



**SMALL TREASURES:
THE PRODUCTION, RETAIL AND CONSUMPTION OF JEWELLERY
IN DUBLIN, c.1770 TO c.1870**

Two volumes

by

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- 5.2 John Leech (after) sketch of woman wearing chatelaine; cut steel chatelaines, 19th century. Illustration, English, c.1849, by John Leech (after), reproduced in *Punch*, 24 February 1849, image available at: <http://www.john-leech-archive.org.uk/1849/how-to-make-a-chatelaine.htm>; chatelaine, English, 19th century, steel, bone and silk velvet, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: 52.1274 (left); chatelaine, English, 19th century, steel, metal and glass, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: 52.1275.
- 5.3 William Moore trade card, c.1773. Trade card, Irish/Dublin, c.1773, print, private collection.
- 5.4 Read cutlers, cut-steel chatelaine, c.1795. Chatelaine, Irish/Dublin, c.1795, by Read, steel, NMI: DT2010.1.
- 5.5 Drawing of chatelaines, Boulton & Scale, 1782-99; cut-steel chatelaine, Birmingham manufacture. Illustration, English/Birmingham, 1782-99, by Boulton & Scale, pen/pencil, LBA: MS 3782/21/11; chatelaine, English/Birmingham (probably), steel, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham.
- 5.6 Swords c.1790-1800 and drawings from Matthew Boulton's pattern book. Sword, English, c.1790-1800, steel, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland: 1923.1061 (top); sword, English/Birmingham or London, c.1790, steel and silver, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland: 1916.1095; illustrations, English/Birmingham, 1782-99, by Boulton & Scale, pen/pencil, LBA: MS 3782/21/11.
- 5.7 Richard Yeates, cutler, handbill 1834. Handbill, Irish/Dublin, 1834, print, NLI: MS36,365.
- 5.8 Jonathan Binns, ironmonger, trade card 1785. Tradecard, Irish/Dublin, 1785, print, NLI: trade ephemera uncatalogued.
- 5.9 Cut-steel buckles, late 18th century. Buckle, British, late 18th century, metal, paste, TMMA: 83.1.101 (top left); buckle, British, late 18th century, metal, paste, TMMA: 83.1.91 (top right); buckle, Irish, c.1790, metal, TMMA: 33.120.20 (bottom left); buckle, European, late 18th century, steel, TMMA: C.1.44.8.36a,b (bottom right).
- 5.10 Mother of pearl buttons, 1820-50; enamel and pearl buttons, c.1780. Button, British, 1820-50, mother of pearl, TMMA: 51.47.2716-.2726; buttons, English, c.1780, gold, enamel and pearl, Royal Collection Trust, London: RCIN 65734.
- 5.11 Cartoon mocking cut-steel buttons, 1777. Illustration, 1777, print, reproduced in Clare Phillips, *Jewels & jewellery* (London, 2008).

- 5.12 William Parker, ironmonger, handbill 1779. Handbill, Irish/Dublin, 1799, print, NLI: trade ephemera, uncatalogued.
- 5.13 Theobald Billing, trade receipt 1791. Trade receipt, Irish/Dublin, 1791, print, NLI: trade ephemera, uncatalogued.
- 5.14 Metal buttons, inset with Wedgwood plaques. Buttons, English/Staffordshire, Wedgwood firm, NMI.
- 5.15 Silver hair comb, imitating cut-steel, 1809-10. Hair comb, English/Birmingham, 1809-10, by Henry Adcock, silver, VAM: M.820-1926.
- 5.16 Bog oak jewellery, mid to late 19th century. Brooch, Irish, bog oak, UM: BELUM.T1693; brooch, Irish, bog oak and pearl (probably), UM: BELUM.T858; brooch, Irish, bog oak and gold, UM: BELUM.T969 (clockwise l-r); bracelet, Irish, bog oak and 'Irish diamonds', reproduced with the kind permission of the Director and the Board of Trustees, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew: 41840 (bottom left).
- 5.17 Map showing concentrated areas of Dublin bog oak manufacturers. David Hale, MAPCO, <http://mapco.net>.
- 5.18 Bracelet of bog oak and Wicklow gold, c.1851. Bracelet, Irish/Dublin, c.1851, by Thomas Bennett, bog oak and gold, NMI: DT2001.49 A&B.
- 5.19 Bracelet detail, showing hinge and Wicklow gold stamp. Bracelet, Irish/Dublin, c.1851, by Thomas Bennett, bog oak and gold, NMI: DT2001.49 A&B.
- 5.20 Depiction of Joseph Johnson's premises on Suffolk Street, c.1850. Illustration, Irish/Dublin, c.1850, print, reproduced in Henry Shaw, *Dublin Pictorial Guide & Directory, 1850*.
- 5.21 Lady Doneraile's bog oak brooch c.1842-57, by Joseph Johnson. Brooch, Irish/Dublin, c.1842-57, by Joseph Johnson, bog oak, reproduced with the kind permission of the Director and the Board of Trustees, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew: 37742.
- 5.22 Bog oak necklace c.1855. Necklace, Irish, c.1855, bog oak, reproduced with the kind permission of the Director and the Board of Trustees, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew: EBC 37986.
- 5.23 Irish lace made from sweet pea fibres, c. 1855. Lace, Irish, sweet pea fibre, reproduced with the kind permission of the Director and the Board of Trustees, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew: 60600.

- 5.24 W.H. Bartlett, *Rock of Cashel*, 1842, detail; Doneraile brooch. Illustration, Irish, 1842, by W.H. Bartlett, print, reproduced in N.P. Willis & J. Stirling Coyne, *The scenery and antiquities of Ireland illustrated from drawings by W.H. Bartlett* (vol. 1, London, 1842); brooch, Irish/Dublin, c.1842-57, by Joseph Johnson, bog oak, reproduced with the kind permission of the Director and the Board of Trustees, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew: 37742.
- 5.25 Joseph Johnson bog oak and silver gilt 'Kilmainham' brooch, mid 19th century and design drawing by Joseph Johnson, 25 July 1849. Brooch, Irish/Dublin, mid 19th century, by Joseph Johnson, bog oak and silver, Armagh County Museum, Armagh: ARMCM.155.1975; design, Irish/Dublin, 1849, by Joseph Johnson, pencil/ink, TNA: BT/43/6/61470.
- 5.26 Joseph Johnson, bog oak and silver brooch, mid 19th century. Brooch, Irish/Dublin, mid 19th century, by Joseph Johnson, bog oak and silver (probably), courtesy George Stacpoole.
- 5.27 Bog oak and metal bracelet; detail of method of construction. Bracelet, Irish/Dublin, c.1875, by Joseph Johnson, bog oak and metal, NMI: DT1983.13.
- 5.28 Horsehair jewellery, 19th century. Bracelet and brooches, Irish, 19th century, horsehair, UM: BELUM.T3310 (top, middle and bottom left); brooch, Irish, 19th century, horsehair, NMI: DT L. 1106 (bottom right).
- 5.29 Detail from horsehair brooch and drawing of design for fuschia flowers. Brooch, Irish, 19th century, horsehair, NMI: DT L. 1106; illustration, c.1850, print, reproduced in Mdlle. Riego de la Branchardiere, *The crochet book, seventh series* (3rd ed., London, 1850).
- 5.30 Horsehair chains, 19th century. Chain, Irish, 19th century, horsehair, NMI (Castlebar): FA74:3 (top left); chain, Irish, 19th century, horsehair, NMI (Castlebar): F1956:97 (top right); chain, Irish, 19th century, horsehair, NMI: DT1905:241.
- 6.1 Handbill, William Kertland, The Dublin Fancy Warehouse, early 19th century. Handbill, Irish/Dublin, early 19th century, print, NLI: trade ephemera uncatalogued.
- 6.2 Map showing location of jewellery manufacturers and retailers, 1788-1870. David Hale, MAPCO, <http://mapco.net>.
- 6.3 Drawings depicting premises of Waterhouse & Company c.1850-60 and West & Son, c.1845. Illustration, Irish/Dublin, c.1850-60, retailer Waterhouse & Company, print, Dublin City Library, Dublin: DS02_16; illustration, Irish/Dublin, c.1887, retailer West & Son, print, reproduced in *Industries of Dublin* (Dublin 1887?).

- 6.4 Brian Borhoime brooch, Waterhouse c.1850 and drawing. Brooch, Irish/Dublin, c.1850, retailer Waterhouse & Company, silver, courtesy Ian Haslam; illustration, Irish/Dublin, c.1872, retailer Waterhouse & Company, print, reproduced in Waterhouse & Company, *Irish Antique Brooches*, 1872.
- 6.5 Francis Smyth, advertisement 1853. Advertisement, Irish/Dublin, 1853, print, reproduced in T.D. Jones, *Record of the Great Industrial Exhibition 1853 ... contained in that temple of industry* (Dublin, 1853).
- 6.6 Drawing depicting premises of Pim Brothers & Company, c.1850s. Illustration, Irish/Dublin, c.1850s, retailer Pim Brothers & Company, image reproduced by Archiseek, available at <http://archiseek.com>.
- 6.7 Edmond Johnson Limited shop exterior, photographed c.1897-1904. Photograph, Irish/Dublin, c.1897-1904, John J. Clarke, NLI: CLAR9.
- 6.8 Shop exterior, 6 Green Street, 18th to 19th century. Photograph, Irish/Dublin, c.1969, reproduced in *The Georgian Society Records of eighteenth-century domestic architecture and decoration in Dublin* (5 vols, Dublin, 1969), iv, plate cxxii Irish Georgian Society.
- 6.9 Interior of London glass shop, 1809. Illustration, English/London, 1809, Rudolph Ackemann, print, BL: K.top.27.23, cited by Matthew White, 'The rise of consumerism', available at: British Library, <http://www.bl.uk/georgian-britain/articles/the-rise-of-consumerism>.
- 6.10 Royal Arcade, interior view, c.1821. Illustration, Irish/Dublin, c.1821, John James McGregor, print, reproduced in John James McGregor, *New picture of Dublin ...* (Dublin, 1821).
- 6.11 Hercules Freymuth handbill, c.1830. Handbill, Irish/Dublin, c.1830, print, NLI: LP 5.
- 6.12 Tortoiseshell & horn brooches and combs, 19th century, British & German. Brooches, English, 19th century, piqué, tortoiseshell, silver and gilt metal, VAM: M.55B.1916 (top left); comb, 19th century, cut steel and horn, UM: BELUM.T41 (top right); comb, German (probably), 19th century, tortoiseshell, TMMA: 06.998 (bottom left); comb, English/London, c.1833-37, Rundell, Bridge & Rundell, tortoiseshell, gold, chrysoberyls and rubies, BM: 1978,1002.683.
- 6.13 Satirical print, *Sales by auction! – Or provident children disposing of their deceased mother's effects for the benefit of the creditors!!* 1819. Illustration, Irish/Dublin, 1819, George Cruikshank, print, BM: 1865,1111.2104.
- 6.14 Hair ornaments, c.1760 to c.1850. Hair ornament, 18th century, garnet, courtesy Bonhams (top left); hair ornament, Western European, c.1820, diamonds, silver and gold, VAM: M.116-1951 (top right); hair ornament, mid-19th century, diamonds, gold, courtesy Christie's (bottom left); hair ornament, USSR (possibly), c.1760, silver, gold, foiled diamonds and pearls, BM: 1978,1002.171 (bottom right).

- 6.15 Newspaper advertisement for auction of London jewellery, *Freeman's Journal*, 4 November 1830.
- 6.16 Drawing of first prize in Cox's lottery, 1774 and Lady Clonbrock's girandole earrings, c.1806. Illustration, English, 1774, print, reproduced in *A descriptive catalogue of the ... jewellery, in Mr. Cox's museum, now exhibiting at the Great Room, in William Street, Dublin* (Dublin, 1774); earrings, English/London, c.1806, Rundell Bridge and Rundell, diamonds, silver, gold, courtesy Christie's, London.
- 6.17 Edward Murray, shamrock-shaped coronation box, 1821. Box, Irish/Dublin, 1821, by Edward Murray, retailer Matthew West, gold, bog oak, enamel, diamonds and pearls, Royal Collection Trust, London: RCIN 4036.
- 6.18 Orders of the Bath; the Crescent; the Tower and Sword. Medal, English/London, 1847-1873, gold, enamel, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: CM.1503-2009 (left); order, c.1798, silver embroidered, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich: REL0120 (right); medal, 1810-34, Academia Falerística de Portugal.
- 6.19 Clark & West bill for Order of St. Patrick insignia, 1819; badge of the Grand Master of the Order of St. Patrick, c.1850. Letter, Irish/Dublin, 1819, Clark & West, manuscript, NAI: CSO/RP/1819/1115; badge, Irish/Dublin, c.1892, retailer West & Son, gold, enamel, diamonds, courtesy Sotheby's, London.
- 6.20 John Brown billhead, 1825. Billhead, Irish/Dublin, 1825, print, NLI: MS 36,366/2.
- 6.21 Ring set with emblem for the Beef Steak Club, c.1757. Ring, c.1757, gold, enamel, courtesy Christie's, London.
- 6.22 Richard D'Olier, trade receipt, 1782. Trade receipt, Irish/Dublin, 1782, print, NLI: MS 10,707.
- 7.1 Pen and ink drawing of gold case and 'engagement' ring, 1852. Drawing, Irish/Dublin, 1852, John Joly, pen and ink, TCD: MS 2299-2.
- 7.2 Alfred Thompson cartoon, depicting a woman wearing lockets, *London Society*, 1870. Illustration, 1870, Alfred Thompson, print, reproduced in Clare Phillips, *Jewels and jewellery* (London, 2008).
- 7.3 Straw marriage ring, pen and ink drawing 1852. Drawing, Irish/Dublin, 1852, John Joly, pen and ink, TCD: MS 2299-2.
- 7.4 Honora Edgeworth, letter 30 April 1780. Letter, English/Staffordshire, 1780, Honora Edgeworth, manuscript, NLI: MS 10,166/7.

- 7.5 Three mourning rings 1800, 1826 and 1803. Ring, English/London, 1800, gold and enamel, courtesy Alison FitzGerald (top left); ring, English/London, 1826, gold and enamel, Museum of Fine Arts Boston: 1976.643 (top right); ring, English/London, 1803, gold and enamel, Museum of Fine Arts Boston: 64.872.
- 7.6 Mourning brooch, Henry Francis Shields, c.1860; comparative mourning brooch. Brooch, Irish/Dublin (probably), c.1860, retailer Waterhouse & Company, gold (probably), photograph and human hair, NMI: DT1988.10d; photograph of mourning brooch, reproduced in *Costume, the Journal of the Costume Society*, xxvii, no.1 (1993).
- 7.7 Copper ring, Edward FitzGerald, 18th century. Ring, 18th century, copper (possibly), yellow metal, enamel, courtesy Cheffins, Cambridge.
- 7.8 Gold chain bracelet, property of Queen Victoria, 1840-57. Bracelet, 1857, gold enamel and human hair, Royal Collection Trust, London: RCIN 65293.
- 7.9 Silver gorgets, c.1793; Dublin Volunteer and Leinster Ranger belt plates, c.1798. Gorgets, c.1793, National Army Museum London, image reproduced in Stephen Wood, 'The Gorgets of the 'Gorgeous Infantry'', in *Irish Arts Review*, iii, no.4 (1986), pp 49-52; Dublin Volunteer belt plate, 1798, courtesy Adam's, Dublin; Leinster Ranger belt plate, 1798, brass, courtesy Whyte's, Dublin.
- 7.10 Theobald Billing to Charles O'Hara, trade receipt 1789. Trade receipt, Irish/Dublin, 1789, print, NLI: MS 36,365.
- 7.11 *George Nugent Temple Grenville, 1st Marquess of Buckingham*, c.1787-9, artist unknown. Portrait, c.1787-9, oil on canvass, National Portrait Gallery, London: NPG 5168.
- 7.12 Insignia of the Order of St. Patrick. Badge, Irish/Dublin, c.1871, retailer West & Son, silver and enamel, NMI: DT1997.248; badge, c.1838, gold, silver, diamonds, rubies, emeralds and enamel, Royal Collection Trust, London: RCIN 441162.
- 7.13 James Brush advertisement for Orange Order jewels, *Freeman's Journal*, 1 December 1798.
- 7.14 Masonic jewels by Dublin jewellers, c.1800-50. Masonic jewel (compass), Irish/Dublin, c.1800, by James Brush, silver and paste (left); Masonic jewel (set square), Irish/Dublin, c.1806, by John Tate, silver (top right); Masonic jewel (key), Irish/Dublin, c.1845-50, by Joseph Johnson, silver. Freemasons' Hall, Dublin.
- 7.15 Trade card James Brush c.1790. Trade card, Irish/Dublin, c.1790, print, Freemasons' Hall, Dublin.
- 7.16 Silver buttons 1787; Robert Healy, *Lady Louisa Conolly with groom, horse and dog Hibou*, c.1769. Buttons, Irish/Dublin, 1787, silver, courtesy Jimmy Weldon; portrait, c.1769, Robert Healy, pastel, courtesy Thomas Sinstedden.

- 7.17 Silver buckles, mid to late 18th century. Buckles, Irish/Dublin, 18th century, silver, NMI: 1995.72; buckles, Irish/Dublin, c.1780, by William Law (probably), silver, NMI: 1995.75; buckle, Irish/Dublin, c.1765, silver, NMI: 1995.86.
- 7.18 Portrait depicting a pair of seals hanging from a waist coat pocket; gold seal, early to mid-19th century. Portrait, Irish/Dublin, c.1823, by Martin Archer Shee, *Edward Harrison (1763?-1838)*, oil on canvas, reproduced in Nicola Figgis and Brendan Rooney, *Irish Paintings in the National Gallery of Ireland, vol. 1* (Dublin, 2001); seal, early to mid-19th century, gold, courtesy Ian Haslam.
- 7.19 Gold watch, fob, key and seal, c.1786-7. Watch, English/London, c.1786-7, by Francis Perigal, gold and enamel, VAM: 1832-69.
- 7.20 Set of gold studs retailed by Waterhouse & Company. Studs, Irish/Dublin (probably), retailer Waterhouse & Company, 19th century, gold, NMI: 50-1982.
- 7.21 Diamond-set bow brooches, 18th and 19th century. Brooches, Russian (possibly), c.1760, silver and diamonds, VAM: M.94&A-1951; brooch, 19th century, diamonds, courtesy Bonhams.
- 7.22 Diamonds, pearls and turquoises worn by Frances Ann, Marchioness of Londonderry, 1831. Portrait, 1831, Alexandre-Jean Dubois-Drahonet, *Marchioness of Londonderry*; tiara, 19th century, pearls; necklace, 19th century, diamonds and Siberian amethyst; necklace, earrings and brooches, 19th century, turquoise. Images reproduced in Diana Scarisbrick, *Ancestral jewels* (London, 1989).
- 7.23 Arthur Keen newspaper advertisement, *Freeman's Journal*, 13 February 1776.
- 7.24 Bog oak jewellery, 19th century. (clockwise from top left) Brooch, Irish, bog oak, UM: BELUM.T1693; bracelet, Irish, bog oak, Armagh County Museum: ARMCM.113.1976; necklace, Irish, bog oak and pearls, Armagh County Museum: ARMCM.168.1975; brooch, Irish, bog oak, and pearl, UM: BELUM.T858.
- 7.25 Board of Trades pledge card, c.1840. Card, Irish/Dublin, c.1840, print, NLI: ephemeral collection, uncatalogued.
- 7.26 Portrait detail of finger-rings; extant examples of hoop rings. Portrait, 1814-16, by Auguste Dominique Ingres, *Madame de Senonnes*, 1814-16, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes, reproduced in Rachel Church, *Rings* (London, 2014); ring, late 18th to early 19th century, ruby and diamond, courtesy Christie's; ring, c.1780-90, emerald; ring, c.1780-90, diamonds, courtesy S.J. Phillips, London.
- 7.27 Twycross & Sons trade receipt, 1836; garnet jewellery early 19th century. Trade receipt, Irish/Dublin, 1836, print, NLI: MS 44413/7; jewellery, early 19th century, garnet, courtesy Sotheby's, London.

- 7.28 Law & Son trade receipt, 1835; amethyst brooch, 1818; amethyst and seed-pearl jewellery, 1820s and later. Trade receipt, Irish/Dublin, 1835, print, NLI: MS 44413/7; necklace, bracelet and earrings, 1820s and later, amethyst, seed pearl and gold, courtesy Sotheby's London; brooch, Irish/Dublin, 1818, by Hugh Patrick, gold and amethyst, NMI: DT1957.4.
- 7.29 'Regard' jewellery, c.1798-1830. Brooch, early 19th century, gold, garnet, amethyst, emerald, diamond and ruby, courtesy Sotheby's London; brooch, early 19th century, seed pearl and gems, courtesy Sotheby's London; brooch, c.1798, gold, pearls and enamel with human hair, NMI: DT14.1936.
- 7.30 Rose-cut diamond brooch, c.1750 and diamond drop earrings c.1780. Brooch, English, c.1750, silver and diamonds; earrings, c.1780, silver, gold and diamonds, courtesy S.J. Phillips, London.
- 7.31 Diamond necklace supplied to Lord Clonbrock by Rundell & Bridge, 1806. Necklace, English/London, Rundell & Bridge, 1806, reproduced in John Adamson (ed.), *Royal goldsmiths: the art of Rundell & Bridge, 1797-1843* (Cambridge, 2005).
- 7.32 Ruby, emerald and enamel cross purchased for Marchioness Londonderry from Rundell & Bridge, 1819. Pendant, English/London, 1819, by Rundell & Bridge, ruby, emerald and enamel. Images reproduced in Diana Scarisbrick, *Ancestral jewels* (London, 1989).
- 7.33 Coral and lava bracelets, 19th century. Bracelet, c.1830, coral and gold, courtesy Sotheby's, London; bracelet, Italian/Naples, c.1840, gold set with Vesuvian 'lava' stone, Museum of London, London: A28556/3.
- 7.34 Gold rattle with teething coral, c.1750. Rattle, Scottish/Edinburgh, c.1750, by William Dempster, gold and coral, National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh. Image reproduced in Helen Clifford (ed.), *Gold: power and allure* (London, 2012).
- 8.1 Depiction of 'Crystal Palace', London exhibition building, 1851. Illustration, c.1851, print, reproduced in *The art journal illustrated catalogue* (London, 1851).
- 8.2 Depiction of Waterhouse & Company, exhibit at Dublin Exhibition 1853. Illustration, c.1853, print, Dublin City Library and Archives, Dublin: DS43_11.
- 8.3 Drawing of timepiece retailed by West & Son on table by Arthur Jones, 1851. Illustration, c.1851, print, reproduced in *Official descriptive and illustrated catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the works of industry of all nations 1851* (London, 1851).
- 8.4 West & Son, archaeological-style brooches c.1849. (top to bottom) Brooch, c.1849, retailed by West & Son, silver gilt and coral, VAM: 2750.1853; brooch, c.1849, retailed by West & Son, silver gilt, VAM: 2751.1853; brooch, retailed by West & Son, parcel gilt, VAM: 2752.1853.

- 8.5 Illustration of Celtic and medieval-inspired jewellery exhibited by West & Son. Illustration, c.1853, print, reproduced in *Exhibition of Art Industry...1853*.
- 8.6 Brooch of Irish bog yew, manufactured by Julius Mosley, dedicated to Thomas Moore, c.1869. Brooch, Irish/Dublin, c.1869, by Julius Mosley, bog yew, NMI: DT1983.50.
- 8.7 Waterhouse & Company, archaeological-style brooches. Brooch, retailed by Waterhouse & Company, silver gilt and fresh water pearls, UM: BELUM.T1016 (left); brooch, retailed by Waterhouse & Company, silver gilt, VAM: 230.1854.
- 8.8 Flexible snake bracelet of bog oak, 19th century. Bracelet, Irish, 19th century, bog oak, UM: BELUM.T240.
- 8.9 Depiction of Cork Exhibition (interior). Illustration, c.1852, print, reproduced in *London Illustrated News*, 1852.
- 8.10 Model of the Ark of the Covenant, Henry Flavelle. Ark of the Covenant, Irish/Dublin, c.1851, by Henry Flavelle, silver and silver gilt, Freemasons' Hall, Dublin.
- 8.11 Illustration of jewellery exhibited by Cornelius Goggin. Illustration, c.1853, print, reproduced in *Exhibition of Art Industry...1853*.
- 8.12 Map comparing area of London, Dublin and New York exhibitions. Illustration, c.1854, print, reproduced in John Sproule, (ed.), *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: a detailed catalogue of its contents* (Dublin, 1854).
- 8.13 Depiction of Dublin exhibition building (interior), c.1853. Illustration, c.1853, print, reproduced in John Sproule (ed.), *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: a detailed catalogue of its contents* (Dublin, 1854).
- 8.14 Pendants in form of a Celtic high cross, mid to late 19th century. (clockwise) Pendant, c.1893, gold and green agate, UM: BELUM.T1540; pendant, 19th century, bog oak and gilt, UM: BELUM.T304. Pendant, English/London, c.1870-75, John Brogden, gold and onyx, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow: HG860, image reproduced in Charlotte Gere and Judy Rudoe, *Jewellery in the age of Queen Victoria: A Mirror to the World* (London, 2010).
- 8.15 Pamphlet on bog oak ornaments, John Classon (probably), c.1853. Pamphlet, Irish/Dublin (probably, c.1853, print, NLI: JP3918).
- 8.16 Fishscale head ornament, c.1870-80. Head ornament, Bahamas (probably), c.1870-80, fishscales on wire, VAM: AP.36c-1881.
- 8.17 Earrings of carved cowrie shell c.1870-80. Earrings, English, shells carved in Italy (probably), c.1870-80s, VAM: AP.123 & A-1875, image reproduced in Charlotte Gere and Judy Rudoe, *Jewellery in the age of Queen Victoria: A Mirror to the World* (London, 2010).

- 8.18 Parasol handles in carved ivory and silver, c.1810-1860. Handle, French/Paris, 1859, by Jean Norest, ivory, VAM: 976-1900 (top left); handle, English/London, George Creak, silver, VAM: T.4 to D-1987 (bottom); design, English/London, c.1860s, firm of John Brogden, drawing, pencil and watercolour, VAM: E.2:872-1986.
- 8.19 Cane handles by Fremont-Maurice, c.1845-50. Handle, French/Paris, c.1845, by Fremont-Maurice, steel, gilt border, set with carnelian intaglio, courtesy Sotheby's, London; handle, French/Paris, c.1850 or later, by Fremont-Maurice, yellow and rose gold set with cut-crystal, courtesy Christie's, London.
- 8.20 Silver 'elastic' bracelets, William Acheson, c.1853. Illustration, c.1853, print, reproduced in *Exhibition of Art Industry...1853*.
- 8.21 William Acheson, buckle and brooch. Buckle, Irish/Dublin, c.1850s or later, by William Acheson, silver (probably), UM: BELUM.T1012 (top); brooch, Irish/Dublin, c.1850s, by William Acheson, courtesy Ian Haslam (left); brooch, Irish/Dublin, c.1850s, by William Acheson, NMI: 1983:65:28.
- 8.22 Depiction of Hunterston brooches and bog oak casket, William Acheson, c.1853. Illustration, c.1853, print, reproduced in *Exhibition of Art Industry...1853*.
- 8.23 Waterhouse & Company, Kilmainham or Knights Templar brooch. Brooch, Irish/Dublin, c.1851, retailed by Waterhouse & Company, gilded silver and enamel, VAM: 2749.1853.
- 8.24 Depiction of bog oak snuff box engraved with harp, shamrock and oak leaf design, set with pearls. Illustration, c.1852, print, reproduced in *The Crystal Palace and its contents: being an illustrated cyclopaedia ...* (London, 1852).
- 8.25 Waterhouse & Company newspaper advertisement. *Freeman's Journal*, 14 September 1853.
- 8.26 Copy of 'Tara' brooch, Joseph Johnson, c.1881. Brooch, Irish/Dublin, c.1881, by Joseph Johnson, gilded and silvered copper, ambroid, enamel and glass, VAM: 230.81.

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Abbreviations

| | |
|-------|---|
| AO | Assay Office, Dublin Castle |
| BL | British Library, London |
| BM | British Museum, London |
| GCL | Goldsmiths' Company, London |
| LBA | Library of Birmingham Archives, Birmingham |
| NAI | National Archives of Ireland, Dublin |
| NGI | National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin |
| NLI | National Library of Ireland, Dublin |
| NMI | National Museum of Ireland, Dublin |
| PRONI | Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast |
| RIA | Royal Irish Academy, Dublin |
| TCD | Trinity College, Dublin |
| TMMA | The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York |
| TNA | The National Archives, Kew |
| VAM | Victoria and Albert Museum, London |
| UM | Ulster Museum, Belfast |

Chapter One

Introduction

This thesis intends to investigate the production, retail and consumption of jewellery in Dublin during the period c.1770 to c.1870, by analysing the market from the perspectives of makers, retailers and consumers. Dublin as the centre of manufacture, retail and consumption forms the geographical focus of this research.¹ The jewellery tradesmen who carried on business in the capital represented many, if not all, aspects of the trade. Furthermore, Dublin was a centre of consumer activity. In addition, the only Irish assay office was located in the capital.² Dublin port was the primary gateway for imports from Britain and Europe.³ Throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, a ‘greater assortment of goods was made in or imported into Ireland’⁴ and this thesis will demonstrate that Dublin was the nexus of the Irish jewellery trade. Provincial jewellers and consumers are considered, although an in-depth study of the provinces falls outside the scope of this thesis.

According to R. Campbell, the author of *The London Tradesman*, published in 1747, jewellers can be defined as those who created smaller works than goldsmiths and it is this definition which has been used as a guide throughout this

¹ Dublin as the capital of Ireland was home to a prominent number of jewellery craftsmen. Provincial advertisers aligned their goods with those available in Dublin, London and Paris. Existing literature identifies the privileged position held by Dublin in terms of the goldsmiths’ trade. For example, see Alison FitzGerald, ‘The production and consumption of goldsmiths’ work in eighteenth-century Dublin’ (PhD thesis, Royal College of Art, 2005); Tara A. Kelly, ‘Commerce and the Celtic Revival: the history of the Irish facsimile industry, 1840-1940’ (PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2013). For a wider discussion of the continuing commercial dominance of Dublin after 1800 see David Dickson, *Dublin: the making of a capital city* (London, 2014).

² In the 1780s a bill was passed to establish an assay office in New Geneva, Waterford, however, there is no evidence that this was ever active. Alison FitzGerald, ‘The Cork goldsmiths and the quest for a local assay office’, in Raymond Gillespie and R.F. Foster (eds.), *Irish provincial cultures in the long eighteenth century, Essays for Toby Barnard* (Dublin, 2012), p. 173.

³ David Dickson, ‘Death of a capital Dublin and the consequences of Union’, in Peter Clark & Raymond Gillespie (eds.), *Two capitals, London and Dublin 1500-1840* (Oxford, New York, 2001), p. 111.

⁴ Toby Barnard, *A guide to sources for the history of material culture in Ireland* (Dublin, 2005), p. 16.

thesis.⁵ The jewellery considered here comprises decorative objects such as buttons, buckles, Masonic jewels, gorgets and seals, alongside rings, brooches and bracelets.⁶ Trinkets or ‘toys’ are also included (figure 1.1).⁷ The materials used to manufacture jewellery during this period, and analysed here include precious metals and gemstones, cut-steel, horsehair, pyrite, shells and bog wood. Thus, the variety of materials, makers and objects represented in this thesis are not limited exclusively to work in precious metals. As will be demonstrated, jewellery was sourced from Dublin, England and continental Europe by the aristocratic, genteel and professional classes.⁸ This chapter locates the study in the context of existing literature in the field, identifies the key questions to be addressed in the thesis and provides justification for the approach taken.

1.1 Historiography

The Dublin jewellery trade in the late eighteenth to late nineteenth century has received some scholarly attention. A number of publications address related topics including Irish gold and silversmiths, British jewellery, material culture, consumerism, politics and trade.⁹ The literature on Irish goldsmiths and

⁵ R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747), p. 143.

⁶ Marcia Pointon, *Brilliant effects: a cultural history of gemstones and jewellery* (New Haven, 2009), p. 2.

⁷ The term ‘trinket’ seems to have been a catch-all term for jewellery. It was used in advertisements such as that placed by the ironmonger John Binns in the *Freeman’s Journal*, 22 Apr. 1775 wherein he offered ‘gold and other seals and trinkets’. In 1830, ‘gilt and gold ornaments, snaps, beads, brooches, lockets, and various other trinkets’ were retailed by James Downey from his fancy warehouse, *Freeman’s Journal*, 22 Sept. 1830. The term ‘toys’ may need some explanation. Toys were small items of vertu such as étui and snuff boxes embellished with precious gems and materials including tortoiseshell, wood, and ivory. The list of wares exempted from assay in an 1784 act of parliament, included ‘the jointed stock clasps, rims of snuff boxes, whereof the tops or bottoms are made of shell, tortoise-shell, ivory,... any stoppers to stone, ... or glass bottles ... or slight ornaments put to amber, or other eggs or urns’. *An Act to regulate the assay of gold and promote the manufacture of gold and silver wares in this Kingdom, 1783-4* (23 & 24 Geo. III c.23) (1783-4) (henceforth cited as 24 Geo. III c.23).

⁸ For an analysis of social structure in eighteenth-century Ireland see Toby Barnard, *A new anatomy of Ireland: the Irish Protestants, 1649-1770* (New Haven, 2004).

⁹ On aspects of guild history see for example: Bert De Munck, ‘The agency of branding and the location of value. Hallmarks and monograms in early modern tableware industries’, in *Business History*, liv, 7 (2012), pp 1055-76; Sheilagh Ogilvie, ‘Guilds, efficiency, and social capital: evidence from German proto-industry’, in *Economic History Review*, lvii (2004). On the retail and consumption of luxury goods see for example: John Adamson (ed.), *Royal goldsmiths, the art of Rundell and Bridge, 1797-1843* (Cambridge, 2005); Jon Stobart, Andrew Hann and Victoria Morgan, *Spaces of consumption, leisure and shopping in the English town, c.1680-1830* (Abingdon, 2007); Maxine Berg, *Luxury & pleasure in eighteenth-century Britain* (Oxford, 2005); Vanessa Brett, *Bertrand’s Toyshop in Bath: luxury retailing 1685-1765* (Wetherby, 2014).

silversmiths is significant.¹⁰ However, none specifically focus in detail on jewellery in Dublin from 1770 to 1870. These works provide an excellent starting point for the proposed research. Although these works provide substantive research on the wider precious metals trade in Ireland and include some reference to jewellery and jewellers, none provide a survey specifically focused on the Dublin jewellery trade.

One of the few publications to consider jewellery in Ireland is Mairead Dunlevy's short work *Jewellery 17th to 20th centuries*.¹¹ This remains a key reference source as it provides a limited catalogue of the jewellery collection of the National Museum of Ireland. While Dunlevy raises issues of competition, new technology and the use of native materials, the relatively brief publication does not allow for substantial analysis of these topics. The work of Elizabeth McCrum and Jeanne Sheehy are valuable for a discussion of mid to late nineteenth-century jewellery.¹² This thesis builds on the work of Dunlevy, McCrum and Sheehy and intends to bring together a more exhaustive profile of the manufacture, retail and consumption of jewellery in Dublin during the late eighteenth to late nineteenth century. In her unpublished thesis Tara Kelly explores the facsimile industry in Dublin from 1840 to 1940. While this work considers aspects of the Irish reproduction jewellery market, its scope is confined to the limited output of five firms as represented in museum collections.¹³ The selection of a number of similar 'facsimile' artefacts is common ground, however, the focus of analysis

¹⁰ The most influential works in terms of this thesis include: Douglas Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver* (London, 1973); John Bowen and Conor O'Brien, *Cork silver and gold: four centuries of craftsmanship* (Cork, 2005); John McCormack and Conor O'Brien, *A celebration of Limerick's silver* (Cork, 2007); Alison FitzGerald, 'The business of being a goldsmith in eighteenth-century Dublin', in G. O'Brien and F. O'Kane-Crimmins (eds.), *Georgian Dublin* (Dublin, 2008), pp 127-34; Alison FitzGerald, 'Cosmopolitan commerce: the Dublin goldsmith Robert Calderwood', *Apollo Magazine*, (2005), pp 46-52; Charles Jackson, *English goldsmiths and their marks* (2nd ed., London 1921); Mairead Dunlevy, *Jewellery 17th to 20th centuries* (Dublin, 2001); Jeanne Sheehy, *The rediscovery of Ireland's past: the Celtic revival 1830-1930* (London, 1980); Diana Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain 1066-1837* (Norwich, 1994); Charlotte Gere and Judy Rudoe, *Jewellery in the age of Queen Victoria: a mirror to the world* (London, 2010).

¹¹ Dunlevy, *Jewellery*.

¹² Elizabeth McCrum, 'Commerce and the Celtic revival: Irish jewellery of the nineteenth century', in *Eire-Ireland*, xxvii, 4 (1993), pp 36-52; Sheehy, *The rediscovery of Ireland's past*.

¹³ Kelly, 'Commerce and the Celtic Revival'.

diverges. Kelly aims to provide an ‘empirical study of Irish facsimiles’¹⁴ while this thesis encompasses the wider jewellery trade in Dublin across an earlier time frame. In contrast to the Irish literature, research on English jewellers has illuminated the structure and evolution of the trade in England.¹⁵ Vanessa Brett’s recent publication offers very useful insight into the luxury goods market for ‘toys’.¹⁶ One of the most recent works to consider nineteenth-century jewellery is *Jewellery in the age of Queen Victoria: a mirror to the world*.¹⁷ Charlotte Gere and Judy Rudoe draw on the British Museum jewellery collection and explore how Victorians used and understood jewellery. However, their findings are heavily weighted towards the English market.

The history of retailing and consumption has attracted significant academic research and has gathered momentum since the publication in 1993 of John Brewer and Roy Porter’s seminal study *Consumption and the world of goods*.¹⁸ Determining the influence of the consumer in terms of what was manufactured and how it was retailed has been the subject of a considerable amount of scholarly attention. A number of publications have used an interdisciplinary approach to consumption to understand the connections between the consumer, manufacturer and retailer.¹⁹ Subsequent work has focused on the motivations behind everyday consumer choice.²⁰

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁵ Helen Clifford, *Silver in London: the Parker and Wakelin partnership, 1760-76* (New Haven, London, 2004); Shena Mason, *Jewellery making in Birmingham 1750-1995* (Sussex, 1998). Kenneth Quickenden & Neal Adrian Quickenden (eds.), *Silver and jewellery: production and consumption since 1750* (Birmingham, 1995).

¹⁶ Brett, *Bertrand’s Toyshop*. In a French context see Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and luxury markets: the marchands merciers of eighteenth-century Paris* (London, 1996).

¹⁷ Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*.

¹⁸ For example, Nancy Cox, *Retailing and the language of goods, 1550-1820* (Surrey, 2015); Ian Mitchell, *Tradition and innovation in English retailing, 1700 to 1850* (Surrey, 2014); David Hussey and Margaret Ponsoyby (eds.), *Buying for the home: shopping for the domestic from the seventeenth century to the present* (Aldershot, 2008); Nancy Cox and Karin Dannehl, *Perceptions of retailing in early modern England* (Aldershot, 2007); John Benson and Laura Ugolini (eds.), *A history of retailing in Britain 1550-2000* (London, 2002).

¹⁹ John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the world of goods* (London, 1993).

²⁰ Amanda Vickery, *The gentleman’s daughter* (New Haven & London, 1988); eadem, *Behind closed doors* (New Haven & London, 2009); Bruno Blondé, Natacha Coquery, Jon Stobart and Ilja Van Damme (eds.), *Fashioning old and new, changing consumer patterns in Western Europe (1650-1900)* (Turnhout, 2009).

The discipline of design history was built upon the foundations of decorative arts scholarship, which placed considerable emphasis on connoisseurship. The interdisciplinary approach to the analysis of artefacts emerged from design history research.²¹ The relationship between people and objects has been developed in more recent publications.²² Marcia Pointon has been instrumental in considering jewellery from a material culture perspective by highlighting the relationship between objects and human behaviour.²³ The concept of the relationship between objects and people is one which is drawn upon in this thesis to examine the value of jewellery in terms of sentiment, memory and status.²⁴ Research on the Irish consumer has begun to gather momentum over the past decade. Toby Barnard's seminal work is joined by other academic research on areas like Irish silversmiths, Irish glass and decorative plasterwork.²⁵ The mid-nineteenth century industrial and manufacturing exhibitions have received considerable academic attention. In the main debates have focused on exhibitions as demonstrations of national identity.²⁶ However, as Louise Purbrick observes the objects exhibited have received comparatively little attention.²⁷ This thesis seeks to address this gap in

²¹ For example see Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward, Jeremy Aynsley (eds.), *Material memories: design and evocation* (Oxford, New York, 1999); Jules David Prown, 'Mind in matter: an introduction to material culture theory and method', in *Winterthur Portfolio*, xvii, no.1 (1982), pp 1-19.

²² Amanda Vickery and John Styles (eds.), *Gender, taste and material culture in Britain and North America* (New Haven, London, 2006); Vickery, *The gentleman's daughter*; eadem, *Behind closed doors*; John Styles, *The dress of the people : everyday fashion in eighteenth-century England* (New Haven, 2008).

²³ Pointon, *Brilliant effects*.

²⁴ Anna Moran & SORCHA O'BRIEN (eds.), *Love objects* (London, New York, 2014).

²⁵ T.C. Barnard, *Making the grand figure: lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven, 2004); Sarah Foster, 'Going shopping in Georgian Dublin: luxury goods and the negotiation of national identity' (M.A. thesis, Royal College of Art, 1995); Anna Moran, 'Merchants and material culture in early nineteenth-century Dublin: a consumer case study' in *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, xi (2008), pp 140-65; Conor Lucey, 'The scale of plasterwork production in the metropolitan centres of Britain and Ireland', in Christine Casey & Conor Lucey (eds.), *Decorative plasterwork in Ireland and Europe: ornament and the early modern interior* (Dublin, 2012), pp 194-218; FitzGerald, 'The production and consumption of goldsmiths' work; Alison FitzGerald and Conor O'Brien, 'The production of silver in late-Georgian Dublin' in *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, iv (2001), pp 9-47.

²⁶ Jeffrey A. Auerbach and Peter H. Hoffenberg (eds.), *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Aldershot, 2008); Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: the expositions universelles, great exhibitions and world's fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester, 1988).

²⁷ Louise Purbrick, 'Defining nation: Ireland at the Great Exhibition of 1851', in Auerbach & Hoffenberg, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, p. 61. One of the few object based publications is Margaret McEnchroe Williams, 'The Temple of Industry': Dublin's Industrial Exhibition of 1853', in Colum Hourihane (ed.), *Irish Art Historical Studies* (Dublin, 2004), pp 261-75.

the literature by investigating three exhibitions from the perspective of the jewellery manufacturer, retailer and consumer.

1.2 Approach

This thesis draws upon the methodology of material culture which utilises objects as a vehicle by which to articulate original readings and interpretations of jewellery. The findings in this study are based on a combination of quantitative analysis and object evidence which allows patterns to emerge and the meaning of individual objects to surface. The empirical evidence in this thesis is gathered from assay records and street directories. The analysis of assay records is contextualised with examples to reveal the value and meaning of jewellery to the owner. Much of the evidence relating to jewellery is archival, which has the advantage of offering a commentary on the value and meaning of objects to the owner. Jewellery is richly documented in newspaper advertisements and trade ephemera. The survival of objects with secure provenance from the period is not as abundant, however, museum collections hold a small number of pieces.

The dual complications of rare and haphazard survival of eighteenth and nineteenth-century artefacts combined with a shortage of specialist studies presents practical obstacles for historians of Irish material culture.²⁸ As noted by Toby Barnard, the study of material culture in Ireland has begun to slowly emerge.²⁹ The foregoing literature review has identified the comparative lack of research on the Irish jewellery market with that carried out on the trade in England. This is partly due to the paucity of Irish jewellers' business records, coupled with the relatively small numbers of extant objects, with secure provenance, made from precious metals.³⁰ Fewer collections of trade cards, letters and business records survive for Irish jewellers, compared with their English counterparts.³¹ However, a business agreement (1777) between the jeweller Elinor Champion and John Keen a goldsmith (figure 1.2) and an extant

²⁸ Barnard, *Material culture in Ireland*, pp 11-16.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Bog oak and Celtic reproduction jewellery dating to the mid to late nineteenth century survive in greater quantities, some bearing makers' or retailers' marks.

³¹ Almost all the records acquired by the Dublin Public Records Office prior to 1922 were destroyed by fire at the beginning of the Civil War in June 1922.

stock book (1866) relating to the Dublin jewellery firm James Mayfield & Co., have not been evaluated before.³² The discovery of these rare documents contributed to the selection of the timeframe covered by this thesis. Furthermore, the records of English jewellery firms such as Peter and Arthur Webb (1771-81), Matthew Boulton (1770-1800) and the American firm Jabez Baldwin (1777-1819) offer evidence of Irish customers.³³ Analysis of these sources helps to demonstrate the range of alternative options available to Irish consumers and the factors which determined their choices. In comparison with silver plate, in the main jewellery was not subject to compulsory assay during the late eighteenth to late nineteenth century.³⁴ The lack of hallmarks or makers' marks on jewellery renders identification of authorship problematic.³⁵ Nevertheless, the publications of Charles Jackson and Douglas Bennett remain key reference sources as they list guild members and business addresses up to 1830.³⁶

A wide range of primary source material has been consulted in researching this thesis including the records of the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin³⁷ (hereafter Dublin goldsmiths' guild), the catalogues of nineteenth-century industrial and manufacturing exhibitions, family papers, travel accounts, trade ephemera and private and public collections of jewellery held in Ireland, Britain and North America. The timeframe covered by this study permits consideration of the impact of key events including the 1798 rebellion, legislation enacted in the wake of the 1801 Act of Union, the ascent of small numbers of powerful retailers, the

³² James Mayfield & Co., stock book 12 Dec. 1866 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 133); Articles of agreement, 3 July 1777 (NAI, D.20,929).

³³ Webb papers (TNA, C108/285); Archives of Soho (LBA, MS 3782); Jabez C. Baldwin (WL, fol.195).

³⁴ *An act for the encouragement of tillage, and better employment of the poor, 1729* (3 Geo. II, c.3 [Ire.]) (henceforth cited as 3 Geo. II, c.3 [Ire.]). Exceptions to compulsory assay included wedding rings, this legislation is discussed in chapter three.

³⁵ The hallmarks on antique plate have been the subject of considerable research. Jackson, *English goldsmiths*; Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ This was the only goldsmiths' guild in Ireland and membership included silversmiths, goldsmiths and jewellers. Jewellery was made and/or retailed by members of the guild. However, not all jewellery manufacturers and retailers were guild members. Furthermore, guild membership does not represent the entire numbers working in the trade. These points are discussed more fully in later chapters.

emergence of great department stores and the 1851 Great Exhibition.³⁸ The extended period of one hundred years allows for consideration of patterns of change over time within the jewellery trade.

Three sets of primary sources, the records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, street directories and newspapers, provide the initial starting point for this study. The records of the guild provide an insight into the workings of the jewellery trade between c.1770 to c.1870. Nevertheless, when these records are cross-referenced with street directories and newspaper sources, it becomes clear that only a fraction of those involved in manufacturing and retailing precious metal jewellery were represented in the guild records. For example, guild records show little evidence of female members during the late eighteenth to late nineteenth century, nevertheless women such as Elinor Champion were clearly involved in the trade.³⁹ An exceptional series of very detailed assay ledgers, covering a twenty-nine year period from 1841 to 1870, point to an extensive network of jewellery manufacturers and retailers. In comparison with other years, the records covering this period offer the most consistent and comprehensive description of jewellery assayed by manufacturers.⁴⁰ Over 22,000 items of jewellery, submitted between September 1841 and December 1870, have been recorded and analysed here. These ledgers are contextualised against less detailed ledgers for the broader period.

³⁸ Eighteenth-century jewellery is subject to a thesis 'A history of jewellers and their businesses in eighteenth-century Ireland: a study in material culture' by Zara Power, University of Limerick.

³⁹ For example, women, Catholics and those who failed to complete an apprenticeship were usually unable to gain admittance to the goldsmiths' guild. Moreover, by the 1840s, the almost total deterioration of the guild system resulted in a significant decline in membership. These points are developed in later chapters. For a discussion of a female silversmith, see Fiona Ahern, 'Jane Williams, an outstanding 19th-century Cork silversmith and her work', in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, cxvii (2012), pp 31-36; eadem, 'Born with a silver spoon Jane Williams, Georgian silversmith 1771-1845' (Diploma, IPAV, Dublin, 2010).

⁴⁰ Thomas Sinsted and FitzGerald & O'Brien have shown how Dublin assay records can be used effectively to profile patterns of production. Thomas Sinsted, 'Four selected assay records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company', in *The Silver Society Journal*, xi (1999), pp 143-57; idem, 'Surviving Dublin assay records. Part 2 (1708-48)', in *The Silver Society Journal*, xvi (2004), pp 87-103; FitzGerald & O'Brien, 'The production of silver', pp 9-47.

The author of the *London Tradesman* noted that jewellers ‘that can furnish them oftenest with the newest whim has the best chance for their custom.’⁴¹ The Irish consumer was increasingly mobile in the early nineteenth century, moving easily between country, city and further afield. Improved roads, the development of canals and the railways all served to encourage travel.⁴² In addition, the improved cross-channel postal service allowed for swifter deliveries, which would have included small items such as jewellery.⁴³ However, according to Lady Abercorn writing in 1810, the service was not always reliable. She commented, ‘I should like to see a small ten guinea Irish harp; but it would not be advisable to risk sending it by post’.⁴⁴ By 1869, jewellery was regularly sent through the post for delivery to the recipient the same day. In October of that year, Edmond Johnson, a Grafton Street jeweller posted a box containing ‘a gold pendant and ear rings to match, a turquoise brooch, another brooch, two gold rings, and a steel brooch’ to his customer Mrs Wilkinson on the outskirts of Dublin in Temple Hill, Killiney.⁴⁵ The close proximity of the fashionable metropolis of London was a boon for Dublin’s retailers of imported goods. The Dublin jewellery manufacturer met consumer demand in a number of ways. In 1810, the jeweller Henry Vigne encouraged custom to his newly appointed premises and highlighted that he had served his apprenticeship ‘in one of the first manufacturing houses in London’ (figure 1.3).⁴⁶ Others encouraged custom by advertising their stock of up to date jewellery designs personally selected in London.

⁴¹ Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, p. 143.

⁴² Improved inland and cross-channel transportation is discussed by Dickson, *Dublin: the making of a capital city*, pp 279-89; see also Stephanie Rains, *Commodity, culture and social class in Dublin (1815-1916)* (Dublin, 2010).

⁴³ ‘By the mid-1820s mail was being moved twice daily between London and Dublin in about thirty-six hours, a revolutionary foreshortening of distance’, Dickson, *Dublin: the making of a capital city*, p. 289.

⁴⁴ Lady Anne Jane Abercorn to Sydney Owenson, 1810?, in W. Hepworth Dixon (ed.), *Lady Morgan’s Memoirs, autobiography, diaries and correspondence*, vol. 1 (London, 1862), p. 409.

⁴⁵ The items were stolen by a post office worker. The court case - *The Queen v. Thomas Byrne and Catherine Byrne*, is reported in William Woodlock (ed.), *The Irish Reports, published under the control of the council of law reporting in Ireland: containing reports of cases argued and determined in the superior courts in Ireland. Common law series, vol. iv. – 1869-70* (Dublin, 1871), pp 68-80.

⁴⁶ *Freeman’s Journal*, 22 Sept. 1810.

Newspaper advertisements are used extensively in this thesis to investigate competition within the jewellery trade, examine the retail methods employed and to assess consumer demand. Newspaper advertising in the late eighteenth to late nineteenth century was hardly a new marketing strategy. By 1863, an Irish newspaper claimed ‘if you see a man affluent in the commercial world, his name has become familiar to the public by the frequency and force of his advertisements.’⁴⁷ The removal of tax on newspapers in 1853 and the subsequent removal of stamp and paper tax by 1860 led to a reduction in the cost of newspapers and increased the possibility of greater circulation.⁴⁸ For example, in the 1840s, *The Nation* cost 6d., by 1869 it had fallen to 2d.⁴⁹ Similarly, the cost of the *Freeman’s Journal*, dropped its price from 4d. in 1800 to 1d. in 1859. According to R.V. Comerford, by the second half of the nineteenth century, the sale of newspapers and consequently readership, had increased significantly. By the mid-nineteenth century significant numbers of Dublin businesses used newspaper advertising to promote their goods.⁵⁰

The publication of Dublin street directories had evolved considerably by the mid-eighteenth century and became increasingly sophisticated in the nineteenth century. Analysis of newspaper advertisements, auction notices, trade receipts and street directories will assist the identification of jewellery retailers and their marketing strategies. Advertising in trade directories and newspapers became more prolific in the nineteenth century. As demonstrated by Stobart *et al.*, trade directories and other print advertisements acted as a sign of urban success and identity.⁵¹ Street directories were intended to provide potential customers with the location of tradesmen such as jewellers, silversmiths and goldsmiths. Peter Wilson published his first trade directory in 1751, *Wilson’s Dublin Directory*, and

⁴⁷ *Irish Weekly Advertiser*, 25 Mar. 1863, cited by John Strachan and Claire Nally, *Advertising, literature and print culture in Ireland, 1891-1922* (Basingstoke & New York, 2012), p. 19.

⁴⁸ R.V. Comerford, ‘Ireland 1850-70: post-famine and mid-Victorian’, in W.E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland: Ireland under the Union, 1: 1801-70* (9 vols, Oxford, 2010), v, 376 (pp 372-95).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 376.

⁵⁰ Strachan & Nally, *Advertising, literature and print culture in Ireland*, p. 23.

⁵¹ Stobart, *et al.*, *Spaces of consumption*, p. 171.

gave an alphabetical list of merchants and traders.⁵² Jewellers and their allied trades are conspicuously absent from the first years of the publication. By 1776, house numbers began to be included and jewellers' details were noted from the 1760s.⁵³ Street or trade directories grew in popularity and by the nineteenth-century separate listings were published for each trade. Consequently, directories increased in size and what might once be contained in a pocket now resided on a shelf.⁵⁴ In 1847, following the initial publication of Richard Griffith's, *General valuation of rateable property in Ireland* (1848-60), the listings in street directories became more detailed. The rateable valuation of each property was included, along with the principal occupier or leaseholder. This very useful source of information on the informal business networks which existed in Dublin is drawn upon in the thesis.

Analysis of Dublin street directories is used here for quantitative mapping of the business activity of the jewellery trade in Dublin city from 1770 to 1870. While the street directory listings are scant in the eighteenth century, the guild records for the same period go some way to filling in the gaps. Conversely, in the nineteenth century, guild records of members were poor while business listings in street directories became more detailed. By cross-referencing both sources, supplemented by information from trade cards and newspaper advertisements, a more accurate profile of the jewellery trade begins to emerge. Throughout the period under review jewellers used advertising rhetoric to puff up their products while calling their competitors' offerings into question. New products, imported goods and business partnerships were announced in newspapers. Retirement, bankruptcy, disagreements and death were all recorded in newspaper notices. When taken together these rich sources of evidence provide a more nuanced

⁵² Peter Wilson (ed.), *Wilson's Dublin Directory* (Dublin, 1751) (henceforth cited as *Wilson's Dublin Directory*).

⁵³ John Watson's *The gentlemen's and citizens' almanac* first published in 1736 was a guide to fair dates, tide tables and the names of state officials such as magistrates and navigation commissioners. No listing for merchants or tradesmen was included.

⁵⁴ A number of new street directories were published in the nineteenth-century including *The General Post Office Annual Directory* (henceforth cited as *Post Office Directory*) and from 1844 *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (henceforth cited as *Thom's Dublin Directory*). The latter proved the most successful and is still published to the present day.

analysis of the jewellery trade and demonstrate the marketing strategies employed in response to competition and consumer demand.

The jeweller was expected to be ‘an elegant designer and have a quick invention for new patterns.’⁵⁵ The development of design skills within the jewellery trade became a focus of concern in the early nineteenth century. Analysis of the records of the Dublin Society Drawing Schools suggests that some Dublin jewellers or members of their family were students.⁵⁶ Consideration of the miniatures held in the National Gallery of Ireland aids tracing business connections between jewellers and portrait miniaturists.⁵⁷ The design skills of Dublin jewellers are amplified by the consideration of archival records in the National Archives, Kew. The patent records from 1849 to 1878 offer evidence of new Irish jewellery designs and include designs, apparently provided by or on behalf of the relevant jeweller.⁵⁸

As previously noted, examples of extant precious metal jewellery, with secure provenance, are scarce for this period. The National Museum of Ireland holds three brooches with Dublin hallmarks dating from 1818 to c.1849 (figure 1.4).⁵⁹ The example of the amethyst brooch is illustrated in figure 1.5 to demonstrate the form of the Dublin hallmark, standard mark and maker’s mark.⁶⁰ In the absence of hallmarked jewellery, the identification of where things were made becomes problematic, therefore examples of some objects have been sourced from British and American museums and auction houses, when they correlate with descriptions

⁵⁵ Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, p. 143.

⁵⁶ Gitta Willemson, *The Dublin society drawing schools, students and award winners 1746-1876* (Dublin, 2000). Although the ubiquity of names during the period renders identification of individuals difficult, analysis of Willemson’s listing has yielded a number of sufficiently unusual names which match jewellers active during the period.

⁵⁷ Paul Caffrey’s work on Irish and English miniatures held in the National Gallery of Ireland collection has been very helpful in this regard; Paul Caffrey, *Treasures to hold, Irish and English miniatures 1650-1850 from the National Gallery of Ireland collection* (Dublin, 2000).

⁵⁸ Patents extend to current day. The first Irish jewellery designs appear to have been registered in 1849.

⁵⁹ A number of Masonic jewels manufactured by Dublin jewellers are held in the Freemasons’ Hall, Dublin. These items are discussed later in this thesis.

⁶⁰ The hallmark was applied by the Dublin assay office after an object had passed assay. The maker’s mark or sponsor’s mark was applied by the jeweller who took responsibility for the piece, it does not necessarily denote authorship. The standard mark relates to the gold carat used in the piece.

and references in printed and manuscript sources. Typically, much unmarked jewellery has been attributed to English or at best British manufacturers. It is rarely the case that Ireland is given as a point of origin. This thesis will demonstrate that jewellery was manufactured in Dublin during the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, some of which was hallmarked. However, for every piece of hallmarked jewellery, there must have been many examples of similar objects which were not sent for assay, as will be examined in this thesis. In this context, the extant Irish patented jewellery designs are an invaluable primary source.

Additional insights into the workings of the trade are gained by examining trade cards, pamphlets, parliamentary papers, diaries and letters. Analysis of surviving trade ephemera facilitates an investigation into retail strategies and hints at consumer habits, such as the desire for novelty and imported goods.⁶¹ For example, in the first decade of the nineteenth century the proprietor of the Dublin Fancy Ware-house on Ormond Quay (figure 1.6) encouraged custom by describing his extensive stock of trinkets, snuff boxes, dress ornaments and wedding rings with a handbill printed in the form of an entertaining rhyme.⁶² According to Kertland, the trappings required to cut a figure in society included ‘canes, *empty* purses, [original emphasis] gloves and garters, fine lavender and honey waters, silk handkerchiefs, snuff boxes, scissors, fruit knives, pencils, tooth-picks, tweezers’. Stobart demonstrates that such advertisements placed merchants at the ‘intersection between politeness and commerce’.⁶³ Analysis of family papers has yielded valuable primary source material in terms of consumer choice and motivation. Individual purchases are analysed to consider wider patterns of consumer demand. Examination of a number of letters and diaries suggests that jewellery was purchased and worn for a variety of reasons including

⁶¹ See for example: Philippa Hubbard, ‘The art of advertising: trade cards in eighteenth-century consumer cultures’ (PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 2009); Katie Scott, ‘The Waddesdon trade cards: more than one history’, in *Journal of Design History*, xvii (2004), pp 91-100; Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford, ‘Selling consumption in the eighteenth century: advertising and the trade card in Britain and France’, in *Cultural and Social History*, iv (2007), pp 145-70; Desmond FitzGerald, Knight of Glin, ‘Dublin directories and trade labels’, in *Furniture History*, xi (1985), pp 115-32.

⁶² William Kertland, The Dublin Fancy Ware-house, handbill n/d (NLI, Ephemera collection, uncatalogued).

⁶³ Jon Stobart, ‘Selling (through) politeness: advertising provincial shops in eighteenth-century England’, in *Cultural and Social History: the Journal of the Social History Society*, v, no.3 (2008), p. 310.

a display sentiment or status, as well as the demonstration of an affiliation to political and social networks.

1.3 Thesis structure

Chapter two provides the wider contextual framework for the following chapters by considering the organisation and evolution of the jewellery trade throughout the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century. Consideration is given to the extent of segregation within the manufacturing and retailing branches of the trade. It is argued that among the factors which influenced change were parliamentary legislation, the declining influence of the goldsmiths' guild and the introduction of new materials such as bog wood and cut-steel and new technology such as steam power which facilitated serial production.⁶⁴ The primary sources for this analysis include guild records, street directories, newspaper advertisements, parliamentary papers and the records of the Birmingham entrepreneur, Matthew Boulton. Boulton was one of a number of British manufacturers of jewellery who identified Dublin as a geographically convenient and potentially profitable market. Analysis of the trade includes investigation of business methods and trade networks in Dublin. A rare business agreement (1777) drawn up between Elinor Champion, a widowed female jeweller, and a young male goldsmith is analysed to test the findings of the broader analysis in terms of late eighteenth-century business strategies.

Chapter three examines the networks of supply and demand between jewellery craftsmen and retailers. Inevitably, as the capital city, Dublin was the centre of hallmarked jewellery manufacture. Patterns of production are analysed in reference to guild records and parliamentary legislation. Assay ledgers have been examined to provide a comprehensive profile of the volumes of jewellery sent for assay between 1770 and 1870. The records for the period 1787-9 are unusually detailed, nevertheless the majority of jewellery items recorded comprised buckles, buttons and Masonic jewels.⁶⁵ The records for the period 1811-17 list a number

⁶⁴ See for example, Maxine Berg, *The age of manufactures, 1700-1820: industry, innovation and work in Britain* (London, 1994).

⁶⁵ A number of belt tips (20), sword hilts (6) and watch cases (61½) are recorded.

of watch cases, buttons and rings, while the records for 1820-6 note the assay of some watch cases and chains. The records covering the period 1841 to 1870 offer the most consistent and comprehensive description of jewellery assayed by manufacturers. It is also possible to determine the extent of jewellery trade networks and to indicate the level of demand by jewellery object during a twenty-nine year period.⁶⁶ Consideration of these ledgers yields remarkable insight into the jewellery trade and opens up discussion around the increase in the number of powerful retailers, the introduction of new gold standards and the subsequent response of Dublin jewellers. It is here that the 1866 stock book of James Mayfield is employed to test the range of goods retailed by one firm against the findings gained from quantitative analysis of the assay ledgers. The Burton Brooch c.1845 is analysed here to demonstrate manufacturing skills that contributed to the creation of a unique piece of jewellery.

The next chapter continues to examine the production of jewellery in Dublin by focusing on new designs patented by Dublin jewellers. Chapter four aims to demonstrate how design legislation changed over the course of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. A number of key questions direct the analysis in this chapter. The first examines why new design legislation was necessary and secondly how the legislation impacted on the Dublin jewellery market. Investigating the impact of parliamentary legislation and examining the patented jewellery designs registered by Dublin manufacturers during the period 1849 to 1878, this chapter considers the extent to which a group of astute jewellers engaged with the competing demands for archaeological-style jewellery and innovative designs. Analysis of the design patents affords an insight into the jewellery business in Dublin by establishing the scope of jewellery deemed worthy of legal protection by jewellers. Large and small Dublin jewellery firms registered designs. The registration of a jewellery design indicates a degree of confidence in product marketability and confirms a level of competition within the jewellery trade. The context for the creation of these designs is investigated

⁶⁶ For a discussion of the objects assayed in the earlier periods see FitzGerald & O'Brien, 'The production of silver', pp 9-47; Sinsteden, 'Four selected assay records'; idem, 'Surviving Dublin assay records'.

by tracing the prevailing social and cultural conditions which gave rise to new jewellery motifs. Where possible, the patented designs have been paired with extant copies of jewellery or images reproduced in contemporary catalogues and pamphlets.

Jewellery fabricated from materials such as cut-steel, bog oak and horsehair is the focus of chapter five. The questions underpinning the analysis include, why this jewellery was fashionable and who manufactured these wares. The consideration of jewellery made from alternative materials invites an investigation of the retailers who stocked such items. As will be demonstrated, cutlers manufactured and retailed items such as cut-steel chatelaines, while ironmongers retailed a variety of objects including buttons and buckles.⁶⁷ Bog wood manufacturers were present in Dublin from the early nineteenth century. Investigation of the work of the manufacturer, Joseph Johnson, highlights the features which characterised the production of the finer examples of bog wood jewellery during the period 1849 to 1875. The chapter closes with a case study of the manufacture and retail of horsehair jewellery as a philanthropic venture. Made by destitute women and children, horsehair ornaments were exhibited at manufacturing and industrial exhibitions from at least 1847 to 1865. The jewellery was manufactured and subsequently retailed in Dublin under the direction of two women, Louisa Beaufort (1781-1863) and Eliza O'Connor (1820?-1888?).⁶⁸ Jewellery fabricated from a range of alternative materials was manufactured and retailed in Dublin. The primary sources for this analysis are the records of the Birmingham entrepreneur, Matthew Boulton, the catalogues of mid-nineteenth century

⁶⁷ A chatelaine was an ornamental clasp worn at the waist, from which suspended a number of short chains terminating with small useful objects such as watch keys, étui and seals, along with decorative items like cameos or charms. Chatelaines were worn by women and men. An étui was a small ornamental case fitted with miniature implements such as scissors, knives and pencils. Harold Newman, *An illustrated dictionary of jewelry* (London, 1999), p. 65; *ibid.*, p. 118.

⁶⁸ Interestingly, Louisa Beaufort was related by marriage to Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849) and her father Richard Lovell Edgeworth (1744-1817). Beaufort's sister, Frances Anne, married Richard Edgeworth in 1798. Eliza O'Connor was a niece of Peter O'Connor (1803-93), a Sligo timber merchant and philanthropist, see Maria Wootton, *O'Connor Sligo of Edenbawn family tracts* (privately published); John McTernan, *Here's to their memory: profiles of distinguished Sligonians of bygone days* (Dublin & Cork, 1977). I am grateful to Fiona Gallagher for bringing this source to my attention.

manufacturing and industrial exhibitions. Additional sources for chapter five include trade directories, advertisements, letters and diaries.

Having investigated the production of jewellery, chapter six moves to analyse the retail strategies employed by Dublin jewellers from the last quarter of the eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century. What form of competition did jewellers face? How did the jeweller's shop change from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century? How was jewellery advertised? These questions direct the analysis in terms of the responses jewellers made to rising consumerism.⁶⁹ New empirical evidence from analysis of street directories is used to identify commercial hubs and clustering within the trade. The rateable valuation of properties is drawn upon to compare the factors which influenced the retailers' choice of location.⁷⁰ Credit was vital to the jewellery trade as will be demonstrated in this chapter. The products retailed in Dublin were a mix of locally manufactured jewellery and imports from Birmingham, London and Paris. The jewellery manufactured in Dublin included fashionable and innovative wares created in response to social and political events throughout the period. Research focused on newspaper advertisements contributes here towards presenting a more comprehensive picture of the Dublin jeweller's stock and shop environment than currently exists. Investigation of retail strategies considers why Dublin jewellery retailers found it necessary to diversify into the sale of goods such as cigars, Madeira wine and 'living birds'.

The perspective of the consumer is advanced in chapter seven. This chapter argues that the purchase of jewellery was not always motivated by a desire for luxury or display; sentiment, patriotism and a variety of different impulses could

⁶⁹ For a discussion of retailing in a British and Continental context see for example: Lina Dries, Lija Van Damme, 'A strategy of seduction? The role of commercial advertisements in the eighteenth-century retailing business of Antwerp', in *Business History*, li, no.1 (2009), pp 100-21; Katy Layton-Jones, 'The synthesis of town and trade: visualizing provincial urban identity, 1800-1868', in *Urban History*, xxxv, no.1 (2008), pp 72-95; Berg, *Luxury & pleasure*; Natacha Coquery, 'The language of success: marketing and distributing semi-luxury goods in eighteenth-century Paris', in *Journal of Design History*, xvii, no.1 (2004), pp 71-89.

⁷⁰ The rateable value of a building was the estimated annual rent a property might generate. The factors used to determine the rateable valuation included materials of construction, state of repair, age and size of the building, and the location.

also inspire consumers. Anthropological and sociological theories surrounding gift giving and value inform the theoretical approach of this chapter.⁷¹ The principal avenues of analysis consider the value and symbolic worth of jewellery and secondly, how ownership of objects was used to signify social rank and wealth. How was value measured? What did the ownership of jewellery signify? How did the nature of demand change over time? These are some of the questions which guide the investigation of consumer motivation. Throughout the period c.1770 to c.1870, the Irish consumer was presented with an extensive choice of jewellery products. Consumers were offered novelty in the form of imported wares in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, while being challenged to demonstrate economic patriotism by supporting local manufactures. The records of the London jeweller Arthur Webb and the stock book of the Dublin jeweller James Mayfield, are drawn upon in this chapter to amplify patterns of acquisition. New materials such as ‘Irish diamonds’ and nine carat gold served to confuse and challenge consumers’ perceptions of value. The jewellery adopted by men during the period represented political views and philanthropic actions. Adornment pronounced independence and manhood, while also signifying modernity and sentiment.

For reasons already addressed, direct consumer evidence is difficult to locate, nevertheless this chapter draws upon a variety of primary sources to aid investigation of the factors which influenced the acquisition of jewellery. Sydney Owenson’s correspondence c.1810, provides a fascinating insight into her designs for ‘Glorvina’ ornaments and those who desired them.⁷² Analysis of a range of travel accounts, published between 1842 and 1859, has yielded considerable insight into the retail and consumption of jewellery made in Killarney and Dublin. Drawings from a mid-nineteenth century diary recorded by John Joly (1826-58), a county Offaly curate, have been reproduced for the first time.⁷³ Analysis of Joly’s

⁷¹ Marcel Mauss, *The gift: the form and reason for exchange in archaic societies* (London, 2002); Pointon, *Brilliant effects*; eadem, ‘Jewellery in eighteenth-century England’, in Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (eds.), *Consumers and luxury: Consumer culture in Europe 1650 to 1850* (Manchester & New York, 1999), p. 124.

⁷² A Glorvina was a type of hair ornament, made popular by Lady Bedford in 1807.

⁷³ I am grateful to Ciarán Reilly for drawing my attention to this source.

diary is used to illustrate the symbolic value of jewellery, particularly during courtship and marriage. An account book detailing purchases made during the period 1858-65, offers direct evidence of jewellery purchased by an Irish consumer while at home and abroad. Patterns of consumption are identified by comparing purchases made by Sir Richard Johnson in 1764 with those made by Edward Lord Gormanstown in 1836. An extensive range of visual material such as jewellery illustrations, trade cards and advertisements has been combined with documentary sources in order to establish the context in which jewellery was purchased, received, valued and understood.

The concluding chapter brings together the perspectives of manufacturer, retailer and consumer by focusing on mid-nineteenth century manufacturing and industrial exhibitions held in Britain and Ireland. Exhibitions were lavish spectacles of goods, both exotic and mundane, designed to entice the consumer. During the same period, department stores emerged in Dublin. Consequently, the nature and aspirations of the consumer might be discerned through analysis of the exhibition displays. The catalogues of manufacturing and industrial exhibitions of the mid-nineteenth century provide a wealth of material relating to the extent of jewellery manufactured and retailed in mid to late nineteenth-century Dublin.

It is hoped that this thesis will offer a fuller and more nuanced profile of the production, retail and consumption of jewellery in Dublin during the late eighteenth to late nineteenth century. By offering a fresh perspective on the manufacture, retail and consumption of jewellery in Dublin, this research aims to complement existing studies on Irish-material culture for this period.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Barnard, *Making the grand figure*; Foster, 'Going shopping in Georgian Dublin'; Moran, 'Merchants'; Lucey, 'The scale of plasterwork production', pp 194-218; FitzGerald, 'The production and consumption of goldsmiths' work; FitzGerald & O'Brien, 'The production of silver'.

Chapter Two

The organisation and evolution of the jewellery trade in Dublin c.1770-c.1870

‘... she employs the best workmen in the different branches of her business’.¹

The above excerpt from a newspaper advertisement placed by the jeweller Elinor Champion in 1783, suggests the existence of a network of craftsmen within the Dublin jewellery trade.² How many individuals were involved in manufacture and retail of jewellery? Where were these tradesmen distributed? Why did the commercial centres change over the course of the century? Some craftsmen concentrated solely on manufacturing, while others focused entirely on retailing and a third group combined both skills. Consequently, those involved in the jewellery trade had different and sometimes conflicting commercial interests. For example, tensions flared during the debate on the abolition of import duty in the 1820s. Although the Act of Union was intended to create a free flow of goods between Britain and Ireland, a duty of 10% was introduced on a range of goods imported into Ireland. The duty offered protection to Ireland’s manufacturers of furniture, glass, silver plate and jewellery. The manufacturer wished to protect his home market from imports, while the retailer concentrated on attracting customers who demanded a choice of domestically-produced and imported wares.

This chapter will investigate the organisation of Dublin’s jewellery trade by considering the factors which influenced the workings of the precious metals trade from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century. As will be discussed here, the decline of the guild system and the introduction of new legislation had a

¹ *Saunders’ News-letter and Daily Advertiser*, 24 Dec. 1783 (hereafter *Saunders’ Newsletter*).

² *Ibid.*

considerable impact on Dublin's jewellers and silversmiths. Although the goldsmiths' guild retained an element of control over the precious metals trade, individual craftsmen policed the standard of goods offered for retail. The categories of craftsmen who populated the trade are identified, such as jewellers, toymen and lapidaries. The numbers of jewellers working in Dublin are examined here. As might be expected, the annual numbers rise and fall, however, an average of fifty-three worked in the trade during the course of the late eighteenth to late nineteenth century. This chapter also establishes the segregation that existed between manufacturer and retailer. By drawing on a variety of sources such as the records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, parliamentary papers and street directories, which have never been comprehensively exploited for the information they can yield on the jewellery trade, a picture of the trade over a 100 year period emerges. The pioneering work of Alison FitzGerald has examined the production and consumption of plate in eighteenth-century Dublin.³ Recent research carried out by Edel Sheridan-Quantz has used *Wilson's Directory* to examine the distribution of commercial activity in Dublin in 1798.⁴ Building on FitzGerald and Sheridan-Quantz' work, this chapter provides new information on the make-up and distribution of the craftsmen employed in Dublin's jewellery trade.

This chapter is primarily concerned with precious metal jewellery; chapter five considers the jewellery manufactured and retailed by allied trades such as cutlers and ironmongers. This current chapter is divided into four broad sections: the history of the goldsmiths' guild over the period, the regulation of the trade, the numbers working as jewellers and finally the categories of craftsmen. Subsequent chapters will expand on aspects of the jewellery trade from the perspectives of the manufacturer, the retailer and the consumer. This chapter starts by examining the way in which the guild system governed much of the jewellery trade labour

³ FitzGerald, 'The production and consumption of goldsmiths' work'.

⁴ Edel Sheridan-Quantz, 'The multi-centred metropolis: the social topography of eighteenth-century Dublin', in Clark & Gillespie, *Two capitals: London and Dublin*, pp 280-83.

force.⁵ The influence and control exerted by all guilds including the goldsmiths' guild was almost completely eroded by 1840. This was not an Irish phenomenon, guilds in continental Europe and Britain also declined.⁶ The next part of this chapter will investigate the regulation of the trade, particularly in relation to the introduction of new materials and fraudulent practices. Then, the spread and number of jewellers working in the trade throughout the period 1770 to 1870 are examined. These figures are derived from a survey of Dublin street directories. Finally, the categories of craftsmen and labour networks comprising the jewellery trade will be identified.

2.1 The Dublin goldsmiths' guild

The guild system played a part in the trade and municipal life in Ireland until 1840. The Municipal Corporation Reform Act of 1840 and subsequent legislation in 1846⁷ almost abolished the guild system entirely, indeed the Dublin goldsmiths' guild was the only guild to survive.⁸ The goldsmiths Guild of All Saints was in existence before 1555. Although its original charter was destroyed in a fire, the Common Council of the City of Dublin granted recognition of the guild in 1557.⁹ In 1637, the guild petitioned Charles I, who incorporated the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin by royal charter.¹⁰ Other trades involved in jewellery manufacture and retail such as cutlers and ironmongers were also governed by their respective guilds. Guilds were charged with enforcing the regulations which governed their trade. The goldsmiths' guild was required to ensure that the standard of gold and silver was maintained. It was this aspect of the goldsmiths' guild that ensured its survival when other guilds faded away in the nineteenth century. In 1865, Edmond Johnson, a prominent Dublin jeweller,

⁵ For a discussion of the guild system in Ireland see, Jacqueline Hill, *From patriots to unionists: Dublin civic politics and Irish Protestant patriotism, 1660-1840* (Oxford, 1997), pp 24-41; 193-211; 295-300.

⁶ See for example, Ogilvie, 'Guilds, Efficiency, and Social Capital', pp 286-333.

⁷ *An Act for the Regulation of Municipal Corporations in Ireland, 1840* (3 & 4 Vict. c.108) (10 August 1840) (henceforth cited as 3 & 4 Vict. c.108); *An Act for the Abolition of the exclusive Privilege of Trading, or of regulating, Trades, in Cities, Towns, or Boroughs in Ireland, 1846* (9 & 10 Vict. c.76) (26 August 1846) (henceforth cited as 9 & 10 Vict. c.76).

⁸ For a comparison across Dublin guilds, see Mary Clarke and Raymond Refaussé, *Directory of historic Dublin guilds* (Dublin, 1993), p. 13.

⁹ Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, p. 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

explained that purchasers of eighteen-carat gold jewellery showed a ‘marked preference for rings which bear upon them the stamp and mark’.¹¹ Although, he was confirming the importance of the hallmark to the discerning consumer, he nevertheless agreed that unmarked rings ‘were sold in a much greater quantity than the marked ones, because they were cheaper.’¹² Johnson’s comments neatly demonstrate the trends of the period and are corroborated by data from assay records and trade ephemera. Johnson was giving evidence to a parliamentary inquiry into the management and efficiency of assay offices in Britain and Ireland.

Traditionally, guilds had strong links to municipal corporations. The corporation of Dublin consisted of a lord mayor, twenty-four aldermen, and a common council. The goldsmiths’ guild was entitled to four seats in the common council.¹³ The positions of alderman, sheriff and mayor were sometimes held by members of the goldsmiths’ guild. The goldsmith and jeweller Jeremiah D’Olier was sheriffs’ peer or alderman of Dublin in 1788, 1790 and 1800.¹⁴ Jacob West, jeweller and silversmith, held the position of lord mayor of Dublin from 1829 to 1830.¹⁵ Once a craftsman gained freedom of his guild, he was entitled to carry on his trade. He could then apply for freedom of the city, which brought the right to vote in parliamentary elections, access to local office and exemption from certain tolls.¹⁶ From 1832, the right to vote was gained by those who owned property valued at £10, guild freedom was no longer a necessity.¹⁷ The guild system was essentially of medieval origins, mass production and the subsequent division between manufacturer and distributor lay in the future. By the eighteenth century the role of manufacturer and retailer had become more defined.¹⁸ For example, by

¹¹ *Report from the Select Committee on Silver and Gold Wares; together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, appendix, and index.* H.C. 1856 (190), xvi, 263, p. 171 (henceforth cited as *Committee on Silver and Gold Wares*).

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, p. 16.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 304. *Wilson’s Dublin directory* 1800, Jeremiah D’Olier is listed as goldsmith and jeweller, sheriff’s peer and governor of the Bank of Ireland.

¹⁵ Jacqueline R. Hill, ‘The shaping of Dublin Government in the long eighteenth century’, in Clark & Gillespie, *Two capitals, London and Dublin*, p. 152.

¹⁶ Hill, *From patriots to unionists*, p. 30.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

the 1770s, manufacturers looked for parliamentary legislation rather than to the guild system to protect them from English imports.¹⁹

The records of the goldsmiths' guild provide valuable insight into the jewellery trade from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, as will be demonstrated, guild membership only represented a fraction of jewellery manufacturers and retailers. Freedom of the goldsmiths' guild was gained in a variety of ways including serving an apprenticeship to a freeman, being the son of a freeman, or by special grace and favour.²⁰ Usually eligibility could be gained following an apprenticeship to a freeman. Others might be admitted by marriage or right of birth. During the period 1770 to 1870, at least thirteen jewellers, one lapidary and thirty-five goldsmiths are known to have been made freemen of Dublin.²¹ In comparison, thirty-eight apothecaries and sixteen cutlers were made freemen of Dublin from 1770 to 1823.²² Honorary freedom was granted on occasion, for example the jeweller John Twycross was admitted by 'grace especial' on 23 November 1807.²³ The following year, in 1808, a freedom box was presented to 'James Twycross jeweller' by the Corporation of the city of Dublin as a 'mark of the Corporation's esteem' (figure 2.1).²⁴ Thomas Mason, a Fownes Street jeweller, was granted freedom of the goldsmiths' guild in 1869, following his marriage to the grand-daughter of freeman, Edward McKeon.²⁵ As Jacqueline Hill observes, although guild freedom was historically open to women as well as men, by the eighteenth century women ceased to be made free of guilds in their own right.²⁶ It was common for widows such as Elinor Champion (c.1775-1800) and Ann Cormick (c.1780-1800) to carry on a husband's business.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 41.

²⁰ Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, pp 8-9.

²¹ Ancient freemen of Dublin, available at: Dublin City Library and Archive, <http://www.dublin.heritage.ie/freemen> and records of the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin.

²² Ancient freemen of Dublin, available at: Dublin City Library and Archive, <http://www.dublin.heritage.ie/freemen> [26 June 2015].

²³ Freedom by 'grace especial' could be granted to tradesmen who were unable to apply for freedom by birth or service. Also a guild could confer such freedom on a member of the nobility or gentry in the hope they would support the guild's interest. Hill, *From patriots to unionists*, p. 39.

²⁴ The reason for this honour has not been uncovered.

²⁵ Minute book 6 Aug. 1855 to 29 July 1818: minutes, 1 Nov. 1869 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 10, p. 108).

²⁶ Hill, *From patriots to unionists*, pp 29-30.

Both carried on the business of jewellers following the death of their husbands. Jane Williams carried on the business of a silversmith in Cork in the nineteenth century, however, none of these women are known to have been guild freemen or quarter brothers.²⁷

2.1.1 Apprentices

Apprentices were formally indentured for seven years to a master who instructed them in the trade. Although craft guilds were of major importance for the development and diffusion of transferable skills, apprenticeships were time-consuming, expensive and exclusive.²⁸ The apprentice paid for the privilege of being trained and his master was expected to provide him with adequate food, clothing and lodgings. While indentured, apprentices were not allowed to marry, nor ‘haunt taverns, alehouses or playhouses’.²⁹ On the subject of marriage, the author of the *London Tradesman*, R. Campbell remarked ‘an apprentice is never completely miserable till he has got a wife’.³⁰ An apprenticeship offered the possibility of improving one’s status. For example, George Mason, the son of a Dublin pin maker, was apprenticed to the jeweller John Wade in 1781, and Joseph Johnson a stay-maker’s son was apprenticed in 1782 to the jeweller John Moses Dufor.³¹

There were cases where an apprentice was prevented from completing his service, due to the death of a master. On these occasions the apprentice might be taken on by another master. For example, in 1773 Poole Taylor apprenticed William Sherwin, the son of the late John Sherwin, for the remainder of his service.³² In similar circumstances, following the death of William Steele, Michael Graham

²⁷ Ahern, ‘Jane Williams’, pp 31-36; eadem, ‘Born with a silver spoon’; Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, pp 300-01.

²⁸ Ulrich Pfister, ‘Craft guilds, the theory of the firm, and early modern proto-industry’, in S.R. Epstein and Maarten Prak (eds.), *Guilds, innovation and the European economy, 1400-1800* (Cambridge, 2008), pp 26-7.

²⁹ Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, pp 12-13.

³⁰ Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, p. 315.

³¹ Apprentice register: 2 May 1752 to 7 Nov. 1823 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 97, pp 84v-85).

³² Apprentice record 9 Jan. 1773 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 97, p. 69).

completed the remaining four years of his apprenticeship with the jeweller Arthur Bate.³³

By the end of the eighteenth century, the numbers of apprentices registered with the goldsmiths' guild had fallen considerably, as noted by Alison FitzGerald.³⁴ Between 1770 and 1823, a total of seventy-five apprentices were registered with the goldsmiths' guild (appendix 1). In comparison, 312 apprentices were enrolled between 1740 and 1770; a clear fall in apprenticeships is evident.³⁵ Of the total number of apprentices enrolled in the guild between 1770 and 1823, twenty-four were apprentice jewellers.³⁶ The number of apprentice jewellers registered fell from thirteen in the decade to 1780, to just two during the twenty years from 1803 to 1823. Twenty-three of the apprentices came from Dublin, one was from Trim, Co. Meath and one from Londonderry. Just under a quarter of the apprentices were sons of goldsmiths, jewellers or toymen.³⁷ The sons of hosiers, worsted sorters, pin makers and hairdressers were among the remainder. The registration book of apprentices is helpful, nevertheless, reliance on one source provides a limited perspective. For example, Francis Walsh a Castle Street jeweller advertised for an apprentice in 1780, yet there is no guild record of either Walsh or his apprentice.³⁸ According to the apprentice ledgers, the last apprentice jeweller registered was Joseph Henry Scruthon to Matthew Law.³⁹ Yet, in 1825, James Wickham a jeweller's apprentice was made free of the guild after completing service to Thomas Gonne.⁴⁰ Although the erosion of the efficacy of the guild might account for this in the nineteenth century, similar omissions

³³ Apprentice record 25 Nov. 1773 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 97, p. 71).

³⁴ FitzGerald, 'The production and consumption of goldsmiths' work, p. 53.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ This figure is based on guild records and newspaper advertisements and trade cards.

³⁷ The occupation of the parent/grandparent/guardian is not always recorded, apprentice records have been cross-referenced with other guild records and newspapers, street directories and trade cards.

³⁸ *Saunders' Newsletter*, 16 & 20 June 1780.

³⁹ Apprentice record 7 Nov. 1823 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 97, unpaginated after p. 91).

⁴⁰ Minute book: 11 Oct. 1824 to 7 May 1855, minute 2 Feb. 1825 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 8, p. 7). John Brown was apprenticed to Matthew West in 1808, Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, p. 655.

occurred throughout the eighteenth century.⁴¹ Occasionally it is possible to identify the career path of a mid-nineteenth century jeweller. Although Robert Kerr Gardner does not appear in the records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, aspects of his training might be surmised from contemporary newspapers. In 1850 Robert Gardner, established his 'London jewellery, watch and plate showrooms' on Grafton Street. Gardner was diamond worker to Frances Anne Marchioness of Londonderry.⁴² Prior to setting up his business in Dublin, Gardner had most likely spent time in Belfast working alongside his father, Henry Gardner, a watchmaker. Although Henry Gardner had registered with the Dublin assay office in 1827, no evidence of a makers punch survives in the records. In 1849, Robert registered a punch for marking eighteen-carat gold, it was not until 1851 that he registered a punch for marking silver.⁴³ His punch mark was styled, Gardner & Co. within a circle. Gardner had also worked for the Dublin firm, Law & Son, where he would have gained first-hand experience of the working of a busy retail jewellery and plate business. By 1850, he evidently considered himself suitably equipped to commence manufacturing and retailing on his own account.

The requirement for an apprentice to serve seven years and submit 'a certain work or vessel of gold', a masterpiece, before being made free of the guild, originated from the charter. However, this practice appears to have fallen into abeyance by the eighteenth century. As Alison FitzGerald observes, there is insufficient evidence in eighteenth-century guild records to suggest that apprentices were required to submit a masterpiece.⁴⁴ Once an apprentice had completed his

⁴¹ In the eighteenth century, masters failed to register apprentices for a variety of reasons. For example, some thought it unnecessary to register their son, while widows might continue in business and take on apprentices. These and other examples cited by FitzGerald, 'The production and consumption of goldsmiths' work, pp 47-51.

⁴² *Saunders' Newsletter*, 2 Jan. 1850.

⁴³ Registration book: 1784-1838, 15 Aug. 1827 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmith's guild, MS 99, p. 28); punch register 1800: 26 Jul. 1849 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 100, unpaginated); *ibid.*, 10 Jul. 1851.

⁴⁴ FitzGerald, 'The production and consumption of goldsmiths' work, p. 71; in addition, no evidence has emerged of any jeweller's apprentice submitting masterpiece during the period c.1770 to c.1870.

indenture, he could petition the goldsmith's guild for freedom to set up his own business.⁴⁵

2.1.2 Freemen and quarter brothers

The introduction of the quarterage system dated to the 1670s, when Catholics were no longer eligible for freedom, furthermore some Protestant craftsmen had little desire to pay the required fines or take on the responsibility of civic freedom.⁴⁶ In order to maintain guild control over tradesmen of all denominations, quarter brothers were introduced. They were not obliged to take the oath of supremacy, instead paid a quarterly fine or fee to the guild, but were ineligible to participate in guild or civic office nor did they have the parliamentary franchise.⁴⁷ As observed by Jacqueline Hill, the introduction of the quarterage system can be viewed as a method to include Catholics in trade.⁴⁸ At least forty-six quarter brothers were listed in the records of the goldsmiths' guild between the years 1770 to 1784, when the lists end.⁴⁹ The quarterage dispute and the subsequent Catholic relief acts (1774-8) effectively acknowledged the place of Catholic tradesmen in Ireland's commercial life.⁵⁰ In the last quarter of the eighteenth century Catholic tradesmen were effectively placed on the same footing as Protestants.⁵¹

During the period 1691 to 1793, no evidence exists of Catholics being admitted the freedom of any guilds.⁵² Estimates put the Protestant population of Ireland at

⁴⁵ Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, pp 12-14.

⁴⁶ The background to this is discussed by Hill, *From patriots to unionists*, pp 31-32.

⁴⁷ The French Huguenot involvement with the goldsmiths' guild can be dated to 1681, when persecution drove them to flee France, for a detailed discussion of this topic, see Jessica Cunningham, 'Dublin's Huguenot goldsmiths 1690-1750: assimilation and divergence', in *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, xii (2009), pp 158-85.

⁴⁸ Hill, *From patriots to unionists*, p. 32.

⁴⁹ Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, p. 661. As Hill has shown, the failure of the quarterage bill in 1778 did result in a loss of guild morale, 'for example the records of the Smiths guild are poorly kept in the mid-1780s', Hill, *From patriots to unionists*, p. 41.

⁵⁰ Maureen MacGeehin, 'The Catholics of the towns and the quarterage dispute in eighteenth-century Ireland', in *Irish Historical Studies*, viii, no.30 (1952), pp 91-114.

⁵¹ Maureen Wall, 'The rise of a Catholic middle-class in eighteenth-century Ireland, in *Irish Historical Studies*, xi, no.42 (1958), p. 95.

⁵² Hill, 'Dublin Government', pp 163-4.

just 27% in 1814.⁵³ However, as noted by Jacqueline Hill, Protestant tradesmen in Dublin outnumbered their Catholic cohorts.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, as Catholics exceeded the number of Protestants in Ireland guild laws would have been difficult to enforce.⁵⁵ The bar against Catholics becoming full guild members affected a considerable number of craftsmen in Ireland. By the end of the quarterage dispute in 1778, guilds had failed to achieve parliamentary legislation to support their demand for quarterage from Catholic tradesmen.⁵⁶ By 1788, Catholics could take long leases, prior to then they had been restricted to thirty-one year leases. By 1780, all tradesmen, regardless of religious persuasion, whether guild members or not, were free to employ apprentices.⁵⁷ Although the prohibition on Catholics employing no more than two apprentices remained in force until 1792, Maureen Wall argues that in practice they probably employed as many as they wished.⁵⁸ The Relief acts of 1792-3 opened guild membership to Catholics, but many guilds continued to refuse admittance.⁵⁹ By the late eighteenth century, guild membership was no longer a requirement for those who engaged in commercial life.⁶⁰ In 1833, forty years after the introduction of the act, the goldsmiths' guild confirmed that 'no freedom has been granted by birth or service to persons professing the Roman Catholic Religion', further remarking that 'none of that persuasion having made application'.⁶¹ This suggests that few, if any, Catholics wished or deemed it necessary, to be full members of the goldsmiths' guild.

The gradual deterioration of the guild system was almost complete by the mid-nineteenth century. Additional parliamentary legislation introduced from 1840

⁵³ Jacqueline R. Hill, 'National festivals, the State, and the 'Protestant ascendancy' in Ireland, 1790 to 1829', in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxiv, no.93 (1984), pp 34-5.

⁵⁴ Hill, *From patriots to unionists*, p. 38.

⁵⁵ MacGeehin, 'The quarterage dispute', pp 91-114.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp 91-114.

⁵⁷ The parliamentary act 19 & 20 Geo. III, c.19, is discussed by Hill, *From patriots to unionists*, p. 202.

⁵⁸ The parliamentary act which permitted this was Anne 8, 1709, cited by Wall, 'Catholic middle-class', p. 94.

⁵⁹ 'The 1792 and 1793 Relief Acts conceded full membership of trade and craft guilds to Roman Catholics, but in practice this was almost impossible to obtain.' Clarke & Refaussé, *Dublin Guilds*, p. 12.

⁶⁰ MacGeehin, 'The quarterage dispute', pp 91-114.

⁶¹ Minutes, 6 Mar. 1833 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 8, p. 175).

proved fatal to guild membership. By 1851, the Dublin goldsmiths' guild claimed to be:

so considerably diminished in numbers; several old and respected members having recently died, and others having left Dublin, and some others having left Ireland and gone to America, and elsewhere, that it is now extremely difficult to get sufficient attendances of members to transact the business connected with the proper management of the assay office, and the deficiency of numbers being detrimental to the income of the corporation, several persons who are entitled to become free of the corporation having refused to be admitted being subject to the stamp duty.⁶²

Establishing a business required substantial investment and many qualified craftsmen were forced to accept low wages while working as journeymen, employed by the day or the week.⁶³ The cost required to establish retail premises is investigated in chapter five. By the 1770s, journeymen began to take matters into their own hands by forming combinations.⁶⁴ Combinations essentially formed the origins of trade unions and were virulently opposed by guilds and city corporations. In 1776, the goldsmiths' guild met and agreed to 'suppress such unlawful and injurious combinations' by contributing 'any sum not exceeding 10 guineas from this Corporation to defray the charges of prosecutions against such journeymen'.⁶⁵ In summary, in the period up to 1840, the jewellery trade labour force was somewhat controlled and restricted by guild membership. As the falling numbers of apprenticeships testify, the role of the guild was being diluted in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Following the introduction of the Municipal Corporation Reform Act, those working in the jewellery trade were free of the requirement to become guild members:

⁶² Minutes, 25 Aug. 1851 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmith's guild, MS 8, pp 491-99). Stamp duty of 20s. or 60s. was imposed on new guild members, depending on their status, by parliamentary act 5 & 6 Vict. c.82. The underlined sections follow the original. *An act to assimilate the stamp duties in Great Britain and Ireland, and to make regulations for collecting and managing the same, until the tenth day of October one thousand eight hundred and forty-five, 1842* (5 & 6 Vict. c.82) (5 August 1842) (henceforth cited as 5 & 6 Vict. c.82).

⁶³ Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, p. 12.

⁶⁴ Hill, *From patriots to unionist*, p. 40.

⁶⁵ Minute book 1 May 1760 to 15 June 1779: minutes, post hall 10 Dec. 1776 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 5, p. 339).

... it shall be lawful for any Person or Persons to ... carry on ... any lawful Trade, Occupation, Mystery, or Handicraft, and to take Apprentices to learn the same, in any City, Town, or Borough, and elsewhere, in Ireland, without being a Member of any Guild⁶⁶

Furthermore, the right to vote was no longer linked to guild membership, rather, men who owned or occupied a property valued at a yearly value of £10 or more, could be eligible to vote in local elections.⁶⁷ However, it should be noted that the decline of the guild system did not alter the regulations which governed the manufacture of gold and silver. The goldsmiths' guild continued to conduct the assay of gold and silver. Manufacturers and retailers were still obliged to have gold and silver items assayed and hallmarked before being offered for sale. This obligation did not extend to the majority of jewellery. This exemption can be dated back to the 1637 guild charter which stated that makers were only required to mark such items as 'conveniently can carry' [a mark], thus exempting small works of gold or silver from carrying a maker's mark.⁶⁸ This remained the case throughout the period 1770 to 1870, with few exceptions such as buckles, buttons and wedding rings, which are discussed in chapter three.

2.2 Regulation of the trade

In theory, the power of the Dublin assay office extended throughout Ireland, although the gradual erosion of guild authority and membership hampered its geographical reach. For example, officials were expected to visit shops to check that the items on display were correctly hallmarked. As Bert de Munck has shown, 'the hallmark was the visual manifestation' of the guild's system of quality control.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ 9 & 10 Vict. c.76.

⁶⁷ 3 & 4 Vict. c.108.

⁶⁸ Charter of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin, 22 Dec. 1637, text reproduced in Charles Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, pp 565-74.

⁶⁹ De Munck, 'The agency of branding', p. 1057.

The guild sometimes investigated ‘the frauds and abuses practised in marking and selling buckles more than the weight thereof’.⁷⁰ In 1774, several incidences concerning buckles being sold ‘with the weight fraudulently marked’ were brought to the attention of the guild.⁷¹ The guild subsequently notified manufacturers and retailers of a new regulation. From 1 March 1774, buckles were required to be marked with the full finished weight.⁷² Three weeks later, the guild was evidently concerned that the regulation was being ignored. Consequently, guild officials wrote to ‘all freemen and non-freemen’ informing them that, those who were found to have flouted the regulation would ‘be prosecuted with the utmost severity’ by the guild ‘and that the ‘master and wardens’ would ‘visit ... several shops for that purpose.’⁷³ In 1776, William Moore of Capel Street and Edward Rice of Crampton Court were found to have falsely sold buckles as silver.⁷⁴ The buckles from Moore’s shop on the corner of Capel Street and Essex Bridge had been purchased by the Earl of Bective’s servants. When tested by the Assay Master the buckles were found to be below the silver standard. The buckles were melted down and half their value was donated to the House of Industry, the other half went to the poor of the parish. Interestingly, when a motion was put forward to include the names of those involved in selling fake wares with the charitable donations, it was passed by nineteen to nine votes. When questioned, Moore denied any wrongdoing and declared himself ‘quite innocent’, his only crime being ‘negligence’.⁷⁵ He had not made the buckles, nor examined them when they were delivered by the makers. He went on to state that he ‘always paid the duty to the makers of buckles’.⁷⁶ A closer reading of this report provides an indication that Moore had been under suspicion and was caught as a result of a planned investigation. The servants of the earl bought the buckles from Moore. They then brought them to ‘Mr. Locker and Mr. De’Landre’ who stated the ‘buckles were not sterling’. Furthermore, the servants received a silver watch which was ‘given as a bribe to prevent a

⁷⁰ Minutes, 11 Feb. 1774 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 5, p. 276).

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 277.

⁷² Ibid., p. 276.

⁷³ Minutes, 3 Mar. 1774 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 5, p. 277).

⁷⁴ Minutes, 22 Mar. 1776 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 5, p. 322).

⁷⁵ Minutes, 26 Mar. 1776 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 5, p. 323).

⁷⁶ Minutes, 22 Mar. 1776 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 5, p. 322).

prosecution'.⁷⁷ It could be construed that the servants were sent to purchase buckles from Moore with the intention of then having the quality assessed. This practice echoed that of the London goldsmiths' guild, where in the 1720s, agents were employed to purchase suspect goods.⁷⁸ However, following Moore's explanation, it would seem that no further action was taken by the council on this occasion. Large quantities of buckles were assayed in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Between 1 May 1787 and 30 April 1788, in excess of 12,800 pairs of buckles, an average of 246 per week, were submitted for assay.⁷⁹ Clearly, the inspection of all wares offered for sale would have been outside the resources of guild officials.⁸⁰ Therefore, the cooperation of the retailers and manufacturers in detecting spurious goods was a necessity.

In 1807, guild members were asked to examine a number of watch keys and seals which had been manufactured by the jeweller William Erasmus Jenkins (1800-1820).⁸¹ Jenkins worked from his premises on Trinity Place and according to the guild was responsible for 'certain articles of jewellery which were fraudulently manufactured and offered for sale to several ... shopkeepers'.⁸² Both George Warner, a watchmaker (1792-1820) and William Hamy (1802-19), a manufacturing jeweller, had purchased stock from Jenkins which they later 'alledge[d] to be fraudulently manufactured, same being copper plated with gold'.⁸³ Small items such as buckles were also sold by 'peddlers, hawkers and petty chapmen',⁸⁴ rendering the possibility of adequately policing the trade extremely difficult, if not impossible. Indeed, fraud was sometimes brought to the

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis, 'Reaching beyond the city wall: London guilds and national regulation, 1500-1700', in S.R. Epstein and Maarten Prak (eds.), *Guilds, innovation and the European economy, 1400-1800* (Cambridge, 2008), pp 300-01. In 1716, the legality conducting searches and seizing goods by the London guild was challenged and found wanting under certain circumstances.

⁷⁹ Sinsteden, 'Four selected assay records', p. 154.

⁸⁰ For example, 33,251 teaspoons alone were assayed in 1810, FitzGerald, 'The production and consumption of goldsmiths' work, p. 220.

⁸¹ Minute book 26 Nov. 1807 to 6 Oct. 1824: minutes 11 Dec. 1807 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 7, p. 13).

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Minutes, 11 Feb. 1774 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 5, p. 276).

attention of the guild by discontented customers.⁸⁵ Few examples are recorded where guild officials seized goods, the case of William Percival is discussed later in this chapter.⁸⁶ In 1828, Richard Williams, an employee of the retailing jewellers Law & Son, gave evidence before a parliamentary enquiry. When asked whether the shop had ever been visited by members of the assay office, Williams could not recall ever meeting any person from the assay office. Nor was he aware of assay office officials being in the habit of visiting any members of the Dublin trade.⁸⁷ The guild extended its reach by placing notices in newspaper, alerting guild members to new rules and issuing warnings to the public about imports and fraudulent practices.⁸⁸ In summary, the guild relied on its members and customers to bring potential fraud to its attention and in practice was probably less than effective regarding the day to day inspection of goods on sale in Dublin.

2.2.1 Paste, pyrite and ‘Irish diamonds’

The clauses within the 1637 guild charter are primarily concerned with enforcing the legislation surrounding the use of precious metals and stones, nevertheless there are references to the practice of creating and selling false or imitation wares.⁸⁹ The charter outlines that items of jewellery set with ‘counterfeit stones’ were so well made that they looked ‘as if precious stones subtlety and splendidly to glitter’ and were sold to the inexperienced buyer at ‘a great price’.⁹⁰ The knowledge behind the craft of a jeweller, goldsmith or lapidary could be put to use in creating imitation gold, silver, pearls, coral and precious stones.⁹¹ Jewellery was embellished with paste, pebbles and semi-precious stones in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. In 1819, indigenous stones, named ‘Irish

⁸⁵ Minutes, 22 Mar. 1776 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 5, p. 322); minutes 11 Dec. 1807 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 7, p. 13).

⁸⁶ Minutes, 3 Oct. 1864 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 10, p. 83v).

⁸⁷ *Seventeenth report of the commissioners of inquiry into the collection and management of the revenue arising in Ireland, Scotland, etc., Stamp revenue in Ireland (1828)*, p. 346 (henceforth cited as *Seventeenth report stamp revenue*).

⁸⁸ Minutes, 29 Oct. 1855 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 10, p. 4v); *ibid.*, minutes 4 Feb. 1856, p 8; minutes 15 June 1779 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 5, p. 380).

⁸⁹ Charter of the Goldsmiths’ Company of Dublin.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

diamonds' offered further choice.⁹² Could a jeweller or indeed a consumer tell the difference between a diamond of first water and an 'Irish diamond'? The case of Denis Connell, discussed below, suggests that confusion was sometimes the order of the day.

Alternatives to diamonds and semi-precious stones were available throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century.⁹³ In the eighteenth century as the fashion grew for highly faceted, ornate pieces of diamond jewellery, so too the demand increased for cheaper substitutes.⁹⁴ Cheaper glass gemstones, known as paste, were developed in seventeenth-century England and France (figure 2.2). In the 1720s, George Frédéric Stras, based in Paris, became famous for the manufacture of high quality simulated gemstones.⁹⁵ In 1746 the London jeweller Edward Pinchbeck, the son of Christopher (the inventor of pinchbeck, an imitation gold), invented an artificial diamond known as the 'Pinchbeck diamond', which he claimed 'has often deceived the best judges, and ... to be a perfection that no artificial stone ever had before.'⁹⁶ Dublin jewellers frequently advertised paste buckles, earrings, rings and pins. In the late-eighteenth century Edward Rice stocked (figure 2.3) 'beautiful fashionable paste buckles, equal in lustre to diamonds'.⁹⁷ John Lauder, a goldsmith, jeweller and seal cutter invited customers to his new shop on Skinner Row where they could choose from 'a great variety of composition seals with ciphers, devices, etc., which imitate all kinds of stones'.⁹⁸ In 1784 William Moore of Essex Bridge advertised 'elegant paste star pins'.⁹⁹ While many jewellers openly sold paste as alternatives to diamonds, others fraudulently sold glass as diamonds. There are few examples of the goldsmiths' guild being called to mediate disputes regarding diamonds or other precious

⁹² *Belfast Newsletter*, 28 May 1819, *Freeman's Journal*, 4 May 1819.

⁹³ Counterfeit stones have been identified since Roman times. The Cheapside Hoard includes a number of imitation gems dating to the 16th and 17th century.

⁹⁴ Clare Phillips, *Jewels & jewellery* (revised ed., London, 2008), p. 54.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Manchester Magazine*, 4 Oct. 1746, quoted in Pointon, *Brilliant effects*, p. 36; *ibid.*, p. 359.

⁹⁷ Edward Rice trade card/receipt, to J. Magrue, n/d (PRONI, Argory Architectural & Household Papers, D288/E, 1771-1968, folder D/288/E/131). I am grateful to Emma O'Toole for bringing this source to my attention.

⁹⁸ *Saunders' Newsletter*, 8 Jan. and 1 Feb. 1780.

⁹⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 13 Mar. 1784.

stones during the period under review.¹⁰⁰ In 1761, the council of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild heard a case of 'great and scandalous fraud and imposition' brought against Joseph Cullen, a freeman. Cullen was found to have sold a 'piece of paste glass' 'not worth more than six pence at the most' for which he received 'seven shillings and seven pence' from an unfortunate Margaret Burton. When questioned Cullen refused to reveal from whom he had purchased or received the paste.¹⁰¹

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, the discovery of a rock crystal, later commonly known as 'Irish diamonds', offered jewellers a new cheaper and patriotic alternative to diamonds. In the mid-nineteenth century, Irish pyrite, described as 'a brilliant material evolving rays soft and mellow as the diamond' drew the attention of jewellers.¹⁰² Irish pyrite was incorporated into jewellery (figure 2.4), by jewellers such as Joseph Chapman of Essex Quay. In 1851, he was praised for 'several beautiful bracelets, shirt studs, clasps, shawl pins, brooches, etc., manufactured by him from the Irish pyrites.'¹⁰³ A year later, the Countess of Eglinton, wife of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was presented with an 'armlet of the Irish marquise diamond' made from pyrites found in the west of Ireland.¹⁰⁴

Irish diamonds were a form of rock crystal or natural quartz, harder and colder than glass and capable of greater refraction (figure 2.5). It could be faceted to simulate diamonds and other gemstones.¹⁰⁵ In 1812, Lord Killeen purchased an Irish diamond brooch costing £9 2s. from the Dame Street jeweller William Hamy (figure 2.6).¹⁰⁶ This is the only jewellers' receipt which has come to light recording the sale of 'Irish diamonds'. An 'Irish diamond brooch made similar to

¹⁰⁰ In the European worsted industry, merchants took on the role of inspecting goods for quality purposes, as guild officials were unable or unwilling to do so, as discussed by Ogilvie, 'Guilds, efficiency, and social capital', p. 295.

¹⁰¹ Minutes, 13 Jan. 1761 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 5, unpaginated).

¹⁰² *The Nation*, 20 Dec. 1851. Iron pyrite is sometimes known as fools gold. Sheehy suggests that Irish diamonds and pyrites are one and the same, however, their appearance and properties appear somewhat dissimilar. Sheehy, *The rediscovery of Ireland's past*, p. 86.

¹⁰³ *The Nation*, 20 Dec. 1851.

¹⁰⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 19 Mar. 1852.

¹⁰⁵ Newman, *Dictionary of jewelry*, p. 259.

¹⁰⁶ William Hamy to Lord Killeen, receipt 29 Dec. 1812 (NLI, Fingall papers, MS 8039).

a Maltese cross' was lost in Dublin in February 1830. The owner offered a reward of 5s. for its return.¹⁰⁷ Such an advertisement indicates that 'Irish diamond' jewellery was a relatively expensive purchase. In comparison, a pair of jet bracelets could be had for 1s. in 1830, from the jeweller, Thomas Moore of Nassau Street.¹⁰⁸

Denis Connell, a bog oak carver and jeweller of Killarney origins, had a retail business on Nassau Street.¹⁰⁹ In 1850 Connell designed a brooch (figure 2.7) in the 'shape of a harp of bog oak with gold strings, bearing an Irish diamond'.¹¹⁰ In July that year, Connell was brought to court by the purchaser of the brooch, Mr. Labarte, who accused Connell of 'having sold him an article represented to be of bog oak, Irish gold, and Irish diamond, which materials were not used in the construction'. Labarte claimed to have become suspicious 'when there was a slight injury done to the stone', he then 'showed the article to another shopkeeper' and later admitted 'a hasty opinion had been given of its value'.¹¹¹ The court inquiry and evidence given on oath by 'jewellery artists' 'proved that the ornament which was really very beautiful was truly what it was stated to be by Connell's shopkeeper'.¹¹² This appears to indicate a lack of understanding on Labarte's behalf regarding the nature of 'Irish diamonds'. Given that Labarte became suspicious of the stone after it had sustained damage, suggests that he believed the stone to be a true diamond. Despite the fact that by 1850, 'Irish diamonds' had been in circulation for nearly thirty years, Labarte's confusion might suggest a lack of understanding surrounding the nature of 'Irish diamonds'. When printed in newspaper advertisements, the words 'Irish diamonds' were sometimes presented within quote marks or in italics, which presumably indicated to potential customers that these were something other than real diamonds. Perhaps when Labarte purchased a brooch set with an 'Irish diamond' he misunderstood the nature of his purchase. Alternatively, he may knowingly have

¹⁰⁷ *Saunders' Newsletter*, 10 Feb. 1830.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 29 June 1830.

¹⁰⁹ Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, p. 20.

¹¹⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 1 July 1850.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*

passed off the gift as a true diamond and when it was damaged, tried to cover his pretence by taking Connell to court. It is tempting to suggest that the published court case, exonerating Connell, compounded Labarte's embarrassment. The clearest description of Irish diamonds came from the 1853 catalogue of the Irish exhibition, wherein Irish diamonds are described as 'colourless false gems' of Irish quartz or rock crystal, additionally the reporter wrote 'there are many ... false gems far superior in every way ... to rock crystal'.¹¹³

2.2.2 Chains 'little better than brass'¹¹⁴

Alternatives to precious metals and jewels were accepted and sought after products.¹¹⁵ For example from at least c.1770, two of the most popular alternatives to gold and silver were pinchbeck and cut-steel.¹¹⁶ In addition, the gold standard was legally reduced on two occasions. In 1784 an act was passed which introduced three standards of gold, eighteen, twenty and twenty-two carat respectively.¹¹⁷ In 1854 legislation was passed permitting gold standards of 'not less than one third part in the whole of fine gold' which resulted in the adoption of three lower gold standards of fifteen, twelve and nine carat respectively.¹¹⁸ Therefore, jewellery manufacturers and retailers could now offer a choice of gold quality, but was it possible for the consumer to tell the difference? William Acheson, a Grafton Street jeweller thought not – advertising in 1860, he claimed that some manufactures set out to 'deceive the public' by retailing zinc gold chains, and plated chains 'as gold, which are little better than brass'.¹¹⁹

The goldsmiths' guild was charged with conducting assay and collecting the duty payable, as discussed previously. The hallmark on gold and silver provided the retailer and indeed the consumer with a guarantee of quality. When asked why

¹¹³ John Sproule, (ed.), *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: a detailed catalogue of its contents* (Dublin, 1854), p. 389 (henceforth cited as *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*).

¹¹⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Jan. 1860.

¹¹⁵ See for example, Helen Clifford, 'Concepts of invention, identity and imitation in the London and provincial metal-working trades, 1750-1800, in *Journal of Design History*, xii, 3 (1999), pp 241-55.

¹¹⁶ Pinchbeck was an alloy of copper and zinc invented by Christopher Pinchbeck, c.1720. Newman, *Dictionary of jewelry*, p. 240.

¹¹⁷ 23 & 24 Geo. III c.23.

¹¹⁸ 17 & 18 Vic. c.96.

¹¹⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Jan. 1860.

jewellery was voluntarily sent for assay, a Dublin jeweller explained that ‘respectable houses all wish to have them marked as a guarantee to the public.’¹²⁰ In effect, a hallmark was a symbol of quality.¹²¹ Nevertheless, on occasion, an assayed piece of gold or silver was proved to be substandard in terms of metal quality. During the period c.1770 to c.1870, jewellery often fell outside the legal requirement for assay. Moreover, there was no equivalent assay and hallmark for precious gems. Legislation dating to 1729 exempted ‘such things not exceeding four penny weights, which in respect of their smallness, are not capable of receiving a mark’.¹²² Subsequent legislation passed in 1784, specifically exempted objects such as rings, locket and necklace beads from compulsory assay, in addition items not exceeding six penny weights of gold were also exempted.¹²³ There were exceptions to this rule, for example, mourning rings and later wedding rings, this is discussed more fully in chapter three. Examples of fraudulent practices and confusion regarding the materials used in fabricating jewellery can be found in the records of the goldsmiths’ guild and newspaper reports.

As mentioned previously, legislation introduced in 1854 permitted wares to be manufactured from gold standards of fifteen, twelve and nine carat respectively. In 1860, six years after the legalisation of lower gold standards, a Dublin jeweller took the unusual step of placing a newspaper advertisement offering a money-back guarantee to his customers. William Acheson, the Grafton Street jeweller, placed an advertisement in the *Freeman’s Journal* on 6 January 1860. In this advertisement he clearly laid out the great variety of gold chains available to purchase in Ireland. Acheson noted the various standards of gold and alternatives such as ‘plated’ and ‘electro gilt’, available to the sometimes unwary public (figure 2.8). He went on to suggest that ‘the public, not being able to judge the quality can have no protection except at a respectable establishment’, evidently suggesting his own.¹²⁴ He drew the attention of consumers to the practice of

¹²⁰ *Committee on Silver and Gold Wares*, p. 171.

¹²¹ De Munck, ‘The agency of branding’, p. 1057.

¹²² 3 Geo. II, c.3 [Ire.].

¹²³ 23 & 24 Geo. III c.23.

¹²⁴ *Freeman’s Journal*, 6 Jan. 1860.

retailers selling inferior items at the cost of ‘fine gold’.¹²⁵ This was not a new occurrence. In 1815 Henry Nixon, was found by the goldsmiths’ guild to have made watch chains of base metal plated with gold which he fraudulently passed off as gold.¹²⁶ In 1864 an Albert chain and a watch guard chain were seized from reputable West & Son of College Green. The items were found to be ‘worse than fifteen carat’ by the goldsmiths’ guild.¹²⁷ The chains had been made by the manufacturer William Percival and had been hallmarked, however, ‘inferior links’ had been added later.¹²⁸ The availability of gold look-a-likes such as pinchbeck, electro-plating and silver-gilt alongside the several standards of gold did create a confusing array within jewellery establishments. Acheson’s advertisement illustrates the great variety of metalwork processes and undoubtedly, given the choice, there were some who would have willingly purchased the alternative items, perhaps as a mark of modernity, or as novelty or simply because such cheaper imitations resembled more expensive gold wares.¹²⁹ However, as the examples of Nicklin and Percival demonstrate, there were those who set out to deceive the public and the retailer. Percival’s sub-standard chains had been accepted by the well-established firm West & Son, for retail.

