even have been commissioned by him to make the goblet, on which he struck his own maker's mark. In a third twist to this interconnectivity, Francis Girard's unusual maker's mark – an 'FG' surmounted by a seated shepherd playing a lute – is almost identical to the maker's mark used by Peter Gervais, who became a freeman in 1714, some four years after Girard's death (Plate 3). Gervais fashioned the F into a P, and it is probable that he took over both his colleague's mark and workshop, the aptly named 'Jolly Shepherd', on Dame Street. He was undoubtedly closely associated with, and possibly related to, Girard.

Ticher's article presents glimpses of the Huguenot goldsmiths' role in the history of Irish silver in the late seventeenth century and first half of the eighteenth century that invite further investigation. To what extent did these and other Huguenot goldsmiths feature in the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company? And what was their degree of involvement in

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1 – Goblet with the mark of Francis Girard, 1707-08 (courtesy National Museum of Ireland)



2 – Knife with the mark of David Rummieu, 1706-07  
 (courtesy Representative Church Body)

the production of Irish silver in this important period? Were these three goldsmiths unusual in their interconnectivity or was this characteristic of these immigrants? Does an examination of these surviving pieces reveal that they fit into the style typical of early eighteenth-century Irish silver or did the Huguenot goldsmiths bring technical and stylistic innovation to Dublin?

Recent archival research demonstrates that these three goldsmiths were indeed typical. For many of their Huguenot colleagues, ethnic and religious identity was intimately bound up with their professional relationships and their trade. This article will present findings that illustrate the degree to which the Huguenots both successfully assimilated themselves into the goldsmiths' trade in the late seventeenth century and first half of the eighteenth century and simultaneously established themselves as a distinct, tightly knit sub-community. In the period 1690 to 1750, Huguenots have been identified working in a variety of roles in the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company – as free brothers, quarter brothers, journeymen and apprentices.<sup>3</sup> The names of these immigrants appear in all surviving documents belonging to the Company – minute books, assay records, apprentice

3 – The maker's mark of Francis Girard  
 (courtesy National Archives of Ireland from the papers of Dr Kurt Tischer [NAI, 2001/KT/58])



contracts and in lists of free brothers, quarter brothers and journeymen.<sup>4</sup> New readings of these documents have allowed for a greater understanding of the refugee goldsmiths in Dublin. Turning from documentary sources to stylistic analysis, further questions arise. A survey of surviving pieces with Huguenot makers' marks from this period indicates that while some objects reveal evidence of unusual technical craftsmanship associated with more advanced continental goldsmithing (such as Girard's stippled goblet), their output was largely characterised by the fashions of the time, and, to a large extent, was neither stylistically or technically different from that produced by their Dubliner contemporaries, nor was it revealing of the puritanical simplicity that has been imputed to it in some secondary literature.<sup>5</sup>

## FOREIGNERS AND FREE BROTHERS

Whereas the Corporation of Goldsmiths in the City ... have made complaint ... that the sd Corporation is much injured & prejudiced by diveus foreigners, and others not ffine [foreign] through who injuring and intrude upon the Libhes and priviledges given and granted unto them by Charter ... That severall do work up and expose to Sale silver and gold not sterling or according to the standard, that severall pson do hawke through.<sup>6</sup>

ON 4TH MAY 1700, THIS LETTER, ADDRESSED TO THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN, WAS copied into the minute books of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company. 'Foreigner', a tag originally applied to those from outside the parameters of Dublin's medieval walled city, was still in use in 1700 to describe goldsmiths who, for reasons of religion, under-qualification or genuine foreign identity, were not freemen of the city and therefore excluded from Dublin Corporation's franchise. By far the greatest numbers of foreigners participating in the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company in 1700 were Huguenots, who, along with thousands of their fellow co-religionists, had fled France following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV in 1685, and either directly or indirectly, via the Low Countries and Britain, made their way to Ireland.<sup>7</sup>

The Huguenot population of Dublin in 1701 stood at approximately 2,100, jumping to 4,000 in the 1720s.<sup>8</sup> The influx of foreigners necessitated regulation to enable immigrant merchants, craftsmen and artisans to participate in Dublin's economy. The Duke of Ormonde's enterprising 1662 Act 'For Encouraging Protestant strangers and others to inhabit Ireland' had conveniently paved the way for this.<sup>9</sup> In 1681, when Huguenots were driven to Ireland by waves of persecution, those who arrived in Dublin were received by a City Assembly committee set up 'to examine and approve of the persons so to be admitted to the freedom'.<sup>10</sup> The committee also sought to persuade the refugees into Anglican conformity, and stipulated the swearing of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy before petitioners could attain their freedom.<sup>11</sup> The refugees thus became divided between those

who chose to conform and those who remained outside of the jurisdiction of the Established Church, remaining true to their Calvinist principles. Clearly, those who conformed were better positioned to enter the freedom of the various guilds; the non-conformist craftsmen, artisans and merchants remained outside the freedom of the guilds, making their living as quarter brothers or journeymen.

In the late-seventeenth century and first half of the eighteenth century, a significant number of Huguenots were free brothers and quarter brothers of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company. Analysis of the Company's List of Brothers has shown that, for example, in 1706 they comprised 22% of the total number of free brothers and 15.7% of quarter brothers.<sup>12</sup> This represents a disproportionate concentration when we consider that the Huguenot community only made up an estimated 3.5% of the overall population of the city at this time.<sup>13</sup> The relative number of Huguenots in the Company varied from year to year. 1706 showed the highest proportion on record, but data collated from the ensuing years shows only a marginal drop. It reached a low in 1725 of 11% for free brothers and 8.5% of quarter brothers before returning to higher proportions in the late 1730s and 1740s of between 15% and 20%.

A total of 128 Huguenots have been identified in the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company in the period 1690 to 1750. The Company took on, as an umbrella organisation, the regulation of the gold and silversmith trades as well as the allied crafts of engraving, jewellery, lapidary, watch- and clock-making and watch- and clock-case-making. The numbers demonstrate, however, that among their co-religionists, the goldsmiths/silversmiths (the two terms are very often synonymous) were the largest sub-speciality within the Company, with thirty-five Huguenots working with silver and gold in the sixty-year period.<sup>14</sup> Of the remaining ninety-three, sixty-six of these had an unspecified craft; we do not know if they were goldsmiths, silversmiths, engravers, jewellers, lapidaries, watchmakers and clockmakers or watch- and clock-case makers. This is primarily because they were either quarter brothers, whose particular details frequently went unrecorded, or because, in the case of those Huguenots who we only know about through the apprentice records, it is not clear what trade they went on to specialise in. It did not necessarily follow that an apprentice followed his master, or indeed whether he lived to complete his training or was accepted into the guild. For example, in 1700 Jacques Foucault was apprenticed to the goldsmith John Harris, but sources show that Foucault worked as a jeweller when he relocated to Cork.<sup>15</sup> The breakdown of the rest of the Huguenots was as follows (with some cross-over with the goldsmiths): there were fourteen jewellers; twelve watch and clock makers; one lapidary; two watchmaker-goldsmiths; two jeweller-goldsmiths; and one lapidary-goldsmith.

Little evidence exists in the primary material to suggest the extent to which the jewellers and lapidary makers were involved in the Goldsmiths' Company or to what extent the company regulated their crafts. They were subsumed within the Company and did not enjoy any particular recognition. Small, precious items weighing under two ounces were not charged at the assay office, and perhaps this is one of the main reasons why

there was little recorded, as neither the assay master's ledgers nor the minutes recording fines for sub-standard silver and gold would have been concerned with them. However, watch- and clock-cases (made by both specialist and general goldsmiths) were weighty enough to warrant assay fees, and thus there is greater record of these practitioners.<sup>16</sup> In October 1732, for example, the minutes recorded the sub-standard cases made by the Huguenots Noah Vialas and James Thibault:

This day was brought to the Hall Severall watch cases wch were taken up by the Mastr & Wardens on suspicion that they were not sterling silver ... Mr Viales – case was found 6 penywt worse fined 3 shillings ... There was also brought to ye Hall box cases & shew buckles. Mr Thiboe was found worse 91/2 pennywt fined 2s 6d ... orderd that the sd cases, boxes & buckles be broake downe before they leave this assay office.<sup>17</sup>

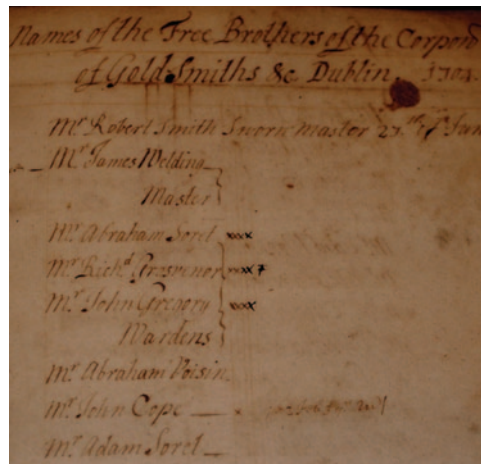
In London there was a separate Clockmakers' Company, within which apprentices were taught to make clocks, watches and their cases.<sup>18</sup> No such comparable body existed in Dublin.

