



**Maynooth
University**

National University
of Ireland Maynooth

The Production and Supply of Gold and Silver Presentation Boxes in Dublin,

1662-1830

by

Damian Collins

Thesis submitted for the degree of M.Litt.,

Department of History,

National University of Ireland, Maynooth.

Head of Department: Professor Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses

Supervisor of Research: Dr Alison FitzGerald

January 2021

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	ii
Abbreviations	iv
List of figures	v
List of tables	x
Introduction	1
Chapter 1 Dublin's golden gifts to the duke of Ormond in 1662	27
Chapter 2 Presentations and purchases of boxes in late seventeenth-century Dublin	53
Chapter 3 1700-1750: Presentations, production and supply of boxes in the first half of the eighteenth century	70
Chapter 4 1750-1830: From deference to decadence: demand for boxes in the second century of the presentation practice	103
Chapter 5 1750-1780: Specialisation and the emergence of retailing in the market for boxes in Dublin	134
Chapter 6 1770-1830: The ascendancy of the retailers	185
Conclusion	260
Appendices	275
Appendix 1 Records of votes for the presentation of boxes by Dublin corporation, 1662-1759	275
Appendix 2 Records of votes for the presentation of boxes by Dublin corporation, 1760-1821	294
Appendix 3 Presentations of boxes by Dublin corporation traced in sources other than the <i>CARD</i>	315
Appendix 4 William Currie's assays in the surviving assay books of the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, 1729-1758	317
Appendix 5 Monthly assays by Benjamin Stokes, volume and frequency: 1744-8, 1752-5, 1758	320
Bibliography	325

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to my supervisor Dr Alison FitzGerald for her guidance and forbearance over the years of researching and writing this thesis. Without her support and encouragement, the research would never have started and this thesis would certainly never have reached completion. I am particularly grateful to her for allowing me to participate in the project under her direction that began with the May 2018 symposium, *Silver in Georgian Ireland* at the National Museum of Ireland and culminated in the publication of *Studies in Irish Georgian Silver* at the end of 2020.

I would like to thank everyone in History Department of Maynooth University, particularly the previous and current department heads, Professor Marian Lyons, Dr Jacinta Prunty and Professor Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses, for welcoming me into their vibrant and stimulating research community. Within that community, I benefitted greatly from my conversations with Professor Jacqueline Hill who was generous in sharing her unparalleled knowledge of municipal politics in the late Stuart and Georgian Dublin. Dr Jessica Cunningham provided encouragement, support and assistance from the beginning. A special thanks also to Ann Donoghue and Catherine Heslin for helping with my various queries and confusions.

I thank the staff of the following archives and libraries: Dublin City Archive; Manuscripts and Archive Department of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin; Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland; Guinness Archive; Goldsmiths' Company, London; the Library, Trinity College Dublin; National Library of Ireland; British Library; Public Records Office of Northern Ireland; National Archives, Kew.

I also wish to thank the staff of the National Museum of Ireland (Dr Audrey Whitty and her colleagues) and of the San Antonio Museum of Art (Dr William Keyse Rudolph and his colleagues) for their permission to visit the collections and to handle and photograph boxes. I am grateful to Dr Thomas Sinsteden and Jimmy Weldon for the information and advice they shared on all aspects of the goldsmiths' trade in Dublin in the late Stuart and Georgian periods.

'Brightness falls from the air'. This thesis was mostly written during the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic in 2020. Gaining purchase on writing and completion was a challenging but exhilarating endeavour made possible only with the help of two special people. *Sans ton amour, aide et attention, Michel, cette thèse n'aurait jamais été achevée ; je te remercie du fond du coeur. De afronding van de presentatie van dit proefschrift zou onmogelijk zijn geweest zonder de onschatbare en geduldige hulp van Susanna, die al meer dan dertig jaar een geweldige en genereuze vriendin is; mille grazie, carissima.* My family and friends in Dublin, Brussels, London and elsewhere have endured years of monologues about boxes, their makers and sellers, all borne with patience and greeted with either real or feigned interest; I am grateful.

Abbreviations

<i>DC</i>	<i>Dublin Courier</i>
DCA	Dublin City Archive
<i>DIB</i>	James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), <i>Dictionary of Irish Biography: from the earliest times to 2002</i> , vols i-ix, (Cambridge, 2009) (www.dib.cambridge.org)
<i>DEP</i>	<i>Dublin Evening Post</i>
<i>DHR</i>	<i>Dublin Historical Record</i>
<i>FDJ</i>	<i>Faulkner's Dublin Journal</i>
<i>FLJ</i>	<i>Finn's Leinster Journal</i>
<i>FJ</i>	<i>Freeman's Journal</i>
<i>HJ</i>	<i>Hibernian Journal</i>
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
<i>IADS</i>	<i>Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies</i>
<i>IT</i>	<i>Irish Times</i>
<i>JRHAAI</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland</i>
<i>ODNB</i>	Cannadine, David (ed.), <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (www.oxforddnb.com)
<i>PO</i>	<i>Pue's Occurrences</i>
RSAI	Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
ROD	Registry of Deeds, Dublin
<i>SNL</i>	<i>Saunders's News-Letter</i>
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin

List of figures

Figure 1	Thomas Clement Thompson (1778-1857), <i>Charles Chetwynd-Talbot (1777-1849), 2nd earl Talbot of Hensol</i> , c.1821, courtesy of Ingestre Hall Residential Arts Centre, Staffordshire.	1
Figure 2	Marks of Edward Murray and Matthew West, <i>Circular box with removeable lid presented to earl Talbot by Drogheda corporation in 1818</i> , silver-gilt with vari-coloured gold inlay, Dublin, 1816, courtesy of Adam's of Dublin.	2
Figure 3	Extract from <i>Saunders's News-Letter</i> , 6 August 1818.	4
Figure 1.1	Peter Lely (1618-80), <i>James Butler, 1st duke of Ormond</i> , c.1665, courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London.	31
Figure 1.2	Thomas Bolton, <i>Monteith presented by Dublin corporation to George Sanders</i> , silver-gilt, Dublin, 1704, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.	38
Figure 1.3	Johann Hass (fl.1621-50), <i>The Exeter Salt</i> , silver-gilt, Germany, c.1630, courtesy of the Royal Collection Trust.	41
Figure 1.4	Attributed to Peter Oehr I, <i>The Plymouth Fountain</i> , silver-gilt, Germany, c.1640, courtesy of the Royal Collection Trust.	42
Figure 1.5	Unknown artist, <i>Daniel Bellingham</i> , c.1665, courtesy of Dublin corporation.	44
Figure 1.6	Daniel Bellingham (and subsequently Thomas Bolton and Matthew West), <i>The Great Mace of Dublin</i> , silver, Dublin, 1665, 1717/8, 1807, courtesy of Dublin corporation.	46
Figure 1.7	John Michael Wright (1617-94), <i>The Family of Sir Robert Vyner</i> , 1673, courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London.	49
Figure 2.1	Circle of Peter Lely (1618-80), <i>Arthur Capel, 1st earl of Essex</i> , courtesy of Watford Museum.	57
Figure 2.2	Abel Ram, <i>Pair of trefid spoons</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1663, courtesy of Weldons of Dublin.	59
Figure 2.3	Unknown artist, <i>Richard Talbot, earl of Tyrconnell</i> , c.1690, courtesy of the National Gallery of Ireland.	61
Figure 2.4	Thomas Bate (active 1692-c.1699), <i>Thomas Coningsby</i> , oil on canvas, c.1692, courtesy of the Ulster Museum.	63
Figure 2.5	John Clifton, <i>Sugar bowl with cover</i> , silver, Dublin, 1714, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.	68
Figure 3.1	Thomas Bolton, <i>Chocolate pot with stand and burner</i> , silver, Dublin, 1708-12, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.	73
Figure 3.2	From riches to rags: the narrow urban trajectory of Thomas Bolton's decline.	76
Figure 3.3	Thomas Bolton, <i>Silver-mounted ostrich-shell cup</i> , silver and shell, Dublin, 1693-6, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.	78
Figure 3.4	Thomas Bolton, <i>The Williamson cup and the Fownes cup</i> , silver, Dublin c.1696-1700.	80
Figure 3.5	The College Macebearer with the Mace of Trinity College, Dublin (photograph, courtesy of RTE). The mace (c.1709) was supplied to the college by Thomas Bolton.	83
Figure 3.7	<i>Hand-written receipt (August 1725) for payment for the supply of a gold box to Trinity College, Dublin, with the signature of Thomas Bolton</i> , 1725, source: Trinity College, Dublin, © The Board of Trinity College Dublin.	94
Figure 3.8	Thomas Bolton, <i>Box from a toilet service</i> , silver-gilt, Dublin, 1699-1700, courtesy of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.	96
Figure 3.9	<i>Hand-written receipt (February 1716) for payment for the supply of a gold box to Trinity College, Dublin, with the signature of David King</i> , 1716. Source: Trinity College, Dublin, © The Board of Trinity College Dublin.	97
Figure 3.10	<i>Hand-written receipt (October 1745) for payment for the supply of a gold box to Trinity College, Dublin, with the signature of Robert Calderwood</i> , 1745. Source: Trinity College Dublin, © The Board of Trinity College Dublin.	98
Figure 4.1	Maker's mark of ST (Samuel (otherwise John) Teare?), <i>Circular box presented by Dublin corporation to Charles Saunders (cover with Saunders's arms)</i> , gold, Dublin, c.1759, courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.	109
Figure 4.2	Maker's mark of ST (Samuel (otherwise John) Teare?), <i>Circular box presented by Dublin corporation to Charles Saunders (base with the arms of the city of Dublin)</i> , gold, Dublin, c.1759, courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.	109
Figure 4.3	Unknown maker, <i>Thimbles presented to the duke of Leinster and his son, the marquess of Kildare, by the tailors' guild</i> , gold, Dublin (?), c.1768, courtesy of Christie's.	113
Figure 4.4	Mathieu Coiny, <i>Shuttle</i> , gold and enamel, Paris, c.1764-65, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.	116

Figure 4.5	Mark of IW (John West?), <i>Box in the form of a shuttle presented by the weavers' guild to the countess of Camden</i> , gold, Dublin, 1796, courtesy of J & G Weldon and Dr Thomas Sinstedden.	117
Figure 4.6	Mark of IW (John West?), <i>Box in the form of a shuttle presented by the weavers' guild to the countess of Camden (interior with a threaded spindle)</i> , gold, Dublin, 1796, courtesy of J&G Weldon and Dr Thomas Sinstedden.	117
Figure 4.7	Unknown maker, <i>Miniature shuttle presented to John Foster by the weavers' guild in 1804</i> , wood and gold, Dublin, 1804.	118
Figure 4.8	James Kennedy, <i>Circular box with removeable lid presented by the hosiers' guild to Luke Gardiner in 1783</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1783, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.	121
Figure 4.9	Mark of William Hamy, <i>Circular box presented by the merchants' guild to John Foster in 1804</i> , gold, Dublin, 1804, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.	122
Figure 4.10	Mark of James Le Bas, <i>Circular box presented by the barber-surgeons' guild to John Cash in 1814</i> , silver, Dublin, 1814, courtesy of National Museum of Ireland.	122
Figure 4.11	Henry Flavelle, <i>Rectangular silver box with hinged cover incorporating a shuttle motif presented by the weavers' guild to Frederick Darley in 1821</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1821, courtesy of J & G Weldon.	124
Figure 4.12	William Reynolds, <i>Oval-shaped box presented by Cork corporation to Admiral Lord Romney</i> , gold, Cork, c.1782, courtesy of the Royal Maritime Museums, Greenwich.	127
Figure 4.13	Unknown maker (Edward Murray?), <i>Gold-mounted oak box presented by Dublin corporation to earl Talbot on his retirement from the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1821</i> , wood and gold, Dublin(?), c.1821, courtesy of Christie's.	133
Figure 5.1	William Currie, <i>Circular box with removeable cover engraved with an inscription recording its presentation by the weavers' guild to Eaton Stannard in 1734 (cover with the guild arms)</i> , silver-gilt, Dublin, c.1734, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.	140
Figure 5.2	William Currie, <i>Circular box with removeable cover presented by the weavers' guild to Eaton Stannard in 1734 (detail of the internal base of the box with Currie's maker's mark and the date- letter for 1733-5)</i> , silver-gilt, Dublin, c.1734, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.	141
Figure 5.3	William Currie, <i>Circular box with removeable lid presented by Dublin corporation to William Ponsonby in 1741 (detail of the base with the arms of Dublin)</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1741, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.	142
Figure 5.4	William Currie, <i>Circular box with removeable lid presented by Dublin corporation to William Ponsonby in 1741 (detail of the cover with the Ponsonby arms)</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1741, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.	142
Figure 5.5	William Currie, <i>Circular box with removeable lid presented by Dublin corporation to William Ponsonby in 1741 (detail of the Hibernia mark and William Currie's maker's mark on the interior of the box)</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1741, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.	143
Figure 5.6	William Currie, <i>Circular box with the arms of Athlone</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1735-1750, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.	144
Figure 5.7	William Currie, <i>Circular box with the arms of Athlone (detail of a lion engraved on the cover)</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1735-1750, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.	144
Figure 5.8	William Currie, <i>Circular box with the arms of Athlone (marks on the interior of the box, including Currie's maker's mark)</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1735-1750, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.	145
Figure 5.9	William Currie, <i>Circular box</i> , silver-gilt, Dublin, c.1745-7, courtesy of the Victoria & Albert Museum.	146
Figure 5.10	Johann Hendrik Wolff, <i>Medal commemorating the victory of Cumberland at Carlisle in 1745</i> , Denmark, bronze, 1745, courtesy of the British Museum.	146
Figure 5.11	Conjectured location of William Currie's shop on Dame street, 1750-64.	148
Figure 5.12	Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, <i>Assay book (entries for 5 October 1753)</i> , courtesy of the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin.	150
Figure 5.13	William Currie, <i>Circular box with removeable lid presented by the corporation of Kildare to the earl of Kildare</i> , gold, Dublin, c.1750, courtesy of Christie's.	152
Figure 5.14	William Currie, <i>Circular box with removeable lid presented to a member of the Ponsonby family by Clonmel (lid with Ponsonby arms)</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1752, courtesy of Christie's.	152
Figure 5.15	William Currie, <i>The 'Hector' box (lid with chased mythological scene)</i> , gold, Dublin, c.1750, courtesy of Sotheby's.	153

Figure 5.16	William Currie, <i>The 'Hector' box (base with initials (AN?))</i> , gold, Dublin, c.1750, courtesy of Sotheby's.	154
Figure 5.17	William Currie, <i>The 'Hector' box (interior of box with hinge and Currie's maker's mark)</i> , gold, Dublin, c.1750, courtesy of Sotheby's.	154
Figure 5.18	William Currie, <i>The 'Quartz' box</i> , silver-gilt and quartz, Dublin, c.1750 (author's collection).	155
Figure 5.19	William Currie, <i>The 'Quartz' box</i> , silver-gilt and quartz, Dublin, c.1750 (author's collection).	155
Figure 5.20	Charles Jervas (1675-1739), <i>Portrait of Gabriel Stokes</i> , c.1720, courtesy of Sotheby's.	158
Figure 5.21	Benjamin Stokes, <i>Sealing wax container</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1755, courtesy of Woolley & Wallis, Salisbury.	163
Figure 5.22	Benjamin Stokes, <i>Pair of candlesticks</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1752, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.	164
Figure 5.23	Benjamin Stokes, <i>Circular box presented by the linen drapers of Newry to James Fortescue M.P.</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1761, courtesy of Christie's.	165
Figure 5.24	Benjamin Stokes, <i>Book-shaped box presented to the marquess of Kildare by the Dublin stationers' guild</i> , silver and silver-gilt, Dublin, 1770, courtesy of S.J. Shrubsole.	166
Figure 5.25	Benjamin Stokes, <i>Circular box presented by Dublin corporation to archbishop Arthur Smyth (cover engraved with the city arms)</i> , gold, Dublin, 1769, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.	167
Figure 5.26	Benjamin Stokes, <i>Circular box presented by Dublin corporation to archbishop Arthur Smyth (base engraved with Smyth's arms)</i> , gold, Dublin, 1769, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.	168
Figure 5.27	Benjamin Stokes, <i>Circular box presented by Dublin corporation to archbishop Arthur Smyth (interior with Stokes's maker's mark and the date-letter associated with 1769)</i> , gold, Dublin, 1769, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.	168
Figure 5.28	Benjamin Stokes, <i>Double-sided snuff box</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1752-4, courtesy of Adam's of Dublin.	169
Figure 5.29	Benjamin Stokes, <i>Double-sided snuff box (detail of the interior with Stokes's maker's mark and the Hibernia mark)</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1752-4, courtesy of Adam's of Dublin.	170
Figure 5.30	Benjamin Stokes, <i>Silver-mounted shell snuff box</i> , silver and cowrie shell, Dublin, c.1755, courtesy of Lawrences of Crewkerne.	171
Figure 5.31	Arthur Devis (1712-87), <i>James FitzGerald, 20th earl of Kildare, with his wife Emily Mary in the grounds of Carton</i> , c.1753, courtesy of Bonhams.	174
Figure 5.32	Attributed to Jeremiah Davison (c.1695-c.1750), <i>John Ponsonby</i> , c.1743, courtesy of the National Trust.	175
Figure 5.33	William Currie, <i>Circular box presented by Dublin corporation to the earl of Kildare (cover with the arms of FitzGerald and Lennox)</i> , gold, Dublin, 1756, courtesy of Sotheby's.	176
Figure 5.34	William Currie, <i>Circular box presented by Dublin corporation to the earl of Kildare (base with the arms of Dublin)</i> , gold, Dublin, 1756, courtesy of Sotheby's.	176
Figure 5.35	William Currie, <i>Circular box presented by Dublin corporation to the earl of Kildare (marks on the interior of the box including William Currie's maker's mark and the date-letter used between 1754 and 1756)</i> , gold, Dublin, 1756, courtesy of Sotheby's.	177
Figure 5.36	William Currie, <i>Circular box presented by Dublin corporation to John Ponsonby (cover with arms of Ponsonby and Cavendish)</i> , gold, Dublin, 1756, courtesy of Christie's.	177
Figure 6.1	<i>Billhead of the goldsmiths Richard and Jeremiah D'Olier</i> , c.1770, courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum.	189
Figure 6.2	Conjectured locations of the shops of the D'Oliers and Keens in Dame street and vicinity, c.1768-1817 (Cooke's Royal Map of Dublin (1822), Courtesy of UCD map collections).	192
Figure 6.3	<i>An early twentieth-century postcard of Dame street, Dublin</i> , restored and colourised image courtesy of Rob Cross.	195
Figure 6.4	Arthur Keen, <i>Double snuff box</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1780, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.	197
Figure 6.5	Arthur Keen, <i>Double snuff box (detail of Arthur Keen's maker's mark)</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1780, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.	198
Figure 6.6	<i>An advertisement by West & Son of Grafton street</i> , c.1916.	203
Figure 6.7	Matthew West, <i>Two-handled cup</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1775, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.	204
Figure 6.8	Aeneas Ryan (maker's mark) and Matthew West (retailer's mark), <i>Circular box with removeable lid presented by Dublin corporation to John Foster on the occasion of his appointment as chancellor of the Irish exchequer in 1804 (lid with engraving of arms of Dublin)</i> , gold, Dublin, 1804, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.	209

Figure 6.9	Aeneas Ryan (maker's mark) and Matthew West (retailer's mark), <i>Circular box with removeable lid presented by Dublin corporation to John Foster on the occasion of his appointment as chancellor of the exchequer in 1804 (interior of box showing the marks of Ryan and West)</i> , gold, Dublin, 1804, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.	209
Figure 6.10	Aeneas Ryan, <i>Rectangular box with canted corners presented by Dublin corporation to Evan Nepean in 1804</i> , silver, Dublin, 1804, courtesy of Adam's of Dublin.	210
Figure 6.11	Aeneas Ryan (maker's mark) and Matthew West (retailer's mark), <i>Box presented by Dublin corporation to Mark Bloxham in 1805 (lid with the Dublin arms)</i> , silver, Dublin, 1805, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.	213
Figure 6.12	Aeneas Ryan (maker's mark) and Matthew West (retailer's mark), <i>Box presented by Dublin corporation to Mark Bloxham in 1805 (base with engraved inscription)</i> , silver, Dublin, 1805, courtesy of San Antonio Museum of Art.	214
Figure 6.13	Aeneas Ryan (maker's mark) and Matthew West (retailer's mark), <i>Box presented by Dublin corporation to Mark Bloxham in 1805 (silver-gilt interior with the marks of Ryan and West)</i> , silver, Dublin, 1805, courtesy of San Antonio Museum of Art.	215
Figure 6.14	Aeneas Ryan, <i>Circular box with removeable lid presented by Dublin corporation to Arthur Wellesley in 1807</i> , silver, Dublin, 1806 (photograph, courtesy of the Victoria & Albert Museum).	216
Figure 6.15	Aeneas Ryan, <i>Rectangular box with canted corners presented by Trinity College, Dublin to Evan Nepean in 1804 (top with arms of Nepean)</i> , silver-gilt, Dublin, c.1804, courtesy of Bonhams.	222
Figure 6.16	Aeneas Ryan, <i>Rectangular box with canted corners presented by Trinity College, Dublin to Charles Long in 1805 (top with Long's arms)</i> , silver, Dublin, 1803 (author's collection).	223
Figure 6.17	Aeneas Ryan, <i>Box presented by Trinity College, Dublin to Charles Long in 1805 (base with the arms of Trinity College Dublin)</i> , silver, Dublin, 1803 (author's collection).	223
Figure 6.18	Aeneas Ryan, <i>Rectangular box with canted corners presented by Trinity College Dublin to Robert Peel in 1812 (base with the arms of the college)</i> , silver, Dublin, 1810, courtesy of L & K Duvalier.	225
Figure 6.19	Aeneas Ryan, <i>Rectangular box with canted corners presented by Trinity College Dublin to Robert Peel in 1812 (detail with the date-letter O for 1810)</i> , silver, Dublin, 1810, courtesy of L & K Duvalier.	225
Figure 6.20	Edward Murray, <i>Oblong box presented by Trinity College Dublin to Henry Paget, 1st marquess of Anglesey in 1828</i> , gold, Dublin, c.1828, courtesy of Bonhams.	228
Figure 6.21	James Kennedy, <i>Circular box with removeable cover presented by Drogheda corporation to Frederick Bowes in 1795 (cover with Bowes's arms)</i> , silver-gilt, Dublin, 1795, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.	229
Figure 6.22	James Kennedy, <i>Circular box with removeable cover presented by Drogheda corporation to Frederick Bowes in 1795 (base with Drogheda arms)</i> , silver-gilt, Dublin, 1795, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.	230
Figure 6.23	Edward Murray and Matthew West, <i>Box presented by Drogheda corporation to Patrick Curtis, the Catholic primate of Ireland, in 1820</i> , silver-gilt, Dublin, 1819, courtesy of National Museum of Ireland.	231
Figure 6.24	James Kennedy, <i>Navette-shaped snuffbox</i> , silver, Dublin, 1793 (author's collection).	232
Figure 6.25	Aeneas Ryan, <i>Silver-mounted olive shell (oliva porphyria) snuffbox</i> , silver and shell, Dublin, c.1800 (author's collection).	233
Figure 6.26	James Kennedy, <i>Snuff box with trick opening device</i> , silver, Dublin, 1797, courtesy of Bonhams.	236
Figure 6.27	James Kennedy, <i>Silver-mounted shell snuffbox with an oculus containing human hair</i> , silver, human hair glass and cowrie shell, Dublin, c.1790 (author's collection).	237
Figure 6.28	James Kennedy, <i>Toothpick box</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1790 (author's collection).	237
Figure 6.29	James Kennedy, <i>Circular box with removeable lid presented by the sheermen and dyers' guild to Luke Gardiner (detail of inscription)</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1775, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.	238
Figure 6.30	James Kennedy, <i>Silver elongated octagonal box presented by Dublin corporation to John Pentland in 1796</i> , silver, Dublin, 1795 (author's collection).	239
Figure 6.31	Aeneas Ryan, <i>Nutmeg grater</i> , silver and other metal, Dublin, c.1800, courtesy of Tennants.	242
Figure 6.32	Aeneas Ryan, <i>Travelling pen and ink holder</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1805.	243
Figure 6.33	Aeneas Ryan, <i>Travelling pen and ink holder</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1805.	244
Figure 6.34	Aeneas Ryan, <i>Glass-topped specimen box associated with Dr Perceval of Kildare place</i> , silver and glass, Dublin, c.1800, courtesy of Daniel Bexfield, London.	244

<i>Figure 6.35</i>	Aeneas Ryan, <i>Glass-topped specimen box associated with Dr Perceval of Kildare place</i> , silver and glass, Dublin, c.1800, courtesy of Daniel Bexfield, London.	245
<i>Figure 6.36</i>	Aeneas Ryan, <i>Silver-mounted shell snuff box</i> , silver and cowrie shell, Dublin, c.1793, courtesy of Adam's of Dublin.	245
<i>Figure 6.37</i>	Aeneas Ryan, <i>Double snuff box presented to Captain Monsell by his men</i> , silver-gilt, Dublin, 1799, courtesy of Christie's London.	246
<i>Figure 6.38</i>	Aeneas Ryan, <i>Silver-mounted shell snuff box</i> , silver and cowrie shell, Dublin, c.1796, (author's collection).	246
<i>Figure 6.39</i>	Aeneas Ryan, <i>Silver-mounted shell snuff box</i> , silver and cowrie shell, Dublin, c.1796 (author's collection).	247
<i>Figure 6.40</i>	Alexander Tickell, <i>Circular box with removeable cover presented by Waterford to John Fane, 10th earl of Westmorland in 1790 (cover with the Fane arms)</i> , gold, Dublin, c.1790, courtesy of Waterford Treasures.	250
<i>Figure 6.41</i>	Alexander Tickell, <i>Rectangular box with canted corners presented to Captain Thomas Pakenham by the cooks' guild in 1797 (top with guild arms)</i> , silver, Dublin, 1797, courtesy of Fonsie Mealy.	251
<i>Figure 6.42</i>	Alexander Tickell, <i>Snuff box in the form of a book</i> , silver, Dublin, c.1795, courtesy of Adam's of Dublin.	252
<i>Figure 6.43</i>	Matthew West (and Edward Murray?), <i>Circular box presented by Drogheda corporation to Galbraith Lowry Cole in 1814</i> , silver-gilt, Dublin, c.1814, courtesy of <i>Antiques Trade Gazette</i> .	253
<i>Figure 6.44</i>	Edward Murray, <i>Circular box presented by Trinity College Dublin to earl Talbot in 1817</i> , gold, Dublin, c.1817, courtesy of Christie's.	254
<i>Figure 6.45</i>	Edward Murray, <i>Circular box with military and patriotic decoration</i> , silver-gilt, Dublin, 1816 (author's collection).	255
<i>Figure 6.46</i>	Edward Murray and Matthew West, <i>Box associated with the visit of George IV to Ireland in 1821</i> , gold, bog oak, enamel, diamonds and pearls, Dublin, 1821. Source: Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2019.	256
<i>Figure 6.47</i>	Edward Murray and Matthew West, <i>Box associated with the visit of George IV to Ireland in 1821 (base with the arms of George IV)</i> . Source: Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2019.	258

List of tables

Table 1	Boxes presented by Dublin corporation, 1662-1821, percentage by material.	17
Table 2.1	Boxes presented by Dublin corporation, 1662-1699, by decade, by metal.	54
Table 3.1	Boxes presented by Dublin corporation, 1700-49, by decade, by metal.	101
Table 4.1	Boxes presented by Dublin corporation, 1730-1789, by decade, by material.	104
Table 4.2	Boxes presented by Dublin corporation, 1770-1829, by decade, by material.	125
Table 4.3	Boxes presented by Dublin corporation, 1780-1821, by decade, by recipients' affiliation with the corporation.	126
Table 6.1	Goldsmiths admitted to the freedom of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, 1780-1795, by year.	200
Table 6.2	Apprentices entering the goldsmiths' trade in Dublin, 1740-1779, by decade.	234
Table C.1	Boxes presented by Dublin corporation, 1662-1821, by numbers, by decade and by material.	263
Table C.2	Boxes presented by Dublin corporation, 1662-1759, by number, by decade and by material.	264
Table C.3	Boxes presented by Dublin corporation, 1760-1829, by number, by decade and by material.	265

Introduction

On 6 August 1818, *Saunders's News-Letter*, a Dublin newspaper, informed its readers that the freedom of Drogheda had recently been presented to the lord lieutenant, Charles Chetwynd-Talbot (1777-1849), 2nd earl Talbot of Hensol, in 'a superb Gold Box'.¹



Figure 1 Thomas Clement Thompson (1778-1857), *Charles Chetwynd-Talbot (1777-1849), 2nd earl Talbot of Hensol*, c.1821, courtesy of Ingestre Hall Residential Arts Centre, Staffordshire. As Talbot is wearing the robes of the Order of Saint Patrick, this portrait may have been painted while he was lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Talbot, the recipient, was 'a jovial, unconventional man with a passion for shooting' who had been sworn in as lord lieutenant of Ireland in October of the previous year (Fig. 1).² Married to a woman of Irish birth,³ he was a moderate Tory who spent almost four years in office between 1817 and 1821, buffeted by sharp controversies on Catholic emancipation

¹ *SNL*, 6 Aug. 1818.

² E.I. Carlyle (revised by H.C.G. Matthew), 'Talbot, Charles Chetwynd-, second Earl Talbot of Hensol' in *ODNB*.

³ Talbot's wife was Frances Thomasine Lambert (1782-1819), the eldest daughter of Charles Lambert of Beau Parc, Co. Meath. She died in childbirth during Talbot's tenure as lord lieutenant: Martin McElroy, 'Talbot, Charles Chetwynd-, 2nd Earl Talbot of Hensol, lord lieutenant of Ireland' in *DIB*.

(which he opposed) and a menacing upsurge in agrarian violence (which he sought to suppress by coercive measures) but also presiding over the first peace-time visit of a British monarch to Ireland, which began when George IV landed in Howth on 12 August 1821.⁴ The box presented by Drogheda to Talbot was one of at least six he received from Irish towns and cities during his tenure as viceroy. In addition to the Drogheda box, Delamer identified boxes presented to Talbot by Dublin, Cork, Derry and Kilkenny.⁵ Talbot was also presented with a gold box by Trinity College, Dublin (Chapter 6). By the time Talbot received these gifts, presentations of boxes in precious metal, most frequently combined with grants of civic freedom, to viceroys and (in Delamer's words) other 'persons of real or imagined significance' had been a conspicuous part of the material culture of Irish civic life for almost sixteen decades. However, by 1818, the box presentation practice was in decline. In Dublin, the corporation's presentation to Talbot in 1821 was the last, and it brought to a close a sequence stretching back to 1662 (Chapter 1, Chapter 6).⁶



Figure 2 Marks of Edward Murray and Matthew West, *Circular box with removeable lid presented to earl Talbot by Drogheda corporation in 1818*, silver-gilt with vari-coloured gold inlay, Dublin, 1816, courtesy of Adam's of Dublin.

The frequency with which reports of similar presentations (at home and abroad) are encountered in Irish newspapers of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries shows that

⁴ McElroy, 'Talbot, Charles Chetwynd'; Deborah Clarke, 'George IV's visits to Ireland, Hanover and Scotland' in Kate Heard and Kathleen Jones (eds), *George IV: Art & Spectacle* (London, 2019), pp 215-33; Karina Holton, "All Our Joys Will Be Completed"; The Visit of George IV to Ireland, 1821' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xlv (2020), pp 248-69.

⁵ Ida Delamer, 'Freedom Boxes' in *DHR*, xxxii, no. 1 (December 1978), pp 2-14.

⁶ *CARD*, xvii, p. 414.

these box presentations were a familiar feature of civic life for people in Ireland at that time (or, in any case, for those who read newspapers).⁷ In the case of Drogheda's presentation to Talbot, the newspaper provided a meticulous description of the box and a complete transcription of the inscription engraved on its base.⁸ This editorial choice underscored the extent to which both the anonymous writer and newspaper's readers understood the centrality of the box as the material counterpart of the immaterial gift of civic freedom in the town's expression of deference and respect to the viceroy. Some historians, notably Cunningham in her discussion of the meaning of silver in civic contexts in seventeenth-century Ireland, have sought to recover an understanding of what motivated participants in this particular form of gift-exchange and how contemporary bystanders responded.⁹ There is scope for more research into these box presentations as a highly visible but poorly understood aspect of civic practice and its accompanying material culture in late Stuart and Georgian Ireland. This thesis will touch on some of the cultural, social and political aspects of the presentation practice, but the principal focus here is on another aspect of these gift-exchanges which has not been previously researched - the commercial arrangements operated by the late Stuart and Georgian Dublin goldsmiths involved in the production and supply of these boxes during the sixteen decades of the presentation practice's currency in the city.

Drogheda's presentation to Talbot provides a useful illustrative starting-point because, in addition to the documentary record in *Saunders's*, the box itself has survived (Fig. 2). When read together, the box and the documentary source reveal a quadripartite plexus of exchanges - some ceremonial, others commercial - typical of box presentations in late Georgian Ireland. At the pinnacle of the exchanges stood Talbot who received the box, and immediately below

⁷ In 1766, a Dublin newspaper reported that when Sir James Caldwell (c.1720-84) visited Vienna the Empress, Maria Theresa (1717-80), presented him with a gold enamel box as a gift for his mother in memory of his brother Hume Caldwell (1735-62) who had died some years earlier in the Imperial service. The newspaper told its readers that the gift was 'a magnificent gold Box, of curious Workmanship [...] on the Bottom of the Box, is the Imperial Arms, and on the Inside of the Lid an Inscription in the French Language', of which it provided a translation (*FJ*, 22 Feb. 1766).

⁸ The box was described in the following terms: 'On the lid of the Box the armorial ensigns of this loyal and ancient city are magnificently displayed in rich chased work, raised in coloured gold, upon a ground of *or molu* [*sic*], and encircled with a deep border, Composed of the Rose, Oak and Shamrock, entwining each other. Round the body of the Box is a border of similar description.' The inscription was transcribed as 'To His Excellency/ CHARLES CHETWYND, EARL TALBOT,/ LORD LIEUTENANT-GENERAL,/ AND GENERAL GOVERNOR OF IRELAND;/ The Freedom of the Corporation of Drogheda is herein/ most respectfully presented by/ The Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council,/ pursuant to their unanimous vote, on the/ 11th day of June, 1818,/ In testimony of the high sense they entertain of his Public/ and Private Virtues' (*SNL*, 6 Aug. 1818).

⁹ Jessica Cunningham, 'Craft and Culture: the design, production and consumption of silver in Ireland in the seventeenth century.' (PhD thesis, History Department, Maynooth University, 2016).

him Drogheda corporation which purchased the box and made the presentation. At the commercial level, below the ceremonial, a prominent Dublin goldsmith emerges from the newspaper report as the supplier of the box to Drogheda. Finally, the box itself provides evidence of the involvement of another, less prominent, Dublin goldsmith who is likely to have been responsible for its production.

*Presentation of the Freedom of Drogheda to his
Excellency Earl Talbot.*

The freedom of the ancient Corporation of Drogheda has been presented, as already mentioned, to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, in a superb Gold Box, of which the following is an exact description:—On the lid of the Box the armorial ensigns of this loyal and ancient city are magnificently displayed in rich chased work, raised in coloured gold, upon a ground of *ormolu*, and encircled with a deep border, composed of the Rose, Oak, and Shamrock, entwining each other. Round the body of the Box is a border of a similar description, and on the bottom is engraved the following inscription:—

To His Excellency
CHARLES CHETWYND, EARL TALBOT,
LORD LIEUTENANT-GENERAL,
AND GENERAL GOVERNOR OF IRELAND;
The Freedom of the Corporation of Drogheda is herein
most respectfully presented by
The Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Common Council,
pursuant to their unanimous Vote, on the
11th day of June, 1818,
In testimony of the high sense they entertain of his Public
and Private Virtues.

The execution of this box does infinite credit to the artist, Alderman West, of Skinner-row. The different designs and decorations are finished with peculiar taste and beauty, and the hand of superior skill seems to pervade the workmanship generally. It is gratifying to perceive so convincing an evidence as this affords of the great improvement which has been made in an important branch of a very valuable art in our city; and we should hope that it will not escape the observation of those who under-rate the labours of our artizans, and import the productions of other countries, that they can find at home, as in the instance of this gold box, articles of the most exquisite and beautiful workmanship.

Figure 3 Extract from *Saunders's News-Letter*, 6 August 1818.

The newspaper article (Fig. 3) concerning Drogheda's gift appears to have had a twofold purpose - to report Drogheda's presentation to Talbot but also to draw readers' attention to the identity and ingenuity of the 'artist' from Dublin responsible for the 'execution' of the box. Readers were told that:

‘The execution of this box does infinite credit to the artist, Alderman West of Skinner-row. The different designs and decorations are finished with peculiar taste and beauty, and the hand of superior skill seems to pervade the workmanship generally. It is gratifying to perceive so convincing an evidence as this affords of the great improvement which has been made in an important branch of a very valuable art in our city; and we should hope that it will not escape the observation of those who under-rate the labours of our artizans [*sic*], and import the production of other countries, that they can find at home, as in the instance of this gold box, articles of the most exquisite and beautiful workmanship.’¹⁰

West, given his Dublin civic title of ‘Alderman West’ in the article, can be identified as Matthew West (1777-1820), one of the most successful Dublin goldsmiths at the time and a member of a family-based network of goldsmiths that had been active in the city since at least the early 1760s (Chapter 6).¹¹ From his prominence in the article, there must be a possibility that West solicited (or even purchased, as a form of advertisement) the newspaper’s notice. For goldsmiths in Dublin and elsewhere in the late Stuart and Georgian periods, the trade in boxes for presentation was a small but prestigious part of their business. These commissions allowed the goldsmiths concerned the opportunity to present themselves as highly-skilled craftsmen, as trusted municipal contractors and as purveyors of luxury objects to elite recipients. However, artefact evidence, in the form of the Drogheda Talbot box itself, reveals a problem with *Saunders’s* encomium for West’s artistry and uncovers a further, more obscure and generally unexplored, aspect of the commercial system operated by prominent goldsmiths in late Georgian Dublin to respond to commissions for presentation boxes.

When the Drogheda Talbot box - made in silver-gilt with gold decoration, rather than in gold - was offered at Christie’s London in November 2007, two marks were identified on the box, one read as ‘E.M.’ and the other as ‘West’.¹² The mark with the letters ‘E’ and ‘M’ was the maker’s mark used by Edward Murray (free 1812; d.1854). Murray’s mark appears on a

¹⁰ *SNL*, 6 Aug. 1818.

¹¹ West’s forename may have been spelled with a single ‘t’ (‘Mathew’) at his baptism (Parish Register of St Werburgh’s, book 1, p. 83: www.irishgenealogy.ie). Later in life, he occasionally used this spelling (*DEP*, 29 Jan. 1818). During his lifetime, West also used the more conventional spelling (‘Matthew’) (*DEP*, 22 May 1806) which is the form that will be used in this thesis, both for him and for his father.

¹² Christie’s London, *Important Silver, 27 November 2007* (London, 2007), lot 199. The Drogheda Talbot box was subsequently offered at Adam’s of Dublin in 2013 (in the sale of objects from the estate of Tony Sweeney) and again in 2014: James Adam and Sons, *800 Years of Irish History: The Estate of the Late Tony Sweeney, 30 April 2013* (Dublin, 2013), lot 672 and James Adam and Sons, *800 Years of Irish History, 15 April 2014* (Dublin, 2014), lot 325. Adam’s of Dublin’s reading of the marks and date-letter concurred with the earlier reading by Christie’s.

number of the boxes presented in Dublin and elsewhere in this period, and its presence on the Drogheda Talbot box indicates that West was not solely responsible for the production of the box. Indeed, based on other artefact evidence of Murray's work in this period (Chapter 6), it is more likely than not that Murray, rather than West, was the goldsmith who made the box and that, when West supplied it to Drogheda, he was operating as a retailer. The box is one of a number of similar artefacts that provide evidence of a commercial system organised by West and other members of his family within which they dealt with the institutional customers supplied from their shop, and other goldsmiths (including Murray) operating outside the West family business were allocated the task of making the boxes that the Wests supplied. How prevalent were these arrangements among goldsmiths involved in the production and supply of presentation boxes in late Stuart and Georgian Dublin? Did the prominent goldsmiths who obtained commissions from the civic institutions always rely on other goldsmiths to produce the boxes? What was the nature of the economic relationship between the goldsmiths involved in these arrangements? What do the arrangements for the production and supply of boxes reveal more generally about the organisation of the goldsmiths' trade in late Stuart and Georgian Dublin?

In Ireland and England, attempts to reconstruct the commercial context within which goldsmiths produced and traded objects in precious metal in the past are a relatively new departure in historical writing. In the study of the goldsmiths' trade in Georgian London, the exploration of how goldsmiths organised their businesses received a major boost from the discovery in 1952 of a series of eighteenth-century goldsmiths' ledgers in the basement of the premises of Garrards in Albemarle street.¹³ These ledgers related to a predecessor business to Garrards - the goldsmith's shop operated at Panton street in London's West End, initially by George Wickes (1698-1761) and subsequently - between 1760 and 1776 - by the partnership of Parker and Wakelin. This trove of business records allowed historians to see that successful fashionable Georgian silversmiths were not autonomous artisanal virtuosi who produced all the objects that bore their makers' marks but instead were businessmen who operated complex commercial models in which they relied on the skills of specialists, subcontractors and other out-workers to produce the objects they sold.

¹³ Elaine Barr, *George Wickes, Royal Goldsmith 1698-1761* (London, 1980), pp vi-viii.

The first substantive study of the Pantton street ledgers was undertaken by Barr whose book on Wickes was published in 1980. Although she had little doubt that Wickes operated an extensive system of subcontracting and out-working, her ability fully to explore that aspect of his arrangements was constrained by the loss of the ‘Workmen’s Ledger’ that was likely to have contained details of the subcontractors and out-workers he had used.¹⁴ A later ‘Workmen’s Ledger’ survived and was analysed by Clifford in her 2004 study of the Parker and Wakelin partnership. Clifford showed how, with increasingly sophisticated consumer demand requiring a greater degree of production specialisation, Parker and Wakelin relied on a large network of subcontracting goldsmiths to make the goods they retailed in their shop.¹⁵ She unravelled a ‘network of 75 craftsmen, from specialist engravers, turners, polishers’ to suppliers of gold snuff boxes, salts and candlesticks.¹⁶

Clifford’s work on silver in Georgian London inspired FitzGerald in her work on silver in Georgian Dublin, undertaken with the avowed objective of moving away from the ‘issue of style’ and concentrating on ‘the demand for silver goods in Georgian Ireland from the perspectives of makers, retailers and consumers’.¹⁷ This search for broader economic, social and cultural contexts set the tone for Cunningham’s investigation of silver in seventeenth century Ireland.¹⁸ In her book, FitzGerald raised the question of the extent to which subcontracting and out-working arrangements similar to those uncovered by Clifford in the Parker and Wakelin archive might have operated in Georgian Dublin.¹⁹ Concluding that ‘it was certainly taking place’, she also cautioned that, in the ‘absence of business ledgers for Dublin goldsmiths during this period’, it could not be assumed that the type of arrangements seen in London ‘was the norm’ in Dublin.²⁰ FitzGerald has also cautioned that, in comparing the markets in Dublin and London, market scale has to be taken into account. By the late eighteenth century, production in the London silverware market exceeded Dublin’s

¹⁴ Ibid., pp 53-65.

¹⁵ Helen Clifford, *Silver in London: The Parker and Wakelin Partnership 1760-1776* (New Haven and London, 2004).

¹⁶ Helen Clifford ‘A London Business’ in Philippa Glanville (ed.), *Silver* (London, 1996), pp 106-7.

¹⁷ Alison FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin: Making, selling, consuming* (London and New York, 2017). See also Alison FitzGerald and Conor O’Brien, ‘The production of silver in late-Georgian Dublin’ in *IADS*, iv (2001), pp 9-47; Alison FitzGerald, ‘The business of being a goldsmith in eighteenth-century Dublin’ in Gillian O’Brien and Finola O’Kane (eds), *Georgian Dublin* (Dublin, 2008), pp 127-34; eadem, ‘A Sterling Trade; making and selling silver in Ireland’ in William Laffan and Christopher Monkhouse (eds), *Ireland: crossroads of art and design 1690-1840* (Chicago, 2015), pp 175-91.

¹⁸ Jessica Cunningham, ‘Craft and Culture’; eadem, ‘Dublin’s Huguenot goldsmiths, 1690-1750: assimilation and divergence’ in *IADS*, xii (2009), pp 158-85; eadem, ‘John Cuthbert: a portrait of a late seventeenth-century Dublin goldsmith’ in *Silver Studies*, xxxii (2015), pp 79-87.

¹⁹ FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin*, pp 9-10.

²⁰ Ibid.

production by a factor of twelve.²¹ Within a market the size of London's, the goldsmiths' trade could accommodate particularly sophisticated and extensive networks of subcontracting and out-working, arrangements that were also prevalent in other London trades at the time.

While no business ledgers have been found for the goldsmiths involved in the presentation box trade in late Stuart and Georgian Dublin, documentary records of the transactions by which institutions in the city purchased presentation boxes from goldsmiths have been located. A primary focus of this thesis will be on the investigation of those records, together with related artefact evidence (mainly the boxes themselves), to understand how the commercial transactions and business structures, including subcontracting or out-working arrangements, operated in this specialised sub-market within the goldsmiths' trade in late Stuart and Georgian Dublin. Although the boxes themselves have fascinated collectors and writers since the late nineteenth century, the transaction records in the archives of Dublin corporation and Trinity College, Dublin, the two institutions that were most active in the box presentation practice, have received relatively little attention and have not been used as a source to understand how systems for the production and supply of boxes worked. The institutions' archives hold collections of receipts, invoices and accounting records concerning transactions for the purchase of boxes from the late seventeenth century through to the end of the Georgian period. These relatively abundant records provide a rich seam of data about the institutions' box purchases, including suppliers' identities, amounts expended, payment terms, frequency of transaction and even time-frames for delivery. They will be used throughout this thesis as a resource to understand the commercial transactions that lay behind the institutions' box presentations.

As a resource for understanding how the trade in boxes was organised, there are, however, limits to what the transaction documentation in the institutions' archives can reveal. The information they contain is primarily about the commercial relationships between the purchasing institutions and the goldsmiths who supplied the boxes. They do not reveal what was going on in the shops and workshops of those goldsmiths before the boxes were supplied to the institutions. For this aspect of the research, artefact evidence in the form of surviving boxes is an important complementary resource. As it was customary to engrave the boxes with texts identifying the recipient and recording the presentation (Fig. 4), individual boxes

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

can frequently be linked with specific presentations and to transactions mentioned in the institutions' records. Furthermore, the presence of makers' marks on most of the surviving boxes permits the identification of the goldsmith who took responsibility when the box was presented at assay. Knowing whether the same person assayed and supplied the box permits conclusions on the extent to which production and supply were integrated (with the supplying goldsmith also responsible for production) or disaggregated (with the supplying goldsmith relying on another goldsmith for production); looking at a number of transactions and objects in this way over time permits conclusions as to how and when changes occurred in production and supply arrangements. This methodological approach of reading documentary archival sources concerning transactions together with artefact evidence from the boxes which were the subjects of the transactions will be used throughout the thesis.



Figure 4 Mark of 'I.L', Box presented by the saddlers', upholders' and coachmakers' guild to William FitzGerald, marquess of Kildare in 1767 (base with engraved inscription), silver, Dublin, c.1767, courtesy of San Antonio Museum of Art. The inscription records that the box was presented to FitzGerald by the guild.

The records of the institutions' transactions contain surprises for the researcher who approaches the subject of presentation boxes from the perspective of the existing literature on Irish silver. That literature is largely focused on identifying the goldsmiths whose makers' marks can be found on surviving objects. From catalogues of the leading collections of Irish

silver in the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin and the John V. Rowan Collection in the San Antonio Museum of Art in San Antonio, Texas, the researcher will know that most of the boxes surviving from late Georgian Dublin carry the makers' marks of a small number of relatively obscure goldsmiths - James Kennedy (active 1761-1803), Aeneas Ryan (active 1784-1810) and Edward Murray.²² However, the researcher will quickly find that these goldsmiths' names never appear in the account books and ledgers recording payments made by the corporation and the college. From the absence of any reference in those accounting records to the goldsmiths who were responsible for production of the boxes, the researcher can conclude that those goldsmiths were not involved in supplying the objects they made to the institutions. Instead, the institutions' records reveal that at the time Kennedy, Ryan and Murray were active as box-makers the corporation and the college were transacting for boxes with other goldsmiths, notably members of the West and Keen families, who traded from fashionable shops but who are not known to have been involved in producing boxes. These goldsmiths, it seems, operated as intermediaries, supplying the institutions with boxes made and marked by their less prominent colleagues.

Reading further back in the archive, the researcher will discover records pointing to the operation of a more integrated system for the production and supply of boxes earlier in the eighteenth century. Under that earlier system, at least some goldsmiths who were responsible for supplying boxes also took responsibility for the boxes at assay, providing an indication that they were likely to have been involved in the production of the boxes. The maker's mark of Thomas Bolton (c.1658-1736), for instance, is present on a couple of rare surviving gold boxes presented in Dublin in the first decades of the eighteenth century. Bolton also features very prominently as a supplier in the records of payments made for boxes by the corporation in this period. The evidence suggests that Bolton operated an integrated model for the production and supply of boxes. At what point did the commercial arrangements in Dublin for the production and supply of boxes change? Why did these changes occur? Who benefitted from the changes?

Historiography

²² Ida Delamer and Conor O'Brien, *500 Years of Irish Silver* (Bray, 2005); John D. Davis, *The Genius of Irish Silver: A Texas Private Collection* (Williamsburg, 1991).

The two principal focuses of enquiry in this thesis - the organisation of the market in late Stuart and Georgian Dublin for gold and silver boxes used in presentations by civic institutions, and the evolving commercial systems operated by the goldsmiths involved in that market - have not previously been the subject of detailed investigation by historians. That is not to say that the objects themselves - the presentation boxes, often called ‘freedom boxes’ by collectors or connoisseurs - are obscure or neglected. They are present in most of the literature on Irish Georgian silver and feature prominently in the two principal museum collections of Irish silver, in Dublin and San Antonio. Each collection holds around thirty boxes that can be identified as presentation boxes. Not all of the boxes in the collections were made in Dublin, and the majority are from the later phase of the presentation practice after 1760. The boxes in both these collections have been examined on visits to the two museums in the course of the research for this thesis.

Until recently, most of the literature published on Irish Stuart and Georgian silver was directed to connoisseurs and collectors. The leading author of this literature was Douglas Bennett (1933-2019),²³ with Robert Wyse Jackson,²⁴ Kurt Ticher²⁵ and Tony Sweeney²⁶ also contributing. The work of these writers is valuable as a taxonomic source, for ‘the classification of objects by maker, date, place of origin and style’.²⁷ With boxes (as with every other type of object made in silver), the literature is strong on deciphering makers’ marks to reveal the identities of the individuals who took responsibility for the object at assay.²⁸ Bennett, in particular, seems to have had a keen interest in goldsmiths who made boxes and a curiosity about the circumstances in which they produced their work. In *Irish Georgian Silver*, he published his research in the archives of the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, which unravelled the confusion surrounding the identity of James Kennedy, the maker of some of the finest boxes in late-eighteenth-century Dublin (Chapter 6). However, the literature’s usefulness to an historian researching the organisation of the market for

²³ Douglas Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver* (London, 1971); idem, *Irish Silver* (Dublin, 1976); idem, *Collecting Irish Silver* (London, 1984). Bennett’s final book, *The Goldsmiths of Dublin: Six Centuries of Achievement* (Dublin, 2018), concentrates on the history of the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin.

²⁴ Robert Wyse Jackson, *Irish Silver* (Cork and Dublin, 1972).

²⁵ Kurt Ticher, *Irish Silver in the Rococo Period* (Shannon, 1972).

²⁶ Tony Sweeney, *Irish Stuart Silver* (Dublin, 1995).

²⁷ FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin*, p. 2.

²⁸ Charles Jackson, *English goldsmiths and their marks: a history of the goldsmiths and plateworkers of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1st ed., London, 1905). The third revised and enlarged edition of Jackson is the edition most frequently relied on in this thesis - Ian Pickford (ed.), *Jackson’s Silver and Gold Marks of England Scotland & Ireland* (Woodbridge, 1989).

objects made in precious metals is limited, given its focus on ‘connoisseurial’ topics.²⁹ Nevertheless, as a repository of information on the identity of the goldsmiths whose marks appear on objects (including boxes), the work of Bennett and the other authors provides a helpful base on which to build a study focused on strategies of business organisation; it permits the identification of the individuals active within the trade and provides indications of their possible involvement in wider family or commercial networks, a topic that will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

In addition to the connoisseurial guides, there is also a body of museum- and exhibition-sponsored writing which has generally tended to be heavily object-focused.³⁰ These museum and exhibition catalogues are a useful resource that provides access to images and studies of individual objects but until recently their authors have shown almost no interest in the commercial arrangements by which the objects were produced and supplied.³¹ The catalogue that accompanied the first exhibition of the John V. Rowan Collection at the De Witt Wallace Decorative Arts Gallery in Williamsburg, Virginia in 1992 (prior to transfer of the collection to the San Antonio Museum) contained three paragraphs on the ‘beautifully made and exquisitely engraved freedom boxes’ which, at twenty-two objects, constituted the single most numerous category of objects displayed.³² The catalogue’s introductory text was principally concerned with the shapes of the boxes and the quality of their engraved decoration. The current guide to the National Museum of Ireland’s collection of Irish silver, written by Delamer and O’Brien and published in 2005, presents sixteen boxes (representing just under half of the Museum’s collection). Placing presentation boxes within a broader

²⁹ Bennett was frank in identifying the purpose of his writing: ‘This book was written in the hope that it would guide the collector and would-be-collector, assist the professional dealer and show everybody who loves beautiful things and above all old silver something of the priceless heritage of the Irish Georgian period’ (Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, p. xiv). Some earlier writers of connoisseurial literature lapse into an almost parodic version of this style of writing. Wenham, writing in 1931, advised his readers seeking to identify Irish silver that ‘with their ornamentation, the Irish will introduce something of their native whimsicality, something of that love of the beauties of nature and of the ‘little people’, rather than rely on the more stilted forms derived from the continent’ (Edward Wenham, *Domestic Silver of Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 1931), p. 112).

³⁰ M.S.D. Westropp, *British Gold and Silver in the collection of the Science and Art Museum, Dublin* (Dublin, 1908). A second edition was published in 1934: idem, *General Guide to the Art Collections: Metal Work. Gold and Silver* (Dublin, 1934). See also [Rosc ‘71], *Irish Silver 1630-1820* (Dublin, 1971); John Teahan, *Irish Silver: a guide to the exhibition* (Dublin, 1979); idem, *Airgead na hÉireann: Irish silver* (Dublin, 1981); idem, *The Dr Kurt Tischer Donation of Irish Silver* (Dublin, undated); idem, *Irish Silver from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, 1982); [National Museum of Ireland], *The Company of Goldsmiths 1637-1987* (Dublin, 1987).

³¹ Yvonne Hackenbroch, *English and other silver in the Irwin Untermyer collection* (New York, 1966); Beth Carver Wees, *English, Irish & Scottish Silver at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute* (New York, 1997); Ellenor M. Alcorn, *English Silver in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Volume II: Silver from 1697 including Irish and Scottish silver* (Boston, 2000).

³² Davis, *The Genius of Irish Silver*; this catalogue records 118 objects displayed in the exhibition.

study of ‘ceremonial silver’, Delamer and O’Brien sought to provide information on the political context of the box presentation practice by explaining the significance of civic freedom in early modern Ireland and by tracing the practice back to the first presentation by Dublin corporation to James Butler (1610-88), 1st duke of Ormond, in 1662 (discussed here in Chapter 1). The guide also provides a summary of the evolution of shape and the prevalence of engraving as a means of recording the gift-exchanges and participants.

Scattered in specialised journals, there are articles by writers who saw that the boxes made for presentation in late Stuart and Georgian Ireland could be used to investigate more widely the social, political and economic contexts of their production and exchange. A very early example is a short paper written in 1889 by Robert Day (1836-1914), a collector, amateur antiquarian and pioneer in the study of eighteenth-century Cork silver. At the sale of the estate of Richard Caulfield (1823-1887) (another pioneer in the study of Cork’s history), Day had acquired a 1711 invoice submitted to Cork corporation by Cork goldsmith Robert Goble (active 1706-37) for silverware he had supplied, including a number of boxes. Looking at the minutes of Cork corporation (in the version published by Caulfield), Day was intrigued to find that he could link some of the boxes mentioned in Goble’s invoice with records of presentations of the city’s freedom to important visitors (including the commodore of the Jamaica fleet), a discovery that led him to search the city’s archive for other box presentations and consider the nature and extent of the presentation practice in the city.³³ In the 1940s, G.A. Hayes-McCoy (1911-1975), a military historian and later professor at University College Galway, used two boxes presented in Galway that he found in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland as his starting point for papers discussing the political contexts of their presentation.³⁴ Thomas Sinsteden has explored the context of the presentation of a gold box to Richard Tighe (1678-1736) by the city of Kilkenny in 1718.³⁵ Ida Delamer published two papers surveying Irish freedom boxes, in which she identified a significant number of objects and connected them to the circumstances of their presentation.³⁶

³³ Robert Day, ‘Notes on Some Early Examples of Cork Silver’ in *JRHAAL*, ix (1889), pp 127-30.

³⁴ G.A. Hayes-McCoy, ‘A Galway Freedom Box of 1771; with a Note on Corporate Freedom’ in *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, xix (1941), pp 147-57; G.A. Hayes-McCoy, ‘A Relic of Early Hanoverian Rule in Galway’ in *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, xxiii (1948), pp 57-69.

³⁵ Thomas Sinsteden, ‘A Freedom Box for “A Hot Whiffling Puppy”: Tighe Family Silver from Kilkenny’ in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, xvi (2000), pp 139-41.

³⁶ Delamer, ‘Freedom Boxes’; eadem, ‘Irish Freedom Boxes’ in *Proceedings of the Silver Society*, iii (?), pp 18-23.

