

Mr. Lindsay's "List of Irish Tokens, commencing with the period of the Commonwealth, and ending with that of the reign of George II.," comprises 195; from this list we must abstract seventeen which will take their places in one or other of the groups which I have proposed, and after this deduction 178 of the seventeenth century remain.

Within ten years after Mr. Lindsay's publication I was enabled to extend his list by the addition of 374, and in the following six years I discovered 72 which are described in my supplemental catalogue, making a total of 624, and, as Snelling observed, "no doubt but there are a great many more."

I feel much gratification in reprinting the following extract from the "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," as it shows that the object I had in view when I published my first catalogue, has been realized to an extent far beyond what I expected at that time.

"May 28th, 1849. — Dr. A. Smith laid before the Academy a manuscript catalogue of the Tradesmen's Tokens current in Ireland in the seventeenth century, and made a few observations on their use, as illustrating family history and other matters of local interest. He stated that his object at present was, that the list should be printed in the Proceedings, with the view of circulating it extensively, and thereby inviting the collectors of coins throughout the country to communicate to him notices of such tokens as have not come under his observation, so as to enable him, at some future time, to publish a historical and descriptive catalogue, accompanied with engravings of such of the coins as are peculiar for their devices, or calculated to assist the local historian in his inquiries."¹

To many persons it may appear that these tokens are not worthy of the attention which some collectors bestow on them, but I hope at some future time to enter at large on the subject to which these remarks are only preliminary, and to show that the history of local tokens, when fully investigated, possesses more interest than is generally supposed to be connected with them.

AN ATTEMPT
TO IDENTIFY THE PERSONS WHO ISSUED
TRADESMEN'S TOKENS IN KILKENNY.

BY JOHN G. A. PRIM.

Dr. Aquilla Smith having furnished the Society with a list of such tradesmen's tokens struck in Kilkenny, as he has ascertained to be in existence, it has occurred to me that it would be interesting to illus-

¹ Vol. iv. p. 345.

trate that list by an attempt to identify the persons by whom those humble examples of a circulating medium were issued, and place on record any matters in connexion with them worthy of being preserved. It is unnecessary for me to enter into any defence of such an inquiry, for although Pinkerton has inconsiderately denounced the study of this kind of coinage as tending to serve no purpose of interest or utility, Mr. Akerman, in his valuable work on the tradesmen's tokens of London, has fully proved of what importance is such an investigation, in illustrating local matters, historical and topographical, connected with the latter portion of the seventeenth century, and Dr. Smith, in the paper which accompanies his list of Kilkenny tokens, has further elucidated the subject. It is, of course, well understood that the private coinage of tokens, passing for a penny or half-penny, arose out of the inconvenience sustained by shop-keepers and traders, in consequence of the scarcity of small change. This inconvenience was felt from a very early period, and traders in England endeavoured to meet it so early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, by issuing private tokens, made of lead, to pass in lieu of the silver half-pennies and farthings of the state, which were scarcely procurable, though manifestly the most necessary kind of money to suit the occasions of the poorer people. The leaden tokens appear to have been in very general use, though not countenanced by the authorities, down to the reign of James I., when the king and privy council devised several schemes for the issuing of small coin so as to bring profit to the crown. These arrangements, however, were only attended with very partial success; and during the Commonwealth, and the earlier portion of the reign of Charles II., pence and half-pence were so scarce that the issuing of private tokens, both in England and Ireland, became very general, and were struck by traders in almost every town and city. Dr. Smith is collecting materials for a full, historical and illustrative catalogue of the Irish tokens, which will prove a work of great interest, calculated to throw valuable light on the extent and diffusion of trade in this country at the period, and do much to forward and assist the researches of local historians. My own inquiries have merely been turned to the tokens issued in Kilkenny; and the result may not be altogether unworthy of a place in the Society's Transactions—perhaps may even be calculated to give information to that distinguished numismatist himself, on points which, from his want of local knowledge, he could scarcely be expected to become acquainted with.

The token, No. 1, in the list which Dr. Smith has communicated



to the Society, purports to have been issued by Edward Roth, a merchant of Kilkenny, in the year 1663, and bears on the obverse the