2.3 Numbers working in the jewellery trade

David Dickson has asserted that some of Dublin’s luxury trades, including jewellery making, shrank in the post-Union period.¹³⁰ How do the numbers working in the trade compare before and after the Union? A full profile of the number of craftsmen employed in the jewellery trade is somewhat difficult to compile. Although jewellers do appear in the records of the goldsmiths’ guild, street directory listings and newspaper advertisements, the trade descriptions used by craftsmen shifted between simply ‘jeweller’ to a combination of ‘jeweller, toyman, goldsmith, silversmith and watchmaker’. In addition, it appears that some craftsmen who listed their trade as ‘goldsmith’, ‘silversmith’ or

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Minutes, 1 Nov. 1815 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 7, p. 244).

¹²⁷ Minutes, 3 Oct. 1864 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 10, p. 83v).

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Berg, *Luxury & pleasure*, p. 161.

¹³⁰ Dickson, *Dublin: the making of a capital city*, p. 280.

‘watchmaker’ also carried on the trade of jeweller. Furthermore, there were other craftsmen employed in the jewellery trade including lapidaries, seal cutters and miniaturists. In 1810, the goldsmiths’ guild estimated that at least 600 persons, ‘exclusive of families’, were involved in the precious metals trade.¹³¹ In 1821, the jeweller and silversmith Jacob West suggested that, taking into account ‘every one connected with’ the jewellery trade, the numbers would exceed one hundred.¹³² He further remarked that while 40% of the trade was populated by jewellers, the other 60% comprised related crafts. It is useful to have an impression of the numbers of jewellers¹³³ working in Dublin during the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century.

Table 2.1

Jewellers and allied trades in Dublin city and county, 1831¹³⁴

| Trade description | Total |
|--|--------------|
| Jeweller | 215 |
| Clock and watchmaker | 182 |
| Copper-plate printer, engraver, lapidary | 104 |
| Toymen | 22 |
| Gold and silver plater | 15 |
| Gold beater | 2 |

¹³¹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 23 Feb. 1810.

¹³² *Third report of the commissioners of inquiry into the collection and management of the revenue arising in Ireland*. H.C. 1822 (606), xiii, 1205, p. 19 (henceforth cited as *Third report of commissioners 1822*).

¹³³ The term ‘jeweller’ refers to those who referenced themselves at some point during the period 1770-1870 as ‘jeweller’, for example in street directories, newspaper advertisements and trade ephemera. The listing includes those who manufactured jewellery and/or those who retailed jewellery. As there was no compulsion to have all jewellery assayed, it is not possible to separate conclusively the jewellery retailers from those who manufactured and/or retailed.

¹³⁴ *Population, Ireland. Abstract of answers and returns under the Population Acts, 55 Geo.III. c.120, 3 Geo. IV c.5, Geo. IV c.30, Will. IV c.19. Enumeration 1831*, p. 14 & 24 (henceforth cited as *Enumeration 1831*).

The findings from a comprehensive analysis of street directories at ten year intervals during the period 1770 to 1870 are tabulated in figure 2.9.¹³⁵ In 1770, a total of forty-three jewellers were listed in Dublin street directories. A century later, the names of seventy individuals or firms appear in the directory. Although the limitations of using one source of evidence must be acknowledged, the numbers point to an average of fifty-three jewellers working in Dublin during the late eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century.

In 1831, a census of Dublin was taken. Information from this census has been cross referenced with street directories and state papers to further verify the numbers employed in the jewellery trade (table 2.1). The jewellers doing business in Dublin in 1830 are presented in appendix 2. The list includes the trade description of each craftsman, for example some described their business as that of manufacturing, working or wholesale jeweller. Others included a reference to allied trades such as that of seal engraver, goldsmith and silversmith. The individuals involved directly or indirectly in the wider precious metals trade in 1830 are listed in appendix 3.

Sixty-four jewellers were listed in *Wilson's Dublin Street Directory* in 1830. When the allied trades identified to date are taken into account, eighty-eight additional names could be added. However, as financial constraints may have prevented the majority of journeymen and some quarter brothers from advertising in newspapers or appearing in street directory listings, the figures working in the trade may actually be higher. As previously mentioned, Jacob West claimed that approximately forty people were involved in the manufacture of jewellery in 1821. In 1828 a committee of manufacturers alleged their trade was 'depressed'. How accurate were these claims? The extract from the enumeration of the population of Ireland in 1831 provides an interesting insight into the numbers of men employed in 'retail trade or handicraft as masters or workmen' in the jewellery and allied trades.¹³⁶ Although the census recorded the occupation of

¹³⁵ As has been noted in the introduction to this thesis, the listings in street directories became more prolific from the last quarter of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14. Men were defined as being aged twenty.

individuals 'employed' in the trade, it is unclear whether they were actually in employment. Furthermore, the criteria applied when filling out the census return may have had some bearing on the figures. For example, if it was left entirely to the discretion of each individual, then their employment description was not subject to any formal scrutiny.

In the 1831 census, the total number of jewellers and those working in the allied trades in Dublin, amounted to 540. This is surprising given the depressed state of the trade suggested earlier by Jacob West and the manufacturers. Furthermore, the number of jewellers listed in street directories in 1820 amounted to fifty-five, ten years later the number had increased to sixty-four.

The total number of individuals working as jewellers, in Dublin city and county, amounts to 215. In comparison, the number of jewellers listed in *Wilson's Dublin Street Directory* for 1830 (appendix 2) amount to just sixty-four listings, a discrepancy of 151. The reason for the discrepancy is unclear, however, some conclusions may be drawn. Firstly, not all businesses were listed in the street directories. Secondly, the businesses which are listed in appendix 2 have each been counted as representing one person. If the sixty-four jewellers listed in street directories employed an average of two others working as journeymen, apprentices or shop staff, then that would equate to 192 persons, making the census and street directory figures more comparable. Alternatively, if the sixty-four jewellers worked alone, then up to 151 more were employed in other areas, such as shop assistants to jewellery retailers. This would correspond with the evidence given by Jacob West in 1821 which indicated that a significant number of shopkeepers were dealers in jewellery. Taken together, the street directory listings and the census data points to a considerable number of individuals involved in some manner in the jewellery business and allied trades.

To gain a further insight into the trade, the street directory findings have been cross-referenced with additional sources such as goldsmiths' guild records and parliamentary papers to ascertain the business location of manufacturing

jewellers.¹³⁷ The names and locations of manufacturing jewellers are identified in an attempt to ascertain and account for areas which were key commercial hubs for sectors of the trade. The findings have been plotted on a map of Dublin (figure 2.10). Capel Street acted as the link from the fashionable residential areas such as Rutland Square to the Smock Alley theatre, Dublin Castle and the Houses of Parliament.¹³⁸ In 1788, three of the leading manufacturers of buckles and Masonic jewels were William Law, John Bolland and George Connor.¹³⁹ Law, Bolland and Connor situated their workshops at Parliament Street, Smock Alley and Fownes Street, close to the hub of social and commercial activity on Dame Street and Capel Street.¹⁴⁰ By the last decades of the eighteenth century, jewellers gradually shifted commercial location eastwards. This becomes more evident by the middle of the nineteenth century. Changes to the layout of the city, including the opening of the new Custom House in 1791 and Carlisle Bridge in 1798, prompted some jewellers to move premises. The new bridge offered a direct route between Sackville Street, Trinity College, Dame Street and Grafton Street.¹⁴¹ As Sarah Foster has shown, fashionable shopping activity moved further east in the early years of the nineteenth century, following the completion of Westmoreland Street and D'Olier Street.¹⁴² By way of example, the aforementioned William Law moved from premises located close to Dublin Castle to a location on the corner of Carlisle Bridge and Sackville Street. Over the course of sixteen years, Law moved to at least three new premises. Each successive move shifted his business east of Dublin Castle and closer to the Customs House.

2.3.1 Lapidaries

Lapidaries and diamond cutters are defined by Campbell as being 'employed in cutting those costly gems into what figure the jeweller pleases'.¹⁴³ He further remarks that the lapidary differs from the diamond cutter 'only in this, that he cuts

¹³⁷ A database was created to contain the quantitative data gathered from street directories, guild records, newspapers and other sources.

¹³⁸ Sheridan-Quantz, 'The multi-centred metropolis', p. 273.

¹³⁹ FitzGerald & O'Brien, 'The production of silver', pp 34-40.

¹⁴⁰ Sheridan-Quantz, 'The multi-centred metropolis', p. 276.

¹⁴¹ Colm Lennon, *Dublin part II*, Irish Historic Towns Atlas no. 19 (Dublin, 2008), pp 4-5.

¹⁴² Sarah Foster, 'Ornament and splendour': shops and shopping in Georgian Dublin', in *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, xv (2012), p. 19.

¹⁴³ Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, p. 328.

stones of less value’, in addition ‘lapidaries frequently are concerned in’ ‘the seal cutting way’.¹⁴⁴ Dublin jewellers, such as Edmond Johnson in 1867, also worked as lapidaries. Two lapidaries are noted in the records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild during the period under review. In 1763, the lapidary David Jonquier, a guild quarter brother petitioned, albeit unsuccessfully, for freedom of the guild.¹⁴⁵ In 1753, Robert Wogan was apprenticed to the lapidary and goldsmith John Letablere (1737-54).¹⁴⁶ Letablere died the following year.¹⁴⁷ Wogan does not appear to have completed his apprenticeship with another master.¹⁴⁸ In 1773, a Robert Wogan is listed as a quarter-brother.¹⁴⁹ The following year, Robert Wogan, a toyman and jeweller, had a business on Parliament Street.¹⁵⁰ Wogan’s customers could have jewellery set with their choice of stones including Saxon topaz, amethyst, ruby, emerald, Loughneigh and Egyptian pebbles.¹⁵¹ His stock compares with that of his former master, Letablere. In 1756 Letablere’s stock was sold including, ‘true garnets ready cut, seals and buttons set in gold...and Egyptian pebbles’.¹⁵²

Few lapidaries are listed in the Dublin street directories during the period 1770 to 1870 (appendix 4). Twenty names appear during the period, with just one or two lapidaries active in any one year. Lapidaries did not advertise in newspapers to the same extent as jewellers. The lapidary trade in Dublin was closely associated with jewellers and may not have necessitated separate notice. A jeweller may have taken on the role of stone cutter, or reset stones harvested from jewellery sent to be refashioned. Jewellers could also purchase pawned jewellery or the stock of retired or bankrupt jewellers. Lapidaries could turn their expertise to seal

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Minutes, 1 Aug. 1763 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 5, pp 70-81). The wording of the minute suggests that not only was his petition rejected, his status as quarter brother was rescinded ‘said petition be and is hereby rejected and that the master do pay the petitioner what quarterage he paid to this corporation’.

¹⁴⁶ Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, p. 652.

¹⁴⁷ Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, p. 317.

¹⁴⁸ Apprentice book, 2 May 1752 to 7 Nov. 1823 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 97). Robert Wogan’s name is not listed after Letablere’s death.

¹⁴⁹ Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, p. 661.

¹⁵⁰ *Wilson’s Dublin Directory*, 1774.

¹⁵¹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 14 Mar. 1775.

¹⁵² *Dublin Gazette*, 11-14 Dec. 1756. I am grateful to Alison FitzGerald for sharing this advertisement.

cutting, a possibility noted by Campbell. Several seal cutter or engravers were active in Dublin throughout the period. Listings of seal cutters increased in the nineteenth century, as did other trades, as street directories became more comprehensive. Nevertheless, the listings and newspaper advertisements aid in identifying consumer demand. For example, in 1768 George Wilkinson, describes his Dublin business as lapidary, two years later in 1770 he lists his business as lapidary, jeweller and goldsmith, by 1780 the reference to lapidary has been dropped.¹⁵³ Furthermore, by 1780, Wilkinson had moved premises from Georges Street to College Green. Wilkinson's business migrated from that of a lapidary to that of jeweller and goldsmith. The change of business description coupled with a move to new premises suggests a reasonable expectation of custom.¹⁵⁴

David Jonquier (1763-98), a Dublin jeweller and lapidary wrote to the Birmingham manufacturer Matthew Boulton in December 1776. Jonquier enclosed a sample of a gem stone which he suggested Boulton might set into a button.¹⁵⁵ He was evidently hoping that the 'pretty' stone-set button would generate some business from Boulton. Boulton replied to Jonquier that should any orders be received for the button, 'we shall write to you for the stones'. While Boulton was happy to do business with Jonquier, he was nevertheless unconvinced that the buttons would sell in any great quantity 'partly on account of the high price'.¹⁵⁶ In contacting Boulton, the astute Jonquier was clearly trying to find additional outlets for his stone cutting business. He was demonstrating his awareness of the popularity of highly decorative buttons alongside knowledge of one of the leading producers and distributors of these items. Boulton had established business contacts in Dublin and may have previously conducted business with Jonquier, given that the firm assured him 'we shall be glad to deal with you'.¹⁵⁷ Had Jonquier's 'pretty' button proved successful, Boulton was very

¹⁵³ *Wilson's Dublin Directory*, 1768-80. Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, p. 336.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Letter to David Jonquier from Boulton & Fothergill, 11 Dec. 1776 (LBA, Archives of Soho, MS 3782/1/10, p. 773).

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

well placed to manufacture large quantities which he would then market in Britain, Ireland and continental Europe. Birmingham was the centre of production of an astonishing variety of decorative buttons in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (figure 2.11).

Zachariah Jackson proceeded to set up business as a working jeweller, lapidary and goldsmith, in Kilkenny in 1776, after completing his training ‘under the tuition of some of the most eminent workmen of England and Ireland’.¹⁵⁸ There, under the sign of the ‘parrot and diamond ring’, he ‘engraved gentlemen’s buttons to any fancy’, he also cut ‘garnets and paste, equal to any in London or Dublin’, and he claimed to have ‘acquired the art of staining Kerry stones to represent in lustre any true stones, such as rubies, sapphires, emeralds, topaz and amethysts [sic].’¹⁵⁹ He also alleged that having retailed for a guinea gentlemen’s rings set with Kerry stones, the same rings were ‘valued by a Dublin jeweller at 10 guineas’.¹⁶⁰

In Belfast, one lapidary in particular, John Stewart, appears to have dominated the trade, remaining in business for at least eighteen years from c.1820 to c.1838. Advertising in 1820, John Stewart, a lapidary and manufacturing jeweller based in Belfast, encouraged ‘shopkeepers and others in the trade’ to examine his stock.¹⁶¹ He remained in business for at least eighteen years, offering his own manufactures including ‘fine gold embossed seals & keys ... he also sets pearls and diamonds to any pattern – slits, cuts and polishes all kinds of precious stones in the neatest manner’ while ‘orders from the country punctually attended to.’¹⁶² By the mid-nineteenth century, in Dublin only George Jones and Edmond Johnson included lapidary in their business description.¹⁶³ Although, the skill of the lapidary was vital to fulfilling consumer demand for stones to be re-cut and set into more fashionable mounts, the trade description rarely appears in street directories or

¹⁵⁸ *Finn’s Leinster Journal*, 28 Sept. 1776.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Belfast Newsletter*, 29 Sept. 1820.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 1 Mar. 1822.

¹⁶³ Dublin street directories.

newspaper advertisements. The individual examples of Jonquier, Wogan, Jones and Johnson highlight the variety of skills which characterised the manufacture of jewellery in Dublin. For each of these examples, there must have been more who remain anonymous.

During the period c.1770 to c.1870 new and second-hand diamonds could be obtained from a number of Dublin retailers. In 1780, Elizabeth Karr, took out a series of newspaper advertisements, calling attention to the sale of ‘diamonds, pearls, jewellery and toys’, the goods of her late husband John Karr.¹⁶⁴ Edward Rice retailed ‘diamond ear rings, pins, lockets and bracelets executed in the present taste’, from his premises on Crampton Court.¹⁶⁵ Those who wished to commission diamond jewellery might patronise the jeweller William Moore. Visitors to his house on Essex Bridge could choose from ‘a collection of loose diamonds’ and ‘have any piece made from their choice of pattern’.¹⁶⁶ The less scrupulous might keep a ‘brilliant diamond cross, containing forty-four diamonds’ which was lost outside the music hall on Fishamble Street, in April 1780.¹⁶⁷ As Clare Phillips has shown, in the mid-nineteenth century a number of new sources of diamonds were found in Brazil in 1843 and South Africa in 1867, which increased availability and caused their value to fluctuate widely.¹⁶⁸ In 1870, Richard Dill wrote from Pietermaritzburg, S.E. Africa, to Eliza Long in Londonderry, remarking ‘one party only working on the [diamond] fields for the last 4 months, have been so successful that the value of their findings has been estimated at £20,000’.¹⁶⁹ S. Cowen on Eustace Street initially traded as a jeweller in 1827.¹⁷⁰ By 1840, he had evidently accumulated sufficient capital to specialise as a diamond merchant while also running a silver bullion office.¹⁷¹ Robert K. Gardner claimed that he could execute diamond jewellery equal to the demands of

¹⁶⁴ The same advertisement appeared numerous times in *Saunders’ Newsletter*, 23 Feb. to 1 Jun. 1780.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ *Freeman’s Journal*, 18 May 1784.

¹⁶⁷ *Saunders’ Newsletter*, 24 Apr. 1780, 1 May 1780. A brilliant was the term used for diamonds cut with many-facets, first introduced at the end of the seventh century.

¹⁶⁸ Clare Phillips, *Jewelry from antiquity to the present* (London, 1996), pp 150-51.

¹⁶⁹ Richard Dill to Eliza Long, 19 Aug. 1870 (PRONI, Dill papers, T2858/1/32).

¹⁷⁰ *Wilson’s Dublin Directory*, 1827.

¹⁷¹ *Post Office Directory*, 1840.

elite customers.¹⁷² Benjamin Singleton, ‘jeweller, watchmaker and dealer in diamonds and coloured stones’, established his business c.1852 on Nassau Street,¹⁷³ in premises previously occupied by Edward Adams a jeweller and dealer in curiosities.¹⁷⁴ The entrepreneurial Edmond Johnson expanded his jewellery, enamelling and lapidary manufactory by becoming a diamond merchant in 1869.¹⁷⁵

2.3.2 Import tariffs

One of the factors which impacted on Dublin’s jewellery trade was import tariffs. The removal of these tariffs in 1824, was a highly contentious aspect of the trade. Some Dublin manufacturers, such as a group of twenty-eight manufacturing jewellers and silversmiths, attributed some of the blame of ‘the wretched condition of the gold and silver trade in Dublin’ to the removal of the 10% import duty abolished in 1824.¹⁷⁶ The tariff might be viewed as protecting local manufactures from imported goods. However, when viewed from the perspective of the jewellery retailer, the tariff was considered injurious to the trade. By 1822 the aforementioned Jacob West had been in business for about twenty years. West described his business as ‘goldsmith and jeweller, including watches and plated ware, every thing in that line’.¹⁷⁷ As such, he had considerable experience within the business and was well acquainted with its workings. He suggested that some retailers imported considerably more jewellery than he did. Notably, he believed that jewellery and plate imported into Ireland by him and other retailers attracted a tariff of 10%. However, the commissioners remarked that ‘the Customs in Ireland and ... England ... reported, that in their practice the articles of jewellery and plate are not usually ... subject to the ten per cent duty’.¹⁷⁸ West insisted that he had ‘paid a great deal of duty since 1821’ and he was very keen to have that tariff removed.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷² *Saunders’ Newsletter*, 9 Jan., 21 Jan. & 5 Feb. 1850; *Freeman’s Journal*, 16 July 1850.

¹⁷³ *Thom’s Dublin Directory*, 1852-3.

¹⁷⁴ *Wilson’s Dublin Directory*, 1820-30, *Post Office Directory*, 1840-50.

¹⁷⁵ *Thom’s Dublin Directory*, 1869.

¹⁷⁶ *Seventeenth report stamp revenue*, p. 105.

¹⁷⁷ *Third report of commissioners 1822*, p. 19.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp 20-22.

West represents a category of the jewellery trade populated by fully qualified jewellers, goldsmiths and silversmiths with long experience of the Dublin trade, who operated a retail business, stocked with a variety of plate and jewellery. West claimed that he imported most of his stock.¹⁸⁰ He insisted that should the 10% import duty be removed, the level of smuggling would reduce. He further claimed that the high level of smuggling, by retailers and private persons, damaged indigenous jewellery manufacturers. The items which were often smuggled, according to West, were ‘fancy jewellery, ... trinkets of every kind, seals, necklaces, and so on.’¹⁸¹ However, ‘private persons’ were permitted to bring jewellery and old plate into Ireland without paying duty.¹⁸² From West’s point of view the removal of the 10% import duty clearly mattered. West’s claim that the import duty was unevenly applied and smuggling was rife was at odds with the views of the Irish customs officers and the commissioners of inquiry. His commercial interests lay in attracting consumers who wished to purchase imported English goods from a Dublin jeweller.

In 1781, Lady Caroline Dawson, wrote to her sister, to express her relief upon learning that her boxes of goods had finally been received ‘safe out of the custom-house’.¹⁸³ Although happy the purchases had arrived, she did remark ‘I daresay they are better than anything we could get here, and as to the price, everything is dear, and if one don’t pay dear one must go without.’¹⁸⁴ Interestingly, she made this comment before she had actually viewed the goods. Manufacturing retailers such as jeweller and watchmaker, John Bacon, offered a choice of ‘stock manufactured under his own immediate inspection’ alongside ‘every article in the plated line imported from the first houses in England’.¹⁸⁵ Those who paid import duty incurred higher costs, which presumably were passed on to the consumer.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 20; *ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁸³ Lady Caroline Dawson to Lady Louisa Stuart, 16 Dec. 1781, in Alice Clark (ed.), *Gleanings from an old portfolio containing some correspondence between Lady Louisa Stuart and her sister Caroline (Stuart Dawson), Countess of Portarlington, and other friends and relatives, vol. 1* (Edinburgh, 1895), p. 301.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ *Freeman’s Journal*, 28 Jan. 1820.

Bacon was giving customers the opportunity to purchase imported goods without leaving Ireland. There was little to prevent the consumer from travelling to Britain and returning with a selection of jewellery without paying import duty. However, those importing large pieces of plate might be forced to pay duty.¹⁸⁶

The impact of removing the 10% duty on Ireland's manufacturing jewellers was dismissed by Jacob West who claimed, 'with regard to jewellery, it might for a short period affect perhaps some few of the manufacturers, but I do think it would soon recover'.¹⁸⁷ West's evidence was somewhat biased, his viewpoint was that of an importer and retailer rather than a manufacturing jeweller. Thus the call for the removal of the 10% tariff on importing jewellery into Ireland was an economic necessity for those more concerned with jewellery retail rather than those who manufactured. The removal of the tariff placed additional stress on manufacturers. As will be demonstrated, some smaller manufacturers were in the main dependant on the custom of larger jewellery retailers. The 10% import duty may well have been the factor which rendered the products of Dublin manufacturers more attractive from a cost perspective, to Dublin retailers. Although, if Lady Dawson's comments are taken into account, some consumers held unseen imported goods as superior to local manufactures.

Birmingham retailers were using effective techniques for serial production and thus could be in a position to supply more cost effectively than the smaller-scale Dublin manufacturers. Furthermore, both the smaller retailer with little means and the manufacturer equally feared that their trade would be destroyed if the duty was removed. They alleged that if the duty was removed, large jewellery retailers, like West, would benefit further. In late 1821, a number of smaller Dublin retailers met to discuss the issue of import duty. Their concerns were later recounted by Jacob West, '[English] manufacturers, with a good stock, will go to certain houses ...and leave goods on sale or return', thus they will 'have great

¹⁸⁶ In 1780, a Mr Donovan of Cork was reported to have returned to Ireland with some old family plate. Customs officers insisted he pay duty to import the goods, as cited by FitzGerald, 'The production and consumption of goldsmiths' work', p. 149.

¹⁸⁷ *Third report of commissioners 1822*, p. 22.

stocks ... free'.¹⁸⁸ The smaller retailers claimed that English manufacturers would not treat them with the same degree of trust as larger businesses, nor offer them preferential business deals. English jewellers did bring jewellery over to Dublin, sometimes in suitcases. In 1875, a London jeweller, travelling on a packet steamer from Liverpool to Dublin, was robbed of two valises containing diamond rings and other goods valued at £3,000.¹⁸⁹

2.4 Categories of tradesmen

According to the 1637 charter, the workforce consisted of members of the goldsmiths' guild, including 'masters' and 'workmen' and those outside the guild, such as 'sellers' and 'makers' of items of gold, silver and precious gems, who were nevertheless subject to guild regulations.¹⁹⁰ Although the goldsmiths' charter was in essence a formal document which sought to cover all possible eventualities and practices within the trade, the practice of employing a variety of craftsmen within the goldsmiths' trade, not all of whom were guild members is clearly acknowledged. As Sheilagh Ogilvie observes the wording of guild charters was often influenced by petitions submitted by guild masters.¹⁹¹

The structure of the eighteenth-century jeweller's trade is described in fuller detail by R. Campbell in *The London Tradesman*:

He employs' besides those in his shop, many hands without; as such, the jeweller, a branch frequently connected with that of the goldsmith; who differs only in this; that the one is employed in large works, and the other only in toys¹⁹² and jewels. ... The jeweller must be a judge of all manner of precious stones, their beauties, common blemishes, and their intrinsic value. He must not only know real stones, but fictitious gems, and the manner of preparing them; his business is to set them in rings, necklaces, pendants, ear-rings, buckles of all sorts, and in watches and whatever toys else are adorned with precious stones. He ought to ... create trade; for a new fashion takes as much with the ladies in jewels as any thing else: He

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁸⁹ *The watchmaker, Jeweller and Silversmith*, vol. 1, June 1, 1875, p. 16.

¹⁹⁰ The text of the charter is reproduced in Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, pp 565-74.

¹⁹¹ Ogilvie, 'Guilds, efficiency, and social capital', pp 286-333.

¹⁹² Toys were small personal items and not children's toys.

that can furnish them oftenest with the newest whim has the best chance for their custom.¹⁹³

Campbell further outlined that jewellers might, with significant investment, ‘furnish a shop’¹⁹⁴ where they could sell direct to consumers and make the highest profit. Alternatively, they might work for retailers, employ apprentices and journeymen and settle for less profit.¹⁹⁵ Similar categories of jewellers comprised the workforce in Dublin.

There is evidence that the Dublin jewellery trade comprised three groups: some craftsmen concentrated solely on manufacturing, others focused entirely on retailing and a third group combined both skills. In addition, some manufacturing jewellers worked on their own account while others supplied larger jewellery firms, although, unlike the London jewellery trade, little evidence of sub-contracting has been found.¹⁹⁶ This may simply be explained by paucity of Irish business records or may also be due to the smaller scale of the market. While there are no known surviving client ledgers for Irish goldsmiths businesses for the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, a stock book for a Dublin jeweller has recently come to light.¹⁹⁷ In comparison, there are extant bank account records for the early eighteenth-century Bath toyman Paul Bertrand and an extant set of ledgers for London goldsmiths.¹⁹⁸ The Garrard ledgers (1735-1949) contain the records of the partnership Wickes and Netherton (1750-60), and Parker and Wakelin (1760-77). Robert Garrard entered the business in 1802. In a study of the Parker and Wakelin records Helen Clifford has concluded that the goldsmiths’ trade in London comprised three groups: ‘first those who manufactured goods such as plateworkers, smallworkers and goldworkers; second, manufacturers who also retailed; and third, businesses that retailed only and had no facility for making any

¹⁹³ Campbell, *The London Tradesman* p. 143.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, p. 143.

¹⁹⁶ For a discussion of the jewellery and flatware specialists employed by the London firm Parker and Wakelin, see Helen Clifford, ‘The myth of the maker: manufacturing networks in the London goldsmiths’ trade 1750-1790’, in Quickenden & Quickenden, *Silver & Jewellery*, pp 5-12.

¹⁹⁷ The lack of extant business records for Dublin luxury goods firms is suggested by Foster, ‘Going shopping in Georgian Dublin’, p. 1. However, an extant nineteenth-century stock book for James Mayfield, & Co., Dublin, is preserved in the Assay Office archives, Dublin Castle.

¹⁹⁸ Brett, *Bertrand’s Toyshop*.

of their own wares.’¹⁹⁹ The Dublin trade was undoubtedly smaller than its London counterpart, however, evidence from state papers, guild records and street directories suggests that the Dublin trade was also comprised of the same three groups. This is hardly unusual, as the basic underlying characteristics of the goldsmiths’ business would be common to both cities.

2.4.1 Manufacturers

Manufacturing jewellers can be divided into a number of sub-groups: those who supplied retailers and the craftsmen and journeymen who were given occasional work. In her work on eighteenth-century Dublin goldsmiths, FitzGerald refers to ‘an extensive network of goldsmiths and allied traders supplied by ‘a very small number of thriving workshops [who] effectively dominated production and supply’.²⁰⁰ The Dublin jeweller and goldsmith Alderman Jacob West (1801-59) explained that ‘in plate a hundred men can do so much more work than a hundred men can in jewellery’.²⁰¹ However, he retailed imported jewellery. His statement is a little disingenuous as it would take significantly less time to manufacture a simple gold band ring than to create a highly chased silver tureen. In contrast, certain types of jewellery, such as a serpent-shaped bracelet (figure 2.12) or gold chains with small links, took considerably more time to manufacture than some larger items of plate. As one Birmingham gold chain maker asserted in 1862, ‘where the links are very small the labour is, of course, much greater, ... the difficulty of making the smallest chains is so great that the women cannot work above two hours at a time’.²⁰² In 1867, the London jeweller Edwin Streeter explained that it took six days to make a gold bracelet by hand, compared with just two days when most of the process was done by machine.²⁰³

Helen Clifford’s work on the English goldsmiths and jewellers, Parker and Wakelin, clarifies the nature of work carried out by manufacturing jewellers as a

¹⁹⁹ Clifford, ‘The myth of the maker’, p. 11.

²⁰⁰ FitzGerald, ‘The production and consumption of goldsmiths’ work’ p. 92.

²⁰¹ *Third report of commissioners 1822*, p. 21.

²⁰² *Children’s employment commission (1862). Second report of the commissioners with appendix.* [C3414-I] H.C. 1864, xxii.1, 319, p. 118.

²⁰³ Phillips, *Jewels & jewellery*, p. 94.

separate and sub-divided craft to that of silversmithing.²⁰⁴ The work of manufacturing jewellers could include setting jewels, mounting seals, framing miniatures, making rings, necklaces and hair ornaments, buckles, cane heads and swords hilts.²⁰⁵ There is evidence to suggest that Dublin jewellers were involved in similar work. Alexis Livernet a jeweller with premises on Great Georges Street from c.1775 to 1802, claimed to be the ‘first person’ to make hair jewellery ‘in this Kingdom’. He specialised for a time in weaving ‘the hair for diamond and gold buckling rings’, also ‘necklace and watch chains’ which he assured potential customers would be ‘in the direct French Manner’.²⁰⁶ Livernet offered patrons the option of carrying out the hair weaving ‘under their inspection or at their own house’. By providing house calls, Livernet was offering a guarantee that the correct hair was being incorporated into the required jewellery. He alluded to the uncertainty attached to sending hair to England, inferring that the treasured hair of a loved one may not be that finally incorporated into the ring or locket or suchlike.²⁰⁷ Portrait miniatures, and later in the mid-nineteenth century, photographic likenesses, were set in lockets and other jewellery. Appendix 5 lists the known business connections between jewellers and miniaturists or photographers. From 1774 to 1779, the Parliament Street jeweller, Robert Wogan, shared his address with Thomas Wogan, a miniature painter and most likely his son or younger brother.²⁰⁸ Robert Wogan worked as a jeweller and miniature painter, offering customers ‘likenesses in hair from life, or pictures and designs for mourning rings, lockets or bracelets’.²⁰⁹ The Dame Street jeweller, Isaac Hutchinson (figure 2.13) worked with the portrait miniaturist Charles Byrne in 1791.²¹⁰ Although Hutchinson’s trade card indicated that he made and sold ‘all sorts of jewellers work’, no reference was made to miniatures, or indeed an in-house artist.²¹¹ In 1860, ‘photographic artists’, Nelson & Marshall shared

²⁰⁴ Clifford, *Silver in London*, p. 35.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²⁰⁶ *Freeman’s Journal*, 25 Mar. 1777.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *Wilson’s Dublin Directory*, 1774 to 1780; Walter G. Strickland, *A dictionary of Irish artists, L to Z* (2 vols, London & Dublin, 1913), ii.

²⁰⁹ Strickland, *A dictionary of Irish artists*.

²¹⁰ Caffrey, *Treasures to hold*, p. 105; *Wilson’s Dublin Directory*, 1774 to 1780.

²¹¹ Trade card, undated (NLI, Lady Elizabeth Tynte papers, MS10,424), I am grateful to Conor Lucey for bringing this to my attention.

premises with the Fitzpatrick Brothers, a firm of Sackville Street goldsmiths.²¹² Professional photographs were ‘guaranteed first-class portraits’ suitable ‘for lockets, rings, brooches, etc.’²¹³

Who were the manufacturing jewellers involved in supplying retailers in Dublin? Manufacturing jewellers such as William Percival supplied a number of retailers (appendix 6). In the 1860s, Percival supplied his customers with rings, necklaces, watch chains and flower holders. Percival paid an annual rent of £10 for his workshop at Temple Lane, he also had property, probably his residence, on Drumcondra Terrace.²¹⁴ Temple Lane was close to Dame Street and Georges Street where a number of Percival’s customers had retail shops. As Drumcondra was further out of the city, north of the River Liffey, the Temple Lane location was most likely where Percival maintained his workshop. Waterhouse & Company was one of Percival’s most loyal customers. He supplied them with a wide variety of goods, such as bouquet holders, guard rings and casket mountings. Having his premises in close proximity to Waterhouse on Dame Street ensured that he could meet their demands promptly. Dame Street was surrounded by a large number of manufacturers (figure 2.10), all of whom would have been eager to attract one of the larger retailers. Percival also supplied the large department store Pim Brothers & Co., on Georges Street and William Hug who retailed watches and jewellery in the same area. Small producers, such as Percival, were necessary to the large retailers, however, they may have been obliged to operate on small margins and lacked the financial security associated with larger firms.²¹⁵

Although direct evidence of manufacturers is difficult to find, apart from assay records, a group of just such craftsmen petitioned parliament in 1828 (appendix 7). The twenty-eight working Dublin jewellers and silversmiths sent a memorial to the Commissioners of Parliamentary Inquiry in Ireland.²¹⁶ The manufacturers

²¹² *Thoms’ Dublin Directory 1860.*

²¹³ *Freeman’s Journal*, 23 Apr. 1860.

²¹⁴ *Thom’s Dublin Directory*, 1867 & 1870.

²¹⁵ D.S. Landes, ‘What do bosses really do?’, *Journal of Economic History*, 46, 186, cited by Berg, *The age of manufactures*, p. 177.

²¹⁶ *Seventeenth report stamp revenue*, pp 104-5.

claimed that their trade was ‘shackled and depressed’ under a ‘restrictive and persecuting system’ which they maintained had reduced the level of duty paid on gold and silver by £450 over the course of the previous three years.²¹⁷ In an English context, the manufacture of silverware had declined considerably by the mid-nineteenth century. As John Forbes has observed, in the early 1800s, an average of 1,200,000oz of silver was submitted annually to the London assay office; by the 1850s, the figure had dropped to approximately 750,000oz.²¹⁸ Conversely, the weight of gold articles submitted annually rose from 20,000oz in the 1800s to almost 100,000oz by the 1870s.²¹⁹ Although the Dublin market was smaller than London, it is reasonable to suggest that similar patterns might be common to both.

The Dublin manufacturers’ reference to the ‘restrictive and persecuting system’, was in relation to the legislation requiring all working jewellers and silversmiths to purchase a licence. Their concerns are brought into sharper focus when the licence costs applicable to Ireland and England are compared (table 2.2). The legislation passed in October 1807 increased the licence duty payable in Dublin to £5, and again in 1826 to £5 5s. In comparison, the licence duty payable in London was £2 6s. A significant overhead for Dublin manufacturers and retailers, prior to the Act of Union, was the requirement to register with the Dublin assay office at a cost of 1s.²²⁰ It was not until 1843 that the rates were equalised between England and Ireland.

The working environment of manufacturing jewellers varied considerably. In 1828, the previously mentioned group of twenty-eight manufacturing jewellers and silversmiths insisted that their situation had been drastically affected by the licence fee. They explained, that prior to the enforcement of the new licensing law, they ran workshops where they employed ‘journeymen and others in their

²¹⁷ Ibid., p. 104.

²¹⁸ John Forbes, *Hallmark: a history of the London Assay Office* (London, 1988), p. 267.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ In 1784, an act of parliament required all manufacturers, dealers and retailers of gold, silver and jewels to register with the Assay Office, the cost was 1s. 23 & 24 Geo. III, c.23.

establishments’.²²¹ Jacob West’s evidence corroborates this, when in 1821, he referred to the number of persons employed jewellery-making in Dublin. He stated ‘I think there may be about forty persons in Dublin distributed in different work-shops, one man having five, and another four, and another three, and so on; but in a very small way, not such as can be called a factory.’²²²

Table 2.2

Plate dealers’ licences, cost comparison between Ireland and England, 1770 to 1870²²³

| Year | Rate of duty in Ireland²²⁴ | Rate of duty in England²²⁵ |
|-------------|--|--|
| 1770 | 0 | £2 or £5 |
| 1785 | £1 | £2 6s. or £5 15s. |
| 1805 | £2 | £2 6s. or £5 15s. |
| 1807 | £5 Dublin, £2 elsewhere | £2 6s. or £5 15s. |
| 1812 | £5 5s. Dublin, £2 2s. elsewhere | £2 6s. or £5 15s. |
| 1815 | £5 5s. Dublin, £2 2s. elsewhere | £4 12s. or £11 10s. |
| 1826 | £5 5s. Dublin, £2 2s. elsewhere | £2 6s. or £5 15s. |
| 1843-70 | £2 6s. or £5 15s. | £2 6s. or £5 15s. |

²²¹ *Seventeenth report stamp revenue*, p. 104.

²²² *Third report of commissioners 1822*, p. 19.

²²³ Compiled from, *Report from the select committee on gold and silver (hall marking); together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, and appendix*. H.C. 1878 (328), xiii, 139, pp 168-9 (henceforth cited as *Gold and silver hall marking 1878*).

²²⁴ The Irish duty rates for 1807-1843, depended on the number of parliamentary members from each town – dealers from towns sending one or more were required to pay the higher rate.

²²⁵ The duty rates for England depended on the level of sales, the lower amount permitted sales under 2oz or 5dwt of gold and under 30oz of silver.

Although the numbers suggested by West require further investigation, which will be addressed later in this chapter, his categorisation of workshops is interesting. Jewellery workshops are categorised by him as having five or less employees, while a factory required a larger workforce.

By 1828, the above mentioned manufacturers claimed to be in reduced circumstances and ‘lived and worked ‘in back-garret rooms and stable-yards’ where they could only afford to ‘occupy but one apartment, both for workshop and domestic purposes’.²²⁶ These craftsmen belonged to a group of dependant manufacturers, employed by retailers ‘to make certain articles’, the retailer supplied the materials and paid the duty.²²⁷ Six years earlier, Jacob West reckoned that the jewellery made in Ireland equated to just 1% of that imported.²²⁸ He went on to remark ‘all the expensive jewellery comes from England’.²²⁹ By 1828, the circumstances of some Dublin manufacturers had deteriorated sufficiently to provoke their appeal to parliament. Despite having served an ‘apprenticeship of seven years, and expending all the money they can command ... on the purchase of working implements’, this group of working jewellers and silversmiths viewed their situation ‘in no other light than as journeymen employed by shopkeepers’.²³⁰ The combined factors of new licensing legislation, the removal of the 10% import tariff and commercial power of large retailers undoubtedly placed manufacturers in a difficult situation.

The nineteenth-century Irish artist James Brennan completed a rare illustration of the working conditions of a silversmith working from his home workshop (figure 2.14).²³¹ The craftsman is completing a piece of work while his child sits at his feet, the bed is clearly visible to the right of the portrait.²³² Although completed, in 1886, the implements and techniques used in the workshop appear to have

²²⁶ *Seventeenth report stamp revenue*, p. 104.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ *Third report of commissioners 1822*, p. 21.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

²³⁰ *Seventeenth report stamp revenue*, p. 104.

²³¹ James Brennan, *Like father, like son*, 1886, (Private collection), reproduced by Claudia Kinmonth, *Irish rural interiors in art* (New Haven and London, 2006), p. 123.

²³² *Ibid.*

changed little in nearly 300 years. A woodcut illustration of a goldsmiths' workshop dated 1568 (figure 2.14) depicts a craftsman in the foreground using a block of wood and implements similar to those depicted by Brennan in 1886. The methods and tools represented in Brennan's portrait suggest that the work practices within the goldsmiths' or silversmiths' trade had changed little in Ireland over the centuries. It was this dependence on individual labour rather than the employment of new working systems and technology, such as that introduced by the Birmingham entrepreneur Matthew Boulton, that hampered Dublin's jewellery trade.²³³ For example, before mid-nineteenth century mechanisation, chain making was time-consuming, taking a day to produce seventeen inches of chain.²³⁴ As will be discussed in chapter four, by the mid-nineteenth century a number of Dublin jewellers used metal dies in the production of jewellery.

2.4.2 Manufacturing retailers

Manufacturing retailers were those who kept 'show shops and were engaged in a direct traffic with the public', and as might be expected, this category of jeweller required a visually appealing shop, located in a good area.²³⁵ As noted by Claire Walsh, goldsmiths in particular needed to convince the customer of his or her ability to fulfil orders for expensive items.²³⁶ The jeweller Elinor Champion and the goldsmith John Keen were in partnership from 1777 as manufacturing retailers. Their business agreement describes the business as 'buying, selling and manufacturing of goods.'²³⁷ Prior to entering into partnership with Keen, Elinor Champion ran her jewellery business from the ground floor of 30 Grafton Street.²³⁸ She had presumably inherited the entire house and business on the death of her husband, James Champion a jeweller, in 1764.²³⁹ Elinor Champion combined manufacturing and retailing from her Grafton Street premises.

²³³ Phillips, *Jewels & jewellery*, p. 64.

²³⁴ Clifford, *Silver in London*, p. 111.

²³⁵ *Seventeenth report stamp revenue*, p. 104.

²³⁶ Claire Walsh, 'Shop design and the display of goods in eighteenth-century London', in *Journal of Design History*, viii, no.3 (1995), p. 163.

²³⁷ Articles of agreement, 3 July 1777 (NAI, D.20,929).

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ *Belfast Newsletter*, 31 July 1764. Bennett, lists James Champion's death as 1761, however, Champion's death notice appears in the newspaper in 1764. Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, p. 300.

The Grafton Street property was divided into a ‘warehouse’, a ‘first floor’ and a ‘back house’, indicating that the shop and house were clearly defined areas. There were probably separate entrances to the shop and ‘back house’ and ‘first floor’ areas, as Champion retained the right to ‘sell, lett or otherwise dispose of’ the first floor and back house areas or ‘receive all rent benefits for her own sole and separate use without the intermeddling of John [her business partner]’.²⁴⁰ Champion and Keen’s business agreement made reference to the employment of apprentices ‘to the[ir] business of jewellers and goldsmiths’. Their ‘joint approbation’ was required in advance of any offer of apprenticeship.²⁴¹ Champion was well acquainted with the responsibilities of employing an apprentice, for at least six apprentices are known to have been indentured to her husband, James Champion between 1749 and 1762.²⁴² The separation of warehouse or retail shop and workshop was also in evidence among up-market retailers in eighteenth-century London.²⁴³ The anticipated business expenses of Champion and Keen included ‘entertaining customers ... fire [and] candlelight,’²⁴⁴ suggesting a warm shop with jewellery displays lit enticingly by flickering candles. Successful retailers were those who could balance traits of trustworthiness, attentiveness and persuasiveness.²⁴⁵ Champion attracted customers through newspaper advertisements, where she offered ‘a variety of well chosen articles’, ‘reasonable prices, and strict attention to all commands’.²⁴⁶ Customers expected a choice of ready-made or bespoke jewellery. In April 1782, the recently widowed Meliora Aldercron of Dawson Street purchased four mourning rings at a cost of 22*s.* 15*d.* from Champion’s new premises on College Green.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁰ Articles of agreement, 3 July 1777 (NAI, D.20,929).

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, pp 651-53.

²⁴³ Walsh, ‘Shop design’, p. 160.

²⁴⁴ Articles of agreement, 3 July 1777 (NAI, D.20,929).

²⁴⁵ Walsh, ‘Shop design’, pp 167-8.

²⁴⁶ *Saunders’ Newsletter*, 5 Feb. 1779, 24 Dec. 1783.

²⁴⁷ Valerie Moffat, ‘A map of her jurisdiction’: the account books of Meliora Adlercron of Dawson Street, Dublin, 1782-94’, in *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, xv (2012), p. 134.

In 1856, Edmond Johnson employed ‘about 12 men, and six or eight boys at work’ in his manufactory, which he claimed was the largest in Ireland.²⁴⁸ An established firm such as Edmond Johnson’s business could afford to occupy well-appointed premises. By 1881, Johnson’s business was described as ‘enjoying a well deserved celebrity as manufacturing goldsmiths and jewellers’.²⁴⁹ The entrance to Johnson’s ‘factory’ was on Wicklow Street. The first floor of the premises was given over to ‘the laying out room’.²⁵⁰ Close by, diamonds, pearls, opals, emeralds and other stones were housed in large iron safes. Design portfolios and casts of patterns were also stored on this floor. The ‘spacious lightsome’ workshops were located on the second floor, occupied by goldsmiths, silversmiths, designers, diamond setters and engravers. In the nineteenth-century, the process of melting gold was simplified and required a blow pipe and a gas flame. Prior to this new technology, a large furnace was required.²⁵¹ Although as has been demonstrated, Johnson’s firm represented a successful manufacturing business, not all manufacturers could afford the type of premises he maintained.

Journeymen were employed on a casual basis. Some may have been specialists in areas such as chasing or stone setting and might expect more frequent work. However, journeymen were not permanent employees but were reliant on an unpredictable stream of work. They could expect periods of unemployment and consequently low wages.²⁵² There are few advertisements offering employment for journeymen. One placed in 1825, by Edward Gribbin, a Belfast watch manufacturer, jeweller and silversmith sought ‘two journeymen clock-makers and a jeweller’ for whom Gribbin’s claimed ‘constant employment will be given.’²⁵³ The prevalence of combinations into the nineteenth century serves to confirm the frustration regarding employment experienced by journeymen. The deterioration

²⁴⁸ *Committee on Silver and Gold Wares*, p. 168.

²⁴⁹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 26 Dec. 1881.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ Christopher Edgar Challis (ed.), *A new history of the Royal Mint* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 541; *Freeman’s Journal*, 26 Dec. 1881.

²⁵² Journeymen claimed to be paid lower wages and work longer hours than others in the same trade. In 1799 journeymen campaigned for equitable wages and working hours. For in-depth analysis and explanation of the role played by journeymen in campaigning for free trade see, Hill, *From patriots to unionists*, pp 203-99.

²⁵³ *Belfast Newsletter*, 25 Nov. 1825.

of the guild system facilitated greater separation between manufacturer and retailer. Journeymen, like quarter brothers, were then free to carry on trade outside the restrictions of guild rules. However, imported goods from England played a large part in undermining journeymen and Dublin manufacturers alike.

Dublin jewellery manufacturers who were employed ‘principally in making articles to order’, carried out the work ‘by the hand rather than by dies or engine turning’.²⁵⁴ Furthermore, Dublin manufacturers faced almost constant competition from the jewellery imported from Paris and London. These cities continued to dominate the market in terms of novelty, fashionability and desirability. In 1779, members of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild issued an appeal to ‘patriotick (sic) members of this kingdom’ to encourage their own manufacturers as ‘large quantities of plate and jewellery imported for some years past’ had ‘almost ruined trade’.²⁵⁵ This is borne out by contemporary newspaper advertisements and trade cards. Throughout the period under review, Dublin retailers constantly assured consumers that they had the most up-to-date patterns from Paris and London. The jeweller, Arthur Keen, advertising the opening of his new shop at the Crown and Pearl on Dame Street in 1776, declared ‘the public may depend on always seeing the most fashionable patterns which London or this city can produce’.²⁵⁶ The 1800 trade card of J. Ash Rainey’s, jewellery and military warehouse, describes his stock as ‘jewellery, ... diamond, pearl and watches of every description, engaged either from the first houses in London, Sheffield and Birmingham, ... or manufactured in the first stile, under his own immediate inspection’.²⁵⁷ Others, such as the jeweller and goldsmith John Brown of Westmoreland Street maintained that they were skilled in creating cheaper copies of the newest patterns and offered ‘lady’s ornaments altered to the latest Parisian and London fashions, at comparatively trifling expense’.²⁵⁸ Waterhouse & Company, arguably the most dominant retailer of jewellery and silver wares in

²⁵⁴ *Third report of commissioners 1822*, p. 20.

²⁵⁵ Minute 8 June 1779 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 5, p. 380).

²⁵⁶ *Freeman’s Journal*, 13 Feb. 1776.

²⁵⁷ J. Ash Rainey, trade card 180? (NLI, trade ephemera collection, uncatalogued). I am grateful to Alison FitzGerald for bringing this collection to my attention.

²⁵⁸ *Freeman’s Journal*, 7 Sept. 1825.

mid-nineteenth century Dublin, advertised that having ‘procured the newest designs in Paris and London from the most celebrated manufacturers’ they would then have the designs ‘reproduced’, which they claimed, their Irish customers could purchase at a lower cost.²⁵⁹ The jewellery manufacturers of Dublin had to negotiate a highly competitive market where they jostled for work while trying to combat or perhaps offer to match the lure of fashionable imported novelties.

2.4.3 Retailers

Dublin’s jewellery retailers can be divided into two groups – those who combined manufacturing and retailing and those who focused entirely on retailing. For the reasons already mentioned, it is problematic to single out retailers. Nevertheless, there were firms, such as Twycross & Son and Waterhouse & Company, who seem to occupy that category. As will be demonstrated, jeweller’s such as William Law and Jacob West gradually moved from manufacturing to retailing.

It was the retailers who made the final decision as to what would be offered for sale in Dublin. Their selection of goods had to match or perhaps manipulate the expectations of consumers. To quote the London jeweller Peter Webb ‘the misfortune of jewellery is that with a large stock the things wanted are often what one has not got.’²⁶⁰ The Dublin market was smaller than London as there were comparatively fewer numbers of consumers coupled with the fact that those with means could purchase in London or further afield. Nevertheless, the Dublin jewellery retailer had to source a wide range of goods to meet the needs and pockets of a diverse range of consumers. The role of the Dublin retailer developed and expanded in the late eighteenth century and this continued throughout the nineteenth century. The nature of the consumer changed as the nineteenth century progressed. Members of the aristocracy were still in evidence, albeit in smaller numbers, but they were outranked by a growing population of wealthy doctors, lawyers and merchants, with time and money for leisure

²⁵⁹ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 17 & 19 Jan. 1853.

²⁶⁰ Peter Webb to a customer, 25 May 1771 (TNA, C.108.284-5, part 1), quoted by Clifford, *Silver in London*, p. 35.

pursuits.²⁶¹ By the 1850s Ireland was experiencing the benefits of a greatly expanded railway network, which encouraged tourism and fed the souvenir market.

Large retailers invested in fitting-out, stocking and managing a retail business rather than manufacturing items. Although some jewellery retailers manufactured their own goods, it may have been more cost effective to source goods from manufacturers. Retailers could focus on running their shop rather than maintaining their own manufacturing workshop. Jacob West had shifted from manufacturing and retailing his own goods to sourcing much of his stock from others. Retailers were pulled between the competing demands of fulfilling consumer desire for imported goods and patriotic support of Dublin manufacturers. In 1830, shortly after his year as lord mayor of Dublin, West wrote to the goldsmiths' guild 'I have endeavoured to encourage the Irish artist and Irish manufacturer especially that branch of it more immediately connected with our ancient and loyal gild'.²⁶² Whether or not that support included Dublin jewellery manufacturers is debatable. In his evidence to a parliamentary enquiry in 1821, West described his business as being entirely that of a retailer. The majority of his stock was imported, apart from plate which was principally sourced from Irish manufacturers.²⁶³ West was certainly importing component parts for 'making up' by Irish craftsmen. He is also listed in the stock books of various Sheffield suppliers.²⁶⁴ West, Law & Son and Twycross & Son all appear on an 1827 list of Dublin merchants who were 'in the habit of receiving considerable quantities of goods from' England.²⁶⁵ West came from a long line of goldsmiths and jewellers, furthermore he held the position of lord mayor of Dublin from 1829 to 1830.²⁶⁶ The West family business dated to at least 1774 and would continue into the twenty-first century.²⁶⁷ By 1821, Jacob West was a well-

²⁶¹ Rains, *Commodity, culture and social class*, p. 44; Dickson, 'Death of a capital?', p. 125.

²⁶² Minutes, 1 Nov. 1830 (AO, records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' guild, MS 8, pp 137-8).

²⁶³ *Third report of commissioners 1822*, p. 19.

²⁶⁴ I am grateful to Alison FitzGerald for sharing this information from her forthcoming book.

²⁶⁵ *Holyhead Packets. Post Office. An account showing the number of passengers, carriages and horses carried by Holyhead Post Office Packets, 1827*. H.C. 1828 (377), xix, 379, pp 4-6.

²⁶⁶ Hill, 'Dublin Government', p. 152.

²⁶⁷ Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, pp 335-6.

established jeweller with a business on Capel Street, where he stocked an extensive range of ‘diamond necklaces, head ornaments, Coronation broaches’ alongside ‘the latest fashion pearls, ruby, emerald, opal, [and] turquoise’.²⁶⁸

John Twycross, mentioned earlier, was a respectable jeweller and silversmith, who founded a family business in Dublin in 1800 which was to last for over half a century. Twycross & Son (figure 2.15) were appointed jewellers to the monarchy from at least 1836 to 1850.²⁶⁹ Twycross, a native of England, had represented the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild in the House of Commons and served on the grand jury.²⁷⁰ Over the course of his career, Twycross moved premises from Fownes Street to Dame Street,²⁷¹ while another family member, James, had premises on Sackville Street in 1810.²⁷² Giving evidence to the House of Commons in 1823, he confirmed the practice used by him and others of giving occasional work, perhaps once a month to casual workers. These workers were not employees, but in the words of Twycross, ‘came to me and I gave ... things to do, and other persons did also.’ He further confirmed that he had ‘not given him [the worker] anything to do lately’ as ‘there is very little to do, and the persons whom I had employed before, I thought had a claim prior to him.’²⁷³ The evidence given by Twycross confirms that he and his contemporaries were in the habit of outsourcing work to manufacturers who completed articles at their behest. Twycross suggested a degree of loyalty existed in his choice of casual workmen, however, it is equally possible that other firms employed those workmen who would work cheapest. Twycross’s testimony was in accord with West’s view that the manufacturing trade was suffering a downturn.

²⁶⁸ *Freeman’s Journal*, 11 Aug. 1821.

²⁶⁹ Twycross & Sons receipt, 22 June 1836 (NLI, Gormanstown papers, MS 44,413/7); *Thom’s Dublin Directory*, 1850.

²⁷⁰ *House of Commons. Minutes of evidence, taken before the Committee of the Whole House, on the statement made by the attorney general of Ireland, in his place, on the 15th day of April last, respecting the proceedings on the trials of Forbes, Graham, and Handwich, and the conduct of the sheriff of Dublin, on that occasion.* H.C. 1823 (308), vi, 545, p. 110 (henceforth cited as *Minutes of evidence sheriff of Dublin*).

²⁷¹ *Wilson’s Dublin Directory*, 1800-1820, *Thom’s Dublin Directory*, 1850.

²⁷² *Wilson’s Dublin Directory*, 1810.

²⁷³ *Minutes of evidence sheriff of Dublin*, p. 111.

Law & Son occupy a place in the category of firms who retailed plate and jewellery manufactured by others. Similar to West and Twycross, Law was also a long-established family firm. Established by William Law c.1790, the business moved premises from Cole Alley to premises at 3 Parliament Street.²⁷⁴ By c.1798, the firm had moved Sackville Street, where the business thrived until at least 1860.²⁷⁵ In 1788 Law was a major producer of silver buckles. Between January and December of that year, William Law and another goldsmith Ambrose Nicklin, between them submitted more than 5,000 buckles for assay.²⁷⁶ In 1790 he submitted for assay items amounting to £1 13s. 4d. In the same year there are entries for Law & Co., amounting to an impressive £21 18s. 4d.²⁷⁷ William Law and his son Matthew began to use William Law & Son, as a trading name in the early nineteenth century.²⁷⁸ ‘Law & Co.,’ submitted one the highest amounts for assay in 1790. However, by 1810, twenty-two years later, Law doesn’t appear to have submitted any items for assay.²⁷⁹ By this time Law & Son had a well established retail premises on Sackville Street close to the impressive Carlisle Bridge constructed in 1798. The changes made to the city offered firms like Law & Son an opportunity to move to newly fashionable areas. Law’s trade card c.1800 (figure 2.16), clearly depicts its expansive retail premises, close to the River Liffey where large ships are moored. On the quayside, a box, with the name ‘Law’ clearly visible, implies that it imported goods. In 1808, Law inserted a newspaper advertisement enticing customers by advertising ‘direct from London ... small parcel of ... a very handsome variety of jewellery’.²⁸⁰ Lord Gormanstown patronised Law & Son. In 1836 he made several purchases, including a matching set of amethyst jewellery costing forty guineas.²⁸¹

²⁷⁴ Registration 3 Sept. 1784 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 99, p. 2).

²⁷⁵ *Wilson’s Dublin Directory*, 1790-98; *Thom’s Dublin Directory*, 1860.

²⁷⁶ FitzGerald & O’Brien, ‘The production of silver’, p. 18.

²⁷⁷ Figures for 1790 extracted from assay ledger covering the period 1 Nov. 1788 to 22 Jan. 1799 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 22).

²⁷⁸ In 1800, William Law is listed in *Wilson’s Directory*, by 1810, the firm’s name had changed to William Law & Son; *Wilson’s Dublin Directory*, 1800 & 1810.

²⁷⁹ FitzGerald & O’Brien, ‘The production of silver’, pp 40-47.

²⁸⁰ *Freeman’s Journal*, 8 Aug. 1808.

²⁸¹ Receipt, 24 June 1836, Law & Son to Lord Gormanstown (NLI, Gormanstown papers, MS44,413/7). A suite of jewellery was a matching set usually comprising necklace, pendant or brooch, earrings and bracelets.

Giving evidence to a parliamentary inquiry in 1828, Richard Williams, an employee of Law & Son, confirmed that the firm did not make articles ‘in the house’, but rather ‘has workmen employed ... they work for other shops as well’ and it was those workmen, who in turn, ‘keeps the journeymen employed’.²⁸² Williams explained Law & Son’s system of work ‘when the workmen come, he gives out the silver, and he pays the duty and they put their names with his [Law & Son] name upon it’. Williams did not go to the assay office, rather it was the responsibility of the workmen to submit the articles for assay.²⁸³ This certainly tallies with the evidence given by the earlier mentioned group of manufacturers, who remarked, ‘the material [gold or silver] is advanced by the shopkeeper, also the money to pay duty’.²⁸⁴ Law & Son sourced some of their stock from the group of manufacturing jewellers and silversmiths listed in appendix 7 and discussed earlier in this chapter. For example Law sourced buckles from Henry Flavelle and a mounting for a ‘hoof snuff box’ from Edmond Johnson.²⁸⁵ Law’s increased reliance on a network of jewellery and plate manufacturers coincides with the establishment of a well-appointed retail shop at the end of the eighteenth century.

Manufacturers had the responsibility for maintaining the quality of the silver and gold used in their work. Some workmen were supplied with silver to work and should the item subsequently fail assay and be broken, it was the workman that was at the loss of the time he had spent manufacturing the piece. On these occasions the manufacturer would realise little if any profit. Law & Son, Jacob West or indeed Twycross & Son, did not invest time in manufacturing, rather they invested money in supplying silver or gold and in running and stocking a retail shop; in return they received finished and assayed items, made to their specification, which they then retailed, presumably for a significant profit. The manufacturer bore the responsibility and expense of running his workshop and

²⁸² *Seventeenth report stamp revenue*, p. 345.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

²⁸⁵ Assay ledger, 8 Mar. 1849-18 May 1858, buckles submitted by Henry Flavelle on 28 Apr. 1849; mounting for hoof snuff box submitted by Edmond Johnson on 8 May 1849 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 34).

employed the journeymen he might need from time to time. In turn some manufacturers relied entirely on retailers to provide them with raw materials.

Retailers had to be proficient in dealing with manufacturers and consumers alike. They had to balance investment in premises and stock against the lengthy delay in receiving payment from customers who demanded credit, as investigated in chapter five. Retailers' success depended on their ability to react quickly to market demands or ideally predict new trends. As observed by Bruno Blondé and Ilja van Damme, improved retail practices were not necessarily tied into industrialisation, rather retailers reacted to changing commercial environments and consumer demand.²⁸⁶ Growing levels of imported goods served to lessen the importance of guilds and increased the importance of the relationship between retailer and consumer.²⁸⁷

Depending on their means, manufacturers were either tied to retailers who could choose who to employ and then dictate both price and product; the more prosperous manufacturer could deal directly with the public and perhaps enjoy a little more artistic licence with regard to the wares he produced. Other workmen employed by large firms such as Law & Son, could afford to employ journeymen, some of whom received very occasional work. This would indicate a busy network of allied trades who perhaps never dealt directly with the final consumer. William Law and Jacob West, appear to have been among the more affluent and influential jewellers and as such could choose whether to import wares from England or to employ Dublin manufactures. Retailers could then legitimately claim to be patriotically supporting local manufacturers.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to offer new insight into the structure of the trade in jewellery made from precious metals during the period c.1770 to c.1870 and has

²⁸⁶ Bruno Blondé and Ilja van Damme, 'Retail growth and consumer changes in a declining urban economy: Antwerp (1650-1750), in *The Economic History Review*, lxiii, 3 (2010), pp 656-7. Although Blondé and van Damme make this point in relation to Antwerp the same point can be applied to Dublin.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

demonstrated how and why working practices changed. The factors which impacted on the jewellery trade, such as the decline of guild influence, revised legislation and new gold standards have been analysed from the perspectives of manufacturer and retailer alike. The categories of jewellery manufacturer and retailer have been closely examined. The inter-connections which existed in Dublin's jewellery labour force have been demonstrated and the nature of the symbiotic relationship between Britain and Ireland has been established. Having provided an overview of the Dublin precious metals jewellery trade, the following chapter turns to focus on jewellery supply networks in Dublin.

Chapter Three

‘... two pair earrings, eighteen lockets, six solitaires’¹:

Jewellery supply networks in Dublin

The divisions between manufacturer and retailer have been established in chapter two. Members of the Dublin jewellery trade worked as retailers, manufacturers or combined both businesses. This chapter investigates networks of supply in Dublin’s jewellery trade from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century. The focus is primarily aimed at identifying those individuals who dominated the jewellery market in Dublin and establishing the business networks of manufacturing and retail jewellers. Although business records detailing supplier and client accounts have not survived for the period, extant assay records provide a valuable opportunity to examine the production of jewellery in Dublin. Analysis of the jewellery assayed in Dublin raises questions of supply and demand. Who were the leading manufacturing jewellers? What evidence is there of specialisation in the trade? Did certain manufacturers also act as retailers and which retailers outsourced the manufacture of jewellery? What sorts of items were most in demand and did this change over the period?

The assay ledgers of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild are remarkably intact from the late eighteenth century.² Unusually detailed ledgers exist for the period 1787-89, 1811-17 and 1841-70. Thomas Sinsteden, Alison FitzGerald and Conor O’Brien

¹ Items submitted for assay by Henry Flavelle, 7 Aug. 1862 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 37). A catalogue reprinted c.1872 by the London jeweller Edwin Streeter, illustrates solitaires as circular shaped, monogrammed or embellished with a cross or other decoration. In the late nineteenth century c.1880, the term was more commonly used to describe a ring set with a single stone, usually a diamond. In the context of nineteenth-century gentlemen’s clothing, a solitaire referred to a black ribbon worn around the neck, which renders it possible that Flavelle’s description referred to those illustrated in Streeter’s catalogue, a type of cravat pin. *Catalogue, with designs and prices, of diamond ornaments, and machine-made jewellery, in 18-carat gold; English machine-made watches & clocks, also of silver & plated goods by E.W. Streeter, 18, New Bond Street, and 12, Clifford St. London* (Bodleian Library, John Johnson collection, Silver, Jewellery etc 1 (16)). (Henceforth cited as *Streeter catalogue*).

² Approximately 40 volumes of assay ledgers for the Dublin Goldsmiths Guild survive dating from 1638 to 1946. Some volumes are complete, while others have years or months missing.

have shown how Dublin assay records can be used effectively to profile patterns of production and that Dublin ledgers for this period are more detailed than their London equivalents.³ Sinsteden described the 1787-89 ledger as exemplary, remarking '[this] is what assay ledgers should have looked like all along'.⁴ This ledger and a later ledger for the year 1810 have been described as 'particularly detailed' by Alison FitzGerald and Conor O'Brien.⁵ The 1787-89 ledger and the later 1811-17 book, record the items submitted for assay by individual goldsmiths.⁶ Yet, it is not until 1841, that jewellery was regularly recorded, most likely as a consequence of new legislation.⁷

As discussed in chapter two, jewellery 'not capable of receiving a mark'⁸ was generally exempted from compulsory assay. For much of the late eighteenth to late nineteenth century jewellery remained exempt from assay.⁹ Masonic jewels, buckles and buttons evidently fell outside that exemption.¹⁰ In the context of this study, the three assay ledgers covering the period from 1841-70 offer the most consistent and comprehensive description of jewellery assayed in Dublin.¹¹

³ Sinsteden, 'Four selected assay records', pp 143-58; idem, 'Surviving Dublin assay records', pp 87-103; FitzGerald & O'Brien, 'The production of silver', pp 9-47.

⁴ Sinsteden, 'Four selected assay records', p. 153.

⁵ FitzGerald & O'Brien, 'The production of silver', pp 9-47.

⁶ Sinsteden, 'Four selected assay records', pp 143-58; idem, 'Surviving Dublin assay records', pp 87-103; FitzGerald & O'Brien, 'The production of silver', pp 9-47.

⁷ *An Act to alter and amend certain laws relating to the collection and management of the duties of excise, 1841* (4 & 5 Vict. c.20) (18 May 1841) (henceforth cited as 4 & 5 Vict. c.20); 5 & 6 Vict. c.82.

⁸ 3 Geo. II, c.3 [Ire.].

⁹ The relevant legislation comprises: 3 Geo. II, c.3 [Ire.]; 23 & 24 Geo. III c.23; *An act for allowing gold wares to be manufactured at a lower standard than that now allowed by law, and to amend the law relating to the assaying of gold and silver wares, 1854* (17 & 18 Vict. c.96) (10 August 1854) (henceforth cited as 17 & 18 Vict. c.96). *An act for excepting gold wedding rings from the operation of the act of the last session relating to the standard of gold and silver wares, and from the exemptions contained in other acts relating to gold wares, 1855* (18 & 19 Vict. c.60) (23 July 1855) (henceforth cited as 18 & 19 Vict. c.60). This latter act required compulsory assay of wedding rings, which is discussed in this chapter.

¹⁰ Approximately 2,800 buttons, 24,000 buckles and 24 Masonic jewels were assayed in 1788. It is entirely possible that other items of jewellery were submitted, however, they are not customarily itemised in the assay ledgers before 1841. For example, assay ledger 25 occasionally records the assay of gold without any detail of the object.

¹¹ Assay records for the period c.1770 to c.1870 have been examined. Other assay records either do not record any jewellery or provide limited references to items such as Masonic jewels and buckles. For example, the records for the period 1787-89 are unusually detailed, nevertheless the only jewellery items recorded are buckles, buttons and Masonic jewels. The records for the period 1811-17 list a number of buttons and rings, while the records for 1820-26 note the assay of a number of chains.

Cumulatively, the five assay ledgers, covering the years 1787-89, 1810 and 1841-70 indicate a busy network of manufacturing jewellers in Dublin who supplied the city's retailers. This chapter analyses in detail the extended period 1841-70 covered by three assay ledgers.¹² Leading jewellery manufacturers are identified as are the retailers who chose to outsource production rather than employing workmen in-house. The findings allow for a comparative study in terms of production, retail and consumption and offers new insight into the jewellery trade in mid to late Victorian Dublin.

The chapter begins with an introduction to the scope of the assay ledgers. Next, the factors which encouraged Dublin jewellers to submit items for assay during this period are investigated. The chapter will then move towards a detailed analysis of the contents of the three ledgers which cover the period 1841-70. The craftsmen and firms who dominated the trade during this period will be identified along with their supply networks. Then, analysis of the quantity and range of objects sent for assay provides scope for demonstrating customer demand and the emergence of new fashions. Although the assay ledgers offer considerable insight into the jewellery trade, the records do not reflect the full picture. The entries in the ledgers are very useful in terms of quantitative evidence, however, the records alone do not represent the craftsmanship which went into creating a piece of jewellery. Consequently, the concluding part of this chapter considers a brooch manufactured c.1845 by the Dublin jeweller Edmond Johnson. Analysis of this object demonstrates the manufacturing skills which contributed to the creation of a unique piece of jewellery.

3.1 Scope and format of assay ledgers

A considerable number of assay ledgers survive for the eighteenth and nineteenth-century.¹³ Table 3.1 sets out comparative categories of goods assayed, compiled

¹² Assay ledger, 8 Sept. 1841-6 Mar. 1849 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 33); Assay ledger, 8 Mar. 1849-18 May 1858 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 34); Assay ledger, 22 May 1858-10 May 1890 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 37).

¹³ Assay ledgers for the following years survive and are preserved in the Dublin Assay Office: 3 Feb. 1787 to 2 Feb. 1789; 1 Nov. 1788 to 22 Jan. 1799; 31 Dec. 1795 to 3 July 1802; 11 Aug. 1807 to 2 Feb. 1818; 2 Nov. 1809 to 30 Oct. 1817; 29 Nov. 1809 to 30 July 1811; 1 Aug. 1811 to

from a number of eighteenth and nineteenth-century assay ledgers. Between 1 May 1787 and 30 April 1788, three categories of jewellery were assayed, buckles, watchcases and Masonic jewels.¹⁴ In excess of 12,800 pairs of buckles, 75 watch cases and 10 Masonic jewels were submitted.¹⁵ In comparison, in the 1810 assay ledger, buckles accounted for a mere 18 objects, watch cases increased considerably to 655 and 37 Masonic jewels were assayed.¹⁶ The records for the period 1811-17 list a number of watchcases, buttons and rings, while the records for 1820-26 note the assay of watchcases and a few chains.¹⁷ In contrast, in excess of 22,000 pieces of jewellery were assayed between 1841 and 1870. At least thirty-two categories of jewellery were recorded during this period.¹⁸ For example, within the ring category, manufacturers submitted at least eighteen ring types including guard rings, bishops' rings and wedding rings.

The assay ledgers for the period 1841-70 provide detailed information on each object of jewellery sent for assay, frequently noting the quantity and sometimes the type of metal used, including the carat and the weight of the item. The names of the craftsmen who submitted each piece of jewellery are noted alongside each object (appendix 8). Furthermore, from September 1846, an additional name alongside that of the manufacturer began to be recorded. Analysis has suggested that this was the name of the retailer. Consequently, it has been possible to begin to reconstruct the supply networks in the Dublin jewellery trade.

The 1841-70 assay records offer the possibility of identifying the individuals who dominated the jewellery market in Dublin and also offer an exciting opportunity to establish the business networks of manufacturing and retail jewellers. Analysis

22 March 1817; 3 Feb. 1818 to 29 April 1820; 2 May 1820 to 29 July 1826; 1 Aug. 1834 to July 1854; 1 May 1839 to 13 Oct. 1842; 8 Sept. 1841 to 6 Mar. 1849; 8 Mar. 1849 to 18 May 1858; 22 May 1858 to 10 May 1890. However, some of these are incomplete and few provide details of jewellery. (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MSS 21-29, 31-34, 37).

¹⁴ Sinsteden, 'Four selected assay records', p. 154.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹⁶ FitzGerald & O'Brien, 'The production of silver', p. 28.

¹⁷ Assay ledger, 1 Aug. 1811 to 22 Mar. 1817 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 27); assay ledger, 2 May 1820 to 29 July 1826 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 29).

¹⁸ Compiled from three assay ledgers (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MSS 33, 34, 37).

Table 3.1

Total number of jewellery categories assayed in Dublin 1787-1870¹⁹

| year | no. of categories²⁰ | sub categories²¹ |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1787-8 | 3 | 7 |
| 1810 | 3 | 4 |
| 1811-17 | 2 | n/a |
| 1820-6 | 1 | n/a |
| 1841-70 | 32 | 40 |

of this material combined with other evidence including newspaper advertisements allows for a much fuller profile of the jewellery manufacturing and retail trade than has previously appeared in the existing literature. The records focus almost entirely on the Dublin market, with only one entry for a Belfast craftsman. Newspaper advertisements and street directories confirm that there were a number of jewellers based in Belfast during this period.²² For

¹⁹ Compiled from: assay ledgers, 27, 28, 33, 34, 37 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild); Sinsteden, 'Four selected assay records'; FitzGerald & O'Brien, 'The production of silver'.

²⁰ Jewellery recorded from 1787 to 1870 has been separated into the following categories: badge, belt fitting, bracelet, brooch, buckle, button, chain, clasp, collar, cross, earring, flower holder, harp, head ornament, locket, Masonic jewels, necklace, Order of St. Patrick, Philharmonic ornaments, purse frame, ring, sleeve links, snuff box, solitaire, spectacles, spurs, studs, sword, vinaigrette, watch bow, whip mounting.

²¹ The jewellery assayed for 1787-1788 can be sub-divided into 7 categories of buckle. The jewellery assayed for 1810 can be sub-divided into 4 categories of button. The jewellery assayed between 1841 and 1870 can be sub-divided into: 18 categories of rings; 4 categories of chain; 8 categories of brooch; 3 categories of badge; 4 categories of button; 3 categories of snuff box.

²² For example, the *Belfast and province of Ulster directory 1852* contains a number of advertisements, such as Lee & Sons, High Street, Belfast 'jewellers to the queen'; Edward Gilbert, High Street, Belfast placed a full page advertisement offering 'jewellery made to order' while the 'Toy and fancy goods warehouse' run by John Reynolds, Donegall Street, Belfast stocked 'jewellery in endless variety'. J.N. McCartney, Donegall Street, Belfast advertised his services as 'practical watchmaker, manufacturing and Masonic jeweller and silversmith' in the *Belfast Newsletter*, 23 May 1848, while William Gilbert, 'jeweller, silversmith and watchmaker' with premises on High Street, Belfast offered customers 'best London-made jewellery' which he claimed was 'finished by workmen employed by Messrs Rundell & Bridge', *Belfast Newsletter*, 29 Oct. 1844.

example, the *Post-office Belfast annual directory for 1843-4* lists at least twenty jewellers including two described as manufacturing or working.²³ The indication that it was only Dublin based jewellers who sent items for assay,²⁴ suggests that the capital was the centre of production for hallmarked jewellery in mid to late nineteenth-century Ireland.

3.2 Legislative change and the Dublin goldsmiths' guild

The legislative changes introduced in the 1840s and 1850s resulted in the Dublin goldsmiths' guild maintaining more detailed records and larger quantities of individual goods being sent for assay.²⁵ The guild suffered from a fall-off in membership beginning in 1842, following the imposition of stamp duty, of between 20s. and 60s. on all new members.²⁶ It might be assumed, therefore, that the quantity of items sent for assay would also be reduced. However, concurrent changes in legislation affecting the assay of jewellery resulted in larger quantities of individual goods being sent for assay. Therefore the contents of the 1841-70 assay ledgers provide an insight into a period of significant change within the jewellery trade in Dublin.

The records maintained for the period 1841-70 indicate that in excess of 17,000 rings were assayed. In comparison, during the six year period 1811-17, only nine gold rings and seventy-three pairs of buttons along with a small quantity of other jewellery items are recorded.²⁷ The 1841-70 assay ledgers document a period when the production of gold jewellery was boosted by legislative change across Ireland and Britain reducing the standard for gold wares to 'not less than one third part in the whole', in addition such wares could receive an assay hallmark of quality.²⁸ Prior to 1854, it was illegal to manufacture items of gold of less than

²³ *Post-Office Belfast annual directory for 1843-4*.

²⁴ As noted by Alison FitzGerald the only assay office in Ireland was located in Dublin. Cork goldsmiths fought unsuccessfully to establish an assay office in Cork. FitzGerald, 'The Cork goldsmiths', pp 170-80.

²⁵ Chapter two discusses the acts which impacted on the guild structure: 3 & 4 Vict. c.108 and 9 & 10 Vict. c.76.

²⁶ Reference to 5 & 6 Vict. c.82 in minutes, 17 Feb. 1851, (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 8, pp 490-91).

²⁷ Assay ledger 27 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 27).

²⁸ 17 & 18 Vict. c.96.

eighteen carat or 75% gold. The new standard permitted jewellers to make, for example, a gold ring using nine carat gold which represented only half the amount of gold required for an equivalent ring made from eighteen carat gold. As Philippa Glanville has shown, English clockmakers claimed that a twenty-two carat watch cost twice as much to make as one in fourteen-carat gold.²⁹ Manufacturers were also permitted to register their mark at any assay office. As Susan Hare observes, Sheffield makers such as Thomas Bradbury took advantage of this, believing that the London hallmark would improve their sales.³⁰ The Dublin firm, West & Son, first registered a mark with the London assay office on 16 August 1879.³¹ Insight into consumer reaction to the lower standards of gold is difficult to establish, however, examination of newspaper advertisements and parliamentary reports has proved useful.

During the mid-nineteenth century new legislation was introduced which prompted an increase in the manufacture of gold jewellery. The legislation came about in response to years of lobbying by watchmakers from Liverpool, Birmingham and other provincial English towns.³² The watch trade had an extensive overseas market, where they competed with French and Swiss makers. American customers were demanding watch cases of a lower standard than eighteen carat, but English watch makers, unlike their competitors, were unable to meet this demand.³³ In addition, the discovery of gold in Australia in 1851 effectively closed the market for imported watch cases. Ralph Samuel, a Liverpool manufacturer of gold and silver watch cases explained:

²⁹ Philippa Glanville, 'Gold, golden, gilded: precious metal on the dining table', in Helen Clifford (ed.), *Gold: power and allure* (London, 2012), p. 115.

³⁰ Susan Hare, *Touching gold and silver: 500 years of hallmarks: catalogue of an exhibition at Goldsmith's [i.e. Goldsmiths'] Hall, Foster Lane, London EC2, 7th to 30th November, 1978* (London, 1978), p. 32.

³¹ Registration book 15 Jan. 1866-16 Aug. 1879, Archer West, registration 29 Aug. 1879 (GCL, MS.7, f.154, 2), I am grateful to Sophia Tobin at the London Assay Office for her assistance in tracing the West's registration dates. West & Son are noted in John Culme, *The directory of gold and silversmiths jewellers and allied traders 1838-1914 from the London Assay Office registers* (2 vols, Woodbridge, 1987), i, 478.

³² Forbes, *Hallmark*, p. 255.

³³ *Ibid.*

Previous to the panic in Melbourne, we had an enormous trade with Australia; they used to go out in parcels of 300 and 400 and 500 watches at a time; I once shipped 8,000L worth myself to Melbourne of watches and jewellery.³⁴

Similarly, the number of watches assayed in Dublin fell from a high of 779 in 1849 to 319 in 1853.³⁵ From 1854 gold standards as low as nine carat were legally permitted and for the first time manufacturers in Britain and Ireland could submit gold articles of less than eighteen carat for assay.³⁶ As an added incentive, no duty was payable on items of jewellery which had been previously excluded under existing statutes, including rings, earrings, necklaces and locketts.³⁷ This represented a significant saving, as the duty payable on gold plate was 17s. per ounce.³⁸ However, the legislation was amended a year later in 1855, making the assay of gold wedding rings compulsory.³⁹ These two acts compounded a number of anomalies regarding the assay of jewellery from the early eighteenth-century, which existed between Ireland and Britain. In 1739 mourning rings were specifically singled out for compulsory assay in England – other ‘jewellers works’ were exempt.⁴⁰ There is no evidence to suggest that this act was extended to Ireland.⁴¹ The same 1739 act excluded chains from compulsory assay in England, however, the 1854 legislation extended to Ireland did not specifically exempt chains from assay in Ireland.⁴² The persistence of anomalies into the nineteenth century was a source of confusion between the Dublin and London assay offices

³⁴ *Committee on Silver and Gold Wares*, p. 142.

³⁵ Compiled from figures noted in assay ledgers (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MSS 33 & 34).

³⁶ 17 & 18 Vict. c.96. Although, according to Beasley and Dove, in practice all items made from these lower standards may have been exempt, David Beasley and Anthony Dove, ‘Hallmarks on gold’, in Clifford, *Gold*, p. 96.

³⁷ Geo. III, c.23. (Commonly called the Plate assay act).

³⁸ Duty payable as on gold plate was 17s. per ounce from 1842. Gold plate is defined as being made of eighteen carat gold. *Gold and silver hall marking 1878*, pp 166-7.

³⁹ 18 & 19 Vict. c.60.

⁴⁰ *An act for the better preventing frauds and abuses in gold and silver wares*, (12 Geo. II c.26 1739). The act refers specifically to ‘that part of Great Britain called England’, p. 493.

⁴¹ Jackson suggests that the exemptions of the above mentioned 1739 act extend to Ireland. Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, p. 604; *ibid.*, p. 73. However, Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, does not refer to this act. An appendix to an 1878 parliamentary report cites the 1739 act, however, no corresponding legislation is noted with regard to Ireland, *Gold and silver hall marking 1878*, pp 170-73.

⁴² *Gold and silver hall marking 1878*, pp 170-73.

and members of the wider jewellery trade.⁴³ Evidence given to a parliamentary enquiry in 1856 regarding exemptions from assay, neatly sums up this issue:

there is often a difficulty among manufacturers, ... as to whether certain articles are exempted or not. ... Some of the Acts lay down a general principle ... all articles which are so richly engraved as to be damaged by ... the marks; other Acts say ... by reason of their thinness ... shall be exempted. Then other Acts take the weight ... but that again is subject to many exemptions.⁴⁴

The Dublin goldsmiths' guild repeatedly requested clarification as to what items of jewellery were excluded from assay and the payment of duty.⁴⁵ In 1855, guild officials requested and subsequently received clarification from the Treasury that the 1854 act applied to Ireland. In 1856, the Dublin assay office placed a newspaper advertisement cautioning against the manufacture and retail of wedding rings of less than eighteen carat gold (figure 3.1). Interestingly, when revised legislation was introduced in 1855 extending the payment of duty to wedding rings, the dispute over the imposition of duty on various rings was of sufficient importance to receive mention:

since the coming into operation of the said recited act certain of the Companies and Corporations authorized to assay and mark gold wares have assayed and marked divers gold rings of the standards required by law ... and have demanded and received ... duty ... and whereas doubts have been entertained whether such demands and receipts of such duty were lawful ... be it enacted that all such demands and receipts of such duty were lawful ... none of the said Companies or Corporations ... shall be liable to any action, suit or other proceeding by reason or on account of any such demand.⁴⁶

⁴³ For the eighteenth century see *Report from the committee appointed to enquire into the manner of conducting the several assay offices in London, York, Exeter, Bristol, Chester, Norwich, and Newcastle upon Tyne*. H.C. 1773, xxv, 301 (henceforth cited as *Assay offices 1773*).

⁴⁴ Evidence given by Arthur Ryland, solicitor to the Birmingham Assay Office in *Committee on Silver and Gold Wares*, pp 172-3.

⁴⁵ 'Master Edward Thompson informed the corporation that he had called them together to consult with them on the operation of the new act 18&19 Vic c.60 excepting gold wedding rings from the operation of an act of the last session (17&18 Vic c.96 relating to the standard of gold and silver wares) and from the exemptions contained in other acts relating to gold wares. Resolved clerk to send memorial to the lords of the treasury ... to be informed as to the operation of these acts if extending to Ireland.', minute 29 Aug. 1855 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 10, p.2v).

⁴⁶ 18 & 19 Vict. c.60.

Noteworthy is the suggestion of threatened legal action presumably by the jewellers who paid duty against the assay officers who imposed the tariff. The evident necessity to include this clause points to widespread confusion in the jewellery trade regarding the legislation. For example, this could imply that the duty imposed on rings was not equally enforced across all assay offices in England and Ireland and jewellers were aware of this. Assay offices were subject to investigation by government officials. In 1773, the management of several English assay offices was investigated.⁴⁷ In a similar manner to the 1773 investigation, the board of the Inland Revenue requested an investigation in 1854 into the management of assay offices at York, Chester, Sheffield, Exeter, Birmingham and Newcastle-upon-Tyne.⁴⁸ The investigation revealed mismanagement of the halls at Exeter, Newcastle, Chester and York. Wedding rings manufactured in York were habitually sent to be assayed by Mr Johnson at Hatton Garden, London.⁴⁹ Mr Johnson, confessed ‘that with regard to wedding rings’ he customarily relied on assurances from the manufacturers that wedding rings ‘were made from sovereigns; he therefore marked them as of 22 carat gold, without making any assay.’⁵⁰ The Exeter assay office marked wedding rings twenty-two carat for a Bristol manufacturer, which were later ‘proved to be nearly four carats worse than standard’.⁵¹ In 1849, London spoon and fork manufacturers claimed that the sale of below standard wares by Exeter manufactures injured trade and had the potential to destroy the reputation of British plate.⁵² They petitioned for ‘a guarantee of accuracy by the company [the assay office] finding experienced assayers and officers responsible for the proper fulfilment of the duties’.⁵³ This neatly illustrates the importance manufacturers placed on having their wares accurately assayed and hallmarked. It is noteworthy

⁴⁷ *Assay offices 1773*.

⁴⁸ *Assay offices (Exeter, Chester, York and Newcastle-upon-Tyne). Copy of minutes and papers relating to the assay offices at Exeter, Chester, York, and at Newcastle-upon-Tyne*. H.C. 1854-5 (359), xxx, 261 (henceforth cited as *Assay offices 1854-5*).

⁴⁹ Messrs John and Percival Johnson were a reputable firm of assayers and refiners in Hatton Garden, London. *The Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London*, vol. 23 (1867), p. xxxix.

⁵⁰ *Assay offices 1854-55*, p. 15.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

that the Dublin assay office was not the subject of a similar investigation, suggesting that it was operating as expected.⁵⁴ The 1855 act removed any threat of legal action by confirming that duty already paid on gold rings was lawful and no recompense could be demanded. This may have been a reference to duty paid on guard rings⁵⁵ assayed in Dublin, or mourning rings assayed in London. As will be demonstrated, such disputes were hardly surprising, given the persistent confusion surrounding the interpretation of the law and the resulting anomalies between the Dublin and London offices.

In March 1856, the Dublin assay office ‘having seen London hallmarked gold guard rings without the duty mark’ wrote to the London assay office ‘to enquire do you hallmark 18 carat gold articles without receiving duty thereon and if so under what act?’⁵⁶ Three weeks later it received the following response from the London office:

Reply from Josiah Sharp, 4 April 1856

...17&18 Vic c.96 c.3, the gold wares there spoken of are certain gold wares exempted by the 12 of George 2nd c.26 and by the 7&8 Vic c.22. I think these acts together with the 18&19 Vic c.60 will give you every information you may require. The guard rings named in your letter are neither mourning rings nor wedding rings and are therefore not liable to the duty now levied on gold plate on all such gold wares of course the duty mark is omitted.⁵⁷

This exchange between the Dublin and London assay offices warrants further consideration. The Dublin office clearly believed guard rings were subject to duty while the London office disagreed. Furthermore, the London office continued to levy duty on mourning rings, despite their exclusion from the legislation. The London office continued to levy duty on mourning rings until 1878, when the Inland Revenue intervened and informed the London assay office that their

⁵⁴ An outline of the operation of the Dublin Assay Office was given by George Twycross, Assay Master to a parliamentary enquiry in 1856, *Committee on Silver and Gold Wares*, pp 162-68.

⁵⁵ Guard rings were worn on the finger in front of a wedding ring.

⁵⁶ Minute, 13 Mar. 1856 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 10, p. 13). The underlined sections follow the original.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

interpretation of the 1855 act was incorrect. They were specifically directed not to levy duty on mourning rings. In this instance the London assay office was effectively brought into accord with the prevailing practices of its Dublin counterpart.⁵⁸

3.3 Demand for hallmarked jewellery

The survival of hallmarked jewellery from the period c.1770 to c.1870 is rare due to lack of legal compulsion to have jewellery assayed, combined with the practice of remodelling or melting-down objects.⁵⁹ The National Museum of Ireland holds three of the few known pieces of Irish hallmarked jewellery from this period (figure 3.2), a gold and amethyst brooch assayed in 1818, the Burton brooch manufactured c.1845 and the Queen's brooch manufactured c.1849.⁶⁰ Helen Clifford has demonstrated how some eighteenth-century London jewellery retailers had no facility for making any of their own wares.⁶¹ For example, between 1766 and 1773 Parker and Wakelin, subcontracted work annually to between thirty-four and sixty suppliers.⁶² Yet, the silverware Parker and Wakelin sold was marked either by them or by the supplier or sometimes by both.⁶³ Recent research has considered guild hallmarks from the perspective of branding.⁶⁴ Bert De Munck has argued that hallmarks can be considered as 'commodity branding'.⁶⁵ In an Irish context, a silver Masonic jewel assayed in Dublin provides clear evidence of the retailer's mark of West & Son, alongside the maker's mark of Edmond Johnson (figure 3.3).

⁵⁸ Minute, 3 Nov. 1878 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 10, pp 142-3).

⁵⁹ This was not confined to the Dublin jewellery market, the jewellery retailed by the London firm Rundell & Bridge 'is the most difficult category to access, because so few of more expensive creations have survived the vagaries of fashion', Adamson, *Rundell & Bridge*, p. 47.

⁶⁰ It has not been possible to examine all the pieces in the museum's collection as many are fixed inside a glass display cabinet. The amethyst brooch was accessed and photographed by the author, courtesy of Alex Ward. The Queen's brooch is attributed to Edmond Johnson in Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, p. 50.

⁶¹ Clifford, 'The myth of the maker', pp 5-12.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁶⁴ De Munck, 'The agency of branding', pp 1055-76.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1055.

There was a distinction made between a ‘private mark’ and a ‘maker’s mark’. The private mark refers to a retailer’s mark, while the maker’s mark refers to the manufacturing workshop or sponsor rather than always the actual maker, as Helen Clifford has demonstrated.⁶⁶ An extract from a letter from the deputy warden of the London assay office neatly demonstrates this:

We would not object to assay mark gold or silver plate (manufactured in Dublin) for a London shopkeeper provided the private mark, name and address of such shopkeeper had been duly registered at this office. We would not register the private mark of a manufacturer residing in Ireland unless such manufacturer had a place of business in London. We would assay and mark gold and silver plate bearing the private mark of a London shopkeeper (not being a manufacturer and not having the makers mark impressed) provided the mark of such shopkeeper had been duly registered⁶⁷

The hallmark represented a mark of quality. In 1856, a Dublin jeweller remarked ‘the respectable houses all wish to have them [wedding rings] marked as a guarantee of quality to the public’.⁶⁸ However, he also observed ‘the unmarked [rings] were sold in a much greater quantity than the marked ones, because they were cheaper’.⁶⁹ Although the quantities of jewellery submitted for assay during 1841 to 1870 were considerably higher than previously recorded, the overall quantity was modest. It is likely that the assay records do not reflect the entire output of manufacturing jewellers. Edmond Johnson confirmed that ‘ordinary articles of jewellery made for ladies ... [were] frequently unstamped’.⁷⁰ James Mayfield listed ‘plain rings hallmarked’ under a heading ‘new stock’ in his 1866 stock ledger.⁷¹ Although the new 1854 legislation permitted jewellers to manufacture goods from gold of less than eighteen carats, there was no compulsion to have these articles assayed.⁷² Consequently, the Dublin jewellery manufacturers might occupy two groups. One category consisted of

⁶⁶ Clifford, ‘The myth of the maker’, pp 5-12.

⁶⁷ Minute 2 Sept. 1853 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 8, p. 527).

⁶⁸ *Select committee silver and gold 1856*, p. 171.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁷¹ James Mayfield & Co., stock book, 12 Dec. 1866 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 133). Yet, no comparable assay for Mayfield is recorded in the Dublin assay ledgers.

⁷² 17 & 18 Vict. c.96; 18 & 19 Vict. c.60.

manufacturers who wished to have items assayed for consumers who wished to purchase more expensive jewellery with a hallmark. A second group consisted of manufacturers who did not spend money having items assayed since the jewellery was too cheap to warrant the extra investment and their customers did not expect or understand hallmarked goods.

The 1854 legislation was popular with Birmingham manufacturers who produced a substantial amount of jewellery using die stamps and cutters. London manufacturers followed suit. The London manufacturer Edwin Streeter, claimed to be first to establish the manufacture of jewellery in eighteen-carat gold.⁷³ Streeter established his own business in 1868.⁷⁴ A floor plan of his extensive premises is included in his catalogue reprinted c.1872 giving an impression of the departments which comprised a large manufacturing and retailing firm. Retail and manufacture were confined to separate areas. The manufactory was on Saville Row and access to the trade and wholesale area was via Burlington Street. Retail customers entered Streeter's shop via Bond Street. Streeter also offered a mail-order service to 'correspondents from the country and abroad' unable to visit his shop.⁷⁵

Giving evidence in 1878, James Garrard, a London jeweller, remarked that nine carat gold was introduced 'to accommodate the Birmingham manufacturers.'⁷⁶ Few Dublin jewellers registered nine-carat gold punches, the sole exception being the Dublin jeweller, Edward Powell of Henry Street, who registered what was his only punch in 1861. He does not appear to have submitted any items of jewellery for assay. As noted, manufacturers had the option to submit nine carat jewellery for assay, but this was not compulsory. As David Beasley and Anthony Dove have shown, the London goldsmiths' company was against the introduction of lower standards of gold.⁷⁷ Established jewellers considered nine carat gold as

⁷³ *Streeter catalogue*, inside cover, unpaginated.

⁷⁴ Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*, p. 135.

⁷⁵ *Streeter catalogue*, p. 10.

⁷⁶ Evidence given by Mr. James M. Garrard, of R. & S. Garrard & Co., goldsmiths, 25 Haymarket, 1 July 1878 in *Gold and silver hall marking 1878*, p. 54.

⁷⁷ Beasley & Dove, 'Hallmarks on gold', p. 97.

unworthy of being called 'gold'. Unsurprisingly, some of the harshest criticism came from jewellers based outside Birmingham. Edward Watherston, a jeweller based in Pall Mall, described nine carat gold as having 'no right to the title of gold', rather it should 'be called brass alloyed with gold.'⁷⁸ In 1860, the Grafton Street jeweller William Acheson claimed that some retailers deceived consumers by offering 'electro gilt chains ... as the best fine gold ... priced accordingly'.⁷⁹ He further remarked 'the most elaborate patterns have been made with brass links in the centre, the outside of fine gold.'⁸⁰ Five years later, in 1865, Schriber & Sons, the Westmoreland Street watchmakers and jewellers placed an advertisement cautioning:

the public no longer to be deceived or misled [sic] by false statements of certain houses as to their being manufacturers, whereas in truth any order they get to execute is sent to Sheffield, Birmingham, or London⁸¹

These Birmingham wares may not have been popular with established jewellers, nevertheless they did appeal to consumers. In 1878, a London jeweller, Edward Watherston was asked whether there was 'much 9-carat gold about?' His reply recalled his horror, when 'a lady showed a chain that her brother had given her', he dismissed the wearer and the nine carat gold chain, stating 'she had no notion that it was a piece of hall-marked rubbish.'⁸² The choice made by the siblings may have been considered ill-judged by a high-end jeweller. However, the purchase neatly demonstrates the popular demand for a variety of relatively lower-cost jewellery. To the consumer, a nine-carat gold chain resembled a more expensive twenty-four carat chain, but commanded less financial investment.⁸³ Moreover, the lower cost of such jewellery encouraged the consumer to make a

⁷⁸ Evidence given by Mr. Edward J. Watherston, retail gold and silversmith, business in Pall Mall, 17 June 1878. *Select committee on hall marking*, p. 4.

⁷⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Jan. 1860.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 7 Dec. 1865.

⁸² Evidence given by Mr. Edward J. Watherston, retail gold and silversmith, business in Pall Mall, 17 June 1878. *Select committee on hall marking*, p. 4.

⁸³ This point is made by Jon Stobart in relation to a shift in consumer purchases from durable goods such as pewter tableware to an emphasis on the variety and fashionability of china and glass. Jon Stobart, 'Gentlemen and shopkeepers: supplying the house in eighteenth-century England', in *Economic History Review*, lxiv, no.3 (2011), p. 895.

fashionable, if not financially significant purchase. Taken together, Acheson and Schriber's comments demonstrate the difficulties faced by Dublin manufacturers and retailers. Both Acheson and Schriber encouraged the Dublin consumer to be more sceptical and patriotic in their choice of jewellery.

The new legislation may have been unpopular with jewellers who manufactured and retailed more expensive jewellery. However, evidence suggests that the lower gold standards did not detract from the levels of duty paid. The total amount of duty paid on gold rose by 22% from 1852 to 1876.⁸⁴ Interestingly, in 1855, Birmingham ranked second to London in terms of duty paid on gold items, suggesting that Birmingham manufactured large quantities of duty-bearing gold wares. In comparison, Dublin ranked seventh out of ten assay offices in terms of the quantity of duty paid on both gold and silver objects.⁸⁵ The ranking of Birmingham suggests that its goods were in fact highly desired by consumers, due to a variety of novel and competitively priced wares. Furthermore, as John Forbes observes, although the levels of silver assayed in London declined in the mid-nineteenth century, this was counterbalanced by an increase in the quantity of gold articles submitted.⁸⁶

3.4 Assay ledgers 1841-70: scope and format

The assay ledgers for the period 1841-70 offer consistent and comprehensive information on jewellery. As previously indicated, from 1841 the jewellery sent for assay was recorded in some detail. Alongside the name of the maker or workshop a short description of the object was noted, sometimes including the words 'gold' or 'silver'. Occasionally, the carat was also recorded. The quantity submitted was usually recorded, however there are occasions when for example, an item such as 'brooches' was noted without a corresponding quantity. In addition, entries recorded after August 1846 note a second name alongside that of

⁸⁴ Figures presented in 1876 indicate – 'only 316,208oz of gold had paid duty in the course of 24 years'. Evidence given by Mr. Garnett, 24 June 1878. *Select committee on hall marking*, p. 30.

⁸⁵ *Appendix no.1. Papers handed in by Mr. Garnett. A statement of the quantity of gold and silver plate on which duty was paid by each assay office in the United Kingdom in the year ended 5 January 1855, and the duty thereon*, contained in *Select committee on hall marking*, p.163.

⁸⁶ Forbes, *Hallmark*, p. 267.

the maker. The additional name relates to the retailer or client.⁸⁷ Thus, these records can be split into two groups – the first being makers or workshops and the second representing clients or retailers.⁸⁸ The latter group begin to be recorded in September 1846 and it is from this point that clear evidence of business networks emerges.⁸⁹

Appendix 8 lists the objects submitted for assay by each manufacturer. A list of retailers who out-sourced the manufacture of jewellery is tabled in appendix 9. Over the twenty-nine year period from 1841-70 surnames are listed, sometimes preceded by a first name initial.⁹⁰ Further identification can generally be determined by reference to additional guild records⁹¹ and street directories.⁹² As discussed in chapter two, those dealing in gold and silver were first required to register with the goldsmiths' guild in 1784. Licences were required by all those who manufactured and/or retailed gold and silver. Details of licence holders survive in the guild records.⁹³ In addition, a number of manufacturers can be identified by analysing the contents of the punch register and three plates impressed with punch marks, preserved in the Dublin assay office.⁹⁴ It is

⁸⁷ The assay ledgers do not have column headings, however, Ronald LeBas, Assay Master suggests the client/retailer group is likely. In addition, by cross-referencing makers punch registration with street directory listings it is possible to identify the firms who were manufacturing jewellery versus those who concentrated on retailing.

⁸⁸ This grouping is referenced throughout the chapter.

⁸⁹ New legislation was introduced in August 1846 a consequence of which may have been more detailed record keeping. 9 & 10 Vict. c.76.

⁹⁰ The name Law/Lowe is somewhat difficult to decipher – however cross-referencing with punch registration records and street directories suggests that Thomas Lowe is the most likely maker. He registered an 18ct punch in 1832. No record of the name Law appears in the punch register.

⁹¹ The registration ledger is a record of all those who complied and includes their name and address. The record ends in 1838. Guild records include masters and freemen, but there are minor craftsmen and allied trades which would not usually appear in the records, except where they fell foul of guild regulations.

⁹² It would not be possible to provide a comprehensive listing of all craftsmen operating at this time. Street directories do provide a good profile of commercial activity, nevertheless there are those who will remain anonymous, for example journeymen.

⁹³ Registration book of silversmiths under the 1784 Act, 1784 to 1838. This book is recorded in date order and includes some regional silversmiths for example, R&J Gray, Belfast, Antrim, 15 June 1827 and H. Gardner, Belfast, 15 August 1827. Full name and address is usually recorded and sometimes a change of address is noted and dated. (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 99).

⁹⁴ The Assay Office punch register seems to have been introduced as a result of the 1784 legislation. There are three remaining plates in the Assay Office from the eighteenth and nineteenth-century with makers' marks, but not all makers' marks are preserved. According to

noteworthy that several clerks recorded entries into the assay ledgers, minute books and other guild records, thus a degree of inconsistency or error in terms of spelling is to be expected.

3.5 Networks of supply and demand, 1841-70

As noted by Alison FitzGerald and Conor O'Brien, an advanced network of workshops and 'presumably, effective sub-contraction networks were well advanced' from at least the early nineteenth century.⁹⁵ Existing scholarship has demonstrated that a small number of 'commercially aware goldsmiths dominated the market' in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Dublin.⁹⁶ In an English context, the eighteenth-century firm Parker and Wakelin relied on nineteen jewellers and craftsmen, including seal makers, watchmakers, bead stringers, goldworkers enamellers and stone setters.⁹⁷ The London firm, Wickes and Wakelin, predecessors of Parker and Wakelin, obtained its stock of jewellery from a network of subcontractors.⁹⁸ This section builds on existing literature by investigating the numbers of manufacturing jewellers who supplied retailers between 1840 and 1871. The findings of this section indicate an interdependent network of jewellery manufacture, supply and retail during the period 1841-70.

Forty jewellery manufacturers and thirty-nine retailer names are recorded in the 1841-70 ledgers, some names appeared in both columns. As will be demonstrated, there were those, such as William Percival, who acted only in the capacity of manufacturing supplier, others such as Pim Brothers were purely retailers and then there were those who, like Henry Flavelle, acted as manufacturer, supplier and retailer. The name 'Johnson' appears frequently in the ledgers. Several members of the Johnson family carried on business as jewellers in Dublin. In the 1850 street directory, Edmond Johnson [Jnr.], 5 Fleet Street, is listed as 'jeweller', while 'Joseph Johnson & Son, 23 Wellington Quay' are listed

Bennett, some may have failed to register their marks, or perhaps the plates were lost or thrown out, Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, p. 293.

⁹⁵ FitzGerald & O'Brien, 'The production of silver', p. 14.

⁹⁶ Sinsteden, 'Four selected assay records', pp 143-58; FitzGerald & O'Brien, 'The production of silver', p 14.

⁹⁷ Clifford, 'The myth of the maker', p. 7.

⁹⁸ Clifford, *Silver in London*, p. 30.

as ‘goldsmith, jeweller and electroplater’.⁹⁹ Edmond and Joseph Johnson worked in the family business together.¹⁰⁰ Edmond Jnr., (d.1900) and Joseph Jnr., (d.1883) were the sons of Edmond Johnson Snr., (d.1864).¹⁰¹ Edmond Johnson Jnr., had a brother, James Johnson who also worked in the family firm. Their grandfather was Joseph Johnson Snr.¹⁰²

The supply network between individual retailers/clients and manufacturers fluctuated considerably during the period. Jewellers such as Ann Nowlan and Charles Rankin seem to have made little use of other manufacturers. Mrs Ann Nowlan, a jeweller with premises on Nassau Street,¹⁰³ is associated with just one assay in 1846 - four Masonic ornaments submitted by Christopher Cummins, a Clarendon Street manufacturer of sterling and German silver wares.¹⁰⁴ As Nolan shared premises with ‘Nolan & Co., jewellers and silversmiths’, this may explain why she only appeared once in the ledgers.¹⁰⁵ Charles Rankin, a Nassau Street jeweller who specialised in manufacturing bog oak, Galway marble and Irish spar jewellery¹⁰⁶ was supplied with eleven wedding rings by Alex Hutton in November 1864.¹⁰⁷ At the other end of the scale in terms of demand lie the firms of Thomas Bennett, West & Son and Waterhouse & Company. These firms are representative of jewellery retailers who sourced a large variety of jewellery from several Dublin manufacturers. Appendix 9 lists the known firms who sourced jewellery from Dublin manufactures.

Thomas Bennett, a well-established goldsmith and jeweller ran a retail premises and workshop at 75 Grafton Street. His business was probably established in the

⁹⁹ *Thom’s Dublin Directory*, 1850.

¹⁰⁰ Stratten & Stratten, *Dublin, Cork and South of Ireland a literary, commercial and social review* (London, 1892), p. 99.

¹⁰¹ Kelly, ‘Commerce and the Celtic Revival, appendix.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Registration, 12 Nov. 1841 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 100).

¹⁰⁴ *Thom’s Dublin Directory*, 1849.

¹⁰⁵ *Post Office Directory*, 1841. She may have been the wife or widowed mother of Michael Nolan.

¹⁰⁶ *Thom’s Dublin Directory*, 1860-4; *Royal Dublin Society official catalogue of manufactures, machinery and fine arts, 1864*, p. 44. Spar is a type of hard mineral formed near water, similar to alabaster, translucent and veined with violet, yellow and rose.

¹⁰⁷ Assay, 12 Nov. 1864 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 37).

1830s¹⁰⁸ and he continued to trade until his death in early 1859.¹⁰⁹ He stocked new and second-hand items and Irish and foreign manufactured goods.¹¹⁰ In 1847, he offered for sale ‘a magnificent pearl suite, consisting of necklace, earrings and brooch, quite perfect and equal to new’.¹¹¹ He acted as agent for the Sheffield company Waterhouse, Hatfield & Company, retailing a variety of Sheffield plate.¹¹² Bennett was supplied with a variety of jewellery between 1846 and 1855 from the manufacturers Henry Flavelle, the Johnson firm and Smyth (possibly Thomas or John). In the main, Bennett sourced Masonic ornaments from Flavelle, but occasionally he went to Smyth.¹¹³ He was supplied with fifty-seven Masonic ornaments, all but three were manufactured by Flavelle, the remainder were by Smyth. In 1850, Flavelle also supplied Bennett with a compass¹¹⁴ and in 1851, a ‘silver wand’.¹¹⁵ The silver wand seems to have been somewhat problematic for Flavelle, as it failed to pass assay twice. It was broken on 1 February, and again five days later on 6 February, finally passing assay on 8 February.¹¹⁶ The Johnson firm supplied Bennett over a longer period of time from 1846 to 1854. During that period, Bennett was supplied with one hundred and eighty-two wedding rings, one bishop’s ring (figure 3.4), three silver buckles, two gold Alderman’s chains, a signet ring and a gold cross (figure 3.5).¹¹⁷ Bennett’s supply network demonstrates that manufacturers such as Henry Flavelle, Smyth (possibly Thomas or John) and the Johnson firm could supply standard items of jewellery, for example wedding rings and Masonic jewels, but they were also capable of manufacturing more unique items, perhaps by commission, such as a bishop’s ring, an Alderman’s chain or a silver wand. Bishops’ rings could be highly ornate, set with precious stones such as sapphires or amethysts as a

¹⁰⁸ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 15 April 1853. Bennett placed an advertisement wherein he states ‘established for twenty years’.

¹⁰⁹ Following his death, a creditors notice was placed in the *Freeman’s Journal*, 18 Mar. 1859.

¹¹⁰ *Freeman’s Journal*, 12 Jan. 1847.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 23 Dec. 1846.

¹¹³ Assay, 3 Mar. 1849 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 33); assay, 21 Jan. 1851 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 34).

¹¹⁴ Assay, 24 Aug. 1850 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 37).

¹¹⁵ Assay, 1, 6 & 8 Feb. 1851 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 37).

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Assay ledger 8 Sept. 1841 to 6 Mar. 1849 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 33); assay ledger 22 May 1858 to 10 May 1890 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 37).

surviving example from c.1869 illustrates (figure 3.4). Manufacturing jewellers might also have created sample items such as the three silver bracelets (figure 3.6) assayed for Flavelle in August 1850.¹¹⁸ The bracelets were supplied to Bennett, however, no similar items were subsequently assayed for him. Flavelle submitted at least fifteen bracelets for assay during the period 1841-70, more than any other manufacturer, all but three were solely under his name.

West & Son, a long-established prestigious firm with premises at Capel Street and College Green, were official goldsmiths and jewellers to the Queen, the Lord Lieutenant and the Irish Court from 1840 to at least 1860.¹¹⁹ The firm was established by Matthew West in 1769¹²⁰ and Matthew West & Sons were appointed jewellers to the crown as early as 1826.¹²¹ Henry O'Hara, a Dublin solicitor was one of West's clients. In 1860 he ordered a 'ruby and diamond ring' and a 'fine gold chain'.¹²² West supplied Robert O'Grady with 'gold eye glasses' in 1826 and a 'silver gilt buckle' in 1832.¹²³ West & Son out-sourced jewellery manufacture to at least eleven manufacturers from 1846-68 (appendix 10). Their first supplier was Edmond Johnson who supplied them with a star of the Order of St. Patrick (figure 3.7) in October 1846 and two other stars, possibly Masonic, in November the same year.¹²⁴ Over the following two years, Johnson went on to supply a single buckle, brooch and a music baton.¹²⁵ West offered its customers a wide variety of jewellery from several manufacturers including antique or horseshoe brooches (figure 3.8) made by Edmond Johnson,¹²⁶ brooches and bracelets made by Alex Hutton,¹²⁷ an owl mounted in bog oak and a horseshoe snuffbox both by Henry Flavelle.¹²⁸ The firm also retailed diamond rings set by

¹¹⁸ Assay, 24 Aug. 1850 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 37).

¹¹⁹ *Post Office Directory*, 1840 and *Thom's Dublin Directory*, 1860.

¹²⁰ Matthew West was made a freeman in 1769, Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, p. 337.

¹²¹ M. West & Sons, receipt, 4 July 1826 (NLI, Gormanstown papers, MS 44,413/7).

¹²² West & Son, receipt, 27 Dec. 1860 (TCD, Hart and O'Hara papers, MS 7526-accounts).

¹²³ M. West & Sons, receipt, 4 July 1826 and 6 June 1832 (NLI, Gormanstown papers, MS44,413/7).

¹²⁴ Assay ledger, 8 Sept. 1841 to 6 Mar. 1849 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 33).

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ Assay, 13 Sept. 1849 and 16 Mar. 1854 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 34).

¹²⁷ Assay, 5 Jan. 1867 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 37).

¹²⁸ Assay, 2 Feb. 1850 & 25 Nov. 1851 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 34).

Edmond Johnson,¹²⁹ signet rings (figure 3.9), strap rings (figure 3.10) and guard rings all made by Alex Hutton¹³⁰ and gold spectacles supplied by Henry Flavelle.¹³¹ West placed an order for a bishop's ring with T.D. Bryce in 1867.¹³² It also retailed a range of larger silver items, including steamers, kettles and teapots. The manufacturer Smyth supplied West with patriotic shamrock buttons for kettles and teapots in October 1847,¹³³ 'two sea horses' were sourced from Sawyer in 1853,¹³⁴ and six 'sea shells' in 1849 from Smyth.¹³⁵ Smyth supplied Waterhouse with 'one tea shell in the shape of a swan' in 1864.¹³⁶ Neither Thomas Bennett nor West & Company submitted any jewellery items for assay under their own account during the period 1841-70. West & Company did register a punch in 1864, but if Thomas Bennett registered his maker's mark no details survive.

The Sheffield company, Waterhouse & Company, opened an Irish outlet on Dame Street in 1843.¹³⁷ It retailed its own Sheffield plate and silver plated wares. It was appointed as silversmiths to the Lord Lieutenant in 1846 and to Queen Victoria in 1848.¹³⁸ Waterhouse sourced jewellery from at least six Dublin manufacturers, Henry Flavelle, E. and J. Johnson, James LeBas, William Percival and Thomas Smyth. Its first supplier was Henry Flavelle in 1846, from whom it ordered Masonic jewels, tops for glasses and medals.¹³⁹ Wedding rings and shawl brooches were supplied by J. Johnson Jnr.,¹⁴⁰ Thomas Smyth supplied a silver brooch and James LeBas a dog collar.¹⁴¹ William Percival was its favoured

¹²⁹ Assay, 11 Aug. 1853 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 34).

¹³⁰ Assay, 17 Feb. 1866 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 37).

¹³¹ Assay, 14 Nov. 1854 & 13 Dec. 1855 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 34).

¹³² Entry 25 Jul. 1867, possibly T.D. Bryce, no address, no further details located (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 100).

¹³³ Assay, 16 Oct. 1847 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 34).

¹³⁴ Possibly, Richard Sawyer, wholesale gold and silversmith, 64 Fleet Street. *Wilson's Dublin Directory*, 1830, *Post Office Directory*, 1840, and *Thom's Dublin Directory*, 1850.

¹³⁵ Assay, 5 May 1849 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 34).

¹³⁶ Assay, 4 Feb. 1864 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 37).

¹³⁷ Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, p 15.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Assay, 22 Oct. 1846 & 31 Dec. 1846 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 33).

¹⁴⁰ Assay, 22 Oct. 1846 & 5 Aug. 1848 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 33); assay, 30 Oct. 1849 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 34).

¹⁴¹ Assay, 22 Sept. 1860 & 21 Feb. 1863 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 37).

supplier, manufacturing the widest variety of jewellery including rings, sleeve links and a single bouquet holder.

At least forty manufacturers' names are recorded in the ledgers. As will be demonstrated, there were those, such as William Percival, who acted only in the capacity of manufacturing supplier. Others such as Pim Brothers were purely retailers and then there were those who, like Henry Flavelle, acted as manufacturer, supplier and retailer.

A number of makers supplied products to large Dublin jewellers and department stores over an extended period. The manufacturing jeweller and goldsmith Henry Flavelle supplied nine Dublin retailers (appendix 11) with jewellery and other items. Flavelle had premises at Eustace Street from at least 1840 and later at Grafton Street where he retailed his own jewellery manufactures and a variety of other wares. By 1864, he advertised as 'an artist in hair jewellery and Irish spar ornaments'.¹⁴² Other suppliers such as William Percival do not appear to have had retail premises at first. Percival was evidently part of a supply network, manufacturing for larger jewellery firms including Waterhouse. From 1867, Percival advertised as a goldsmith and jeweller with an address in Temple Lane, perhaps signalling a change in circumstances.¹⁴³ The Sackville Street retailer Law & Son sourced jewellery and other items of silver plate from at least nine manufacturers (appendix 12) including Edmond Johnson and Henry Flavelle. Pim Brothers & Co., one of the largest department stores in Dublin, out-sourced its jewellery manufacture to at least three Dublin makers/workshops including the Castle Street jewellers, watchmakers and trunk makers, Rebecca and Thomas Mason (appendix 13).¹⁴⁴ This level of interaction and connection between Dublin jewellers and retailers suggests a highly evolved and competitive jewellery market. Retailers could choose from a number of Irish manufacturers and also

¹⁴² *Official catalogue advertiser 1864 in Official catalogue of the exhibition of manufactures, machinery and fine arts*, p. 6.