The work of Day and Hayes-McCoy on provincial presentation boxes seems, in a way, to anticipate the ‘material turn’ in history and the emergence of ‘things’ as sources for the writing of history. Their work provides an exemplar for this thesis, in which boxes are both *subject* and *source*. The epistemological challenges of using objects to write history are succinctly summarised by Findlen: ‘How do objects reveal their histories? What can we learn about the past by studying things?’³⁷ The use of objects as sources requires historians to consider where the emphasis should be placed. Should that history be ‘object-centred’ or ‘object-driven’?³⁸ Object-centred research ‘tends to look at technological development, typologies, and the aesthetic qualities of taste and fashion’. Until the recent work of FitzGerald and Cunningham, this object-centred approach has been used in much of the scholarly and other writing published on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Irish silver. Object-driven research, on the other hand, regards ‘objects as evidence of other complex social relations’, with the historian seeking ‘to reconnect objects to their historical contexts’ by undertaking ‘the construction of collective biographies of objects and sites through a process of thick description’.³⁹ The emphasis on the recovery of context is vital, both for the maintenance of the distinction between the two approaches and for an awareness of the nature and purpose of historical enquiry when it relies, even in part, on objects as sources. Harvey quotes Thompson as saying history is ‘the discipline of context’ and Herman as saying ‘for us to derive meaning from material culture we must reconnect objects to their historical contexts’.⁴⁰ In *Making the Grand Figure*, Barnard approaches the world of material possessions in Stuart and Georgian Ireland with a triple interrogation: ‘Simply the intention is to establish the ubiquity of objects, next to return them to the contexts in which they were made and used, and then to ponder the values that led to their being constructed, traded, treasured and discarded’.⁴¹ The scope of this thesis is much less ambitious than Barnard’s work; the focus here is principally on the making and trading of a specific type of object. Nevertheless, Barnard’s interrogatory formulation provides a thought-provoking framework. The objective in this thesis is to connect the boxes to the commercial and social contexts in which they were produced and exchanged, relying, in addition to the evidence from the

³⁷ Paula Findlen (ed.), *Early Modern Things: Objects and their histories* (London and New York, 2013), p. 6.

³⁸ The distinction was developed in Bernard L. Hermann, *The Stolen House* (Charlottesville and London, 1992) and is explained in Karen Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture: a student’s guide to approaching alternative sources* (London and New York, 2009), p. 2.

³⁹ Hermann, *The Stolen House* quoted in Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture*, p. 2.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Toby Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland 1641-1770* (New Haven and London, 2004), p. xx.

surviving boxes themselves, on documentary evidence of both the civic presentations and the commercial transactions that can be linked to individual boxes. Context in the case of this thesis extends beyond objects; it also includes people. As Barr wrote in the introduction to her book on Wickes: ‘the objects themselves were, at the outset, my prime concern: the men who fashioned them were shadowy figures known only by their makers’ marks’.⁴² The thesis will look at the lives and careers of the goldsmiths who were responsible for producing and trading the boxes, coaxing them out of the shadows, in an attempt to understand who they were and how they operated their businesses.

Like many other polite practices in early modern Europe, the gifting of boxes as public tokens of esteem appears to have had its origins in the culture of the late-seventeenth-century French court where ‘richly decorated tobacco boxes were given away by the king and members of the aristocracy by way of payment or as recognition of services rendered’.⁴³ Outside Ireland, there is an extensive literature on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century gold and silver boxes.⁴⁴ Like much of the literature on Irish silver, it is often contained in collectors’ guides and exhibition catalogues and tends to be written from the connoisseur’s perspective, generally disregarding the social and economic context in which the boxes were made and traded. Despite these limitations, it provides essential information on the fashions and social preoccupations that animated the demand for and supply of these objects. The use of gold and silver objects,⁴⁵ including boxes,⁴⁶ in royal rituals and court ceremonies in

⁴² Barr, *George Wickes*, p. x.

⁴³ A-M Classen-Peré and L. De Ren, *Dozen om te niezen, Belgische en Franse snuifdozen en tabakraspen uit de 18de eeuw* (Antwerp, 1997), p. 50.

⁴⁴ Henry Nocq and Carle Dreyfus, *Tabatières, boîtes et étuis, orfèvreries de Paris XVIII^e siècle et début du XIX^e des collections du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1930); Clare le Corbeiller, *European and American Snuff Boxes 1730-1830* (New York, 1966); A. Kenneth Snowman, *Eighteenth Century Gold Boxes of Europe* (London, 1966); idem, *Eighteenth Century Gold Boxes of Paris: Catalogue of the Ortiz-Patino Collection* (London, 1974); Serge Grandjean, *Les tabatières du Louvre* (Paris, 1981); Classen-Peré and De Ren, *Dozen om te niezen*; John D. Davis, *The Robert and Meredith Green Collection of Silver Nutmeg Graters* (Williamsburg, 2002); Eric Delieb, *Silver Boxes* (Woodbridge, 2002); Woolley & Wallis, *A Private Collection of British Silver Snuff Boxes, 25 April 2006* (Salisbury, 2006); Charles Truman, *The Wallace Collection, Catalogue of Gold Boxes* (London, 2013); John Culme, *British Silver Boxes 1640-1840: The Lion Collection* (Woodbridge, 2015).

⁴⁵ Catherine Arminjon (ed.) *Quand Versailles était meublé d'argent* (Boulogne, 2007).

⁴⁶ Tessa Murdoch and Heike Zech, *Going for Gold: craftsmanship and collecting of gold boxes* (Eastbourne, 2014); Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, ‘Gold boxes as diplomatic gifts: archival resources in Dresden’ in *Silver Studies*, xxxi (2014), pp 48-62.

Britain⁴⁷ and continental Europe and their function in representing power and authority is an emerging area of interest for scholars.⁴⁸

The materiality of the boxes

When objects are used as sources, the historian can (and, it is submitted, should) investigate their materiality in order to provide an additional dimension to historical research. In the case of the boxes made in gold and silver for presentation by civic institutions in late Stuart and Georgian Ireland, the *metal* was the *message*. In this thesis, the choices made by the institutions concerning the material used in their presentations, which in turn set the commercial framework for the goldsmiths who made and sold the boxes, will be investigated. In Chapter 1, the significance of Dublin corporation's choice of gold for its gifts to Ormond in 1662, at a time when gold was very rarely used for secular objects, will be discussed. In Chapter 2, the corporation's decision to present lords justice with boxes made in gold, the metal previously reserved largely for presentations to viceroys, will be placed in the context of the rising importance of that office within the power structure that emerged in Ireland after the Williamite victory. In Chapter 3, a type of economy of deference, expressed through metal choice, will be identified as the basis for the corporation's choice of silver for the boxes presented to chief secretaries. In Chapter 4, the corporation's presentations of gold boxes to former lord mayors from the late 1770s onwards will be considered as a material dimension of its quest to assert prestige and prerogatives in a political environment that had changed as a result of municipal reform and the emergence of a Protestant patriot identity.

Looking in more detail at the materiality of the objects at the centre of this thesis, the published records of Dublin corporation's minutes indicate that throughout the entire currency of presentation practice (1662-1821) gold was used more frequently than silver as the metal for the boxes presented. In the published version of the resolutions of Dublin corporation, records have been traced of the presentation of 218 boxes, beginning with the gold box presented to Ormond in 1662 and concluding with the box made of Irish oak presented to Talbot in 1821.⁴⁹ Of the 218 boxes, 108 were made in gold, 102 in silver, seven

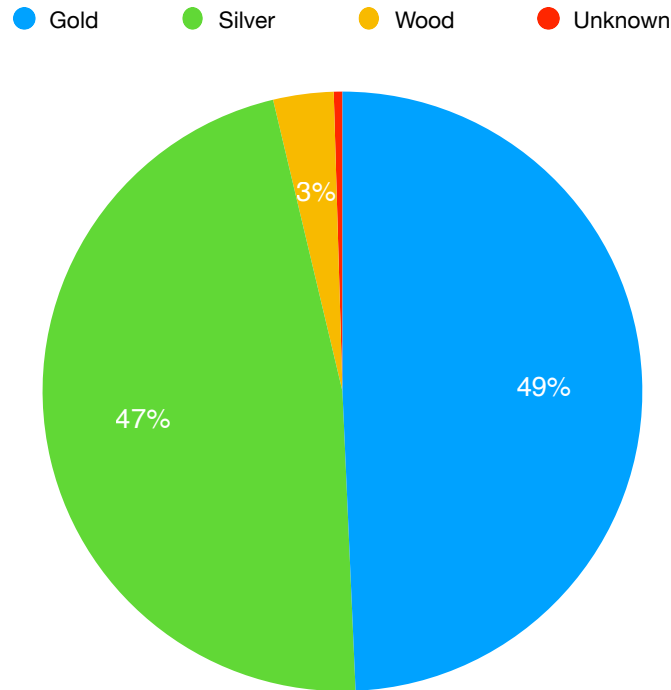
⁴⁷ Tessa Murdoch, 'The James II coronation cup and the culture of gifts and perquisites in Stuart and Hanoverian coronations' in *Silver Studies*, xxvi (2010), pp 32-41.

⁴⁸ Juliane Schmeieglitz-Otten, 'Out of the darkness into the light: early baroque homage gifts presented to the House of Hanover' in *Silver Studies*, xxxii (2015), pp 88-95.

⁴⁹ *CARD*, iv-xvii.

in wood (Table 1). In one case - the 1670 resolution to present a box to Thomas Butler (1634-80), earl of Ossory - the metal to be used was not specified.⁵⁰

Table 1 Boxes presented by Dublin corporation, 1662-1821, percentage by material.



Source: *CARD*, iv-xvii.

The corporation's choice of the metal for the boxes it presented was determined by the identity and status of the recipient and by the degree of deference the institution sought to project. The lords lieutenant were the single largest identifiable category of recipients of gold boxes, receiving almost a third (thirty-five boxes) of the 108 gold boxes presented by the corporation between 1662 and 1821. Presentations to lords justice accounted for twenty-two of the gold boxes presented. In case of the lords lieutenant, the exalted personal rank of most of the occupants of the office guided the corporation's choice of gold as the material for their gifts, together with the perception that gold was uniquely appropriate for presentations to persons of regal or quasi-regal status. The corporation's only recorded presentation to a member of the royal family - the box presented to the duke of Cumberland in 1806 - was made in gold.⁵¹

⁵⁰ *CARD*, iv, p. 487.

⁵¹ *CARD*, xv, pp 415-17.

The view that gold alone was suitable for presentations to lords lieutenant extended beyond the corporation and was shared by the city's other institutions. In the case of the college, records of its presentations indicate that all the boxes it presented to lords lieutenant were made in gold. The college had created its own precedent for the use of gold in presentations to regal personages with its first recorded box presentation - the gold box presented by provost Pratt to the prince of Wales in London in 1716 on the occasion of the prince's election as chancellor (Chapter 3). For the guilds, the surviving records suggest that, while their presentations to the lords lieutenant were less numerous than those of the corporation or the college, when such presentations occurred the boxes were made in gold (Chapter 4).

As the box presentation practice spread outside Dublin, the convention of using gold for viceregal presentations followed. In the list of freemen of Cork, all of the boxes recorded as having been presented to lords lieutenant were made in gold, from the first presentation to lord Carteret in 1728 to the final viceregal presentation to the earl of Mulgrave in 1835.⁵² On at least one occasion, Cork extended its gifting practice to the viceregal offspring, voting in 1769 to present a gold box to 'the [Honourable] Mr. Townsend, eldest son of the [Lord Lieutenant], if he should come to this City with his Excellency'.⁵³ While Dublin presented a box made in oak to Talbot on his departure in 1821, Cork maintained its convention and presented the lord lieutenant with a gold box shortly after his arrival in 1817.⁵⁴ Drogheda's decision in 1818 to limit its expenditure on Talbot to a box made in silver-gilt rather than gold may be understood as a sign of the waning in understanding of the meaning of metal in the final years of the box presentation practice.

Smaller less wealthy towns also followed the practice of using gold, and the presentations by Youghal of boxes made in gold provides a further insight into how the connection between gold, rank and regal status was understood. In the published municipal records of Youghal, there are records of the presentation of twenty-two boxes, five of which

⁵² <http://www.corkarchives.ie/media/freemen1710-1841.pdf> (consulted 23 October 2020); Richard Caulfield (ed.), *The Council Book of the Corporation of the City of Cork from 1609 to 1643, and from 1690 to 1800* (Guildford, 1876).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 841.

⁵⁴ The gold box with the marks of Carden Terry and Jane Williams together with a Dublin date-letter for 1817 that Cork presented to Talbot was offered at Christie's London in 2005 (Christie's London, *Important Portrait Miniatures and Objects of Vertu*, 6 July 2005 (London, 2005), lot 33).

were made in gold.⁵⁵ Four of these presentations in gold (made with the freedom of the town) were to lords lieutenant.⁵⁶ The fifth gold box - ‘to be provided for this purpose, and suitably ornamented’ - was presented (with the town’s freedom) to Prince William Henry (1765-1837), third son of George III, (later King William IV) when he visited Youghal in 1787 on a tour of the south of Ireland.⁵⁷ The Youghal council members noted in their address that the prince’s visit provided them with an ‘opportunity, for the first time, to address a prince of the illustrious house of Hanover’.⁵⁸

Throughout human history, the physical properties of gold and silver, particularly the metals’ purity and resistance to corrosion, have contributed to a cultural perception of imperishability, an attribute that objects made from these precious metals are perceived to share.⁵⁹ This was how residents of eighteenth-century Dublin understood the boxes presented by their civic institutions. As the institutions’ ambition was that the objects should endure as lasting records of their interactions with the recipients, the perceived imperishability of the boxes was a crucial aspect of their materiality. When it was reported in 1765 that the philanthropist Arbella Denny (1707-92) was to be presented with her freedom in a gold box (Chapter 4), an anonymous versifier explained how gold presentation boxes functioned in Georgian Dublin’s material culture as memorials of the city’s recognition of the recipient’s virtue:

‘Hibernia’s Worthies are enroll’d
Free Citizens, by Box of Gold;
The Metal stamp’d by honest Fame,
Will dignify the Bearer’s Name;
And Marks of high regard bestow
To matchless Merit, here below’⁶⁰

By choosing boxes made in precious metal to serve both as the *subject* and as the *memorial* of the gift-exchange, the presenting institutions’ intention was to ensure the material perdurance of their act of deference and esteem, but how many of the boxes presented in late Stuart and Georgian Ireland have survived into the modern era? This

⁵⁵ Richard Caulfield (ed.), *The Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal* (Guildford, 1878).

⁵⁶ Hartington - ‘on his arrival and landing on the slip of the quay’ - in 1755 (Ibid., p. 458); Harcourt in 1774 (Ibid., p. 488); Camden in 1795 (Ibid., p. 532); and, Cornwallis in 1799 (Ibid., p. 540).

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 540; John R. Bowen and Conor O’Brien, *Cork Silver and Gold: Four Centuries of Craftsmanship* (Cork, 2005), p. 175. The prince was also presented with gold boxes by Cork and Kinsale during his 1787 visit.

⁵⁸ Caulfield, *Youghal*, p. 515.

⁵⁹ Mark Grimwade, ‘The Properties of Gold’ in Helen Clifford (ed.), *Gold: Power and Allure* (London 2012), pp 32-3.

⁶⁰ *FJ*, 24 Sept. 1765.

question is impossible to answer with certainty. Many, possibly most, of the boxes that survive are believed to be in private collections, not generally accessible to the public or to researchers. While it has been possible through the use of contemporary sources to quantify (with varying degrees of precision) the number of boxes *presented* in Dublin by the corporation, the college and some of the guilds, it is impossible to quantify the number of those boxes that have *survived*. Any comments on the extent of material survival of these objects must be at best impressionistic. Two tentative observations can be advanced: one concerning the age profile of surviving boxes; and, the other concerning the metal profile.

It seems that very few boxes presented in the first century of the practice up to 1760 have survived. The National Museum of Ireland has a gold box with the marks of Thomas Bolton presented by Dublin corporation to the lord chancellor Richard Freeman (1646-1710) in 1707. This box, generally accepted as the oldest surviving Dublin presentation box, is a rare early survivor in a public collection; with the exception of two silver boxes made by William Currie that can be tentatively dated to the years before 1750 (Chapter 5), all the other Dublin-made boxes in the Museum's collection are later than 1760. The San Antonio Museum collection has a silver box with the marks of William Currie that was presented by the weavers' guild in 1734 and two boxes by Cork goldsmiths that may date from the 1750s but, apart from these three, all the boxes in that collection are later than 1760. The existence of other survivors from before 1760 is confirmed by evidence in reports of auctions, even if the current whereabouts of these survivors is unknown. When Gerald FitzGerald (1914-2004), 8th duke of Leinster, sent eighteen presentation boxes that had been presented to his eighteenth-century ancestors for sale at Sotheby's London in 1984, eight of the boxes were earlier than 1760. One of the boxes, made in gold with the marks of Thomas Bolton and presented by Dublin corporation in 1714 to Robert FitzGerald (1675-1743), 19th earl of Kildare, appears to be the second oldest surviving Dublin presentation box (Chapter 3). Reports of a sale at Sotheby's London in March 1959 mentioned three gold boxes with William Currie's mark that were presented by Waterford, Wexford and Kilkenny to Lionel Sackville (1688-1765), 1st duke of Dorset, during his second term as lord lieutenant between 1750 and 1755 (Chapter 5).⁶¹ However, these early survivors are significantly outnumbered in auction reports by boxes from the later phase of box presentation after 1760.

⁶¹ These boxes were sold at Sotheby's London on 12 March 1959: Sotheby's London, *Important Silver and Gold, 3 May 1984*, p. 8.

A second observation based on impressions gleaned from visits to museum collections and from records of surviving boxes is that more silver boxes have survived than gold boxes. This is perhaps not surprising; it is likely that over the course of the presentation practice more boxes made in silver were presented than boxes made in gold, particularly when account is taken of boxes presented by the Dublin guilds, which were predominantly in silver. Nonetheless, the proportion of surviving gold boxes in the principal public collections is remarkably small. As already mentioned, the published records indicate almost half of the boxes presented by Dublin corporation between 1662 and 1821 were made in gold. This ratio is not reflected in the principal collections where gold boxes presented by Dublin are very poorly represented. Of the 108 gold boxes presented by Dublin corporation, only three have found their way to the Dublin and San Antonio museum collections - in Dublin, the Freeman box and a box with the incuse mark of Aeneas Ryan presented to John Foster in 1804 (Chapter 6)⁶² and, in San Antonio, the box with the mark of Benjamin Stokes presented to archbishop Arthur Smyth in 1769 (Chapter 5).⁶³ Overall the proportion of gold boxes (from all presenting institutions on the island) in these museum collections is low. Boxes made in gold comprise only a fifth of the thirty-five boxes in the National Museum collection and less than a tenth of the collection in San Antonio.

The reasons for the underrepresentation of gold boxes in the principal collections are obscure and caution is required in drawing conclusions. However, it is difficult to escape the speculation that the overall low survival rate of gold boxes into the modern era might find its explanation in the temptation for recipients to realise the objects' material value by having them melted down. The temptation was likely to have been greater in the case of boxes made in gold which, according to the records of the budgets allocated for their purchase by the presenting institutions, had a material value five or six times greater than boxes made in silver. If the boxes met their fate in the refiners' fires, the recipients' cupidity would have entirely subverted the institutions' strategy in opting for gold as the material for their gifts.

Thesis structure

This thesis has a chronological structure, beginning with the first recorded presentation of a box made in precious metal by an Irish civic institution - the gold box presented

⁶² NMI 4.1955; *CARD*, xv, p. 360.

⁶³ SAMA 2004.13.253 a and b; *CARD*, xii, p. 14; Davis, *The Genius of Irish Silver*, p. 42.

(together with a gold cup) by Dublin corporation to Ormond in the summer of 1662 (Chapter 1) - and concluding in the third decade of the nineteenth century when Dublin corporation made its final presentation, to Talbot in 1821. (The practice was, however, maintained by the college, some of the Dublin guilds and some provincial cities and towns into the following decade).

When the archive documentation concerning box transactions is read in conjunction with surviving artefacts, three broad phases can be charted in the commercial arrangements for production and supply. The first period runs from the earliest surviving records of transactions in the final third of the seventeenth century until roughly 1750 (Chapters 1, 2 and 3). During this period, the institutions transacted with leading goldsmiths in the city and, in at least some cases, there is evidence of goldsmiths also taking responsibility for the production of the boxes they supplied (Chapter 3). This was followed by a second, intermediate, period which runs from roughly 1750 to about 1780, coinciding with the emergence of specialised box-makers (Chapter 5); in this period, evidence begins to emerge of more frequent disaggregation of production and supply, with documented instances of goldsmiths supplying the institutions with boxes made by other, more specialised, goldsmiths. In the final period, from the 1780s until the abandonment of the box presentation practice in the last years of the Georgian era, there is evidence that the supply of boxes was largely controlled by goldsmiths who operated as retailers, relying on specialist makers to produce boxes (Chapter 6).

The choice of a chronological approach for the thesis (rather than, for example, the thematic approach used by Cunningham in her thesis or FitzGerald in *Silver in Georgian Dublin*) is deliberate as it provides the framework for the central enquiry which is to explore the changes that occurred over time in the commercial strategies operated by the relatively small number of goldsmiths in the city involved in the trade in presentation boxes. The thesis is limited in its geographical scope to Dublin and looks at goldsmiths active in the city in the late Stuart and Gregorian periods.⁶⁴ As a rule, the boxes presented by Dublin civic

⁶⁴ In the eighteenth century, there was a lively goldsmithing trade in Cork, whose members were frequently called on to make boxes for presentation by the corporation and by other civic institutions in the city, county and elsewhere in Munster. The work of Bowen and O'Brien on the goldsmiths of Cork has both rescued from oblivion many skilled makers and advanced the understanding of how the trade was organised in Georgian Cork. However, it has also shown that economic and social conditions affecting goldsmiths in Cork were quite different to those prevailing in Dublin. While reference will occasionally be made in this thesis to Cork and its box presentations, the study of how business structures for the production and supply of boxes worked in that city and how those structures might be compared to the systems used in Dublin is beyond the scope of this thesis.

institutions were commissioned from goldsmiths based in the city and, even when those goldsmiths used other hands to produce the boxes they supplied, the boxes were made by goldsmiths who also worked in the city. The boxes are part of the history of Dublin, specifically the city's civic material culture; understanding the economic and social relations that underlay their production and supply will add, in a small way, to the history of the city.

Dublin's history has been written many times. From Craig onwards,⁶⁵ historians have agreed that the Restoration marks 'the decisive juncture in the cultural, infrastructural and institutional history of the city';⁶⁶ it was also the period when the practice of presenting gold and silver boxes began. The practice continued until the early nineteenth century, the period when, to use Hill's phrase, the city's historical corporate institutional structures were unravelling.⁶⁷ Dickson's *Dublin* provides the most recent overview of the city's history, stretching back to the city's foundation and concluding at the beginning of the current millennium, with insightful commentary on the political, social and economic changes of the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that helps in decoding changes in the institutions' box presentation practice.⁶⁸ Hill's work on the municipal politics of Dublin between 1660 and 1840 provides an essential resource for understanding the enthusiasms and preoccupations of the enfranchised section of the city's population, which increasingly found material expression in the boxes their institutions presented. Clark's work on other aspects of civic material culture in Dublin, particularly her work on the civic portrait collection, provides a parallel pathway into an understanding of how objects commissioned and owned by the corporation reflected political and social change within the city.⁶⁹

Dublin corporation's presentation to Ormond is the starting point of the thesis and is examined in the form of a case study in Chapter 1. That presentation was a new departure in the corporation's gifting practice and, it will be argued, should be situated in the broader context of the turn to splendour in the wake of the Restoration, allowing a parallel to be drawn between Dublin's presentation and the opulent gifts made to Charles II by English

⁶⁵ Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860: the shaping of a city* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1980).

⁶⁶ Robin Usher, *Protestant Dublin, 1660-1760* (Basingstoke, 2012), p. 8.

⁶⁷ Jacqueline Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists: Dublin's Civic Politics and Irish Protestant Patriotism, 1660-1840* (Oxford, 1997), pp 355-83.

⁶⁸ David Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (London, 2014).

⁶⁹ Mary Clark, 'The Dublin Civic Portrait Collection: Patronage, Politics and Patriotism, 1548-2000' (PhD thesis, School of Art History and Cultural Policy, University College, Dublin, 2006); Mary Clark, *The Dublin Civic Portrait Collection: Patronage, Politics and Patriotism, 1603-2013* (Dublin, 2016).

towns and cities anxious to mend relations with the Stuart dynasty. In the transactions associated with the Ormond gifts, it is also possible to identify paradigmatic elements that became settled practice in the corporation's approach to box presentations over the following sixteen decades.

Discussion of the activity of Daniel Bellingham (c.1620-1672) who supplied the gifts to the corporation and of the complex financial transactions he helped devise to fund the acquisition relies on detailed descriptions of those arrangements preserved in the minutes of the city assembly. These records of Bellingham's financial schemes were collected in the fourth volume of the *Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin*, the monumental nineteen-volume enterprise undertaken by Sir John Gilbert (1829-98) and continued by his widow Rosa Mulholland (1841-1921), and published between 1882 and 1944. In their editing of the *CARD*, the Gilberts seem to have had some inkling of the significance of box presentations to the parties involved, as they invariably highlighted records of decisions to vote boxes and, on at least one occasion, reproduced an image of a presentation box.⁷⁰ Throughout this thesis, the *CARD* is the primary source for information on the corporation's decisions on box presentations (with due attention to subsequent discoveries concerning the Gilberts' occasional fallibility).⁷¹ The material in the *CARD* is supplemented by research in the unpublished minutes of the lower house of the city assembly, the Sheriffs and Commons, which are held in the Dublin City Archive. The *CARD* is also the source for the data set out in Appendices 1 and 2 which seek to present records of every box presentation resolution voted by the corporation between 1662 and 1821.⁷² Appendix 3 sets out details of a small number of box presentations by the corporation that do not feature in the *CARD* but were recovered from other sources in the course of the research.

Chapter 2 investigates how the box presentation practice evolved in the final years of the seventeenth century. In those years, only the corporation was presenting boxes in the city; the college and the guilds had not yet adopted the practice. After the Williamite victory, gifts of boxes, made in gold or silver, became the established idiom for the corporation's expressions of deference and respect. Documentary sources concerning the transactional aspects of the practice are relatively scarce in this period and no artefact evidence, in the form of surviving

⁷⁰ *CARD*, xiv, plate VI.

⁷¹ Mary Clark, 'Local archives and Gilbertian reforms' in Mary Clark, Yvonne Desmond and Nodlaig P. Hardiman (eds), *Sir John T. Gilbert: Historian Archivist and Librarian* (Dublin, 1999), pp 87-90.

⁷² *CARD*, iv-xvii.

boxes, has been traced. Nevertheless, from archival accounting material, it has been possible to reconstruct elements of some of the transactions associated with the presentations recorded in the *CARD*. The surviving documentary evidence shows that in this period the corporation did not have a preferred supplier and transacted with a number of goldsmiths. However, it maintained its preference for dealing with commercially prominent goldsmiths, most of whom were also active in municipal politics.

Chapter 3 uses the documentary evidence of transactions in the Dublin City Archive to trace a major change in the corporation's commercial strategy for acquiring boxes in the early eighteenth century. Thomas Bolton, who dominated the Dublin goldsmiths' trade at that time and who had a lengthy career in municipal politics, emerges as the preferred (and, possibly, exclusive) supplier of boxes to the corporation for at least two decades, supplying more boxes than any other goldsmith over the entire sixteen-decade currency of the presentation practice. Evidence from artefacts and contemporary invoices and receipts is used to investigate the extent to which Bolton (and his contemporary David King) may have operated an integrated model, overseeing within their workshops the production of the boxes they supplied.

Chapter 4 explores how demand for boxes in the city increased from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. The corporation stepped up the rate of its presentations and expanded the categories of recipients, the college made presentations more regularly and more frequently (often in conjunction with extravagant banquets), and a number of the guilds adopted the box presentation practice as a means of projecting their opinions on municipal affairs and their assessments of the qualities of public figures.

Changes on the production side that began around the mid-eighteenth century are discussed in Chapter 5. The rise in snuff-taking and the increasing demand for fashionable boxes as containers and personal accessories, together with the expansion in civic demand for presentation boxes in Dublin and elsewhere, led a small number of goldsmiths to specialise in box production.⁷³ The figures of William Currie (c.1704-1772), a Dubliner who grew up among refugee Huguenot goldsmiths, and Benjamin Stokes (c.1713-1771), the son of one of Dublin's most accomplished mathematical instrument makers, emerge as the leading

⁷³ Mattoon M. Curtis, *The Book of Snuff and Snuff Boxes* (New York, 1935); Hugh McCausland, *Snuff and Snuff Boxes* (London, 1951); Kenneth Blackmore, *Snuff Boxes* (London, 1976); G. Bernard Hughes, *English Snuff Boxes* (London, 1971).

specialist box-makers in period from 1750 to 1770. Around this time too, the documentary evidence indicates a shift away from the integrated model of production and supply. Records are traced of boxes with the marks of the specialised makers being supplied to the city's institutions by other, more prominent, goldsmiths. These commercial arrangements resembled those that Clifford found Parker and Wakelin were operating at roughly the same time in London.

In Chapter 6, which is focused on the final decades of presentations in the city (1780-1830), the evidence, both documentary and artefact, points to the ascendancy of the retail model operated by a few prominent goldsmiths, notably the Keens and the Wests whose business structures were built around kinship networks. Concentration is also evident in box production, with a small corps of specialised box-makers producing most of the presentation boxes supplied by retailers to the corporation and the college. An attempt is made to recover details of the lives and work of two box-makers, James Kennedy (c.1743-1803) and Aeneas Ryan (active 1784-1810). In contrast with Currie and Stokes, these two goldsmiths never advanced beyond the quarterage in the guild. FitzGerald described quarter brothers as 'a distinct category of guild members which included Catholics, foreigners who had not been admitted to full guild membership, time-expired apprentices awaiting election as freemen, and others who were eligible to become freemen but chose not to take on the commitments and responsibilities which freedom brought.'⁷⁴ As quarter brothers, Kennedy and Ryan were prohibited from operating retail premises, and consequently they could not deal directly with the prestigious customers who purchased the boxes they made. In the decade following the departure of Kennedy and Ryan from the trade, the box presentation practice was already in decline; Edward Murray emerged as the principal box-maker in the city for the final two decades (1810-1830).

In the Conclusion, the findings of the research are presented with an emphasis on tracing continuities and changes in the demand for boxes for civic presentations in Dublin and in the commercial arrangements associated with the production and supply of those boxes over the sixteen decades of the practice.

⁷⁴ FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin*, p. 11.

Chapter 1 Dublin's golden gifts to the duke of Ormond in 1662

1.1 Dublin's gifts to Ormond in 1662 as a paradigm for box presentations and transactions in the city

The presentation by Dublin corporation of the freedom of the city, together with a gold box and a gold cup, to James, duke of Ormond,¹ when he returned to Dublin as lord lieutenant in July 1662 initiated among the civic institutions of the city the practice of making gifts of boxes in precious metal to prominent and powerful men, a practice that became a distinctive part of the civic ritual of early modern Dublin.² The presentation to Ormond also established the paradigmatic ceremonial elements of the practice - the presentation of a luxurious box justified as a container for a grant of freedom, the choice of specific precious metals to signal degrees of esteem and respect, and a peculiar deferential verticality that required lower-status participants in the gift-exchanges to present costly objects to higher-status individuals. These elements recur in the presentations made by institutions in the city (and elsewhere in the kingdom) with some variations and adaptations until the practice was gradually abandoned in the early nineteenth century.

Although the objects presented to Ormond have not survived, a relatively large amount of documentary material concerning the commercial arrangements associated with the presentation is preserved in the city's archive. These records do not provide answers to all the questions (most notably, who made the objects presented to Ormond?) but they permit a substantial reconstruction of the transaction, revealing the identity of the goldsmith who supplied the objects, the timing of the various elements of the transaction, the amounts spent, and the financing arrangements. Many features present in this first box transaction recur in subsequent transactions: a pronounced preference on the part of the city's institutions for placing orders with prominent goldsmiths, the greater priority given to the selected suppliers'

¹ According to O'Brien, 'The first duke usually signed himself as 'Ormond' while the second duke invariably adopted the spelling 'Ormonde'' (Conor O'Brien, 'In search of the Duke of Ormond's wine cistern and fountain' in *Silver Studies*, xv (2003), pp 63-67, p. 63).

² No record of a presentation by the corporation of a box made in precious metal to a woman has been traced in the late Stuart and Georgian Dublin. There are records of a small number of presentations to women by some of the city's guilds (Chapter 4).

social and political prominence over their technical capacity to produce the objects they supplied, and the importance of access to networks and capital in the suppliers' commercial strategies to respond to the institutions' commissions. Understanding how those features operated in this first (and exceptionally well-documented) box transaction will provide a framework for the investigation of subsequent transactions in the city.

Ormond had previously been appointed lord lieutenant in 1643 but there is no record of any presentation by the corporation to him during that earlier term in office. This is hardly surprising. The 1640s was a very disturbed period in Ireland and in the city. Records indicate that while Ormond was in exile in the 1650s the corporation had begun presenting the civic freedom (on what might now be termed an honorary basis) to politically important outsiders and was also making gifts in precious metal (see 1.3 below). However, the corporation's presentation to Ormond in 1662 was a new departure - the first recorded instance of the city combining the presentation of a box with the grant of freedom and the corporation's first presentation in gold. At the time of the Ormond presentation, the box was explicitly understood as a container for the instrument of freedom - 'his grace bee likewise presented with his freedome which is to bee presented to him in a golden box, to bee made to that purpose'.³ This notion of the box as container was maintained throughout the duration of presentation practice; in October 1813, when the corporation voted for the last time to present a viceroy with a box made in gold, it resolved that the recipient, Charles Whitworth (1752-1825), earl Whitworth, should be granted the freedom and that 'that same be presented in a gold box not exceeding in value twenty-five guineas'.⁴

The box-gifting practice initiated with the Ormond presentation was adopted over time by other civic institutions in the city, notably the guilds and the college, and by municipalities and institutions elsewhere in Ireland. The corporation in Cork, for example, took up the practice some decades after Dublin but embraced it with greater enthusiasm. Records have been located in the *CARD* of 218 resolutions for box presentations by Dublin corporation between 1662 and 1821, whereas according to Bowen and O'Brien Cork corporation made presentations of at least 371 boxes in silver and forty-one in gold between the late-seventeenth century and the late 1830s.⁵ The disparity in the number of presentations between the two cities reflects Cork's more expansive approach to granting the civic freedom

³ *CARD*, iv, p. 243.

⁴ *CARD*, xvi, p. 444.

⁵ Bowen and O'Brien, *Cork Silver and Gold*, p. 156.

and presenting silver boxes. Cork's gifts were often made to visitors connected with the city's commercial activity as a provisioning port, and the number and frequency of Cork's presentations to men who sailed the seas is striking. At least sixty boxes were given to admirals, commodores, captains and others with maritime connections.⁶ In many cases, the recipients were recorded as being 'in the harbour' at the time of the presentation.⁷ In contrast, until at least the latter half of the eighteenth century, Dublin tended to use the practice of box presentation principally as a means of communicating its deference to powerful elite political figures. Some Dubliners disparaged Cork's presentation practice and questioned its motivations. When reports reached Dublin in 1780 of Cork's decision to present a gold box to Wills Hill (1718-93), the widely despised earl of Hillsborough, a piece of doggerel was published in a Dublin newspaper lampooning the presentation and referring to the southern city as 'Cork the Contractor' which 'brings the golden bribe'.⁸ The intensity of Dublin disdain for Cork's approach to the presentation practice was apparent in the newspaper's reaction to the news that, by the same resolution, Cork had decided to present a gold box to the prime minister, Lord North (1732-1792);⁹ Cork, it was suggested, could 'kiss North's a--e---[sic] and stick'.¹⁰

The civic practice of box-gifting was not unique to Ireland; there are records of gifts of boxes in gold and silver by towns, cities and institutions in England and Scotland in the late Stuart and Georgian periods, leading some scholars to suggest that the British practice was an adoption of the Dublin innovation.¹¹ However, it appears that the practice was never as widespread in Britain as it was in Ireland.¹² The reasons for the disparity in box-gifting between the kingdoms are obscure and require further research. Explanations may possibly lie in differing attitudes to civic freedom. In Dublin (and other Irish towns and cities), civic freedom was a contested aspect of identity; during the sixteen decades of the box presentation practice (with a brief reversal during the reign of James II), civic freedom was essentially restricted to Protestants and operated as a bulwark of the institutional exclusion of Catholics from public life. In England and Scotland where greater religious uniformity prevailed, this divisive confessional dimension was largely absent in respect of civic freedom. The exclusive

⁶ Ibid.; <http://www.corkarchives.ie/media/freemen1710-1841.pdf> (consulted 1 October 2020).

⁷ Caulfield, *The Council Book of the Corporation of the City of Cork*, p. 348, p. 477, p. 517, p. 526, p. 744, p. 745, p. 926.

⁸ *DEP*, 10 Aug. 1780.

⁹ Caulfield, *The Council Book of the Corporation of the City of Cork*, p. 951.

¹⁰ *DEP*, 10 Aug. 1780.

¹¹ Delamer and O'Brien, *500 Years*, p. 64.

¹² Delamer, 'Freedom Boxes', pp 2-15.

nature of Irish civic freedom, as perceived by the Protestant citizenry, made it both a source and a sign of social status. Unsurprisingly, the confessional dimension is also present in the profiles of the recipients of Dublin's box presentations. By the late Georgian period, some towns and cities in Ireland were prepared to make presentations to Catholic bishops judged useful and compliant (Chapter 6) but, as far as can be determined, all the recipients of boxes from the corporation in Dublin (with the sole exception of Richard Talbot, (1630-91), earl of Tyrconnell, during the reign of James II (Chapter 2)) were Protestants. For the Protestant citizens of Dublin, the centrality of the civic freedom to their identity may have meant that, in their eyes, it had a unique value as an immaterial gift for prominent visitors or temporary residents, a value which they sought to emphasise and enhance materially by presenting a box in precious metal as a container. In addition, the repertoire of civic gifts in English towns and cities may have been more extensive than in Dublin where the corporation's gifting practice was focused almost entirely on boxes.¹³ There is evidence, notably in the City of London, of fairly numerous presentations of swords in connection with grants of freedom.¹⁴ From the 1680s onwards, boxes were the only gifts Dublin corporation presented in conjunction with the grant of freedom.

1.2 The joyeuse entrée of the duke of Ormond in Dublin, 1662

Ormond's return to Dublin in July 1662 was understood, both by him and the city's inhabitants, as a new beginning, albeit full of uncertainties. Ormond was returning in triumph to a city that he had surrendered in 1647 to the parliamentary colonel, Michael Jones (d.1649), and that he had failed 'spectacularly to recapture ... in 1649'.¹⁵ In his continental European exile during the Cromwellian regime, Ormond's public fortunes had generally waxed (while his personal fortune waned) and, due to his astute politicking and personal courage, he had been appointed to prestigious and influential positions by the newly restored Charles II.¹⁶ By the time he was created duke of Ormond in March 1661, he was the preeminent personality in Ireland; 'He was in the unique position of being Ireland's only duke and a member of one of the few Anglo-Norman families to have survived, with their

¹³ As will be seen later in this chapter, the corporation in Dublin made presentations of other objects made in silver but these gifts were not made in connection with grants of freedom and many were given to men who were already free of the city.

¹⁴ John Nichols, *A Brief Account of the Guildhall of the City of London* (London, 1819); Leslie Southwick, 'New Light on the Swordmakers, Goldsmiths and Jewellers, John Ray and James Montague, Active in Partnership in London 1800-1821, With a New and Extended List of Their Known Work' in *Arms & Armour*, xi, no. 2 (Autumn 2014), pp 90-141.

¹⁵ Dickson, *Dublin*, p. 78.

¹⁶ Jane Fenlon, 'Episodes of Magnificence: The material worlds of the Dukes of Ormonde' in Toby Barnard and Jane Fenlon (eds), *The Dukes of Ormonde 1610-1745* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp 137-60, p. 141.

estates almost intact, the Tudor reconquest and later Cromwellian settlement.¹⁷ Popular expectations of the returning viceroy were high; in the celebrated passage that opens Craig's *Dublin 1660-1860*, the response to Ormond's arrival is described in lyrical terms: 'The peasantry welcomed him on the shore, dancing and strewing flowers his path. They sang in Irish, 'Thugamar féin an samhra linn': 'We brought the summer with us''.¹⁸



Figure 1.1 Peter Lely (1618-80), *James Butler, 1st duke of Ormond*, c.1665, courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

In Dublin, the response of the city's merchants and artisans to Ormond's return may have been fraught with uncertainty. Some city aldermen had been closely associated with the Cromwellian regime and may have feared for their future under the restored monarchy; others, like the goldsmith Daniel Bellingham who became the city's first lord mayor in 1665, had maintained contact with the Stuart court in exile and may have believed that their hour had come.¹⁹ A misplaced optimism among prominent Catholics that dynastic restoration

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860*, p. 3.

¹⁹ Dickson, *Dublin*, p. 78.

would mean the return of forfeited estates and personal advancement contributed to a generalised anxiety within the Protestant interest.²⁰

Ormond's return to Ireland confirmed not only the restoration of the Stuart monarchy but also his personal triumph and ascendancy. For the corporation in Dublin, it was a moment that required both commemoration and tribute, providing an opportunity for a display of loyalty and deference that might also assist in erasing memories of recent unfortunate alignments. How should the city mark the *joyeuse entrée* of the newly returned, vindicated and triumphant viceroy? A gesture commensurate with the significance of the event and the stature of the man was required. In his public life, Ormond understood the utility and necessity of splendour and display in the assertion of legitimacy and authority. McGrath has explained how the re-establishment of the 'prestige and standing of the king's representative in Ireland' was part of the overall restoration project.²¹ Ormond's turn to splendour, display and ceremony in Ireland reflected essential elements of Charles II's plans to reassert the authority of the monarchy and the Stuart dynasty in all three of his kingdoms.²² Writing seventy years after the event, Ormond's first biographer, the non-juror Thomas Carte (1686-1754), placed the grandeur of Ormond's return to Ireland in the context of the revival of splendour that had accompanied the Restoration in England:

'His reception at Dublin, by the resort of all persons of distinction from every part of the kingdom, (a parliament being there sitting,) was, for the splendour thereof, the epitome of what had been lately seen at London upon his majesty's happy restoration'.²³

Charles II's strategy of using magnificence and display to assert authority was influenced by his experience of continental court culture during his exile in Paris, Cologne and Brussels in the 1650s, an experience Ormond had shared. The projection of splendour through objects made in precious metal and the revival of the ceremonial representation of power and authority in the court in London provides context for the ceremonies marking Ormond's return to Dublin and for the city's decision to welcome him with lavish gifts made in gold. Gillespie has noted that, while 'dramatic performance intended to enhance the person of the lord deputy as representative of the king was almost non-existent' in early seventeenth-

²⁰ S.J. Connolly, *Divided Kingdom: Ireland 1630-1800* (Oxford, 2008), pp 120-30.

²¹ Charles Ivar McGrath, 'Late Seventeenth-and Early Eighteenth-Century Governance and the Viceroyalty' in Peter Gray and Olwen Purdue (eds), *The Irish Lord Lieutenancy c.1541-1922* (Dublin, 2012), pp 43-65, p. 45.

²² Rufus Bird and Martin Clayton (eds), *Charles II: Art & Power* (London, 2017).

²³ Carte, *The Life of James, Duke of Ormond: containing an account of the most remarkable affairs of his time, and particularly of Ireland under his government; with appendix and a collection of letters, serving to verify the most material facts in the said history* (6 vols, Oxford, 1851), iv, p. 114.

century Ireland, ‘the revival of state ritual was given its fullest expression’ by Ormond on his appointment as lord lieutenant after the Restoration.²⁴

The presentation of the gold gifts to Ormond by the corporation was a central part of his ceremonial reception. Both the reception and the presentation were devised by the corporation (rather than Ormond) and, by means of these ceremonies, the corporation sought to connect itself to the Restoration project and to the prestige Ormond enjoyed arising from his loyalty and proximity to the king. In the resolution authorising the presentation, the corporation was explicit in linking the ‘dignitie’ of Ormond’s office with the ‘honor of this cittie’ as the motivation for the enormous expense involved; similar formulae were used on subsequent occasions to justify exceptional expenditure related to the reception of the duke by the city.²⁵

An awareness by the city authorities in Dublin that the Restoration and the return of Ormond required from them displays of loyalty and deference, more public and lavish than had been their custom, was already apparent in the preparations they made before the duke’s arrival. They understood that to impress the duke they had to spend. Ormond had initially been expected in Dublin in April 1662 and early that month the mayor petitioned the assembly for additional funds, noting that because ‘the parliament beinge shortlie to meete in this cittie, and his grace the duke of Ormond, lord lieftennant of Ireland, beinge sodainelie to come into this cittie’ there would be a requirement to engage in additional expenditure ‘to aunswere the dignitie of his imployment and the credit of this cittie’.²⁶ In response to the petition, the assembly voted a sum of £100.²⁷ The corporation also commissioned a goldsmith, Edward Harris (free 1652; d.1688),²⁸ to provide a firework display to celebrate the duke’s arrival, for which Harris charged £14 (although he was still petitioning for payment more than two years later).²⁹

Due to his involvement in the arrangements for Charles II’s wedding on 21 May to Catherine of Braganza, Ormond’s departure for Dublin was delayed and he finally set out from London at the beginning of July. While he was travelling, the corporation in Dublin

²⁴ Raymond Gillespie, ‘Political ideas and their social contexts in seventeenth-century Ireland’ in Jane H. Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Political Thought in Seventeenth-century Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000), pp 107-31, p. 123.

²⁵ *CARD*, iv, p. 243, p. 360.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

²⁸ Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 664.

²⁹ *CARD*, iv, p. 316.

appears to have realised that a presentation, on a scale that accorded with the new regime's emphasis on ostentation and display, might be required. On 22 July, less than a week before the duke's arrival, the assembly voted on a petition authorising expenditure of £350 to present him with a gold cup and with his freedom in a gold box, in the following terms:

‘to lay downe a course whereby his grace (uppon his instalment into the government of this kingdome as a pledge of the affection of this cittie unto him) may be presented with such a gifte as may aunswere the dignitie of his place and the honor of this cittie: it is therefore ordered and agreed, by the authoritie of this present assemblee, that his grace, the duke of Ormond, bee presented with a golden cupp, and that his grace bee likewise presented with his freedome which is to bee presented to him in a golden box, to bee made to that purpose; and that there bee forthwith advanced the summe of three hundred and fiftie pounds, for makeinge the said cupp and box’.³⁰

1.3 Earlier grants of freedom and other gifts of plate by Dublin

This minute concerning the commissioning of a gold box for Ormond is the first record of the corporation in Dublin associating the presentation of a box in precious metal with a grant of the freedom of the city. Records exist of earlier grants of the city's freedom to prominent men from outside the city; for example, in November 1648 the city assembly voted to admit Michael Jones, the Parliamentarian general, ‘to the franchises and liberties of the said citty upon graces especiall’. Jones's freedom was presented to him ‘under the citty seale’ but there is no record of funds being voted for a box. Instead, the mayor was authorised to spend a sum not exceeding £20 on ‘a banquet and other necessarys fit for his intertayment this day in the Tholsell’.³¹ Eight years later, in April 1656, Henry Cromwell (1628-1674) was admitted to the freedom of Dublin. Following the departure of Fleetwood in September 1655, the younger Cromwell had become in effect, though not in name, chief governor of Ireland.³² The city authorities couched their decision to grant Cromwell the freedom in references to ancient precedent and resolved to hold a lavish celebratory banquet in his honour to mark the occasion. As with Jones's grant of freedom, there is no record of a vote of funds for the presentation of a box made in precious metal as a container for Cromwell's freedom.

At the same time that the city authorities granted Cromwell his freedom, they retrospectively approved a presentation of gifts in precious metal that he had recently

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

³¹ *CARD*, iii, p. 467.

³² Peter Gaunt, ‘Henry Cromwell (1628-74)’ in *ODNB*.

received. These gifts were expressed by the corporation (and understood by bystanders) to be connected not to his grant of freedom but to another event that occurred in Cromwell's life around the same time - the birth on 19 April 1656 of his first child, a son. At the time of the child's birth, he was the only male grandson of Henry Cromwell's father, Oliver Cromwell, and was given his grandfather's name.³³ The infant Oliver Cromwell (1656-85) was baptised in Christ Church on 24 April and contemporary sources reported that on the following day 'the Mayor and his brethren presented the infant with three fair pieces of plate'.³⁴ At a meeting on 28 April, a few days after the presentation, the corporation noted that 'there was bestowed at the baptizeinge of the said lord Cromwelles sonne three peeces of plate, to the value of thirtie five pounds, fourteene shillings and eight pence, sterling' and it was resolved that the cost of the gift should be paid out of city funds.³⁵ No record providing a more precise description of these pieces of plate presented to Cromwell appears to have survived and it is not possible to know what exactly the objects were; however, the use of the word 'plate' confirmed that the objects were made in precious metal and was a strong indication that they were made in silver rather than gold (the word 'plate' at this time was sometimes used in connection with objects made in gold, but then more usually in the formulation 'gold plate'). The cost of the objects and the fact that there were three pieces also point towards objects made in silver and suggests that the pieces were relatively substantial.

In the context of the corporation's subsequent adoption of the practice of presenting boxes made in precious metal, this gift of plate to Cromwell is important. There are records of the city *receiving* silver objects (usually as part of the fine for admission to the city's freedom) in the seventeenth century but the presentation to Cromwell appears to have been the first instance, at least in the early modern period, of the city *making* a presentation in precious metal.³⁶ The presentation to Cromwell is also important because the surviving

³³ James Waylen, *The House of Cromwell: A Genealogical History of the Family and Descendants of the Protector* (London, 1897), p. 48. A few months after Oliver's birth in Dublin, another boy (also christened Oliver) was born on 11 July 1656 to Henry's brother, Richard, and his wife: see Mark Noble, *Memoirs of the Protectoral-House of Cromwell* (2 vols, London, 1787) i, p. 360.

³⁴ *CARD*, iv, p. 93, fn.1.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

³⁶ For example, in 1651, 'by special grace, and on fine of a piece of plate to city', Sir Robert Newcomen and Robert Percivall were admitted to the franchise (*CARD*, iv, p. 8); in 1652, Thomas Jones was admitted 'by special grace, and for the fine of a peece of plate, to be delivered to the treasurer of this cittie, for the use of this cittie, to goe with the cittie sworde' (*Ibid.*, p. 33); in 1656, Theophilus Sandford, a goldsmith, and James Hill, a tailor, were admitted 'By special grace, and on fine of a piece of plate paid to the city treasurer' (*Ibid.*, p. 100); in 1656, there is a reference to 'a peece of old plate amonge the plate belonginge to the cittie, which was the fine or gifte of Mr. Culme, deceased, whereon the arms of the said Mr. Culme are fixed' (*Ibid.*, p. 106); in 1670, Sir Theophilus Jones was granted a fee farm of land in Oxmanstown in return for an annual rent payment and 'a peece of plate to follow the sword of this citty' (*Ibid.*, p. 500).

records show that the corporation dealt with Bellingham who six years later supplied the gold cup and box presented to Ormond. Bellingham had already transacted with the corporation on at least one previous occasion, having supplied six silver maces (at a cost of £66) in 1652.³⁷ At the time of the resolution on the Cromwell gifts, Bellingham was a sheriff of the city. This pattern of the corporation dealing with socially and politically prominent goldsmiths for the supply of presentation objects (and, perhaps, of goldsmiths using their prominence to secure those lucrative commissions) is repeated throughout the currency of the box presentation practice in the city.

The corporation continued this practice of presenting gifts of plate over the next century and a half and, as Cunningham has explained, gifts of plate were also made by some of the city's guilds from the 1650s onwards, mainly to 'their municipal leaders rather than those occupying the higher echelons of power'.³⁸ In the case of the corporation, there may have been a degree of intersection between the plate-gifting and box-gifting practices in the early days of both gifting practices. In 1667, for example, Sir Paul Davies (d.1672), clerk of the privy council and secretary of state, who according to the corporation had been 'very instrumentall to promote the honor and advantage of this citty from time to time upon all occasions', was voted (as 'tokens of this cittyes thankfulness') his freedom in a silver box and a piece of plate of £50 value.³⁹ The corporation's intention may have been to ensure Davies received a gift that was more lavish and valuable than the silver box customarily associated with the grant of freedom and on which it usually spent no more than £4 at that time. Viewed in the context of the concurrent plate-gifting convention, the corporation's presentation of a box and a cup to Ormond in 1662 may also be considered a hybrid form of the two presentation practices, with the corporation intending to present Ormond with objects that were not only prestigious but also valuable. The two practices diverged after the 1660s and came to fulfil separate functions. There are no further records in the *CARD* after 1667 of votes of boxes to recipients who also received gifts of plate.⁴⁰

The principal formal difference between the two types of gifts, at least after the 1660s, was that gifts of plate were not connected to the grant of freedom. Most of the recipients of gifts of plate were already freemen of the city at the time their gifts were voted. As there was

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32, p. 98.; Claude Blair and Ida Delamer, 'The Dublin Civic Swords' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, lxxxviii (1988), section c, pp 87-142.

³⁸ Cunningham, 'Craft and Culture', chapter 6.

³⁹ *CARD*, iv, p. 398.

⁴⁰ *CARD*, iv-xviii.

no grant of freedom, a container was not required. Because it was not necessary for the corporation to present a box, the corporation (and, sometimes, the recipient) had a wider choice concerning the form the gift of plate could take. A connected point is that, until the latter half of the eighteenth century (Chapter 4), presentations of boxes were reserved for recipients towards whom the corporation owed a particularly pronounced form of vertical deference. The recipients of gifts of plate, on the other hand, generally occupied less elite positions and received their gifts as a reward for some form of service provided to the city or the corporation. The gifts of plate lacked the vertiginous social disparity present in most of the box presentations; the recipients mostly were city officers, architects, engineers or sea captains drawn from social strata roughly equal in status to the representatives of the city who made the gifts. The record of a presentation in 1704 of a piece of plate to Captain Sanders provides an example. Sanders had captured two French privateers who were interfering with ‘the small trade of this city’ and in its resolution the corporation sought to emphasise that Sanders was receiving his gift in return for services rendered and, lest there should have been any doubt, ordered that ‘an inscription mentioning his services be ingraven’ on the gift.⁴¹ The city’s gift to Sanders, a circular silver-gilt monteith, survives and is now in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland (Fig. 1.2).⁴² The object is notable as probably the earliest surviving gift-object from the corporation of Dublin, older by a few years than the presentation box given to Freeman in 1707.

⁴¹ *CARD*, vi, p. 305. There is a record of the payment of £33 by the corporation to Thomas Bolton for this gift in 1704 (DCA, MR/36, Treasurer’s accounts, folio 574).

⁴² Delamer and O’Brien, *500 Years*, p. 120. The inscription reads: ‘The gift of the Honble. City of Dublin to Capt. Geo. Sanders, Commandr. of Her Maties. ship the Seaforth, for his signal services in taking two French privateers being the first that were brought into this harbour this warr Anno. Dom. 1704’.



Figure 1.2 Thomas Bolton, *Monteith* presented by Dublin corporation to George Sanders, silver-gilt, Dublin, 1704, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.

It is also noteworthy that there are fewer records of gifts of plate by the corporation than of box presentations. Records of thirty-four resolutions authorising gifts of plate have been located in the *CARD* from the late seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century, although caution is required as those recovered records may understate the number of gifts of plate made.⁴³ Almost half (fourteen out of thirty-four) relate to gifts of plate in the period between 1800 and 1827 when the practice seems to have used exclusively to provide gifts for the corporation's own officials, its office holders or their wives. There is also a forty-five-year period between 1723 and 1768 when no gifts of plate were recorded; by way of contrast, the corporation made more than fifty box presentations in that period. As a general observation, it seems that gifts of plate played a significantly smaller role in the life of the city than box presentations.

From a transactional point of view, two points of significance emerge from a summary review of the plate-gifting practice. First, from records of transactions related to gifts of plate, it emerges that, in selecting goldsmiths to supply these pieces of plate, the corporation operated an approach that was very similar to the way it transacted for boxes. The

⁴³ *CARD*, iv-xviii.

corporation's orders went to prominent well-connected goldsmiths. The Sanders Monteith was supplied by Thomas Bolton who, as will be seen in Chapter 3, had established a firm grip on the business of supplying the corporation with boxes and regalia. Throughout his career, Bolton saw the value of the corporation's commissions, including commissions to supply gift-objects, and actively pursued the opportunity they presented. Two decades after he supplied the gift for Sanders, Bolton was still keen to ensure that he was involved at the earliest stage of another plate presentation. In 1724, when the corporation voted 'a present of plate, not exceeding in value fifty pounds' to the engineer and architect, Thomas Burgh (1670-1730), the resolution provided that Bolton (who at this stage was an alderman in his late sixties) together with other representatives of the corporation should 'wait on the said captain Burgh and return him the thanks of the city for his services, and know from him what piece of plate he will have made, and that the plate be made and presented him accordingly'.⁴⁴ It is not difficult to imagine Bolton assisting and guiding Burgh in his choice of gift and then volunteering to undertake the commission.

In the generation before Bolton, the preference for selecting prominent goldsmiths to supply the pieces of plate was already apparent. Bellingham's involvement in the Cromwell gift in 1656 was noted earlier. In August 1688, the corporation resolved that the city recorder, Sir John Barnewall (1634?-91?), who 'with great care and paines' had translated the city's charter into English should be given 'some peece or peeces of silver plate, as he thinks fit to chose, not exceeding the value of fiftie pounds'.⁴⁵ Barnewall, a Catholic and a supporter of James II, chose to have his piece of plate made by Christopher Pallas (free 1675) who was a sheriff and sitting in the (predominantly Catholic) assembly (see Chapter 2). In October the same year, Pallas petitioned (through his apprentice Anthony Stanley) for payment of £50 for the plate ordered by Barnewall.⁴⁶

A second significant point about these gifts of plate is that, although they were less frequent than presentations of boxes, they were often more valuable as gifts to the recipients and as commissions to the goldsmiths selected as suppliers. In many cases, the budgets for the gifts were greater than the amounts voted by the corporation for the boxes presented to the most distinguished and powerful men in the kingdom. In the case of the Barnewall gift, the amount voted (£50) was more than the amount the corporation paid (£46) for the box

⁴⁴ *CARD*, vii, p. 215.

⁴⁵ *CARD*, v, p. 483.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 489.

made in gold it had presented to the lord deputy Tyrconnell earlier the same year.⁴⁷ Sanders's monteith, for which the corporation had voted £30, ended up costing it £33 when Bolton presented his bill, an amount that exceeded by some margin the budget of £25 the corporation voted a few years later for the box made in gold presented to Freeman, the lord chancellor.⁴⁸ Twenty years later, the corporation's expenditure of £50 on Burgh's gift of plate was considerably more generous than the budget of £30 allocated for the box made in gold presented to the newly-arrived lord lieutenant, John Carteret (1690-1763), 2nd baron Carteret.

The corporation's practice of making gifts of plate was a separate and distinct part of the civic ritual of late Stuart and Georgian Dublin which may deserve further investigation. In the context of this thesis, the significance of the gifts of plate is the evidence of the similarity in the commercial strategies operated by both the corporation and the goldsmiths in the transactions for the two types of gifts.