## HUGUENOTS WITHIN THE DUBLIN GOLDSMITHS' COMPANY

THE DAY-TO-DAY OPERATIONS OF THE DUBLIN GOLDSMITHS' COMPANY, APPARENT FROM the minute books, demonstrate the integration of the Huguenot goldsmiths into the fabric of the guild. The company annually elected a master and three wardens, who presided over the council of free brothers, and were responsible for the regulation, government and supervision of the guild. They were also the custodians of all the guild property, revenue, services and goods, and received petitions, complaints and issued fines at regular meetings. In 1704, Abraham Soret, Adam Soret and Abraham Voisin all feature prominently in the roll of free brothers (Plate 4).<sup>19</sup> This was not out of the ordinary; a pattern of Huguenot goldsmiths in senior positions continued throughout the period, particularly in the first two decades of the eighteenth century. It is evident that the established Huguenots in the company enjoyed seniority and respect from a relatively early point of their settlement. The important positions they held may also have been advantageous to their fellow immigrants intent on attaining their freedom of the guild.

The election of a goldsmith to the

4 – Detail from the List of Free Brothers, 1704  
(courtesy Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin)



freedom of the Company was overseen by the Company's council, who also decided on the fine the petitioner should pay for the privilege. The eighth 'lawe' of the Goldsmiths' Charter stated 'That henceforward the Master-Warden and other wardens of our Corporation shall not admitt nor grant anie person to be free of the said Corporation before they aquainte the Concell of the House therewith and agree what fine he shall pay in Plate for the use of the Corporation aforesaid.'<sup>20</sup> Ordinarily, goldsmiths earned their freedom after seven years apprenticeship and on submission of a 'masterpiece' to Goldsmiths Hall, the guild headquarters.<sup>21</sup> The second 'lawe' of the Goldsmiths' Charter stipulated 'That henceforward noe apprentice to a Goldsmith shall be admitted free of the corporation untill he make his Master Peece and be accordingly approved on, and till then he is to pay five shillings quarterly as a fforeigner.' However, the minute books recorded the petitions of several foreign, already qualified goldsmiths each year, many of whom were Huguenots.<sup>22</sup> Fines were also levied against quarter brothers and journeymen who were involved peripherally in the company. The charter specified: 'everyone that shall be admitted a Quarterbrother of this Corporation shall before he be so admitted enter into a bond of twenty pounds ... for the use of the sd Corporation.'<sup>23</sup> In 1694 the company reaffirmed that no goldsmith who was not a free brother could be allowed to strike his mark to any piece or to bring plate to be assayed. However, this was modified soon after and goldsmiths who were not free brothers were allowed to make and put their marks on plate on payment of quarterly fees.<sup>24</sup> The annual List of Brothers detailed the four yearly payments of the quarter brothers in columns beside their names, noting when arrears were not met. The minutes then occasionally note the orders given down to quarter brothers to pay the amounts due: 'Ordered ... that Peter Lemesier doe pay 5s per quarter after the Quarter'.<sup>25</sup>

For the petition of the refugee Nicholas Pantain, the minute books meticulously recorded the break down of accumulated fines due:

Upon reading the Peticion of Nicholas Pontain, a fforeigner, praying to be admitted a ffree Brother of this Corporacion, he is accordingly admitted having then payd 11s 6d in full of his arrears of Quateredge to the first of this Instant & paying the sume of 20 shillings ster fine when sworn a free brother thereof and having entered into a bond of 20s to become free thereof the next Quarter day.<sup>26</sup>

The processing of the jeweller Peter Baulier's freedom was particularly well documented. On 9th May 1701, the minutes note that Peter 'Baulear' petitioned for his freedom. A week later it detailed: 'This day Peter Baulier paid £2, 5s in full for own Quarterage and the Quarterage of Isaac Cousin and E\_\_\_\_\_ his journeymen and thereupon it is Ordered that the said Peter Baulier be admitted a Freebrother ... upon his paying a peice of Plate not under the value of Four pounds sterling.'<sup>27</sup> Six months later, Baulier achieved his membership of the guild: 'The same day Mr Peter Baulear [*sic*] ... sworn Free Brother of this Corporation'.<sup>28</sup> The Council was not always so prompt in processing applications. On 11th October 1701, the quarter brother Francis Girard's petition was initially received. Yet it was not until January 1705 that he was made a free brother:

A Petition of Mr Francis Girard setting forth that the Petr had severall yeares used & exercised the Art or Mistery of a Goldsmith & praying to be admitted Free of this Corpon was this day presented to the house. Ordered that the same Francis Girard be admitted free of the same upon paying five pounds as a Fine.<sup>29</sup>

Two beadles were appointed by the council each year, usually newly made free brothers of the guild, whose job was to summon the members to meetings and to gather the fines issued by the master and wardens. In May 1696 John Garrard submitted his masterpiece and was elected a free brother of the guild: 'This day Mr John Jarrard [*sic*] presented this Corporacion with a silver spoone for his Master Peice weighing \_\_\_\_ having on it his name & surname.'<sup>30</sup> The following February, 'Jarrett' was elected as one of the beadles.<sup>31</sup> John Palot, Daniel Pineau and Peter LeMaistre petitioned and received their freedom of the guild on different dates between June 1707 and May 1708. The following year, the minutes record: 'The same day Mr John Palot, Mr Daniel Pineau & Mr Peter LeMaistre were put in Election for two of them to serve as Beadles ... for the ensuing year ... by majority of votes the said Mr LeMaistre & Mr Pineau are Elected & declared Beadles.'<sup>32</sup> There was, evidently, a regular intake of new Frenchmen who were obliged to contribute to the day-to-day running of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company.

## THE ASSAY MASTERS' BOOKS

THE DUBLIN GOLDSMITHS HAD BEEN INCORPORATED SINCE 1637, WHEN THEY SUCCESSFULLY petitioned Charles I to issue a Royal Charter regularising their trade. From that date, it was the company's responsibility to regulate the purity of silver in the kingdom. This was deemed essential because of the quantities of sub-standard silver infiltrating the trade in the early seventeenth century. A company with powers of assay and regulation was necessary, not only for the goldsmiths' craft, but for the wider economy; if impure silver or gold in whatever form was trading at a greater amount than its intrinsic value, the repercussions to the general economy were potentially catastrophic. Thenceforth, they could set the minimum standard for silver at eleven troy ounces, two pennyweight (11oz, 2dwt) in every twelve ounces, or 92.5% as the 'sterling standard' for 'pure' silver.<sup>33</sup> The Dublin Goldsmiths' Company appointed an assay master (or 'touch master') whose task was to test the fineness of all gold and silver submitted to the Guildhall approximately three times a week. If the metal was sterling, it received the hall-mark stamp; if it failed to meet the standard, it was destroyed.

The Assay Masters' Books run concurrently from 1638 to 1748, with significant missing periods between 1713 and 1725 and 1733 and 1744. They document the weight of every silver object submitted to the Guild Hall, the name of the goldsmith making the submission and the duty owed to the company for each submission. A penny per ounce was imposed, and half of this was paid to the assay master. (From 1730 an Act of



Parliament imposed a duty of sixpence per ounce on all silver and gold manufactured in and imported into Ireland.) The total annual assay figures allow for an assessment of the extent to which the Huguenots were producing silver – or, at least, silver they were submitting themselves. The figures clearly show that the Huguenot goldsmiths were not submitting amounts of silver that reflected their impressive, indeed disproportionate, presence within the Company; in the period 1693 to 1700, they did not make more than a 2% overall impression on the annual quantities assayed.