¹⁴³ *Thom's Directory 1867, 1870*.

¹⁴⁴ For a discussion of the development of department stores in nineteenth-century Dublin see, Rains, *Commodity, culture and social class*.

import jewellery from London, Birmingham, Paris and Amsterdam.¹⁴⁵ Irish consumers evidently expected choice and were open to purchasing either Irish or imported jewellery. Some manufacturers were specialists and thus could rely on a degree of retailer and consumer loyalty, for example, Henry Flavelle was the only jeweller to send spectacles and solitaires for assay while Patrick Donegan was the only manufacturer to submit hunt buttons.

3.6 Quantity and range of objects

The total quantity of jewellery sent for assay during the period 1841 to 1870, grouped by object type, and maker/workshop is presented in appendix 6. Analysis of this material offers a tantalising picture of the range of jewellery goods retailed by individual firms. For example, the significant number of wedding rings assayed, in excess of 12,500, suggests these were stock items in almost constant demand throughout the period. Conversely, although chains were a fashionable item, the relatively small numbers assayed indicates that jewellers retailed a combination of Irish assayed goods, un-assayed jewellery and imported jewellery. In 1862, James Mayfield, Sackville Street, advertised his business as that of ‘watchmaker, goldsmith and importer of jewellery’.¹⁴⁶ The 1866 stock-book of James Mayfield & Co., lists numerous chains, such as gold chains, Albert chains, demi-guards, bright chains and necklet chains.¹⁴⁷ The chains came in a variety of links, including square links, oval links, locket links, cable links and twisted curb links.¹⁴⁸ Similar goods could be obtained on order from a London manufacturer (figure 3.11).¹⁴⁹ Dublin’s jewellery retailers had to be proficient in anticipating and meeting consumer demand.

The hallmark on jewellery provided the retailer and indeed the consumer with a guarantee of quality. Nevertheless, on occasion, an assayed piece of jewellery was proved to be substandard in terms of metal quality. As discussed in chapter

¹⁴⁵ Imports from Amsterdam are advertised less frequently than those from Paris and London.

¹⁴⁶ *Thom’s Dublin Directory*, 1862.

¹⁴⁷ James Mayfield & Co., stock book, 12 Dec. 1866 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 133, unpaginated).

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ *Streeter catalogue*, p. 38.

two a number of gold chains sent for assay in 1864 by William Percival were found to be of inferior standard. The assay master remarked that:

18 Albert chains of Wm. Percivals had been hallmarked within less than 18 months and that other links and chains of inferior standard must have been substituted after the chains had been obtained from the hall duly marked of course.¹⁵⁰

However, it is interesting to note that when the corresponding assay ledgers are cross-referenced with the minute book record, no chains were noted as having been assayed for William Percival, he did however send forty-three rings and one box for assay between July 1863 and September 1864. It is possible that the individual who assayed the chains may not have actually tested each link. Alternatively, as the assay office claimed, the substandard links may have been substituted after assay.

The research presented in this section aims to address the imbalance which exists in academic studies of nineteenth-century Irish jewellery. Research to date has almost exclusively concentrated on archaeological or Celtic reproduction and bog oak jewellery.¹⁵¹ However, the evidence from the assay ledgers indicates a far wider variety of jewellery being manufactured in Dublin than has hitherto been represented. Given the paucity of extant Irish hallmarked jewellery for the period, the assay records provide evidence of what was being sent for assay and by whom. Over 22,000 jewellery items were assayed during the period 1841-70. The jewellery manufactured throughout the period can be divided into two categories – personal and civic ornaments. Personal items include rings, bracelets, brooches, buckles, buttons, chains, earrings, flower holders, lockets, necklaces, rings, studs, sleeve links, solitaires and spectacles. Civic ornaments

¹⁵⁰ Minutes, 3 Oct. 1864 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 10, p. 83v).

¹⁵¹ Dunlevy's short publication is one of the few studies to offer a more comprehensive view of Irish nineteenth-century jewellery, Dunlevy, *Jewellery*. Examples of publications which tend to concentrate on Celtic/archaeological style reproduction and bog include: Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*; Sheehy, *The rediscovery of Ireland's past*; McCrum, 'Commerce and the Celtic revival', pp 36-52; Kelly, 'Commerce and the Celtic Revival'.

range from large quantities of Masonic jewels to the single insignia of a water bailiff.

3.6.1 Personal ornaments

Throughout the period 1841 to 1870, the scope of personal ornaments sent for assay varied considerably in terms of description and quantity.

Buttons, buckles and Masonic ornaments are the only three categories of jewellery consistently submitted for assay from 1788 to 1870. As noted by FitzGerald and O'Brien the quantity of buckles sent for assay reduced considerably from more than 24,000 in 1788 to just eighteen in 1810.¹⁵² During the period 1841-70 the demand for buckles continued to fall as less than twenty-five were sent for assay over the whole period. The quantity of buttons sent for assay continued to plummet from c.2,800 in 1788 to just twenty-three assayed between 1841 and 1870. However, unlike buckles which were replaced by shoe strings, buttons remained a necessary aspect of dress. The dramatic fall in assay might be attributed to the vast quantities of buttons manufactured and exported by Birmingham manufacturers. The Birmingham wares stocked by Dublin retailers were often advertised in newspapers and on trade receipts. In the late eighteenth century, Matthew Boulton, one of Birmingham's key entrepreneurs manufactured a range of steel wares including cut-steel buttons. The cut-steel buttons were both fashionable and expensive. In 1777 Boulton was charging twenty-eight guineas for a full set of buttons.¹⁵³ Throughout the period cheaper metal buttons could be gilded giving an appearance of gold. In 1783 Edward Tipping had twenty-one metal buttons gilded by the Dublin jeweller Isaac D'Olier, at a cost of 8s. 6d.¹⁵⁴ In 1841, the Crow Street tailor W. E. Walker, supplied Francis Gould with a new dinner jacket and Harrison tweed coat with matching waistcoats, all complete with gilt buttons at a cost of £2 19s. 8d.¹⁵⁵ Thus, metal buttons which resembled silver

¹⁵² FitzGerald, 'The production and consumption of goldsmiths' work', p. 18.

¹⁵³ In 1777, the Earl of W was charged £28 for a set. Victoria & Albert Museum, available at: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O78531/button-unknown> [29 May 2014].

¹⁵⁴ Edward Tipping account from Isacc D'Olier, 13 Mar. 1783, (PRONI, Tipping papers, D4160/E/3).

¹⁵⁵ W.E. Walker receipt, 6 May 1841 (NLI, uncatalogued ephemera collection).

or gold were readily available throughout the period from a number of businesses including ironmongers, jewellers and tailors.

The total number of rings assayed during the period was a remarkable 17,174, representing over 95% of all jewellery assayed during 1841-71. The majority of rings assayed were described as 'wedding'. In excess of 12,538 were submitted, the next largest category was 'plain' or non-specified rings amounting to 3,786. A variety of other ring styles were manufactured including guard rings, signet, strap, mourning, gypsy, and bishop.¹⁵⁶

Guard rings (figure 3.12) became popular in the mid-nineteenth century, although one of the first mentions of a guard ring dates to 1761 when Queen Charlotte received a wedding gift of 'a diamond hoop ring of a size not to stand higher than the wedding ring to which it was to stand as a guard', Queen Victoria inherited the ring in 1828.¹⁵⁷ Over the period 1841 to 1870, 559 guard rings were submitted to the Dublin assay office. The description 'guard ring' was first noted in the 1855 assay ledgers, when the jeweller Edmond Johnson submitted 'forty-two guard rings nine carat'.¹⁵⁸ The Johnson firm remained almost the only manufacturer to have guard rings assayed until 1866. In 1862, William Acheson submitted one eighteen-carat guard ring for assay. The total number of guard rings assayed in 1866 was thirty-eight. J. Johnson submitted one eighteen-carat ring, William Percival for Waterhouse submitted two twenty-two carat rings, Edmond Johnson twenty-five rings of twenty-two carat gold and Alex Hutton submitted ten rings of eighteen-carat gold. Of interest is the use of three standards of gold, nine carat, eighteen carat and twenty two carat as well as a considerable variety in weight. The thirty-eight guard rings assayed in 1866 ranged in weight from one and a half pennyweights to five pennyweights. In addition, those submitted by Alex Hutton were described as 'plain half-round wide, the same as wedding rings 18ct, but

¹⁵⁶ The meaning of a 'jolain' ring is unclear. This description does not seem to have appeared in current literature.

¹⁵⁷ Diamond keeper ring, 1761, Royal Collection Trust, available at <http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/65429/diamond-keeper-ring> [28 Apr. 2014].

¹⁵⁸ Assay, 15 Sept. 1855 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 34).

marked without the Queens head' and another as being 'broad and flat'.¹⁵⁹ The reference to 'marked without the Queens head' indicates that duty was not paid on these rings. The sample of guard rings assayed in 1866 suggests that consumers demanded a choice of guard rings in terms of gold content, weight and ultimately cost. Guard rings maintained their popularity over the period 1855-70. A 'fine gold wedding ring and keeper' could be purchased from Mayfield & Company from their 'manufactory' on Sackville Street, or by post, free of charge for 15s.¹⁶⁰ Michael Glynn, with premises on Essex Quay and Ellis Quay retailed 'solid gold wedding and guard for 12s. 6d.'¹⁶¹ Alternatively, a 'sterling gold wedding and hall marked keeper rings' could be had from the watchmaker and silversmith William Broderick of Essex Quay. The rings cost between 11s. and 18s. which Broderick would package in 'a Morocco case' and post 'with promptitude' to 'any part of Ireland'.¹⁶² As he did not submit any rings for assay during the period, he may have purchased his stock from a Dublin manufacturer. Broderick's advertisement referred to 'keeper' rings rather than the more usual term 'guard' ring.¹⁶³

The maker who dominated the market for guard rings was a maker/workshop referred to in the assay ledgers as 'Mason'. While it is not possible to be emphatic, this was likely to have been Thomas Mason, a jeweller with premises at 52 Castle Street and later at Sackville Street.¹⁶⁴ In 1827, the Castle Street premises was home to James Mason, a trunk making and fancy warehouse business¹⁶⁵ and from at least 1840, Rebecca Mason conducted her jewellery business and fancy warehouse from the same premises, by 1847 she also listed herself as a trunk-maker.¹⁶⁶ By 1850 she had moved premises to Henry Street where she took over an existing jewellery and watch-making business previously

¹⁵⁹ Assay, 10 Nov. 1866 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 37).

¹⁶⁰ *The Irish Times and Daily Advertiser*, 21 Dec. 1867.

¹⁶¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Nov. 1863.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 14 Jan. 1860.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ Cross-referencing the maker punch register and silver/gold dealer records with street directories indicates that Thomas Mason is the only 'Mason' active from 1829 to 1867. The change of address corresponds to the dates,

¹⁶⁵ *Wilson's Dublin Directory*, 1827.

¹⁶⁶ *Post Office Directory*, 1847.

under the control of the Hughes family.¹⁶⁷ She continued to operate this business for another three years. In 1850, Thomas Mason, jeweller, also moved premises north of the River Liffey to Sackville Street, where he shared the building with a hairdresser, peruke maker, perfumer and hat manufacturer.¹⁶⁸

Mason specialised in wedding and guard rings, submitting in excess of 1,525 rings for assay, over the period 1841 to 1870. They supplied at least six firms with wedding rings and guard rings, including M. Nerwich of Crow Street, a jeweller and watch-maker who also ran a 'wholesale English, French and fancy warehouse'.¹⁶⁹ Mason enjoyed the favoured status as the only supplier of wedding rings to the large department store Pim Brothers, providing them with over 147 rings between 1847 and 1851. Guard rings and wedding rings were also supplied to Donegan. Donegan is likely to be Patrick Donegan of Dame Street a jeweller and watch manufacturer who also operated a church ornament and vestment depot. Patrick was the successor to the watchmaker John Donegan. Mason supplied Donegan with over 127 guard rings between 1867 and 1869. Patrick Donegan clearly tried to appeal to those consumers who wished to support Irish manufactures. In 1865, he advertised:

ever having a desire to promote Irish manufacture and development of Irish talent in every branch, I keep first-class workmen for such purposes and feel fully confident to undertake any order in my line to keep the manufacture in Ireland¹⁷⁰

The Mason firm is an example of a manufacturer who controlled its own retail business, while also maintaining an additional source of custom by creating a supply relationship with other retailers. The firm adapted their retail strategy over the years, sometimes adding the manufacture of trunks to its jewellery business. They made a decision to move premises north of the River Liffey to the now

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, *Thom's Dublin Directory* 1849-50 & 1853.

¹⁶⁸ *Thom's Dublin Directory*, 1850.

¹⁶⁹ *Thom's Dublin Directory*, 1840 & 1850.

¹⁷⁰ *The Nation*, 25 Feb. 1865.

fashionable Sackville Street, where they shared premises with a number of businesses and might expect an element of reciprocal custom. At the same time they also maintained a cheaper location on Henry Street where they took over an existing jewellery and watch-making firm, presumably complete with fixtures, where they may have maintained a workshop.

Gentlemen's jewellery remained fashionable during the nineteenth century. Flower or bouquet holders, a fashionable and functional item, were worn on clothing.¹⁷¹ An example of a silver gilt flower holder embellished with a Celtic design and retailed by West & Son, is housed in the National Museum of Ireland (figure 3.13). Edmond Johnson manufactured flower holders from at least 1842 and supplied the retailers Law & Son in 1847.¹⁷² A mount for a flower holder was sent for assay by West & Son in 1850.¹⁷³ Henry Flavelle was the only manufacturer to submit items specified as solitaires for assay.¹⁷⁴ As noted at the outset of this chapter, solitaires were illustrated in the catalogue of the London jeweller Edwin Streeter (figure 3.14).¹⁷⁵ Circular shaped gold solitaires retailed from £3 to £6 and might be worn in a stock or cravat. Once assayed, Flavelle could then offer to customise the solitaires by adding a monogrammed or other decoration. Examples of steel and gold solitaires manufactured c.1875 and embellished with a depiction of Saint George and the dragon (figure 3.14) are housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The solitaires measure 2.6cm in diameter.¹⁷⁶

Signet rings and gypsy rings were new styles introduced during 1841-70. Signet rings were worn by men, as an alternative to a watch seal. Over ninety-one signet rings were assayed throughout the period. Edmond Johnson was the first

¹⁷¹ Bouquet holders 'in endless variety' were among the goods advertised by a Grafton Street retailer in 1868, along with head ornaments, belt clasps and tiaras in vulcanite, ivory and gilt, *The Irish Times*, 10 Apr. 1869.

¹⁷² Assay, 4 May 1842, 15 Jul. 1843 & 7 Oct. 1847 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 33).

¹⁷³ Assay, 9 May 1850 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 34).

¹⁷⁴ Assay, 7 Aug. & 6 Dec. 1862 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 37).

¹⁷⁵ *Streeter Catalogue*, p. 33).

¹⁷⁶ Victoria and Albert Museum collection, available at <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O115835/solitaire-unknown/> [17 Apr. 2015].

manufacturer to submit signet rings for assay in 1844 and he remained the main manufacturer and retailer throughout the period.¹⁷⁷ He did supply a small number of rings to other retailers. It was not until 1848 that retailers began to order signet rings and Law & Son were the first retailers to source them from Johnson,¹⁷⁸ followed by Thomas Bennett in 1853 who again took only a single ring.¹⁷⁹ By 1866 Waterhouse & Company, were retailing signet rings made by Thomas Smyth and William Percival,¹⁸⁰ while West & Son were sourcing signet rings from Alex Hutton.¹⁸¹ West retailed a gold signet ring valued at £4 4s. in 1869, most likely purchased by a Dublin solicitor Henry O'Hara.¹⁸² Signet rings varied in price, probably relating to the weight and carat of gold used. In 1850 the Belfast jewellers MacCartney offered a 'selection of gentlemen's fine gold signet rings, ranging in price from twelve shillings to fifty-five shillings'.¹⁸³ Ten years later, the Dublin jeweller William Acheson was retailing gold signet rings, reduced from '£3 3s. to £1 10s.'. ¹⁸⁴ This was stock Acheson had purchased from the estate of Thomas Bennett. For those who wished for a more individual ring, Waterhouse retailed 'eighteen carat gold' signet rings which could be personalised 'with a crest engraved ... by the most experienced engravers for £2 2s.'¹⁸⁵

Gypsy rings (figure 3.15) begin to be recorded in 1866 and may again have been manufactured for the male consumer. Here again, Edmond Johnson led the field submitting the first ring for assay. Gypsy set rings are described as having a wide gold band, the stone being secured within the shank of the ring. Sometimes the ring is engraved with rays extending from the stone.¹⁸⁶ The setting was a modern version of a style used by the Romans.¹⁸⁷ Gypsy rings were originally adopted by

¹⁷⁷ Assay, 7 Mar. 1844 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 33).

¹⁷⁸ Assay, 5 Dec. 1848 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 33).

¹⁷⁹ Assay, 27 Aug. 1853 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 34).

¹⁸⁰ Assay, 30 Jan., 27 Feb., 27 Mar., 3 Jul., 5 Jul. & 11 Oct. 1866 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 37).

¹⁸¹ Assay, 28 Jul. & 13 Sept. 1866 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 37).

¹⁸² West & Son, receipt, 7 Sept. 1869 (TCD, Hart and O'Hara papers, MS 7526-accounts). Not addressed to Henry O'Hara, but contained in a folder with other documents addressed to him.

¹⁸³ *Belfast Newsletter*, 2, 5 & 16 April 1850.

¹⁸⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 14 Apr. 1860.

¹⁸⁵ *The Irish Times and Daily Advertiser*, 12 June 1861.

¹⁸⁶ Newman, *Dictionary of jewelry*, p. 146.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

men probably because of the practical setting, however, by the 1880s female consumers in New York had adopted a similar style ring, albeit somewhat smaller and set with more colourful stones.¹⁸⁸ Gypsy rings are not mentioned specifically in advertisements, however, ‘best quality gold set rings’ were retailed by J. Russell, the Kingstown watchmaker and ‘gold gem’ rings were offered by William Acheson, both of whom had sourced the rings from ‘the late Mr. Bennett’.¹⁸⁹ In 1866, the jeweller James Mayfield stocked turquoise gypsy rings valued at 18s., more costly coral-set gypsy rings cost £1 (figure 3.16).¹⁹⁰ The quantities of gypsy rings assayed are comparatively low when compared with signet rings, perhaps indicating that the male consumer favoured the more conservative signet ring to a gypsy ring set with a stone. The wide selection of rings assayed by Dublin manufacturers, including strap rings, enamel rings, rings with chased edges and jointed rings points to a strong awareness by Irish jewellers of popular styles and an ability to offer a constantly updated variety of fashionable jewellery to retailers and consumers alike. James Mayfield’s 1866 stock book lists hundreds of rings categorised under headings such as ‘seal rings’, fancy rings’ and ‘guard rings’.¹⁹¹ The rings he stocked were of various gold carats, set with a variety of gemstones and valued accordingly.¹⁹²

3.6.2 Civic ornaments

Civic ornaments represented in the ledgers includes Masonic jewels, a water bailiff badge, Alderman’s chains, Order of St. Patrick insignia and bishops’ rings. Comparison with earlier assay records for the years 1788 and 1810¹⁹³ indicates that the only category of civic jewellery common to all periods is Masonic jewels. The dual nature of Masonic jewels as both personal and civic ornaments is borne out by the diversity of designs manufactured. Masonic jewels vary in terms of the

¹⁸⁸ *The Jewelers’ Circular and Horological review*, 15, no.1 (1884), p. 4, cited by Eragem Estate Jewellery, available at: Eragem Post <http://eragem.com/news/the-history-and-characteristics-of-gypsy-settings> [20 June 2014].

¹⁸⁹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 10 May 1860.

¹⁹⁰ James Mayfield & Co., stock book, 12 Dec. 1866 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 133, unpaginated).

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ FitzGerald, ‘The production and consumption of goldsmiths’ work’, appendix, pp 35; *ibid.*, 37; *ibid.*, 44.

finish and overall artistry of the object. This may be explained by a difference in maker or by the personal taste of the consumer.

Civic ornaments such as Masonic jewels were the objects in highest demand after rings. In excess of 369 Masonic ornaments were assayed by sixteen makers or workshops in the period 1841-70. Henry Flavelle and his son were the leading makers, producing over 262 or 71% of all Masonic jewels. Henry Flavelle steadily built up his reputation for Masonic jewellery. In 1847 he was awarded a small silver medal for 'a glass case of Masonic jewels', which he had exhibited at the exhibition of Irish manufacture, produce and invention.¹⁹⁴ His success evidently encouraged further participation. At the Cork exhibition in 1852, his exhibits included 'Masonic ornaments and a model of the Ark of the Covenant, in silver',¹⁹⁵ (figure 3.17) and in 1853 at the Dublin exhibition, he again displayed Masonic jewellery.¹⁹⁶ Although Flavelle is not named as an exhibitor at the 1851 London exhibition, it is possible that he permitted the Grafton Street jeweller Thomas Bennett to exhibit the Ark on his behalf. Bennett exhibited an 'Ark of the Covenant, in silver',¹⁹⁷ similar to that attributed to Flavelle a year later in 1852. Bennett had also attended the Cork exhibition, however, there is no reference to the Ark forming part of his exhibit. A further example of the close business relationships which evidently existed between Dublin jewellers can be found in 1850. During the Royal Dublin Society Exhibition of Art and Manufacture, in July 1850, Bennett exhibited a silver centrepiece, which had previously been awarded a large silver medal when exhibited by the Grafton Street jeweller Robert K. Gardner.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ *The report and adjudication of the judges on the exhibition of Irish manufacture, produce and invention, held at the Royal Dublin Society's house, 30 June 1847 and following days* (Dublin, 1847), p. 40.

¹⁹⁵ J.F. Maguire, *The industrial movement in Ireland as illustrated by the National exhibition of 1852* (Cork, 1853), p. 137 (henceforth cited as *National exhibition of 1852*).

¹⁹⁶ *Official catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition (in connection with the Royal Dublin Society) 1853* (3rd ed., Dublin, 1853), p. 87 (henceforth cited as *Official catalogue with the Royal Dublin Society 1853*).

¹⁹⁷ *Official descriptive and illustrated catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the works of industry of all nations 1851* (3 vols, London, 1851), p. 675 (henceforth cited as *Official descriptive and illustrated catalogue 1851*).

¹⁹⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 11 July 1850.

Flavelle supplied a number of retailers with Masonic ornaments (figure 3.18), including two Dame Street firms, Waterhouse & Company and John Twycross & Son, and Thomas Bennett of Grafton Street. Interestingly, from 1856, no additional name is recorded in the client/retailer column alongside Flavelle's name, suggesting the Masonic jewels submitted by him were intended solely for his retail business. Sometime after 1857, Flavelle moved premises from Eustace Street to the more prestigious Grafton Street indicating a degree of confidence in his business prospects. The 1853 rateable value of Flavelle's Eustace Street premises was relatively cheap at £35, when compared to Grafton Street property which attracted a considerably higher premium. Thomas Bennett's property was valued at £86 while the jeweller William Acheson's property was valued at £105.¹⁹⁹ By 1864, Flavelle had 'extensive workshops' adjoining his shop at 43 Grafton Street 'where all work can be seen in progress'.²⁰⁰

The variety of extant examples of Masonic ornaments suggests that although the scope of objects was limited to symbolic representations of quills, bibles, set squares and compasses, jewellers could nevertheless express a degree of artistic licence in their interpretation. The manufacture of Masonic ornaments required a number of skills including engraving and stone-setting.

A water bailiff badge (figure 3.19) was submitted for assay in 1847 by 'Walsh'. Only one such badge was assayed during the period 1841-70. In 1847, two water-bailiffs held office in Dublin, Patrick J. Byrne and Patrick Bardin.²⁰¹ As observed by Conor O'Brien, small silver oars were carried by water-bailiffs as emblems of their office.²⁰² This badge was probably made of silver and in the form of an oar. Only four silver oars relating to Irish towns have been identified. In 1773, the Council of Waterford commissioned the silversmith Samuel Clayton to make a

¹⁹⁹ *Thom's Dublin Directory*, 1853.

²⁰⁰ *Official catalogue advertiser 1864*, p. 5.

²⁰¹ *Thom's Dublin Directory*, 1847, p. 279.

²⁰² Conor O'Brien, 'The silver oar of the water-bailiff of Waterford', in *The journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, cxxv (1995), pp 135-37. The maker's mark SC surmounted by a crown, is most likely that of Samuel Clayton, a Waterford goldsmith.

silver oar for William Barker, a water bailiff.²⁰³ The extant silver oar is 25cm long and is inscribed with the arms of Waterford Corporation.²⁰⁴ In 1857, a replacement silver oar was granted to the Court of Admiralty of Dublin, the original having been lost.²⁰⁵ It is likely therefore, that the badge was made for an officer of Dublin Corporation or another town corporation. Alternatively, it may have been commissioned by a wealthy landowner who had appointed a water bailiff on his estate to prevent poaching.²⁰⁶ The badge was assayed in February 1847, during the height of the Irish famine when many would have risked poaching rather than starve. In her work on Irish rural interiors, Claudia Kinmonth remarks, in reference to a portrait dated 1844, that the meagre spoils of poachers' labours are characteristic of the 'bare poverty of some Irish interiors'.²⁰⁷ The water bailiff badge represents an attempt to invest its wearer with authority. The bailiff would produce the oar as a mark of authority, for example when making an arrest on board a ship.²⁰⁸ It was not until after the introduction of legislation in 1863 that official water bailiffs became more widespread.²⁰⁹

3.7 Case study of the Burton brooch

The concluding part of this chapter considers a brooch manufactured c.1845 by a Dublin jeweller. On 8 April 1845, 'one broach' was submitted for assay by Edmond Johnson; as will be demonstrated this simple description belies the talent invested in the creation of the remarkable Burton brooch.²¹⁰ Considerable insight into the jewellery trade in Dublin can be gained through analysis of assay records, yet the records alone do not reflect the full picture. Analysis of the Burton brooch will demonstrate the factors of design, manufacture and retail which contributed

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Marilyn Silverman, 'The non-agricultural working class in 19th century Thomastown', in William Murphy (ed.), *In the shadow of the steeple II* (Kilkenny, 1990), pp 96-7, available at York University, <http://www.yorku.ca/laps/anth/faculty/MSilverman/documents/M10.pdf> [29 May 2014].

²⁰⁷ Alfred Downing Fripp, *The poachers alarmed*, 1844, (Private collection), reproduced by Kinmonth, *Irish rural interiors*, pp 80-1.

²⁰⁸ O'Brien, 'The silver oar', pp 135-37.

²⁰⁹ Silverman, 'The non-agricultural working class'.

²¹⁰ Assay, 8 Apr. 1845 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 33). It is likely that this was the Burton brooch assay as it is the only comparable item submitted by Johnson in 1845.

to the creation of a unique piece of jewellery. The Burton brooch (figure 3.20) was designed c.1845 by the artist Frederic Burton. The brooch was manufactured by the jeweller Edmond Johnson and retailed by West & Son. Why was the brooch created? In 1845, a young English actress Helen Faucit travelled to the Theatre Royal in Dublin to play the character of Antigone in Sophocles Greek tragedy. She received much critical acclaim. For example, a reporter writing for *The Nation* wrote ‘when we first saw her act this part we were wildered and enchanted by her extraordinary grace’.²¹¹ The reporter continued, writing: ‘We wish but one change in Miss Faucit – we wish her an Irishwoman’.²¹² The *Belfast Newsletter* reported that ‘in person, costume and acting, Miss Helen Faucit left nothing wanting to complete the character of *Antigone*’.²¹³ The Irish artist Frederic William Burton was also inspired by Helen Faucit. In May 1845, he exhibited a drawing of Helen Faucit as Antigone, at the Exhibitions of Irish Art in Dublin.²¹⁴ The unfinished work exhibited at the Royal Hibernian Academy was described as being ‘a noble reproduction of that glorious girl’.²¹⁵ In 1849 he exhibited the finished watercolour at the Royal Academy in London.²¹⁶

Burton was commissioned to design a presentation piece of jewellery for Helen Faucit. The design for the brooch was likely completed after Faucit’s Dublin performance in 1845 and before the finished brooch was first exhibited in 1847. Burton’s working designs (figure 3.21) comprise two pen and ink drawings, a watercolour and a bog oak template (figure 3.22). The bog oak template was possibly made by Burton or perhaps by the jeweller Edmond Johnson who manufactured the brooch. The reverse of Burton’s watercolour is inscribed:

This was designed by Sir Frederic Burton for a gold fibula to be presented to Helen Faucit (now Lady Martin) the celebrated actress. He was asked to design it by some people in Dublin for whom she received this. It is

²¹¹ *The Nation*, 1 Mar. 1845.

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ *Belfast Newsletter*, 28 Feb. 1845.

²¹⁴ *The Nation*, 31 May 1845.

²¹⁵ *Freeman’s Journal*, 9 June 1845.

²¹⁶ National Gallery of Ireland, *Acquisitions 1986-88* (Dublin, 1988), p. 106.

now in the Museum (British ?) Dublin. Sir Theodore Martin presented it to them since Lady Ms death.²¹⁷

Johnson, a jeweller and goldsmith, had premises at Fleet Street. As discussed, Johnson manufactured on his own account and also completed work for the prestigious firm West & Son, who in 1840 boasted appointment as ‘jewellers and goldsmiths to her Majesty, his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and the Irish Court, University, etc.’²¹⁸ The brooch is of Wicklow gold, set with emeralds and white enamel.²¹⁹ Interestingly, the final brooch departs somewhat from Burton’s designs. For example, Burton’s watercolour depicts the mask of Antigone on the left hand side of the brooch, while in the final work, it appears on the right. The direction of the snake head is also reversed. The bog oak template is also different to the final brooch: again the snake head faces in the opposite direction to the final piece. The bog oak template is of further interest as it suggests that the two mask heads and the central medallion were created separately to the main body of the brooch. Given the structure of the brooch it is likely that it was cast in a mould, possibly created from a template similar to the surviving bog oak example. R. Campbell writing in the *London Tradesman* describes the process: ‘all works that have any sort of sculpture that is, raised figures of any sort, are cast in moulds, and afterwards polished and finished.’²²⁰ It is unclear where the changes to the final piece originated. Nevertheless, the combined survival of the artist’s designs, the bog oak template and the final brooch are possibly unique and serve to illustrate the complexity of process which went into creating this remarkable piece. The reverse of the brooch bears a Greek inscription which translates ‘To Helen who captured the spirit of Antigone, in commemoration Dublin, 1845’.²²¹ According to one newspaper report, the brooch cost in the region of £300.²²² The brooch was first exhibited by West & Son, at the Exhibition of Irish manufacture, produce and invention at the Royal Dublin

²¹⁷ Ibid., p. 109.

²¹⁸ *Post Office Directory*, 1840.

²¹⁹ Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, p. 48.

²²⁰ Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, p. 141.

²²¹ National Gallery of Ireland, *Acquisitions*, p. 108.

²²² *Freeman’s Journal*, 7 July 1845.

Society in June 1847.²²³ The exhibition judges awarded the brooch a large silver medal.²²⁴ Newspaper accounts of West's exhibit described the brooch as 'one exquisite gem of Irish workmanship', and remark that 'the beauty and finish of this splendid present reflects the highest credit on the manufacturer.'²²⁵ However, the manufacturer, Edmond Johnson received no mention, nor indeed did the designer Frederic Burton. The beauty and talent of Helen Faucit inspired the creation of the brooch and it was the exceptional skill and vision of two Irish artists which brought it to fruition. West's role is not clear, but the firm may have placed the commission with Johnson. The brooch presented to Helen Faucit represents the combined work of two talented men, the artist Frederic Burton and the jeweller Edmond Johnson. Analysis of this brooch provides a rare insight into the process of design and manufacture of a unique piece of mid-nineteenth century jewellery. The creation of the brooch required drawing skills, bog wood carving, casting a mould, polishing and finishing the brooch before finally setting it with faceted emeralds.

Conclusion

Dublin manufacturers were responsible for the majority, if not all, the Irish jewellery assayed by the Dublin goldsmiths' guild. The value placed on the Irish hallmark by Dublin's jewellers has been established. Buckles, buttons and Masonic jewels were manufactured and assayed in Dublin from at least 1787 to 1870. Over 22,000 items of jewellery were assayed during the period 1841-70. Although few of these hallmarked pieces are known to have survived, the foregoing analysis of the assay ledgers has demonstrated that a large variety of jewellery was indeed manufactured in Dublin. Yet, the assay ledgers alone cannot reveal the beauty of the items manufactured, as testified by the analysis of the Burton brooch.

The assay records have revealed a fresh perspective on the business networks of Dublin manufacturing and retail jewellers. Combining this material with other

²²³ Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, p. 48.

²²⁴ *The report and adjudication held at the Royal Dublin Society's house 1847*, p 39.

²²⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 7 July 1847.

evidence, including newspaper advertisements, allows for the development of a fuller profile of the jewellery manufacturing and retail trade than has previously appeared in academic literature. Specialists within the jewellery trade have been identified, as have the retailers who dominated the Dublin market. Although outside the scope of this thesis, there is potential for further research on provincial jewellers. Some of the challenges faced by Dublin manufacturers in the nineteenth century have been highlighted. The retail strategies of Dublin jewellers have begun to be analysed, particularly in relation to the sourcing of local manufactures versus the importation of jewellery.

The objects sent for assay offers further insight into consumer choice during the period 1841-70. The relatively low quantity of jewellery assayed in Ireland, during 1841-70, suggests that Dublin manufacturers and retailers were aware of a shift in style to lighter, less expensive jewellery and met consumer demand either by making relatively cheaper jewellery which was not sent for assay, or by importing stock from dealers in England and France. As indicated above, the majority of jewellery assayed were rings, however, analysis of newspaper advertisements, bill heads, receipts and a stock book confirm that a far more extensive variety of jewellery was being retailed and most likely manufactured in Dublin. Overall, this chapter has established that leading retailers such as West & Son and Pim Brothers & Company chose at least some of their stock from Dublin manufacturers, who offered them a wide selection of bespoke and fashionable jewellery.

Chapter Four

‘The designer is “crimped, cabined, and confined”’¹

Irish jewellery designs, 1849 to 1878

This chapter develops and advances the conclusions reached by the previous chapter that an extensive variety of jewellery was being manufactured and retailed by Dublin jewellers. This chapter focuses on Irish jewellery designs registered between 1849 and 1878. Investigation of these designs affords an insight into the development of design practices from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century. British patent law was reformed in the mid-nineteenth century, resulting in the introduction of new design copyright legislation to Britain and Ireland. Thousands of original designs were subsequently lodged with the newly-established Registry of Designs, London.² These design records, now at the National Archives in Kew, provide exact illustrations of designs, some in exceptional detail. Twenty-three Irish designs registered between 1849 and 1878 will be discussed in this chapter.³ The catalysts for the emergence of these designs will be examined. The Irish jewellery designs registered during the period under study were exclusively created by Dublin jewellers. Several Dublin jewellers were afforded opportunities to access Celtic artefacts which in turn inspired their designs. A close examination of these records establishes the extent to which a group of astute Dublin jewellers engaged with design legislation. As will be shown in this chapter, the impact of new technology and the growth of industrial exhibitions created the impetus for the reform of the patent and copyright legislative system.

¹ ‘The inconsistency and obscurity of the law’ in *Journal of Design and Manufactures*, i (London, 1849), p. 19.

² A Registrar of Designs for Articles of Manufacture was appointed in 1839. *An Act to secure to Proprietors of Designs for Articles of Manufacture the Copyright of such Designs for a limited time, 1839* (2 & 3 Vict., c.17) (14 June 1839) (henceforth cited as 2 & 3 Vict., 17); *An Act to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to the Copyright of Designs for ornamenting Articles of Manufacture, 1842* (5 & 6 Vict. c.100) (10 August 1842) (henceforth cited as 5 & 6 Vict., c.100).

³ The records do extend into current day. The first Irish jewellery designs appear to have been registered in 1849.

A number of artefacts have been sourced which correspond with the registered illustrations, confirming that at least some of the registered designs were manufactured.⁴ As objects have not come to light in every case, the registered illustrations may be the only remaining evidence of these rare jewellery designs. Parliamentary acts and debates surrounding patent reform are analysed to provide context for the design records. Additional sources consulted include the records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Guild, newspapers, exhibition catalogues, pamphlets and street directories. Brought together for the first time, these sources provide a new insight into Dublin's jewellery trade.

Design registration records have played a peripheral role in nineteenth-century jewellery scholarship. Jeanne Sheehy briefly references a number of registered designs in her seminal study of the Celtic revival.⁵ In her work on the jewellery collection of the National Museum of Ireland, Mairead Dunlevy makes brief reference to Irish design registration.⁶ A more recent publication by Charlotte Gere and Judy Rudoe reproduces some registered design images, but none relate to Irish registered designs.⁷ In a wider context, Helen Clifford considers the introduction of Sheffield plate in eighteenth-century Britain⁸ and draws upon Bennett Woodcroft's 1855 publication of an alphabetical list of all patents registered up to 1820,⁹ though Woodcroft's publication refers to patents of inventions rather than ornamental designs.¹⁰ An unpublished thesis by Tara Kelly explores the 'facsimile industry' from 1840 to 1940.¹¹

⁴ The collections of the National Museum of Ireland, Ulster Museum and Victoria and Albert Museum have yielded some results. Additional artefacts have been sourced through a search of auction catalogues and through direct contact with antique jewellery dealers.

⁵ Sheehy, *The rediscovery of Ireland's past*.

⁶ Dunlevy, *Jewellery*.

⁷ Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*.

⁸ Clifford, 'Concepts of invention', pp 241-55.

⁹ Bennett Woodcroft, *Subject matter index of Patents of Invention* (London, 1855).

¹⁰ For a wider discussion of industrial design reform in Victorian Britain, see Paul Dobraszczyk, *Iron, ornament and architecture in Victorian Britain* (Surrey, 2014); Lara Kriegel, *Grand designs: labour, empire and the museum in Victorian Culture* (Durham, 2007).

¹¹ Kelly, 'Commerce and the Celtic Revival'. The different approach taken by this work is outlined in the introduction chapter of this thesis, p. 3.

This chapter will firstly examine the design practices which prevailed prior to the introduction of design copyright in 1839. How did artisans gain the necessary skills to design jewellery? What prompted the introduction of legislation to protect designs? Having provided context for the emergence of new Irish designs, the chapter then turns to focus on twenty-three jewellery designs. The first was registered in 1849 and the latest to be considered in this chapter dates to 1878. The most prolific jeweller in terms of registered designs was Joseph Johnson; analysis of his work informs a case study focused on the manufacture of his jewellery. The chapter concludes with an examination of the catalysts for the production and consumption of archaeological-style jewellery.¹² What sources of inspiration were available to Dublin's manufacturing jewellers? Consumer demand for such jewellery is borne out by an investigation of newspaper advertisements. Throughout the period c.1770 to c.1870, Dublin offered a ready market for imported goods from Britain and France. By the mid-nineteenth century, archaeological-style jewellery inspired by Celtic designs was being designed, manufactured and retailed in Dublin. The pieces designed by Dublin jewellers were well received by consumers, although it must be acknowledged that this may in part have been due to the approval shown by British royalty to Celtic-inspired jewellery, combined with the sophisticated advertising of some Dublin retailers. While it is difficult to find direct evidence of the consumers of such brooches, one of the most important nineteenth-century photographers, Julia Margaret Cameron (1815-79), owned at least two, the Tara brooch and the Queen's brooch, which she used in her photographs (figure 4.1). The actress and dancer Rosina Vokes (1846-88) was pictured in 1876 with a Celtic-interlace brooch.¹³ Overall it is hoped to demonstrate how nineteenth-century legislative change impacted favourably on Dublin's jewellery trade.

¹² The term archaeological-style is used in this thesis, as it represents the source of inspiration for this type of jewellery. Furthermore, archaeological-style ties into the European trend epitomised by Castellani and Froment-Meurice as discussed by Dunlevy. Dunlevy, *Jewellery* uses the term archaeological jewellery; Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*, use the terms reproduction, replica, copy and Celtic revival; McCrum, 'Commerce and the Celtic revival'; eadem, 'Irish Victorian jewellery', in *Irish Arts Review*, ii, 1 (1985), uses the terms Irish jewellery and reproduction of Early Christian metalwork and jewellery. In her 2013 thesis Kelly references such jewellery as facsimiles.

¹³ Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*, pp 448-51.

4.1 The principles of design

Taste, judgement, elegance, invention and the ability to execute designs were the skills necessary for each branch of the jewellery trade, according to R. Campbell author of *The London Tradesman*.¹⁴ The jeweller 'ought to be an elegant designer, and have a quick invention for new patterns ... and a mechanical hand and head to execute his designs.'¹⁵ Campbell encouraged the seal cutter and engraver to acquire 'knowledge of drawing and a taste in painting', while the goldsmith required 'good taste in sculpture'.¹⁶ Although little evidence of such sharply defined roles has been found in Dublin, possibly as a consequence of the absence of business records, or simply due to the differing scales of London and Dublin, these skills were equally applicable to the Dublin jewellery trade.¹⁷ From 1746, artisans who wished to study practical drawing could attend the Dublin Society Schools of Drawing (later Royal Dublin Society).¹⁸ A number of Dublin jewellers and silversmiths attended the schools, including Henry Flavelle and Thomas Bruncker (appendix 14).¹⁹ John Teare, a jeweller and silversmith, attended the school in 1773.²⁰ He was credited with making an outstanding silver salver which:

was brought over to London, and was placed at Rundle [sic] & Bridge's, where it became a show among those of the trade in London. They could scarcely believe an artist existed in Dublin capable of executing such a work.²¹

¹⁴ Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, pp 109-43

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp 109; *ibid.*, p. 141.

¹⁷ Analysis of assay records, discussed in chapter three, suggests the existence of jewellery supply networks in Dublin. Evidence of large firms out-sourcing jewellery manufacturing emerges in 1841.

¹⁸ Willemson, *The Dublin society drawing schools*, pp x-xi. By 1849 the institution was re-designated as school of design by the Board of Trade.

¹⁹ Compiled from Willemson, *The Dublin Society drawing schools*.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

²¹ *Report from the Select Committee on Royal Dublin Society; together with the minutes of evidence, and appendix*. H.C. 1836 (445), xii, 355, p. 48. Rundell & Bridge (c.1785-1834) became one of, if not, the greatest jewellery firms in London, see Adamson, *Rundell & Bridge*.

In 1836, a parliamentary inquiry looked into the best means of extending the principles of design particularly among manufacturers.²² The Royal Society in Dublin and the Board of Trustees in Edinburgh were singled out as exemplars of institutions providing useful instruction to manufacturing artists.²³ Despite the example set by the Dublin Society, by the early nineteenth century, ‘manufacturing workmen’ were pressing for practical instruction in design.²⁴ In comparison, France had at least eighty design schools, freely available to manufacturers.²⁵ Additionally, access to French museums and exhibitions greatly aided the diffusion and appreciation of art. The medallist, John Woodhouse (1835-92), proposed establishing an ‘Art Intermediate School’ along the lines of the Royal Dublin Society’s school of art. Woodhouse suggested that the school would open night and day to suit ‘chasers, jewellers, ornamental painters and carvers.’²⁶

Dublin jewellers encouraged custom by claiming to stock or indeed copy the latest patterns from London and Paris, as discussed in chapter two. In 1784, a Dublin jeweller Ann Cormick advertised that she had ‘formed a correspondence in London to be supplied with drawings of the newest patterns.’²⁷ In August 1777, James Hewitt, a Dublin jeweller with premises on College Green wrote to a Birmingham manufacturer requesting drawings and estimates for a number of articles.²⁸ Three months later, the somewhat concerned manufacturer appealed to Hewitt, ‘when the designs are done with we should be grateful to have them carefully returned as they are expensive drawings.’²⁹ Manufacturing jewellers could obtain designs by purchasing pattern books and ornamental prints, or as in

²² *Report from the Select Committee on arts and their connexion with manufactures; with the minutes of evidence, appendix and index*. H.C. 1836 (568), lx, 1 (henceforth cited as *Arts and their connexion with manufactures*).

²³ *Ibid.*, p. iv.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp iii-iv.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. iv.

²⁶ John Woodhouse, letter regarding the improvement of art education in Ireland, n/d (NLI, Joly collection, JP 4296).

²⁷ *The Volunteer’s Journal or Irish Herald*, 20 Feb. 1784, as cited by FitzGerald, ‘The production and consumption of goldsmiths’ work’, p. 50.

²⁸ Letter to James Hewitt from Boulton & Fothergill, 13 Aug. 1777 (LBA, Archives of Soho, MS 3782/1/11, p. 64).

²⁹ Letter to James Hewitt from Boulton & Fothergill, 22 Nov. 1777 (LBA, Archives of Soho, MS 3782/1/11, p. 123).

the case of Hewitt, by obtaining drawings from other manufacturers. Few Irish jewellers could afford to employ artists to provide designs.³⁰ Joan Evans relates that almost all pattern books published in eighteenth-century England were reprints of French and Dutch publications.³¹ Published pattern books for jewellers include works by Thomas Flach, *A book of jewellers' work designed by Thomas Flach in London* (1736); William de la Cour, *First book of ornament* (1746); Sebastian Henry Dinglinger, *A new book of designs for jewellers' work* (1751); Jean Guien, *Livre d'ouvrages* (1762) and T.D. Saint, *A new book of designs for jewellers' work* (1770).³² It is not unreasonable to suggest that Irish jewellers could have drawn upon these or similar publications.

Jewellers' pattern books are an important record of the diversity of design.³³ As jewellery was subject to being reset as fashion changed, extant pattern books may be the only record of these objects. Newspaper advertisements such as that placed by the Dublin jeweller John Brown in 1825, attest to the custom of trading-in old jewellery and silver for new goods:

As usual every article taken in exchange, and the highest price allowed for old silver, gold, etc. Pearls re-set and restrung, and every description of lady's ornaments altered to the latest Parisian and London fashions, at comparatively trifling expense³⁴

³⁰ The London jewellers, Rundell & Bridge employed a number of artists including John Flaxman who designed for them from about 1805 to 1826. Adamson, *Rundell & Bridge*, p. 104. It was not until the firm grew in reputation that they began to employ artists, in the 1790s Rundell relied on simple drawings to aid decision making.

³¹ Joan Evans, *English jewellery from the fifth century A.D. to 1800* (London, 1921), p. 140.

³² Thomas Flach, *A book of jewellers' work designed by Thomas Flach in London* (London, 1736) (VAM, MS E.3667-1904); William de la Cour, *First book of ornament* (London, 1746) (VAM, MS. E.688-1927); Sebastian Henry Dinglinger, *A new book of designs for jewellers work* (London, 1751) (VAM, MS E.789-1925). Jean Guien, *Livre d'ouvrages de joaillerie inventé et gravé par Jean Guien Jonailr. a Londres* (A book of ornaments for jewellers) (London, 1762); T.D. Saint, *A new book of designs for jewellers' work* (1770), cited by Evans, *English jewellery*, p. xxiii. If these pattern books were published in Dublin none have been located.

³³ The jewellers' pattern books and published designs preserved by the Victoria & Albert Museum are a record of the diversity of jeweller's work. For a discussion of this topic see Joan Evans, *A history of jewellery, 1110-1870* (New York, 1989), p. 154.

³⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 7 Sept. 1825.

Jewellery designs (figure 4.2) made by Christian Taute in the mid-eighteenth century and those created for the London firm of John Brogden c.1860 demonstrate the drawing skills required to execute designs.³⁵ The sixty-eight pages of finely detailed drawings in Christian Taute's pattern book were made in pencil, with occasional use of red chalk or watercolour. In contrast, many of the 1,593 drawings in John Brogden's catalogue were executed in ink and watercolour (figure 4.3). Furthermore, Brogden noted the corresponding cost of the item alongside several designs. Taute's mid-eighteenth century pencil drawings and Brogden's late nineteenth-century colour catalogue imply an enduring market for bespoke jewellery. Pattern books could be shown to customers or used as a guide to the production of jewellery.³⁶ When negotiating commissions, a jeweller could offer to make up jewellery from the patron's choice of precious metals and gem stones. Materials could be sourced by recycling jewellery which had fallen out of fashion. A jeweller's pattern book was at once a valuable aide-memoire and a demonstration of his ingenuity and taste.

4.2 History of design copyright

During the period 1770 to 1870, the laws protecting original designs evolved considerably. At the beginning of the period, little or no copyright protection was available to those who created new jewellery designs, by the end of the period the copyright system had been significantly revised and extended, giving jewellery designs adequate protection. In France, designs were offered legal protection, where 'a prompt and economical Court of Judgment' arbitrated disputes over design piracy.³⁷ In comparison, manufacturers considered the English legal system to be slow and expensive.³⁸ John Jobson Smith, a Sheffield iron founder explained that his firm invested at least £1,500 annually on new designs, which rivals in Manchester copied in a matter of days and retailed 'so much cheaper,

³⁵ Christian Taute, 'Designs for jewellery', c.1750 (VAM, MS E.2041-1914); John Brogden, 'Album of designs', c.1848-84 (VAM, E.2:86-1986).

³⁶ Print of a design for an étui c.1760-80, in the Victoria and Albert museum, available at: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O124445/design-unknown/> [31 July 2013]. Also in the context of the *merchand merciers* of Paris, see Sargentson, *Merchants and luxury markets*, pp 44-6.

³⁷ *Arts and their connexion with manufactures*, p. vii. For a discussion of French copyright see Sargentson, *Merchants and luxury markets*.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

because they pay nothing for the production.’³⁹ Another manufacturer remarked that ‘any original drawings or models, whenever I am out of the way, are liable, by workmen or others, to be pirated, and I have no remedy beyond that of discharging an otherwise valuable workman’.⁴⁰ It was not until the mid-nineteenth century that the creators of designs were afforded any legal protection against piracy.

From the late eighteenth century, large quantities of jewellery were being produced in England from steel and other metals and thus bore no hallmarks. As discussed in chapter three, die stamping and electrotyping processes were employed to create many identical copies of jewellery such as brooches and bracelets and utilitarian wares. Manufacturers in Sheffield and Birmingham wanted recognition for their innovative products.⁴¹ By the mid-nineteenth century, following the introduction of design legislation, all objects including jewellery could be marked with a copyright diamond mark (figure 4.4). This mark indicated the piece was of original British or Irish design. Indeed, over a five year period from 1841 to 1846, Birmingham and Sheffield proprietors registered 628 designs for metal objects, equating to 48% of all such registrations.⁴² The legislation introduced in the mid-nineteenth century was a direct response to the manufacturing and industrial revolution in England and the subsequent 1851 London exhibition. As noted by Adrian Forty, this legislation could be viewed as being in direct contravention of the prevailing free market concept of *laissez faire*.⁴³ However, as will be demonstrated, patent reform did rectify an existing inequitable legislative framework between Britain, Ireland and France.

³⁹ Ibid., pp 15-16.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 52

⁴¹ Clifford, ‘Concepts of invention’, p. 242.

⁴² *Design registration. A return showing the branches of manufacture, and the number of designs for each branch, which have been registered, to the 1st of May 1846.* H.C. 1846 (445), xliii, 233 (henceforth cited as *Number of designs registered to 1st of May 1846*).

⁴³ Adrian Forty, *Objects of desire: design and society since 1750* (New York, 1992), pp 58-9.

4.2.1 Eighteenth-century legislation

Little legal protection was offered to protect new patterns or ornament designs in the eighteenth century. One of the greatest entrepreneurs of the eighteenth century, Josiah Wedgwood, wrote, 'I so much wish for ... being released from these degrading slavish chains, these mean selfish fears of other people copying my works'.⁴⁴ By the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a shift is apparent in terms of copyright legislation. Up to this point legislation focused very clearly on preventing forgery and raising duty and no recognition was extended to protecting the rights of inventors and designers of new pieces of jewellery. One of the earliest mentions of design protection can be found in a 1784 parliamentary act.⁴⁵ Under the provisions of the Act, the members of the Dublin assay office were prohibited from disclosing design details of wares sent in for assay. The penalty for disclosure was high, if found guilty a fine of £200 was imposed, along with loss of office:

No assayer ... shall discover, by description in words or otherwise to any person or persons whomsoever, any pattern, design, or invention of any piece of gold plate, or other ware brought or to be brought to the said assay office to be assayed, or permit the same to be viewed or seen by any person whomsoever, but the wardens and other persons necessarily employed in the said offices, under the penalty as is herein after mentioned⁴⁶

The inclusion of this clause and the harsh penalty for offenders suggests that there was a need to reassure goldsmiths that it was safe to present new designs for assay. As discussed in chapter three, although the provisions of this Act refer to gold and silver wares, small items including 'rings, collets for rings, ear-rings, necklace beads, locketts' remained exempt from compulsory assay.⁴⁷ In practice, rings, buckles, buttons and clasps do appear in the assay records. Although the 1784 legislation was extended to Ireland, it originated out of the concerns of Birmingham and Sheffield manufacturers that silver sent to London for assay was

⁴⁴ Josiah Wedgwood, as quoted in Jules Lubbock, *The tyranny of taste: the politics of architecture and design in Britain 1550 to 1960* (New Haven & London, 1995), p. 224.

⁴⁵ 23 & 24 Geo. III c.23.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

being copied.⁴⁸ There is no evidence to suggest that the Dublin assay office was equally culpable.

4.2.2 Nineteenth-century legislation

In 1829 an effort was being made to address the failings of existing patent laws. A committee was tasked with assessing existing legislation and the result of their investigations was published on 12 June 1829.⁴⁹ In 1829, the cost of obtaining an Irish patent was in the region of £110. If the patent was extended to cover England and Scotland, then the amount rose to approximately £330.⁵⁰ Additionally, the registration process took over six months in Ireland, while the process took half that time in England.⁵¹ In effect, the existing patent laws were not intended to be used to protect designs. The cost of taking out a patent was too high relative to the return a manufacturer would receive on the sale of a piece of jewellery. Moreover, the process in Ireland was far less satisfactory than its English counterpart.

Ten years later in 1839, the Act which became known as the *Copyright and design Act* passed into law.⁵² The provisions of this Act provided three years copyright to ‘every proprietor of a new and original design’ consisting of ‘any other kind of impression or ornament on any article of manufacture, being of any metal or mixed metals’.⁵³ The proprietor was defined as the author of the new design, unless he had executed the work on behalf of another person.⁵⁴ In addition, the Act provided ‘protection for the ornamentation and for the shape and configuration of any article of manufacture [except textiles]’.⁵⁵ In essence, the patent system was equalised across Britain and Ireland and items of metal jewellery were now within the remit of copyright law. However, it was not until after the implementation of the 1842 Act that Irish designs were registered. By

⁴⁸ Clifford, ‘Concepts of invention’, pp 241-55.

⁴⁹ *Report from the select committee on the law relative to patents for inventions*. H.C. 1829 (332), iii, 415 (henceforth cited as *Report law relative to patents 1829*).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp 50-51.

⁵² 2 & 3 Vict., c.17.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ 5 & 6 Vict. c.100.

⁵⁵ 2 & 3 Vict., c.17.

1842, the legal process for protecting an original design became more straightforward.⁵⁶ In order to register a design, the proprietor or author was required to pay a fee and submit two drawings or prints to the Registrar of Designs for Articles of Manufacture. Once approved, designs were protected for a period of three years. Following the 1842 act, the first design to be registered by an Irish proprietor was a jaunting car registered on 1 April 1843 by William & Howard Brown, Grafton Street.⁵⁷ It is not immediately clear why the first Irish jewellery designs were not registered until six years later in 1849. It may have been that Dublin jewellers adopted a wait and see approach to what was effectively a new and unproved system.

Britain's advances in industrial manufacture had created a relatively new situation. Where before design was somewhat taken for granted, it now became a separate and valuable element of manufacture. Although this did not necessarily equate to good design, as noted by J.C. Robertson in 1835, the nature of industry was focused on profit rather than quality.⁵⁸ The manufacturers of all metal wares could now register designs and mark their products accordingly.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the introduction of new design protection legislation did not necessarily benefit all designers. Speaking in 1848, Henry Cole, an active reformer and instigator of the 1851 London Exhibition,⁶⁰ regarded the three-year protection of designs as inadequate, particularly when compared to the twenty-eight years afforded to literary work. In consequence, he suggested, 'it is a novelty to very many

⁵⁶ 5 & 6 Vict., c.100, consolidated previous Acts including the 1839 Copyright and Design Act 2 & 3 Vict., c.17 (1839). The 1839 Act had introduced a registration system to protect original designs and extended copyright outside the textile trade, to include ornaments of any metal. Prior to these Acts the patent system was costly and was particularly inefficient in Ireland.

⁵⁷ William & Howard Brown, design registered 1 April 1843 (The National Archives, design registration, BT/43/1/6270).

⁵⁸ J.C. Robertson, evidence given to *Select Committee on Arts & Manufactures, 1836, vol. IX, para.1593*, as quoted by Lubbock, *The tyranny of taste*, p. 60.

⁵⁹ Makers of Sheffield plate did mark their wares in the eighteenth century. However, the new patent system was more unified and offered a degree of legal protection. For a discussion of new plated wares introduced by Sheffield and Birmingham makers, see Clifford, 'Concepts of invention', pp 241-55.

⁶⁰ Lubbock, *The tyranny of taste*, p. 249.

manufacturers to pay for design'.⁶¹ Although the new design legislation did go some way to protecting original designs, Cole and others believed the relatively short duration of copyright would not encourage an investment in design.

The mid-nineteenth century industrial exhibitions in Britain and Ireland offered the opportunity for international manufacturers to gather together to exhibit new inventions and designs. The involvement of Irish jewellers in these exhibitions is the focus of chapter eight. Britain remained aware of the superior nature of some French designs in jewellery and textiles. Jules Lubbock concludes that British luxury goods, unlike their French equivalents, did not compete on world markets or hold the highest standards of design.⁶² Furthermore, French legislation dating to 1791 recognised intellectual and artistic property, offered between five and fifteen years protection and cost a comparatively low £12. Moreover, the provisions included 'whoever is the first to bring into France a foreign discovery ... as if he were the inventor.'⁶³ In contrast, Britain's inefficient patent system left many manufacturers with little opportunity to obtain copyright protection, and registration cost the considerable sum of £300. Therefore, under French law, any 'foreign discovery' could be claimed and manufactured in France. This had clear implications for those participating in Britain's first international exhibition in 1851. These factors exacerbated the possibility of original designs being rapidly reproduced by competitors.

The success of the 1851 London exhibition lay in attracting sufficient exciting new inventions and designs from countries around the world. During the years and months leading up to the exhibition concern grew regarding the adequacy of the new copyright design legislation. The express purpose of the 1850 Copyright

⁶¹ H. Cole evidence before the Select Committee on the School of Design, 1848, as quoted in 'Amended Act for the Copyright of Design', in *Journal of Design and Manufactures*, no.18, August (London, 1850), p. 178.

⁶² Lubbock, *The tyranny of taste*, p. 250.

⁶³ 'Comparative view of the laws for the protection of inventions in Europe and America', in *Journal of Design and Manufactures*, no.20, Oct. 1850 (London, 1850), pp 42-5. Also Giorgio Bernini, 'Protection of Designs: United States and French Law', in *The American Journal of Comparative Law*, i, no.1-2 (1952), pp 133-34.

Act was ‘to encourage the exhibition of works of art’.⁶⁴ A contemporary commentator sums up the situation which existed before the introduction of the 1850 Act, ‘before ... last November, it would have been actually possible for a patent-agent rogue to have obtained letters-patent and to have marched through the Exhibition, ... pirating poor unpatented inventors of their ideas.’⁶⁵ The 1850 Act allowed for the registration of designs from ‘the United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland or elsewhere’.⁶⁶ The reference to ‘elsewhere’, was a provision which gave foreign exhibitors the opportunity to obtain copyright protection for the duration of the London exhibition. The provisions of previous legislation required that in order to gain copyright protection a design could not have been ‘previously published’.⁶⁷ In effect the provisions of the old 1842 act would have hampered the exhibition, as exhibitors may not have had the time to register new designs before the London exhibition. Under the provisions of the new legislation, exhibitors could apply for provisional registration of designs and obtain copyright protection for one year.⁶⁸ During that year, registered designs could be exhibited at the London exhibition, newspaper articles could describe designs and illustrations could be printed, without the registered proprietor of the design fearing he had infringed the possibility of extending copyright. Provisos included that registered designs could not be sold during the year and that the words ‘provisionally registered’ be marked on the piece during the exhibition.⁶⁹ Similar provisions were proposed in advance of the 1853 Dublin exhibition, however it is unclear why the bill was not enacted.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ An act to extend and amend the acts relating to the copyright of designs, 1850 (13 & 14 Vict. c.104 (14 August 1850) (henceforth cited as 13 & 14 Vict. c.104).

⁶⁵ ‘Extension of copyright in design, etc.’ in, *Journal of Design and Manufactures*, no.22, Dec. 1850, p. 103.

⁶⁶ 13 & 14 Vict. c.104.

⁶⁷ 5 & 6 Vic. c.100.

⁶⁸ 13 & 14 Vic. c.104.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ 16 Vic. 1852 (71) *Designs Act extension. A bill to extend the provisions of the Designs Act, 1850, and to give protection from piracy to persons exhibiting new inventions in the great industrial exhibition of 1853.*

4.3 Catalysts for the production of archaeological-style jewellery

Before turning to examine the designs, the catalysts for the production of items of personal adornment based on Bronze Age and later Celtic artefacts by Dublin jewellers in the mid-nineteenth century will be considered. There were a number of catalysts for the production of jewellery based on early Irish artefacts. The removal of the Irish parliament, the Act of Union in 1800 and the subsequent Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 fed a growing sense of nationalism throughout Ireland. The revival of interest in Irish culture saw the foundation of a number of societies; the earliest, established in 1807, was the Gaelic Society of Dublin.⁷¹ As the nineteenth century progressed, Celtic symbolism could be found in furniture, such as that produced by the Dublin manufacturer Arthur Jones, in the stonework on the Kildare Street Club and on the nave of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Armagh.⁷² Archaeological-style jewellery thus represented the revival of a Celtic heritage and corresponded with the taste for elaborate architectural ornament such as animals and foliage.⁷³ Alongside this, grew the study of Irish antiquities, particularly during the period from the 1830s to the 1840s.⁷⁴ As observed by Philip McEvansoneya, interest in Ireland's national archaeology and antiquities emerged in the eighteenth century and grew rapidly in the 1820s in tandem with the emergence of a group of Royal Irish Academy (RIA) researchers.⁷⁵ This coincided with the growth of antiquarianism throughout Europe.

Archaeological-style jewellery became popular in Europe from about the 1820s, inspired by excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii. European jewellers such as François-Désiré Froment-Meurice in Paris (figure 4.5) and Fortunato Castellani in Rome (figure 4.6) were inspired by such finds.⁷⁶ Castellani also dealt in antiquities which they displayed in their shops in Naples, Paris and London in the

⁷¹ Sheehy, *The rediscovery of Ireland's past*, pp 14-15.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp 71-2.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁷⁵ Philip McEvansoneya, 'The purchase of the 'Tara' brooch in 1868: collecting Irish antiquities for Ireland', in *Journal of the History of Collections*, xxiv, no.1 (2012), p. 77.

⁷⁶ Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, pp 16-17.

early 1860s.⁷⁷ In Ireland, the artist Frederic William Burton drew on Greek mythology when designing a brooch in c.1845, as discussed in chapter three. By the mid-nineteenth century, Dublin jewellers began to manufacture jewellery based on Bronze Age and Celtic artefacts. As observed by Clare Phillips, the manufacture of archaeological-style jewellery, prompted experiments to rediscover forgotten techniques.⁷⁸ Finally, the industrial and manufacturing exhibitions of the mid-nineteenth century presented an ideal opportunity for Dublin jewellers to promote new manufactures and showcase their archaeological-style jewellery. This is the subject of chapter eight.

An explanation of the method of naming archaeological-style jewellery is also necessary. Archaeological-style jewellery was often named after the find location of the original artefact. For example, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, the name Dalriada finds its origins in second-century Ireland when a region incorporating Antrim was named Dalriada.⁷⁹ The annals were translated and published in seven volumes in 1854 by John O'Donovan.⁸⁰ In 1856, the members of the Ulster Archaeological Society drew upon these chronicles when they 'took the liberty of naming a brooch (figure 4.7) found near Coleraine in Co. Antrim, the 'Dalriada' brooch'.⁸¹

Although the designs registered by Dublin firms were of various styles and included Celtic, Masonic and Prince of Wales feather motifs, two of the twenty-three designs were remarkably similar. Just two weeks apart in April 1878, two designs for an identical archaeological-style brooch were registered by separate proprietors, West & Son and Joseph Johnson.⁸² Both firms registered a design for a Celtic inspired pin brooch, Johnson named his design the 'Dalriada brooch'

⁷⁷ Phillips, *Jewels and jewellery*, p. 82.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁷⁹ John O'Hart, *Irish pedigrees: or the origin and stem of the Irish nation* (2 vols, 5th ed., Dublin, London, Glasgow, New York, 1892), i, 821.

⁸⁰ John O'Donovan (ed.), *Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the four masters from the earliest period to 1616* (Dublin, 1854).

⁸¹ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 4, 1856, p. 1 pp 1-3. Somewhat confusingly, the National Museum of Ireland gives a find location of 'river Bann, Loughan, Co. Derry'.

⁸² West & Son, design registered 16 April 1878 (TNA, design registration, BT43/43/320457). Joseph Johnson, design registered 31 May 1878 (TNA, design registration, BT/43/43/322082).

(figure 4.8), while West provides no details other than ‘front’ and ‘back’ (figure 4.8). The illustration of the Dalriada brooch provided by Johnson, is an outline drawing of the brooch. The drawing is referenced ‘front view’ and a ‘back view’ and titled ‘Dalriada brooch’.⁸³ The illustration has been damaged over time and the front image is difficult to decipher, nevertheless, a Celtic interlace zoomorphic design is in evidence. In contrast, the illustration submitted by West is a photograph, taken by a Dublin photographer. The photograph is considerably faded with age and details are faint, but West’s design bears remarkable resemblance to that submitted by Johnson. In 1878, both West and Johnson requested access to the Dalriada brooch at the RIA.⁸⁴ It is interesting that two very similar, if not identical, designs were registered within two weeks of each other. As noted early in this chapter, the purpose of design registration was to protect a design for three years.⁸⁵ The acceptance of two seemingly identical designs attests to the large number of designs submitted for consideration and suggests a lack of awareness of the elements of jewellery design by registration officials. In France, disputes concerning the originality of invention between designers were decided by local tribunals ‘composed of master-manufacturers and workmen’.⁸⁶ This system was considered unworkable in Britain, where a central system of registration was preferred.⁸⁷

4.4 Dublin jewellery designs registered from 1849 to 1878

The introduction of legislation which offered design protection, combined with the mid-nineteenth century industrial exhibitions, resulted in a dramatic increase in design registrations. The total number of British and Irish designs registered at ten year intervals between 1840 and 1870 are illustrated in table 4.1.

⁸³ Joseph Johnson, design registered 31 May 1878 (TNA, design registration, BT/43/43/322082).

⁸⁴ RIA council minutes 1879-1881, minute book vol.19, 78 and RIA minutes of polite literature and antique committee 1875-86, minute book vol.6, 349 as cited by Kelly, ‘Commerce and the Celtic Revival’, p. 49.

⁸⁵ 5 & 6 Vict., c.99, 100 (1842), consolidated previous Acts including the 1839 Copyright and Design Act 2 & 3 Vict., c.17. The 1839 Act had introduced a registration system to protect original designs and extended copyright outside the textile trade, to include ornaments of any metal. Prior to these Acts the patent system was costly and was particularly inefficient in Ireland.

⁸⁶ *Arts and their connexion with manufactures*, p. 16.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

Table 4.1

Number of British and Irish designs registered for the years 1840, 1850, 1860 and 1870⁸⁸

| Year | Total designs | Designs for metal | Designs for wood |
|-------------|----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1840 | 352 | 149 | 11 |
| 1850 | 9,736 | 248 | 22 |
| 1860 | 11,953 | 272 | 37 |
| 1870 | 11,604 | 1,198 | 36 |

Between July 1839 (the year the first design copyright act was passed) and December 1840, 154 ornamental designs were registered, all from English towns; of these, fifty-four related to metal and two related to wood.⁸⁹ Nine years later in 1849, 2,236 designs were registered in just four months. Thirty-nine were designs in metal and three related to wood designs.⁹⁰ Unsurprisingly, Sheffield, Birmingham and London accounted for the majority of registered metal designs.⁹¹ The number of British ornamental designs registered in 1850 was 9,736, of which 248 were metal and twenty-two were for wood. By 1870, although the total design registration figures fell to 11,604, the figures for metal designs rose significantly to 1,198, while wood related designs remained almost static at thirty-

⁸⁸ Compiled from: *Number of designs registered to 1st of May 1846; Return showing the number of designs registered in terms of the Act 5 and 6 Vict. c. 100 (distinguishing the several classes), and the amount of fees received in the years 1850, 1866, 1870, and 1872.* H.C. 1873 (212), liii, 465 (henceforth cited as *Number of designs registered to 1872*).

⁸⁹ *Number of designs registered to 1st of May 1846*, p. 1.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁹¹ From 1839 to 1846, the registered designs are categorised by town of origin, later reports do not provide this detail. *Number of designs registered to 1st of May 1846*.

six.⁹² Comparatively, during a period of 150 years, from 1671 to 1820, the total number of patents relating to metal inventions was 208, over one-tenth related to plating related patents during the period 1751-1820.⁹³ These figures indicate the success of copyright legislation reform and confirm that by the mid-nineteenth century, original designs were considered a valuable commodity in Britain and Ireland. Given the substantial number of registrations, it is beyond the remit of this research to ascertain the percentage of metal designs which related to gold and silver manufactures, or indeed to identify the total number of all categories of Irish designs, though these are issues which merit future investigation.⁹⁴

Table 4.2

Dublin registered jewellery designs, 1849 to 1878⁹⁵

| Proprietor | no. of designs | Description |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| Joseph Johnson, Suffolk Street | 7 | brooch (3), bracelet (4) |
| Waterhouse & Company, Dame Street | 4 | brooch (1), dress fastener (1), bracelet (1), bracelet/brooch centre (1) |
| West & Son, College Green | 4 | brooch (4) |
| Thomas Bruncker, Grafton Street | 2 | pin (1), pin/brooch/ring/scarf ring (1) |
| John Gallie, College Green | 1 | Ring |
| Robert K. Gardner, Grafton Street | 1 | Brooch |
| Edmond Johnson, Grafton Street | 1 | lockets/pendants/other articles (1) |
| Joseph Johnson, Wellington Quay | 1 | Brooch |
| Thomas North, Grafton Street | 1 | Locket |
| Charles Rankin, Nassau Street | 1 | bracelet |

⁹² *Number of designs registered to 1872*. For a discussion of the proliferation of cast iron architectural ornaments in Britain from 1840 to 1914, see Dobraszczyk, *Iron, ornament and architecture*.

⁹³ Clifford, 'Concepts of invention', p. 243.

⁹⁴ From 1842, design registrations were filed according to their material make-up, e.g. metal, wood, glass, etc. Therefore, jewellery designs in the wood or metal category are grouped with designs for items such as furniture and pens. Sometimes items were misfiled. The registration may contain a brief description of the design, e.g. wallpaper, brooch, etc. The proprietor or owner of the design may not have been the designer. Nearly 3m design representations, dated from 1839 to 1991 are housed in the archives.

⁹⁵ Compiled from the design registration records, the National Archives, Kew, numerical series BT43/4 to BT43/58. This series covers the years 1842 to 1885 and extends to 432 volumes.

Design registration records reveal that by the mid-nineteenth century new and original jewellery designs were being created in Dublin. Table 4.2 illustrates the numbers of jewellery designs registered by Dublin proprietors between 1849 and 1878. Between 1842 and 1870, forty-four designs were registered by Dublin proprietors. Of these, seventeen related to jewellery. Ten jewellery retailers or manufacturers residing in Dublin registered the seventeen jewellery designs.⁹⁶ During the same period, no jewellery designs were registered from anywhere else in Ireland. The designs registered relate to jewellery made from metal and or wood. During the period 1871-78, a further six jewellery designs were registered by four jewellery retailers or manufacturers known to have been active in the pre-1870 period. These designs will also be considered in this chapter.⁹⁷ The jewellery designs were split across six categories of object as set out in table 4.2. The items were described as brooches, dress fasteners, scarf rings, bracelets, breast pins, rings, pendants and lockets. While the overall number of registered Irish designs represents but a small percentage of the total number of British and Irish designs shown in table 4.1, they nevertheless provide an exciting opportunity to analyse images of designs which Dublin jewellers believed would sell in great numbers.

The first design was registered on 25 July 1849 by Joseph Johnson, Wellington Quay, was simply named ‘fibula brooch’ (figure 4.9).⁹⁸ This registration is of interest for a number of reasons. The illustration depicts not one but two brooch designs. The brooch illustration marked ‘back’ is a representation of the Ballyspellan brooch, while that marked ‘front’ is the Kilmainham brooch.⁹⁹ The Ballyspellan brooch was based on a ninth/tenth-century brooch found in Kilkenny in 1806.¹⁰⁰ The brooch was also known as the Ogham brooch as it was engraved

⁹⁶ As noted previously in this chapter, the proprietor may not necessarily have been the designer or the manufacturer.

⁹⁷ Design records were cross referenced with my database which contains names and dates of operation of jewellery manufacturers and retailers. Those designs which were found to have no link to firms operating in the period pre-1870 were discounted. Those that were included are of significant interest, as will be discussed.

⁹⁸ Joseph Johnson, design registered 25 July 1849 (TNA, design registration, BT/43/6/61470).

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Charles Graves, ‘On a silver brooch with an inscription in the Ogham character’, in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (1836-69)*, iv (1847-50), pp 183-4. E. Barry, ‘On

on the reverse with a series of Ogham inscriptions, which scholars suggest represent the name of the owner or owners.¹⁰¹ The Kilmainham brooch was based upon a late eighth-century artefact possibly found during excavations in Kilmainham, Co. Dublin.¹⁰² Johnson manufactured versions of the brooch in metal and wood.¹⁰³ By 1852, Waterhouse & Company had acquired the design and gave the brooch the evocative name ‘Knights Templar’, suggesting that it was found at the site of a Templars’ hospital in Kilmainham.¹⁰⁴

During a visit to Dublin in August 1849, Prince Albert purchased a copy of the Ballyspellan brooch (figure 4.10) as a Christmas gift for Queen Victoria.¹⁰⁵ The brooch varies somewhat in style from Johnson’s illustration, the centre being C-shaped, rather than heart-shaped as in the illustration accompanying the design registration. Prince Albert purchased the brooch from West & Son and it is attributed to Edmond Johnson.¹⁰⁶ Consequently, whilst the design was first registered by Joseph Johnson, it was made by Edmund Johnson and sold by West & Son.¹⁰⁷ The assay records for 1849 indicate that ‘three antique brooches’ were submitted for assay on 13 September by E. Johnson for the retailer West.¹⁰⁸ From at least 1846, Edmond submitted work for assay, either on his own account, or for retailers including West & Son.¹⁰⁹ By 1868, Johnson was advertising his own

Ogham-stones seen in Kilkenny county (continued)’, in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vi, no.2 (1896), p. 132.

¹⁰¹ For example see: Barry Raftery, ‘A late Ogham inscription from Co. Tipperary’, in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xcix, no.2 (1969), p. 132; *ibid.*, p. 161.

¹⁰² Polly Cone (ed.), *Treasures of early Irish art, 1500BC to 1500AD: from the collections of the National Museum of Ireland, Royal Irish Academy, Trinity College* (New York, 1977), p. 142.

Between 1846-7, the Scandinavian archaeologist Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae visited Ireland and commissioned James Plunket to complete a series of watercolours of artefacts from the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. The Kilmainham brooch is depicted in drawing no. 10. University College Cork, Documents of Ireland, *Retracing Ireland’s lost archaeology*, available at: <http://publish.ucc.ie/doi/worsaae> [17 Dec. 2014].

¹⁰³ The version in bog oak is discussed more fully in chapter five.

¹⁰⁴ Waterhouse & Co., *Ornamental Irish antiquities* (Dublin, 1852), p. 14.

¹⁰⁵ Royal Collection Trust, available at: <http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/4833/brooch> [12 Dec. 2012].

¹⁰⁶ Royal Collection Trust, available at: <http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/4833/brooch> [12 Dec. 2012].

¹⁰⁷ The members of the Johnson family have been previously outlined in chapter three.

¹⁰⁸ Assay ledger 34, 8 Mar. 1849 to 18 May 1858 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 34).

¹⁰⁹ As discussed in chapter three, the Dublin Goldsmiths’ Guild assay ledger 34 is very detailed and for the first time includes a column which I refer to in this thesis as ‘client/retailer’, Ronald

business ‘the jewellery factory’ on Grafton Street. The advertisement also confirmed that his firm were ‘late manufacturers to Messrs West & Son’.¹¹⁰ As discussed in chapter three, the Dublin jewellery trade comprised a network of manufacturers and retailers. Some jewellers, such as the Johnson family, were manufacturers and retailers in their own right while also supplying other retailers. This might go some way towards explaining the registration of a similar design by two seemingly unrelated firms. Both Johnson and West evidently believed they owned the right to register the ‘Dalriada’ design.

During a thirteen-year period, from 1850 to 1863, the retailer Waterhouse & Company, Dame Street, registered four designs. The first (figure 4.11) was registered on 9 December 1850, and while unnamed in the registration, was later marketed by Waterhouse as the Dublin University Brooch.¹¹¹ Waterhouse described the brooch as ornamented with ‘delicate tracery ... formed by the interlacing of the bodies and legs of animals, particularly the Irish elk.’¹¹² The second design (figure 4.12) was registered ten days later on 19 December as a dress fastener.¹¹³ This design clearly replicates the eighth-century ‘Tara’ brooch, which had been discovered earlier that year in Ireland and purchased by Waterhouse. The third Waterhouse design (figure 4.13) was registered on 2 June 1856 and relates to a ‘Royal Tara’ bracelet. The final Waterhouse design for a brooch and bracelet centre was registered in 1863 (figure 4.14). Unlike the other archaeological-style designs, this last design is of equestrian style, depicting interlocking horseshoes and a rope device. No surviving examples of this design have been identified.

LeBas, Assay Master, suggests that the names in this column probably relate to the retailer rather than the maker. (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 34).

¹¹⁰ *Freeman’s Journal*, 27 Oct. 1868.

¹¹¹ Waterhouse & Co., *Ornamental Irish antiquities*, p. 15. Dunlevy incorrectly attributes the first Irish design registered by Waterhouse as the ‘Tara’ brooch, 9 Dec. 1850, Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, p. 17.

¹¹² Waterhouse & Co., *Ornamental Irish antiquities*, p. 14.

¹¹³ Dunlevy incorrectly attributes the Waterhouse design 74210 registered on 9 Dec. 1850 as the ‘Tara’ brooch, this in fact refers to the ‘University’ brooch. Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, p. 17; *ibid.*, p. 30 footnote 35.

The 'Royal Tara' bracelet was exhibited by Waterhouse at the 1865 Dublin International Exhibition (figure 4.13).¹¹⁴ The bracelet is described as 'not a copy of an antique, but an adaptation from some of the numerous designs on the Tara brooch, so as to produce a companion for that celebrated antique'.¹¹⁵ Waterhouse also produced a different style of bracelet called the 'Tara bracelet', also based on the Tara brooch.¹¹⁶ The bracelet design registered in 1856 was in the form of three metal dies (figure 4.13). Dies were used to emboss the surface of thin sheets of metal and could be used numerous times. The use of dies marked a departure from the artistry of eighteenth-century gold chasers, when hammers and steel tools were used to model metal.¹¹⁷ The cost of dies was considerable. In 1834 a set of candlestick dies cost in excess of £50, while a pair of candlesticks manufactured from the dies sold for three guineas.¹¹⁸ Therefore, in registering a metal die, Waterhouse was evidentially intending to produce large quantities of the bracelet. As the London jeweller Edwin Streeter remarked in 1867 'the more quickly he [a jeweller] can manufacture such articles, the cheaper he can sell them.'¹¹⁹

Two styles of the bangle or cuff-style bracelet are depicted in the *Illustrated Record* (figure 4.13). One style appears to be a single repeating pattern of the middle registered metal die. The second bracelet appears to be of alternating patterns of the first and third registered designs. Registering the three metal dies as one bracelet design enabled Waterhouse to produce more than one style of bracelet. Numerous versions of the 'Royal Tara' bracelet could be manufactured and customised to meet customer demand. The bracelet could be made from a range of metals such as gold, silver or base metal, which could then be gilded or oxidised. Waterhouse charged an additional 10s. for silver-gilt and oxidised

¹¹⁴ Henry Parkinson and Peter Lund Simmonds (eds.), *Illustrated record and descriptive catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition 1865* (London, 1866), p. 286.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Sheehy, *The rediscovery of Ireland's past*, pp 87-9.

¹¹⁷ Richard Edgcumbe, 'Gold chasing', in Michael Snodin (ed.), *Rococo, art and design in Hogarth's England* (London, 1984), p. 127.

¹¹⁸ Clifford, 'Concepts of invention', p. 245.

¹¹⁹ Edwin Streeter, *Hints to purchasers of jewellery* (1867), cited in Phillips, *Jewels & jewellery*, p. 94. Streeter made this comment in relation to his machine-made jewellery.

brooches.¹²⁰ The use of metal dies allowed for the intricate designs to be produced quickly and uniformly. Waterhouse was thus offering archaeological-style jewellery using a modern method of production which appealed to those who valued modernity. Celtic artefacts also acted as inspiration for a number of belt buckles produced in the mid to late nineteenth century (figure 4.15).

In December 1849 West & Son, College Green, registered an 'Irish fibula brooch' design, later marketed as the 'Queen's brooch' (figure 4.16). The brooch was based on the eighth-century Cavan brooch, found at Lough Ramor, Co. Cavan.¹²¹ A copy of the brooch was commissioned by members of Trinity College as a gift to commemorate the visit of Queen Victoria in August 1849.¹²² Edmond Johnson manufactured the brooch for West & Son.¹²³ The brooch is now in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland, Collins Barracks. Although the brooch was first commissioned as a gift for Queen Victoria, West nevertheless went on to retail several versions of the 'Queen's brooch'. Examples of West's registered brooch include a version in silver-gilt without added gems, another version is of silver-gilt with malachite cabochons and another gold version is set with split pearls.¹²⁴ In 1871, West submitted a design for a brooch which departed from the usual replicas of Celtic archaeological-style jewellery (figure 4.17). The illustration depicts a dragon encircling a brooch decorated with Celtic tracery designs. The Viking *Ringerike* art style, dating to the eleventh century may have been the inspiration for this piece.¹²⁵ This style typically comprised 'a large beast through which is threaded one or more smaller snake-like animals'.¹²⁶ As

¹²⁰ Waterhouse & Co., *Ornamental Irish antiquities*, p. 14.

¹²¹ Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, pp 50-51.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ As discussed in chapter three, Edmond Johnson manufactured a range of jewellery for Dublin retailers. On 13 September 1849, Johnson submitted three antique brooches for assay for West. The 1849 assay records show no other assay for brooches up to that date. 13 Sept. 1849 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 34).

¹²⁴ Weldon's, Dublin had a version in gold, the other versions were sold by Mellors and Kirk, auction catalogue 1&2 March 2012, available at: <http://www.mellorsandkirkcatalogues.co.uk/Catalogues/fs020312/page24.html> [13 Nov. 2012].

¹²⁵ Ragnall Ó Floinn, 'Viking age art influences', in Michael Ryan (ed.), *Irish archaeology illustrated* (Dublin 2006), pp 155-8.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

observed by Elizabeth McCrum, the influence of Celtic art on the later Arts and Crafts movement is evident in West's design.¹²⁷

As noted above, in 1849 Johnson was the first Irish proprietor to register a jewellery design, later known as the Ballyspellan or Clarendon brooch. However, in their 1852 publication, Waterhouse & Company claim 'this brooch was first registered by us as a shawl fastener'.¹²⁸ The assay records for 30 October 1849 note that 'one shawl brooch' was submitted by 'J. Johnson Jnr.,' for the retailer Waterhouse.¹²⁹ Why would Waterhouse, the retailer have made this assertion? One explanation could be that Johnson sold his design to Waterhouse. The protection of designs was for a period of three years and Johnson may have decided not to compete with Waterhouse or indeed West given their almost total dominance of the archaeological-style brooch market. It must also be acknowledged that Waterhouse was a highly competitive firm who introduced a new 'aggressive style'¹³⁰ of marketing to the jewellery trade. Waterhouse clearly understood the nature of design registration and their declaration was unlikely to have been uncalculated. Both Waterhouse & Company and West & Son had a working relationship with the Johnson family. Edmond Johnson submitted several items for assay on behalf of both West and Waterhouse, as discussed in chapter three. West registered a remarkably similar design to that registered by Johnson, while Waterhouse claimed one of Johnson's designs as their own. Many of the brooches retailed by Waterhouse & Company and West & Son were stamped with a retailer's mark and some bear a patent mark.

Spurred on by the impending 1853 Dublin exhibition, the Grafton Street jeweller, Robert Kerr Gardner registered an unnamed brooch design in November 1852.¹³¹ Gardner submitted a metal die in support of his registration (figure 4.18). In a

¹²⁷ McCrum, 'Irish Victorian jewellery', p.19.

¹²⁸ Waterhouse & Co., *Ornamental Irish antiquities*, p. 18.

¹²⁹ Assay ledger 34, 8 Mar. 1849 to 18 May 1858 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 34). The relationship between retailer and manufacturer is analysed in chapter seven.

¹³⁰ Dunlevy incorrectly attributes the design registered on 9 Dec. as the 'Tara' brooch. Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, p. 15.

¹³¹ Robert Kerr Gardner, design registered 20 Nov. 1852 (TNA, design registration, BT/43/8/87805).

series of newspaper notices, Gardner introduced ‘the Brian Boroimhe brooch’, declaring that ‘exquisite copies of this celebrated gem of the olden time’ would be completed for the opening of his new premises.¹³² He continued to market the brooch during the 1853 Dublin exhibition. In support of West & Son, ‘our much respected fellow citizens’, Gardner remarked that the award of a medal by the committee of the 1851 London exhibition offered ‘further proof of the high estimation in which the genuine Irish antique brooch is held’.¹³³ In April 1852 he offered ‘novel, rare and elegantly designed fine gold bracelets, chains, studs [and] vest buttons’.¹³⁴ Gardner later sought to undermine Waterhouse’s hold on the market. In September 1852, he took out an advertisement puffing up his Brian Boroimhe brooch, suggesting its beauty ‘excited the petty jealousy of some members of the trade who wish to arrogate to themselves the merit of being the sole revivors of ornaments of this description’.¹³⁵ This advertisement was clearly in reference to Waterhouse, whose self-congratulatory pamphlet declared ‘the first successful attempt at redemption, that we are aware of, was made by ourselves ... in 1842 ... by converting copies of Irish antique fibula into brooches’.¹³⁶ In 1854, George McNally the Dame Street jeweller urged customers to purchase copies of ‘antique Irish brooches’ from his establishment as they ‘are Irish manufacture, and not as many are – Irish brooches made in “Birmingham!”’.¹³⁷ McNally was clearly capitalising on the success of the first archaeological-style brooches sold by Waterhouse & Company and West & Son. Nevertheless, he was also drawing the attention of the patriotic consumer to the possibility that such brooches were made in Birmingham. At least one Birmingham manufacturer registered a design for brooches, lockets and other jewellery embellished with a Celtic harp (figure 4.19).¹³⁸

¹³² *The Nation*, 10 Jan. 1852; *Freeman’s Journal*, 29 Sept. 1852, *ibid.*, 24 Dec. 1852, *ibid.*, 5 July 1853.

¹³³ *The Nation*, 10 Jan. 1852.

¹³⁴ *Freeman’s Journal*, 1 Apr. 1852.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 29 Sept. 1852.

¹³⁶ Waterhouse & Co., *Ornamental Irish antiquities*, p. 3.

¹³⁷ *Freeman’s Journal*, 4 Mar. 1854.

¹³⁸ Joseph Wheelwright, design for locket, brooch and other articles of jewellery, 9 May 1867 (TNA, design registration, BT/43/20/208034). This was the only locket design registered on that date.

The archaeological-style brooches registered by Johnson, Waterhouse, West and Gardner demonstrate a key aspect of the mid-nineteenth century jewellery trade, namely, the demand for variety. A single jewellery design might be produced in a variety of metals and the final embellishment could include a choice of precious or semi-precious gems. The advertisements placed by Dublin jewellers indicate a highly competitive jewellery market. The consumer was offered a choice of mass-produced wares imported from Birmingham and Sheffield. By offering an Irish manufactured brooch, albeit created by the technology championed by English industrialists, Dublin jewellery manufactures were providing an alternative novelty, jewellery designed and manufactured in Dublin. The investment made in registering designs, supported by newspaper advertisements, indicates a degree of indigenous support for Irish designs. The competitive nature of the market is underlined by the advertisements placed by Gardner and McNally. Customers were being offered a choice: not only could they choose an Irish design over an import, but they could also chose to invest in design over an investment in gold or silver. This was a similar dilemma faced by customers in the late eighteenth century, when as noted by Clifford, Sheffield plate offered customers a choice of ‘variety and novelty above potential investment’.¹³⁹

Other working jewellers, such as Thomas Brunker, John Gallie, Charles Rankin, and Thomas North registered a number of jewellery designs. Although no examples of their stock have been identified, their design patents preserve their contribution to Irish jewellery. The inspiration for their designs came not from an engagement with antiquarianism, rather from an awareness of contemporary culture. In 1850, Thomas Brunker had premises on William Street; in 1857 he had moved to Grafton Street. He was described as ‘jeweller’ and ‘Masonic ornament manufacturer’.¹⁴⁰ He occasionally travelled to Paris and London where he sourced stock and presumably found inspiration.¹⁴¹ He also supplied presentation plate, snuff boxes and watches to the Curragh Camp, the Dublin

¹³⁹ Clifford, ‘Concepts of invention’, p. 248.

¹⁴⁰ *Thom’s Dublin Directory*, 1850-60.

¹⁴¹ *The Irish Times and Daily Advertiser*, 1 Nov. 1859.

Shooting Club and the Royal Horticultural Society, among others.¹⁴² The first design registered by Brunker in 1860 was a ‘breast pin’ (figure 4.20).¹⁴³ The design is unusual, being a small ornate circular device atop a long pin, the illustration suggests the pin would be manufactured in a yellow metal, perhaps gold. He had been in business twelve years by this time and assured his patrons ‘on no occasion will I descend to the present prevalent system of puffing by advertisements or making up imaginary bargains’.¹⁴⁴ His second design registered in 1872 was a simply noted as ‘brooch’ (figure 4.21). Yet, Brunker’s illustration was inscribed with the words ‘as pin, brooch, ring, scarf ring and other ornaments, in gold, silver and enamel’.¹⁴⁵ Brunker registered this design 1872, which coincided with the Dublin Exhibition of Arts, Industries and Manufactures and Loan Museum of Works of Art. It is likely that he intended to produce a variety of ornaments for sale that year. However, as the design represents the coat of arms of Trinity College Dublin, it may well have been manufactured for another purpose. In 1873 Trinity College finally became a non-denominational university.¹⁴⁶ Brunker’s jewellery may have been worn by those who supported the change or perhaps by those in opposition. As he proposed to manufacture pins, brooches and rings, the jewellery was intended to appeal to both the male and female consumer. Brunker’s premises were located ‘exactly opposite the Provost’s House’¹⁴⁷ and he doubtless considered that his ‘Trinity’ pin would have a ready and very local market.

John Gallie was the proprietor of a business on College Green which retailed bog oak ornaments, watches and jewellery. In November 1864 he registered a design for a Masonic ring (figure 4.22).¹⁴⁸ Gallie as a manufacturer and retailer of bog oak was immersed in a highly competitive market. His decision to register a

¹⁴² *The Irish Times and Daily Advertiser*, 24 Oct. 1862.

¹⁴³ Thomas Brunker, design registered 29 Feb. 1860 (TNA, design registration, BT/43/11/126945).

¹⁴⁴ *The Irish Times and Daily Advertiser*, 14 Jan. 1860.

¹⁴⁵ Thomas Brunker, design registered 22 April 1872 (TNA, design registration, BT/43/32/262160).

¹⁴⁶ History of Trinity College Dublin, available at: <http://www.tcd.ie/about/history> [28 Feb. 2014].

¹⁴⁷ Brunker included a reference to his close proximity to the Provost’s house in many of his newspaper advertisements, for example, *The Irish Times and Daily Advertiser*, 23 Aug. 1859; *ibid.*, 14 Jan. 1860; *ibid.*, 24 Oct. 1862.

¹⁴⁸ John Gallie, design registered 22 Nov. 1864 (TNA, design registration, BT/43/16/181687).

design for Masonic jewellery suggests a change of direction. As discussed in chapter three, the market for Masonic jewellery remained attractive to jewellers into the late nineteenth century. During the period 1841-70, at least sixteen Dublin-based jewellers are known to have submitted Masonic jewellery for assay.¹⁴⁹ Scarcely one month after registering his design, Gallie placed a series of advertisements noting his intention to retire from business. The same advertisement ran until at least April 1865.¹⁵⁰ Gallie offered 25% reduction on his stock of jewellery imported from London and Paris, yet no reference was made to Masonic jewellery or his registered design.¹⁵¹ It may, therefore, have been his intention to offer his patented design to jewellers such as Henry Flavelle who specialised in manufacturing Masonic jewels.

The 'keystone locket' was the name of the design registered in 1860 by the Grafton Street jeweller, Thomas North.¹⁵² Locketts were highly fashionable items produced in many varieties. For example, the twenty-ninth edition of a catalogue published by the English jeweller Edwin Streeter in 1872 illustrates over fifty different styles of locket.¹⁵³ North's illustration depicts a locket influenced by an architectural element, the keystone (figure 4.23). In architectural terms a keystone is the central stone in an apex or arch.¹⁵⁴ The keystone is the final piece fitted into the arch and acts as the support. The locket may have been intended as a gift for a mother, father, wife or husband, the central person in a family.

Charles Rankin, a 'jeweller, artist and bog oak carver' had premises on Nassau Street from 1857 to 1868.¹⁵⁵ In 1865, he registered a design which he named 'the

¹⁴⁹ This is discussed in chapter three.

¹⁵⁰ The advertisement was published on at least twenty-four occasions in the *Freeman's Journal*, 26 Dec. 1864 to 22 Apr. 1865.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² Thomas North, design registered 25 Sept. 1860 (TNA, design registration, BT/43/12/133412).

¹⁵³ *Catalogue, with designs and prices, of diamond ornaments, and machine-made jewellery, in 18-carat gold; English machine-made watches & clocks, also of silver & plated goods by E.W. Streeter, 18, New Bond Street, and 12, Clifford St. London* (Bodleian Library, John Johnson collection, Silver, Jewellery etc 1 (16), pp 17-20).

¹⁵⁴ The American state of Pennsylvania is also known as the 'keystone state'.

¹⁵⁵ *Thom's Dublin Directory, 1857-61*. Newspaper advertisements published in 1868 confirm he continued to run his business on Nassau Street.

“Princesses’ Own” bracelet’ (figure 4.24).¹⁵⁶ The illustration is a faded photograph, however, it is possible to make out some of the features of the bracelet. The bracelet is cuff-style with a central oval emblazoned with a Prince of Wales feather motif, crossed flags and the letter ‘A’, all surrounded by shamrocks. In 1863, the Prince of Wales married Princess Alexandra of Denmark, the flags in Rankin’s designs are most likely those of Denmark and England and the letter ‘A’ representing Alexandra. Given Rankin’s profession as bog oak carver, the shamrocks may have been of bog oak and metal. A similar style bracelet, although with a central harp motif, was retailed by Wightman’s of Belfast.¹⁵⁷ Rankin’s cuff-style bracelet probably takes inspiration from the archaeological cuff-style bracelets manufactured in the 1860s.¹⁵⁸ Within ten days of registering his design, Rankin advertised ‘The princess’s own bracelet and brooch’, claiming that he had designed it for the 1865 Dublin Exhibition (figure 4.25). The innovative Rankin suggested that interested customers could receive a photograph of the bracelet and brooch by post at a cost of 6d., the bracelet mounted in gold would require a more considered investment of £3 10s.¹⁵⁹ By 1868, Rankin seems to have focused on mourning jewellery, he also specialised in hair jewellery. In 1868, he offered ‘ladies and gentlemen’s own hair, worked into elegant designs and mounted in gold, at moderate charges’.¹⁶⁰ Rankin clearly wished to offer the consumer a selection of his own designs and manufactures alongside imported Whitby jet mourning jewellery.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁶ Charles Rankin, design registered 15 June 1865 (TNA, design registration, BT/43/17/187577).

¹⁵⁷ Martin Fennelly Antiques, available at:

<http://www.fennelly.net/Antiques/Memorable%20Irish%20Antiques/893%20Sold%20Superb%20Bog%20Oak%20Bracelet%20-%20Rare%20-%20Circa%201880%20-%20Magnificent%20Museum%20Piece.aspx> [7 May 2014].

¹⁵⁸ For example, in 1860 the London jeweller John Brogden manufactured a bracelet inspired by Assyrian jewellery, cited by Phillips, *Jewels & jewellery*, p. 82; Edwin Streeter dedicated six pages of his catalogue to Etruscan style and other cuff bracelets, *Streeter Catalogue*, pp 25-30. See also, Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*, p. 433.

¹⁵⁹ *The Irish Times and Daily Advertiser*, 24 June 1865.

¹⁶⁰ *Freeman’s Journal*, 18 Oct. 1868.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

4.5 Case study of Joseph Johnson's jewellery designs

The final set of designs considered are those registered by Joseph Johnson.¹⁶² As noted in table 4.2, Joseph Johnson of Suffolk Street registered seven jewellery designs - the highest number registered by one Irish proprietor between 1849 and 1878. Three objects based on Johnson's designs have been located, two brooches based on the Kilmainham design registered in 1849 and a bracelet based on a design registered in 1875 (figure 4.26). The bracelet consists of seven separate roundels, each bearing a different Celtic interlace or zoomorphic motif. The seven motifs were inspired by illustrations from the Book of Kells. Each motif represents a letter, spelling out the Irish word *cuimhig*, which translates into English as remember.¹⁶³ Interestingly, the Celtic lettering evidently caused some confusion at time of registration as it was numbered and pasted upside-down into the register.

The remaining six designs registered by Johnson consist of five designs for wood and one for metal. The design for metal refers to a 'Dalriada' brooch which has been discussed earlier in this chapter. Johnson registered what appears to be a brooch design entitled 'marquetry design' (figure 4.27).¹⁶⁴ This design might more accurately be described as a brooch. The design is again of Celtic inspiration and depicts an intricately entwined, almost geometric pattern. In addition to the design for the *cuimhig* bracelet, Johnson registered a further three bracelet designs (figure 4.28). The first illustration incorporated a Prince of

¹⁶² As discussed in chapter three, the Johnson family business was established c.1760 by Joseph Johnson. His son James, joined the business c.1791. Another son, Edmond Johnson Snr., (d.1864) joined the business c.1832. Edmond Johnson's sons Joseph Johnson Jnr., (d.1883) joined the firm c.1842 and Edmond Johnson Jnr., (d.1900) joined the firm c.1863. At various dates, the family had premises on William Street, Parliament Street, Wellington Quay, Suffolk Street, Fleet Street and Grafton Street. See, Kelly, 'Commerce and the Celtic Revival', pp 39 and appendix; Stratten & Stratten, *Dublin, Cork and South of Ireland a literary, commercial and social review* (London, 1892), p. 99; Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, pp 311-12.

¹⁶³ There are several versions of the word including *cuimhin*, *cuimhnigh*, depending on the context of use.

¹⁶⁴ As noted earlier in this chapter, the design was sometimes annotated by a registry clerk. Therefore, the description 'marquetry design' may be the clerk's interpretation of Johnson's design.

Wales motif and motto *'Ich Dien'* which translates into English as 'I serve'. In common with Charles Rankin's design discussed above, Johnson also registered his design in 1865. Johnson's second design was a more nuanced interpretation of Celtic motifs. The bracelet design incorporated small zoomorphic figures surrounding a central floral motif. His final bracelet design illustrated an alternating pattern of floral and leaf motifs. The floral motif suggests a striped or shaded flower, which may have been achieved by painting the manufactured bracelet. Johnson registered both these designs on the same date, 14 June 1866.

Johnson's illustrated designs not only confirm his ability to gain access to archaeological artefacts but also demonstrate his talent as a designer capable of manufacturing small-scale replicas of the eighth-century 'Dalriada' and tenth-century 'Bellyspellane' brooches. Furthermore, his illustrations establish his credentials as a jewellery designer capable of translating two-dimensional Celtic iconography found in the Book of Kells into designs which could be worked up into jewellery. He can also be credited with creating designs inspired by emotive symbols such as the Prince of Wales motif and botanical specimens.

Having established the context for the manufacture of nineteenth-century archaeological style jewellery, the chapter now turns to consider the issue of Irish jewellers gaining access to the antiquities which inspired these new product lines.

4.6 Access to artefacts

Jewellers who wished to gain access to archaeological artefacts could consult the Royal Irish Academy (RIA) collection. The RIA was established in 1785 and by the mid-nineteenth century was one of the main repositories for Irish antiquities. Their collection would ultimately become the nucleus of the Dublin Science and Art Museum, founded in 1890.¹⁶⁵ The RIA provided a meeting point for antiquarians and jewellers alike. The Dublin jewellers, George Waterhouse and James West were members of the RIA.¹⁶⁶ James West joined the Academy in

¹⁶⁵ Peter Harbison, 'Royal Irish Academy', in Brian Lalor (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp 948-9.

¹⁶⁶ Kelly, 'Commerce and the Celtic Revival', p. 50.

1856.¹⁶⁷ As will be demonstrated, jewellers played an integral role in the RIA. Not only were they active members of the Academy, they also acted as middlemen and supplied the Academy with artefacts, which otherwise would have been lost, either to the melting pot or sold outside the country.¹⁶⁸ Although some jewellers were indeed ‘safeguarding valuable examples of Irish metalwork’,¹⁶⁹ perhaps not surprisingly, others merely viewed such artefacts as a source of raw material and financial gain.

In 1850, Waterhouse invited a member of the RIA, George Petrie, to examine the ‘Tara’ brooch. Petrie’s report on the brooch was published by *Saunders’ Newsletter*.¹⁷⁰ Waterhouse subsequently promoted their archaeological-style jewellery by innovatively publishing images of their brooches together with the text of George Petrie’s address in a printed booklet.¹⁷¹ The antiquarian scholar George Petrie (1790-1866) was the son of James Petrie (d.1819) a miniature painter, jeweller and dealer in antiquarian objects. Following his death in 1819, James’ wife Wilhelmina continued on the jewellery business at 82 Dame Street.¹⁷² A trained artist, Petrie illustrated many nineteenth-century guidebooks.¹⁷³ George Petrie (1790-1866) joined the Royal Irish Academy in 1828 and was a council member by 1830.¹⁷⁴

Irish archaeological societies provided a forum for discussing archaeological finds; research would then be published in specialist journals, such as *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*. Newspapers published reports of archaeological discoveries and summaries of the proceedings of

¹⁶⁷ *The Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, list of members*, vol. 7, (1857-61), p. 21, as cited by Kelly, ‘Commerce and the Celtic Revival’, p. 50.

¹⁶⁸ McEvansoneya, ‘The purchase of the ‘Tara’ brooch’, p. 85.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Saunders’ Newsletter*, 9 Dec. 1850.

¹⁷¹ Waterhouse & Co., *Ornamental Irish antiquities*.

¹⁷² Strickland, *A dictionary of Irish artists*, pp 242-3. Wilhelmina is listed in Dublin street directories from 1820 as an antiquarian and jeweller, she continued in business until at least 1840. Interestingly, neither Wilhelmina nor James appear to have registered with the Dublin Goldsmiths’ Guild as dealers in gold and silver, as required by the 1784 act, neither did they submit a maker’s punch to the guild.

¹⁷³ Sheehy, *The rediscovery of Ireland’s past*, p. 17.

¹⁷⁴ Strickland, *A dictionary of Irish artists*, p. 239.

archaeological societies.¹⁷⁵ Thus, the societies provided an outlet for scholarly research, while newspaper reports piqued public interest in the possibility of finding hidden treasure in the form of gold ornaments. In 1829, *Saunders' Newsletter* carried a report of a farmer 'turning up with a spade on his grounds' a gold fibula worth over £70.¹⁷⁶

Irish jewellers frequently acted as intermediaries between the finder of metal artefacts and the archaeological societies. The first recourse for many individuals who found an object possibly made from gold or silver was to bring it to the local jeweller, in the hope that they would receive some financial reward. The prevailing treasure trove law in Ireland acted as a deterrent to reporting the find of potentially valuable objects. The term 'treasure trove' referred to 'under ground silver [or gold] treasure, hidden in ancient time for whom the owner could not be found.'¹⁷⁷ Such items belonged to the Crown and the finder received no monetary reward. In addition, if an item was considered to be part of a hoard, regardless of where it was found, then it belonged to the Crown. Furthermore, should the Crown prove that the finder 'unlawfully, knowingly *and fraudulently*' concealed the finding, he could be indicted. It is perhaps understandable then, why so many artefacts were sold by anonymous 'peasants' to jewellers for cash. A court case dating to 1867 suggests that should the Crown be unable to identify the original finder and thus ascertain the exact circumstances of the find, the right to seize the artefact was lost.¹⁷⁸

William Wilde, a member of RIA, published a letter in the *Freeman's Journal* in November 1859, criticising the British treasure trove law. He suggested that should the law change, as it had in Denmark, Sweden and Norway, it would save

¹⁷⁵ For example on 19 Dec. 1850, the *Anglo-Celt* reproduced George Petrie's account of the 'Tara' brooch from *Saunders' Newsletter*.

¹⁷⁶ Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, pp 19-20; Mary Cahill, 'A gold dress-fastener from Clohernagh, Co Tipperary, and a catalogue of related material', in Michael Ryan (ed.), *Irish antiquities: essays in memory of Joseph Raftery* (Bray, 1998), p. 65.

¹⁷⁷ Court case, *The Queen vs Peter O'Toole (1)*, November 26, 27, (1867) I.R. 2 C.L. 36, p. 36.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp 43-4.

Celtic artefacts from being ‘melted’.¹⁷⁹ Under Scandinavian law the finder was not only paid the intrinsic value of the item, but an additional bonus was paid depending on ‘its artistic value in rareness, ornamentation and state of preservation.’¹⁸⁰ In contrast, the situation in Ireland required such archaeological finds be forfeited to the Crown for no reward. There appears to have been one exception. Should a piece be found on a sea shore or its surrounds the law did not always apply.¹⁸¹ This rather confusing state of affairs is perhaps best illustrated by a case taken against the British Museum in 1904. Although much later than the period under study, the 1904 case neatly sums up the somewhat knotty legislation. The British Museum purchased in good faith ‘ancient Celtic manufactures’ which had been ‘ploughed up on a farm in the north of Ireland’, asserting that as the items ‘were thrown into the sea as a votive offering to some sea god’ their purchase was valid. However, the judge refused this vague explanation and instead decided ‘that these articles were a hoard hidden for safety ... and forgotten’ and so found in favour of the Crown.¹⁸² In summary, if an artefact was found above ground and near water, it might claim to fall outside the remit of treasure trove law. In addition, the finder had to be identified and proof obtained that he recognised the find as an ancient artefact of gold or silver and therefore ‘knowingly’ concealed the find.¹⁸³

This overview of the law directly relates to the discovery of similar finds including the ‘Tara’ brooch. The story of the finding of the ‘Tara’ brooch was recounted by the Dublin jewellers Waterhouse & Company in 1852:

a poor women who stated that her children had picked it up on the sea shore, offered it for sale to the proprietor of an old iron shop in Drogheda, who refused to purchase so light and insignificant an article; it was subsequently bought by a watchmaker in the town, who, after cleaning it and examining it, proceeded to Dublin and disposed of it to us¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁹ William Wilde letter published in *Freeman’s Journal*, 2 Nov. 1859, reproduced by Cahill, ‘A gold dress-fastener’, pp 76-7.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ Durham County Palatine Act 1858 (21 & 22 Vict., c. 45) (23 July 1858).

¹⁸² Michigan Law Review ‘Royal Prerogative: treasure trove, ii, no.4 (1904), pp 299-300.

¹⁸³ Court case, *The Queen vs Peter O’Toole (1)*, November 26, 27, (1867) I.R. 2 C.L. 36, p. 38.

¹⁸⁴ Waterhouse & Co., *Ornamental Irish antiquities*, p. 7.

This explanation entirely fits within the exceptions to the treasure trove law. The brooch was found on the sea-shore and not underground, in addition, it was found by children of a poor woman. Thus, the finder would be considered unaware of the inherent historical value of the artefact. When Petrie examined the Tara brooch, he found that it was not made of silver, 'as was for some time believed', but of an alloy of copper and tin, he called 'white bronze'.¹⁸⁵ This may have excluded the find of the brooch from the treasure trove law, but to the untrained eye it appeared to have been made of silver. In December 1850, Waterhouse was reported to have brought the brooch to Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle.¹⁸⁶ She subsequently purchased two copies of the brooch.¹⁸⁷ The validity of the Waterhouse account of the discovery of the brooch has been questioned precisely because the brooch would otherwise have fallen within the remit of treasure trove law.¹⁸⁸ As Niamh Whitfield argues, it was perhaps unlikely that Waterhouse could have constructed such an elaborate story. As they then travelled to Windsor Castle with the brooch, Whitfield suggests that Waterhouse was in fact recounting the truth.¹⁸⁹ By 1861, the RIA had been provided with a small annual government grant of £100 which might be used to compensate the finders of artefacts.¹⁹⁰ The RIA was now officially recognised as the repository for finds of important artefacts in Ireland.¹⁹¹

From as early as the mid-eighteenth century and throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, Irish jewellers and silversmiths purchased several artefacts from unnamed individuals often generically described as 'peasants'. Twenty Bronze Age gold ornaments or dress fasteners are known to have been found to date.¹⁹² The earliest was found c.1747 in Galway and the latest in 1859 in

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁸⁶ *Saunders' Newsletter*, 23 Dec. 1850, quoted in Niamh Whitfield, 'The finding of the Tara Brooch', in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, civ (1974), p. 134.

¹⁸⁷ Sheehy, *The rediscovery of Ireland's past*, p. 87.

¹⁸⁸ Whitfield, 'The finding of the Tara Brooch', pp 121-2.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 134.

¹⁹⁰ McEvansoneya, 'The purchase of the 'Tara' brooch', p. 78.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Cahill, 'A gold dress-fastener', p. 27.

Bansha, Tipperary.¹⁹³ According to Mary Cahill, the majority are believed to have been melted down by jewellers.¹⁹⁴ The total reckonable weight of the group of dress fasteners amounts to in excess of 9.5kg or 306.71oz Troy,¹⁹⁵ a considerable amount of gold. Taking a value of £3 per ounce, the total cash value of these ornaments was likely to have exceeded £918.¹⁹⁶ There was of course no guarantee that jewellers would pay the market rate for an artefact. The finder of the ‘Tara’ brooch was said to have been given ‘pence for it’.¹⁹⁷ Once its credentials had been established by Petrie, ‘wealthy amateurs’ claimed they would have paid £1,000 to own the brooch.¹⁹⁸ When it was sold to the RIA in 1868, eighteen years after its discovery, Waterhouse valued it at £500, but offered it to the RIA for £200, as he considered the Academy ‘the proper place for the Royal Tara Brooch.’¹⁹⁹

It is perhaps fortunate that the ‘Tara’ brooch was found in 1850 when Waterhouse clearly valued the commercial opportunity it offered. Of twenty Bronze Age gold ornaments recorded by Mary Cahill, ten are documented as being in the hands of jewellers at some point in the nineteenth century, six of which were melted down. The four jewellers who preserved the artefacts were the Dublin jewellers John Brown (Fownes Street), John Twycross (Dame Street), Alderman Jacob West (Capel Street), as well as a Clonmel jeweller and dentist, John Wallace.²⁰⁰

Although most of the gold ornaments were found in the north and south of the country, several found their way into the hands of Dublin jewellers. Sylvester Nowlan, a silversmith in Athlone was offered a gold dress-fastener (figure 4.29), found sometime before 1804 by an unidentified peasant. This object was intact

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., pp 32-4.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 37.

¹⁹⁶ A 21oz gold fibula, in the possession of Jacob West in 1829, was reported as being worth in excess of £70. *Saunders’ Newsletter*, 2 April 1829. In 1820, John Brown valued a 33oz gold fibula at £132. These two examples suggest a valuation of between £3 and £4 per ounce of gold.

¹⁹⁷ Waterhouse & Co., *Ornamental Irish antiquities*, p. 7.

¹⁹⁸ J.C. Robinson, curator and principal purchasing agent at the South Kensington Museum (later V&A), as quoted by McEvansoneya, ‘The purchase of the ‘Tara’ brooch’, p. 82.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ John Wallace, Mary Street, Clonmel, dentist and jeweller, is listed in *Slater’s Directory 1856*.

and of a substantial size, weighing approximately 14oz.²⁰¹ The dress fastener was later purchased by a Dublin goldsmith ‘Mr. Cavanagh’, for fifty two guineas. Cavanagh was believed to have ‘soon after melted it.’²⁰² The goldsmith in question may have been John Kavanagh (1786-1820) a manufacturing jeweller and goldsmith with an address at 32 Capel Street.²⁰³ He appears to have been reasonably successful, as his business was taken over by William Mooney in 1820.²⁰⁴

On Thursday 13 April 1820, John Browne, the Dublin goldsmith and jeweller, valued a solid gold dress fastener at over £132 (figure 4.30). The piece weighed in excess of 33oz. The ornament was subsequently sold to Dr. Hodgkinson, the bursar of Trinity College Dublin.²⁰⁵ Although Browne may not have offered to purchase the piece, he was evidently trusted by the owner, William Longmore, to give an honest valuation. Longmore may have found the dress fastener near his home in Clones, Co. Monaghan.²⁰⁶ He then brought the piece to John Browne a well-established Dublin jeweller. Longmore travelled to Dublin rather than attempt to sell the piece locally. Furthermore, he chose to travel to Dublin rather than Belfast. Both cities were approximately the same distance from Clones. As the capital city, Dublin was home to more jewellery firms and thus offered the chance of greater competition for the piece. Longmore may have wished his transaction to remain as anonymous as possible. Had he gone to a local jeweller, or even a jeweller in Belfast, there may have been a greater chance of being recognised.

The Browne family had operated a jewellery and stone seal cutting business at the Fownes Street address from at least 1777.²⁰⁷ In October 1819, John Browne appointed an agent in Kilkenny to sell his jewellery and to take ‘orders for any

²⁰¹ Cahill, ‘A gold dress-fastener’, p. 51.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

²⁰³ *Wilson’s Dublin Directory*, 1786-1820.

²⁰⁴ *Freeman’s Journal*, 4 Nov. 1820.

²⁰⁵ Cahill, ‘A gold dress-fastener’, pp 56-7.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

²⁰⁷ *Wilson’s Dublin Directory*, 1777. The spelling of their surname vacillated between Brown and Browne.

article in the silver or plated line' which would be 'punctually attended to'.²⁰⁸ Dublin jewellers were in the habit of encouraging custom from the provinces.²⁰⁹ In common with other jewellers, John Browne advertised 'the highest price allowed in exchange for old plate and jewellery'.²¹⁰ Such advertisements acted as inducements to trade in old plate and jewellery in exchange for more fashionable wares. Jewellers would thus encourage new business and gain access to raw materials. The owner of the dress fastener, William Longmore, chose to go to a Dublin jeweller, rather than one closer to home, perhaps believing they might have more ready cash to offer. The higher number of jewellers in the capital would equate to increased competition. Longmore's sale of the dress fastener in 1820 left him a richer man by £132.²¹¹ The jeweller, John Browne acted honourably when, rather than purchasing what might have become raw materials, he directed the object into the safe hands of Trinity College Dublin.²¹²

As discussed previously in this chapter, Waterhouse & Company manufactured copies of Bronze Age dress fasteners. In their 1852 booklet, they provide a sketch (figure 4.31) of a 'fibula brooch'²¹³, which bears remarkable resemblance to a 'gold ornament found in the bog of Cullen', (figure 4.31) as reproduced in a publication by Charles Vallancey in 1804.²¹⁴ Clearly Waterhouse drew on the illustration of the ornament for inspiration. Whether Waterhouse actually produced copies of the brooch is unclear, but, an unaccredited copy of this brooch style attests to their manufacture (figure 4.31). The firm certainly drew inspiration for their archaeological-style jewellery by accessing artefacts from the collections of the Royal Irish Academy and Trinity College.²¹⁵ In addition, they consulted scholarly publications such as Vallancey's *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*. They fully understood the popular interest in archaeological

²⁰⁸ *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 20 Oct. 1819.