1.4 Coloured flames and perfumed water: gifts from English cities to Charles II

Returning to the corporation's gifts to Ormond in 1662, the expense authorised by the city - £350 - is striking. Why did the corporation decide to spend so much on its gift to Ormond? Dublin's decision may have been influenced by an awareness of the strategy adopted by some English cities in the uncertain period after the Restoration when a number of opulent presentations were made to the king. Two of these gifts, both from cities that had been identified with the Cromwellian regime, are retained in the British royal collections. Both gifts are silver-gilt (rather than gold) and both were made in continental European workshops and subsequently imported into England. Both repentant English cities spent considerably more on their gifts than Dublin; all three cities transacted for their gifts with wealthy, well-placed goldsmiths who were also innovators in the provision of financial services.

Exeter, a city identified with the Parliamentary cause, had moved quickly after Charles II's return from exile and in June 1660 voted a budget of up to £600 for the purchase of 'a faire piece of plate' for presentation to the king. It procured (for £700) an elaborate spice box, now known as the 'Exeter Salt', that had been made earlier in the century by a Hamburg

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 475.

⁴⁸ DCA, MR/36, Treasurer's accounts, folio 574; *CARD*, vi, p. 368.

goldsmith, Johann Hass (fl. 1621-50), and had originally been acquired by the Cromwellian regime as a gift for the Russian Tsar (Fig. 1.3).⁴⁹



Figure 1.3 Johann Hass (fl.1621-50), *The Exeter Salt*, silver-gilt, Germany, c.1630, courtesy of the Royal Collection Trust.

In 1661, Plymouth which had been a Parliamentary stronghold during the civil war presented Charles II with a silver-gilt fountain made c.1640 and now attributed to the German goldsmith Peter Oehr I (Fig. 1.4).⁵⁰ Seventeenth-century descriptions of this extraordinary object noted that it ‘spouted coloured flames and perfumed waters’.⁵¹ The intermediary in the transactions for the supply of both the Plymouth and Exeter gifts was Thomas Vyner (1588-1665), a member of a prominent family of London goldsmiths, who had been involved in the recreation of the royal regalia at the time of Charles II’s coronation; however, he operated primarily as a banker and financier.⁵²

⁴⁹ Bird and Clayton (eds), *Charles II*, p. 82.

⁵⁰ Philippa Glanville, *Silver in England* (London, 1987), p. 318.

⁵¹ <https://www.rct.uk/collection/31742/the-plymouth-fountain> (consulted 3 February 2019).

⁵² David M. Mitchell, *Silversmiths in Elizabethan and Stuart London: their lives and marks* (Woodbridge, 2017), p. 557.



Figure 1.4 Attributed to Peter Oehr I, *The Plymouth Fountain*, silver-gilt, Germany, c.1640, courtesy of the Royal Collection Trust.

In the case of Dublin, there may also have been an element of catch-up. There is no record of the city authorising expenditure on a gift for the king at the time of his return from exile in 1660. There had been solemn resolutions of loyalty to the king and of gratitude for rescue from ‘soe great evils’, and payments for hogsheads of wine ‘amountinge to fortie pounds, sterling’ for street celebrations. Fireworks had been ordered from Mr Harris. Representatives of the city had been dispatched to London to congratulate the king.⁵³ However, they are not recorded as bearing a gift. Dublin’s prodigality in its gift to Ormond may be understood as an attempt to remedy that earlier oversight and to emulate English cities; it is also possible that some of the city’s leading citizens, who had made the transition from Protectorate to Restoration with varying degrees of ease and conviction, recalled their generosity to the younger Cromwell and sought to elide the memory of the earlier presentation by a much more extravagant gift to the duke. Even though Dublin spent less on its gifts to Ormond than Exeter and Plymouth had spent on their gifts for the king, the

⁵³ *CARD*, iv, p. 181.

expenditure authorised by corporation was and remained unparalleled in the city's history. The budget voted for Ormond's gifts exceeded by almost ten times the amount spent six years earlier on the gifts for Cromwell. It was also the largest amount voted by the corporation for a gift to a viceroy in the late Stuart and Georgian eras, exceeding by at least sevenfold the amounts subsequently voted for gold boxes for lords lieutenant. The decision to present a gold cup in addition to the box was an extravagance that, if entries in Ormond's inventories can be relied on, must have accounted for the largest part of the expenditure; all subsequent presentations to lords lieutenant were limited to boxes made in gold.

1.5 The preparation of Dublin's gifts to Ormond

For the supply of the cup and box, the corporation turned once again to Bellingham directing him 'to prepare the said cup and box with convenient speede, and that the said cup and box bee of the real value of the said summe (the chardges of makeinge the same beinge deducted)'.⁵⁴ The precise meaning of the stipulation relating to the deduction of the charges for making the box and cup is unclear. Does it mean that the metal value of the cup and box (without the cost of production) should be the amount (£350) voted by the corporation? Or does it mean that the total cost of the cup and box (including the cost of production) should be £350? Whatever the intention was, the box and cup cost the corporation more than £350; the treasurer's records show that Bellingham was paid £371 for the objects with a further £4 spent on engraving the duke's arms.⁵⁵

To fund the cost of the gift, the city entered into a financing arrangement, involving an interest-bearing bond, with Richard Tighe (d.1673), one of the richest men in the kingdom who had served twice as mayor under the Commonwealth (1651-2, 1655-6) and whose dealings with the Cromwellian regime were so extensive that it was considered exigent for him to obtain a pardon from Charles II in 1662.⁵⁶ While Ormond was obviously the principal beneficiary of the corporation's prodigality, Bellingham and Tighe, as supplier and financier, are likely to have profited from their transaction with the corporation. At the time of the corporation's resolution to make the gift to Ormond, both Bellingham and Tighe were aldermen. Their involvement in the decision to make the gift and in the arrangements for its financing placed them in a position both to stimulate and satisfy the requirement for a lavish

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp 243-4.

⁵⁵ DCA, MR/36, Treasurer's accounts, folio 215r; Cunningham, 'Craft and Culture', chapter 6.

⁵⁶ Patrick Little, 'Tighe, Richard' in *DIB*.

gift for Ormond, a role not dissimilar to that Thomas Vyner had played in Plymouth and Exeter. In the case of Tighe, his involvement in the financing of the presentation may have had the added advantage of allowing a very public demonstration of his commitment to the new regime.



Figure 1.5 Unknown artist, *Daniel Bellingham*, c.1665, courtesy of Dublin corporation.

Neither the cup or box has survived and it is impossible to recover details of their production. Bellingham was expressly charged to ‘prepare’ the gifts ‘with convenient speede’, but did he undertake (or supervise) the production of the objects himself? Possibly; he was a goldsmith and ‘ran an extremely successful workshop’.⁵⁷ Bellingham had been apprenticed to Peter Vaneijndhoven in 1637, was made free of the goldsmiths’ guild in 1644 and had served two terms as warden (1648/49 and 1656/57). Getting a sense of the level of Bellingham’s activity as a goldsmith over his twenty-eight-year career is difficult. The only period for which assay records survive during Bellingham’s lifetime is the decade between 1638 and 1649. Bellingham was free only for the latter half of this decade and based on the data from these records published by Sinsteden, he emerges as the seventh most productive

⁵⁷ Janet Redmond, ‘Restoration Man: Daniel Bellingham’ in *Irish Arts Review*, xix, no. 3 (Winter 2002), pp 120-3.

goldsmith in the city, out of the twenty-one who made assays.⁵⁸ His assays accounted for just under four percent of all the silver assayed in the city (412oz out of a total of 10,393oz) during the decade. In the absence of assay records after 1649, it is impossible to know how Bellingham subsequently organised the production side of his business as a goldsmith.

Equally, surviving artefact evidence is of little assistance in establishing the extent of Bellingham's production as a goldsmith from the 1650s onwards. Very little silver (and no gold) has survived bearing a mark that can be linked with Bellingham. Sweeney lists only two items: ⁵⁹ a 'slipped-in-the-stalk' spoon with a fig-shaped bowl from 1655/6, now in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland;⁶⁰ and, much more impressively, a Dublin mace (known as the Great Mace), the shaft of which bears Bellingham's mark with the date-letter for 1665 - the year in which he became the city's first lord mayor (Fig. 1.6).⁶¹ Redmond notes that the head of the mace was re-fashioned in 1717/8 by Thomas Bolton and the orb and cross were added in 1807 by Matthew West, both of whom will reappear in this thesis.⁶²

⁵⁸ Thomas Sinsteden 'Four selected assay records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company' in *Silver Society Journal*, xi (1999), pp 145-57.

⁵⁹ Sweeney, *Irish Stuart Silver*, p. 187.

⁶⁰ Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 624; Delamer and O'Brien, *500 Years*, p. 97.

⁶¹ Redmond, 'Restoration Man', pp 120-3.

⁶² *Ibid.*



Figure 1.6 Daniel Bellingham (and subsequently Thomas Bolton and Matthew West), *The Great Mace of Dublin*, silver, Dublin, 1665, 1717/8, 1807, courtesy of Dublin corporation.

From the mid 1650s onwards, Bellingham's focus was no longer exclusively on his trade as a goldsmith. His involvement in city politics and his pursuit of other business opportunities were both increasing. Redmond captures the intensity of his activity in municipal politics, noting that for a twenty-year period from the 1650s, 'he served the city on numerous committees and in many important roles including sheriff, master of city works, alderman, major in the city militia, lord mayor, auditor and treasurer'.⁶³ For a time in the 1660s, Bellingham was the crown's vice-treasurer in Ireland.⁶⁴ In addition, by the time the gifts were made to Ormond, Bellingham seems to have followed the path of some of his fellow goldsmiths in Restoration London and become involved in various financial transactions and speculations.⁶⁵ Redmond mentions a contract he concluded in 1656 to supply clothing and footwear to the non-commissioned officers of the newly-formed Irish Guards.⁶⁶ He was also involved in property speculation and the development of new areas in the city that opened up

⁶³ Janet Redmond, 'Sir Daniel Bellingham, Dublin's first lord mayor, 1665' in Ruth McManus and Lisa-Marie Griffith (eds), *Leaders of the City: Dublin's first citizens, 1500-1950* (Dublin, 2003), pp 63-73, p. 66.

⁶⁴ Hill, *From Patriots*, p. 48.

⁶⁵ Stephen Quinn, 'Balances and goldsmith-bankers: the co-ordination and control of inter-banker debt clearing in seventeenth-century London' in David Mitchell (ed.), *Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Bankers: Innovation and the Transfer of Skill, 1550 to 1750* (Stroud, 1995), pp 53-76; John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783* (Harvard, 1988), p. 207.

⁶⁶ Redmond, 'Sir Daniel Bellingham', p. 66.

under Ormond's initiatives.⁶⁷ Some of his business ventures with the Vyner family in the post-Restoration period will be discussed shortly. The scale of Bellingham's overall business activities is apparent from reports that by 1670 he 'was burdened with debts of over £14,000'.⁶⁸

While Bellingham may have had the requisite skill and production facilities to make (or to supervise the making of) the Ormond cup and box, two elements concerning the transaction are puzzling and must raise some doubt as to whether Bellingham produced the objects in Dublin in the months before Ormond's arrival. The first difficulty relates to the timeframe for supply, the second to the use of gold. As already mentioned, the arrival of Ormond in the city had been anticipated from April 1662 and the corporation had already taken steps at that time to fund arrangements to welcome him. These arrangements did not include any reference to a presentation; the plan to make the lavish presentation and to commission Bellingham to 'prepare the said cupp and box with all convenient speed' are not mentioned in the records until 22 July, less than a week before Ormond's arrival. While it is possible that plans for the presentation of the objects (and, possibly, their production in Dublin) were afoot prior to the corporation's 22 July resolution, that scenario assumes that Bellingham and his associates would have been able to obtain the exceptionally large quantities of gold required to produce the objects at relatively short notice.

Prior to the 1670s, gold was very rarely used for secular objects in Ireland and Britain and, as a result, it retained an allure associated with royal and sacral uses. As records of assay in Dublin from between 1649 and 1693 are lost, it is not possible to know whether gold objects were made in Dublin at the time of the Ormond presentation. However, evidence of the paucity of production in gold in London in this period helps to provide context. When in 1664 Charles II requested statistics on plate assayed in London in the previous decade, 'the Minute Book of the Goldsmiths' Company records that no figure or value could be given for gold plate, 'it is soe Seldome that any is made'.⁶⁹ There was a marked increase in the production of gold items for secular uses in England in the 1670s - a trend apparent from the

⁶⁷ *CARD*, iv, p. 304 for details of Bellingham obtaining a fee farm grant of a plot of land on the south side of St. Stephen's green in 1664.

⁶⁸ Redmond, 'Sir Daniel Bellingham', p. 72.

⁶⁹ Philippa Glanville, 'The Bowes Gold Cup: A Stuart Race Prize?' in *Burlington Magazine*, cxxxvii, no. 1107 (June 1995), pp 387-90, p. 388.

lists of surviving English gold items prepared by Jones and Grimwade.⁷⁰ However, scholars have connected that development to ‘the massive influx of ‘Guinea gold’ into England that occurred as a result of Charles II’s Portuguese marriage in 1662, a shift in supply that was still in the future when Dublin decided to opt for gold as the material for Ormond’s gifts.⁷¹ If objects in gold were seldomly made in London in the years immediately after the Restoration, production in gold in Dublin at that time must have been even rarer.

The Ormond objects are also remarkable for the sheer amount of gold required for their production. Taking the Tyrconnell presentation in 1689 as a reference, the box he received was, at ‘eight ounces and five penny weight’, the most expensive (and, probably, the heaviest) box recorded as being presented to a viceroy.⁷² Evidence from the Ormond inventories of 1674 and 1684 indicate that the gold cup - likely to be the object described in the 1684 inventory as ‘one gold cup and cover, reduced to silver ounces, in gold, 76 ounces 5 drams’⁷³ - was almost ten times heavier than the Tyrconnell box. Could Bellingham and his associates in Dublin have assembled this volume of gold (together with additional gold for the box) during a short window extending from early April to the end of July 1662? Or is it more likely that, as with Plymouth and Exeter, the objects presented to Ormond in Dublin came from outside the city and were already in existence at the time of the corporation’s resolution? The evidence suggests that Bellingham, in particular, had access to a network through which opulent objects could be procured for the appeasement of the restored elite. Just as Dublin’s decision to present a costly gift to Ormond reflected a political strategy adopted by Plymouth and Exeter, Bellingham may have modelled his commercial strategy on the commercial intermediation approach the Vyners had used to provide those English cities with their extravagant gifts.

Bellingham had every reason to be aware of the Vyners’ strategies and their outcomes. He and Thomas Vyner were already business partners prior to Dublin’s gift to Ormond. As will be seen in subsequent decades, commercial connections were important to the goldsmiths involved in the business of supplying boxes and their participation in informal networks, based around family links or a shared interest in profitable ventures, are a feature

⁷⁰ E. Alfred Jones, *Old English Gold Plate* (London, 1907); G.A. Grimwade, ‘A new list of old English gold plate’ in *Connoisseur* (May 1951), pp 76-82.

⁷¹ Philippa Granville, ‘Gold, golden, gilded: precious metal on the dining table’ in Clifford (ed.), *Gold: Power and Allure*, pp 98-115, p. 109.

⁷² *CARD*, v, p. 475.

⁷³ HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde K.P preserved at Kilkenny Castle* (n.s., 8 vols, London 1912), vii, p. 509; O’Brien, ‘In search of the Duke of Ormond’s wine cistern’, p. 66.

that recurs in this study. In March 1661, Bellingham and Thomas Vyner together with Thomas's nephew, Robert Vyner (1631-1688) (Fig. 1.7), had secured the right to start a mint in Ireland.⁷⁴ Subsequently, in October 1662, the two Vyners and Bellingham (the three collectively described as 'the King's goldsmiths') petitioned for forfeited lands in Co. Kildare, saying that they 'intend to plant the territory with English'. At the same time, Bellingham, together with Robert Vyner and Thomas Vyner's son, George Vyner (d.1673), were granted the newly-established office of alnage of cloth in Ireland for thirty-one years at an annual rent of £50.⁷⁵ Thomas and Robert Vyner also had business connections with the duke and duchess of Ormond whose profligacy, it has been noted, 'made them unusually vulnerable to the credit operations of proto-bankers, like the Vyners'.⁷⁶



Figure 1.7 John Michael Wright (1617-94), *The Family of Sir Robert Vyner*, 1673, courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

The transmission of strategies for the promotion of opulent gift-giving may not have been all one-way. From the involvement of their associate Bellingham in the Dublin presentation to Ormond, the Vyners may have appreciated the extent of the business opportunities afforded by the box presentation practice. It was Robert Vyner, as lord mayor

⁷⁴ Robert Pentland Mahaffy (ed.), *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland 1660-1662* (London, 1905), p. 515.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp 601-2.

⁷⁶ G.E. Aylmer, 'The first Duke of Ormond as Patron and Administrator' in Barnard and Fenlon (eds), *The Dukes of Ormonde*, pp 115-36, p. 118.

of the city of London, who made the first recorded presentation in England of a box in connection with a grant of freedom when in 1674 he presented Charles II with the city's freedom 'in a large square box of massey gold set all over with large diamonds'.⁷⁷

1.6 Financing the corporation's gifts to Ormond

Another remarkable feature of Dublin's presentation to Ormond is the extent of the detail concerning the financing aspects that the corporation chose to include in its resolution authorising expenditure on the gifts. No subsequent resolution authorising a gift for a viceroy goes into the same degree of detail on financing; but, of course, no subsequent presentation involved the level of expense that the corporation incurred in making its display of deference to Ormond in 1662. The corporation, having resolved that 'there bee forthwith advanced the summe of three hundred and fiftie pounds, sterling, for makeinge the said cupp and box', went on to say that:

'an instrument, under the cittie seale, bee made and passed unto Alderman Richard Tighe and his assignes, for the secureinge of the said summe of three hundred and fiftie pounds, with interest at tenn pounds per centum for the same, untill the said summe bee repaied to the said Alderman Richard Tighe, or his assignes, the said Alderman Richard Tighe lending the said summe of three hundred and fiftie pounds this present two and twentieth day of July, 1662, and payinge the same over to Alderman Daniel Bellingham, who is desired with the said monney to prepare the said cupp and box'.⁷⁸

In modern terms, what is happening here might be regarded as a form of 'off-balance sheet' financing. Three parties were involved, each with a distinct interest and objective: the corporation wanted to acquire assets (in this case, the cup and box for presentation to Ormond) but probably did not have cash on hand to pay for them; Bellingham had possession of the assets (whether as a producer or, more likely, as an intermediary) that the corporation wanted but he needed funds to cover his costs of production (or acquisition) and his expectation of profit; and, finally, Tighe had sufficient funds available to finance the acquisition of the assets and may have been seeking an investment opportunity. A triangular arrangement was devised: Tighe paid Bellingham for the assets which Bellingham supplied to the corporation which, in return, gave Tighe a bond for the repayment of the sum he had advanced to Bellingham (together with interest) over a term not specified in the resolution. All three parties benefitted: the corporation obtained the costly objects it was eager to acquire

⁷⁷ Glanville, *Silver in England*, p. 305.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

without having to dip into its current revenues; Bellingham got paid; and, Tighe received an interest-bearing negotiable instrument from a more-or-less reliable counterparty. The interest rate negotiated by Tighe was unusually high at a time when the legal rate of interest in England was six per cent, probably reflecting the absence of security for his loan.⁷⁹

Tighe is known as one of the proto-bankers active in Cromwellian and Restoration Dublin, whose 'wealth came to depend as much on financial speculation as on trade'.⁸⁰ But Bellingham must also have been involved in devising the financing arrangements in connection with the Ormond gifts. His capacity for financial innovation is already apparent from the records of the arrangements he made with the corporation to secure payment for the 1652 maces and the 1656 Cromwell plate he had supplied. These earlier transactions show that Bellingham had an aptitude for devising financing schemes to ensure that he received payment while at the same time facilitating the perpetually cash-strapped corporation to satisfy its appetite for expensive regalia and gifts. The experience of Harris with his fireworks supplies indicates that the corporation at this time was a slow payer. Bellingham was probably aware that a degree of ingenuity was required in order to secure timely discharge of any debts he was owed.

The emphasis in the records on the funding aspects of the gifts for Ormond raises the question as to whether the transaction might be more accurately understood as a financing transaction rather than as a transaction for the production and supply of objects in precious metal. The Ormond transaction (and the corporation's other transactions with Bellingham) took place at a time when banking and financing were in their infancy. For the corporation, whose eagerness to acquire objects in precious metal - whether civic regalia or lavish gifts for powerful men - surpassed its financial resources, there was little choice other than to find a goldsmith who, in addition to supplying the objects, could also devise funding arrangements. The recurrent evidence of Bellingham's financial dexterity in making arrangements that facilitated the corporation's purchases seems to indicate that his ability to access capital and his capacity to structure the financial aspects of transactions were prominent factors in the corporation's decision to select him as its supplier.

⁷⁹ Sidney Homer and Richard Sylla, *The History of Interest Rates* (3rd ed., New Brunswick, 1996), p. 126.

⁸⁰ Patrick Little, 'Tighe, Richard' in *DIB*.

1.7 Conclusions on the Ormond transaction and presentation

The 1662 presentation by the corporation in Dublin to Ormond is central to any understanding of the political, social and cultural aspects of the box presentation practice which continued in the city for the following sixteen decades. In context of the investigation of the market for the production and supply of boxes, the records of the 1662 transaction show that the corporation selected as its supplier a goldsmith who was prominent in the guild and municipal affairs and who, in all likelihood, participated directly in the corporation's gifting decision. Those records also show that the arrangements were considerably more complicated than a simple supply arrangement between the corporation and the two aldermen for the supply of a couple of gold objects recently and rapidly made in the city. The city's desire to please the duke provided Bellingham, Tighe (and possibly the Vyners) with an opportunity to construct arrangements (possibly with an international dimension) that combined, on the one hand, their skill in sourcing objects to gratify the presenting institution and the prestigious recipient of its gifts and, on the other, their ability to devise financing arrangements that permitted the corporation to manage the expense involved in the presentation.

Chapter 2 Presentations and purchases of boxes in late seventeenth-century Dublin¹

2.1 Recovering details on the market for gold and silver boxes in Dublin in the final third of the seventeenth century

Recovering details on how the market for gold and silver boxes in Dublin worked in the final third of the seventeenth century, after the presentation to Ormond, is challenging. Documentary evidence of transactions in the corporation minutes and treasurers' accounts is fragmentary and, as no box presented in Dublin during this period is known to have survived, artefact evidence is entirely absent. The documentary evidence of transactions, where it exists, reveals the identity of the goldsmiths who *supplied* boxes to the corporation; in the absence of surviving artefact evidence, it is not possible to know who *made* the boxes and to know whether the goldsmiths who transacted with the corporation were responsible for the production of the boxes they supplied or relied on other goldsmiths for production.

In the period between the Bellingham transaction for the Ormond box in 1662 and the end of the seventeenth century, there are records in the *CARD* of thirty-two resolutions by the corporation to present boxes made in gold or silver.² The records suggest that the pattern and intensity of the corporation's presentations varied in these final decades of the seventeenth century. Some caution is required in drawing conclusions in reliance on these records as it is clear from the case of the presentations to Flower, Stephens and Harman in 1664 that votes to make presentations may not have been recorded in this period with the same acuity as in subsequent periods.

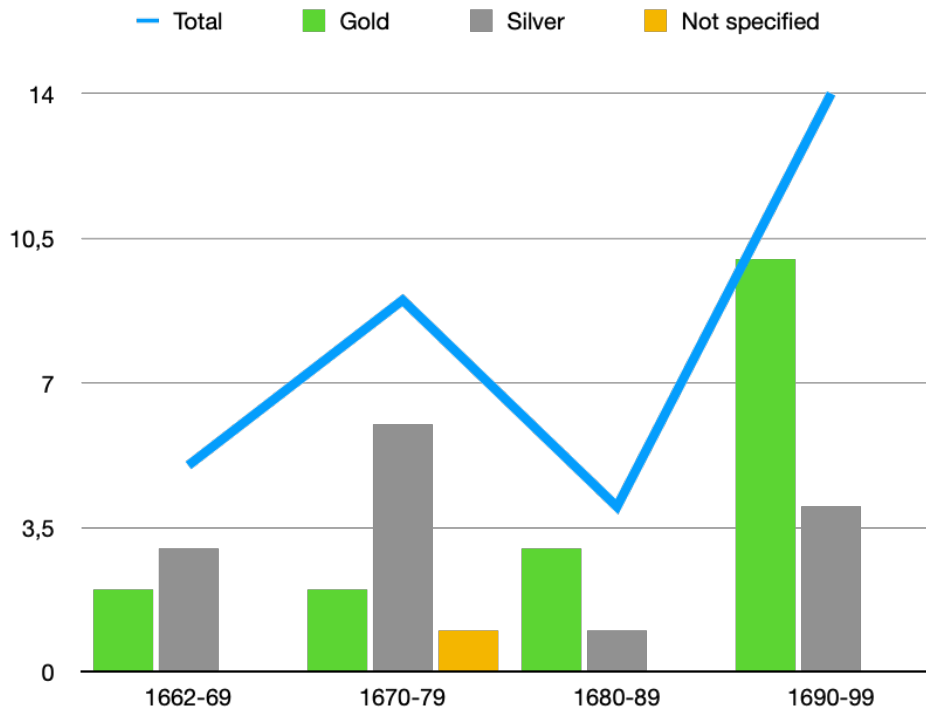
During the remainder of the decade after the Ormond presentation (1662-9), there are records of four boxes made in silver being presented. In the second decade (1670-9), resolutions for the presentation of nine boxes have been traced: two were made in gold; six in silver. The record of the resolution voting a box to Ossory in 1670 does not specify the metal from which the box was to be made; given the status of the recipient and the attachment of the corporation to the Butler family, it is likely to have been made in gold. In the third decade

¹ I am grateful to Dr Jessica Cunningham for her generosity in sharing her research and knowledge about the Dublin goldsmiths who supplied boxes to the corporation in the late seventeenth century.

² *CARD*, iv-vi.

(1680-9), four resolutions for boxes are recorded, three in gold and one in silver. In the final decade of the seventeenth century (1690-9), there are records of resolutions for the presentation of fourteen boxes: ten boxes made in gold, along with four in silver.

Table 2.1 Boxes presented by Dublin corporation, 1662-1699, by decade, by metal.



Source: *CARD*, iv-vi.

As will be seen in the course of this chapter, the conventions associated with the box presentation practice remained fluid in the first few decades after the Ormond presentation. The corporation, it seems, was finding its feet with its new gifting strategy, with the practice still evolving as each new potential recipient came to its attention. Thus, in this first period, there are records of presentations of boxes to relatively obscure individuals (such as Flower, Stephens and Harman in 1664, see 2.2 below), while at the same time no records can be found in the *CARD* of presentations to at least two viceroys (Berkeley and Robartes). It was only after the tumult of the Williamite war had subsided in the early 1690s that the corporation's practice began to take on a more settled form, both in terms of the tactical selection of recipients and the use of metal and expenditure to signal degrees of deference and esteem. In the seventeenth century, it appears that the college and the guilds had not yet begun to present boxes. By the time those institutions took up the practice in the eighteenth

century, the corporation's conventions were largely established and provided a framework that the college and the guilds could adopt and adapt to their own objectives.

In the corporation's minutes and accounting archive, records have been traced of transactions with six goldsmiths who supplied boxes between 1665 and 1693; from at least 1695 onwards, Thomas Bolton became the corporation's preferred supplier of boxes (Chapter 3). The records relate to the supply of twelve boxes, accounting for more than half the recorded presentations during this period. On the goldsmiths' side of the transactions, the absence of documentary or artefact evidence precludes any conclusions on the production systems they used to supply these boxes. On the customer side, the surviving records of the corporation provide information, for example, on the identities of the goldsmiths selected to supply the boxes, the number of boxes they supplied, the amounts they were paid and the timing and arrangements for payment. Looking at the identities of the goldsmiths who are recorded as supplying boxes during this period, the tendency noted in the corporation's selection of Bellingham in the previous decades emerges as a pattern: social and political prominence in guild and municipal affairs was a significant (and probably the predominant) criterion in the corporation's choice of the goldsmiths with whom it traded. This pattern remained largely constant in the corporation's transactions through all subsequent periods.

2.2 Richard Lord, Abel Ram and Isaac John

After the corporation's transaction with Bellingham for Ormond's presentation, the first transaction for which records have been traced occurred in 1665 when Richard Lord (free 1657; d.1692) sought payment from the corporation for three silver boxes.³ In his petition, Lord explained that he was owed 'the sume of twelve pounds, six shillings, sterling, for depicting three coates of armes and for three silver boxes for the seales of freedomes for sir William Flower, sir John Stephens and sir Thomas Harman, knights, whoe were admitted to the freedome of this citty in Michaelmas assembly last'.⁴ The record of the presentations to these obscure figures is the second instance of boxes made in precious metal being given as gifts by the corporation. It reveals that what might be called an economy of flattery or deference was already in place, a model largely maintained until the presentation practice was abandoned in the 1820s: boxes made in gold were presented to the most prominent

³ *CARD*, iv, p. 337.

⁴ *Ibid.*

recipients, less prominent individuals received boxes made in silver. Lord's petition also shows that the corporation had already adopted the practice of having the recipients' arms engraved on the boxes it presented, a practice that continued (in the case of armigerous recipients) until the corporation's last presentation in 1821.

Lord was master of the goldsmiths' guild in 1673 and in the final two years of his life served as assay master.⁵ He was evidently a figure of prominence and authority within the guild; later in his career, in October 1687, all goldsmiths active in the city were ordered to bring their marks to be struck at his dwelling house.⁶ By the time of his petition for payment for the three boxes in 1665, Lord was already prominent in municipal politics and administration. He is recorded as sitting in the common council of the corporation in 1661 and by 1663 he was appointed 'stuard or agent for the citty under the treasurer of the said citty for collecting and getting in the revenues of the citty'.⁷ In that year, he was also appointed overseer of the works on the city's watercourse; the appointment was extended in 1666.⁸ Alongside these responsibilities, Lord also transacted with the city as a goldsmith. In 1663, Lord had petitioned for payment of £8 13s. 6d., reciting that he had been 'employed to make a silver mace for the use of the said citty, which said mace was made and delivered unto the said Mr. Maior by the petitioner'.⁹ A year later, Lord was involved in the transaction by which the corporation acquired 'a peece of plate to the value of fifty pounds' for presentation to Sir Richard Kennedy (c.1617-87), a politically well-connected judge.¹⁰

The next record of a box transaction occurs in August 1674 when a payment of £27 8s. 3d. was authorised by the city treasurer to Abel Ram (free 1665; d.1692) for 'ye Gold Box for ye L Lts freedom'.¹¹ This payment can be linked to a resolution of the assembly held in October 1673 when the corporation voted the city freedom to Arthur Capel (1631-1683), 1st earl of Essex, 'the same be presented to him in a gold box' (Fig. 2.1).¹² Capel had arrived as lord lieutenant in Dublin on 5 August 1672, replacing Sir John Berkeley (1607-78), 1st baron Berkeley of Stratton, whose administration had been criticised in the English Parliament due

⁵ Bennett, *The Goldsmiths of Dublin*, p. 75, p. 80.

⁶ CGD archive, Minute books, vol. 1 (2 Feb. 1686-30 Oct. 1731), p. 12.

⁷ *CARD*, iv, p. 206, p. 250.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 280, p. 375.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

¹¹ DCA, MR/41, Ledger 1671-87, 14 Aug. 1674.

¹² *CARD*, v, p. 22.

to his perceived indulgence towards Catholics.¹³ The vote to present Essex with the freedom in a box made in gold was the first record of a vote for a presentation to a lord lieutenant since the lavish presentation to Ormond more than a decade earlier. Both Berkeley and his predecessor as lord lieutenant, John Robartes (1606-85), 2nd baron Robartes of Truro and 1st earl of Radnor, had fractious relationships with the corporation and there is no record of the corporation voting the freedom or a box to either man.



Figure 2.1 Circle of Peter Lely (1618-80), *Arthur Capel, 1st earl of Essex*, courtesy of Watford Museum.

After some years of bitter disputes between the corporation and the viceroys, the corporation's gesture to Essex may have been an attempt at conciliation. A reference (which may not have been entirely accurate) to the continuity of the practice in the opening recital of the resolution - 'whereas his excellencie the lord lieutenant of this kingdom had not yett been presented with any token of this citties respects, as other chief governors formerly had been'- may have been part of that strategy.¹⁴ The freedom, the corporation said, was being presented to Essex as a 'manifestation of the citties gratitude to his excellencie, for his clemency and favours to them, and as a token of the unities and concurrence in the publique affairs of this

¹³ Hill, *From Patriots*, p. 52.

¹⁴ *CARD*, v, p. 22.

cittie, which for some time past had been under suspence'.¹⁵ If the box presentation was intended to calm the waters, it did not succeed. Essex's term as viceroy saw boycotts of the quarterly corporation meetings by guild representatives and, during his time in office, 'civic life remained unsettled'.¹⁶

Ram, the goldsmith who provided the box to the corporation, also operated as a banker and occasionally lent money to the city. Records of artefact evidence indicate that Ram was active as a goldsmith, at least in the early years of his career (Fig. 2.2). Sweeney has ten entries for surviving objects with a mark that can be linked to Ram, all dating from the first half of the 1660s.¹⁷ He was elected master warden of the goldsmiths' guild in 1668, 1669 and 1682.¹⁸ During his first term as guild master, Ram was elected to the common council of the corporation.¹⁹ He served as sheriff (1673), alderman (1675-6) and eventually as lord mayor in 1684-5.²⁰ Like Bellingham, Lord and other goldsmiths who supplied boxes to the corporation, Ram had some experience of transactions for civic regalia; in 1668 he petitioned for payment of £40 6s. in respect of six maces supplied to the corporation seven years earlier.²¹

At the time of the resolution voting the gold box to Essex in 1673, Ram was serving as city sheriff and, as a result, would have been among those involved in the decision to revive the practice of presenting a gold box to the lord lieutenant.²² In this way, like Bellingham eleven years earlier, Ram both participated in, and benefitted from, the corporation's decision to make an opulent gift to the viceroy, even if the gift to Essex (and the likely amount of profit to Ram) were considerably less substantial. Ram was particularly well-placed to understand how holding municipal office could operate as a boon to a prominent goldsmith by allowing him to participate in the corporation's decisions about procuring and presenting expensive gifts; he had been Bellingham's apprentice at the time of the transaction for the supply of the gold cup and box for Ormond in 1662.²³

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Hill, *From Patriots*, p. 53.

¹⁷ Sweeney, *Irish Stuart Silver*, p. 209.

¹⁸ Bennett, *The Goldsmiths of Dublin*, p. 81.

¹⁹ *CARD*, iv, p. 461.

²⁰ John Bergin and Patrick M. Geoghegan 'Ram, Sir Abel' in *DIB*.

²¹ *CARD*, iv, p. 443.

²² *CARD*, v, p. 19.

²³ Redmond, 'Sir Daniel Bellingham', p. 64.



Figure 2.2 Abel Ram, *Pair of trefid spoons*, silver, Dublin, c.1663, courtesy of Weldons of Dublin.

In 1677, Philip Croft (who was a prominent lawyer in the city) petitioned as an assignee of Isaac John (d.1675), for payment for two silver boxes that his deceased client had supplied to the city.²⁴ From the terms of Croft's petition, these two boxes can be linked to the resolution adopted by the corporation in October 1674 to present the freedom in boxes made in silver to Edward Conway (c.1623-1683), 3rd viscount Conway and Killulta, and to Richard Jones (1641-1712), viscount Ranelagh, as 'a token of this citties gratitude' on account of the 'severall markes of favour showed by them'.²⁵ Isaac John (or Jean or, sometimes, Johns) had been admitted free of both the guild and the city from 1654. Like Bellingham, Lord and Ram, John had also held municipal office, having served as sheriff in 1670.²⁶ Like Ram, John lent money to the city; there are records of *post mortem* payments of interest by the corporation to his children.²⁷ Records of John taking a boy called Richard Lord, the son of a man called Richard Lord, as his apprentice in 1666 suggest a connection between John and the prominent goldsmith and city agent who, like John, had supplied boxes to the corporation.

²⁴ DCA, MR/36, Treasurer's accounts, folio 379.

²⁵ *CARD*, v, p. 54.

²⁶ *CARD*, iv, p. 62, p. 501.

²⁷ DCA, MR/41, Ledger 1671-87.

2.3 The brief ascendancy of Christopher Palles

The next transactional record concerning the supply of a box provides further confirmation that social and political factors were crucial in the corporation's choice of suppliers, even where the social and political context was turbulent. The box in question was presented to the earl of Tyrconnell, James II's close ally (Fig. 2.3). Tyrconnell's appointment as lord deputy on 8 January 1687 'was greeted with dismay by Irish protestants'.²⁸ It did not take long for the Protestants of Dublin to realise how justified their fears were. In May 1687, Tyrconnell 'disallowed the aldermen's choice of lord mayor and sheriffs for the ensuing year' and in June 'the king authorised the lord deputy to issue new charters for corporate towns and cities in Ireland'.²⁹ A new, predominantly Catholic, corporation took office under a Catholic lord mayor in November 1687.³⁰ It was this corporation that, in January 1688, voted Tyrconnell his freedom in a gold box, the resolution stating that:

'his excellencie Richard, earl of Tirconnell, lord deputy general and general governour of Ireland, be and is hereby admitted to the franchizes and liberties of the cittie of Dublin and that his freedome be presented his excellencie under the cittie seale, in a gold box, and that the charge thereof be allowed the treasurer on his account.'³¹

²⁸ James McGuire, 'Talbot, Richard' in *DIB*.

²⁹ Hill, *From Patriots*, p. 60.

³⁰ *CARD*, v, p. 449; Hill, *From Patriots*, p. 61.

³¹ *CARD*, v, p. 460.



Figure 2.3 Unknown artist, *Richard Talbot, earl of Tyrconnell*, c.1690, courtesy of the National Gallery of Ireland.

Four months later, in May 1688, the corporation dealt with a petition from Oliver Nugent for payment for Tyrconnell's gold box. Nugent who had been apprenticed in 1680 to Christopher Palles (or Pallas) (free 1675) recited that he was the goldsmith 'employed to make the gold box for his excellencie the lord deputys freedome'. The box, he said, 'weighed eight ounces and five penny weight' and his bill was for 'fourtie six pounds, sterling'.³²

Nugent was most likely petitioning not on his own account but on behalf of his master, Palles.³³ Palles sat in the (almost exclusively Catholic) common council assembled in November 1687 which had voted the box to Tyrconnell. Palles's prominence in (and adherence to) the new dispensation was attested by his election as sheriff under the new Catholic lord mayor, Michael Creagh (d.1738), at the same meeting in May 1688 to which Nugent presented the petition for payment. If there was any doubt about the political, religious and dynastic sympathies of the two goldsmiths involved in supplying Tyrconnell's gold box, they are resolved by the appearance of both their names in the 1689 Army Lists of

³² *CARD*, v, p. 475.

³³ *CARD*, iv, p. 106.

James II, as officers (Palles as captain and Nugent as lieutenant) in the infantry regiment raised and financed by Creagh.³⁴ Nugent's petition (together with Stanley's later petition for the gifts provided to Barnewall (see 1.3 above)) are evidence of goldsmiths who can be identified as Catholics using their brief ascendancy during James II's reign to obtain the city's valuable commissions for gifts in precious metal and to replace their Protestant rivals in that lucrative corner of the trade, albeit only for a short moment in history.³⁵

The record contained in Nugent's petition reveals some additional features of the transaction. The box presented to Tyrconnell was very large and expensive. Looking first at the cost of the box (£46), it was clearly much more expensive than the box the corporation had presented to Tyrconnell's predecessor, Essex, fourteen years earlier for which Ram had been paid £27 8s. 3d. With the exception of the box and cup presented to Ormond, the Tyrconnell box is likely to have been the most expensive gift ever made by the corporation to a viceroy. After the Williamite war, the corporation began including in its resolutions a ceiling price for the cost of the boxes presented to viceroys, which never exceeded £30. Unsurprisingly, given the expenditure, the Tyrconnell box was also considerably heavier than the gold boxes subsequently presented by the corporation in the early eighteenth century. The box made in gold presented by the corporation to Robert FitzGerald, earl of Kildare, in 1714 (for which the city voted £30) was reported as weighing just over 5oz when it was sold in 1984, less than two-thirds the weight of the Tyrconnell box.³⁶

2.4 James Cottingham; presentations to the lords justice; John Clifton

After the resolution voting the box to Tyrconnell, there is a pause of three-and-half years in the records of box presentations by the corporation; the war between James II and William III had engulfed the kingdom. When the corporation resumed its practice of voting presentations in June 1691, the war had not yet concluded. James II had fled after his defeat at the Boyne but Tyrconnell was still in Ireland, preparing for the siege of Athlone in a difficult partnership with Patrick Sarsfield.³⁷ Dublin, however, was firmly under Williamite control and the newly reinstalled Protestant corporation used the box presentation practice to

³⁴ John D'Alton, *Illustrations, Historical and Genealogical of King James's Irish Army List (1689)* (Dublin, 1855), p. 845.

³⁵ *CARD*, v, p. 475.

³⁶ *CARD*, vi, p. 497; Sotheby's London, *Important Silver and Gold, 3 May 1984*, p. 7.

³⁷ McGuire, 'Talbot, Richard' in *DIB*.

assert its loyalty and gratitude to the new regime. The first recipient of a box from the corporation under the new dispensation was Thomas Coningsby (1657-1729) (Fig. 2.4) who had been appointed as lord justice together with Henry Sidney (or Sydney) (1641-1704), viscount Sydney, by William III prior to his departure from Ireland in September 1690. Coningsby and Sydney were joined as lords justice shortly afterwards by Sir Charles Porter (c.1640-1696) who had been reinstated as the lord chancellor after the Williamite victory. Sydney vacated his position in December 1690, leaving Coningsby and Porter in charge.



Figure 2.4 Thomas Bate (active 1692-c.1699), *Thomas Coningsby*, oil on canvas, c.1692, courtesy of the Ulster Museum.

Although the appointment of the lords justice in 1690 was ‘not perceived at the time in government circles as anything more than an interim measure’, by June 1691 the two lords justice exercised substantial levels of power, ‘sharing the unenviable task of governing a country divided by war’.³⁸ The city assembly resolved to grant the freedom in a gold box to Coningsby - ‘one of the lords justices of this kingdom, as a marke of the citties gratitude to his lordship, he having upon all occasions expressed and manifested his love and affections to

³⁸ Charles Ivar McGrath ‘Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century Governance and the Viceroyalty’ in Gray and Purdue (eds), *The Irish Lord Lieutenancy*, p. 47; Charles Ivar McGrath ‘Coningsby, Thomas’ in *DIB*.

this auncient cittie’ - a rather flattering formulation for a man who arrived in the kingdom less than twelve months earlier.³⁹ No gift was required for Porter, the other lord justice, as he had previously been granted his freedom in a gold box in 1686 after his first appointment as lord chancellor.⁴⁰ The office of lord justice was not new but holders of the office had not previously attracted gifts of boxes. The corporation seems to have grasped the significance and extent of the concentration of power in the hands of the Williamite lords justice and to have decided to act promptly to adapt its gifting practice to accommodate the new category of recipient.

The office of lord justice remained important in the kingdom’s administration for the next six decades, due principally to the prolonged absences of the lords lieutenant. The corporation made at least twenty-two presentations to men in consequence of their appointment as lord justice. The final occasion on which recipients of gold boxes were identified as lords justice was in the assembly’s resolution of July 1756 voting the freedom to James FitzGerald (1722-73), 20th earl of Kildare, and Brabazon Ponsonby (1679-1758), 1st earl of Bessborough (Chapter 5).⁴¹ Although other men were appointed as lords justice after FitzGerald and Ponsonby, the office declined in importance within the Irish administration as lords lieutenant spent longer periods resident in the kingdom and as the role of the chief secretary increased in prominence.

All boxes presented to lords justice between 1691 and 1756 were made in gold but not all lords justice received gold boxes. Throughout the period of these presentations to lords justice, the corporation was selective in its decisions concerning the gifts it made; the motivations guiding the selection of those who received gold boxes are obscure. It is clear from the records that not every lord justice received a presentation from the corporation and that some lords justice were overlooked entirely. In this regard, the corporation’s practice in respect of the lords justice differs from its practice in respect of lords lieutenant. Once the practice of presenting gold boxes to incoming lords lieutenant became established after 1685 (with the presentation to Henry Hyde (1638-1709), 2nd earl of Clarendon), it was followed without exception until 1813; every lord lieutenant who came to Ireland during this period was granted the freedom and presented with a box made in gold. The apparent lack of

³⁹ *CARD*, v, p. 520; McGrath ‘Coningsby, Thomas’.

⁴⁰ *CARD*, v, pp 409-10.

⁴¹ *CARD*, x, p. 221.

uniformity in presentations to the lords justice might be explained by the short tenure of some lords justice which resulted in a relatively high turnover among holders of the office. However, short tenure did not preclude presentations by the corporation to lords lieutenant in this period; Charles Talbot (1660-1718), 1st duke of Shrewsbury, was in office for less than a year between 1713 and 1714 but was voted his freedom in a gold box in October 1714, after he had left office.⁴² It seems more likely that in its presentations to the lords justice the corporation made choices based either on its own political preferences or on its perceptions of the power and status of the recipients.

Returning to Coningsby's gold box, it was supplied to the corporation by James Cottingham (free 1668; d.1703). An entry in the treasurer's accounts records that during Michaelmas term in 1691 Cottingham was paid £26 for the box.⁴³ The assembly had astutely resolved that the box for Coningsby should 'be of the same value of that formerly presented to lord chancellor Porter', Coningsby's fellow lord justice.⁴⁴ This formulation reflects the finely calibrated economy of flattery or deference that operated in the box presentation practice at this time. Coningsby and Porter held the same office and the corporation made sure that they received boxes of equivalent value. Their boxes, however, cost slightly less than the box presented to the viceroy, Essex, seventeen years earlier, for which Ram had been paid £27 8s. 3d. Although fluctuations in metal price may have been a factor, the differential which reflected the degrees of rank of the recipients was maintained two years after the Coningsby presentation when the corporation made its next presentation of a gold box, to Henry Sidney who had arrived in Ireland as lord lieutenant in August 1692.⁴⁵ That box was also supplied by Cottingham to whom the corporation made a payment in the Michaelmas term of 1693 of £30 1s. 'for a Gold Box for the freedom of his [Excellency] the Lord Sidney [Lord Lieutenant Governor] of Ireland'.⁴⁶ The presentation to Sidney was the first recorded occasion that the corporation specified the budget for its presentation in the resolution authorising the gift: 'his lordshipp be presented with the freedome of this cittie in a gold box, and that the charge thereof be paid by the treasurer of the citty on the Lord Mayors warrant, provided the charge doe not exceed the summe of thirty pounds.'⁴⁷

⁴² *CARD*, vi, p. 497.

⁴³ DCA, MR/36, Treasurer's accounts, folio 469.

⁴⁴ *CARD*, v, p. 520.

⁴⁵ *CARD*, vi, p. 34.

⁴⁶ DCA, MR/36, Treasurer's accounts, folio 481.

⁴⁷ *CARD*, vi, p. 34.

Cottingham fits into the pattern of prominence already noted among the goldsmiths selected as suppliers of gold and silver boxes in the late seventeenth century. He was a warden of the goldsmiths' guild between 1673 and 1676, becoming master in 1677-8, in 1684-5 and again in 1685-6. He was active in city politics, serving as sheriff in 1677 and is recorded sitting in the city commons in 1680. Genealogical sources describe Cottingham as a 'banker and goldsmith' and it is possible that he devoted more of his time to finance than to goldsmithing.⁴⁸ There is no record of assays by Cottingham in the surviving lists from between 1694 and 1699 and Sweeney did not record any surviving objects with a mark that could be identified as Cottingham's.⁴⁹ While there are records of Cottingham taking an apprentice in 1673 and two apprentices in 1675, no records of any subsequent apprentices have been located.⁵⁰ It is difficult to avoid the conjecture that Cottingham was acting as an intermediary rather than a producer in the transactions for the supply of the two gold boxes. In choosing Cottingham for these commissions in 1691 and 1693, the corporation may have been seeking to signal its support and sympathy for the trials he had undergone in the recent past. Cottingham (listed as a goldsmith at Skinner row) had been included in the act of attainder passed by the Irish parliament convened by James II in 1689.⁵¹ He was reputed to have fled the city following the arrival of James II in Ireland, taking refuge in Chester where his wife died.⁵² The corporation's decision to commission gold boxes from Cottingham may be understood as a form of reward for his political constancy rather than an expression of confidence in his ability as a goldsmith.

Between the transactions for gold boxes with Cottingham, the corporation transacted with John Clifton (free 1681; d.1726) who was paid £4 12s. in the Michaelmas term of 1692 for three silver boxes.⁵³ The first of these boxes had been voted to Richard Pyne (1644-1709) at the assembly held in January 1692. Pyne had been appointed lord chief justice of the court of common pleas in January 1691 but, in the corporation's explanation of why he was receiving the presentation, there were references to earlier services he had provided to the

⁴⁸ Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Ireland* (London, 1912), p. 138.

⁴⁹ Sinsteden 'Four selected assay records'; Sweeney, *Irish Stuart Silver*.

⁵⁰ Jackson (3rd Ed.), p. 672.

⁵¹ William King, *The State of the Protestants of Ireland under the late King James's Government* (Dublin, 1713); William Harris, *The History of the Life and Reign of William-Henry, Prince of Nassau and Orange* (Dublin, 1749). Two other Dublin goldsmiths, John Cuthbert and John Shelly, can be identified on the lists of attainder. Abel Ram's name also appears but he is not listed as a goldsmith.

⁵² Burke, *Landed Gentry of Ireland*, p. 138.

⁵³ DCA, MR/36, Treasurer's accounts, folio 476.

city.⁵⁴ The other two recipients of the boxes supplied by Clifton had been voted their gifts at the assembly held in April 1692: Sir Richard Levinge (1656-1724) who had been appointed solicitor general for Ireland in 1690, and Edward Brabazon (1638-1707), 4th earl of Meath. The amount recorded as being paid to Clifton (£4 12s.) for the three boxes is small in comparison to the amount (£12 6s.) paid to Lord for three boxes almost three decades earlier. It is possible that Clifton was invoicing the corporation for the balance due and that he had received a down payment when he was given the commission.

Clifton was a member of a family of goldsmiths and records suggest that he may have been more active as goldsmith than some of the other suppliers of boxes to the corporation at this time. His father, Francis Clifton had become free of the guild in 1667 but had died by the time John entered articles with John Cope in 1670. Clifton's son, also John, was apprenticed to his father in 1712, became free in 1719 and operated as a goldsmith in Skinner row for a number of decades during the first half of the eighteenth century. Surviving assay records show that Clifton, unlike Cottingham, was sending regular, if modest, amounts silver for assay in the 1690s and that he continued to make assays in the first decade of the eighteenth century.⁵⁵ The record of the seizure by the guild warden from Clifton's workshop in 1712/3 of a gold ring that, on trial, was found to be substandard is further evidence that he was a working goldsmith.⁵⁶ Sweeney lists eight surviving objects with Clifton's mark from the reign of Queen Anne (Fig. 2.5).

⁵⁴ *CARD*, v, p. 531.

⁵⁵ Sinsteden 'Four selected assay records'.

⁵⁶ CGD archive, Minute books, vol. 1 (2 Feb. 1686-30 Oct. 1731), pp 179-80.



Figure 2.5 John Clifton, *Sugar bowl with cover*, silver, Dublin, 1714, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Although Clifton was involved in both guild and city politics, the extent of his recorded activity was more limited than some of the other goldsmiths who supplied boxes to the corporation in these final decades of the seventeenth century. In 1688-9, Clifton served as warden of the guild. In 1696, he was selected to sit in the common council of the corporation on behalf of the goldsmiths' guild and in the following year (1697-8) he served as master of the guild.⁵⁷ With the evidence of sustained production being sent for assay, work on gold rings, intergenerational transmission of the craft within his family and the possibility that he made a business-like request for an advance payment for boxes he supplied, John Clifton emerges from the records of these late seventeenth-century transactions as a working goldsmith who might actually have made the objects he supplied.

⁵⁷ DCA, Monday books, i (1658-1712), p. 137b.

2.5 Conclusions on the market for boxes in Dublin in the late seventeenth century

The records in the city archives of the corporation's box transactions during the final third of the seventeenth century are incomplete and caution is required in interpreting them. However, the pattern of preference for dealing with prominent goldsmiths is apparent. It also seems that in this period the corporation spread its business around. While two goldsmiths each received commissions for three boxes made in silver, only one (Cottingham) is recorded as receiving more than a single commission to supply a box made in gold. The information available on some of the goldsmiths involved (notably Cottingham) leaves little room for doubt that they acted as intermediaries, supplying boxes that were made by other goldsmiths. The advent of Thomas Bolton as the supplier of boxes from 1695 onwards marks a substantial change in the way in which the corporation transacted for these objects, moving from a model in which it dealt with goldsmiths on a transaction-by-transaction basis to a model in which it transacted with a preferred supplier who, through long-term participation in civic affairs (and, most likely, a high level of business acumen), retained the corporation as a customer for decades.

Chapter 3 1700-1750: Presentations, production and supply of boxes in the first half of the eighteenth century

3.1 Introduction

From 1695, a distinct change can be identified in the corporation's approach to the business of acquiring boxes for its presentations. During the previous three decades, the corporation operated on a transaction-by-transaction basis, only rarely transacting more than once with the same goldsmith. Then, with the arrival of Thomas Bolton (c.1658-1736) as its preferred supplier of boxes, the commercial practice of the corporation changed completely. From 1695, Bolton captured most (possibly all) of the corporation's box business for at least the next two decades. It is impossible to tell whether Bolton's success in cornering this sub-market was the result of a deliberate strategy on his part, but it is clear that his emergence as preferred supplier coincided with his decision to become involved in municipal politics. This conjunction in the pursuit of both municipal office and box commissions fits a pattern that has been seen with earlier seventeenth-century goldsmiths and will be encountered again in subsequent generations.

The archive of the city treasurers' accounts is incomplete for parts of the early eighteenth century, precluding a full assessment of the extent of Bolton's business with the corporation. Nevertheless, he emerges from the surviving records as the most prolific supplier of gold and silver boxes to the corporation during the entire sixteen-decade duration of its box-presenting practice. Could the concentration of the corporation's demand for boxes with Bolton have led him to a decision to organise specialised box-making capacity within his workshop? In the overall scheme of this thesis, this 'Bolton moment' (which lasted two decades) is of significance for the contrast it provides with the systems for production and supply of boxes that operated both before his emergence and afterwards in the remaining century of box presentations by the corporation. Of all the goldsmiths encountered in these pages as suppliers and producers of gold and silver boxes, Bolton seems to be the only one who was consistently engaged in both the supply and production aspects of the process over a large number of objects and for a long duration.

Although evidence is very scarce, there are some records that may show that other leading goldsmiths in the city, notably David King (free 1690; d.1737) and Robert Calderwood (free 1725; d.1766), were also operating an integrated approach to production and supply of boxes in the first half of the eighteenth century. Together with Bolton, they may have operated, at least in their box transactions, the conventional master-goldsmith model sanctioned and encouraged by the guild structure: controlling both the customer relationship and the production process, running large and diversified workshops with teams of apprentices and journeymen and responding through technical innovation to emerging fashions and demand for new types of product.

3.2 Thomas Bolton (c.1658-1736): from riches to rags

Bolton's long life, spanning almost eight decades from the Protectorate until the reign of George II, is an extraordinary story of riches-to-rags, that has yet to be fully investigated.¹ Born the son of Henry Bolton, a clergyman of Ratoath, he was undoubtedly the most successful Dublin goldsmith of his generation but, for reasons that remain obscure, he suffered a catastrophic reversal of fortune in his final decade, dying in one of the city's debtors prisons.²

Bolton was a relatively late starter in the goldsmiths' trade, becoming apprenticed in 1676 at around eighteen years of age to Gerard Grace (free 1675; d.1694).³ During the term of Bolton's apprenticeship, Grace achieved a modest degree of prominence in guild and municipal affairs, serving first as a warden (1676-9) and then as master (1680-1) of the guild and afterwards sitting on the common council of the corporation between 1682 and 1684.⁴ Little is known of how Grace operated commercially as the assay records are lost for the period during which he was active. Sweeney recorded only one surviving object with marks that could be attributed to Grace - the 'Archdeacon Williamson of Glendalough' communion cup from 1680/1.⁵

¹ John McCormack, 'The Sumptuous Silver of Thomas Bolton (1658-1736)' in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, xi (1995), pp 112-6.

² Charles Knowles Bolton, *Bolton Families in Ireland, with their English and American Kindred; based in part on original records that no longer exist* (Boston, 1935), p. 59.

³ Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 672.

⁴ *CARD*, v, p. 257, p. 294.

⁵ Sweeney, *Irish Stuart Silver*, p. 63.

After the expiry of his articles, Bolton may have stayed on for a while with Grace. He waited until 1686, when he was in his late twenties, to obtain the freedom of the guild and of the city. In the same year, he married Jane Wilson at St Audeon's.⁶ Like so many of the women encountered in this thesis as the wives of the goldsmiths involved in supplying boxes, Jane predeceased her husband.⁷ Bolton subsequently remarried at least once. His wife, Abigail (*née* Lackey) whom he married in 1692, is mentioned in the records of the baptisms of their children at St Werburgh's in the first decades of the eighteenth century. Records of five Bolton children who died in infancy or early childhood in the first two decades of the eighteenth century have been traced.⁸ It is sobering to realise that while Bolton was consolidating his commercial success and his political career in the city, his domestic life must have been marked by almost constant loss and grief. Abigail herself predeceased Bolton, dying of consumption aged fifty in 1725.⁹ Despite the terrible toll of infant mortality in this period, at least two of Bolton's children survived into adulthood: John (b. 1707) who graduated from Trinity College, Dublin in 1728, the year of his father's business collapse;¹⁰ and, Mary (d.1760(?)) who, 'left entirely destitute', petitioned first the guild and then the corporation for support in the decade after her father's death.¹¹

⁶ McCormack, 'The Sumptuous Silver', p. 112.

⁷ Parish Register of St Audeon's (www.irishgenealogy.ie).

⁸ For Bolton's marriage to Abigail: NAI, Diocesan and Prerogative Marriage License Bonds Indexes, 1623-1866, p. 317. Records of five Bolton children have been traced in the parish register of St Werburgh's: Dorcas, baptised on 28 June 1704 (buried on 25 Sept. 1706); Thomas, baptised on unknown date in 1712 (died of smallpox, aged three; buried on 25 June 1715); Catherine, baptised on 13 July 1714 (buried on 20 Nov. 1715); Frances, baptised on 2 Feb. 1715 (buried on 14 Jan. 1721); Catherine, baptised in Feb. 1719 (buried on 14 Apr. 1720), Parish register, St Werburgh's (www.irishgenealogy.ie).