armorial insignia of the distinguished mercantile family to which he belonged. The name of Roth first makes its appearance in the civic records of Kilkenny, amongst those of importance in the municipality, in the year 1403, when Thomas Roth was invested with the office of sovereign, or chief magistrate of the town. It is almost unnecessary to advert to the prominent place taken in the historical memorials of the first half of the seventeenth century by David Roth, Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory, the son of a Kilkenny merchant, and famous alike for the part which he played in the politics and the literature of his day. In the charter of James I., which raised Kilkenny to the dignity of a city in 1609, four of the Roth family are nominated as amongst the first aldermen, whilst the first recorder also was Robert Roth. Edward Roth, who struck the token under consideration, was sheriff of Kilkenny for the year 1651. On the 28th March, in the previous year, when Cromwell's besieging army was before the city, this gentleman was one of the four commissioners nominated by the gallant governor, Sir Walter Butler, to negotiate terms of surrender; and for the fulfilment of the treaty, so honourable to the garrison which was the first to give a check to the all-conquering arms of the parliament's general, Edward Roth remained a hostage in the camp of the besiegers. When James II., in 1688, revoked his grand-father's charter to Kilkenny, and granted instead, one of more limited power, though ostentatiously put forward as an act of extraordinary royal bounty, amongst the new aldermen specially nominated, Edward Roth comes third upon the list, the distinguished names of the lord Mountgarret and the baron of Courtstown only preceding his. There were no fewer than six Roths named in this charter to be aldermen and common-councilmen, and the honour of the mayoralty was conferred by it on John Roth. The family suffered considerably by its adherence to the fortunes of king James, and has since died out in Kilkenny. The token of Edward Roth is by no means scarce, being one of those most frequently found throughout the county and city of Kilkenny. The crest of the Roth family, which is displayed on the obverse of the token, is a stag trippant *gules*, beneath a tree *vert*.

John Beavor, or Beaver, as the name is frequently spelled, who issued token No. 2, seems to have been a settler in Kilkenny after



its subjugation by Cromwell, for the name is not previously to be met with in the municipal records; and that he was a subscriber to the puritanical doctrines introduced by the parliamentary soldiers who

settled in the district, there is evidence. Griffith Williams, bishop of Ossory, and a determined partizan of the royal cause, in a work which he published in London, in 1661, entitled "Seven Treatises Very Necessary to be Observed in these very Bad Days," &c., complains bitterly of the number of sectaries who were planted in his diocese by the great Anti-Christ, as he termed Cromwell; and in a list of seventeen persons, "frequenters of an unlawful conventicle," returned to him by the church-wardens of one of the city parishes, he gives the name of John Beaver, merchant. On the 28th October, 1661, Mr. John Beaver is stated in the White Book of the corporation of Kilkenny to have been sworn one of the wardens of the merchants' guild, for the ensuing year; and on the 8th October, same year, Mr. John Beaver is recorded to have been one of four selected from the merchants' guild to enter the common council, and was sworn into office the same day. His tokens, which bear the figure of a beaver on the obverse as a pun on the name of the striker, were made the subject of a special order by the corporation, on the 2nd May, 1667; but to this I shall have to recur hereafter.

Richard Inwood (No. 3) was, like Beaver, a settler in Kilkenny. He was an inn-keeper, in those days not a very common calling; in fact less than half a century previously the necessity of an establishment where strangers could procure lodging and entertainment, was felt so much in Kilkenny, that the corporation offered premiums to parties to induce them to open hotels. In the year 1591 an annuity of forty shillings was granted, according to the Red Book of Kilkenny, to a person "for keeping an ordinary for strangers;" and on the 11th October, 1619, an allowance of £5 per annum was given to a person to induce him to "keep an inn to entertain the Lords Justices, and noblemen, and gentlemen coming to the city." Bishop Williams gives Richard Inwood, inn-keeper, amongst the frequenters of the conventicle in 1661. He is mentioned as a member of the corporation, being a common-councilman, on the 1st November, 1667, and it is probable he was elected to that office before the Restoration, as the order of Charles II. for having the oath of supremacy taken by all civic officials, seems to have been for some time a sad stumbling-block in the way of his subsequent advancement to municipal dignities. On the 29th June, 1668, Mr. Inwood and a Mr. Thomas Cooksey were elected sheriffs. On the 25th September following, the latter took the oath of supremacy, and was installed in his office, but the entry sets out further—"Time given to Mr. Richard Inwood to consider taking his oath of supremacy, by Friday next." At the meeting of Friday, 2nd October, it appeared that he had made up his mind to go through part only of the formulary, and the declaration is thus set out in the White Book:—

I Richard Inwood doe declare in y^e presence of God that I doo owne and acknowledge Charles y^e 2^d King of Brittain, to be y^e supreme head and Govern^r of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Territoryes and Dominions thereunto belonging; and I

doe utterly deny and renounce all forraigne powers and jurisdictions in these his ma'ties Dominions ; and I doo promise faith and true allegiance to my Sovereaigne Lord y^e King in all and every part of his civil and temporall government, soe help me God.

Thus far Mr. Richard Inwood can take y^e oath of supremacy, but refuseth the oath in y^e printed booke of Dalton Sherreffes.

The next Deren Hundred to consider what fine shall be imposed on Mr. Inwood for not taking y^e oath of supremacy.

The question was not fully decided at next meeting, which was on the 9th of October, as appears from the following entry :—

That Mr. Richard Inwood be sumoned to appear next Deren Hundred to shew cause, if any he can, why y^e fine usually imposed on p'sons refusing to act as Sherriffes by not taking y^e oathe appointed, should not be payed by him.