During a window period of approximately six months in 1694, the assay records unusually provide details on the objects being submitted. They reveal that in May 1694, Matthew ‘La Roch’ brought in ‘6 Spoons’ weighing a total of nine ounces. It would seem this immigrant Huguenot goldsmith was making a modest living, especially when contrasted with the Dubliner goldsmith John Cuthbert who earlier that month submitted on one day: ‘5 tankards, 4 salvers, 2 payrs of candlesticks, 18 salts, 2 sett Cusstans [?], 2 canns, 3 cupps, 12 forks, 12 hafts, 8 spoons, 1 ladel’, weighing a total of 412 ounces. The Assay Masters’ Books show that a small handful of ‘native’ goldsmiths, such as Cuthbert, with evidently thriving workshops, were producing the bulk of the annual quantity: 42,557 ounces were assayed in the assay year 1698-99, of which a staggering 10,689 ounces were submitted by the prolific Dubliner Thomas Bolton.<sup>34</sup>

The assay records for the period 1713 to 1725 are now lost so we cannot quantify the Huguenot goldsmiths’ output in this period; however, the unimpressive figures seen in the late seventeenth century did not improve until the 1730s. By 1732 the combined output of Huguenots, who were by this time largely first- and second-generation settlers, had risen considerably to a respectable 11%. An overall high in the last years of the surviving records saw them produce between 13% and 14% of the silver assayed in the years 1746 to 1748. Close examination of the assay records from the 1730s and 1740s shows greater numbers of Huguenots producing larger quantities of plate. One of the main contributors from these decades was the goldsmith Anthony LeFebure, who became a free brother in 1731. He submitted 3,538 ounces in 1729/30, 1,589 ounces in 1730/31, and 2,072 ounces the following year. These were substantial figures when it is considered that in 1729 the successful goldsmith Robert Calderwood submitted 4,307 ounces, only some 800 ounces more than LeFebure.<sup>35</sup> The amounts alone, therefore, would indicate that LeFebure was running a successful workshop at this time.<sup>36</sup> The workshops of John Wilme, Bartholomew Mosse and Isaac D’Olier were also producing respectable amounts of silver. In 1731/32 Wilme submitted a total of 2,563 ounces of silver for assay and it is recorded that he continued to submit quantities, although not at this high level, until 1748.<sup>37</sup> It would seem, however, that these apparently successful Huguenot goldsmiths were the exception rather than the rule in the relative outputs of their co-religionists throughout the period. The contrast between the very high levels of Huguenot membership of, and participation in, the Company, and the very low amounts of silver they submitted to assay is remarkable.

The minute books of the Dublin Goldsmiths’ Company recorded the fines issued

by the assay master to goldsmiths who submitted silver below the sterling standard. Given the cessation in September 1694 of itemised assay submissions, these entries allow a rare insight into the range of objects that Huguenot (and other) goldsmiths were producing. One such entry in 1702 illustrates the variety of silver, albeit sub-standard, being made by Huguenot goldsmiths: Francis Girard was fined for four 'Hair Rings', while Abraham Voisin was fined for '2 little Dram Cupps worse \_\_\_\_ & 2 bigg Dram Cupps'.<sup>38</sup> Francis Girard was fined later that year for 'Buckles worse 1oz 6 dwt', and in the following year it was recorded 'That Francis Girard be Indicted for Selling course Silver Buttons worse 1oz 6 dwt to Mr Romaine for sterling silver'.<sup>39</sup> Ten years later, in March 1712, the Minutes again list a number of goldsmiths fined for sub-standard gold, among them three Huguenots:

Silver and gould some worked up and others not was seized by the Warden on suspicion of their not being standard ... From Mr Paturell one peece of gould worse four Carrotts one graines waite and of a graine ... from Dan Pineau one peece of Gould worse Six Carrotts two graines ... from Mr Girard one peece of Gould worse four Carrotts.<sup>40</sup>

## WORKSHOPS AND RETAILERS

THE ASSAY MASTER'S BOOKS AND THE MINUTES CAN ONLY PRESENT ONE PERSPECTIVE on the questions raised above: how prolific the Huguenots were and to what extent they integrated into the craft in Dublin. As already noted, there are several years for which there is no assay data at all, and for those years where the records are intact the assay data cannot reflect the growing sophistication of the trade. External primary sources, however, support the view that Dublin goldsmiths were developing the retailing and sub-contracting aspects of their craft. This in turn, offers some explanation for the notable absence of the Huguenot goldsmiths in the assay books.

Daniel Pineau (fl. 1707-52), a jeweller-goldsmith for whom no assay records exist, bought, sold and engraved silver, as records in the Edgeworth Accounts indicate. On 9th May 1743, Sir Richard Edgeworth notes: 'Recd by sale of plate this day from Mr Pineau 4:15:0 & more by Exchange 1:18:0', and in another record, on the same date, 'Recd from Mr Dan.l Pineau Goldsmith for 24 ounces & 1 Pennyweight of old plate being part of the plate left by Mrs Dowling to my wife at the rate of 5shill 8d per ounce ... the whole amounting to 6:16:0.' Edgeworth also paid Pineau for engraving: 'To Mr Pineau Goldsmith for Engraving my coat of Arms and Crest on several knives, forks, salvers, casters, candlesticks, Snuff dish and other pieces of plate 1:18:6.'<sup>41</sup> It is probable that Pineau ran not just a versatile workshop but also a retail premises where he and his employees manufactured, embellished, bought and sold jewellery and plate. Similarly, Noah Vialas (fl. 1713-73), who submitted only small volumes of goods for assay, was also evidently running a business on the major shopping thoroughfare of Dame Street.<sup>42</sup> He is

Dublin 30<sup>th</sup> April 1720 217

Then Received from m<sup>r</sup> Oliver St George of 85 Shillings Ster.  
 in full for Engraving a large Silver Dish with Gadroons  
 made by m<sup>r</sup> Peter Gervais Silver Smith at the Jolly Shepherd in  
 Dame Street & Dublin for a Bill in full of all m<sup>r</sup> Gervais  
 Debt and Demands to the King of the Duk.

Recd: McMurray

5 – Receipt from Nathaniel McMurray, engraver, to Oliver St George, 1720  
 below 6 – Invoice from Mary Girard to Oliver St George, 1716  
 (both courtesy National Archives, UK, from the St George Papers; [C110/46])

described in some eighteenth-century records as a jeweller; *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* in June 1747 advertised that a quantity of stolen jewellery should be returned to 'Noah Vialas, jeweller, Dame Street'.<sup>43</sup> And yet, like Pineau, it would appear that Vialas was also running a versatile business. As noted above, he was fined by the company for some sub-standard watch-cases he produced in 1732, and on 10th May 1743 the Edgeworth Accounts detail: 'To Mr Violas [*sic*] jeweller in full of a bill for Engraving Crest and Coats of arms on plate 1:1:8.'<sup>44</sup> A gold buckle with his mark, NV, is in the National Museum of Ireland.

No assay figures survive for the period 1713 to 1725, a period, it would appear, in which Peter Gervais (fl. 1715–30) produced the bulk of his silver.<sup>45</sup> Other sources reveal that in 1719 and 1720 he supplied the Irish MP Sir Oliver St George with, among other items, two cups, a basin and a large dish. Gervais also supplied St George with small silver items such as thimbles, scissors, toothpick cases and items of jewellery.<sup>46</sup> A receipt from the engraver Nathaniel McMurray to St George in 1720 explains that it was for engraving carried out on 'a Silver Dish with Gadroons', that Gervais had made for the patron in that year (Plate 5).<sup>47</sup> The receipt also records that the goldsmith was located at 'The Jolly Shepherd' on Dame Street, one of the busiest thoroughfares in the city, and thus suggests that Gervais ran both a workshop and a shop here. It is likely that premises' name was styled from the unusual maker's mark of the shepherd boy and his dog, which, as we have seen, Gervais adopted from his predecessor, the Huguenot Francis Girard. Girard's widow Mary continued her husband's workshop

13

Desemb<sup>r</sup> 22 1716

M<sup>r</sup> St George Debtor to Mary Girard

for one Silver pipe gally weid 9-7 1/2 at 6.6

5 pounce Make - - - - - £ 3. 00.

for the Crest - - - - - £ 0. 01.

for 4 Small Dishes weid 88-2 at

5.3 pounce Make - - - - - £ 27. 10.

for Graving 4 arms - - - - - £ 00. 12.

Total - - - - - £ 31. 05.

for several years. An invoice has survived from December 1716 and shows that she made Oliver St George a 'silver pye patty' and small dishes, as well as engraving them with crests and arms (Plate 6).