⁹ Parish register, St Werburgh's, 18 June 1725 (www.irishgenealogy.ie)

¹⁰ Bolton, *Bolton Families*, p. 60; *CARD*, vii, p. 424.

¹¹ In Feb. 1736, Mary Bolton was granted an annual pension of £5 by the guild (reduced to £3 in 1739) (CGD archive, Minute books, vol. 2 (9 Nov. 1731-1 May 1758), p. 94). In Jan. 1737, she was given a payment of £10 by the corporation (*CARD*, viii, p. 236). The burial of a Mary Bolton of Skinner row was recorded on 15 Nov. 1760 in the parish register of St James's (www.irishgenealogy.ie).



Figure 3.1 Thomas Bolton, *Chocolate pot with stand and burner*, silver, Dublin, 1708-12, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.

According to McCormack, in the year of his freedom and his marriage to Jane, Bolton 'set up his shop and trade premises at 17 Skinners [*sic*] Row'.¹² Bolton's business thrived in the period of calm and prosperity after the Williamite war and within a decade he was operating the most productive goldsmith's business in the city. The assay records survive for the period between 1693 and 1699 and show that during those years Bolton sent more silver for assay than any other goldsmith in the city; his nearest rivals - his younger contemporaries Joseph Walker (free 1690) and David King - were each submitting less than two-thirds of Bolton's volumes.¹³ Sinsteden has calculated that during these six years Bolton's submissions (34,434oz) accounted for almost a quarter of the entire volume (158,317oz) of silver assayed in the city.¹⁴ Although at least fifty goldsmiths sent wares for assay in this period, the market was highly concentrated. The triarchy of Bolton, Walker and King controlled almost half of the output. It is also noteworthy that during this period Bolton was the only goldsmith recorded as making assays in gold; these gold assays were small (11oz in 1696/7 and 5oz in 1698/9) and were most likely connected to his supplies of presentation boxes to the corporation. Bolton continued to prosper as a goldsmith in the next decade but surviving

¹² McCormack, 'The Sumptuous Silver', p. 112.

¹³ Sinsteden, 'Four selected assay records', p. 151.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

records for the period from 1705-09 show Walker and King claiming a larger share of the market and challenging Bolton's pre-eminence. The assay records for the early years of the next decade up to July 1713 show that the three goldsmiths maintained their grip on the market, accounting for more than half of the volume of silver assayed in the city. However, Bolton had fallen behind Walker and King in volume terms; between 1708 and 1713, his assays amounted to less than two-thirds of Walker's volumes.¹⁵

Fourteen years elapse before assay records again become available and the slackening of Bolton's goldsmith business during the interim becomes apparent. By the time the records recommence, Bolton was approaching his seventieth birthday and his most prosperous and productive days as a goldsmith were in the past. The market was noticeably less concentrated and a new generation of goldsmiths - including Matthew Walker and Bolton's former apprentice, Thomas Sutton - were submitting larger volumes than the former *doyen*. In the period from May 1725 to October 1729, Bolton's most productive year (in terms of volume of silver sent for assay) was 1725/6 when he submitted 2,776oz, less than a quarter of the volume (11,215oz) he had sent for assay twenty years earlier in 1705/6.¹⁶

Given the volume of production over his forty-year career, it is hardly surprising that objects with Bolton's mark have survived in fairly large numbers into the modern era (Figs. 3.1, 3.3). These objects, and contemporary assay records, show that the output of Bolton's workshop was both sophisticated and varied and that in his commercial strategy he sought to supply all the principal market segments for silver in the city - objects for personal and domestic use, ecclesiastical vessels and paraphernalia, and regalia for the city's institutions. It is obvious that at the height of his prosperity Bolton operated a large workshop. He took at least nine apprentices between 1686 and 1725.¹⁷ To satisfy the large volume of demand he attracted from his customers, Bolton would also have relied on quarter brothers and journeymen, working both inside and outside his workshop. In the years when Bolton was most active, foreigners, mainly exiled Huguenots, were active as goldsmiths in Dublin, bringing a variety of new skills to the market.¹⁸ Some, like Peter Gervais (free 1715; d.1730)

¹⁵ Sinsteden, Thomas, 'Surviving Dublin assay records: Part 2 (1708-43)' in *Silver Studies*, xvi (2004), pp 87-101.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ McCormack in 'The Sumptuous Silver', relying on Bennett (*Collecting Irish Silver*), lists eight of Bolton's apprentices but does not mention Nehemiah Donnellan whom Jackson (3rd ed.) lists as being apprenticed to Bolton in 1699.

¹⁸ Cunningham, 'Dublin's Huguenot goldsmiths, 1690-1750'.

(Chapter 5), operated toyshops, retailing ‘small and desirable luxury’ items in the French and continental taste (Chapter 5).¹⁹ Others could have worked with Bolton providing him with information on technical innovations and fashionable forms, a pattern of transmission that is likely to have been important for his production of the boxes required to satisfy an emerging demand of the Dublin *beau monde* in the early decades of the eighteenth century.²⁰

Things seem to have suddenly fallen apart for Bolton sometime in spring 1728. This was a period of intense economic depression and turmoil in Ireland.²¹ In the early months of the year, Bolton, then aged about seventy, was still active in municipal affairs in his capacity of alderman but by July 1728 he was petitioning the corporation for assistance pleading that he was ‘very much reduced and low in his circumstances’ due to ‘the many misfortunes and troubles which he has had’.²² The corporation resolved that Bolton should be paid ‘the sum of fifty pounds per annum during the city’s pleasure, for the support of his children, by quarterly payments, to commence from midsummer last’, the provision for backdated payments suggesting that the situation must have been dire.²³ The precise nature and cause of Bolton’s financial difficulties is not clear from the records that have been traced. Like Bellingham and Ram in the previous century and some of his goldsmith contemporaries in London, Bolton may have become involved in financial transactions and speculations.²⁴ As early as 1709, there are records of him lending money; in that year, he advanced £200 to the goldsmiths’ guild to finance the fitting out of its new guild hall.²⁵ A switch to focus on financial transactions might also explain the relative decline in Bolton’s output of silver from the first decade of the eighteenth century onwards. Whatever he was doing, Bolton’s subsequent confinement in the city’s debtors’ prisons suggests that he had become insolvent or had been adjudicated bankrupt. Insolvency and bankruptcy were something of an occupational hazard for goldsmiths throughout the Georgian period, as Culme has shown in his work on the figure of the ‘embarrassed goldsmith’ in the eighteenth-century London trade.²⁶ Commercial and social prominence was no guarantee of solvency and, as will be seen in Chapter 6,

¹⁹ Vanessa Brett, *Bertrand’s Toyshop in Bath: Luxury Retailing 1685-1765* (Wetherby, 2014), p. 16.

²⁰ Cunningham, ‘Dublin’s Huguenot goldsmiths, 1690-1750’.

²¹ L. M. Cullen, *An Economic History of Ireland Since 1660* (London, 1972), pp 44-8; James Kelly, ‘Harvests and Hardship: Famine and Scarcity in Ireland in the late 1720s’ in *Studia Hibernica*, xxvi (1992), pp 65-105.

²² *CARD*, vii, p. 404, p. 424.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 425.

²⁴ Mitchell (ed.), *Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Bankers*.

²⁵ CGD archive, Minute books, vol. 1 (2 Feb. 1686-30 Oct. 1731), p. 158.

²⁶ John Culme, ‘The embarrassed goldsmith, 1729-1831: Eighteenth century failures in the London jewellery and silver trades’ in *Silver Society Journal*, x (1998), pp 66-76.

commercial failure and bankruptcy were also the fate of some of the businesses that succeeded Bolton as suppliers of boxes to Dublin institutions in the early nineteenth century.

In the surviving assay records for 1729, the year after his business collapse, Bolton's name is absent, probably indicating that he no longer operated the workshop he had opened in Skinner row forty years previously. Bolton continued to make petitions for relief to the corporation in the years before his death, both for his son ('to be put into holy orders, which will be very expensive') and for himself (stating in 1733 that 'his long confinement, which is almost two years, has brought him to a very low and melancholy state' and in 1735 that he was 'closely confined in the Sheriffs' Marshalsea, near four years and is now in great want').²⁷ At some point, he was moved from the Sheriffs' Marshalsea in Merchant's quay (which, three decades earlier as one of the city's sheriffs, he would have supervised) to the Four Courts Marshalsea - a stone's throw away from the location of his formerly thriving workshop at Skinner row - where he died in December 1736 (Fig. 3.2).²⁸

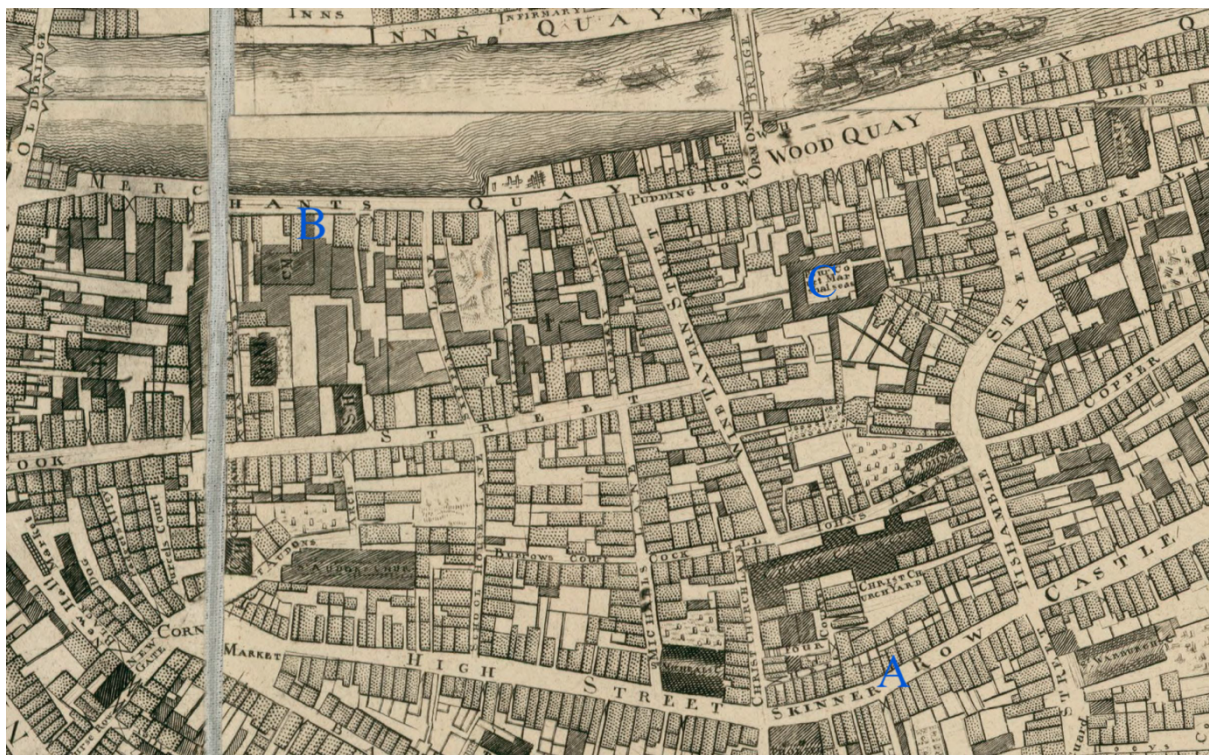


Figure 3.2 From riches to rags: the narrow urban trajectory of Thomas Bolton's decline.

²⁷ CARD, viii, p. 28, p. 89, p. 169.

²⁸ DJ, 25 Dec. 1736; Bolton, *Bolton Families*, p. 60; Patrick Fagan, *The Second City: Portrait of Dublin 1700-1760* (Dublin, 1986), p. 55; G.N. Wright, *An Historical Guide to the City of Dublin* (2nd ed., London, 1825), p. 114. Bolton's burial on 26 Dec. 1736 was recorded in the parish register of St Werburgh's (www.irishgenealogy.ie); he was accorded his title of alderman, his age was given as seventy-eight, the cause of death as 'age', and his residence as the Four Courts Marshalsea.

A = approximate location of Bolton's workshop at 17 Skinner row c.1686-c.1728.

B = approximate location of the Sheriffs' Marshalsea on Merchants' quay where Bolton was confined from 1731 until at least 1735.

C = the Four Courts Marshalsea in Fleece lane where Bolton died in December 1736.

Detail from *Rocque's Map of Dublin* (1756), courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

More than four decades before his pathetic final years, Bolton had begun his ascent in guild and municipal politics. He made his move at the time when his business was expanding and he was emerging as the dominant force in the goldsmiths' trade in the city. This drive to combine commercial and political prominence is a recurring feature that connects almost all the goldsmiths who supplied gold and silver boxes to the corporation over the centuries. It has already been seen in the careers of Bellingham, Ram and Palles and will be seen again in the later generations of goldsmiths who transacted in this corner of the trade in the century after Bolton. Over three centuries have passed since Bolton's *heure de gloire* and in the absence of any records of his personal motivations, it is impossible to know the degree to which the prospect of lucrative commissions was a factor in his decision to engage in municipal politics. However, the surviving transactional records show that, once he became involved in municipal politics, he quickly captured a large part of the corporation's business which he then retained for decades.

Bolton's career as a public figure began in his early thirties when he became a warden of the goldsmiths' guild for two terms between 1690 and 1692. He was elected master of the guild in 1692/3. He also operated as assay master from 1692 in succession to Richard Lord (Chapter 2). Bolton's tenure as assay master appears to have been controversial. Contrary to convention (by which the assay master was expected to eschew any other commercial activity), Bolton maintained his flourishing business in Skinner row, an arrangement that must have caused concern to some of his competitors. In May 1697, 'several brothers' petitioned against him 'for his wrong assaying of plate'.²⁹ Later in 1697, the various disputes about his performance as assay master were resolved with Bolton resigning as assay master and the guild members, by a form of deed, assuring him of their willingness to be 'in amity and love' with him.³⁰

After his rapid ascent in the guild, Bolton switched his attention to municipal politics, becoming a member of the common council in 1693. By 1695, the year of the first record of

²⁹ CGD archive, Minute books, vol. 1 (2 Feb. 1686-30 Oct. 1731), 1 May 1697.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 63; McCormack, 'The Sumptuous Silver', p. 116

Bolton transacting with the corporation for the supply of a gold box, his activity in the municipal sphere began to complement his commercial endeavours. Further municipal advancement followed, along with more commissions from the corporation. Bolton was elected sheriff in 1701, became an alderman in 1706 and served as lord mayor of Dublin in 1716-17, the first goldsmith to hold the office since Abel Ram three decades earlier.³¹ The guild seems to have understood that it was ‘usual’ to give a guild member a piece of plate when he became lord mayor and it considered marking Bolton’s achievement by commissioning a gift of a value of £30 from Henry Daniell (free 1711; d.1739); however, it is unclear from the record whether the presentation to Bolton ever went ahead.³² After his term as lord mayor, Bolton continued to be active in municipal affairs in his capacity as alderman until his business collapsed in 1728.



Figure 3.3 Thomas Bolton, *Silver-mounted ostrich-shell cup*, silver and shell, Dublin, 1693-6, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.

³¹ *CARD*, vii, p. 8. McCormack, ‘The Sumptuous Silver’ incorrectly gave 1710/11 for Bolton’s mayoralty.

³² CGD archive, Minute books, vol. 1 (2 Feb. 1686-30 Oct. 1731), 9 Oct. 1716.

Bolton's involvement in the provision of ceremonial regalia to both the corporation and the college has attracted some scholarly attention;³³ however, the extent of his activity in supplying gold and silver boxes to the city during the years of his prosperity has gone largely unremarked. From the documentary and artefact evidence, it is clear that Bolton's activity as a box supplier both preceded and exceeded his activity as a supplier of other civic regalia to the corporation. Boxes were the most important category of object, in terms of number of transactions, that he supplied to the corporation.

The evidence shows that from the earliest days of his involvement as a supplier Bolton profited from the broader gifting and regalia culture associated with the corporation. This pattern of involvement in the supply of civic regalia has already been seen with Bellingham and will be encountered again with other goldsmiths who supplied boxes in the century after Bolton. In both the corporation records and in Sweeney's *Irish Stuart Silver*, the earliest object of Dublin civic regalia (other than a box) that can be associated with Bolton is the Williamson standing cup, marked with Bolton's maker's mark and the date-letter used from 1693 to 1696.³⁴ This object, though it now forms part of the civic regalia of the city, was not originally commissioned by the corporation. It was a gift to the corporation from Sir Joseph Williamson (1633-1701) and, in all likelihood, it was he (rather than the corporation) who transacted with Bolton. Williamson was known as a prolific gifter of silver and had made 'beneficent gifts of plate to Queen's College, [Oxford]' where he had studied in his youth,³⁵ including a silver trumpet (used to summon members of the college to dinner) in 1666, a rose-water basin and ewer in 1669 and a two-handled cup and cover with a coiled serpent handle in 1671.³⁶ The interest of the Williamson cup for this thesis is both as a rare example of reciprocal gifting between the corporation and the recipient of a box, and as an object within a chain of transactions that provides an insight into the commercial opportunities the civic box-gifting practice provided to Bolton.

³³ McCormack, 'The Sumptuous Silver'; J.P. Mahaffy, *The Plate in Trinity College, Dublin* (London, 1918), p. 58; Douglas Bennett, *The Silver Collection, Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin, 1988), p. 30; Cunningham, 'Craft and Culture'.

³⁴ W.G. Strickland, 'Notes on Plate Formerly in the Possession of the Corporation of Dublin, and the Three Silver Cups Now in the Mansion House' in *JRSAI*, sixth series, xiv (June 1924), pp 46-54.

³⁵ Helen M. Clifford, *A Treasured Inheritance: 600 Years of Oxford College Silver* (Oxford, 2004), p. 26.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

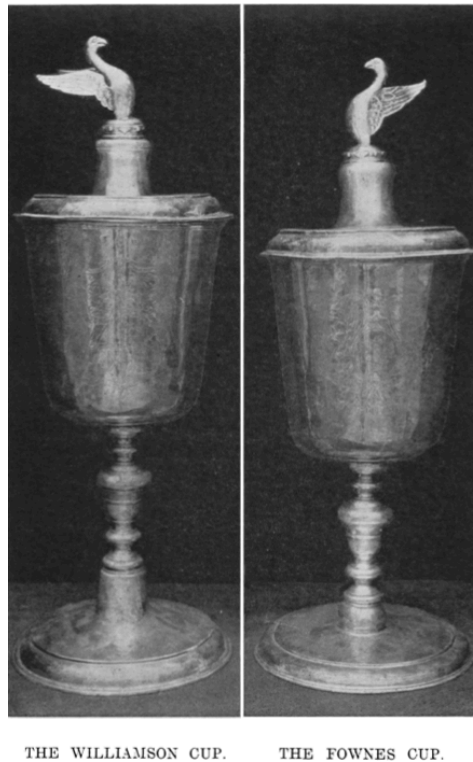


Figure 3.4 Thomas Bolton, *The Williamson cup and the Fownes cup*, silver, Dublin c.1696-1700. The photograph is taken from Strickland, 'Notes on the Plate Formerly in the Possession of the Corporation of Dublin' (1924).

The precise sequence of the gifting between the corporation and Williamson is unclear but it may have begun with the corporation's resolution to vote Williamson his freedom with a silver box in November 1695.³⁷ Williamson, who was by then something of a political has-been, had Irish connections through his wife Catherine O'Brien (1640-1702), the widow of Henry O'Brien, Lord Ibracken. In relative obscurity after the Williamite take-over, Williamson sat in the Irish parliament from 1692, operating as a parliamentary manager.³⁸ In a flattering reference to an office from which he had been ousted more than sixteen years earlier, the corporation's resolution described Williamson as 'formerly one of his majesties principall secretaries of state'.³⁹

The box presented to Williamson does not appear to have survived into the modern era. In addition, no record of the transaction by which the corporation acquired the box can be located in the treasurer's accounts from the period. It is therefore not possible to know who made it or who supplied it to the corporation. However, Bolton's is the only name that

³⁷ *CARD*, vi, p. 129.

³⁸ A. Marshall, 'Williamson, Sir Joseph (1633-1701)' in *ODNB*.

³⁹ *CARD*, vi, p. 129.

appears in the city treasurer's accounts regularly around this time as a supplier of boxes. He supplied the gold boxes presented to the recipient before Williamson (the lord deputy, Capell, who was voted his freedom in a gold box on 19 July 1695) and to the two recipients who followed Williamson (the lords justice, Mountrath and Drogheda, who were both voted their freedoms in gold boxes on 22 September 1696). At the very least, the possibility that Bolton also supplied the Williamson box cannot be excluded.

Whether or not Bolton supplied the box presented to Williamson, it was part of a sequence of three gifts; the other two were much more valuable than the box, and both came from Bolton's workshop. The first of these two gifts was the cup that Williamson gifted to the corporation in Dublin (Fig. 3.4). When examined (together with the Fownes cup) at the Dublin City Archive in the course of this research, the Williamson cup was found to be a splendid late Baroque object, an outstanding example of the sophisticated output of which Bolton's workshop was capable.⁴⁰ Engraved with the city's arms as well as Williamson's arms, it is surmounted with a falcon in allusion to the Williamson family crest and inscribed with a text recording its presentation by Williamson in 1696.⁴¹ According to McCormack, it was 'intended to be filled with spiced wine and circulated amongst the Lord Mayor's guests'.⁴² The corporation's appreciation of Williamson's cup is shown not only by its survival to the present day but also by its decision in 1700 to wring a matching cup from alderman William Fownes when he sought a lease on part of College green.⁴³ As part of the consideration for the transaction, Fownes was required to provide the corporation with 'a piece of plate like to and of equall value with that given the citty by sir Joseph Williamson'.⁴⁴ Bolton also secured that commission.⁴⁵ Even at the beginning of his career in municipal politics, Bolton was already demonstrating his resourcefulness, obtaining at least two of the three commissions in this gifting sequence.

After the Williamson transaction, there are records of Bolton repairing and refurbishing items of civic regalia for the city. In 1697, he was paid £57 15s. 3d. 'for Guilding the great

⁴⁰ I am grateful to the City Archivist, Dr Mary Clark, for the opportunity to examine the Williamson and Fownes Cups.

⁴¹ Strickland, 'Notes on the Plate', p. 54.

⁴² McCormack, 'The Sumptuous Silver', p. 112.

⁴³ Strickland incorrectly gave the date of the corporation resolution as 1699; it was adopted in January 1700.

⁴⁴ *CARD*, vi, p. 229.

⁴⁵ McCormack, 'The Sumptuous Silver', p. 112; Sweeney, *Irish Stuart Silver*, p. 105.

Mace and great sword' and in 1700 £3 16s. 'for mending the collar of SS and mace'.⁴⁶ The provision of these ancillary services is a feature that reoccurs in records of later goldsmiths who supplied boxes to the corporation and the college, presumably a strategy on their part both to secure an additional revenue stream and to reinforce their customers' loyalty in the intervals between more lucrative commissions. In her study of the Parker and Wakelin records, Clifford found extensive evidence of the provision of 'small repair and maintenance jobs' by the partnership, which she said 'brought in ready money and maintained contact with the customers'.⁴⁷

Bolton's single most valuable non-box commission from the corporation may have been the transaction in 1701 by which he supplied three gold chains to complement the collar of SS given to the city by William III;⁴⁸ the corporation accounts record a payment of £296 to Bolton.⁴⁹ His involvement in the corporation's presentations of gifts of plate to Captain Sanders in 1704 and to Thomas Burgh in 1724 has already been discussed (Chapter 1). In 1720, Bolton secured the commission to supply ten silver maces to the corporation.⁵⁰ He also supplied maces to Drogheda (c.1699) and Trinity College, Dublin (c.1709) (Fig. 3.5).⁵¹

⁴⁶ DCA, MR/36, Treasurers' accounts, folio 516, folio 539.

⁴⁷ Clifford, *Silver in London*, p. 138.

⁴⁸ Clark, *The Dublin Civic Portrait Collection*, p. 24.

⁴⁹ DCA, MR/36, Treasurers' accounts, folio 546; *CARD*, vi, pp 253-4.

⁵⁰ *CARD*, vii, pp 117-8.

⁵¹ Sweeney, *Irish Stuart Silver*, p 188; McCormack, 'The Sumptuous Silver', p. 112; Anne-Marie Quinn, 'Irish Civic Maces: A Study of their Historical, Artistic and Social Contexts' (MA thesis, National College of Art and Design, 2003).



Figure 3.5 The College Macebearer with the Mace of Trinity College, Dublin (photograph, courtesy of RTÉ). The mace (c.1709) was supplied to the college by Thomas Bolton.

As far as boxes are concerned, the surviving records, both documentary and artefact, can be used to explore two elements of Bolton's commercial strategy: first, his success in securing the corporation's commissions for the supply of those objects over at least two decades; and, secondly, the arrangements he used to produce or obtain the boxes that he supplied.

The first record of a transaction by Bolton with the corporation dates from 1695, at a time when he was establishing himself within the political structures of the city. The city treasurers' accounts do not survive for the period between 1717 and 1754 but analysis of the extant records up to 1717 reveals that after that first transaction Bolton maintained a firm (most likely, exclusive) grip on the trade in presentation boxes, that lasted for at least twenty years. This was a good time to be involved in supplying gold and silver boxes to the city; there was a surge in the number of box presentations by the corporation, increasing from eight recorded resolutions for presentations in the decade before 1695 to thirty-six resolutions between 1695 and 1717.

A number of factors were at play in this increase in presentations at the turn of the eighteenth century. First, although the gift-giving practice had been abandoned at the

beginning of the Williamite war and was in abeyance for three-and-half years, the corporation, once it had been returned to Protestant direction under William, had hastened to revive the practice (Chapter 2). For the corporation, the box presentation practice was a useful means of sending messages of loyalty and deference (and gratitude) to the new rulers; the pace of its presentation quickened once the Williamite settlement became secured. Expense may also have been a factor in the corporation's pivot to box-gifting at this time. The boxes made in gold presented by the corporation from the Williamite period onwards generally cost under £30. This was a substantial amount when it is recalled that, according to Dickson, 'Petty had estimated in 1672 (perhaps rather conservatively) an average per capita income of £2.60 p.a. for 86 percent of the Irish population (i.e. his near landless families plus small farmers) and £10.00 p.a. for the residual 14 per cent of the population'.⁵² Although they were costly, the boxes were considerably less expensive than the gifts the corporation had given to Ormond in 1662 and also less expensive than the gifts of plate it occasionally mandated. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that, by fixing on the box as the form for the material expression of its deference and esteem, the corporation (perpetually cash-strapped in the early modern period) was both managing recipients' expectations and shrewdly limiting the cost of its formal displays of obeisance.

Another factor that led to the increase in the number of boxes presented was the corporation's willingness to expand the categories of recipients. The prescient recognition, through the adaptation of the box presentation practice, of the necessity of deferential gifting in response to the concentration of power in the hands of the lords justice in the Williamite administration has already been discussed in Chapter 2. Presentations to the lords justice came to occupy a very big part of the corporation's presentation activity in the early eighteenth century. In the years during which Bolton is recorded as the primary supplier of boxes to the corporation (1695-1717), the lords justice received the majority of the gold boxes presented by the corporation (thirteen out of twenty-four) and constituted the single largest category of recipients among the thirty-six boxes (both gold and silver) presented. The accounting records of the city show that Bolton supplied the majority of these boxes for presentation to the lords justice during this period.

3.3 Gifts of boxes to chief secretaries

⁵² David Dickson, *New Foundations, Ireland 1660-1800* (2nd revised and enlarged edition, Dublin, 2000), p. 111.

In the early years of the eighteenth century when Bolton was the principal supplier, the corporation began to make presentations to chief secretaries. This expansion of the practice to another category of recipient resulted in an increase in the number of boxes presented and in more box commissions for Bolton. It also provides a further illustration of the corporation's capacity to adapt its box-gifting practice to changes in the political structures within the kingdom. The change in the corporation's gifting practice reflects the gradual evolution in the chief secretary's role within the administration, from a personal assistant to the viceroy in the seventeenth century to the 'mainspring of the Irish administration' by the time of the Union.⁵³ McDowell charted the progression:

'The office of chief secretary had, as the name implied, a relatively recent and comparatively humble origin. In the seventeenth century the chief secretary was the viceroy's principal personal assistant. By the eighteenth century, however, he controlled a department in Dublin comparable to the secretaries of state's office in London, and he sat in the Irish house of commons where he was regarded as the authoritative exponent of the administration's policy.'⁵⁴

The first record of a presentation by the corporation to a chief secretary is the resolution in January 1702 to present a silver box (with the civic freedom) to Francis Gwyn (1648-1734) who was secretary to the earl of Rochester. At the same assembly, Rochester was voted the freedom with a gold box. Bolton is likely to have been the supplier of the box presented to Gwyn. The treasurer's accounts for the year ended Michaelmas 1702 recorded a payment of £16 to him 'for silver boxes for the city use'.⁵⁵ The decision to make a presentation to Gwyn likely reflected an awareness on the corporation's part of his close personal relationship with his patron, Rochester, and of the increasing importance within the Irish administration of the office to which Gwyn had been appointed. Significantly, the petition for the gift to Gwyn makes an argument based on his utility to the city rather than his personal status or the dignity of his office:

'Upon the petition of certain of the commons, setting forth that Francis Gwyn, esquire, hath upon several occasions exprest his great desire and inclination to be serviceable to this citty, and that it may be an acknowledgement to accept the offers

⁵³ R.B. McDowell, *Ireland in the Age of Imperialism and Revolution 1760-1801* (Oxford, 1979), p. 101.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp 100-1.

⁵⁵ DCA, MR /36, Treasurers' accounts, folio 560.

of his good intentions, they therefore prayed that he may be presented with his freedome of this citty in a silver box.’⁵⁶

During the next century, there are records in the *CARD* of votes of boxes made in silver to thirty-eight of the fifty-one men who served as chief secretary, from Gwyn in 1702 to Arthur Wellesley (1769-1852) (later 1st duke of Wellington) in 1807. The published records may not capture all of the presentations of silver boxes to chief secretaries by the corporation.⁵⁷ However, a pattern can be observed: the corporation voted a new chief secretary his freedom together with a box made in silver at the same assembly that mandated the presentation to the lord lieutenant with whom he arrived and under whom he served. Some of the chief secretaries for whom records of presentations cannot be traced were men who replaced the secretary who had first accompanied the lord lieutenant on his arrival in Ireland. This is the case, for example, with Thomas Townshend, Henry Bilson Legge and George Ponsonby, all of who served as secretary under the duke of Devonshire after the departure of his first secretary, Edward Walpole; while Walpole was voted the freedom and a box made in silver at the same assembly in 1737 at which Devonshire was voted his freedom with a box made in gold, there is no record of presentations being made to his successors as secretary under Devonshire.⁵⁸ Similarly, there is no record of a vote for the freedom or a box by the corporation to Robert Hobart (1760-1816) who served as chief secretary between 1789 and 1794 after replacing Alleyne FitzHerbert (1753-1838) who was voted the freedom and a box made in silver in 1788 shortly after his arrival in Ireland.⁵⁹ These examples suggest that, in at least some cases, the corporation regarded its duty of deference to the more junior member of the viceregal team as discharged once a box had been presented to the secretary who accompanied the viceroy on his arrival.

In assembly decisions resolving to present chief secretaries with their freedom and a silver box, formulations were perfunctory, rarely extending beyond noting the recipients’ names and their office. This approach continued after the secretaries assumed a more active political role in the governing of the kingdom in the second half of the eighteenth century and was maintained even after the Act of Union when the chief secretary became ‘the *de facto*

⁵⁶ *CARD*, vi, p. 259.

⁵⁷ Appendix 3 for the example of the box presented to Charles Abbot, which is not recorded in the *CARD*.

⁵⁸ *CARD*, viii, p. 264.

⁵⁹ *CARD*, xiv, p. 44.

head of the Irish executive'.⁶⁰ In addition, the accretion of power in the hands of the secretaries did not result in an upgrade in the gifts they received. The amount spent on the silver boxes for the secretaries, £5 (increased occasionally to five guineas), remained essentially constant from 1702 until 1804 when the corporation increased the budget and voted six guineas for the box presented to Evan Nepean (1752-1822) (Chapter 6).⁶¹ Once the college initiated the practice of presenting boxes to lords lieutenant and chief secretaries, it used metal as a signifier in the same way in its presentations. The disparity in value between the boxes for lords lieutenant and chief secretaries was a material acknowledgement of the difference in men's status and reveals that the box presentation practice in the city, at least as it concerned the viceregal court, was primarily a formal and ceremonial expression of deference; form mattered more than substance, status trumped power.

The published records of the assembly minutes in the *CARD* suggest that the corporation abandoned the practice of making presentations of boxes with the freedom to chief secretaries some years before it ceased presentations to the lords lieutenant. While the chief secretaries who served in the first decade of the nineteenth century were all voted their freedom together with a silver box, there is no record of votes to present boxes to the chief secretaries after Wellesley who was voted his freedom together with a box made in silver in 1807. When Robert Peel, who served as chief secretary under both Richmond and his successor Whitworth, was voted his freedom at the assembly held on 16 October 1812, no provision was made for a box.⁶² Although the lord lieutenant Talbot was voted a box on his departure in 1821, his chief secretary Charles Grant (who had been voted the freedom shortly after his arrival in 1818) was not.⁶³ A number of factors may have led to the abandonment of the practice - the rapid turnover of chief secretaries in this period, the personal unpopularity of individual secretaries at a time when sectarian passions were poisoning the political atmosphere in the city, and the increasingly desperate financial condition of the corporation.⁶⁴

3.4 Bolton's transactions for the supply of boxes to the corporation

⁶⁰ James Kennedy 'Residential and Non-Residential Lords Lieutenant-The Viceroyalty 1703-1790' in Gray and Purdue (eds), *The Irish Lord Lieutenancy*, p. 76.

⁶¹ *CARD*, xv, p. 353.

⁶² *CARD*, xvi, pp 347-8.

⁶³ *CARD*, xvii, p. 239.

⁶⁴ K. Theodore Hoppen, 'A Question None Could Answer: 'What Was the Viceroy For?' 1800-1921' in Gray and Purdue, *The Irish Lord Lieutenancy*, p. 141; Hill, *From Patriots*, chapters 10-12.

The first record of Bolton supplying a box to the corporation dates from 1695, a couple of years after he became active in municipal politics. This was the box presented by the corporation to Henry Capel (1638-96), 1st baron Capell of Tewkesbury, who had been appointed lord deputy in May 1695. Capell was voted the ‘freedom of this citty in a gold box, touched’ at the assembly held on 19 July 1695.⁶⁵ The resolution stipulated that the value of the box should not exceed £30. Later that year, according to the treasurer’s accounts, Bolton was paid £29 15s. for ‘a Gold Box for the [freedom] of his Excellencie the Lord Deputy’.⁶⁶ In the following year at an assembly held in September 1696, the corporation voted the freedom in gold boxes to two lords justice, Charles Coote (c.1655-1709), 3rd earl of Mountrath, and Henry Moore (d.1714), 3rd earl of Drogheda, who had been appointed on 10 July 1696.⁶⁷ Bolton was obviously keen to secure the corporation’s commission and unusually the assembly’s resolution specified him by name as the goldsmith who should make the boxes:

‘their lordshippes be presented with the freedom of this citty in goold boxes touched and that each of the said boxes be of the same value as the boxes formerly given to the lord chancellor Porter and the lord Coningsby, and that Mr. Thomas Bolton doe make the same, the charge whereof to be paid by the treasurer of the citty on the Lord Mayors warrant.’⁶⁸

Bolton received a payment of £55 9s. later in the year, the entry in the treasurer’s accounts recording ‘To Mr Thomas Bolton for two Gold Boxes for their Lordships [freedoms]’.⁶⁹

The next presentation by the corporation occurred in 1697 and Bolton again supplied the boxes. In August 1697, the corporation resolved that ‘their excellencies the lords justices be presented with their freedoms of this citty under the citty seale, in gold boxes, the price of each box not exceeding thirty pounds sterling’.⁷⁰ In January 1697, Henri Massue de Ruvigny, (1648-1720), marquis de Ruvigny (and from May 1697 earl of Galway), had been appointed lord justice. After the removal of Mountrath and Drogheda in April, he was joined by Charles Paulet (or Powlett), (1661-1722), 7th marquess of Winchester, and Edward Villiers (c.1655-

⁶⁵ *CARD*, vi, p. 103.

⁶⁶ DCA, MR/36, Treasurer’s accounts, folio 496.

⁶⁷ *CARD*, vi, pp 155-6.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ DCA, MR/36, Treasurer’s accounts, folio 503.

⁷⁰ *CARD*, vi, p. 179.

1711), earl of Jersey. However, Villiers never came to Ireland, leaving Galway and Winchester as joint rulers in the kingdom.⁷¹ The treasurer's accounts for 1697 record payment to Bolton only for the gold boxes presented to Galway and Winchester (Fig. 3.6). The same accounting entry records payment to Bolton for a box presented to John Methuen, the lord chancellor, who was also voted his freedom with a gold box at the August assembly. The corporation's careful calibration of deference, a recurrent feature in the box presentation practice, is on display in the accounting record. The two powerful lords justice were each presented a box that cost the corporation the same amount - £30 13s.; Methuen's box, at £19 16s., cost less and must have been smaller.⁷² In his review of the assay records, Sinsteden discovered that on 13 August 1697 - ten days after the resolutions voting the boxes to the lords justice and the lord chancellor - Bolton had gold objects weighing 11oz assayed.⁷³ This entry provides evidence, absent in the case of the earlier boxes supplied by Bolton, that points strongly towards the conclusion that these three boxes were made in his workshop.

The next recorded presentation of a box - made in gold and given to James Butler (1665-1745), 2nd duke of Ormonde, the grandson of the first duke - can also be linked to Bolton. Although Ormonde was later twice appointed lord lieutenant (in 1703 and in 1710), this presentation by the corporation in 1697 predated those appointments and can best be understood as an exercise in dynastic deference - 'his ancestors have on all occasions been friends and benefactors to this auncient citty' - and personal esteem, expressed by reference to his military service in the Low Countries during the War of the League of Augsburg, where he had spent every summer on campaign between 1688 and 1697.⁷⁴ The extent of the corporation's regard is revealed by the allocation of £30 for the cost of Ormonde's box. Bolton was paid £30 8s. (Fig 3.6).

⁷¹ Charles Ivar McGrath 'Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century Governance and the Viceroyalty' in Gray and Purdue (eds), *The Irish Lord Lieutenancy*, p. 53.

⁷² DCA, MR /36, Treasurer's accounts, folio 516.

⁷³ Sinsteden 'Four selected assay records', p. 150.

⁷⁴ *CARD*, vi, p. 186.

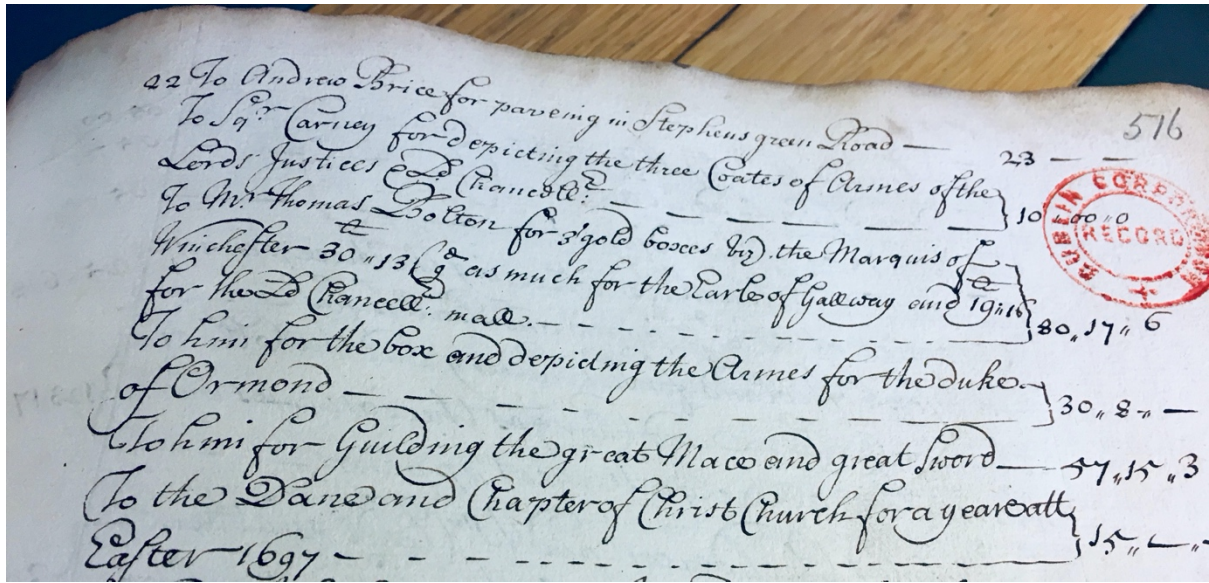


Figure 3.6 Extract from the treasurer's accounts showing payments in 1697 to Thomas Bolton for gold boxes presented by the corporation to the marquess of Winchester, the earl of Galway and the lord chancellor, Methuen. A payment to Bolton for a box he supplied for presentation to the duke of Ormonde is also recorded.

The next presentation by the corporation was to Charles Berkeley (1649-1710), 2nd earl of Berkeley, one of the lords justice, who on 27 October 1699 was voted his freedom 'under the citty seale, in a gold box, the charge thereof not to exceed thirty pounds, sterling'.⁷⁵ Although no accounting record has been found linked to this transaction, the assay records provide evidence that Bolton was responsible for the production of the box presented to Berkeley. Sinsteden noted that on 3 November 1699, less than a week after the corporation's resolution, Bolton submitted a five-ounce gold object for assay.⁷⁶

No record has been found to link Bolton to the next gold box presented by the corporation, the box voted to the lord lieutenant Lawrence Hyde (1642-1711), 1st earl of Rochester, in October 1701. As already noted, an entry in the accounts for the following year, recording a payment of £16 to Bolton 'for silver boxes for the city use' is likely to be linked, in part, to the presentation received by Rochester's secretary, Gwyn.

Records related to the transactions for the thirteen gold boxes presented between 1703 and 1715 reveal Bolton's total domination of this small but prestigious sub-market. These presentations occurred at the time when Bolton was at his most prominent in the politics of the city: he had served as sheriff in 1701, had been selected as an alderman and went on to

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 227.

⁷⁶ Sinsteden 'Four selected assay records', p. 150.

serve as lord mayor in 1716-17. Records have been found in the treasurer's accounts linking Bolton to the supply of all of these boxes:

- i. 1703, Richard Cox (1650-1733), lord chancellor;⁷⁷
- ii. 1705, John Cutts (1661-1707), 1st baron Cutts, lord justice;⁷⁸
- iii. 1707, Thomas Herbert (1656-1733), 8th earl of Pembroke, lord lieutenant;⁷⁹
- iv. 1707, Richard Freeman (1646-1710), lord chancellor;⁸⁰
- v. 1708, Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713), archbishop of Dublin and lord justice;⁸¹
- vi. 1709, Thomas Wharton (1648-1715), 1st earl of Wharton, lord lieutenant;⁸²
- vii. 1709, Richard Ingoldsby (c.1664-1712), lord justice;⁸³
- viii. 1711, Constantine Phipps (1656-1723), lord chancellor;⁸⁴
- ix. 1712, John Vesey (1638-1716), archbishop of Tuam and lord justice;⁸⁵
- x. 1714, Charles Talbot (1660-1718), 1st duke of Shrewsbury, lord lieutenant;⁸⁶
- xi. 1714, Robert FitzGerald (1675-1743), 19th earl of Kildare, lord justice;⁸⁷
- xii. 1714, William King (1650-1729), archbishop of Dublin and lord justice;⁸⁸
- xiii. 1715, Charles FitzRoy (1683-1757), 2nd duke of Grafton, lord justice;⁸⁹

After 1715, there are no further records of payments to Bolton in the accounts, and the account books from 1717 to 1754 have not survived. The corporation's box presentations, of course, continued. Between 1715 and 1728 (when Bolton's business collapsed), there are records of fourteen presentations, eight in gold and six in silver. In the absence of the treasurers' accounts for this period, it is not possible to reach firm conclusions on the extent of Bolton's involvement in these presentations. In addition, no record has been traced of the survival of any of these boxes into the modern era, making it impossible to know whether they bear the marks of Bolton or another goldsmith. There is, on the other hand, evidence that Bolton was in the business of supplying boxes to the college in the 1720s and, from the record of his involvement in the presentation to Burgh in the same decade (Chapter 1), it is clear that he continued to take a keen interest in the corporation's gifting arrangements. Although Bolton faced more competition from younger goldsmiths as he got older, it is

⁷⁷ DCA, MR /36, Treasurer's accounts, unnumbered folio [567 (?)].

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, folio 586.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, folio 604.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, folio 610.

⁸² *Ibid.*, folio 615.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, folio 630.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, folio 648.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

difficult to imagine that he would have easily conceded his grip on the business of supplying boxes to the corporation.

When the transactions that can be linked to Bolton are placed in the context of the overall number of recorded box presentations by the city in this period, Bolton's domination of this corner of the trade becomes apparent. Of the twenty-four gold boxes voted by the assembly between 1695 and 1717, Bolton supplied at least nineteen; of the twelve silver boxes voted, he supplied at least six. As no other goldsmith's name appears in the accounts as receiving payment from the corporation for gold or silver boxes during this period, the possibility remains that Bolton was also involved in the other transactions. No goldsmith, before or after, supplied so many boxes to the corporation.

The degree of control Bolton exercised over this very specific market segment reflects the high levels of market concentration that FitzGerald noted in the Dublin trade in the first half of the eighteenth century. FitzGerald explained that concentrated market structure as the consequence of the high capital risk involved and of the market's relatively small size.⁹⁰ It also seems reasonable (at least insofar as the trade in boxes was concerned) to see the political structures and culture of the city in this period as additional factors that may have facilitated the capture of municipal business by a small number of prominent and well-connected individuals. Involvement in the city's politics by the goldsmiths who obtained the corporation's lucrative commissions for gold and silver boxes is a feature that emerges repeatedly from the analysis of the transaction records throughout the duration of the presentation practice. Like Bellingham a half century earlier and the Wests almost a century later, Bolton occupied senior positions in the corporation while transacting with the city and his position as supplier of boxes was part of a broader business relationship, encompassing work on civic regalia⁹¹ and the supply of other gold and silver objects.⁹²

⁹⁰ FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin*, p. 70.

⁹¹ DCA, MR/36, Treasurer's accounts, folio 516, folio 539, folio 543.

⁹² *CARD*, vi, pp 305-6; DCA, MR/36, Treasurer's accounts, folio 574.

3.5 Were the boxes Bolton supplied made in his workshop?

The evidence from the transaction records shows that Bolton operated a highly successful commercial strategy that led him to secure the business of supplying the corporation with boxes made in gold and silver to an extent that he essentially monopolised that sub-market for at least two decades. Those transaction documents do not reveal, however, whether Bolton produced the boxes he supplied. Were the boxes Bolton supplied made in his own workshop? As the sources are relatively sparse, this is a difficult question to answer with certainty. Bolton may have operated a number of strategies (including obtaining boxes from other goldsmiths) but the evidence from documentary and artefact sources indicates that he maintained a box-making capacity in his workshop for a fairly lengthy period after he first began to transact the corporation's box business.

First, there is the rather equivocal evidence of the assay records. From 1697, there are sporadic records of assays by Bolton that can be linked to boxes recorded in the transactional records: the Galway, Winchester and Methuen boxes in 1697, the Berkeley box in 1699; and, the Ingoldsby and Wharton boxes in 1709.⁹³ The assay records for the years covering Bolton's career have been subject to serious attrition and, even where they survive, may not provide a fully reliable record of Bolton's output. For example, even though assay records for 1707 survive, it is not possible to find a record that can be linked to the gold box presented in that year to Freeman, which has Bolton marker's mark and a date-letter associated with 1707/8.⁹⁴ Overall, during the twenty-year period to 1715 when the accounts show Bolton regularly supplying gold boxes to the corporation, assays in gold in his name that can be linked with boxes are relatively infrequent; in some periods (for example, from 1705 to 1708) when it is clear from the transactional records that he was supplying gold boxes, there are no records of assays that can be identified as boxes.⁹⁵ It is impossible to determine whether these absences in the assay records indicate some form of evasion, result from lapses in recording or are evidence that Bolton was supplying boxes made by other goldsmiths.

Artefact evidence points firmly to the presence of box-making and gold-working functions within Bolton's workshop in the first two decades of the eighteenth century. Two gold boxes supplied by Bolton to the corporation in that period have survived into the modern

⁹³ Sinsteden, 'Four selected assay records'.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

era; both bear Bolton's maker's mark, confirming that he took responsibility for them at assay. The first of those boxes, now in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland,⁹⁶ was the box voted to Freeman in July 1707.⁹⁷ The box bears Bolton's maker's mark and the date-letter for 1707-08. Bolton received payment for this box in 1707.⁹⁸ The second presentation box by Bolton that survived into the modern era was voted by the city to the earl of Kildare in October 1714.⁹⁹ There is an entry in the treasurer's accounts recording payment to Bolton the following year.¹⁰⁰

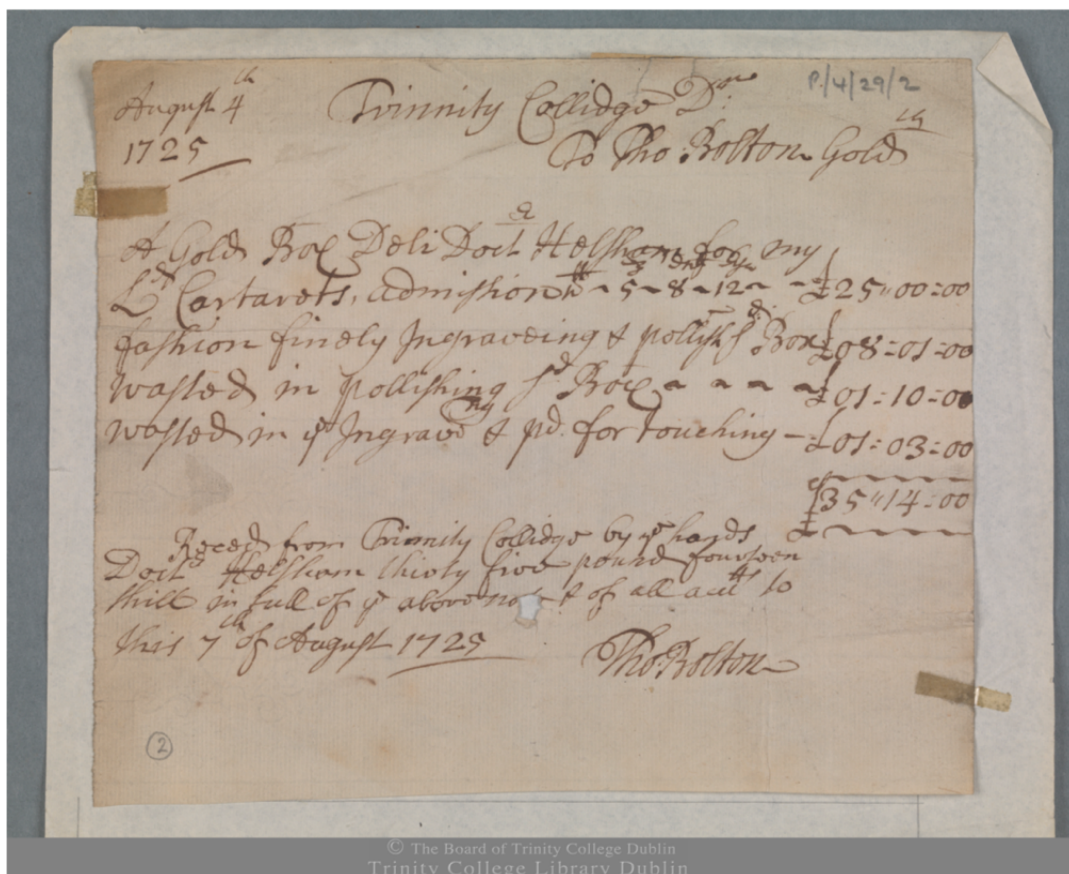


Figure 3.7 Hand-written receipt (August 1725) for payment for the supply of a gold box to Trinity College, Dublin, with the signature of Thomas Bolton, 1725, source: Trinity College, Dublin, © The Board of Trinity College Dublin.

Further evidence suggesting Bolton's involvement in the production of the boxes he supplied is provided by a transaction document (apparently a receipt for payment) in the

⁹⁶ Delamer and O'Brien, *500 Years*, p. 179.

⁹⁷ *CARD*, vi, p. 368.

⁹⁸ DCA, MR/36, Treasurer's accounts, folio 604.

⁹⁹ *CARD*, vi, p. 497; Sotheby's London, *Important Silver and Gold*, 3 May 1984, lot 2; Christie's London, *The Glory of the Goldsmith: Magnificent Gold and Silver from the Al-Tajir Collection* (London, 1989), p. 240.

¹⁰⁰ DCA, MR/36, Treasurer's accounts, folio 648.

college archives, dated August 1725 and bearing Bolton's signature.¹⁰¹ The document concerned Bolton's supply of a gold box to the college for presentation to the lord lieutenant Carteret. The transaction document included itemised elements of the box's production cost (Fig. 3.7). The cost of gold used in making the box (£25) was specified, together with the cost of 'fashion', engraving and polishing the box (£8 1s.) and the value of the gold lost in polishing (£1 10s.). There was a separate charge of £1 3s. for gold lost in engraving, and for 'touching'. The level of detail provided concerning the various stages of production strongly points towards Bolton's workshop as the source for this box.

It seems that, at least after he had established himself as the corporation's preferred supplier, Bolton operated what is termed in this thesis an integrated model by which is meant that the boxes he supplied were made in his own workshop. The absence of evidence of contemporaneous assays in gold by Bolton at the time of his earliest transactions for boxes may indicate that he delayed his decision to establish specialised production of boxes within the workshop until he was sure that he could successfully secure the corporation's business. Once he was convinced that box-making was a viable addition to his portfolio of workshop activities, documentary records and artefact evidence (notably, the Freeman box from 1707 and the Kildare box from 1714) indicate that Bolton had developed the necessary production capacity.

Bolton's decision to invest in specialised box production may not have been guided solely by his institutional customers' requirements for presentation boxes. The corporation and the college were not the only customers for boxes in the city; already by the 1690s, there was an emerging fashion and consequent demand for boxes for personal use as tobacco boxes, spice boxes and as components in toilet sets.¹⁰² From a production perspective, the technical skills required to satisfy both types of market demand, public and personal, were largely fungible. A journeyman who specialised in box-making could turn his hand to producing both boxes for presentations and toilet boxes for fashionable customers. As far as boxes for personal use are concerned, Sweeney lists records of at least thirteen 'toilet boxes' (usually in pairs) surviving with Bolton's maker's mark made during the eight years between 1694 and 1702.¹⁰³ Judging by Sweeney's list, Bolton also seems to have been the leading

¹⁰¹ TCD archives, MUN/P/4/29/2.

¹⁰² Delieb, *Silver Boxes*; Culme, *British Silver Boxes*.

¹⁰³ Sweeney, *Irish Stuart Silver*, p. 189.

producer in the city of these boxes for personal use; only three other goldsmiths are represented, each with a single box. The sophistication, in form and decoration, of the boxes made in Bolton's workshop is evident from the hinged silver-gilt box from 1699-1700 and now in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Fig. 3.8).



Figure 3.8 Thomas Bolton, *Box from a toilet service*, silver-gilt, Dublin, 1699-1700, courtesy of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Records in the college archives may provide evidence that other goldsmiths who supplied boxes to the college in the first half of the eighteenth century were also operating an integrated production and supply model similar to Bolton's. A transaction document (probably another receipt for payment) from 1716 in the college archives records the supply of a gold box to the college by King (Fig. 3.9). Although not apparent from the document, King's transaction with the college was for a gold box for presentation to the prince of Wales on the occasion of his election as chancellor in 1716.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ TCD archives, MUN/P/4/21/18.

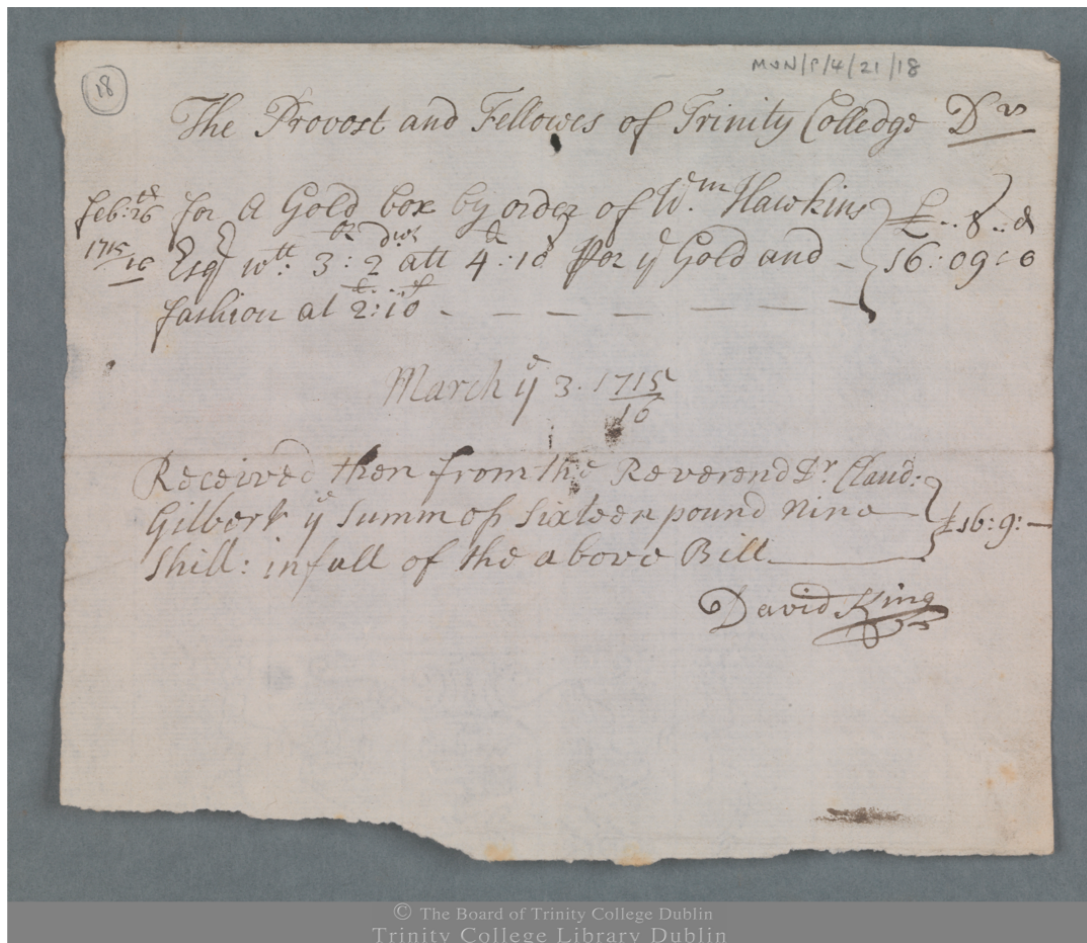


Figure 3.9 Hand-written receipt (February 1716) for payment for the supply of a gold box to Trinity College, Dublin, with the signature of David King, 1716. Source: Trinity College, Dublin, © The Board of Trinity College Dublin.