²⁰⁹ This point is discussed in chapter six.

²¹⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 12 May 1823.

²¹¹ By way of comparison, in 1853, a female servant was employed on a yearly wage of £8 by Rev. John Joly of Kings County. *Diary of John Plunket Joly 1851-58*, 10 March 1853, (TCD, MS 2299-2). I am grateful to Ciarán Reilly for bringing this source to my attention.

²¹² The dress fastener is now on loan to the National Museum of Ireland.

²¹³ Waterhouse & Co., *Ornamental Irish antiquities*, p. 19.

²¹⁴ C. Vallancey, *1786-1804 Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis* vol. 6, part 1 (Dublin, 1804), p. 258-9. Reproduced by Cahill, 'A gold dress-fastener', p. 60.

²¹⁵ Waterhouse & Co., *Ornamental Irish antiquities*, p. 14.

discoveries and as noted by Tara Kelly, and publications such as *Ornamental Irish antiquities* served as a cheaper and more accessible format of archaeological research than the journals of antiquarian societies.²¹⁶ Waterhouse was probably the first Dublin firm to produce such publications. Other Dublin firms followed with their own pamphlets. Arthur Jones, the furniture manufacturer, an exhibitor at both the London and Dublin exhibitions, published a booklet in 1853 which acted a guide to his designs.²¹⁷ The Grafton Street jeweller William Acheson published a pamphlet on ancient ornaments in 1856²¹⁸ and an undated pamphlet entitled *Brian Boroimhe's Harp*.²¹⁹ He evidently intended to use these publications to promote his copies of the harp, manufactured in 'gold, silver and bog oak'.²²⁰ In a similar vein to Waterhouse, Acheson included a treatise by George Petrie in his pamphlet.²²¹

In the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century, Dublin jewellers had the opportunity to draw upon a range of scholarly material, metalwork artefacts and historical ruins in the Irish landscape. While Joseph Johnson and other manufacturers of bog oak jewellery can be credited with being early producers of jewellery inspired by Irish ruins, it was a Dublin retailer who developed this concept further. Waterhouse & Company evidently had the unique business acumen to recognise the commercial possibilities offered by combining metalwork artefacts with scholarly research. They were the first to bring together their archaeological jewellery, alongside scholarly approval in the form of George Petrie's address and evidence of Royal patronage neatly packaged in a printed booklet. This approach gave Irish archaeological-style jewellery a patina of historical provenance and aristocratic approval. In producing their own booklets, Arthur Jones and William Acheson followed the example of Waterhouse & Company.

²¹⁶ Kelly, 'Commerce and the Celtic Revival', p. 140.

²¹⁷ A.J. Jones, *Description of a suite of sculptured decorative furniture, illustrative of Irish history and antiquities, manufactured of Irish bog yew* (Dublin, 1853).

²¹⁸ William Acheson, *An inquiry into the origin, progress and material of ancient personal ornaments* (Dublin, 1856).

²¹⁹ William Acheson, *Brian Boroimhe's Harp* (Dublin, undated), p. 1.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ George Petrie's memoir on the harp in the Trinity College collection was reproduced in 1840, in Edward Bunting, *Ancient Music of Ireland* (Dublin, 1840), pp 40-42.

The archaeological-style jewellery patented and sold by Dublin jewellers not only drew on Celtic artefacts for inspiration, they also fed the growing value placed on Ireland's artistic heritage. The manufacture of archaeological-style jewellery by Dublin jewellers demonstrated first-hand knowledge of such artefacts while catering to the appetite for copies of such discoveries. William Acheson, a Grafton Street jeweller was favoured by George Petrie with a loan of the ninth-century Roscrea brooch.²²² Acheson went on to manufacture copies of the brooch (figure 4.32). Philip McEvansoneya argues that Petrie may have believed that archaeological-style jewellery retailed by Waterhouse, West, Johnson and Acheson would spark interest in the original artefacts.²²³ Furthermore, the reciprocal relationship between the RIA and Dublin jewellers ensured that artefacts would be shared. For example, in 1859, William Wilde exhibited a brooch which had been found in Rathmore, Co. Cavan and purchased by James West. The RIA subsequently purchased the brooch from West.²²⁴ The jeweller Joseph Johnson was requested by the RIA to clean and assess the Ardagh chalice.²²⁵ Lord Dunraven described the work carried out by Johnson as 'a labour of love' executed with 'scrupulous fidelity'.²²⁶ His analysis formed a substantial part of Dunraven's presentation to the academy in 1869.²²⁷ Tara Kelly argues that commission led to Johnson creating facsimiles of the chalice and the Cross of Cong.²²⁸ The connection between jewellers and archaeological societies such as the RIA and the Ulster Archaeological Society offered the jewellers access to artefacts and in return the societies benefitted from jewellers' expertise. Archaeological-style jewellery continued to be made in the twentieth century.

²²² McEvansoneya, 'The purchase of the 'Tara' brooch', p. 85.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (1836-69)*, vii (1857-61), p. 212, 27 June 1859, cited by McEvansoneya, 'The purchase of the 'Tara' brooch', p. 86. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (1836-69)*, ii (1857-61), p. 121.

²²⁵ Earl of Dunraven, 'On an ancient chalice and brooches lately found at Ardagh, in the county of Limerick', in *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, xiv, p. 435.

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 435.

²²⁷ Kelly, 'Commerce and the Celtic Revival'. p. 78.

²²⁸ Ibid., p. 41.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art houses a brooch inspired by the Ardagh chalice produced in the early twentieth century.²²⁹

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the extent to which Dublin jewellery designers and retailers engaged with creating and marketing original designs during the period 1849 to 1878. The Irish designs have been contextualised with an analysis of British patent legislation. Jewellers' pattern books have been utilised to demonstrate the drawing skills required to illustrate designs. The goldsmiths' guild was primarily concerned with monitoring the standard of metal used by jewellers and silversmiths. In contrast, the Dublin Society Schools aimed to improve design skills and offered tuition in drawing which was particularly useful for jewellers. The illustrations accompanying this chapter provide evidence of the new jewellery designed by Dublin manufacturers during a twenty-nine year period. In some cases, the registered illustrations may be the only remaining evidence of these unique jewellery designs. The designs registered between 1849 and 1878 establish that original jewellery, was being designed, manufactured and retailed in Dublin. Examination of the reciprocal relationship between Dublin jewellers and antiquarians has identified the catalysts for production of archaeological-style jewellery, reflecting the growth of antiquarianism across Europe. The final chapter of this thesis will demonstrate how the mid-nineteenth century industrial exhibitions provided a wider audience for Irish manufacturers and how the patronage of Queen Victoria boosted the popularity of Irish design. The designs which closely followed archaeological artefacts such as the Cavan brooch are the most well studied output of Dublin jewellery manufacturers during the period. Many designs were inspired by archaeological artefacts, particularly those championed by West & Son and Waterhouse & Company. The productivity of Dublin jewellers has been teased out a little further by this present research. The designs of Thomas Bruncker, Thomas North and John Gallie amplify the

²²⁹ Metropolitan Museum of Art, available at: <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/463045> [13 Jan. 2015].

diversity of jewellery manufactured and marketed in Dublin during the period 1840 to 1878. The jewellers who fabricated pieces from bog oak were perhaps the most innovative. Charles Rankin and Joseph Johnson created designs which departed from Celtic inspired jewellery. Rankin followed the form of archaeological-style cuff bracelets and then imbued the design with shamrocks of Irish bog oak. Johnson manufactured bog wood jewellery with floral, architectural and archaeological-style motifs. He also invented a new manufacturing process. The designs created by Dublin jewellers drew upon Irish culture, botany and the Victorian spirit of invention.

Chapter Five

‘Beautiful and ingenious’: cut-steel, bog wood and horsehair jewellery

The preceding chapters have considered Dublin’s jewellery trade in terms of objects fabricated from precious metals and gems. Yet, the jewellery available in Dublin during the period c.1770 to c.1870 was not just confined to products of gold and silver. The market also encompassed objects fashioned from a wide variety of other materials, including cut-steel, bog wood and horsehair. This chapter examines the manufacture and retail of jewellery made from a range of alternative materials.

As observed by Vanessa Brett ‘it is very often impossible to distinguish between a jeweller, goldsmith, silversmith, cutler and a toyman, terms that were used fluidly by shopkeepers depending on the particular emphasis of their stock.’¹ Thus, the consideration of Dublin’s jewellery market extends to the cutlers, ironmongers, children and philanthropic women, who participated in producing and marketing jewellery. The diversity of the goods available on the Dublin jewellery market is illustrated by examining the ways in which cut-steel, bog wood and horsehair jewellery was retailed and understood. As will be demonstrated, jewellers manufactured and retailed bog wood and cut-steel jewellery, while cutlers and ironmongers retailed gold and silver chains. Further examples of the business connections within the wider jewellery network are provided by analysis of the records of Matthew Boulton, the Birmingham cut-steel entrepreneur. As this discussion will show, Dublin toymen, jewellers, ironmongers and cutlers all retailed goods sourced from the same manufacturer.

The historiography of jewellery has traditionally privileged the elite and the precious in terms of materiality – but value extends beyond material worth. As

¹ Brett, *Bertrand’s Toyshop*, p. 16.

Toby Barnard has demonstrated, objects may have the power to bolster ‘intangible qualities such as civility, respectability, politeness, gentility and decency’.²

Jewellery was also used to project an image of wealth, status, power and individuality. The metals most often associated with jewellery are gold and silver. However, during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, other materials also featured in jewellery production. Base metals including cut-steel and Berlin iron became fashionable, while pebbles and paste provided an alternative to gemstones. It may be true that rarity and cost of materials often equals desire for ownership. Nevertheless, some materials, such as cut-steel, became fashionable because they acted as symbols of modernity and novelty.

Jewellers’ receipts and assay records privilege the unique and the high-end patron and artefact. However, bog wood and horsehair jewellery was not crafted from precious metals. So why then did such pieces survive? Equally, the intrinsic value of cut-steel jewellery was less than similar objects made from silver. What made it desirable? By focusing on the manufacture and retail of cut-steel, bog wood and horsehair jewellery, this chapter intends to expand the consideration of Dublin’s jewellery trade.

Cut-steel jewellery has been the subject of a number of academic publications, however, none consider the Dublin market.³ Bog oak ornaments have received some attention in jewellery studies.⁴ Horsehair jewellery has attracted little academic research.⁵ This chapter intends to build on existing literature, placing particular focus on the Dublin market. The 1866 stock book of James Mayfield, catalogues of mid-nineteenth century manufacturing exhibitions, newspaper

² Barnard, *Material culture in Ireland*, p. 11.

³ Mason, *Jewellery making in Birmingham*; Anne Clifford, *Cut-steel and Berlin iron jewellery* (Bath, 1971).

⁴ For example see, McCrum, ‘Commerce and the Celtic revival, pp 36-52; eadem, ‘Irish Victorian jewellery’, pp 18-21; Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain*; Dunlevy, *Jewellery*; Pointon, *Brilliant effects*; Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*; Brian Austen, ‘Tourism and industry, Killarney and its furniture’, in *Irish Arts Review yearbook*, xii (1996), pp 45-55; Neville Irons, ‘Irish bog oak carving’, in *Irish Arts Review*, iv, no.2 (1987), pp 54-63.

⁵ Hair jewellery has received considerable attention, for example by Pointon. In comparison, horsehair jewellery has been neglected, Dunlevy, *Jewellery*.

advertisements and street directories are drawn upon in this chapter to demonstrate the demand for jewellery fabricated from alternative materials.

The chapter begins by investigating the market for cut-steel jewellery and toys. Analysis of the records of Matthew Boulton yields valuable information on the identity of his Dublin customers and their requirements. Next, the market for bog wood jewellery is examined. Analysis of a collection of jewellery created by Joseph Johnson and Thomas Bennett highlights the numerous features which characterise the manufacture and consumption of bog wood jewellery. The chapter concludes by considering the catalysts for the emergence of horsehair jewellery. The analysis focuses on the manufacture and retail of jewellery as a philanthropic venture. This represents a distinct element of the jewellery trade to other aspects addressed in this thesis.

5.1 Cut-steel jewellery and toys

Throughout the period under review, the scope of Dublin's jewellery trade broadened with the introduction of new materials and technology. In the last quarter of the eighteenth-century objects fashioned from cut-steel and other metals offered the consumer the new choice of 'design, variety and novelty above potential investment'.⁶ In the 1770s Matthew Boulton a Birmingham entrepreneur transformed his button, buckle and jewellery manufactory by adopting steam power.⁷ Moreover, as Maxine Berg observes, while Birmingham was famous for the invention of the steam engine, it was the employment to a 'remarkable degree' of a division of labour, which yielded increased production in the metal industries.⁸ During a year-long tour of Europe between 1818 and 1819, John Griscom, a professor of chemistry from New York, visited Birmingham. He visited a 'large button manufactory', which afforded 'employment to a great

⁶ Clifford, 'Concepts of invention', p. 249.

⁷ Mason, *Jewellery making in Birmingham*, p. 20.

⁸ Berg, *The age of manufactures*, p. 174.

number of persons, a large proportion of whom are women.’⁹ As a result of large scale serial-production achieved by the division of labour, Birmingham rapidly became a centre for the production of jewellery, becoming known as the ‘toyshop of Europe’.¹⁰ The pejorative term ‘Brummagem’ toys, associated with cheaper items produced in Birmingham by Boulton and other firms, was coined by frustrated manufactures, attempting to detract from these wares.¹¹ Nevertheless, the cut-steel jewellery introduced by Boulton, became highly fashionable in the late-eighteenth century.¹² For example, Empress Josephine possessed two suites of cut-steel jewellery.¹³

Boulton’s ingenuity was so novel that a visit to his factory became a fashionable pursuit, somewhat akin to visiting the ruins at Pompeii. Among his visitors were Charles Darwin, Josiah Wedgwood and from Ireland, the author Richard Lovell Edgeworth, Lord Gormanstown and Lord Barrymore. Visiting showrooms became part of polite culture.¹⁴ As Cissie Fairchilds observes, *Le Petit Dunkerque* was ‘a shop on the itinerary of every well-heeled tourist in Paris in the 1780s’.¹⁵ Showrooms benefited from the new fashion for visiting Royal Academy exhibitions and museums of curiosities. Attracting fashionable and wealthy customers was the objective of Boulton and his contemporaries.¹⁶ Boulton sent complimentary examples of his new wares to members of the aristocracy, knowing that demand for his toys would increase once the new patterns became fashionable.¹⁷ He would then offer similar goods in a variety of materials.¹⁸

⁹ John Griscom, *A year in Europe, comprising a journal of observations in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Switzerland, the North of Italy, and Holland in 1818 and 1819* (New York, 1823), p. 56.

¹⁰ Francesca Carnevali, ‘Golden opportunities: jewelry making in Birmingham between mass production and speciality’, in *Enterprise & Society*, 4, no.2, (2003), p. 274. (pp 272-98)

¹¹ Mason, *Jewellery making in Birmingham*, p. 5.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Phillips, *Jewels and jewellery*, p. 64.

¹⁴ Hilary Young, ‘Josiah Wedgwood’, in Michael Snodin and John Styles (eds.), *Design and the decorative arts: Georgian Britain 1714-1837* (London, 2004), p. 90.

¹⁵ Cissie Fairchilds, ‘The production and marketing of populuxe goods in eighteenth-century Paris’, in Brewer & Porter, *Consumption and the world of goods*, p. 238. This was the most well-known such shop in Paris, famous for elegant décor, fashionable goods and clearly marked prices.

¹⁶ Young, ‘Josiah Wedgwood’, p. 90.

¹⁷ Berg, *The age of manufactures*, p. 112.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Several Dublin retailers were Boulton's customers. Over a twelve-year period from 1770 to 1782, at least twenty-seven Irish customers placed orders with him.¹⁹ Many of these were Dublin based firms including the toyman Henry Clements, the lapidary David Jonquier, the jeweller William Moore and the ironmonger John Binns.

It is necessary to offer an explanation of the term 'toys' and 'toyman'. The manufactures of Birmingham might be separated into 'heavy toys' which included pot-hooks and fireplaces, while 'fancy toys' included watch-chains and keys, chatelaines and buckles (figure 5.1).²⁰ Firms such as the Soho Manufactory in Birmingham also manufactured a remarkable variety of sword hilts. The fashionability of toys in the eighteenth century resulted in some retailers such as Henry Clements, adopting the business description toyman. Recent research by Vanessa Brett on Bertrand's toyshop in Bath, has reconstructed the early eighteenth-century market for luxury trinkets known as toys.²¹ Bertrand was supplied by dozens of craftsmen including étui makers, cutlers, jewellers, diamond setters and goldsmiths.²² Thus it might be asserted that the range of objects he sold was equally diverse and probably included ivory gaming counters, shagreen-mounted cases, silver-handled steel razors, gold snuffboxes, chatelaines set with diamonds and onyx, and gold watches.²³

In Dublin, the term toyman was used by jewellers and other retailers during the course of the late eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century, although by the late eighteenth century the term was used less frequently by jewellers. Some retailers continued to reference the sale of toys while others adopted the business description 'fancy warehouse', probably in reference to the 'fancy toys' they

¹⁹ Although the incoming letters from customers appear not to have survived, the letters issued from the Boulton & Fothergill Soho Manufactory and Birmingham Warehouse offer names of Irish customers. When cross-checked with other primary sources, further information such as full address and occupation is possible.

²⁰ Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, display case narrative, first floor.

²¹ Brett, *Bertrand's Toyshop*.

²² *Ibid.*, pp 214-17.

²³ Brett has taken Bertrand's supplier list and cross-referenced the information with contemporary advertisements, bills and extant objects to approximate his stock. Brett, *Bertrand's Toyshop*, p.135; *ibid.*, pp 214-15; *ibid.*, p. 230.

stocked. For example, in 1761, Henry Clements a Parliament Street jeweller referenced himself as ‘toyman’. Seven years later in 1768 he adopted the term ‘jeweller and toyseller’. One year later, advertising in the *Freeman’s Journal*, he described himself as ‘jeweller’. The term ‘toyman’ had been dropped, although he did offer ‘every article in the jeweller’s and fancy toy business’.²⁴

Dublin’s toymen diversified into other allied crafts. For example, from 1780 to 1810, toymen advertised a variety of other skills, such as ivory turner, watchmaker, plate worker and seal graver. By 1810 at least one ‘steel toy manufacturer’, William Bradbury of Hoey’s Court, was working in Dublin.²⁵ Birmingham and Sheffield warehouses were in also in evidence. It might be suggested that given the nature of toys as previously discussed, the retail strategies adopted by toymen offer a good example of the capacity of the wider jewellery trade to adapt to new technology, materials and products as they emerged on the Dublin market.

5.1.1 Supply networks: toymen and jewellers

Henry Clements was one of Matthew Boulton’s most loyal customers. From 1771 to 1780, Henry and James Clements, corresponded regularly with Boulton and made a number of visits to the Soho Manufactory. Among the items ordered by Clements were tortoiseshell toothpick cases, buttons, cyphers and candlesticks. In common with other toymen, he also stocked ‘buckles, ... watches, watch seals, necklaces, ... and other jewellery.’²⁶ Clements also entrusted Boulton with sourcing ‘enamelled flower fountains’, which initially proved somewhat problematic to Boulton as he explained the flower fountain ‘is an article we are not acquainted with’.²⁷ Nevertheless, just one day later the tenacious Boulton wrote to Clements reporting ‘we have learned that enamelled fountains for

²⁴ *Freeman’s Journal*, 9 Nov. 1769.

²⁵ *Wilson’s Dublin Directory*, 1810.

²⁶ Berg, *Luxury & pleasure*, p. 158.

²⁷ Letter to J. & H. Clements, from Boulton & Fothergill, 15 May 1778 (LBA, Archives of Soho, MS 3782/1/39, p. 566).

flowers are made at a few miles distance from hence, the price from about 32/’.²⁸ Although Clements used the term ‘flower fountain’, he may have been referring to flower holders, which were worn on clothing (figure 3.13). Clements, an astute businessman, recognised an opportunity to act as a supplier to Boulton. In September 1771, he sent a large piece of pyrite to Boulton, which was apparently unavailable in England. Boulton wished to source large pieces of pyrite ‘as may serve for pedestals or plinths for vases’.²⁹ He gave Clements clear instructions on the best manner to package the somewhat delicate stones to ensure ‘they don’t rubb each other as they loose all their lustre and beauty in a contrary case’.³⁰ The stock retailed by the Dublin toyman, Henry Clements demonstrates the widespread demand for small decorative personal items, such as snuff boxes and étuis (small containers for needles and toiletries), which were embellished with materials such as tortoiseshell, wood, and ivory. These objects could be suspended from a chatelaine worn at the waist (figure 5.2).

The Dublin jeweller, William Moore, Crampton Court, placed an order with Matthew Boulton in 1772.³¹ However, the firm rejected Moore’s request for a speedy delivery of goods as the notice was deemed ‘absolutely too short’.³² This appears to have been Moore’s first contact with the Birmingham firm, as the same day they replied to Moore, Boulton wrote to David Melville, a Dublin merchant, requesting a character reference for William Moore.³³ A number of subsequent orders were fulfilled between 1772 and 1778, the largest of which, placed in 1773, amounted to £28 18s.³⁴ While the specific details of Moore’s orders have not

²⁸ Letter to J. & H. Clements, from Boulton & Fothergill, 16 May 1778 (LBA, Archives of Soho, MS 3782/1/39, p. 568).

²⁹ Letter to J. & H. Clements, from Boulton & Fothergill, 27 Sept. 1771 (LBA, Archives of Soho, MS 3782/1/9, p. 201).

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ In the 1770s, there were at least three jewellers working under the name of William Moore.

³² Letter to William Moore from Boulton & Fothergill, 9 Nov. 1772 (LBA, Archives of Soho, MS 3782/1/9, p. 631).

³³ Letter to David Melville from Boulton & Fothergill, 9 Nov. 1772 (LBA, Archives of Soho, MS 3782/1/9, p. 633).

³⁴ Letter to William Moore from Boulton & Fothergill, 9 Jun. 1773 (LBA, Archives of Soho, MS 3782/1/38, p. 240). Following the initial letter of 9 Nov. 1772, subsequent correspondence is merely addressed to ‘William Moore, Dublin’. While it is not possible to be emphatic, it is likely that this was the same individual. In 1774, William Moore, Capel Street, claimed to have been

emerged, his trade card and a number of newspaper advertisements placed by him give an indication of the merchandise he stocked. Moore's trade card c.1773, describes him as a 'working jeweller' who 'makes, sells by wholesale and retail, jewellers and goldsmiths work'.³⁵ The jewellery illustrated on the trade card included a chatelaine, locket and buckle, all of which could be had from Boulton (figure 5.3). Although printed trade cards cannot be taken as evidence of jeweller's stock, in this instance the card matches the items sold by Moore. In 1775, apparently having moved to premises on Capel Street, Moore advertised an assortment of articles in the plate, Japanned, ornamental and fancy goods of all kinds, just imported from the most eminent workmen in England'.³⁶ Gentlemen could place an order for a seal 'neatly finished in Pinchbeck', into which he would inlay a two-letter cypher or coat of arms.³⁷ In 1776, he offered for sale imported 'steel work' including watch chains, buttons and buckles, alongside 'bracelets with likenesses in hair ...in the present London and Paris taste'.³⁸ In 1784, having once more 'returned from London and the principal manufacturing towns of England', from where he claimed to have 'collected the most fashionable articles in his line of business, consisting of plate, plated, steel and rich fancy goods'.³⁹ William Moore was a working jeweller who manufactured his own jewellery while also retailing a variety of imported and locally sourced wares. He catered to every pocket, making diamond jewellery to order, retailing cut-steel buttons alongside pinchbeck seals which could be had for 5s. 5d.⁴⁰

The strategies employed by Clements and Moore demonstrate the keen business skills that were employed to negotiate the highly competitive jewellery manufacturing and retailing business.⁴¹ Clements was an enterprising

falsely imprisoned for a debt due by a person of the same name – *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Dec. 1774. By 1774, Moore had moved premises from Crampton Court to Capel Street.

³⁵ William Moore, trade card, 3 Dec. 1773 (private collection).

³⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 10 Oct. 1775.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 3 Dec. 1776.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 18 May 1784. (Essex Bridge)

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 10 Oct. 1775.

⁴¹ Philippa Hubbard's work on eighteenth-century trade cards examines the unique role of trade cards as promotional notices. Philippa Hubbard, 'The art of advertising: trade cards in eighteenth-century consumer cultures' (PhD thesis, University of Warwick 2009). This thesis is currently on hold.

businessman, his correspondence with Boulton demonstrates that Dublin jewellers had a strong sense of the wider market in which they carried on business. They were at once happy to import goods from Boulton, but also exploited possible commercial opportunities to expand their own prospects. Moore occupied a favoured position of jeweller manufacturer, retailer, wholesale supplier and importer. He controlled his credit by expecting those who purchased from him to pay by ‘ready money’, ‘cash or good bills at short date’⁴² while he left suppliers such as Boulton waiting for payment for over eighteen months.⁴³ Furthermore, his use of newspaper advertisements clearly demonstrates his knowledge of advertising rhetoric.

5.1.2 Supply networks: cutlers and ironmongers

From at least the last quarter of the eighteenth century Dublin’s cutlers and ironmongers offered consumers a wide variety of jewellery including cut-steel wares. Cutlers, including Thomas Read and Richard Yeates, manufactured, imported and retailed items such as chatelaines, buttons and spurs alongside their ubiquitous knives and forks. A selection of fashionable imported gilt buckles and buttons could be had from the Dublin ironmongers, John Binns and William Parker. Anne Clifford argues that the use of steel and iron to create buckles, buttons and other jewellery, indicates that the development of the use of these materials lies not with jewellers but with steel-workers and armourers.⁴⁴

John Read opened his Parliament Street premises in 1767 and his son Thomas took over the business in 1776.⁴⁵ The fittings in Read’s shop included a mahogany counter and cupboards with a nest of drawers used to hold small items, similar to those used by goldsmiths.⁴⁶ As Sarah Foster observes, Read may have based his shop interior on an English goldsmith’s shop.⁴⁷ Read’s investment in

⁴² *Freeman’s Journal*, 10 Oct. 1775; *ibid.*, 18 May 1784.

⁴³ Letter to William T. Moore from Boulton & Fothergill, 9 Jun. 1773 (LBA, Archives of Soho, MS 3782/1/38, p. 240); *ibid.*, p. 353, Moore had received two orders, one in August 1772 and one in April 1773, by November 1773, the total debt of £36 11s. 10d. remained unpaid.

⁴⁴ Clifford, *Cut-steel and Berlin iron jewellery*, p. 16; *ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴⁵ Foster, ‘Ornament and splendour’, p. 20.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp 22-3.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

fitting his shop in a similar manner to that of a goldsmith, serves to confirm the elite customer he wished to attract. For example, Richard Jackson, the Lord Lieutenant's chief secretary patronised Read.⁴⁸ In 1827, Read registered with the Dublin assay office as a dealer in gold and silver, indicating that the firm did intend at the very least to retail, if not manufacture, objects made of precious metals.⁴⁹ Read also sold cut-steel chatelaines. A cut-steel chatelaine c.1798 (figure 5.4) was branded with a small embossed tag bearing the name of the business, 'Read'. This was an unusual practice in the eighteenth century, as argued by Claire Walsh.⁵⁰ Silver wares did bear the name of retailers. For example the workmen who manufactured for Law & Son marked articles with both the name of the manufacturer and that of the retailer.⁵¹ The central boss of the Read chatelaine is engraved with the coat of arms and cypher of the owner, probably the Burke family. The chatelaine, thus engraved, would indicate that it was valued by its owner. The use of cyphers on jewellery and other objects gathered popularity in the eighteenth century.⁵² An object engraved with a cypher might deter theft, or aid in identifying lost objects. A police notice advertising items of unclaimed property, listed 'two gold brooches, one initialled'.⁵³ It is likely that Read would have offered a variety of chatelaines and perhaps other related items such as cut-steel watch-chains. The extant example of the chatelaine retailed by Read was a simple and functional design of cut-steel, particularly when compared with the variety of chatelaines offered by Matthew Boulton (figure 5.5). Alongside knives and forks, Read also retailed a variety of items including swords and razors.⁵⁴ John Read, a College Green cutler, stocked 'a variety of highly polished steel swords and ditto buttons suited for Castle dress'.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ Hon. Richard Jackson account book and visiting list, Dublin 1767-78 (TCD, MS9218), as cited by Foster, 'Ornament and splendour', p. 20.

⁴⁹ Read & Co., registration 11 May 1827 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 99, p. 27).

⁵⁰ Foster, 'Going shopping in Georgian Dublin', p. 32.

⁵¹ *Seventeenth report stamp revenue*, p. 345. For a discussion of Parisian retailers branding their stock, see Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and luxury markets: the marchands merciers of eighteenth-century Paris* (London, 1996), pp 50-51.

⁵² Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain*, p. 254.

⁵³ *Freeman's Journal*, 13 Mar. 1857.

⁵⁴ Foster, 'Going shopping in Georgian Dublin', p. 34.

⁵⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 8 Feb. 1810; *ibid.*, 7 Mar. 1811. John Read & Son, registered with the assay office on 12 May 1827.

Court swords were fashionable, rather than defensive, items worn by men. The cut-steel swords available from Birmingham came in almost endless variety and testify to the demand for an elaborate and decorative piece of jewellery (figure 5.6). In 1818, Viscount Castlereagh, paid the London jewellers Rundell, Bridge and Rundell £2,306 15s. to set ‘brilliant in a most elegant gold sword with devices of the Order of the Garter’.⁵⁶ He cut a splendid figure at the coronation of George IV in 1821, wearing his diamond encrusted sword hilt, hat band and Order of the Garter.⁵⁷ Although some cut-steel wares could be comparatively less costly than precious metal, the attraction of a product made from steel lay in its modernity and novelty.

Dublin’s cutlers were among several trades which claimed to have suffered in the years following the Act of Union in 1800.⁵⁸ In common with the group of twenty-eight jewellers and silversmiths discussed in previous chapters, Dublin cutlers also placed the blame for the fall in business on ‘absenteeism’ and the removal of the import tariff.⁵⁹ According to a contemporary report, the numbers working in the trade in 1800 were 348, by 1834 the numbers had fallen to 52⁶⁰ and much of their stock was imported from Sheffield and Birmingham.⁶¹ The following example illustrates an innovative approach to such competition by one Dublin cutler. In 1834, the cutler Richard Yeates installed a ‘steam engine’ in his Grafton Street ‘manufactory’. There he aimed to ‘compete with the English market’ and ‘afford employment to a greater number of workmen’ (figure 5.7).⁶² The enterprising Yeates included a large illustration of his manufactory on advertising handbills depicting the machinery used during the different stages of manufacture. Yeates was following in the footsteps of English nineteenth-century metal industries that relied on skilled workers, diversity of output and innovative

⁵⁶ Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain*, p. 367. The sword, hat band and Garter star are housed in the jewellery collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

⁵⁷ Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain*, p. 367.

⁵⁸ Report on Dublin trades & manufacture, c.1834 (RIA, MS4.B.31), pp 152-9. I am grateful to Jackie Hill for bringing this to my attention.

⁵⁹ Report on Dublin trades & manufacture, c.1834 (RIA, MS4.B.31), p. 152.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁶² Richard Yeates handbill/receipt, 25 Nov. 1834 (NLI, O’Hara papers, MS36,365).

practices.⁶³ He was certainly in business from 1800 to 1834, occupying premises in a more fashionable street with each new move. He moved from Arran Quay to Sackville Street and then Grafton Street by 1834. As noted by Maxine Berg, location, novelty of enterprise and a mix of activity were strong business factors.⁶⁴ Among the personal items retailed by Yeates were razors, penknives and spurs.⁶⁵ By depicting an image on his handbill of ‘the only engine in the trade in Ireland’, Yeates was demonstrating his engagement with new mechanised manufacturing techniques, while also piquing the interest of consumer fascination with invention and novelty. He was at once creating an exciting spectacle and encouraging custom by way of an informative and engaging advertisement. Yeates undoubtedly intended his steam engine to act as an attraction, a source of entertainment and pleasure.⁶⁶

In 1775, John Binns, the Dame Street ironmonger (figure 5.8) advertised the products he had brought ‘from London, Birmingham, Sheffield’ which included ‘sett shoe, knee and stock buckles; steel, gilt silver, plated and pinchbeck buckles; gold and other seals and trinkets’.⁶⁷ In addition, he offered ‘several other articles of silver goods’.⁶⁸ His location on Dame Street ensured him access to an elite client base that purchased items to refurbish their homes. Binns’ advertisement displayed an awareness of the fashion for Birmingham and Sheffield wares and this provided him with an opportunity to make additional sales. He was a customer of Matthew Boulton, receiving goods to the value of £16 15s. in August 1772.⁶⁹ Boulton offered almost endless combinations of materials and finishes.⁷⁰ Buttons might be made from ‘bath mettle’ or ‘strong gilt’ and could include ‘lacquere’d’ or enamelled plates’, cane heads could be had in gold or plated, belt locks were manufactured in silver or might be inlaid with steel, while sleeve links

⁶³ Berg, *The age of manufactures*, p. 225.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁶⁵ R. Yeates billhead/receipt, 25 Nov. 1834 (NLI, O’Hara papers, MS36,365).

⁶⁶ For a discussion of the retail strategies employed by retailers in mid-twentieth and eighteenth-century America, see Ann Smart Martin, ‘Ribbons of desire: gendered stories in the world of goods’, in Vickery & Styles, *Gender, taste and material culture*, p. 196.

⁶⁷ *Freeman’s Journal*, 22 Apr. 1775.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Letter to John Binns from Boulton & Fothergill, xx (LBA, Archives of Soho, MS 3782/1/38).

⁷⁰ Matthew Boulton, ‘A list of articles manufactured at Soho’ (LBA, Archives of Soho, MS 3782/12/108/6).

could be inlaid with glass.⁷¹ The different quality of materials and finishes used at Boulton's Soho Manufactory ensured that buckles and other trinkets would appeal both to the vanity and the pocket of a cross-section of consumers. Binns stocked a variety of buckles, at least some of which he most likely sourced from Boulton (figure 5.9). For example, Boulton retailed platina buckles with 'common chapes' which commanded prices from 7s. 6d. to 16s. per dozen, while chapes could be had in different classes ranging from 'common' to 'mid' to 'fine' quality, with corresponding prices from 18s. to 66s. depending on the size and the quality of metal used.⁷² In the nineteenth-century Dublin ironmongers continued the practice of selling jewellery alongside household goods. In 1860, customers patronising Mary Kelly on Parliament Street, could browse her stock of 'gold watches, gold rings, gold and silver guard chains', while also making a purchase from her stock of practical household goods such as 'chisels, hatchets and axes'.⁷³

Buttons worn by men during the period are aptly described by Anne Clifford as 'just as truly jewellery as women's brooches.'⁷⁴ Indeed some eighteenth and nineteenth-century buttons were miniature works of art, such as a set of mother of pearl buttons c.1820-50 engraved with scenes of horses and coaches. Buttons were also mounted as brooches (figure 5.10). As the eighteenth century progressed so the style of buttons changed and increased in size. A satirical print dating to 1777 mocked the glaringly shiny buttons increasingly favoured by men (figure 5.11).⁷⁵ However, this kind of satire may represent an underlying anxiety regarding the pace of change brought by the industrial inventions of the day.⁷⁶

William Parker styled his Kennedy Street business 'Old-Birmingham Warehouse', in 1779 (figure 5.12). He offered 'a variety of articles in the

⁷¹ Ibid., buttons, p.1; *ibid.*, cane heads and belt locks, p. 5; *ibid.*, sleeve links, p.3.

⁷² Matthew Boulton, 'A list of articles manufactured at Soho' (LBA, Archives of Soho, MS 3782/12/108/6, p. 35); *ibid.*, p. 46. Platina was an alloy of platinum, discovered in the early eighteenth century in Columbia. For a discussion of the demand for platina, see Luis Fermín Capitán Vallvey, 'Export and smuggling of Spanish platina in the eighteenth century', in *Annals of Science*, liii, no. 5 (1996), pp 467-87. A chape or mordant was an element of a buckle frame and refers to the part which enclosed one end of a belt. Sometimes the buckle and the chape were made to result in a unified design. Newman, *Dictionary of jewelry*, p. 206.

⁷³ *Freeman's Journal*, 5 Nov. 1860.

⁷⁴ Clifford, *Cut-steel and Berlin iron jewellery*, p. 19.

⁷⁵ Phillips, *Jewels & jewellery*, p. 65.

⁷⁶ Forty, *Objects of Desire*, pp 11-13.

hardware and ironmongery business’, including ‘hat pins and bodkins, ... toy watches, gilt seals and watch chains’ alongside ‘gilt, plated, metal and horn buttons’.⁷⁷ A charming billhead for Theobald Billing on Cork Hill, illustrates the diversity of wares available from one shop (figure 5.13). Billing sold a plethora of goods including gold and silver lace and ‘the greatest variety of fancy metal and dress buttons of the best quality and newest fashion’.⁷⁸ The dozens of ‘fine metal’ buttons Billing sold on 23 July 1798 amounted to £2 3s. 3d., which serves to further illustrate that such buttons were a popular and cheaper alternative to silver. Billing was a member of a family of Dublin goldsmiths. Three Dublin jewellers with the surname Billing are listed in the records of the goldsmiths’ guild: Henry Billing (1749-69), Robert Billing (1712-54), and Martin Billing (1712-32).⁷⁹ In 1784 Thomas Billing & Son, Cork Hill registered as a dealer in gold and silver with the Dublin assay office.⁸⁰ Theobald Billing was the son of Thomas.⁸¹ It was a reasonable diversification to move from jewellery manufacturing to gold and silver lace, particularly given the high population of military personnel based in Dublin. The retail of gold and silver lace appears to have remained buoyant until the first decades of the nineteenth century when the trade declined.⁸² A number of factors impacted unfavourably on the trade. The numbers of military officers billeted in Ireland declined and plainer gentlemen’s clothing became fashionable.

The author, Richard Lovell Edgeworth wrote to Wedgwood in 1780 to order a set of profiles ‘done in white on pale blue from a profile by Mrs Harrington and an excellent picture by Smart’.⁸³ Edgeworth was a friend of Josiah Wedgwood and on this occasion was very particular that he be treated as a customer rather than a friend, remarking ‘I am restrained from having things of Etruria manufacture

⁷⁷ William Parker, handbill/receipt 1 Oct. 1779 (NLI, trade ephemera, uncatalogued).

⁷⁸ Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, p. 296.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Registration, 11 Sept. 1784 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS no. 99, p. 3).

⁸¹ Irish church records, available at:

<http://churchrecords.irishgenealogy.ie/churchrecords/details/e94d620219403> [21 May 2015].

⁸² Evidence given by Jacob West to the commissioners of inquiry, *Third report of commissioners 1822*, p. 23.

⁸³ Richard Edgeworth to Wedgwood and Bentley, 4 May 1780 (NLI, Edgeworth papers, MS 10,166/7).

because I am not treated in two different capacities, as a stranger and a friend'.⁸⁴ On this occasion his desire to have a Wedgwood cameo of his wife's profile evidently outweighed a reluctance to overstep the boundaries of friendship. Boulton made an inspired decision when he contacted Wedgwood with a view to purchasing small jasper-wear cameos which were then inlaid into his steel buttons and chatelaines.⁸⁵ The combination of cut-steel and blue and white jasper-wear was at once modern and neo-classical (figure 5.14). By choosing to wear buttons which depicted classical Greek and Roman images alongside the materials of modern progress, the wearer was signifying to all that he was both educated and modern. At some point between 1786 and 1788, the Prince of Wales purchased a set of metal buttons inlaid with Wedgwood cameos.⁸⁶ This royal seal of approval would have sparked emulation among the fashionable beau monde.

The demand for cut-steel jewellery continued well into the nineteenth century. In 1808, 'clasps of gold or cut steel' were considered an appropriate adornment for fastening fashionable velvet pelisses.⁸⁷ Fourteen years later in 1822, the female waist was best highlighted by wearing 'a broad band of velvet, fastened behind with an elegant cut-steel buckle'.⁸⁸ In January 1860, a genteel woman purchased a 'steel buckle' for 10s. 6d. from a Dublin retailer.⁸⁹ Her purchases highlight the enduring appeal of cut-steel ornaments. Among the hundreds of items stocked by the Sackville Street jeweller, James Mayfield were 'steel and jet brooches' which he priced at 8s each.⁹⁰ Steel watch chains offered a practical alternative to softer precious metals. In 1860, David Davies, a farm labourer was known to sport a 'steel watch chain', while his employer, David Price, a farmer, wore a watch chain described as being of 'yellow metal', possibly gold, along with keys and a seal.⁹¹

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Mason, *Jewellery making in Birmingham*, p. 22.

⁸⁶ Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain*, p. 293.

⁸⁷ *Belfast Newsletter*, 9 Dec. 1808. A pelisse was a long cloak or sleeveless coat worn over the lightweight dresses popular in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century.

⁸⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 5 Dec. 1822.

⁸⁹ Account book entry 31 Jan. 1860 (NLI, account book 1858-65, MS 14,277). Although the author of this account book is unknown, Dunlevy concludes that it was the property of a Dublin girl. Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, p. 31.

⁹⁰ James Mayfield & Co., stock book, 12 Dec. 1866 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 133, unpaginated).

⁹¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 9 Nov. 1860.

Nineteenth-century retailers of cut-steel jewellery included the cutler J. Tweedall. In 1856, Tweedall advertised his stock of ‘steel purses, guard chains, watch keys, shawl pins and brooches’, which could be had from his house on Sackville Street.⁹² Tweedall added gravitas to his business by claiming that his razors were ‘the same quality of the old Read’s razors’, which were ‘unequalled for the last eighty years.’⁹³ By associating his manufacturers with those of Read he was cleverly capitalising on the good reputation of a competitor. The Nassau Street cutler, J. Thompson, employed more descriptive language to attract custom, stating, ‘STEEL ORNAMENTS, A magnificent stock of bracelets, brooches, tiaras, necklets, buckles, slides, buttons, etc. Their exquisite finish are equal to brilliants’.⁹⁴ Thompson was comparing his cut-steel jewellery to diamonds. Five years later in 1863, Thompson’s business was taken over by R.B. Pim.⁹⁵ By that time, Thompson had relocated to Dame Street, signifying improved financial circumstances necessary to meet the higher rents there.

The growing fashion in the late eighteenth century for cut-steel and later Berlin iron, combined with the availability of cheaper materials, influenced the range of products offered by Dublin cutlers and ironmongers. The above examples establish that from at least the last quarter of the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth century, Dublin cutlers and ironmongers were involved in importing and retailing small fashionable trinkets from England which they sold alongside their stock of ‘iron nails’, ‘bed screws’ and ‘fox, rat and mouse traps’.⁹⁶ Dublin cutlers, ironmongers and jewellers understood the necessity of manufacturing and retailing goods which catered for a variety pockets. Yeates understood the value of attracting custom by installing a steam engine on his premises. Steel, in its many forms, was worn by a French empress, an Irish farm labourer and a fashionable woman in Dublin city. Cut-steel was both highly fashionable and practical. Indeed by the first decade of the nineteenth century,

⁹² Ibid., 6 Oct. 1856.

⁹³ Ibid., 29 Jun. 1857.

⁹⁴ *Freeman’s Journal*, 27 Nov. 1858.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 3 Dec. 1863.

⁹⁶ William Parker, billhead/receipt 1 Oct. 1779 (NLI, trade ephemera, uncatalogued).

cut-steel had garnered such popularity that Birmingham manufacturers designed silver hair combs to imitate brightly polished cut-steel (figure 5.15).

5.2 Bog wood jewellery

The manufacture of bog wood jewellery and ornaments dates to at least the 1820s. The industry grew significantly in the nineteenth century, in step with the growth of tourism. In the main, bog wood was used to manufacture two distinct categories of jewellery – mourning or sentimental jewellery and souvenirs (figure 5.16). It was also acceptable to wear the dark almost black jewellery when in mourning. Sentimental jewellery could include simple beads or locket and brooches containing compartments for the hair or portrait of a loved one. Souvenir jewellery included national symbols such as shamrocks, harps and wolf hounds, or might depict Irish ruins such as Muckross House, Blarney Castle or the Rock of Cashel. Bog wood was also used as a foil for precious metal objects. In 1850, the Dublin jeweller Henry Flavelle, was commissioned by West & Son to fashion a silver owl on a bog oak mount.⁹⁷

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, as bog wood jewellery became fashionable, the number of manufacturers multiplied. Patrick McGuirk, credited as being one of the original bog oak jewellery manufacturers (marked in green on the map, figure 5.17), retailed goods from his premises on the outskirts of the city on Georges Hill from 1840. As bog oak jewellery grew in popularity, so the manufacturers and retailers moved closer to fashionable shopping streets. In 1846, the daughter of McGuirk, a Mrs Griffiths, carried on the bog oak business from Great Britain Street, moving to Grafton Street in 1849. Subsequently, Saul Samuels, Denis Connell, Marie Harris and Jeremiah Goggin manufactured and retailed bog oak jewellery from Nassau Street, at various times, during a twenty year period from 1850 to 1870. Competition for custom was an ongoing challenge. In 1861, Samuels took the opportunity to remind customers that his ‘new designs and superior carving in brooches, bracelets, etc.,’ were ‘patronised

⁹⁷ Assay, submitted by Henry Flavelle, 2 Feb. 1850 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 34).

by the Queen ... and the Lord Lieutenant.⁹⁸ Mahood's house was on Wellington Quay. A large advertisement on the building's facade declared 'The Fancy Mart'. According to Shaw's Directory, and probably at the behest of Mahood, the company were singled-out out as retailers of 'cheap jewellery' and perfume.⁹⁹ In 1870, Cornelius Goggin placed a large advertisement in *Thom's Irish Almanac*, claiming to be 'the original bog oak establishment'.¹⁰⁰ Todd, Burns & Co., the large retailers, listed jewellery and Irish bog oak ornaments among the items stocked in their establishment on Mary Street.¹⁰¹ Mahood was virulently opposed to the threat to business posed by such retailers, or 'monster houses' and called for shopkeepers to 'deal exclusively with each other'.¹⁰² Yet, it is entirely possible that they sourced some of their stock from Dublin manufacturers. As noted in chapter three, Pim Brothers were supplied by a number of Dublin manufacturing jewellers.

Thomas Bennett, a Grafton Street jeweller retailed a range of bog oak and 'fine gold jewellery' manufactured from 'Wicklow gold and Irish pearls.' In 1851, he presented his new invention, a 'flexible gold bracelet' (figure 5.18) which might be used to display 'a watch or miniature.'¹⁰³ An extant example of Bennett's 'flexible bracelet' establishes the fine quality of some bog wood jewellery. Close examination of the bracelet reveals that each section of the bracelet was hinged which allowed flexibility (figure 5.19). Another interesting aspect of this bracelet is the 'Wicklow gold' stamp which can be just visible on the back of the harp device (figure 5.19). Bennett probably offered his customers the choice to substitute the harp device for a watch or a miniature. This is a rare piece of bog oak jewellery for several reasons. Firstly, its provenance can be traced to the catalogue of the London exhibition. Secondly, the bracelet appears to be in its

⁹⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 24 Aug. 1861.

⁹⁹ Henry Shaw, *The New City Pictorial Directory* (Dublin, 1850), reprinted as Henry Shaw, *The Dublin Pictorial Guide & Directory of 1850* (Belfast, 1988). As noted by Kevin Nowlan, the directory was a commercial venture and Shaw chose the streets where he found firms willing to advertise in the publication, first page of introduction to reprinted edition.

¹⁰⁰ *Thom's Dublin Directory*, 1870.

¹⁰¹ *The visitor's handy guide to the Royal Dublin Society's Triennial Exhibition ... 1864* (Dublin, 1864), no page number.

¹⁰² *Freeman's Journal*, 10 Mar. 1851.

¹⁰³ *Official descriptive and illustrated catalogue 1851*, p. 675.

original box, which is identified on the inside by Bennett's name and address, and thirdly, it bears a 'Wicklow gold' mark. Overall the bracelet was finely executed; in comparison, some pieces of bog oak jewellery were described as having 'rudeness of design and coarseness of execution'.¹⁰⁴

It is difficult to reconstruct practices of consumption during the period. There is little evidence for bog wood jewellery purchases made by an individual consumer. In 1837, the London jewellery firm Garrards altered a bog oak necklace into a pair of bracelets for a Mrs J.J. Donn, who also purchased a bog oak brooch.¹⁰⁵ An account book kept from 1858 to 1865, by a genteel Dublin woman, records numerous jewellery purchases.¹⁰⁶ In early January 1862, she made her most expensive purchase of bog wood jewellery, paying 10s. 6d. for earrings.¹⁰⁷ Four years earlier, in 1858, she recorded paying 5s. for a bracelet and 6s. for a neck ornament.¹⁰⁸ Details of the Dublin retailer she patronised have not survived. The repeated purchase of bog oak jewellery by one individual demonstrates the demand for this jewellery and corroborates evidence from newspaper advertisements and street directories. In 1862, bog oak jewellery formed part of the stock of a Dublin jeweller.¹⁰⁹ James Mayfield grouped his bog oak jewellery according to whether it was new or 'old bog oak'. He stocked gold mounted brooches and earrings which cost £1 5s. along with simple 'oak pins' which could be purchased for 2s.¹¹⁰ The listings contained in this rare stock book attest to the continuing demand for bog oak jewellery well into the second half of the nineteenth century, thus the requirement for Mayfield and presumably other retailers, to replenish stock with fresh designs.

¹⁰⁴ Sproule, *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, p. 389.

¹⁰⁵ Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain*, p. 315.

¹⁰⁶ Account book 1858-1865 (NLI, MS 14,277).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 11 Jan. 1862.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 21 Dec. 1858.

¹⁰⁹ James Mayfield & Co., stock book, 12 Dec. 1866 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 133, unpaginated).

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

5.2.1 Joseph Johnson's bog oak jewellery

The work of jeweller Joseph Johnson is now examined to give new insight into the manufacture and consumption of bog oak jewellery. Joseph Johnson, a jeweller, goldsmith and manufacturer of bog oak ornaments, was a member of a family firm in Dublin who carried on business from premises on Grafton Street, Wellington Quay and Suffolk Street (figure 5.20). By 1865, the firm were said to be making annual sales of at least £4,000 worth of bog oak goods.¹¹¹ Members of the Johnson family were in business from the late eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century.¹¹² As discussed in earlier chapters, Joseph and his brother Edmond designed and manufactured jewellery and other wares on their own account and for large retail firms.

Joseph Johnson is reputed to have patented a new method of manufacturing bog wood jewellery in the 1850s.¹¹³ In 1865, Johnson was singled out by E. Harvey Wadge a contributor to the 1865 Dublin Exhibition catalogue. Wadge described Johnson's dies as 'very beautiful in design and all sharply cut'.¹¹⁴ He further remarked that the dies 'are made on the premises'.¹¹⁵ An advertisement placed by Robert Gardner in 1853, made reference to Johnson's patent, 'bog oak, compressed with our dies by Johnson's patent which defines the outline with surpassing beauty and correctness'.¹¹⁶ Three brooches manufactured by Joseph Johnson are the subject of this analysis.

Joseph Johnson manufactured a brooch for Lady Doneraile, which she subsequently presented to the Director of Kew Gardens in 1857. Analysis of this brooch brings together for the first time a disparate group of documentary and artefact evidence which is used to investigate the relationship between manufacturer and consumer. Mary Anne Grace Louisa Lenox-Conyngham

¹¹¹ Parkinson & Simmonds (eds.), *The illustrated record and descriptive catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865*, p. 304; Sheehy, *The rediscovery of Ireland's past*, p. 85; McCrum, 'Commerce and the Celtic revival', p. 47.

¹¹² Members of the Johnson family are listed in street directories from the 1790s and throughout the nineteenth-century. Their names also appear in the records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' guild.

¹¹³ McCrum, 'Commerce and the Celtic revival', p. 47.

¹¹⁴ Parkinson & Simmonds, *Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865*, p. 303.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Irish Examiner*, 8 Jul. 1853.

married Hayes St. Ledger, 4th Viscount Doneraile on 20 August 1851. Their family home was at Doneraile Court, Co. Cork.¹¹⁷ In January 1857, Lady Doneraile presented Sir William Hooker, the Director of Kew Gardens with a bog oak brooch depicting the Rock of Cashel in Co. Tipperary (figure 5.21) and later that year a simple two-strand bog oak necklace (figure 5.22). Two years earlier in 1855, Lady Doneraile had delivered blocks of bog oak and bog deal and a collection of ‘vegetable lace’ made from the fibres of garden and wild plants¹¹⁸ (figure 5.23). In 1853, children in the Bandon Industrial School made parasol lace from wild flowers.¹¹⁹ The gifts to Hooker were probably made in thanks for the numerous plant specimens he had sent to Doneraile during the 1850s.¹²⁰

The Doneraile bog oak brooch was manufactured by Joseph Johnson. The frame of the brooch is enlivened with an ox skull, dog heads, shells and leaves, motifs drawn from classical architecture. The brooch inset depicts the Rock of Cashel. Johnson’s design was inspired by a drawing by W.H. Bartlett, published in 1842 (figure 5.24).¹²¹ The fine detail of the brooch suggests either a very sharp carving or that it was manufactured by being pressed into a mould. As noted previously, Johnson was credited with inventing a new manner of stamping bog oak.¹²² However, some manufacturers dismissed this method of production, stressing that their work was ‘wrought by the hand, distinguishing such as are squeezed by machinery by reducing the oak to a state of pulp, and impressing same with wrought dies.’¹²³ The Doneraile brooch is now in two pieces, a frame and an inset, although it has probably separated due to age. The frame of the brooch is marked on the back with the words ‘J Johnson Patentee’ and the number ‘37’

¹¹⁷ The Peerage, available at: www.thepeerage.com/p21122.htm [2 July 2013] and Doneraile papers, collection list 62, National Library of Ireland available at: <http://www.nli.ie/pdfs/mss%20lists/doneraile.pdf> [2 July 2013].

¹¹⁸ Mairead Dunlevy and E. Charles Nelson, ‘Sir William’s Irish Lace: gifts from an Irish Viscountess’, in *Curtis’s Botanical Magazine*, xii, no. 4 (1995), p. 234.

¹¹⁹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 24 May 1853.

¹²⁰ Dunlevy & Nelson, ‘Sir William’s Irish Lace’, p. 233.

¹²¹ N.P. Willis & J. Stirling Coyne, *The scenery and antiquities of Ireland illustrated from drawings by W.H. Bartlett* (2 vols, London, 1842), i, 139.

¹²² Sheehy, *The rediscovery of Ireland’s past*, p. 85; McCrum, ‘Commerce and the Celtic revival’, p. 47.

¹²³ *Official catalogue of the exhibition of manufactures, machinery and fine arts, 1864*, p. 55.

(figure 5.21). The inset bears a similar although very faint mark and the number '32'.

The numerical marks on the Doneraile brooch suggest that Johnson created brooches from a variety of frames and inserts, perhaps to order. Another example of Johnson's work, a brooch, taken from his registered design for the Kilmainham brooch, is housed in the Armagh County Museum (figure 5.25). Registered in 1849, the Kilmainham brooch was the first Irish jewellery design to be recorded.¹²⁴ Johnson first manufactured the Kilmainham brooch in metal. His design was later used by another Dublin firm, Waterhouse & Company. In common with the Doneraile example, the Kilmainham bog wood brooch is also imprinted with 'J Johnson Patentee' and the number '5'.¹²⁵ A final example of Johnson's work is a brooch of bog oak and metal, possibly silver (figure 5.26). The bog oak frame is imprinted on the reverse with the words 'J Johnson Patentee' along with a faint number '3' and a further indistinct digit. The frame is of an interlace pattern of Celtic inspiration and the metal insert depicts representations of Brian Boru playing his harp, a round tower and high cross.

Johnson may have created the brooches by bonding a layer of moulded bog oak to a base of stained wood. This process is clearly visible on a damaged part of a bog oak and metal bracelet (figure 5.27) which Johnson probably manufactured c.1875 or later. He registered the design for the bracelet on 18 June 1875.¹²⁶ The damaged section of the bracelet clearly shows a top layer of embossed material, possibly bog oak, affixed to a base of wood. The base and sides of the roundel are then encased in metal, thus effectively disguising the manufacturing process. Johnson may have created the bracelet by bonding a layer of moulded bog oak to

¹²⁴ Joseph Johnson, design registered 25 July 1849 (TNA, design registration, BT/43/6/61470). Registered jewellery designs are discussed more fully in chapter four.

¹²⁵ Armagh County Museum, item no. ARMCM.155.1975, available at: <http://nmni.com/acm/Collections/Collections-Highlights/Irish-Bog-Oak-Jewellery-%E2%80%93-A-Forgotten-Craft> [23 May 2014].

¹²⁶ Joseph Johnson design registration, 18 June 1875 (TNA, design registration, BT/43/38/292166).

a base of stained wood, a method which he is reputed to have patented in the 1850s.¹²⁷

The example of Johnson's work demonstrates the demand for a variety of bog wood jewellery, both in terms of subject matter and materials. Exploration of Doneraile's purchase reveals a more nuanced reading of the motivations behind the consumption of bog oak jewellery.

The individual example of Johnson corresponds with the broader trends of the period. Bog wood jewellery was manufactured in numerous forms and was purchased as a gift or a souvenir. Johnson fashioned a range of bog wood jewellery, some of which he inlaid with silver, presumably with corresponding prices. Doneraile's gift of a bog wood brooch represented a shared love of botany, rather than the purchase of a souvenir. Analysis of the bog oak jewellery manufactured by Joseph Johnson makes a new contribution to the existing literature on the production of these wares. Lady Doneraile's brooch not only provides a rare opportunity to trace the provenance of a piece of bog oak jewellery, analysis of the brooch also offers evidence of the identity of the manufacturer and the date range and place of manufacture. Additionally, the brooch provides compelling evidence of the type of inspiration Joseph Johnson drew upon to create his jewellery. Comparison of the brooch to other work by Johnson yields an insight into the manufacturing process, suggesting that he combined a variety of frames and centres to create brooches. While the key to his numbering system has not been located, it is likely that the numbers matched specific designs. Furthermore, he used his registered design to create bog wood alternatives to the metal brooches offered by Waterhouse & Company and West & Son. Johnson understood the highly competitive market for bog oak retailed in Dublin. Not only was he the first to register a 'fibula brooch' design, he went on to invent a new method of manufacturing bog oak jewellery. Johnson's bog wood brooches are important artefacts, analysis of which provides new insight into the study of Dublin's jewellery trade.

¹²⁷ McCrum, 'Commerce and the Celtic revival', p. 47.

5.3 Horsehair jewellery

The use of horsehair for decorative objects was not an innovation of the nineteenth century but can be dated back to the Bronze Age.¹²⁸ In the nineteenth century, horsehair was used in a variety of contexts. It was used in domestic settings in Ireland to fabricate a number of everyday items including fishing lines and snares.¹²⁹ Horsehair was also used commercially, as a stuffing in seats for the home and in horse and railway carriages. In 1852 newspapers reported the use of black horsehair lace on capotes (or French hats).¹³⁰ It was also used to create jewellery in Ireland in the 1840s and 1850s (figure 5.28). Consequently, horsehair was a reasonably familiar and available medium in nineteenth-century Ireland.

The investigation into the manufacture and acquisition of horsehair jewellery is directed by a number of questions. Who made such articles? In what context were they made? How were they retailed? How were they received, understood and valued? Firstly, the context in which horsehair jewellery was made in mid-nineteenth century Ireland is considered. Then the retail of such pieces in Dublin is analysed. The consideration of horsehair jewellery concludes with an exploration of how this jewellery was valued by producers and consumers.

5.3.1 Catalysts for production: philanthropy and industrial education

The nineteenth century witnessed a wave of philanthropic societies which sought to improve the lives of the poor in Ireland. These societies arose as a result of a number of factors, including increased involvement of women in charitable and pastoral work. In 1822, 'The British and Irish Ladies Society for improving the condition, [and] promoting the industry and welfare of the female peasantry in Ireland',¹³¹ was established. This society was engaged with the employment of women in the flax industry. The society placed great importance on encouraging

¹²⁸ Horsehair belt tassel, 900-500BC, item no. IA 1906.13c, is housed in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland, Kildare Street.

¹²⁹ I am grateful to Clodagh Doyle, Turlough Park, for this information.

¹³⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 10 Apr. 1852.

¹³¹ *The British and Irish Ladies Society for improving the condition, promoting the industry and welfare of the female peasantry in Ireland* (London, 1822).

self-reliance through industry.¹³² This approach continued in the post-famine years when jewellery created from horsehair provided employment to some of the neediest in Ireland.

By the mid-nineteenth century many philanthropists were concerned with alleviating the level of poverty and distress which existed in Ireland as a result of the famine. Their concerns related to morality, education and religion. Female philanthropists concentrated their charitable efforts on women and children.¹³³ In 1808, Louisa Beaufort visited a number of charter schools.¹³⁴ In 1811 she designed a stained glass window for her father's church in Collon, County Louth.¹³⁵ In 1857, as she travelled around Ireland, she recorded her observations in a number of sketches including 'the famine orphan refuge at Spiddal, County Galway.'¹³⁶ Louisa Beaufort was the youngest daughter of Rev D.A. Beaufort, Vicar of Collon.¹³⁷ She remained unmarried and was sister-in-law to the author Richard Lovell Edgeworth.¹³⁸ While Louisa Beaufort is not listed among the committee members, of the above-mentioned British and Irish Ladies Society, she may have been involved. The importance of self-reliance through industry is perhaps best explained by this extract from the society's prospectus: 'improvement of females in industry and intelligence is handed down by them as mothers of families to their offspring and becomes interwoven and co-extensive with the frame of society itself.'¹³⁹ Louisa adopted this approach by providing employment to the poor through the manufacture of horsehair jewellery.

¹³² Ibid., p. 11.

¹³³ Maria Luddy, *Women and philanthropy in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 51.

¹³⁴ Louisa C. Beaufort, *Journal of tours in the North of Ireland and to visit the charter schools, 1807-8* (TCD, Beaufort papers, MS 4034).

¹³⁵ National Inventory of Architectural Heritage, available at: <http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/Surveys/Buildings/BuildingoftheMonth/Archive/Name,2790.en.html> [23 Aug. 2015].

¹³⁶ Louisa Catherine Beaufort, sketchbook 'Irish scraps to amuse my dear Admiral from LCB' (MS 8269 TCD).

¹³⁷ *The Irish Times*, 6 Feb. 1863.

¹³⁸ Louisa Beaufort's sister, Frances Anne, was Richard Lovell Edgeworth's fourth wife, they married in 1798. Irish church records, available at: <http://churchrecords.irishgenealogy.ie/churchrecords/details/b6f8010526336> [29 July 2015].

¹³⁹ *The British and Irish Ladies Society*, p. 11.

In 1852, Eliza O'Connor of Sligo exhibited horsehair jewellery at the Cork exhibition. O'Connor was most likely a member of a wealthy Catholic family in Sligo. The O'Connor family were Sligo timber merchants and ship owners in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Patrick O'Connor died of cholera in 1832 aged fifty years. He had seven children including two daughters named Elizabeth and Anna.¹⁴⁰ Eliza O'Connor was a niece of Peter O'Connor, a wealthy and benevolent landowner, who 'sustained [his tenants] in their troubles by his sympathy, his advice and his purse'.¹⁴¹ It is plausible that Eliza O'Connor was instrumental in teaching the poor of Sligo how to manufacture horsehair jewellery and then brought the ornaments to the Cork and Dublin exhibitions. The time commitment involved in taking part in exhibitions was considerable. The Cork exhibition ran for three months from June to September 1852 and the Dublin exhibition ran for about five months from May to November 1853. In order to take part in such ventures, financial freedom was a prerequisite for women such as Beaufort and O'Connor.

Fostering self-sufficiency among the poor was important to philanthropists.¹⁴² Reliance on charity was sometimes equated with idleness. One aspect of their work was the encouragement of cottage industries.¹⁴³ Females in industrial schools, workhouses and other charitable institutions were taught a range of skills, including crochet, lacemaking, knitting and the manufacture of horsehair jewellery. Such skills, which could be carried out in the home, were aimed at encouraging self-reliance.¹⁴⁴ Among the societies involved in educating the poor was the Ladies Industrial Society established in 1847.¹⁴⁵ Convents, such as the Presentation nuns, introduced several industries including lacemaking in Youghal in 1847.¹⁴⁶ In addition, lay women such as Eliza O'Connor and Louisa Beaufort

¹⁴⁰ McTernan, *Here's to their memory*, p. 394.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 395.

¹⁴² Virginia Crossman, 'Middle-class attitudes to poverty and welfare in post-famine Ireland', in Fintan Lane (ed.), *Politics, society and the middle class in modern Ireland* (Basingstoke, New York, 2010), p. 131.

¹⁴³ Luddy, *Women and philanthropy*, p. 188.

¹⁴⁴ Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Women, philanthropy, and civil society* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2001), p. 21.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Luddy, *Women and philanthropy*, p. 52.

were involved in providing destitute females with the means and instruction to ‘make up various sorts of articles for sale’.¹⁴⁷ These enterprises relied on donations, personal fortunes and loans.

The connection between needlework and horsehair is interesting as it may provide a clue to the origins of horsehair jewellery in Ireland. Crochet pattern books were available in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century. These books provided detailed instructions for creating items such as collars and purses. For example, instructions were given for making fuschia flowers and a similar design forms part of a nineteenth-century horsehair brooch (figure 5.29).¹⁴⁸ It would not be unusual for other mediums, such as horsehair, to be substituted for wool and thread in the production of lace and crochet.¹⁴⁹ Marsland & Company, a Manchester manufacturer of crochet and yarn, published a pattern book in 1852, which was dedicated to the Countess of Dunraven of Adare Manor.¹⁵⁰ Marsland suggested that their publication was particularly suitable for ‘manufacturers and ladies having industrial schools’, as their designs were ‘the most elegant and cheapest ever published.’¹⁵¹

Louisa Beaufort was one of only two exhibitors of horsehair jewellery at the exhibition of Irish manufacture and invention held in Dublin in 1847.¹⁵² As Beaufort priced each of the items on her stall, she might be credited with establishing a precedent for exhibiting and retailing horsehair jewellery. Over the following six years the manufacture and exhibition of horsehair jewellery gathered momentum. At the London exhibition in 1851 the Ladies Industrial Society, Grafton Street, Dublin, claimed to be ‘producers’ of several items including ‘Limerick lace and horsehair ornaments’.¹⁵³ In 1853 at the Dublin

¹⁴⁷ S. Meredith, ‘The cultivation of female industry in Ireland’ in *Englishwoman’s Journal*, 1 Sep, 1862, p. 17.

¹⁴⁸ Mdlle. Riego de la Branchardiere, *The crochet book, seventh series* (3rd ed., London, 1850), pp 27-8.

¹⁴⁹ I am grateful to Clodagh Doyle, Turlough Park, for this information.

¹⁵⁰ *Marsland’s manual of new and original registered designs in crochet, guipure, lacet, and embroidery work ...* (London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Paris, Manchester, 1853).

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² *The report and adjudication held at the Royal Dublin Society’s house 1847*, p. 34.

¹⁵³ *Official descriptive and illustrated catalogue 1851*, ii, 567-8.

exhibition ‘Miss A. O’Connor of Sligo [exhibited] ornaments in horsehair’.¹⁵⁴

Other exhibitors included the Society for the Promotion of Irish Manufacture and Industry, Anglesea Street, Dublin, which exhibited a range of jewellery including ‘necklaces of horsehair made at the Coolkenno industrial school’.¹⁵⁵

There was some criticism of these charitable organisations from those who believed their actions were ‘inflicting an injury upon the fair and honest dealer’.¹⁵⁶ At the 1853 Dublin exhibition, the aforementioned Marsland & Company exhibited a range of needlework products including horsehair ornaments, ‘all of Irish manufacture’.¹⁵⁷ This was a business and not a charity and although Marsland were reported to have provided employment ‘or taken the produce of upwards of 2000 hands’,¹⁵⁸ their workers were ‘compelled as a matter of course’¹⁵⁹ to purchase raw materials from the company. Thus the altruistic Louisa Beaufort and charitable organisations may have been viewed by some as interfering with the business and produce of commercial firms such as Marsland & Company.

5.3.2 Retail

Although horsehair jewellery did not command the high prices associated with precious metal wares, neither was it cheap. There are few references to the price of such goods and as yet no receipts for their sale have been identified. In 1847 Louisa Beaufort priced horsehair jewellery (figure 5.30) at 5s. for large chains; small chains were slightly cheaper at 4s.6d.¹⁶⁰ Horsehair jewellery was made from black, white, red or grey coloured hair. In 1866, the Dublin jeweller James Mayfield stocked hair chains costing 5s. By way of comparison, in 1848 bog oak jewellery could be had in Dublin for a similar price: one diarist records buying a bog oak neck ornament for 6s.¹⁶¹ Waterhouse & Company, the Dame Street

¹⁵⁴ *Official catalogue with the Royal Dublin Society 1853*, p. 82.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

¹⁵⁶ *Illustrated London News*, 4 June 1853, p. 12.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ *The report and adjudication held at the Royal Dublin Society’s house 1847*, p. 34.

¹⁶¹ Entry 21 Dec. 1858, account book 1858-1865 (NLI, MS 14,277).

jewellers, sold a range of archaeological-style Celtic brooches made from gold and silver. The cheapest they retailed was the Moat pin at 9s., the most expensive was the Clarendon brooch costing eight guineas.¹⁶²

In the mid-nineteenth century, the weekly wage of a Belfast linen worker was an extremely low 5s.¹⁶³ Department store employees in Dublin received over 7s. per week on top of board and lodgings.¹⁶⁴ In comparison, a carpenter might expect to earn a weekly wage of between 25s. and 28s.¹⁶⁵ Therefore, horsehair jewellery which cost upwards from 4s., was a considered purchase and was largely aimed at middle and upper echelons of society. The ‘nobility, gentry, and clergy’ were invited to visit a Nassau Street retailer who stocked horsehair ornaments.¹⁶⁶ In 1853, the Dublin jeweller, Denis Connell offered a ‘choice collection of horsehair ornaments’, which he suggested, would make ideal Christmas presents.¹⁶⁷

Clearly, women such as Louisa Beaufort and Eliza O’Connor were at once philanthropic and business minded. They encouraged the industrial occupation of the poor by providing instruction and probably the means to manufacture horsehair jewellery, which they then promoted at industrial exhibitions. One of the aims of the British and Irish Ladies Society was to provide ‘the necessary materials of work ... for simple and easy manufacturers’.¹⁶⁸ In 1864, ‘Miss Doherty, Castle Street, Sligo’ was singled out as having ‘done a good deal in her district to promote industrial employment among the peasant girls’. Doherty offered ‘liberal terms to the trade’ for her horsehair jewellery, and claimed to have ‘had orders from foreign countries, including Holland’.¹⁶⁹ Beaufort, O’Connor and Doherty, were concerned with providing employment and the means to rise out of poverty, while also ensuring that the ornaments would be sold. Louisa

¹⁶² Waterhouse & Co., *Ornamental Irish antiquities*, p. 23; *ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁶³ Mary E. Daly, *Social and economic history of Ireland since 1800* (Dublin, 1981), p. 107.

¹⁶⁴ Rains, *Commodity, culture and social class*, p. 20.

¹⁶⁵ Daly, *Social and economic history of Ireland*, p. 106.

¹⁶⁶ *Freeman’s Journal*, 14 Dec. 1853.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *The British and Irish Ladies Society*, p. 14.

¹⁶⁹ *The visitor’s handy guide to the Royal Dublin Society’s Triennial Exhibition ... 1864*, p. 55.

Beaufort priced her exhibits and Eliza O'Connor was reported to have 'sold all the articles exhibited and received large orders besides'.¹⁷⁰

The sale of horsehair jewellery received a boost when a case of 'royal horse-hair ornaments made for her Majesty'¹⁷¹ was exhibited by Marsland & Company at the 1853 Dublin exhibition. Interestingly, a number of Dublin jewellery manufacturers also exhibited horsehair jewellery made by the poor, alongside their own wares. In 1853, newspaper reports of the Dublin exhibition noted 'Mr. Goggin's collection also includes some beautiful horsehair ornaments made by the peasantry in Sligo'.¹⁷² Cornelius Goggin was a bog oak jeweller with premises on Nassau Street. Goggin attended the Cork exhibition in 1852, when Eliza O'Connor received high praise for her exhibits of horsehair jewellery.¹⁷³ It would not be too unreasonable to speculate that O'Connor seized the opportunity to suggest supplying her jewellery to a Dublin retailer.

5.3.3 Concepts of value

Horsehair ornaments were variously described as being 'made at the Coolkenno industrial school'¹⁷⁴ or 'the work of the poor at Stonyford, Kilkenny',¹⁷⁵ or simply the 'work the peasantry'.¹⁷⁶ Children were employed in making such items. During a meeting of the Parent Board of Manufacture in 1852 a number of 'beautiful bracelets, brooches, etc.' made by children from Ballaghaderreen were 'greatly admired'.¹⁷⁷ As Stobart, Hann and Morgan have shown the consumption of goods was bound up with the notion of respectability.¹⁷⁸ Thus, the purchase of horsehair jewellery in support of the poor may have been linked to a display of virtue and philanthropy. For some, horsehair jewellery might have represented a victory in terms of an improvement in industrial education in Ireland.

¹⁷⁰ Maguire, *National exhibition of 1852*, p. 96.

¹⁷¹ *Illustrated London News*, 4 June 1853, p. 13.

¹⁷² *Freeman's Journal*, 17 May 1853.

¹⁷³ Maguire, *National exhibition of 1852*, p. 96.

¹⁷⁴ *Official descriptive and illustrated catalogue 1851*, ii, 86.

¹⁷⁵ *The report and adjudication held at the Royal Dublin Society's house 1847*, p. 34.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 34; *ibid.*, 48.

¹⁷⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 7 Jan. 1852.

¹⁷⁸ Stobart, *et al.*, *Spaces of consumption*, p. 140.

Newspapers and other publications played a role in highlighting the value of these products. Advertising could give commodities new meaning and thus change the perception of consumers.¹⁷⁹ In 1853 an Irish newspaper urged readers to seek out the horsehair jewellery made by the ‘peasantry of Sligo’, which was described as having ‘great elegance ... and [was]... not only highly becoming but very durable.’¹⁸⁰ Another equated the work of the poor with ‘similar ornaments displayed by London jewellers’.¹⁸¹ *The Times* described the horsehair jewellery ‘made by the peasant girls of Sligo’ as ‘not only wonderfully cheap, but exceedingly pretty.’¹⁸² Referring to the horsehair jewellery displayed at the Cork exhibition, a commentator wrote ‘It would be impossible to give an adequate description of the singular beauty of this most ingenious and elegant branch of female industry.’¹⁸³

Such jewellery had no material value and its value lay in association. In making a purchase of horsehair jewellery, consumers might be said to have been investing in Irish culture and the dignity of the poor. It was marketed as a luxury item, resembling coral and pearls, and deemed suitable as a Christmas gift. Yet, it was also a product of destitution and hunger. Objects can aid in imagining a better world, thus the purchase of horsehair jewellery represented an investment in a better future.¹⁸⁴ The purchase of such jewellery was invested with supporting Irish manufactures and the Irish economy. Horsehair jewellery was presented as an Irish manufacture, but comparable to imports from London. The value of such jewellery was inherent in its craftsmanship. According to contemporary reports horsehair jewellery had to be seen to be appreciated. Such jewellery appealed to those who valued novelty, design and craft above the intrinsic value of the materials of creation. The horsehair jewellery made by the hands of destitute

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

¹⁸⁰ *Nenagh Guardian*, 18 June 1853.

¹⁸¹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 24 May 1853.

¹⁸² *The Times*, 12 May 1862.

¹⁸³ Maguire, *National exhibition of 1852*, p. 96.

¹⁸⁴ This point is made by Jonathan Chapman, ‘Designing meaningful and lasting user experiences’, in Moran & O’Brien, *Love Objects*, p. 138.

women and children emerged from the workhouses and industrial schools and was valued by those who wished to possess a 'beautiful and ingenious'¹⁸⁵ work of art.

Conclusion

The Dublin jewellery market was stocked with a cornucopia of goods. The introduction of new materials and technology was embraced by craftsmen such as cutlers, ironmongers and wood carvers. Consumers could expect to encounter a display of gilt seals and watches while shopping for fire irons and grates. Dublin was a compact and highly competitive market. Consequently, jewellers, cutlers and ironmongers fed consumer demand for novelty by stocking a plethora of personal ornaments. Matthew Boulton's correspondence has established the business connections within the wider jewellery network in Dublin, which encompassed jewellers, toymen, ironmongers and cutlers. The consideration of jewellery made from alternative materials has served to demonstrate the capacity for Dublin's manufacturers and retailers to adapt to new materials and technology. Philanthropy and industrial education acted as catalyst for the emergence of horsehair jewellery. Jewellers and bog oak manufacturers in Dublin stocked, advertised and retailed these ornaments. Dublin's jewellery trade was a melting pot for jewellery fabricated from precious metals and materials of little intrinsic value. It was the workmanship which elevated this jewellery. Cut-steel, bog wood and horsehair jewellery was desired as an object of modernity, novelty and virtue.

¹⁸⁵ Maguire, *National exhibition of 1852*, p. 96.

Chapter Six

Retail strategies in a competitive market c.1770-c.1870

‘Silver, gilt or shell, to suit the taste of beau or belle’¹

The context for this chapter has been established by chapters two and three which mapped business locations in Dublin and identified the city’s manufacturing and retailing jewellers. This chapter is concerned with the business strategies employed by Dublin jewellery retailers. New evidence compiled from street directories is analysed here to profile commercial clustering over the period 1770 to 1870.² A jeweller’s shop could require an initial capital investment of £5,000; the availability of capital and credit was vital to the trade as will be demonstrated in this chapter. Additional research on newspaper advertisements contributes towards a more comprehensive picture of the Dublin jeweller’s stock and shop environment than currently exists. Current research on retail practices has considered retailing as a flexible activity that responded to changing circumstances.³ Dublin’s jewellery retailers remained viable by recognising new fashions and anticipating demand, as will be demonstrated here.

Dublin jewellers adapted their retail strategies to suit the economic and social climate. Retailers vied for custom through seductive window display and interior décor, mail order, newspaper advertising and by offering variety of payment terms. Jewellery was retailed by jewellers, cutlers, ironmongers and toymen, by auction and in ‘fancy warehouses’, all of which offered the consumer a remarkable assortment of objects such as swords, buckles, chatelaines and snuff boxes alongside watches, chains and rings. In order to survive in a competitive market, jewellery retailers adopted a variety of marketing tactics. Handbills such

¹ William Kertland, *The Dublin Fancy Ware-house*, handbill n/d (NLI, Trade ephemera collection, uncatalogued).

² A reliance on object data and assay records alone would lead to an inaccurate conclusion that the number of jewellers operating in Dublin was considerably smaller.

³ Cox & Dannehl, *Perceptions of retailing*, p. 2.

as that published by William Kertland c.1820, gave the retailer the opportunity to list their stock (figure 6.1).⁴ As observed by Maxine Berg, printed advertisements ‘drew the reader into a universe of novelty, profusions of goods and fashionable display.’⁵ Trade cards, newspaper advertisements and handbills not only acted as sales inducements, but could also suggest the exceptional quality of goods and service by highlighting the custom of illustrious patrons, as in the case of John Brown discussed in this chapter.⁶ The inclusion of illustrations reinforced the variety and choice of goods available. Trade cards communicated the quality of the goods on offer through the visual imagery of the card, as noted by Stobart, Hann and Morgan.⁷ Furthermore, such ‘mobile’ advertisements expanded the reach of the ‘fixed’ site of the retail shop by acting as a signpost or aide memoire for consumers.⁸

This chapter will begin by examining the choice of retail location. The location of jewellers’ premises is plotted on a map of Dublin to compare patterns of commercial activity over the period 1770 to 1870. Consideration is given to the impact of factors such as property rental costs on small and large-scale retailers.⁹ Then the chapter turns to examine the jeweller’s shop. As a site of display, entertainment and investment, the retail shop was the jeweller’s theatre. How did jewellers fit out their premises? What changed from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century? The next part of the chapter investigates the competition faced by jewellery retailers. Not only was Dublin home to an average of fifty-three jewellers, silversmiths and goldsmiths in any one year, jewellery was also retailed by auction. What strategies did retailers employ to attract customers? The chapter is completed by an outline of the importance of obtaining and

⁴ Given the nature of handbills, few are known to have survived. The Kertland example, along with a handbill published by Hercules Fremuth c.1820, and a billhead/handbill relating to the cutler Richard Yeates in 1834, are the only examples that have been found.

⁵ Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, p. 271.

⁶ For example see, Julia Muir, ‘Printing persuasion: advertising goods in eighteenth-century England’ (M.A. thesis, Royal College of Art, 2000).

⁷ Stobart, *et al.*, *Spaces of consumption*, p. 174.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁹ Factors such as the property market and the consideration of the small-scale retailer versus the large-scale business are singled out as areas requiring a more nuanced approach as discussed by John Benson and Laura Ugolini (eds.), *A nation of shopkeepers, five centuries of British retailing* (London, 2003), p. 16.

maintaining good credit standing. Credit was a major issue for all traders including jewellers. The informal credit system depended on an interdependent network of local and overseas firms and private customers. How did jewellers balance extended credit terms while maintaining an adequate cash flow?

6.1 The choice of location

The choice of location was an important element in attracting business, particularly for retail jewellers. Where were the commercial hubs? What factors prompted jewellers to move premises? Did rental costs have any impact on choice of location? These questions direct the following analysis of Dublin street directories covering the period 1770 to 1870. Lively competition between rival jewellery retailers was an ever-present element of doing business. The commercial activity of the Dublin jewellery retail trade was often focused within small geographical areas as illustrated on the map (figure 6.2).¹⁰ Areas of highest concentration of jewellery retailers and manufacturers have been plotted on an extract of the map to provide context for the factors influencing choice of location.¹¹

Eighteenth-century Dublin was a relatively compact city. The centres of civic, political and state authority were all within easy reach by sedan chair, carriage or foot. The centre of civic power was situated at the Thosel on Skinner Row until 1791, when the Lord Mayor and Aldermen moved to the City Assembly House on South William Street.¹² The Royal Exchange was completed in 1779 and was situated on Cork Hill, close to Parliament Street.¹³ Parliament House was situated on College Green and Dublin Castle presided over Castle Street and Dame Street. The Goldsmiths' Hall was situated on Werburgh Street up to 1812. From 1812 to 1838 the hall was located at Golden Lane. In 1838 the guild occupied the

¹⁰ William Wilson, *Modern plan of the city and environs of Dublin*, 1798, available at MAPCO, <http://mapco.net> [1 May 2015].

¹¹ A number of sources have been drawn upon to compile this map: assay ledgers (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MSS 21, 33, 34 & 37); *Seventeenth report stamp revenue; Post Office Directory*, 1840; *Thom's Dublin Directory*, 1850, 1860 & 1870; Henry Shaw, *Dublin Pictorial Guide & Directory*, 1850; *Industries of Dublin* (Dublin 1887?); Archiseek, <http://archiseek.com/2011/1856-pims-department-store-sth-great-george/> [7 Oct. 2014].

¹² Douglas Bennett, *Encyclopaedia of Dublin* (Dublin, 1991), p. 35.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

basement of the Custom House.¹⁴ In 1853, the Dublin exhibition was sited within the grounds of Leinster House, facing Merrion Square. The exhibition was said to have attracted 1,149,369 visitors, equating to over four times the population of Dublin.¹⁵ This sphere of influence, within a half mile radius of Dublin Castle was the location of the majority of jewellers and allied trades.

The development of the city environment was one of the factors which hampered or aided the jewellery trade during the period. By 1770 the city of Dublin in which jewellers lived and worked had undergone a radical programme of development, transforming its layout from a medieval city to a modern metropolis, often referred to as the second city of the British empire. This transformation had largely commenced in the late seventeenth century and continued throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The quays north and south of the River Liffey were developed and facilitated a greater level of maritime trade. Several bridges now spanned the River Liffey and ensured ease of movement by cart and carriage.¹⁶ The commercial heart of the city centred around Essex Bridge, which marked the site of the original Custom House. The new building was constructed in the 1780s.¹⁷ All imported goods were bound to pass through the Custom House.¹⁸ Carlisle Bridge was opened to traffic in 1795, consequently the commercial importance of the Capel Street/Essex Bridge area was somewhat diluted as some firms moved to Grafton Street. The view of Dublin from Carlisle Bridge ‘on an early summer’s morning, or a bright moonlight night’ was described by one contemporary commentator as ‘scarcely to be surpassed by anything of the kind elsewhere’.¹⁹ Despite this new access onto Sackville Street, Essex Quay remained a popular choice of location for the jewellery trade. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, the changes made to the

¹⁴ Clarke and Refaüssé, *Directory of historic Dublin guilds*, p.21.

¹⁵ Sproule, *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, p. 25. According to the 1851 census, Dublin’s population was 258,361, *Thom’s Directory 1853*, p. 92.

¹⁶ Lennon, *Dublin part II*, pp 4-5.

¹⁷ Colm Lennon and John Montague, *John Rocque’s Dublin, a guide to the Georgian city* (Dublin, 2010), p. 21.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *The tourist’s illustrated hand-book for Ireland/with six maps, and sixty-six illustrations from drawings by Mahony, Crowquill, Jones, and Lover* (3rd ed., London, Liverpool, Dublin, 1854), p. 2.

city offered some jewellers an opportunity to move to newly fashionable areas. Others may have found the new streets and increased rents detrimental to business.

6.1.1 Rental costs

Depending on circumstances, jewellers chose premises close to their intended customers, while others maintained family connections. Changing economic circumstances dictated the choice of many. Retail jewellers dealt directly with the consumer; in contrast some manufacturing jewellers had little or no direct contact with consumers and instead supplied retailers.²⁰ This suggests that those who sold directly to the consumer would be located in more fashionable streets. In this context, analysis of the annual valuation of jewellers' premises tabulated below, is revealing. David Dickson argues that property valuations in Dublin fell progressively from 1800 to 1854. He further indicates that the average house value in the south-east of Dublin fell from £28 12s. in 1830 to £13 0s. 6d. in 1854.²¹ In comparison, the value of the premises occupied by jewellers remained relatively buoyant from 1847 to 1870. The highest rents payable on College Green rose from £150 in 1847 to £200 in 1860. Premises on Sackville Street commanded £120 in 1847, dropping to £110 in 1870. As Stephanie Rains has shown, during the 1850s Dublin experienced rapid and large-scale development of consumer practice linked to 'a dynamic urban middle class'.²²

Those involved in the jewellery trade were more likely to pay annual rents of between £30 and £50. This remained consistent from 1770 to 1870. Few paid annual rent in excess of £90. The streets which commanded the highest rents from 1847 to 1870 are set out in table 6.1. As might be expected, premises on Dame Street were the most expensive. Annual rents ranged from £55 to £205 in 1870. In close second were premises on College Green, where annual rents ranged from £60 to £200, in 1870. At the other end of the scale, John Holdbrook

²⁰ This was asserted by Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, with regard to the London market. The Dublin jewellery trade comprised groups of manufacturing and retail jewellers as discussed in chapter three.

²¹ Dickson, 'Death of a capital?', p. 121.

²² Rains, *Commodity, culture and social class*, p. 29.

a stone, seal and gem sculptor rented premises on Essex Quay for £8 per annum in 1860.²³

Table 6.1

| Annual rent by location, Dublin jewellers' and allied trades, 1847 to 1870²⁴ | | | | |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | 1847 | 1850 | 1860 | 1870 |
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Capel Street | 40-75 | 55-75 | 46 | 48 |
| College Green | 150 | 70-180 | 60-200 | 60-200 |
| Dame Street | 90-125 | 90-110 | 100-110 | 55-205 |
| Essex Quay | 20-40 | 15-40 | 8-32 | n.s |
| Fleet Street | 52 | 32-40 | 27-34 | 34-45 |
| Fownes Street | 30-70 | 35-45 | 28-40 | 23-40 |
| Grafton Street | 85-140 | 80-120 | 80-110 | 80-106 |
| Henry Street | 40 | 30-46 | n.s | 34-50 |
| Nassau Street | 40-80 | 42-80 | 42-84 | 16-95 |
| Parliament Street | 65-70 | 65 | 46 | 68 |
| Sackville Street | 120 | 80-120 | 110-165 | 95-110 |

Proximity to Dublin Castle ensured that Parliament Street was among the most popular business locations in the eighteenth century. Among those with premises on Parliament Street were Robert Wogan, Henry Clements and Richard D'Olier. Before moving to Parliament Street in 1768, Clements ran his business from

²³ *Thom's Dublin Directory*, 1860.

²⁴ Compiled from *Thom's Dublin Directory*, 1847-70. According to Richard Griffith's *General Valuation*, the rateable value of a building was the estimated annual rent a property might generate. The factors used to determine the rateable valuation included materials of construction, state of repair, age and size of the building.

Crampton Court, close to Dublin Castle. Although his new location was on a wider street, presumably more accessible by carriage, he displayed some anxiety that his customers would not find him. By late 1769 he was unsure that his customers were aware of his new address. In an advertisement he took the opportunity to remind the ‘nobility and gentry’ of his new address at the Star and Garter, Parliament Street.²⁵ He remained in business in Parliament Street for at least eight years before dying suddenly in 1791.²⁶ Richard D’Olier had his shop at 8 Parliament Street, two doors down from Robert Wogan, a fellow jeweller. D’Olier came from a family of goldsmiths. He was the son of Isaac D’Olier and brother to Jeremiah with whom he had worked on Dame Street until 1780.²⁷ The family may have decided to open a shop on Parliament Street as it was closer to Dublin Castle than their premises on Dame Street. By the mid-nineteenth century Parliament Street was a cheaper alternative to nearby Dame Street. Annual rents on Parliament Street were between £65 and £70 in 1847, compared to rents of £90 to £125 on Dame Street.²⁸ In 1850, the firm of Lazarus & Son was located on Parliament Street, close to Dublin Castle and paying an annual rent of £65.²⁹ By offering court swords ‘for sale or hire’, they offered a service tailored towards the needs of ‘gentlemen wishing to attend the Levee and Drawingroom’.³⁰

Jewellers who promoted elegant and stylish products chose locations in areas such as Dame Street and College Green. The jewellery retailers located on Dame Street and College Green were among the most successful firms. In 1848 Waterhouse & Company took over premises at 25 Dame Street, previously occupied by the jeweller Michael Bennett. In 1850, Waterhouse shared part of the building with a solicitor.³¹ The annual rent was £110.³² This astute firm ensured their location on Dame Street’s long vista stood out by installing a large protruding clock which was suspended from the upper floors of their building

²⁵ *Freeman’s Journal*, 9 Nov. 1769.

²⁶ *Finn’s Leinster Journal*, 26 Nov. 1791.

²⁷ Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, p. 300.

²⁸ *Thom’s Dublin Directory*, 1847.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1850.

³⁰ *Saunders’ Newsletter*, 5 Jan. 1850.

³¹ *Thom’s Directory*, 1850.

³² *Ibid.*

(figure 6.3). In addition, their shop sign declared they were ‘her majesty’s jewellers’.³³ As previously discussed in chapter four, Waterhouse gained a reputation for retailing jewellery based on Celtic artefacts. They promoted their jewellery with newspaper advertisements and pamphlets. In 1872 they published an updated pamphlet which included a ‘Brian Borhoime harp brooch’, a ‘miniature copy of the original’ (figure 6.4).³⁴ A silver-gilt version of the brooch was priced at 25s. and a version in eighteen-carat gold could be had for the considerable sum of £5.³⁵ The D’Olier firm conducted their business from 87 Dame Street for nearly half a century up to 1800. College Green was home to West & Son from 1845, where they continued to do business into the twenty-first century.³⁶

Jewellery retailers based in the capital may have had the advantage of greater numbers of potential customers. However, they also shared the city with dozens of other retailers as demonstrated by the example of Essex Quay (table 6.2). Cheaper rents could be found on Essex Quay. For instance, in 1847, rent ranged between £20 and £40 (table 6.2). Consequently, Essex Quay hosted a variety of jewellers and allied trades. Eleven of these firms traded side-by-side on the street in 1847. Thomas Richardson, one of seven jewellers on Essex Quay, shared the cost of his premises at number three with Margaret Connor, a furrier. Six watchmakers carried on their business within close proximity of each other. The umbrella maker Francis Smyth turned his jeweller’s skills to create silver and gold handles for whips, umbrellas and parasols.³⁷ Smyth was awarded a silver medal in 1847 by the Royal Dublin Society for his manufactures (figure 6.5).³⁸

³³ *Mr. Dixon’s business collection*, slide DS02_16, available at: Dublin City Library, <http://dublincitypubliclibraries.com/image/dixon-005> [8 April 2012].

³⁴ Waterhouse & Company, *Antique Irish Brooches* (Dublin, 1872), p. 13.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

³⁶ The firm closed in 2010. *The Irish Times*, 10 Feb. 2010.

³⁷ Smyth was listed as a jeweller in *Post Office Directory*, 1840; *Official catalogue with the Royal Dublin Society 1853*, p. 86.

³⁸ T.D. Jones, *Record of the Great Industrial Exhibition 1853 ... contained in that temple of industry* (Dublin, 1853), no page number.

Table 6.2**Premises occupied by jewellers/allied trades on Essex Quay, 1847³⁹**

| House no. | Occupant | Trade description | Annual rent £ |
|------------------|--|--|----------------------|
| 3 | Thomas Colton | Jeweller. Shares with a furrier. | 25 |
| 7 | Thomas Richardson | Manufacturing jeweller. Shares with a trunk maker. | 20 |
| 9 | Patrick Donegan | Watchmaker & jeweller | 20 |
| 14 | Robert Hampson | Watch & clock manufacturer, goldsmith, jeweller | 35 |
| 18 | Maria Byrne (widow of Christopher Byrne) | Jeweller, watchmaker | 40 |
| 19 | George Flemming | Engraver & seal cutter to the GPO | 35 |
| 21 | Michael Clarke | Watchmaker & jeweller | 25 |
| 22 | Frances Smyth | Umbrella maker. Shares with vestment & church ornament warerooms | 25 |
| 26 | William Reaney | Watch & clock maker, jeweller | 20 |
| 28 | John Prescott | Watch & clock maker, jeweller, etc. | 40 |
| 32 | Joseph Byrne | Engraver, seal cutter, copperplate printer, stationer | n/v |

Following the opening of Carlisle Bridge in 1795 Grafton Street transformed from a residential street to a popular commercial area (table 6.3). As might be expected, the rents in the area were increased following the opening of the bridge.⁴⁰ In 1779, Elinor Champion was one, if not the only, jeweller located on Grafton Street. This may have been because Champion owned the house at 30 Grafton Street and ran her jewellery business from the ground floor.⁴¹

³⁹ Compiled from *Thom's Dublin Directory*, 1847.

⁴⁰ Foster, 'Going shopping in Georgian Dublin', p. 69.

⁴¹ Articles of agreement, 1777 (NAI, D.20,929).

Table 6.3**Commercial clusters of jewellers/allied trades in Dublin, 1770 to 1870⁴²**

| Year | Total | Highest density | Trade description |
|-------------|--------------|--|--|
| 1770 | 29 | Dame Street Parliament Street Crampton Court/ Blind Quay/ Temple Bar | jeweller/goldsmith/seal cutter toyman/goldsmith toyman/jeweller/goldsmith/watchmaker |
| 1800 | 45 | Capel Street Grafton Street Skinner Row | jeweller/goldsmith/watchmaker/engraver jeweller/watchmaker/goldsmith/stone cutter/ivory turner/toyman/seal cutter jeweller/goldsmith/watchmaker |
| 1830 | 64 | Essex Quay Capel Street Grafton/Sackville Street | jeweller/goldsmith/watchmaker/spectacle maker/engraver/seal cutter jeweller/goldsmith/watchmaker jeweller/watchmaker/goldsmith |
| 1870 | 70 | Grafton Street Nassau Street Aston Quay | jeweller/watchmaker/goldsmith/lapidary/bog oak carver/hair jewellery artist/diamond merchant jeweller/bog oak carver/watchmaker/stone seal cutter/seal engraver jeweller/department store |

By 1790, Nicholas Butler, Thomas Taylor and Robert Williams had premises on Grafton Street. Butler combined the businesses of haberdashery and jewellery. By running both businesses side-by-side Butler could offer sewing materials, buttons and ribbons alongside items of jewellery. Customers might be drawn into his shop to purchase a needle and leave with a jewelled hair-pin. The jewellery business evidently became the more profitable as he operated solely as a jeweller when he moved to Clarendon Street in 1794 and to Exchequer Street in 1797.⁴³ Shortly after being made a freeman of the goldsmiths' guild in 1789, Thomas

⁴² Compiled from *Wilson's Dublin Directory 1770, 1800 & 1830; Thom's Dublin Directory, 1870.*

⁴³ Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, p. 298.

Taylor set up his own business at 63 Grafton Street, as a stone cutter and jeweller.⁴⁴ In 1788 Richard Williams made the decision to move his jewellery business from Castle Street to Grafton Street.⁴⁵ The Williams firm continued to thrive on Grafton Street until at least 1820. Grafton Street continued to be one of the most popular locations in the nineteenth century. Thomas Bennett retailed jewellery and watches from 74 Grafton Street, from at least 1840. His premises realised an annual rent of £95 in 1847 and 1850, the rent fell to £86 in 1853. The firms of William Acheson and Robert Gardner were in close proximity. Acheson traded from 109 Grafton Street, in premises previously owned by Richard Peter a jeweller of long-standing.⁴⁶ Gardner's warehouse at 110 Grafton Street was accessed via a hall door, as the main part of 110 Grafton Street was given over to an auctioneer's business.⁴⁷ The building occupied by Acheson realised an annual rent of £120, part of which was rented by a dentist.⁴⁸ The building in which Gardner carried on his business commanded a considerably lower annual rent of £90, suggesting less well-appointed premises. Acheson had strong familial links with Grafton Street, as it was the street where he most likely met his wife Sydney Pigott, daughter of the Grafton Street music seller Samuel Pigott.⁴⁹ Furthermore, Acheson's father, Joseph, retailed carpets from 113 Grafton Street.⁵⁰ Conversely, as Gardner was the son of a Belfast watchmaker he had fewer family connections with Dublin.⁵¹ But he did claim to have connections with 'one of the first houses in London'.⁵²

Premises on Nassau Street offered jewellery retailers a cheaper alternative to Grafton Street. The annual rents for Nassau Street properties ranged between £40

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

⁴⁵ Richard and his son Robert were active members of the goldsmiths' guild and the Council of Dublin, Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, p. 337.

⁴⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 21 Dec. 1850; The partnership Peter & Mockler operated from 109 Grafton Street from at least 1820, Richard Peter continued the business on his own account sometime after 1840 until retiring in 1850; *Wilson's Dublin Directory*, 1820-30; *Post Office Directory*, 1840; *Thom's Dublin Directory*, 1850.

⁴⁷ *Thom's Dublin Directory*, 1850 & 1853.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1853.

⁴⁹ Irish church records, available at www.IrishGenealogy.ie [25 Feb. 2013].

⁵⁰ Joseph Acheson trade receipt, 9 Jun. 1841 (NLI, trade ephemera uncatalogued).

⁵¹ *Saunders' Newsletter*, 2 Jan. 1850.

⁵² *Freeman's Journal*, 21 Dec. 1850.

and £80 in 1847, while Grafton Street properties commanded £85 to £140. The popularity of Nassau Street, with bog oak jewellers in particular, might be ascribed to the street being a convenient artery from the Westland Row train station to hotels such as Tuthill's on Dawson Street. In addition, Nassau Street was in close proximity to Trinity College where visitors might see the Book of Kells and the Brian Boroimhe harp. Nassau Street was convenient to the 1853 Dublin Exhibition on Kildare Street/Merrion Square. Retailers on Nassau Street were conveniently located for patrons wishing to purchase bog oak jewellery, watches and souvenirs.

6.2 The jeweller's shop

The jeweller's shop was an important form of marketing.⁵³ Location, the display of goods and the interior fittings all served as a jeweller's credentials. An air of respectability and honesty acted as assurance to potential customers. As one Dublin jeweller asserted, 'the character of the seller is, after all, the safest criterion to the public'.⁵⁴ Once enticed into a shop, the prospect of a sale might increase once a leisurely shopper was encouraged to hold a ring or admire a necklace in a looking glass. As will be demonstrated, a number of jewellers also stocked haberdashery, perfume and millinery, while others sold cigars, Madeira wine and sponges. Diversification rather than specialisation was the most common strategy employed by Dublin's jewellery retailers.

The cost of setting up a jeweller's shop required a significant investment, including the rent or purchase of premises, fitting out the interior and stocking the shelves. What were the costs involved in setting up businesses as a jeweller? Retailers employed several new practices in the eighteenth century to encourage custom. The shop window and shop interior was designed to make goods look attractive.⁵⁵ Privileged customers might be invited into a private parlour or

⁵³ Studies dealing with shopping include Foster, 'Ornament and splendour'; eadem, 'Going shopping in Georgian Dublin'; Walsh, 'Shop design'.

⁵⁴ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 17 & 19 Jan. 1853.

⁵⁵ Stobart, *et al.*, *Spaces of consumption*, p. 16.

backroom, where credit might be offered.⁵⁶ As indicated in chapter two, in 1777, the Dublin jeweller Elinor Champion entered into partnership with the goldsmith John Keen. Their Grafton Street premises comprised a warehouse and a back-house. Thus, Champion and Keen could reserve the more private back-house for selected customers.⁵⁷ The pattern of living and working in the same building echoes the circumstances of the Dublin jeweller Robert Calderwood (d.1766), who worked and lived on Cork Hill near to Dublin Castle.⁵⁸ The costs involved in running a jeweller's shop were substantial. R. Campbell, author of *The London Tradesman*, notes that to set up a shop a jeweller would need an investment of between £100 and £5,000.⁵⁹ A goldsmith required between £500 and £3,000.⁶⁰ Champion and Keen's combined investment was £1,000. Champion appears to have been the wealthier of the two. In addition to owning the premises she also brought stock and cash to the partnership valued at £600, while Keen invested £400. To compensate for her larger investment of £200 and presumably the provision of a retail premises, Champion was granted £12 sterling annually as interest.⁶¹ Their combined investment of £1,000 seems a reasonable amount of capital. In comparison, when the London based goldsmiths Parker and Wakelin formed their partnership in 1760, their initial investment was over five times that amount.⁶² In 1770, Matthew Boulton estimated that he and a partner, preferably a jeweller, would need between £4,000 and £12,000 to establish a 'private shop' in Charing Cross, St. James Street or Covent Garden, London.⁶³

A jeweller's retail shop acted as an inducement to customers. Many jewellers chose to display a selection of stock in their shop window, others favoured a more discrete approach. Upon his retirement from business in 1830, Matthew West's

⁵⁶ Nancy Cox, *The complete tradesman: a study of retailing, 1550-1820* (Aldershot, 2000), pp 127-39, quoted in Stobart, *et al.*, *Spaces of consumption*, p. 16.

⁵⁷ Stobart, *et al.*, *Spaces of consumption*, p. 16.

⁵⁸ FitzGerald, 'The production and consumption of goldsmiths' work, p. 110.

⁵⁹ Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, p. 333.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Articles of agreement, 3 July 1777 (NAI, D.20,929).

⁶² John Parker and Edward Wakelin invested £2,700 each. John Culme, 'The embarrassed goldsmith, 1729-1831, eighteenth century failures in the London jewellery and silver trades', *The Silver Society Journal*, x (1998), p. 68.

⁶³ Matthew Boulton's ideas of a theka, 1770 (LBA, Boulton papers, MS 3782/1/19).

premises on Skinner Row were simply described as having ‘been lately rebuilt’.⁶⁴ Just over half a century later, the firm he established occupied purpose-built premises on College Green (figure 6.3), described as having a ‘massive appearance presented by the solid cut-granite building ... a striking feature in the thoroughfare.’⁶⁵ West’s keen competitor, Waterhouse, occupied ‘large and imposing’ premises on Dame Street, boasting windows ‘always decked out and dressed with the more elaborate and artistic way with various triumphs of the jeweller’s, watchmaker’s and clockmaker’s arts.’⁶⁶

Robert Kerr Gardner, had premises in the fashionable area of Grafton Street and College Green. Advertising in 1850 as a ‘diamond worker to the Marchioness of Londonderry’ and ‘watchmaker to the Lord Lieutenant’, he highlighted the fact that he had no shop. The entry to his premises was via a ‘hall-door’, inferring a more elite and personal service.⁶⁷ His choice of premises may have been an attempt to emulate the practice of exclusive Parisian shops. As noted by Matthew Boulton, such shops conducted business on the first floor thus offering more privacy than the ground floor which had windows opening onto the street.⁶⁸ Boulton’s ambitious plans to open a shop in London in 1770 were aimed specifically at attracting the nobility. He did not want ‘a show to the street as the nobility are more at their ease in a private shop’.⁶⁹ He went on, ‘when things have been exposed to the street walker, their novelty and their value is diminished in the opinion of fine folkes’.⁷⁰ Gardner may have wished to attract customers who preferred privacy when purchasing jewellery. However, in the decade leading up to 1850, the novelty of department stores with large window displays was very inviting to customers. Gardner’s choice of premises may have been dictated by his means. He had recently left the employment of Law & Son, a long-established jewellery retailer on Sackville Street, as previously noted.⁷¹ Gardner established

⁶⁴ *Freeman’s Journal*, 3 Dec. 1830.

⁶⁵ *Industries of Dublin*, p. 50.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁶⁷ *Saunders’ Newsletter*, 5 Feb. 1850.

⁶⁸ Phillips, *Jewels & jewellery*, p. 160.

⁶⁹ Matthew Boulton’s ideas of a theka, 1770 (LBA, Boulton papers, MS 3782/1/19).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Saunders’ Newsletter*, 2 Jan. 1850.

his business in part of a building owned and occupied by the auctioneers Bentley & Son.⁷² With his invitation to customers to enter via a hall door, Gardner clearly wished to make an attribute out of a potential hindrance. Consumers may have preferred to view jewellery displayed in a shop window before choosing to enter the jeweller's premises. In December 1850 Gardner advertised 'the Londonderry fibula shawl fastner' in a number of finishes, 'gold, silver-gilt and silver', at prices from 15s. and upwards.⁷³ He was thus removing any mystery regarding the cost of his stock and was apparently encouraging consumers with a more limited purse. Conversely, the use of newspaper advertisements was out of step with the concept of a private shop. Boulton planned to go 'without publishing one advertisement'.⁷⁴ This approach may have worked for an extension of an established eighteenth-century business such as Boulton's. However, the newly-minted jeweller who wished to compete in a congested nineteenth-century market place could not afford to be so complacent. As observed by Alison FitzGerald, eighteenth-century Dublin jewellers made wider use of newspaper advertisements, in contrast to their London counterparts who generally eschewed this medium.⁷⁵ Throughout the period c.1770 to c.1870, Dublin jewellers used newspaper advertisements to announce the arrival of English goods and to assert the fashionability and competitiveness of their stock. Curiously, it was not until December 1852 that Gardner's house number was included in the text of newspaper advertisements.⁷⁶ Up to that point advertisements merely stated 'Grafton Street (near Trinity College)'.⁷⁷ It is unclear whether Gardner's retail strategy was fuelled by a lack of experience or a degree of arrogance, having secured the custom of Frances Anne, Marchioness of Londonderry. Whatever the root cause, Gardner's retail strategy was somewhat outmoded by the mid-nineteenth century and this may have contributed to his falling into bankruptcy four years later in 1854.⁷⁸

⁷² *Thom's Dublin Directory*, 1853.

⁷³ *Freeman's Journal*, 21 Dec. 1850.

⁷⁴ Matthew Boulton's ideas of a theka, 1770 (LBA, Boulton papers, MS3782/1/19).

⁷⁵ FitzGerald, 'The production and consumption of goldsmiths' work, p. 129.

⁷⁶ Gardner's advertisement placed in the *Freeman's Journal*, 24 Dec. 1852, appears to have been the first time his house number was included.

⁷⁷ *Saunders' Newsletter*, 2 & 9 Jan., & 5 Feb. 1850; *Freeman's Journal*, 21 Dec. 1850.

⁷⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Nov. 1854.

The windows of a shop were of particular importance to the display of stock. During the course of the nineteenth century shop window panes became larger. This is particularly evident in images of department stores such as Pim Brothers premises on Georges Street (figure 6.6). In order to maximise the window display, jewellers' placed 'reflecting glasses in frames' into their shop windows.⁷⁹ The lure of expensive objects sometimes attracted unwanted attention. In 1832, John Love 'a squalid tattered creature' threw himself into the window of the jewellers Twycross & Son, Dame Street, with the intention of 'stealing a watch ... from the window.'⁸⁰ Law & Son, the Sackville Street retailers took full advantage of the corner site they occupied, displaying goods in several large windows facing out onto Sackville Street and the adjoining quay.⁸¹ An advertisement placed by the Belfast jeweller, William Gilbert in 1843 depicts the exterior of his shop, complete with several windows set with large panes of glass.⁸² A late nineteenth-century photograph (figure 6.7) provides a tantalising glimpse of the shop exterior of the Grafton Street jeweller Edmond Johnson.⁸³ The shops of Twycross, Law, Gilbert and Johnson all had large windows affording an uninterrupted view of their stock. Twycross' window was evidently large enough to encourage a thief to fling himself inside.⁸⁴ Johnson's window display was arranged along four shelves. Several large items of silver plate including what appears to be an Irish harp are prominently displayed at the top of the window, just above head height. The protruding shop sign simply announces 'Edmond Johnson Limited', no reference is made to the nature of the business - the window display serves that function. In comparison, eighteenth-century shops featured windows with smaller panes of glass. A photograph of the exterior of a shop front on Green Street in Dublin (figure 6.8), depicts premises with a central front door, flanked by two windows fitted with small panes of glass, to one side is a hall door.⁸⁵

⁷⁹ Ibid., 9 Sept. 1830.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 27 Nov. 1832.

⁸¹ Law & Son trade card, c.1800 (BM, Banks collection, MS 67.113).

⁸² *Post-Office Belfast annual directory for 1843-4*.

⁸³ John J. Clarke, photograph c. 1897-1904? (NLI, Clarke collection, CLAR9).

⁸⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 27 Nov. 1832.

⁸⁵ Georgian Society, *The Georgian Society Records of eighteenth-century domestic architecture and decoration in Dublin* (5 vols, Dublin, 1969), iv, plate cxxil.

The manner in which goods were displayed played an important role in attracting the attention of consumers. The appearance of goods in a shop window was an outward indication of the variety and fashionability of the stock held within the cabinets and drawers inside the shop. As noted by Louisa Iarocci, judicious display of goods in nineteenth-century shop windows and cabinets created desire for objects.⁸⁶ It was the skill of the salesman which brought the objects and the consumer together and ultimately encouraged a purchase.⁸⁷ The decision to place objects on view in a shop window or to conceal them for discovery in a drawer or cabinet played a vital role in appealing to the consumer. Matthew Boulton explained how concealing objects controlled the exhausted palate of consumers and heightened expectation:

our goods should be under a curtain, ... bringing things out of obscurity, by gentle and gentle degrees gives them time to inspect and doth not palle the eye and exhaust the curiosity, of the parties in a moment, which always happens when a lady hath turned herself round and seen at once all that is to be seen.⁸⁸

Images of the interior of Irish jeweller's shops are more difficult to source.⁸⁹ However, this can begin to be addressed by drawing upon a variety of sources, including auction notices of jewellers' stock. Such advertisements frequently provided detailed lists of fixtures. Elinor Champion's jewellery shop included 'counters, glass cases, drawers [and] locks'.⁹⁰ Robert Wogan, a Parliament Street jeweller in business in 1775, fitted out his shop with 'elegant mahogany fixtures' and 'pier, chimney and dressing glasses'.⁹¹ In 1820, the Grafton Street jeweller and silversmith Robert Williams, auction advertisement included 'upright portable

⁸⁶ Louisa Iarocci, *Visual merchandising: the image of selling* (Farnham, Surrey, 2013), p. 2.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2; In an Irish context see Foster, 'Going shopping in Georgian Dublin'; John Montague, 'A shopping arcade in eighteenth-century Dublin: John Rocque and the Essex Street "piazas"', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, x (2007), pp 224-45.

⁸⁸ Matthew Boulton's ideas of a theka, 1770 (LBA, Boulton papers, MS 3782/1/19).

⁸⁹ As previously noted, almost all the records housed in the Dublin Public Records Office were destroyed by fire at the beginning of the Civil War in June 1922.

⁹⁰ Articles of agreement, 1777 (NAI, D.20,929).

⁹¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 16 Feb. & 14 Mar. 1775.

mahogany framed glass-cases, counter ditto, with counter, desk, etc'.⁹² Fuller detail was given of the aforementioned Robert Gardner's shop fittings which comprised, 'flat and upright glass cases; counters; drawers; desks; a great quantity of plate and looking glass; gas fittings ... and handsome iron spiral staircase ... only recently erected at an enormous expense.'⁹³ In December 1860, George McNally was reported as having expended £550 in fitting [his premises] with solid mahogany glass cases, sideboards, and counters, and building, in solid masonry, a large safe.'⁹⁴ The advertisement of shop fittings in premises on Westmoreland Street provide one of the most detailed descriptions of a jeweller's shop interior:

The entire valuable shop fixtures – comprising one mahogany topped counter with seven drawers, falling leaf, and brass guard; one smaller counter; one counter glass case with twelve drawers, one small ditto and inner drawers; six reflecting glasses in frames, of various sizes in mahogany frames, one pier glass; large wareroom table, cast iron spiral stair case, various lots of shelving, door labels⁹⁵

By the mid-nineteenth century larger firms upgraded their premises, possibly in response to the emergence of department stores. In a publication dated c.1887, West's successors were said to have invested 'thousands of pounds' refitting their house on College Green:

The ebonised and gilt woodwork, and the large sheets of plate-glass, which form the show-cases, being designed and modelled after the very latest style. The effect produced by the numerous mirrors, the wall-cases, windows, and counters filled with plate and jewellery, is, particularly when the lamps are lit, most attractive⁹⁶

The front show room measured 'sixty-two feet in depth by forty-two feet wide'.⁹⁷ In comparison, McDowell, the watchmakers and jewellers occupied premises on

⁹² Ibid., 26 Dec. 1820.

⁹³ Ibid., 6 Nov. 1854.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 15 Oct. 1860.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 9 Sept. 1830. The jeweller John Brown occupied these premises from 1823, his successors Morris, Bourns & Co., took over at some point in 1827.

⁹⁶ *Industries of Dublin*, p. 50.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

Mary Street measuring ‘forty-five feet deep by twenty-five feet wide’, which housed a sale room and a workshop.⁹⁸ As noted by Claire Walsh, such wide premises were not typical of eighteenth or nineteenth-century shops in London. In the early eighteenth century, shops were generally long and narrow, perhaps 15ft deep by 7ft wide.⁹⁹ Sarah Foster’s work on Read’s cutler’s shop on Parliament Street, Dublin indicates that the proportions of shops such as Reads directly compared with mid to late eighteenth-century English shops.¹⁰⁰ West’s premises were extravagant in terms of size and appearance and the generous show rooms recreated the spectacle of entering a grand house or the ball-room at the Rotunda.¹⁰¹ During a stay in Dublin in 1791, one visitor recalled his surprise at the display in Mr Kennedy’s glass shop on Stephens Street:

In London, I never saw a happier display of fancy ... the shop entertained me for an hour – it afforded a treat; and I will confess, I did not expect to meet in this island such models of refined taste and accurate execution.¹⁰²

An early nineteenth-century image of the interior of a London glass shop (figure 6.9) gives an impression of the alluring display found in show rooms.¹⁰³ The fit-out of jewellery shops of the eighteenth and nineteenth century shared a number of common features. All the premises were fitted with glass and mahogany fixtures and at least one looking glass. Mahogany countertops and cabinets with glass doors, brass fittings, and small sets of drawers containing an exciting array of gems were evident. In the nineteenth century, a greater number of looking glasses were employed, small shop windows were replaced with larger panes of glass and the use of gas lamps is also apparent. The description of Gardner’s ‘handsome iron spiral staircase’ and also that in Morris, Bourns & Co., premises, indicates that this type of fixture was visible to customers, but presumably only

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 101.