We are not given any further record as to the termination of this proceeding ; we know only that another person was appointed sheriff for the year 1668. Whether Inwood was converted from dissent by the indefatigable denunciations, oral and written, of bishop Williams, does not appear ; but, be this as it may, in a few years after, all his conscientious scruples about the oath of supremacy would seem to have vanished. At a meeting of the corporation, held 6th October, 1671, we have an entry in the White Book to the effect that Henry Cookson, having been elected sheriff, was called to be sworn, but not appearing, he was fined ten pounds for his default ; “Mr. Richard Inwood was chosen in his place and sworn, and he took the oath of supremacy.” On the 29th September, 1672, Inwood was sworn coroner of the city, and again took the previously obnoxious oath. His token, which is very rare—I have found it impossible to procure a perfect one to illustrate this paper—is ornamented with the figure of a wind-mill on the



obverse, which there can be little doubt was the sign of his inn, it being customary with traders, in many places, instead of their family cognizances or such punning conceits as that adopted by Beaver, to set forth the device peculiar to their trade, or which they had adopted as the badge of their private establishments, upon the coin which they issued.¹

Ralph Skanlan, the next striker of tokens (No. 4), was also a

¹ In 1644, the common-council of London, having petitioned the House of Commons against the issue of farthing tokens struck by a patentee of the crown, some hundreds of retailers presented a counter-petition, declaring that those who decried the farthings acted from self-interested motives—"that this very point is the gulph of their conceipts, and the mys-

tery of their griping iniquity, mixt with vaine-glory, viz. to suppress these farthing tokens, that so they may advance their owne tokens, stamps, seals, names, signes, and superscriptions, if not images, as now appeares, though they be far inferior to Cæsar's."—Burn's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Tokens in the Beaufof Cabinet*, Introduction, p. xix.

member of the corporation of Kilkenny. In 1660, 1661, and 1662, he was amongst four nominated for the shrievalty, but not elected.



In 1661 he was also a candidate for the recordership, but defeated by Launcelot Johnson. On the 4th October, 1661, he was sworn warden of the merchants' guild, conjointly with Beaver. He was elected and sworn sheriff at Michaelmas, 1663, but died in office, and on the 19th July following, the corporation was obliged to appoint John Whittle to serve the shrievalty for the remainder of the year. I have not been able to ascertain the Skanlan armorial insignia, but the swan on the reverse is a common device on Irish tokens of the period.

We have already had a notice of John Whittle who put the next token in Dr. Smith's list (No. 5) into circulation. The family of Whittle, now sunk into obscurity, was founded in Kilkenny by a soldier of Cromwell's army, who lived to the extraordinary age of one hundred and twenty-seven years, and the whimsical inscription on whose tomb, at St. Canice's cathedral, has often excited attention. I believe it has never been printed, and I shall therefore transcribe it here:—

Here lies the Body of Jobe Whittle.
 who died November the 4th aged 127 ye^{rs}.
 Also the Body of Elinor Whittle, al.
 Harrason wife to Joseph Whittle who
 died March the 4th 1767, aged 63 ye^{rs}.
 Likewise the body of Joseph Whittle
 Son to the above Job, and husband
 to Elinor who Departed the 3rd of June
 1769, aged 85 years.

Jobe a Soldier with Cromwell this land
 did invade,
 The Patience of Job made his Son
 Joseph reside,
 Edward Joseph's son saw George
 the third's jubilee,
 Resigns up his Soul, and leaves the
 third posterity.
 Aged 99 years.

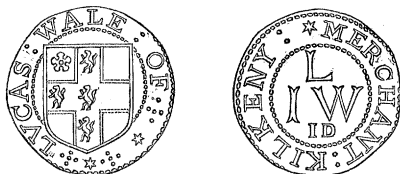
But no man may deliver his Brother nor
 make agreement unto God for him,
 for it cost more to redeem their souls so
 that he must let that alone for ever.

John Whittle was, no doubt, brother to the patient Joseph, and son to the founder of this long-lived race. His partiality for the cause espoused by his father is very obvious from the cross of St. George and Irish harp on two escutcheons conjoined, the armorial cognizance



of the Commonwealth, displayed on the obverse of his token.¹ Having filled the office of sheriff during a portion of the year 1664, after Skanlan's decease, he was appointed coroner for the ensuing year; and, on the 13th January, 1670, was admitted to the common council, having, the record expressly states, "taken the oath of supremacy." On the 13th May, 1714, Job Whittle was elected town sergeant to the corporation of Irishtown, and his family was for upwards of two centuries hereditary pound-keepers of St. Canice's parish, having obtained a long lease of the pound from the corporation of Irishtown; however, this lease expired within the last six years, and the present representative of the Whittles, a man in humble circumstances, but bearing the name of his ancestor, Job, was dispossessed of the office by the town council. Collectors find some difficulty in procuring specimens of Whittle's token.

The family of Wale, or Wall, for they are thus indiscriminately designated, is of much longer standing in Kilkenny than the Whittles, Inwoods, or Beavers. Lucas Wale (No. 6) being a Roman Catholic could not enter the corporation of his native city during the reign of



Charles II., as the oath of supremacy was an effectual bar against him. However, after the accession of James II. matters were changed. In the first year of that king's reign, the earl of Clarendon, then lord lieutenant of Ireland, forwarded a letter to the mayor and citizens of Kilkenny, directing them to dispense with the oath of supremacy, and elect Roman Catholic freemen and corporators. This order was, unwillingly enough, complied with, and we have an entry on the corporate minute book, under date 2nd July, 1686, that—"Seventeen

¹ This token has been engraved in Willis' "Price Current." The Commonwealth arms appear on a few Irish tokens of this period.