King's transaction with the college preceded Bolton's by a decade and the text of his receipt was terser. In the following formula - '3oz: 2dws att [£4 10s. per oz] ye Gold and fashion at [£2 10s.]'- it itemised the cost of the raw material and a separate charge for the making of the box. While he might have been recording the amount he had paid a subcontractor or out-worker to make the box, it is also possible that this formulation indicates that King was involved in the production as well as the supply of the box.

A later transaction document, concerning the supply of a gold box in 1745 by Robert Calderwood, is also preserved in the college archives (Fig. 3.10).¹⁰⁵ The invoice is dated 24 October 1745, meaning that the most likely recipient of this box was Philip Dormer Stanhope (1694-1773), 4th earl of Chesterfield, who had arrived in Dublin as lord lieutenant at the end of August. Calderwood belonged to the generation of goldsmiths who followed Bolton and

¹⁰⁵ TCD archives, MUN/P/4/49/10.

King. His career, both as a substantial producer and fashionable supplier of silver and as a participant in guild and municipal affairs, has been well documented.¹⁰⁶ As with the earlier King and Bolton documents, the detail provided in this document may point to Calderwood's involvement in the production of the box. The document recorded a payment of £28 19s. 8d. and the cost of the gold (£21 9s. 2d.) was identified separately from the other costs: 'Duty & touching' (5s.); 'making' (£5); and 'engraving' (£2 5s. 6d.) Again, it is possible that Calderwood was describing payments he had made to sub-contractors who made and engraved the box.

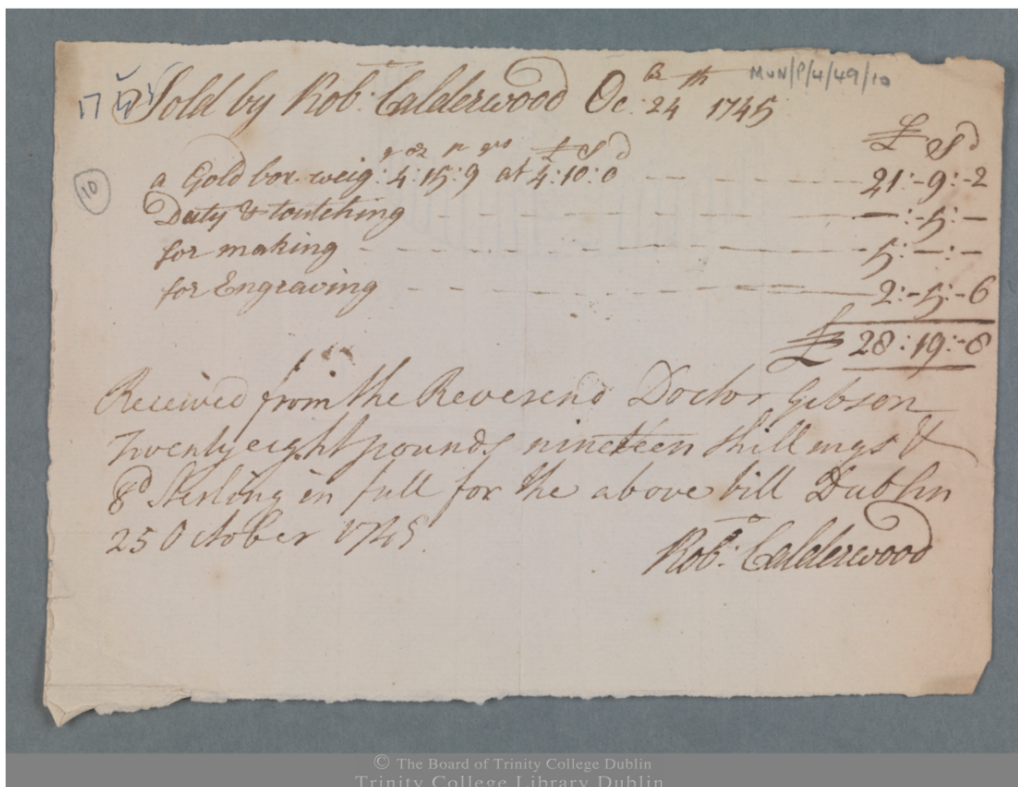


Figure 3.10 Hand-written receipt (October 1745) for payment for the supply of a gold box to Trinity College, Dublin, with the signature of Robert Calderwood, 1745. Source: Trinity College Dublin, © The Board of Trinity College Dublin.

There are a small number of other records in the college archives documenting box purchases and presentations during the first half of the eighteenth century. Viewed with the three documents already considered, those records tend to indicate that the college made relatively few presentations in the first five decades of the century, probably not many more

¹⁰⁶ Alison FitzGerald, 'Cosmopolitan Commerce: The Dublin Goldsmith Robert Calderwood' in *Apollo* (Sept. 2005), pp 133-55.

than six in total. The accounting records reveal that, for boxes at least, the college did not have a single preferred supplier and that it operated on a transaction-by-transaction basis. Some of the college's suppliers were much less prominent in guild and municipal politics than the goldsmiths who supplied boxes to the corporation. This pattern will be seen again later in the century with the college's preferred suppliers, the Keens, who had much lower profile in guild and municipal politics than the suppliers chosen by the corporation.

For the three remaining box transactions by the college identified in the first half of the eighteenth century, the only source is the bursars' accounts which provide very limited information on the transactions and none on the goldsmiths' arrangements for producing or obtaining the boxes they supplied. After the college's transaction with Bolton in 1724, the next record of a transaction for a box is from late 1728 when the bursar recorded two payments: 'To cash paid to Mr Williamson for a gold box [£24 1s. 4d.]' and 'To Cash paid to Mr Hawkins for drawing ye princes arms & imbellishing ye same [£9 4s.]'.¹⁰⁷ This box can be linked to the election of Frederick Louis (1707-51), prince of Wales, as chancellor in 1728. It is more difficult to be certain of the identity of 'Mr Williamson'. There were at least four goldsmiths called Williamson active in the city around this time.¹⁰⁸ Some of the Williamsons have been associated with box-making and there are records of one of them, Thomas Williamson, making assays in gold around this time (but not in 1728). However, due to the paucity of information, it is impossible even to conjecture on the nature of this transaction.

In 1737, Noah Vialas (quarter brother 1713; free 1717) was paid £28 3s. 2d. 'for the Duke's box'.¹⁰⁹ The box was intended for the newly arrived lord lieutenant, William Cavendish, 3rd duke of Devonshire. It is unlikely that Vialas made this box. He operated primarily as a jeweller and, according to Cunningham, ran 'a business on the major shopping thoroughfare of Dame Street' (adjacent to the college), submitting 'only small volumes of goods for assay' during his long career.¹¹⁰ The college's transaction with Vialas appears to be an early example of the retailer-type transaction that became more frequent in the trade for boxes as the century progressed.

¹⁰⁷ TCD archives, MUN/V/57/2, 1728 (first quarter).

¹⁰⁸ John (quarter brother 1706; free 1716); Thomas (quarter brother 1710; free 1726); William (quarter brother 1715; free 1726); and, Francis (quarter brother 1728; free 1730) (Bennett, *Collecting*, p. 157).

¹⁰⁹ TCD archives, MUN/V/57/2, 1737/38 (second quarter).

¹¹⁰ Cunningham, 'Dublin's Huguenot goldsmiths', pp 167-8.

The final record of payment for a box by the college in this period was for £26 5s. 8d. in late 1747, probably for a box presented to the lord lieutenant, William Stanhope, 1st earl of Harrington.¹¹¹ Again, this appears to be a retailer-type transaction. The payment was made to John Letablere (free 1737; d.1754), who was, according to Cunningham, ‘a second-generation and apparently unsuccessful Huguenot, [...] making his living as a retailer-goldsmith’.¹¹² Letablere seems to have had some success in securing the business of supplying the college with plate and plate-related services for most of the 1740s.¹¹³ There is no record of Letablere making any assays (in gold or silver) in his own name in assay books that survive for the period from 1745-48.¹¹⁴ When he advertised his move from his ‘late lodgings in Dame-street, to his house at the Golden-cup in Fowne’s-street in June 1748, he assured his customers that they would find ‘all manner of Goldsmith’s and Jeweller’s work made in the best taste,’ without specifying whether he made (or supervised the making of) the objects he sold.¹¹⁵ It seems likely that, rather than attempting to make the box that he supplied to the college, Letablere would have relied on one of the goldsmiths in the city who were beginning to specialise in box-production around this time (Chapter 5).

3.6 Conclusions on the market for boxes in the first half of the eighteenth century

In the first half of the eighteenth century there was a steady demand from the corporation for boxes for its presentations, stronger at the beginning of the period than in the final decades. The expansion in demand had begun in the years immediately after the Williamite victory and continued over the first two decades of the eighteenth century. In the first decade (1700-09), there are records of the corporation voting fifteen box presentations: eight in gold; seven in silver. In the years between 1710 and 1719, thirteen box presentations were voted: eight in gold; five in silver. This increase in demand for boxes from the corporation is unlikely to have gone unnoticed by the more entrepreneurial goldsmiths in the city.

¹¹¹ TCD archives, MUN/V/57/3, p. 54.

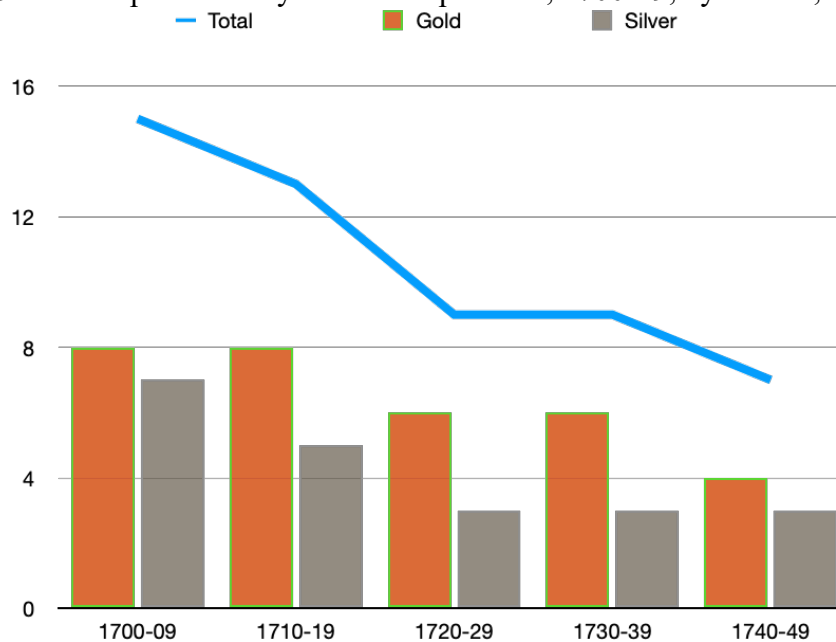
¹¹² Cunningham, ‘Dublin’s Huguenot goldsmiths’, p. 169.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 180 (fn. 49), p. 169.

¹¹⁴ Sinsteden, ‘Surviving Dublin assay records’, p. 101.

¹¹⁵ *FDJ*, 7-11 June 1748.

Table 3.1 Boxes presented by Dublin corporation, 1700-49, by decade, by metal.



Source: *CARD*, vi-ix.

After the first two decades, the number of boxes voted for presentation by the corporation declined. In the third decade (1720-29), nine box presentation were voted: six in gold; three in silver. In the fourth decade (1730-39), nine box presentations were also voted: again, six in gold and three in silver. In the final decade of this period (1740-49), seven box presentations were voted: four in gold; three in silver.

Overall, however, demand for boxes in the city was increasing, as the presentation practice spread beyond the corporation. From 1716 onwards, the college began presenting boxes and there is some limited evidence of box presentations as early as the 1730s by guilds (Chapter 5). Boxes made by Dublin makers were also being presented outside the city (Chapter 5). In addition, there is evidence from the early eighteenth century of an expansion in demand for boxes for personal use. Although limited, the evidence points towards the possibility that, in the case of at least some of the leading goldsmiths in the city, their response to the growth in demand for boxes for public and personal use was to ensure that they had box-making capacity within their workshops. Caution is required in reaching conclusions as the transaction records of both the corporation and the college are far from complete and are focused on supply, rather than production. Documentary evidence from the assay books and a surviving transaction document strongly suggests that, once Bolton secured the corporation's custom, he operated an integrated model, producing the boxes he

supplied within his workshop. This finding is, in turn, supported by evidence from a small number of surviving artefacts with Bolton's maker's mark.

Chapter 4 1750-1830: From deference to decadence: demand for boxes in the second century of the presentation practice

4.1 Introduction

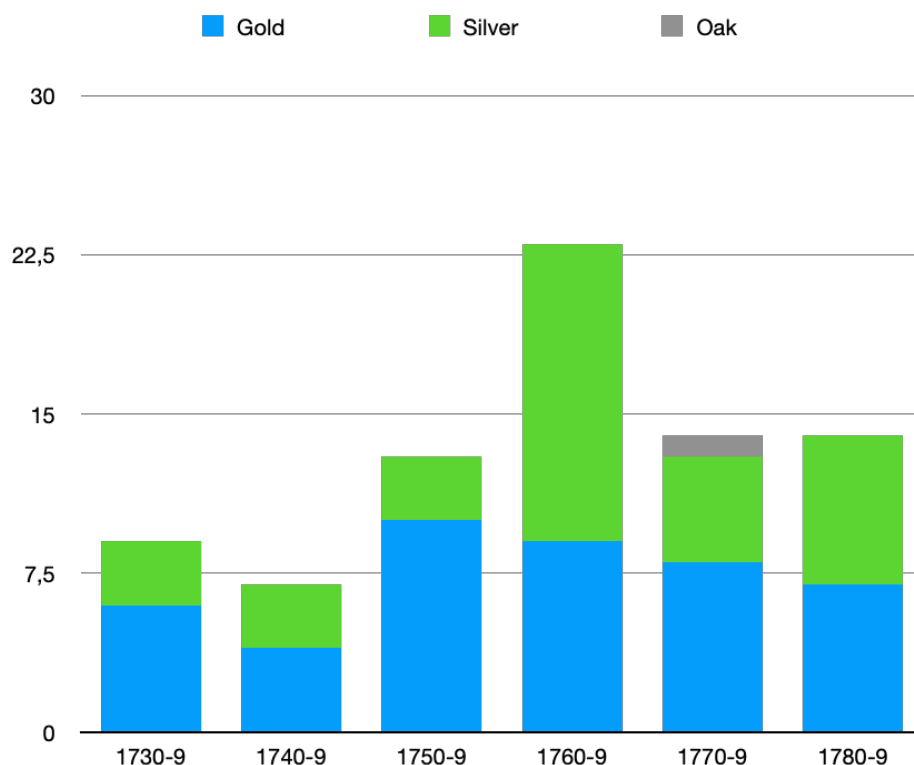
By the mid-eighteenth century, when the presentation practice in Dublin was entering its second century, a number of trends - some new, others continuing existing patterns - can be observed; these trends both formed and transformed the market within which goldsmiths produced and supplied gold and silver boxes in the city.

First, political changes both at municipal and national levels led to a growth in self-confidence and assertiveness among the freemen and their representatives that influenced the corporation's underlying perception of the purpose and scope of the presentation practice. While deferential presentations by the corporation to lords lieutenant, chief secretaries and lord chancellors continued, the categories of other recipients expanded and the overall number of boxes presented increased. From the 1770s onwards, a reflexive character entered the presentation practice as the corporation began making presentations of boxes to men who were already free of the city. Most of these recipients were members of the city assembly who received their presentations at the conclusion of their terms as municipal officers. Eventually, the corporation's presentation practice subsided into decadence, operating essentially for the benefit of municipal office-holders and their cronies. Secondly, from the mid-eighteenth-century onwards, the documentary evidence suggests that the college began to present boxes more regularly. In contrast with the corporation, the college maintained a stricter focus in its presentation practice, generally limiting itself (with only a few exceptions) to presentations to lords lieutenant and chief secretaries. Thirdly, the guilds, keen to assert their position within the political structures of the city and to defend their privileges, took up the presentation practice with enthusiasm and there is evidence of a large number of guild presentations in the second half of the eighteenth century. Box presentations by the guilds appear to have served a number of purposes, with some presentations made to individuals (including women) who were perceived as sympathetic to the guilds' interests. All of these elements created the conditions that contributed to the emergence of specialised box-makers in the city, a development explored in Chapters 5 and 6.

4.2 Expansion of the corporation's box presentation practice

As can be seen from Table 4.1 below, the number of presentations voted by the corporation rose significantly in the 1750s and 1760s. In the decade from 1750-59, thirteen boxes were voted: ten in gold and three in silver. In the following decade (1760-69), there was a further substantial increase; twenty-three boxes were voted: nine in gold and fourteen in silver. Presentations dropped back in the next decade (1770-79) but remained high in comparative terms; fourteen boxes were voted: eight in gold, five in silver and one in oak. The fifty boxes presented in the three decades from 1750 to 1779 exceeded the forty-eight boxes presented in the previous seven decades.

Table 4.1 Boxes presented by Dublin corporation, 1730-1789, by decade, by material.



Source: *CARD*, viii-xiv.

What accounts for this increase in presentations? The most obvious explanation is the continuing extension of eligibility. More categories of men were deemed eligible to receive presentations. In the period from 1691 (when the corporation presented its first box to a lord justice (Chapter 2)) to 1749, presentations connected to the appointment of the recipient to

one of the 'Big Four' offices - lord lieutenant (or lord deputy), chief secretary, lord chancellor or lord justice - accounted for seventy-seven per cent of boxes presented. In the period from 1750 to 1779, the proportion of presentations made to holders of the 'Big Four' offices dropped to thirty-eight per cent of all presentations. In part the reduction in the proportion of presentations going to the 'Big Four' can be explained by the corporation's abandonment of presentations to the lords justice. Although lords justice continued to be appointed into the nineteenth century, the final presentation by the corporation expressly linked to the recipients' appointment to the office of lord justice occurred in 1756.¹ The cessation of presentations to lords justice reflects the decline in the significance of the office in the Irish administrative structure. From the 1740s onwards, London had come to distrust the power wielded in Dublin by the lords justice and had become increasingly suspicious that they did not always exercise their power in the British interest.² Partly in response to this situation, a policy of favouring residency in Ireland by the lords lieutenant took hold from the mid-1760s.³ The office of lord justice was largely eclipsed. Just as the corporation had quickly grasped the significance of the expansion of power in the hands of the lords justice in the Williamite period and began presenting them with gold boxes (Chapter 2), its prompt understanding of the decline in the importance of the office led it to abandon the practice after 1756.

However, as the corporation abandoned one category of recipients, it adopted others. This expansion of the presentation practice occurred at a time of major change in the city's political culture. In the 1740s, Lucas and his allies had challenged the politics of deference and articulated a new idea of what it meant to be a freeman of the city.⁴ Although Lucas was forced from the city into exile in 1749, his brand of civic patriotism thrived in the 1750s.⁵ In addition, during the final years of George II's reign, significant shifts of power occurred within the Irish parliament, changes that culminated in the effective withdrawal of the speaker Henry Boyle (1684-1764) in 1756 and the ascendancy of Kildare in league with the Ponsonbys, a development marked by the corporation's presentation of gold boxes to

¹ For the appointment of lords justice after 1756: Moody *et al.*, *The New History of Ireland*, ix, pp 494-8. For the vote to make presentations to Kildare and Bessborough: *CARD*, x, p. 221.

² James Kelly, 'Residential and Non-Residential Lords Lieutenant - The Viceroyalty 1703-1790' in Gray and Purdue *The Irish Lord Lieutenancy*, pp 69-71.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴ Sean Murphy 'The Corporation of Dublin 1660-1760' in *DHR*, xxxviii, no. 1 (December 1984), pp 22-35; Dickson, *Dublin*, pp 172-3; Hill, *From Patriots*, chapter 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, chapter 4.

Kildare, Bessborough and his son, John Ponsonby (1713-87). Within the parliament, ‘patriots’ were becoming more vocal in the assertion of their demands for legislative and economic reform, a position that attracted support in Dublin, particularly in the lower house of the corporation. By the second half of the 1750s, the necessity for reform of the civic structures in Dublin was widely accepted, leading to the adoption of the Reform Act of 1760 that recalibrated the relationship between the aldermen and the commons, strengthening the commons’ role within the corporation. Hill summarises the outcome of the previous decades of debate and agitation:

‘by the 1760s the oligarchic grip on corporate life in Dublin had been undermined, while the guilds and the city commons component of the corporation were beginning, cautiously, to adopt the part of guardians of the constitution, and were implementing reforms in order to protect and enhance that role.’⁶

The reforms not only changed political structures, they also affected the culture of the corporation and the way in which its electors, the freemen, thought about themselves and their representatives in the assembly. The effect of the reform legislation, according to Dickson, was that it made ‘the Corporation more responsive to the Protestant craft world’ and ‘in the longer term (from the 1790s) it helped make the Corporation a bastion of plebeian Protestantism within a changing city’.⁷ In addition, the demographic and economic structures of the city were also changing and demands for more radical reform (primarily from Catholics and often focused on the system of quarterage operated by the guilds) began to emerge.⁸ The freemen’s satisfaction in the reform they had achieved was combined with an anxiety about reforms sought by others outside the tightly circumscribed sectarian franchise, creating a somewhat febrile atmosphere in city politics for the remainder of the century.

All of these developments were reflected in corporation’s material culture, including the choices made in its box presentation practice. Clark has argued that the corporation’s practice of acquiring full-length, formal portraits of the lords lieutenant, which began in 1765, was part of a new assertive political culture within the city.⁹ This greater assertiveness, leading occasionally to an almost bathetic degree of self-importance, can be seen in the corporation’s

⁶ Hill, *From Patriots*, p. 113.

⁷ Dickson, *Dublin*, p. 175.

⁸ C.D.A. Leighton, *Catholicism in a Protestant Kingdom: A Study of the Irish Ancien Régime* (Dublin, 1994), pp 67-85.

⁹ Mary Clarke, ‘The Dublin Civic Portrait Collection’ (PhD. thesis), p. 66.

box presentation practice in the years that followed municipal reform. Box presentations were increasingly used to express positions on the pressing issues and the personalities of the day. The practice even began to acquire an international dimension, employed by the corporation to comment on events that took place outside Ireland. This expansion of the focus of the box presentation practice reflects the freemen's greater awareness of, and engagement with, events outside the city, stimulated by the increase in the circulation of newspapers and greater access to information about developments in Britain and the wider world.¹⁰ The resolutions of the corporation and some of the guilds in Dublin concerning presentations of boxes to William Pitt during the political crisis in London at the end of the 1750s (when, in a celebrated phrase, Horace Walpole wrote that in England 'for some weeks it rained gold boxes') illustrate this trend.¹¹

The role of the box presentation practice in the corporation's response to the Seven Years' War that convulsed Europe and the wider world from 1756 to 1763 provides an example of how the practice had been consciously expanded beyond the conventional deferential presentations to senior office-holders within the kingdom. The corporation's war-related presentations provided it with a platform directly to express appreciation of the achievements of British military and naval heroes and more generally to make gestures of loyalty to the Hanoverians and to connect itself to the success of British arms. The corporation's interest in the progress of the war also had national and local dimensions. Some of its presentations were given to men who had Irish connections. Some were given to men who had repelled the French in the Irish sea, protecting the city from what was seen by many freemen as a direct existential threat to Protestant lives and property. As Hill has shown, Protestant Dublin was particularly prone to see the war as a quasi-eschatological struggle for dominance between the two rival camps in Europe, Protestant (led by the British and the Prussians) and Papist (France and Austria).¹²

The presentations made by the corporation to naval and military figures during the Seven Years' War were not without precedent. There had been presentations in 1726 to William Rowley (1690-1768), a naval captain, in return for his willingness to relax the press that had

¹⁰ Dickson, *Dublin*, p. 149, p. 193.

¹¹ Henry Richard Vassall Holland (ed.), *Memoirs of the reign of King George the Second by Horace Walpole* (3 vols, London, 1847), iii, p. 5; *CARD*, x, p. 398.

¹² Hill, *From Patriots*, p. 135.

threatened the disruption of coal imports into the city,¹³ and in 1752 to Peter Warren, an Irish-born admiral renowned for his victories against the French during the War of the Austrian Succession in the 1740s.¹⁴ However, the use of the practice to signal the corporation's engagement with British military and naval endeavours in a broader international context was new.

The corporation's first presentation during the Seven Years' War followed the first major engagement of the war. Like Warren, the recipient - William Blakeney (1671/2-1761) - had an Irish connection; he had been born in Co. Limerick. The corporation, however, made no reference to Blakeney's Irish birth either in its resolution or in the inscription it devised for the box.¹⁵ Instead, the resolution adopted in July 1756 focused on the war and described the presentation as 'as a mark of the city's favour for the extraordinary and gallant defence' of Minorca undertaken by Blakeney earlier that year. Later in the war, in December 1759, the corporation voted the freedom with a box made in gold to Charles Saunders (c.1713-75), a vice-admiral who had played a crucial role in the capture of Quebec by British forces.¹⁶ This victory was far from Irish shores and Saunders does not seem to have any strong Irish connection. There may, however, have been a local dimension to the presentation. The spur to the corporation's gift is likely to have been Saunders's presence in the city on his way home from Canada.¹⁷ This box was acquired for the collection of Royal Ontario Museum in 1988 (Figs. 4.1-2). The identity of its maker is uncertain, but it is suggested that it may have been made by Samuel (otherwise John) Teare who was apprenticed to Benjamin Stokes in 1748 and registered as a quarter brother in 1759.¹⁸

¹³ *CARD*, vii, p. 344; Robert McGregor, 'Sir William Rowley' in *ODNB*.

¹⁴ *CARD*, x, p. 36; Patrick M. Geoghegan, 'Warren, Sir Peter' in *DIB*.

¹⁵ The base of the box was inscribed with the following inscription, according to contemporary reports: 'With due Regard to exalted Virtue, shewn by many important Services to his King and Country, and further manifested in extreme old Age, by a Defence of St Philip's, astonishing to all Europe, The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, Citizens of Dublin present the Freedom of that City to General Blakeney.' (*The Gentleman's and London Magazine* (Dublin, 1756), p. 663).

¹⁶ *CARD*, x, p. 399.

¹⁷ J.K. Laughton (revised by Roger Knight), 'Sir Charles Saunders' in *ODNB*.

¹⁸ Ted Donohue, 'Quebec captured - Dublin rejoices' in *Silver Studies*, xiv (2002), pp 124-5.



Figure 4.1 Maker's mark of ST (Samuel (otherwise John) Teare?), *Circular box presented by Dublin corporation to Charles Saunders (cover with Saunders's arms)*, gold, Dublin, c.1759, courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.



Figure 4.2 Maker's mark of ST (Samuel (otherwise John) Teare?), *Circular box presented by Dublin corporation to Charles Saunders (base with the arms of the city of Dublin)*, gold, Dublin, c.1759, courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

In 1760, there were two further presentations of gold boxes connected to the war, this time to naval officers who had defeated the French at sea. This was the last occasion on which the corporation presented boxes made in gold to naval officers; subsequent presentations to naval recipients later in the eighteenth century were of boxes made in oak, in conscious emulation of a practice initiated in London at the time of its presentation to Keppel in 1779.¹⁹ At the assembly held on 18 April 1760, the corporation voted the freedom with boxes made in gold to Edward Hawke (1705-81) and John Elliot (1732-1808). Hawke had defeated the French in the battle of Quiberon Bay in November 1759, a turning point in the war. In its resolution, the corporation emphasised its own direct interest in Hawke's victory, describing its gifts 'as a testimony of the high sense this city hath of the great and important service performed by him in defeating the French fleet under the command of marshal Conflans, whose known destination was to favour a descent on this kingdom'.²⁰ Elliot was rewarded for services that were more recent and even closer to home. He had led the Royal Navy squadron that defeated the intrepid Thurot (1727-60) in the Irish Sea on the night of 27-28 February 1760. Thurot was an especially terrifying figure for the Protestants of Dublin; earlier in February 1760, he had captured and occupied Carrickfergus for five days. The Sheriffs and Commons were very definite in their appreciation of Elliot's achievement, passing a message to the upper house expressing their desire that he be rewarded for his defeat 'of the French Squadron commanded by the late [Monsieur] Thurot whose Destination was to Disturb the Tranquillity of this Kingdom'.²¹ The Sheriffs and Commons' initiative in advocating for a presentation to Elliot is an early example of the increased assertiveness of the lower house in the context of the rebalancing of powers within the assembly. It clearly disconcerted the members of the upper house who said that, while they concurred in the proposal, 'they had some difficulty about the Propriety of it'.²² It seems that the manner in which the upper house resolved its scruples was to join a presentation to Hawke to the Elliot presentation.²³ In their enthusiasm for Hawke, the members of the upper house were likely to have been influenced by the popular acclaim that had followed Hawke's tactically masterful victory but also by a sense of embarrassment of having been outflanked by Cork which the previous month had not merely voted presentations to Hawke (a box made in gold) and to Elliot (a box made in silver) but had also sent one of its aldermen to London to wait on the

¹⁹ Tessa Murdoch and Michael Snodin 'Admiral Keppel's 'Freedom Box' from the City of London' in *Burlington Magazine*, cxxxv, no. 1083 (Jun. 1993), pp 403-10.

²⁰ *CARD*, x, p. 417.

²¹ DCA, Journal of Sheriffs and Commons, vol. 2 (18 Jan. 1760-14 Oct. 1768), p. 10.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

admiral, a fact reported prominently in the Dublin newspapers.²⁴ Elliot was junior both in age and rank to Hawke and the corporation marked its apprehension of the difference between the two men in the budgets allowed for their respective boxes: Hawke was voted a £25 box, Elliot received a £20 box.

4.3 The college's adoption of the box presentation practice

Although there had been presentations of gold boxes by the college to princes and viceroys in the early decades of the eighteenth century (Chapter 3), it was not until the middle of the century that box presentations appear to have become a fixed part of the college's ceremonial practice. In its presentations, the college followed external forms already well-established by the corporation but, unlike the corporation, its presentations remained largely deferential in tone and purpose, with a firm focus on the viceregal court. Although there are some anomalies,²⁵ records have been traced of box presentations from the college to more than two-thirds (twenty-three out of thirty-three) of the lords lieutenant who served between 1725 and 1841. Presentations to viceroys constitute by far the most numerous category, representing almost half (twenty-three out of forty-seven) of all the presentations that have been traced in the college's archive. Of the remaining twenty-four box presentations traced, fifteen (all of boxes made in silver) were presented to chief secretaries. In addition, with its presentations to two princes of Wales in 1716 and 1728 on the occasions of their respective elections to the chancellorship of the university, the college was the only Dublin institution for which presentations to members of the royal family have been traced in the eighteenth century.²⁶ This focus by the college on the viceregal and royal courts may reflect the institution's general *hauteur* and its conviction that, given its royal origins and its role as the seminary of the established church, it operated in a more elevated sphere than the corporation and the guilds.

The presentations of the boxes also provided the college with an opportunity to engage in public displays of what might be termed opulent deference. The college accounts provide

²⁴ *DC*, 17 Mar. 1760, 4 Apr. 1760.

²⁵ In the case of the marquess of Anglesey, for instance, the board minutes of the college from a few days after his swearing-in in Feb. 1827 record only that 'An honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred on his Excellency the Marq. of Anglesey', with no mention of a box (TCD archives, MUN/V/5/6, p. 412). However, a highly elaborate box made in gold, with the mark of Edward Murray, presented by the college to Anglesey was offered at Bonhams in 2015: Bonhams London, *The Waterloo Sale, 1 April 2015* (London, 2015), lot 152.

²⁶ In 1805, the corporation made a presentation to the Ernest Augustus (1771-1851), duke of Cumberland, the fifth son of George III (*CARD*, xv, pp 415-17).

evidence that, on a number of occasions in the eighteenth century, the college's box presentations to the lords lieutenant occurred at sumptuous banquets. The amount spent on these banquets increased at an impressive pace, from £132 13s. 10½*d.* in early 1755 to entertain the marquess of Hartington (with a notation that an unspecified amount was paid out to an unidentified goldsmith for a gold box) to £411 5s. 4½*d.* spent in 1782 to entertain the duke of Portland (including £29 14s. 9*d.* in payment of 'Keen's bill for Gold Box').²⁷ These presentation dinners in the college were exceptional within the city, not least because they involved the higher-status recipient, the lord lieutenant, attending the presentation event within the presenting institution's premises. In general, when the corporation and the guilds made presentations of gold boxes to lords lieutenant, their representatives went to the Castle where they 'waited' on the viceroy. For example, in November 1761, shortly after the arrival in the city of George Montagu-Dunk (1716-71), 2nd earl of Halifax, it was reported that the corporation 'waited upon his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, and presented him with the freedom of the city of Dublin in a gold box'.²⁸ When the tailors' guild voted in January 1768 to present the freedom of the guild to the duke of Leinster, a delegation travelled to Carton with two thimbles made in gold, one for the duke and the other for his son, the marquess of Kildare. In addition to the cost of the thimbles (£4 4s. 4*d.*), the guild's accounts carefully noted the expenditure related to the expedition: 'Spent about addressing the Duke of Leinster, 5s. 11½*d.*; coach hire to Carton, £2 5s. 6*d.*; coachman, 2s. 2*d.*; turnpike, 2s. 2*d.*; Dinner at Lucan, £2 7s. 3*d.*'.²⁹ The thimbles remained in the collection of the dukes of Leinster until its dispersal in 1984.³⁰

²⁷ TCD archives, MUN/57/V/3, MUN/57/V/6.

²⁸ *DC*, 2 Nov. 1761.

²⁹ Henry F. Berry, 'The Merchant Tailors' Guild: That of St John the Baptist, Dublin 1418-184' in *JRSAL*, sixth series, xvii, no. 1 (June 1918), pp 19-64, p. 30.

³⁰ Sotheby's London, *Important Gold and Silver*, 3 May 1984, lot 11. The thimbles were exhibited at Christie's London in 1989 (Christie's London, *The Glory of the Goldsmith*, pp 242-3) and subsequently sold at Christie's London in 2001 (Christie's London, *Magnificent Gold*, 20 November 2001 (London, 2001), lot 7).



Figure 4.3 Unknown maker, *Thimbles presented to the duke of Leinster and his son, the marquess of Kildare, by the tailors' guild, gold, Dublin (?), c.1768, courtesy of Christie's.*

The college continued presenting boxes made in gold and silver for at least two decades after the corporation had abandoned the practice. The final record of a payment for a presentation box occurs in January 1842, when West & Son (the firm operated by Jacob West) were paid £77 1s. for two snuff boxes, one in gold, the other in silver. Although not specified in the accounting entry, it is likely that these boxes were purchased for presentation to Thomas Philip de Grey (1781-1859), 2nd earl de Grey, following his appointment as lord lieutenant in 1841, and to his chief secretary, Edward Eliot (1798-1877), 3rd earl of St Germans.³¹

4.4 The guilds too adopted the presentation practice

Further down the social scale, the guilds too sought to project themselves within the political and social landscape of the city by making presentations of gold and silver boxes. The severe attrition of records following the guilds' dissolution in the early nineteenth century makes it difficult to reach any definitive conclusion on the nature and extent of box presentations by the guilds. However, some patterns can be discerned. While there are records of box presentations by some guilds earlier in the eighteenth century (Chapter 6), it appears that the practice only became a regular feature of guild life around the late 1750s or early 1760s, a period of heightened self-confidence among the city freemen (who were organised through, and obtained their status from, the guilds).

³¹ TCD archives, MUN/P/4/222/87; TCD archives, MUN/P/4/230/80.

The surviving records indicate that, from the mid-century onwards, box presentations by the guilds comprised three broad categories: there were presentations, similar in form to those made by the corporation and the college, to powerful and remote figures such as the lords lieutenant and chief secretaries, and to prominent aristocrats and parliamentarians; secondly, there were presentations, more transactional than deferential, to socially and politically prominent individuals who were seen as allies in the guilds' efforts to protect their trading privileges and the livelihoods of their members; and, finally, there were presentations to prominent guild members.

The guilds presented boxes to the lords lieutenant much less regularly than the corporation or college. The archive of the weavers' guild provides some insight on the extent to which one of the larger guilds in eighteenth-century Dublin directed presentations to the viceregal court. Although it has suffered losses, the weavers' archive is one of the most complete surviving eighteenth-century Dublin guild records. Analysis of the data from the archive, supplemented by reports in contemporary newspapers, indicates that, unlike the corporation and the college, the weavers' guild made very few presentations to lords lieutenant. Of the fifty-two presentations of boxes by the weavers traced between 1735 and 1835, only three (all of boxes made in gold) were voted to lords lieutenant: Northumberland in 1764,³² Townsend in 1768³³ and Harcourt in 1773.³⁴

Press reports of presentations by Dublin guilds to lords lieutenant indicate that the guilds were not only (or primarily) concerned about expressing deference when they made their gifts. On occasions, they were frank in communicating a transactional element in their presentations and did not hesitate in referring to favours they believed they had received in the past or to assistance they expected to obtain in the future. In 1775 when the guild of sheermen and dyers presented its freedom with boxes to the lord lieutenant Harcourt and the chief secretary Blaquiere, it was quite explicit in explaining its presentation as a token of gratitude for measures adopted by the administration that were expected to operate in the guild's interest - specifically, the viceroy's 'successful Endeavours to obtain an Act for allowing the Cloathing [*sic*] and Accoutrements necessary for His Majesty's forces, paid out of His Majesty's revenues arising in the Kingdom of Ireland, to be exported from thence to

³² RSAI, Weavers' law books, 2 Apr. 1764.

³³ *FJ*, 1 Mar. 1768.

³⁴ *Derby Mercury*, 22 Oct. 1773; W.C. Stubbs, 'Weavers Guild' in *JRSAI*, sixth series, ix, no. 1 (June 1919), pp 60-88, p. 78.

the Places where such Forces are ordered to serve; and for granting an additional Bounty upon Flax-seed imported into Ireland'.³⁵ In 1787, the hosiers' guild voted to present the guild freedom in a gold box to the lord lieutenant, Buckingham, and in a silver box to the chief secretary, FitzHerbert. In its address to the lord lieutenant, the guild was candid in explaining its motives for the presentation: 'we presume to solicit also, from a conviction of your excellency's humane attention, to serve the interest of the Manufacturers in general of this country, your protection of that branch in which we are more particularly concerned'.³⁶

In the case of the weavers' guild, its strategy of rewarding the viceregal court for support and favours led it to expand its box presentation practice to include female recipients, a significant disruption of the gender norms that governed the practice within the city. Due perhaps to an awareness of their departure from those norms, the weavers gave most of their female recipients a unique (and apparently gendered) form of gift. The first record of the guild making a presentation to a woman dates from 1768 when Lady Townsend, the viceroy's wife, was presented with an address of thanks and a gold box 'as a grateful Acknowledgment for her Ladyship's patronising the Manufactures of this Kingdom; but more particularly the Irish Silk Ware house.'³⁷ The exact form of the box presented to the vicereine is not recorded; it is possible that the then conventional circular form was used. In 1780, when the weavers made their next presentation to a woman, the recipient was the widowed philanthropist, Arbella Denny. The tone of their resolution is more respectful than transactional, with extensive mention of Denny's charitable endeavours, including her work with foundlings and fallen women, activities likely to have been considered essentially feminine by the guild's exclusively male membership.³⁸ On this occasion, the weavers seem to have adopted for the first time a new and specific form of gift, distinct from the boxes they presented to male recipients. The object presented to Denny was 'a silver shuttle'.³⁹ No trace has been found of the survival of this object in the modern era, so its exact form is not known. However, it seems likely that this distinctive form was chosen to evoke the weavers' own trade, while at the same time operating as materially gendered object that could represent femininity and maternity. In France some years earlier, one of the many opulent

³⁵ *HJ*, 9 Oct. 1775.

³⁶ *DEP*, 29 Dec. 1787.

³⁷ *FJ*, 1 Mar. 1768; Mairead Dunlevy, *Pomp and Poverty: A History of Silk in Ireland* (New Haven and London, 2011) p. 81.

³⁸ Karen Sonnelitter, *Charity Movements in Eighteenth-Century Ireland: Philanthropy and Improvement* (Woodbridge, 2016), pp 122-43.

³⁹ *SNL*, 12 May 1780.

gifts given by Louis Jean Marie de Bourbon (1725-93), duke of Penthièvre, to his future daughter-in-law, Marie Thérèse Louise de Savoie-Carignan (1749-92) (the ill-fated Princesse de Lamballe) at the time of her marriage in 1767 was a gold shuttle (Fig. 4.4).⁴⁰



Figure 4.4 Mathieu Coiny, *Shuttle*, gold and enamel, Paris, c.1764-65, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The second presentation to a viceroy's wife occurred in 1796 when the guild resolved that 'the freedom of this Guild be presented in a gold shuttle, with a Suitable address to her Excellency the Countess of Camden'.⁴¹ The recipient was Frances (*née* Molesworth) (1766-1829) and, like her viceregal predecessor, she received her gift in recognition of her 'attention to the Silk Ware House and to the Manufactures of Ireland in General'.⁴² Unlike Denny, the countess was not granted the freedom and, unlike lady Townsend, there is no record of a presentation by the weavers to her husband. The gift to Camden survives and provides evidence of the form used for these shuttle boxes. The box is an elongated version of the fashionable navette shape (Fig. 4.5), with fine engraving and, for heightened verisimilitude, contains a spindle with thread (Fig. 4.6).

⁴⁰ Sarah Grant, *Female Portraiture and Patronage in Marie Antoinette's Court: The Princess Lamballe* (New York and London, 2019), p. 9.

⁴¹ RSAI, Weavers' law books, 1 Apr. 1796; *FJ*, 30 Apr. 1796.

⁴² *Ibid.*



Figure 4.5 Mark of IW (John West?), Box in the form of a shuttle presented by the weavers' guild to the countess of Camden, gold, Dublin, 1796, courtesy of J & G Weldon and Dr Thomas Sinsteden.



Figure 4.6 Mark of IW (John West?), Box in the form of a shuttle presented by the weavers' guild to the countess of Camden (interior with a threaded spindle), gold, Dublin, 1796, courtesy of J&G Weldon and Dr Thomas Sinsteden.

No further records of weavers' presentations to vicereines have been traced but there was another presentation of a box in the form of a shuttle to a woman in 1802 when the weavers resolved to present the freedom, together with a 'Gold Shuttle', to Elizabeth (*née* McKenzie) Beresford who had married John Claudius Beresford in 1795. Mrs. Beresford's gift was made 'in Testimony of her Attachment to the Interest of the Manufactures of Ireland'.⁴³ The presentation to Mrs. Beresford differs in its turn from the presentation to the countess of

⁴³ RSAI, Weavers' law books, 1 Apr. 1802.

Camden because Mrs. Beresford was granted the freedom; her husband, who was MP for Dublin, had been granted the guild's freedom the previous year but there is no record of him receiving a box.⁴⁴

Finally, a presentation by the weavers to John Foster (1740-1828) in 1804 challenges the notion that shuttle boxes were a specifically gendered form of gift. Foster was a great favourite of the Dublin freemen and received presentations from many of the city's guilds. The 1804 presentation was the second Foster had received from the weavers - in 1793 when he was speaker of the House of Commons, Foster had been granted the guild freedom and was presented with a silver box.⁴⁵ In 1804, when he was appointed chancellor of the Irish exchequer, the guild resolved to present him with an admiring address 'accompanied with a Shuttle made of Irish Oak ornamented with Gold'. The gift has survived and is now in the collection of the National Museum in Dublin (Fig. 4.7); it is a much less impressive object than the shuttle presented less than a decade earlier to the countess of Camden, its modest appearance and unassuming engraving perhaps signifying the decline of the once-vibrant Dublin weaving trade and, indeed, of the practice of box presentation.

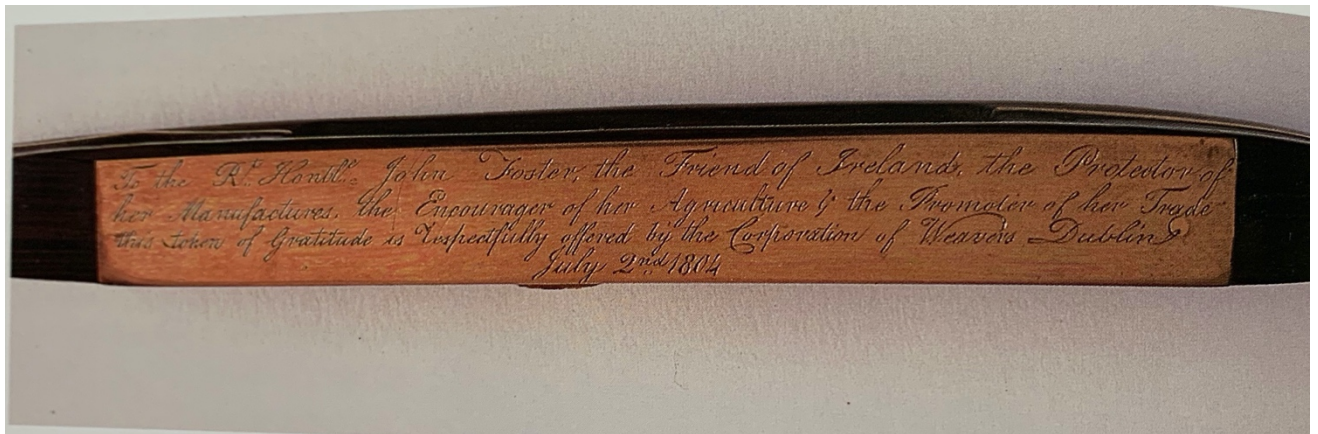


Figure 4.7 Unknown maker, *Miniature shuttle presented to John Foster by the weavers' guild in 1804*, wood and gold, Dublin, 1804. The image was taken from Mairead Dunlevy, *Pomp and Poverty, A History of Silk in Ireland* (New Haven and London, 2011), p. 114.

The third category of guild presentations comprises boxes given to their own members or associates, sometimes as marks of esteem and on other occasions as rewards for specific services. Newspapers in the late eighteenth century are full of reports of these *inter pares* box

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ *Belfast Newsletter*, 12 Feb. 1793.

presentations by the guilds. In 1760, the Corporation of Bricklayers and Plasterers presented their freedom in a silver box to John Smyth (d.1775), an engineer and architect. Dublin corporation subsequently voted Smyth a gift of plate valued at £20 in 1768, as a mark of ‘approbation of his conducting and completing with very great difficulty the building of the lighthouse, in a manner so judicious, permanent, and elegant’.⁴⁶ When the role of the silk merchant William Cope (1738-1820) in the undoing of the 1798 rebellion became known, the weavers’ guild awarded him a silver box and took out advertisements in the newspapers to explain its elaborate engraved decoration.⁴⁷ These presentations were essentially egalitarian, made between men of comparable social status and lacking the deferential verticality that characterised most of the corporation’s presentations until the late 1770s. They can be seen as an assertion of the new freeman identity that emerged from the controversies of the 1740s and 1750s. At the same time, the guild presentations involved a degree of aspirational emulation, with the tradesmen, artisans and merchants mimicking the practices of their social superiors.

The guilds continued to make presentations of boxes in the late Georgian period, before gradually abandoning the practice from the 1820s onwards. The documentary and artefact sources provide evidence of a lively practice that must have created a substantial demand for the skills of the goldsmiths in the city who specialised in box-making. In the case of the weavers’ guild, records of at least thirteen presentation have been traced between 1780 when it presented the silver shuttle to Denny until 1835 when it presented a silver box, possibly its final presentation, to Jonathan Sissons who had represented the guild on the common council.⁴⁸ This represents a considerably lower level of activity than in the two decades between 1760 and 1779, where records of at least thirty-five presentations by the weavers have been traced.

Documentary records of box presentations by other guilds in this late Georgian period also survive. The brewers’ guild was a small guild that never engaged with the presentation practice to the same extent as other larger guilds and it presented only a few boxes during the heyday of box presentation in the city, perhaps because the brewers felt less need for elite patronage. The guild minutes record a resolution in 1792 to present Henry Grattan with his

⁴⁶ *FDJ*, 18-22 Nov, 1760. (I am grateful to Dr Alison FitzGerald for this reference); Dictionary of Irish Architects, www.dia.ie; *CARD*, xi, 453.

⁴⁷ *FJ*, 9 Apr. 1799.

⁴⁸ *SNL*, 18 Feb.1835.

freedom in a gold box.⁴⁹ The box, with the maker's mark of Aeneas Ryan, is now in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland.⁵⁰ In 1794, the brewers resolved to present a gold box together with his guild freedom to John Beresford 'for his long and effectual Exertions in Support of the Irish Brewing Trade'.⁵¹ Even the perpetually cash-strapped barber-surgeons recorded resolutions for the presentation of silver boxes in the 1790s. In 1792, after an hiatus that may have lasted over twenty years, they voted their freedom in a silver box to John Blaquiére (1732-1812) (rather incongruously) for 'improving and ornamenting the Metropolis, and of his readiness in Engaging in the cause of Humanity'.⁵² There are also numerous reports in the press in this period of presentations by other guilds; for example, in December 1783, the *Hibernian Journal* reported that the hosiers' guild had voted their freedom in a silver box to Luke Gardiner 'as a Mark of their Approbation of his patriotic Conduct respecting the great national Measure of Protecting Duties'. The Hosier Gardiner box which is circular and has the maker's mark of James Kennedy is now in the San Antonio Museum of Art (Fig. 4.8). Two decades later, in July 1802 the *Freeman's Journal* commented favourably on the 'handsome compliment of a silver box, from the Corporation of Cooks to John Claudius Beresford, Esq; the popular candidate for one of the Representative of this city' which, it said did 'honour to the political discrimination of that guild'.⁵³

⁴⁹ Guinness archive, Brewers' guild minute book, 26 June 1792.

⁵⁰ Delamer and O'Brien, *500 Years*, p. 73.

⁵¹ Guinness archive, Brewers' guild minute book, 28 May 1794.

⁵² TCD MS 1447/8/2, folio 149.

⁵³ *HJ*, 22 Dec. 1783; *FJ*, 10 July 1802.



Figure 4.8 James Kennedy, *Circular box with removeable lid presented by the hosiers' guild to Luke Gardiner in 1783*, silver, Dublin, c.1783, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.

Artefact evidence in the principal museum collections provides further evidence of the lively presentation culture of the guilds in late Georgian Dublin. In addition to the box given by the brewers to Grattan, the National Museum of Ireland has the following boxes: a circular gold box with the mark of William Hamy presented to John Foster by the merchants' guild in 1804 (Fig. 4.9);⁵⁴ a circular silver box with the maker's mark of Aeneas Ryan (and West's retailer's mark) presented by the carpenters' guild to Francis Johnson in 1806;⁵⁵ and, a circular silver box with the maker's mark of James Le Bas presented by the barber-surgeons guild to John Cash in 1814 (Fig. 4.10).⁵⁶

⁵⁴ NMI 6.1955.

⁵⁵ NMI 1922.88.

⁵⁶ NMI 1964.17.



Figure 4.9 Mark of William Hamy, *Circular box presented by the merchants' guild to John Foster in 1804, gold, Dublin, 1804, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.*



Figure 4.10 Mark of James Le Bas, *Circular box presented by the barber-surgeons' guild to John Cash in 1814, silver, Dublin, 1814, courtesy of National Museum of Ireland.*

The San Antonio Museum of Art, in addition to the hosiers' Gardiner box, has the following boxes: a circular silver-gilt box with the maker's mark of James Kennedy

presented by the cooks' guild to William Gore in 1787/8; a circular silver box with the maker's mark of James Kennedy presented by the barber-surgeons' guild to John Hamilton in 1792/3; and, a circular silver box with the maker's mark of James Kennedy presented by the smiths' guild to Thomas Pakenham in 1797.

In the final years of the guilds' presentational practice, some of their presentations had a frankly sectarian or factional inflection which provides an insight into the concerns of the guild's members in a time when the established corporate structure of the city was disintegrating. This is particularly apparent in the presentations of the weavers' guild. In October 1821, the guild presented a silver box incorporating a shuttle motif to Frederick Darley (d.1841), a leading Dublin Orangeman, who earlier that year had provocatively proposed a Williamite toast on the occasion of a dinner during the visit of George IV (Fig. 4.11). The inscription praised Darley's 'Undeviating Adherence to the Principles of our GLORIOUS CONSTITUTION AS ESTABLISHED BY THE IMMORTAL PRINCE OF NASSAU'. The box and its capitalised inscription essentially scream Protestant artisan and merchant anxiety and resentment in the face of perceived threats from Catholic demands for political reform.⁵⁷ When the weavers resolved in 1824 to enrol William Magee (1766-1831), archbishop of Dublin, as a freeman of their guild and to present him with a silver box, the resolution was replete with references to 'the important services which have been rendered by your Grace to the Protestant Establishment of this country' and 'the Advocacy of our Religion (an advocacy which you have maintained with dignity, against the encroachments of infidelity and the attacks of ignorance)', compliments that were likely to have been well received by Magee who was a staunch defender of his church's establishment and, following his 'provocative primary visitation charge, preached from the pulpit of St Patrick's cathedral on 24 October 1822', a key figure in its proselytising mission among Irish Catholics.⁵⁸ For the weavers, recourse to the presentation practice that had been used by their forefathers to assert the importance and influence of their trade and its guild in the city's economic and political affairs may have, at least temporarily, assuaged their existential unease and provided a comforting illusion of continuity.

⁵⁷ Dunleavy, *Pomp and Poverty*, chapter 8.

⁵⁸ *DEP*, 24 Aug. 1824; Tom Kelley and C.J. Woods 'Magee, William' in *DIB*; Irene Whelan, *The Bible War in Ireland: The 'Second Reformation' and the Polarization of Protestant-Catholic Relations, 1800-1840* (Dublin, 2005).

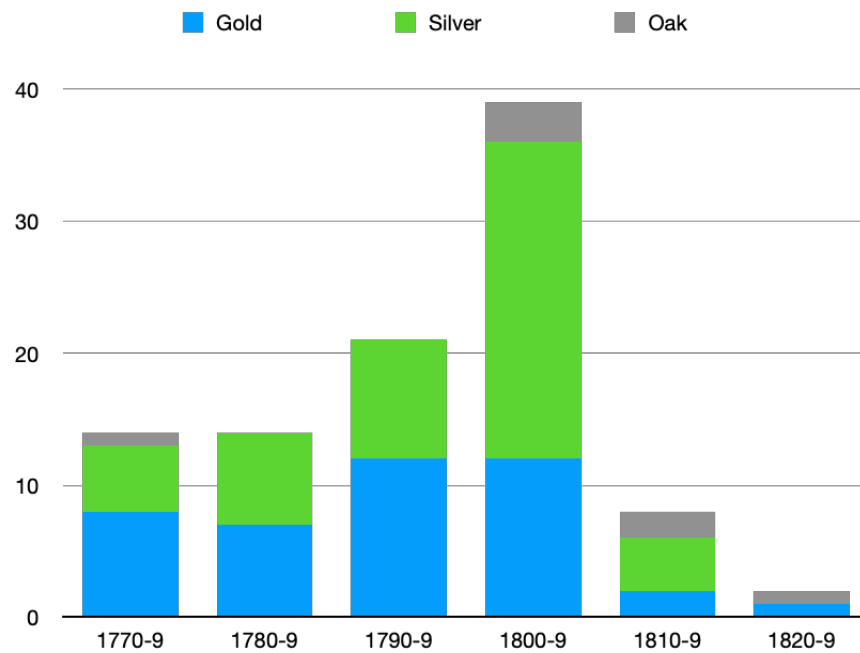


Figure 4.11 Henry Flavelle, *Rectangular silver box with hinged cover incorporating a shuttle motif presented by the weavers' guild to Frederick Darley in 1821*, silver, Dublin, c.1821, courtesy of J & G Weldon.

4.5 The final decades of Dublin corporation's box presentations

The final decades before the abandonment of the presentation practice by the corporation saw a mounting torrent of box presentations (Table 4.2). In the decade 1780-89, the same number of boxes (fourteen) was voted as in the previous decade: seven in gold, seven in silver. In the next decade (1790-99), there was a marked increase when twenty-four boxes were voted: twelve in gold, nine in silver and three in oak. During the first decade of the nineteenth century (1800-09), there are records in the *CARD* of thirty-eight boxes being voted: twelve in gold, twenty-four in silver and two in oak. Although this was the largest recorded number of boxes voted in a single decade during the entire sixteen-decade history of the presentation practice, the records in the *CARD* probably understate the number of boxes presented; records of four further boxes have been traced in other sources (Appendix 3).

Table 4.2 Boxes presented by Dublin corporation, 1770-1829, by decade, by material.

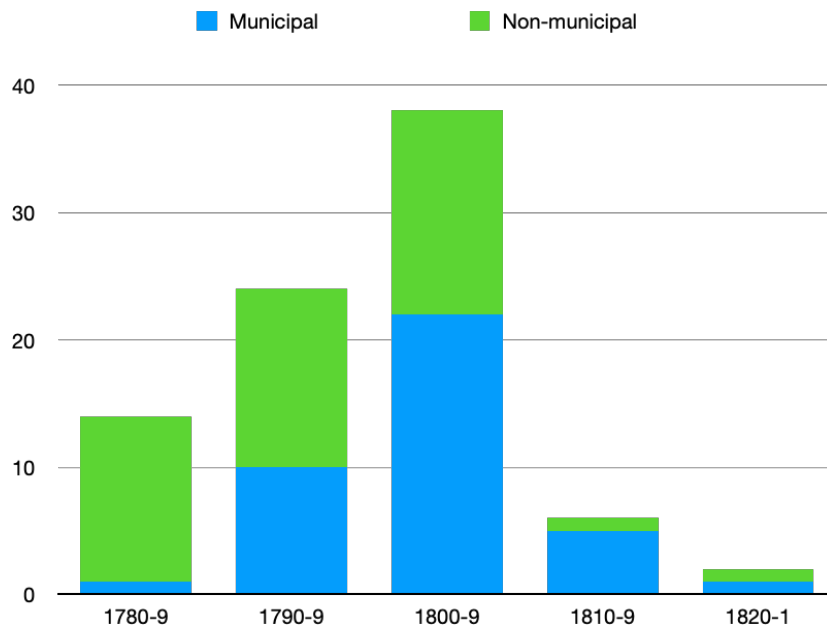


Source: *CARD*, xii-xvii.