Two surviving invoices in Trinity College's muniments indicate that John Letablere, a second-generation and apparently unsuccessful Huguenot, was making his living as a retailer-goldsmith. A number of surviving objects bear his mark.<sup>48</sup> No record of plate submitted by Letablere to the Assay Master can be located. However, this means little, as no assay records survive for the decade 1734 to 1744, a period in which he may have submitted a great deal. A warden of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company in 1750/51, he supplied Trinity College with silver in the 1740s, particularly large quantities of flatware.<sup>49</sup> One such order totalled an enormous £281:18s:8d.<sup>50</sup>

Where the assay accounts fall short, the Company's apprentice records can supply indications of workshop activity. The apprenticeship system governed by the Company stipulated that a trainee goldsmith entered into a bond of seven years employment with a free brother master goldsmith, and individual contracts were detailed and signed into the ledgers to this effect.<sup>51</sup> A significant number of Huguenot masters enrolled an above-average quantity of apprentices during their careers. Noah Vialas took on a total of thirteen, and is closely followed in this by Daniel Pineau and David Bomes (fl. 1731-70) who both enrolled twelve over the course of their long careers. The watch and clock maker Thomas Blundell (fl. 1733-70) employed eight apprentices, while Peter Gervais and John Paturell (fl. 1700-21) took on six and five trainees respectively. These extraordinarily high numbers indicate successful workshops and thriving businesses, given that a typical master goldsmith employed on average three apprentices during their career.<sup>52</sup>

## JOURNEYMEN AND SUB-CONTRACTING

LEAVING ASIDE THESE INDIVIDUAL MASTERS WHOSE SUCCESS IS MANIFEST FROM THEIR assay submissions, apprentice figures and evidence in accounts, the activity and contribution of the vast majority of Huguenot goldsmiths needs to be considered. Working within larger workshops, many Huguenot goldsmiths (free brothers and quarter brothers) almost certainly contributed a great deal to the manufacture of silver submitted by their more successful Huguenot, and, indeed, non-Huguenot, colleagues. Christopher Hartop elaborates on this point, within the English context:

One cannot regard English silver of the period 1680-1760 as the work of individual artists. It was the product of a complex and often long chain of designers, modellers, raisers, chasers, casters, engravers and planishers. Smaller objects may bear the mark of the man who made them, but in the case of important commissions, the so-called 'maker's mark' which appears on a piece is no indication of authorship. Behind the maker's mark there was an intricate, and hidden, web of specialists.<sup>53</sup>

There are occasional references in the annual lists of free brothers and quarter brothers and also in the minute books of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company which suggest the employment and sponsorship by Dublin masters of Huguenot and other foreign journeymen. These indicate that the sourcing of labour outside of workshops was common practice and are suggestive of subcontracting in the goldsmithing community. The journeymen lists, which follow the annual quarter brother lists in the surviving records, are incomplete for most years, and rarely offer more than an extended list of the quarter brothers. The Company imposed regulations and fines that required a master to provide the outlay for employing or 'sponsoring' a journeyman.<sup>54</sup> In 1694 the goldsmith John Cuthbert was ordered to 'show cause' for his employment of a Frenchman whom he had engaged for some time before informing the master and wardens.<sup>55</sup> In 1712, John Pallot (a Huguenot), who was a warden that year, paid the Company 2s 6d for employing James Blanchard, also a Huguenot. The following two years running, David King, a prolific master, was also recorded as employing Blanchard.<sup>56</sup> In 1717 the List of Brothers details that out of the twenty journeymen recorded, John Pallot sponsored a 'Scotch man' and was fined five shillings. Similarly, the free brother Edward Barrett was fined five shillings for his employment of a 'French man', while Peter Gervais was fined 2s 6d for employing of a journeyman called 'Donde' (perhaps French, judging by the name) whom, it is recorded, he takes on an additional three times in 1718.<sup>57</sup> It is impossible to know exactly why Gervais and others continued to employ these foreign journeymen and, no doubt, many more who went unrecorded, but the evidence suggests that there was a great deal of subcontracted work within the goldsmiths' workshop in the early eighteenth century. No doubt, immigrant goldsmiths, anxious to gain employment, were in a position to undercut their native contemporaries, and this did not go unnoticed by established masters.

## INTERCONNECTIONS

THE APPRENTICE RECORDS SUGGEST THAT HUGUENOT GOLDSMITHS WERE CLOSELY interconnected: within the sixty-year period 1690 to 1750, a total of thirty-three Huguenot apprentices were set under Huguenot masters, many of whom were their father or male relative.<sup>58</sup> Of Pineau's twelve apprentices, eight were from Huguenot families, and evidently he was not alone in this deliberate preference. It would appear that the immigrant, first and second generations of Huguenot goldsmiths wished to retain their ethnic distinctiveness by continuing the trend of employing trainee goldsmiths from the pool of their relatives and co-religionists.

Many of these Huguenot goldsmiths remained closely bound together – in training for seven years, and possibly, thereafter, working in the same workshop or affiliated within the craft throughout their working lives. 'One thing cannot fail to strike anyone ... is the close and friendly relations that existed between the various [Huguenot] goldsmith families. They intermarried considerably.'<sup>59</sup> Indeed, the parish records for both the con-

forming and non-conforming congregations in Dublin reveal a notable amount of inter-marriage among goldsmithing families and the godparenting of each others' children. The records concerning the Gervais, Pineau, Vidouze and Vialas families are more complete than most in the parish records, and reveal a web of interconnections. The registers of the French Conformed Churches of St Patrick and St Mary reveal that the jeweller Daniel Pineau was married to his first wife Olympe Vidouze (de Laborthe) in December 1708: '*auquel mariage ont assisté Mr Pineau, oncle du nouveau marié, et Mr et Mad Laborthe, pere et mere de lanouvelle mariée, et Mr Vidouze, son oncle*'.<sup>60</sup> Unusually, it would appear that Olympe, daughter of the Laborthes, took her uncle's surname, perhaps on account of his seniority within the parish. This uncle was probably the father of the jeweller James Vidouze, who was apprenticed to Pineau in 1727. The same parish registers reveal that when Daniel and Olympe Pineau's son Pierre was baptised in January 1714, his godfather was the goldsmith Pierre (Peter) Gervais and his godmother was Jeanne Augier, the likely wife or mother of Robinson Augier, who was apprenticed to Pineau in 1714.<sup>61</sup> Significantly, the Registers of the Unconformed Churches show that in March 1719 the Pineaus baptised another child, Paul Elie, for whom the godmother was Marie Vidouze, who may have been Olympe's aunt or cousin.<sup>62</sup> Evidently, the movement between the two congregations did not present a major issue. In the following years, Daniel and his second wife Elizabeth (maiden name unknown) baptised a daughter, Marie, in July 1727, for whom the godparents were the jeweller and goldsmith Noah Vialas and Marie Gervais, Peter Gervais's wife.<sup>63</sup> Noah Vialas died in 1773 at the age of eighty-one, and was followed fifteen years later by his third wife Marthe, whose maiden name was Champion.<sup>64</sup> Marthe was probably related to the jewellers James Champion Snr and Jr, who were active in the guild in the first half of the century.

## STYLE AND TECHNIQUE

THERE IS THEN EVIDENCE OF A SOPHISTICATED AND GROWING WEB OF NETWORKS WITHIN the goldsmiths' trade in Dublin in the early eighteenth century. Established Huguenot goldsmiths and retailers employed their co-religionists, journeymen and other specialist goldsmiths (engravers, embossers, chasers, *perceurs*, etc) to work on pieces which they then marked themselves. This only complicates any definition of a 'Huguenot' style in early eighteenth-century Irish silver. As we have seen, it is unrealistic to consider a finished object as the end-product of a single craftsman's design, manufacture and ornamentation. Huguenot innovation, both technical and stylistic, in Irish silver can really only be identified in the years before 1710. The stippling on Girard and Rummieu's goblets, executed with a chasing chisel which raised hundreds of minute dots, achieving a textured effect, was a highly unusual decorative feature and is illustrative of the technical sophistication introduced by French goldsmiths. However, in the years after this date, the stylistic, technical and decorative characteristics apparent in Dublin



7 – Bowl with the mark of  
Thomas Racine, c.1725

(courtesy National Archives of  
Ireland from the papers of Dr Kurt  
Ticher [NAI, 2001/KT/110])



8 – Candlestick with the mark  
of Philip Portall, c.1736

(courtesy National Archives of  
Ireland, from the papers of Dr Kurt  
Ticher [NAI, 2001/KT/28])

Huguenot silver can also, for the most part, be illustrated with similar and, very often, better examples bearing the marks of 'native' Dublin goldsmiths.