Papists were sworne of the Second Council;” and on the 6th July—“Luke Wall, one of the above, elected Sheriff.” It appears that Lucas Wale died before he had completed his year of office, and in a manuscript list of the chief officers of the corporation of Kilkenny, in the possession of Sir William Betham, is this entry under the year 1686—“Isaac Mukins chose on y^e decease of Luke Walle, Papist Sheriff.” His tokens are rare, but most collectors have been enabled to supply themselves with specimens. The arms borne on the obverse are nearly the same as those given in a heraldic MS. in the possession of the Rev. James Graves, viz., “Wale, *argent*, on a cross *sable*, five lions rampant *or* ;” the rose is a mark of cadency denoting a seventh son ; one of the lions has been defaced in the specimen by which this paper is illustrated.

The token bearing the name of “Peter Goodin” (No. 7) was, doubtless, struck for alderman Peter Goodwin, who was sheriff of



Kilkenny, in 1657, and mayor for two years consecutively, in 1664 and 1665. The family was very ancient in the city, and the name was written Godyn, Goodin, or Goodwin. John Godyn was sovereign of the town so early as 1316, and the name frequently occurs after. Goodwin's tokens are very scarce. I have never seen more than one, which I bought from a Connaught labourer, who said he turned it up in a field near Kilkenny ; it is the specimen which is now in the possession of Dr. Smith. The family of Goodin, or Goodwin, of Buckinghamshire, bore for arms, per pale *or* and *gules*, a lion rampant, inter three fleurs-de-lis counter-charged. The fleur-de-lis on the token was evidently from those of the arms of the striker.

There is a difficulty as to the identification of the particular Thomas Davis who struck the token bearing that name (No. 8). Amongst the Haydock MSS. in the Evidence Chamber of Kilkenny Castle, there is a muster-roll of captain Evans' company of the militia at that time raised in Kilkenny, from which it appears that on the 8th April, 1667, a Thomas Davys was reported for having absented himself from a muster for exercise, on the Butt's Green, whilst no fewer than three other persons of the same name appeared on the ground. Of these, one particularly specified as “Tho. Davys, Taylor,” carried a pike, the second Thomas Davis was armed with a musket, and the third with a pike ; but there is no addition given as to their trade or calling, so that it is impossible to say whether any of them was the excise officer who struck the token. In the years 1657 and

1658 a Thomas Davis was put in nomination for the shrievalty of Kilkenny, but was not elected; he was, however, sworn into that office for the year 1660. The name also appears on the roll of freemen of the corporation of Irishtown for the year 1661. On the 4th July, 1673, Thomas Davis and William Davis were two of four persons appointed to represent the guild of tailors, in the common council of Kilkenny. On the 3rd October, 1673, Thomas Davis took the oath of master of the "Company of Taylours." The family of Davis, Davys, or Davies of Kilkenny, claim to be of the stock of Sir John Davys, knight, marshal of Connaught, *temp.* Elizabeth, descended through the Shropshire branch from the ancient family of Davies of Gwassanan, Flintshire.¹ Robert Davis, of Gwassanan, on the 20th April, 1581, registered as his crest, a lion's head erased quarterly, *argent* and *sable*. Thus, the lion's head erased appears as his crest



on the token of Thomas Davis, which is amongst those but rarely met with.

William Keough (No. 9), like many others of his contemporaries, appears to have had conscientious scruples about subscribing to the oath of supremacy, though whether as a Protestant dissenter or a Roman Catholic does not appear. In the White Book, under the



date 24th December, 1686, is the following entry—"Mr. Ralph Banks and Mr. William Keough were sworn Masters of y^e Hammermen, having brought a dispensation from y^e Lord Lieutenant and Council for their not taking of y^e oath of supremacy." As a goldsmith, Keough was a member of the guild of hammermen. The population and trade of Kilkenny having been seriously diminished by the wars and disturbances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the corporation found it necessary to reduce the number of guilds, and to consolidate several trades into one company. In

¹ Sir John Davys, attorney-general in the reign of James I., and author of the "Historical Relations," &c., appears to have been connected, by property, with Kilkenny. In 1618, according to the Red Book, Sir John Davys, "the Attorney," sold the lands of

Tullagh-pissane, in the county of Kilkenny, to the corporation of the city. I am glad to acknowledge myself indebted to Francis R. Davies, Esq., Waltham-terrace, Blackrock, Dublin, for important heraldic information made use of throughout this paper.

carrying out this regulation the name of “Hammermen” was given to the smiths, cutlers, goldsmiths, “and all other handicrafts working with the hammer in metals,” associated in one body. Keough’s tokens are rather plenty. Whether the mermaid on the reverse of this token belongs to the Keough family as an armorial bearing, or was used by William Keough as his own peculiar sign, I have been unable to ascertain.