⁹⁹ Walsh, ‘Shop design’, pp 160-61.

¹⁰⁰ Foster, ‘Going shopping in Georgian Dublin’, p. 34.

¹⁰¹ Walsh, ‘Shop design’, p. 161.

¹⁰² Charles Topham Bowden, *A tour through Ireland* (Dublin, 1791), p. 52.

¹⁰³ Pellatt & Green, view of shop interior, 1809 (BL, K.top.27.33), cited by Matthew White, ‘The rise of consumerism’, available at: British Library, <http://www.bl.uk/georgian-britain/articles/the-rise-of-consumerism> [28 July 2015].

traversed by the shop workers. Such a narrow staircase would certainly not have been accessible to women wearing the voluminous fashions of the day. As a contemporary commentator noted, ‘in these days of hoops and crinoline ... ladies, now-adays, [sic] require no inconsiderable space for their evolutions.’¹⁰⁴ A degree of advertising rhetoric undoubtedly invades the descriptions. Nevertheless, a significant investment was required to install such fittings. In the case of Gardner and McNally, both fell into bankruptcy within months of upgrading their premises. Others such as the aforementioned Robert Williams on Grafton Street simply closed up shop. By December 1820, Williams advertised ‘being determined to give up the Shop Business, and confine himself solely to the Manufacturing Department’.¹⁰⁵ He was evidently not going to sell to the public, as he was also giving up his house and offered no forwarding address. The firms of West & Son and Waterhouse & Company, as two of the largest jewellery retailers in Dublin, were in constant competition. Accordingly, their retail premises had to match their reputations and most importantly give customers the assurance that they would receive the best choice of the most fashionable jewellery at the keenest prices. The outlay made by retail jewellers, not only in their stock but in their premises, the figurative ‘treasure chest’ in which their stock was displayed, ultimately reflected the hoped for patronage of their goods and services.

6.3 Retail strategies: choice and diversity

Analysis of newspaper advertisements, street directories and trade ephemera suggests that many if not all jewellery retailers stocked goods other than jewellery. What form of competition did Dublin jewellers face? How did jewellery retailers negotiate a fickle and highly competitive market?

Many jewellery retailers offered the consumer a choice of new or second-hand goods. Custom was encouraged by offering services such as jewellery repair or remodelling. A London jeweller remarked that ‘the best way to get money was by mending an old teaspoon or salt ladle for either of which the workman would

¹⁰⁴ Frederick Evelyn, cited by Rains, *Commodity, culture and social class*, p. 28.

¹⁰⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 26 Dec. 1820.

charge but a penny and the customer have to pay two pence'.¹⁰⁶ The retailer maintained that offering a repair service encouraged customers 'to come again and be better customers'.¹⁰⁷ Retailers catered to every pocket by accepting old gold and silver objects in full or part payment of purchases. Additionally, customers might be offered a choice of second-hand items and rental of silver plate.¹⁰⁸ In 1830 Charles Stewart offered his customers a 'great bargain' consisting of 'a handsome suit of pearls [and] a diamond ring of the first water', which could be viewed at his shop on Dame Street.¹⁰⁹ In 1858, the ever-accommodating William Acheson advertised 'Old gold watches taken in exchange. Old articles re-plated. Plate lent on hire', as well as jewellery 'entirely new and of modern design'.¹¹⁰

6.3.1 Home market

Ireland's close proximity to Britain provided exposure to the products of British colonies, such as furs and feathers from the Americas and tortoiseshell from the East Indies. The obsession for novelty and variety fed consumers appetite for new, unusual and exotic goods. As Maxine Berg observes, the desire for luxuries and imports spawned new industries.¹¹¹ The nineteenth century ushered in a new form of retailing in the form of shopping arcades and department stores. The wide range of choice and fixed prices appealed to middle-class consumers.¹¹² What impact did these factors have on the jewellery retailers of Dublin?

In 1820, a masquerade was held by the Lord Mayor which was attended by a large assembly upwards of 1000 'persons of the first respectability'.¹¹³ During the

¹⁰⁶ George Fox, explaining Philip Rundell's approach to business, cited by Adamson, *Rundell and Bridge*, p. 29.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ On the issue of the importance of the second-hand trade in luxury goods see for example: Blondé, *et. al.*, *Fashioning old and new*; FitzGerald, 'The production and consumption of goldsmiths' work'; Helen Clifford, 'A commerce with things: the value of precious metalwork in early modern England', in Berg & Clifford, *Consumers and luxury*, pp 152-3. Stana Nenadic, 'Middle-rank consumers and domestic culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow 1720-1840', in *Past and Present*, cxlv (1994), pp 122-56.

¹⁰⁹ *Saunders' Newsletter*, 16 Jan. 1830.

¹¹⁰ *The Irish Times*, 24 Dec. 1858.

¹¹¹ Maxine Berg, 'New commodities, luxuries and their consumers in eighteenth-century England', in Berg & Clifford, *Consumers and luxury*, p. 64.

¹¹² Rains, *Commodity, culture and social class*, p. 27.

¹¹³ *Freeman's Journal*, 27 May 1820.

course of the evening, a Mr. Francis Lloyd, dressed as a ‘merchand, broker, monish-lender and jeweller’ gave his address at ‘1 Royal Arcade’ and proceeded to entertain the gathering with a song. His satirical composition poked fun at the retailer who needed to stock a wide variety of goods to attract customers. In his fictional shop, customers could buy ‘lions and zebras ... spectacles, scissars, thread needles, and cases’.¹¹⁴

Shopping arcades were a feature of Dublin in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The old Custom House on Essex Street was fronted by a colonnaded walkway leading to a variety of shops.¹¹⁵ An enticing array of wares marketed with clear and set pricing were offered by the businesses which came together under the roof of the Royal Arcade which opened in June 1820 (figure 6.10). The arcade connected College Green with Suffolk Street. Customers were encouraged to experience the ‘peculiar advantage from such a variety of shops being under one roof’ and also, perhaps most importantly, were assured that ‘one price only can be asked or taken’.¹¹⁶ A contemporary account describes the arcade as having thirty shops at ground level, while the first floor was a bazaar ‘laid out with ranges of counters’, occupied by ‘many respectable persons in business, whom circumstances might prevent them keeping large establishments’.¹¹⁷

Among the businesses in the arcade were a ‘Fancy jeweller and Tunbridge warehouse’, a ‘Sheffield and Birmingham Warehouse’, a ‘London Fancy Warehouse’, a ‘Foreign and Fancy Warehouse’ and an ‘Ivory and Tortoise Shell Comb Manufacturer’.¹¹⁸ The latter business was that of Hercules Freym[o]uth, whose premises were at 5 Royal Arcade (figure 6.11).¹¹⁹ Freymuth’s handbill was enlivened with an image of an elephant, palm trees and a native boy. He imported ‘tortoiseshell of the most beautiful colours ever imported’ from the ‘East

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ For a discussion of the origins and structure of an eighteenth-century shopping arcade on Essex Street, see Montague, ‘A shopping arcade in eighteenth-century Dublin’.

¹¹⁶ *Freeman’s Journal*, 28 Jun. 1820.

¹¹⁷ John James McGregor, *New picture of Dublin: comprehending a history of the city, an accurate account of its various establishments and institutions, and a correct description of all the public edifices connected with them* (Dublin, 1821), pp 302-3.

¹¹⁸ *Freeman’s Journal*, 28 June 1820.

¹¹⁹ *Freymuth handbill*, (NLI, LP 5).

Indies'.¹²⁰ He manufactured 'ivory, tortoiseshell and horn combs', which would be 'made to pattern with care and dispatch' (figure 6.12).¹²¹ Although he had his retail shop in the arcade, he maintained a factory at South Cumberland Street. Fremuth & Co., were also listed as 'tortoiseshell and horn comb manufacturers' at 'Cutlers Hall, Capel Street' in 1820.¹²² Tortoiseshell was fashioned into brooches, bracelets and ornate hair combs. The shell could be inlaid with silver and gilt metal, or mounted with sprays of gold and precious gems as illustrated in figure 6.12. The London jewellery firm, Rundell & Bridge, retailed tortoiseshell combs in the 1830s. That Fremuth's business either opened additional premises at the arcade or moved to new premises suggests that they retailed popular wares and received good custom. It might be suggested that in purchasing items made of imported materials the purchaser was in fact seeking to own an authentic piece of an exotic creature such as an elephant or tortoise. As Troy Bickham argues, in making such an investment, there was an underlying acknowledgement of the colonial power of the British Empire.¹²³

Just over a decade later, in 1831, Nolan's 'London, Parisian, and general foreign fancy warehouse' on Bachelors Walk, sought to gain custom by offering the opportunity to purchase 'living foreign birds' alongside 'gilt bracelets' and 'German shell combs' (figure 6.12).¹²⁴ By 1849, he had given himself the moniker 'Nolan of the Noah's Ark' and interestingly noted he had 'trained ferrets always ready.'¹²⁵ Nolan had licensed his business with the Dublin assay office in 1836 as a manufacturer or retailer of gold and silver.¹²⁶

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² *Wilson's Dublin Directory*, 1820.

¹²³ Troy Bickham, "'A conviction of the reality of things": material culture, North-American Indians and empire in eighteenth-century Britain', in *Eighteenth-century Studies*, xxxix, no.1 (2005), pp 30-31.

¹²⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 10 Jan. 1831. In 1853, McSwiney, Delaney & Co., a Dublin department store advertised goods 'recently purchased in the French and German markets', Rains, *Commodity, culture and social class*, p. 14.

¹²⁵ *The Nation*, 22 Dec. 1849.

¹²⁶ James Nolan, registration 4 Aug. 1836, Registration book of silversmiths under 1784 Act, 1784-1838 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 99, p. 29).

Department stores such as McSwiney, Delaney & Company on Sackville Street and Pim Brothers & Co. on Georges Street were viewed by some as monsters with the ability to dominate trade and wipe out the small businessman.¹²⁷ However, as Stephanie Rains argues, Dublin's department stores were 'servicing a growing market' of urban middle-class consumers.¹²⁸ Manufacturing jewellers viewed department stores as new opportunities for business. As has been discussed in chapter three, several Dublin jewellery manufacturers including Thomas and Rebecca Mason, Edmond Johnson and William Percival supplied Pim Brothers & Co., with bracelets, wedding rings and Masonic jewels.

Auctions were an attractive method of sale, purchase and entertainment, with bankruptcies or deaths among the catalysts.¹²⁹ A satirical print (figure 6.13) published in Dublin in 1819, pokes fun at the auctioneer and the goods offered at an executor's sale.¹³⁰ As observed by Cynthia Wall, a public auction offered participants the possibility of imagining social change. The auctioneer had the power to invite 'the viewer, the bidder [and] the buyer, who may or not be in the same social class as the previous owner – to reconstruct [the] possibilities [of an object].'¹³¹ Auctions appealed to members of the jewellery trade, providing an opportunity to purchase jewellery and unwrought stones such as diamonds at a reduced cost. Christie's auction of the silver of the duke of York in 1827 raised little of the expected cash, as much of the silver was bought back by the original retailer, Kensington Lewis.¹³² The sale of the stock in trade of the London jeweller Arthur Webb in 1792 attracted the attention of one of the foremost London jewellers, Rundell & Bridge.¹³³ Rundell purchased twenty-seven of the eighty-two auction lots.¹³⁴ The lots purchased included 'a pearl jessamine sprig', 'a nosegay of brilliants, roses, emeralds and large pearls', 'a mocoa ring with

¹²⁷ For example, *Freeman's Journal*, 10 Mar. 1851; *ibid.*, 7 July 1851. For a discussion of department stores in Dublin, see Rains, *Commodity, culture and social class*.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹²⁹ Auctions were a fashionable part of town life, Cynthia Wall, 'The English auction: narratives of dismantlings', in *Eighteenth-century Studies*, xxxi, no.1 (1997), p 2.

¹³⁰ George Cruikshank, 'Sales by Auction', 1819 (British Museum, item no.1865.1111.2104).

¹³¹ Wall, 'The English auction', pp 1-25.

¹³² Vanessa Brett, 'A century of sales', in *The Silver Society Journal*, vii (1995), p. 363.

¹³³ Auction notice, 1 Mar. 1792 (TNA, Webb papers, C108/285, no. 24).

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

brilliant' and one of the most expensive lots, 'a most capital pair of brilliant earrings, with remarkably large spread tops and drops, of the first water, and finely matched', for which Rundell paid the substantial amount of £1,020 (figure 6.14).¹³⁵ Firms such as Rundell also purchased auction lots on behalf of their customers.¹³⁶ In Dublin, the stock of the Grafton Street jeweller Thomas Bennett was purchased by a neighbouring jeweller William Acheson and J. Russell, a Kingstown watchmaker.¹³⁷ Bennett's stock included 'first-class jewellery in brilliants, rubies, emeralds, opals, and other gems'.¹³⁸ Subsequently, both Russell and Acheson offered for sale 'gold gem' rings and other items they had sourced from the auction.¹³⁹

Auctions provided alternative avenues for the dissemination of second-hand goods. The seller received cash and the purchaser hoped for a bargain. Although, as Jon Stobart argues, auction notices placed more emphasis on the quality and variety of the goods, rather than the price.¹⁴⁰ Jewellery offered at auction was described as 'fashionable, rich and of the most ornamental description'.¹⁴¹ Descriptions such as 'most capital', 'remarkably large' and 'of immense weight and value' were designed, at the very least, to excite the reader into participating at an auction.¹⁴² Other auctions claimed to offer an opportunity to purchase goods from London at bargain prices. In 1830 an auction held in the 'pillar ball-room, rotunda', offered an extensive range of imported items including 'fine oil paintings ... rare oriental gems' and 'London jewellery in every expensive, useful and fashionable ornaments'.¹⁴³ This was a very large advertisement, placed on the front page of the *Freeman's Journal* (figure 6.15). The stock was described as being that of 'a manufacturing and importing establishment in London' and might

¹³⁵ Ibid. Jessamine is another name for jasmine. Mocoa stones are a variety of agate, sometimes known as moss agate, more common varieties have black or brown dendritic markings. The name is derived from the port of Mocha on the Red Sea. Newman, *Dictionary of jewelry*, p. 203.

¹³⁶ In 1822, Rundell made purchases on behalf of the duke of Northumberland, cited by Brett, 'A century of sales', p. 362.

¹³⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 14 Apr. 1860.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 6 Dec. 1860. This was the 'third and last portion' of Bennett's stock.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 10 May 1860.

¹⁴⁰ Jon Stobart, 'In and out of fashion?', in Blondé, *et. al.*, *Fashioning old and new*, p. 138.

¹⁴¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 31 Jan. 1821.

¹⁴² Expressions used in auction notice, 1 Mar. 1792 (TNA, Webb papers, C108/285, no. 24).

¹⁴³ *Freeman's Journal*, 4 Nov. 1830.

therefore be interpreted as new stock, rather than second hand. However, consumers may in reality have purchased out of date or unfashionable stock. Novelty, excitement and chance combined to entice and provoke the consumer to participate in an auction.

Auctions acted as exhibitions, museums and places of entertainment. Firms catering to more elite sectors of the market, such as Sotheby's and Christie's, were founded in the eighteenth century. Auction houses thus became an extension of collecting and exhibition viewing.¹⁴⁴ An auction could act as a theatre offering the opportunity to watch the suspense of a bidding frenzy. A Dublin diarist writing in November 1801 recorded, 'half an hour at a sale by execution, the most active auctioneering I have seen'.¹⁴⁵ His remark points to frequent auction visits, but on this occasion, he seems not to have made any purchases, or at least none worth recording. Auction rooms were public spheres which offered participants equal opportunity to bid for items.¹⁴⁶ The public sale of family heirlooms was not always an agreeable prospect. Horace Walpole was unhappy that his father's paintings could be purchased by a grocer.¹⁴⁷ There, the wealthy merchant could compete with the lord. In comparison, a visit to the jewellery shop was a more sedate and private activity.

Occasionally, jewellery might be offered as a lottery prize. In 1774, Henry Hatchell, a Wexford goldsmith, encouraged 'adventurers' to purchase tickets in his jewellery and plate auction.¹⁴⁸ Ticket holders had, at best, one chance in five of winning a prize.¹⁴⁹ Jewellery made up the majority of the 1,057 prizes to be won, including 14 garnet hoop rings set in gold, 48 watch chains, 56 pairs of spurs, 21 sets of hair pins and 24 pairs of set clumps.¹⁵⁰ The most valuable prize was a set of 4 candlesticks worth £25 but the majority of prize winners would

¹⁴⁴ Bickham, 'A conviction of the reality of things', p. 38.

¹⁴⁵ Journal kept in Dublin, vol. vi, 12 Nov. 1801 (RIA, MS 24 K 15, p. 64).

¹⁴⁶ Bickham, 'A conviction of the reality of things', p. 38.

¹⁴⁷ Wall, 'The English auction', p 2.

¹⁴⁸ *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 31 Aug. 1774.

¹⁴⁹ Edward J. Law, 'Some provincial Irish silver lotteries', in *The Silver Society Journal*, vii (1995), p. 413.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 415. Clumps were earrings.

receive goods worth 7s. or less. The prize drawing was an exciting occasion. In 1774 a Kilkenny lottery ‘brought great crowds of adventurers’ to witness the tickets being drawn from wheels or drums.¹⁵¹ The same year, a more extravagant event was staged by James Cox, who offered prizes totalling a remarkable £197,500. Cox, a London goldsmith, offered more than just a chance to win a prize in his lottery. He installed an exhibition of automata and jewellery at the Great Room on William Street, Dublin in January 1774.¹⁵² There were twelve exhibits, including two life size peacocks, ‘butterflies of the rarest kinds’ and ‘a large stream of artificial water on a step of gold ... nine feet high’, at the foot of which a crocodile ‘opens its jaws and swallows’. Other exhibits were a gilt elephant ‘most sumptuously ornamented with jewels ... bordered with fringes and tassels of pearls ... the eyes, trunk and tail seem really in a state of positive existence.’¹⁵³ The purchase of a lottery ticket, costing ‘one guinea and a half’, also entitled four persons admission to his museum.¹⁵⁴ Ticket holders had a chance to win ‘a fine pair of brilliant ear-rings’ worth £5,000, which Cox described as ‘of the first water, finest form, excellent proportion and most beautiful lustre ... the drops alone were several years in matching’.¹⁵⁵ In comparison, in 1786, the Attorney General of Dublin, John Fitzgibbon, ordered ‘a superfine large pair of brilliant diamond earrings set transparent of the first water’, at a cost of £1,200 from a London jeweller.¹⁵⁶ The exhibition was open twice daily and ticket holders were ‘requested to be at the room in time, not to miss the agreeable surprise when the curtain ascends’.¹⁵⁷ All those who purchased a ticket received an exhibition catalogue, which included ‘a print’ of the earrings (figure 6.16).¹⁵⁸ While auctions and pawn shops had strong connections with the

¹⁵¹ *Finn’s Leinster Journal*, 10 Sept. 1774, cited by Law, ‘Irish silver lotteries’, p. 413.

¹⁵² *A descriptive catalogue of the several splendid pieces of mechanism and jewellery, in Mr. Cox’s museum, now exhibiting at the Great Room, in William Street, Dublin* (Dublin, 1774) (BL, Oxford, John Johnson Collection, Lotteries vol. 4(38a)); *Freeman’s Journal*, 25 Jan 1774. For a charming example of a nineteenth-century automaton in motion see: Sotheby’s, available at: <http://www.sothebys.com/en/news-video/videos/2013/07/automaton-silkworm-auction-london-2013.html> [19 Oct. 2015].

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ Arthur Webb to John Fitzgibbon, 27 Oct. 1786 (TNA, Webb papers, MS C108/285, no.12).

¹⁵⁷ *Freeman’s Journal*, 1 Feb. 1774.

¹⁵⁸ *A descriptive catalogue of the several splendid pieces of mechanism and jewellery, in Mr. Cox’s museum, now exhibiting at the Great Room, in William Street, Dublin* (Dublin, 1774), p. 5.

jewellery trade, lotteries were considered detrimental to business. In 1771 the Dublin goldsmiths' guild expressed concern that a proposed lottery would damage the trade and they successfully had it suppressed.¹⁵⁹

6.3.2 Overseas market

In 1780, James Manly a Dame Street jeweller and hardware-merchant moved his business to Cheapside in London. He encouraged readers of *Saunders' Newsletter* to bring their custom to his London premises. Furthermore, he accepted pre-paid orders from wholesale and retail customers.¹⁶⁰ In late 1802, the partnership of Clark & West considered it an opportune time to act as a wholesale supplier of goods from Sheffield and Birmingham. John Clark & Jacob West, proprietors of a 'wholesale, gold, silver, jewellery, gilt and plated warehouse' on Capel Street, Dublin, guaranteed to supply 'merchants for export ... on the same terms as at Sheffield or Birmingham'.¹⁶¹ Their stock was sourced from 'English and Irish manufacturers'.¹⁶² Clark & West were competing directly with large manufactories such as Matthew Boulton's Birmingham enterprise. They offered credit terms on a par with British manufacturers. Clark & West were encouraging Irish merchants to deal with them rather than direct with Sheffield or Birmingham firms. A mere two years after the Act of Union, Clark & West may have been evoking nationalist sentiment in calling for Irish tradesmen to do business with an Irish firm. By declaring that they sourced products from both English and Irish manufacturers, the firm of Clark & West was indicating their support of local Irish manufacturers. The partnership may also have been attempting to forge business relationships with export merchants and thus gain a foothold for their firm in overseas markets.

American and Indian markets offered new outlets for jewellers. The established jewellery firm of Law & Son exported goods to the American market. In 1828,

For a detailed discussion of James Cox in Dublin, see Alison FitzGerald, 'Astonishing automata: staging spectacle in eighteenth-century Dublin, in *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, x (2007), pp 18-33.

¹⁵⁹ FitzGerald, 'Astonishing automata', p. 28.

¹⁶⁰ *Saunders' Newsletter*, 22 & 24 Feb. 1780.

¹⁶¹ *Belfast Newsletter*, 26 Oct. & 2 Nov. 1802.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

Richard Williams, an employee of the firm, remarked that, although they did not supply any shops in Dublin, the firm had exported ‘a great deal of plated work’ to America.¹⁶³ Some enterprising individuals appear to have viewed the Indian market as ripe for imports of Irish manufactures. A tantalising reference to a fledging market in India for wares of Irish bog oak emerged during a meeting of the United Parent and National Board of Irish Manufacture and Industry. Members of the board included the Knight of Glin, Arthur Guinness, Henry Rosenthal a jeweller and tobacconist and Cornelius Goggin a bog oak manufacturer.¹⁶⁴ At a meeting held at the Dublin Royal Exchange in November 1851, a letter was read to the gathering. Sir Henry Pottinger, an Irishman living in India, had written to a friend in Ireland requesting him to purchase Irish manufactures so that ‘he might introduce them into the markets of India’.¹⁶⁵ The profits were intended ‘for the benefit of the parties who manufactured them’.¹⁶⁶ Two years later, in 1853, the overseas market was still of interest to bog oak retailers. The Industrial Depot on Nassau Street advertised ‘exporters to Australia, America, or the East Indies supplied in quantity on liberal terms’.¹⁶⁷

6.3.3 Diversification

Several jewellers offered customers a range of services such as engraving and jewellery repair, while others diversified into areas such as haberdashery, millinery, sponges and Madeira wine.

For over thirty years James Brush ran a successful jewellery business from his premises on Andrew Street. Brush established his firm as early as 1774. James Brush decided to go into the wine trade in 1794, using family connections he imported Madeira wine from ‘the House of Richard Brush & Company ... via the West Indies’. Customers could also choose to purchase ‘imperial Tokay’ wine.¹⁶⁸ He continued to act as a jeweller and Madeira wine merchant until at least

¹⁶³ *Seventeenth report stamp revenue*, pp 346-7.

¹⁶⁴ *The Nation*, 10 May & 8 Nov. 1851.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 8 Nov. 1851.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *Freeman’s Journal*, 23 Feb. 1853.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 15 Feb. 1794.

1810.¹⁶⁹ Brush cleverly brought together two very different but mutually compatible products. A customer who ventured in to purchase jewellery from Brush might be encouraged to sample a glass of wine and then to place an order for a case. Isaac Joel's customers were offered a choice of cigars alongside a variety of jewellery. In 1840 he opened a cigar salon on Parliament Street and eight years later traded solely as a tobacconist.¹⁷⁰ Brush and Joel's decision to stock Madeira, Tokay and cigars points to a retail strategy aimed at attracting male customers. By offering additional luxury goods, the prospect of making one or more sales to a customer increased.

In 1790, the Grafton Street jeweller Nicholas Butler combined the businesses of haberdashery and jewellery. By running both businesses side-by-side Butler could offer sewing materials, buttons and ribbons alongside items of jewellery. The jewellery business evidently became the more profitable as he operated solely as a jeweller when he moved to Clarendon Street in 1794 and to Exchequer Street in 1797.¹⁷¹ James Brush also offered haberdashery: Anna Brush & Sisters, conducted a haberdashery business from his premises in 1791.¹⁷²

William Morgan, 'late of 105 Grafton Street', advertised in May 1820 a more unusual combination of business, that of milliner alongside his business of watchmaker and jeweller. He had 'removed his establishment to No.16 North Earl Street, off Sackville Street' and appears to have taken the opportunity to branch out into 'Leghorn, Chip, and Straw Hats'. He did go on to assure his customers that the haberdashery 'Department [was] conducted by Mrs. Morgan'. She may have been new to the hat business as 'a milliner of ability [was] wanted.'¹⁷³ Perhaps his decision to move was influenced by the imminent opening in June 1820 of the Royal Arcade, on College Green and Suffolk Street which would have been in close proximity to his Grafton Street premises. The novelty offered to customers of having a number of shops selling different goods

¹⁶⁹ Street directories.

¹⁷⁰ *Post Office Directory*, 1840.

¹⁷¹ Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, p. 298.

¹⁷² *Wilson's Dublin Directory*, 1791.

¹⁷³ *Freeman's Journal*, 30 May 1820.

all under one roof would have been viewed by some existing tradesmen as detrimental to their business. Perhaps by offering a number of services under one roof, Morgan sought to emulate and ultimately combat the shopping experience of the Royal Arcade. By diversifying into other goods and services, jewellers could maintain a stream of income. The financial return from the sale of jewellery outweighed the sale of a straw hat, but the extended credit terms expected by some customers could take a toll on the retailer's finances. Thus diversification into goods such as ribbons and hats required comparatively less financial investment, while at the same time encouraging custom.

6.3.4 Regional customers

Retailers outside the capital offered customers an array of goods and services. Customers who visited Henry Doherty's house furnishing business in Sligo, could also purchase 'jewellery and plate and plated goods of every description'.¹⁷⁴ He also stocked British and foreign toys' and saddles, stationery and perfumery and writing desks.¹⁷⁵ The watchmaker, jeweller and silversmith William Molyneux offered his local Sligo customers gloves, combs and pocket books. Dr. Irwin, a physician at the Sligo Fever Hospital, purchased his stationery and ink supplies from Molyneux.¹⁷⁶ Regional customers were often reached through newspaper advertisements. Consumers living outside of the capital were encouraged by Dublin jewellers to place orders by post, or to place orders with a local agent. Occasionally, a Dublin jeweller might travel to another city, advertising his planned visit in local newspapers.

In 1794, the industrious James Brush, the Andrew Street jeweller, marketed 'the detector', which he described as 'the truest criterion hereto known for ascertaining either gold or silver'.¹⁷⁷ Brush went on to recommend purchase of the touchstone 'to every person who would wish to avoid the imposition of coiners and

¹⁷⁴ Henry Doherty, Sligo, billhead, 18?? (NLI, O'Hara papers, MS 36,365).

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ William Molyneux, Sligo, billhead, 1 Aug. 1833 (NLI, O'Hara papers, MS 36,365); Anon, Coolany dispensary (Sligo, 1815); Kate Bell (ed.), *Hidden histories, political/historical perspectives of Sligo* (Sligo, 2013), p. 24.

¹⁷⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 11 Dec. 1794.

swindlers'.¹⁷⁸ He also offered a price reduction for purchases of five or more touchstones. As the assay office was located in Dublin it was not always convenient for those living outside the city to have items assayed. Parcels could be sent by mail and perhaps run the risk of theft. Additionally, there was a cost involved in having items assayed. Brush offered his detector as a cheaper solution to those living further afield, stating 'orders from the country carefully attended to'.¹⁷⁹

Francis Walsh offered his products for sale in Kilkenny, while William Moore offered 'commission to shopkeepers, and other residenters [sic] in the trading towns of this kingdom for taking gentlemen's &c. directions, and delivering the seals agreed for.'¹⁸⁰

Francis Walsh, a jeweller with premises on Great Georges Street, offered 'fresh tea from last India sales [and] fashionable patterns of jewellery ... worthy of the inspection of the ladies'. Orders for his goods would be accepted and forwarded to him by his agent Mrs. Finn in Kilkenny.¹⁸¹ Walsh left samples of his work, or perhaps a pattern book with drawings of his jewellery, in Kilkenny. Customers could peruse his work at their leisure and then place an order with his agent Mrs. Finn. Once the order was prepared, Walsh would then post the jewellery to the customer, or perhaps care of Mrs. Finn. It is not clear from his advertisement whether payment was made at the time of placing the order or at time of collection from Mrs. Finn. In 1819, John Browne's newspaper advertisement boldly announced to the inhabitants of Kilkenny 'just arrived from Dublin ... an extensive collection of jewellery from the house of John Browne ... to be seen at Henderson's Fancy Warehouse'.¹⁸²

Dublin merchants had to employ innovative marketing strategies to reach potential customers beyond the city. While Brush relied on his newspaper advertisement to spur customers into sending orders by post, Walsh and Moore

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. See Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, p. 22 for a detailed explanation of assay methods.

¹⁸⁰ *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 13 Aug. 1787; *Freeman's Journal*, 10 Oct. 1775.

¹⁸¹ *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 13 Aug 1787., *ibid.*, 15 Sept. 1787.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 20 Oct. 1819.

invested in local agents, who for commission would encourage customers to place an order. Others, such as the nomadic Lawrence Isaacs combined both strategies. In 1823, Isaacs, a Capel Street jeweller and watchmaker, advertised his intention to set up a temporary sales room in Belfast in the premises of Robert Shaw, next door to the Donegall Arms. Over ten days in January and February, customers could inspect ‘an elegant assortment’ of jewellery and plated goods, including ‘suits of pearl, amethyst, Irish diamond, elegant coral negligees ... head pins and brooches ... gold watch chains, seals and keys, diamond, amethyst, turkois [sic], and other rings.’¹⁸³ In May of the same year, the enterprising Isaacs brought his travelling shop to the ‘inhabitants of the city of Kilkenny’ where he stayed one week.¹⁸⁴ Isaacs reassured potential customers that he was a ‘licensed jeweller and watch-manufacturer from Dublin’, however, his name does not appear on the goldsmiths’ guild list of licensed dealers.¹⁸⁵ After spending at least eight years as a jeweller on Capel Street, Lawrence Isaacs relocated his business to Stafford Street in 1830, when he also took the decision to become a wholesale sponge merchant.¹⁸⁶

6.4 Innovation and exclusivity

Jewellers who reacted quickly to social and political events by offering new designs could lay claim to a greater share of custom. Exclusive or novel ornaments manufactured in response to significant cultural events gave jewellers an edge over competitors. All retailers were slaves to consumer demand and the fickle desire for novelty, variety and value. Yet, as Ariane Fennetaux illustrates, retailers decided what to stock and thus might be considered as arbiters of taste.¹⁸⁷ Events such as the death of a monarch, a coronation or a rare royal visit were sure to produce a flurry of activity from Dublin jewellers. Inspiration was also drawn from political events or the popularity of an individual, such as Daniel O’Connell

¹⁸³ *Belfast Newsletter*, 24, 31 Jan. & 7, 14, 18 Feb. 1823.

¹⁸⁴ *Finns Leinster Journal*, 24 May 1823.

¹⁸⁵ Registration book of silversmiths under the 1784 Act, 1784-1838 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 99).

¹⁸⁶ *Wilson’s Dublin Directory*, 1830.

¹⁸⁷ Ariane Fennetaux, ‘Toying with novelty’, in Blondé, *et. al.*, *Fashioning old and new*, p. 23. pp 17-28.

and the repeal movement. Such events provided opportunities to sell tokens of respect and support.

In 1820, John Bacon, a Dame Street jeweller, advertised ‘black ornaments of every description’. Given that this was a time of mourning following the death of George III on 29 January 1820, Bacon was very prompt in offering mourning jewellery.¹⁸⁸ It took just three weeks before ‘a great collection of jet ornaments’ were being sold ‘50 percent under the usual prices’ by Joseph Pinkney, another enterprising Dublin jeweller.¹⁸⁹ 1821 was a particularly eventful year, offering jewellers the chance to produce articles to commemorate the coronation of George IV in July, followed by the opportunity to create souvenirs of the newly-crowned king’s visit to Ireland in August. This was to be the first visit of a British monarch to Ireland in over a century. In the frenzy which accompanied the visit, jewellers vied with each other for the opportunity to become the official supplier of coronation wares. If appointed the exclusive supplier of official products, a jeweller could expect a steady flow of custom and might then use the opportunity to introduce other goods and services. In July of 1821 Jacob West wrote to the Chief Secretary of Dublin Castle ‘in relation to the appointing a house in Dublin for the sale of the coronation medals’. He suggested that ‘it would no doubt be a compliment to the country’ to appoint a Dublin counterpart to the London jewellers Rundell & Bridge. In a further attempt to curry favour, he drew attention to the fact that his house had previously been selected to make the collars for the Knights of St. Patrick, which was presumably in 1819 as discussed below, and that he was currently entrusted by the Castle with putting in order ‘the Sword of State and maces.’¹⁹⁰ Despite his best efforts, West did not gain the franchise. He received a reply stating that ‘nothing could be done in the matter ... his majesty having been graciously pleased to approve of Messrs Rundell & Bridge, and Mr. Garrard having the sale of the medals entrusted to them.’ It would seem that if West wished to pursue the matter he would have to contact

¹⁸⁸ *Freeman’s Journal*, 28 Jan. 1820.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 21 Feb. 1820.

¹⁹⁰ Jacob West to Charles Grant, 27 Jul. 1821 (NAI, CSO/RP/1821/404).

them as ‘they are the proper persons to be applied to by West and all others’.¹⁹¹ Jacob West makes no reference to the coronation medals in later newspaper advertisements; either he did not contact the London jewellers or they were not inclined to supply him.¹⁹² Rundell retailed George IV commemorative coronation medals in bronze-gilt and silver-gilt, the latter costing £2 10s.¹⁹³

An unusual brooch was created by Michael Mullen, a Dame Street jeweller. Mullen created a ‘royal welcome brooch’ in 1821, which included the Irish greeting ‘cead mille failte’ and a ‘heart rest[ing] on a bed of shamrocks’.¹⁹⁴ His offering was described as ‘perhaps the prettiest fancy device to which his Majesty’s visit has given birth’.¹⁹⁵ Although, sadly no examples of Mullen’s welcome brooch have been discovered, an extant shamrock-shaped box, by his contemporary Edward Murray, a jeweller with premises on Aston Quay, offers an indication of the style of coronation goods being manufactured by Dublin jewellers (figure 6.17). The gold and bog oak box is enamelled in green, red and blue and set with diamonds and pearls. The centre panel bears an Irish inscription which reads *go mbeannughudh Dia thu*, which translates to ‘may Gold bless you’. The box was probably retailed and/or commissioned by the goldsmith and jeweller Matthew West, of Skinner Row, as it bears his retail mark. Murray was one of the twenty-eight working jewellers and silversmiths discussed in chapter two. Mullen was a skilled jeweller who supplied bespoke jewellery, for clients including Sir John Doyle.¹⁹⁶ In 1818, Doyle ordered wedding jewels for his wife Mary. The jewellery included orders of the Bath, the Crescent, the Tower and Sword (figure 6.18), composed of fine gold, Irish diamonds, emeralds and enamels.¹⁹⁷ Mullen also supplied rings set with diamonds, emerald and pearls, some of which were ‘according to the tablets of the battles in which Sir John had fought’.¹⁹⁸ These were evidently costly items as they comprised fine gold, Irish

¹⁹¹ Reply to Jacob West, July 1821 (NAI, CSO/RP/1821/404).

¹⁹² *Freeman’s Journal*, 11 Aug. 1821.

¹⁹³ Adamson, *Rundell and Bridge*, p. 37.

¹⁹⁴ *Freeman’s Journal*, 21 Aug. 1821.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ *Freeman’s Journal*, 24 May 1820.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

diamonds, emeralds and enamels. Mullen was to remain in business for over thirty years.¹⁹⁹

Securing the custom of illustrious patrons allowed jewellers to distinguish themselves from their contemporaries. Such patronage was a source of cachet and was highlighted in the wording of newspaper advertisements and tradecards and billheads. Furthermore, royal and civic patronage provided opportunity for expanding a jeweller's customer base.

The institution of the Order of St. Patrick was created in 1783 by George III. At that time, Henry Clements, the Parliament Street jeweller, travelled to London to procure the insignia as there was not enough time to prepare them in Dublin.²⁰⁰ By 1819, the insignia were being made in Dublin. The jewellers, Clark & West, fulfilled an order in 1819 for collars, badges and associated cases of mahogany and rosewood, lined with velvet (figure 6.19).²⁰¹ The order amounted to a significant £1,195 12s. 3d.²⁰² The work involved in making the regalia involved several branches of the jewellery trade. The collars were of gold, and were chased and enamelled. The design of the insignia followed the originals which were the property of Queen Charlotte. These jewels consisted of a star of Brazilian diamonds, with a central shamrock of emeralds and a cross of rubies on a background of blue enamel and rose and Brazilian diamonds. In 1830, William IV presented them to the Order for ceremonial use.²⁰³ In 1825, the jeweller John Brown underlined his close association with the Order by incorporating the insignia into his billhead (figure 6.20).²⁰⁴ Brown also stocked 'badges and emblems for the Beef Steak Club' (figure 6.21).²⁰⁵ The Brown firm appears to date back to at least the 1790s, when the jeweller Alexander Brown had a business

¹⁹⁹ *Wilson's Dublin Directory*.

²⁰⁰ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 8 Feb. 1783, and as quoted by Foster, 'Going shopping in Georgian Dublin', p. 95.

²⁰¹ William Laffan and Christopher Monkhouse (eds.), *Ireland, crossroads of art and design, 1690-1840* (Chicago, 2015), p. 120.

²⁰² Clark & West account, Aug. 1819 (NAI, CSO/RP/1819/1115).

²⁰³ *Theft of the Irish "Crown Jewels"*, National Archives of Ireland, available at http://www.nationalarchives.ie/topics/crown_jewels/index.html (4 July 2012).

²⁰⁴ Brown receipt, Nov. 1825 (NLI, O'Hara papers, MS 36,366/2).

²⁰⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 12 May 1823. This dining society originated in early eighteenth-century London.

in Fownes Street. Over the following seventy years, the firm branched out as stone seal cutters and engravers. Several jewellers with royal patronage, such as Twycross & Son, West & Son and Waterhouse & Company, employed the royal coat of arms on their billheads. In comparison, Brown's unusual billhead was more striking. By 1840, Elizabeth Browne was 'seal engraver to her Majesty and his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, medlist [sic] to Trinity College, jeweller and silversmith'.²⁰⁶ In the 1850s and 1860s Marmion Brown was appointed 'goldsmith, jeweller, seal engraver & medallist to the Lord Lieutenant.'²⁰⁷ It seems clear that the combined business acumen of the family attracted patronage from many influential parties, which in turn helped to ensure their success for over seventy years.

The Catholic Emancipation Act 1829 has often been seen as the spark which ignited the Celtic Revival.²⁰⁸ Daniel O'Connell was viewed by many as the figurehead of the fight for political and religious freedom. Shortly after his release from prison on 6 September 1844, O'Connell was presented with a 'magnificent solid rustic cross made of the finest Wicklow gold'.²⁰⁹ The cross was presented to O'Connell by Rev. Dr. Spratt on behalf of the Christian Doctrine Confraternities and it was valued at over £50.²¹⁰ Just two weeks later, Smith and Gamble, a Dublin firm of 'working jewellers', called to repeal supporters in America to invest in 'shawl brooches, buttons, pins [and] busts of Daniel O'Connell ... with appropriate mottos in gold and silver'.²¹¹ The goods were priced 'from one shilling to five guineas'.²¹² This advertisement suggests that Irish newspapers were being sent to America or that Irish consumers were in the habit of sending Irish-made wares such as repeal pins to friends and relatives in America. Daniel O'Connell was a source of inspiration. But if some jewellers were motivated by O'Connell's strong ideals, for many it was the need for financial gain which inspired the creation of repeal ornaments. The sale of repeal

²⁰⁶ *Post Office Directory, 1840.*

²⁰⁷ *Thom's Dublin Directory, 1850 & 1860.*

²⁰⁸ Sheehy, *The rediscovery of Ireland's past*, p. 7.

²⁰⁹ *The Nation*, 14 Sept. 1844.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 20 Sept. 1844.

²¹² *Ibid.*

jewellery symbolised support for Irish manufactures and religious freedom and Dublin jewellers capitalised on the phenomenon that was Daniel O’Connell.

6.5 Credit and bankruptcy

The reciprocal nature of credit bound trader and consumer together. This section seeks to demonstrate the importance of credit between wholesale jewellers, retail jewellers and their customers. The extension of credit when making a purchase was an accepted and expected aspect of the jewellery trade. Irish retail jewellers sourced goods from local suppliers and English firms. When credit was abused or mishandled the outcome could plunge a business into bankruptcy. Given the high level of investment required to run a jewellery business and the somewhat unpredictable pattern of payment from customers, it is not surprising that bankruptcy was a regular occurrence.

Jewellers offered customers a variety of payment terms, such as credit, ready money (cash) and part or full payment by way of accepting old jewellery or silver. Customers might be offered or indeed delay payment for three, six or nine months, occasionally taking years to settle an account. In 1764, the toyman Henry Clements was paid six months after Richard Johnson had run up a significant account of £218 5s. 2d.²¹³ John Brown, a Westmoreland Street jeweller, waited for five months before being paid cash by Charles O’Hara in 1826.²¹⁴ Jewellers’ who sourced stock from other firms were also guilty of delaying payment. Jerome Alley, a Dame Street jeweller, ran up over £91 of debt in 1778 with Matthew Boulton’s Birmingham manufactory.²¹⁵ Boulton, along with a number of other Birmingham firms, were eventually forced to pursue the debt in the bankruptcy courts.²¹⁶ A jeweller going by the same name set up business in Kilkenny in

²¹³ Henry Clements to Richard Johnson, account 15 Nov. 1764 (PRONI, Burges papers, D1594/66).

²¹⁴ John Brown trade receipt, 5 Apr. 1826 (NLI, O’Hara papers, MS 36,365).

²¹⁵ Matthew Boulton to Travers Hartley & Son, 17 Dec. 1778 (LBA, Boulton papers, MS 3782/1/11, p. 810).

²¹⁶ Matthew Boulton to Travers Hartley & Son, 24 Mar. 1779 (LBA, Boulton papers, MS 3782/1/11, p. 892).

1792.²¹⁷ In 1773, the Parliament Street toyman Thomas Craig was prompted for payment: the manufacturer wrote reminding him that his account was overdue by more than six months, the maximum the company permitted.²¹⁸ In the late eighteenth century, Richard D'Olier, a Parliament Street jeweller and goldsmith insisted on ready money.²¹⁹ Discounts were offered and occasionally the terms were set out on the jeweller's trade receipt as in the case of Richard D'Olier (figure 6.22). He offered customers 'five percent discount on all sums laid out with him ... not less than 40 shillings'.²²⁰ Three years earlier, in December 1778, D'Olier had left the partnership with his brother Jeremiah, which may have forced him to insist on ready money, while also encouraging custom by offering a discount.²²¹ More usually, a discount might be granted at time of sale. In 1860 and again in 1869, West & Son gave Henry O'Hara 5% discount, equating to 6s. and 4s. respectively.²²² When Lord Gormanstown settled his account with Law & Son, in August 1836, he received '5% off £170 for cash', which equated to a saving of £8 10s.²²³ Jewellers frequently offered to purchase or exchange old jewellery, silver or watches. In 1792, Peter LeMaistre, a jeweller, watchmaker and goldsmith on Dame Street encouraged custom by offering the full value 'for gold, silver, diamonds and watches'.²²⁴ Similar inducements continued to appear in nineteenth century newspaper advertisements.²²⁵ In the 1870s William Carty claimed to want 'small profits and quick returns', while a Dame Street jeweller encouraged customers to make a 'purchase from [them] and not pay more money in London for worse made and less valuable articles.'²²⁶ Furthermore, 'by so

²¹⁷ Jerome Alley, registration 4 Aug. 1792, Registration book of silversmiths under 1784 Act, 1784-1838 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 99, p. 45).

²¹⁸ Matthew Boulton to Thomas Craig, 9 Jun. 1773 (LBA, Boulton papers, MS 3782/1/38, p. 239).

²¹⁹ Richard D'Olier trade receipt, 20 Apr. 1782 (NLI, F.S. Bourke collection, MS 10,707).

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 24-26 Dec. 1778, cited by FitzGerald, 'The production and consumption of goldsmiths' work, p. 108.

²²² West & Son trade receipts, 27 Dec. 1860 & 7 Sept. 1869 (TCD, Hart and O'Hara papers, MS 7526).

²²³ Law & Son trade receipt, 8 Aug. 1836 (NLI, Gormanstown papers, MS 44,413/7).

²²⁴ Peter Le Maistre trade receipt, 10 Mar. 1792 (NLI, F.S. Bourke collection, MS10,707)

²²⁵ For example, *Belfast Newsletter*, 24 Jan. 1823; *Nenagh Guardian*, 16 Jul. 1860; *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Nov. 1863.

²²⁶ *Saunders' Newsletter*, 3 Sept. 1870; *Freeman's Journal*, 15 Aug. 1872.

doing they would cause the Dublin artizans to receive thousands a year more wages.²²⁷

Several Irish customers did business with Matthew Boulton. Jewellers such as William Moore, Henry Clements and Adam Perry placed multiple orders with Boulton, while a private individual such as Lord Barrymore made a single purchase.²²⁸ In 1772, Barrymore visited Boulton's Soho Manufactory where he purchased and paid for a quantity of buttons which Boulton subsequently sent to him in a package care of the aforementioned Henry Clements.²²⁹ Barrymore trusted Boulton to forward the goods he had paid for in advance. For his part, Boulton relied on his established business connections with Clements to forward the buttons to Barrymore. Thus, the interdependent network of credit stretched from Ireland to Britain and back again. As David Kelly has pointed out, trade in eighteenth-century Dublin depended heavily on 'extensive and informal networks of credit and debt'.²³⁰ Boulton sought credit references and when necessary pursued debts through his Irish business contacts. A long-standing customer, such as Henry Clements, could be called upon to forward goods to Boulton's client. The credit landscape in London was similar to that of Dublin, John Culme cites many cases of jewellers and silversmiths falling into difficulty either by their own inexperience or extravagance, while some were ruined by the carelessness of others.²³¹

In 1789, Lord Molesworth made at least fifteen purchases from the London jeweller Thomas Gray over a period of eight months from January to August. The final bill amounted to £28 8s. which Molesworth settled in August 1789.²³² Gray received £26 19s. 6d. in cash and allowed Molesworth credit of 18s. on two sets of old silver buckles and 10s. 6d. for a gold chain. On one occasion Gray

²²⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 15 Aug. 1872.

²²⁸ Matthew Boulton to Adam Perry, 22 Nov. 1771 (LBA, Boulton papers, MS 3782/1/9, p. 280).

²²⁹ Matthew Boulton to James & Henry Clements, 31 Oct. 1772 (LBA, Boulton papers, MS 3782/1/9, p. 625).

²³⁰ David Kelly, 'The conditions of debtors and insolvents in eighteenth-century Dublin', in David Dickson (ed.), *The gorgeous mask Dublin 1700-1850* (Dublin, 1987), p. 98.

²³¹ Culme, 'The embarrassed goldsmith', pp 66-76.

²³² Bill of sale, Thomas Gray to Lord Molesworth, 14 Aug. 1789 and receipt 18 Aug. 1789 (NLI, Leitrim papers, MS 33839).

‘exchanged a large gold chain ring for small one’.²³³ The transactions between Molesworth and Gray demonstrate how credit terms could work well between a jeweller and his customer. Molesworth made over eleven visits to Gray’s shop, sometimes only days apart. Some of his purchases were small: ‘a new pipe for a watch key’ cost 1*s.*, while a ‘sandalwood smelling bottle’ required a considerable investment of £4 14*s.* 6*d.* Gray allowed Molesworth eight months credit, accepted old jewellery in part payment and agreed to exchange goods.²³⁴ Molesworth had the freedom to make numerous visits to Gray, where he could spend time browsing and perhaps choose to make a purchase from the wide variety offered by Gray. Although Molesworth settled his account within two days of receipt, he could have delayed payment. He also had the choice of making payment by trading in old and unfashionable gold or silver items. The trade relationship between Gray and Molesworth worked to both their advantage: Gray offered Molesworth a variety of wares on credit and Molesworth maintained good standing with Gray by making many purchases and paying promptly. This was not always the case as the next example will demonstrate.

Although firms such as Boulton’s exercised caution when approached by a new trade customer such as Moore, they might be less prudent when conducting business with individuals such as Lord Gormanstown. In October 1774, Lord Gormanstown paid a visit to the famous Soho Manufactory. He spent several hours talking to Matthew Boulton and placed an order for a ‘bespoke filigree ink stand and two tortoiseshell knitting shuttles’, which Boulton agreed to send to him at the Castle Inn, Birmingham.²³⁵ When Boulton’s agent brought the ink stand and shuttles to Gormanstown, he changed his mind and instead requested a pair of silver candlesticks to be delivered to his London residence. Thereafter Boulton’s agent could apply for payment through Francis Dillon at Lacosts[?] jewellers, 19 Hatton Garden. Boulton noted, ‘on our part everything was carried out exact to

²³³ Bill of sale, Thomas Gray to Lord Molesworth, 14 Aug. 1789 (NLI, Leitrim papers, MS 33839).

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

²³⁵ Matthew Boulton to Lord Gormanston, 14 Feb. 1777 (LBA, Boulton papers, MS 3782/1/39, p. 129.); Memorial, Matthew Boulton to Samuel Brook, 14 Feb. 1777 (LBA, Boulton papers, MS 3783/1/39, p 131v).

your Lordship's commands'.²³⁶ Two and half years later, Gormanston denied meeting Boulton, nor had he any knowledge of the candlesticks and needless to say his account remained unpaid.²³⁷ Consequently, Boulton committed to pursuing the recovery of the debt by appointing a lawyer 'who is accounted honourable in his principles and eminent in his profession'.²³⁸ In September 1776 and again in January and February 1777, Boulton made repeated requests for payment of £19 12s. 6d. from Gormanstown.²³⁹

The case of Boulton and Gormanstown highlights the difficulties faced by tradesmen when a customer evaded payment. Boulton had invested a significant amount of time with Gormanstown during his visit to Soho. Thereafter, he pursued Gormanstown at his residences in London and Dublin for payment. It's unclear whether Gormanstown intended to evade payment, or whether as time passed he dismissed an outdated debt. Gormanstown's apparent decision not to honour his debt ultimately forced Boulton to pursue payment through legal means. While a business such as the Soho Manufactory had both the time and means to pursue debtors, many smaller firms did not.

Bankrupts were individuals, specifically traders, of 'some substance', as opposed to those who were 'insolvent', such insolvent debtors were less well regarded than bankrupts, as noted by John Culme.²⁴⁰ The complicated debtors' laws of eighteenth-century Ireland are explained in detail by David Kelly.²⁴¹ Under new legislation passed in 1771, bankruptcy became a distinct category of legal insolvency.²⁴² Kelly suggests that on foot of the 1771 legislation bankrupts were categorised as 'failed wholesalers'.²⁴³ A single creditor had to be owed at least

²³⁶ Matthew Boulton to Lord Gormanston, 14 Feb. 1777 (LBA, Boulton papers, MS 3782/1/39, p. 129.)

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Matthew Boulton to Samuel Brook, 14 Feb. 1777 (LBA, Boulton papers, MS 3783/1/39, p. 131v).

²³⁹ Matthew Boulton to Lord Gormanston, 18 Sept. 1776 (LBA, Boulton papers, MS 3782/1/39, p. 4.); *ibid.*, 25 Jan. 1777, pp 114-15; *ibid.*, 14 Feb. 1777, p. 129.

²⁴⁰ Culme, 'The embarrassed goldsmith', p. 66.

²⁴¹ Irish law followed English law closely in many respects. Kelly, 'The conditions of debtors', pp 98-120.

²⁴² 11 & 12 Geo. III c.8 (1771-2).

²⁴³ Kelly, 'The conditions of debtors', p. 103.

£100 before he could request proceedings against a debtor. If there were three creditors an amount of £200 had to be outstanding.²⁴⁴ Once bankrupts surrendered to the process they were spared the horrors of a stay in a debtors' prison.²⁴⁵

In 1775, a newspaper advertisement in the *Freeman's Journal* referred to the Dublin jeweller Robert Wogan as a bankrupt. Drawing on the abovementioned criteria, he was a jeweller of some substance, owing at least £100 and possibly in excess of £200 to creditors.²⁴⁶ While most of the goods and estate belonging to a bankrupt could be seized and sold to pay off creditors, theoretically a bankrupt jeweller such as Wogan was able to keep his tools.²⁴⁷ Interestingly, this seems not to be the case for Wogan. His goods were advertised for sale in a number of newspaper advertisements and the list included 'working tools', 'straining weights, work boards, [and] draw benches'.²⁴⁸ Wogan's shop was well stocked with fashionable buckles, seals and watches. In addition customers could have bespoke jewellery by Wogan.²⁴⁹ How could such an apparently well situated manufacturing jeweller, with premises in a good location and a well-stocked shop, fall bankrupt?

Robert Wogan, as discussed in chapter two, established his house on fashionable Parliament Street, close to Dublin Castle. By 1774, he had lived and worked on Parliament Street for at least a year. Robert Wogan's finances may have been thrown into disarray as a result of the difficulties experienced by a Sheffield based manufacturer. In 1775, Joseph Wilson went bankrupt, among his debtors were over forty Irish clients including Robert Wogan.²⁵⁰ It seems more than coincidental that Wogan subsequently fell into bankruptcy. Once creditors were paid off, the bankrupt was free to start business once more. Despite the economic

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 14 Mar. 1775.

²⁴⁷ Kelly, 'The conditions of debtors', p. 103. Culme, 'The Embarrassed goldsmith', p. 67.

²⁴⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 14 Mar. 1775 and *Saunders' Newsletter*, 3-6 February 1775 (I am grateful to Alison FitzGerald for bringing the latter advertisement to my attention).

²⁴⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 14 Mar. 1775.

²⁵⁰ I am grateful to Alison FitzGerald for giving me this reference from her working draft on a forthcoming book.

difficulties Wogan faced in 1775, he continued to operate his business from the Parliament Street address for the next four years. He moved to new premises in South Great Georges Street in 1779 where he was to remain for at least two years.²⁵¹ This was not an unusual occurrence and several similar examples might be offered.

A further example of the fragile nature of maintaining credit can be found almost a century later in 1863. The Dublin jeweller George McNally took over the long-established business of the Dame Street jeweller Twycross & Company in 1853.²⁵² His business prospered over the following seven years. However, in 1860 he claimed his 'trade and credit were ruined' as a result of a listing in a Dublin publication commonly known as 'the Black List'.²⁵³ The 'Black List' was a trade publication which listed judgements against debtors, edited by Henry Oldham, a solicitor who practiced in the Bankruptcy Court in Dublin.²⁵⁴ McNally was listed in the publication dated 24 May 1860 as owing 'Edmund Johnstone ... £157. 4s. 0d', which he claimed to have repaid on 19 May, two days after the judgement.²⁵⁵ Furthermore, following the issue of the publication 'several mercantile firms in England and Ireland, [who] were in the habit of delivering goods to him in his trade on credit ... ceased so to do ... to his damage.'²⁵⁶ The publication of his name on a debtor list had turned his 'business as a jeweller ... in large trade and good credit' into one of bankruptcy.²⁵⁷ By October of 1860, a bankruptcy notice advertised his stock in trade and interest in his premises on College Green.²⁵⁸ Of further interest here is the identity of McNally's creditor, 'Edmund Johnstone'. While Johnstone's address and occupation was not published, it is reasonable to suggest that McNally had been supplied with goods or borrowed a sum of money from his contemporary, the successful Dublin

²⁵¹ *Wilson's Dublin Directory*, 1774-80.

²⁵² *Freeman's Journal*, 4 Oct. 1853.

²⁵³ *McNally v Oldham*, *Irish Common Law Reports*, vol. xvi (Dublin, 1866), pp 298-9.

²⁵⁴ Henry Oldham giving evidence before the select committee on the Bankruptcy Act. *Report from the Select Committee on the Bankruptcy Act; together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, appendix and index*. H.C. 1864 (512), v, 1, p. 112.

²⁵⁵ *McNally v Oldham*, p. 298.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp 299-300.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 298-300.

²⁵⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 15 Oct. 1860.

jeweller Edmund Johnson.²⁵⁹ As outlined in chapter three, Johnson did supply a number of retail jewellery houses with his manufactures from at least 1840. As the case of McNally demonstrates, the maintenance of credit was key to remaining in business. Once creditors began to withdraw terms and demand immediate payment, a businessman such as McNally had no choice but to become bankrupt.

The emergence of news of financial failure caused ripples of panic through the interconnected businesses of Ireland and Britain. The end of the Napoleonic Wars was a time of economic depression and the bankruptcy or financial difficulty suffered by English merchants had the potential to affect Irish creditors. Nicholas Marshall Cummins, a prosperous Cork merchant traded with England as well as the West Indies. In May 1815, a month after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Cummins recorded learning of the insolvency of a London customer who owed his business a substantial amount of money. His distress at the enormous sum is clear as he wrote it in capital letters ‘French Son and Barton of London ... are in our debt to the amount of about SIX THOUSAND POUNDS!’ He went on to remark ‘I pleaded hard to prevent so large a sale to one House.’²⁶⁰ By January 1816, he was resigned to having lost in excess of ‘£6100, and many costs were fruitlessly incurred in endeavouring to recover it.’²⁶¹ Neither could he reclaim any of his goods as they had been lost in a shipwreck.²⁶²

The failure of one business in an interlinked network had the capacity to plunge firms on both sides of the Irish Sea into financial difficulty or even bankruptcy.

²⁵⁹ Edmond Johnson was a member of a family business of jewellers, established as early as 1821. Kelly, ‘Commerce and the Celtic Revival’, p. 39.

²⁶⁰ Nicholas Marshall Cummins, Diary 5 April 1810-6 July 1837, in Melosina Lenox-Conyngham, *Diaries of Ireland, an anthology 1590-1987* (Dublin, 1998), p. 148.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

²⁶² *Ibid.*

Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to demonstrate the retail strategies employed by Dublin jewellers. The survival of a business depended on developing business networks at home and overseas. Retailers advertised through newspapers, handbills, trade cards and of course their premises. Advertisements capture the diversity of products and services offered by jewellers. Credit was vital to jeweller and consumer alike and maintaining good standing required a fine balance between extravagance and prudence. The auction of one failed jeweller's stock was a cheaper source of raw materials to another. Political and social events acted as a source of product inspiration and the jeweller who reacted quickly could gain additional custom. The marketing strategies employed by Dublin jewellers confirm the intertwined and interdependent relationships which existed in the capital. The Dublin market supported larger firms such as West & Son and Waterhouse & Company alongside prosperous smaller houses such as Elinor Champion, James Brush and Michael Mullen.

Chapter Seven

Sentiment, status and motivation: concepts of value c.1770-c.1870

‘Objects have worth and meanings other than those arising alone from financial cost or practical uses.’¹

Jewellery was purchased, worn and cherished for a variety of reasons. Patterns of consumer demand have been extrapolated by the analysis of assay ledgers in chapter three. Trade ephemera examined in this chapter provide glimpses into individual examples of consumption. The consumer is brought to the fore in this chapter by investigating the factors which influenced choice. For some, the purchase of jewellery was driven by a desire to acquire something which held monetary value, such as gold or diamonds. However, not all consumers purchased expensive ornaments. As observed by Helen Clifford, ‘people value objects in different ways. There is a shifting relationship between priorities of intrinsic value, respect for workmanship and personal association.’² The material worth of jewellery represents only one aspect of value and this chapter also explores the sentimental and symbolic nature of jewellery. Understanding how objects can engage emotions has been the subject of recent research.³ Jewellery could display wealth and indicate status but also held more subjective value. The work of Marcia Pointon, Marcel Mauss and others will be drawn upon to ascertain the regard in which jewellery was held.⁴

The study of consumption has attracted considerable academic interest since John Brewer and Roy Porter edited *Consumption and the World of Goods* in 1993.⁵ Recent research has focused on how social practice informed the selection and

¹ Barnard, *Material culture in Ireland*, p. 14.

² Clifford, ‘A commerce with things’, p. 147

³ Moran & O’Brien, *Love objects*.

⁴ Pointon, ‘Jewellery in eighteenth-century England’, pp 120-46; Mauss, *The gift*; James G. Carrier, *Gifts and commodities: exchange and Western capitalism since 1700* (Oxon, 1995).

⁵ Brewer & Porter, *Consumption and the world of goods*.

purchase of goods.⁶ The objects desired by consumers have been central to many publications.⁷ The shopping habits of male and female consumers have been subject to examination by academics like Claire Walsh and Amanda Vickery.⁸ The correlation between objects and status has been the subject of much academic interest. In *Consumers and Luxury*, Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford present an interdisciplinary approach with a predominant focus on consumption in eighteenth-century Britain.

The rare and haphazard survival of eighteenth and nineteenth-century artefacts presents a challenge for historians of Irish material culture, as noted by Toby Barnard.⁹ Consequently, this chapter draws upon an extensive range of family papers, diaries, letters and object evidence, to identify customers and aid analysis of spending habits. In comparison with English archives, there are relatively few trade receipts for Dublin jewellers. Nevertheless, those that do survive frequently note customer name alongside details of the objects purchased. Contemporary correspondence offers evidence of shopping habits in Ireland, England and continental Europe. As previously noted, the Mayfield stock book (1866) is a unique document. It is the only known ledger of a Dublin jewellery firm for the period. Although this is an exceptional record of the goods held by one Dublin jeweller, details of Mayfield's customers have not survived. Consequently, this chapter draws upon customer accounts of English firms such as the Matthew Boulton papers (1770-1800) and the Peter and Arthur Webb papers (1761-88) which contain references to Irish customers.¹⁰

The chapter turns first to analyse the exchange of gifts during courtship and marriage. The exchange of gifts between John Joly and his fiancée Julia Lusi in

⁶ Rains, *Commodity, culture and social class*; Stobart, *et al.*, *Spaces of consumption*.

⁷ Foster, 'Ornament and splendour', pp 12-33; Vickery & Styles, *Gender, taste and material culture*; Kwint, *et. al.*, *Material memories*.

⁸ Vickery, *Gentleman's daughter*; Claire Walsh, 'Shops, shopping and the art of decision making in eighteenth-century England', in Vickery & Styles, *Gender, taste and material culture*, pp 151-77; eadem, 'Shop design';

⁹ Barnard, *Material culture in Ireland*, pp 11-12.

¹⁰ The Boulton papers (LBA, Archives of Soho, MS 3782). The Webb papers (TNA, MS C108/284).

1852 is a valuable source of evidence of reciprocal gift giving during courtship.¹¹ Drawings from John Joly's mid-nineteenth century diary (1851 to 1858) have been reproduced here for the first time and are used in the analysis of the symbolic value of jewellery.¹² Purchases made by Sir Richard Johnson (1764) are compared with those made by Lord Gormanstown (1836). Then the sentimental value associated with the bequest of jewellery is investigated by analysing the bequest of Honora Edgeworth (1780) and the will of Anna Maria Allott (1851), which attest to the personal history invested in an heirloom. The discussion then turns to consider how jewellery such as watches and seals contributed to the formation of identity and might be worn as a display of modernity and social status. As Toby Barnard has demonstrated, objects may have the power to bolster 'intangible qualities such as civility, respectability, politeness, gentility and decency'.¹³ The third part of this chapter explores the influences which guided consumer choice. Social networks were drawn upon for recommendations, as in the case of Sydney Owenson (c.1810). The published travel accounts (1842 to 1859) of two female tourists, Theresa West and Anna-Maria Hall offered advice to a wider audience, pertaining to the purchase of jewellery. Finally, patterns of consumption are examined by considering the purchases made by Irish consumers at home and abroad. Trade receipts from three Dublin jewellers, Henry Clements (1764), Twycross & Sons (1836) and Law & Son (1836) are drawn upon to test individual examples against wider trends of the period.

7.1 'The sentiments of ownership'¹⁴

Courtship, marriage and death were often marked by gifts of jewellery. Sentimental tokens of jewellery containing hair were given as gifts during courtship and as bridesmaid's gifts. For example in 1816, Charlotte, Duchess of Leinster served as bridesmaid to Princess Charlotte of Wales and received a heart-shaped locket containing the hair of the princess.¹⁵ This gift probably became a

¹¹ Diary of John Plunket Joly 1851-58, 25 June 1852 (TCD, MS 2299-2).

¹² Although a number of Joly's drawings have been reproduced in Ciarán Reilly's publication, *John Plunket Joly and the Great Famine in King's County* (Dublin, 2012), none depict jewellery.

¹³ Barnard, *Material culture in Ireland*, p. 11.

¹⁴ Pointon, 'Jewellery in eighteenth-century England', p. 124.

¹⁵ *Notes on the pictures, plate, antiquities, etc., at Carton* (Dublin, 1885), p. 10.

mourning locket following the untimely death of Charlotte during childbirth the following year. The locket remained in the keeping of the Leinster family for at least another seventy years.¹⁶

7.1.1 Courtship and marriage

John Joly (1826-58) was a wealthy young curate from Kings County. In 1852, he became engaged to Julia Anna Lusi, daughter of Frederick, Count Lusi.¹⁷ The exchange of gifts between the couple provides an opportunity to examine the nature of gift giving. Joly frequently noted the purchase of items in his diary, sometimes including the cost. He rarely identified the retailer and occasionally illustrated a purchase with a charming pen and ink drawing. On 21 June 1852, Joly recorded, 'gave the Countess a ring in token of our mutual engagement'.¹⁸ The pen and ink drawing in his diary depicts a simple band, perhaps engraved or set with stones (figure 7.1). Four days after his engagement in 1852, he presented a watch and chain to his fiancée Julia.¹⁹ This was a significant gift, costing £21.²⁰ The same day, he placed an order with Waterhouse & Company for a gold bracelet. By way of comparison, in 1854 Joly employed Sarah Welsh as schoolmistress on a half-yearly wage of £2 10s.²¹ Joly's gift was reciprocated by Lusi. She presented him with a gift of a 'likness in a gold case' (figure 7.1).²² Joly's drawing of the 'gold case' suggests that it was a locket. Such lockets exchanged during courtship were a traditional engagement or wedding gift.²³ It was not unusual for men to wear lockets, often worn on a neck chain or on a watch chain which they could then conceal inside a waistcoat.²⁴ In the late eighteenth century, Lord Edward FitzGerald, the son of the duke of Leinster, wore

¹⁶ The locket was one of the items of jewellery listed on an inventory of Carton House c.1885. *Notes on the pictures, plate, antiquities, etc., at Carton* (Dublin, 1885), p. 10.

¹⁷ Reilly, *John Plunket Joly*, p. 8.

¹⁸ Diary of John Plunket Joly 1851-58, 21 June 1852 (TCD, MS 2299-2).

¹⁹ Diary of John Plunket Joly 1851-58, 25 June 1852 (TCD, MS 2299-2).

²⁰ Reilly, *John Plunket Joly*, p. 43.

²¹ Diary of John Plunket Joly 1851-58, 11 Jan. 1854 (TCD, MS 2299-2).

²² *Ibid.*, 25 June 1852.

²³ Laffan & Monkhouse, *Ireland, crossroads of art and design*, p. 2; Caffrey, *Treasures to hold*, p. 23.

²⁴ Paul Caffrey, *Irish portrait miniatures c.1700 to 1800* (Nottingham, 1995), p. 25.

‘about his neck a gold chain suspending a locket with hair in it.’²⁵ It is possible that the locket may have been a gift from his wife Pamela and contained her hair or that of their children. Throughout the nineteenth century lockets continued to be worn by men, acting as ‘repositories of sentimental secrets’.²⁶ The lockets worn by men probably resembled those worn by women. The Dublin jeweller James Mayfield supplied over 300 styles of locket, the widest range of item listed in his 1866 stock book.²⁷ Indeed lockets became so prolific that they were the subject of an 1870 satire (figure 7.2), which depicted a dejected-looking woman weighed down with lockets suspended from her hair, earrings, waist, neck and wrists.²⁸

At first glance, such an exchange of gifts appears to merely be an expression of sentiment, however, gift exchange can resonate with deeper significance. By reciprocating a gift with one of greater value, the giver would not be ‘in debt’ and thus maintained status.²⁹ Additionally, while the gifts exchanged between Joly and Lusi probably bore special meaning for them above the intrinsic value of the objects, such an exchange of gifts demonstrated financial capacity.³⁰ Joly was a relatively prosperous landowner. Between 1851 and 1854 he lent significant amounts of money to parishioners. He also lent £500 to his father-in-law which he appears to have regretted as he later recorded: ‘I trust never again to have money dealings with the Lusi family’.³¹ Joly was evidently not marrying for financial security, rather he may have married to elevate his social status. Throughout his diary he continually refers to his *fiancée* by her title ‘the Countess’.³² Joly’s anxiety about his social status was not unfounded. Before his death in 1824, Joly’s grandfather Jean Jasper Joly had cautioned the family:

²⁵ Diary of J. Armstrong Garnett, Lord Edward’s attendant in Newgate, 1798 (PRONI, Leinster papers D3078/3/8/9 reel 16, microfilm, NUIM).

²⁶ Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*, p. 139.

²⁷ James Mayfield & Co., stock book, 12 Dec. 1866 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild MS 133).

²⁸ *London Society*, 1870, cited by Phillips, *Jewels and jewellery*, p. 90.

²⁹ Mauss, *The gift*, p. 54.

³⁰ Carrier, *Gifts & commodities*, 8.

³¹ Reilly, *John Plunket Joly*, pp 41-2.

³² Various diary entries between May 1852 and June 1853, Diary of John Plunket Joly 1851-58 (TCD, MS 2299-2).

never mention your ancestry for even if you attain a middle class situation you will always be regarded as the son of the valet to the duke of Leinster and you will expose yourself to the ridicule of great and small alike.³³

Thus while Joly was evidently financially superior to his *fiancée's* family, he nevertheless increased his social status through marriage. Entering into a marriage might improve status or financial security.³⁴

The marriage ring of straw used to mark the wedding of Hannah Sale and William Payne offers a contrast to the expensive gifts exchanged during the courtship of John Joly and Julia Lusi. On 20 August 1852 Joly recorded officiating over the marriage of two parishioners Hannah Sale and William Payne.³⁵ He noted he had 'made a ring of straw for them they having forgot the ring.'³⁶ He further marked the occasion by making a small pen and ink drawing of the wedding ring he had fashioned (figure 7.3). Hannah Sale was thus married with ring of straw, not a valuable ring of gold. Unlike Joly, they were not wealthy; he refers to the Sale family as workers on his estate. The use of straw perhaps bore more relevance to the couple, as straw was a valuable commodity, used to thatch roofs and make bedding and chairs.³⁷ In iconography straw represented agreement and so was an appropriate material from which to fabricate a wedding ring.³⁸ Intentionally or not, Joly's choice of material was fitting. It is also noteworthy that the straw wedding ring resembled the shape of a serpent, which signified faithfulness.³⁹ The straw may also have been viewed as representing gold. In rural Italy straw had 'long been used by the poor 'to emulate the expensive crafted products available to the rich'.⁴⁰ Although not made of gold, Hannah and William had a highly symbolic wedding ring fabricated from one of the most valuable

³³ Reilly, *John Plunket Joly*, p. 8.

³⁴ For example see, A.W.P. Malcomson, *The pursuit of the heiress, aristocratic marriage in Ireland 1740 to 1840* (Belfast, 2006).

³⁵ Diary of John Plunket Joly, 1851-58 (TCD, MS 2299-2), p. 10v.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Straw, hay and rushes, exhibition at Turlough Park museum, available at: National Museum of Ireland, <http://www.museum.ie/en/exhibition/strawhayandrushes.aspx> [19 Mar. 2013].

³⁸ Mrs L. Burke, *Illustrated language of flowers* (London, 1856), p. 16.

³⁹ Dunleavy, *Jewellery*, p. 46.

⁴⁰ Penny Sparke, 'The straw donkey: tourist kitch or proto-design? Craft and design in Italy, 1945-1960', in *Journal of Design History*, xi, no.1 (1998), p. 62.

commodities available within their community. To quote Louise Purbrick, a gift of a cut plant is not intended to last, and the short life span of the plant does not carry the continuing obligation of a gift to form permanent relationships. Thus Joly's gift of a straw ring to the couple was not designed to elicit a cycle of gift exchange.⁴¹

7.1.2 Mourning and commemoration

'The mourning has been general indeed everyone felt as if it was a private affliction.'⁴² Jane Folliott, a member of the Young family, Co. Antrim, expressed this sentiment, writing shortly after the death of Princess Charlotte in 1817.⁴³ Folliott's words neatly capture the culture of mourning which pervaded the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth centuries.⁴⁴ The death of an individual was often followed by the gift of a mourning ring or other item. Wills sometimes contained specific instructions regarding the cost and type of ring bequeathed. The sentimental value vested in a piece of jewellery might be said to originate from two interconnected spheres of meaning, the public and the private. A mourning brooch clearly symbolised bereavement.⁴⁵ As will be demonstrated, a bequest of jewellery held a further layer of private meaning. Jewellery could act as a memory of a close relative or friend or maintain a link to family history.

On Sunday 30 April 1780, Honora Edgeworth, the wife of the author Richard Edgeworth wrote a letter to her husband.⁴⁶ The letter (figure 7.4) recorded her dying wish that a portrait miniature of Richard be passed on to his next wife and then 'become the property of that child of all his children then living, who has given him the greatest happiness, and shewn, and felt the greatest of love, attention, and respect towards him'.⁴⁷ Honora's legacy would act as her

⁴¹ Louise Purbrick, 'I love giving presents', the emotion of material culture', in Moran & O'Brien, *Love objects*, p. 15.

⁴² Jane Folliott diary, 1 Nov. 1817 (PRONI, D1995).

⁴³ Culdaff papers (PRONI, D3045, introduction).

⁴⁴ See for example: Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*.

⁴⁵ For a wider discussion of this topic see: Marcia Pointon, 'Materializing mourning: hair, jewellery and the body', in Kwint, *et. al.*, *Material memories*.

⁴⁶ Honora Edgeworth to Richard Edgeworth, 30 April 1780 (NLI, Edgeworth papers, MS 10,166/7 Pos. 9026, 30).

⁴⁷ Ibid.

memorial, to be handed down through the family. Although the miniature was not mourning jewellery, nor was it set with Honora's image or hair, it could nevertheless act as a commemorative object. Jewellery worn in memory of an individual gave comfort to mourners. In 1852, Emily Palmer recorded 'always wearing it helps me always to think of her'.⁴⁸ As Marcia Pointon has argued, objects could contain 'the recollection of what has preceded.'⁴⁹ In leaving 'her one thing of value' to the woman who would take over her role of wife and mother, Honora was essentially binding her life together with Edgeworth's future wife.⁵⁰ It was her wish that Richard 'present it, to that woman whom he shall think worthy to call his, for her to wear, so long as they both shall love.'⁵¹ The miniature would evoke Honora's past relationship as Edgeworth's wife and would hold additional significance for his new spouse. Her request that the miniature be always worn suggests a certain anxiety that she would fade from memory. This was not unfounded as she was Edgeworth's second wife and they had married just four months after the death of his first wife.⁵² Scarcely seven months after Honora's death, Edgeworth married again. His third wife was Honora's sister, Elizabeth Sneyd.⁵³ By ensuring her most prized possession would always be worn, her bequest governed the behaviour of future generations, and thus her memory would endure.⁵⁴

In April 1782, Champion & Keen supplied four mourning rings to Meliora Aldercron of Dawson Street. She had been widowed two weeks earlier. The rings cost a total of 22s. 15d.,⁵⁵ equating to approximately 5s. each. In comparison, the London retailer Parker and Wakelin sold standard mourning rings

⁴⁸ Rachel Church, *Rings* (London, 2014), p. 90.

⁴⁹ Pointon, 'Jewellery in eighteenth-century England', p. 131.

⁵⁰ The theory that gifts have the ability to bind people together is discussed by Purbrick, 'I love giving presents', p. 14.

⁵¹ Honora Edgeworth to Richard Edgeworth, 30 April 1780 (NLI, Edgeworth papers, MS 10,166/7 Pos. 9026, 30).

⁵² Claire Denelle Cowart, 'Maria Edgeworth', in Alexander G. Gonzalez (ed.), *Irish Women Writers: an A-Z guide* (Westport and London, 2006), p. 109.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ In his 1754 will James St Amand left a miniature of his grandfather and specified that the portrait be viewed by specific individuals at specific intervals, Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the head, portraiture and social formation in eighteenth-century England* (New Haven & London, 1993), p. 161.

⁵⁵ Moffat, 'A map of her jurisdiction', p. 134.

for £1 1s. each,⁵⁶ although the astute firm paid just 4s. to the maker of such rings. Thus Aldercron probably purchased standard mourning rings which in the eighteenth and nineteenth century were offered as stock items by many jewellers.⁵⁷ Her purchases may have been similar to a ring purchased in memory of John FitzGerald.⁵⁸ He was high-sheriff of Waterford and died on 6 September 1818, just short of his fifty-eighth birthday. The ring, which was recently discovered in Dublin, bears a London hallmark and the date letter C, denoting the year of assay and probably manufacture was 1800. If indeed this was purchased in memory of the sheriff John FitzGerald, then the implication is that this was a stock item, engraved by a jeweller in 1818. A similar ring, in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, was purchased on the death of John Lane c.1826. Despite being purchased eight years apart, both rings appear identical apart from the personalised engraving (figure 7.5). Aldercron may of course have chosen to incorporate a lock of hair or a miniature into a more personalised memorial, but the cost would likely have been higher.

As Amanda Vickery has demonstrated, women tended to shop in their locality. In 1782 Champion & Keen had relocated from Grafton Street to College Green, a short walk from Meliora's home on Dawson Street. She could have chosen to place her business with a number of Dame Street jewellers such as Jeremiah D'Olier, Richard Fitzsimons or Laurence Fowler. Indeed if she had wanted an expert in hair jewellery she was a short stroll from Alexis Livernet on Georges Street. Livernet also offered to carry out his hair work 'under inspection or at their own house.'⁵⁹ Thus, Aldercron had a wide choice of jewellery firms from which to choose. It is tempting to speculate that the presence of the widowed Elinor at Champion and Keen informed her decision. Widows who were left to manage a business regularly mentioned their status in newspaper

⁵⁶ Clifford, *Silver in London*, p 120.

⁵⁷ Pointon, 'Jewellery in eighteenth-century England', p. 128; eadem, 'Materializing mourning', p. 52.

⁵⁸ I am grateful to Alison FitzGerald for bringing this to my attention.

⁵⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 25 Mar. 1777.

advertisements.⁶⁰ An advertisement placed by Champion in 1783 offered her gratitude for the 'kind assistance, since the death of her husband'.⁶¹ Notably, James Champion had died nearly twenty years before, in 1764.⁶²

The invention of photography c.1839 gave rise to the inclusion of photographs in mourning jewellery. Prior to this, a miniature or silhouette was the usual form of visual representation of a deceased relative. As Paul Caffrey observes, miniature painting became the preserve of the amateur once the vogue for photography had spread.⁶³ A gold mourning brooch c.1860, in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland, commemorating the death of Henry Francis Shields was purchased from the jewellers Waterhouse & Company on Dame Street (figure 7.6). The brooch swivels to reveal a photograph of Henry Shields on one side and a lock of red hair on the other.⁶⁴

Irish-born Anna Maria Allott (née Waller) died in her home in Switzerland on 14 April 1855. Her husband Richard Allott, the Dean of Raphoe (Donegal), predeceased her in 1832.⁶⁵ Following her death, two executors were appointed, her cousin Louisa Beaufort and a male relative.⁶⁶ The estate was complicated, Allott had died in Switzerland where she held properties along with a number in England and Ireland. Beaufort lived in Hatch Street in Dublin. She and Allott's brother inherited properties in England and Ireland.⁶⁷ The most pertinent aspect of her will in the context of this study is her jewellery bequest.

⁶⁰ For example, Elizabeth Karr, *Saunders' Newsletter*, 23 Feb., 1 & 20 Mar. & 1 June 1780. Jane Keene, billhead, 1801, reproduced in FitzGerald, 'The business of being a goldsmith', p. 129.

⁶¹ *Saunders' Newsletter*, 24 Dec. 1783.

⁶² *Belfast Newsletter*, 31 July 1764.

⁶³ Laffan & Monkhouse, *Ireland, crossroads of art and design*, p. 165.

⁶⁴ Alex Ward email to Rosemary ?, n/d (NMI, Curators file, A1/00/047). The brooch remained in the Shields family for over one hundred and twenty years, when it was gifted to the museum. Henry Shields' granddaughter, Helen Roe, donated the brooch in 1988.

⁶⁵ John and J.A. Venn (eds.), *Alumni cantabrigienses: a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900* (3 vols, Cambridge, 1947), ii, 44.

⁶⁶ Beaufort was a philanthropist, who initiated the manufacture and sale of horsehair jewellery by the poor, as outlined in chapter five.

⁶⁷ Will (copy) of Anna Maria Allott, 12 Aug. 1851 (NLI, Beaufort papers, MS8783(3)).

Anna Maria Allott gathered together a number of pieces of her own jewellery which she packaged and addressed to her friends and relatives. This was not an unusual practice, for example, just hours before his death in 1798, Lord Edward FitzGerald left his ring (figure 7.7) to his sister Lady Lucy.⁶⁸ The ring remained with the family until at least 1885.⁶⁹ Wills often included specific gifts such as jewellery, a lock of hair or a sum of money deemed for the purchase of mourning rings. As demonstrated by Amanda Vickery, women hoped that a bequest ‘would guarantee remembrance’.⁷⁰ In the 1847 novel *Jane Eyre*, Jane’s uncle leaves thirty guineas for three mourning rings for his nephew and nieces, while Jane inherits his entire estate worth £20,000.⁷¹ As Amanda Vickery has shown, a will could be used to punish the imprudent.⁷² The unequal division of the fictional estate came as a result of an unresolved rift between the deceased and his brother.⁷³ Charlotte Brontë’s novel is set within a recognisable landscape populated with everyday events and it is plausible that many mourning rings were received in similar circumstances. Such mourning rings would not then elicit happy memories, rather their value would lie in their material worth.⁷⁴ In such cases, the specification of an exact sum to be spent on mourning rings thus tied a bequest into a daily reminder of ire. These bequests may have made swift journeys to the pawnbroker or into the jeweller’s crucible. As Pointon has shown, plain gold mourning rings were more likely to have been viewed by recipients as ‘recyclable’.⁷⁵

Following the death of Allott it fell to her executor Beaufort to distribute the bequests. This was more difficult than Beaufort had anticipated as the jewellery had to be transported from Switzerland to Ireland. The parcel was dispatched just six weeks later. ‘I have just sent off various small parcels to England as made up

⁶⁸ *Notes on the pictures, etc., at Carton*, p. 7.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Vickery, *Gentleman’s daughter*, p. 190.

⁷¹ Currer Bell (pennname Charlotte Brontë), *Jane Eyre* (London, 1847).

⁷² Vickery, *Gentleman’s daughter*, p. 64.

⁷³ Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre* (London, 1986), pp 379-80.

⁷⁴ Pointon, ‘Jewellery in eighteenth-century England’, p. 132.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

and addressed by Miss Allott'.⁷⁶ The parcels contained 'souvenir[s] of Miss A, ... a seal and ... various family trinkets'.⁷⁷ Mr Cheesbrough remarked, 'I am confident that ... if life had been spared a little longer, she would have continued to prepare and add other souvenirs for her friends as time and recollection served.'⁷⁸ These comments confirm the delicate social convention attached to making bequests.

The only extant letter in Anna Maria Allott's hand is perhaps the most significant and is transcribed below:

I bequeath to her ... these few family diamonds – heavily wishing that there was a greater number of them. I however think that the two medallions if put together by a skilful hand may produce a pretty little ornament for her. But I should recommend this being consigned to a jeweller of character as the stones though small are considered good – they were set some years ago by Constable. One of these medallions had been a part of the earrings of our Great Aunt Jane Waller married first to Colonel Eyre – brother to Lord Eyre and afterwards to Colonel Congreeve – and she bequeathed this to poor Aunt Dolly (who you remember) – and she had them set in a ring – which she gave to me. The other medallion was formed from the wedding ring of my grandmother – your great aunt – now I feel persuaded that Alice will not, like a certain lady of my acquaintance to whom a diamond necklace was bequeathed by her aunt, exchange this for fashionable baubles soon out of date – but will keep it in remembrance of her mother's oldest and most attached friend.⁷⁹

The above letter offers significant insight into the practice of altering jewellery into more fashionable and wearable styles. The origins of family heirlooms can be lost in such circumstances. As Helen Clifford observes, 'the making of a gold object into an heirloom was a way of trying to preserve that form into the future'.⁸⁰ One of the medallions had been created by using Jane Waller's earrings which had been dismantled and set into a ring. Jane Waller had married, John

⁷⁶ Letter from Mr Cheesbrough to Louisa Beaufort, 21 Aug. 1852, second page (NLI, Beaufort papers, MS8783(2)).

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Letter from Anna Maria Allott to 'Dearest Cousin', undated, second page (NLI, Beaufort papers, MS8783(3)). Underlined passages follow the original.

⁸⁰ Clifford, *Gold*, p. 135.

Eyre in 1742 and later Colonel Congreeve in 1747.⁸¹ The earrings can be dated to at least 1742; by 1855 over a century later, they had been used to create a medallion. Allott's grandmother's ring formed another part of the necklace. Allott was clearly anxious to set down the family history of the jewellery. To quote Amanda Vickery, she used a personal gift 'to transmit her history'⁸² to another generation. The final diamond necklace referred to by Allott was an heirloom with sentimental associations. She seems very aware that the lady who inherited the necklace might not appreciate its associational value and would quickly trade it for 'fashionable baubles'.⁸³

As Allott's will attests, jewellery retained by a family through generations took on greater significance. A further example, the Prendergast donation to the National Museum of Ireland consisted of three brooches, a pair of earrings, a pendant, six rings and a black bag with colourful embroidery.⁸⁴ The collection contains four pieces of mourning or sentimental jewellery containing human hair. Unusually, one pendant contains two shades of hair laid together and may indicate that this was a mourning piece to commemorate two individuals. The Prendergast collection is modest, nevertheless, the donation of these treasured pieces to the museum suggests that Prendergast held her family jewellery in some regard. On her death Prendergast's considerable estate was sold.⁸⁵ By choosing to donate these treasured pieces to the museum, Prendergast was ensuring that the memory of her family was conserved. As Prendergast had no children, the donation to the museum could act as a form of family memorial. Her actions bear comparison to those of Allott. As Amanda Vickery has demonstrated, wealthy women displayed a 'custodial attitude' to family heirlooms and 'used material things to honour ... family'.⁸⁶ Both Allott and Prendergast were wealthy guardians of family heirlooms. They evidently gave much consideration to passing on their family

⁸¹ The Peerage, available at: <http://www.thepeerage.com/p38526.htm> [30 Aug. 2013].

⁸² Vickery, *Gentleman's daughter*, p. 194.

⁸³ Letter from Anna Maria Allott to 'Dearest Cousin', undated, second page (NLI, Beaufort papers, MS8783(3)).

⁸⁴ NMI accession register. The donation was made by Mary Theresa Prendergast. According to the Census of Ireland 1901, she was a Catholic, born in Wexford in 1854

⁸⁵ Thomas Dockrell & Co., *25 Mount Merrion Avenue, Blackrock, important sale of fine antiques ...* (Dublin, 1937).

⁸⁶ Vickery, *Gentleman's daughter*, p. 193, p. 185.

jewellery which held more than just material worth; it also represented a part of their history.

The inclusion of hair into jewellery represented a sentimental bond with the living and was not an unusual practice in the nineteenth century. On 23 May 1855 Margaret Fuller wrote from Australia to her sister Betty in Ballymena, Co. Antrim. In her letter Margaret sent news of the death of two family members and enclosed two locks of hair for Betty.⁸⁷ Margaret went on to request Betty, to send her ‘a lock of all the children’s hair and I shall get it put in a brooch.’⁸⁸ The exchange of hair mementos between the sisters was clearly an important ritual and, to quote Marcia Pointon, a lock of hair could conjure up fond memories.⁸⁹ Caroline Duchess of Leinster commemorated the birth of each of her fifteen children with a locket.⁹⁰ Each contained a lock of hair and was engraved with a child’s name and year of birth. The front of every locket was set with coral, diamonds, emeralds and other gem stones.⁹¹ For example, Geraldine’s birth in 1849 was marked by a locket set with pearl, while the locket commemorating Henry’s birth in 1862 was set with pink topaz.⁹² Queen Victoria received a gift of a gold heart locket bracelet from Prince Albert on 21 November 1846 (figure 7.8). Following the birth of each of their children an individual enamelled locket containing a lock of the child’s hair was added to the bracelet.⁹³

7.2 ‘Buckism and extravagance’: status and display

It is curious to observe the rapid progress of Buckism and extravagance amongst the shop keepers, etc., in Dublin; the box at the playhouse, the Rotunda and every place where money will procure admission are as regularly attended by the grocers clerk as by the sprig of fashion, and

⁸⁷ Margaret Fuller letter, 23 May 1855 (PRONI, D1384/2).

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Pointon, ‘Materializing mourning’, pp 40-41.

⁹⁰ *Duke of Leinster’s Estate, Schedule of heirlooms at Carton, Kilkea Castle, etc.*, (PRONI, Leinster papers D3078/2/10/6/1 reel 14, microfilm, NUIM).

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*, pp 165-6.

frequently the external is very nearly equal; a general emulation to strut in fine cloaths [sic] pervades the lowest classes who can muster the means'⁹⁴

In the opinion of this 1803 commentator, the extravagant attire of the shopkeepers resembled that of the elite consumer, but the display could not mask a modest background. It was the display of social and cultural capital which provided the necessary layer of politeness.⁹⁵ Interestingly, these comments were made just three years after the legislative union between Ireland and Britain, when many believed that Dublin retailers would suffer as a consequence of the Act. However, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, many lawyers, physicians and tradesmen lived in Dublin and in turn supported local retailers and manufacturers.⁹⁶ The number of attorneys and barristers living in Dublin in 1800 is estimated at 1,500, representing a growth of 50% from 1763.⁹⁷ Evidence of the middle-rank consumer, the emerging professional classes and wealthy merchants is difficult to source.⁹⁸ The modestly prosperous town dwellers and professionals left little in the way of records.⁹⁹ Anna Moran's work on Nathaniel Trumbull, a middle-rank Dublin merchant offers a 'rare insight' into this sector of society.¹⁰⁰ Another notable exception is the diary of John Joly.

John Joly (1826-58) a young curate, was the grandson of the valet to the duke of Leinster, as previously noted.¹⁰¹ Joly's diaries, covering the period 1843 to 1848 and 1851 to 1858, attest to the spending habits of a member of the minor gentry.¹⁰² As Ciarán Reilly observes, Joly led a privileged existence during the

⁹⁴ Journal kept in Dublin, vol. vi, 22 Mar. 1803 (RIA, MS24 K 15, p. 330). Underlined section follows the original.

⁹⁵ Anna Moran, 'Merchants', p. 154.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁹⁷ David Dickson, 'The place of Dublin in the eighteenth-century Irish economy, in T.M. Devine and David Dickson (eds.), *Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1850* (Edinburgh, 1983), p. 185, as quoted in Moran, 'Merchants', p. 163.

⁹⁸ 'The simple retrieval and assembling of the settings in which past peoples lived constitute formidable undertakings', Barnard, *Material culture in Ireland*, p. 11. Much of the surviving documentation relates to the wealthy Protestant minority, Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, xix.

⁹⁹ Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, xix.

¹⁰⁰ Moran, 'Merchants', p. 142. The Trumbull papers are in the archives of the New York Public Library.

¹⁰¹ Reilly, *John Plunket Joly*, p. 8.

¹⁰² John Plunket Joly diary, 1843-1848 (NLI, MS 17035). John Plunket Joly, diary 1851-58 (TCD, MS 2299-2).

Great Famine, a period of hardship for many Irish inhabitants.¹⁰³ Joly frequently travelled to Dublin where he indulged his passion for books and clothing. For example, during one shopping spree he spent £1 16s. on fourteen books.¹⁰⁴ During the same visit he also purchased a variety of clothing including gloves, neckerchief and ‘cloth for a coat and vest’, amounting to £2 3s.¹⁰⁵ Flower seeds costing 9s. 9d. completed his acquisitions for that day. Joly made frequent visits by train to Dublin where he stayed with relatives. As previously discussed, he became engaged to Julia Lusi and made a number of purchases of jewellery from Waterhouse & Company and other retailers. Albeit limited, the evidence of Joly’s expenditure on personal items suggests that he invested in his intellectual capital and his outward appearance. His marriage in 1853 elevated his position in polite society. The display of jewellery, particularly by men, to denote status provides the focus for this section. The motivations which prompted the purchase and display of jewellery included the projection of modernity, political affiliation and the demonstration of wealth.

7.2.1 Fashioning identity: men and jewellery

Visiting shops was an enjoyable pursuit for the male consumer. The previously mentioned example of John Joly corresponds with Margot Finn’s observation that the rural gentry and the urban professionals made frequent purchases.¹⁰⁶

Throughout the period c.1770 to c.1870, men could become affiliated with a variety of political and social organisations. Three such organisations were the United Irishmen, the Volunteers and the Freemasons. Membership of organisations was often marked by wearing a badge, seal or insignia.¹⁰⁷ The outward display of such objects could serve to signify status and social rank.¹⁰⁸ The wearing of such emblems was optional for members of organisations such as the Volunteers and United Irishmen, however, Freemasons were directed to wear

¹⁰³ Reilly, *John Plunket Joly*, pp 31-4.

¹⁰⁴ John Plunket Joly diary, 26 Jan. 1848 (NLI, MS 17035).

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Margot Finn, ‘Men’s things: masculine possession in the consumer revolution’, *Social History*, xxv (2000), pp 133-55.

¹⁰⁷ See Stephen O’Connor, ‘The volunteers 1778-1793: iconography and identity’ (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland Maynooth, 2008).

¹⁰⁸ Carrier, *Gifts & commodities*, p. 2.

insignia. The United Irishmen were inspired by the French and American revolutions.¹⁰⁹ The Dublin Society of the United Irishmen, formed in 1791, was populated with booksellers, tanners and soldiers.¹¹⁰ Notably, for the first four years from 1791-4, the society was dominated by middle-rank professionals and merchants. Of 336 members listed, merchants accounted for 104, legal professionals amounted to 56 and physicians 16.¹¹¹ The remaining members represented a wide sector of manufacturers and retailers including distillers, grocers and jewellers. It is not clear whether this continued to be the case once the society was repressed and forced underground in 1794.¹¹² In order to bring about parliamentary reform the society sought to bring about a union of middle-class urban Catholics and Dissenters.¹¹³ But as S.J. Connolly observes, ‘in the late 1790s when the united Irish movement had committed itself, in a transformed political climate, to separate by force of arms, attitudes to the British connection still varied widely’.¹¹⁴ At least one member of the society sought to capitalise on his association with other members of the group. Nicholas Butler, a jeweller and haberdasher with premises on Grafton Street was a member of the United Irishmen. While his membership of the organisation suggests that he was a supporter of Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, he also recognised the potential for patriotic verve to boost his business. In 1780, he made and engraved Volunteer belt plates (figure 7.9).¹¹⁵ Four years later, in 1784 on gaining the approval of the Dublin volunteers he placed an advertisement in the *Volunteer’s Journal* suggesting the adoption of his emblematic buttons which bore a design of clasped hands.¹¹⁶ Butler may also have recognised the potential to introduce a button of his manufacture, dedicated to the United Irishmen. From

¹⁰⁹ D. George Boyce, *Nineteenth-century Ireland* (Revised ed., Dublin, 2005), p. 17. For a discussion of Wolfe Tone’s role in the establishment of the Dublin Society of United Irishmen, see W.A. Maguire (ed.), *Up in arms, the 1798 rebellion in Ireland* (Belfast, 1998), pp 110-14. I am grateful to Jonathan Wright for bringing this source to my attention.

¹¹⁰ R.B. McDowell, ‘The personnel of the Dublin Society of United Irishmen, 1791-4’, in *Irish Historical Studies*, ii, no.5 (1940), p. 15.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp 14-15.

¹¹² S.J. Connolly, *Divided Kingdom: Ireland 1630-1800* (Oxford, 2008), p. 440. See also Nancy Curtin, *The United Irishmen: popular politics in Ulster and Dublin, 1791-1798* (Oxford, 1994).

¹¹³ Connolly, *Divided Kingdom*, pp 438-40.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 440.

¹¹⁵ *Hibernian Journal*, 21 Feb. 1780, quoted by O’Connor, ‘The volunteers 1778-1793’, p. 34.

¹¹⁶ *Volunteer’s Journal*, 10 May 1784 quoted by McDowell, ‘Dublin Society’, p. 23.

1778 to 1783, the Irish Volunteers wore silver or base metal gorgets (figure 7.9), almost all of which had the ‘Maid of Erin harp’ incorporated into the decoration.¹¹⁷ Gorgets and other military paraphernalia were retailed by J. Ash Rainey a Capel Street jeweller.¹¹⁸ A gorget was worn at the throat, suspended from ribbons attached to the collar buttons of an officer’s coat.¹¹⁹ Charles O’Hara was a landowner in Sligo, Dublin, Yorkshire and Lancashire. He was a member of the Volunteers and also held the position of Governor and MP of Sligo.¹²⁰ In July 1789, O’Hara purchased dozens of buttons from Theobald Billing (figure 7.10), a gold and silver lace dealer on Cork Street, Dublin.¹²¹ The fine metal buttons cost O’Hara £2 3s. 3d. As Stephen O’Connor demonstrates, outfitting the Volunteers presented additional trade opportunities to those who sold gold and silver lace, epaulets, cockades, swords and buttons.¹²² In 1849, ‘a great variety of fancy goods suited to a military gentleman’ were auctioned at Kilmainham, Dublin. The articles, once the property of ‘an officer on full pay’, included ‘several sets of diamond and other shirt studs, jewellery plate and plated ware ... regulation sword epaulettes’ and ‘a large quantity of choice cigars’.¹²³ Sartorial elegance evidently remained important for military officers in the nineteenth century.

The institution of the Order of St. Patrick was created in 1783 by George III. The first installation of the order was in 1783. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Temple (figure 7.11) was instituted as its first Grand Master.¹²⁴ Temple proposed the foundation of the order in order to draw attention away from the Volunteer movement.¹²⁵ The insignia, which incorporated a shamrock, could be fashioned from silver faceted to resemble diamonds (figure 7.12), or a more unusual version

¹¹⁷ Stephen Wood, ‘The Gorgets of the ‘Gorgeous Infantry’’, in *Irish Arts Review*, iii, no.4 (1986), p. 49.

¹¹⁸ J. Ash Rainey, trade card 1800? (NLI, trade ephemera collection, uncatalogued).

¹¹⁹ Maguire, *Up in arms*, p. 208.

¹²⁰ O’Hara papers, MS36,365, introduction, pp 7-8 & 145, available at: National Library of Ireland, http://www.nli.ie/pdfs/mss%20lists/066_OHara.pdf [3 Nov. 2014].

¹²¹ Theobald Billing to Charles O’Hara Esq., 3 July 1789 (NLI, O’Hara papers, MS 36,365).

¹²² O’Connor, ‘The volunteers 1778-1793’, pp 31-37.

¹²³ *Nenagh Guardian*, 19 Dec. 1849.

¹²⁴ Nicola Figgis & Brendan Rooney, *Irish Paintings in the National Gallery of Ireland, vol.1* (Dublin, 2001), pp 253-4.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

fabricated from bog wood mounted in gold could be had from Charles Rankin on Nassau Street in 1868.¹²⁶ Lord William Fitzgerald was the first Knight created under the Order.¹²⁷ The Orange Order was established in 1795 in the aftermath of a ‘localized civil war’ between Catholics and Protestants in Co. Armagh.¹²⁸ Three years later, in 1798, James Brush, a Dublin jeweller offered for sale his own design of ‘orange jewels’, which were medallions ‘of the Great King William’ and ‘recommended to be worn by ... all the Orange Lodges of this kingdom’ (figure 7.13).¹²⁹ Members of the Order were required to declare that they were ‘not nor ever was a Roman Catholic’ and were ‘not or ever will be a United Irishman’.¹³⁰ Such items displayed on clothing were a mark of status and rank, while also projecting an image of respectability, political affiliation and wealth. As noted by Karol Mullaney-Dignam, patrons attending social events ‘were as much on display as the players on stage.’¹³¹ Commenting in 1801, a young male diarist recorded his impressions of the Viceroy of Ireland: ‘Lord Hardwick a stiff little man with nothing of a viceroy in his appearance but the richness of his uniform’.¹³² On this occasion, the clothes apparently did indeed make the man.

Consumer choice could also reflect political ideology.¹³³ Sometimes the wearing of insignia was clearly set down in the prospectus of an organisation. For example, during official meetings the Freemasons were required to wear an apron. In addition some wore personal jewels or Officers’ jewels.¹³⁴ While the Volunteers were essentially a military organisation formed in reaction to a political event - the American Revolution and the subsequent threat of French

¹²⁶ *The Irish Times*, 9 July 1868.

¹²⁷ Terence Dooley and Conor Mallaghan, *Carton House: An Illustrated History* (Kildare, 2006), p. 41.

¹²⁸ Paul Bew, *Ireland: The Politics of Emnity 1789-2006* (Oxford, 2007), p. 33.

¹²⁹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 1 Dec. 1798.

¹³⁰ Maguire, *Up in arms*, p. 145.

¹³¹ Karol Mullaney-Dignam, ‘Music, dancing and social life at Glin Castle, in *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, xiv (2011), p. 19.

¹³² Journal kept in Dublin, vol. vi, 12 Nov. 1801 (RIA, MS24 K 15, p. 65).

¹³³ T.H. Breen, ‘Meaning of things, interpreting the consumer economy in the eighteenth century’, in Brewer & Porter, *Consumption and the world of goods*, p. 251.

¹³⁴ Alex Ward, ‘Masonic treasures at the museum at Freemasons’ Hall’, in *Irish Arts Review*, xix, no.2 (2002), pp 125-6.

invasion other organisations such as the Freemasons were formed on non-political and interdenominational principles.

By the late eighteenth century Masonic jewels of engraved silver were commonly worn by Freemasons during meetings.¹³⁵ The Royal Arch Lodge, Dublin included at least one jeweller amongst its members.¹³⁶ The governing principle of Freemasons included the good order of society.¹³⁷ In eighteenth and nineteenth century Ireland, the society was known for acts of benevolence and charity. Thus the insignia worn by Lodge members indicated a tolerant and charitable nature. Masonic jewels were created by Dublin jewellers (figure 7.14), including James Brush and Thomas Gonne in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, John G. Tate in the early nineteenth century and Joseph Johnson, Thomas Brunker, Edmond Johnson and Henry Flavelle in the mid-nineteenth century.¹³⁸

James Brush was a member of the Freemasons from 1796 and his son James Brush Jnr., from 1802.¹³⁹ James Brush clearly displayed his affiliation by using Masonic emblems on his trade card (figure 7.15).¹⁴⁰ A further two Dublin jewellers, Thomas Brunker and William Acheson, sold tickets for the ‘Grand Masonic concert’ held in Dublin in January 1852.¹⁴¹ The sale of tickets offered these jewellers the potential to generate extra custom for their stock of jewellery and other wares. William Acheson (probably the Grafton Street jeweller), was listed as being in attendance at ‘the [1865] annual meeting for the distribution of prizes to the pupils of the Masonic Female Orphan School’.¹⁴² However, if he was indeed a Freemason, he does not appear to have advertised his affiliation in newspapers. Membership of the order may have given Brush an advantage over competitors, as membership of the order provided opportunities for socialising with other Masons. A ‘Grand Masonic Ball’ held on 22 April 1863 ‘in honour of

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 126.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Irish Freemasonry, available at: http://www.irish-freemasons.org/Pages_GL/GL_introduction.html [20 Mar. 2013].

¹³⁸ See appendix 8 for list of items assayed by jeweller, 1841-70.

¹³⁹ I am grateful to Rebecca Hayes, Freemasons’ Hall, for this information.

¹⁴⁰ I am grateful to Alex Ward and Rebecca Hayes for bringing this trade card to my attention.

¹⁴¹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 17 Jan. 1852.

¹⁴² Ibid., 25 Jan. 1865.

the marriage of the Prince of Wales' attracted a large gathering, including the duke of Leinster.¹⁴³ The Freemasons attracted elite members in 1863 the duke of Leinster was Grand Master.¹⁴⁴ It is likely that Brush received preferential custom from fellow masons.

Buttons could be used to convey business interests or leisure pursuits. Horse racing and hunting were popular entertainments. As observed by Diana Scarisbrick, the hunting button originated in England in the mid-eighteenth century and fell out of fashion by 1840.¹⁴⁵ For example, seven silver buttons dating to c.1788¹⁴⁶ are each finely engraved with an image of a different stallion including 'Rum Brusher', 'Bishop' and 'Peeping Tom' (figure 7.16).¹⁴⁷ These buttons were probably commissioned by the owner of the horses or were perhaps a gift from a friend or relative. It is possible that these horses were the property of Thomas Conolly (1734-1803) of Castletown, Co. Kildare.¹⁴⁸ A portrait by Robert Healy c.1769 of Lady Louisa Conolly with her groom and horse, depicts the groom wearing large buttons on his jacket.¹⁴⁹

The buckles worn by men during the period under study gradually became less flamboyant (figure 7.17). In the nineteenth-century, shoe buckles were replaced by shoe strings.¹⁵⁰ Ornate buckles were then only worn on ceremonial occasions. Seals and intaglios remained popular throughout the period, sometimes worn as rings or suspended from watch fobs (figure 7.18). Seals could be used to impress a personalised emblem into the wax seal used to close letters. In 1789 James Brush advertised a seal engraving with a 'striking likeness of Mr. Grattan.'¹⁵¹ The

¹⁴³ Ibid., 23 Apr. 1863.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain*, p. 293; *ibid.*, 344.

¹⁴⁶ Courtesy of J. Weldon. The buttons bear an Irish duty mark and a maker's mark IN, which may be John Nicklin, according to Jackson, *English goldsmiths*, p. 614.

¹⁴⁷ Similar buttons were available c.1750 in Sheffield plate, image reproduced in Helen Clifford, 'Silverwares', in Snodin & Styles, *Design & the decorative arts*, p. 156.

¹⁴⁸ Personal correspondence with Thomas Sinsteden.

¹⁴⁹ I am grateful to Thomas Sinsteden for bringing this portrait to my attention.

¹⁵⁰ Berg, *Luxury & Pleasure*, p. 191.

¹⁵¹ *Dublin Chronicle*, 6 Jan. 1789 quoted by William Frazer, 'The medallists of Ireland and their work', in *The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, 4th series, viii, no.73/4 (1888), p. 318.

seal was engraved on a bloodstone and set into a ring.¹⁵² Henry Grattan was a patriot leader who was at the forefront of the campaign for legislative independence for the Irish Parliament in the 1780s and who was a supporter of Catholic emancipation. In May 1780, the Catholic jeweller William Moore offered ‘an emblematic seal’ as his contribution to ‘keep alive in the minds of posterity, the glorious struggle made for liberty and extension of trade’.¹⁵³ Moore designed the seal ‘in honour’ of the Volunteers and called on ‘all lovers of this country’ to purchase the product. He clearly understood the necessity to cater to all pockets by offering a gold setting at £1 14s. 1d. and a cheaper although ‘fine pinchbeck’ setting at 5s. 5d.¹⁵⁴ A watch lost in Dublin in 1810 was described as having attached ‘a gold mounted blood stone seal, and one ditto with days of week and ‘yours’, etc’, suspended by a green ribband’. A reward of four guineas was offered for the return.¹⁵⁵ In 1807, Robert Hunter offered a two-guinea reward for the return of his ‘double cased silver watch ... with a stirrup-shaped gold seal (R.H. engraved thereon) and a lyre-shaped gold key, with a small steel chain’.¹⁵⁶ Jewellery was therefore practical and sometimes highly individual and the loss of such personal items was a cause of distress. Thus the purchase, use and display of seals and intaglios might be used to indicate affiliation to an organisation, or confirm support of a political cause such as Catholic emancipation.

Pocket watches were practical, fashionable and increasingly necessary items. For example, following the introduction of the railway, pocket watches became almost indispensable. Watches pre-dated the eighteenth century and were reasonably accurate in the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁷ Gold watches were favoured above cheaper metals in late eighteenth-century Paris.¹⁵⁸ As observed by John Styles, silver watch cases were the most popular choice in late eighteenth-century England.¹⁵⁹ The demand for watches in Dublin can be determined in part by the

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 318.

¹⁵³ *Freeman's Journal*, 23 May 1780.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *Saunders' Newsletter*, 11 Jul. 1810.

¹⁵⁶ *Belfast Newsletter*, 5 May 1807.

¹⁵⁷ Styles, *Dress of the people*, p. 98.

¹⁵⁸ Fairchild, ‘Populuxe goods’, p. 230.

¹⁵⁹ Styles, *Dress of the people*, p. 98.

quantities submitted for assay. In 1788 the number of watch cases assayed amounted to 61½, in 1810 the quantity rose significantly to 655 and by 1848 the numbers rose again to 738.¹⁶⁰ From July 1863 to May 1867, 1,460 watch cases were assayed, an average of approximately 365 per annum.¹⁶¹ In contrast, 1,284,484 watch cases were imported into the United Kingdom during the period 1853 to 1863.¹⁶²

American jewellers exported watches to Dublin. The business records of Jabez C. Baldwin a silversmith, jeweller and merchant with a firm in Massachusetts and later Boston, record sales of jewellery and watches made in the United States, England and Ireland.¹⁶³ The records cover the period 1808 to 1818 and note sales to a number of customers in Ireland and England. In April 1814, Alexander Hollisane made a purchase of two plain silver watches, costing \$18 67c. each.¹⁶⁴ A month later, on 25 May, he again purchased a watch, this time at a lower cost of \$17 67c. He purchased at least three more watches, the most expensive being a silver watch costing \$27 83c.¹⁶⁵ Hollisane's purchases were delivered to Dublin and Liverpool. On 15 September 1814, Baldwin sold Charles Williams of Dublin 'one English silver watch' costing \$18 50c. and on 11 November 1818, Joseph[?] Cunningham, also from Dublin, purchased a watch for \$17 50c.¹⁶⁶ Hollisane's repeated purchases suggest that he was in the business of selling watches. Although Williams and Cunningham each purchased a single watch possibly for

¹⁶⁰ FitzGerald & O'Brien, 'The production of silver', p. 40; *ibid.*, p. 47; Assay ledger (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 33). After 1854, the records of watch cases assayed do not appear to have survived. Only two are recorded in 1866. However, numbers recorded in a government report, indicated that 530 and 650 watch cases were assayed in 1854 and 1855 respectively - *Report from the Select Committee on Silver and Gold Wares; together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, appendix, and index, (190), 1856*, p. 185; also see following footnote.

¹⁶¹ *Return Watch cases. Return of the number of gold and silver watch cases marked at Goldsmiths' Hall, at Birmingham, Chester, and other places; also the number and computed value of watches imported since the last return made in compliance with the order of the House of Commons.* H.C. 1867 (372), lxiv, 991, p. 4 (henceforth cited as *Return watch cases 1867*).

¹⁶² Separate figures were not given for Ireland. *Return watch cases 1867*, p. 5.

¹⁶³ Winterthur Library, *An introduction to resources*, available at Winterthur Library, <http://www.winterthur.org/pdfs/Jewelry.pdf> [7 Oct. 2014].

¹⁶⁴ Jabez C. Baldwin account book, 8 Apr. 1814 (WL, Downs Collection, folio 195). I am grateful to Jeanne Solensky for her kind assistance and patience with my inquiries.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 25 May 1814.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 15 Sept. 1814; *ibid.*, 4 Nov. 1818.

their own use, equally they may have been sampling the goods offered by Baldwin with a view to placing further orders.

Railway time or London time was adopted by the Great Western Railway in 1840 and effectively standardised time across Britain.¹⁶⁷ The ownership and display of a watch then became an indication of modernity. Waterhouse & Company placed an advertisement in 1854 with the large heading 'PUNCTUALITY'.¹⁶⁸ The advertisement declared that 'nothing requires greater judgment than the selection of a sound good watch.'¹⁶⁹ As noted by John Styles 'a watch was a very public item of clothing'.¹⁷⁰ Watches played an important role in the dress and life of men. As Maxine Berg has demonstrated, the purchase of 'new commodities' by men was a mark of 'respectability and independence', and manhood.¹⁷¹ A silver watch was a significant investment in 1850: a Belfast jeweller offered silver watches priced from £3 3s., while gold watches might be had for £5 15s.¹⁷² By 1865, Patrick Donegan of Dame Street was offering 'watches manufactured on the premises from £5 up to £50'.¹⁷³ From at least 1848 John Donegan and his successor Patrick Donegan took the unusual step of including a shamrock device within their makers' mark.¹⁷⁴ John Donegan exhibited gold and silver watches at the Cork Exhibition in 1852.¹⁷⁵ Contemporary comments suggest he had a substantial watch business giving employment to 'between forty and sixty hands', making nearly 4,000 watches in eight years, some of which were brought to Australia.¹⁷⁶ This suggests that during the height of the famine, Donegan was selling on average 500 watches annually, some of which were exported. Letters

¹⁶⁷ Ralph Harrington, *Trains, technology and time-travellers: how the Victorians reinvented time*, lecture delivered at the University of York on 23 Jan. 2003, available at: <http://www.artificialhorizon.org/essays/pdf/time.pdf>, p. 5, [24 Mar. 2013].

¹⁶⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 4 Mar. 1854.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Styles, *Dress of the people*, p. 103.

¹⁷¹ Berg, *Luxury & Pleasure*, p. 196; *ibid.*, p. 200.

¹⁷² *Belfast Newsletter*, 2, 5 & 16 April 1850.

¹⁷³ *The Nation*, 25 Feb. 1865.

¹⁷⁴ On 28 Dec. 1848, Donegan, Ormond Quay registered a punch which incorporated a shamrock, 18ct and the initials D&W. On 23 Mar. 1872, Patrick Donegan, Dame Street registered a silver punch with a shamrock, punch register (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 100, A-Z, unpaginated).

¹⁷⁵ *Official catalogue of the National Exhibition of the arts, manufactures, and products of Ireland; held in Cork, 1852* (Cork, 1852), p. 4 (henceforth cited as *Official catalogue Cork 1852*).