From the date of the arrival of the Huguenots to Dublin to the middle of the eighteenth century, Irish silver underwent stylistic changes that saw the Carolean baroque style of the mid-seventeenth century become infiltrated by court – and essentially French – influences. These styles varied widely, from the ostentatious and architectural grandeur of continental baroque form and ornament to the vogue for unornamented geometric vessels and dining ware, typically plain and unchased – a style mistakenly associated with reflecting the puritanical conscience. The volume of surviving silver in this latter style, by both Huguenot and non-Huguenot goldsmiths, demonstrates its great popularity and undermines any suggestion that the immigrants were the sole producers of plate of this fashion. It is now often referred to generically as 'Queen Anne' silver, corresponding to the years of her reign, 1702 to 1714. Examples of silver objects in both plain and decorative continental styles marked by Huguenot and native goldsmiths across Britain and Ireland are abundant. The Huguenots, as much as their indigenous contemporaries in London and Dublin, were keenly aware of the tastes of the elite. Economic necessity meant that they satisfied fashionable demand, or at least anticipated what their patrons were likely to commission, be it in high baroque or plain 'Queen Anne' style.<sup>65</sup>

Some pieces marked by Dublin Huguenot goldsmiths in this period are illustrative of the different manifestations of baroque style: a bowl (c.1725) marked by Thomas Racine (fl. 1720s) (Plate 7) and a candlestick (c.1736) marked by Philip Portall (fl. 1733-39) (Plate 8) are typical of the plainer style. The raised bowl is a good example of the fashion at the time for plain surfaces ornamented with only an engraved armorial, while the candlestick, marked some ten years later, reveals that the vogue for geometric, plain plate was evidently still thriving in 1730s Dublin, just as rococo fashions were beginning to show some influence on Irish silver. It has a double-knopped baluster stem which is alternately rounded and squared, spreading to a square-form, step-moulded base. Two ornamental salvers typifying the more decorative baroque style are marked by Charles Lemaistre and John Frebough, and are also both dated for 1736. Lemaistre's is essentially an hexagonal tray, but the angular shape is offset by the fluid, dynamic interplay between the raised shells, scrolls and masks of the rim and the concave scalloped edge of the moulded border (Plate 9). The engraved arabesque border on the tray is punctuated with vases, masks and diamonds, alternately finished with plumes and shells that encircle an engraved six-pointed star. The salver marked by Frebough is less elaborate but is more rigidly geometric, its square outline softened by S-shaped corners (Plate 10). It has a moulded rim and a more subtle arabesque border than Lemaistre's, but with similar surface trellis-work contained within curving C-shaped lines.

In the 1730s, the naturalistic and asymmetrical ornamental features of the rococo began to be seen in Irish silver, and the style flourished in the 1740s, '50s and beyond. The technical skills of casting, engraving, chasing and embossing were in high demand and required specialist expertise. Huguenot goldsmiths in London were renowned for





9 – Salver with the mark of Charles Lemaistre, 1736  
 (courtesy National Museum of Ireland)

their plastic modelling and decoration. Their anatomical sophistication with sculptural detailing set them apart from their contemporaries.<sup>66</sup> A sauce boat with the mark of John Letablere, the retailer-goldsmith, dated c.1753, is an excellent illustration of sophisticated casting (Plate 11).<sup>67</sup> The crane that forms the handle of this sauce boat is perched atop the applied foliage, emerging from detailed branch-work that runs down the back and rear bowl of the vessel. The naturalistic spreading of the leaves provides a seamless platform on which the crane's talons are applied. The crane itself is both slender and sturdy, with detailed fine chasing covering the figure, representing feathers, which adds greater texture to the cast image. The body of the sauce boat is notably plainer than the applied work that crowns its handle. Standing on a step-moulded octagonal base, it shares many of the features of silver in the earlier decades of the eighteenth century. However, notable design



10 – Salver with the mark of John Frebough, 1736

*(courtesy National Archives of Ireland, from the papers of Dr Kurt Ticher [NAI, 2001/KT/95])*

features and the year it was marked all point towards the rococo style in Irish silver that was flourishing at this time. The scalloped shell-like contours of the sauce boat's rim and the naturalism of the crane and the applied leaf-work on its back and spout are all in keeping with the characteristics of the court style that was emerging in France in the 1720s.

## CONCLUSION

**T**HE HUGUENOT GOLDSMITHS PARTICIPATED FULLY IN THE DUBLIN GOLDSMITHS' Company during the period 1690 to 1750. Although in terms of language, culture and confession they were different from the Dublin goldsmiths, they participated



*11 – Sauce boat with the mark of John Letablere, c.1753 (courtesy National Museum of Ireland)*

in and were assimilated into the wider goldsmithing community. This is especially evident in the minute books and List of Brothers: the Huguenots were to be found in all working aspects of the Company as masters, wardens, beadles, free brothers, quarter brothers, journeymen and even nameless ‘Frenchmen’. Along with the other members of the Company, they were fined for submitting sub-standard silver, non-attendance, quarterage and for the employment of journeymen. In the minute books they signed petitions on matters of professional concern, side by side with their Irish contemporaries, showing that they did not see themselves as refugees who were set apart.<sup>68</sup> In terms of production, the assay data has shown that the Huguenots submitted remarkably small quantities of silver annually, which did not reflect their disproportionate membership of and participation within the guild. This is especially true for the period when the immigrant goldsmiths were flourishing (c.1690-1730) and undermines too readily an assumption that links integration with productivity. However, it has also been shown that these assay figures picked

up a great deal in the latter decades of the sixty-year period, and suggests that they had integrated themselves fully into the wider framework of goldsmithing in Dublin by the first and second generations.

The refugee Huguenots came from an entirely different environment than that which their children and grandchildren negotiated in Dublin in the eighteenth century. Their skills, designs and traditions set them apart from contemporary goldsmiths, a feeling of differentiation which subsequent generations would not have experienced to the same extent. Among the Huguenot members of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company, there were retailers with apparently thriving workshops, as has been shown in the cases of Daniel Pineau, Noah Vialas, Peter Gervais and John Letablere. Goldsmithing in the eighteenth century was a multifaceted craft and trade, and the examples of these individuals demonstrate the extent to which the Huguenot goldsmiths participated in Dublin's commercially expanding economy. Diversification and the practice of subcontracting goes some way to explain the reason for the dearth of silver submitted by Huguenot goldsmiths, particularly in the early decades of the period. An understanding of the number of specialists hidden behind the authority of the maker's mark leaves us with the conclusion that many nameless Huguenots were designing and ornamenting pieces marked by their established Huguenot and non-Huguenot contemporaries, and that established Huguenot goldsmiths and retailer-goldsmiths were employing their co-religionists, journeymen and other specialist goldsmiths to work on pieces which they then marked themselves. Given this complex web belying concepts of individual authorship, simplistic assumptions about style are proven inaccurate. The 'Huguenot style', if any, was in the quality and diversification of their output, revealing the skill and commercial opportunism of these enterprising refugees and settled Huguenots.

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## ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