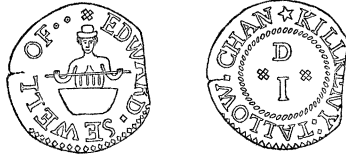
John Langton (No. 10) was the grand-son of Nicholas Langton, who was employed by the corporation, in 1609, to go to London to obtain from king James I. the great charter creating Kilkenny a city. Nicholas Langton has left a manuscript account of his family, continued subsequently by some of his grand-children, and forming a very curious genealogical document, which was in the possession of his descendant, the late Mr. Michael Comerford, of King-street. In it he styles himself—“Nicholas Langton, Fitz-Richard, Fitz-John, of the House of Low, in Lancashire.”—He would thus appear to have been descended from the same family as the famous prelate who wrought such trouble to king John; and the arms of the Kilkenny Langtons, as they appear on the token, are precisely those of archbishop Stephen, viz., *argent*, three chevronels *gules*. Nicholas Langton built the



great stone house, now known as the Butter-slip, and also the mansion of Grenan, near Durrow. His eldest son, James, is stated in the pedigree already alluded to, to have “had sons and daughters to y^e number of 25;” of these the third was John, the issuer of the token, who married Rose Randon, living in 1679. It may be interesting to mention, as showing that at this period there were no mill-weirs impeding the passage of the Nore, that his father, James Langton, having died of the palsy at Grenan, his body was placed in a coffin which was brought down the river by boat to Kilkenny, for interment in the family tomb at St. John’s abbey. William Langton, cousin to John, was a member of the Confederate Catholics’ parliament, and upon the reduction of Kilkenny by Cromwell, the Langton family was driven out, and spent nine years, as the pedigree has it, “in banishment at Ballinakill.” Langton’s token is very frequently met with.

Of Edward Sewell, the tallow-chandler (No. 11), I can find no notice in the records of the corporation of Kilkenny; but a William Sewell, who seems to have united the trades of shoemaker and butcher, makes a considerable figure in these documents. When the consolidation of guilds was being effected, it was determined “that the Companie of Glovers do for the future consist of the present Compa-

nies of Glovers, Feltmakers, and Chandlers"—rather an incongruous association one would imagine. This token is scarce. The device



of a man dipping candles was a common one upon the tokens of chandlers in England and Ireland.

Thomas Adams (Nos. 12 and 13), or as he is sometimes termed in the White Book, major Adams, was mayor of Kilkenny for 1658, and died whilst in office. His tokens are to be met with in greater



numbers than any others circulated for Kilkenny; they are specially referred to in the by-laws of the corporation, and were struck in the year of his mayoralty and death, as appears by the date which they



bear. Both the tokens struck by Adams bear the arms of the city of Kilkenny, a castle triple-towered.

I have been unable to ascertain the particular James Purcell who struck the token No. 14, as there were many persons of the name in trade in Kilkenny in the seventeenth century. The family was one of great respectability, having for its head the baron of Loughmoe, county of Tipperary, but also having several branches possessed of large property in the county of Kilkenny, as those of Ballyfoile, Foulksrath, Lismain, &c. They usually blazoned either a saltier or a chevron in their escutcheons along with the three boars' heads given



on the token, which also bears a crescent for difference, indicating a junior branch of the family.

Of John Bolton (No. 15) I know nothing. No family of the name can be traced in the corporation muniments of Kilkenny, nor have I ever heard of such a token being lighted on, and I fear there must be a mistake on the part of Dr. Smith's informant.

My researches for information respecting Thomas Nevell (No. 16) have also been unavailing, but there can be no mistake as to the existence of his token, which though a tolerably rare one may be found in most collectors' cabinets. The arms borne by one of the branches



of the family of Nevell, in England, were, *or*, on a bend *gules*, a harp of the first. Hence, the harp on Thomas Nevell's token.

As regards Thomas Talbot (No. 17), I have been more fortunate in my reconnoissances, although I have gained but slender information enough. It appears that he was enrolled in the militia company which mustered on the Butt's Green, on the 8th April, 1667, and took his place amongst the contingent of pikemen.¹ A Robert Talbot built the walls of Kilkenny in the year 1400, and the family was highly respectable amongst our trading community. The device on the reverse



of the token seems to be intended for the sun in full splendour, which was no portion of the armorial bearings of any branch of the Talbot family, but was probably the sign of the striker's tavern. The only specimen of this token at present known to be in existence, is in the cabinet of Mr. Martin Walsh, High-street, Kilkenny.