¹⁷⁶ Maguire, *National exhibition of 1852*, pp 143-4.

from Australia sometimes requested Irish relatives to send a watch.¹⁷⁷ This may explain why Donegan chose to incorporate a shamrock device into his maker's mark. For the few who could afford a watch when emigrating, the small shamrock impressed onto a watchcase could act a reminder of home and as a mark of Irish identity. In 1864, over 208,000 emigrants were reported to have left Britain.¹⁷⁸ Of the seven Dublin manufacturers who submitted 4,088.5 cases for assay from 1841 to 1853, Donegan was the most industrious, with 3,567 cases.¹⁷⁹

Although watches were generally concealed in a pocket, it was the watch chain, often with seals and watch key attached, which was visible.¹⁸⁰ Gold watch chains and seals offered important opportunities for sartorial display (figure 7.19).¹⁸¹ Alternatively, a watch might also be suspended from a hair watch string, such as that lost between Liffey Street and Bachelors' Walk, in April 1780.¹⁸² By 1864, gentlemen could purchase Prince of Wales watch guard chains made of horsehair.¹⁸³

Detachable shirt collars became more fashionable over the course of the nineteenth century. Cleanliness became an increasing concern in the late eighteenth century and shirts were changed more frequently.¹⁸⁴ Detachable collars were worn by men from the 1820s. At first these collars acted as cheap alternatives to the purchase of a shirt. As the century progressed the practicality of detachable collars made them increasingly desirable and fashionable items.¹⁸⁵ The collars were attached to shirts by three studs, one at the back and two at the front. An attractive set of gold collar studs retailed by the Dame Street jewellers, Waterhouse & Company attests to their popularity (figure 7.20). The gold studs

¹⁷⁷ Personal correspondence with Gerard Moran.

¹⁷⁸ *The Nation*, 5 Aug. 1865.

¹⁷⁹ Assay ledgers (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MSS 33, 34).

¹⁸⁰ Styles, *Dress of the people*, p. 103.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

¹⁸² *Saunders' Newsletter*, 21 Apr. 1780.

¹⁸³ The Coolkenno Industrial school exhibited a number of horsehair ornaments at the London exhibition. *Official descriptive and illustrated catalogue 1851*, ii, 86; *Official catalogue of the exhibition of manufactures, machinery and fine arts, 1864*, p. 46; *ibid.*, p. 53.

¹⁸⁴ Mairead Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland* (London, 1989), p. 124

¹⁸⁵ Victoria and Albert Museum, available at:

<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O40183/fitzwilliam-collar-morgan-and-ball> [22 Mar. 2013].

are unmarked, which was not unusual given the exemption of most jewellery from assay throughout the period under review.¹⁸⁶ Of the three studs, the centre stud appears darker perhaps with wear, which may indicate that it was habitually worn at the back of the collar, nearer to the hairline. Given that collar studs would have been largely invisible when worn, it is perhaps remarkable that they were ornate. A set of shirt studs, probably gold, purchased from West & Son in 1836 cost Richard O’Grady £3 3s.¹⁸⁷ It is possible that this was Richard O’Grady (1808-1875), Chief Examiner of the Court of Exchequer.¹⁸⁸ Collar studs were fabricated from a range of materials including mother of pearl, tortoiseshell and enamel.¹⁸⁹ In 1848, John Joly recorded purchasing ‘two sets of black shirt studs’ from West & Son, costing 5s. These were purchased following the death of his mother ten days earlier.¹⁹⁰ The shirt studs were purchased alongside a ‘black oak brooch’ which was a present for his sister. Collar studs and later cuff studs came in an increasing variety of materials and styles as the century progressed.¹⁹¹ The market for such wares would suggest that such ‘hidden’ items of adornment helped the wearer to project an image of wealth and respectability. Gold sleeve links and shirt studs could be had from Dublin retailers including Henry Flavelle and Pim Brothers.¹⁹²

Some gentlemen favoured more ostentatious attire. During a tour in Ireland in 1842, the somewhat acerbic William Makepeace Thackeray concluded that the Dublin breed of dandies was quite distinct from those of Paris, London or Liverpool.¹⁹³

although big pins are the fashion, I am bound to say I have never seen so many or so big as here. Large agate marbles, or ‘taws’, globes terrestrial and celestial, pawnbroker’s balls – I cannot find comparisons large enough

¹⁸⁶ The assay of jewellery is discussed in greater detail in chapter three.

¹⁸⁷ Receipt West & Son, 7 (month indistinct) 1836 (NLI, Gormanstown papers MS 44,413/7).

¹⁸⁸ *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, vol. 14, Jul.-Dec., (1840), p. 204.

¹⁸⁹ E. J. Eckstein and G. Firkins, *Gentlemen’s dress accessories* (Oxford, 2011), p. 14.

¹⁹⁰ Diary of John Plunket July 1826-58, 26 Jan. 1848, (NLI, MS 17035 (17)).

¹⁹¹ Eckstein & Firkins, *Gentlemen’s dress accessories*, pp 12-22.

¹⁹² Studs and sleeve links began to appear in Dublin assay ledgers from 1857 and 1866 respectively, for example, William Percival submitted sleeve links on 12 Jul. 1866 for Pim Brothers (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths’ guild, MS 37).

¹⁹³ William Makepeace Thackeray, *Irish Sketch Book of 1842* (vol. xv, New York, 1911), p. 327-8.

for these wonderful ornaments. Canes should also be mentioned which are sold very splendid with gold or silver heads, for a shilling on the Quays'¹⁹⁴

Thackeray's reference to the sale of gold and silver cane heads on the quays is interesting. Francis Smyth a jeweller and umbrella manufacturer had a retail shop at Dublin's Essex Quay from c1840 to at least 1853. Smyth had a relatively successful business and employed a number of staff.¹⁹⁵ The Dublin exhibition of 1853 gave Smyth the opportunity to display a glittering array of 'silver wire whip handles' and 'silk umbrellas mounted on gold, silver agate ... and ivory'.¹⁹⁶

To summarise, the jewellery adopted by men in the period c.1770 to c.1870 represented political views and philanthropic actions. Adornment pronounced independence and manhood, while also signifying modernity and sentiment. National identity could be conspicuously expressed through items of clothing and jewellery. The most significant changes during the period came about as a result of the increasing influence of wealthy professionals and merchants.¹⁹⁷ Changing fashions dictated a change in jewellery. In the nineteenth century, buckles continued to be worn albeit usually only on ceremonial occasions. The introduction of removable shirt collars necessitated wearing shirt studs. Cravats might be embellished with an ornamental pin and pocket watches were more commonly worn.

The display of jewellery was tied into the display of power and the jewellery worn by women exhibited the wealth and power of their family, as the following examples demonstrate. In 1859, the jewellery of Charlotte Duchess of Leinster was valued by West & Son, the Dublin jewellers. The duchess's jewellery was valued at £7,629 10s. A 'necklace comprising 47 single rows of brilliants and one in snap' at £2,150 was the most expensive item. A 'cats eye ruby and diamond ring' and a 'cameo head pendant' were both valued at £8, while a 'waist clasp' with a missing stone commanded £240. Much of her jewellery was set with

¹⁹⁴ William Makepeace Thackeray, *Irish Sketch Book*, vol. II (London, 1843), pp 127-8, as quoted by Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, pp 148-9.

¹⁹⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 16 July 1850.

¹⁹⁶ *Official catalogue with the Royal Dublin Society 1853*, p. 86.

¹⁹⁷ Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, pp 144-5.

diamonds, including three diamond bow brooches (figure 7.21). Brooches could be worn on sleeves and on the front of a dress bodice. As Marcia Pointon has shown, diamonds were ‘the yardstick for luxurious consumption’.¹⁹⁸ Frances Anne, Marchioness of Londonderry (1800-65), a wealthy heiress in her own right, married Charles William Stewart (1778-1854), third Marquess of Londonderry. Between them they had considerable estates in county Durham in England and counties Antrim, Donegal, Londonderry and Down in Ireland.¹⁹⁹ The Marchioness of Londonderry was said to have ‘blazed among the peeresses’.²⁰⁰ The robes worn by Londonderry in 1831 (figure 7.22), were adorned with diamonds, pearls, turquoises and amethysts. Her diamond belt was described as ‘a zone entirely composed of brilliants ... full two inches in width and consisting of one entire mass of brilliants’ she also wore ‘an *esclavage* necklace composed of immense pear-shaped pearls and diamonds ... a bouquet of costly brilliants ... an immense tiara of diamonds surmounted by moveable pieces’.²⁰¹ In 1854, Londonderry had diamonds removed from a sword and Garter insignia inherited from the second Marquess of Londonderry, and reset into a stomacher, brooches and necklace.²⁰² Although family jewels could hold symbolic value as Anna Maria Allott’s will has demonstrated, the display of wealth was of equal importance to Lady Londonderry.

7.3 ‘Indecision about trifles’²⁰³: consumer motivation

To choose anything, a gown even, is a martyrdom to me, ... I generally go into a shop, wishing to look at nothing, and knowing only the precise color, material, and quantity of the stuff I mean to purchase; for if I were to leave myself the smallest discretion ... I should infallibly buy something revoltingly ugly ... to save myself from the trouble of choice ... I have made

¹⁹⁸ Pointon, ‘Jewellery in eighteenth-century England’, p. 121.

¹⁹⁹ Introduction to the Londonderry papers held by the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, http://www.proni.gov.uk/introduction_londonderry_estate_papers_d654.pdf, p. 6 [2 Sept. 2015].

²⁰⁰ Benjamin Disraeli made this observation having seen Londonderry at Queen Victoria’s coronation in 1837, quoted in Diana Scarisbrick, *Ancestral jewels* (London, 1989), p. 75.

²⁰¹ *The Lady’s Museum*, 1831, p. 193, quoted in Scarisbrick, *Ancestral jewels*, pp 74-5. An *esclavage* was a multi-stranded necklace.

²⁰² Scarisbrick, *Ancestral jewels*, p. 174-5.

²⁰³ Frances Kemble to Hal ?, 14 Mar. 1847, in Frances Anne Kemble, *Records of later life* (London, 1882), p. 667.

... rules about the details of my daily life ... they spare me indecision about trifles, and I find it, therefore, comfortable to follow them.²⁰⁴

During a stay at Morrison's Hotel in Dublin in 1847, Frances Kemble wrote the above letter. By 1847, she was separated from her husband for two years and was forced to return to work on the stage.²⁰⁵ Her husband had failed to provide her with an allowance promised in their separation agreement.²⁰⁶ Kemble's aversion to browsing was atypical of many consumers who found shopping entertaining.²⁰⁷ For example, in 1810 Dame Street was described as 'the greatest thoroughfare in Dublin ... filled with elegant shops ... where ... groups of elegant women continually pass.'²⁰⁸ Kemble's financial situation probably had some bearing on her dislike. She described herself as 'wanting to look at nothing', rather she had a 'precise' idea of her needs. Shopping for Kemble was an act of necessity rather than an enjoyable excursion.

It is difficult to uncover evidence of the impulses which drove consumer choice. The urge to buy things was governed by a complex set of motivations. Toby Barnard warns 'against assuming that all purchases were governed by rational calculation.'²⁰⁹ This section offers an analysis of some of the factors which influenced consumers, such as the recommendation of friends, advice from published travel accounts and gift exchange. As Claire Walsh has shown, 'the social network was also the crucible of desire'.²¹⁰ Analysis is focused on a number of primary sources. These include the letters of Sydney Owenson (1810), the travel accounts of Theresa West and Anna Maria Hall (1842-59) and finally the diary of Rev. Joly (1851-58). What were the influences which guided consumer choice? Newspaper and street directory advertisements provide a rich source of information on the type of consumer retailers wished to attract. For example, when opening his new business at the aptly named Crown and Pearl on

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Catherine Clinton (ed.), *Fanny Kemble's journals* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), p. xi-xii.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 4.

²⁰⁷ For example see, Walsh, 'Shops, shopping and decision making'; Judith Flanders, *Consuming passions, leisure and pleasure in Victorian Britain* (London, 2011), pp 106-7.

²⁰⁸ Nathaniel Jefferys, *An Englishman's descriptive account of Dublin ...* (London, 1810), pp 54-5.

²⁰⁹ Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, xix.

²¹⁰ Walsh, 'Shops, shopping and decision making', p. 171.

Dame Street, Arthur Keen confirmed his pedigree (figure 7.23). In a newspaper advertisement in 1776, he set out his apprenticeship and familial connection to the reputable goldsmith Isaac D'Olier. Keen clearly understood the advantage of linking his name to that of his uncle Isaac and his cousins Richard and Jeremiah D'Olier, who were all well known jewellers and goldsmiths.²¹¹ Keen opened his shop just a few doors from D'Olier's premises at 87 Dame Street, and assured customers that they 'may depend on always seeing the most fashionable patterns which London or this city can produce'.²¹² In this way, Keen hoped to entice D'Olier's customers to visit a new shop, run by a reputable jeweller who promised a selection of fashionable jewellery and plate.

7.3.1 Sydney Owenson and Glorvina hair ornaments

Sydney Owenson (1783?-1859) was an Irish author of a range of literature including poetry, novels and travelogues.²¹³ Her most famous work, first published in 1806, was *The wild Irish girl*. Glorvina O'Melville was the heroine of the novel.²¹⁴ Owenson styled herself as Glorvina by signing her correspondence 'Glorvina' and by wearing a Glorvina bodkin in her hair. Owenson's work was a celebration of Irish culture, overhauling the prevailing notion of Ireland as a backward nation before the arrival of the Normans.²¹⁵ Lady Bedford, wife of the Lord Lieutenant, was one of the first to wear a Glorvina hair ornament. The duke of Bedford and his wife were viewed as supporters of Irish manufacture and their presence at social events was keenly noted.²¹⁶ In a report of her attendance at a St. Patrick's day ball, the duchess of Bedford was referred to as 'our amiable Vice-Queen'.²¹⁷ It was at this event that the duchess wore in her hair, presumably for the first time, 'an ancient and elegant ornament of the Irish princesses and nobility'.²¹⁸ The innovative firm of jewellers James Brush & Son had been commissioned to design and make the 'Glorvina ornament' for the

²¹¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 13 Feb. 1776.

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ Julie Donovan, *Sydney Owenson, Lady Morgan and the politics of style* (Palo Alto, 2009), p. 1.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 21 & 31 Mar. 1807.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 19 Mar. 1807.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

duchess.²¹⁹ Brush quickly took out a series of advertisements in an attempt to attract customers and patent his design. However, less than four weeks after the first sighting of the ‘Glorvina ornament’, Brush had to warn his customers that lesser imitations were already on the market.²²⁰

These ornaments remained in vogue and by c.1810 Sydney Owenson’s business acumen directed her involvement in the creation of original designs for wealthy English aristocrats. Lady Anne Jane Abercorn wrote to Sydney Owenson on several occasions in the early nineteenth century.²²¹ In response, Owenson had sent Abercorn a number of designs for Glorvina hair ornaments. Rather than making a decision herself, Abercorn appealed to Owenson ‘could you not enclose the one you think “precisely what I should like”’. She was however, very clear that the price should be ‘three guineas’. Abercorn also wanted Owenson to design a ‘Glorvina’ for Lady Hamilton, with the motto ‘our hopes rest on thy dear black head’, which Owenson was to ‘put in better language’ and then translate into Irish. The third ornament was intended for ‘the Princess’. This design also included a motto, which Abercorn insisted ‘must be very handsome’. Owenson duly posted Abercorn the first Glorvina. Abercorn was not pleased with the result complaining, ‘I received the Glorvina this morning, which I do not very much admire’.²²² She returned the unwanted item and instead asked Owenson ‘[I] wish you would ask the man what he would do one for me of Irish gold, with the shamrock on the head in small Irish diamonds.’²²³ As Owenson was in Dublin when these letters were written, it is likely that she had a local jeweller make up the various designs. The previously mentioned James Brush claimed to have made the first Glorvina.²²⁴

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid., 11 Apr. 1807.

²²¹ The letters cited here most likely date to 1810. Lady Anne Jane Abercorn to Sydney Owenson, 1810?, in Hepworth Dixon, *Lady Morgan’s Memoirs*, p. 528.

²²² Lady Anne Jane Abercorn to Sydney Owenson, 1810?, in Hepworth Dixon, *Lady Morgan’s Memoirs*, p. 528.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ *Freeman’s Journal*, 19 Mar. 1807.

This correspondence offers insight into the practice of proxy shopping, ‘whereby women might acquire things without choosing them in person.’²²⁵ The decision to wear a fashionable item such as a Glorvina hair ornament was an indication of social status and signified membership of an elite social network.²²⁶ For Lady Abercorn, the selection of Glorvina hair ornaments was not mediated by discussion with a jeweller nor by consulting pattern books, rather she relied on Owenson’s taste and knowledge of fashion.²²⁷ The ornaments were intended for Abercorn’s step-daughter Lady Hamilton, possibly Maria, who was depicted as having dark hair in a portrait completed in 1802; the second Glorvina was most likely a gift for Princess Charlotte.²²⁸ Abercorn’s Irish heritage clearly influenced her choice of shamrock design, materials of Irish gold and Irish diamonds and a motto in Irish. Abercorn was the daughter of Arthur Gore, Earl of Arran, a Wexford MP and a Knight of the Order of St. Patrick.²²⁹ Owenson’s involvement in the design and supply of Glorvina bodkins suggests a clear connection between the cultural value of Owenson’s literature and the commercial value of Glorvina jewellery.²³⁰ Her publications endorsed Celtic culture. Consumers wearing Glorvina ornaments displayed an awareness of a popular novel, if unwittingly acknowledging Ireland’s cultural heritage.

As observed by Hannah Greig, the possessions of elite consumers had complicated multiple meanings.²³¹ Abercorn was a member of an elite Irish family and the third wife of Sir John Hamilton. Hamilton’s first wife was of English descent and his second of Scottish descent. Hamilton was the only peer of all three countries. A contemporary correspondent described his choice of wife as giving ‘due regard to distributive justice, as he has selected a wife from each

²²⁵ Smart Martin, ‘Ribbons of desire’, p. 181.

²²⁶ Hannah Greig, ‘Leading the fashion: the material culture of London’s *Beau Monde*’, in Vickery & Styles, *Gender, taste and material culture*, pp 294-5.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Sir Thomas Lawrence, *Lady Maria Hamilton*, 1802, Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow, available at: <http://www.huntsearch.gla.ac.uk/cgi-bin/foxweb/huntsearch/DetailedResults.fwx?collection=art&SearchTerm=43747&reqMethod=Link> [05 Aug. 2015].

²²⁹ The Peerage, available at: <http://www.thepeerage.com/p10853.htm#i108523> [8 May 2014].

²³⁰ Donovan, *Sydney Owenson*, p. 37.

²³¹ Greig, ‘London’s *Beau Monde*’, p. 295.

country which gives him a title.’²³² Consequently, Abercorn’s choice of Glorvina held very specific meaning linked to her lineage and status. Furthermore, by wearing her gift, her friends conveyed a bond between them.²³³

7.3.2 Travel writers: Anna Maria Hall and Theresa West

During the nineteenth century leisure travel changed considerably due to a number of factors, including the invention of lighter springs for carriages, the improvement of roads and the advent of the railway system.²³⁴ The arrival of the railway in Britain in the early nineteenth century allowed a new class of ‘ordinary tourist’ to make daytrips.²³⁵ Travel writing shifted from accounts of exotic lands aimed at armchair travellers to guidebooks offering advice for potential tourists.²³⁶ The latter accounts provide contemporary comment on the sale of souvenir jewellery in Ireland. Analysis of three nineteenth-century travel guides, published between 1842 and 1859, has yielded considerable insight into the retail and consumption of jewellery made in Killarney and Dublin. The sale of bog oak and arbutus wares in Killarney was dominated by women. In Dublin, a successful family business retailing bog oak was managed by two sisters. The first two accounts were written by women, Anna Maria Hall and Theresa West, and the third is a guide published by the railway companies in 1859.

Anna Maria Hall and her husband Stuart made five tours of Ireland between 1825 and 1840.²³⁷ The first edition of their travels was published in 1841.²³⁸ The Halls were evidently experienced travellers, so arguably their recommendations carried weight. The stated aim of their publication was ‘to promote the welfare of Ireland’.²³⁹ Writing of Killarney, they claimed that the only manufactures of note were ‘toys made of arbutus wood’, going on to record that ‘the best are made by a

²³² Breandán Mac Suibhne (ed.), *John Gamble, Society and Manners in early nineteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2011), p. 412.

²³³ Greig, ‘London’s *Beau Monde*’, p. 303.

²³⁴ Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, p. 152.

²³⁵ Peter Mandler, ‘“The wand of fancy”: the historical imagination of the Victorian tourist’ in Kwint, *et. al.*, *Material memories*, p. 126.

²³⁶ Flanders, *Consuming passions*, p. 199.

²³⁷ Mr & Mrs S.C. Hall, *Ireland: its scenery, character, etc., vol. 1* (London, 1841), ‘The authors’ advertisement’, p. iii.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

widow and her daughters, who have a shop in the High Street, immediately opposite the Kenmare Arms' hotel.²⁴⁰ The widow was probably Mrs Neatte who exhibited at the Dublin Society 'a number of beautiful articles manufactured from the arbutus wood'.²⁴¹ The Halls had granted Neatte an exclusive recommendation as the manufacturer of choice for those wishing to purchase souvenirs of their travels in Killarney.

Another travel writer, Theresa West, documented her 1846 tour of Ireland.²⁴² She also visited Killarney and noted the sale of workboxes, pins, crosses and locally manufactured tables crafted from arbutus wood, deer horn and 'black oak'.²⁴³ West granted her seal of approval to Mrs Eagan, remarking that she promised to 'mention her husband, James Eagan, to my English friends who will find *marquetterie* in this little town equal to any in Florence or Belgium'.²⁴⁴ West also noted, 'these poor people have no winter employment whatever and their sale of these fancy articles is of course precarious'.²⁴⁵ She was perhaps repeating the marketing technique practiced on her by the seller Mrs Eagan who had brought a number of 'curious specimens of fancy articles' to the hotel for sale. Mrs Eagan had taken her stock directly to the holidaymakers in the lakeside Victoria Hotel, which lay about one mile outside the town. Young girls travelled around the lakes and hotels 'carrying baskets full of nick-nackeries manufactured out of ... arbutus wood or Irish bog-oak'.²⁴⁶ Interestingly, West remarked that larger items such as tables costing from ten guineas to thirty guineas would be delivered free of charge to London.²⁴⁷ Mrs Eagan was evidently a shrewd sales woman, appealing on the one hand to the altruistic who wished to support the poor in local industry, while on the other hand demonstrating a keen sense of customer awareness, by bringing stock in the evening time to an out of town hotel and then assuring customers that purchases would be delivered free of charge to their London homes. This was an

²⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 255.

²⁴¹ Mrs & Mrs S.C. Hall, *Ireland: its scenery, character, etc. vol. 2* (London, 1846), p. 335.

²⁴² Mrs Frederick West, *A summer visit to Ireland in 1846* (London, 1847).

²⁴³ Ibid., p. 93.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., pp 93-4.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 94.

²⁴⁶ *The tourist's illustrated hand-book for Ireland / with six maps, and sixty-six illustrations from drawings by Mahony, Crowquill, Jones, and Lover*, p. 110.

²⁴⁷ West, *A summer visit to Ireland in 1846*, p. 93.

important service as tourists in Killarney travelled by road until the arrival of the railway in 1853.²⁴⁸ Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Eagan secured West's recommendation, in writing. Over the next twenty years James Eagan became one of the most successful manufacturers of 'Killarney ware'.²⁴⁹ By 1858 his advertisements cautioned tourists against purchasing from hawkers,²⁵⁰ the very practice his wife had used in 1846. It is tempting to speculate that although Mrs Eagan's husband James manufactured bog oak wares, it was she who promoted the business and ensured that tourists were given every opportunity to purchase their goods.

Theresa West also spent some time in Dublin and during her stay she records visiting a number of bog oak 'depots'.²⁵¹ She noted that 'all manner of pretty nick-knacks and ornaments' could be found at Freymuth's on Sackville Street and at an establishment 'opposite the College Gardens',²⁵² possibly referring to the premises of Cornelius Goggin or Denis Connell on Nassau Street. She favoured a third establishment which she recommended to 'all my curiosity-seeking friends', going on to remark that the firm was 'being kept by two very pretty young women'.²⁵³ The shop on Great Britain Street was that of William Griffiths, a jeweller and bog oak manufacturer. The firm appears to have been overseen by Mrs Griffiths and her sister, daughters of the deceased Patrick McGuirk.²⁵⁴ McGuirk was possibly the first to manufacture and retail items of bog oak.²⁵⁵ Given the growing popularity of such wares it is unsurprising that Theresa West gave over almost two pages of her book to recommending the patronage of McGuirk's family business. The jewellery (figure 7.24) which was presumably made by William Griffiths and retailed by his wife and sister-in-law included 'brooches of Brian Borimhe's harp, some mounted with Irish gems', such as 'emerald and diamond', and pearls from Lough Corrib; bracelets in the

²⁴⁸ Austen, 'Tourism and industry: Killarney and its furniture', p. 45.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ West, *A summer visit to Ireland in 1846*, p. 184.

²⁵² *Ibid.*

²⁵³ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ In 1840, Patrick McGuirk, 1 Georges Hill, is the first bog oak manufacturer noted in Dublin street directories.

Herculaneum snake pattern, with diamond eyes and crests'; and 'studs, ... crosses ... rosaries, and pins of every imaginable description'.²⁵⁶ Once again, Theresa West may have been repeating the words of clever businesswomen when she remarked 'I fear the two pretty sisters do not obtain a vast deal of custom'.²⁵⁷ Despite West's claim to the contrary, the Griffiths business appears to have prospered, moving to a premises on Grafton Street in 1847, where it remained until at least 1850. Mrs Griffith exhibited a glass case of bog oak ornaments and other specimens of bog oak carving at the exhibition of Irish manufacture, produce and invention held at the Royal Dublin Society's house on 30 June 1847. For her efforts she was awarded a small silver medal.²⁵⁸ Other winners included Mrs Neatte of 10 Nassau Street who exhibited bog oak brooches and bracelets.²⁵⁹ By 1860, a Mrs Griffith, a 'fancy jeweller' with an address on Marlborough Street was listed in the Dublin street directory.²⁶⁰ In 1864, bog oak bracelets, brooches and other ornaments were being sent to the Chicago Fenian Fair in support of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.²⁶¹

An 1859 guide published by the railway and steam packet companies noted the popularity of bog oak ornaments.²⁶² Published thirteen years after West's account, the guide confirms that bog oak sellers were now a feature of Killarney lake tours. They had been joined by the 'mountain dew girls' who sold whiskey and goats' milk. When the image of a quietly smiling bog oak seller is pictured alongside the whiskey sellers whose 'forwardness' ensured that it was impossible to 'avoid or escape their importunities', the bog oak sellers appear almost meek in comparison.²⁶³ Nevertheless, it is apparent that women had developed strong sales techniques which had become endemic to tourism in Killarney. Men appear to have found alternative employment as carmen, boatmen and guides.

²⁵⁶ West, *A summer visit to Ireland in 1846*, p. 185.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁸ *The report and adjudication held at the Royal Dublin Society's house 1847*, p. 30.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ *Thom's Dublin Directory*, 1860.

²⁶¹ R.V. Comerford, *The Fenians in context – Irish politics and society 1848-82* (Dublin, 1984), cited by Brian Griffin, 'Scallions, pikes and bog oak ornaments' in *Studia Hibernica*, no.29, 1995-7, p. 93.

²⁶² *The tourists' illustrated hand-book for Ireland* (7th ed., London & Dublin, 1859).

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

7.3.3 Patriotic consumers

Throughout the period under review the support of domestic manufacturers was a constant refrain.²⁶⁴ Support of Irish goods was considered to be beneficial to manufacturer, merchant and the consumer. In the late eighteenth century, reaction to trade restrictions prompted attacks on retailers and merchants of imported textile goods.²⁶⁵ As Jacqueline Hill has argued, tradesmen who were known to oppose Catholic emancipation feared becoming victims of boycotting.²⁶⁶ In the early to mid-eighteenth century attendees at state functions in Dublin Castle were repeatedly requested to wear Irish manufactures.²⁶⁷ Efforts to popularise the wearing of locally-produced manufactures continued throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²⁶⁸ The organisers of social events occasionally encouraged attendees to support Irish manufacturers particularly in the context of textiles. Jewellers also employed the rhetoric of patriotism in their advertising.

Patriotism may have been a priority for some but variety and value for money were equally strong inducements. The pursuit of novelty and variety were powerful motivations for the consumption of luxury goods.²⁶⁹ In the second half of the eighteenth century taste, associated with the desire for novelty, competed with the intrinsic value of silver plate. This trend extended to jewellery, particularly in the nineteenth century.²⁷⁰

Dublin jewellers understood that their stock had to reconcile the desire for the patriotic along with the pursuit of novelty and fashionability. To this end jewellers often advertised an assortment of imported and locally produced goods.

²⁶⁴ For example see, Sarah Foster, 'Buying Irish: consumer nationalism in 18th-century Dublin', in *History Today*, xlvii, 6 (1997), pp 44-51.

²⁶⁵ Moran, 'Merchants', pp 151-52.

²⁶⁶ Jacqueline Hill, "'Carrying the war into the walks of commerce': exclusive dealing and the southern Protestant middle class during the Catholic emancipation campaign", in Lane, *Politics, society and the middle class*, pp 65-6.

²⁶⁷ Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, p. 254.

²⁶⁸ Foster, 'Buying Irish', pp 44-51.

²⁶⁹ For a discussion of novelty as a source of pleasure see, Marina Bianchi, 'In the name of the tulip. Why speculation?', in Berg & Clifford, *Consumers and luxury*, pp 88-99.

²⁷⁰ Clifford, 'A commerce with things', p. 148; see also FitzGerald, 'The business of being a goldsmith'; Barnard, *Making the grand figure*; Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*.

William Mooney's advertisement of January 1820 probably best describes the jewellery, watches and plated wares offered by many Dublin jewellers: 'he has laid in a fashionable and extensive assortment of the very best articles in each line, some of them manufactured by himself, and the rest carefully selected, from the most respectable London Warehouses.'²⁷¹ John Bacon, a Dame Street jeweller, took the opportunity to suggest that a purchase from his house represented confidence in Irish manufactures. 'To the encouragers of Native Industry' he claimed to offer 'the Public at prices considerably under what they can be purchased for at other Houses, who have either to import them or purchase from him or some other Manufacturer.'²⁷² In contrast, in 1826 Smith and Gamble made the erroneous claim to be 'the only manufacturing jewellers in Ireland'.²⁷³

In the following decades of the nineteenth century, a more direct approach was made to consumers.²⁷⁴ In the 1840s, the Board of Trades printed a pledge document, with blank space left for an individual to insert their name promising to support Irish manufactures (figure 7.25). The pledge could be dated, numbered and witnessed by the president of the association. This is an interesting document as it clearly represents an attempt to sign up individual consumers. Unlike advertisements encouraging an anonymous consumer to purchase Irish manufactures, the pledge document points to a more aggressive buy-Irish campaign. A consumer signing the document gave:

a promise to encourage ... the manufactures and industry of Ireland ... by wearing exclusively Irish manufacture and purchasing all articles of Irish production ... as long as the manufactures, operatives & shopkeepers furnish ... genuine articles of good quality at a moderate price.²⁷⁵

The consumer and the manufacturer and retailer were all bound together in the promotion of Irish goods. Nevertheless, the consumer wished for value and the

²⁷¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 26 Jan. 1820.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 28 Jan. 1820.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 17 May 1826.

²⁷⁴ As Foster notes, in the eighteenth century the campaign for buying Irish goods focused on where the objects were made whereas in the nineteenth century the appearance of goods came more to the fore. Foster, 'Buying Irish', p. 45.

²⁷⁵ Board of trades for reviving and protecting Irish manufacture, pledge document 184? (NLI, ephemera collection, box 2).

retailer was motivated by profit. The Board of Trades was made up of representatives drawn from each manufacturing trade and two consumers from each parish.²⁷⁶ The ethos of the movement was ‘economic nationalism’, the members pledged to establish ‘national patronage for Irish manufacture, on a solid and permanent basis’.²⁷⁷ Although, as Cadoc Leighton argues, the concept of an alliance between manufacturer, retailer and consumer was, in practice, problematic. By 1842, the failure of the movement was laid at the feet of the ‘Dublin shopkeepers [who] had violated their voluntary pledge’.²⁷⁸ It was claimed that it was the shopkeepers’ practice ‘to get English goods from Kingstown at midnight.’²⁷⁹ Whether or not the pledge document was actually circulated to consumers or if indeed any responded remains unclear, however, the movement was influential in highlighting the need for indigenous support of Irish manufactures.²⁸⁰

7.4 Purchasing jewellery: at home and abroad

Dublin offered potential customers a choice of jewellery retailers. As noted in chapter two, twenty-nine jewellers were listed in Dublin street directories in 1770; one hundred years later, seventy firms were noted. Jewellers could be also found in many provincial towns.²⁸¹ Although individual consumption remains extremely difficult to document, the examples presented here are used to aid investigation of consumer motivation and test individual consumer habits against wider trends for the period.²⁸² The trade receipts of Henry Clements (1764), Twycross & Sons (1836) and Law & Son (1836), three Dublin jewellers, are examined here. Trade receipts for goods purchased are a rich source of information as the articles purchased and the prices paid are frequently itemised. Sometimes the name of the customer was also noted on the invoice. Linking an

²⁷⁶ C.D.A. Leighton, *The Irish manufacture movement* (Maynooth, 1987), p. 27. I am grateful to Jackie Hill for bringing this to my attention.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 25-6.

²⁷⁸ *Galway Vindicator*, 8 Jun. 1842, quoted by Leighton, *Irish manufacture movement*, p. 29.

²⁷⁹ *Pilot*, 20 Aug. 1841, quoted by Leighton, *Irish manufacture movement*, p. 30.

²⁸⁰ Leighton, *Irish manufacture movement*, p. 3.

²⁸¹ A number of examples have been cited in chapters two and three.

²⁸² For example, Tara Kelly makes the point that individual consumption of archaeological-style in Ireland is difficult to document, in her recent research on Celtic revival jewellery, Kelly, ‘Commerce and the Celtic Revival’, p. 193.

individual to the purchase of jewellery for a specific event can be difficult.²⁸³ The records of the London jeweller Arthur Webb (1761-88) analysed here offer an insight into the purchasing habits of the Irish consumer.

7.4.1 Purchasing jewellery at home

What motivated Sir Richard Johnson to spend over £200 in 1764 with a Dublin jeweller? On 6 October 1764, Sir Richard Johnson of Gilford, Co. Down, married Anne Alexander, the daughter of a Dublin merchant.²⁸⁴ In the five months before his marriage, Johnson purchased jewellery and other items to the value of £165 3s. 9d., from Henry Clements, a jeweller at the Star and Garter on Parliament Street.²⁸⁵ Johnson's account with a Dublin jeweller offers a significant opportunity to contextualise the purchases made by one individual. Johnson's account with Henry Clements details the goods bought by Johnson during a short period before and after his marriage. In total, Johnson spent £210 5s. 2d.²⁸⁶ From 4 June 1764 to just three days before his marriage on 6 October 1764, Johnson's purchases consisted almost entirely of jewellery.²⁸⁷ At least thirteen rings were purchased, including several hoop rings. One ring set with four brilliants cost £4 10s. 3d., including over £1 for making up the piece. The emerald hoop was most expensive at £5, in comparison the amethyst and topaz rings cost £4 11s. for the pair. The ruby and sapphire hoop rings cost £4 each (figure 7.26). The choice of gemstone was significant. The first letter of each gemstone could spell out an endearing message or sometimes a name.²⁸⁸ The hoop rings purchased by Johnson were set with diamonds, emeralds, amethysts, rubies, sapphires and topaz. The initial letters of the stones could be interpreted as forming the word

²⁸³ Irish and British repositories do hold family papers, some of which contain jewellers' billheads, itemising purchases. However, the context of the purchase is often unclear. For a wider discussion of estate and family papers see Barnard, *Material culture in Ireland*, pp 63-75.

²⁸⁴ Irish genealogy, available at

<http://churchrecords.irishgenealogy.ie/churchrecords/details/8e55400551599> [28 Oct. 2014]. The Peerage, available at www.thepeerage.com/p14490.htm#i144900 [13 May 2014].

²⁸⁵ Henry Clements to Richard Johnson, account 15 Nov. 1764 (PRONI, Burges papers, D1594/66).

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ *Dictionary of jewelry*, p. 11; *ibid.*, p. 254. Newman offers a description of acrostic jewellery and regard jewellery. Single rings could be set with a variety of different gemstones to spell out a word, or more unusually individual hoop rings were set with stones and then joined together.

'dearest'.²⁸⁹ Gem-set hoops to secure wedding rings became fashionable towards the end of the eighteenth century.²⁹⁰ Jane Austen's self-serving character Isabella Thorpe wished to be a bride with a 'brilliant exhibition of hoop-rings on her finger'.²⁹¹ Johnson's purchases are remarkably similar to the jewellery Alicia Caulfield brought to her marriage, also in 1764. Caulfield was the daughter of James Caulfield, Viscount Charlemont. Her marriage settlement, dated 30 March 1764, included 'a schedule of jewels' in her possession.²⁹² The jewellery comprised diamond necklaces, rings and hair sprigs.²⁹³ Three weeks after the date of the marriage settlement, she married Sir John Browne, Lord Kilmaine of the Neale, county Mayo, on 23 April 1764.²⁹⁴

On the eve of his marriage, Johnson ordered a silver purse and a locket ring set with brilliants'.²⁹⁵ The amount invested by Johnson in jewellery represented over half that outlaid for items of domestic silver. Johnson spent over £75 on jewellery and over £142 on domestic goods. All his jewellery purchases were made before his marriage. In the six weeks following his marriage to Anne he made no jewellery purchases from Clements. Rather he continued to furnish his home with silver candlesticks and table ware. Clements was also entrusted with engraving a considerable number of items with Johnson's coat of arms and crest. As noted by Helen Clifford, the display of dining table silver engraved with a family crest was a way of signifying dynasty, wealth and taste.²⁹⁶

Edward, 13th Lord Gormanstown, eldest son of the Catholic Jenico Preston, married Lucretia Jerningham on 19 July 1836.²⁹⁷ One month before his marriage,

²⁸⁹ As Clare Phillips notes, the most common combination of gemstones were ruby, emerald, garnet, amethyst, ruby and diamond to convey REGARD. Phillips, *Jewelry*, p. 135.

²⁹⁰ Phillips, *Jewelry*, p. 135.

²⁹¹ Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey* (1803), chapter 15, cited by Church, *Rings*, p. 67.

²⁹² Alicia Caulfield schedule of jewels, 30 Mar. 1764 (PRONI, Stewart papers, D859/61).

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ John Debrett, *Debrett's peerage of England, Scotland and Ireland, revised corrected and continued by G.W. Collen* (London, 1840), p. 1127.

²⁹⁵ After marriage, he made several purchases including four dozen pearl counters, a Backgammon box and a silver dish ring.

²⁹⁶ Clifford, *Silver in London*, p. 182.

²⁹⁷ Gormanstown papers, introduction, p. 9 (NLI, Gormanstown papers, MS44413/7), available at National Library of Ireland, http://www.nli.ie/pdfs/mss%20lists/132_GormanstonPapers.pdf [25

several items of jewellery were purchased from two Dublin jewellers. The first purchases made on 22 June 1836 were from Twycross & Sons on Dame Street (figure 7.27). A garnet ornament, a fine gold chain, a regard ring and an emerald pin cost £22 8s.²⁹⁸ Two days later, on 24 June, an amethyst suite (figure 7.28) costing £36 15s. and a regard brooch costing £5 5s. were purchased from Law & Son on Sackville Street.²⁹⁹ In August, shortly after the wedding, four silver dishes with covers were purchased from Law & Son, at a cost of £176 8s.³⁰⁰ The dishes were engraved with the Gormanstown arms and crests.

The centrality of an impending wedding was common to both Johnson and Gormanstown's purchases. Although the events took place over seventy years apart, one in 1764 and the other in 1836, both weddings were marked by similar patterns of consumption. Costly jewellery was purchased in advance of the wedding and a short period after marriage an investment was made in household silver engraved with the family's coat of arms. Johnson and Gormanstown purchased jewellery which expressed endearment. Given that Edward was to marry shortly after the purchase of the regard ring and brooch, these gifts were most likely given to his *fiancée* and received as a token of love. The regard jewellery purchased by Gormanstown would have been set with ruby, emerald, garnet, amethyst, ruby and diamond, the initial letters of each gem thus spelling 'regard'.³⁰¹ Such jewellery came in different forms and could include a key or a heart. A charming example is a small gold brooch c.1798, (figure 7.29) in the form of a key, enamelled with dark blue.³⁰² The top section of the key forms a tiny locket surrounded with pearls containing finely plaited hair. This brooch is more likely to be a sentimental token rather than a memorial brooch. In the

Sept. 2014]. The Peerage, available at: <http://www.thepeerage.com/p7568.htm#i75680> [21 Jun. 2013].

²⁹⁸ Twycross & Sons to Lord Gormanstown, 22 Jun. 1836 (NLI, Gormanstown papers, MS 44413/7).

²⁹⁹ Law & Son to Lord Gormanstown, billhead, 24 Jun. 1836 (NLI, Gormanstown papers, MS 44413/7).

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 8 Aug. 1836.

³⁰¹ Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*, p. 158.

³⁰² The brooch in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland is believed to have belonged to the grandmother of Mary Prendergast, the donor of the brooch.

1780s, the key shape was an expression of love and signified giving away the key to one's heart.³⁰³

Sir Richard Johnson's purchases from Henry Clements attest to the bewildering choice of buckles, ciphers and toys, such as tortoiseshell toothpick cases, stocked by the Dublin toyman. As observed by Stobart et al, visiting fashionable shops was an element of a polite lifestyle.³⁰⁴ Equally, the status of shops such as Henry Clements' was reinforced by the social standing of their customers.³⁰⁵ Shopping involved browsing, inspecting goods and was also an opportunity to demonstrate refinement. A fictional account of a visit to a London jeweller's shop emphasised the behaviour of customers as an indicator of politeness. Jane Austen's novel *Sense and Sensibility*, first published in 1811, offers an insight into the shopping habits of early nineteenth-century customers. The Dashwood sisters were forced to wait while a gentleman chose a toothpick-case:

The correctness of his eye, and the delicacy of his taste, proved to be beyond his politeness. He was giving orders for a toothpick-case for himself, and till its size, shape, and ornaments were determined, all of which, after examining and debating for a quarter of an hour over every toothpick-case in the shop, were finally arranged by his own inventive fancy, he had no leisure to bestow any other attention on the two ladies, ... served to imprint on Elinor the remembrance of a person and face, of strong, natural, sterling insignificance, though adorned in the first style of fashion.³⁰⁶

Not only was the choice of purchase important, so too was correct behaviour when shopping.³⁰⁷

7.4.2 Purchasing jewellery abroad: 'the plague of commissions',³⁰⁸

Irish consumers enjoyed travelling to London, Birmingham and the continent, where they found new opportunities for entertainment, along with a novel variety

³⁰³ Phillips, *Jewels & jewellery*, p. 67.

³⁰⁴ Stobart, *et al.*, *Spaces of consumption*, p. 149; also see Pointon, *Hanging the head*, p. 143.

³⁰⁵ Stobart, *et al.*, *Spaces of consumption*, p. 149.

³⁰⁶ Jane Austen, *Sense and Sensibility* (London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Paris, 1833), p. 189.

³⁰⁷ Walsh, 'Shops, shopping and decision making', p. 165.

³⁰⁸ Honora Edgeworth to Charles Sneyd, 13 Aug. 1813 (NLI, Edgeworth papers, MS 10,166/7 Pos. 9032 no. 953).

of jewellery, as will be demonstrated. As noted by Rebecca Campion, the complex buying patterns of Irish consumers ‘reflected their search for a new role within the British Empire’ and the purchase of foreign manufacturers did not necessarily equate to a lack of patriotism.³⁰⁹ Those travelling to fashionable London could visit impressive jewellery firms such as Garrard on Panton Street, or A. Forrer, an artist in hair jewellery on Oxford Street. Several Irish customers were patrons of the London jeweller Arthur Webb (1771-81). At least twelve female consumers were among Webb’s Irish patrons.³¹⁰ In October 1771, Louisa and Anne Cane, daughters of Hugh Cane (1716-93), a member of parliament for Tallaght, county Dublin, placed an order with Webb.³¹¹ On this occasion they spent almost £350 with the jeweller. Among the items requested by the Cane sisters, were single drop earrings and crosses set with blazes (figure 7.30). As their family home was in county Kildare, a trip to Dublin would have been possible, yet they chose to place their custom with a London jeweller.³¹² They appear to have furnished Webb with a letter of recommendation, as he noted in his ledger ‘recommended by Mrs Blain’.³¹³

The Cane sisters were not alone in patronising Webb. Mrs Butler of Kilkenny Castle was a regular patron, albeit with a penchant for running up debt with the accommodating Webb. In 1772, Butler’s account with Webb which reached back to 1767, amounted to £312 19s. 11d. Having written to Butler in May 1772 requesting payment, he received £50 in return.³¹⁴ Webb supplied Henry Mannix of Cork, possibly Sir Henry Mannix, a magistrate who died in 1823, with a

³⁰⁹ Rebecca M. Ricardo Campion, ‘Reconstructing an ascendancy world: the material culture of Frederick Hery, the Earl Bishop of Derry (1730-1803)’ (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland Maynooth, 2012), p. 114.

³¹⁰ Mrs Gray, Cork; Lady Arabella Denny; Lady Farnham, Miss Groves, Cork; Mrs Butler, Kilkenny; Mrs Hutchinson, Dublin; Misses Ann & Luisa Cane; Mrs Rickson, Cork; Mrs Trotter, Ireland; Mrs Lamellier, Cork; Mrs Jeffries, Cork. Ledger 1761-1788; Journal 1784-1789 (TNA, The Webb papers, MS C108/285 no. 14 and 12).

³¹¹ Ledger entry, 31 Oct. 1771, Ledger 1761-1788 (TNA, The Webb papers, MS C108/285 no.14 - Ledger 1761-1788), p. 54.

³¹² Anne Cane married Sir Edward Leslie, in 1773. They had one daughter, Catherine Louisa Leslie, see O’Hart, *Irish pedigrees* (2 vols, 5th ed., Dublin, London, Glasgow, New York, 1892), i, 626-7.

³¹³ Ledger entry, 31 Oct. 1771, Ledger 1761-1788 (TNA, The Webb papers, MS C108/285 no.14 - Ledger 1761-1788), p. 54.

³¹⁴ Arthur Webb to Mrs Butler, 1 June 1772 (NA, The Webb papers, MS C108/284, book of letters no.16).

miniature and a 'rose diamond hair ring'.³¹⁵ Webb accepted a gold watch case, gold chain, a silver cup, sundry spoons and salts from Mannix in part-payment of his account.³¹⁶ Occasionally, Webb used Irish gemstones, presumably at the behest of his customer. Mr Davis of Cork had Webb set an 'Irish amethyst in a ring'.³¹⁷ The Cane sisters made a part payment at the time of purchase in October 1771, settling their account six months later, while Mannix traded-in old jewellery and silver along with a cash payment. Although Webb valued the custom from such a 'respectable family', the extended credit extracted by Butler was a source of great distress for him.³¹⁸

Rundell & Bridge, one of the foremost jewellers in London supplied jewellery to a number of Irish peers. Lord Clonbrock purchased a diamond necklace worth sixteen guineas from the firm in 1806 (figure 7.31).³¹⁹ On the occasion of her marriage in 1819, the Marchioness of Londonderry received a gift of a cross enamelled with flowers and set with emeralds and ruby (figure 7.32). The gift was purchased from Rundell & Bridge by the Prince Regent, later George IV.³²⁰

Others visited industrious Birmingham to witness symbols of modernity like the cut-steel jewellery made at the Soho Manufactory. In 1806, Lady Mary Lonsdale, on route to Dublin, wrote to her sister Louisa Stuart. The sisters were daughters of Earl Bute, the English prime minister from 1762-3.³²¹ Mary had visited Birmingham, but had no desire to visit the manufactories, finding the town 'dirty and disagreeable'.³²² Nevertheless, she did take a walk to a booksellers and

³¹⁵ Ledger entry, 9 Oct. 1778, Ledger 1761-1788 (NA, The Webb papers, MS C108/285 no.14 - Ledger 1761-1788), p. 111.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ledger entry, 28 Dec. 1786, Ledger 1761-1788 (NA, The Webb papers, MS C108/285 no.14 - Ledger 1761-1788), p. 158.

³¹⁸ Arthur Webb to Mrs Butler, 1 June 1772 (TNA, The Webb papers, MS C108/284, book of letters no.16).

³¹⁹ Diana Scarisbrick, 'George IV and jewels', in Adamson, *Rundell and Bridge*, p. 82.

³²⁰ Adamson, *Rundell and Bridge*, p. 47.

³²¹ Neil Jeffares, *Dictionary of pastellists before 1800* (Norwich, 2006), available at Pastels & pastellists, <http://www.pastellists.com/Articles/LONSDALE.pdf> [2 Oct. 2014].

³²² Lady Mary Stuart Lonsdale to Lady Louisa Stuart, 12 Aug. 1806 in Alice Georgina Caroline Strong Clark, (ed.), *Gleanings from an old portfolio containing some correspondence between Lady Louisa Stuart and her sister, Caroline [Stuart Dawson], Countess of Portarlengton [d.1813], and other friends and relatives, vol. 3.* (Edinburgh, 1898), p. 334.

jewellers. ‘The jewellers highly amused me, the works in steel particularly so, and the imitations of precious metals and stones are in a perfection greatly beyond what is to be seen in London, and at about half price.’³²³ Lonsdale’s comments suggest a familiarity with London shops as she clearly compared the jewellery in Birmingham with that to be had in London, remarking that the quality and value surpassed that available from London jewellers. Customers enjoyed the sights of London and Birmingham, but inevitably wished for value. The ease of reproducing jewellery by die stamping allowed Birmingham manufacturers to produce larger quantities quickly, thus rendering them cheaper. Nevertheless, some manufacturers, such as Boulton, admitted that London silversmiths may well have offered silver plate at lower prices.³²⁴ Ironically, when Matthew Boulton considered setting up a shop in London he wished to preserve ‘the novelty of patterns ... from Birmingham, Sheffield and London pimps’.³²⁵ Not all consumers were impressed by the prospect of shopping in England. During the summer of 1838, Mrs Henry King travelled to Liverpool from her home in Ballylin, Co. Offaly.³²⁶ Having visited a number of shops she dismissed their offerings, noting Dublin shops were superior.³²⁷ When in Dublin, she favoured staying at Tuthill’s Hotel, Dawson Street, as it was convenient for shopping.³²⁸

Honora Edgeworth, daughter of Richard Edgeworth, wrote to her brother Charles Sneyd in 1813.³²⁹ Sneyd was journeying through Derby and Honora required a number of very specific items. She prefaced her shopping list with the wry remark ‘now Sneyd don’t imagine that you have escaped the plague of commissions, no quarantine can secure you from it’.³³⁰ Sneyd was to obtain two stalactite necklaces, costing between 16s. and 19s. Although Edgeworth was most specific about their appearance, ‘they are composed of oval pieces of stalactite

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Kenneth Quickenden, ‘Silver, plated and silvered products from the Soho Manufactory, 1780’, in *The Silver Society Journal*, x (1988), p. 78.

³²⁵ Matthew Boulton’s ideas of a theka, 1770 (LBA, Boulton papers, MS 3782/1/19).

³²⁶ Probably Harriett, wife of Rev. Henry King.

³²⁷ Diary Mrs. Henry King, 6 June 1838 (NLI, diary, MS 3551).

³²⁸ Ibid., 8 June 1838; John James McGregor, *New picture of Dublin*, p. 334.

³²⁹ Honora Edgeworth to Charles Sneyd, 13 Aug. 1813 (NLI, Edgeworth papers, MS 10,166/7 Pos. 9032 no. 953).

³³⁰ Ibid.

polished and attached to each other by a simple ring not set round', she insisted that he elicit the help of an acquaintance 'Anne Smith' [Thrift?]. Smith had accompanied Edgeworth when she made a similar purchase. Edgeworth also asked for gardening tools, helpfully including a sketch of a 'pleasure ground rake'.³³¹

Those who visited Pompeii might bring home a souvenir of jewellery from nearby Naples. As Gere and Rudoe have shown, tourists eagerly collected jewellery.³³² In 1858, during her tour of Paris, Rome and Naples, a genteel Dublin woman purchased charms and bracelets made from coral and lava rock.³³³ In Paris, she favoured bracelets and a 'ring for a watch', and she chose earrings in Rome. Coral charms at 9*d.* each and a lava bracelet costing 18*s.* 19*d.* were purchased in Naples (figure 7.33).³³⁴ Multi-coloured 'lava' stone was actually a soft limestone, native to southern Italy.³³⁵ It was used by local craftsmen to manufacture cameo jewellery, some of which replicated motifs found in local archaeological excavations.³³⁶ A selection of coral jewellery, probably from Naples, carved into the form of fox heads, watch keys, arms and legs was among the exhibits at the 1851 exhibition in London.³³⁷ Coral jewellery remained fashionable throughout the nineteenth century and was believed to ward off evil.³³⁸ A gift of a coral rattle set in gold (figure 7.34), on the birth of a baby, may have originated in Anatolia.³³⁹ Traditionally, such a gift functioned as a talisman.³⁴⁰ Edmond Johnson manufactured mountings for 'coral and bells'.³⁴¹ In 1866, the Dublin jeweller James Mayfield stocked coral earrings, Masonic jewels, horseshoe pins,

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*, pp 484-5.

³³³ Account book entries 14-21 Apr. 1859 (NLI, account book 1858-65, MS 14,277).

³³⁴ For a discussion of the Coral market in the eighteenth century see, Gedalia Yogeve, *Diamonds and coral, Anglo-Dutch Jews and eighteenth-century trade* (Leicester, 1978).

³³⁵ Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*, p. 493.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Ibid., pp 240-41.

³³⁸ Ibid., p. 240.

³³⁹ Clifford, *Gold*, p. 130.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Assay, 18 Oct. 1849 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 34).

lockets and necklaces.³⁴² The Mayfield stock book is revealing for the range of coral jewellery available in Dublin in the 1860s.

Preserved among a number of receipts for purchases made by Henry O'Hara from several Dublin jewellers, are two receipts for a considerable quantity of jewellery purchased in Rome in 1866.³⁴³ In April 1866, O'Hara or a colleague purchased at least ten items of jewellery, including pearl bracelets and chains from Vittoria Pozzi, whose 'ancestors invented the Roman pearls.'³⁴⁴ In May of the same year, the Freschi firm, which stocked 'argenterie, bijouterie, chapelets', sold over twenty-seven pieces, including brooches and beads.³⁴⁵ The May receipt has been converted into pounds giving further credence to the purchases having been made by a visitor to Rome. The purchase of such a significant amount of jewellery suggests that it may have been acquired at the behest of relatives or friends of the purchaser. As Toby Barnard remarks, men who journeyed alone to continental Europe might be described as 'itinerants ... saddled with tasks.'³⁴⁶ Charles Sneyd would almost certainly have agreed with that sentiment.

Conclusion

The cultural and political changes experienced in Ireland during the period c.1770 to c.1870 impacted on the production and consumption of jewellery in Dublin. The final decades of the eighteenth century witnessed the inception of the Order of St. Patrick and the Orange Order, the 1798 rebellion and the demise of the Irish Parliament. Consumer taste widened as the landed and aristocratic consumers were joined by an emerging middle-class of doctors, lawyers and merchants. Improved transport encouraged tourism and fuelled the market for souvenirs. Consumers wore evocative emblems, displayed as marks of sentiment or

³⁴² James Mayfield & Co., stock book, 12 Dec. 1866 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild MS 133).

³⁴³ Billhead, Vittoria Pozzi, Rome to unknown, 15 Apr. 1866 and billhead, Freschi, Rome to unknown, May? 1866 (TCD, Hart and O'Hara papers, MS 7526, accounts folder 'jewellery 1858-69).

³⁴⁴ Billhead, Vittoria Pozzi, Rome to unknown, 15 Apr. 1866 (TCD, Hart and O'Hara papers, MS 7526, accounts folder 'jewellery 1858-69).

³⁴⁵ Billhead, Freschi, Rome to unknown, May? 1866 (TCD, Hart and O'Hara papers, MS 7526, accounts folder 'jewellery 1858-69). Chapelets = rosaries, bijouterie = jewellery, etc., argenterie = type of silver plate, or possibly denotes silverware.

³⁴⁶ Barnard, *Making the grand figure*, p. 278.

solidarity. Jewellery signified wealth and respectability. By the mid-nineteenth century Ireland had been ravaged by famine and immigration, the landscape had been altered by the introduction of the railway and excitement and hope was palpable during the exhibitions of industrial and manufacturing prowess. The concluding chapter of this thesis brings together the themes of manufacture, design, retail and consumption by examining the mid-nineteenth century manufacturing exhibitions.

Chapter Eight

‘Visions of pomp, and pageantry’:¹ three industrial exhibitions of the 1850s

The manufacture and retail of jewellery over the period c.1770 to c.1870 has been considered in some detail in the previous chapters. Chapter four has provided the context for this chapter by exploring the factors which led to the emergence of new patented jewellery designs. This chapter will clarify how Dublin jewellers engaged with national and international exhibitions. The 1851 Great Exhibition in London was possibly the defining cultural event of the nineteenth century. This chapter centres on three exhibitions which took place in London, Cork and Dublin between 1851 and 1853. The Irish contributions to each exhibition will be identified and discussed. As will be demonstrated, Dublin jewellers dominated the Irish jewellery exhibits.

The manufacturing and industrial exhibitions of the nineteenth century have been the focus of many academic studies. In the main, debates have focussed on the political and economic aims of exhibitions and the adoption of exhibitions as vehicles for demonstrating national identity.² However, objects have received comparatively little attention in the debates surrounding exhibitions.³ Jeanne Sheehy’s work remains a seminal study of the Celtic revival, but does not specifically focus on nineteenth-century exhibitions.⁴ One of the few object-based studies is Margaret McEnchroe Williams’ study of high crosses at the Dublin exhibition.⁵ Livia Rezende has presented research on Brazilian fans

¹ Maguire, *National exhibition of 1852*, p. 17.

² Auerbach & Hoffenberg, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*; Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral vistas*.

³ Purbrick, ‘Defining nation’, p. 61.

⁴ Sheehy, *The rediscovery of Ireland’s past*.

⁵ McEnchroe Williams, ‘The Temple of Industry’, pp 261-75.

exhibited at the London exhibition,⁶ and Charlotte Gere and Judy Rudoe's extensive study of Victorian jewellery considers some aspects of Irish exhibits.⁷

Catalogues were published in advance of exhibitions to act as a guide to visitors. Others were written and published during or after the event. These publications provide a rich vein of primary source material, including the aims of the organisers and lists of exhibitors. Catalogues provide an important link to the exhibitors, as in the main exhibitors provided their own product descriptions.⁸ Nevertheless, the descriptions within contemporary catalogues were necessarily brief, perhaps somewhat exaggerated and at times inaccurate. In addition, some exhibitors were misnamed, misaddressed or left out entirely. For example, Henry Flavelle's details were omitted from the main listings in the Cork exhibition catalogue and only appeared at the end of the catalogue in the 'second supplement'.⁹ An element of human error is understandable given the large number of entries, all of which were handwritten and some of which arrived late. In order to address some of these inaccuracies, cross-referencing with other sources was essential. Street directories, newspapers and trade ephemera are also referenced. Although perhaps at times biased, retrospective catalogues have the advantage of providing illustrations of exhibits and commentary on the success of the exhibition.¹⁰ The 1853 Dublin exhibition drew large crowds to the capital. Analysis of advertisements from newspapers and catalogues provide additional insight into the availability of jewellery in Dublin and the diversity of goods stocked by the capital's jewellers during the course of the exhibition.

This chapter intends to demonstrate the context within which Dublin jewellers in particular participated in three exhibitions during the period 1851 to 1853. The

⁶ Livia Rezende, 'Crafting the nation: Brazilian "civilised exoticism" at world exhibitions' in Javier Gimeno-Martinez and Fredie Floré (eds), *Design and craft: A history of convergences and divergences* (Brussels, 2010), pp 136-139.

⁷ Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*.

⁸ Purbrick, 'Defining nation', p. 61. Exhibitors descriptions were reproduced in the London exhibition catalogue, *Official catalogue of the great exhibition of the works of industry of all nations, 1851* (London, 1851), p. 22. However, retrospective catalogues such as that written by Maguire on the Cork exhibition, offer more subjective descriptions.

⁹ *Official catalogue Cork 1852*, p. 39.

¹⁰ Retrospective catalogues were frequently published by the exhibition organisers.

first section of the chapter introduces the history of exhibitions, followed by a consideration of the structure of each of the three exhibitions under study. A comprehensive collection of jewellery exhibits from Dublin and provincial Ireland is presented and areas of comparison and contrast are highlighted. The chapter concludes by considering the motivations behind exhibitions and the nature and legacy of these events.

8.1 History of exhibitions

The exhibitions which took place in the 1850s were hardly nineteenth-century innovations. The inspiration for the international exhibitions of the 1850s might be traced to the eighteenth century, and several countries might lay claim to being the originator. France was generally recognised as being the country where industrial exhibitions emerged, holding the first national exhibition in 1798.¹¹ The Society of Arts was established in London in 1754 and offered premiums for improvements in agriculture and manufactures from 1755.¹² As previously mentioned, the Dublin Society (later Royal Dublin Society) was founded in 1731 with a view to promoting Irish agriculture, arts, industry and science. The first meeting of the Dublin Society for Improving Husbandry, Manufactures and Other Useful Arts took place in Trinity College in 1731. The group included judges, MPs and doctors and they came together to direct their skills towards improving agricultural problems in Ireland. Their aims were to engage in research and experimentation in order to find practical solutions to agricultural problems. Important discoveries would then be published.¹³ Interest in the society grew and awards of silver plate, medals and premiums were made for special achievements in agriculture. As previously noted, a number of Dublin jewellers, including Henry Flavelle, were students of the society (appendix 14). Awards acted as both inducement and badges of honour and thus encouraged local endeavours. Ireland, then, was the first to establish a society which focussed on the promotion and reward of indigenous manufactures, alongside the publication of educational

¹¹ *Official catalogue great exhibition 1851*, vol. 1, p. 1.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Mary Kelleher & Fergus Mulligan, *The founders of the Royal Dublin Society* (Dublin, 2005), pp 5-6.

material. This pioneering endeavour was acknowledged during the opening of the 1865 Dublin exhibition by Edward, Prince of Wales, son of the late Prince Albert. Edward remarked that his father had been well acquainted with the workings of the Royal Dublin Society exhibitions and concluded they were ‘like pilot balloons [sic] which indicated the course, that the large balloon [sic] would take’.¹⁴ The ‘large balloon’ being the London exhibition of 1851.

Nineteenth-century exhibitions might be viewed as arenas of comparison, competition and education. It was within exhibition halls that the small and the mighty stood side by side. Visitors to the Cork exhibition of 1852 could view the exhibits of a single individual, such as Eliza O’Connor’s brightly coloured horsehair jewellery,¹⁵ or order a new silver-handled parasol from the jeweller Francis Smyth.¹⁶ Close by they might catch a glimpse of the replicas of the famous ‘Tara’ brooch exhibited by Waterhouse.¹⁷ However, the eclectic displays may have masked the more ambitious reasons for hosting exhibitions. Exhibitions were an ideal vehicle for demonstrating economic power, expressing confidence in national manufactures and the courting of foreign markets.

Exhibitions acted as a mark of economic stability and confidence. They demonstrated modernity and were vehicles used to promote indigenous manufactures. Why did Irish manufacturers choose to venture into the halls of the great exhibitions of the nineteenth century? Ireland in the 1840s was defined by a famine which resulted in over three million people depending on food kitchens for survival. The 1850s marked the beginning of a period of economic prosperity. Following in the shadow of the famine and an economy floundering in agricultural and industrial stagnation, the exhibitions of the 1850s would provide Ireland with an opportunity to change her image as a backward and inferior

¹⁴ *Freeman’s Journal*, 10 May 1865, quoted by John Turpin, ‘Exhibitions of art and industries in Victorian Ireland: part 1: the Irish arts and industries exhibition movement 1834-1864’, in *Old Dublin Society*, xxxv, no.1 (1981), pp 2-13.

¹⁵ *Official catalogue Cork 1852*, p. 12.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

member of Britain.¹⁸ One of the first opportunities for Ireland to demonstrate her optimism and national identity was at the 1851 Great Exhibition in London.¹⁹

8.2 The Great Exhibition²⁰, London 1851

The London exhibition, generally known as the Great Exhibition, opened on 1 May 1851 and ran for five months, closing on 11 October 1851. The building itself was an innovative spectacle, architecturally resembling what is recognised today as a conservatory (figure 8.1). The structure was of iron and glass and spanned an area of seventeen and a half acres of Hyde Park. In excess of 100,000 objects were displayed at the Crystal Palace by over 15,000 exhibitors.²¹ More than thirty-four countries plus thirty-eight British colonies took part in the exhibition.²² One contemporary source estimated the number of Irish exhibitors to be 268,²³ while other British exhibitors numbered 6,655.²⁴ Dublin exhibitors made up approximately two-thirds of the Irish contingent, while twenty-two exhibitors represented Cork. In comparison, London was represented by 2,697 exhibitors while 191 exhibitors travelled from Manchester.²⁵ The number of Irish visitors to the exhibition is difficult to calculate. However, the Cork Steam Company estimated that by 2 September they ‘had already conveyed 2,824 persons ... for the purpose of visiting the Great Exhibition.’²⁶ Ireland did not have her own section at the exhibition: Irish exhibits were presented as exhibits of the United Kingdom. The number of Irish jewellery exhibitors is compared across each of the three exhibitions in table 8.1. The majority of exhibitors were from Dublin. The factors which influenced the decision to exhibit are examined in this chapter.

¹⁸ A. Jamie Saris, ‘Imagining Ireland in the great exhibition of 1853’, in Leon Litvack and Glenn Hooper (eds.), *Ireland in the nineteenth century: regional identity* (Dublin, 2000), p. 85.

¹⁹ This point is made in relation to the 1853 Dublin exhibition by McEnchroe Williams, ‘The Temple of Industry’, p. 271.

²⁰ Title of official catalogue, published London 1851.

²¹ Thomas Richards, *The commodity culture of Victorian England: advertising and spectacle, 1851-1914* (California, 1990), p. 3.

²² *Official catalogue great exhibition 1851*, pp 16-17.

²³ *The Nation*, 14 Feb. 1852. Estimate has been taken from newspaper source as the figure is illegible in the 1851 catalogue.

²⁴ *Freeman’s Journal*, 14 Feb. 1852.

²⁵ *Official catalogue great exhibition 1851*, pp 46-7.

²⁶ *Daily News*, 3 Sept. 1851.

Table 8.1**Jewellery exhibitors: London, Cork and Dublin Exhibitions²⁷**

| Exhibition | Dublin exhibitors of jewellery in all categories²⁸ | Irish exhibitors of jewellery in all categories²⁹ | Total exhibitors in jewellery category³⁰ |
|-------------------|--|---|--|
| London 1851 | 7 | 7 | 124 |
| Cork 1852 | 12 | 14 | 30 |
| Dublin 1853 | 22 | 26 | 44 |

The Great Exhibition building was given the moniker ‘crystal palace’ by the British press. Both titles were suggestive of Britain’s superiority, particularly over her biggest rival, France.³¹ France was proud of her reputation for design excellence. Parisian jewellers had maintained their supremacy since as early as 1200.³² The elevated opinion the French held of their products is best exemplified in the words of their Ambassador. The French Ambassador praised English manufactures: ‘their merit consists in the cheapness of their prices, in the texture of their fabrics and in the durable nature of their production, not in their fine glossy surface ... but in such qualities as wear well’. He went on to compare English manufactures with other, presumably French products: ‘the attractions, the external beauty, and superiority of design in which others are supposed rather to excel, are open to first sight, and are accessible to imitation’.³³ These remarks seem to compliment English manufactures for their cheapness and durability, but

²⁷ Compiled from listings in: *Official descriptive and illustrated catalogue 1851*; *Official catalogue Cork 1852*; *Official catalogue with the Royal Dublin Society 1853*.

²⁸ This is the total number of Dublin exhibitors of jewellery across all categories, see below.

²⁹ This is the total number of Irish jewellery exhibitors across all categories, see below.

³⁰ This is the total number of exhibitors within the ‘jewellery & precious metals’ category, however jewellery was also found in other categories such as ‘animal and vegetable’, ‘lace and embroidery’ and ‘cutlery, horological and surgical’.

³¹ As noted by Greenhalgh, the exhibition was used to glorify the empire through a display of the material wealth of British possessions, Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral vistas*, p. 54.

³² Diana Scarisbrick, *Jewellery: makers, motifs, history, techniques* (London 1989), p. 10.

³³ *Freeman’s Journal*, 23 Mar. 1850.

equally infer that this was only achieved by creating cheaper imitations of superior French designs. Irish jewellery exhibitors thus faced competition from cheaper English wares and the superior reputation of French designs and workmanship.

In March 1850, John Reynolds, Lord Mayor of Dublin, addressed a meeting at the Mansion House in London held to discuss the promotion of the 1851 Great Exhibition. He downplayed Irish manufactures, remarking ‘... to speak of my own country - Ireland, ... I deeply regret to say that as regards manufactures, that important part of the empire has very little to boast of’.³⁴ He went on ‘to express a hope that my countrymen in Ireland, profiting by the example for industry and perseverance in the pursuit of manufacturing knowledge, may yet reap a portion of the benefits that have been so largely enjoyed by this glorious and much loved country’.³⁵ Thus, the prospect of encouraging Irish manufactures through emulating the success of other countries was one of the reasons Ireland took part in the London exhibition. As will be demonstrated, another reason although perhaps less overt was the conscious creation and presentation of a distinct Irish identity.

The commission for the organisation of the London exhibition put in place strict criteria for exhibitions. Only exhibits of raw materials, machinery and manufactured goods were permitted. It was this criteria which excluded paintings but included sculpture. Exhibitors were invited to submit application for exhibition space. In addition, exhibitors were required to submit a description of the planned exhibit. It was on these descriptions that the official exhibition catalogues were based.³⁶

The classification of objects within each exhibition remained largely similar in London and Dublin. British and Irish exhibits were presented in one area while foreign exhibits were grouped together in another. The exhibits were divided into

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ *Official catalogue great exhibition 1851*, p. 86.

two sections: (a) raw materials or (b) manufactures. These sections were then further sub-divided.³⁷ The manufactures section of the 1851 London exhibition had twenty-eight categories. The category for precious metals included jewellery. The majority of manufacturers of bog oak jewellery were included in the 'precious metals' section. Some objects evidently presented difficulty in categorisation. For an unexplained reason the 'elastic snake bracelets' and bog oak brooches of Grafton Street jeweller William Griffiths were placed in the 'manufactures from animal and vegetable substances', rather than alongside similar exhibits in the precious metals section.³⁸

Of approximately 124 exhibits in the precious metals class, the number of Irish jewellers exhibiting was relatively small at just six, equating to approximately 10% of the active jewellers in Dublin at that time (see chapter two figure 2.9). The small number of exhibitors may in part be due to the expense of participating in the exhibition. While the space within the Crystal Palace was free of charge, as was water, all exhibitors had to provide their own insurance, staff and exhibition cases.³⁹ Jewellery was normally exhibited in mahogany and glass cabinets. As discussed in chapter six, the marriage of mahogany and glass appears to have been the natural partner for displaying jewellery. Such cabinets and counters would have been heavy, and added to this was the hazard of transporting mirrors and glass. Waterhouse & Company displayed their wares in large glass cabinets at the 1853 Dublin exhibition (figure 8.2). In addition, Dublin jewellers would have had to weigh up the advantages of taking part in the exhibition, such as gaining access to a large number of potential customers, against the cost of either closing their Dublin shop or placing the day to day running in the hands of a relative or employee. Accommodation costs for an extended stay would have been an additional cost for those without friends or relatives in London. These factors may go some way towards explaining why so few Dublin jewellers participated in the 1851 exhibition.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 22.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 788.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 26.

The seven exhibitors were Thomas Bennett, Denis Connell, William Griffiths, Julius Mosley, Waterhouse & Company, West & Son and the Ladies Industrial Society. Dublin exhibitors could also be found in other classes. Within the ‘papier maché and japanned goods’ category was A.J. Jones, who exhibited Irish bog yew furniture. In the ‘plastic art’ category, Robert Ball of the University Museum, Dublin exhibited a restored harp of ‘Brian Boru’ and William Woodhouse, seal engraver and medal maker exhibited a range of his wares, including bronze casts of Royal Dublin Society awards. Within the ‘miscellaneous manufactures and small wares’ category could be found George Austin of Andrew Street, who exhibited dressing cases, crafted from ‘bog oak from the county of Kildare [with] silver fittings from the Sugenure mines’ in Wicklow.⁴⁰ The Ladies Industrial Society of Grafton Street exhibited a large range of products including lace, embroidery and horsehair ornaments.⁴¹ Horsehair jewellery has been previously discussed in chapter five. Despite the small contingent of Dublin jewellers, their exhibits nevertheless provide a tantalising picture of the cornucopia of jewellery available in Dublin in the 1850s.

The exhibits in the precious metals category were assured of a constant stream of visitors as there was keen interest in viewing the 186 carat Koh-i-Noor diamond, an exhibit of the Queen,⁴² and the blue diamond, ‘weighing 177 grains’, exhibited by Henry Hope.⁴³ Thomas Bennett, a Grafton Street jeweller, goldsmith and watchmaker exhibited large items of silver plate including an ‘ark of the covenant’ and a ‘plain hexagon tea and coffee service, with Irish wolf-dog button’, all manufactured from ‘silver obtained from the mines of Ireland’. He also displayed a range of ‘fine gold jewellery and bog oak, all manufactured out of Wicklow gold and Irish pearls.’ As discussed in chapter five and illustrated in figure 5.18, he created a ‘flexible gold bracelet’ which might be used to display ‘a watch or miniature.’⁴⁴ Bennett’s address was incorrectly noted in the 1851

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 791.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp 567-8.

⁴² Ibid., p. 694.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 682.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 675.

London exhibition catalogue as George Street, rather than Grafton Street.⁴⁵ This may have given Bennett some cause for concern as exhibitors were forbidden to sell items at the exhibition; thus the catalogue served as a directory should potential customers wish to contact an exhibitor at a later date. Naturally, the lists of names and addresses of exhibitors in the catalogue might also be used for less salubrious reasons. During the course of the exhibition, newspapers carried reports of a swindler using the catalogue to contact exhibitors.⁴⁶ By 1881, catalogues were being used to encourage exhibitors to participate in future exhibitions.⁴⁷

In a mutually beneficial endeavour, West & Son collaborated with Arthur Jones a furniture designer. Jones, with an address at Stephen's Green, exhibited 'Irish bog yew decorative furniture'. His exhibits were evidently highly valued as over four pages of coverage in the catalogue were dedicated to illustrations and descriptions of his contributions. Jones' designs were from the 'history, antiquities ... of Ireland'.⁴⁸ West and Jones collaborated to create a large timepiece. Although West was named as the 'manufacturer' of the clock, it is likely that the firm outsourced the elements to a Dublin manufacturer, such as Henry Flavelle.⁴⁹ The timepiece casing designed by Jones was displayed on one of his celebrated tables (figure 8.3). The clock had a 'dial of Irish fine gold, with hand of Irish silver, the hours were marked by Irish diamonds and the minutes by Irish pearls, all supplied by West. West also 'manufactured' elements of the casing including a scythe of Irish silver engraved with the Irish words *Faugh-an-Baughlagh* or 'Clear the Way'.⁵⁰ This was the motto of the Royal Irish Fusiliers.⁵¹ West's co-operation with the furniture maker gave the firm additional mention in the catalogue, by effectively exhibiting in two categories, furniture and precious metals. West & Son exhibited a wide selection of jewellery including

⁴⁵ *Official descriptive and illustrated catalogue 1851*, ii, 675.

⁴⁶ *Lloyds Weekly Newspaper*, 12 Oct. 1851.

⁴⁷ Letter, Richard Bagot to J. Joly, 1 Dec. 1881 (NLI, Joly collection, JP3791).

⁴⁸ *Descriptive and illustrated catalogue Great Exhibition 1851* (London, 1851), pp 735-9.

⁴⁹ As noted in chapter three, West & Son sourced jewellery from a number of Dublin manufacturers, Henry Flavelle was their favoured supplier in 1851.

⁵⁰ *Descriptive and illustrated catalogue of the Great Exhibition 1851*, p. 736.

⁵¹ The Royal Irish Regiment, available at: Ministry of Defence, <http://www.army.mod.uk/infantry/regiments/22346.aspx> [2 Oct. 2012].

brooches, neckchains and pendant ornaments, made of oxidised silver and gold, ‘copied from antique Irish ornaments’⁵² (figure 8.4). West & Son were one of the few Irish jewellers to receive an exhibition award, receiving one of the highest awards, the Prize Medal, for ‘their brooches and trinkets in gold, copied with much taste, yet not servilely from the antique fibulae found in Ireland’.⁵³ Their medieval-style necklaces were also remarked upon.⁵⁴ A contemporary illustration depicts a selection of West’s medieval-style pendants (figure 8.5).⁵⁵

Although West & Son received one of the highest awards, the firm were overlooked by Irish newspapers, while Jones who received an ‘honourable mention’ was included as an Irish winner.⁵⁶ The newspapers remarked how difficult it was to extract Irish winners from the published lists as they had ‘limited knowledge of the names’ and, in addition, ‘addresses are not given, and the English, Irish and Scotch exhibitors, except in a very few instances indeed, are put down under the general tide of inhabitants of the United Kingdom.’⁵⁷ This apparent lack of interest by Irish newspapers in the exhibition was further evident in their lack of any further coverage following the close of the exhibition.⁵⁸ The reason for this is unclear, however, given the above remarks by the journalist, the exhibition may have been viewed by some publications as a further manifestation of British authority over Ireland. Or it may simply have been considered less noteworthy than domestic or foreign events.

Denis Connell, as identified in chapter two, was described as ‘carver and producer’ of brooches, bracelets and neckchains. His ‘new designs’ were created from a range of materials including ‘Wicklow gold and Irish diamonds’ and ‘Irish bog oak found in the lakes of Killarney’. He also offered bookstands and an

⁵² *Descriptive and illustrated catalogue of the Great Exhibition 1851*, p. 675.

⁵³ *Reports of the juries on the subjects in the thirty classes into which the exhibition was divided* (London, 1852), p. 1120.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *The Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin, 1853, this illustrated catalogue is published in connection with the Art Journal*, p. 29.

⁵⁶ *Freeman’s Journal*, 17 Oct. 1851; *Belfast Newsletter*, 20 Oct. 1851.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Leon Litvack, ‘Exhibiting Ireland, 1851-3: colonial mimicry in London, Cork and Dublin’, in Litvack & Hooper (eds.), *Ireland in the nineteenth century*, p. 37.

‘inkstand with figures carved on the top, representing Irish strolling musicians’.⁵⁹ Julius Mosley, a designer with premises on Wicklow Street modestly described his exhibition as a ‘carved casket, in white and red Irish bog yew, ... with allegorical representations of “Virtue and Vice” in alto-relievo.’⁶⁰ The wood used for the casket had been found on Lord Farnham’s estate, county Cavan.⁶¹ Mosley’s connection with Lord Farnham evidently continued for another eighteen years. A brooch carved from Irish bog-yew (figure 8.6) bears the words ‘Sweet vale of Avoca’ and ‘How calm could I rest’, and is inscribed on the back ‘Julius Mosley 1869’. The presentation box includes the handwritten message ‘see T. Moore and four friends on the right hand side of the brooch’ and ‘kindly presented to the artist by the Honrl. Lord Farnham R.P.’ Mosley was one of the few jewellers to use bog yew, a lighter more golden coloured wood than the darker bog oak.

Waterhouse of Dame Street, exhibited a number of patented designs for brooches ‘adapted to cloaks and shawls, from the mineral products of Ireland’⁶² (figure 8.7). William Griffiths’ exhibits included ‘elastic snake bracelets, double and single coils, made of bog oak’.⁶³ An example of a similar kind of bracelet forms part of the Ulster Museum collection (figure 8.8). Griffiths was listed in Dublin street directories from 1847, and moved premises from Great Britain Street to Grafton Street over the course of two years, which may indicate a profitable business in bog oak wares. This firm has been previously discussed in chapter five.

8.3 ‘The National Exhibition’,⁶⁴ Cork 1852

Over 3,000 people were expected to attend the opening of the Cork exhibition by the Lord Lieutenant, the earl of Eglinton, and the Lord Mayor of Cork. An area ‘railed in with brass rods and crimson ropes’ was reserved for the 500 ladies who

⁵⁹ *Descriptive and illustrated catalogue Great Exhibition 1851*, p. 675.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Descriptive and illustrated catalogue Great Exhibition 1851*, p. 675.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 788.

⁶⁴ Title used by John Maguire in his catalogue of the 1852 Cork exhibition. Maguire, *National exhibition of 1852*.

were expected to ‘patronise Irish manufacture on the occasion.’⁶⁵ The Cork exhibition ran for three months, opening on 10 June 1852 and closing on 11 September 1852. The exhibition was held in the newly-extended Corn Exchange building. Notepaper used by the exhibition committee was embellished with an image of the building surrounded by images of abundance and trade.⁶⁶ The exhibition was thus cast as an agent of economic progress and Cork was central to the endeavour. The Cork exhibition was innovative in many ways. For example, the exhibition included paintings, a category which had been excluded from the London exhibition (figure 8.9). Cork exhibitors were permitted to display pricing on their exhibits during the exhibition which, as previously noted, had been prohibited during the 1851 London exhibition.⁶⁷ The Cork exhibition was thus a more commercial venture, offering exhibitors an opportunity to reap immediate financial returns. Another innovation was the inclusion of exhibits from workhouses. Initially the Cork exhibition was conceived as ‘a local exhibition of industry’ for the manufactures of Cork. However, the exhibition quickly moved from a local to a provincial and ultimately national event.⁶⁸ The success of the venture relied entirely on raising voluntary subscriptions. When Prince Albert learned of ‘the universal support it [the exhibition] has met throughout Ireland’ he contributed £100 in support of ‘a national display’.⁶⁹ Fourteen applications from local traders for exhibition space were received by 3 January 1852.⁷⁰ Financial support for the exhibition was given a further boost when the Earl of Clarendon, contributed £50 towards the costs of the exhibition.⁷¹ By March free rail transportation for goods and articles intended for the exhibition was being offered by the Dublin and Drogheda and Kingstown railways.⁷² The Great Southern and Western Railway followed suit in April, while the Cork Steam Ship Company offered to convey free of charge ‘all articles to and from Cork’.⁷³

⁶⁵ *Belfast Newsletter*, 2 June 1852.

⁶⁶ Cork Exhibition committee notepaper (CCCA, MS U15B/P/A33).

⁶⁷ Litvack, ‘Exhibiting Ireland, 1851-3’, p. 41.

⁶⁸ Maguire, *National exhibition of 1852*, pp 13-14.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁷⁰ *Freeman’s Journal*, 13 Jan. 1852.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 2 Feb. 1852.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 24 Mar. 1852; *The Nation*, 3 Apr. 1852.

⁷³ *Freeman’s Journal*, 20 Mar. 1852.

John Maguire the mayor of Cork and owner of the *Cork Examiner* was one of the organisers of the Cork exhibition. Writing a year after the Cork exhibition, Maguire firmly banished the view that exhibitions were purely ‘visions of pomp, and pageantry, and social enjoyment’, rather such events were practical, educational and uplifting enterprises.⁷⁴ He further called for a restoration of confidence in Irish manufactures. According to Maguire, the Cork exhibition aimed to restoring confidence in the Irish people and her manufactures. Maguire was a journalist and mayor of Cork and so could be expected to have a strong style of rhetoric. However, some satirical publications such as *Punch* had directed jibes at Ireland.⁷⁵ Louise Purbrick argues that ignoring the objects exhibited by Ireland at the London exhibition, was a method of subjugation.⁷⁶

Exhibits of jewellery were placed into a category entitled ‘Cutlery, surgical, optical, horological instruments, etc.’⁷⁷ The prevailing interest in scientific invention is neatly encapsulated in the description of this category. Visitors walking through this section of the Cork exhibition might see a display of ‘ivory-mounted daggers’ or ‘mechanical leeching apparatus’ alongside gold watches and jewellery. Of approximately thirty exhibitors in this category, twelve were of jewellery and all but one from Dublin. Margaret Hackett of Cork exhibited ‘jewellery, in a case’.⁷⁸ Maguire was a little more biased in his later description, remarking that Hackett’s exhibit contained ‘a beautiful and varied collection of rings, chains, brooches, pins, clasps, etc., besides various articles in silver plate.’⁷⁹ The Dublin jewellers in attendance were William Acheson, Thomas Bennett, William Broderick, Thomas Brunker, John Donegan, Henry Flavelle, Samuel Mahood, Francis Smyth, Waterhouse & Company and West & Son. Smyth and Donegan had diversified and specialised in umbrella making and watch making respectively. The bog oak manufacturers Denis Connell and Cornelius Goggin

⁷⁴ Maguire, *National exhibition of 1852*, p. 17.

⁷⁵ For a study of printed images in the first half of the nineteenth century, see Robin Kavanagh, ‘Reform and opposition in the 1830s as viewed through the illustrated press of Ireland and Britain’ (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland Maynooth, 2006).

⁷⁶ Purbrick, ‘Defining nation’, p. 60.

⁷⁷ *Official catalogue Cork 1852*, p. 4.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Maguire, *National exhibition of 1852*, p. 138.

also exhibited. Acheson displayed ‘a great variety of beautiful jewellery’.⁸⁰ Broderick, a silversmith and watch finisher brought a range of ‘gold watches and various fancy and other articles of jewellery’ which he displayed in a ‘glass case’.⁸¹ Masonic jewels and a ‘vibrating’ clock which ‘goes three weeks’ were exhibited by the jeweller Thomas Bruncker. Henry Flavelle had a silver model of the Ark of the Covenant exhibited alongside Masonic ornaments (figure 8.10).⁸² Waterhouse & Company exhibited ‘three glass cases’ of jewellery and plate.⁸³ West & Son exhibited a drawing of work in progress of a mace for the College of Physicians, carved bog oak and ‘a large case of jewellery’.⁸⁴ The completed mace was later exhibited by West & Son at the 1853 Dublin exhibition.⁸⁵ The mace was designed by the Irish artist Frederic Burton, who also designed a brooch for the actress Helen Faucit, as discussed in chapter three. Within the category of ‘Irish curiosities and antiquities’ they exhibited ‘ornaments after the Irish antique’ which were examples of their archaeological-style brooches. These ornaments were of ‘gold and oxidised silver’ embellished with ‘pearl, ruby, sapphire, emerald, etc.’⁸⁶ John Donegan exhibited church plate and watches. Other exhibitors from Dublin included Arthur Jones the furniture maker. Jones had created a suite of bog yew furniture including ‘an exquisitely carved arm chair ... with Irish wolf dogs forming the arms’⁸⁷ used by the Lord Lieutenant during the opening ceremony of the Cork exhibition.

The exhibitors of bog oak jewellery were spread among three categories. The exhibits of Cornelius Goggin (figure 8.11) were placed in ‘Furniture, ornamental upholstery, paper-hangings, etc.’⁸⁸ Samuel Mahood’s ‘seven brooches in bog oak’ were placed in the ‘models, fine arts’ category,⁸⁹ while the exhibits of Denis Connell, which included ‘a great variety of bog oak ornaments mounted in

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁸¹ *Official catalogue Cork 1852*, p. 4.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁸⁵ *Official catalogue with the Royal Dublin Society 1853*, p. 90.

⁸⁶ *Official catalogue Cork 1852*, p. 23.

⁸⁷ *Belfast Newsletter*, 2 June 1852.

⁸⁸ *Official catalogue Cork 1852*, p. 6.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Wicklow gold and silver, set with Irish stones’, were located within ‘Irish curiosities, antiquities, natural history, and music.’⁹⁰ Connell’s display was further described as being of Killarney wood and featured a group of musicians and a view of Blarney Castle. The growing market in tourism clearly influenced Connell’s choice of subject.⁹¹ It is unclear why bog oak jewellery was dispersed in such a manner, though it may have been the exhibitor who chose the category. If this was the case, Connell was clearly positioning his wares as antiquities, while Mahood offered his brooches as models, perhaps indicating their design was of archaeological inspiration. Goggin’s exhibit was simply described as ‘glass case containing bog-oak ornaments.’⁹² Jewellery was also found in the ‘Miscellaneous manufactures, small wares, etc.’ It was here that Edward Birkbeck of Dublin exhibited ‘hair chains, bracelets, etc.,’ and Eliza O’Connor exhibited hair ornaments alongside the umbrellas and parasols of Francis Smyth.⁹³ O’Connor’s exhibits were given high praise and said to resemble ornaments of ‘coral and pearl’⁹⁴ (figure 5.28). Such brightly coloured jewellery must have stood out among the more sombre tones of bog oak. Maguire claimed all O’Connor’s exhibits had been sold and she had been inundated with substantial orders.⁹⁵ Other wares of natural materials include two Cork exhibitors who displayed an ‘ivory chain’ and ‘brooches from Britannia stone’.⁹⁶ The eclectic range of jewellery exhibited at the Cork exhibition illustrates the engagement of Dublin jewellery manufactures with national exhibitions. Remarkably only one local jeweller participated in the event.

In remarking upon the precarious state of the precious metals trade in Ireland, John Maguire was particularly critical of the importation of testimonial silver. He noted that although there was a large demand for silver testimonials, the majority

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 22.

⁹¹ For a discussion of Royal visits to Ireland see Margarita Cappock ‘Pageantry or Propaganda? The *Illustrated London News* and Royal Visitors in Ireland’, in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, xvi (2000), pp 86-93.

⁹² *Official catalogue Cork 1852*, p. 6.

⁹³ Ibid, pp 10-12.

⁹⁴ Maguire, *National exhibition of 1852*, p. 96.

⁹⁵ Ibid. The production of horsehair jewellery is discussed in chapter five.

⁹⁶ *Official catalogue Cork 1852*, p. 21.

were made in London.⁹⁷ He claimed that the ‘Irish silversmith, who receives the order, sends it on to his correspondent in London’, rather than creating the piece himself. The solution, he suggested, was for those commissioning work to ‘insist on having the article required made in Ireland.’⁹⁸ It is unclear whether this was a widespread practice, or perhaps just a feature of the Cork silversmiths’ trade.

The Cork exhibition had a category dedicated to the exhibits of Poor Law workhouses. Exhibits consisted of linens, clothing, wares of tin and steel and ‘items of fancy work’.⁹⁹ Maguire was keen to emphasise the boost the Cork exhibition had given to the ‘darksome homes of poverty and distress’.¹⁰⁰ Maguire represented the views of people when he wished to turn many away from dependence on outdated agricultural practices and towards employment in manufactures. At the Great Exhibition, London, a Miss Digges La Touche, listed as an inventor, displayed lace made ‘by the poor girls of Killamaule, invented at the time of the famine to enable them to earn sufficient for their support’.¹⁰¹ Many had resorted to entering the workhouses, if indeed they could gain entry. At first workhouses were not places of industry, but slowly they began to provide employment. Exhibits of the manufactures of the poor had formed part of the 1847 exhibition of Irish manufacture.¹⁰² Five years later, the Cork exhibition continued in this tradition. Maguire insisted that the Cork exhibition was the first step in ‘national regeneration’ and that Ireland had proved that she was not an ‘incapable and barbarous nation’.¹⁰³

8.4 ‘Temple of Industry’,¹⁰⁴ Dublin 1853

The first exhibitions in Ireland and indeed the United Kingdom were held under the auspices of the Royal Dublin Society in 1834. Initially, it was planned to hold annual exhibitions, but by 1835 it was decided to hold exhibitions triennially.

⁹⁷ Maguire, *National exhibition of 1852*, p. 136.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁹⁹ *Official catalogue Cork 1852*, p. 23.

¹⁰⁰ Maguire, *National exhibition of 1852*, p. vi.

¹⁰¹ *Official descriptive and illustrated catalogue Great Exhibition 1851*, p. 568.

¹⁰² *The report and adjudication held at the Royal Dublin Society’s house 1847*, p. 34; *ibid.*, p. 48.

¹⁰³ Maguire, *National exhibition of 1852*, p. 430.

¹⁰⁴ Title used by Thomas Jones in his catalogue of the 1853 Irish exhibition.

These exhibitions were initially confined to items of Irish manufacture. It was not until 1850 that foreign goods were accepted.¹⁰⁵ The Dublin exhibition of 1853 followed just two years after the highly acclaimed 1851 London exhibition. The Dublin exhibition was made possible by the personal investment of £100,000 by William Dargan, a Carlow businessman.¹⁰⁶ Dargan had made a considerable fortune developing railways and canals in Ireland.¹⁰⁷ Dargan encouraged the Royal Dublin Society to transform their triennial exhibition into an international event emulating the 1851 London exhibition.¹⁰⁸ Dargan's investment thus ensured the elevation of a national event into an international showcase.

The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853 was set up 'as a great agent of instruction',¹⁰⁹ so that manufacturers could see others work and to improve public taste.¹¹⁰ The official weekly newspaper of the exhibition went on to explain 'to our readers ... to be able to duly appreciate the present, we should know something of the past, the obstacles that have been surmounted, and those that still exist.'¹¹¹ The exhibition was thus cast as an educational venture for manufacturer and visitor alike, offering the visitor first-hand experience of works of progress and exhibitors the opportunity to learn from other manufacturers.¹¹² Not only were the manufactures of Ireland and Britain on display, so too were the products of the German states, France, Belgium, Holland and the United States. Exhibits of Japanese, Chinese and Indian wares were also in evidence. The undertaking and successful organisation of the Irish Industrial Exhibition must have evoked a considerable sense of pride and hope in the future prosperity of Ireland. During a soiree held at the Mansion House, Dublin, in February 1853, at which a number of pupils of the School of Design were receiving awards, the lord lieutenant of Ireland made a number of encouraging comments on the performance of Irish exhibits at the London exhibition of 1851. He remarked how uplifting it was to

¹⁰⁵ Turpin, 'Exhibitions in Victorian Ireland', p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ Saris, 'Imagining Ireland', p. 76.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 75.

¹⁰⁸ Litvack, 'Exhibiting Ireland', p. 47.

¹⁰⁹ *The Exhibition Expositor and Advertiser*, no.1 1853, p.1.

¹¹⁰ Sproule, *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, xxiii.

¹¹¹ *The Exhibition Expositor and Advertiser*, no.1, 1853, p.1.

¹¹² Rains, *Commodity, culture and social class*, p. 29.

learn that Irish exhibits received one award for every three and a half contributors 'while it was not more than one to three and a quarter of all other British exhibitors.'¹¹³ Moreover, the number of Irish exhibitors came to 268 while the other British exhibitors numbered 6,655.¹¹⁴ Whether these comments reflect the actual outcome of awards is unclear, nevertheless, such remarks hint at the atmosphere of competition between the London and Dublin exhibitions and the keen awareness in some sectors of the opportunity exhibitions offered to elevate Ireland's manufactures. Nevertheless, as Stephanie Rains notes, participation at the exhibition exposed some rural industries to competition from imports.¹¹⁵

Over the course of the Dublin exhibition which ran from May to November 1853 the total number of visitors was calculated at 956,295 and when the exhibitors are taken into account the number rises to 1,149,369.¹¹⁶ This was over four times the population of Dublin.¹¹⁷ The Dublin exhibition was apparently more attractive to ladies than its earlier London counterpart. Of nearly 13,000 season tickets sold for the Dublin exhibition, over 8,500 were ladies' tickets. In comparison, the sales of season tickets for the London exhibition were almost equally divided between men and women at 13,949 and 12,111 respectively.¹¹⁸ The reason for this might be found in the emergence of a middle-class with time and money for leisure pursuits.¹¹⁹ In addition the expansion of the railway network afforded easier travel for some. As identified in chapter seven, John Joly was a young curate from Kings County. In 1853 he made a total of six visits to the Dublin exhibition, usually accompanied by his wife. On 27 July, he 'brought Mike Watson and John Lewis to see the exhibition'.¹²⁰ In late September, his brother brought a number of 'his men' to the exhibition.¹²¹ Having spent up to four hours at the exhibition, Joly usually travelled back to Kings County by train each

¹¹³ *Freeman's Journal*, 14 Feb. 1852.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Rains, *Commodity, culture and social class*, p. 30.

¹¹⁶ Sproule, *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, p. 25.

¹¹⁷ According to the 1851 census, Dublin's population was 258,361, published in *Thom's Dublin Directory*, 1853, p. 92.

¹¹⁸ Sproule, *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, p. 21.

¹¹⁹ Rains, *Commodity, culture and social class*, p. 44.

¹²⁰ Diary entry 27 July 1853, *Diary of Revd John Plunket Joly, 1851-58* (TCD, MS 2299/1-2).

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

evening. Joly's repeated visits to the exhibition indicate an appetite for participating in an exciting and educational event. Having gone to the exhibition on a number of occasions he evidently considered it of benefit to bring along two of his employees.

The Dublin exhibition was a temporary structure constructed on the grounds of Leinster House, facing Merrion Square. The overall area of the building was six and a half acres, somewhat smaller than the seventeen and half acres occupied by the London exhibition. A contemporary map provides a good visual comparison of the area of the London, Dublin and New York exhibitions (figure 8.12).¹²² Within the building (figure 8.13), which 'possessed a certain beauty and elegance', was the Great Hall, a wide extravagant space 400ft by 100ft with a ceiling height of 100ft.¹²³ Taking inspiration from the 1852 Cork exhibition, Dublin included a fine art section of paintings, sculpture and antiquities. As discussed above, art (apart from sculpture) had been excluded from the London exhibition. Ireland had no public art galleries at the time of the exhibition, therefore the display of paintings also served an educational purpose.¹²⁴ The aforementioned John Joly recorded his delight when he visited the National Gallery where he 'saw the great paintings kept there and fine statues and paintings on exhibition in the School of Design'.¹²⁵ The structure of the Dublin exhibition building was considered a great improvement over the London exhibition. London's glass structure had admitted unrelenting sunshine creating an uncomfortably hot environment. In comparison, the roof of the Dublin edifice was solid, daylight was admitted through skylights which ran the length of the domed ceilings.¹²⁶ Visitors to the exhibition could gain a bird's eye perspective of the exhibits from the galleries which ran around the exhibition halls. A viewing balcony opened onto Merrion Square.¹²⁷

¹²² Sproule, *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, p. 33.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹²⁴ Turpin, 'Exhibitions in Victorian Ireland', p. 5.

¹²⁵ John Joly diary 9 Apr. 1846-12 Jun. 1846; entry 23 July (NLI, MS 17035).

¹²⁶ Sproule, *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, p. 39.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

Thomas Jones, the chief financial officer of the 1853 exhibition committee, penned an ‘easy, concise and useful epitome of ... our much admired Temple of Industry’.¹²⁸ In christening the Dublin exhibition the ‘Temple of Industry’ Jones was replicating the title of the French exhibition of 1798. The fear of large quantities of cheaper English manufactures was a key motivation for the organisers of the French exhibition as was the encouragement of national manufactures and ‘economic patriotism’.¹²⁹ Although Ireland may not have competed with England in terms of industrial manufactures, she did have a strong cultural heritage, particularly represented in literature, stone and metalwork. The Dublin exhibition highlighted Ireland’s cultural past by prominently displaying six high crosses in the main hall.¹³⁰ During and after the Dublin exhibition, the high cross was replicated across a number of mediums as a form of cultural identity.¹³¹ Pendants in the form of a miniature high cross were manufactured in gold and bog wood (figure 8.14). Eighteen years after the Dublin exhibition, the London jeweller John Brogden exhibited similar pendants at the 1871 London exhibition.¹³²

The 1853 exhibition offered Dublin jewellers the opportunity to showcase their wares. Dublin jewellers exhibited archaeological-style brooches, jewellery created from bog oak, Irish silver, pearls and ‘diamonds’, alongside new designs and patented wares. Of approximately forty-four exhibitors in the jewellery category, twenty-two were Dublin jewellery manufacturers or retailers, considerably more than the seven exhibitors who took part in the 1851 London exhibition. As might be expected, many of those who had exhibited at the London exhibition also exhibited in Dublin. The larger firms of West & Son and Waterhouse & Company were present as were Thomas Bennett, Denis Connell and Julius Mosley. The ranks of Dublin jewellers were swelled by the presence of William Acheson, Joseph Johnson, John Asken, Samuel Mahood, Thomas

¹²⁸ Thomas Jones, *Record of the great Industrial Exhibition 1853, being a brief and comprehensive description of the different objects of interest contained in that temple of industry* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1854), p. 14.

¹²⁹ Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral vistas*, pp 4-5.

¹³⁰ McEnchroe Williams, ‘The Temple of Industry’, p. 269.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

¹³² Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*, p. 452.

Brunker, Henry Flavelle, Francis Smyth, Ralph Walsh and Robert Gardner.

Brunker offered a wide array of exhibits including 'jewellery in fine gold, bog oak, Irish diamond' and a 'clock ... peculiar in construction [it] plays music.'¹³³

John Classon and Cornelius Goggin exhibited bog oak jewellery. Classon appears to have diversified into jewellery having previously exhibited at Cork in the furniture category 'articles manufactured from Irish fancy woods'.¹³⁴ Although Classon is not known to have registered jewellery designs, he did patent a design for a 'Royal Victoria' ink holder in 1851.¹³⁵ He published a pamphlet giving a short historical synopsis of several Irish ruins, models of which were manufactured at his 'industrial depot'.¹³⁶ He most likely distributed the pamphlet from his stand at the 1853 Dublin exhibition (figure 8.15).

Jewellery made from bog oak, fish scales and imitation 'gold, silver, coral, carbuncle, amethyst [sic], opal, malachite and diamond' were just some of the goods manufactured and exhibited by Samuel Mahood.¹³⁷ His bracelets made from fish scales were described as 'very curious and handsome'.¹³⁸ Fish scales could be threaded onto wire to make jewellery (figure 8.16). One commentator described fish scale jewellery as having 'a pearly appearance'.¹³⁹ Mahood most likely offered fish scale bracelets as a novelty item which might draw attention and more importantly custom to his shop on Wellington Quay. Richard Barter from Dublin exhibited a 'case of cameo heads' carved from 'sea-horse tooth,

¹³³ *Official catalogue with the Royal Dublin Society 1853*, p. 90.

¹³⁴ *Official catalogue Cork 1852*, p. 6.

¹³⁵ John Classon, design registered 5 Sept. 1851 (TNA, design registration, BT/45/15/2936).

¹³⁶ Anon, *Irish Antiquities. Carvings in bog oak*. (Dublin? 1853), inside cover. This brochure was probably published by J. Classon as his advertisement is prominently displayed on the inside cover. The only other advertisements are entitled *The advantages of bathing* by Andrew Combe (inside back) and *The Northumberland Baths* at Beresford Place (outside back). Classon's factory premises were to the rear of Northumberland Baths (NLI, JP3918). Classon's forename was probably John, *Freeman's Journal*, 19 Nov. 1853.

¹³⁷ *Official catalogue with the Royal Dublin Society 1853*, p. 89. Mahood was a jeweller with premises on Wellington Quay in Dublin.

¹³⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 17 May 1853; *Nenagh Guardian*, 21 May 1853; a reporter for *The Times* refers to 'garlands made from fish scales', *The Times*, 3 Sept. 1853.

¹³⁹ Commenting on fish scale jewellery exhibited at the London 1851 exhibition, Edwin Lankester, *The uses of animals in relation to industry of man, being a course of lectures delivered at the South Kensington Museum* (London, 1876), p. 308, as cited by Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*, p. 236.

fastened upon a surface of cornelian'¹⁴⁰ (figure 8.17). Barter had also exhibited a number of busts in the sculpture category and a 'glass case of medallions, heads, etc.' within the 'Irish curiosities, antiquities and natural history' category at the Cork exhibition.¹⁴¹ Barter's exhibit was singled out as being one of Dublin's new and unique manufactures.¹⁴² It is unclear what kind of shell or other material constituted 'sea-horse tooth', however, cowrie shells can be quite dense and have a toothed mouth-like opening (figure 8.17).

Another marine exhibit was displayed by Miss Aikin. She displayed a selection of brooches and hair ornaments made of shells.¹⁴³ Other examples of unusual jewellery included brooches carved from coquilla nut by a Donegal exhibitor¹⁴⁴ and enamel glass brooches exhibited by F. Cleinpeter.¹⁴⁵ Few British exhibitors offered wares which competed with the distinct jewellery offered by Dublin jewellers. Aaron Brothers, manufacturers from Torquay, exhibited a range of wares including a 'gold and malachite harp brooch' and 'shamrock studs'.¹⁴⁶ The designers and manufacturers, M. Rettie & Son of Aberdeen, exhibited a selection of 'granite jewellery' including bracelets and shawl pins 'mounted in gold and silver'.¹⁴⁷ Remarkably, Birmingham was represented by a single exhibitor, J. Sheldon, whose exhibits included 'electro-plated goods' and 'gold and silver pencil cases'.¹⁴⁸

Umbrellas and parasols may appear at first glance an unusual speciality of jewellers. Nevertheless, when the catalogues of the London exhibition of 1851 and the Dublin exhibition of 1853 are examined, the full extent of the craftsmanship which went into creating the handles of such items is evident (figure 8.18). Francis Smyth was a jeweller and umbrella manufacturer. As identified in chapter six his shop was located on Dublin's Essex Quay. Smyth had

¹⁴⁰ Sproule, *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, p. 388.

¹⁴¹ *Official catalogue Cork 1852*, p 19; *ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁴² Sproule, *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, p. 388.

¹⁴³ *Official catalogue with the Royal Dublin Society 1853*, p. 86.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

a relatively successful business and employed a number of staff.¹⁴⁹ The Dublin exhibition of 1853 gave Smyth the opportunity to display a glittering array of ‘silver wire whip handles’ and ‘silk umbrellas mounted on gold, silver agate ... and ivory’.¹⁵⁰ He also offered ‘portable umbrellas, with handles to screw off, so as to be packed in portmanteau’. By way of comparison, George Jacobs offered ‘the protector’, the handle of which could be screwed off rendering the umbrella ‘useless to any other but the owner’.¹⁵¹ The exhibits of the French jeweller Froment-Meurice at the 1851 London exhibition were given high praise (figure 8.19). His ‘delicate workmanship ... and artist-like design’ was most evident in ‘smaller works in metal [such] as cane-heads, [and] seal-handles’.¹⁵² In addition to exquisite craftsmanship, ladies’ parasols and umbrellas were the focus of some unusual inventions. One example was a ‘stiletto or defensive umbrella of German silver’.¹⁵³ Another exhibitor offered an ‘umbrella stick containing a long cylindrical bottle and wine glass ... intended for railway travellers’.¹⁵⁴ Although some of these items were perhaps for the more intrepid consumer, Smyth’s removable handle offered a more practical deterrent to theft.

Exhibition catalogues served a number of purposes, including preserving a permanent account of temporary exhibitions such as the ‘Irish Temple of Industry.’¹⁵⁵ Sproule determined that his catalogue would provide ‘useful information on industrial subjects’.¹⁵⁶ In tune with prevailing concerns surrounding design education, the coverage of the ‘Works in precious metals’ contributed by W.K. Sullivan, focused mainly on the technical processes employed in metal work alongside a detailed description of the uses and chemical composition of precious stones.¹⁵⁷ He also made suggestions for improving the quality and design of Irish jewellery. Sullivan commented on the presence of a

¹⁴⁹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 16 July 1850.

¹⁵⁰ *Official catalogue with the Royal Dublin Society 1853*, p. 86.

¹⁵¹ *Descriptive and illustrated catalogue Great Exhibition 1851*, p. 800.

¹⁵² *Reports of the juries on the subjects in the thirty classes into which the exhibition was divided* (London, 1852), p. 739.

¹⁵³ *Official catalogue of the great exhibition 1851*, p. 142.

¹⁵⁴ *Descriptive and illustrated catalogue Great Exhibition 1851*, p. 522.

¹⁵⁵ Sproule, *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, viii.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, vi.

¹⁵⁷ W.K. Sullivan was secretary of the Royal Irish Academy in 1868, cited by McEvansoneya, ‘The purchase of the ‘Tara’ brooch, p. 80.

wide range of indigenous gems in Ireland. For example, rock crystal was found in Achill and the Blasket Islands, amethysts in Cork and Achill, beryl and topaz in the Mourne mountains and fresh-water pearls in Irish rivers.¹⁵⁸

William Acheson was one of the Dublin jewellers to use these indigenous materials. An illustrated catalogue for the 1853 Dublin exhibition included a number of depictions of Acheson's manufactures (figure 8.20). The editors of the journal explained that the drawings were either supplied by the manufacturers or made from the objects by the journal's artists.¹⁵⁹ Acheson exhibited two silver 'elastic band bracelets, with fibulae and bog oak mountings'.¹⁶⁰ Although Acheson's bracelets took inspiration from Celtic motifs, his designs were more innovative and arguably more sophisticated than replicas of Celtic brooches. The reference to 'elastic' acknowledged the use of elastic in clothing such as corsets by exhibitors during the 1851 Great Exhibition.¹⁶¹ In common with Waterhouse and West, Acheson also offered archaeological-style brooches. His models were based on eighth-century Scottish Hunterston examples, and were set with 'malachite and pearl' (figure 8.21). As noted by Tara Kelly, Acheson was the first to create brooches based on the Hunterston example.¹⁶² He also exhibited a bog oak casket set with Irish diamonds and amethysts, 'of a large size' (figure 8.22).¹⁶³ The *Illustrated London News* praised Acheson's casket remarking 'it ... does the manufacturer much credit'.¹⁶⁴ Acheson was reported to have sold a 'new Irish oak bracelet' to Queen Victoria during the exhibition.¹⁶⁵ While no further description has been located, a bog wood brooch c.1853 by an unknown maker is housed in the Royal Collection.¹⁶⁶ As noted by Gere and Rudoe, the bracelet was

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., pp 385-6.

¹⁵⁹ *The exhibition of art-industry in Dublin, 1853*, vii.

¹⁶⁰ *Official catalogue with the Royal Dublin Society 1853*, p. 10.

¹⁶¹ Elastic was a new combination of cloth and rubber which allowed garments to cling to the body, Michael Leapman, *The world for a shilling: how the great exhibition of 1851 shaped a nation* (London, 2001), p. 162.

¹⁶² Kelly, 'Commerce and the Celtic revival', p. 74.

¹⁶³ *The exhibition of art-industry in Dublin, 1853*, p. 47.

¹⁶⁴ *Illustrated London News*, 4 June 1853.

¹⁶⁵ *Nenagh Guardian*, 7 Sept. 1853.

¹⁶⁶ Royal Collection Trust, available at <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/microsites/vanda/MicroObject.asp?item=14&themeid=2883&object=13540&row=19&detail=about> [21 Mar. 2014].

frequently sent for mending, which suggests she wore it often.¹⁶⁷ Somewhat surprisingly, unlike West, Waterhouse and Johnson, William Acheson did not patent his 'elastic band' bracelets.

Acheson, West and Waterhouse used a process of oxidation to tint the silver used to create their archaeological-style brooches and buckles, as discussed in chapter four. The result was given much praise by the somewhat critical Sullivan.¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless, he did remark that many of the reproduction brooches were lacking in colour, going on to suggest that 'the beauty of these ornaments would be immeasurably enhanced if enamelled.'¹⁶⁹ One of the few enamelled brooches was exhibited by Waterhouse. The 'Knights Templar brooch' was registered on 25 July 1849 and it seems reasonable to suggest that it featured among the objects displayed by the firm at the London, Cork and Dublin exhibitions (figure 8.23). Electro-plating was a relatively novel addition to the range of services offered by Dublin jewellers.¹⁷⁰ Elkington and Mason were the patent holders for this process, and by 1860 had a business on College Green.¹⁷¹ The manufacturing jewellers North & Son of Grafton Street exhibited a number of 'well finished articles' of electro-plate.¹⁷²

Sullivan was particularly critical of exhibits of cheap jewellery including bog oak, much of which he deemed 'was in truly barbaric taste'.¹⁷³ He went on to urge bog oak jewellers to refrain from using rock crystal, often referred to by manufacturers as 'Irish diamonds' as there were many alternatives. This probably resonated with Denis Connell, who as previously identified in chapter two, was the manufacturer of a brooch set with an 'Irish diamond' which was the subject of a court case in 1850. Sullivan suggested the application of enamelling to enliven jewellery.¹⁷⁴ Samuel Mahood received the greatest level of praise from Sullivan. Mahood's

¹⁶⁷ Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*, p. 453.

¹⁶⁸ Sproule, *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, p. 376.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 382.

¹⁷¹ *Thom's Dublin Directory*, 1860.

¹⁷² Sproule, *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, p. 382.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

exhibits included ‘a large collection of ornamental jewellery set with a very good variety of false gems.’¹⁷⁵ Although unattributed, a finely-carved bog oak snuff box set with pearls was one of the items highlighted in a catalogue of the 1851 London exhibition (figure 8.24). Sullivan recognised the potential for bog oak jewellery and suggested that this branch of the jewellery trade would profit from a number of improvements. He considered the production of bog oak jewellery of considerable importance to Dublin and urged manufacturers to provide a variety of well-executed designs. However, he seemed particularly adverse to the ‘inappropriate’ bracelet in ‘the form of a coiled snake’.¹⁷⁶ This particular form became very popular in the early nineteenth century following archaeological excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum which uncovered artefacts enlivened with similar motifs. Furthermore, Queen Victoria wore serpent-shaped jewellery.¹⁷⁷

8.5 The decision to exhibit

The second part of this chapter considers the legacy of these events. Jamie Saris argues that Ireland’s participation in exhibitions aided the projection of national identity, while also presenting an image of a country moving from the devastation of a famine into a bright future.¹⁷⁸ The mid-century industrial exhibitions offered an opportunity for manufacturers to exhibit new designs. Although Dublin jewellery manufacturers dominated the Irish jewellery contributions, surprisingly few manufacturers participated at the London, Cork or Dublin exhibitions.

Of the Irish jewellery exhibits only two, Waterhouse & Company and West & Son had registered new designs before the 1851 London exhibition.¹⁷⁹ As previously discussed, West & Son registered their ‘Queen’s brooch’ in 1849 and in 1850 Waterhouse registered designs for their ‘Dublin University brooch’ and a dress

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 389.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ In 1836, the princess received from her mother a ‘massive gold buckle in the shape of two serpents’. In 1837 she wore a serpent bracelet for her Accession Council, Gere & Rudoe, *Queen Victoria*, pp 21-22.

¹⁷⁸ Saris, ‘Imagining Ireland’, pp 67-70.

¹⁷⁹ The issue of design registrations is the topic of chapter four.

fastener based on the ‘Tara’ brooch.¹⁸⁰ Interestingly, although West & Son had registered their brooch design a year before Waterhouse, they did not include the word ‘registered’ in the description of their exhibits in the 1851 catalogue.¹⁸¹ In contrast, the description provided by Waterhouse began with the declaration ‘Registered brooches’.¹⁸² In addition, they gave the firm’s description as ‘inventors and manufacturers’.¹⁸³ West & Son, in contrast, simply referred to their firm as ‘manufacturers’ and used the words ‘copied from antique Irish ornaments’ to describe their exhibits.¹⁸⁴ Joseph Johnson was a little more assertive in his description of ‘brooches and bracelets, etc. produced by a patented process, the invention and manufacture of exhibitor’.¹⁸⁵ It seems apparent that Waterhouse had a clear understanding of the advantage they might obtain by suggesting they had invented jewellery worthy of design protection. Mairead Dunlevy concludes that Waterhouse promoted their archaeological-style jewellery energetically and imaginatively, while West & Son focused on the creation of ‘tasteful interpretations’ in a contemporary style.¹⁸⁶

As discussed in chapter four, Waterhouse and other firms published pamphlets to promote their manufactures. Such pamphlets added a historical value and patina to their newly-minted wares. Although Acheson’s publication was not so emphatically referencing his manufactures, he nevertheless aligned his credentials as ‘jeweller, silversmith and watchmaker’ with an educated knowledge of ancient artefacts.¹⁸⁷ Towards the end of the Dublin exhibition, Waterhouse advertised that purchasers of their brooches would receive a free copy of ‘the second edition of the Pamphlet’ (figure 8.25).¹⁸⁸ Such an advertisement drew attention to the popularity of their jewellery and offered added value in the form of the ‘free’

¹⁸⁰ These designs are illustrated and discussed more fully in chapter four. Waterhouse, design registered 19 Dec. 1850 (TNA, design registration, BT/43/7/74781). Waterhouse, design registered 9 Dec. 1850 (TNA, design registration, BT/43/7/74210).