DGC Dublin Goldsmiths' Company

NLI National Library of Ireland

- <sup>1</sup> K. Ticher, 'Three Huguenot Goldsmiths in Dublin in the Early 1700s', *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, July-December 1972, 73-80.
- <sup>2</sup> The 'quarterage' system was introduced in the late-seventeenth century in order to cope with a growing and diverse population in Dublin. Quarter brothers were generally those who could not take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy – mainly Catholics and non-conforming Protestants – and thus could not become 'free brothers' of their trade's guild. By paying a quarterly fee to their guild (quarterage), they were entitled to practice their trade. See J. Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists: Dublin civil politics and Irish politics and Irish Protestant patriotism 1660-1840* (Oxford, 1997) 31.
- <sup>3</sup> According to Douglas Bennett's definition, a journeyman was a 'daily or weekly worker in the employment of a master'. D. Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver 1637-1900* (London, 1984) 130. A journeyman had served his time as an apprentice, but was not a master and was not free of the guild.
- <sup>4</sup> NLI, Dublin Goldsmiths' Company Records; Book of Freeman of the Goldsmiths Company 1637-1779; Journal of Proceedings 1686-1731, 1731-1758; List of Brothers 1704-1760; Assay Masters Books 1638-1699, 1705-1713, 1725-1728, 1729-1733, 1744-1748; Enrolment of Apprentices 1704-1752. NLI P6782-6786.
- <sup>5</sup> Douglas Bennett praises the 'beautiful plainness' and fine sense of proportion evinced in surviving examples of Irish Huguenot silver. Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 24. In the catalogue of the National Museum's Irish silver exhibition, the authors comment that the Huguenots' more 'restrained' expression of Baroque design was 'typified by economy of decoration ... to set off the beauty of well-proportioned forms wrought in heavy gauge metal'. I. Delamer and C. O'Brien, *500 Years of Irish Silver: an exhibition at the National Museum of Ireland* (Dublin, 2005) 19. The word 'plain' has religious overtones of non-conforming Protestantism, characterising the behaviour and appearance of followers of John Calvin, which the Huguenots were. Consequently, the word 'plain' needs to be used with a degree of caution when describing the popular style of silver produced by Calvinists in the early eighteenth century.
- <sup>6</sup> DGC, minute books, 4th May 1700.
- <sup>7</sup> It is estimated that 10,000 Huguenots settled in Ireland in the late-seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. G. Lawless Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland* (London, 1936) 12.
- <sup>8</sup> R. Hylton, 'Dublin's Huguenot Refuge 1662-1817', *Dublin Historical Record*, XL, 1985, 21.
- <sup>9</sup> The act stated that 'all persons as well as Strangers and Aliens as the King's Subjects of the Protestant Religion who enter any city, borough, privileged and incorporated town – with intent to dwell there, shall, upon reasonable request and payment of 20 shillings, be admitted a freeman of any such place, Guild, Brotherhood, Society or Fellowship of any trade, craft or other mystery, and enjoy all privileges of trading, buying, working and selling in as ample manner as any freeman.' Lee, *Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, 12.
- <sup>10</sup> M. Clark, 'Foreigners and freedom: the Huguenot refuge in Dublin city, 1660-1700', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, 27, no. 3, 2000, 386. By achieving 'freedom' of Dublin, one was permitted to trade in the city. In the eighteenth century, the city's twenty-six guilds were intricately bound up with the municipal corporation. Jacqueline Hill elaborates: 'the guilds were the means whereby, on the payment of fines, tradesmen of a certain standing could acquire "freedom" ... through which they

assumed the privileges and responsibilities of active citizens, becoming eligible to serve in a range of offices in parish, guild, and common council, to bear arms, to pay certain taxes: in short to constitute the body corporate of the city.' Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists*, 28. Freedom was achieved 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 'Grace Especial' (generally bestowed as an honour on nobility and dignitaries by a particular guild that had enjoyed their patronage), and, finally, by the 1661 Act of Parliament, which made petitioners free 'by redemption'. P. Coffey, 'Huguenot Freemen of the City of Dublin 1600-1729', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, 26, no. 25, 1997, 635.

- <sup>11</sup> Journal of Proceedings (minute books) of the DGC details the oaths of allegiance for incoming free brothers: 'I doe swear that I do from my heart abhor ... and abjure ... that damnable ... Pope or any authority of the See of Rome.' It is followed by another oath that specifically swears against the 'Adoration of the Virgin Mary', and affirms that there was no 'transformation of Bread & Wine'. DGC, minute books, 2nd February, 1686.
- <sup>12</sup> Appendix B, 'The lists of free brothers and quarter brothers' in J. Cunningham, 'Dublin's Huguenot Goldsmiths; the contribution of the Huguenots to the design, development and manufacture of Irish silver, 1690-1750', unpublished MA thesis (National College of Art & Design, Dublin, 2008).
- <sup>13</sup> Hylton, 'Dublin's Huguenot Refuge', 15-24; approximately 2,100 Huguenots in Dublin city in 1700, D. Dickson, *The Gorgeous Mask: Dublin 1700-1850* (Dublin, 1987) vii; approximately 60,000 inhabitants of Dublin at the turn of the eighteenth century.
- <sup>14</sup> This total includes those classified in Appendix A as watchmaker-goldsmiths, lapidary-goldsmiths and jewellery-goldsmiths.
- <sup>15</sup> T. Murdoch and T. Sinsteden, 'Names of known, believed or possible Huguenot goldsmiths of Dublin', *Beyond the Border: Huguenot Goldsmiths in Northern Europe and North America* (Brighton and Portland, 2008) 150-55.
- <sup>16</sup> The watch and clock makers of Dublin are accounted for in D. Boles (ed), *William Gallant's Watch and Clockmakers in Ireland* (Dublin 2000). The directory includes many Huguenot names, duplicating (and corroborating) those found in the DGC's lists.
- <sup>17</sup> DGC, minute books, 24th October 1732.
- <sup>18</sup> See chapters 2 and 3 in P. Priestly, *Early watch case makers of England 1631-1720* (Columbia, 2000) for further information on the watch and clock makers (and case makers) in London during this period.
- <sup>19</sup> DGC, List of Brothers, 1703.
- <sup>20</sup> DGC, minute books, 2nd February 1686. The minute books in 1686 rewrote the 'lawes' and charter of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company, which had been set down when the Company was incorporated in 1637.
- <sup>21</sup> The Company charter stated that an apprentice, on completion of his seven years' training, had to prove his skill by submitting a piece of work, known as his masterpiece, which the company council then determined whether it was of sufficient standard for the applicant to gain membership. D. Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver* (London, 1972) 14.
- <sup>22</sup> Compared to their co-religionists in London, the Huguenot goldsmiths in Dublin were treated a good deal better by the 'native' established goldsmithing community. In London, experienced immigrant goldsmiths were punished by the hostile guild who often insisted on the goldsmith undergoing the seven years apprenticeship in order to gain his freedom: 'the more gifted and influential the alien goldsmiths, the more unwelcoming his reception at Goldsmiths' Hall.' C. Hartop, *The Huguenot Legacy: English Silver, 1680-1790 from the Alan and Simone Hartman Collection* (London, 1996) 43-44.
- <sup>23</sup> DGC, minute books, 2nd February 1686.

- <sup>24</sup> C. Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks* (London, 1921) 579.
- <sup>25</sup> DGC, minute books, 17th July 1701.
- <sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, 23rd November 1694.
- <sup>27</sup> *ibid.*, 16th May 1701.
- <sup>28</sup> *ibid.*, 5th November 1701.
- <sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, 8th January 1705.
- <sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, 11th May 1696.
- <sup>31</sup> ‘Jarrett’ signed his own name ‘Garrard’, but the non-standardisation of spelling in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries yields frequent variations of surnames, particularly foreign ones.
- <sup>32</sup> DGC, minute books, 2nd May 1709.
- <sup>33</sup> ‘Pure silver is too soft to make durable vessels that combine lightness with stability of form. This defect can, however, be cured by alloying the metal with a small amount of copper. The proportion of silver in these alloys is habitually stated in parts of real or pure silver per 1,000 parts of alloy. This is referred to as standard silver, the fineness of which is 925 parts of silver in a 1,000 parts of alloy, or in weight 11 oz. 2 dwt. in every Troy pound (12 oz).’ Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, 20-21.
- <sup>34</sup> John McCormack has written about the enormous silver output and success of Thomas Bolton in ‘The Sumptuous Silver of Thomas Bolton (1658-1736)’, *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, 11 (Dublin, 1995), 112-16.
- <sup>35</sup> T. Sinsteden, ‘Surviving Dublin assay records 1708-48’, *Silver Society Journal*, 16, 2004, 81-101.
- <sup>36</sup> It would appear that LeFebure was not as successful in his latter years. The Minutes record that in 1738 he petitioned the DGC for charity on two occasions: he was awarded £3 for the first instance and thirty shillings for the other. His widow Alice petitioned the DGC for charity the following year. DGC, minute books, 1st August and 1st November 1738, 1st May 1739.
- <sup>37</sup> Sinsteden, ‘Surviving Dublin assay records’, 97, 101.
- <sup>38</sup> DGC, minute books, 8th June 1702.
- <sup>39</sup> *ibid.*, 30th November 1702, 19th January 1702/03.
- <sup>40</sup> *ibid.*, 13th March 1711/12.
- <sup>41</sup> NLI, MS 1515, p.250. I am grateful to Alison FitzGerald for bringing this reference to my attention.
- <sup>42</sup> In the assay year 1729-30, Vialas submitted seventeen ounces. Throughout the 1720s and ’30s he only submitted very small quantities.
- <sup>43</sup> A. FitzGerald, ‘The Production and Consumption of Goldsmiths’ Work in Eighteenth Century Dublin’, unpublished PhD thesis (Royal College of Art, London, 2005) 105.
- <sup>44</sup> NLI, MS 1516, 33.
- <sup>45</sup> The only amounts recorded for Peter Gervais were in 1725 when he submitted 113 ounces for assay and 68 ounces in 1726.
- <sup>46</sup> A. FitzGerald, ‘Oliver St George’s Passion for Plate’, *Silver Studies: the Journal of the Silver Society*, no. 200, (2007) 33-43.
- <sup>47</sup> I am grateful to Thomas Sinsteden for supplying me with this reference and image.
- <sup>48</sup> Retailer goldsmiths often struck their mark on items sold from their premises.
- <sup>49</sup> Letablere was charged with the task of working on one of Trinity College’s most important pieces of silver; on 15th January 1742, he was paid £2 5s 6d for ‘Mending & Polishing ye College Mace’. Trinity College Dublin, Manuscripts, Muniments P/4/47/20. This indicates that he maintained a good reputation with the college – an important client of the eighteenth-century goldsmith in Dublin.
- <sup>50</sup> Appendix E, ‘John Letablere receipts for silver supplied to Trinity College’ in Cunningham, *Dublin’s Huguenot Goldsmiths*. The majority of this order was for flatware and sets of candlesticks.
- <sup>51</sup> At about the age of thirteen, a trainee goldsmith entered into a contract of apprenticeship with his mas-