Dr. Smith reads the name of the striker of the next token (No. 18) as "Thomas Toole," and, I believe, correctly, although the question has been raised as to whether it may not be Doole (a form in which the name Dooly sometimes appears in documents of the seventeenth century), as the first letter of the surname is nearly effaced on the only specimen which has yet been ascertained to be extant, and which is the property of a zealous collector, Mr. John Francis Shearman, High-

¹ Beside Talbot and Davis, some of the other strikers of tokens appear in the militia muster-roll. John Beaver and Richard Inwood are amongst the pikemen present, whilst alderman Peter Goodwin and Mr. John Whittle are reported as having ab-

sented themselves. The company appears to have been entirely composed of shopkeepers and traders of respectability, and it consisted of a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign, three sergeants, four corporals, one "gent. at armes," and ninety-eight privates.

street, Kilkenny. The arms of the family of Toole, or O'Toole, were *gules*, a lion passant, and thus the lion rampant on the token might



be intended for difference, as the jargon of heraldry has it, or it might be a mistake made in executing the die.

The token struck "for the Poore" (No. 19) was probably issued by the corporation from motives of charity, as it bears the letters C.K., perhaps for *Civitas Kilkennensis*, and the city arms. However, if

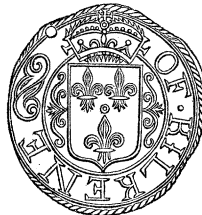


this were to be taken as a positive proof, it should also be conceded as sufficient evidence that that bearing the legend, "For y^e use and convenience of the inhabitants" (No. 20) was also executed for public purposes, which was not the case, it being issued by a person



named Edmond Tobin, a member of the merchants' guild, as will be seen by an extract from the corporation records which I mean to supply in its proper place.

The token of Adam Dulan, bearing date 1578, (No. 21), belongs to a different class of coins from all the others which we have before



considered. It is much larger, much more ancient, and is composed of lead. It is evidently one of the farthing tokens which were in such vogue in England in the reign of queen Elizabeth, owing to the

scarcity of small change, and which were all composed of lead, whilst the penny tokens of the following century were chiefly of copper or brass. I believe this token of Dulan's, which is in the cabinet of Mr. Roach Smith, of London, is the only Irish one of the date known to be in existence.¹ The most ancient of the other class of tokens which Dr. Smith has been able to discover bears date in the year 1633, which that gentleman considers there is reason for supposing to be a mistake, and that the intention of the engraver of the die was to have made it 1653. The engraving of Dulan's token here given, is taken from a plaster cast presented by Mr. Crofton Croker to Dr. Smith. The original leaden "dump" was dredged up from the bed of the Thames, and answers in every particular to the type of similar coins struck in France, which circumstance, combined with the three fleurs-de-lis on the shield, would serve to show that the coin was issued by a French settler in Kilkenny, and not by one of the Irish Doolans, which the municipal archives prove to have been numerous in the city at that period.

Whether any other person besides Dulan struck tokens in Kilkenny before the seventeenth century, I cannot say, but no other save his has yet been ascertained to be in existence. Tokens would not appear to have come into general use in that city until after the year 1656, which is the earliest date found on any of those issued in that century; and, as at that period the corporation exercised a supervision and control over everything appertaining to the trade of the city, we naturally find the council soon taking notice of the introduction of this new currency, and adopting measures to turn to their own account any benefit which might arise from it, on the, perhaps, not inadmissible plea of protecting the public from fraud. The first mention of tokens is to be found in a lengthy resolution, framed with all the solemnity of an act of parliament, set out in the "White Book," under the date of 12th August, 1658, the mayor, Thomas Adams, who that year struck his own token, presiding at the meeting. It is headed "An Act touching Brass Coyne," and then proceeds with a full preamble, as follows:—

Whereas its very convenient to carry on y^e trafic and trade of this City that there be brass penyes, halpenyes and farthings within y^e same, and that y^e benefit thereof, if any there shall be, doe not accree to any particular person, but to be employed for y^e discharge of y^e Cityes debts and y^e revenue thereof for y^e publique benefit of y^e City, or some other pious use either for y^e relief of y^e poore or for y^e education of youth after y^e English fashion and maners. And alsoe thatt, whatt of those brass coyne is brought in,

¹ Mr. Burn states that the leaden tokens of Elizabeth's reign are now of extreme rarity, and there are only two specimens in the Beaufoy cabinet. He refers to a book of accounts of Nicholas Ball, market-man, of Chudleigh, Devonshire, for some curious facts as to the cost of leaden tokens at this period. Under the head of "Expenses," January 24th, 1562, is "Item: paid for A

nyron with a prynt, and for lede, and for smytynge of my tokense, iij s." On the 23rd February, 1566, "Pd. for ij pownde of led for tokens, and for making of the same to tokens, xxij d.," and under the date 23rd February, 1567, "Pd. for led and for tokens for ij years paste, xvj d."—*Descriptive Catalogue of the Tokens in the Beaufoy Cabinet*, Introduction, p. viii. n.