The pace of presentation slackened in subsequent decades. Between 1810 and 1819, there are records in the *CARD* of only six boxes, all in the first three years of the decade: two in gold and four in silver. The corporation then seems to have halted the presentation practice until 1820 when it presented a gold box to the retiring lord mayor, William Stamer.⁵⁹ On 18 December 1821, the assembly voted its final recorded presentation, an oak box with gold mounts, to the departing lord lieutenant, earl Talbot.

⁵⁹ *CARD*, xvii p. 341.

Table 4.3 Boxes presented by Dublin corporation, 1780-1821, by decade, by recipients' affiliation with the corporation.



Source: *CARD*, xiii-xvii.

Underlying these figures is a rather remarkable shift in direction. In these final decades, and notably from the 1790s onwards, the corporation's presentation practice changed, assuming a less elite and more self-reflexive character. Presentations to lords lieutenant, chief secretaries, lord chancellors and military figures continued but most of the corporation's presentations were made to its own freemen, mostly municipal officeholders and other individuals affiliated with the corporation (Table 4.3). The move to present boxes to men who were already free disrupted a central aspect of the conventional understanding of the box presentation practice as it had prevailed since 1662. During that first century of presentations, boxes were presented exclusively in connection with grants of freedom. The box's *function* had also served as its *justification*: it was a container for the instrument of freedom (even if the document certifying the freedom was replaced over time by a smaller abbreviated document that could fit into the box (Fig. 4.12)). Men who were already free did not receive boxes.



Figure 4.12 William Reynolds, *Oval-shaped box presented by Cork corporation to Admiral Lord Romney*, gold, Cork, c.1782, courtesy of the Royal Maritime Museums, Greenwich.
The box contains Romney's instrument of freedom, probably in an abbreviated version.

The corporation had first severed the link between presentations of boxes and grants of civic freedom in 1767 when a silver box was presented, together with a vote of thanks, to a former sheriff, David Ribton (d 1773).⁶⁰ Owner of a 'drug, oil and colour' shop in Dame street,⁶¹ Ribton is an obscure and insignificant figure in the history of the city. He had been admitted to civic freedom in 1762 and was elected as one of the sheriffs in April 1766.⁶² Ribton seems to have secured the precedent-breaking presentation as part of the resolution of a complex dispute about the amount of fine to be levied on freemen who were unwilling or unable to serve in civic offices to which they had been elected.⁶³ After the Ribton presentation, the link between box presentation and the grant of freedom was broken.

The practice of the corporation making presentations of gold and silver boxes to its own officers (usually on the expiry of their term in office) seems to have started in 1778 when William Dunn (d.1791), a tallow chandler of Bride street, was voted a box made in gold 'in testimony of our entire approbation of the faithful and honourable manner in which he has discharged the important office of Lord Mayor of this city to the great advantage of the

⁶⁰ *CARD*, xi, p. 390.

⁶¹ *SNL*, 11 Aug. 1773.

⁶² *DCA*, *Journal of the Sheriffs and Commons*, vol. 2 (18 Jan. 1760-14 Oct. 1768), p. 323; *FJ*, 8 Apr. 1766.

⁶³ *DCA*, *Journal of the Sheriffs and Commons*, vol. 2 (18 Jan. 1760-14 Oct. 1768), p. 385.

public and the general satisfaction of the citizens'.⁶⁴ At the same time the retiring sheriffs, Henry Gore Sankey and Henry Howison, were voted boxes made in silver.⁶⁵

These presentations initiated the final expansion in the presentation practice and over the following decades (until the penultimate box presentation to Stamer in 1820) at least fifteen boxes made in gold were voted to former lord mayors, together with twenty-five boxes made in silver to former sheriffs (including one to a sub-sheriff). As the offices of lord mayor and sheriff (two officeholders each year) were held on an annual basis, it will be apparent that roughly a third of the men who held the offices were rewarded with the presentation of a box. The reasons that led to some candidates being selected for presentations while others were overlooked are obscure but there is evidence that some of the decisions were controversial and led to disputes between the two houses of the assembly. For example, at the assembly held on 17 October 1800, the Sheriffs and Commons voted thanks with silver boxes to the two outgoing sheriffs, John Cash and Thomas Kinsley. However, the lord mayor and Board of Aldermen, while concurring in the vote in favour of Cash, refused its concurrence in the vote for Kinsley. In response the Sheriffs and Commons assured Kinsley of 'our full approbation of your Conduct as the Board of Aldermen actuated by a Spirit of Party have refused to joining with the rest of the Corporation in that tribute of Applause you so richly Merit.'⁶⁶

The corporation's practice of presenting boxes to its own officeholders can be understood as a further advance of the civic assertiveness that emerged in the mid-century. The assemblymen would have been well aware that presentations of gold boxes had generally (but not exclusively) been limited to the most powerful and high-status recipients. Decades earlier, when Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) was presented with a gold box in 1730,⁶⁷ he delivered an address which reveals that he understood how, in the corporation's practice, gifts of that type were reserved for powerful individuals whose claim to the corporation's esteem was based on their rank, office or social status more than their personal accomplishments or character:

⁶⁴ *CARD*, xiii, p. 26.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁶⁶ DCA, C1/JSC/08, Journal of Sheriffs and Commons, vol. 8 (16 Oct. 1795-23 Mar. 1804), folio 149, folio 152.

⁶⁷ *CARD*, vii, p. 476.

‘The Dean concluded with acknowledging to have expressed his wishes, that an inscription might have been graven on the box, showing some reason why the city thought fit to do him that honour, which was much out of the common forms to a person in a private station; those distinctions being usually made only to chief governors, or persons in very high employments.’⁶⁸

Some years later, when the city of Cork presented Swift with his freedom in a silver box, he again observed that recipients of boxes were normally selected by reference to their status or high office and that Cork’s decision to make a presentation to him was exceptional: ‘I know it is a usual compliment to bestow the freedom of the city on an archbishop, or lord chancellor, and other persons of great titles, merely upon account of their stations or power’.⁶⁹

The move to extend the box presentation practice to the corporation’s own officers can also be seen as connected to the major changes that occurred more broadly in the political environment in late eighteenth-century Ireland. In her study of the Dublin civic portrait collection, Clark explained how the material culture of the corporation reflected the new political identity that emerged from the patriot movement in the late 1770s and the enlargement of the Irish parliament’s legislative powers in 1782, pointing out that ‘Dublin was now more than the capital of a colony and the lord mayor’s prestige was augmented accordingly.’⁷⁰ Clark pointed in particular to the construction (and iconography) of the lord mayor’s state coach and the initiation of the practice of commissioning full-length portraits of lord mayors for display in the Mansion House (to join the portraits of lords lieutenant that the corporation had been acquiring since 1765). The first of these mayoral portraits commissioned by the corporation was of Henry Gore Sankey who served as lord mayor in 1791-2.⁷¹ The link between the practices of commissioning portraits and presenting boxes is clear from the terms of appointment of the corporation committee ‘to superintend the picture of alderman Henry Gore Sankey’; in addition to supervising the commissioning of the painting, the committee’s members were tasked with ‘preparing the gold box voted to [Sankey] last assembly’.⁷² By awarding retiring lord mayors boxes made in gold and commissioning their portraits, the corporation was essentially signalling through its material

⁶⁸ Thomas Sheridan (ed.), *The Works of Dean Swift DD* (19 vols, London, 1801), ix, p. 69.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, xiii, p. 364.

⁷⁰ Clark, *The Dublin Civic Portrait Collection*, p. 28.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁷² *CARD*, xiv, p. 311.

culture that in its eyes the most senior office in the city (and its occupant) ranked in dignity and prestige with the most elevated officeholders in the kingdom.

Presenting boxes to tallow-chandlers, tanners, and plasterers in the same manner and form that presentations were made to dukes, earls and chief secretaries upended the deferential character of the practice, which had originally been central to its purpose.⁷³ Initially, when the corporation began to make presentations to lord mayors, it was careful to calibrate its gifts by material value so as not to disturb excessively the economy of deference that had been in place for over a century. The records of the first two votes for presentations to lord mayors (Dunn in 1778 and Hamilton in 1780) provided for budgets that were lower than the amounts spent on boxes for lords lieutenant around the same time. Dunn and Hamilton were each given boxes that cost the corporation twenty guineas; the box voted to the lord lieutenant, Buckingham, in 1777 had a budget of £25 and the box voted in 1781 to his successor, Carlisle, was also budgeted at £25. Restraint and deferential calibration were short-lived, however, and the budgets subsequently allocated for the gold boxes presented to lord mayors were at parity with the amounts voted around the same time for lords lieutenant. John Exshaw who served as lord mayor in 1800 was given a more lavish box than the lord lieutenant. In October 1800, the corporation voted a budget of twenty-five guineas for Exshaw's gold box; nine months later, it allocated twenty guineas for the box it presented to Philip Yorke (1757-1834), 3rd earl of Hardwicke, who had been appointed lord lieutenant in March 1801. Reviewing these presentations to late Georgian mayors and sheriffs, it is hard to escape the conclusion that there was a degree of vainglory in the practice, while also admiring the self-confidence and disregard for conventional social deference that animated the decisions of the assembly and probably reflected the increasing scepticism about established structures of authority prevalent throughout the Atlantic world and Europe at the time.

As votes of boxes to municipal officeholders and their affiliates came to dominate the presentation practice, the incoherence of the move away from the deferential justification that had underpinned the practice from its outset and had sustained it for more than a century became apparent. Farcical choices of recipient were made. For example, in 1810 the

⁷³ Dunn was a tallow chandler; Henry Hutton who was voted a box made in gold in 1804 was a member of the tanners' guild, although he operated principally as a coach-maker; Charles Thorp who was presented with a box made in gold in 1801 was a stuccodore (Clark, *The Dublin Civic Portrait Collection*.)

corporation voted five guineas for a silver box to be presented with its thanks to ‘our worthy fellow citizen Hardinge Giffard, esquire, LL.D., for his loyal ode written for the celebration of the Jubilee and by him dedicated to the Corporation’. Giffard (1771-1827) was the son of John Giffard, a prominent Orangeman who was involved in municipal politics and who himself had already been voted two silver boxes by the corporation.⁷⁴ The younger Giffard, it seems, was not particularly impressed by the sign of distinction and appreciation intended by the corporation. Buried in the corporation’s warrants register (a type of receipt book for payments) is an entry for 29 June 1810 - ‘Harding Giffard Esq. for a silver Box allowed cash Christmas Assembly £5 13s. 6d.’.⁷⁵ Entries in the warrant register recorded the name of the actual recipient of the payment; thus, when a payment was recorded to a goldsmith for supplying a box, the goldsmith’s name (and not the name of the recipient of the box) was entered. The warrant register entry in Giffard’s name strongly suggests that he opted to take cash *in lieu* of the box. The vote for the presentation of another silver box, this time in 1811 to Matthew West who had recently served as sheriff, indicated that in its final decade the practice was essentially devouring itself.⁷⁶ Although the accounting records for that period do not survive, evidence from years immediately prior to the vote shows that West had captured most of the corporation’s box business (Chapter 6), meaning that, unless he recused himself from this particular transaction, he would have been tasked with, and paid for, supplying a box to himself.

Voices had been raised in the corporation questioning the expense of the presentation practice, particularly the new practice of presenting boxes to retiring municipal officers. Throughout the 1790s and early 1800s, there are records in the Journal of the Sheriffs and Commons of the upper house refusing its concurrence in various gifts, including boxes proposed by the lower house to retiring municipal officers. In October 1795, for example, the lower house voted a motion that the retiring sheriffs Richard Manders and Robert Powell should be presented with silver boxes. The upper house refused its concurrence for the boxes and the lower house then voted a resolution requesting the current sheriffs ‘to provide the Silver Boxes voted by this house to the late Sheriffs’ and resolving that ‘the House do indemnify them for the expense in question’.⁷⁷ The box presented to Manders was offered for sale in 1981 when the obviously pointed formulation in the opening words of its inscription

⁷⁴ Jacqueline Hill, ‘Giffard, John’ in *DIB*.

⁷⁵ DCA, MR/39, Treasurer’s accounts (29 Sept. 1800-29 Sept. 1812), folio 19.

⁷⁶ *CARD*, xvi, p. 290.

⁷⁷ DCA, C1/JSC/08, Journal of Sheriffs and Commons, vol. 8 (16 Oct. 1795-23 Mar. 1804), folios 1 and 2.

was noted- 'This Box/ accompanying the unanimous thanks of The Sheriffs and Commons of the City of/ Dublin was presented to Ricd. Manders Esq.'⁷⁸

By the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, the corporation's finances were in disarray and, when a committee was 'appointed for enquiring how the city's revenues may be increased and its expenses lessened', it looked at expenditure on box presentations. In February 1808, the committee recommended 'that neither gold, or silver boxes, or any other expensive compliment be granted to any person whatever, save and except to a lord lieutenant and his secretary, and in such case to be given only on their departure from this country, if their conduct should merit such distinction, annual saving £100'.⁷⁹ The infirmity of the corporation's purpose of amendment is acutely illustrated by the vote two years later of one hundred guineas for a gift of silver plate to William Stamer (1765-1838), the outgoing lord mayor, an amount which on its own exceeded the annual saving identified by the committee. Despite its cost and increasing obsolescence, the practice of box presentation continued, with holders of municipal office as its principal beneficiaries. In the years after the committee's recommendation, records of votes of at least four gold boxes to retiring lord mayors (including the vote of a gold box to Stamer after a second mayoral term in 1819-20) and at least eight silver boxes to sheriffs and other affiliates (including the boxes voted to the poetaster Giffard and to Matthew West) were recorded in the corporation's minutes. In the end, the corporation's presentation practice simply petered out, probably perceived as an expensive superfluous relic of redundant social conventions. It ended in 1821 with an unconventional presentation to Talbot, the last person to receive a box from the corporation (until the practice was revived in an entirely different form at the end of the nineteenth century) (Fig. 4.13). Talbot, unlike all previous viceroys since 1685, was presented with a box made in oak, albeit with gold mounts. The presentation also occurred on his departure from the office rather than following his arrival and he was not voted the freedom of the city. The inscription inside the cover of the box Talbot received reads:

'Presented by the CORPORATION OF DUBLIN to His Excellency Charles Chetwynd Earl Talbot, on his retiring from the Government of Ireland. In testimony

⁷⁸ Sotheby's London, *Fine English Silver, 23 April 1981* (London, 1981), lot 205.

⁷⁹ Jacqueline Hill, 'Dublin Corporation and the Levying of Tolls and Customs, c.1720-c.1820' in Michael Brown and Seán Patrick Donlon (eds), *The Laws and Other Legalities of Ireland, 1689-1850* (Farnham, 2017), pp 187-208; *CARD*, xvi, p. 78.

of its approbation of THE EMINENT SERVICES rendered while he filled the exalted station of CHIEF GOVERNOR of that part of the United Kingdom'.⁸⁰



Figure 4.13 Unknown maker (Edward Murray?), Gold-mounted oak box presented by Dublin corporation to earl Talbot on his retirement from the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1821, wood and gold, Dublin(?), c.1821, courtesy of Christie's.

The language of deference had faded and the inscription recalls the formulas used by the corporation a century earlier when it voted 'pieces of plate' to architects and engineers who had provided useful services to the city. In some ways, this last presentation operated as a vindication of the position of the radicals (notably James Napper Tandy (1737?-1803) and John Binns (1730?-1804)) who fifty years earlier had threatened to block the presentation of a gold box to the lord lieutenant, Charles Manners (1754-87), 4th duke of Rutland, arguing that a viceroy's entitlement to the gift of a box should be dependent on the corporation's approval of his performance.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Christie's London, *Important Portrait Miniatures and Objects of Vertu*, 6 July 2005, lot 31.

⁸¹ *HJ*, 23 Apr. 1784; *FJ*, 14 Oct. 1784.

Chapter 5 1750-1780: Specialisation and the emergence of retailing in the market for boxes in Dublin

5.1 The emergence of specialised box-makers

While the number of civic presentations in the city was increasing from the 1750s onwards, demand for boxes for personal use, especially as containers for snuff, was also expanding. On the supply side of the market, evidence begins to emerge of at least two Dublin goldsmiths, William Currie and Benjamin Stokes, developing a specialisation in box-making. The commercial model operated by these two goldsmiths differed from Bolton's in the previous generation, in the sense that Currie and Stokes were smaller-scale operators who, once they established themselves as box-makers, used a significant part of their capacity for that specialised output. Currie and Stokes also differed from the box-makers of the generation that followed them - Kennedy and Ryan - in the sense that they were full guild brothers who operated with a high level of commercial autonomy and were relatively successful financially. The personal and commercial histories of Currie and Stokes, which are explored for the first time in this thesis, provide evidence of a market that was in transition, with an increasing demand for small luxury goods, including boxes, offering an opportunity for goldsmiths willing to specialise. The city's institutions maintained their preference for obtaining boxes from socially and politically prominent goldsmiths and, it seems, the Bolton-type model that integrated production and supply weakened. There is artefact and documentary evidence from this period to show that at least some of the goldsmiths who transacted with the institutions were operating as retailers, supplying their prestigious customers with boxes that had been made by other goldsmiths. The disaggregation of production from supply in this period began a trend that continued and came to dominate the market for the supply of boxes in the final decades of the eighteenth century (Chapter 6).

5.2 William Currie (c.1703-1772)

Of the two men who emerge as specialist box-makers in this period, Currie was the elder. His career as a goldsmith began in a toyshop in Dame street run by a Huguenot refugee, Peter Gervais, to whom he was apprenticed in 1718.¹ In the records of his apprenticeship, Currie was listed as the son of a Dublin widow, Mary Currie.² As records of Currie's baptism have not been traced, it is not possible to be certain of his date of birth. From the date of his apprenticeship, it is assumed that he was born in the early years of the eighteenth century, probably in 1703 or 1704.

The path that led the widow Currie to place her son with Gervais may perhaps never be known but her decision was shrewd. The young Currie, through his apprenticeship with Gervais, was placed at the centre of a network of Huguenot goldsmiths who were stimulating, and catering to, an expanding demand for small luxury goods in the city. The personal significance to Currie of his training in a Huguenot environment may explain his uncommon choice, later in his career, to incorporate into his maker's mark a device resembling the fleur-de-lis (Fig. 5.13), which in England was usually associated with Huguenot goldsmiths and their descendants and in Dublin was occasionally used by members of the Huguenot D'Olier family.³

Concerning Gervais, Currie's master, no records of his training as a goldsmith have been located. He was admitted, probably aged around thirty-five, as a quarter brother of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild in 1712 and went on to become free of the guild in 1715.⁴ Cunningham notes that '[t]he records concerning the Gervais, Pineau, Vidouze and Vialas families are documented better than most in the parish records and reveal a web of interconnections'.⁵ Gervais's strongest connection was with the family of the goldsmith, François (or Francis) Girard (free 1705; d.1711). After Girard's death, Gervais appears to have become involved in running the Girard business with Girard's widow and when the memorial of a forty-year lease that Gervais took for premises in Dame street was prepared in 1720, the phrase 'as the

¹ Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 676.

² During his lifetime, Currie's name was given both as 'Currie' and as 'Curry'. The entry in the guild records concerning his freedom in 1731 recorded his name as 'Currie' and that form will be used to refer to him in this thesis.

³ Joan Evans, 'The Huguenot Goldsmiths in England and Ireland' in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, xiv (1933), pp 496-554, p. 511; Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 635.

⁴ Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 666.

⁵ Cunningham, 'Dublin's Huguenot goldsmiths', p. 171.

same was then enjoyed by the said Peter Gervais & Mrs Mary Girard' was included, indicating that Gervais and his mother-in-law were continuing on in premises where they had already been trading for some time.⁶ In 1717 Gervais had married Girard's daughter, Marie Françoise Girard.⁷

What exactly was Gervais's line of business in the Dame street shop while Currie was his apprentice? The evidence suggests that Gervais focused on the supply of small objects of luxury and fashion, responding to demand at least partly from within his own community. The literature on the Huguenot involvement in the goldsmiths' trade in Ireland, England and the American colonies has tended to focus largely on Huguenots as producers.⁸ The role of Huguenots as consumers in their places of refuge has attracted less attention. Dickson, however, noted that among the Huguenots in Dublin 'there were two distinct groups of new arrivals: the high-status households and the providers of luxury services' and says that 'what was new about the 1690s was the concentrated demand from an essentially aristocratic network of displaced families who sought specific goods and services to which they were accustomed'.⁹ From the record of some of the stock held in his shop at the time of his death, Gervais can be situated as a supplier within this luxury goods trade influenced by French taste.

After Gervais's death on 8 May 1730, his brother, Daniel, acting as executor, wound up his estate.¹⁰ Gervais's stock was moved out of his shop and in November 1731 the following goods were advertised for sale by auction at Daniel Gervais's residence in William street:

'Gold, Silver and Tortoise Snuff and Patch-Boxes of several Sorts, Tooth-pick Cases, Gold Medals, Twees, Equipages, Variety of Rings and Earrings, a Gold Watch, Fontaine, London, Pocket-books mounted in Gold and Silver, reading and near-sighted Glasses, Pen knives, Vellum and Ivory Leaves for Pocket Books, Silk and Velvet Caps for Young Misses, Flowers, Necklaces, Silk Purses, Snuff of several Sorts, tweezers, pocket-looking Glasses, Ink bottles, Ivory and Box Combs, Comb Brushes, a case of Agathe dessert Knives and Forks, Tea Chests, Crewit and Dram-bottles, Knife Case, Silver and Carlow Spurt, Sword Belts, Canes and Joints, Whips, Pruning Knives, Lancets, Cane-heads, Steel and Japan'd Shoe Buckles, Flutes,

⁶ ROD, vol. 26, page 222, memorial 15277.

⁷ Burke, *Landed gentry of Ireland*, p. 263; ROD, vol. 26, p. 222, memorial 15277.

⁸ Tessa Murdoch (ed.), *Beyond the Border: Huguenot Goldsmiths in Northern Europe and North America* (Brighton and Portland, 2008).

⁹ Dickson, *Dublin*, p. 113.

¹⁰ Thomas Philip Le Fanu (ed.), *Registers of the French Non-Conformist Churches of Lucy Lane and Peter Street, Dublin* (Aberdeen, 1901), p. 99.

Perspectives, Writing Trunks, Razor and Lancet Cases, Sponge, Horse Measures, Instruments for Mathematics, Brushes for Clothes and Stockings, Babies and Several other Goods usually sold in Toy Shops'.¹¹

The advertisement is notable as a detailed record of the types of objects sold in toyshops in Dublin in the early eighteenth century. The list of objects also provides a vivid framework for understanding the commercial environment in which Currie spent his apprenticeship. Documentary and artefact evidence of Currie's later career indicates that he continued to operate within this specific sector of the goldsmiths' trade for most of his career, making and selling small luxury objects, particularly boxes. The prominence of boxes, as the first items mentioned in the advertisement of Gervais's stock, is noteworthy. By 1730, snuff boxes in silver, gold and tortoise shell were fashionable accessories in London, Paris and other European cities.¹² The fashion had also reached Dublin. Five years before the Gervais auction, Swift had set out a list of the small necessaries, confiscated by the Lilliputians, that the hero of *Gulliver's Travels* was carrying in his pockets; the list included, alongside a purse, knife, razor, comb, handkerchief and journal-book, a silver snuff box.¹³ To respond to the new fashion, Gervais sold snuff as well as boxes.

At the expiry of Currie's term of apprenticeship with Gervais in 1725, he would have been entitled to request admission to the freedom of the guild. He chose not to do so, waiting until 1731, after Gervais's death, to petition for his freedom. It is not clear what Currie did between 1725 and 1731. His registration with the guild as a quarter brother in 1729 and evidence of assays in 1727/8 suggests that he was working in the goldsmiths' trade in Dublin.¹⁴ While it is possible that Currie stayed on in Gervais's shop after his articles expired, no evidence has been found of this.

After two years as a quarter brother, Currie petitioned for guild freedom in 1731. The entry in the minutes reads: 'There was also W^m Currie on his petition admitted free for having served Peter Gervais seven years'.¹⁵ Wherever Currie was working in the years after his apprenticeship, the baptismal records of his children indicate that in his early years as a goldsmith he stayed in the Dame street neighbourhood. He may have married around the time

¹¹ *FDJ*, 2 Nov. 1731. I am grateful to Dr. Alison FitzGerald for this reference.

¹² le Corbeiller, *European and American Snuff Boxes*.

¹³ Jonathan Swift (Herbert Davis, ed.), *Gulliver's Travels 1726* (Oxford, 1959), p. 37.

¹⁴ Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 689.

¹⁵ GCD archive, Minute books, vol. 1, 19 Jan. 1730/1.

Gervais died and, although records of his marriage have not been traced, records of the baptisms in the early 1730s of two daughters of Currie and his wife Mary have been identified in the register of the local church, St. John's in Fishamble street.¹⁶ The family appears to have moved north of the river sometime after 1732; the records of the baptisms of two further children, a boy and a girl, in 1734 and 1738 are in the register of St Mary's.¹⁷ From the goldsmiths' apprenticeship records, it appears that the Curries had at least two other sons: William who was apprenticed to Henry Billing in 1749;¹⁸ and, Joseph whom Currie took as his apprentice in 1757.¹⁹ There is no record of either of Currie's sons becoming free of the guild. A record in the parish register of St Werburgh's of the burial of a 'Mary Curry' who died (aged 76 of 'old age') in 1744 and whose address was given as Dame street may provide an indication that Currie and his extended family (including his mother) had returned to the Dame street neighbourhood in the early 1740s.²⁰

The next recorded move of the Currie family took them out of the historic core of the city. By the time Mary Currie - 'a tender wife, an affectionate mother and a most agreeable companion' - died in 1761, her death was reported as having occurred at 'her lodgings in Milltown road'.²¹ At some point after his wife's death, Currie moved back into the city to live in the Dame street house where his business was then located. Towards the end of 1764 when he would have been aged around sixty, Currie decided to cease trading; the articles of his son Joseph also expired that year. Unlike his contemporary in London, the goldsmith Wickes, who took a similar decision at roughly the same age in 1760, Currie does not seem to have made arrangements to pass his business on to another goldsmith.²² His shop became a haberdashery.²³

At the time his death was reported in June 1772 - 'Mr Curry, formerly an eminent Goldsmith in Dame-street' - he was living in Chequer lane (now Wicklow street), not far from his former business premises.²⁴ The inclusion of Currie's will in the prerogative list suggests

¹⁶ Register of Baptisms in the Parish of St John, Fishamble street, book 3, p. 13, p. 15 (www.irishgenealogy.ie).

¹⁷ Parish Register, St Mary's, p. 97 and p. 109 (www.irishgenealogy.ie).

¹⁸ Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 681. This record may be unreliable as elsewhere Henry Billing is recorded as becoming free of the guild only in 1753 (Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 667).

¹⁹ Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 682.

²⁰ Parish Register, St Werburgh, 20 Feb. 1744 (www.irishgenealogy.ie).

²¹ DC, 21 July 1761.

²² Barr, *George Wickes*, p. 176.

²³ DC, 15 Sept. 1766.

²⁴ FJ, 23 June 1772.

that he died a relatively wealthy man. The wills of only a few goldsmiths appear in the prerogative list at this period and a number of those men (Charles Leslie (will proved in 1759), Robert Calderwood (will proved in 1766) and William Wilson (will proved in 1768)) can be identified as successful, large-scale traders.²⁵

In respect of Currie's commercial activity, surviving documentary and artefact evidence allows some insight into how his business operated and developed over the four decades that he was associated with the Dublin goldsmiths' trade. Assay records between 1725 and 1758 survive, albeit with significant gaps. Assay records do not survive for Currie's final years as a goldsmith from 1758 to 1764. Every assay recorded in Currie's name in the surviving books is set out in Appendix 4. These documentary sources throw up some intriguing questions, particularly concerning Currie's career prior to 1750. Where assay evidence exists for the period up to 1750 (essentially in the books for 1729-33 and 1744-48), Currie's name is almost entirely absent. The volume of his assays was exceptionally low. Between 1731 and 1733 (when the records cease until 1744), Currie is recorded as making only three assays, presenting in November 1731 (5oz 10dwt.),²⁶ in December 1731 (4oz),²⁷ and in March 1733 (4oz 10dwt.).²⁸ The assay books do not identify the objects Currie submitted but the weights mentioned in the records of his assays are consistent with the production of boxes or other small luxury items. None of the assays were of objects made in gold. In Sinsteden's synthesis of the volume of recorded assays between 1729 and 1733, Currie ranks seventy-third by volume in the list of ninety-seven Dublin goldsmiths who made assays.²⁹ The comparison with Stokes, who was Currie's junior by about a decade and who became a quarter brother in 1732, is striking. In the nine months between November 1732 and July 1733, Stokes assayed twice the volume of silver that Currie assayed over the entire forty-seven-month period for which records survive between 1729 and 1733. Artefact evidence confirms that Currie was already making boxes at this early stage of his career. The collection of the National Museum of Ireland has an oval tobacco box 'with a removeable lid with a Baroque cartouche enclosing a coat of arms', that is catalogued as having Currie's maker's mark and a date-letter for 1729-30.³⁰

²⁵ Arthur Vicars, *Index to the prerogative wills of Ireland, 1536-1810* (Dublin, 1897).

²⁶ GCD archive, Assay books, vol. 16 (1729-13 July 1733), p. 196.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

²⁹ Sinsteden 'Surviving Dublin assay records', p. 97.

³⁰ Delamer and O'Brien, *500 Years*, p. 177.

There is a gap in the assay records from August 1733 until November 1744 when records resume for a forty-one-month period until April 1748. Remarkably, Currie, who by that time was probably in his forties, the father of perhaps as many as five children, in his second decade as a free brother and serving as a member of the guild council, is recorded as making only one assay - in September 1747 of an object weighing 4oz 5dwt, most likely (given its weight) a box. This volume of assay was even lower than during his early years of freedom. Again, the contrast with the volume of Stokes's recorded assays is striking; Stokes assayed 747oz in 1745, 711oz in 1746, and 1,220oz in 1747.

Though his assayed output was meagre, Currie was making prestigious objects. There is artefact evidence that in the 1730s and early 1740s Currie was making boxes for presentation by the corporation and the guilds. A circular silver-gilt box with a removeable cover now in the San Antonio Museum of Art has Currie's maker's mark and the date-letter associated with 1733-5. The inscription on the cover of the box reads 'The Gift of Ye Corporation of Weavers ye Citty of Dublin to Eaton Stannard Esqr, Recorder of sd. Citty 1734'.³¹



Figure 5.1 William Currie, *Circular box with removeable cover engraved with an inscription recording its presentation by the weavers' guild to Eaton Stannard in 1734 (cover with the guild arms), silver-gilt, Dublin, c.1734, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.*

³¹ SAMA 2004.13.255.a. The box was displayed at the 'The Genius Of Irish Silver' exhibition in 1992 but is not illustrated in the catalogue.



Figure 5.2 William Currie, *Circular box with removeable cover presented by the weavers' guild to Eaton Stannard in 1734 (detail of the internal base of the box with Currie's maker's mark and the date-letter for 1733-5)*, silver-gilt, Dublin, c.1734, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.

Another circular silver box with a removeable lid with Currie's maker's mark, now in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland, was made for presentation by the corporation of Dublin (Figs 5.3-5).³² This is somewhat later than the Stannard box, as the form of the Hibernia mark observed on the box most resembles Type K in the Ticher-Delamer-O'Sullivan classification, pointing to a date between 1738 and 1742.³³ As the arms on cover are those of the Ponsonby family, the box can be linked (it is believed for the first time) to the corporation's vote to present the freedom in a silver box to William Ponsonby (1704-93), viscount Duncannon, at the assembly held on 16 October 1741.³⁴ On 19 June 1741, Ponsonby had become a privy counsellor, and was appointed chief secretary for Ireland, serving under his father-in-law, the duke of Devonshire.³⁵

³² NMI 1910.182.

³³ Kurt Ticher, Ida Delamer, William O'Sullivan, *Hall-marks on Dublin Silver 1730-72* (Dublin, 1968).

³⁴ *CARD*, ix, p. 36

³⁵ Patrick M. Geoghegan, 'Ponsonby, William' in *DIB*.



Figure 5.3 William Currie, *Circular box with removeable lid presented by Dublin corporation to William Ponsonby in 1741 (detail of the base with the arms of Dublin)*, silver, Dublin, c.1741, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.



Figure 5.4 William Currie, *Circular box with removeable lid presented by Dublin corporation to William Ponsonby in 1741 (detail of the cover with the Ponsonby arms)*, silver, Dublin, c.1741, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.



Figure 5.5 William Currie, *Circular box with removeable lid presented by Dublin corporation to William Ponsonby in 1741* (detail of the Hibernia mark and William Currie's maker's mark on the interior of the box), silver, Dublin, c.1741, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.

Another box with Currie's maker's mark, also in the collection of the National Museum, may tentatively be assigned to this period in his career. The box is circular, made in silver, with a removeable lid and bears the civic arms of Athlone.³⁶ The identity of the recipient is not recorded on the box and is unknown. It is also not known when the box was presented. However, as the engraving shares some characteristics of the Stannard box and the Dublin Ponsonby box (particularly in the almost comic treatment of the lions' faces), this Athlone box may be tentatively assigned to the pre-1750 part of Currie's career (Figs. 5.6-8).

³⁶ NMI 1913.217.



Figure 5.6 William Currie, *Circular box with the arms of Athlone*, silver, Dublin, c.1735-1750, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.



Figure 5.7 William Currie, *Circular box with the arms of Athlone* (detail of a lion engraved on the cover), silver, Dublin, c.1735-1750, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.

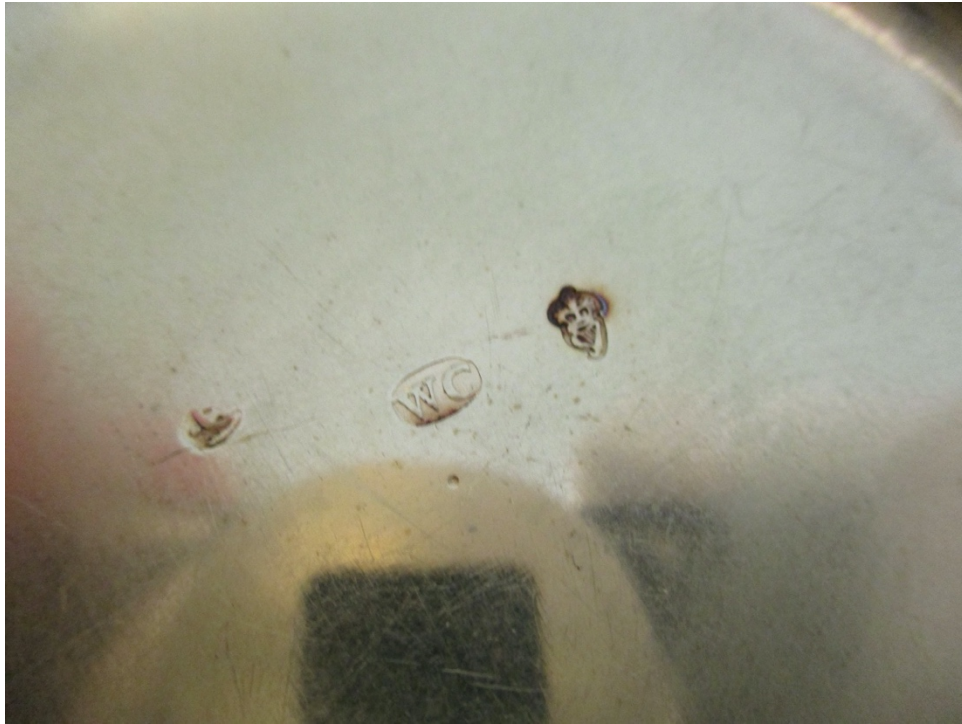


Figure 5.8 William Currie, *Circular box with the arms of Athlone* (marks on the interior of the box, including Currie's maker's mark), silver, Dublin, c.1735-1750, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.

Another box with Currie's mark and a 'partly rubbed out' date-letter, made in silver-gilt, is in the Victoria & Albert Museum; it also appears to be connected to this period of Currie's career, although probably later than the date of 1734/5 currently given by the V&A.³⁷ This box is circular and has a removeable lid engraved with a depiction of the second labour of Hercules, the slaying of the Lernaean Hydra (Fig 5.9). This iconography points to the box having been engraved in the aftermath of the Jacobite insurrection of 1745. Although the Hydra was used as an anti-Jacobite and anti-Catholic motif prior to 1745, it underwent a revival after the expulsion of the Jacobite forces from Carlisle in 1745 by William Augustus (1721-65), duke of Cumberland (Fig. 5.10).³⁸ Thom, in her study of anti-Jacobite visual strategy, explained that the identification of Cumberland with the figure of Hercules was both an 'allusion to his martial prowess' and a reference to Hercules as a son of Zeus, intended to flatter Cumberland in 'his princely position as a son of George II'.³⁹ The box is a rare example of Irish anti-Jacobite material culture.

³⁷ <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O104445/hercules-slaying-the-hydra-tobacco-box-and-currie-william/>

³⁸ Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston, 2002), p. 2.

³⁹ Danielle Thom, "'William, the Princely Youth': The Duke of Cumberland and Anti-Jacobite Visual Strategy, 1745-46" in *Visual Design in Britain*, xvi (2015), pp 249-66, p. 261.



Figure 5.9 William Currie, *Circular box*, silver-gilt, Dublin, c.1745-7, courtesy of the Victoria & Albert Museum.



Figure 5.10 Johann Hendrik Wolff, *Medal commemorating the victory of Cumberland at Carlisle in 1745*, Denmark, bronze, 1745, courtesy of the British Museum.
The Jacobite rebellion is depicted as the Hydra with Cumberland as Hercules.

Although the surviving artefact evidence shows that Currie was making boxes in the 1730s and 1740s, the absence of evidence of assays by him in this period is puzzling and raises questions which cannot be answered with any certainty. Was Currie making objects but not sending them for assay? Another possibility (that would explain the low assayed volumes in his name) is that Currie was making objects for other goldsmiths who presented his work as their own at assay. A further possibility is that Currie was focused on retailing, perhaps operating a toyshop (like his master Gervais) or selling jewellery.

Whatever was going on in the 1730s and 1740s, the available documentary sources reveal a major change in Currie's business profile from 1750 onwards. The records show that Currie rented a shop in a fashionable location and that the volume and frequency of his assays increased significantly. In December 1750, Currie took a forty-one-year lease from Nicholas Revett, a merchant, of a 'Dwelling house and concern situate on the south Side of Dame street' bounding on 'the west by the Robbin Hood Inn and on the South by the stables and yard of the [said] Robbin Hood Inn'.⁴⁰ It has not been possible to determine where Currie was operating prior to his 1750 lease but it is likely that his move to the new premises represented a considerable commercial and social advance. Due to its proximity to the Castle, Dame street had already been a fashionable thoroughfare during Girard's and Gervais's lifetimes and its prestige had been further enhanced by the building of the new Parliament House in the 1720s.⁴¹ The street was a prime retail space, crowded with many taverns and shops.⁴² There was a cluster of goldsmiths around Cork hill and the Castle, and prominent goldsmiths such as Robert Calderwood, Isaac D'Olier and William Wilson were now Currie's neighbours. Currie's annual rent of £33 was at the higher end of the range - between £20 and £35 - paid by goldsmiths in this part of the city and suggests that his shop was relatively large.⁴³ By way of comparison, Calderwood, generally reckoned to be the most successful and fashionable of Currie's contemporaries, signed a lease for a house on the east side of Cork hill in 1746 with an annual rent of £40.⁴⁴ In 1758, D'Olier was paying a rent of £35 for his shop.⁴⁵

Where exactly was Currie's shop? Its location can be surmised from a notice published in September 1766 by William Paine (d.1791), a haberdasher also trading in Dame street, who announced that, 'on account of the House which is to be thrown down to widen said Street', he would be removing his business to 'the House where Mr. Currie, Silversmith, lately lived, in said Street, opposite Mr Cottingham's, Mercer'.⁴⁶ With this information, Currie's premises can be located on the southern side of Dame street between Castle lane (leading into the lower yard of Dublin castle) and George's lane, a location that corresponds

⁴⁰ ROD, vol. 146, p. 186, memorial 97226.

⁴¹ Christine Casey, *The Buildings of Ireland: Dublin* (New Haven and London, 2005), p. 414.

⁴² Diarmuid Ó Gráda, *Georgian Dublin: The Forces that Shaped the City* (Cork, 2015), p. 86.

⁴³ FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin*, p. 61.

⁴⁴ FitzGerald, 'Cosmopolitan Commerce', pp 46-52.

⁴⁵ FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin*, p. 61.

⁴⁶ DC, 20 Oct. 1766.

roughly today to the part of Dame street between Palace street and South Great George's street.

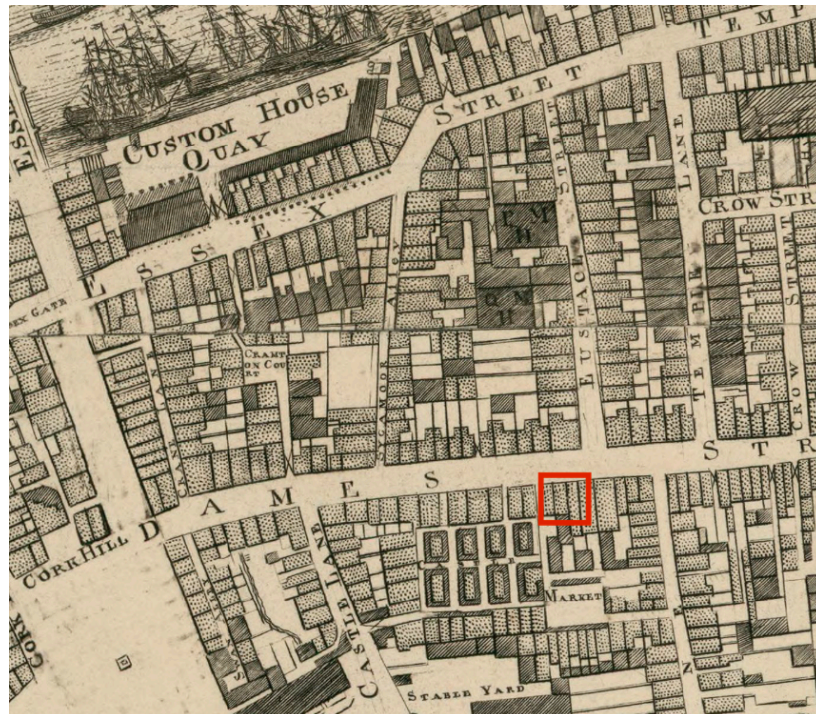


Figure 5.11 Conjectured location of William Currie's shop on Dame street, 1750-64.

A notice published by Currie in 1764 when he was quitting the trade provides some indication of the appearance of the interior of his shop; he offered for sale 'Glass-cases, Drawers &c fit for a Milliner or Haberdasher'.⁴⁷ Currie's description of his shop's fittings confirm that he was operating a shop, not dissimilar in style to premises that Wickes was trading from around the same time at Panton street in London, in which objects were kept in stock and displayed.⁴⁸ Curiously, Currie appears to have encountered difficulty in selling his fittings. His advertisement was repeated at least twenty-four times between October and December 1764; perhaps the fittings were time-worn and no longer fashionable.

A second documentary source, the surviving assay records from the 1750s, reveals an extraordinary transformation of Currie's business in that decade.⁴⁹ In the three years between 1744 to 1748, Currie was recorded as making a single small assay in silver. The 1750s assay records show Currie making assays almost every month and occasionally submitting objects on three assay days in the same month. In this period, there were roughly two assay days a

⁴⁷ DC, 19 Nov. 1764.

⁴⁸ Barr, *George Wickes*, pp 29-31.

⁴⁹ CDG, Assay books, vol. 19 (Mar. 1752-Aug. 1755) and vol. 20 (July-Nov. 1758).

week or around one hundred annually. In the period April-December 1752, Currie made submissions on fifteen days; in the calendar year 1753, he made submissions on twenty days; in the calendar year 1754, he made submissions on nineteen days; and, in the first seven months of 1755, he made submissions on nine days. The frequency of his assays was modest compared to the larger operators such as Calderwood who, for example, submitted on sixty-two days in the year between March 1752 and March 1753.⁵⁰ The volume of Currie's individual assays was also modest; his largest assay occurred on 5 October 1753 when he submitted a parcel of silver weighing 17oz 10dwt. By way of comparison, during this period the average volume of Calderwood's assays on the days he submitted was roughly 73oz.⁵¹

A remarkable aspect of Currie's assays in this period is the preponderance of gold. Of the sixty-three days on which assays by Currie are recorded between 1752 and 1758, his assays on fifty-four days consisted exclusively of objects made in gold. Currie was not the only goldsmith making assays in gold at this time; Bridgeman (who appears to have been a watchmaker), Thomas Williamson and William Townsend were also regularly sending objects made in gold for assay. However, Currie seems to have been recognised as the principal gold-worker in the city. In the mind of the person who kept the assay books, Currie had become ineluctably associated with gold. When Currie made his large silver assay on 5 October 1753, the clerk responsible for listing assays thought it necessary to add the word 'silver' against Currie's name; no other goldsmith assaying silver that day received that additional annotation (Fig. 5.12). In Currie's case, an assay in silver, rather than gold, was viewed as an exceptional event.

⁵⁰ I am grateful to Dr Thomas Sinsted for this information.

⁵¹ I am again grateful to Dr Thomas Sinsted for the information that permitted this estimate.



Figure 5.12 Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, *Assay book* (entries for 5 October 1753), courtesy of the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin.

What is known about the objects that Currie was making in the 1750s? The assay books in this period did not record the type of objects submitted by goldsmiths for assay. However, once records of the weights of surviving objects made by Currie in this period are examined, the likelihood that many of his assay entries related to boxes becomes apparent. Records of three surviving gold boxes made by Currie during the 1750s provide details of their weight:

- c.1750, a circular gold box presented by the corporation of Kildare to James, earl of Kildare: weight, 4oz 6dwt.⁵²
- 1756, a circular gold box presented by the corporation of Dublin to James, earl of Kildare (Fig. 5.13): weight, 4oz 15dwt.⁵³
- 1756, a circular gold box presented by the corporation of Dublin to John Ponsonby: weight, 4oz 12dwt.⁵⁴

⁵² Sotheby's London, *Important Silver and Gold*, 3 May 1984, lot 3.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, lot 6.

⁵⁴ Christie's New York, *The Collection of Peggy and David Rockefeller* (New York, 2018), lot 705.

These examples show that the gold presentation boxes marked by Currie in the 1750s weighed between 4oz and 5oz. Roughly half of the parcels recorded for Currie in the surviving assay books between 1752 and 1758 weighed between 4oz and 6oz; this is consistent with production of boxes of the type used in presentations (and for personal use) at that time. On other occasions, Currie submitted parcels that are consistent with multiple objects of this type; for example, on 10 June 1755, he submitted a parcel of gold weighing 12oz 10dwt, which could have comprised two or three boxes. It seems likely that the increase in Currie's assays in the 1750s was linked to an expansion in his box-making activity in response to the increased number of box presentations being made in city and to the growth in demand for boxes for personal use.

Records of surviving artefacts suggest that in the 1750s Currie was the leading producer of presentation boxes in the city. When the collection of boxes presented to members of the FitzGerald family was dispersed by the duke of Leinster in 1984, it included four boxes made in Dublin in the 1750s. Currie's mark was on three boxes (two in gold and one in silver); the fourth, in gold, had the mark of Thomas Williamson (who had been Currie's apprentice).⁵⁵ Three gold boxes presented to the duke of Dorset, by Kilkenny, Waterford and Wexford between 1750 and 1755 were sold at auction in 1959; all three were marked by Currie.⁵⁶ Boxes made by Currie were presented in other towns too; a circular silver-gilt box presented by Clonmel (most likely to John Ponsonby) sometime in the 1750s was offered at Christie's London in 2014 (Fig. 5.14).⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Sotheby's London, *Important Silver and Gold*, 3 May 1984.

⁵⁶ These boxes were sold at Sotheby's London on 12 March 1959 (Sotheby's London, *Important Silver and Gold*, 3 May 1984, p. 8); Delamer 'Irish Freedom Boxes'.

⁵⁷ Christie's London, *Christie's Interiors - Masters and Makers*, 2 December 2014 (London, 2014), lot 553. Christie's listed this box as having 'mark of WC in oval punch (unidentified)'.



Figure 5.13 William Currie, *Circular box with removeable lid presented by the corporation of Kildare to the earl of Kildare*, gold, Dublin, c.1750, courtesy of Christie's.



Figure 5.14 William Currie, *Circular box with removeable lid presented to a member of the Ponsonby family by Clonmel (lid with Ponsonby arms)*, silver, Dublin, c.1752, courtesy of Christie's.

In common with other goldsmiths who specialised in box-making in eighteenth-century Dublin, Currie's box production was not limited to boxes made for civic presentation. He also made boxes intended for personal use. Due to the distance in time, the absence or incompleteness of records and the potentially distorting effects of survival, it is difficult to form any reliable view as the relative importance of the two categories - public and personal -

within Currie's overall production. In Currie's case, the majority of his surviving boxes that have been traced in the course of this research are boxes made for presentations.

Records of two surviving boxes for personal use with Currie's marks - the 'Hector' box and the 'Quartz' box - reveal a contrast between those objects and the boxes he made for civic presentations. Caution is obviously required when dealing with these limited sources, as the sample is very small. However, a notable feature of both boxes, when compared with Currie's surviving presentation boxes, is the greater level of complexity in construction and form. One box is cartouche-shaped, the other oval; both have internal hinges, a feature not seen in Currie's presentation boxes. Hinge-making is technically demanding for the goldsmith but attractive to customers who used the box to carry snuff. The 'Hector' box (Figs. 5.15-17), offered at Sotheby's in 2016, is made in gold, in the cartouche form with an elaborate chased mythological scene on the lid.⁵⁸ The 'Quartz' box (Figs. 5.18-19) - directly examined in the course of this research - is made in silver-gilt with a mounted quartz stone in the lid.



Figure 5.15 William Currie, *The 'Hector' box (lid with chased mythological scene)*, gold, Dublin, c.1750, courtesy of Sotheby's.

⁵⁸ Sotheby's London, *From Fire to Earth, 25 October 2016* (London, 2016), lot 709. Sotheby's identified the scene as 'Hector and Andromach watching their son Astyanax sport his father's helmet and sword'.



Figure 5.16 William Currie, *The 'Hector' box (base with initials (AN?))*, gold, Dublin, c.1750, courtesy of Sotheby's.



Figure 5.17 William Currie, *The 'Hector' box (interior of box with hinge and Currie's maker's mark)*, gold, Dublin, c.1750, courtesy of Sotheby's.



Figure 5.18 William Currie, *The 'Quartz' box*, silver-gilt and quartz, Dublin, c.1750 (author's collection).



Figure 5.19 William Currie, *The 'Quartz' box*, silver-gilt and quartz, Dublin, c.1750 (author's collection).

These boxes, even if they represent only a very small sample of Currie's work in the later part of his career, raise an intriguing question: why are they more sophisticated in form and execution than the boxes Currie made for civic presentations? One part of the answer may be that the form for presentation boxes had become fixed and that the goldsmiths who made boxes had no scope for innovation. All of the surviving examples of presentation boxes (in Dublin and elsewhere in Ireland) until at least 1760 are circular with removeable lids. Although that form continued to be used subsequently in presentations, greater variation can be observed in the boxes presented in the decades after 1760 (Chapter 6). In other words, if Currie's presentation boxes were circular with removeable lids, it was not a result of a choice on his part. He was most likely responding to the institutions' established preferences. In the part of his business that responded to demand for boxes for personal use, Currie had both the opportunity and the incentive to be more creative.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, boxes had become highly visible fashion accessories, and purchasers in Dublin (like their peers in London and Paris) expected novel and complex forms. In this fashionable market segment, Dublin goldsmiths like Currie faced competition from imports. Unlike the institutional purchasers of presentation boxes in the city, the Dublin *beau monde* were not confined for supply to local production and had the option of buying boxes on their travels abroad or from operators who imported boxes from outside Ireland. In 1757, for example, Claude Duplain of Fleet street advertised an auction of his stock. Among the array of luxury goods he offered was 'a large & curious Quantity of German Onyx, Bloodstone, Pebble, Tortoiseshell, and other Snuff Boxes, set in Gold and Silver, gilded and plain, some of which are made by the famous Madame Maubois'.⁵⁹ Newspaper notices concerning objects stolen or dropped, lost or stopped also testify to the presence of French boxes in Dublin in the second half of the eighteenth century. When James Waldron was arrested after an unsuccessful attempt to pick the pocket of Lady Forster as she left a play-house in Dublin in 1775, he was found to have in his possession an array of portable luxury goods, including a 'small French plate snuff box'.⁶⁰ A year later, a traveller from 'Balldoyle to Summer-hill' lost a French 'silver, variegated Snuff-box'.⁶¹

⁵⁹ *PO*, 25 Oct. 1757. The reference is to Jeanne-Madeleine Maubois (1686-1777) who worked principally in ivory and tortoiseshell. She was named *tourneuse du roi* and taught her craft to Louis XV (Jean-François Solnon, *Le Goût des Rois* (Paris, 2015)).

⁶⁰ *FJ*, 2 Feb. 1775.

⁶¹ *SNL*, 12 July 1781.

The cartouche form of the Hector box, in particular, shows how Currie was influenced by continental fashion; le Corbeiller reckoned that this form emerged in Paris around 1735 and noted, rather condescendingly, that ‘it retained its popularity in provincial centres until c.1775’.⁶² The Quartz box also bears witness to the transmission of French fashion. By the 1740s, specialised makers in Paris had begun incorporating into their boxes ‘panels of one or more of a variety of materials: hardstones, lacquer, tortoiseshell, porcelain, *vernis Martin*’.⁶³ These two examples of boxes with Currie’s mark intended for personal use show that he was aware of continental fashions and also conscious that, if he were to maintain his custom in the city, he would have to work in idioms from London, Paris and other centres of fashion.

The evidence concerning Currie’s career as a goldsmith leaves the researcher with a conundrum. By the end of his life, Currie was clearly successful, making (but, as will be seen, probably not supplying) gold and silver boxes for prestigious public presentations. He went to his grave a relatively wealthy man, remembered as a former master of the guild and city councilman. His early career, until he moved into his Dame street shop in 1750, appears to have been much less prosperous, with very limited output and a low profile within the guild. What changed as Currie entered his sixth decade? In the absence of any commercial records directly connected to Currie’s business, it is impossible to know with certainty. However, it is unlikely to have been a coincidence that Currie’s overdue commercial ascent occurred in the 1750s at the same time that demand for gold and silver boxes, for both public and personal use, expanded in the city and beyond. The time he had spent among the Huguenots thirty years earlier surrounded by Gervais’s ‘Gold, Silver and Tortoise Snuff and Patch-Boxes of several Sorts’, must have meant that the widow Currie’s son was particularly well-placed to respond to the requirements of both the civic institutions and the followers of fashion.

⁶² le Corbeiller, *European and American Snuff Boxes*, p. 107.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

5.3 Benjamin Stokes (c.1713-1771)

While William Currie was operating his shop in Dame street, another goldsmith, Benjamin Stokes, who also came to specialise in the production of boxes, was working nearby in Skinner row. Stokes's baptismal records have not been found; however, research published on the eminent nineteenth-century Irish mathematician and physicist, Sir George Gabriel Stokes (1819-1903), identified Benjamin Stokes as the son of Gabriel Stokes (1682-1768) (who was George Gabriel's great-grand-father).⁶⁴ Gabriel Stokes was a surveyor and mathematical instrument maker.⁶⁵ In the research on George Gabriel, the suggestion is made that Benjamin was born around 1719 but this date for his birth is difficult to reconcile with the date of his registration as a quarter brother (1733/4) as it would have had Stokes registering with the goldsmiths' guild at around fourteen years of age.⁶⁶ Benjamin's parents, Gabriel Stokes and Elizabeth King, were married in 1711;⁶⁷ it seems more likely that Benjamin was born in the early years of their married life, perhaps in the early 1710s.



Figure 5.20 Charles Jervas (1675-1739), *Portrait of Gabriel Stokes*, c.1720, courtesy of Sotheby's.

Gabriel Stokes was Benjamin Stokes's father. The object that Stokes is holding may be a 'pantometron', a form of miniature theodolite that he invented.

⁶⁴ Michael C.W. Sandford, 'The Stokes Family in Ireland and Cambridge' in Mark McCartney, Andrew Whitaker, Alistair Wood (eds), *George Gabriel Stokes: Life, Science and Faith* (Oxford, 2019), p. 27.

⁶⁵ Finnian Ó Cionnaith, *Mapping, Measurement and Metropolis: How land surveyors shaped eighteenth-century Dublin* (Dublin, 2012), p. 48.

⁶⁶ Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 689 and p. 667.

⁶⁷ NAI, Diocesan and Prerogative Marriage License Bonds Indexes, 1623-1866.

In his adult life, Benjamin Stokes lived and worked in Skinner row, and he and his first wife, Elizabeth, had at least three children who were baptised in the parish church of St. Werburgh in the late 1730s and early 1740s.⁶⁸ By 1758, when Elizabeth died, it appears that the Stokes family had moved out of Skinner row and that they, like the Curries a couple of years later, were living in Milltown.⁶⁹ Stokes married again, to Sarah Lezenby, in 1759.⁷⁰ When Stokes died in 1771, probably in his late fifties, he was still working as a goldsmith. His residence was given as Rathmines road.⁷¹ Like Currie, Stokes's will was proved in the prerogative court suggesting that he had accumulated some wealth during his career.

Stokes's first recorded connection with the Dublin goldsmiths' trade was his registration as a quarter brother in 1733. At the time of his admission to the freedom of the guild in 1747, the minutes recorded Stokes's prior status as quarter brother (principally by reference to the arrears of quarterage he owed) but made no reference to his service with a master:

‘The Petition of Benjamin Stokes was read praying for his freedom on such Terms as the Corporation should think proper. Allowed on his paying a fine of two Guineas and all Arrears of Quarteridge. Order that no Certificate be grated to him until the said fine and Arrears of Quarteridge be paid to the Master.’⁷²

The absence of a master's name in the minute recording Stokes's freedom is relatively unusual and may mean that he had not served a conventional apprenticeship to a goldsmith. Could he have worked with his father who, in addition to his scientific instrument business, has been identified as a clock and watchmaker?⁷³ Could the younger Stokes's experience of working with his father have directed his later decision to specialise in box-making, a branch of the goldsmith's trade that requires rigorous mastery of precision and detail?

Once Stokes registered as a quarter brother, he hit the ground running. The assay records for the period 1729-33 show that he was already submitting small objects for assay in 1733. On 8 May 1733, he submitted 9oz of silver, on 22 May 11oz 10dwt and then in July,

⁶⁸ Parish records, St Werburgh's, Dublin (www.irishgenealogy.ie).

⁶⁹ *PO*, 14 Nov. 1758.

⁷⁰ Parish records, St Mary's Dublin, 17 Apr. 1759 (www.irishgenealogy.ie).

⁷¹ *FJ*, 8 June 1771.