- ter. Each contract was detailed with the name, occupation and location of the apprentice's father (or widowed mother), signed by both parties and retained in the enrolment ledger of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company. The contracts from 1704 to 1752 are extant.
- <sup>52</sup> Alison FitzGerald notes that the fourteen apprentices engaged by Robert Calderwood in the period 1727 to 1764 was exceptional, especially when it is considered that approximately 90% of Dublin masters in the eighteenth century took on no more than three during their careers. A. FitzGerald, 'Cosmopolitan Commerce: the Dublin goldsmith Robert Calderwood', *Apollo*, CLXII, 523, 2005, 47.
- <sup>53</sup> Hartop, *The Huguenot Legacy*, 40.
- <sup>54</sup> DGC, minute books, 2nd February 1686, 'Eleventh Lawe' of the Company Charter.
- <sup>55</sup> Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, 579.
- <sup>56</sup> DGC, List of Brothers, 1713-14.
- <sup>57</sup> *ibid.*, 1712-18.
- <sup>58</sup> Appendix D, 'List of Huguenot apprentices and their masters' in Cunningham, *Dublin's Huguenot Goldsmiths*.
- <sup>59</sup> J. Evans, 'Huguenot Goldsmiths in England and Ireland', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, 14, no. 4, 1933, 496-554.
- <sup>60</sup> J.J. Digges La Touche, *The Registers of the French Conformed Churches of St Patrick and St Mary, Dublin* (Dublin, 1893) 118.
- <sup>61</sup> *ibid.*, 24.
- <sup>62</sup> T.P. Le Fanu, *The Registers of the French non-conformist churches of Lucy Lane and Peter Street, Dublin* (Dublin, 1901) 55.
- <sup>63</sup> *ibid.*, 78.
- <sup>64</sup> La Touche, *The Registers of the French Conformed Churches*, 252.
- <sup>65</sup> Helen Clifford has identified the centrality of the patron's role to the stylistic development of silver in the eighteenth century. 'Contemporary commentators on the English social, cultural and artistic scene recognised the difference between those buying ready-made goods over the counter and those commissioning. They acknowledged that the power of the patron was important not only for ensuring but also for stimulating the quality of art, design and manufacture.' H. Clifford, *Silver in London: The Parker and Wakelin Partnership 1760-76* (New Haven and London, 2004) 128.
- <sup>66</sup> 'The French style with its heavy mouldings and its ornament cast in high relief called for different techniques of manufacture and the familiarity of the Huguenot goldsmiths with these techniques doubtless gave them a considerable advantage over their English-born competitors ... Not all the ornament was cast ... ornament such as gadrooning and fluting was still hammered out of the body, but the straps and leaves which are so characteristic a feature of the ornament of this time were cast separately and applied.' J. Hayward, *Huguenot Silver in England 1688-1727* (London, 1959) 5.
- <sup>67</sup> According to Jackson, the maker's mark 'I.L' with a coronet over the 'L' is that of John Letablere. Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, 636.
- <sup>68</sup> The minutes of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company record, in August 1724, a letter of declaration against the Wood's Halfpence, a debased coin that was to be introduced into the Irish economy. The goldsmiths objected on the grounds that it would be 'highly prejudicial to his Majesty's Revenue and highly destructive of and ruinous to the Trade of this Kingdom'. It was signed by many of the free brothers of the guild, including John Frebough, Abraham Barboult, Daniel Pineau, Joseph Blundell, Benjamin Racine and Henry Wilme. DGC, minute books, 21st August 1724.



APPENDIX

HUGUENOTS IN THE DUBLIN GOLDSMITHS' COMPANY, 1690-1750

DGC	Dublin Goldsmiths' Company
JE	Joan Evans, 'Huguenot goldsmiths in England and Ireland' in <i>Proceedings of the Huguenot Society</i> , 14, no. 4, 1933, pp.496-554
PS	Primary Sources: Minute Books and List of Brothers of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company cross-referenced with parish records, and London Goldsmiths' Company records
TM / TS	Tessa Murdoch and Thomas Sinsteden, Appendix 7, 'Names of known, believed, or possible Huguenot goldsmiths of Dublin' in T. Murdoch (ed.), <i>Beyond the Border: Huguenot Goldsmiths in Northern Europe and North America</i> (Brighton and Portland, 2008)
FB	free brother
QB	quarter brother

<i>name</i>	<i>earliest date</i>	<i>additional information</i>	<i>craft</i>	<i>source</i>
Voisin, Abraham	1661	FB 1661-1704	goldsmith	JE
Destaches, John	1672	FB 1672-99	goldsmith	JE
La Roche, Matthew	1675	QB 1675, FB 1680-97	goldsmith	JE
Soret, Andrew	1680	warden 1680-83, master 1685-86 / 1691-92	watchmaker	JE
Pantain, Nicholas	1682	QB 1682, FB 1693, master 1698	goldsmith	JE
Heyvin, Timothy	1683	QB 1683, died 1708, plate assayed 1694-1700	goldsmith	PS
Semirot, Anthony	1685	FB 1685, warden in Cork 1710	watchmaker	JE
Soret, Abraham	1685	FB 1685-86, warden 1702-05	watchmaker	JE
Soret, Adam	1685	FB 1685, warden 1702-03	watchmaker	JE
Chaboner, Henry	1685	FB by service 1685, died 1707	watchmaker	PS
Garrard (Garrett, Jarrett), John	1688	apprenticed 1688, FB 1695 by redemption	goldsmith	PS
Ince, Robert	1692	QB 1692, FB 1694-1712, some plate assayed 1696	goldsmith	PS
Lavell, Jasper	1692	QB	?	TM / TS
Ruchant, Samuel	1693	apprenticed to Matthew La Roche 1693	goldsmith	JE
Doutoung, John	1694	QB 1694-95	?	JE
Rummieu, David	1697	QB 1697-99 / 1706	goldsmith	JE
Cousin, Isaac	1698	QB	?	TM / TS
Donoe, Gedeon	1698	QB, no apprentice record, no plate assayed	?	TM / TS
Donoe, Anthony	1698	QB 1698, FB 1700, no apprentice record, no plate assayed	watchmaker	TM / TS
Lemesier, Peter	1698	QB 1698-99	?	JE
Leroy, Peter	1698	QB 1698	?	JE
Racine, Benjamin	1699	FB 1699, warden 1705-08, master 1710-11	jeweller	JE