¹⁸¹ *Official catalogue of the great exhibition 1851*, p. 121.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹⁸³ *Descriptive and illustrated catalogue Great Exhibition 1851*, p. 675.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ *Official catalogue with the Royal Dublin Society 1853*, p. 87.

¹⁸⁶ Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, pp 18-19.

¹⁸⁷ Acheson, *An inquiry into the origin, progress and material of ancient personal ornaments*, title page.

¹⁸⁸ *Freeman’s Journal*, 14 Sept. 1853.

pamphlet. Furthermore, as observed by Stephanie Rains, illustrations were still ‘exceptionally rare’ in newspapers at this time.¹⁸⁹

As has been discussed in previous chapters, many jewellers blamed the consequences of the Act of Union for a fall off in their business. Some claimed that the lack of an Irish parliament badly damaged their trade in precious jewels and metals. Dublin jewellers may have viewed the 1851 London exhibition as an ideal opportunity to reacquaint their exiled customers with their wares.

Waterhouse and West had attracted significant patronage in the nineteenth century as evidenced by their trade ephemera. The wares of Dublin jewellers exhibited at the London exhibition may have been viewed by some consumers as novel offerings from the second city of the empire. Patriotism and novelty could therefore be combined in purchasing a bracelet of bog oak or an archaeological-style pendant or brooch.¹⁹⁰ The London exhibition may not have been as fruitful for Dublin jewellers due to the restrictions on selling during the exhibition.

Exhibitors were not permitted to place prices on their exhibits. This restriction was somewhat overcome by some of the larger London jewellers such as Hunt and Roskell and Garrard who took the step of placing ‘sold’ markers on their exhibits.¹⁹¹ This practice was presumably adopted to indicate the popularity of their wares, as they could merely direct a customer to their shop, or perhaps bring a selection of wares directly to the residence of a customer. Irish jewellers may have brought additional supplies of jewellery or relied on receiving orders during the exhibition for later commissions. Additionally, they may have hoped to receive postal enquiries following the exhibition. John Classon assured customers that purchases in excess of £5 would be delivered free of ‘freight and carriage’ throughout Ireland, England and Scotland, while smaller articles would be posted free of charge.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Rains, *Commodity, culture and social class*, p. 37.

¹⁹⁰ McEnchroe Williams makes this point in relation to replicas of Irish high crosses, McEnchroe Williams, ‘The Temple of Industry’, p. 271.

¹⁹¹ *Nenagh Guardian*, 5 July 1851.

¹⁹² Anon, *Irish Antiquities. Carvings in bog oak*, inside cover.

Dublin jewellers may have viewed exhibitions as a more equitable marketplace than the city. As discussed earlier in the thesis, Dublin had long been a city where jewellers had vied with each other for business as well as fighting to maintain their share of market against imported jewellery. The emergence of large department stores such as Pim Brothers & Company represented a new challenge. Such department stores offered a full range of items, such as millinery, haberdashery, clothing, footwear and jewellery, all underneath one roof. The exhibition building offered a similar environment to that of these large shops - all exhibits were housed under one roof - thus all exhibitors might be viewed as equal. In the limited exhibition space, the smaller shop owner and the employees of the large department store stood side by side. Potential customers could easily stroll between the exhibits of Pim Brothers, West & Son and Samuel Mahood. Given the large crowds visiting the exhibitions, the inevitable congestion along the aisles may have provided exhibitors such as William Acheson and Julius Mosely with an opportunity to call attention to their cases of jewellery. In addition, well-established jewellers such as Henry Flavelle might recognise a familiar customer in the passing throng and use this to their advantage.

Displaying clear and unambiguous pricing became more common in the 1850s, particularly with the emergence of large retailers like Pim Brothers.¹⁹³ This may have influenced the organisers of the Cork and Dublin exhibitions to permit exhibitors to display prices. In an advertisement placed following the London exhibition, Francis Smyth, the Dublin jeweller and umbrella maker, assured readers of his practice of having a set price for all customers and an 'established principle - one price for all'. Smyth went on to use the by-line 'character is the best surety for a continuance of business'.¹⁹⁴ Alongside a guarantee of clear and set pricing, Smyth also confirmed the longevity and integrity of his business by using the words 'character', 'continuance' and 'established principle'. Smyth had not exhibited at the London exhibition, choosing instead to exhibit at Cork and Dublin. During the course of the Dublin exhibition, the Dame Street jeweller George McNally invited visitors to view 'printed lists of prices and patterns' at his

¹⁹³ For a discussion of 'monster houses', see Rains, *Commodity, culture and social class*.

¹⁹⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 14 Feb. 1852.

establishment. He highlighted that he was the ‘successor to Twycross and Co., ... jewellers to her majesty’.¹⁹⁵ McNally offered to buy old gold and jewellery for cash and offered a repair service which would be carried out on his premises by ‘Foreign and first-rate Irish workmen’.¹⁹⁶

The large influx of visitors to Dublin during the exhibition presented established jewellers with an unprecedented sales opportunity. In an English context, Harrods, a modest shop up to 1849, used the profits generated from sales during the 1851 Great Exhibition to acquire surrounding properties.¹⁹⁷ Shops might expect extra business and several jewellers placed advertisements in newspapers such as the *Freeman’s Journal* and *The Exhibition Expositor and Advertiser*. Although no examples have emerged, it is tantalising to suggest that jewellers and other retailers may have passed out handbills on the streets of Dublin or to the crowds attending the exhibition. Perhaps for the reasons outlined above, many jewellers did not exhibit at the London, Cork or Dublin exhibitions. Instead, they may have visited the exhibition halls. Taking on the role of visitor rather than exhibitor offered jewellers several opportunities, coupled with the advantage of only having to leave their shop for a short period of time. For the investment of a shilling they could gain entry to the Dublin exhibition where they might view the displays of their competitors and perhaps even take discrete drawings or make a note of pricing. They might also learn from the display and selling techniques employed by their competitors.¹⁹⁸

The Dublin exhibition offered opportunities to those who merely wished to mimic successful businesses. Meyers and Co. set up a business on Leinster Street just around the corner from the exhibition. They shamelessly imitated the offerings of established bog oak manufactures such as Goggin and Johnson. They offered to copy jewellery from ‘any drawings supplied’ in ‘a few hours’ at ‘much lower’ prices ‘than the usual’. Such orders would then be posted free of charge to

¹⁹⁵ *Freeman’s Journal*, 4 Oct. 1853.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ Leapman, *The world for a shilling*, p. 74.

¹⁹⁸ For a discussion of new forms of employment and commodity display in Dublin, see Rains, *Commodity, culture and social class*.

customers. As a further inducement, they offered an opportunity to ‘inspect the process of manufacture ... in their factory on the premises’.¹⁹⁹ There is evidence that exhibitors were concerned about protecting their inventions. Exhibitors at the London exhibition appear to have been afforded some legal protection for their designs. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, in an attempt to prevent acts of ‘piracy’ the organisers of the Dublin exhibition had promised to replicate the protection offered to London exhibitors by calling for an act of parliament to ‘facilitate the Registration of Designs’.²⁰⁰ Although a bill was put forward, for reasons unclear it seems not to have been pursued and Dublin exhibitors were left without automatic design protection.²⁰¹ As established in chapter four, West & Son, Waterhouse & Company and Joseph Johnson did take the precaution of registering their designs before the 1853 Dublin exhibition.

A remarkable aspect of the three exhibitions is the almost complete absence of exhibits from any jewellers outside Leinster. Thirty-eight individuals or firms participated in the three exhibitions, all but five were from Dublin. Eliza O’Connor of Sligo was the only provincial exhibitor to take part in both Cork and Dublin events. For example, ‘specimens of fresh water pearl ornaments’ were exhibited by a Kerry committee at the Dublin exhibition, but not at London or Cork.²⁰² Although outside the remit of this thesis, research on provincial jewellers may uncover the reasons why they chose to remain at home rather than encourage custom by participating in such well-advertised events. Although an exhibition had been organised in New York in 1853, it seems unlikely that these jewellers would travel to New York while shunning Dublin and Cork or indeed London. The reasons offered for the absence of many Dublin jewellers from the three exhibitions may go some way to explain the almost complete dearth of provincial jewellers.

¹⁹⁹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 1-3, 6 & 7 Sept. 1853.

²⁰⁰ Sproule, *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, p. 9.

²⁰¹ H.C. 1852-3 (71), III, 5.

²⁰² *Official catalogue with the Royal Dublin Society 1853*, p. 89.

8.6 Legacy

Education was central to many exhibition organisers and visitors. The French Ambassador remarked that exhibitions were a ‘rivalry of nations ... a peaceful contest but I think it should rather be likened to a school in which we all of us have something to learn.’²⁰³ The Dublin exhibition was referred to as ‘a rich intellectual banquet’²⁰⁴ from which all could benefit.

A report following the London exhibition called for the education of consumers in matters of taste and workmen in the principles of design. The reporter, Richard Redgrave, a critic of British designs in precious metals, placed blame at the foot of consumer and manufacturer alike. The ‘value of the mere silver is too great in the eyes of the public ... and the full glitter of its polish must be sought to satisfy their feeling of cost and magnificence.’²⁰⁵ Redgrave went on to remark that the taste for placing the weight of an item above its ornament was particularly prevalent with British consumers. He went on to suggest that English manufacturers of works in precious metals endeavoured ‘to give the greatest quantity of metal with the smallest amount of art, which is not so observable on the foreign side.’²⁰⁶ In order to remedy this lack of taste and design education he suggested that the exhibits and craftsmanship of other countries such as India, France and Russia might be studied. Additionally, he suggested that Britain would profit from more structured design schools based on French models, which would benefit workmen and manufacturers alike.²⁰⁷ He was effectively reiterating the concerns aired sixteen years earlier by a committee investigating methods of improving designs for manufacture, as discussed in chapter four.²⁰⁸ It was only A.W.N. Pugin who received praise. The ‘Mediaeval Court and the clever revivals it contains will show the influence on manufacture of an educated designer acquainted with the various processes of the manufactures for which he designs, and apparently controlling both the manufacturer and his workmen in their

²⁰³ *Freeman’s Journal*, 23 Mar. 1850.

²⁰⁴ Sproule, *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, p. 20.

²⁰⁵ *Reports of the juries on the subjects in the thirty classes into which the exhibition was divided* (London, 1852), p. 738.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 740.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 749.

²⁰⁸ *Arts and their connexion with manufactures.*

production'.²⁰⁹ He also held some of the manufactures of Sheffield and Birmingham in high regard, remarking 'in many respects the manufacturers vie with the labourers of the gold and silversmiths' particularly when they replicated 'the purer examples of past ages ... the better taste of a better instructed age.'²¹⁰ Redgrave was evidently passionate about the role of education in creating good jewellery design. For others, the 'prevalence of machine-work' was a mark of England's superiority and civilisation, as 'the machine with its million fingers works for millions.'²¹¹

The Department of Practical Art was formed in February 1852 with a view to reorganising the existing schools of design.²¹² The overall objective of the department was to provide 'the foundation for correct judgement, both in the consumer and the producer of manufactures'.²¹³ Thus the department sought to improve what was being manufactured and to educate the consumer in their choice of purchase. The Schools of Design were intended to provide education in design and drawing, skills which could be translated into a number of trades including textile and metal working. Towards the end of the 1853 Dublin exhibition, the Dublin jeweller William Acheson led a committee of exhibitors to appeal for the Dublin Exhibition to be reopened for twelve days to allow the working class to attend the exhibition.²¹⁴ Should the exhibition be reopened, he remarked, 'the working classes for whose instruction it was designed, might have an opportunity of deriving from it all those advantages which it was calculated to confer'.²¹⁵ The committee of exhibitors were most anxious that as much industrial knowledge as possible be diffused amongst the working classes, and that the charge for the admission of each person should be sixpence.²¹⁶ However,

²⁰⁹ *Reports of the juries on the subjects in the thirty classes*, p. 749.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 740.

²¹¹ John Tallis, *Tallis's history and description of the Crystal Palace, and the Exhibition of the World's Industry in 1851* (London, 1852), p. 116.

²¹² *First report of the Department of Practical Art 1852-53* [1615], H.C. 1852-3, liv, 1., p. 1 (henceforth cited as *First report of Department of Practical Art*).

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

²¹⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 1 Nov. 1853.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

the exhibition had been officially closed and despite Acheson's representations the doors were not reopened.

The Department of Practical Art deemed that establishment of museums was central to exposing all classes to the 'common principles of taste, which may be traced in the works of excellence of all ages.'²¹⁷ A range of items were purchased by the Department for a central museum.²¹⁸ The 'Museum of Manufactures' was located in Marlborough House and housed a collection of examples of manufactures.²¹⁹ This collection was considered to represent the best or rarest examples of wares including pottery and jewellery. Following the London exhibition of 1851, a budget of £5,000 was sanctioned by parliament to purchase a number of items from the exhibition. The committee of four included A.W.N. Pugin. The items purchased were selected 'entirely for the excellence of their art or workmanship'.²²⁰ Seven oxidised silver gilt brooches, ranging in cost from 18s. to £15 15s. were purchased from two Dublin firms, West & Son and Waterhouse & Company. A 'Tara pattern' Irish brooch manufactured by Waterhouse, costing £15 15s. was the most expensive of the Irish jewellery purchased by the museum.²²¹ By way of comparison, an enamelled bracelet by the eminent French jeweller Froment Meurice was acquired by the museum at a cost of £18.²²² The other brooches purchased from Waterhouse were the 'arbutus', 'university' and 'knights' templar' patterns. The museum collection was also supplemented by items on loan and permanent gifts.²²³ Waterhouse donated 'eight electrotypes of the 'Tara' brooch.'²²⁴ In 1881, the museum purchased a replica of the 'Tara' brooch for £50 from the manufacturer Joseph Johnson, the Suffolk Street jeweller (figure 8.26). Given that there were approximately 124 exhibitors in the precious metals category at the London

²¹⁷ *First report of Department of Practical Art*, p. 2.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

²²² *Ibid.*, p. 258.

²²³ *Ibid.*, pp 32-3.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

exhibition, the selection of two Dublin jewellery firms was quite remarkable and serves to confirm the high standard of workmanship among Dublin jewellers.²²⁵

The Department of Practical Art asserted that museums offering instruction in design based on their collections might become one of the cornerstones of education: 'It is by means of such collections that we may hope to create a band of practical artists, competent to teach the principles of ornamental art'.²²⁶ Museums were thus 'schoolrooms' and houses of instruction in taste and design, and when combined with lectures were became a more serious educational venture, rather than 'a mere unintelligible lounge for idlers'.²²⁷ The profits of £5,000 from the London exhibition were invested in establishing what is today the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.²²⁸ The National Gallery in Dublin was officially opened in 1864 at the core of its collection were the exhibits at the 1853 exhibition. The fine arts hall of the Cork exhibition building was restored as a permanent 'Temple of Art' under the direction of John Benson, the architect of the Dublin exhibition building.²²⁹

Conclusion

Jamie Saris argues that the dichotomy for Ireland in the 1850s lay in striking a balance between modernity and identity. On the one hand Ireland wanted to form her own identity by referencing the past, but by looking to the past for cultural validation Ireland ran the risk of being cast as backward and inferior.²³⁰ By choosing to take part in industrial exhibitions, Dublin jewellers were displaying confidence in their products and were prepared to be compared with and ultimately judged against the considerable industrial manufactures of Britain and other nations. An appreciation of craftsmanship was linked to refinement by David Hume. He believed that a plentiful supply of luxury goods resulted in

²²⁵ *Official catalogue of the great exhibition, 1851*, xxx.

²²⁶ *First report of Department of Practical Art*, p. 230.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²²⁸ I am grateful to Richard Edgcumbe for this information.

²²⁹ Sproule, *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, p. 36.

²³⁰ Saris, 'Imagining Ireland', pp 85-6.

highly cultivated, refined and artistic individuals.²³¹ By exhibiting at the London exhibition, Dublin jewellers sought to create interest in their products. In addition, they earned a virtual badge of honour as exhibitors at the ‘great exhibition’ which could then be exploited in newspaper and print advertising. As late as 1902, West & Son continued to include a reference on their letterhead to winning a prize medal at the 1851 Great Exhibition.²³² The possibility of royal approval must also have been at the forefront of many ambitions. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert visited the London and Dublin exhibitions, which presented the possibility of the royal gaze lingering over an Irish exhibit, which might lead to a complimentary remark or the ultimate seal of approval – making a purchase. One of the clearest contributions made by Dublin jewellers was creating pieces which demonstrated the endurance of Ireland’s cultural heritage. Exhibits of bog oak and precious metal jewellery provided tangible evidence of the continuity of Ireland’s unique civilisation.

The Dublin exhibition brought together a unique collection of Irish manufactures. The stone high crosses and ‘Tara’ brooch dating to the eighth century and the ‘Brian Boru’ harp dating to the fourteenth century represented and celebrated the high level of craftsmanship in Irish culture. The high crosses were uprooted from their sites around Ireland and placed into the Dublin exhibition ‘temple’ where they dominated the central hall of nineteenth-century works of industry. The incongruous placing of these artefacts served as markers of Ireland’s unique cultural heritage.²³³ Although Ireland could not compete in terms of industrialisation she could offer a history steeped in powerful images which resonated with the beauty, design, and craftsmanship of thousands of years. Nineteenth-century Irish jewellery took inspiration from these iconic motifs. As discussed in chapter four, the designs used in nineteenth-century Irish jewellery included shamrocks, harps and ancient Celtic ornamentation inspired by artefacts such as the ‘Tara’ brooch. The Young Ireland movement were involved in

²³¹ Lubbock, *The tyranny of taste*, p. 118.

²³² West & Son trade receipt, 24 Oct. 1902 to Lord Gormanstown (NLI, Gormanstown papers, MS44,413).

²³³ McEnchroe Williams, ‘The Temple of Industry’, p. 271.

developing a sense of national identity through cultural heritage. In an attempt to reinvigorate the Repeal Movement in the 1840s, membership cards were enlivened with the national motifs of harp, shamrock and Celtic brooch.²³⁴

The prospect of forging a new national identity through an indigenous craft was not unique to Ireland. Ireland was not alone in using the London exhibition to promote her national identity. Brazil exhibited a bouquet of exotic feather flowers representing the flowers of coffee, cotton and tobacco; at subsequent exhibitions feathered fans were exhibited. It was by taking a native material and fashioning it into a 'civilised' item such as a fan, that Brazil challenged the European view of her as uncivilised and dangerous to a nation more akin to the civilised nations of Europe.²³⁵ In the aftermath of the considerable upheaval experienced as a result of the legislative union and devastation wrought by the famine, Ireland emerged in the 1850s with a renewed vigour and belief in a brighter future. Evidence of this might be found in the successful organisation of the Cork and Dublin exhibitions. Alongside the monumental edifices of the exhibition buildings lay the tiny manufactures of gold, silver, shell, wood and hair. The archaeological-style brooches exhibited by Acheson, West and Waterhouse and the bog oak jewellery exhibited by Dublin manufacturers like Bennett, Mahood and Goggin sought to showcase the vibrancy and continuity of Ireland's cultural heritage.

²³⁴ Sheehy, *The rediscovery of Ireland's past*, p. 37.

²³⁵ Rezende, 'Crafting the nation', pp 136-9.

CONCLUSION

The jewellery produced by craftsmen in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Dublin, at first glance, is often tantalisingly anonymous. This thesis has demonstrated, by conducting an extensive study of the Dublin jewellery market over an extended period, that it is possible to write the history of such material. A disparate group of documentary and artefact evidence has been brought together for the first time in order to investigate the relationship between manufacturer, retailer and consumer. In so doing, this research has identified the structure of the trade, the diversity of manufacturers and retailers, the type of jewellery available, the factors which impacted on the trade and the motivations which prompted the purchase and display of jewellery. Compared with the English context little work has been done on the Irish jewellery market. Existing work on the Irish trade focuses on the jewellery collections housed in the National Museum of Ireland, the Ulster Museum, Celtic-revival jewellery and bog oak carving. Irish silversmiths and goldsmiths have received scholarly attention primarily centred on household plate. This thesis has begun to address the lacuna in research on Irish jewellery. Through a series of case studies, including the manufacture of Joseph Johnson's bog oak jewellery, the design of the Burton brooch and the bequest of jewellery made by Anna Maria Allot, this work provides a more intimate engagement with the manufacturers, retailers and consumers of jewellery in Dublin and in so doing has investigated a range of topics.

Most obviously this thesis provides insights into the jewellery trade, yet its findings also shed new light on the social, economic and political environment of the period. In bringing together very different types of evidence, knowledge of broader themes relating to the manufacture, retail and consumption of luxury goods in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Ireland is advanced. In focusing on Dublin jewellers and their customers, this research has highlighted that the Dublin jewellery market did not suffer an immediate downturn in the wake of the 1801 Act of Union. Remarkably, in the first four decades of the nineteenth century the numbers working in the jewellery trade rose consistently. It was not until 1840

that the trade showed signs of consolidation, in tandem with the emergence of powerful retailers. Through an investigation of guild records, this research has uncovered a dynamic jewellery supply network, comprised of forty local manufacturers and thirty-nine retailers, which operated in Dublin from 1841 to 1870. This research has revealed much about the importance of the legislative structure to the jewellery trade. However, the new legislation introduced during the nineteenth century had wider implications in terms of cultural nationalism, expressed most clearly at international exhibitions, which contributed to the creation of modern Ireland. As the preceding discussion has demonstrated, the exploration of objects and documents can be used to reconstruct the context in which jewellery was made, sold and worn in Dublin from c.1770 to c.1870. Doing so has not simply added to our knowledge of the Irish jewellery trade, but has made new contributions to the history of Dublin. By the last decades of the eighteenth century, changes to the city layout prompted a gradual shift of commercial location from west to east. This ripple continued eastward in the nineteenth century.

However, this research has also demonstrated that the Dublin jewellery trade did not exist in commercial isolation. Consumers could choose from a readily available variety of jewellery including manufactures of cut-steel, horsehair and bog wood. By the mid-nineteenth century Irish jewellery was being exhibited side by side with work by internationally celebrated jewellers. In addition, horsehair jewellery was produced and retailed in Ireland as a consequence of the famine, and bog oak jewellery offered an alternative to precious metals and gems. In focusing on the credit terms available throughout the period, this thesis has shown that, in the nineteenth century, retailers seem to have been more reluctant to offer extended credit, rather 'ready money' was expected and discounts granted when full settlement was made at time of purchase. It might be surmised that this change in credit terms became possible as the customer base changed from an ascendancy class to a professional one. Moreover, the lighter, cheaper jewellery available in the mid-nineteenth century required less financial investment from manufacturer and consumer alike. These findings contribute new insights into the

purchasing habits of Dublin's, predominantly Catholic, professional middle-class consumer.

The process of manufacturing and retailing jewellery in Dublin has been demonstrated in detail. The inter-connections which existed in Dublin's jewellery labour force have been highlighted. Although business records detailing supplier and client accounts have not survived for the period, among the most important discoveries presented here are the rare and wonderful business records relating to two Dublin jewellery firms, Champion and Keen and James Mayfield & Company. Analysis of these records has demonstrated the means necessary to set up a jewellery business in Dublin and has identified the fixtures, fittings and layout of the jeweller's shop, as well as establishing the quantity and variety of stock required. In addition, these findings have contributed new insights into the consumer shopping experience in Dublin. Significant steps forward have been made in determining the quantity and type of jewellery produced by Dublin manufacturers. Manufacturers in the capital were responsible for the majority, if not all, of the Irish jewellery assayed by the Dublin goldsmiths' guild. The archaeological-style jewellery championed by many nineteenth-century Dublin jewellers has been contextualised by considering the lesser-known output of jewellers such as James Brush, Michael Mullen, William Percival and Henry Flavelle. A number of tantalising references have also been found which indicate an export market for Irish jewellery. Although further research is required to ascertain the extent of the trade, evidence points to connections between Irish jewellers and bog oak manufacturers with markets in England, Australia, America and the East Indies. While this work has focused on the Dublin jewellery trade, additional research into provincial jewellers and retailers active during the eighteenth and nineteenth century would yield further insight into the luxury goods market.

Above all, this thesis has demonstrated that it is possible to move beyond the anonymity of jewellery and to combine the exploration of objects and documents

to make new contributions to the social and political history of eighteenth and nineteenth-century Ireland.

Appendix 1

Number of apprentice jewellers registered with the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, 1770-1823

| Date | Total of all apprentices | Jeweller to whom bound | No. of apprentice jewellers |
|-----------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1770-1780 | 40 | Poole Taylor | 3 |
| | | John Loughlin | 2 |
| | | William Wilme | 2 |
| | | Arthur Bate | 1 |
| | | William Bates | 1 |
| | | Joseph Jackson | 1 |
| | | William Osbourne | 1 |
| | | Ebinizar Orr | 1 |
| | | Pat Walsh | 1 |
| 1781-1791 | 19 | John Wade | 4 |
| | | John Moses Dufor | 1 |
| | | John Loughlin | 1 |
| 1792-1802 | 8 | Thomas Gonne | 1 |
| | | Joseph Jackson | 1 |
| | | John Keene | 1 |
| 1803-1823 | 9 | Thomas Gonne | 2 |
| | | Matthew West | 1 |

Source: Apprentice register 2 May 1752 to 7 Nov. 1823 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 97, pp 64-91, pages after p. 91 unpaginated). The master and apprentice trade description has been cross-referenced with newspaper and trade ephemera.

Appendix 2

Jewellers in Dublin, 1830

| Name | Address | Trade description |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| Adams, Edward | 44 Nassau St | dealer in curiosities |
| Ayre, Thomas | 34 Lwr. Sackville St | jeweller, watchmaker |
| Barnet(t), Robert | 2 Smock Alley | manufacturing jeweller, playing & blank cards |
| Brett, P. | 11 Royal Arcade | jeweller |
| Brown, Charles | 29 Aungier St | jeweller, goldsmith |
| Brown, George | 3 Fownes St | stone seal engraver |
| Brown, John | 6 Westmoreland St | manufacturing jeweller, goldsmith |
| Bushe, John | 21 Crampton Court | jeweller, watch glass maker |
| Byrne, Charles | 23 Lwr Exchange St & 14 Essex Quay | working jeweller |
| Cainen, Michael | 19 Skinner Row | jeweller, goldsmith |
| Clarke, John | 8 Smock Alley | working jeweller |
| Clarke, William* | 22 Golden Lane | jeweller, goldsmith |
| Cohen, J.W.& S., | 14 Lr Ormond Quay | wholesale jeweller, fancy warehouse |
| Connor, George* | Dawson St | manufacturing jeweller |
| Connor, T. & Son | 48 Nassau St | manufacturing jeweller, goldsmith |
| Cowen, George | 4 Wellington Quay | wholesale jeweller, watchmaker |
| Cowen S&W | 4 Eustace St | jewellers |
| Flower, Turvey | 11 Essex Quay | jeweller, watchmaker |
| Glenville, Edward | 17 Trinity Place | manufacturing jeweller |
| Gonne, Thomas & Son | 4 Fownes St | manufacturing jeweller |
| Goodall, Edward | 19 Eustace St | manufacturing jeweller |
| Gregory, Henry | 31 Bachelors Wlk | manufacturing jeweller |
| Holmes, James (son of Samuel) | 58 Stephen St | jeweller |
| Hopper, Thomas | 62 Capel St | jeweller, watchmaker |
| Isaacs, L. | 38 Stafford St | jeweller, wholesale sponge merchant |
| Jackson, John | 110 Grafton St | jeweller, Tunbridge & fancy cabinet warehouse |
| Johnson, Joseph* | 23 Wellington Quay | jeweller |

| Name | Address | Trade description |
|--|-------------------------|---|
| Johnson, Joseph | 32 William Street | jeweller |
| Jones, Joseph | 60 Stephen St | jeweller |
| Laing, John | 82 Upper Dorset St | manufacturing jeweller |
| Law & Son | 1 & 2 Sackville Street | jeweller, goldsmith |
| McOwen, Edward | 2 Hoeys Court | jeweller |
| Mason, Daniel | 45 Lwr. Exchange St | jeweller |
| Miles, George | 12 Essex Quay | jeweller |
| Millikin, Joseph | 5 Parliament St | jeweller, goldsmith |
| Mooney, William | 81 Capel St | jeweller, goldsmith |
| Moore, Thomas | 47 Nassau St | jewellery & fancy warehouse |
| Morpie, Thomas | 34 Lwr Sackville St | jeweller, goldsmith |
| Morris, Bourns & Co. (successors to John Brown) | 6 Westmoreland St | jeweller, goldsmith, silversmith, watchmaker |
| Mosley, William, Snr. | 17 Anglesea Street | wholesale jeweller |
| Mosley, William, Jnr. | 45 Exchequer Street | jeweller & fancy warehouse |
| Mosley, Richard | 6 Andrew Street | agent, wholesale jewellery & fancy warehouse |
| Murray, Edward | 7 Astons Quay | manufacturing jeweller |
| Nelson, William | 21 Essex Quay | jeweller & spectacle maker |
| Nerwick, M. | 20 Sth Great Georges St | wholesale jewellery & fancy warehouse |
| Norris, Daniel | 6 Essex Quay | manufacturing jeweller |
| Nowlan(d), Henry | 13 Digges St | manufacturing jeweller |
| O'Reilly, Edward | 14 Smock Alley | jeweller |
| Osborne, R.W. | 5 Eustace St | wholesale plate, jewellery, lamp & bronze warehouse |
| Peter & Mockler | 109 Grafton St | jeweller, watchmaker |
| Petrie, Wilhelmeina | 82 Dame St | antiquarian, jeweller |
| Pinkney, Joseph | 341/2 Grafton St | jeweller |
| Power, Richard G. | 6 Marlborough St | manufacturing jeweller |
| Rosenthal, Henry | 19 Royal Arcade | jewellery, perfumery & fancy warehouse |

| Name | Address | Trade description |
|----------------------------|----------------------|---|
| Rumley, Forward | 67 Dame St | jeweller, goldsmith, watchmaker |
| Smith, Baker | 20 Royal Arcade | jeweller, goldsmith, watchmaker |
| Smith, Charles | 8 Royal Arcade | jewellery & fancy warehouse |
| Smith & Gamble | 31 Exchequer St. | manufacturing jeweller, goldsmith |
| Stewart, Charles & Sons | 1 Dame St | manufacturing jeweller, goldsmith, silversmith |
| Tate, John George | 155 Capel St | working jeweller |
| Taylor, Poole* | 54 Capel St | jeweller, goldsmith |
| Thompson, Edward | 19 Trinity Place | manufacturing jeweller |
| Topham, Edward | 34 Grafton St | jeweller, goldsmith, watchmaker |
| Twycross, John & Son | 69 Dame St | goldsmith |
| Vigne, Henry | 28 Stafford St | wholesale jeweller |
| Walsh, Nicholas | 24 Sackville St | jeweller, stationer & stamp retailer |
| Walsh, Ralph* | 7 Essex Quay | jeweller, watch & clock maker |
| West, Alderman Jacob | 9 Capel Street | jeweller, goldsmith |
| West, Matthew & Sons | 20 Skinner Row | jeweller, goldsmith |
| Wickham, James** | 25 Essex Quay | jeweller, goldsmith |
| Willet, James | 161 Great Britain St | jeweller, watchmaker |

Notes: name indicated * only appear in *Douglas Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*;
name indicated ** only appear in Dublin Goldsmiths' Guild records

Source: *Wilson's Dublin Directory*, 1830

Appendix 3

Allied Trades in Dublin, 1830, according to trade description

| Name | Address | Trade description |
|---------------------|--|--|
| Poole, Taylor | Goldsmiths' Hall, 22 Golden Lane | Beadle of the Goldsmiths' Corporation and advertiser of stolen plate, etc. |
| Furlong, Nicolas | 11 Ross Lane | Birmingham warehouse |
| Smith, E. | 27 & 28 Kennedy's Lane | Birmingham warehouse |
| Carroll, P.J. & Co. | 14 Lw. Ormond Quay | fancy and perfumery warehouse, wholesale |
| Levy, M. | 20 Royal arcade | fancy warehouse |
| Nolan, James Joseph | 32 Bachelors Walk | fancy warehouse |
| Hill, Benjamin | 7 Eden Quay | figure maker and ornament modeller |
| Teare, Henry | Goldsmiths' Hall, 22 Golden Lane | gold and silver chaser |
| Jesson, James | 12 Dame St | gold and silver lace manuf. & hatter |
| Brady, Sir N. Wm. | 43 Dame St | gold and silver lace manufacturer |
| Neville, Samuel | 27 Stafford St | gold and silversmith |
| Sawyer, Richard* | 64 Fleet St | gold and silversmith, wholesale |
| Wright, William | 14 Fownes St | goldbeater |
| Sherwin, Richard | 39 Golden Lane | goldsmith |
| Willis, Anthony | 7 Essex Quay | goldsmith |
| Reygan, Mat. Thomas | 53 Grafton St | importer of toys and fancy goods |
| Doyle, James | 21 Crampton Court | ivory turner |
| Dunn, Edward | 47 Essex St | ivory turner |
| Freymuth, H. | 9 Lr. Sackville St & 5 Royal Arcade | ivory, tortoise-shell and horn comb manufacturer |
| Rosenthal, Henry | 19 Royal Arcade | jewellery, perfumery and fancy-warehouse |
| Read, T. & Co. | 4 Parliament St | knife, sword and surgical instrument maker |
| Le Bel, John T. | 16 Fownes St | London and Birmingham warehouse, wholesale |
| Comerford, John | 2 Leinster St | miniature painter |
| Dunne, John | 4 Park St | miniature painter |
| Robertson, Miss | 10 Russell St | miniature painter |
| McDermott, John | 8 Upr Ormond Quay | perfumer and fancy warehouse |

| Name | Address | Trade description |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Downey, James T. | 38 Nassau Street | perfumer and fancy warehouse (Berlin iron jewellery) |
| Smyth, J. | 24 College Green & 10 Royal Arcade | perfumery and fancy warehouse |
| Goulding, Thomas | 14 Lower Sackville St | perfumery and fancy warehouse |
| Fagan, James | 37 Capel St | perfumery and general fancy warehouse, wholesale |
| Fitzgerald, Robert | 22 Exchequer st | seal cutter and engraver |
| Robertson, John | 21 Upr. Ormond Quay | seal cutter and engraver |
| Flemming, G. | 15 Essex Quay | seal cutter, engraver & copperplate printer |
| De Veaux, John | 1 College Green | seal engraver |
| Roche, J. | Garret Court, Castle Street | seal engraver & die sinker |
| Butler, J. | 7 Bishop St | seal engraver & die-sinker |
| Jones, J. | 78 Dame St | seal engraver, medallist and letter cutter |
| McQuestion, George | 10 Westmoreland St | seal, gem and portrait engraver |
| Moore, James | 21 Eustace St | silver plate warehouse |
| Malone, William | 11 Little Ship Street | silver plater and brass founder |
| Bergin, Stephen | 8 Nicholas St | silversmith |
| Brady, James | 10 Beresford St | silversmith |
| Crofton, Edward | 9 Peter's Row | silversmith |
| Cummins, W. | 7 Gt. Ship Street | silversmith |
| Malang, Joseph | 54 S. Gt. George's St | silversmith |
| Morgan, Thomas | 18 Skinner Row | silversmith |
| Nowlan, William | 21 Whitefriar St | silversmith |
| Moulang, D. | 54 S. Gt. George's St | silversmith & watchcase maker |
| Egar, John | 20 Crampton Court | silversmith and dentist |
| Lebas, J. | 17 Bishop St | silversmith (working) |
| McCarthy, Thomas | 8 Wellington Quay | stone seal cutter |
| Waller, Theodore | 12 Anglesea St | stone seal engraver |
| Hall, Samuel | 62 Pill Lane | tortoise-shell comb maker |
| Gray, Edward | 30 Grange-gorman Lane | tortoise-shell comb manufacturer |
| Allen, Richard, | 40 Capel St | watch and clock maker |
| Beith, Robert | 16 Georges Quay | watch and clock maker |
| Broderick, William | 3 Essex Quay | watch and clock maker |
| Bullock, William | 8 Capel St | watch and clock maker |
| Chapman, James | 15 Gt. Ship St | watch and clock maker |
| Garty, William | 33 St. Gt. Georges St | watch and clock maker |
| George, John | 54 Stephens St | watch and clock maker |

| Name | Address | Trade description |
|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Glover, Thomas | 1 Upr. Ormond Quay | watch and clock maker |
| Hodges, F. | 27 Grafton St | watch and clock maker |
| Holbrook, James | 80 Dame St | watch and clock maker |
| Kennedy, Edward | 151 Capel St | watch and clock maker |
| McElear, Patrick | 94 Thomas St | watch and clock maker |
| O'Neill, Arthur | 42 Gt. Ship St | watch and clock maker |
| Raymond, unknown | Fields Court, Church St | watch and clock maker |
| Ross, Alexander | 30 St. King St | watch and clock maker |
| Rourke, Thomas | 21 Wellington Quay | watch and clock maker |
| Seed, Richard | 3 Bride St | watch and clock maker |
| Sharp, Christopher | 60 Exchequer St | watch and clock maker |
| Sherlock, Joseph | 6 Parliament St | watch and clock maker |
| Wilson, John | Hoey's Court, Werburg St | watch and clock maker |
| Costigan, Robert | 31 College Green | watch and clockmaker |
| Faircloth, Evans | 39 St. Gt. Georges St | watch and clockmaker |
| Blundell, Robert | 187 Gt. Britain St | watchmaker |
| Connolly, John | 6 Johnson's Place | watchmaker |
| Connor, John | 153 Capel St | watchmaker |
| Garty, George | 30 William St | watchmaker |
| Gaskin, John | 22 College Green | watchmaker |
| Glover, Thomas Jnr. | 7 Essex Quay | watchmaker |
| Gordon & Fletcher | 77 Dame St | watchmaker |
| Hamson, Robert | 5 Essex Quay | watchmaker |
| Hanlon, William | 5 Westmoreland St | watchmaker |
| Johnson, F.T. | 8 Parliament St | watchmaker |
| McMaster, Howell | 94 Grafton St | watchmaker |
| Pilkington, Thomas | 30 Upr. Sackville St | watchmaker |
| Scott, Robert | 41 Grafton St | watchmaker |

Note: name indicated * only appears in Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*

Source: *Wilson's Dublin Directory*, 1830

Appendix 4

Lapidaries in Dublin, c.1770 to c.1870

| Name | Address | Trade description | year in business |
|-------------------|---|--|--------------------|
| Brown, Mr | Werbung Street | lapidary | 1771 |
| Fragneau, Isaac | Dublin | lapidary | 1771 |
| Goyar, David | 20 Sycamore Alley | lapidary | 1810 |
| Hagerty, Thomas | 13 Copper Alley | lapidary | 1780 |
| Hart, Frederick | 3 Dame St | lapidary | 1870 |
| Hodgetts, Charles | 25 Nassau St | lapidary, jeweller | 1819 |
| Holdbrook, John | 31 Exchange St; Royal Colonade, Essex Quay. | stone, seal and gem sculptor | 1860 |
| Johnson, Edmond | 5 Fleet & 89 Grafton St | lapidary, enameller, goldsmith, jeweller, watchmaker & diamond merchant | 1867-70 |
| Jones, George | 45 Lwr. Stephen St | lapidary and miniature glass manufacturer | 1840 |
| Jones, George | 22 Wicklow St | lapidary | 1850 |
| Jonquier, David | 36 Gt Ship St E | lapidary | 1763-98 |
| Lauder, John | 2 Ormond Quay; 28 Skinner Row | lapidary and seal cutter; goldsmith, jeweller and seal cutter | 1771 1780 |
| Martin, Joseph | 4 Aston's Quay | watchmaker, artificer in gold and silver, worker in diamonds and coloured gems | 1850-70 |
| Moore & Lynch | 52 Exchequer Street | lapidaries | 1820 |
| Nixon, Robert | 20 Little Strand St | jeweller & lapidary | 1790-92 |
| Robinson, John | 6 Crow Street | lapidary | 1810-20 |
| Russell, Thomas | 25 Anglesea Street | lapidary | 1874 |
| Thom, J.S. | 20 George's St | lapidary, beast and bird preserver | 1840 |
| Turpin, Thomas | 10 Trinity St | lapidary | 1813-20 |
| Wilkinson, George | Great Georges St; 11 College Green | lapidary lapidary, jeweller, goldsmith | 1768-71 1771-80 |

Source: *Wilson's Dublin Directory 1770-1830*; *Post office Dublin Directory and Calendar 1840-50*; *Thom's Dublin Directory 1850-1870*; *Freeman's Journal*, 11 Jun. 1771; *Irish Examiner*, 25 Mar. 1844.

Appendix 5

Miniaturists with business/family connections to Dublin jewellers

| Miniaturist | Family/business connection | Active in Dublin |
|----------------------|---|--------------------------|
| William Bate | Bate & Bird, Dame Street, jewellers | c.1799-1845 |
| Adam Buck | Jonathan Buck, Cork, silversmith | c.1759-95 |
| Frederick Buck | Jonathan Buck, Cork, silversmith | c.1771-1840 (in Cork) |
| Charles Byrne | Isaac Hutchinson, Dame Street, jewellers | c.1791 |
| James Petrie | James Poole/Thomas Adams, Dame Street, jewellers, watchmakers; Wilhelmeina Petrie, antiquarian, jeweller. George Petrie, son, <i>b.</i> 1790. | c.1800-19 |
| Charles Robertson | George Robertson, Nassau Street, jeweller | c.1760- <i>d.</i> 1821 |
| Clementina Robertson | George Robertson, Nassau Street, jeweller | c.1795-1858 |
| Thomas Wogan | Robert Wogan, Parliament Street, jeweller | c.1773-79 |

Source: Paul Caffrey, *Treasures to hold: Irish and English miniatures 1650 to 1850 – from the National Gallery of Ireland* (Dublin, 2000).

Appendix 6

William Percival, customer supply, 1866

| Customer | Goods supplied |
|---|--|
| Marmion Brown, jeweller and seal engraver, Fownes Street | Weddings rings (gold) |
| Cameron?, n/a | Masonic ornaments |
| Callen/Hallen?, n/a | Wedding rings (gold) |
| George Gibson, jeweller and watchmaker, Henry Street | Wedding rings (gold) |
| Joseph Glover, watchmaker, Abbey Street | Gold rings |
| William Hug, watchmaker and jeweller, Georges Street | Wedding rings |
| Kaiser Brothers, jewellers and watch manufacturers, Eden Quay | Diamond rings (gold mount), gold rings |
| Pim Brothers & Co., department store, Georges Street | Gold bracelets, sleeve links |
| Waterhouse & Company, jewellers, Dame Street | Bouquet holders, casket mountings, links n.s., ring n.s, gold guard rings, gold signet rings, wedding rings, signet rings, gold sleeve links |
| James Whyte, jeweller, watchmaker and cutler, Henry Street | Gold guard rings |

Source: compiled from assay ledger, 22 May 1858 to 10 May 1890 (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MS 37). Additional information from *Thom's Dublin Directory* 1850-70

Appendix 7

Committee of 28 working jewellers and silversmiths of Dublin, 1828

| | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| John Teare | Manufacturing goldsmith | 8 Ltl. Ship Street |
| Thomas Gonne & Son | Manufacturing jeweller | 4 Fownes Street |
| Edward Power | Silversmith | 11 Malpas Street |
| William Cummins | Silversmith | 7 Gt. Ship Street |
| Edward Murray | Jeweller | 7 Aston Quay |
| Joseph Johnson & Son | Jewellers | 32 William Street |
| Richard Sherwin | Goldsmith | 39 Golden Lane |
| William Nowlan | Silversmith | 21 White Friar Street |
| Edward Crofton | Silversmith | 9 Peters Row |
| William Askin | Manufacturing jeweller | 6 Trinity Place |
| Stephen Cowen | Jeweller | 4 Eustace Street |
| Laurence Keary* | Silversmith | 10 Dame Court |
| Henry Flavelle* | Jeweller | 17 Leinster Street |
| Charles Marsh** | Silversmith | 5 Prince of Wales Ct. |
| Thomas Farnell/Fernell* | Silversmith | 9 Dawson's Court |
| Edward Glenville | Manufacturing jeweller | 17 Trinity Place |
| Richard G. Power | Manufacturing jeweller | 6 Marlborough Street |
| Thomas Lowe* | Jeweller | 5 Essex Quay |
| Richard Fell* | Not traced | 7 Wood Street |
| James Fray* | Not traced | 39 Bride Street |
| Peter Godfrey | Manufacturing silversmith | 12 Skinner Row |
| Richard O'Donnel* | Jeweller | 11 Eustace Street |
| Patrick Seagrave | Manufacturing jeweller | 87 Dame Street |
| Edward Thompson | Jeweller | 19 Trinity Place |
| Richard Donnelly | Not traced | Not traced |
| W.H. Moran | Not traced | Not traced |
| James Brady | Silversmith | 10 Beresford Street |
| George Miles | Jeweller | 12 Essex Quay |

Source: *Seventeenth report of the commissioners of inquiry into the collection and management of the revenue arising in Ireland, Scotland, etc., Stamp revenue in Ireland (1828)*, pp 104-5; Dublin street directories; *Registration book and punch register (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MSS 99-100); **Only found in Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*.

Appendix 8

Jewellery assayed in Dublin by maker and object, Sept. 1841-1870

| Object | total | Jewellery manufacturer and no. of objects |
|---------------------------|-------|--|
| Alderman's chain | 5 | E. Johnson 3, J. Johnson Jnr. 2, |
| badge | 7 | E. Johnson 1, Sawyer 6 |
| badge, water baliffe | 1 | Walsh 1 |
| badge, King William | 2 | Flavelle Jnr. 1, Flavelle 1 |
| belt fastener | 1 | Flavelle Snr. 1 |
| belt mounting | 1 | Flavelle 1 |
| box Irish ornaments | 1 | E. Johnson 1 |
| box, powder | 1 | E. Johnson 1 |
| bracelet | 33 | Flavelle 12, Hutton 1, E. Johnson 11, J. Johnson Jnr. 5, Percival 1 |
| brooch n.s. | 31 | Flavelle 18, Flavelle Jnr. 2, Hutton 2, E. Johnson 7, J. Johnson 1, Keating 1 |
| brooch - gold | 2 | E. Johnson 2 |
| brooch - shawl | 4 | J. Johnson 2, J. Johnson Jnr. 2 |
| brooch - antique | 4 | E. Johnson 4 |
| brooch - horseshoe | 1 | E. Johnson 1 |
| brooch - oak stems | 24 | E. Johnson 24 |
| brooch - star | 1 | LeBas 1 |
| brooch - silver | 16 | Flavelle Jnr., 8, E. Johnson 6, J. Johnson 1, J. Smyth 1 |
| buckle | 23 | Flavelle 4, E. Johnson 4, J. Johnson Snr. 3, LeBas 1, R.W. Smith 11 |
| button - hunt | 28 | Donegan 28 |
| button - sleeve (sets) | 5 | Flavelle 2, E. Johnson 1, E. Thompson 2 |
| button - repeal (gold) | 2 | Smith 2 |
| button - wheat sheaf | 1 | E. Johnson 1 |

| Object | total | Jewellery manufacturer and no. of objects |
|-------------------------|--------------|--|
| chain | 19 | Acheson 1, Flavelle 1, E. Johnson 14, Nolan 2+, Smith 1 |
| chain - Albert | 1 | E. Johnson 1 |
| chain - guard | 1 | E. Johnson 1 |
| cigar case | 3 | E. Johnson 2 |
| clasp for chain | 2 | E. Johnson 2 |
| clasp (gold) | 1 | Nerwich 1 |
| collar | 1 | E. Johnson 1 |
| cross | 8 | Donegan 1, Flavelle 1, E. Johnson 3, J. Johnson 1, J. Johnson Jnr. 1, Smyth 1 |
| cross - gold shamrock | 1 | J. Johnson 1 |
| cross - box | 4 | E. Johnson 3, J. Johnson jnr. 1 |
| crucifix | 1 | E. Johnson 1 |
| dog for bagpipes | 1 | E. Johnson 1 |
| earring | 21 | Flavelle 19, E. Johnson 2 |
| flower holder | 6 | E. Johnson 5, Percival 1 |
| harp, Irish | 1 | E. Thompson? 1 |
| harp | 3 | Flavelle 3 |
| head ornament | 1 | E. Johnson 1 |
| horse shoes | 4 | LeBas 4 |
| horse for cup | 1 | E. Johnson 1 |
| King William & pedestal | 1 | Sawyer 12 |
| locket | 33 | Flavelle 28, J. Johnson 2, E. Johnson 3 |
| locket (gold) | 1 | E. Johnson 1+ |
| masonic jewels | 369 | Alcock 1+, Barton 2, Bryce 1, C. Cummins 4, Flavelle 128+, Flavelle Jnr. 123+, Flavelle Snr. 11+, E. Johnson 11, J. Johnson 5+, J. Johnson Jnr. 8+, Keating 19+, LeBas 19+, Mahony 6, Neville? 9, Wm. Percival 2, Smyth 17, Twycross 3 |

| Object | total | Jewellery manufacturer and no. of objects |
|---------------------------|--------------|--|
| match box & label (gold) | 1 | Flavelle 1 |
| necklace | 2 | Flavelle 2 |
| necklace, centre (gold) | 1 | E. Johnson 1 |
| Order of St. Patrick star | 18 | E. Johnson 17, J. Johnson Jnr. 1 |
| Philharmonic ornaments | 12 | Sawyer 12 |
| purse frame | 1 | Flavelle Jnr. 1 |
| ring, gold | 3786 | Barton 1, Burge 12, H. Flavelle 8, G. Goyer 2, E. Johnson 1027, J. Johnson 2328, J. Johnson Jnr. 1, J. Johnson Snr. 1, Law 209, LeBas 1, Lowe 90, Mason 36, Molloy 2, Percival 1, Read 30, J. Smyth 4, Topham 2, Topham & White 31 |
| ring 22ct | 8 | E. Johnson 3, J. Law 1, T or J Smyth 2, Wickham 2 |
| ring 9ct | 4 | Flavelle 4 |
| ring 18ct | 141 | Brice 2, Clarke 1, Donegan 3, Hutton 4, E. Johnson 1, J. Johnson 2, Lawson 1, Percival 112, Pelin 6, Stewart 9, Topham & White 1 |
| ring, bishop | 2 | T.D. Bryce? 1, J. Johnson Jnr. 1 |
| ring, chased edges | 1 | J. Barton 1 |
| ring, diamond | 2 | E. Johnson 1, W. Percival 1 |
| ring, enamel | 1 | A. Hutton 1 |
| ring, gypsy | 7 | T.D. Bryce 2, E. Johnson 1, Percival 4 |
| ring, guard | 559 | Acheson 1, Houtton 13, E. Johnson 149, J. Johnson 1, Mason 391, Percival 4 |
| ring, jointed | 1 | E. Johnson 1 |
| ring, jolain? | 21 | Topham & White 21 |
| ring, mourning | 4 | E. Johnson 4 |
| ring, signet | 94 | Brunker 1, Donegan 1, Flavelle 3, Flavelle Jnr. 1, Heutton 17, E. Johnson 46, J. Johnson 1, Percival 16, Thomas Smyth 1, F.? J? Smyth 5, Stewart 2 |

| Object | total | Jewellery manufacturer and no. of objects |
|-------------------------|--------------|---|
| ring, silver | 3 | Barton 2, Flavelle 1 |
| ring, strap | 2 | Heutton 1, E. Johnson 1 |
| ring, wedding | 12538 | Acheson 44, Barlin 9, Bergin 1+, C or G? Burdge 44, Brunker, 14, Donegan 14, Flavelle 103+, Gelson, 14, G. Goyer 22, Heutton 36+, E. Johnson 6673+, J. Johnson 1047+, J. Johnson Jr. 223+, J. Johnson Sr. 614, Lowe 1978+, Marsh 45, Mason 1098+, Percival 13 |
| sleeve links (pairs) | 18 | Heutton 4, E. Johnson 7, Percival 5, F. Smyth 2 |
| snuff box (gold) | 1 | E. Johnson 1 |
| snuff box | 2 | E. Johnson 2 |
| snuff box (oak), lining | 1 | E. Johnson 1 |
| solitaire | 12 | Flavelle 12 |
| spectacles | 38 | Flavelle 38 |
| spurs | 1 | J. Molloy 1 |
| studs (sets) | 56 | Cummins 8, Flavelle 11, Flavelle Jr. 18, E. Johnson 17, Teare 2 |
| thimble | 1 | E. Johnson 1 |
| vinaigrette | 2 | E. Johnson 2 |
| watch bow (gold) | 1 | Barton 1 |
| watch case (n.s) | 380.5 | Donegan 33, Francis 308.5, Hughes 2, LeBas 2, Molloy 3, Moulang 31, Sawyer 1 |
| watch case (silver) | 2835 | Donegan 2712, Francis 84, Moulang 39 |
| watch case (gold) | 806 | Donegan 799, Francis 2, Hughes 2, Moulang 5 |
| watch case (job) | 69 | Donegan 23, Francis 30, Moulang 17 |
| whip mounting | 1 | Flavelle 1 |
| | 22112 | |

Notes: n.s. indicates the type was not specified. Specific quantities are not always recorded - a value of 1 has been assigned in these cases - however the actual number submitted is likely to have been higher.

Based on records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, *Wilson's Dublin Directories* and *Thom's Dublin Directories* the jewellery manufacturers may be fully identified as: ACHESON, William; ALCOCK, George; ASKEN (ASKIN), John (probably); BARLIN (forename untraced); BARTON, J; BERGIN (forename untraced); BRYCE (BRICE), T.D; BRUNKER, Thomas; BURDGE (forename untraced); CLARKE, John; CUMMINS, Ann (probably) or Christopher (possibly); DONEGAN, Patrick (probably) or John (possibly); FLAVELLE, Henry Jnr. & Snr.; FRANCIS, Joseph; GELSON (forename untraced); GOYER, G.; HUGHES, James or Joseph; HUTTON (HOUTTON) (HEUTTON), Alex; JOHNSON, Edmond; JOHNSON, Joseph Jnr. & Snr.; KEATING, Michael; LOW(LOWE), Thomas (probably) or Anne (possibly); LeBAS, James or Samuel; MAHONY, Joseph (possibly); MARSH, Charles (possibly); MASON, Rebecca or Thomas; MOLLOY, John; MOULANG, Daniel or Joseph; NERWICH, M or Henry; NOLAN (NOWLAN), Ann (probably); PELIN, John (probably); PERCIVAL, William; READ (forename untraced); SAWYER, Richard (probably); SMYTH (SMITH), John or Thomas; TEARE, John or Henry William; TOPHAM & WHITE, Edward and Edward (probably); TWYXCROSS, George (probably); WALSH, Ralph or William or Nicholas or James; WEAKES, (forename untraced); WHITE, Edward (probably) or James; WHITE & CO. possibly Topham & White or James Whyte; WICKHAM, James

Source: Assay ledgers (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MSS 33-34, 37)

Appendix 9

Retailers supplied by Dublin jewellery manufacturers, September 1846-December 1870

| Name of retailer |
|--|
| Acheson, William, Grafton St. |
| Asken/Askin (John Askin, Sackville St) |
| Bennett, Thomas, Grafton St. or Michael Bennett, Dame St. |
| Browne, Elizabeth & Marmion, Fownes St. |
| Bullock, William, Capel St. |
| Burge, (forename and address not traced) |
| Callen/Hallen?, (forename and address not traced) |
| Cameron? (forename and address not traced) |
| Crack? (forename and address not traced) |
| Donegan, John, Ormond Quay or Patrick Donegan, Essex Quay |
| Elkinton Mason & Co., College Green |
| Gardnier, (forename and address not traced) |
| Gaskin, Edward, College Green |
| Gilbert, (forename and address not traced) |
| Glover, Joseph, 141/41 Capel Street |
| Hug, William, Georges St. |
| Kaiser Brothers, 25 Eden Quay, watchmaker |
| Lachmann Bros., William St. |
| Law & Son, Sackville St. |
| Marsh, Charles, Sackville St. |
| Marshall, (forename and address not traced) |
| Mason, Rebecca, Castle St. or Thomas Mason, Sackville St. |
| Martin, Joseph, Aston Quay or Francis Martin, Dame St. |
| Mayfield, James, Essex Quay & Sackville St |
| Morgan, Thomas, Christchurch Pl., |
| Nerwich, Henry, William St. |
| Nowlan, Ann, Nassau St. |
| O'Neill? (forename and address not traced) |
| Pim Bros. & Co., Georges St. |
| Rankin, Charles, Nassau St. |
| John Schriber, Westmoreland St |
| Stewart, Charles, Dame St. |
| Topham, Edward, Grafton St. or Topham & White, Grafton St. |
| Twycross, John & Sons, Dame St. |

| Name of retailer |
|---|
| Wallace? (forename and address not traced) |
| Waterhouse & Co., Dame St. |
| West & Son, College Green |
| Whyte, James, Henry Street, cutler, etc. |
| Woodward, (forename and address not traced) |

Source: Guild records (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MSS 33-34, 37, 100); *Post office Dublin Directory and Calendar 1840*; *Thom's Dublin Directory 1850-1870*

Appendix 10

West & Son, Dublin jewellery suppliers, September 1846-December 1870

| Manufacturer | Type of goods supplied |
|---|--|
| T.D. Bryce/Brice, (forename and address not traced) | ring (bishop), ring (gypsy) |
| Henry Flavelle, Eustace Street/Grafton Street | bog oak mounting of bird, bog oak mounting of owl, horse hoof box, horseshoe, horseshoe snuff box, medal, spectacles, spectacles (gold), tongue scraper |
| Alex Hutton, Richmond Cottages, Fleet Street | bracelet, brooch, mount for oak casket, ring (enamel, gold), ring (guard), ring (signet, gold), ring (strap, gold), ring (wedding) |
| Edmond Johnson, Fleet Street/Grafton Street | box of Irish ornaments, brooch (antique), brooch (horseshoe), brooch (silver), buckle, foxes head for brush, masonic jewel, mounting for diamond ring (gold), music baton, ring (gold), ring (wedding, thick), star of the Order of St. Patrick, |
| Joseph Johnson Snr., Parliament St./William St./Wellington Quay | ring (wedding) |
| Thomas Low(e) (probably) or Anne (possibly), Grafton St./ Wellington Quay | ring (gold) |
| Rebecca or Thomas Mason, Castle St./Henry St./Sackville St. | ring (guard) |
| William Percival, Temple Lane/Drumcondra Terrace | chain (Albert), chain (watch guard) |

| Manufacturer | Type of goods supplied |
|---|---|
| Richard (probably) Sawyer | badge, button, coronet, crown for mace, mace for the College of Surgeons, sea horse, steamer, |
| John or Thomas Smyth, Gloucester St./Gt. Britain St./Wicklow St. | bog oak mounts, buckles, bull button, sea shells, shamrock button for kettle, tea pot |
| unknown | mount for a flower holder |

Source: Assay ledgers (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MSS 33-34, 37)

Appendix 11

Jewellery supplied by Henry Flavelle Snr. & Jnr., Dublin, September 1846 to December 1870

| Retailer supplied | Type of goods supplied |
|---|---|
| Asken, John, Sackville St. | belt mounting, cigar case, dog collar, dressing case tops, medal, spectacles |
| Bennett, Thomas, Grafton St. | bracelet (silver), compass [Masonic?], Masonic jewels, wand |
| Browne, Elizabeth & Marmion, Fownes St. | medal |
| Law & Son, Sackville St. | buckles, communion sett, medal, purse frame, snuff canister, spectacles |
| Mason, Thomas, Sackville St. or Rebecca Mason, Castle St. | spectacles |
| Twycross & Sons, Dame Street | mounting for glass, medal, Masonic jewels |
| Wallace (no further details traced) | Masonic jewels |
| Waterhouse & Co., Dame Street | Masonic jewels, tops for glasses, medal, spectacles |
| West & Son, College Green | bog oak mounting of bird, bog oak mounting of owl, horse hoof box, horseshoe, horseshoe snuff box, medal, spectacles, spectacles (gold), tongue scraper |

Source: Assay ledgers (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MSS 33-34, 37)

Appendix 12

Law & Son, Dublin jewellery suppliers, September 1846 to December 1870

| Manufacturer | Type of goods supplied |
|------------------------------|--|
| Henry Flavelle Jnr. & Snr. | buckles, communion sett, medals, purse frame, snuff canister, spectacles, bottle covers, shaving brush, sleeve buttons |
| Edmond Johnson | flower holder, signet ring, mounting for hoof snuff box, gold ring |
| Joseph Johnson | wedding rings |
| Joseph Mahony | toy tea sett |
| Richard Sawyer | Philharmonic ornaments |
| John or Thomas Smith (Smyth) | coronet |
| John or Henry Teare | medals |
| Weakes (forename untraced) | forks, spoons |

Source: Assay ledgers (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MSS 33-34, 37)

Appendix 13

Pim Brothers & Company, Dublin jewellery suppliers, September 1846 to December 1870

| Manufacturer | Type of goods supplied |
|--|--------------------------------|
| William Percival, 22 Temple Lane | bracelets (gold), sleeve links |
| Edmond Johnson, 5 Fleet Street | rings (gold), Masonic jewels |
| James or Rebecca Mason, 52 Castle Street | wedding rings |

Source: Assay ledgers (AO, records of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, MSS 33-34, 37)

Appendix 14

Jewellers/family who were students of the Dublin Society Drawing Schools

| | year/school attended |
|-----------------|----------------------|
| William Billing | 1753, 1754 |
| Thomas Brunker | 1834 LO |
| James Brush | 1791 F, LO |
| John Clements | 1770 F |
| John Clements | 1789 LO |
| Henry Flavelle | 1824 LO, 1825 A |
| Robert Gardiner | 1817 F |
| John Teare | 1773 LO |
| Edward Twycross | 1810 F |
| Thomas Wogan* | 1768 |

| | |
|----|--|
| LO | School of landscape and ornament drawing |
| A | School of architectural drawing |
| F | School of figure drawing |

Notes:

As noted in chapter one, although the ubiquity of names during the period renders identification of individuals difficult, analysis of Willemson's listing has yielded a number of sufficiently unusual names which match jewellers active during the period.

Source: Gitta Willemson, *The Dublin society drawing schools, students and award winners 1746-1876* (Dublin, 2000); *Walter G. Strickland, *A dictionary of Irish artists* (Dublin, 1913).

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**SMALL TREASURES:
THE PRODUCTION, RETAIL AND CONSUMPTION OF JEWELLERY
IN DUBLIN, c.1770 TO c.1870**

Two volumes

by

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VOLUME TWO

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- 5.20 Depiction of Joseph Johnson's premises on Suffolk Street, c.1850. Illustration, Irish/Dublin, c.1850, print, reproduced in Henry Shaw, *Dublin Pictorial Guide & Directory, 1850*.
- 5.21 Lady Doneraile's bog oak brooch c.1842-57, by Joseph Johnson. Brooch, Irish/Dublin, c.1842-57, by Joseph Johnson, bog oak, reproduced with the kind permission of the Director and the Board of Trustees, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew: 37742.
- 5.22 Bog oak necklace c.1855. Necklace, Irish, c.1855, bog oak, reproduced with the kind permission of the Director and the Board of Trustees, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew: EBC 37986.
- 5.23 Irish lace made from sweet pea fibres, c. 1855. Lace, Irish, sweet pea fibre, reproduced with the kind permission of the Director and the Board of Trustees, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew: 60600.

- 5.24 W.H. Bartlett, *Rock of Cashel*, 1842, detail; Doneraile brooch. Illustration, Irish, 1842, by W.H. Bartlett, print, reproduced in N.P. Willis & J. Stirling Coyne, *The scenery and antiquities of Ireland illustrated from drawings by W.H. Bartlett* (vol. 1, London, 1842); brooch, Irish/Dublin, c.1842-57, by Joseph Johnson, bog oak, reproduced with the kind permission of the Director and the Board of Trustees, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew: 37742.
- 5.25 Joseph Johnson bog oak and silver gilt 'Kilmainham' brooch, mid 19th century and design drawing by Joseph Johnson, 25 July 1849. Brooch, Irish/Dublin, mid 19th century, by Joseph Johnson, bog oak and silver, Armagh County Museum, Armagh: ARMCM.155.1975; design, Irish/Dublin, 1849, by Joseph Johnson, pencil/ink, TNA: BT/43/6/61470.
- 5.26 Joseph Johnson, bog oak and silver brooch, mid 19th century. Brooch, Irish/Dublin, mid 19th century, by Joseph Johnson, bog oak and silver (probably), courtesy George Stacpoole.
- 5.27 Bog oak and metal bracelet; detail of method of construction. Bracelet, Irish/Dublin, c.1875, by Joseph Johnson, bog oak and metal, NMI: DT1983.13.
- 5.28 Horsehair jewellery, 19th century. Bracelet and brooches, Irish, 19th century, horsehair, UM: BELUM.T3310 (top, middle and bottom left); brooch, Irish, 19th century, horsehair, NMI: DT L. 1106 (bottom right).
- 5.29 Detail from horsehair brooch and drawing of design for fuschia flowers. Brooch, Irish, 19th century, horsehair, NMI: DT L. 1106; illustration, c.1850, print, reproduced in Mdlla. Riego de la Branchardiere, *The crochet book, seventh series* (3rd ed., London, 1850).
- 5.30 Horsehair chains, 19th century. Chain, Irish, 19th century, horsehair, NMI (Castlebar): FA74:3 (top left); chain, Irish, 19th century, horsehair, NMI (Castlebar): F1956:97 (top right); chain, Irish, 19th century, horsehair, NMI: DT1905:241.
- 6.1 Handbill, William Kertland, The Dublin Fancy Warehouse, early 19th century. Handbill, Irish/Dublin, early 19th century, print, NLI: trade ephemera uncatalogued.
- 6.2 Map showing location of jewellery manufacturers and retailers, 1788-1870. David Hale, MAPCO, <http://mapco.net>.
- 6.3 Drawings depicting premises of Waterhouse & Company c.1850-60 and West & Son, c.1845. Illustration, Irish/Dublin, c.1850-60, retailer Waterhouse & Company, print, Dublin City Library, Dublin: DS02_16; illustration, Irish/Dublin, c.1887, retailer West & Son, print, reproduced in *Industries of Dublin* (Dublin 1887?).

- 6.4 Brian Borhoime brooch, Waterhouse c.1850 and drawing. Brooch, Irish/Dublin, c.1850, retailer Waterhouse & Company, silver, courtesy Ian Haslam; illustration, Irish/Dublin, c.1872, retailer Waterhouse & Company, print, reproduced in Waterhouse & Company, *Irish Antique Brooches*, 1872.
- 6.5 Francis Smyth, advertisement 1853. Advertisement, Irish/Dublin, 1853, print, reproduced in T.D. Jones, *Record of the Great Industrial Exhibition 1853 ... contained in that temple of industry* (Dublin, 1853).
- 6.6 Drawing depicting premises of Pim Brothers & Company, c.1850s. Illustration, Irish/Dublin, c.1850s, retailer Pim Brothers & Company, image reproduced by Archiseek, available at <http://archiseek.com>.
- 6.7 Edmond Johnson Limited shop exterior, photographed c.1897-1904. Photograph, Irish/Dublin, c.1897-1904, John J. Clarke, NLI: CLAR9.
- 6.8 Shop exterior, 6 Green Street, 18th to 19th century. Photograph, Irish/Dublin, c.1969, reproduced in *The Georgian Society Records of eighteenth-century domestic architecture and decoration in Dublin* (5 vols, Dublin, 1969), iv, plate cxxii Irish Georgian Society.
- 6.9 Interior of London glass shop, 1809. Illustration, English/London, 1809, Rudolph Ackemann, print, BL: K.top.27.23, cited by Matthew White, 'The rise of consumerism', available at: British Library, <http://www.bl.uk/georgian-britain/articles/the-rise-of-consumerism>.
- 6.10 Royal Arcade, interior view, c.1821. Illustration, Irish/Dublin, c.1821, John James McGregor, print, reproduced in John James McGregor, *New picture of Dublin ...* (Dublin, 1821).
- 6.11 Hercules Freymuth handbill, c.1830. Handbill, Irish/Dublin, c.1830, print, NLI: LP 5.
- 6.12 Tortoiseshell & horn brooches and combs, 19th century, British & German. Brooches, English, 19th century, piqué, tortoiseshell, silver and gilt metal, VAM: M.55B.1916 (top left); comb, 19th century, cut steel and horn, UM: BELUM.T41 (top right); comb, German (probably), 19th century, tortoiseshell, TMMA: 06.998 (bottom left); comb, English/London, c.1833-37, Rundell, Bridge & Rundell, tortoiseshell, gold, chrysoberyls and rubies, BM: 1978,1002.683.
- 6.13 Satirical print, *Sales by auction! – Or provident children disposing of their deceased mother's effects for the benefit of the creditors!!* 1819. Illustration, Irish/Dublin, 1819, George Cruikshank, print, BM: 1865,1111.2104.
- 6.14 Hair ornaments, c.1760 to c.1850. Hair ornament, 18th century, garnet, courtesy Bonhams (top left); hair ornament, Western European, c.1820, diamonds, silver and gold, VAM: M.116-1951 (top right); hair ornament, mid-19th century, diamonds, gold, courtesy Christie's (bottom left); hair ornament, USSR (possibly), c.1760, silver, gold, foiled diamonds and pearls, BM: 1978,1002.171 (bottom right).

- 6.15 Newspaper advertisement for auction of London jewellery, *Freeman's Journal*, 4 November 1830.
- 6.16 Drawing of first prize in Cox's lottery, 1774 and Lady Clonbrock's girandole earrings, c.1806. Illustration, English, 1774, print, reproduced in *A descriptive catalogue of the ... jewellery, in Mr. Cox's museum, now exhibiting at the Great Room, in William Street, Dublin* (Dublin, 1774); earrings, English/London, c.1806, Rundell Bridge and Rundell, diamonds, silver, gold, courtesy Christie's, London.
- 6.17 Edward Murray, shamrock-shaped coronation box, 1821. Box, Irish/Dublin, 1821, by Edward Murray, retailer Matthew West, gold, bog oak, enamel, diamonds and pearls, Royal Collection Trust, London: RCIN 4036.
- 6.18 Orders of the Bath; the Crescent; the Tower and Sword. Medal, English/London, 1847-1873, gold, enamel, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: CM.1503-2009 (left); order, c.1798, silver embroidered, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich: REL0120 (right); medal, 1810-34, Academia Falerística de Portugal.
- 6.19 Clark & West bill for Order of St. Patrick insignia, 1819; badge of the Grand Master of the Order of St. Patrick, c.1850. Letter, Irish/Dublin, 1819, Clark & West, manuscript, NAI: CSO/RP/1819/1115; badge, Irish/Dublin, c.1892, retailer West & Son, gold, enamel, diamonds, courtesy Sotheby's, London.
- 6.20 John Brown billhead, 1825. Billhead, Irish/Dublin, 1825, print, NLI: MS 36,366/2.
- 6.21 Ring set with emblem for the Beef Steak Club, c.1757. Ring, c.1757, gold, enamel, courtesy Christie's, London.
- 6.22 Richard D'Olier, trade receipt, 1782. Trade receipt, Irish/Dublin, 1782, print, NLI: MS 10,707.
- 7.1 Pen and ink drawing of gold case and 'engagement' ring, 1852. Drawing, Irish/Dublin, 1852, John Joly, pen and ink, TCD: MS 2299-2.
- 7.2 Alfred Thompson cartoon, depicting a woman wearing lockets, *London Society*, 1870. Illustration, 1870, Alfred Thompson, print, reproduced in Clare Phillips, *Jewels and jewellery* (London, 2008).
- 7.3 Straw marriage ring, pen and ink drawing 1852. Drawing, Irish/Dublin, 1852, John Joly, pen and ink, TCD: MS 2299-2.
- 7.4 Honora Edgeworth, letter 30 April 1780. Letter, English/Staffordshire, 1780, Honora Edgeworth, manuscript, NLI: MS 10,166/7.

- 7.5 Three mourning rings 1800, 1826 and 1803. Ring, English/London, 1800, gold and enamel, courtesy Alison FitzGerald (top left); ring, English/London, 1826, gold and enamel, Museum of Fine Arts Boston: 1976.643 (top right); ring, English/London, 1803, gold and enamel, Museum of Fine Arts Boston: 64.872.
- 7.6 Mourning brooch, Henry Francis Shields, c.1860; comparative mourning brooch. Brooch, Irish/Dublin (probably), c.1860, retailer Waterhouse & Company, gold (probably), photograph and human hair, NMI: DT1988.10d; photograph of mourning brooch, reproduced in *Costume, the Journal of the Costume Society*, xxvii, no.1 (1993).
- 7.7 Copper ring, Edward FitzGerald, 18th century. Ring, 18th century, copper (possibly), yellow metal, enamel, courtesy Cheffins, Cambridge.
- 7.8 Gold chain bracelet, property of Queen Victoria, 1840-57. Bracelet, 1857, gold enamel and human hair, Royal Collection Trust, London: RCIN 65293.
- 7.9 Silver gorgets, c.1793; Dublin Volunteer and Leinster Ranger belt plates, c.1798. Gorgets, c.1793, National Army Museum London, image reproduced in Stephen Wood, 'The Gorgets of the 'Gorgeous Infantry'', in *Irish Arts Review*, iii, no.4 (1986), pp 49-52; Dublin Volunteer belt plate, 1798, courtesy Adam's, Dublin; Leinster Ranger belt plate, 1798, brass, courtesy Whyte's, Dublin.
- 7.10 Theobald Billing to Charles O'Hara, trade receipt 1789. Trade receipt, Irish/Dublin, 1789, print, NLI: MS 36,365.
- 7.11 *George Nugent Temple Grenville, 1st Marquess of Buckingham*, c.1787-9, artist unknown. Portrait, c.1787-9, oil on canvass, National Portrait Gallery, London: NPG 5168.
- 7.12 Insignia of the Order of St. Patrick. Badge, Irish/Dublin, c.1871, retailer West & Son, silver and enamel, NMI: DT1997.248; badge, c.1838, gold, silver, diamonds, rubies, emeralds and enamel, Royal Collection Trust, London: RCIN 441162.
- 7.13 James Brush advertisement for Orange Order jewels, *Freeman's Journal*, 1 December 1798.
- 7.14 Masonic jewels by Dublin jewellers, c.1800-50. Masonic jewel (compass), Irish/Dublin, c.1800, by James Brush, silver and paste (left); Masonic jewel (set square), Irish/Dublin, c.1806, by John Tate, silver (top right); Masonic jewel (key), Irish/Dublin, c.1845-50, by Joseph Johnson, silver. Freemasons' Hall, Dublin.
- 7.15 Trade card James Brush c.1790. Trade card, Irish/Dublin, c.1790, print, Freemasons' Hall, Dublin.
- 7.16 Silver buttons 1787; Robert Healy, *Lady Louisa Conolly with groom, horse and dog Hibou*, c.1769. Buttons, Irish/Dublin, 1787, silver, courtesy Jimmy Weldon; portrait, c.1769, Robert Healy, pastel, courtesy Thomas Sinstedden.

- 7.17 Silver buckles, mid to late 18th century. Buckles, Irish/Dublin, 18th century, silver, NMI: 1995.72; buckles, Irish/Dublin, c.1780, by William Law (probably), silver, NMI: 1995.75; buckle, Irish/Dublin, c.1765, silver, NMI: 1995.86.
- 7.18 Portrait depicting a pair of seals hanging from a waist coat pocket; gold seal, early to mid-19th century. Portrait, Irish/Dublin, c.1823, by Martin Archer Shee, *Edward Harrison (1763?-1838)*, oil on canvas, reproduced in Nicola Figgis and Brendan Rooney, *Irish Paintings in the National Gallery of Ireland, vol. 1* (Dublin, 2001); seal, early to mid-19th century, gold, courtesy Ian Haslam.
- 7.19 Gold watch, fob, key and seal, c.1786-7. Watch, English/London, c.1786-7, by Francis Perigal, gold and enamel, VAM: 1832-69.
- 7.20 Set of gold studs retailed by Waterhouse & Company. Studs, Irish/Dublin (probably), retailer Waterhouse & Company, 19th century, gold, NMI: 50-1982.
- 7.21 Diamond-set bow brooches, 18th and 19th century. Brooches, Russian (possibly), c.1760, silver and diamonds, VAM: M.94&A-1951; brooch, 19th century, diamonds, courtesy Bonhams.
- 7.22 Diamonds, pearls and turquoises worn by Frances Ann, Marchioness of Londonderry, 1831. Portrait, 1831, Alexandre-Jean Dubois-Drahonet, *Marchioness of Londonderry*; tiara, 19th century, pearls; necklace, 19th century, diamonds and Siberian amethyst; necklace, earrings and brooches, 19th century, turquoise. Images reproduced in Diana Scarisbrick, *Ancestral jewels* (London, 1989).
- 7.23 Arthur Keen newspaper advertisement, *Freeman's Journal*, 13 February 1776.
- 7.24 Bog oak jewellery, 19th century. (clockwise from top left) Brooch, Irish, bog oak, UM: BELUM.T1693; bracelet, Irish, bog oak, Armagh County Museum: ARMCM.113.1976; necklace, Irish, bog oak and pearls, Armagh County Museum: ARMCM.168.1975; brooch, Irish, bog oak, and pearl, UM: BELUM.T858.
- 7.25 Board of Trades pledge card, c.1840. Card, Irish/Dublin, c.1840, print, NLI: ephemeral collection, uncatalogued.
- 7.26 Portrait detail of finger-rings; extant examples of hoop rings. Portrait, 1814-16, by Auguste Dominique Ingres, *Madame de Senonnes*, 1814-16, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes, reproduced in Rachel Church, *Rings* (London, 2014); ring, late 18th to early 19th century, ruby and diamond, courtesy Christie's; ring, c.1780-90, emerald; ring, c.1780-90, diamonds, courtesy S.J. Phillips, London.
- 7.27 Twycross & Sons trade receipt, 1836; garnet jewellery early 19th century. Trade receipt, Irish/Dublin, 1836, print, NLI: MS 44413/7; jewellery, early 19th century, garnet, courtesy Sotheby's, London.

- 7.28 Law & Son trade receipt, 1835; amethyst brooch, 1818; amethyst and seed-pearl jewellery, 1820s and later. Trade receipt, Irish/Dublin, 1835, print, NLI: MS 44413/7; necklace, bracelet and earrings, 1820s and later, amethyst, seed pearl and gold, courtesy Sotheby's London; brooch, Irish/Dublin, 1818, by Hugh Patrick, gold and amethyst, NMI: DT1957.4.
- 7.29 'Regard' jewellery, c.1798-1830. Brooch, early 19th century, gold, garnet, amethyst, emerald, diamond and ruby, courtesy Sotheby's London; brooch, early 19th century, seed pearl and gems, courtesy Sotheby's London; brooch, c.1798, gold, pearls and enamel with human hair, NMI: DT14.1936.
- 7.30 Rose-cut diamond brooch, c.1750 and diamond drop earrings c.1780. Brooch, English, c.1750, silver and diamonds; earrings, c.1780, silver, gold and diamonds, courtesy S.J. Phillips, London.
- 7.31 Diamond necklace supplied to Lord Clonbrock by Rundell & Bridge, 1806. Necklace, English/London, Rundell & Bridge, 1806, reproduced in John Adamson (ed.), *Royal goldsmiths: the art of Rundell & Bridge, 1797-1843* (Cambridge, 2005).
- 7.32 Ruby, emerald and enamel cross purchased for Marchioness Londonderry from Rundell & Bridge, 1819. Pendant, English/London, 1819, by Rundell & Bridge, ruby, emerald and enamel. Images reproduced in Diana Scarisbrick, *Ancestral jewels* (London, 1989).
- 7.33 Coral and lava bracelets, 19th century. Bracelet, c.1830, coral and gold, courtesy Sotheby's, London; bracelet, Italian/Naples, c.1840, gold set with Vesuvian 'lava' stone, Museum of London, London: A28556/3.
- 7.34 Gold rattle with teething coral, c.1750. Rattle, Scottish/Edinburgh, c.1750, by William Dempster, gold and coral, National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh. Image reproduced in Helen Clifford (ed.), *Gold: power and allure* (London, 2012).
- 8.1 Depiction of 'Crystal Palace', London exhibition building, 1851. Illustration, c.1851, print, reproduced in *The art journal illustrated catalogue* (London, 1851).
- 8.2 Depiction of Waterhouse & Company, exhibit at Dublin Exhibition 1853. Illustration, c.1853, print, Dublin City Library and Archives, Dublin: DS43_11.
- 8.3 Drawing of timepiece retailed by West & Son on table by Arthur Jones, 1851. Illustration, c.1851, print, reproduced in *Official descriptive and illustrated catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the works of industry of all nations 1851* (London, 1851).
- 8.4 West & Son, archaeological-style brooches c.1849. (top to bottom) Brooch, c.1849, retailed by West & Son, silver gilt and coral, VAM: 2750.1853; brooch, c.1849, retailed by West & Son, silver gilt, VAM: 2751.1853; brooch, retailed by West & Son, parcel gilt, VAM: 2752.1853.

- 8.5 Illustration of Celtic and medieval-inspired jewellery exhibited by West & Son. Illustration, c.1853, print, reproduced in *Exhibition of Art Industry...1853*.
- 8.6 Brooch of Irish bog yew, manufactured by Julius Mosley, dedicated to Thomas Moore, c.1869. Brooch, Irish/Dublin, c.1869, by Julius Mosley, bog yew, NMI: DT1983.50.
- 8.7 Waterhouse & Company, archaeological-style brooches. Brooch, retailed by Waterhouse & Company, silver gilt and fresh water pearls, UM: BELUM.T1016 (left); brooch, retailed by Waterhouse & Company, silver gilt, VAM: 230.1854.
- 8.8 Flexible snake bracelet of bog oak, 19th century. Bracelet, Irish, 19th century, bog oak, UM: BELUM.T240.
- 8.9 Depiction of Cork Exhibition (interior). Illustration, c.1852, print, reproduced in *London Illustrated News*, 1852.
- 8.10 Model of the Ark of the Covenant, Henry Flavelle. Ark of the Covenant, Irish/Dublin, c.1851, by Henry Flavelle, silver and silver gilt, Freemasons' Hall, Dublin.
- 8.11 Illustration of jewellery exhibited by Cornelius Goggin. Illustration, c.1853, print, reproduced in *Exhibition of Art Industry...1853*.
- 8.12 Map comparing area of London, Dublin and New York exhibitions. Illustration, c.1854, print, reproduced in John Sproule, (ed.), *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: a detailed catalogue of its contents* (Dublin, 1854).
- 8.13 Depiction of Dublin exhibition building (interior), c.1853. Illustration, c.1853, print, reproduced in John Sproule (ed.), *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: a detailed catalogue of its contents* (Dublin, 1854).
- 8.14 Pendants in form of a Celtic high cross, mid to late 19th century. (clockwise) Pendant, c.1893, gold and green agate, UM: BELUM.T1540; pendant, 19th century, bog oak and gilt, UM: BELUM.T304. Pendant, English/London, c.1870-75, John Brogden, gold and onyx, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow: HG860, image reproduced in Charlotte Gere and Judy Rudoe, *Jewellery in the age of Queen Victoria: A Mirror to the World* (London, 2010).
- 8.15 Pamphlet on bog oak ornaments, John Classon (probably), c.1853. Pamphlet, Irish/Dublin (probably, c.1853, print, NLI: JP3918).
- 8.16 Fishscale head ornament, c.1870-80. Head ornament, Bahamas (probably), c.1870-80, fishscales on wire, VAM: AP.36c-1881.
- 8.17 Earrings of carved cowrie shell c.1870-80. Earrings, English, shells carved in Italy (probably), c.1870-80s, VAM: AP.123 & A-1875, image reproduced in Charlotte Gere and Judy Rudoe, *Jewellery in the age of Queen Victoria: A Mirror to the World* (London, 2010).

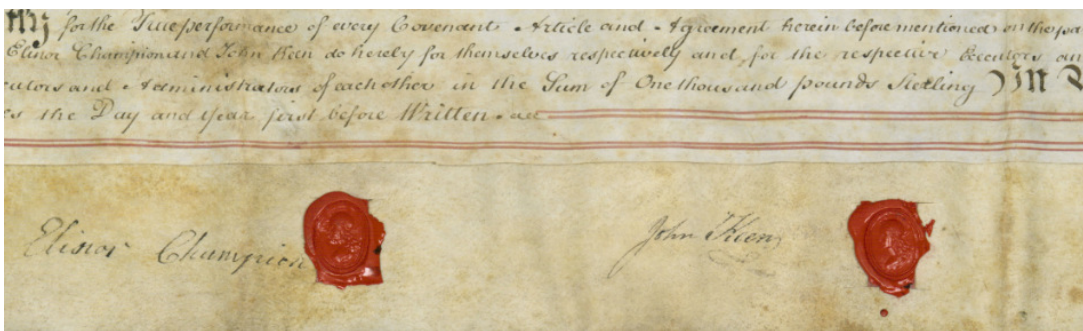
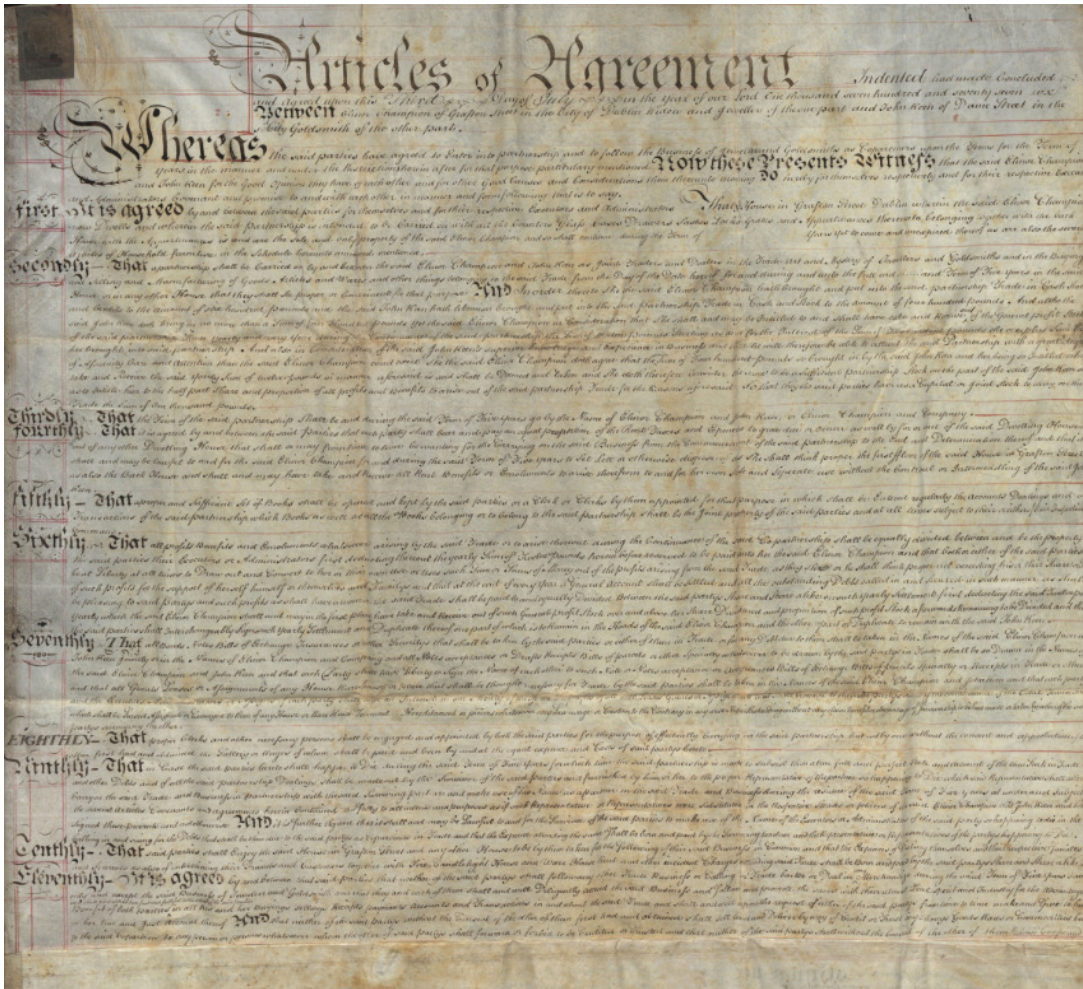
- 8.18 Parasol handles in carved ivory and silver, c.1810-1860. Handle, French/Paris, 1859, by Jean Norest, ivory, VAM: 976-1900 (top left); handle, English/London, George Creak, silver, VAM: T.4 to D-1987 (bottom); design, English/London, c.1860s, firm of John Brogden, drawing, pencil and watercolour, VAM: E.2:872-1986.
- 8.19 Cane handles by Fremont-Maurice, c.1845-50. Handle, French/Paris, c.1845, by Fremont-Maurice, steel, gilt border, set with carnelian intaglio, courtesy Sotheby's, London; handle, French/Paris, c.1850 or later, by Fremont-Maurice, yellow and rose gold set with cut-crystal, courtesy Christie's, London.
- 8.20 Silver 'elastic' bracelets, William Acheson, c.1853. Illustration, c.1853, print, reproduced in *Exhibition of Art Industry...1853*.
- 8.21 William Acheson, buckle and brooch. Buckle, Irish/Dublin, c.1850s or later, by William Acheson, silver (probably), UM: BELUM.T1012 (top); brooch, Irish/Dublin, c.1850s, by William Acheson, courtesy Ian Haslam (left); brooch, Irish/Dublin, c.1850s, by William Acheson, NMI: 1983:65:28.
- 8.22 Depiction of Hunterston brooches and bog oak casket, William Acheson, c.1853. Illustration, c.1853, print, reproduced in *Exhibition of Art Industry...1853*.
- 8.23 Waterhouse & Company, Kilmainham or Knights Templar brooch. Brooch, Irish/Dublin, c.1851, retailed by Waterhouse & Company, gilded silver and enamel, VAM: 2749.1853.
- 8.24 Depiction of bog oak snuff box engraved with harp, shamrock and oak leaf design, set with pearls. Illustration, c.1852, print, reproduced in *The Crystal Palace and its contents: being an illustrated cyclopaedia ...* (London, 1852).
- 8.25 Waterhouse & Company newspaper advertisement. *Freeman's Journal*, 14 September 1853.
- 8.26 Copy of 'Tara' brooch, Joseph Johnson, c.1881. Brooch, Irish/Dublin, c.1881, by Joseph Johnson, gilded and silvered copper, ambroid, enamel and glass, VAM: 230.81.

Figure 1.1 Amethystine quartz snuff box with jewelled gold mount c.1770 (top);
gold and red jasper desk seal, c.1840 (two views)



Source: Courtesy Sotheby's, London.

Figure 1.2 Business agreement between Elinor Champion and John Keen, 1777



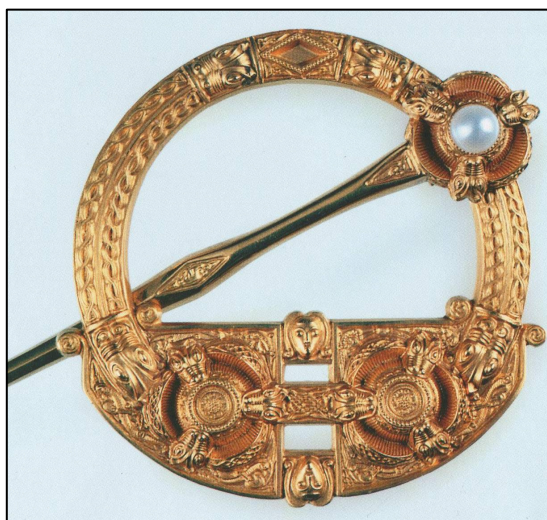
Source: National Archives of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 1.3 Newspaper advertisement, Henry Vigne

HENRY VIGNE, JEWELLER, Son to the late Mr. James Vigne of Collegé-Green; having served his Apprenticeship in one of the first Manufacturing Houses in London, from whence he has just returned, announces to the Nobility and Public, that he has commenced business at No. 3, **NASSAU-STREET,** Dublin, and hopes by his knowledge of business, attention, and moderate charges, to merit the protection of those who favor him with their commands, having formed a connection in London, he will be constantly supplied with the newest fashion.

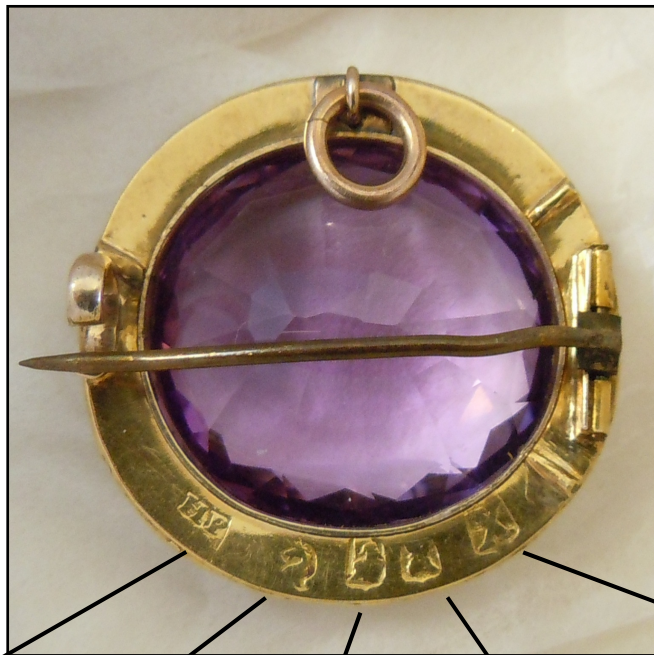
Source: *Freeman's Journal*, 22 Sep. 1810

Figure 1.4 Jewellery with Dublin hallmark, 1818, 1846-7, 1849.



Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin.

Figure 1.5 Amethyst and gold brooch 1818



maker's
mark (HP)

18ct gold mark

Dublin
hallmark



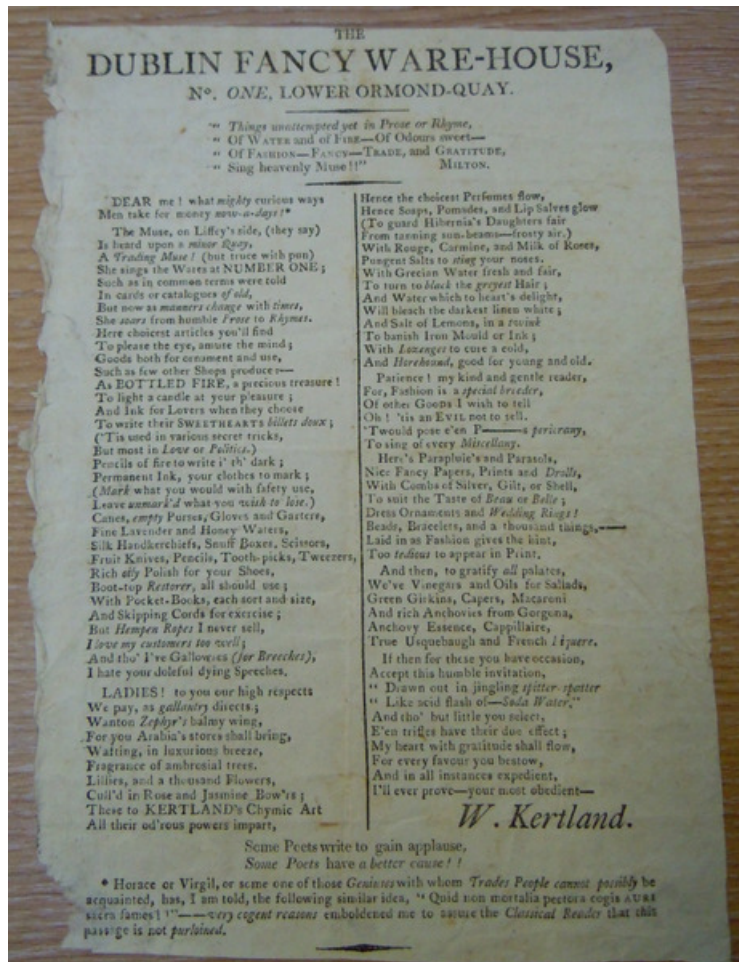
duty mark



date mark

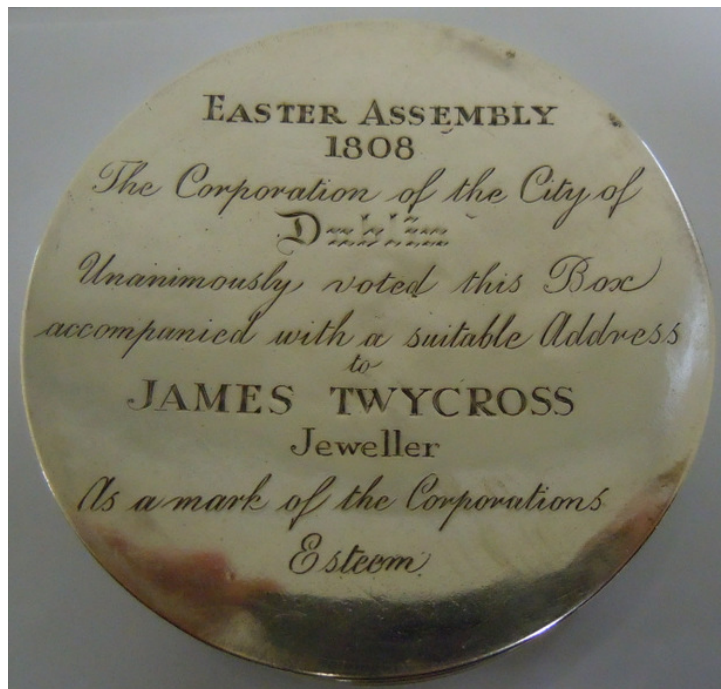
Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 1.6 Handbill, The Dublin Fancy Warehouse, early 19th century



Source: National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 2.1 Silver freedom box presented to James Twycross by the Corporation of Dublin, 1808



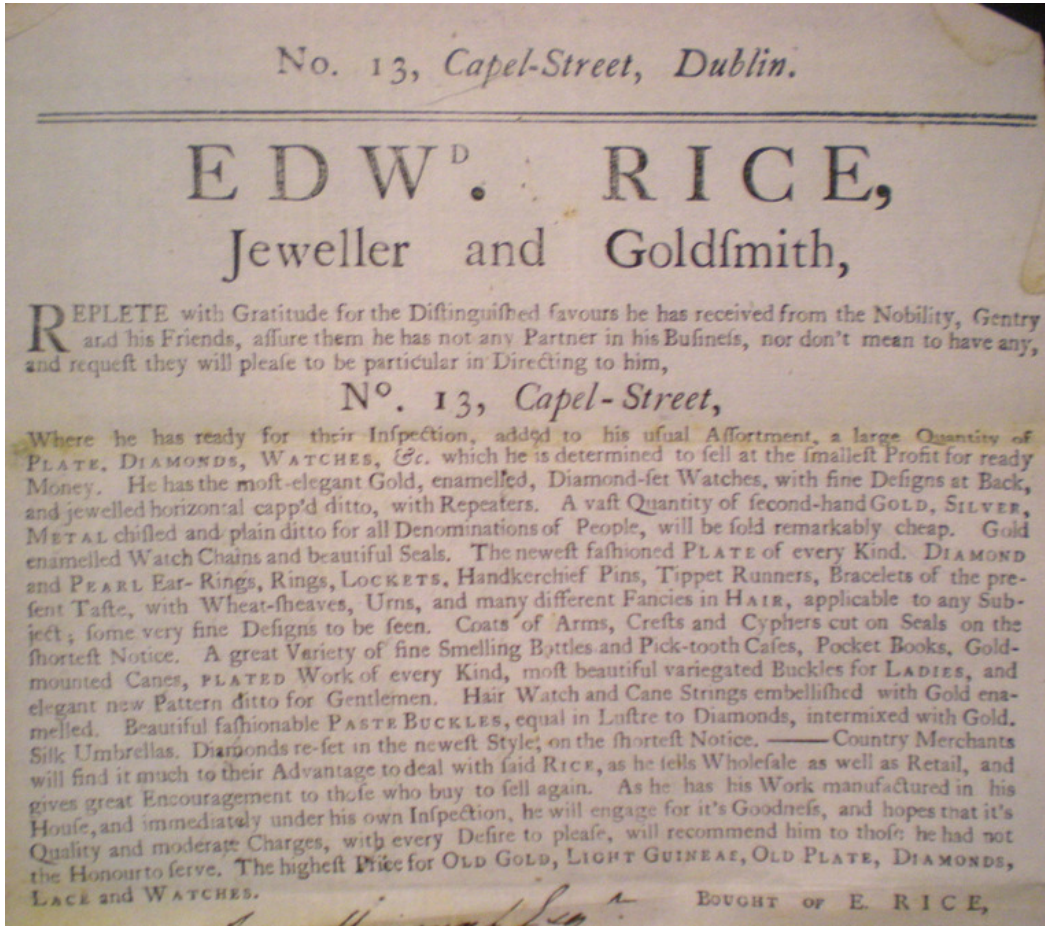
Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 2.2 Paste jewellery, c.1780- c.1840.



Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London (top and top left); Ulster Museum, Belfast.

Figure 2.3 Edward Rice trade card, n/d; silver buckles set with paste, c.1770-80



Source: Public Records of Northern Ireland, Belfast;
Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 2.4 Pyrite jewellery, mid to late 19th century.



Source: Ulster Museum, Belfast (top and right); National Museum of Ireland, Dublin; Victoria and Albert Museum, London (bottom).

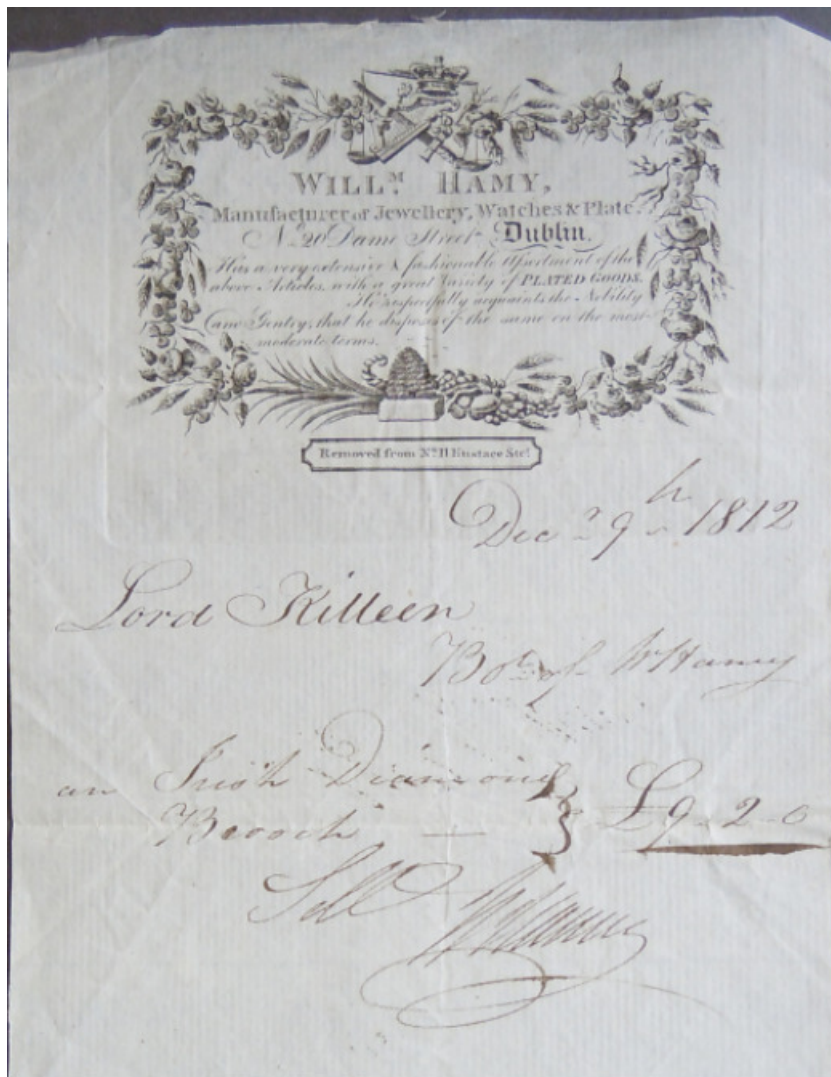
Figure 2.5 Jewellery set with 'Irish diamonds', mid to late 19th century.



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Source: Victoria and Albert Museum; Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew;
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 2.6 William Hamy receipt detailing sale of 'Irish diamond' brooch, 1812



Source: National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 2.7 Bog oak brooches, Irish harp form, embellished with gold and pearls, mid to late 19th century



Source: Ulster Museum, Belfast

Figure 2.8 William Acheson, advertisement

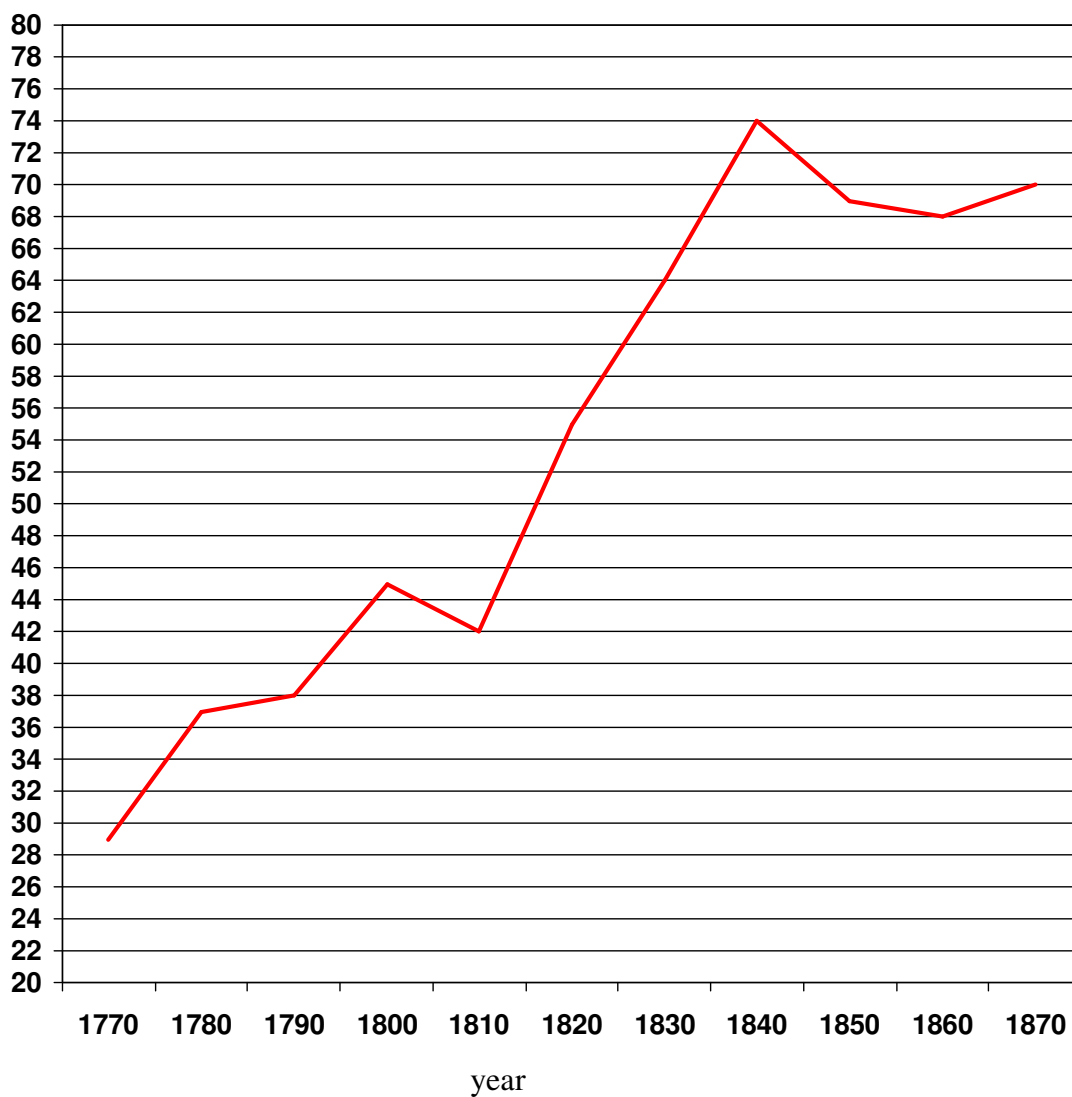
GOLD CHAINS.—There is no ornament more worn than Gold Chains, and there is none in which the ingenuity of the manufacturer has been exercised with so much success to *deceive the public*. There are the Zinc Gold Chains, which have but a very small quantity of the precious metal in them; there are Plated Chains, sold as gold, which are little better than brass; there are several qualities of inferior Gold Chains, worth from 15s. to 30s. per ounce. These are sometimes electro-gilt, and represented as the best fine gold, and priced accordingly; and, more skilful still, the most elaborate patterns have been made with brass links in the centre, the outside of fine gold. Under such circumstances the public, not being able to judge the quality, can have no protection except at a respectable establishment, where none but chains of good quality are kept in stock.

WILLIAM ACHESON,
109, GRAFTON-STREET,

Source: *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Jan. 1860

Figure 2.9 Jewellers in Dublin, 1770-1870

Nos.

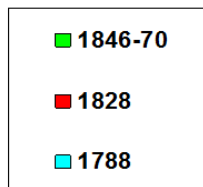


Source: *Wilsons' Dublin Directory 1770-1830; Post Office Dublin Directory and Calendar 1840-50; Thom's Dublin Directory 1850-1870*

Figure 2.10

William Wilson, *Modern plan of the city and environs of Dublin*, 1798.

(detail showing centre of Dublin where jewellery manufacturers were concentrated, 1788-1870)



©Mapco

Source:

Compiled from Dublin goldsmiths' guild records, assay book 21, 33, 34, 37; *Seventeenth report of the commissioners of inquiry into the collection and management of the revenue arising in Ireland, Scotland, etc., Stamp revenue in Ireland (1828)*; *Wilson's Directory 1770-1830*; *Thom's Directory, 1840-70*. David Hale, MAPCO, <http://mapco.net>

Figure 2.11 Selection of pearl and metal buttons made in Birmingham between 1780 and 1820



Source: Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham

Figure 2.12 Serpent shaped bracelet, with heart-shaped locket, c.1840



Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 2.13 Isaac Hutchinson trade card, late 18th century; miniature c.1783



Source:
Courtesy of Conor Lucey (top); Horace Hone miniature of Katherine Coote
set in a gold frame, c. 1783 courtesy Ian Haslam

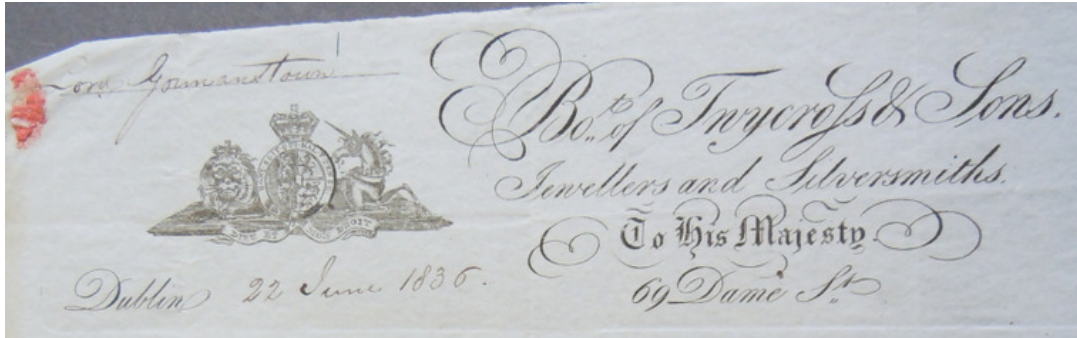
Figure 2.14 Images of interior of jewellers' and silversmiths' workshops.



Source:
James Brennan, *Like father, like son*, 1886 (private collection); British Museum,
London (bottom left); Bodleian Library, Oxford

Figure 2.15

Twycross & Sons billhead, 1836 and depiction of Dame Street premises, c.1850



Source: National Library of Ireland, Dublin (top); Henry Shaw, *Dublin Pictorial Guide & Directory*, 1850

Figure 2.16 William Law, trade card, c.1800



Source: British Museum, London

Figure 3.1 Assay Office newspaper advertisement

CAUTION TO THE PUBLIC, AND NOTICE TO DEALERS IN GOLD PLATE, &c.

Under a late Act (17 and 18 Vic., c. 96), GOLD WEDDING RINGS are made subject to Duty and to the same restrictions and laws as all other Gold Plate, and shall not be made under Eighteen Carat Standard, and must be Hall marked.

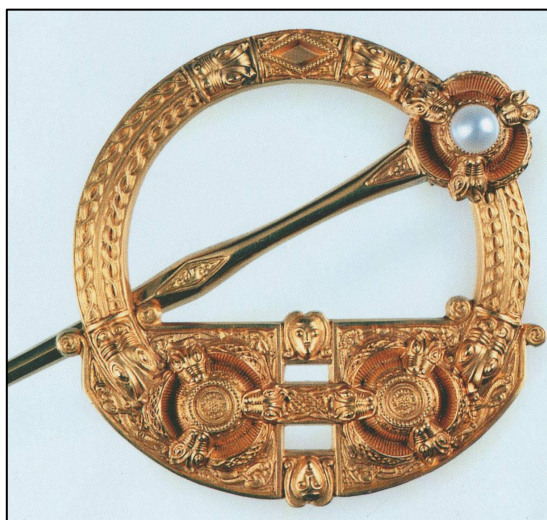
The Corporation of Goldsmiths now hereby give Notice that they do require the Law to be complied with, and that they are bound to seize any Gold Wedding Rings sold or exposed for sale under the Standard and not Hall-marked.

JOHN TEARE, Master.
HENRY FLAYELLE, }
EDWARD QUIGLEY, } Wardens.
ROBERT NELSON, }

Assay Office, Custom-house, Dublin, Feb. 8, 1856. F7,8

Source: *Freeman's Journal*, 8 Feb. 1856

Figure 3.2 Jewellery with Dublin hallmark, 1818, 1846-7, 1849.



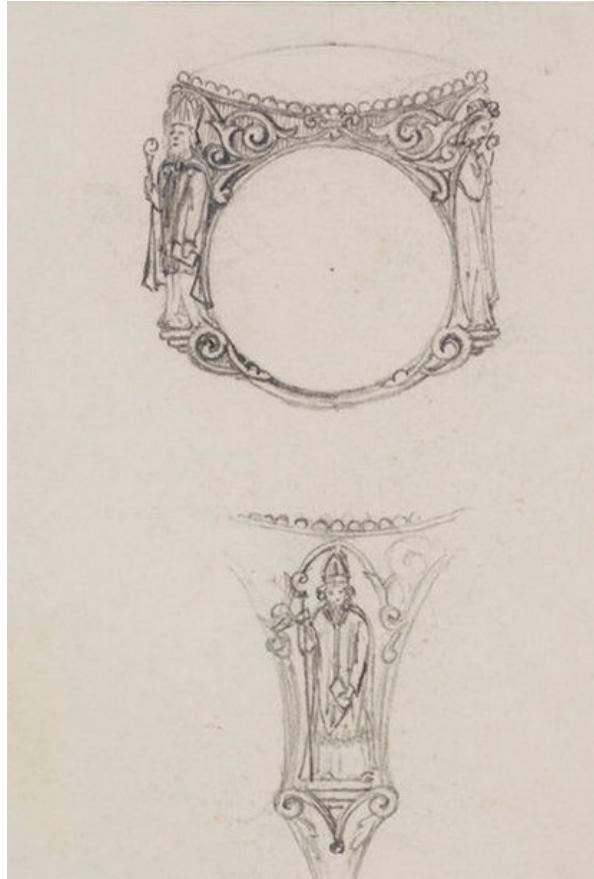
Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin.

Figure 3.3
Silver Masonic jewel, with mark of Edmond Johnson and West & Son



Source: Freemasons' Hall, Dublin.

Figure 3.4 Designs for bishop ring by Charlotte Isabella Newman for John Brogden, 1860s (top); bishop ring c.1869



Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London (top); courtesy Adin B.V., Antwerp.

Figure 3.5 Gold crosses, c.1830-60



Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 3.6 Silver bracelets, c.1840-60.



Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 3.7

Order of St. Patrick, silver, engraved on back 'Viscount Southwell, 1 August 1871' retailer's mark 'West & Son' (top); replica of Star of the Grand Master, set with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, c.1890



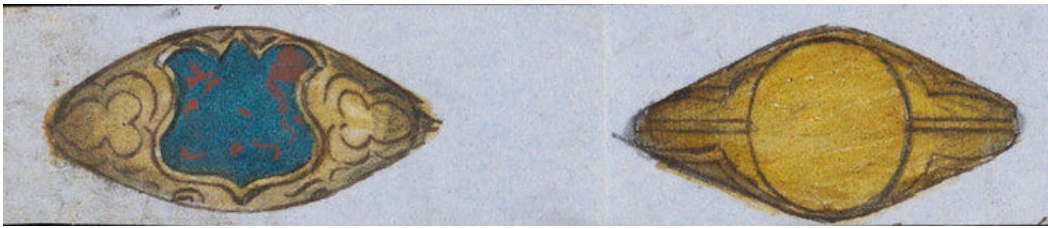
Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (top);
National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 3.8 Brooches bearing mark of West & Son (top and centre);
stockpin with horseshoe terminal, c.1830 to 1900



Source: Courtesy Mellors and Kirk

Figure 3.9 Designs for signet rings by John Brogden, 1860s.



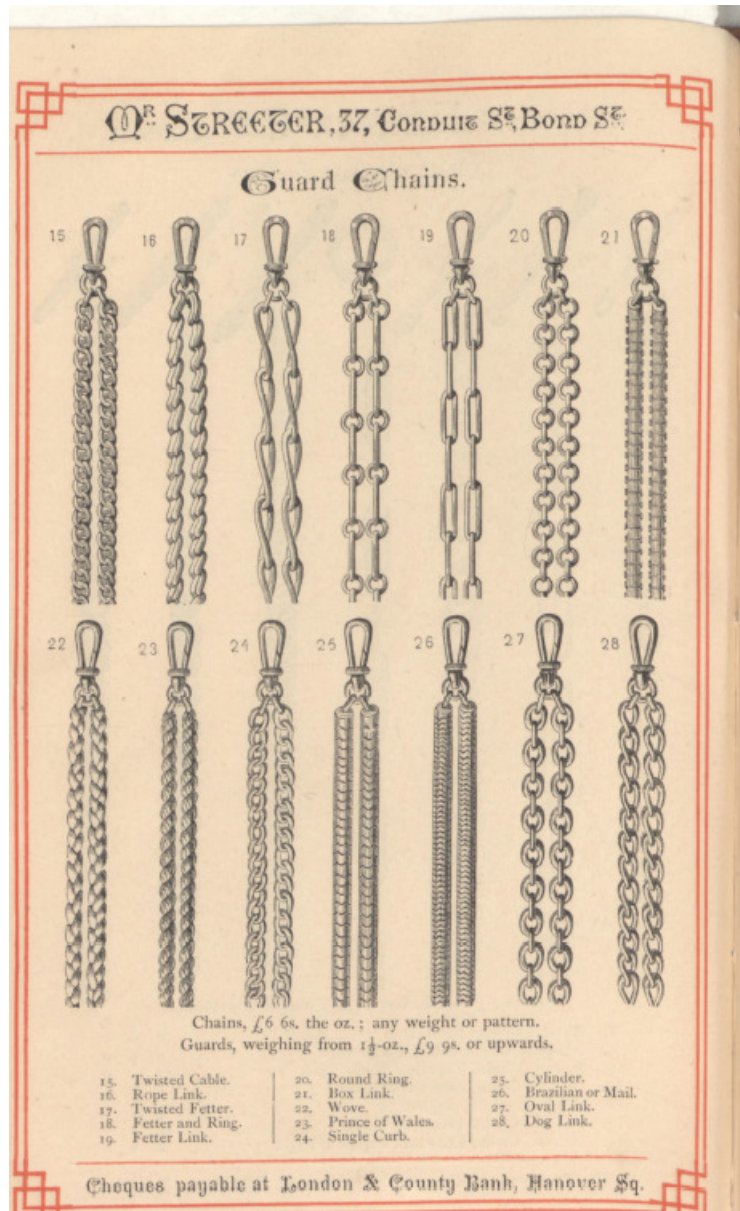
Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 3.10 Buckle or strap rings, 1869 and 1883



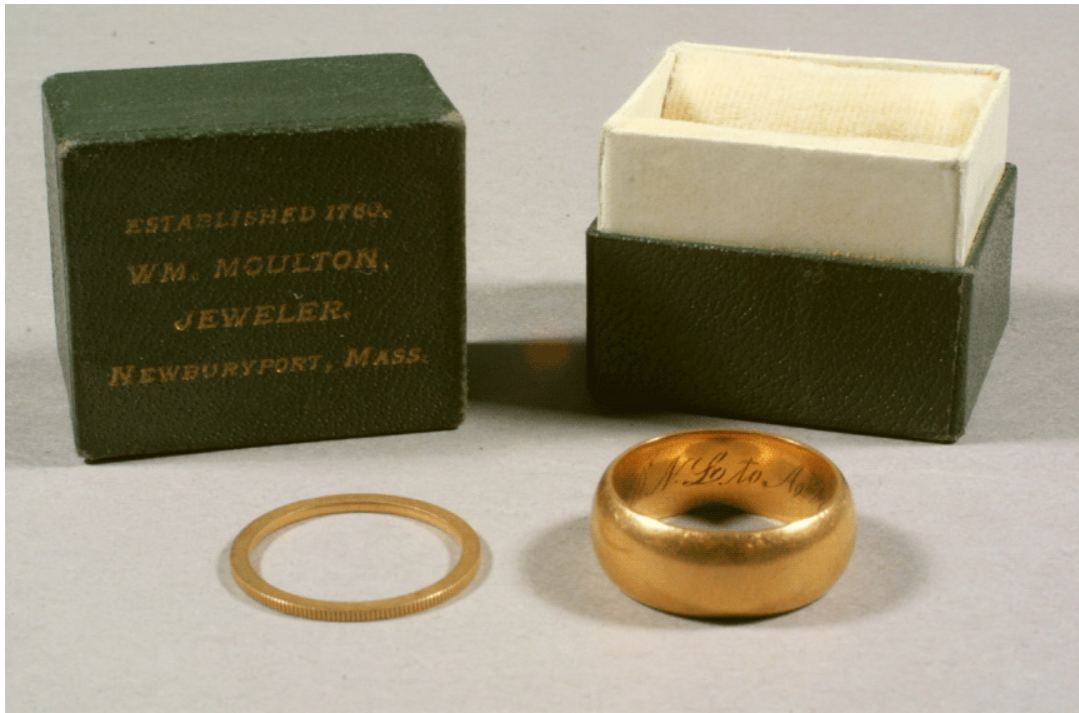
Source: Courtesy Kalmar Antiques, Sydney

Figure 3.11 Illustration of guard chains, c.1872



Source: Bodleian Library, Oxford

Figure 3.12 Gold guard or keeper ring (left) and wedding ring, 1885



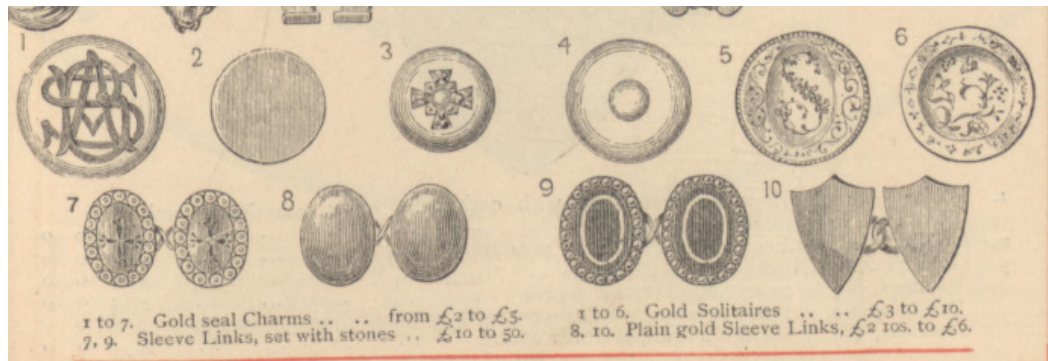
Source: Historic New England archives, Boston

Figure 3.13 Flower or bouquet holders, mid to late 19th century.
(flower holder on right bears mark of West & Son)



Source:
Royal collection, London (top left); Victoria and Albert Museum, London (bottom left); National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 3.14 Illustration of solitaires (top); steel and gold solitaires c.1875



Source: Bodleian Library, Oxford; Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 3.15 Gypsy ring set with diamonds, c.1890;
gypsy ring set with emeralds and diamonds, 19th century



Source: Victoria and Albert Museum; London; courtesy Denhams

Figure 3.16
Extract from Mayfield stock-book, Dec. 1866, detailing gypsy rings,
set with turquoise (top) and coral (bottom)

The image shows two fragments of a handwritten ledger. The top fragment contains the following entries:

| Item | Price | Quantity |
|--------------------|-------|----------|
| 101 Lace of ... | | |
| 102 Turquoise Pipe | 18. | |
| 103 " " | 12. | 17. |
| 104 " " | 15. | |

The bottom fragment contains the following entry:

| Item | Price | Quantity |
|---------------|-------|----------|
| 74 Coral Pipe | 1. | |

Source: Assay Office, Dublin

Figure 3.17 Ark of the Covenant model, Henry Flavelle, c.1851



Source: Freemasons' Hall, Dublin.

Figure 3.18 Masonic jewels by Dublin jewellers as indicated



James Brush, c.1800 (silver & paste)



John Tate, 1806 (silver)



Joseph Johnson, c.1850 (silver)



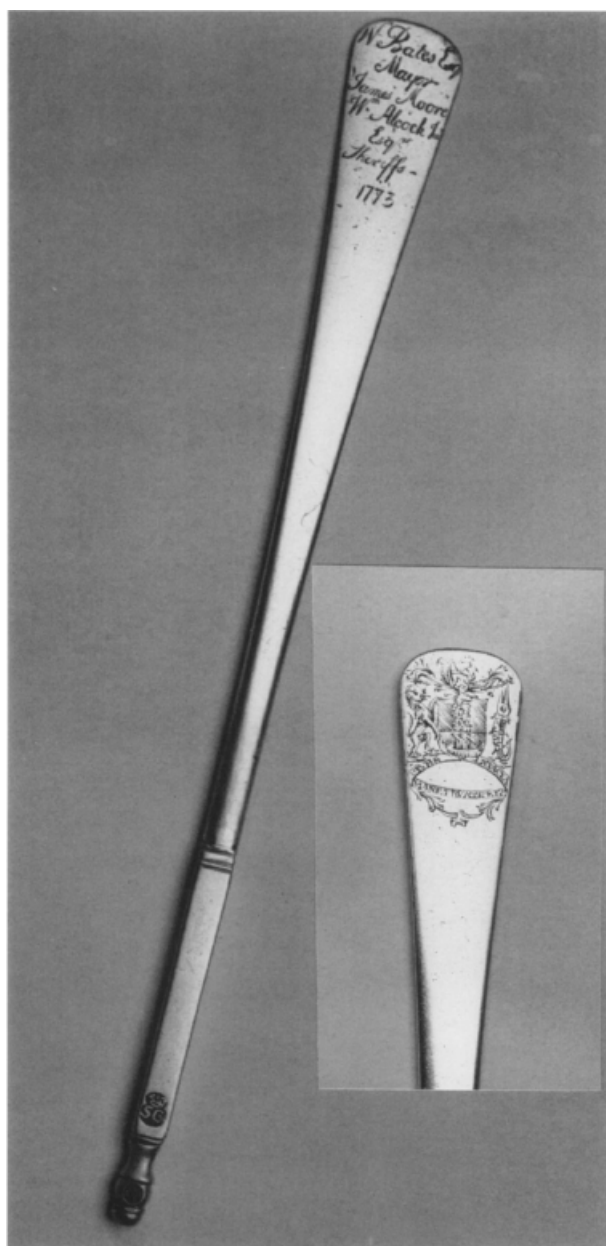
William Percival, 1865 (silver)



Henry Flavelle, c.1864 (silver and brilliants)

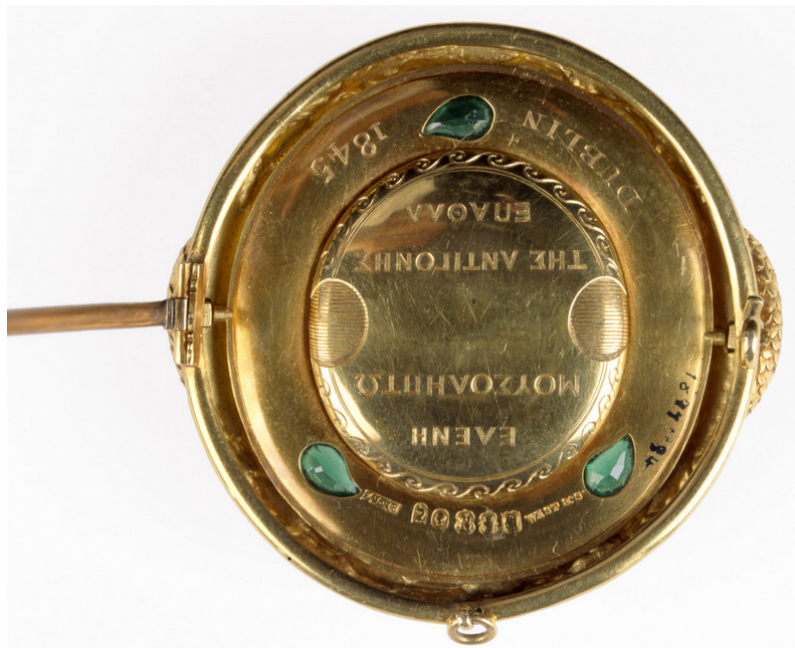
Source: Freemasons' Hall, Dublin: J11/40 (centre right)

Figure 3.19 Water bailiffs silver oar, c.1773



Source: Private collection

Figure 3.20 Burton brooch, gold and emerald, c.1846-7 (front & back), showing marks for Edmond Johnson and West & Son.



Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 3.21 Frederick William Burton, brooch designs, 1845



Source: National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 3.22

After Frederick William Burton, bog oak template for brooch, c.1845



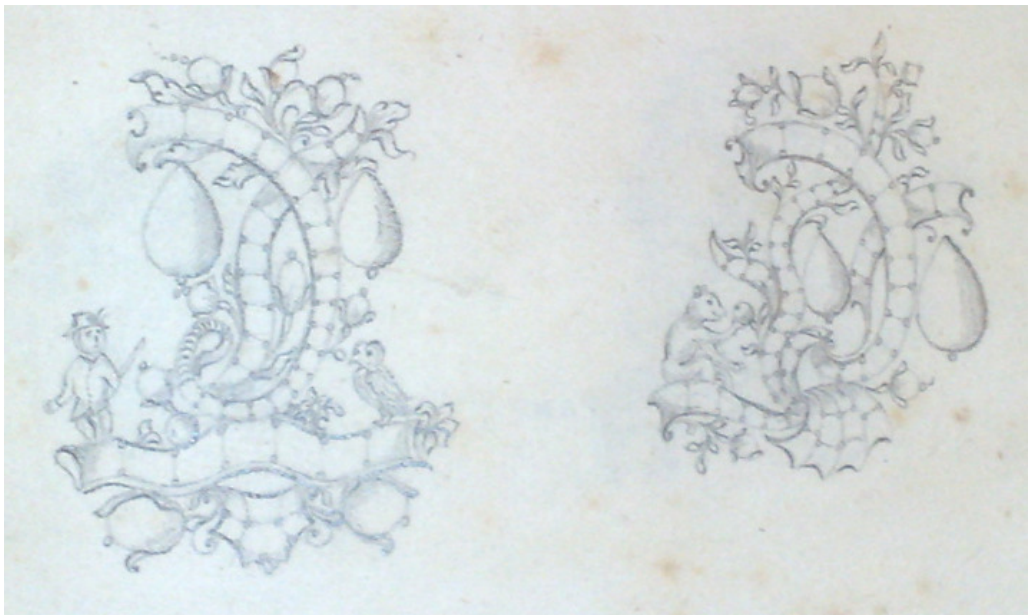
Source: National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 4.1 Sitters wearing the Queen's brooch, 1865 (top);
the 'Tara' brooch, 1865 (left); Celtic-interlace brooch, 1876



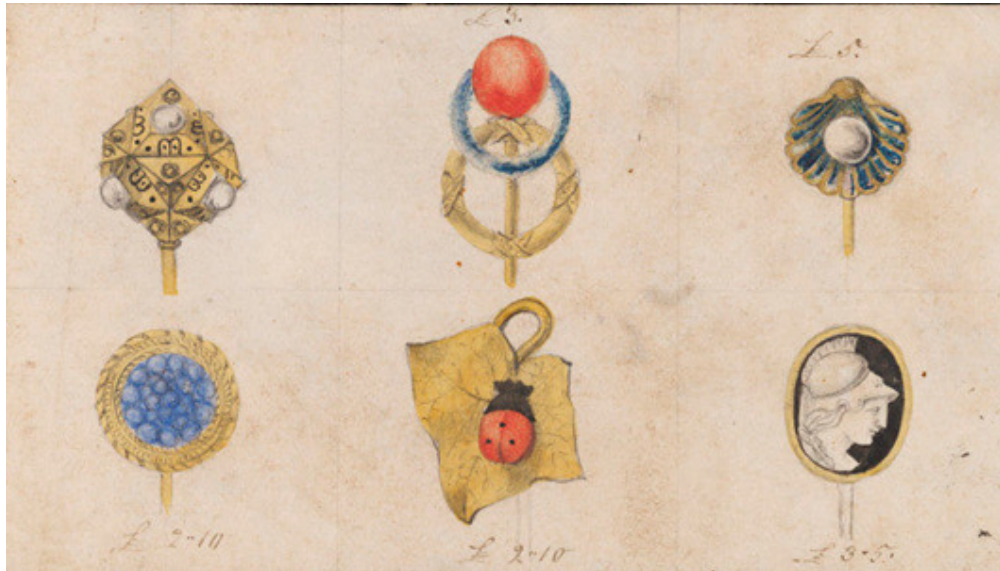
Source: *Yes or No*, Julia Margaret Cameron, 1865, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (top); *Sappho*, Julia Margaret Cameron, 1865, Victoria and Albert Museum (left); *Rosina Vokes*, Lock & Whitfield, 1876, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Figure 4.2 Jewellery design drawings, c.1750, Christian Taute



Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 4.3 Jewellery designs, c.1860, John Brogden



Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 4.4 Brooch with patented design mark, West & Son, 17 Dec. 1849



Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 4.5 Archaeological-style jewellery by Froment-Meurice



Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London (top); courtesy Christie's, London

Figure 4.6 Archaeological-style jewellery by Fortunato Castellani.



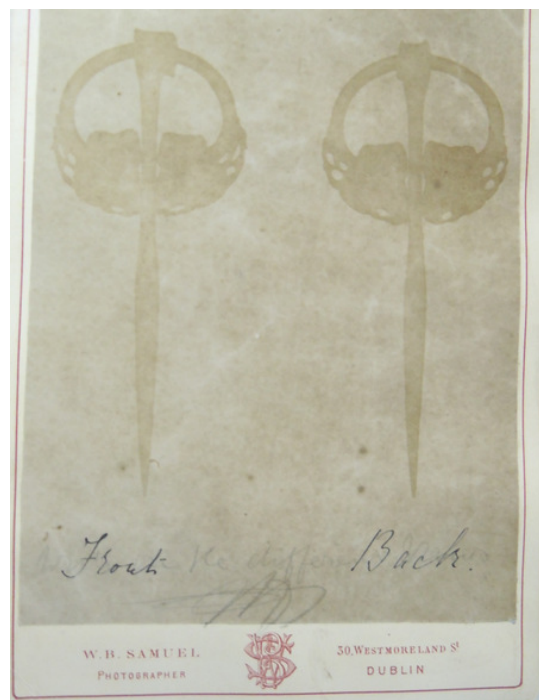
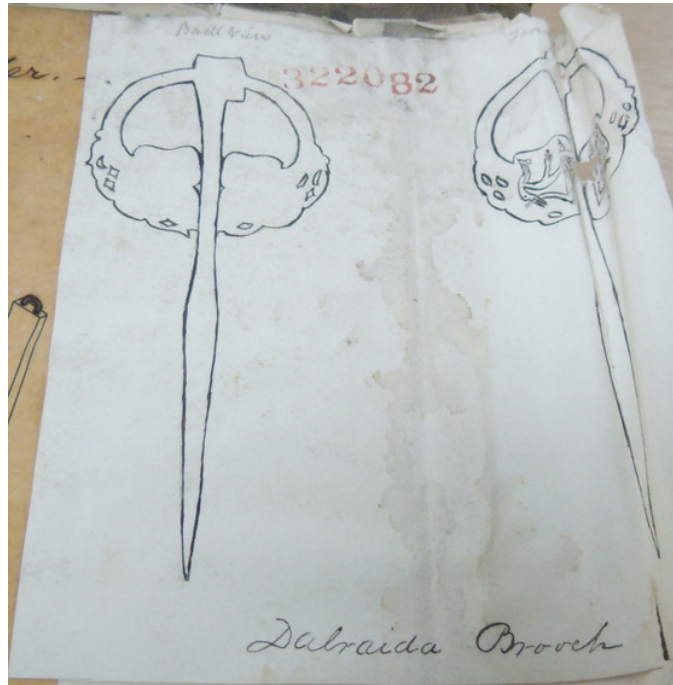
Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 4.7 Dalriada brooch, 9th century



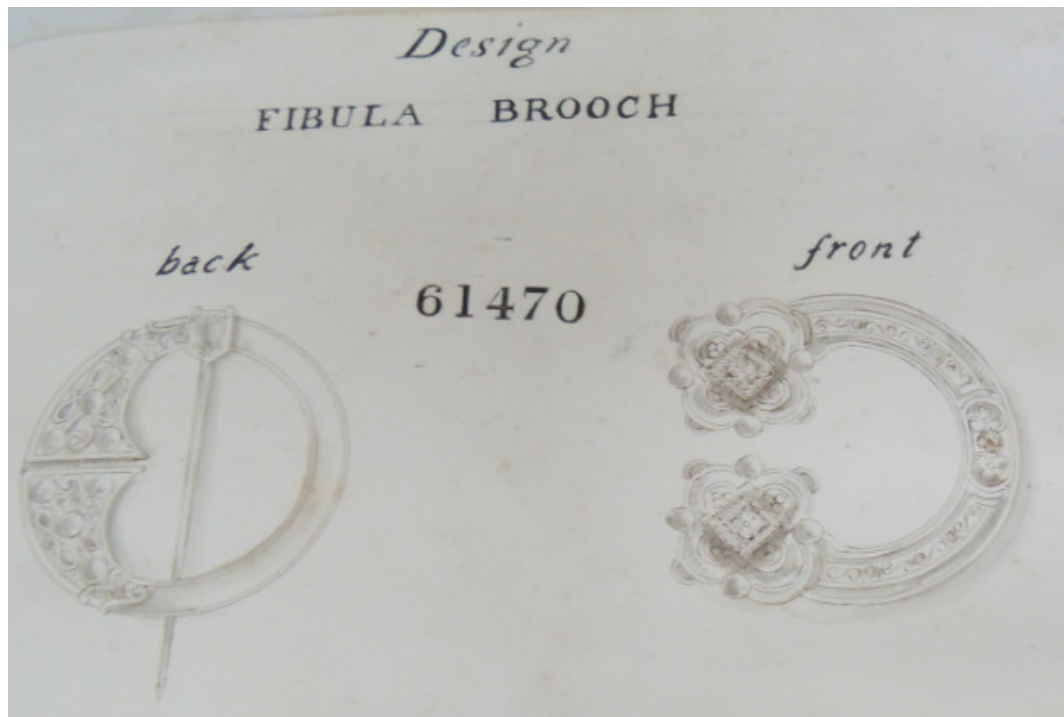
Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 4.8 Registered brooch designs by Joseph Johnson, 31 May 1878 (above); West & Son, 16 April 1878.



Source: National Archives, Kew

Figure 4.9 Registered brooch design by Joseph Johnson, 25 July 1849.



Source: National Archives, Kew

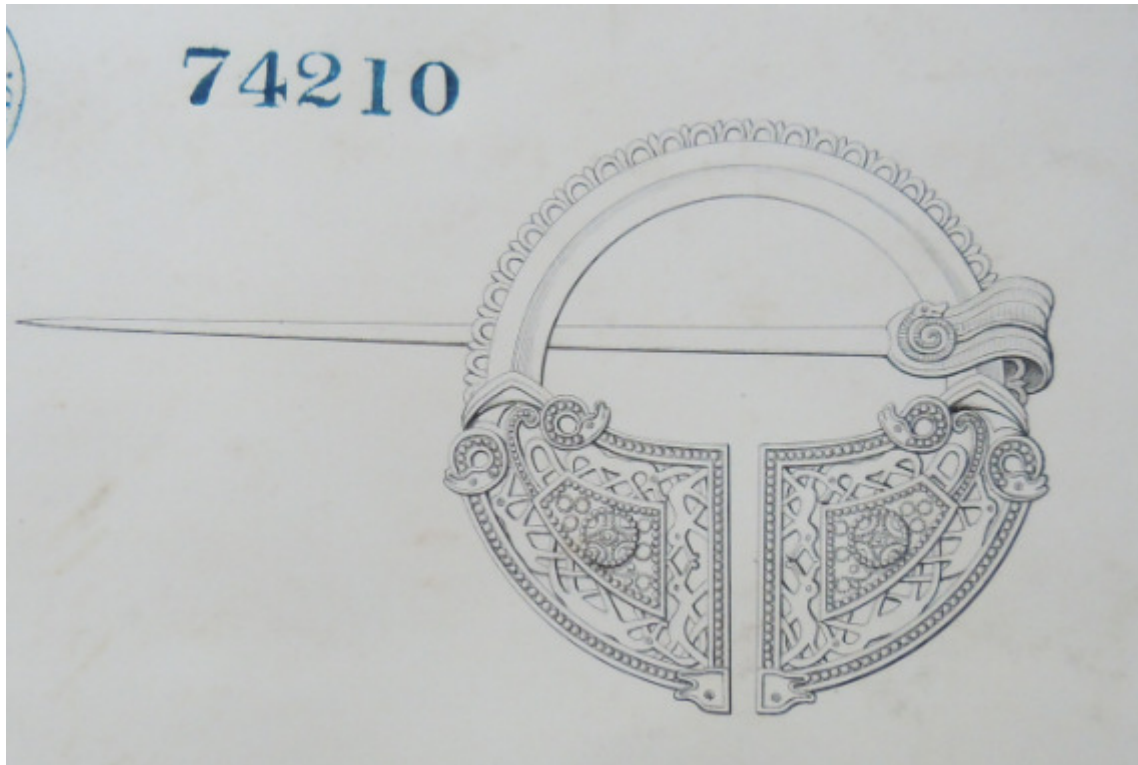
Figure 4.10

Ballyspellan/Clarendon brooch by Joseph Johnson c.1849 (top); brooch by Joseph Johnson c.1849, purchased by Prince Albert.



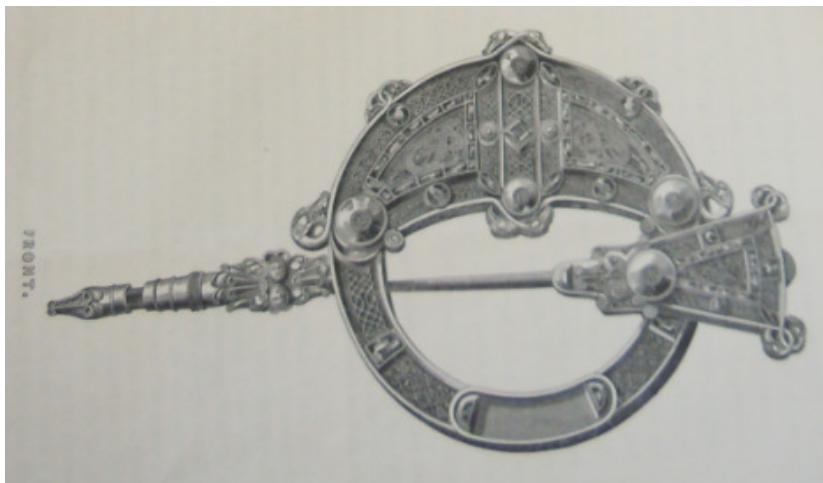
Source: British Museum (top); Royal Collection Trust, London.

Figure 4.11 Registered brooch design by S.S. Waterhouse, 9 Dec. 1850 (later called the 'University' brooch).



Source: The National Archives, Kew

Figure 4.12
Registered dress fastener design by S.S. Waterhouse, 19 Dec. 1850;
'Tara' brooch illustration, c.1852.



Source: The National Archives, Kew (top); Waterhouse & Co., *Ornamental Irish antiquities* (Dublin, 1852), p. 5.

Figure 4.13 Registered 'Royal Tara' bracelet design by S.S. Waterhouse, 2 June 1856 (top); illustration 'Royal Tara' bracelet, c. 1865.



Source:
The National Archives, Kew (top); Henry Parkinson (ed.), *Illustrated record and descriptive catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition 1865* (London, 1866), p. 286.

Figure 4.14 Registered brooch and bracelet centre design by S.S. Waterhouse, 2 June 1863.



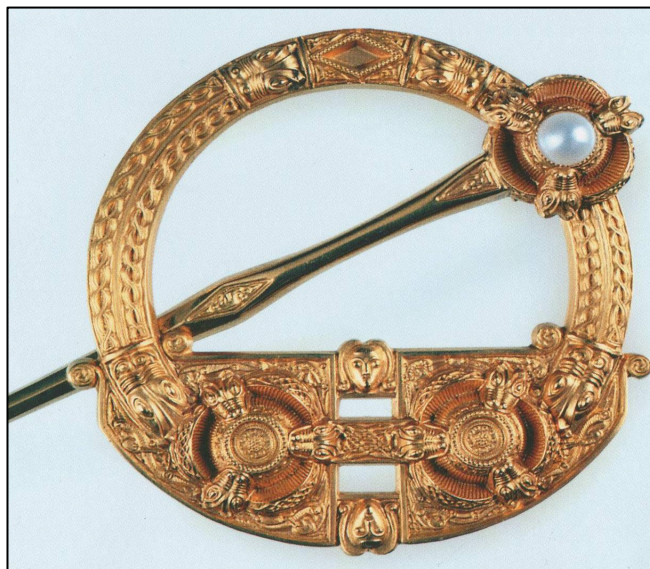
Source: The National Archives, Kew

Figure 4.15 Archaeological-style belt buckles, mid to late 19th century



Source: Ulster Museum, Belfast

Figure 4.16 Irish fibula brooch design by West & Son, 17 Dec. 1849 (above);
brooch presented to Queen Victoria, 1849



Source: The National Archives, Kew;
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 4.17 Registered brooch design by West & Son, 18 Aug. 1871
(above); extant brooch



Source: The National Archives, Kew (above); Ulster Museum, Belfast

Figure 4.18 Registered design, Brian Boroimhe brooch (probably),
Robert K. Gardner, 20 November 1852



Source: The National Archives, Kew

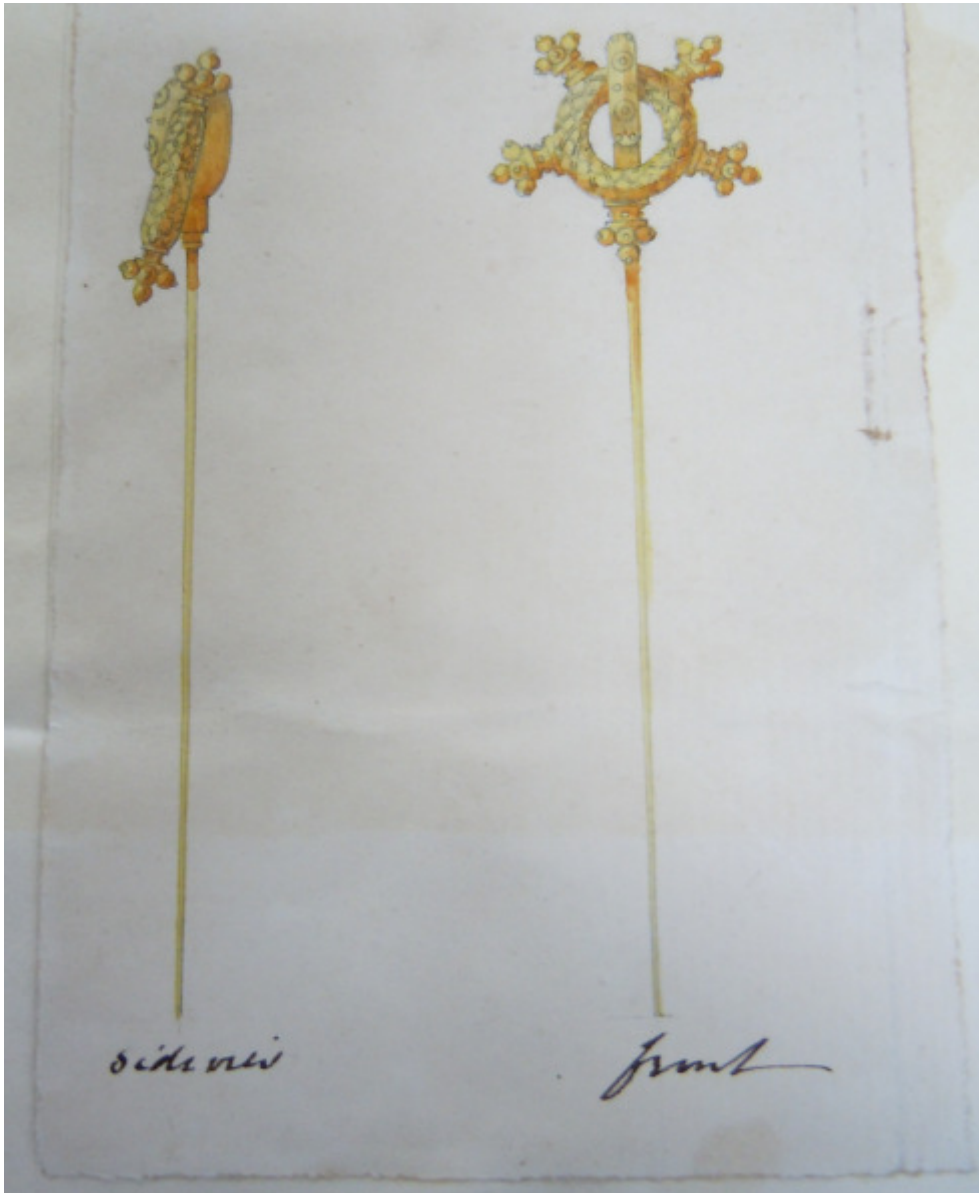
Figure 4.19

Gold locket with harp design, bearing patent number corresponding to design for locket, brooch and other articles of jewellery registered by Joseph Wheelwright, Birmingham, 1867.



Source: Courtesy Ian Haslam.

Figure 4.20 Registered design for breast pin by Thomas Brunker, 29 Feb. 1860



Source: The National Archives, Kew

Figure 4.21 Registered design for breast pin, Thomas Brunker, 22 Apr. 1872



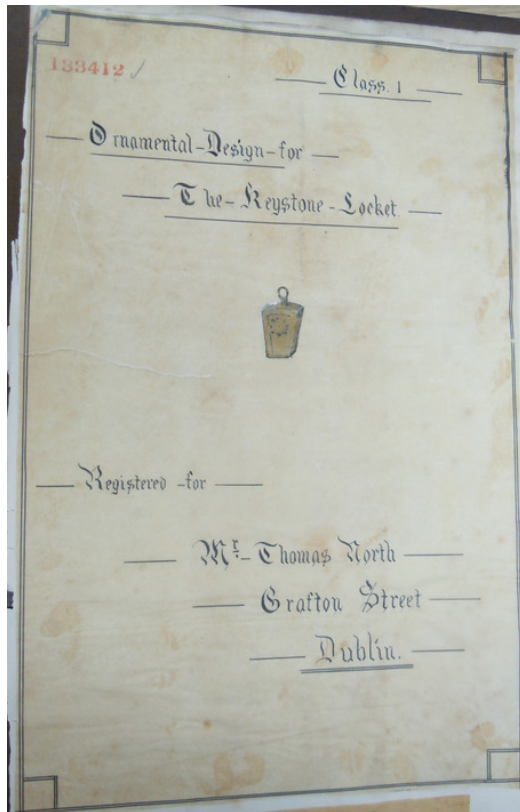
Source: The National Archives, Kew

Figure 4.22 Masonic ring design, John Gallie, 22 November 1864



Source: The National Archives, Kew

Figure 4.23 Locket design, Thomas North, 25 September 1860



Source: The National Archives, Kew

Figure 4.24

Registered design “Princess’s Own” bracelet by Charles Rankin,
15 June 1865, photograph (above); extant bog oak and 18ct gold bracelet



Source: The National Archives, Kew (above);
courtesy Martin Fennelly antiques

Figure 4.25 Charles Rankin, advertisement referring to 'the Princess's Own bracelet'

all orders by post sent free of charge registered.

THE PRINCESS'S OWN BRACELET AND
BROOCH (REGISTERED)

These beautifully executed Ornaments are of Irish Bog Oak, and were designed specially for the Dublin Exhibition, 1853.

Brooch mounted in Gold, £3 2s; in Silver Gilt £1 1s.
Bracelet mounted in Gold, £3 10s; in Silver Gilt £2.

CHARLES RANKIN,
Jeweller and Bog Oak Worker,
12B NASSAU STREET (corner of South Frederick street),
DUBLIN.

Photographs of the above sent by post on receipt of 6d in stamps.

Source: *The Irish Times and Daily Advertiser*, 24 June 1865

Figure 4.26 Design drawing registered by Joseph Johnson, 18 June 1875; bog oak and metal bracelet.



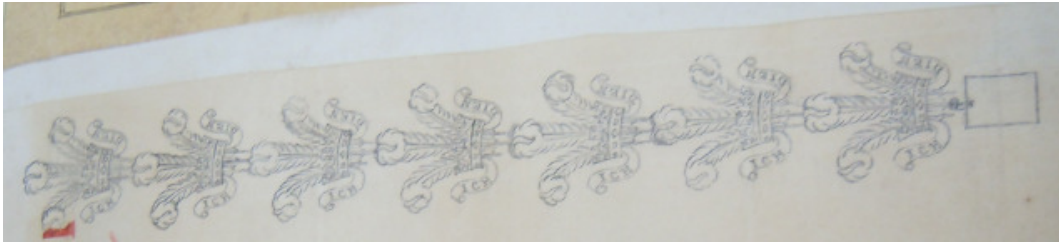
Source: The National Archives, Kew; Ulster Museum, Belfast.

Figure 4.27 Brooch? Design registered by Joseph Johnson, 30 July 1867.



Source: The National Archives, Kew

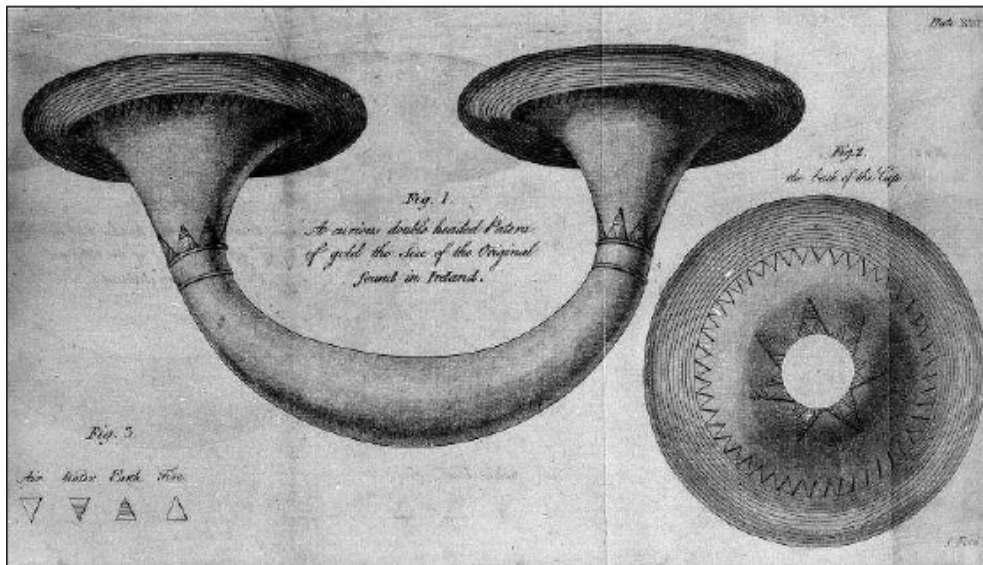
Figure 4.28 Three bracelet design drawings registered by Joseph Johnson, 25 April 1865 and 14 June 1866.



Source: The National Archives, Kew

Figure 4.29

Drawing of gold dress fastener, Bronze-Age, in possession of silversmith Sylvester Nolan, Athlone and Mr Cavanagh Dublin goldsmith; gold Bronze-Age dress fastener, found in New Ross



Source:

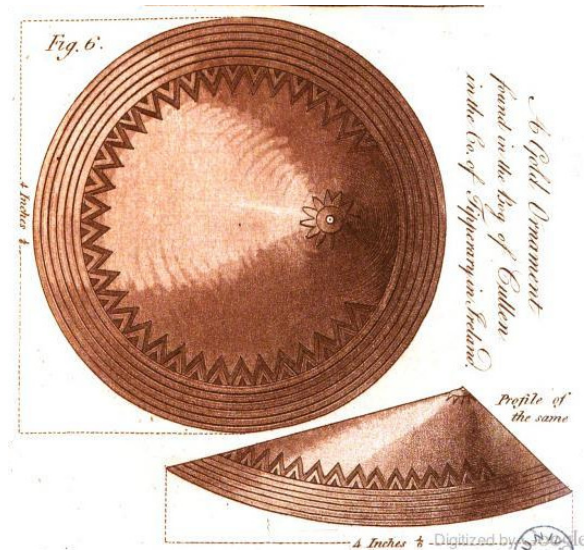
Charles Vallancey, 1786-1804 *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis* vol. 6, part 1 (Dublin, 1804); National Museum of Ireland, Dublin; Irish Archaeology.ie

Figure 4.30 Gold dress fastener, Clones, Bronze-Age
– valued by John Brown, Dublin jeweller, 1820



Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 4.31 Waterhouse sketch c. 1852 (left); Vallancey sketch c.1804); brooch, mid-19th century (bottom)



Source:

Waterhouse & Co., *Ornamental Irish antiquities* (Dublin, 1852), p. 19; Charles Vallancey, *1786-1804 Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis* vol. 6, part 1 (Dublin, 1804); courtesy Weldon's Antiques

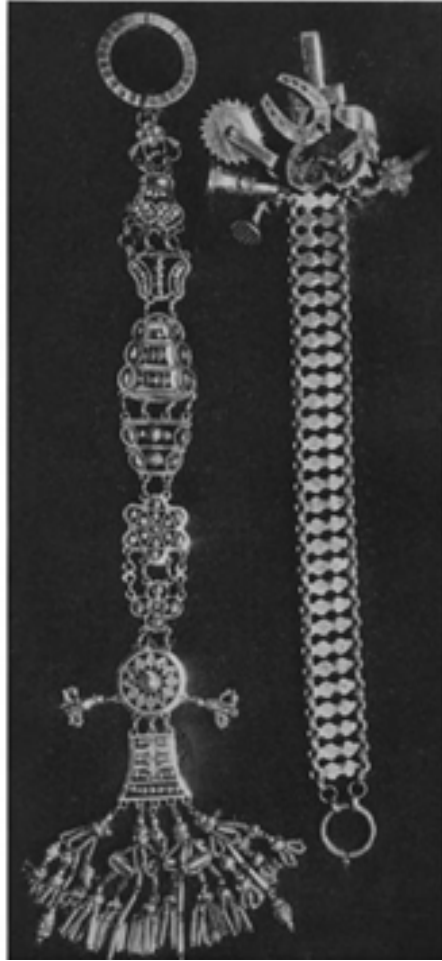
Figure 4.32

Roscrea brooch, 9th century, once on loan from George Petrie to William Acheson, Dublin jeweller (top); Acheson's copy mid to late 19th century



Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (top); Ulster Museum, Belfast

Figure 5.1 Cut-steel watch fob and steel watch keys, Matthew Boulton



Source: D. Dickinson, *Matthew Boulton* (Cambridge, 1937), plate III (top); Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham

Figure 5.2 John Leech sketch, 1849 (top); cut-steel chatelaines, 19th century



Source: *Punch*, 24 February 1849, 78 (top);
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.3 William Moore, trade card, c.1773



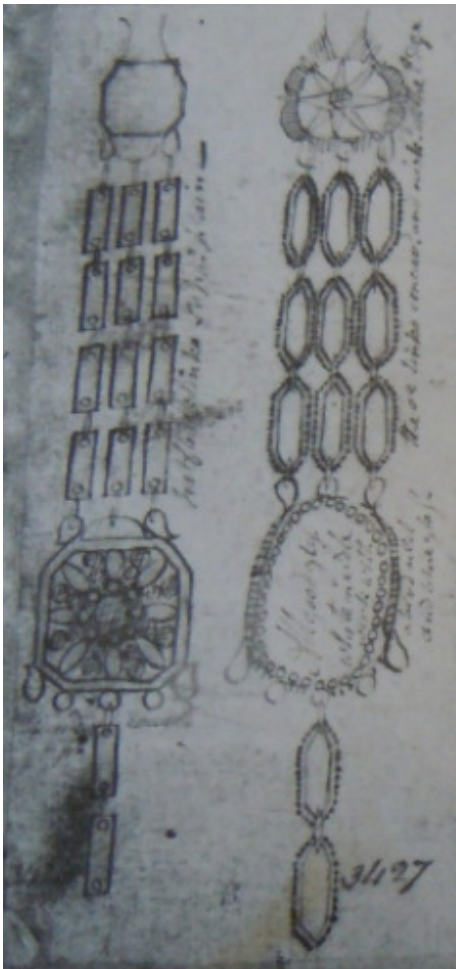
Source: Private collection

Figure 5.4 Cut-steel chatelaine by Read cutlers, c.1795



Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 5.5 Drawing of chatelaines, Boulton & Scale, 1782-99 (left);
cut-steel chatelaine, Birmingham manufacture



Source: Library of Birmingham Archives, Birmingham;
Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham

Figure 5.6 Cut-steel swords c.1790-1800 (left); drawings from Matthew Boulton's pattern book



Source: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland (left);
Library of Birmingham Archives, Birmingham

Figure 5.7 Richard Yeates handbill, 1834



Source: National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 5.8 Jonathan Binns trade card, 1785



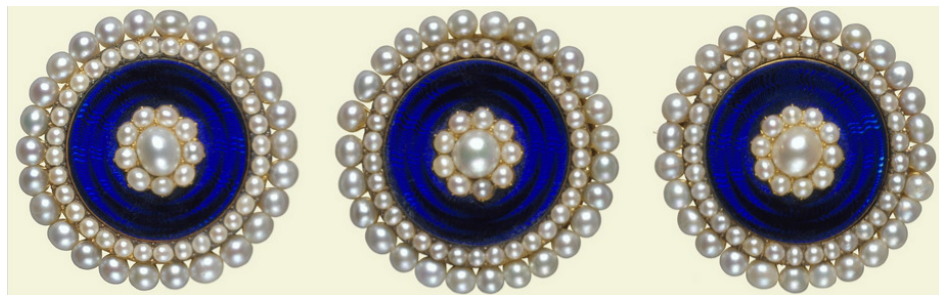
Source: National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 5.9 Cut-steel buckles, late 18th century



Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Figure 5.10 Mother of pearl button, 1820-50;
enamel and pearl buttons, c.1780



Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York;
Royal Collection Trust, London.

Figure 5.11 Cartoon mocking cut-steel buttons, 1777



STEEL BUTTONS | Coup de Bouton
By the Author of the Letters from a French Lady

Source: British Museum, London

Figure 5.12 William Parker, handbill, 1779

THE

Old Birmingham Ware-house,
No. 4, Kennedy's-lane *Dublin.*

WILLIAM PARKER,
(Successor to the late Mr. RICHARD STONE.)

*Has for Sale, a Variety of Articles in the HARD-
WARE and IRONMONGERY Business,---viz.*

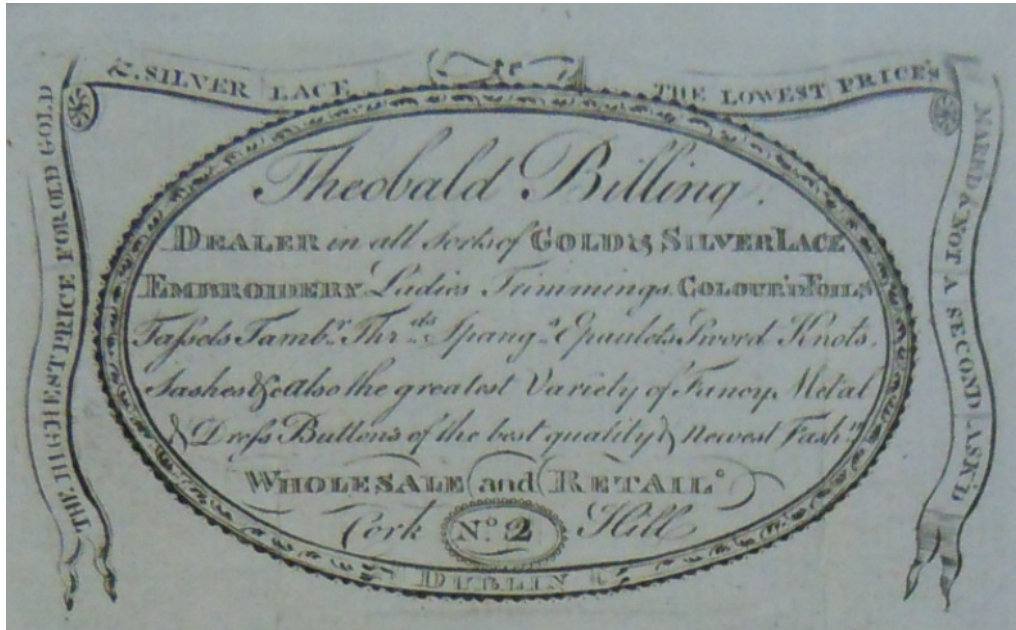
| | | |
|--|-----------------|--|
| <p>TEA Trays, Knife and Snuffier Trays Brown Tea and Coffee Urns Broad Baskets, Waiters and Canisters Ink Stands, Bottle Stands and Paper Coasters Plate Warmers, Tea and Coffee Pots Ivory, Box, Tortoise and Horn Combs Wax Dolls dressed, and naked Babies Gilt, Plated, Metal and Horn Buttons Cruet Frames, with Plated, Bone and Wood Tops Knives and Forks, with all kind of Handles Sportsman and Huntsman's Knives and Pen Knives Knife, Spectacle and Razor Cases, Tooth, Cloth and Buckle Brushes Needles, Thimbles, Hat Pins and Bodkins Guns, Blunderbusses and Pistols, of all kinds Battle Gun Powder, and Flints of every fort Double and single Shot Bags with Spring Heads, &c. Crapping, Pincing, Curling and cold Irons Spice, Powder and Shaving Boxes Grates, Fire Irons and Fenders of the newest forts. Beafe, Metal and Wood Pullies Locks of every kind Hinges—Brass, Iron and Cast of every kind Iron and Brass Bolts, of every kind Pepper and Coffee Mills, and Coffee Roasters Bricklayers, Slaters and Plasterers Trowels Scythes, Sickles and Rifles Scythe Stones, Rag Stones and Fire Bricks Shears, Scissors and Razors Hones and Turkey Stones Bench, Hand and Smiths Vices Saws of every kind Chisels, Gouges and Saw Sets Double, Single and Cut Plane Irons Files, Rasps and Rubbers of different kinds Elephants Teeth of different sizes Camwood, Fork Blades and Steel of all forts</p> | <p>JAPANESE</p> | <p>Handles plain & chased, for Drawers & Tea-chests Brass Hat Hooks, Rings and Hooks of all forts Brass and Princes Metal Chair and Coach Nail Brass, Iron and Japanned Candlesticks of all kinds Steel, Japanned and Iron Snuffers of different forts Coal Boxes, Grid Irons and Frying Pans Rules, Scales and Compasses of different Kinds Hammers of all forts Upholsterers, Sadlers, Carpenters and Shoe Pincers Sadlers Covering Nails, Staples and Bag Stralls Stirrups and Bridle Bits of different forts Awls and every kind of Shoe Tacks Cork, Wood and Bed Screws Steelyards, Ouncels, Balances and Money Scales Walking Sticks and Canes of every kind Toy Watches, Gilt Seals and Watch Chains Fiddle Strings and Silvered Balles Fox, Rat and Mouse Traps Brass and Iron Wire, Bells, Cranks, &c. Iron Nails and Tacks of all forts German Shear, Casteel and Backstuf Picture Frames and Looking Glasses Ladies Thread Cases and Pocket books Wood Toys of all kinds And a Variety of other Articles.</p> |
|--|-----------------|--|

PLATED GOODS,
5 per Cent. Discount for Ready Money.

Candlesticks of the newest Patterns
Cruet Frames and Salts of every kind
Waiters and Bottle Coasters
Snuffers and Snuffer Stands
Coffee and Tea Pots
Tea Urns and Bread Baskets
And a Variety of Articles in said Line.

Source: National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 5.13 Theobald Billing billhead, 1791



Source: National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 5.14 Metal buttons, inset with Wedgwood plaques



Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 5.15 Silver hair comb, imitating cut-steel, 1809-10



Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 5.16 Bog oak jewellery, mid to late 19th century



Reproduced with the kind permission of the Director and the Board of Trustees, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.



Source: Ulster Museum, Belfast; Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew (bottom left).

Figure 5.17 William Wilson, *Modern plan of the city and environs of Dublin, 1798.*
 (detail showing centre of Dublin where jewellers and bog oak retailers were concentrated)



©Mapco

- 1770
- 1800
- 1830
- 1870
- 1840-70 bog oak retailers

Source: *Wilson's Dublin Directory, 1770-1830; The Post Office Annual Directory for 1840; Thom's Dublin Directory, 1850-70.* David Hale, MAPCO, <http://mapco.net>

Figure 5.18 Bracelet of bog oak and Wicklow gold, c.1851



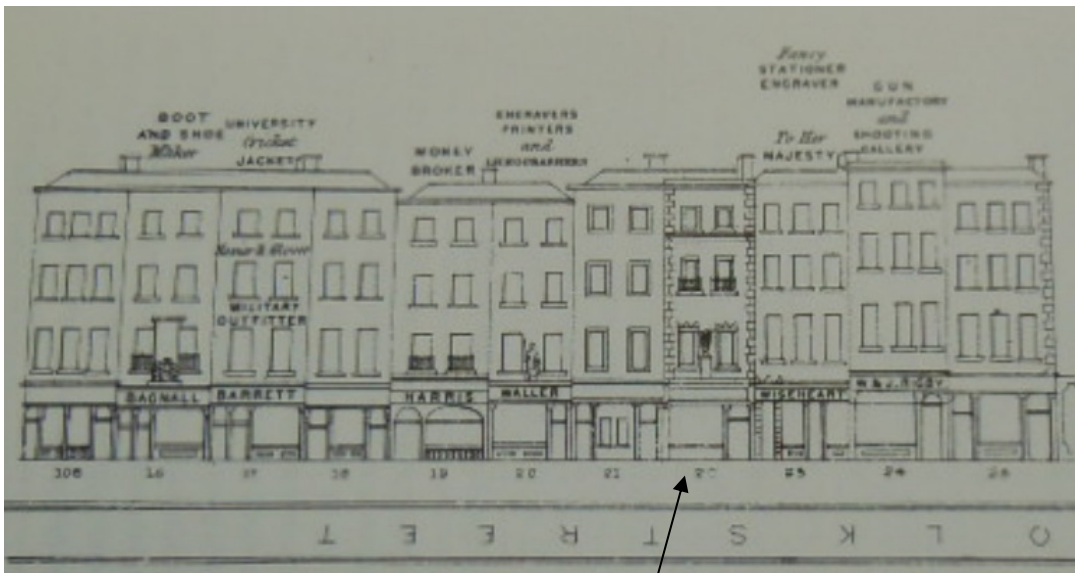
Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 5.19 Bracelet detail, showing hinge and Wicklow gold stamp



Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 5.20 Joseph Johnson's premises on Suffolk Street



Joseph Johnson's premises

Source: Henry Shaw, *Dublin Pictorial Guide & Directory*, 1850

Figure 5.21 Lady Doneraile's bog oak brooch c.1842-57



Source: Reproduced with the kind permission of the Director and the Board of Trustees, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew

Figure 5.22 Bog oak necklace c.1855



Source: Reproduced with the kind permission of the Director and the Board of Trustees, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew

Figure 5.23 Irish lace made from sweet pea fibres, c. 1855



Source: Reproduced with the kind permission of the Director and the Board of Trustees, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew

Figure 5.24
Detail from W.H. Bartlett, *Rock of Cashel* (top);
Joseph Johnson brooch centre



Source: N.P. Willis & J. Stirling Coyne, *The scenery and antiquities of Ireland illustrated from drawings by W.H. Bartlett* (vol. 1, London, 1842), p. 139; brooch image reproduced with the kind permission of the Director and the Board of Trustees, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

Figure 5.25 Bog oak and silver gilt brooch; design by Joseph Johnson c.1849



Source: Armagh County Museum, Armagh: The National Archives, Kew

Figure 5.26 Joseph Johnson, bog oak brooch, mid-19th century



Source: Courtesy George Stacpoole

Figure 5.27 Bog oak and metal bracelet, c.1875,
detail showing method of construction



Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 5.28 Horsehair jewellery, 19th century



Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (bottom right);
Ulster Museum, Belfast

Figure 5.29 Detail from horsehair brooch;
drawing of design for fuschia flowers, c.1850



Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin;
Branchardiere, *The crochet book, seventh series* (3rd ed., London, 1850).

Figure 5.30 Horsehair chains, 19th century



Source: National Museum of Ireland, Turlough Park;
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 6.1 Handbill, William Kertland, Dublin Fancy Ware-house, c.1820

THE
DUBLIN FANCY WARE-HOUSE,
N^o. ONE, LOWER ORMOND-QUAY.

“ Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rhyme,
“ OF WATER and of FIRE—Of Odours sweet—
“ OF FASHION—FANCY—TRADE, and GRATITUDE,
“ Sing heavenly Muse!!” MILTON.

DEAR me! what mighty curious ways
Men take for money now-a-days!*

The Muse, on Liffey's side, (they say)
Is heard upon a minor Quay,
A *Trading Muse*! (but truce with pon)
She sings the Wares at NUMBER ONE;
Such as in common terms were told
In cards or catalogues of old,
But now as manners change with times,
She soars from humble *Prose* to *Rhymes*.
Here choicest articles you'll find
To please the eye, amuse the mind;
Goods both for ornament and use,
Such as few other Shops produce—
As BOTTLED FIRE, a precious treasure!
To light a candle at your pleasure;
And Ink for LOVERS when they choose
To write their SWEETHEARTS *billets doux*;
(*Tis used in various secret tricks,
But most in *Love* or *Politics*.)
Pencils of fire to write i' th' dark;
Permanent Ink, your clothes to mark;
(Mark what you would with safety use,
Leave unmark'd what you wish to lose.)
Canes, empty Purses; Gloves and Garters,
Fine Lavender and Honey Waters,
Silk Handkerchiefs, Snuff Boxes, Scissors,
Fruit Knives, Pencils, Tooth-picks, Tweezers,
Rich *elby* Polish for your Shoes,
Boot-top Restorer, all should use;
With Pocket-Books, each sort and size,
And Skipping Cords for exercise;
But *Hempen Ropes* I never sell,
I love my customers too well;
And tho' I've Gallowses (for Breeches),
I hate your doleful dying Speeches.

LADIES! to you our high respects
We pay, as gallantry directs;
Wanton *Zephyr's* balmy wing,
For you Arabia's stores shall bring,
Wafting, in luxurious breeze,
Fragrance of ambrosial trees,
Lillies, and a thousand Flowers,
Cull'd in Rose and Jasmine Bow'rs;
These to KERTLAND's Chymic Art
All their od'rous powers impart,

Hence the choicest Perfumes flow,
Hence Soaps, Pomades, and Lip Salves glow
(To guard Hibernia's Daughters fair
From tanning sun-beams—frosty air.)
With Rouge, Carmine, and Milk of Roses,
Pungent Salts to sting your noses,
With Grecian Water fresh and fair,
To turn to black the greyest Hair;
And Water which to heart's delight,
Will bleach the darkest linen white;
And Salt of Lemons, in a twist
To banish Iron Mould or Ink;
With *Laxenger* to cure a cold,
And *Horehound*, good for young and old.

Patience! my kind and gentle reader,
For Fashion is a *special breeder*,
Of other Goods I wish to tell
Oh! 'tis an EVIL not to sell.
'Twould pose e'en P——s *pericrany*,
To sing of every *Miscellany*.

Here's Parasole's and Parasols,
Nice Fancy Papers, Prints and *Drolls*,
With Combs of Silver, Gilt, or Shell,
To suit the Taste of *Beau* or *Belle*;
Dress Ornaments and *Wedding Rings*!
Beads, Bracelets, and a thousand things,—
Laid in as Fashion gives the hint,
Too tedious to appear in Print.

And then, to gratify all palates,
We've Vinegars and Oils for Salads,
Green Ginkins, Capers, Macaroni
And rich Anchovies from Gorgona,
Anchovy Essence, Cappillaire,
True Usquebaugh and French *liqueur*.

If then for these you have occasion,
Accept this humble invitation,
“ Drawn out in jingling *spitter-spatter*
“ Like acid flash of—*Soda Water*.”
And tho' but little you select,
E'en trifles have their due effect;
My heart with gratitude shall flow,
For every favour you bestow,
And in all instances expedient,
I'll ever prove—your most obedient—

W. Kertland.

Some Poets write to gain applause,
Some Poets have a better cause! !

* Horace or Virgil, or some one of those *Geniuses* with whom *Trades People* cannot possibly be acquainted, has, I am told, the following similar idea, “ Quid non mortalia pectora cogis AURA sacra fames! ”—very cogent reasons emboldened me to assure the *Classical Reader* that this passage is not *parloined*.

Source: National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 6.2 William Wilson, *Modern plan of the city and environs of Dublin, 1798.*
 (detail showing centre of Dublin where jewellers and bog oak retailers were concentrated)

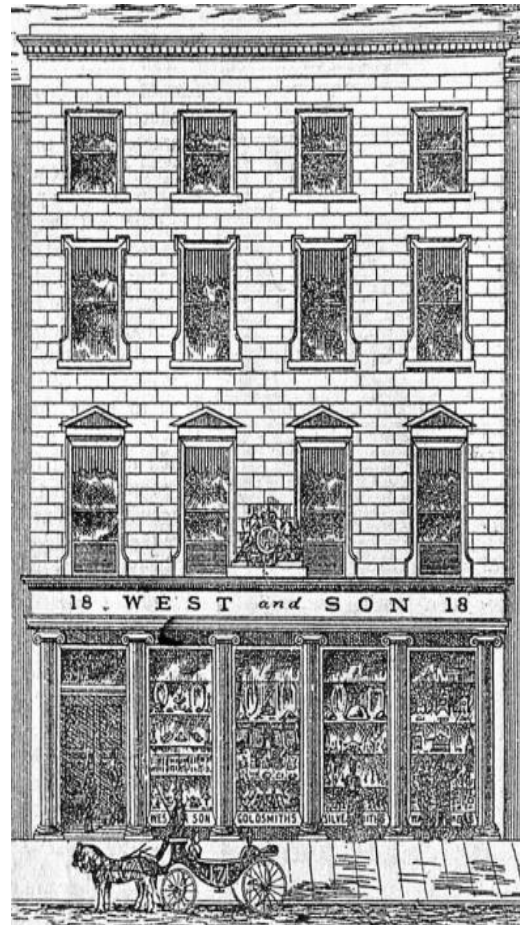


©Mapco



Source: *Wilson's Dublin Directory, 1770-1830; The Post Office Annual Directory for 1840; Thom's Dublin Directory, 1850-70.*
 David Hale, MAPCO, <http://mapco.net>

Figure 6.3 Waterhouse & Company, Dame Street c. 1850-60 (left);
West & Son, College Green, c.1845



Source: Dublin City Library, Dublin (left);
Industries of Dublin (Dublin 1887?), p. 50.

Figure 6.4 Brian Borhoime brooch, Waterhouse c.1850 and drawing



Source: Courtesy Ian Haslam (top)
Waterhouse & Company, *Irish Antique Brooches* (1872)

Figure 6.5 Francis Smyth, advertisement 1853



Source: T.D. Jones, *Record of the Great Industrial Exhibition 1853*
... contained in that temple of industry (Dublin, 1853)

Figure 6.6 Pim Brothers & Company, c.1850s



Source: Archiseek, available at:
<http://archiseek.com/2011/1856-pims-department-store-sth-great-george/> [6 July 2015].

Figure 6.7 Edmond Johnson Limited shop exterior, photographed c.1897-1904?



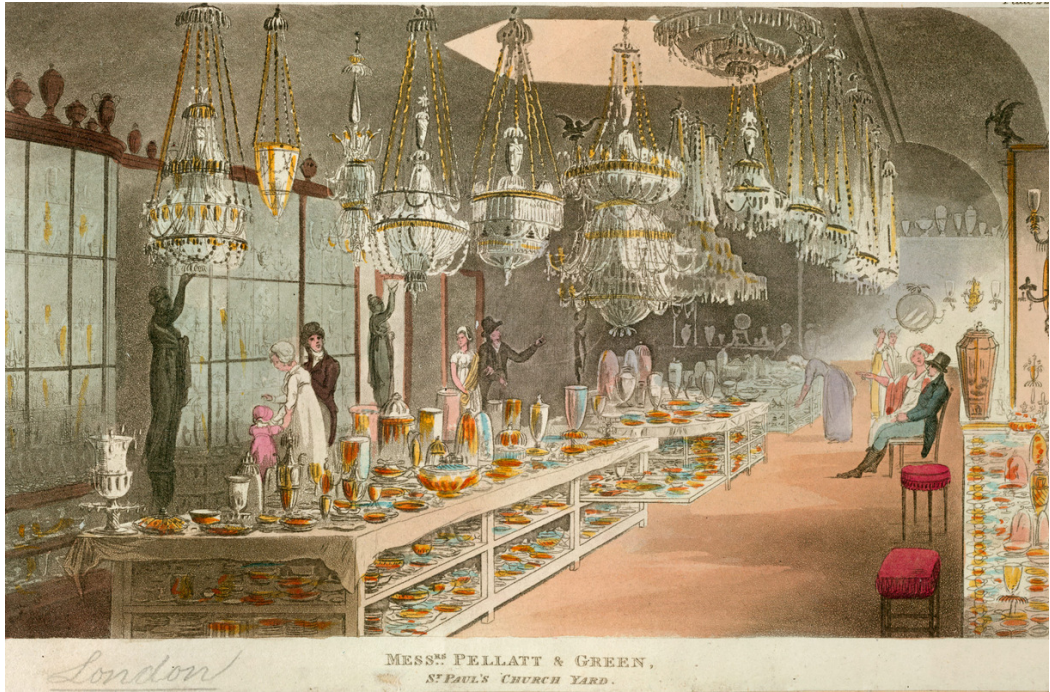
Source: National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 6.8 Shop exterior, 6 Green Street, 18th to 19th century



Source: *The Georgian Society Records of eighteenth century domestic architecture and decoration in Dublin, vol. iv* (Shannon, 1969), plate cxxil.

Figure 6.9 Interior of London glass shop, c.1809



Source: British Library, London

Figure 6.10 Royal Arcade, c.1821




HOME'S GRAND PROMENADE.
DUBLIN.



HOME'S ROYAL ARCADE.
DUBLIN.

Source: John James McGregor, *New picture of Dublin ...* (Dublin, 1821), pp 302-3.

Figure 6.11 Hercules Freymuth handbill, c.1830



No. 5,
Royal Arcade,
DUBLIN.
H. FREYMUTH,
COMB MANUFACTURER,

Respectfully acquaints his Friends and the Public, that he has opened
a Shop in the ROYAL ARCADE, for the Sale of
Ivory, Tortoiseshell, Horn and
Box Combs,
OF EVERY DESCRIPTION.

FREYMUTH has just received from the East Indies, a large Parcel of Tortoiseshell of the
most beautiful Colours ever imported.

All the Materials employed in this Manufactory being carefully selected of the very best
description, the Proprietor can affirm with confidence, that every Article is of the most superior
quality; and as he is the only Person in Ireland who carries on this Branch of Manufacture,
he relies on the support and preference of his Countrymen and Fellow-Citizens—at the same
time, can assure his Customers, that by dealing with him, they will derive Advantages, not to
be met with elsewhere; the facilities he can command enabling him to offer to the Public
articles of the very best kind, and of the Lowest Price.

BOX COMBS, of very superior quality, at less than *Half the Price* usually charged.
& NO SECOND PRICE CAN BE ASKED OR TAKEN.

COMBS MADE TO PATTERN, WITH CARE AND DISPATCH.
Tooth, Nail and Hair Brushes.

Source: National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 6.12 Tortoiseshell & horn brooches and combs, 19th century, British & German



Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London (top left);
Ulster Museum, Belfast (top right); Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York (bottom left); British Museum, London (bottom right)

Figure 6.13

Satirical print, *Sales by auction! – Or provident children disposing of their deceased mother's effects for the benefit of the creditors!!* 1819



Source: British Museum, London

Figure 6.14 Hair ornaments, c.1760 to c.1850.



Source:
Courtesy Bonhams (top left); Victoria and Albert Museum, London (right);
courtesy Christie's, London (bottom left); British Museum, London.

Figure 6.15 Auction notice, 4 November 1830

ROTUNDA.

Immense consignment of magnificent Musical Clocks, Time Pieces, Antique Bronzes, Table Lamps, Lustres, Jewellery, Fancy Goods, valuable solid Plate, Plated Ware, Gold Watches, fine Guitars, scarce fine Oil Paintings, by the most esteemed old Masters, rare Oriental Gems, India and Dresden China, Jars, Vases, and Beakers, &c.

THE Nobility and Gentry are most respectfully apprised, that the most splendid assemblage of the undermentioned, ever offered in Ireland, will be

SOLD IN THE MOST UNRESERVED MANNER, BY
PUBLIC AUCTION.

On THIS DAY, THURSDAY, November 4,
IN THE LARGE PILLAR BALL-ROOM, ROTUNDA.

This Collection forms decidedly the largest and most brilliant display ever offered Unreservedly for Sale in Ireland.—
The GENUINE STOCK of the most extensive manufacturing and importing ESTABLISHMENT IN LONDON, and submitted to Public Sale by order of the Administrator, viz. —

Musical and other Clocks, some very beautiful specimens, from 8 to 15 day movements, warranted, supported by many finely executed groups, figures, &c., in Alabaster, Bronze, Verd Antique, and other materials.

Ancient and modern Bronzes, rare Carvings, scarce and valuable Oil Paintings, by *Reubens, Brughell, S. Rosa, Corregio, Laine, Wovermans, Teneirs, Hogarth*, &c. &c.

Two Pieces of very splendidly executed tapestry, fine-toned Guitars, richly inlaid with Pearl, Onyx, Bronze, and Plated Table, Sideboard, and Hall Lamps, elegant Chandeliers, with innumerable cut drops, Venison Dishes and Covers; Steak and Vegetable ditto; Dish Covers, Turfens, Gapergues, Plateaus, Tea Urns, Tea and Coffee Sets, Ice Pails, Branches and Candlesticks; Fruit, Bread, and Cake Baskets, Silvers and Waiters, from 8 to 50 inches; Writer Plates, Chestneers, Egg-stands, Cruet, Liqueure, and Soy Frames; Post-racks, Coasters, Snuffers and Trays; Wine-strainers, Ink-stands, Dessert Services, Forks and spoons.

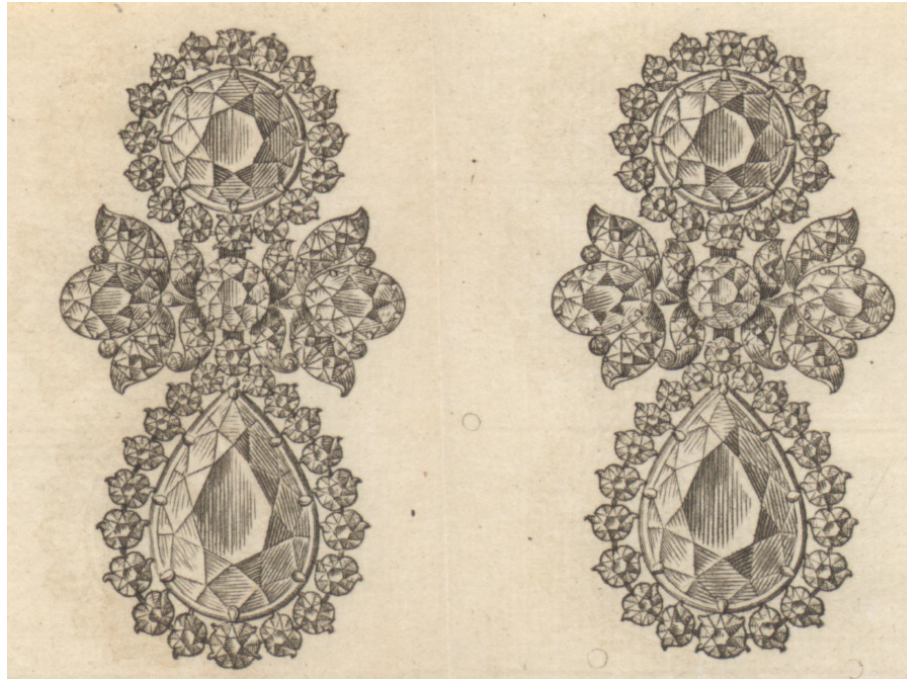
Antique, Oriental, China Vases, Large Beakers, Jars, Oriental China; Musical and Tortoiseshell Boxes, Paper Trays, Pearl Cabinets; Writing Desks, Dressing Cases, Mother-of-Pearl and Tortoiseshell Goods; Crucifixes, Church Plate, Oriental Gems, Rarities; Cut Glass, exceedingly rich; Busts of Napoleon, Wellington, Canning, &c., London Jewellery, in every expensive, useful, and fashionable Ornament; Warwick Vases, Cameos, Mosaics, Corals, Negligees; Ivory-handled Balance Knives and Forks, &c. &c. &c.

Particulars cannot possibly be included in an advertisement. To have a correct idea of the magnificence and extent, the Stock must be seen.

J. MARSHALL, Auctioneer.

Source: *Freeman's Journal*, 4 November 1830

Figure 6.16 Drawing of first prize in Cox's lottery, 1774;
Lady Clonbrock's girandole earrings, 1806



Source: Bodleian Library, Oxford (top); courtesy Christie's, London

Figure 6.17 Edward Murray shamrock-shaped coronation box, 1821.



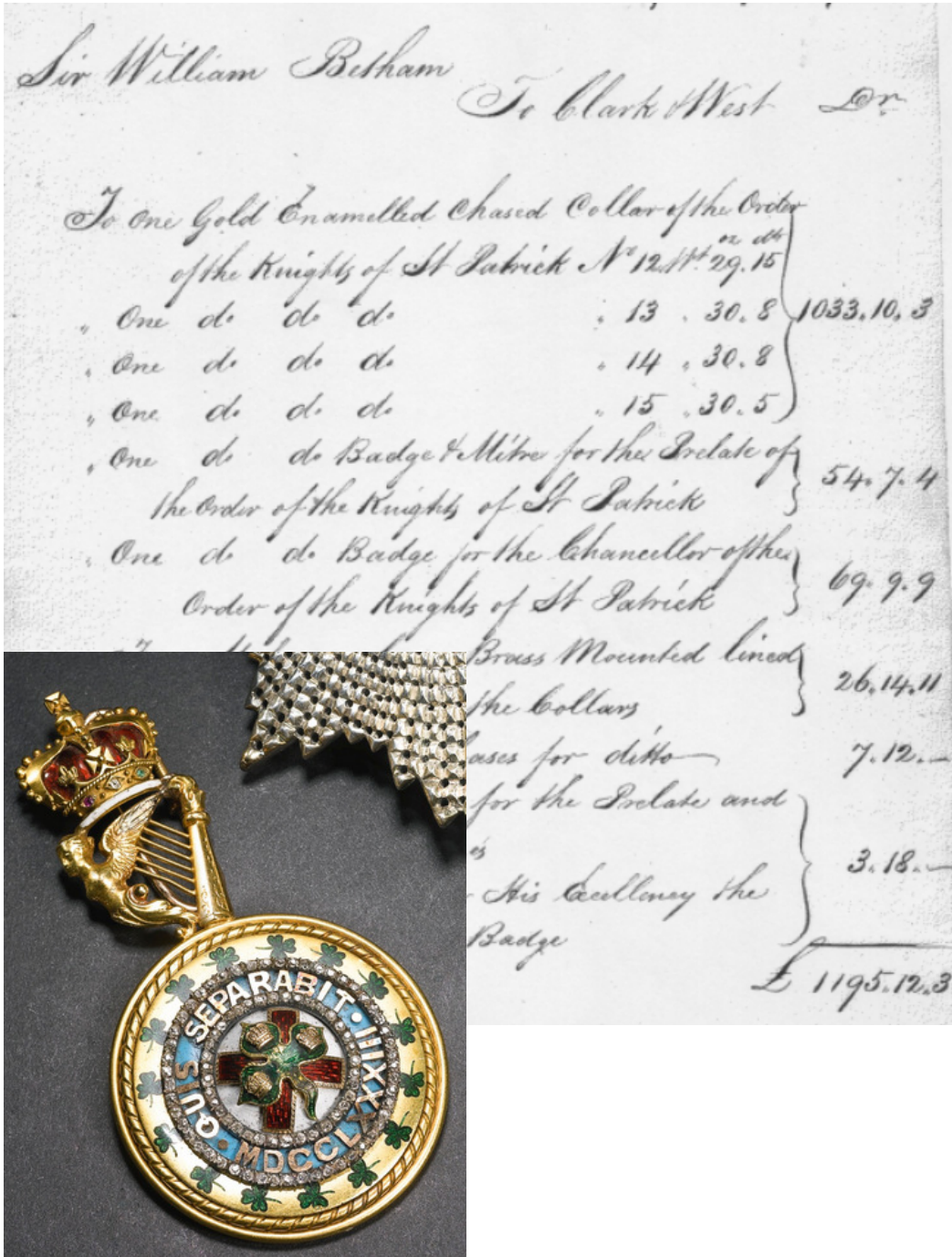
Source: Royal Collection Trust, London.

Figure 6.18 Orders of the Bath; the Crescent; the Tower and Sword



Source: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (left); National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (right); Academia Falerística de Portugal

Figure 6.19 Clark & West bill for Order of St. Patrick insignia, 1819; badge of the Grand Master of the Order of St. Patrick, by West & Son, c.1892



Source: National Archives of Ireland, Dublin; courtesy Sotheby's, London

Figure 6.20 John Brown billhead, 1825



Source: National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 6.21 Gold and enamel mourning ring,
with 'Beef Steak Club' emblem, 18th century



Source: Courtesy Christie's, London

Figure 6.22 Richard D'Olier, trade receipt, 1782

RICHARD D'OLIER, GOLDSMITH and JEWELLER, No. 8, Parliament-Street,
has always a great VARIETY of the newest fashioned PLATE, JEWELLARY and
PLATED WARE; which he will sell on the LOWEST TERMS, for READY MONEY
ONLY. He allows a DISCOUNT of FIVE PER CENT on all Sums laid out with
him, not less than FORTY SHILLINGS, except on common plain burnished PLATE,
SPOONS, SPOON-FORKS, LADLES and SPURS.

BOUGHT, DUBLIN, *Apr 20-82*

*a new stem & nut to an scimitar
& a new fork* ————— *£0:2:2*

*Recd. same time for Rich^d. D'Olier
Edw. Ogerton*

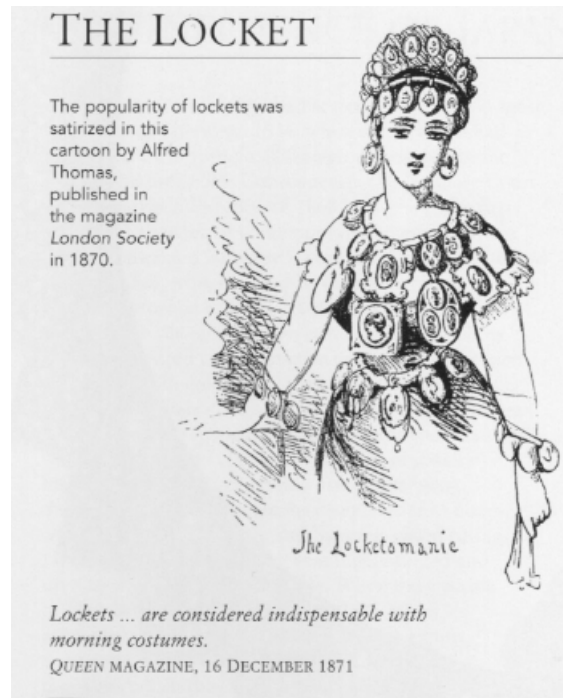
Source: National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 7.1 Pen and ink drawing of 'gold case' and 'engagement' ring, 1852.



Source: Trinity College Dublin.

Figure 7.2 Alfred Thompson cartoon, *London Society*, 1870



Source: Clare Phillips, *Jewels and jewellery* (London, 2008), p. 90.

Figure 7.3 Straw marriage ring, pen and ink drawing 1852



Source: Trinity College Dublin

Figure 7.4 Honora Edgeworth, letter 30 April 1780

30

I am possess'd of one thing of value —
it is the picture of my dearest, & valued
Husband — when I die I leave it in
Trust to him, begging him to present
it, to that Woman whom he shall think
worthy to call ^{her to} his, for ^{her to} wear,
as long as they both shall love —

At the end of that time, which I hope
may be their Lives, I desire, my beloved
Husband, to let ^{it} become the property
of that Child of all his Children
then living, who has given him
the greatest happiness, & shewn, & felt
the greatest Love, attention, & respect
towards him; — To become hers, at
his Death, or his Wife's Death, or after
Marriage as he shall direct

April. 30.
Original

Source: National Library of Ireland, Dublin.

Figure 7.5 Three gold and enamel mourning rings: (left) 1800; (bottom) 1803; (right) 1826, all English hallmarked

Inner band inscribed 'John Fitzgerald ob 6? Sep 1818? 58'



Inner band inscribed 'John Lane esq. died 17 Nov. 1826 aged 71'

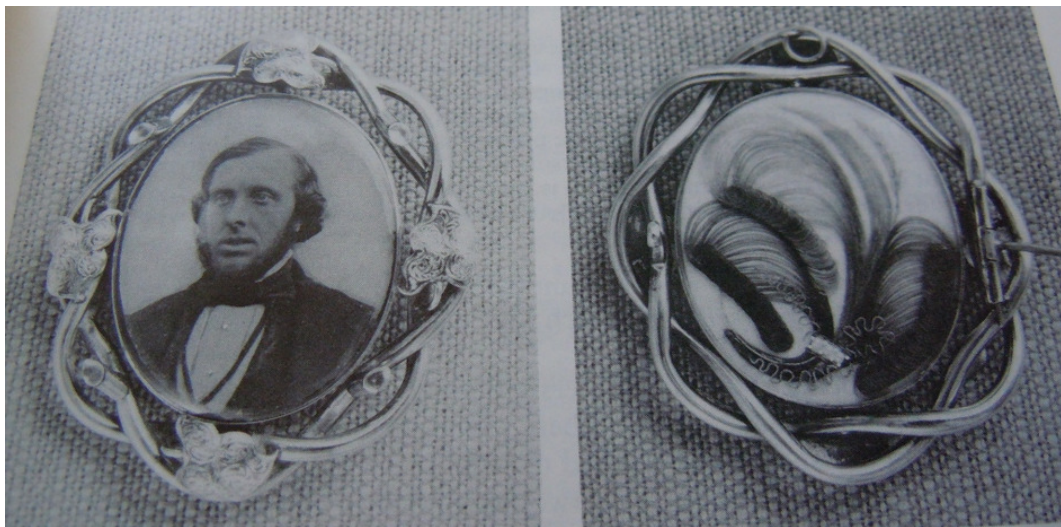


Outer band reads 'Catherine Parker.OB: 4.May.1803. AE:23'



Source: Courtesy Alison FitzGerald (top left); Museum of Fine Arts Boston

Figure 7.6 Mourning brooch, Henry Francis Shields, c.1860;
comparative mourning brooch, front and reverse



Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin: Margaret Hunter,
'Mourning jewellery: a collector's account' (1993).

Figure 7.7
Copper ring, Edward FitzGerald, 18th century, inscribed inside:
'left by Lord Edward FitzGerald, when on his deathbed,
to Lady Lucy Foley, June 1798'



Source: Courtesy Cheffins, Cambridge

Figure 7.8 Gold chain bracelet, property of Queen Victoria, 1857



Inside view of pink heart containing hair of Princess Victoria



Source: Royal Collection Trust, London

Figure 7.9 Silver gorgets, c.1793 (top);
Dublin Volunteer belt plate, c.1798 (left); Leinster Ranger belt plate c.1798



Source: National Army Museum, London: 7505-46-7; 7505-46-8 (top);
courtesy Adam's, Dublin; courtesy Whyte's, Dublin (bottom right).

Figure 7.10 Theobald Billing to Charles O'Hara, trade receipt 1789



Source: National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 7.11 Regalia and order of St. Patrick



Source: Artist unknown, *George Nugent Temple Grenville, 1st Marquess of Buckingham, c.1787-89*, National Portrait Gallery, London

Figure 7.12

Order of St. Patrick, engraved on back 'Viscount Southwell, 1 August 1871' retailer's mark 'West & Son' (top); Star of the Order of St. Patrick, c.1838, commissioned by Queen Victoria



Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (top);
Royal Collection Trust, London

Figure 7.14 Masonic jewels by Dublin jewellers, c.1800-45



James Brush c.1800



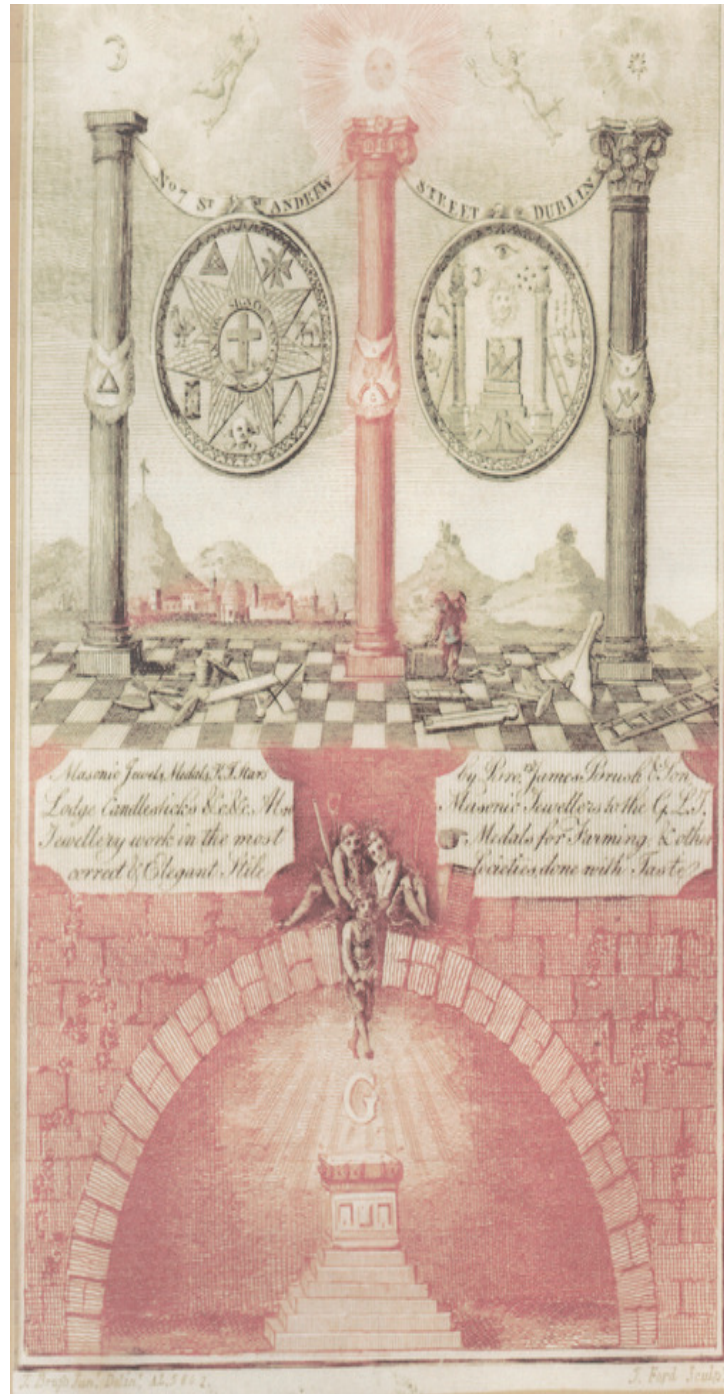
John Tate 1806



Joseph Johnson, c.1845

Source: Freemasons' Hall, Dublin

Figure 7.15 Trade card James Brush c. 1790



Source: Freemasons' Hall, Dublin

Figure 7.16 Silver buttons 1787; portrait of Louisa Conolly c.1769



Source: Silver hunting buttons, courtesy Jimmy Weldon; Robert Healy, *Lady Louisa Conolly with groom, horse and dog Hibou*, c.1769, courtesy Thomas Sinsteden

Figure 7.17 Silver buckles, 18th century



Knee buckles, Dublin hallmark



Knee buckles, c.1780, probably William Law



Shoe buckle, c.1765 Dublin hallmark

Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 7.18 Portrait depicting a pair of seals depending from a waist coat pocket; gold seal, early to mid-19th century



Source: Martin Archer Shee, *Edward Harrison (1763?-1838)*, c.1823
National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin; courtesy Ian Haslam

Figure 7.19 Gold watch, fob, key and seal, c.1786-7



Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 7.20 Set of gold studs retailed by Waterhouse & Company, Dublin



Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin.

Figure 7.21 Diamond-set silver bow brooches, 18th and 19th century



Source: Victoria and Albert Museum: (top); courtesy Bonhams

Figure 7.22 Diamonds, pearls and turquoises worn by Frances Ann, Marchioness of Londonderry, 1831



Source: A. Dubois-Drahonet, *Marchioness of Londonderry, 1830* and her jewellery, reproduced in Diana Scarisbrick, *Ancestral jewels* (London, 1989).

Figure 7.23 Arthur Keen newspaper advertisement

ARTHUR KEEN,
Goldsmith and Jeweller,

WHO served his Apprenticeship to his Uncle Mr. Isaac D'Olier, and has for many Years since transacted Business for his Sons, Mess. Richard and Jeremiah D'Olier, acquaints his Friend and the Public, that he has opened Shop at the CROWN and PEARL, [No. 67.] Dame-street, opposite George's-square, has furnished himself with an entire new Assortment of every Article in the Goldsmith, Jewellery, and Plated Way, and humbly hopes, from his reasonable Prices, and punctual Obedience of all Commands, to merit their present and future Favours.—N.B. The Public may depend on always seeing the most fashionable Patterns which London or this City can produce, as he is determined to be ever dutifully attended therewith. The highest Price for old Gold and Silver, and for Gold and Silver Lace.

✂ Genteel furnished Lodgings.

Source: *Freeman's Journal*, 3 February 1776.

Figure 7.24 Bog oak and pearl jewellery, 19th century



Source:
Ulster Museum, Belfast (left); Armagh County Museum (right)

Figure 7.25 Board of Trades pledge card, c.1840



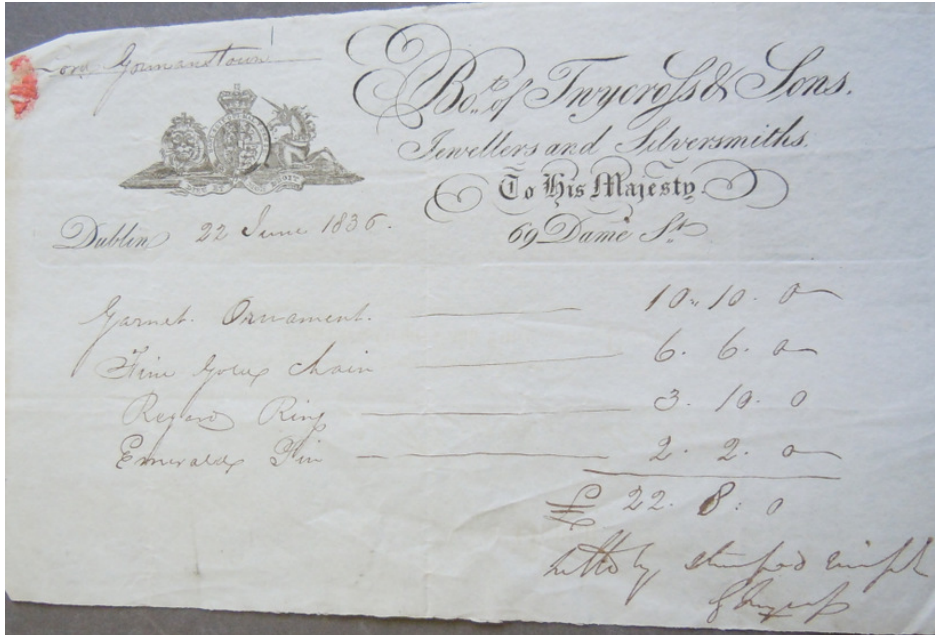
Source: National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 7.26 Portrait detail of finger-rings; Ruby and diamond ring late 18th to early 19th century; emerald hoop and diamond hoop, c.1780-90



Source: Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, *Madame de Senonnes*, 1814-16. Musee des Beaux-Arts, Nantes; courtesy Christie's, London; courtesy S.J. Phillips, London

Figure 7.27 Twycross & Sons trade receipt, 1836; garnet jewellery early 19th century



Source: National Library of Ireland, Dublin (top); courtesy Sotheby's, London

Figure 7.28 Law & Son trade receipt, 1835; amethyst brooch, 1818 (left), amethyst and seed-pearl jewellery, 1820s and later



Source: National Library of Ireland, Dublin (top); National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (left); courtesy Sotheby's, London

Figure 7.29 'Regard' jewellery, c.1798-1830



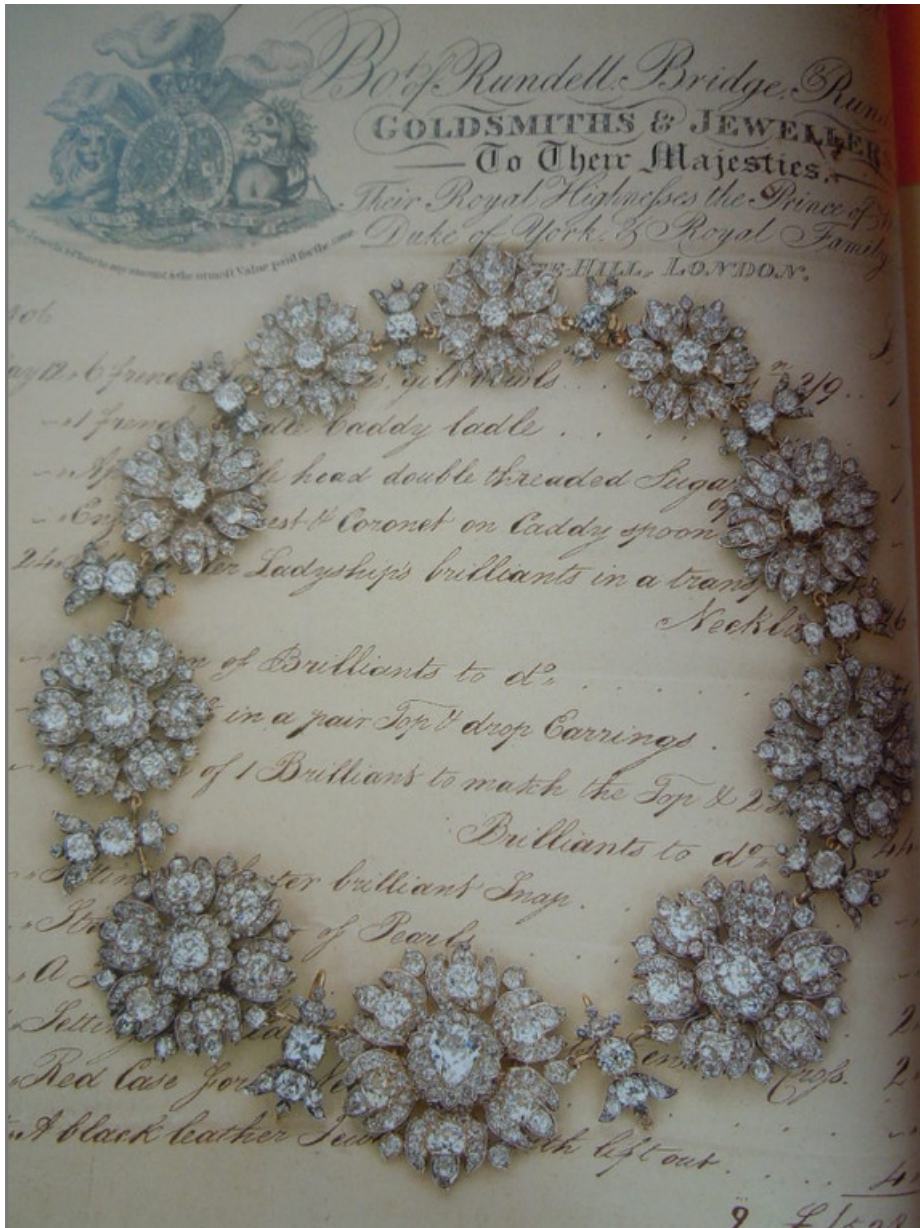
Source: a&b: courtesy Sotheby's, London;
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 7.30 Rose-cut diamond brooch, c.1750 (top);
diamond drop earrings c.1780



Source: Courtesy S.J. Phillips, London

Figure 7.31 Diamond necklace supplied to Lord Clonbrock by Rundell & Bridge, 1806



Source: Private collection

Figure 7.32 Ruby, emerald and enamel cross purchased for Marchioness Londonderry, Rundell & Bridge, 1819



Source: Private collection

Figure 7.33 Coral and lava bracelets, 19th century.



Source: Courtesy Sotheby's, London, (top); Museum of London, London

Figure 7.34 Gold rattle with teething coral, c.1750



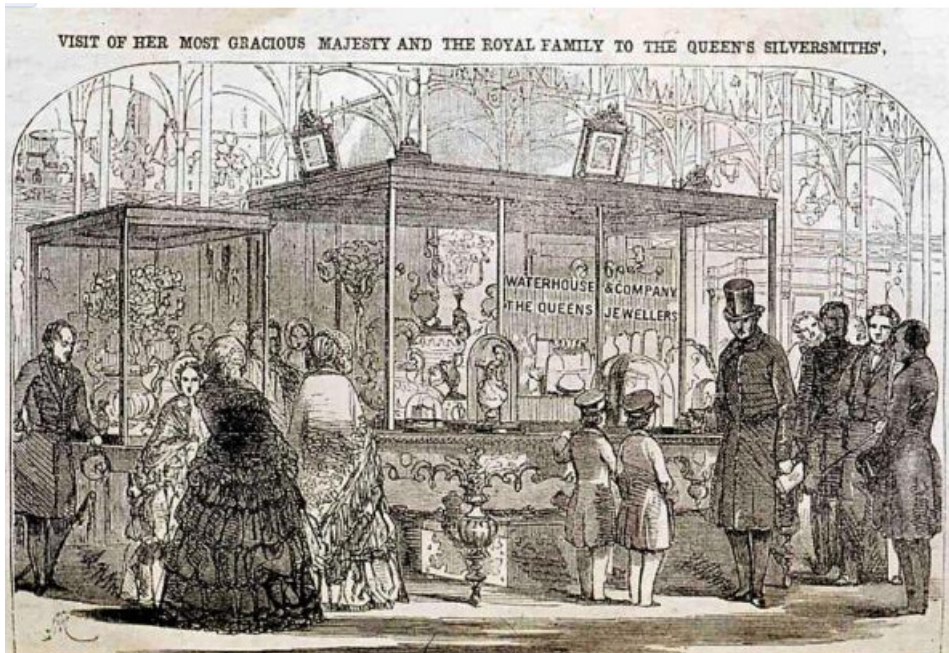
Source: National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Figure 8.1 'Crystal Palace', London exhibition building, 1851



Source: *The art journal illustrated catalogue* (London, 1851), p. xvi.

Figure 8.2 Waterhouse & Company, exhibit at Dublin Exhibition 1853



Source: Dublin City Library and Archives, Dublin

Figure 8.3 Timepiece retailed by West & Son
on table by Arthur Jones



Jones's Irish B.g-yew Occasional Table and Timepiece.

Source: *Official descriptive and illustrated catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the works of industry of all nations 1851* (London, 1851), p. 735.

Figure 8.4 West & Son, archaeological-style Celtic brooches c.1849.



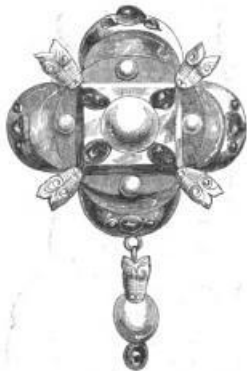

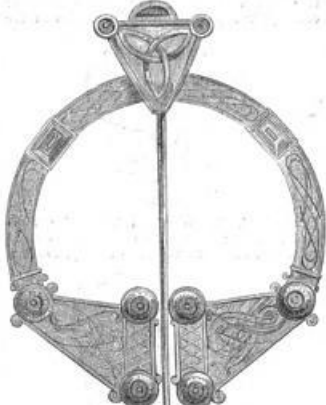
Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 8.5 Illustration of Celtic and medieval-inspired jewellery exhibited by West & Son

Mr. West, of Dublin, contributes the series of BROOCHES from which we select varied examples, all being very tasteful in execution and remarkable in design. Mr. West has obtained his

which time the only peculiarly native ornamental work, was the construction of bracelets and brooches from bog-wood. The great beauty and



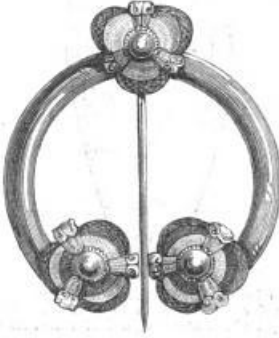
same dies used for jewellery will enable all classes to wear these beautiful ornaments. At

elaboration displayed in these antique works render them applicable to the decoration of the person in these days of refined elegance, as they are of a character which time does not change, and of a fashion so tasteful that it may be as

prototypes from antique originals, preserved in the Royal Irish Academy and elsewhere, and which have given a great impetus to this parti-


the bottom of the page we engrave Mr. West's

welcome to the lady of the present age, as it was to "the Daughter of Erin" centuries ago. We rejoice to see this beautiful native manufacture extensively patronised; and the power now possessed of stamping the bog-oak with the

cular branch of manufacturing Art in the Irish capital within the last few years; previous to

most important work; a magnificent CASKET presented by the people of Dublin to Lady Claren-



Source: *Exhibition of Art Industry...1853*

Figure 8.6 Brooch of Irish bog yew, manufactured by Julius Mosley, dedicated to Thomas Moore, c.1869



Source: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Figure 8.7 Waterhouse & Company, archaeological-style brooches



Source: Ulster Museum, Belfast (left); Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 8.8 Flexible snake bracelet of bog oak, 19th century



Source: Ulster Museum, Belfast

Figure 8.9 Cork Exhibition, fine arts gallery, c.1852



Source: *London Illustrated News*, vol. xx, 1852

Figure 8.10 Model of the Ark of the Covenant, Henry Flavelle



Source: Freemasons' Hall, Dublin

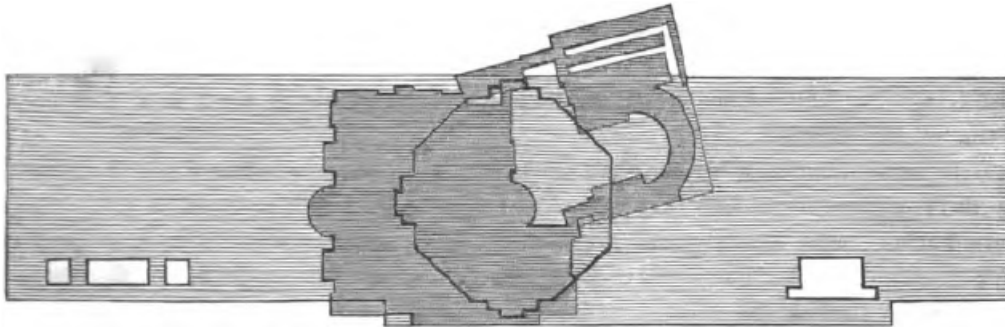
Figure 8.11 Illustration of jewellery exhibited by Cornelius Goggin



Source: *Exhibition of Art Industry...1853*

Figure 8.12

Map comparing area of London, Dublin and New York exhibitions



Note: The large parallelogram shows the London exhibition 1851 (17 ½ acres), the irregular outline is that of the Dublin exhibition 1853 (6 ½ acres), while the octagonal area shows the New York 1853 building (3 ¾ acres).

Source: John Sproule, (ed.), *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: a detailed catalogue of its contents* (Dublin, 1854), p. 33.

Figure 8.13 Dublin Exhibition, 1853, interior view



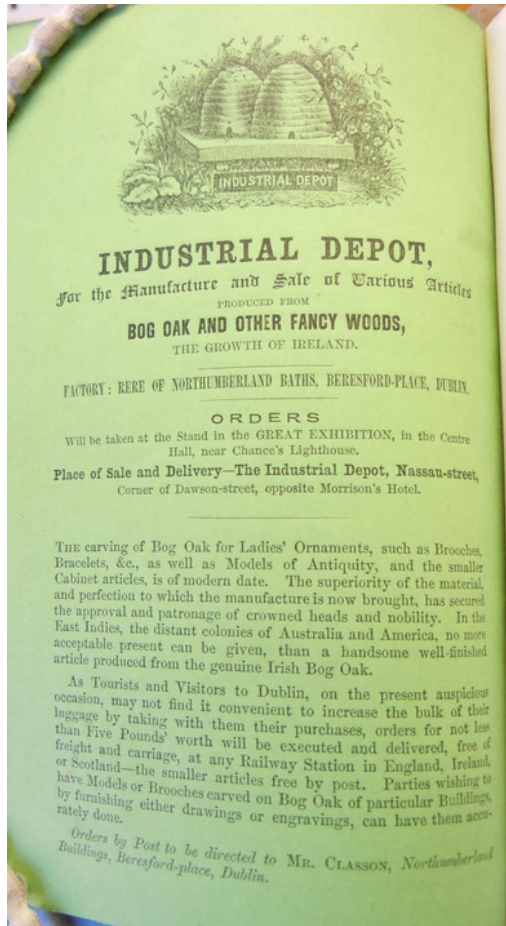
Source: John Sproule, (ed.), *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: a detailed catalogue of its contents* (Dublin, 1854), pp 34-5

Figure 8.14 Pendants in form of a Celtic high cross, mid to late 19th century.
Gold set with green agate (top); bog oak (right)



Source: Ulster Museum, Belfast (top and right); Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow.

Figure 8.15 Pamphlet on bog oak ornaments, John Classon (probably), c.1853



Source: National Library of Ireland, Dublin.

Figure 8.16 Fishscale head ornament, 1870-80.



Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 8.17 Earrings of carved cowrie shell c.1870-80; cowrie shell



Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London; private collection.

Figure 8.18 Parasol handles c.1810-1860
carved ivory (top left); design illustration for cane; silver (telescopic)



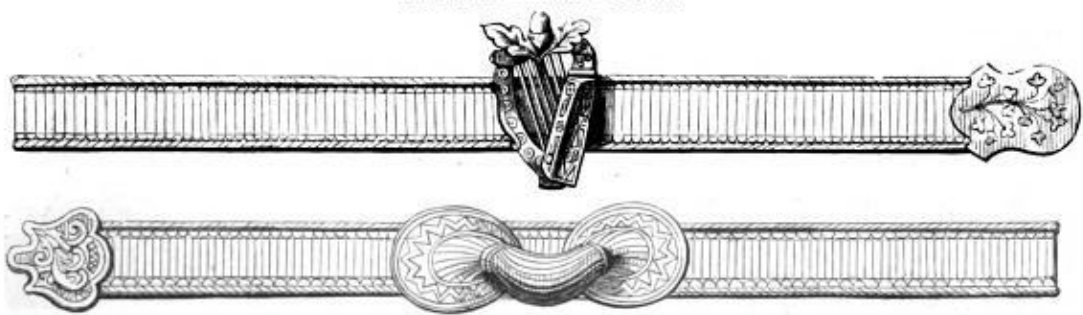
Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 8.19 Cane handles by Fremont-Maurice, c.1850 steel, gilt border, set with carnelian intaglio; yellow and rose gold set with cut-crystal



Source: Courtesy Sotheby's, London; courtesy Christie's, London

Figure 8.20 Depiction of silver 'elastic' bracelets, William Acheson, c.1853



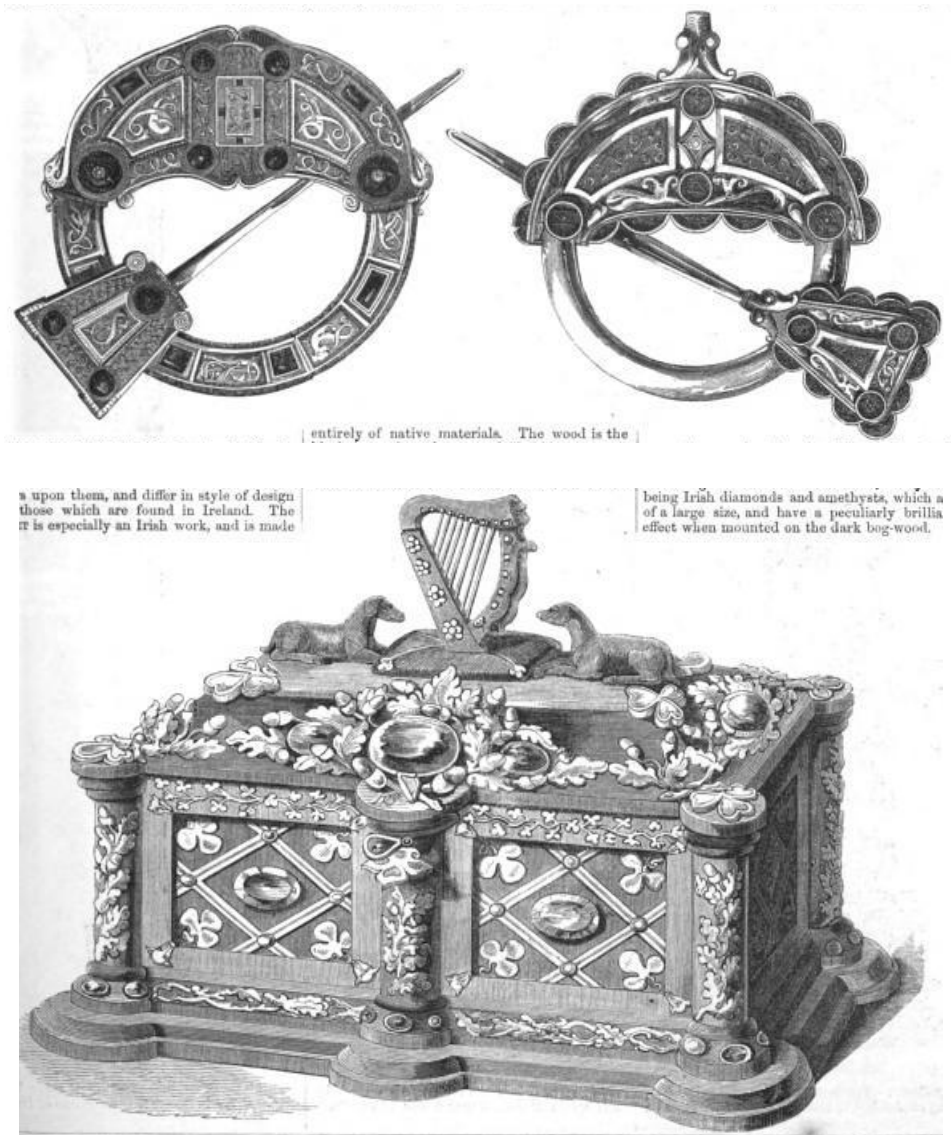
Source: *The exhibition of art-industry in Dublin, 1853* (London, 1853)

Figure 8.21 Buckle and brooches by William Acheson, mid to late 19th century



Source: Ulster Museum, Dublin (top); courtesy Ian Haslam (left); National Museum of Ireland, Kildare Street, Dublin.

Figure 8.22 Depiction of Hunterston brooches and bog oak casket, William Acheson, c.1853



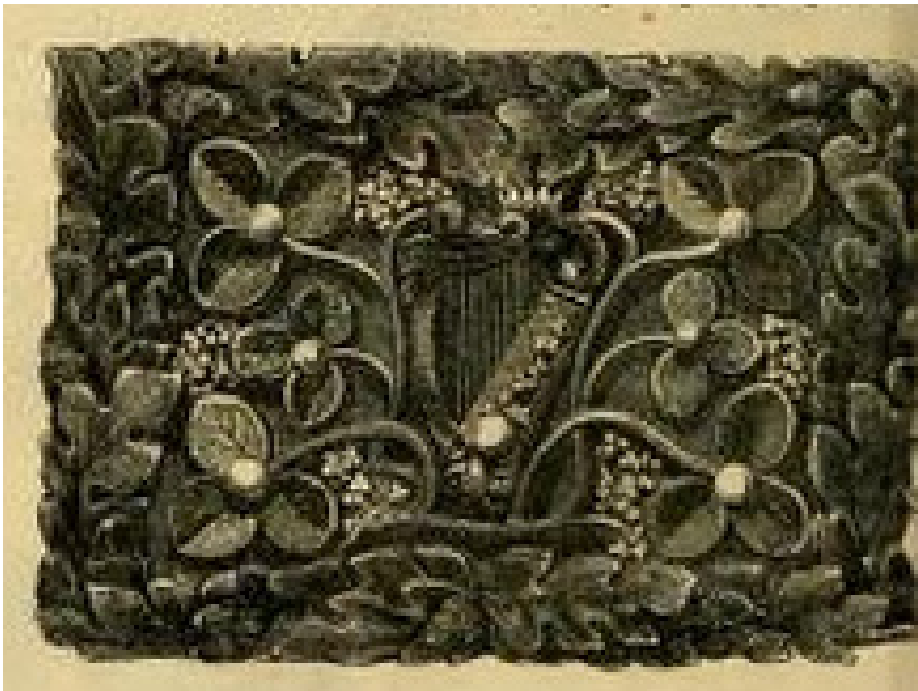
Source: *The exhibition of art-industry in Dublin, 1853* (London, 1853)

Figure 8.23 Waterhouse & Company, c.1851
Kilmainham or Knights Templar brooch.



Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 8.24 Depiction of bog oak snuff box, enlivened with Celtic harp, shamrock and oak leaf motifs set with pearls, c. 1851



Source: *The crystal palace and its contents: being an illustrated cyclopaedia of the great exhibition of the industry of all nations, 1851: embellished with upwards of five hundred engravings, with a copious analytical index* (London, 1852), p. 404.

Figure 8.25 Waterhouse & Company newspaper advertisement

EXHIBITORS.



EXHIBITOR

Section D—Metallic
GREAT HALL
(South Side.)
CLASS XXIII.

THE GREAT EXHIBITION HAS DONE
GOOD TO DUBLIN.

No one knows it better than WE do, for the immense
Stock of ROYAL TARA BROOCHES, which we had pro-
vided, is nearly exhausted. Every Stranger should see these
matchless copies of Irish Antiquities before leaving Ireland.

WATERHOUSE AND COMPANY,
Her Majesty's Jewellers and Silversmiths,
25, DAME-STREET.

The Second Edition of the Pamphlet on Irish Antique
Brooches is given *gratis* to every Purchaser.

Source: *Freeman's Journal*, 14 September 1853

Figure 8.26 Copy of 'Tara' brooch, Joseph Johnson, c.1881



Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London