⁷² CGD, Minute books, vol. 2 (9 Nov. 1731-1 May 1758), p. 237.

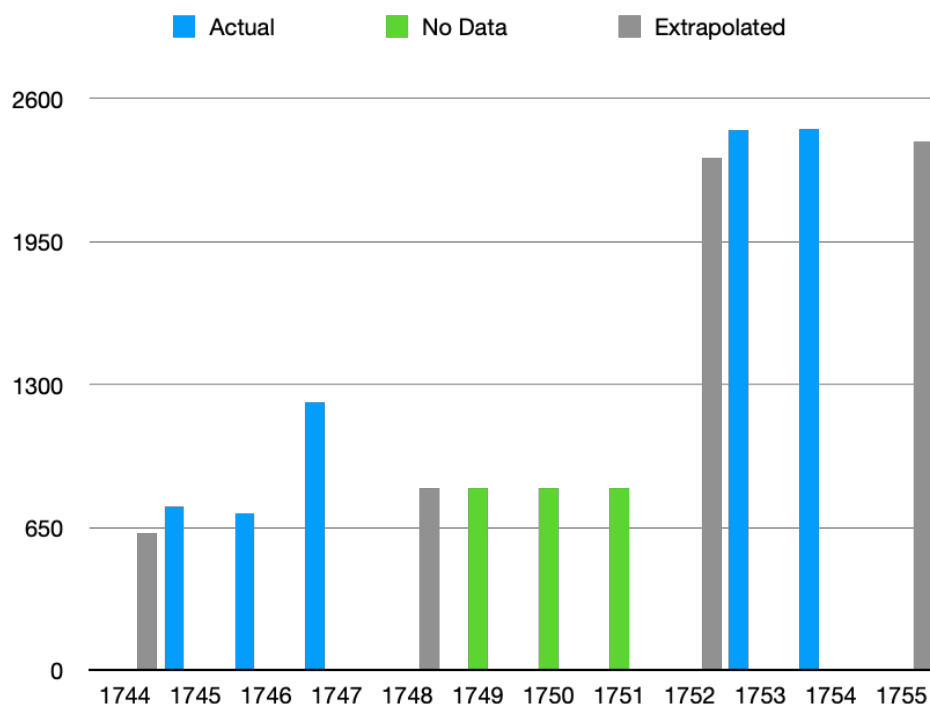
⁷³ William Galland Stuart (David Arthur Boles (ed.)), *Watch and Clockmakers in Ireland: A List of Irish Watch and Clockmakers from 1611 to 1900* (Dublin, 2000).

just before the records terminate, a further 9oz.⁷⁴ The assay books provide no details on the type of object Stokes was bringing for assay. For the period from November 1744 to April 1748 when Stokes was moving toward the freedom of the guild, the surviving assay records show that he was sending sufficient volumes of silver for assay to place him in the middle rank of manufacturing goldsmiths in the city (Appendix 5). According to Sinstedden, roughly sixty goldsmiths made assays in Dublin in this period (some, like Currie, of very small volumes). Stokes was among the more productive; about forty goldsmiths assayed smaller volumes than Stokes. His output in the period 1745-8 exceeded more established goldsmiths, such as Charles Leslie.⁷⁵ In the late 1740s, the market for silver in Dublin was expanding. The assay data show that Stokes's level of production was also increasing (Table 5.1). When his assays in the first twelve months of the surviving records (November 1744-October 1745) are compared with the final twelve months (May 1747-April 1748), the volumes he submitted are shown to have increased by more than 50%. There is a gap in the assay records between April 1748 and April 1752, when the records resume until July 1755. The assay data from the early 1750s show that Stokes continued to increase the volume of his assays.

⁷⁴ CGD, Assay books, vol. 16 (1729-13 July 1733), p. 313, p. 314, p. 315, p. 325.

⁷⁵ Sinstedden 'Surviving Dublin assay records', p. 101.

Table 5.1 Benjamin Stokes, conjectured annualised assay volumes 1744-55.



Source: CGD, Assay records.

Notes:

1. The annualised volumes are presented on a calendar year basis.

2. No data is available for 1749-51.

3. In some years, data are incomplete and available for only some months. The annualised figures for the following years are extrapolated from average monthly volumes: 1744 (two months), 1748 (four months), 1752 (nine months) and 1755 (seven months).

Until 1747, as a quarter brother, Stokes would have been forbidden from maintaining a shop selling directly to customers; he may have been making objects for other more established goldsmiths. Once he acquired his freedom, Stokes was free to open a shop and a newspaper report from 1753 confirms that he had taken up that option. The account detailed an attempted robbery at ‘the shop of Mr. [Benjamin] Stokes, Goldsmith in Skinner-row’ and also mentioned that there were ‘young women behind the counter’ (who might have been Stokes’s daughters, by then in their early teens).⁷⁶

Stokes’s production in the calendar year 1753 had doubled when compared with the calendar year 1747. In the 1750s, he was making regular submissions for assay and was attending at the assay office on roughly half of the assay days. Perhaps as a result of the frequency of his assays, the packages Stokes submitted were generally modest in size, and he

⁷⁶ FDJ, 10 Mar. 1753. I am grateful to Dr Alison FitzGerald for this reference.

never assayed more than 160oz on a single day.⁷⁷ Unpublished research by Sinsteden indicates that seventy goldsmiths made assays in the assay year 1752/3 when 58,488oz of silver were submitted. Stokes's assays in that period (1,765oz) accounted for approximately three per cent of the overall volume assayed. Stokes's assay volume placed him among the top fifteen goldsmiths in terms of volume assayed.

The assay books for the 1750s show that Stokes was consistently busy but provide no details on the type of objects he was bringing for assay. In the case of Currie, it was possible tentatively to connect many of his small individual assays in the 1750s (particularly those in gold) to box-making; with Stokes, on the other hand, it is not possible from his assays to make a conjecture concerning the type of objects he was producing. The artefact evidence that places Stokes as a box-maker comes mostly from the later part of his career, principally from 1760 onwards. Documentary and some limited artefact evidence from the 1750s indicates that Stokes was making and selling a wider range of objects. In 1755, he was compensated for 'a pair of buckles' that had been lost in the assay office.⁷⁸ A sealing wax holder with a mark attributed to Stokes was sold in Salisbury in 2014 (Fig. 5.21). A contemporary newspaper account of another attempted theft, on this occasion in 1760 by a 'boy of about 13 years of age', provides further information on what Stokes was selling in his shop. The young thief had entered 'under the pretence of buying a pair of silver buttons' and then 'found the means to take out of the glass case a gold ring worth upward of 30s. and ran off with it'.⁷⁹ These records show that Stokes's output, at least in part, was directed to the demand for small fashionable accessories, including buckles, buttons and rings, and not limited to boxes.

⁷⁷ The largest parcel Stokes was recorded as submitting for assay in the 1750s was 9lb 5oz on 28 Sept. 1753 (CGD, Assay books, vol. 19)

⁷⁸ CGD, Minute books, vol. 2, 17 June 1755.

⁷⁹ *PO*, 1 Apr. 1760.



Figure 5.21 Benjamin Stokes, *Sealing wax container*, silver, Dublin, c.1755, courtesy of Woolley & Wallis, Salisbury.

There are also records of Stokes selling larger hollowware objects in his shop in the 1750s and 1760s. The Metropolitan Museum in New York has a pair of candlesticks with Stokes's mark that are catalogued (on the basis of the form of the Hibernia mark used) as dating from the early 1750s (Fig. 5.22). A record of legal proceedings in the 1760s show that Stokes was also selling 'butter boats' and that he had subcontracted the making of the objects to the fraudster William Cordner.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ CGD, Box file 1- Miscellaneous documents. I am grateful to Dr FitzGerald for her assistance in making this record available; FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin*, p. 68.



Figure 5.22 Benjamin Stokes, *Pair of candlesticks*, silver, Dublin, c.1752, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

From the early 1760s onwards, evidence of Stokes's involvement in box-making begins to emerge. Like Currie, the surviving artefact evidence shows that he was catering to demand for boxes for both institutional and personal use. Artefact evidence shows that boxes with Stokes's mark were being used in presentations in the early 1760s: a circular silver box with Stokes's mark presented in February 1761 by the linen drapers of Newry to James Fortescue (1725-82), a local MP, 'for his many Eminent Services to that Manufacture' was offered at Christie's London in 2012 (Fig. 5.23).⁸¹

⁸¹ Christie's London, *Stephane Boudin at 5 Belgrave Square, Les Objets de l'Empire & Mount Kennedy, Ireland: Three Private Collections*, 16 March 2012 (London, 2012), lot 254.



Figure 5.23 Benjamin Stokes, *Circular box presented by the linen drapers of Newry to James Fortescue M.P.*, silver, Dublin, c.1761, courtesy of Christie's.

As already explained, the guilds expanded the number and scope of their presentations in 1760s, a development that operated to Stokes's advantage. By 1768, boxes with his mark were being presented by the weavers' guild. In that year, the weavers presented five boxes. Modern records of two of these boxes have been traced - the gold circular box with a removeable lid presented to the duke of Leinster in 1768 and the circular silver box presented to Charles Domville - both marked by Stokes.⁸² The following year the weavers made six box presentations; modern records of two of those boxes - one presented to the marquess of Kildare, the other to Lord Brandon - have been traced, which show that they were also marked by Stokes.⁸³ Three years elapsed before the next recorded presentations by the weavers, in 1772, when three presentations were made. One of these boxes - voted to Thomas St George on 1 January 1772 - is in the collection of the National Museum in Dublin and has Stokes's mark.⁸⁴ The record of Stokes's death at least six months earlier means that this box was supplied to the weavers either by Stokes's executors or by another goldsmith who had boxes marked by Stokes in his stock. Dublin corporation may also have made a *post mortem* presentation of a Stokes box. When the silver box presented by the corporation to the chief

⁸² For the Leinster box, see Sotheby's London, *Important Silver and Gold*, 3 May 1984, lot 10. The Domville box is in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland (NMI 248.1944).

⁸³ For the Kildare box: Sotheby's London, *Important Silver and Gold*, 3 May 1984, lot 16; for the Brandon box: Sotheby's London, *Fine English Silver*, 23 April 1981 (London, 1981), lot 207.

⁸⁴ NMI 1926.58.

secretary Blaquiére was sold at Sotheby's in 1963, it was reported to bear Stokes's mark.⁸⁵ The box was voted to Blaquiére in December 1772, eighteen months after Stokes's death, and another goldsmith, Richard Tudor, received payment for supplying it.⁸⁶ With their conventional circular form, the boxes the city institutions preferred for their presentations were fungible and could be used for a variety of purposes. Stokes may have kept himself or his workshop busy making boxes, knowing that there would be a market for them with the guilds or the corporation and that, even if that strategy failed, they could be sold for personal use.

Other boxes with Stokes's mark presented by Dublin guilds in this period include the silver box presented to the marquess of Kildare c.1770 by the shoemakers' guild.⁸⁷ When the stationers' guild presented a box to the marquess in 1770, they commissioned a very distinctive book-shaped form for their gift, reflecting the business activity of their most prominent members and allowing Stokes to show the range of which his workshop was capable (Fig. 5.24).



Figure 5.24 Benjamin Stokes, *Book-shaped box presented to the marquess of Kildare by the Dublin stationers' guild*, silver and silver-gilt, Dublin, 1770, courtesy of S.J. Shrubsole.

⁸⁵ *Cork Examiner*, 1 Feb. 1963.

⁸⁶ *CARD*, xii, p. 231.

⁸⁷ Sotheby's London, *Important Silver and Gold*, 3 May 1984, lot 19.

Stokes also worked in gold and three surviving gold boxes with Stokes's mark have been identified: a gold box presented by the corporation of Derry to Frederick Hervey (1730-1803), bishop of Derry, in 1768 (now in the collection of the Ulster Museum);⁸⁸ a circular gold box with removeable lid presented to Arthur Smyth, archbishop of Dublin, in 1769 (now in the San Antonio Museum of Art) (Figs. 5.25-27);⁸⁹ and, a gold box, also circular with removeable lid, presented by the corporation of Kildare to the marquess of Kildare in 1770.⁹⁰ The Derry and Kildare boxes provide records of boxes with Stokes's mark being used in presentations by municipalities outside Dublin. In addition, in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland, there is a circular silver box with removeable lid, marked by Stokes, with the arms of Drogheda;⁹¹ the identity of the recipient of this box is unknown and it is also not known when the box was presented.



Figure 5.25 Benjamin Stokes, *Circular box presented by Dublin corporation to archbishop Arthur Smyth (cover engraved with the city arms)*, gold, Dublin, 1769, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.

⁸⁸ A box incorporating a fragment of a presentation box with Stokes's mark and also presented by Derry corporation was sold by a South African dealer in recent years:

<http://www.leopardantiques.com/object/stock/detail/376>

⁸⁹ *CARD*, xii, p. 14.

⁹⁰ Sotheby's London, *Important Silver and Gold*, 3 May 1984, lot 18.

⁹¹ NMI 2005.8.



Figure 5.26 Benjamin Stokes, *Circular box presented by Dublin corporation to archbishop Arthur Smyth (base engraved with Smyth's arms)*, gold, Dublin, 1769, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.



Figure 5.27 Benjamin Stokes, *Circular box presented by Dublin corporation to archbishop Arthur Smyth (interior with Stokes's maker's mark and the date-letter associated with 1769)*, gold, Dublin, 1769, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.

As with Currie, technical complexity and diversity of form are more evident in Stokes's production of boxes for personal use than in the boxes he made for institutional presentations, which tend to rely on the repetitive use of the circular form. Boxes with his mark, mainly intended for personal use as snuff boxes, survive in relatively large numbers, indicating a fairly sustained level of production in his shop. Some of the surviving boxes for personal use permit the conjecture that he was already making boxes in the 1750s. An unusual double snuff box offered in Adam's of Dublin in 2018 (and examined in the course of this research) has a Hibernia mark that seems to correspond with Type R associated by Ticher *et al.* with the period 1752/4 (Figs. 5.28-29).⁹²



Figure 5.28 Benjamin Stokes, *Double-sided snuff box*, silver, Dublin, c.1752-4, courtesy of Adam's of Dublin.

⁹² Ticher *et al.*, *Hall-marks*; James Adam and Sons, *At Home*, 17 June 2018 (Dublin, 2018), lot 28.



Figure 5.29 Benjamin Stokes, *Double-sided snuff box* (detail of the interior with Stokes's maker's mark and the Hibernia mark), silver, Dublin, c.1752-4, courtesy of Adam's of Dublin.

A large proportion of the snuff boxes that survive with Stokes's mark are silver-mounted shell boxes, usually incorporating a cowrie shell (Fig. 5.30). In the eighteenth century, these shells were considered to be 'admirable retainers for the snuff's freshness and savour'.⁹³ The shells' exotic origin in distant oceans also made the boxes desirable as objects of ostentation. The production of silver-mounted shell boxes was complex and challenging, requiring both precision and a mastery of airtight hinge construction. Although English examples of silver-mounted shell boxes from the 1720s are known, it is unclear when the fashion was adopted in Ireland.⁹⁴ On the basis of the surviving artefact evidence, it seems that Stokes was the leading producer of these luxury objects in Dublin the late 1750s and the 1760s.

⁹³ Hugh McCausland, *Snuff and Snuff-boxes* (London, 1951), p. 110.

⁹⁴ Culme, *British Silver Boxes*, p. 116.



Figure 5.30 Benjamin Stokes, *Silver-mounted shell snuff box*, silver and cowrie shell, Dublin, c.1755, courtesy of Lawrences of Crewkerne.

Although they both spent much of their latter years producing the same types of objects for the same categories of customers, the business strategies of Currie and Stokes clearly diverged. The dissimilarities in the records of their assays have already been remarked on; Stokes sent consistently larger volumes for assay than Currie and appears to have produced a larger repertoire of objects. In terms of premises, Stokes traded in Skinner row which had a long history as a centre of the goldsmiths' trade but by the 1750s was less fashionable than Dame street where Currie traded. The men's practices in respect of apprentices were also quite different. Stokes is recorded as taking three apprentices: John Teare, in 1748;⁹⁵ Henry Cassidy in 1753; and, Darby Kehoe in 1756. Currie, on the other hand, took ten apprentices during his three decades as a freeman.⁹⁶ This was an unusually high number, particularly in the context of Currie's relatively low volumes of production. FitzGerald has calculated that among the eighteenth-century Dublin goldsmiths 'fewer than 10 per cent registered more than three [apprentices]'.⁹⁷ It is possible that the answer to the mystery of Currie's large retinue of apprentices lies in Clifford's discovery about Currie's near-contemporaries in

⁹⁵ When Teare applied for his freedom in 1772, he cited his apprenticeship with Stokes but was admitted under the name 'Samuel Teare': CGD, Minute books, vol. 5, 3 Feb. 1772.

⁹⁶ George Charleton (1734); Henry Rash (1735); William Sewell (1739); Thomas Williamson (1741); Richard Harrison (1747); Mark Meares (1749); Samuel Taylor (1751); Abdy Man (1755); Joseph Currie (1757); Lang Palmer (1762) (Jackson (3rd ed.), pp 679-83)

⁹⁷ FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin*, p. 49.

London, Parker and Wakelin; she found that in their shop the apprentices were ‘employed in a shopkeeping and not a manufacturing capacity’.⁹⁸

What of the later decades of the two men’s careers when both were active in the niche market for boxes? It seems that their relationship in this market may have been one of complementarity rather than rivalry. Between 1752 and 1758 Currie submitted numerous assays of small objects (many probably boxes) made in gold; during this period, there are no records of Stokes making assays in gold. Surviving artefact evidence shows that in the mid-1750s boxes marked by Currie were being presented by the corporation in Dublin; no evidence of Stokes marking boxes for presentation by the corporation in that decade has been traced. The apparent absence of overlap may be explained by the fact that Currie was roughly a decade older than Stokes. It seems possible that Stokes (who was already making boxes for personal use in the 1750s) essentially waited until after the older man’s retirement in 1764 before taking Currie’s place in the business of supplying presentation boxes. Evidence is scarce, so any conclusion can only be tentative. However, the representation, through artefacts, of the two goldsmiths in the Leinster collection of boxes seems to tell an interesting story. Boxes with Currie’s mark, it will be recalled, dominate among the Dublin boxes presented to the FitzGerald family in the 1750s. It is only after Currie’s retirement in 1764 that Stokes’s mark begins to appear on boxes in the collection. There were five boxes with Stokes’s mark in the Leinster collection; the earliest was a circular silver box with a removeable lid presented by the weavers’ guild to the duke of Leinster in April 1767. Although very few gold boxes presented by the corporation in Dublin survive from the eighteenth century, it is notable that the only example in gold that has been traced with Stokes’s marks also dates from after Currie’s retirement - the box presented to archbishop Smyth in 1769. A similar pattern of replacement will be observed almost half a century later when Aeneas Ryan appears to have taken over as the principal producer of presentation boxes in the city only after James Kennedy’s departure from the trade (Chapter 6).

Both Currie and Stokes shared an ambition for advancement in their guild and in municipal politics. Both succeeded to an extent in their guild ambitions but neither made much of an impact in the broader municipal arena. In Currie’s case, his experience in the politics of the guild was mixed and may reflect his uneven commercial activity in the 1740s.

⁹⁸ Clifford, *Silver in London*, p. 70.

Early in his career, in 1738, his name went forward unsuccessfully for the junior wardenship.⁹⁹ The following year his name went forward again and he was elected warden but chose to pay a fine rather than to serve.¹⁰⁰ In 1747, he was elected to the council of the guild but failed in his attempt in 1747 to move up to the common council of the corporation as a goldsmiths' representative.¹⁰¹ Around this time, perhaps reflecting his increased prosperity and profile, Currie's name began to go forward for the office of guild master. Although he was eventually elected master in 1756, this achievement came after a series of disappointments; there are records of him losing out in elections in 1748, 1749, 1751, 1752, 1753 and again in 1755.¹⁰² He finally reached the common council of the corporation in 1756 as a goldsmiths' representative but served only one term.¹⁰³ From his various electoral reverses, it is hard to escape the impression that Currie was a man who, while persistent and perhaps respected, was not popular with his fellow goldsmiths.

In the following decade, Stokes too began to seek guild office. His name had gone forward, unsuccessfully, for the office of warden at least twice in the early 1760s.¹⁰⁴ He was eventually elected in 1763, served three terms as a warden between 1763 and 1766, and was elected master in 1767/8.¹⁰⁵ Stokes sought election to the common council in 1762 (alongside Currie who was seeking a second term); both were unsuccessful (attracting only one vote each).¹⁰⁶ There are no subsequent records of either Currie or Stokes serving on the common council of the corporation. Both men essentially failed in their ambition to advance in municipal politics and that failure may have had a price. As will be explained in the next section, the prevailing tendency of the corporation when commissioning boxes in this period was to transact with goldsmiths who were sitting in the council. Access to these municipal transactions may have been one of the perks of office, an opportunity that Currie and Stokes appear to have missed.

⁹⁹ CGD, Minute books, vol. 2, 28 Sept. 1738.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 28 Sept. 1739.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 30 Sept. 1745; 20 Nov. 1747.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 28 Sept. 1748; 28 Sept. 1749; 27 Sept. 1751; 29 Sept. 1752; 28 Sept. 1753; 28 Sept. 1755.

¹⁰³ *CARD*, x, p. 505.

¹⁰⁴ CGD, Minute books, vol. 5, p. 57, p. 78.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp 141-2.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

5.4 Arrangements for supply of boxes

A striking feature of the surviving accounting documentation of both the corporation and the college in the period 1755 to 1770 when Currie and Stokes were active as specialist box-makers is the absence of any evidence of direct transaction with them by the institutions. While the possibility that Currie and Stokes transacted directly cannot be excluded, no record of a transaction has been found in the institutions' accounts.

A well-documented transaction from early in the period under review shows how commercial arrangements for the supply of boxes to the corporation operated at this time. On 16 July 1756, the assembly voted gold boxes, together with civic freedom, to the earl of Kildare (Fig. 5.31), to John Ponsonby who was speaker of the House of Commons (Fig. 5.32), and to his father, the earl of Bessborough.¹⁰⁷ The resolution specified that 'the expense of each gold box do not exceed thirty pounds'.¹⁰⁸



Figure 5.31 Arthur Devis (1712-87), *James FitzGerald, 20th earl of Kildare, with his wife Emily Mary in the grounds of Carton, c.1753*, courtesy of Bonhams.

¹⁰⁷ *CARD*, x, p. 221.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*



Figure 5.32 Attributed to Jeremiah Davison (c.1695-c.1750), *John Ponsonby*, c.1743, courtesy of the National Trust.
This painting (now in Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire) shows Ponsonby not in military uniform but in Hussar fancy dress.

The boxes presented to Kildare (Figs. 5.33-35) and to Speaker Ponsonby (Fig. 5.36) have both survived into the modern era and when they were offered for sale the only maker's mark identified on the boxes was that of Currie.¹⁰⁹ However, the corporation's accounting records show that Currie was not involved in the transaction for supply of the boxes to the corporation. That transaction can be linked to an entry in the accounts for September 1756, which recorded a payment to Charles Leslie of £90, an amount corresponding to the budget allocated for the gifts.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ For the Ponsonby box, see Christie's New York, *The Collection of Peggy and David Rockefeller*, lot 705; for the Kildare box, see Sotheby's London, *Important Silver and Gold*, 3 May 1984, lot 6.

¹¹⁰ DCA, MR/37, Treasurer's accounts, p. 40.



Figure 5.33 William Currie, *Circular box presented by Dublin corporation to the earl of Kildare (cover with the arms of FitzGerald and Lennox)*, gold, Dublin, 1756, courtesy of Sotheby's.



Figure 5.34 William Currie, *Circular box presented by Dublin corporation to the earl of Kildare (base with the arms of Dublin)*, gold, Dublin, 1756, courtesy of Sotheby's.



Figure 5.35 William Currie, *Circular box presented by Dublin corporation to the earl of Kildare* (marks on the interior of the box including William Currie's maker's mark and the date-letter used between 1754 and 1756), gold, Dublin, 1756, courtesy of Sotheby's.



Figure 5.36 William Currie, *Circular box presented by Dublin corporation to John Ponsonby* (cover with arms of Ponsonby and Cavendish), gold, Dublin, 1756, courtesy of Christie's.

Charles Leslie (c.1697-1759), according to Bennett, was apprenticed to his father, Thomas Leslie, in Edinburgh before moving to Dublin where he was listed as a quarter

brother in 1717.¹¹¹ Leslie became free of the Dublin guild in 1724, served as warden in 1731-4 and was master in 1735/6. There are records for his involvement in municipal politics from 1736 when he was listed as sitting in the common council.¹¹² In 1756, the year Leslie transacted for the supply of the boxes for the Ponsonbys and Kildare, he was listed as a representative of merchants' guild on the council.¹¹³ (Currie's term on the council began later in the year, after the vote on the boxes for the Ponsonbys and Kildare.)¹¹⁴ Leslie remained active in the city assembly until his death in 1759.

The accounting records indicate that for a period in the 1750s Leslie was the corporation's preferred supplier of boxes, transacting with the corporation on at least four occasions, for five gold boxes and at least one silver box. The following transactions between the corporation and Leslie are recorded in the treasurer's accounts between 1755 and 1758:

- On 21 June 1755, Leslie was paid £30 for 'a Gold Box for the Lord [Lieutenant].' and £5 for 'a Silver Box for [?] Conway Secretary'.¹¹⁵ These were the boxes voted at the assembly held on 15 May 1755 to the newly-arrived lord lieutenant, William Cavendish (1720-64), marquess of Hartington, and his chief secretary, Henry Seymour Conway (1719-95);¹¹⁶
- On 10 September 1756, Leslie was paid £90 'for 3 Gold Boxes'.¹¹⁷ These were the boxes voted to the two Ponsonbys and Kildare at the assembly held on 16 July 1756;
- On 17 October 1757, Leslie was paid £35 'for a Gold Box & Silver Box for the [Lord [Lieutenant] and his Secretary'.¹¹⁸ These were the boxes voted to John Russell (1710-71), 4th duke of Bedford, and Richard Rigby (1722-88) at the assembly held on 28 September 1757;¹¹⁹
- On 27 April 1758, Leslie was paid £22 15s. 'for a Gold Box for [Lord Archbishop Dublin]'.¹²⁰ This was the box voted to Charles Cobbe (1686/7-1765) at the assembly held on 7 April 1758.¹²¹

There is also a record of Leslie being paid £19 3s. 4d. on 28 October 1758 for 'Cleaning Swords etc. and making a New Mace'.¹²² There were no votes of boxes recorded after the

¹¹¹ Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, pp 315-6.

¹¹² *CARD*, viii, p. 201.

¹¹³ *CARD*, x, p. 500: this is a record of Leslie's election to the council as a merchants' representative in 1753. He was again elected as a merchants' representative in 1756 (*Ibid.*, p. 504).

¹¹⁴ *CARD*, x, pp 504-5.

¹¹⁵ DCA, MR/37, Treasurer's accounts, p. 4.

¹¹⁶ *CARD*, x, p. 170.

¹¹⁷ DCA, MR/37, Treasurer's accounts, p. 40.

¹¹⁸ DCA, MR/37, Treasurer's accounts, p. 82.

¹¹⁹ *CARD*, x, p. 288.

¹²⁰ DCA, MR/37, Treasurer's accounts, p. 83.

¹²¹ *CARD*, x, p. 319.

¹²² DCA, MR/37, Treasurer's accounts, p. 104.

Cobbe box until December 1759 (when Pitt the Elder was voted a gold box) and no further transactions for boxes with Leslie (or any other goldsmith) are recorded in the accounts between April 1758 and Leslie's death in June 1759.¹²³

As the treasurer's accounts have not survived for the years between 1715 and 1754, it is not possible to know when Leslie began supplying the corporation with gold and silver boxes. The glimpse provided in the records of his transactions between 1754 and 1759 suggest that, not unlike Bolton four decades earlier, Leslie had a fairly firm grip on this part of the corporation's business. However, the documentary and artefact evidence concerning the boxes for the Ponsonbys and Kildare suggests a significant shift had occurred in the way the market operated. Leslie, unlike Bolton, was not involved in the production of those boxes. Leslie's commercial relationship with the corporation was essentially a retail relationship in which he supplied boxes produced by another goldsmith. It seems unlikely that Leslie was involved in the production of any of the boxes he supplied to the city during the 1750s. There are no entries of assays in gold by Leslie in the surviving assay books from 1752 to 1758, when he was supplying boxes made in gold to the corporation.¹²⁴ Furthermore, while surviving artefact evidence indicates a high level of sophistication in the objects with Leslie's mark, no record has been traced of a box with Leslie's mark.

In his arrangements for the supply of these prestigious objects to the corporation, Leslie focused on the retail relationship and left the work of making the boxes to other goldsmiths. The emergence of this commercial model where the supply relationship with the customer has become detached from production closely resembles the systemic changes in London around the same time observed by Clifford in her study of Parker and Wakelin and corresponds to some features of the arrangements between goldsmiths in colonial New York in the 1760s noted by David L. Barquist in his work on Myer Myers.¹²⁵ In the absence of documentary evidence concerning the transactions between Leslie and Currie, the exact nature of their relationship must remain unknown. Leslie may have outsourced the production of the boxes to Currie or he might simply have bought boxes that Currie already had in stock in his shop.

¹²³ Parish Records of St Werburgh, 9 June 1759 (www.irishgenealogy.ie).

¹²⁴ CGD archive, Assay books, vol. 19 (27 Mar. 1752-1 Aug. 1755), vol. 20 (18 July 1758-Nov. 1758).

¹²⁵ Clifford, *Silver in London*; David L. Barquist, *Myer Myers, Jewish Silversmith in Colonial New York* (New Haven, 2001), pp 57-8.

Leslie did not enjoy the same degree of exclusivity in his arrangements for supplying boxes to the corporation that Bolton had. On the same day that Leslie was paid for the Ponsonby and Kildare boxes (10 September 1756), Matthias Brown (free 1743; d.1759) was paid £30 for the gold box that had been voted to general Blakeney at the July assembly (Chapter 4). Like Leslie, Brown was a member of the assembly, sitting as a representative of the goldsmiths, at the time he was paid for the Blakeney box.¹²⁶ The records of these transactions with Leslie and Brown point strongly to their participation in municipal politics as being the crucial factor in their selection as suppliers by the corporation. Currie (and also Stokes) were free of the guild, both were specialised box-makers who operated shops, and their commercial and social status would have permitted them to transact with the corporation. Nevertheless, in the case of the Ponsonby and Kildare boxes, the evidence shows that, rather than dealing directly with the goldsmith who took responsibility for the box at assay, the corporation chose to deal with another goldsmith who was more prominent in municipal politics. Even Currie's election to the common council was to no avail. His term began late in 1756 after the decision to give Leslie the commission for the Ponsonby and Kildare boxes and all the evidence shows that, even with the box-maker sitting on the council, Leslie retained the corporation's custom.

The other goldsmiths mentioned as suppliers in transactions with the corporation after Leslie's death were a diverse group whose only obvious unifying characteristic (with the exception only of James Vidouze (free 1739; d.1781) who received £78 for 'Gold and Silver Boxes' in December 1760) was their presence on the common council of the corporation.¹²⁷ In April 1762, Henry Archdall (free 1747; d.1790) was paid £95 15s. 'for gold boxes, etc';¹²⁸ following Leslie's death in 1759, Archdall had taken Leslie's seat among the merchants' representatives in the common council.¹²⁹

After the transactions with Vidouze and Archdall, the corporation turned to Robert Calderwood, for its supplies of presentation boxes. Calderwood seems to have been the corporation's preferred supplier for the few years before his death in 1766. At the time he received these box commissions, Calderwood (who had first been elected to the corporation's

¹²⁶ *CARD*, x, p. 501.

¹²⁷ For Vidouze's payment: DCA, MR/37, Treasurer's accounts, p. 167.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

¹²⁹ *PO*, 28 Feb. 1756; DCA, C1/JSC/01, Journal of Sheriffs and Commons, vol. 1 (16 Jan. 1741/2-16 Oct. 1761), p. 383; *CARD*, x, p. 385.

common council as a goldsmiths' representative in 1738) had returned to the council, having been elected in 1762.¹³⁰ In 1764, Calderwood was paid £51 4s. 1½*d.* for 'one Gold and four Silver Boxes'.¹³¹ One of these boxes may have been the silver box presented to Charles Coote (1738-1800) at the assembly held on 14 October 1763. This box can be identified with the circular silver box engraved with the Coote arms on the lid and the arms of Dublin on the base, that was offered at Sotheby's in 1981.¹³² That box had Currie's maker's mark, opening the possibility that in the latter years of his career Calderwood turned to Currie to make boxes to satisfy the orders he received from the corporation. After Calderwood's death, his executors were paid £100 in 1767 for an unspecified number of gold and silver boxes he had supplied to the corporation.¹³³

In the years following Calderwood's death in 1766 until 1779 (when another gap opens in the city's accounting records), there are records of thirteen transactions for the supply of boxes to the city. Six transactions were with Richard Tudor (active 1755-1801) of Skinner row who supplied six gold boxes and a smaller number of silver boxes:¹³⁴

- In August 1768, there is an entry in the treasurer's accounts for a payment that mentions Tudor's name alongside John Karr - 'To Richard Tudor and John Karr, for making Gold and Silver Boxes, Badges, etc. £117 13s.';¹³⁵
- In September 1772, Tudor was paid £22 15s. for 'a Gold Box, to present the Freedom of the city to his Excellency Sir Joseph York';¹³⁶
- In May 1773, Tudor again received £22 15s., this time 'for making a Gold Box, to present the Thanks of the City therein to the Earl of Meath';¹³⁷
- On the same day in May 1773, Tudor was paid £6 14s. 1½*d.* for 'making a Silver Box, to present the Freedom of this City therein to the Right Honourable John [Blaquiere], and for Vellum for the Freedom.'¹³⁸ This is the box that was reported as having Stokes's mark when it was sold in 1963;
- In August 1773, Tudor was paid £22 15s. 'for making a Gold Box, to present the Thanks of the City therein to the Sir Edward Newenham';¹³⁹
- In January 1779, after a lengthy gap when other goldsmiths are recorded as supplying boxes to the corporation, Tudor was paid £22 15s. for a gold box presented to

¹³⁰ Bennett, *The Goldsmiths of Dublin*, p. 82; *CARD*, xi, p. 481.

¹³¹ DCA, MR/37, Treasurer's accounts, p. 33 (incorrect pagination in document - 15 Oct. 1764).

¹³² *CARD*, xi, p. 169; Sotheby's London, *Fine English Silver, 23 April 1981* (London, 1981), lot 212.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 485; DCA, MR/38, Treasurer's accounts, p. 45, p. 53, p. 55, p. 59, p. 444.

¹³⁵ DCA, MR/37, Treasurer's accounts, p. 485.

¹³⁶ DCA, MR/38, Treasurer's accounts, p. 45.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

Alderman William Dunn;¹⁴⁰

Tudor's transactions for the supply of boxes to the corporation all occurred at times when he was sitting on the common council.

In 1767, John Karr (free 1762; d.1779) was paid £5 for the silver box the corporation presented to Ribton and in 1768 he shared with Tudor a payment of £117 13s. for an unspecified number of gold and silver boxes.¹⁴¹ At the time Karr transacted with the corporation, he was sitting (alongside Tudor) on the common council.¹⁴² William Moore (free 1767; d.1821) was paid £22 15s. for two gold boxes in 1773 - one presented to the lord lieutenant Harcourt, and the other presented to George Ogle (1742-1814) - while he was sitting on the council.¹⁴³ Benjamin Wilson (free 1753) of Skinner row was paid £5 for a silver box in 1773. He too was sitting as a goldsmiths' representative in the common council when he transacted with the corporation.¹⁴⁴ The pattern is repeated in 1773 with Richard Williams (active 1764-93) who was paid £22 14s. 1d. for a gold box presented to the archbishop of Dublin, John Cradock (c.1708-78), while he was sitting on the common council.¹⁴⁵ In July 1777, John Locker (free 1759; d.1825) received two payments: the first, 'for a Gold Box and Vellum, to present his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant with his Freedom of the Corporation of Dublin, £26 14s. 1½d.'; and, the second 'for a Silver Box, and Vellum, for the like Purpose of presenting the Right Hon. Richard Heron, with his Freedom, as aforesaid £6 14s. 1½d'.¹⁴⁶ The lord lieutenant was John Hobart (1723-93), 2nd earl of Buckinghamshire and Heron was his chief secretary; both were voted their boxes at an assembly held on 11 April 1777.¹⁴⁷ In the year that Locker received the payments, he was a warden of the goldsmiths' guild and was also sitting on the common council as a representative of the guild.¹⁴⁸

The scarcity of surviving artefact evidence makes it difficult to determine how many of the goldsmiths who supplied boxes in the two decades between 1760 and 1780 were also

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 444.

¹⁴¹ DCA, MR/37, Treasurer's accounts, p. 485.

¹⁴² Bennett, *The Goldsmiths of Dublin*, p. 82.

¹⁴³ DCA, MR/38, Treasurer's accounts, p. 45, p. 121. According to Bennett (*Irish Georgian Silver*, p. 319), there were three goldsmiths named William Moore operating in Dublin in 1773. The goldsmith who transacted with the corporation in 1773 for the supply of boxes is identified in this research as the individual trading in Crampton court in 1774 who was elected to the common council in 1771.

¹⁴⁴ Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, p. 338.

¹⁴⁵ DCA, MR/38, Treasurer's accounts, p. 59; *CARD*, xii, p. 297.

¹⁴⁶ DCA, MR/38, Treasurer's accounts, p. 332.

¹⁴⁷ *CARD*, xii, p. 477.

¹⁴⁸ Bennett, *The Goldsmiths of Dublin*, p. 82.

responsible for their production. It seems likely that a variety of strategies for production, procurement and supply of boxes was in operation. Some goldsmiths, in particular Calderwood, may have had the capacity to produce boxes within their workshops but, even in his case, the Coote box suggests that he might have supplied boxes made by Currie. For others, notably Tudor and Karr, there is some artefact evidence of boxes marked with their makers' marks.¹⁴⁹ For the majority of the goldsmiths who supplied boxes in this period, no documentary or artefact evidence has been traced to indicate that they made boxes. There is also a limited amount of artefact-related evidence to indicate that the goldsmiths who supplied the corporation were operating as intermediaries, supplying boxes made by other goldsmiths. The Blaquiére box with Stokes's marks voted in 1772 and supplied by Tudor has already been mentioned. The silver box voted to Heron in 1777 and supplied by Locker also survived into the twentieth century. Writing in January 1925, Dudley Westropp reported that he had seen the box presented to Heron (although he failed to connect it to the resolution in the assembly minutes of 1777) and that it bore a maker's mark that both he and his correspondent read as 'SM', which led Westropp to the unlikely conjecture that the maker might have been Stephen Mackerill of Cork.¹⁵⁰ The identity of the maker whose mark was seen by Westropp on the Heron box must remain uncertain but, for this thesis, the importance of Westropp's statement is the confirmation it provides that Locker supplied a box to the corporation that was marked by another goldsmith.

5.5 Conclusions on the market for boxes in mid-eighteenth-century Dublin

The documentary and artefact evidence indicates that Currie and Stokes worked at a time of transition in the goldsmiths' trade in Dublin, when new systems of specialisation and retailing were disrupting older models. Both Currie and Stokes seem to have embraced specialisation, choosing to concentrate on making boxes in response to an increase in demand from both institutional customers and fashionable consumers. Although both men ran shops and made boxes that were presented by the corporation, the powerful cartel-like force of the

¹⁴⁹A gold (or possibly silver-gilt) box with Tudor's maker's mark and a date-letter for 1780 presented by the Londonderry Battalion to an officer was offered by Sheppards in Offaly in Sept. 2016: <https://www.the-saleroom.com/en-gb/auction-catalogues/sheppards-auction-house/catalogue-id-srshe10023/lot-fd2a171e-8caf-405e-a286-a68100a48a33>. A mark attributed to Karr was noted on a gold box presented by the corporation of Dublin to William FitzGerald, marquess of Kildare in 1767 when it was sold in 1984 (Sotheby's London, *Important Gold and Silver*, 3 May 1984, lot 12).

¹⁵⁰ [Unknown author], 'Letters of Correspondence with Mr. David H. Lane from The Marquess of Breadalbane, Charles J. Jackson & Dudley Westropp' in *The Finial*, xvi, no.3 (Jan./Feb. 2006), pp 8-16. According to Bowen and O'Brien (*Cork Silver and Gold*, p. 183), Mackerill died in 1763.

goldsmiths sitting on the common council seems to have excluded them from the direct benefits of the corporation's commissions. The corporation's preference for selecting councilmen as suppliers must have been widely understood at the time. The feeble attempts by Currie and Stokes to gain admittance to the council were probably, at least in part, an attempt to recover for themselves the margins that they saw Leslie and other intermediaries retaining when supplying the corporation with boxes they had made.

The paths that took Currie and Stokes to specialisation may not have been the same. In the case of Currie, the evidence indicates that he may have been a specialist box-maker from his earliest days, trading on a skill he had acquired in the Huguenot environment of his youth. His good fortune was that market demand caught up with his specialisation, allowing him to prosper in his final decades. Stokes, on the other hand, seems to have made a strategic choice sometime in the 1750s to move into box-making in a way that complemented, rather than rivalled, Currie. The pivot towards specialisation undertaken by Currie and Stokes reflects a broader movement towards specialisation that has been observed by Barr and Clifford in the London trade around the same time. The box-making specialisation that Currie and Stokes pioneered in Dublin continued in the decades after their departures from the trade; however, for the small cohort of specialists who followed them, box-making may have been a lower status and less lucrative activity than it had been for Currie and Stokes (Chapter 6).

Chapter 6 1770-1830: The ascendancy of the retailers

6.1 Introduction

From the early 1780s onwards, the evidence points to the ascendancy of the retail model in the trade for boxes with the city institutions, with production largely disaggregated from supply. In this model, the goldsmiths who sold boxes to the institutions operated as retailers and had little involvement with the physical production of the boxes they supplied to their customers (other, perhaps, than supplying the metal and indicating the form and shape of the boxes required); the goldsmiths who made the boxes had no role in the transactions by which the boxes were supplied to the institutions. Both retailing and production were highly concentrated, with only a few retailing goldsmiths in the city supplying boxes for presentations and just a handful of goldsmiths specialising in the production of boxes destined for those public presentations and for personal use. There was a pronounced gap in social status between the retailers and the working goldsmiths who made the boxes:

Of all the civic institutions in Dublin, the college was the last to abandon the box presentation practice, decades after the corporation. The college accounting records are relatively complete and provide considerable detail on how the supply side of this niche market worked in this final period of box presentations. The twenty-eight transactions traced in the college accounts between 1780 and 1841 (when the college presented its last box) involved the supply of more than thirty boxes, most made in gold. The only names recorded as suppliers of boxes to the college are members of the Keen and West families. Artefact evidence from surviving boxes shows that, while the Keens and the Wests were responsible for transactions with the college, the boxes they supplied were made by specialised goldsmiths, notably James Kennedy, Aeneas Ryan and, subsequently, Edward Murray.

The last recorded box presentation by the corporation was made in 1821. The accounting records for the final two decades of the eighteenth century are largely lost but intermittent records of the corporation's expenditure on boxes in the first two decades of the nineteenth century survive. The surviving records show that, while the corporation transacted with a number of prominent goldsmiths in the city (including members of the Keen family), the firm

founded by Matthew West captured most of the corporation's business from 1804 onwards, supplying at least seven gold boxes and nineteen silver boxes. The survival of a small number of boxes presented by the corporation between 1780 and 1821 provides artefact evidence that those boxes were made not by the goldsmiths who transacted with the corporation but by the same small group of specialised goldsmiths who made the boxes presented by the college - Kennedy, Ryan and, possibly, Murray.

Documentary and artefact evidence shows that in the late Georgian period the specialised Dublin goldsmiths were also responsible for producing many of the boxes presented by the Dublin guilds and by civic institutions elsewhere in Ireland (although not in Cork and surrounding towns where boxes for presentations were largely made by Cork goldsmiths).¹ Outside the capital, there is evidence that local intermediaries and prominent Dublin retailing goldsmiths (including the Wests) transacted with provincial institutions, supplying them with boxes made by the specialist Dublin goldsmiths.

The Keens and the Wests were at the centre of the trade in boxes in the city in these final decades. As their histories have not previously been researched in detail, this chapter opens with an exploration of how those two families built and operated their multi-generational businesses in late Georgian Dublin (6.2-6). The next section (6.7) is a detailed study of the transactional practice of the two main purchasing institutions, the corporation and the college, based on their surviving accounting records and on artefact evidence. The penultimate section (6.8) explores the output and the lives of the men who made the finely-crafted objects presented by the institutions. Finally, the chapter closes with some concluding remarks on the market for boxes in late Georgian Dublin (6.9).

¹ Bowen and O'Brien, *Cork Silver and Gold*, pp 154-63.

6.2 The Keen brothers: From rural Lancashire to Dame street

Two goldsmiths named Keen - William Keen (1740-1801) and Arthur Keen (1749-1818)² - opened shops in Dame street in Dublin in the 1770s.³ William and Arthur were brothers; another brother, John (1752-1808), joined them in the trade and eventually took over Arthur's business. John's son, also called John (c.1787-1828(?)), later followed his father into the family business. The Keens, although now largely unremembered, were among the most prominent and prosperous goldsmiths in the city for over four decades, operating from well-appointed shops in the city's most fashionable street and numbering among their customers the viceregal court, the college and the corporation.⁴ There are records of transactions by the Keens with Dublin civic institutions starting in 1779 and continuing until 1813, around the time when the family's connection with the Dublin goldsmiths' trade began to become undone. From the documentary and artefact evidence concerning their trade in boxes, it appears that the Keens were focused primarily on retailing rather than production. The presence of other goldsmiths' marks on surviving presentation boxes that can be traced to the Keens through accounting records shows that the family relied for box production on less prominent goldsmiths.

The success of the Keens in Dublin is all the more striking when a previously unconsidered aspect of the brothers' biography is taken into account. Unlike the substantial majority of their contemporaries in the goldsmiths' trade in late Georgian Dublin, the three Keen brothers were not native Dubliners or Irishmen. When William Keen was apprenticed at the age of thirteen to Isaac D'Olier in Dublin in 1753, his articles identified his father as 'Edward Keen of the Kingdom of Great Britain ffarmer'.⁵ When Edward Keen (c.1705-92) died, his sons in Dublin published a notice in the Irish newspapers, describing him as the

² The records of the baptisms of William, Arthur and John Keen are in the parish register of Holy Trinity, Colton: http://70.40.195.139/LAN-OPC/Colton/trinity/baptisms_1715-1752.html (consulted 16 Apr. 2020). For Arthur Keen's death: *DEP*, 17 Sept. 1818. Arthur Keen's burial took place on 20 September 1818: Parish Register of St. Nicholas Without, book 5, page 26, entry 329 (www.irishgenealogy.ie). Bennett (*Irish Georgian Silver*, p. 313) seems to have nodded when he gave the date of Arthur Keen's death as 1817.

³ The Keen family used the Keen spelling of their surname in entries in the baptismal registers in Colton, Lancashire. It was also used in the Dublin street directories from the 1770s until 1793 when the spelling Keene was adopted. However, both spellings - Keen and Keene - were used in Dublin before and after 1793. The family never used the Kean/Keane spelling. In this thesis, for simplicity, the spelling Keen will be used except when quoting contemporary records that use another spelling.

⁴ D.A. Levistone Cooney, 'A Wedding in St Bride's: "Happy the Bride the Sun Shines On!"' in *DHR*, xlviii, no. 1 (Spring, 1995), pp 15-39 provided an introduction to the Keen family in Dublin.

⁵ CGD, Enrolment books and registration books, apprentices (2 May 1752-7 Nov. 1823), 5 Sept. 1753. I am grateful to Dr Alison FitzGerald for this reference.

‘father of Mess. William, Arthur and John Keene, of Dublin’ and giving the place of his death as ‘Near Ulverstown [*sic*], in Lancashire’.⁶ The baptism records of all three of the Keen brothers who came to Dublin have been found in the parish register in Colton, a small village on the Furness peninsula, at that time a northern exclave of Lancashire and now part of Cumbria.⁷ Coming from outside Ireland, the Keens were in a very small minority among the boys who entered articles in the Dublin goldsmiths’ trade during the eighteenth century. FitzGerald’s analysis of the Dublin goldsmiths’ apprenticeship ledgers between 1700 and 1800 found records of the enrolment of over 700 apprentices;⁸ only thirteen were recorded as coming from Great Britain (although the origins of over 17% (or 119 boys) were not specified or were unclear).⁹

The extent of the success of the three Lancastrians in their Dublin careers is also remarkable; all three Keen brothers went on to become freemen of the goldsmiths’ guild, all three were elected master, and two of the brothers sat on the common council of the corporation. As sibling immigrants to the city who progressed from apprenticeship to guild freedom and commercial success, the Keen brothers present a unique profile among Dublin’s late Georgian goldsmiths. What lay behind their extraordinary *parcours*? What brought the Keen brothers to Dublin to train and trade as goldsmiths? The answer lies in the close network they formed with D’Olier family, a Dublin dynasty founded by another immigrant, the Huguenot refugee goldsmith Isaac D’Olier (1667-1744).

The key event, critical to the Keens’ careers as goldsmiths in Dublin, had occurred in the city some years before the brothers’ births. On 29 May 1733 at St Werburgh’s, Joyce Keen (1708-80) married Isaac D’Olier (1708-80) (often referred to as Isaac II), the goldsmith son of the refugee.¹⁰ The connection between Isaac II and Edward Keen’s sons is well documented; he took two of the Keen boys, William and Arthur, as his apprentices and permitted them to call him uncle, meaning that Joyce D’Olier can be identified as the Keens’ paternal aunt. Three of Isaac II’s and Joyce’s sons - Isaac (1734-90) (Isaac III), Richard (1737-1816) and Jeremiah (1747-1817) were also involved in the goldsmiths’ trade. Even after the Keens left the D’Olier business in the years following Isaac II’s retirement, they remained personally, commercially and even spatially close to their D’Olier cousins.

⁶ *FLJ*, 14 Apr. 1792.

⁷ Parish register of Holy Trinity, Colton: <http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Colton/index.html>

⁸ FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin*, p. 45.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁰ NAI, Diocesan and Prerogative Marriage Licence Bonds Indexes, 1623-1866.



Figure 6.1 Billhead of the goldsmiths Richard and Jeremiah D'Olier, c.1770, courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum.

On the personal level, there are records of the marriage of Isaac III to a woman called Mary Keen in April 1768. The bride may have been the Keen brothers' sister, a daughter of Edward Keen, who had been baptised in Colton in 1742.¹¹ There is also evidence that the Keen brothers were involved in assisting the D'Olier family in the management of its property assets. In 1784, when an advertisement was published concerning the sale of lands owned by Isaac D'Olier at 'Little Forest, near Swords, just five Miles from Dublin', potential purchasers were advised that they could have 'every information by applying to Mr. John Keen, No. 67 Dame street'.¹²

Another personal connection between the Keen and D'Olier cousins that continued for decades was a shared enthusiasm for Methodism and the teachings of the Wesley brothers, John (1703-91) and Charles (1707-88). John Wesley presided at Arthur Keen's marriage in April 1775 and there are records of correspondence between the two men.¹³ The Keens, particularly Arthur, were active in Methodist charitable activity in the city, including the

¹¹ Parish register of Holy Trinity, Colton: http://70.40.195.139/LAN-OPC/Colton/trinity/baptisms_1715-1752.html (consulted 16 Apr. 2020).

¹² *SNL*, 1 Feb. 1784.

¹³ Cooney, 'A Wedding', p. 15.

Methodist Widows Alms-house in Whitefriar street and the Stranger's Friend Society, in which Richard D'Olier was also engaged.¹⁴

The relationship between Arthur Keen and Richard D'Olier was particularly close. When Richard D'Olier embarked on a spectacularly ill-fated expedition to France in 1791, together with his wife, his two daughters, his son and a servant, to visit his family's ancestral town of Montauban in Occitanie, the entire party found themselves imprisoned at the height of the Terror in the former *Couvent des Dames Noires* in the town. Arthur Keen was involved in all aspects of rescuing his cousins from their predicament. In her account of the family's ordeal written in old age Richard's daughter, Anna Maria Courtney (*née* D'Olier) (d.1856), recalled that Arthur Keen, 'our long tried and [affectionate] friend', procured documentary evidence of the family's Huguenot refugee ancestry, which he arranged to have translated into French and which was crucial in securing their release.¹⁵ Mrs Courtney also explained that, during their confinement, Arthur 'not only transacted all my Father's affairs in Dublin, but did a great deal for my brothers Robert, & Isaac'.¹⁶

The closeness between the Keens and the D'Oliers also extended to their business activities and, it seems, to their commercial strategies. As the D'Olier and Keen cousins emerged as independent operators, the luxury goods market and particularly the part of it that catered to the demand for silverware was changing. In England, new technologies for producing silverware and plated goods were transforming both supply and demand and the effect was being felt in Ireland. Irish consumers appreciated the new English wares and some Dublin goldsmiths realised that retailing these imported goods could offer attractive margins while obviating the tiresome necessity of production.¹⁷ The D'Oliers and the Keens were among the Dublin goldsmiths who retailed these new goods coming from England. FitzGerald has shown that Jeremiah D'Olier transacted with the 'Birmingham metal baron' Matthew Boulton.¹⁸ In Arthur Keen's notice announcing the opening of his shop in 1775, he mentioned his stocks of plated ware and goods with 'the most fashionable Patterns' from

¹⁴ *SNL*, 6 Sept. 1783; *Ibid.*, 19 Jan. 1804.

¹⁵ University of Kansas, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, MS 246, D'Olier family papers, Box 1, Folder 1: Anna Maria Courtney, An account of my mother's visit to France and her imprisonment there for between ten and eleven months during the Reign of Terror, (c.1853), pp 27-8. A version of Anna Maria Courtney's account was translated into French and published by a local historian in Montauban in the early twentieth century: Edouard Forestié, *Une Famille Irlandaise Recluse à Montauban Pendant La Terreur* (Montauban, 1909).

¹⁶ Anna Maria Courtney, An account of my mother's visit to France, p. 36.

¹⁷ FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin*, p. 114.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 17, p. 116.

London.¹⁹ The cousins' trade in imported goods occasionally caused them difficulties. In 1779 at the height of an import substitution campaign, Jeremiah D'Olier was targeted as an importer of English goods by the Association, a loose grouping that sought to promote Irish manufacture.²⁰ Arthur Keen and his cousin Richard D'Olier were also under surveillance by the opponents of imports. The patriot press had taken to printing details of traders entering English imports at the customs house, a form of public scolding endorsed by the goldsmiths' guild.²¹ In May 1779, the readers of the *Freeman's Journal* were able to learn that Arthur Keen had imported 31 dozen silver hafted knives and forks from London, while Richard D'Olier had taken delivery of 'a parcel of plated goods, and 100oz plate'.²² Bizarrely, while these controversies about imports were raging and the cousins were busy importing, Jeremiah D'Olier and Arthur Keen were both appointed in May 1779 to a committee of the goldsmiths' guild, set up 'to consider the Injury the Goldsmiths Business sustains by the Importation of English plate and Jewellery'.²³

The close social and commercial relationship of the Keens and their D'Olier cousins was reflected in the spatial proximity of their shops, all of which were located on Dame street, specifically the north side of the street opposite the Castle and its vicinity (Fig. 6.2). When the Keens went into business on their own accounts, they both chose locations very close to their D'Olier cousins whose shop (at the sign of the Bear and Hammer) was at No 87 (Fig. 6.1). William Keen's shop (at the sign of the Mariner) was at No 73.²⁴ When Arthur opened his shop in 1775, he located himself a few doors down from William, at No 67 (at the sign of the Crown and Pearl) - 'almost opposite Great George's-street'.²⁵ Both Keen shops operated at these addresses for almost four decades. When Richard D'Olier parted ways with his brother in 1778 to set up on his own account, he chose to remain close by, locating his new business around the corner at 8 Parliament street.²⁶

¹⁹ *SNL*, 17 Nov. 1775.

²⁰ Padhraig Higgins, *A Nation of Politicians: Gender, Patriotism, and Political Culture in Late Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Madison, 2010), pp 105-15; *FJ*, 3 June 1779.

²¹ Higgins, *A Nation of Politicians*, p. 112; FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin*, p. 117.

²² *FJ*, 29 May 1779.

²³ CGD archive, Minute books, vol. 5 (1 May 1760-16 June 1779), p. 378.

²⁴ FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin*, p. 162.

²⁵ *SNL*, 17 Nov. 1775.

²⁶ *HJ*, 28 Dec. 1778.

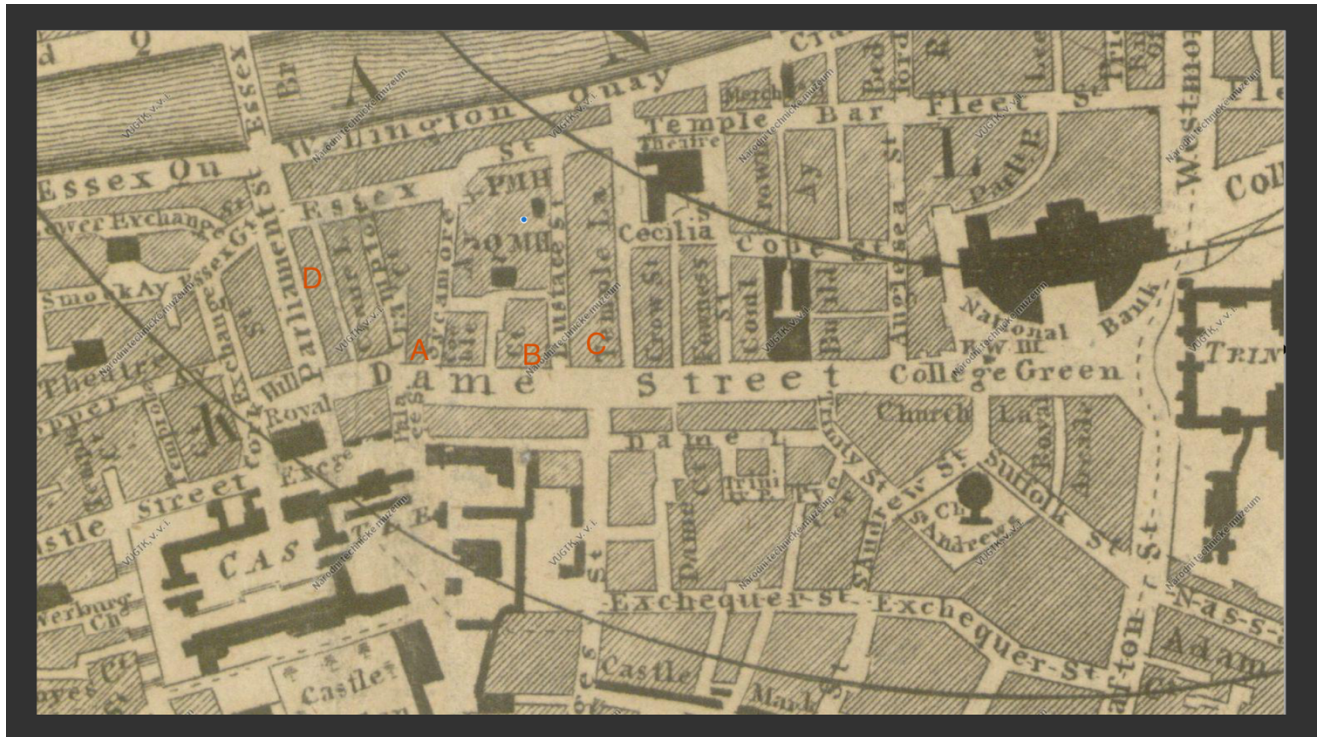


Figure 6.2 Conjectured locations of the shops of the D'Oliers and Keens in Dame street and vicinity, c.1768-1817 (Cooke's Royal Map of Dublin (1822), Courtesy of UCD map collections).
 A: 87 Dame street: Richard and Jeremiah D'Olier (c.1768-78); Jeremiah D'Olier (1778-?).
 B: 73 Dame street: William Keen (1771-1806); his widow, Jane Keen (1806-17).
 C: 67 Dame street: Arthur Keen (1775-86); his brother, John Keen (1786-1808); John Keen, son of John Keen (c.1812-17).
 D: 8 Parliament street: Richard D'Olier (1778-c.1791).