DUBLIN'S HUGUENOT GOLDSMITHS, 1690-1750

<i>name</i>	<i>earliest date</i>	<i>additional information</i>	<i>craft</i>	<i>source</i>
Bouchett, Richard	1700	QB 1700	?	JE
Champion, James	1700	QB 1700, FB 1714	jeweller	PS
Court, Thomas	1700	QB	?	TM / TS
Foucault, Jacques	1700	apprenticed 1700, FB 1707 (both Dublin), jeweller in Cork 1714, died 1729	jeweller	JE
Lemesier, Samuel	1700	QB 1700	?	JE
Baulier, Peter	1701	FB 1701-25	jeweller	JE
Girard, Anthony	1701	QB 1701	?	JE
Vyse, Henry	1701	QB 1701	?	TM / TS
Manjoy, Benjamin	1702	QB 1702, FB 1707	goldsmith	TM / TS
Paturle, John	1700	QB 1700, FB 1704, died 1721	jeweller	JE
Tuite, John	1703	apprenticed 1703, QB Dublin 1710-20, moved to London	goldsmith	TM / TS
Blanchard, James	1699	apprenticed 1699 to Joseph Walker, QB 1704	goldsmith	JE
Blundell, Joseph	1704	FB 'By service' (minute books)	clockmaker	PS
Racine, Thomas	1704	QB 1704-05	?	JE
Rummieu, Paul	1704	QB 1704-10	goldsmith	JE
Fourreau, John	1705	apprenticed 1705	?	TM / TS
Barbault, Abraham	1706	FB by redemption 1703, watchmaker and possibly goldsmith	watchmaker / goldsmith	JE
Balaquier, James	1707	apprenticed to Daniel Pineau, 1704	?	JE
Coudart, Salomon	1707	FB 1707	watchmaker / goldsmith	JE
Coudart, Benjamin	1707	petitioned for freedom	?	PS
Coudert, John	1707	apprenticed to Murtagh Dowling 1707	?	JE
Pallot, John	1707	FB 1707, warden 1712-14, master 1716-17	goldsmith	PS
Pineau, Daniel	1707	FB 1707-52	jeweller	JE
Lemaistre, Peter	1707	FB 1707-19	watchmaker	JE
Girard, Francis	1704	FB 1704, died 1710, wife Mary took over	goldsmith	JE
Touch, Jacob	1711	QB 1711	?	TM / TS
Charles, James	1717	FB 1717	goldsmith	TM / TS
Corrèges, James	1712	apprenticed Daniel Pineau, 1712 DGC 1724-25	jeweller	JE
Franoux, Peter	1712	QB 1712	?	JE
Gervais, Peter	1712	QB 1712, FB 1714-30	goldsmith	JE
Bomes, David	1719	apprenticed 1719, QB 1731, FB 1736	goldsmith	PS
Boové, Benjamin	1713	QB 1713, apprenticed to Francis Girard 1707, petitioned for freedom 1717	goldsmith	JE
Durousseau, Mathew	1713	FB of London guild 1704, FB DGC 1713-1719	?	TM / TS
Vialas, Noah	1713	QB 1713-17, FB 1717-74	jeweller / goldsmith	JE

<i>name</i>	<i>earliest date</i>	<i>additional information</i>	<i>craft</i>	<i>source</i>
Augier, Robinson	1714	apprenticed Daniel Pineau, 1714	?	JE
Corrèges, Benjamin	1714	apprenticed Peter Gervais, 1714, QB 1724, FB 1724-25	goldsmith	JE
Audouin, Peter	1714	apprenticed Daniel Pineau 1714	?	JE
Dycosseau, Michael	1714	FB 1714	?	TM / TS
Desserett, Samuel	1715	QB 1715-16	?	JE
Manjoy, Dorothy	1715	DGC 1715-31	goldsmith	TM & TS
Delile, Stephen	1716	apprenticed Daniel Pineau 1716	?	JE
Duplessy, Charles	1717	QB 1717-25	?	JE
Jolly, Thomas	1717	QB 1717-20, apprenticed 1723 to Dorothy Manjoy	?	JE
Labase, John	1717	QB 1717	?	JE
Lasalle, James	1717	apprenticed 1717 to Daniel Pineau	?	JE
Jacob, Edward	1718	FB 1718	?	TM / TS
Racine, Peter Jr	1718	apprenticed to his father Peter 1718 DGC 1725-29	jeweller	JE
Bollegne, James	1718	QB 1718, FB 1719	?	JE
Chauvin, John	1719	apprenticed to Peter Gervais 1719	?	JE
De Lorthé, Esaias	1719	apprenticed to James Balaquier 1719	?	JE
Duruson, Mathew	1719	QB 1719	?	TM / TS
Gradelle, Jasper	1718	QB 1718, FB 1725-33	watchmaker	JE
Hulbert, Joel	1719	QB 1719	?	TM / TS
Marchant, Samuel	1719	QB 1719	?	TM / TS
Barbault, Solomon	1720	DGC 1720, died 1758	watchmaker	TM / TS
Lemaistre, Charles	1720	QB 1720, FB 1736-43	?	JE
Gouy, Charles	1721	apprenticed to Noah Vialas 1721	?	JE
Frebough, John	1722	FB 1722, plate assayed 1726-33, apprenticed to James Vidouze 1741	goldsmith	PS
Jesson, John	1722	apprenticed to John Freeze 1722, QB 1730	goldsmith	TM / TS
Mondet, Abraham	1722	apprenticed 1722, QB 1734-35	?	JE
Champion, James Jr	1723	apprenticed to Henry Wilme 1723, QB 1731	jeweller	PS
Desinards, Peter	1723	apprenticed 1723 QB 1734, FB 1734-35	?	JE
Lacoste, Peter	1723	apprenticed 1723 QB 1732	?	JE
Wilme, Henry	1723	FB 1723	jeweller	PS
Ince, Silvester	1724	apprenticed to Peter Gervais 1724, QB 1734	goldsmith	TM / TS
Thibault, James	1724	DGC 1724-25	clockmaker	JE
Wilme, John	1724	apprenticed John Pallot, 1724, FB 1732, warden 1736, Assay Master 1751-54	goldsmith	PS
Lefebure, Anthony	1725	apprenticed 1725, FB 1731-37	goldsmith	JE
Beringuier, Daniel	1726	apprenticed 1726, DGC 1734-35	?	JE
Faure, Peter	1726	apprenticed 1726	?	JE

Letablere, John La Douespe	1726	apprenticed 1726, FB 1737, warden 1750-5	goldsmith / lapidary	JE
Mosse, Bartholomew	1726	apprenticed 1726, FB 1734, warden 1749	goldsmith	TM / TS
Vidouze, James	1726	apprenticed to Daniel Pineau 1726, FB 1739, master 1759-60	jeweller	JE
Onge, Daniel	1727	apprenticed 1727, FB 1735	jeweller	JE
Boucher, Charles	1727	apprenticed 1727	?	JE
De Glatigny, Philip	1728	apprenticed 1728	?	TM / TS
Goodeau, Samuel	1728	apprenticed to Peter Gervais 1728	?	TM / TS
Letablere, Rene	1729	apprenticed to Daniel Pineau 1729	?	JE
D'Olier, Isaac Sr	1730	apprenticed 1721, FB 1731, warden 1739-41, master 1752-53	goldsmith	JE
Darquier, Laurence	1731	apprenticed 1731	?	JE
Dezouche, Isaiah	1732	apprenticed to Daniel Pineau 1732	?	TM / TS
Verdon, Peter	1732	FB 1732-54	?	JE
Blundell, Thomas	1733	apprenticed to his father Joseph 1733, warden 1744-47, master 1747-48	clockmaker	PS
Delaune, William	1733	apprenticed 1733	?	TM / TS
Ffrench, Rt Hon Humphrey	1733	(Lord Mayor) honorary		TM / TS
Hagne, Joshua	1734	QB 1731	?	JE
Hainon, Albert	1734	QB 1734	?	JE
Hainon, Daniel	1734	QB 1734	?	JE
Rieusset, David	1734	apprenticed 1734	?	JE
Guppy, William	1736	QB 1736	?	TM / TS
Boileau, John	1737	apprenticed 1737	?	JE
Desouches, Daniel	1737	lapidary, apprenticed to John Rogers	lapidary	PS
Folliot, Lewis	1737	FB 1737	?	TM / TS
Portall, Phillip	1727	apprenticed 1727, QB 1734, FB 1738	goldsmith	PS
Delasale, James	1738	QB 1738	?	JE
De Limarest, Thomas	1726	apprenticed 1726, QB 1736, FB 1738-46, warden 1743-46	goldsmith / jeweller	PS
Rieusset, Peter	1738	apprenticed 1738	?	JE
Lemaistre, Michael	1739	apprenticed to Charles Lemaistre 1739	?	JE
Lemaistre, Nicholas	1739	apprenticed to Charles Lemaistre 1739, QB 1749, FB 1751-55	goldsmith	JE
Soubiran, William	1740	apprenticed 1740	?	JE
Bringy, Daniel	1744	QB 1744	?	JE
Pomerede, Daniel	1744	QB 1744-1761	?	JE
D'Olier, Isaac Jr	1747	apprenticed 1747, FB 1763	jeweller	JE
Dumain, Peter	1747	QB 1747	?	JE
Dufour, John Moses	1748	apprenticed to James Vidouze 1748, FB 1768-1803	jeweller	JE
Correge, John	1751	QB 1751	?	JE