there be sufficient security given and taken to save harmless all that takes in payment, or in exchange, any of y^e aforesayd brass coin, and to prevent fraud and deceit which is likely to hapen both to this City and County att large by y^e frequent practiss and custome of late taken up by almost every body to bring in what brass coine they please, w^{ch} in all probability will turne most of the lawfull English coine into base coine and mettelle, to y^e greate dishonour of y^e governm^t and preiudice of this place, and to y^e utter undoing of y^e poorest and meanest of the people, and to y^e spoile of all trade and comerce, both in City and County. For y^e prevention whereof, and yett to keepe comerce and dealing, and thatt this Citty may be better enabled to carry on y^e good ends aforesayd; Bee itt, and itt is hereby therefore enacted and ordained by and with y^e whole and full assent and consent of y^e Mair, Aldermen and Cittizens of y^e said Citty, that y^e Mair of y^e same for y^e time being, shall lett the same to some sufficient person or persons, who shall give sufficient security to change and give again upon demand and as often as y^e same shall be demanded, silver for y^e sayed brass coine, or else shall authorise some person or persons in y^e behalf of the Citty to manedge y^e same. And itt is further enacted and ordained by y^e authority aforesayd, that noe other person of [*sic*] persons whatt soever within this Citty or County of y^e same, shall bring, invent or cause to be invented, or take or receive any other brass coyne then whatt is as aforesayd allowed by this Corporation after proclamation made by the Mair to the contrary, upon y^e penalty of five pounds for each offence, and such other punishments as shall be thought meete and to Justice shall appertaine, w^{ch} the Mair is hereby authorised to cause to be levyed and done. And itt is further enacted by y^e authority aforesayd, that security be given unto the person or persons thatt is or shall be appointed by the Mair for the time being to receive the aforesayd coyne or money, give bonds, or any wayes act aboutt y^e receipt, exchange, or putting forth of y^e sayd brass coyne, or any of them, to save them harmless for endemynifying all and every of them, w^{ch} security att the request of y^e person employed or to be employed as aforesayd shall be given under y^e comon seale of the Towne, by order from the Mair, without any further order in y^e case, any law usodge or custome within y^e sayd Citty to y^e contrary in any wise, notwithstanding. And y^e sending for any of y^e sayd brass coyne, receaving and paying, putting forth and exchanging y^e sayd brass coyne or any parte thereof, and all y^e benefitt accruing or arising thereby y^e aforesayd person or persons, in receaving and paying the aforesayd brass coyne, shall observe and follow the instructions given by order under y^e Mair's hand, w^{ch} order shall be to every such person or persons who hath the receaving or putting forth of y^e sayd brass money or coyne, a sufficient warrant; and they and all other persons are to obey y^e order of the Mair for y^e receaving and disposure of y^e sayd brass money or coyne from time to time, upon y^e penalty of being fined att the discretion of the sayd Mair, any law, usodge, or custome within y^e sayd Citty heretofore in any waie to y^e contrary, notwithstanding.

Whether the tokens purporting to be "for the poor," and those bearing the name of Thomas Adams, the mayor, may not have been struck at the expense, and for the use and benefit of the corporation, in pursuance of the views expressed in the foregoing "act," it would be interesting to ascertain, but I have nothing to offer beyond conjecture. The inscription on the first, and the large quantities of the other which were issued, besides the appearance of the letters, C. K., and the city arms on each, give countenance to the supposition. The scarcity of small change was generally felt a great inconvenience at the time, and not only did the corporation take steps to remedy the evil, acting on the hint given by the mercantile men in issuing money for themselves, but there is even reason to think that the Irish executive, as the English government had frequently done previously, at this period took into consideration the propriety of legalizing this kind of currency under certain restrictions. Amongst the many curious and interesting documents in the Record Chamber of Kilkenny Castle there is a paper containing some memoranda on

the subject of the tokens, which look very like suggestions as to heads for an act of parliament, or order of the council of state, on the subject. The document is entitled "Proposals for Penny Tokens," and is indorsed in the handwriting of the great duke of Ormonde, then lord lieutenant—"Concerning Tokens or small money, 2nd May, 1664." The following is a transcript :—

For making of Tokens to be uttered for a penny a pees, it is humbly proposed that some person be impowred and authorised to make and utter tokens w^{ch} shall be of such intrinsick vallew as that the mettle and workmens labor may amount to three fourth p^{ts} of a penny.

That the person soe authorized be obliged to take them back again, the persons that bring them in allowing twelve pence in every twenty shillings for the loss w^{ch} will be in the workmanship.

That the person that shall be soe impowred may have liberty to call them in as often as he thinks fitt, to prevent counterfeiting, but upon such calling in, the person bringing them in to give noe allowance.

That the tokens soe to be made shall not be enforced in payment but merely for change.

That the person that will undertake this work and give security for the performing of it, may have a Lease for a certain time.

Nothing seems to have resulted from the proposals on the subject of this unauthorized coinage, thus laid before the lord lieutenant; and the corporation of Kilkenny, having passed its act of 1658, took no further notice of the tokens, at least by any entry in their records, for twelve years. In the mean time, almost every trader of any importance seems to have circulated a currency of his own; and doubtless the public were in danger of being defrauded if any chose to repudiate his own issue. To prevent this, security was demanded and enforced by the civic body, and thus we have the following not very lucidly framed order upon their minute book of the 1st July, 1670 :—

That Mr. Jo. Beavor be appointed to appeare next Deren hundred day and to bring with him good security, That in good money all such pence as he cause to goe, otherwise, they are to be cryed downe.

At this period the corporations of most of the English towns were also enforcing rules compelling the traders to give security as to exchanging their tokens for the coin of the realm, whenever called on.¹ There can be little surprise felt that such a precaution was deemed necessary, as it has been recorded that a penny-worth of material was capable of being wrought into fifty penny tokens, so that their value was quite fictitious. The entire circulating medium of the country seems at the time to have been in a very unsettled state. We have the following entry on the book of the Kilkenny corporation :—

Proposals made y^e 12th December, 1672, for small money to pass in this City :—

1.—Impr. That Maj^r Adams pence may each of them pass for a farthing.

¹ In the previous year, 1669, the corporation of Coventry made this order—"That the tokens which have lately been issued in this city, be called in under a penalty of £5. as many persons are obliged to give 13d. of those tokens for 12d. in silver; and

that none be suffered to remain out, except those which have the city's stamp, and whatever profit there may be the Sword-bearer to take it. After the 16th of April, the above tokens to be called in."—*Gentleman's Magazine for August, 1851.*

- 2.—That y^e cross ould copper penny goe for a penny.
- 3.—The Bengall for three half pence.
- 4.—The copper two pence for two pence.
- 5.—The copper fower pence for fower pence.
- 6.—That such as putt out Tokens for pence shall give in Bayle by this day seave-night.
- 7.—That such persons as have any of those pence belonging to Major Adams be sent unto to bring them in by this day seavenight.
- 8.—That each person, viz., Coll. Redman, Ald. Goodwin and Lt. Chapman, be desired to bring in the said pence upon oath.
- 9.—That the said pence be counted and then putt upon safe hand to be uttered by him accordingly changed, allowance being first made to him as shall be thought fitt.

Major Adams being long dead at this time, are we to conjecture from his tokens being still in circulation and countenanced by the corporation, that he merely struck them as mayor for the benefit of the citizens generally—the city arms, it will be remembered, are borne upon them—or should we rather conclude, that as the utterer was not alive to give security, his tokens were therefore depreciated in value, and declared only worth a farthing, whilst those who could “give in bail” might pass theirs’ for a penny still? For my own part, I am inclined to believe Adam’s tokens were not a private coinage, but were struck for the corporation. But be this as it may, the reign of tokens in the local traffic, whether the utterers could find security or not, was soon after brought to an end, for on the 10th January in the same year (it is almost unnecessary to remark that, according to the old style, January followed December, instead of commencing the year as now) the corporation came to this determination—“Concluded and agreed that y^e Copper Tokens passed by severall persons in this cittie shall be cryed downe when the Mayr shall appoint—one weekes time being first given to the persons in the towne to take them in.”

By a royal proclamation, dated August 16th, 1672, private tokens are generally supposed to have been everywhere throughout Great Britain and Ireland superseded by half-pence and farthings issued by authority of king Charles, and directed to be current in all payments under the value of six-pence.—*Gentleman’s Magazine* for March, 1850, and August, 1851. I find, however, that in Kilkenny there was at least an attempt made to put the token, numbered 20 on Dr. Smith’s list, into circulation five years later. In the White Book, under date 7th December, 1677, there is an entry with this marginal reference—“Mr. Tobin’s pence not suffered to pass.” The entry itself commences rather abruptly thus:—

The inscription of Mr. Tobin’s pence (for y^e use and) with y^e Castell on y^t side: on y^e other side (of y^e inhabitants) and within y^e sircell is written (Kilkenny 1677 and 6 Littell stars).

Put to y^e vote whether y^e above named pence of Mr. Edmond Tobin should pass or not. Then voted in y^e negative; and ordered y^t they should be suppress or not suffered to pass as currant.

After this I find no further mention of tokens in the books of the Kilkenny corporation, although that body still paid considerable at-

tention to matters connected with the currency, and, in 1679, sent specially to Dublin for a case of silver weights, “which are to be a standard in this City, and are to be lodged in y^e hands of this City Reseavor.”

It is probable that in the several ancient corporations comprised within the county of Kilkenny, as Callan, Thomastown, Innistiogue, Knocktopher, and Gowran, individuals were found who struck tokens; however, the only specimen which has as yet been discovered belongs to the last named town. It is that of Francis Barker, of Gowran, which is preserved in the cabinet of Mr. John F. Shearman. The obverse of this token exhibits the crest of the tanners’ guild, viz., an



angel holding with both hands a shave, or currier’s knife. Barker and Tanner being synonymous, it is probable that the name and trade of the “smiter” of this token were identical.

Tokens were either round, square, octagon, or heart-shaped, according to the fancy of the striker; but those issued by the Kilkenny traders are all of a circular form; the material employed was copper, brass, lead, tin, latten, and leather; but in our known Kilkenny examples the first three metals only were used.

The Society is indebted to Dr. Aquilla Smith for the use of his very beautiful and accurate drawings, after which the engravings which illustrate this paper have been carefully executed by Messrs. Oldham and Hanlon of Dublin.