6.3 William Keen (1740-1801)

After his articles expired in 1760, William Keen remained in his uncle Isaac's business until 1771 when he registered as a quarter brother with the guild and set up his own shop.²⁷ He waited until 1789 before he claimed his guild freedom, a step which permitted him to seek municipal and guild office.²⁸ From 1792, he sat for one term in the common council of the corporation as a representative of the goldsmiths' guild.²⁹ After his term on the council, Keen sought guild office, serving as warden from 1795 to 1798. In 1800, he became master but he died, aged around sixty, in 1801 during his term of office.³⁰

²⁷ Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 691; *FDJ*, 14 Nov. 1771 - I am grateful to Dr Alison FitzGerald for this reference.

²⁸ Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 669.

²⁹ Bennett, *The Goldsmiths of Dublin*, p. 82.

³⁰ Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 661; FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin*, p. 55.

Unlike his brothers Arthur and John, William does not seem to have been involved in the business of supplying boxes to the corporation or the college. He may have chosen not to compete for these commissions with his younger brothers in their shop down the street. There is, however, a record in the corporation's accounts for 1800/1 of a payment of £22 15s. to Jane Keen 'for a Gold Box to the Lord Lieutenant'.³¹ Jane was William's widow and she had taken over the running of his shop after his death.³² In the sixteen decades of box presentations by the corporation, this entry relating to the payment to Jane Keen is the only record that has been traced of a woman being paid for a box she had supplied. It is unclear whether Jane was recovering a payment due to her late husband or whether she had been given the commission by the corporation in her own right after his death as a gesture of support or, perhaps, in compliance with an understanding that her husband was to receive the next box commission. The box Jane Keen supplied is likely to have been the gold box voted to Philip Yorke (1757-1834), 3rd earl of Hardwicke, at the assembly held on 17 July 1801.³³ The box was offered at Christie's New York in 1990 but the catalogue entry did not include any reference to the box's marks.³⁴

6.4 Arthur Keen (1749-1817)

In 1774, aged around twenty-five, Arthur Keen petitioned for admission to guild freedom by service, making his application on the basis of his apprenticeship to Isaac D'Olier.³⁵ Arthur was more meticulous in this regard than his brothers who waited decades before applying for guild freedom (6.5). His prospects of marriage to Isabella Martin (d.1808), the daughter of James Martin who was a wealthy hatter, may have been a factor in his decision to apply for his freedom; the wedding in April 1775 followed the grant of freedom.³⁶ The spouses are likely to have been brought together by their shared enthusiasm for Methodism. The bride's father was an early Dublin follower of the Wesley brothers and had acted as a trustee for the Methodist charity in Whitefrair street at its foundation in 1766.³⁷

Six months after the wedding, Arthur opened his own business. There is little space for doubt that the two events were connected. Through his marriage, Arthur Keen gained a

³¹ DCA, MR/39, Treasurer's accounts (29 Sept. 1800-29 Sept. 1812), p. 24.

³² *SNL*, 30 Jan. 1802.

³³ *CARD*, xv, p. 199.

³⁴ Christie's New York, *Important Silver and Objects of Vertu, 30 October 1990* (New York, 1990), lot 37A.

³⁵ Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 668.

³⁶ Parish register of St Bride's (www.irishgenealogy.ie).

³⁷ *ROD*, vol. 247, p. 128, memorial 160626; Cooney, 'A Wedding', p. 16.

connection to a family that not only shared his religious interests but could also support his new business venture. Isabella brought a portion to her marriage settlement that amounted to at least £1,500, the sum placed in trust by deed concluded on 8 April 1775.³⁸ Marriages to women from wealthy families are a recurrent feature of the Keen brothers' story and, quite likely, an element in their commercial success.

When Arthur Keen opened his shop at 67 Dame street in November 1775 (Fig. 6.3), he published advertisements in the Dublin newspapers. The notice - which the newly-married recently-admitted young goldsmith continued to place in the newspapers regularly until February of the following year - read as follows:

‘ARTHUR KEEN, GOLDSMITH and JEWELLER

Who served his Apprenticeship to his Uncle Mr. Isaac D'Olier, and has since transacted Business for his Cousins Mess. Richard and Jeremiah D'Olier, acquaints his Friends and the Public, that he has opened Shop at the Crown and Pearl, No. 67, Dame-street, almost opposite Great George's-street, has furnished himself with an entirely new Assortment of every Article in the Goldsmith, Jewellery, and Plated Way, and humbly hopes from the reasonableness of his Prices, and punctual Observance 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 fully assorted therewith. The highest Prices for old Gold and Silver, and for Gold and Silver Lace. Genteel furnished Lodging.³⁹

The notice reveals a number of elements of Keen's business plan. With the prominent reference to his D'Olier connections, Keen was positioning himself and his new business within an existing reputable network. The fashionable location of his premises combined with the emphasis on its gentility provides an insight into the market he sought to serve. The absence of any mention of a workshop or of any suggestion that he was involved in the production of the goods he was selling (together with his explicit reference to London goods) tend to confirm that Keen intended to operate primarily as a retailer.

³⁸ ROD, vol. 307, p. 307, memorial 204207.

³⁹ SNL, 17 Nov. 1775.



Figure 6.3 *An early twentieth-century postcard of Dame street, Dublin, restored and colourised image courtesy of Rob Cross.*

This image was taken almost a century after the closure of the business first established by Arthur Keen at 67 Dame street in 1775. The north side of the street, to the left side of the image, had remained largely intact and the building with the white awning in the lower left-hand corner of the image can be identified (from the large number plate above the first-floor windows) as No 67.

Within a few years of commencing trading, Keen acquired a prestigious customer - the college. Initially, he seems to have supplied small items of plate and provided repair, cleaning and maintenance services, advancing shortly afterwards to supplying boxes. The first record of trading between the college and Keen concerns a payment he received, probably in December 1779, of £21 2s. 10d. for goods or services that were not specified in the bursar's accounts.⁴⁰ In the final months of 1780, Keen received a small payment of £3 14s. from the college, again for unspecified goods or services.⁴¹ Throughout the duration of their commercial relationship with the college, the Keens continued to provide various ancillary services and to supply silverware in addition to boxes. Evidence of a similar strategy by Bellingham and Bolton in their relations with the city institutions has been seen in previous chapters.

Keen was still a relative novice among retailing goldsmiths in Dublin when the college became his customer; he was not yet thirty-years old and had been operating his shop for

⁴⁰ TCD archives, MUN/ V/57/6, p. 18.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

barely four years. He was not prominent in the guild or city politics. Nevertheless, these first transactions marked the beginning of a long-term relationship between the business at 67 Dame street and the college. In the college's accounting records, no trace has been located of any transaction for the supply of a box with any goldsmith in Dublin other than the Keens of 67 Dame street from the first (non-box) transaction with Keen in December 1779 until 1812 when the Wests began to encroach (although throughout the decades there are a number of payments for boxes where the supplier is simply identified as 'silversmith' or 'goldsmith').⁴²

Perhaps the Keen's relationship with the college was based on personal contacts, now untraceable, that permitted his *entrée*. It is also possible that Keen became aware of the commercial opportunity offered by the college's requirements for gold and silver boxes through his D'Olier cousins. In the accounts for first quarter of 1777, there is a record of a payment of £28 3s. 6d. by the college to the D'Olier brothers for a gold box the college presented to the lord lieutenant - presumably Buckinghamshire who was sworn in on 25 January 1777.⁴³ After that transaction, the D'Oliers were replaced by Keen and their names did not appear again in the college's accounting records.⁴⁴

In November 1783, after only eight years of trading, Arthur Keen announced his retirement (at the age of thirty-three), passing his business at 67 Dame street over to his younger brother, John Keen.⁴⁵ Cooney has linked Keen's retirement from the trade to the death of his father-in-law, noting that Arthur and Isabella were named as executors of her father's substantial estate.⁴⁶ There is evidence that, after leaving Dame street, Arthur occupied himself with the management of the couple's property portfolio, alongside his engagement with Methodism. Keen remained a member of the goldsmiths' guild, but he seems not to have shared his brothers' ambition for civic or guild office; when he was elected master of the guild in 1788, he paid a fine to be discharged from the office and opted instead to be sworn of the guild council.⁴⁷

Did Arthur make anything during his years as a goldsmith? The assay records do not survive for the period when Arthur was trading in Dame street, so surviving artefact evidence

⁴² TCD archives, MUN/V/57/5; MUN/V/57/9.

⁴³ TCD archives, MUN/V/57/5, p. 400.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 424.

⁴⁵ *SNL*, 6 Nov. 1783.

⁴⁶ Cooney, 'A Wedding', p. 17.

⁴⁷ CGD, Minute books, vol. 6 (1 Aug. 1779-26 Nov. 1807), p. 139.

is the only source that can be used to consider the question. Two boxes that apparently bear Arthur Keen's maker's mark have been identified in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland. The first is a silver box presented by the weavers' guild to Henry Grattan in October 1779 'for his uniform and truly patriotic conduct in Parliament'.⁴⁸ The other is a double snuff box, made for personal use (Figs. 6.4-5).⁴⁹ The survival of these objects leaves open the possibility that Arthur made objects in silver early in his brief career as a goldsmith. However, the other artefact evidence associated with his transactions with the college (6.7), shows that Keen relied on specialised goldsmiths to make the boxes he supplied. It must be possible that the boxes with his mark in the National Museum were made by an anonymous goldsmith who worked with Keen, either within or without his Dame street shop.



Figure 6.4 Arthur Keen, *Double snuff box*, silver, Dublin, c.1780, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.

⁴⁸ NMI L.1551.1; Delamer and O'Brien, *500 Years*, p. 72.

⁴⁹ NMI 1995.90.



Figure 6.5 Arthur Keen, *Double snuff box* (detail of Arthur Keen's maker's mark), silver, Dublin, c.1780, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.

6.5 John Keen (1752-1808) and his son, John (c.1787-1828(?))

Records of the apprenticeship of Arthur's younger brother, John, have not been traced; however, he was already describing himself as a goldsmith when (at around twenty-two-years of age) he witnessed Arthur's marriage settlement in Dublin in 1775. From his use of a Dame street address in the memorial of the settlement in connection with his own first marriage in 1777, it seems likely that John spent the early part of his career working with one of his brothers or with his D'Olier cousins.⁵⁰

In John Keen's case, there are records of at least three marriages, each of which brought him significant amounts of capital. In addition to a financial contribution, Keen's first marriage also provided him with a valuable opportunity to learn about luxury goods retailing. In July 1777 at the fashionable church of St Anne in Dawson street, Keen married Mary Champion, the daughter of James Champion, a goldsmith who had died in 1764.⁵¹ After Champion's death, his widow Elinor had quickly announced her intention to continue the family business at 30 Grafton street.⁵² Immediately prior to her daughter's marriage, Elinor settled a sum of at least £800 on Keen. At around the same time, Champion and Keen entered into a deed of partnership, in which she was described as a 'jeweller' and he was described as

⁵⁰ ROD, vol. 325, p. 55, memorial 212825.

⁵¹ *FJ*, 30 June 1764.

⁵² FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin*, p. 55.

a 'goldsmith'.⁵³ Keen's marriage to Mary Champion was short in duration and in August 1782 Keen married for the second time. His second wife was Rebecca Edmonson, a wealthy heiress from Mayo.⁵⁴ The memorial of the marriage settlement indicates that a sum of at least £1700 was advanced.⁵⁵ Keen married for a third time in 1795 to Margaret Pike, the daughter of William Pike, a plumber and shot-caster in Great Ship street.⁵⁶ The bride's father entered a marriage settlement for an amount of at least £500.⁵⁷

When Keen's partnership with Mrs Champion ended after the death of his first wife, he moved over to Arthur's business.⁵⁸ In March 1784, the two brothers entered into a lease, with John taking the premises at 67 Dame street from Arthur for an eleven-year term. At the time he took over Arthur's business, Keen was still not free of the guild. Even after he set up business on his own account, he waited for almost five years before petitioning for his freedom. When Keen finally moved to assert his right to full guild membership, it seems that it was a tactical response to a change in the regulatory environment affecting retailers. Explaining the background to regulatory changes that occurred in the early 1780s, FitzGerald has noted that, with the expansion of the market during the course of the eighteenth century, there was an increase in the number of retailers who sold gold and silver in the city outside the structures of the guild.⁵⁹ This situation led to the adoption of an act of parliament in 1783 essentially requiring retailers to register with the guild.⁶⁰

However, John Keen's name did not figure among those who registered in the years immediately following the adoption of the Act.⁶¹ His belated application for freedom came in 1789, around the same time as his brother William who had waited for almost three decades after the expiry of his articles before applying for his freedom. Whatever the reason for their procrastination, the Keens were not alone in deciding in 1789 that it was time to take up their entitlement to guild freedom. In that year, eleven goldsmiths, most of them already veterans of the trade, sought their freedom. This was an exceptional intake. On average during the previous ten years, only two goldsmiths were admitted to the freedom each year. The

⁵³ NLI, MS D. 20,929.

⁵⁴ *FLJ*, 14 Aug. 1782.

⁵⁵ ROD, vol. 345, p. 235, memorial 233003.

⁵⁶ *SNL*, 24 Dec. 1795, 23 Aug. 1777.

⁵⁷ ROD, vol. 496, p. 239, memorial 310930.

⁵⁸ *SNL*, 6 Nov. 1783.

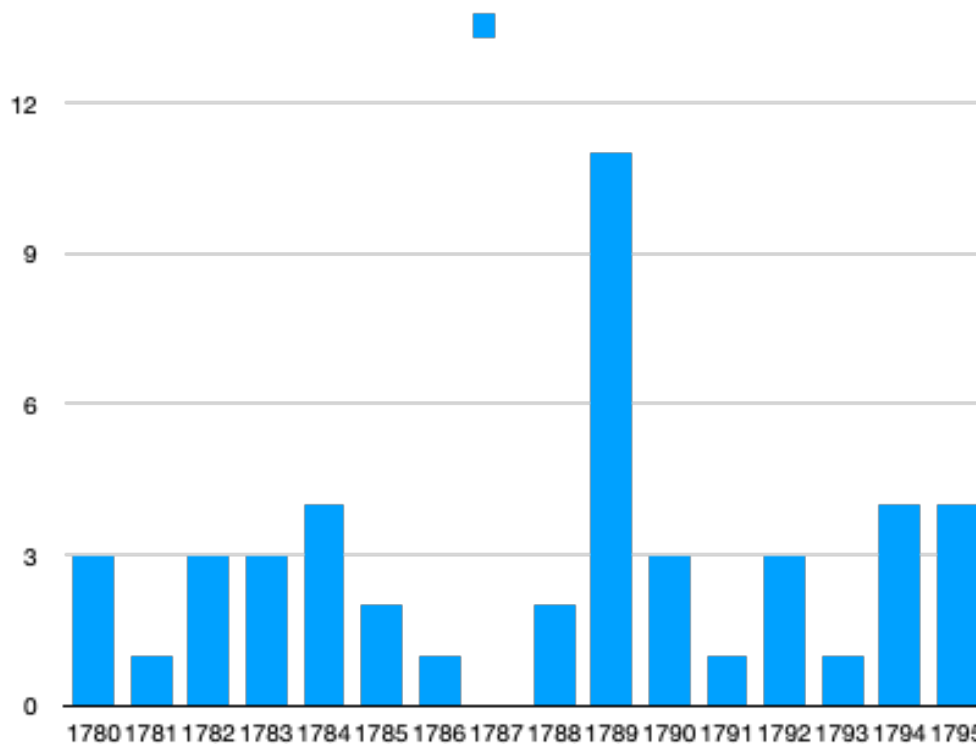
⁵⁹ FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin*, p. 54.

⁶⁰ 23 & 24 Geo. III, c.23.

⁶¹ Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 692.

singularity of the level of admissions during 1789 is apparent from Table 6.1 which places the 1789 admissions in a fifteen-year context. The insouciance of the Keens concerning their affiliation with the guild is most likely explained by their choice of a business model that was primarily (or entirely) focused on retailing silverware produced by other goldsmiths or imported from England.

Table 6.1 Goldsmiths admitted to the freedom of the Dublin goldsmiths' guild, 1780-1795, by year.



Source: Jackson (3rd ed.), pp 668-9.

In the following decade, Keen became involved in civic and guild politics, securing election as one of the goldsmiths' representatives in the common council of the corporation for two terms between 1798 and 1804.⁶² He also became a warden of goldsmiths' guild, serving from 1797 to 1800, and was elected master in 1801/02, in the year following William's death. Keen's participation in municipal politics seems to have produced a limited but prestigious dividend. For the period from Michaelmas 1801 to Michaelmas 1803 while he was sitting in the common council, he was recorded in the treasurer's accounts as supplying boxes and plate to the corporation. In the accounts for Michaelmas 1801 to Michaelmas

⁶² Bennett, *The Goldsmiths of Dublin*, p. 82.

1802, Keen was recorded as receiving £22 15s. in payment for the gold box presented to Charles Thorp who had served as lord mayor in 1800-01.⁶³ In October 1802, John Keen petitioned ‘for payment of a bill for silver boxes’ and was allowed twelve guineas, on account of two boxes.⁶⁴ One of these boxes is likely to have been the box he was reported as supplying for presentation to the chief secretary Charles Abbot (1757-1829) in July 1802.⁶⁵ Later that year, in December, Keen received payment of £113 15s. for ‘a piece of plate’ he had supplied for presentation by the corporation to the city treasurer, John Carleton.⁶⁶ When he was benefitting from the corporation’s commissions, it must have seemed to Keen that the strategy of seeking prominence through guild and municipal office had paid off in commercial terms. However, when his term on the council concluded in 1804, his commercial relationship with the corporation also ended and there are no further records of the Keens at 67 Dame street supplying boxes to the corporation. Keen’s relationship with the college, by contrast, was built on a sure foundation. As will be explained at 6.7 below, during the twenty-five years he spent at 67 Dame street, Keen maintained the relationship his brother Arthur had established and was the only goldsmith recorded as supplying boxes to the college.

Keen took his son, also called John, as his apprentice in 1802. From evidence concerning the death of another son, it may be assumed that this second son, John II, was not born earlier than 1787.⁶⁷ Keen died in April 1808, aged fifty-six. After some delay, the business at 67 Dame street was taken over by John II who became free of the goldsmiths’ guild in 1812. The young man’s tenure at 67 Dame street was short and, by December 1816, he was adjudicated bankrupt and his leasehold interest in the family premises (‘the Situation the best in Dublin for Retail Businesses’) was put up for sale by his assignee.⁶⁸ Bennett records that John II died in 1828; he is unlikely to have been more than forty-years old.⁶⁹

The college authorities, whether out of charity to the fatherless young goldsmith or loyalty to the family with which they had traded for decades, continued to transact with John II. There are records in the college accounts of payments to the young man in the two years

⁶³ DCA, MR/39, Treasurer’s accounts, p. 59; MR/42, Warrants register, folio 2.

⁶⁴ *CARD*, xv, p. 275; DCA, MR/39, Treasurer’s accounts, p. 91.

⁶⁵ *SNL*, 1 July 1802.

⁶⁶ *CARD*, xv, p. 253; DCA, MR/42, Warrants register, folio 2.

⁶⁷ The death of John Keen’s first - and at that time only- son of his second marriage (named Arthur, after John’s grandfather and his older brother) was reported in 1786: *FLJ*, 7 July 1786.

⁶⁸ *FJ*, 3 Jan. 1817.

⁶⁹ Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, p. 313.

before he attained his guild freedom: in 1810, ‘Mr Keen Silversmith sundry repairs £8 12s 3d’; and, in 1811, ‘To Mr. Keane [*sic*] for repairs to plate £3 7s. 10½*d.*’ and ‘Paid for knife mending some broken [illegible] Keane [*sic*] £1 12s. 11*d.*’.⁷⁰ John II also supplied at least two boxes to the college (6.7) but with his bankruptcy the college switched its business to the Wests.

While John II’s youth and lack of experience, combined with increasingly difficult economic conditions for the goldsmiths’ trade in Dublin, were likely factors in the final dismal unravelling of the business established almost forty years earlier by his uncle Arthur, John II’s family obligations may also have played a part in his downfall. There is evidence that in the years preceding the collapse of his business John II had entered into generous marriage settlements on behalf of his sisters. In 1810 he had settled at least £1200 in connection with his sister Harriet’s marriage to Benjamin Poyntz, a Dublin hosier. In April 1815, when another sister, Hannah, married Richard William Osborne, a goldsmith of Grafton street, her marriage settlement amounted to at least £2000.⁷¹ Cooney found that John’s business was sunk by the debts that amounted to £2000, owed apparently to goldsmiths Jacob West and Stephen Bergin who were the creditors who eventually forced the sale of the premises.⁷² The irony is apparent. His father and his uncle Arthur had built the business at least in part with capital acquired through auspicious marriages to women from the wealthy Dublin merchant class, who had brought the two brothers generous settlements. John II’s undoing may at least in part have been the result of his obligation to maintain his sisters’ social status by sinking family capital to their marriage settlements.

6.6 The West family at Skinner row

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, the business operated by Matthew West (1777-1820) (called ‘Matthew Junior’ here to distinguish him from his father Matthew West (1747-1806) - ‘Matthew Senior’) began to capture an increasing volume of the business of supplying boxes to the corporation. After the younger John Keen’s bankruptcy in 1816, Matthew Junior also took over the business of supplying boxes to the college. Matthew Junior’s shop at 15 Skinner row was one of the most prominent goldsmiths’ shops in Dublin.

⁷⁰ TCD archives, MUN/V/57/8, 1809/10 (third quarter); MUN/V/57/9, 1811 (third quarter).

⁷¹ ROD, vol. 688, p. 247, memorial 472992.

⁷² Cooney, ‘A Wedding’, p. 18.

When George IV visited Ireland in 1821, he shopped for plate and souvenirs at the West shop.⁷³

Although there are records in the guild archives of a goldsmith named Benjamin West who was admitted free of the guild in 1684 and references in early twentieth-century advertising by a successor West firm to the family business having been founded in 1720 (Fig. 6.6), the first records of a goldsmith who can be reliably connected to the subsequent generations of Dublin goldsmiths called West are those related to John West (d.1806), Matthew Junior's uncle.

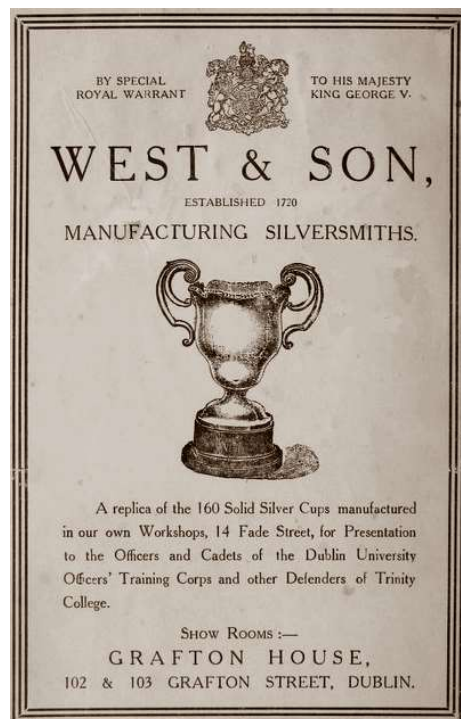


Figure 6.6 An advertisement by West & Son of Grafton street, c.1916.

The advertisement informed the public that the West firm had made the silver cups presented to Trinity College students who had defended the college during the 1916 Rising. It includes a claim that the West family's goldsmith business had been established in 1720.

John West was the son of Jacob West, a farmer from Kildare. He was apprenticed in 1748 to Bartholomew Mosse (free 1734).⁷⁴ After some years as a quarter brother, John was admitted free of the guild in 1762.⁷⁵ In that year, he took his younger brother Matthew Senior

⁷³ *SNL*, 13 Nov. 1821.

⁷⁴ Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 680.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 668.

as his apprentice.⁷⁶ Matthew Senior (who was almost an exact contemporary of Arthur Keen) was admitted free of the guild in 1769.⁷⁷ The two West brothers may have initially worked together at 3 Skinner row but by 1784 Matthew Senior was listed as trading at 15 Skinner row. Matthew Senior's departure to establish his own business may have been connected to the arrival in the shop of John's son, Jacob, who became free of the guild in 1784.⁷⁸

Documentary and surviving artefact evidence indicates that Matthew Senior marked prolific amounts of silver during his career; FitzGerald noted that he submitted '280 cups for assaying in 1788 alone' (Fig. 6.7).⁷⁹ Both John West and Matthew Senior both served as masters of the guild, in 1776 and 1784 respectively. Matthew Senior sat in the common council of the assembly as a goldsmiths' representative for a number of terms from 1783 onwards.⁸⁰



Figure 6.7 Matthew West, *Two-handled cup*, silver, Dublin, c.1775, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 683.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 668.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 669.

⁷⁹ FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin*, p. 104.

⁸⁰ Bennett, *The Goldsmiths of Dublin*, p. 82.

Two of Matthew Senior's sons followed him into the goldsmiths' trade: Jacob (1772-1859) who was admitted free of the guild in 1801, and his younger son Matthew who was admitted in 1804.⁸¹ Matthew Junior appears to have taken over the premises at 15 Skinner row around the time of his father's death in 1806, when he would have been in his late twenties.⁸² By that time, Matthew's older brother Jacob was already established as a goldsmith at 9 Capel street, in partnership with John Clarke. Matthew Junior quickly became prominent in the affairs of the goldsmiths' guild; after serving as a warden between 1808 and 1811, he was elected master of the guild in 1812. His business prospered and, in an advertisement placed in 1818, he described himself as 'GOLDSMITH & JEWELLER, to their Excellencies the Lord Lieutenant and the Countess Talbot, and to his Grace the Duke of Leinster &c, &c, &c'.⁸³

Matthew Junior was also active in city politics and followed his father on to the common council. He served as sheriff in 1810,⁸⁴ was elected alderman in 1814 and at the time of his death (aged around forty-three) in November 1820 was lord mayor elect of the city.⁸⁵ The business continued at 15 Skinner row after Matthew Junior's death, initially as 'M. West & Sons'⁸⁶ and later as 'M. West and Co'.⁸⁷ After a move to 20 Skinner row and following the death of Matthew Junior's son, Henry Jasper West (1806-1829), the closure of this branch of the West business ('the oldest established plate and jewellery warehouse in Ireland') and the sale of its stock were announced in February 1830.⁸⁸ By contrast, the business established by Jacob West in Capel street prospered and, after the departure of his partner Clarke, Jacob West operated under his own name. After Matthew Junior's death, Jacob took over the business of supplying gold and silver boxes to the college. Jacob, who served as lord mayor in 1829-30, died aged eighty-seven in 1859.⁸⁹ The West name continued to be associated with a luxury goods shop in Grafton street until 2010.⁹⁰

⁸¹ Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 669.

⁸² *SNL*, 15 Mar. 1806.

⁸³ *FJ*, 12 Feb. 1818.

⁸⁴ *CARD*, xvi, p. 200.

⁸⁵ *SNL*, 17 Nov. 1820.

⁸⁶ *SNL*, 23 Nov. 1820.

⁸⁷ *SNL*, 2 Jan. 1828.

⁸⁸ *SNL*, 9 July 1829; *FJ*, 19 Feb. 1830.

⁸⁹ *FJ*, 21 Mar. 1859.

⁹⁰ *IT*, 21 Jan. 2010.

6.7 Box transactions in late Georgian Dublin

During the first two decades (1780-1800) of the period under review in this chapter, the corporation voted at least thirty-eight boxes for presentation. However, the absence of the accounting records for those decades precludes a full survey of the transactions by which the boxes were supplied to the corporation. Nevertheless, a glimpse of the corporation's transactional practice during this period can be obtained from records in the assembly minutes of petitions by two goldsmiths who sought payment for boxes they had supplied. The goldsmiths concerned were Richard Fitzsimmons (free 1784; d.1798) and Matthew West Senior. These records of their transactions with the corporation, together with a related artefact, show that a familiar pattern was in operation. The corporation chose to deal with goldsmiths who were prominent in guild and municipal politics and, at least in case of Fitzsimmons, who were essentially operating as retailers relying on specialist goldsmiths to make the boxes they supplied.

In 1793, Fitzsimmons (who in that year was a warden of the goldsmiths' guild) petitioned the corporation for payment of twenty-five guineas for the gold box presented to former lord mayor, Henry Gore Sankey (Chapter 4).⁹¹ The year after his petition for payment for the Sankey box, Fitzsimmons (who by then had advanced to become master of the guild) petitioned again for a payment of twenty-five guineas, on this occasion for the gold box presented to John Foster.⁹² This Foster box survived into the modern era and was recorded as having the maker's mark of James Kennedy.⁹³ Fitzsimmons (who is identified as a jeweller in contemporary records) was sitting in the common council as a goldsmiths' representative at the time he made these petitions (presumably to the chagrin of William Keen who was sitting alongside him in the council).⁹⁴ In June 1798, Matthew West Senior petitioned for 'payment of bill for gold boxes' and, in response, a payment of £23 17s. 9d. was authorised.⁹⁵ West had been sitting on the common council as a goldsmiths' representative since 1795. Due to the sparsity of the information in the petition concerning West's transaction, it has not been possible to link it to a presentation recorded in the assembly minutes.

⁹¹ *CARD*, xiv, pp 288-9, p. 317.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 348.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, plate VI.

⁹⁴ Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, p. 306; *idem*, *The Goldsmiths of Dublin*, p. 82.

⁹⁵ *CARD*, xv, p. 62.

Once the city treasurer's accounts resume for the year from Michaelmas 1800, the continuity of the familiar pattern is confirmed. Jeremiah D'Olier received payment of £28 8s. 9d. 'for a Gold Box to Alderman Exshaw', the former lord mayor, who had been voted thanks with a gold box at the assembly held on 17 October 1800 (Chapter 4).⁹⁶ In the same year, D'Olier was paid £56 17s. 6d. 'for a Piece of Plate' that had been voted to William Walker as thanks 'for his justice, ability, and inflexible integrity' as Recorder.⁹⁷ D'Olier was sitting in the assembly as a sheriffs' peer when he received these commissions.⁹⁸ In this period, the corporation also made payments for boxes to William Osborne (active 1812-35) and Edward Rice (free 1785; d.1815).⁹⁹ The box Osborne supplied (and for which he was paid £5 13s. 9d.) was an oak box that had been voted to Captain Lambert Brabazon (c.1740-1811), the regulating captain of the port of Dublin, at the assembly held on 17 July 1801.¹⁰⁰ Osborne was sitting in the common council as a goldsmiths' representative at the time of that vote. In the case of the payment to Rice, the recipient of the box was recorded as 'Edw. Wilson' (Appendix 3).¹⁰¹ Rice had served as master of the goldsmiths' guild in 1802.

A significant shift in the corporation's transactional practice can be observed in the corporation records from late 1804, with the emergence of the Wests of Skinner row as the corporation's preferred suppliers of boxes. Between 1801 and 1804, Matthew West (probably Matthew Senior) was listed as sitting on the common council as a goldsmiths' representative (alongside John Keen) but during that period (when Keen was the corporation's principal supplier of boxes) West was not recorded as having received any payments for boxes. According to Bennett, Matthew Senior was re-elected to the council in late 1804;¹⁰² however, Keen's mandate was not renewed.¹⁰³ After Keen's departure, entries begin to appear in the assembly minutes, treasurer's accounts and the warrants register concerning payments to Matthew West (probably Matthew Senior) for boxes. By 1805, Matthew Junior is recorded as sitting in the common council and there is extensive evidence of his transactions with the corporation during that year.¹⁰⁴ The West firm dominated the supply of boxes to the corporation for the remainder of the decade. Between 1805 and 1810 (when the last payment

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 534.

⁹⁹ DCA, MR/39, Treasurer's accounts, p. 123.

¹⁰⁰ DCA, C1/JSC/08, Journal of Sheriffs and Commons, vol. 8 (16 Oct. 1795-23 Mar. 1804), folio 169.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, folio 237.

¹⁰² Bennett, *The Goldsmiths of Dublin*, p. 82

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *CARD*, xv, p. 539.

for boxes to West was recorded), West was paid for at least six gold boxes and seventeen silver boxes, making him the most frequently recorded supplier in this final period of the city's box presentation practice. As previously explained, this first decade of the nineteenth century saw the largest number of recorded presentations of boxes, due in large part to the corporation's determination to reward its own officers (Chapter 4). The commercial astuteness of both Matthew Wests, *père et fils*, in making the move to capture the corporation's trade during this decade is reminiscent of a similar move by Bolton a century earlier during a previous boom in presentations. However, the weight of evidence is that the Wests, unlike Bolton, were relying on specialist makers as out-workers to make the boxes that they retailed.

The first record of a transaction with the West business occurred in October 1804, when Matthew West petitioned the assembly for payment of £63 14s.¹⁰⁵ A subsequent record in the warrants register of a payment in that amount on 6 February 1805 specifies that West was being paid 'for making Gold & Silver boxes'.¹⁰⁶ It is highly likely that one of these boxes was the gold box ('value of twenty five guineas') voted to John Foster at the assembly held on 20 July 1804, to mark his appointment as chancellor of the Irish exchequer (Fig. 6.8).¹⁰⁷ As already noted, Foster had received a gold box, made by Kennedy and supplied by Fitzsimmons, from the corporation in 1793. The box Foster received in 1804 is in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland and its survival permits an insight into the system used by the Wests to respond to the corporation's orders for boxes.¹⁰⁸ The box bears Matthew West's mark (MW), together with another mark - ER (incuse) - which it is proposed must be the mark (previously unattributed) used by Aeneas Ryan on gold objects (Fig. 6.9). The presence of a mark that can be identified with Ryan shows that, like Fitzsimmons who had worked with James Kennedy a decade earlier, the West firm was also relying on a specialist maker to make the boxes it retailed to the corporation.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 385.

¹⁰⁶ DCA, MR/42, Warrants register, folio 8.

¹⁰⁷ *CARD*, xv, p. 360.

¹⁰⁸ NMI 4.1955.



Figure 6.8 Aeneas Ryan (maker's mark) and Matthew West (retailer's mark), Circular box with removeable lid presented by Dublin corporation to John Foster on the occasion of his appointment as chancellor of the Irish exchequer in 1804 (lid with engraving of arms of Dublin), gold, Dublin, 1804, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.



Figure 6.9 Aeneas Ryan (maker's mark) and Matthew West (retailer's mark), Circular box with removeable lid presented by Dublin corporation to John Foster on the occasion of his appointment as chancellor of the exchequer in 1804 (interior of box showing the marks of Ryan and West), gold, Dublin, 1804, courtesy of the National Museum of Ireland.

Another box presented by the corporation in 1804 has also survived into modern era - the rectangular silver box with canted corners voted to the chief secretary Nepean at the assembly held on 16 March 1804 (Fig. 6.10).¹⁰⁹ It is not possible with certainty to link West to the supply of this box but it could have been among the ‘Gold & Silver boxes’ for which he sought payment in his October 1804 petition. When the box was offered at Adam’s of Dublin in 2007, it was listed as having the maker’s mark of Aeneas Ryan.¹¹⁰ As will be seen, Ryan also made the box that Keen supplied to the college around the same time for presentation to Nepean.



Figure 6.10 Aeneas Ryan, Rectangular box with canted corners presented by Dublin corporation to Evan Nepean in 1804, silver, Dublin, 1804, courtesy of Adam’s of Dublin.

On 12 June 1805, West received payment for four boxes voted at the assembly held in October of the previous year.¹¹¹ Three of the recipients were retiring municipal officers: the outgoing lord mayor, Henry Hutton, and two outgoing sheriffs, Mountiford John Hay and Joshua Pounden.¹¹² The fourth recipient also had links to the corporation: John Giffard received a silver box in acknowledgment of the ‘knowledge, zeal, and abilities’ he had shown

¹⁰⁹ *CARD*, xv, p. 353.

¹¹⁰ James Adam and Sons, *Fine Period Furniture. Paintings & Decorative Arts, 14 March 2007* (Dublin, 2007), lot 63.

¹¹¹ DCA, MR/42, Warrants register, folio 6.

¹¹² *CARD*, xv, p. 370, p. 372.

‘in pointing out a source from whence this city obtained a supply of that most necessary element water’.¹¹³ Giffard had previously been voted a box made in silver on the completion of his term as sheriff in 1794;¹¹⁴ it is possible, given Giffard’s profile as a prominent Orangeman and strong advocate of legislative union, that this second presentation was connected more to party politics within the assembly than to his skills as a hydrologist.

West was not involved in the next presentation voted by the assembly - the corporation’s first (and only recorded) presentation of a box to a member of the royal family. This box, made in gold, accompanied a ‘grateful and loyal address to his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland’ - Ernest Augustus, the eighth child and fifth son of George III (and sometime protector of the ubiquitous Giffard)¹¹⁵ - to express the corporation’s ‘unbounded gratitude for his powerful support of the petition of the city of Dublin to parliament to maintain our constitution in church and state’, a reference to the duke’s vehement opposition to the extension of the rights of Catholics.¹¹⁶ Cumberland was voted his freedom by resolution adopted at an assembly held on 19 July 1805.¹¹⁷ Although that assembly’s resolution contained no reference to the presentation of a box, a payment recorded in the warrants register on 29 May 1806 shows that a gold box was supplied by Walter Peter (free 1794; d.1845), a jeweller of Grafton street.¹¹⁸ The corporation’s infatuation with Cumberland was intense but apparently not fully reciprocated. At the time it sent him the address and gold box, the corporation asked Cumberland ‘to dignify our city by placing in the Mansion House thereof a portrait of your royal highness’. As Clark has pointed out, if the corporation thought that Cumberland would make the city a gift, it was disappointed and it found itself responsible for paying the artist and the frame-maker.¹¹⁹

West quickly regained the corporation’s custom. On 9 July 1806, the warrants register recorded payments to West for seven boxes, two made in gold and five in silver, accounting for all the boxes voted by the assembly in the remaining months of 1805 and in 1806.¹²⁰ West supplied the box made in gold voted to the outgoing lord mayor Meredith Jenkin and the

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp 372-3.

¹¹⁴ *CARD*, xiv, p. 376.

¹¹⁵ Jacqueline Hill ‘Giffard, John’ in *DIB*.

¹¹⁶ *SNL*, 22 July 1805.

¹¹⁷ *CARD*, xv, pp 415-7.

¹¹⁸ DCA, MR/42, Warrants register, folio 11; Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, p. 322.

¹¹⁹ Clark, *The Dublin Civic Portrait Collection*, p. 50.

¹²⁰ DCA, MR/42, Warrants register, folio 11. After the vote of a box made in silver to John Newport on 18 Apr. 1806, there are no further records of box presentation resolutions in 1806.

boxes made in silver for the outgoing sheriffs Mark Bloxham (d.1825) and George Thorp at the assembly held on 18 October 1805.¹²¹ He also supplied the box made in silver voted to the newly arrived chief secretary, Charles Long (1760-1838), at that same October assembly.¹²² When the assembly resolved to present the freedom to the newly-appointed lord lieutenant, John Russell (1766-1839), 6th duke of Bedford, at its assembly on 18 April 1806, West supplied the gold box.¹²³ Bedford's chief secretary, William Elliot (1766-1818), was voted his freedom at the same assembly with a silver box also supplied by West.¹²⁴ Foster's successor as chancellor of the Irish exchequer, Sir John Newport (1756-1843), was voted a box made in silver (not gold, as with Foster's presentation two years earlier) at the assembly held on 18 April 1806, which West also supplied.¹²⁵

Two boxes from this batch supplied by West have survived into the modern era - the box presented to Bloxham, which is now in the San Antonio Museum of Art, and the box presented to William Elliot, which was offered at Christie's London in 1994.¹²⁶ The Bloxham box has been handled in the course of this research (Figs. 6.11-13).

¹²¹ *CARD*, xv, p. 423, p. 425.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 435.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 455.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 457.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

¹²⁶ SAMA 2004.13.254; Davis, *The Genius of Irish Silver*, item 94. The presence of Aeneas Ryan's maker's mark on the box was overlooked by Davis. For the Elliot box: Christie's London, *Objects of Vertu and Miniatures*, 28 June 1994 (London, 1994), lot 180.



Figure 6.11 Aeneas Ryan (maker's mark) and Matthew West (retailer's mark), Box presented by Dublin corporation to Mark Bloxham in 1805 (lid with the Dublin arms), silver, Dublin, 1805, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.



Figure 6.12 Aeneas Ryan (maker's mark) and Matthew West (retailer's mark), *Box presented by Dublin corporation to Mark Bloxham in 1805 (base with engraved inscription), silver, Dublin, 1805, courtesy of San Antonio Museum of Art.*

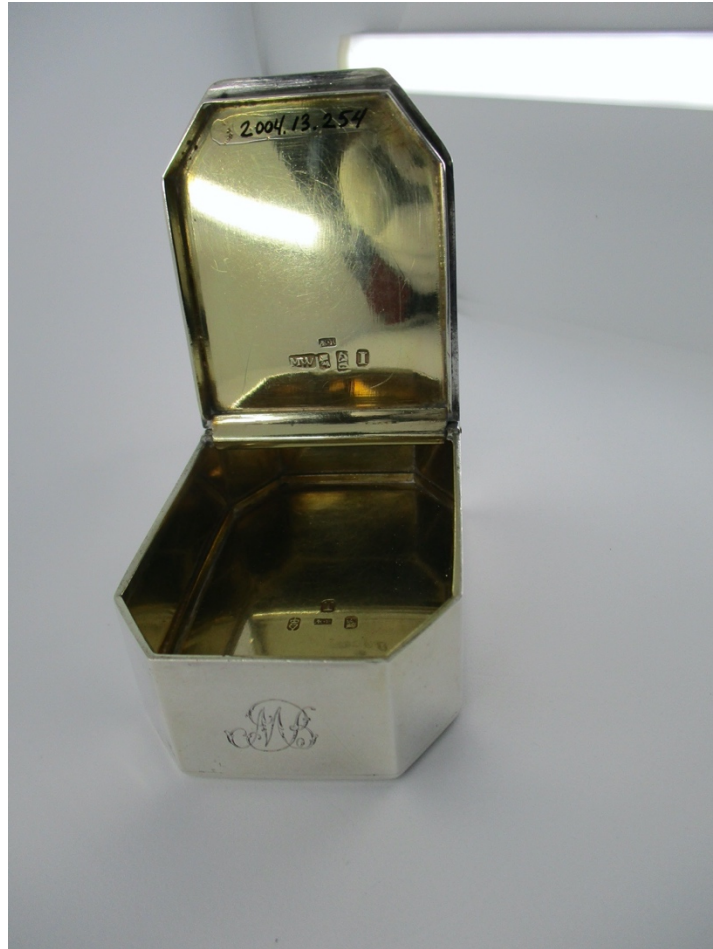


Figure 6.13 Aeneas Ryan (maker's mark) and Matthew West (retailer's mark), *Box presented by Dublin corporation to Mark Bloxham in 1805 (silver-gilt interior with the marks of Ryan and West)*, silver, Dublin, 1805, courtesy of San Antonio Museum of Art.

The Bloxham box has West's mark, together with the maker's mark of Aeneas Ryan, and the date-letter associated with 1805, the year the box was presented. When the Elliot box was offered by Christie's, the mark of Aeneas Ryan was identified on the box, together with the date-letter associated with 1805 (the year before the presentation was voted); there is no reference in the Christie's catalogue description to a West mark on the box. The presence of Ryan's mark on the Bloxham and Elliot boxes indicates that West continued to rely on Ryan to make boxes in the years after Ryan had made the Foster and Nepean boxes presented in 1804.

After a pause during the remaining nine months of 1806, the assembly began voting silver and gold boxes again in January 1807, with resolutions in favour of the two sheriffs who had served in 1805/6 - James Blacker and John Tudor.¹²⁷ In April 1807, the assembly

¹²⁷ *CARD*, xvi, p. 8.

voted the freedom in a gold box to Charles Lennox (1764-1819), 4th duke of Richmond, who had been appointed lord lieutenant earlier that month, and in a silver box to his chief secretary, Arthur Wellesley.¹²⁸ According to the warrants register, West received payment for these boxes, and payment for a silver box voted in October 1807 to Richard Manders (another former sheriff) in April of the following year.¹²⁹

The silver box supplied by West for presentation to Wellesley has survived and is in the collection of the Wellington Museum at Apsley House in London (Fig. 6.14). It again bears Ryan's maker's mark. When the box was included in a publication by the Victoria and Albert Museum, it was catalogued as having the date-letter for 1806.¹³⁰ If this reading of the date-letter was correct, it suggests (together with the evidence of the date-letter on the Elliot box) that West kept a stock of boxes made by Ryan, ready for supply to the city's institutions. As will be seen, there is also evidence from around this time of the Keens keeping a stock of presentation boxes at their shop in Dame street.



Figure 6.14 Aeneas Ryan, *Circular box with removeable lid presented by Dublin corporation to Arthur Wellesley in 1807*, silver, Dublin, 1806 (photograph, courtesy of the Victoria & Albert Museum).

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 33, p. 35.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹³⁰ Victoria and Albert Museum, *Irish Silver* (London, 1959), plate 28.

The corporation was not dealing exclusively with West. There are also records in the warrants register of a payment to Walter Peter on 1 June 1808 for ‘for making a Silver Box for late [Sheriff] Nugent.’¹³¹ This box, for which Peter was paid £5 13s. 9d., had been voted to Nugent at the assembly held on 16 October 1807, at the same time Manders was voted his box that was supplied by West.¹³² The splitting of the commission for these two boxes may indicate that West encountered some competition (albeit not very effective) for the business of supplying boxes to the corporation; Peter, who was sitting on the common council as a goldsmiths’ representative when he received payment for the Nugent box, may have insisted that he was entitled to a share of the corporation’s commissions. On 30 June 1808, two payments were recorded to James Henderson (active 1807-26).¹³³ The first, in the amount of £28 8s. 9d., was ‘for making a Gold Box for [Alderman] Pemberton’, the former mayor who had been voted his box at the October 1807 assembly.¹³⁴ The assembly had also taken the unusual step of voting a budget of £50 for a piece of plate for Mrs Pemberton ‘for her very polite attention to the corporation and citizens at large during her residence in the Mansion House’;¹³⁵ Henderson supplied this gift too.¹³⁶ It is not clear why Henderson who appears to have operated primarily as a clockmaker and watchmaker and was not involved in municipal politics was chosen to supply the Pembertons’ gifts.¹³⁷

In the next accounting period (Michaelmas 1808 to Michaelmas 1809), only one payment for a box was recorded in the treasurer’s accounts. This payment, in the amount of £11 7s. 6d. was made to West for an oak box voted to the Limerick-born naval hero, Michael Seymour (1768-1834), at the assembly held on 20 January 1809.¹³⁸ In October 1809, West petitioned for payment for a gold box that had been voted to the former lord mayor, Hugh Trevor, at the assembly held the previous October.¹³⁹ According to warrants register, he received payment on 9 January 1810 for the Trevor box, together with a number of other boxes that had been voted at the assembly in October 1809.¹⁴⁰ These boxes included the boxes made in silver presented to four former sheriffs: Alexander Montgomery, John Alley,

¹³¹ DCA, MR/42, Warrants register, folio 15.

¹³² *CARD*, xvi, p. 53.

¹³³ DCA, MR/42, Warrants register, folio 15.

¹³⁴ *CARD*, xvi, p. 51.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp 51-2.

¹³⁶ DCA, MR/42, Warrants register, folio 15.

¹³⁷ *SNL*, 17 July 1807.

¹³⁸ DCA, MR/39, Treasurer’s accounts, p. 285; *CARD*, xvi p. 126.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

¹⁴⁰ DCA, MR/42, Warrants register, folio 18.

John George and George Sutton.¹⁴¹ The outgoing lord mayor, Frederick Darley, had been voted a gold box ‘value twenty-five guineas’ at the 1809 October assembly but, perhaps as a sign of the increasing meaninglessness of the box presentation practice to those most directly involved, had opted to take a piece of plate of the same value, which West also supplied.¹⁴²

Documentary sources from the corporation archive and artefact evidence in the form of surviving boxes are insufficient to allow a clear understanding of how the market for the supply of gold and silver boxes to the corporation worked in the final decade before the corporation presented its last box in 1821. The practice of voting box presentations continued, albeit at a much-reduced pace. The absence of accounting entries may be due to clerical laziness or negligence but might also reflect an increased tendency on the part of recipients to take cash *in lieu*. For instance, no accounting entry has been traced to indicate that West (or any other goldsmith) received a payment for supplying the box that the corporation voted to West himself at the assembly held on 18 October 1811 at the expiry of his term as sheriff.¹⁴³ West’s sub-sheriff, George Archer, who at the same assembly became the first (and only) sub-sheriff to be voted a silver box, appears (from the entry in the warrants register) to have opted for cash.¹⁴⁴ West continued to transact with the corporation in the 1810s, although there is no evidence to connect the payments he received with box presentations.¹⁴⁵

The college operated a different strategy to the corporation for the procurement of the boxes it presented. The accounting records show that for more than three decades, from at least 1781 until 1813, the college transacted for boxes exclusively with members of the Keen family at 67 Dame street. The first entry in the college bursar’s accounts relating to the Keens that can be linked to a box presented by the college occurred early in 1781 when Arthur Keen received payment of £35 12s. 11d. Although not specifically described as a payment for a box, the payment to Keen was entered at the same time the bursar recorded the expenses (£356 13s. 1d.) associated with a dinner given by the college for the lord lieutenant, Frederick Howard, 5th earl of Carlisle.¹⁴⁶ He had been sworn in on 23 December 1780 and the college board had resolved to confer him with an honorary LLD ‘by a Diploma in a Gold Box’ on 29

¹⁴¹ *CARD*, xvi, pp 162-3.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 162; DCA, MR/42, Warrants register, folio 18.

¹⁴³ *CARD*, xvi, p. 290.

¹⁴⁴ DCA, MR/42, Warrants register, folio 24.

¹⁴⁵ DCA, MR/40, Treasurer’s accounts, p. 28, p. 115.

¹⁴⁶ TCD archives, MUN/ V/57/6, p. 66.

January 1781.¹⁴⁷ In the following year, Keen received a payment of £29 14s. 4d. for the gold box presented by the college to Carlisle's successor, William Cavendish-Bentinck (1738-1809), 3rd duke of Portland, who took office April 1782, the payment recorded together with expenses for a banquet in Portland's honour.¹⁴⁸ This box survived into the modern era and was documented in the collection of the dukes of Portland in 1907 when it was described as having a date-letter read (perhaps unreliably) as 1780 and a 'maker's mark, IK, with pellet between, in an oblong (probably John Kelly)'.¹⁴⁹ This was clearly the mark of James Kennedy, showing that as early as 1782 Keen was supplying his customers with boxes made by the specialist box-maker.

The next entry for a payment for boxes by the college bursar occurs in the accounts period for March-June 1783 and concerns a gold box for a lord lieutenant and a silver box for an unspecified recipient. It is likely that these were the boxes presented to George Nugent-Temple-Grenville (1753-1814), 1st marquess of Buckingham, and to his brother and chief secretary, William Wyndham Grenville (1759-1834); they both held office for a short period between August 1782 and June 1783. The goldsmith who supplied the boxes is not identified in the accounts. In the following quarter in the same year, 'Mr Keen' received payment of £42 15s. 9^{1/2}d. for 'Gold & Silver boxes'.¹⁵⁰ This presentation can be linked to a board resolution of 21 June 1783 voting honorary doctorates to the new lord lieutenant, Robert Henley (1747-86), 2nd earl of Northington, who was voted a gold box and his chief secretary, William Windham (1750-1810), who was voted a silver box.¹⁵¹ As Keen retired in November 1783, these must have been his last transactions with the college.

During the twenty-five-year tenure of John Keen at 67 Dame street, there are extensive records of his transactions for the supply of boxes to the college. However, the college accounts do not specify the identity of the goldsmith who was paid £37 17s. 10d. in the final months of 1784 for a gold box for the lord lieutenant, presumably Rutland who had arrived in February 1784.¹⁵² Nevertheless, it must be likely that Keen was the supplier as references to 'Keen the Goldsmith' being paid for 'repairing cups' in 1785 and 'Keen (Goldsmith)'

¹⁴⁷ TCD archives, MUN/V/5/3, General register (29 Mar. 1740-20 Dec. 1783), p. 434.

¹⁴⁸ TCD archives, MUN/V/57/6, p. 127.

¹⁴⁹ Jones, *Old English Gold Plate*, p. 25.

¹⁵⁰ TCD archives, MUN/V/57/6, p. 187.

¹⁵¹ TCD archives, MUN/V/5/3, p. 495.

¹⁵² TCD archives, MUN/V/57/6, p. 259.

receiving a small payment ‘for repairing plate’ in 1787 show that John Keen had succeeded in maintaining his brother’s connection with the college.¹⁵³

The first transaction for a box that can be linked with certainty to John Keen concerned the supply of a gold box for presentation to Edmund Burke in 1791.¹⁵⁴ Keen’s invoice, dated 10 October 1791 (‘To A large size Gold box engraved at top the Burkes [*sic*] Arms and at bottom the College Arms’) in the amount of £32 11s. 1d. is in the college archives, with a confirmation that he received payment on the same day.¹⁵⁵ Burke had been voted the honorary degree of LLD in December 1790 ‘as the powerful advocate of the constitution, as the friend of publick order & Virtue, and consequently of the happiness of mankind & in testimony of the high respect maintained by the university which had the hour of his Education, for the various endowments of his mind & for his transcendent talents & philanthropy’.¹⁵⁶ In August 1791, the college decided to present his diploma with a gold box.¹⁵⁷ Keen did not make the box he supplied. When it was offered at Christie’s London in 1977, the box was reported as bearing a maker’s mark attributed to James Keating, which must have been the mark of James Kennedy.¹⁵⁸ Delays by Keen in supplying the box for Burke forced the college to resort to a two-stage presentation, with Burke receiving the diploma first and the gold box later. In a letter to Burke dated 23 August 1791, the provost, John Hely Hutchison (1724-94), explained that, while the senior fellows of the college had agreed to have the diploma presented in a gold box, the diploma had been ‘received but this moment’ and the gold box had not yet been supplied. The fellows, the provost said, had agreed that the college ‘should not wait for the gold box’; probably a prudent decision as Keen’s invoice suggests that the box may only have been finally supplied to the college in October.¹⁵⁹

Keen’s relations with the college appear to have been unaffected by the muddle over the Burke box. Toward the end of 1795, he was paid £76 6s. 3d. for ‘two Gold Boxes & one Silver’.¹⁶⁰ The first of these gold boxes was presumably the box voted to William Wentworth

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 341, p. 441.

¹⁵⁴ TCD Archives, MUN/P/4/61/23.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ TCD archives, MUN/V/5/5, p. 179.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

¹⁵⁸ *IT*, 4 June 1977.

¹⁵⁹ Charles William Fitzwilliam and Richard Bourke (eds), *The Correspondence of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke; between the year 1744, and the period of his decease, in 1797* (4 vols, London 1844), iii, p. 289.

¹⁶⁰ TCD archives, MUN/V/57/7, 1795/6 (first quarter).

Fitzwilliam (1748-1833), 2nd earl Fitzwilliam, in January 1795 at the beginning of his term as lord lieutenant that lasted for only the first few months of that year. When the box was offered for sale at Sotheby's London in 1980, it was reported to bear the mark 'IK' used by James Kennedy.¹⁶¹ The second gold box for which Keen received payment was probably presented to Camden who succeeded Fitzwilliam as lord lieutenant in March 1795. In the quarter ending in September 1796, payment to Keen of £33 17s. 10d. was recorded for the gold box, presented in controversial circumstances (and over the objections of at least one senior fellow, Gerald Fitzgerald (1740-1819)) to John James Hamilton, (1756-1818), 1st marquess of Abercorn.¹⁶² The payment of £37 11s. 10d. Keen received for 'Gold Boxes etc' in the final months of 1798 is likely to have included a gold box for Cornwallis who took up his appointment as lord lieutenant in June 1798.¹⁶³

As the new century dawned and the United Kingdom took shape, Keen retained the college's business and maintained his reliance on Kennedy for the boxes he supplied. This was the period during which Keen was also the preferred supplier of boxes to the corporation. On 10 July 1801, Keen presented his bill in the amount of £34 2s. 6d. to the college for 'A Gold Box with Earl Hardwick's Arms' and £6 16s. 6d. for 'A Silver Box Gilt Inside with the Abbot's arms at top & the College Arms at Bottom', for which he was paid on 25 July.¹⁶⁴ These were the boxes presented to the lord lieutenant, Hardwicke, and his chief secretary, Abbot, in 1801. The Hardwicke box was sold at Christie's London in November 1992, when the mark of James Kennedy was mistakenly read as that of James Keating.¹⁶⁵

After the death of James Kennedy in 1803, Keen began to work with Aeneas Ryan.¹⁶⁶ In June 1804, Keen billed the college for a silver box for presentation to the chief secretary, Nepean.¹⁶⁷ This box was sold in Bonhams London in 2005; it had the mark of Aeneas Ryan (Fig. 6.15).¹⁶⁸ The box presented by the college to Long who was briefly chief secretary in 1805-06 also survives (Figs. 6.16-17). The box was offered in Christie's London in 2014 and

¹⁶¹ *IT*, 2 Feb. 1980.

¹⁶² TCD archives, MUN/V/57/7, 1795/6 (fourth quarter); MUN/V/5/5, p. 289.

¹⁶³ TCD archives, MUN/V/57/7, 1798/9 (first quarter).

¹⁶⁴ TCD archives, MUN/P/4/78/26.

¹⁶⁵ Christie's London, *Important Silver, 25 November 1992* (London, 1992), lot 39.

¹⁶⁶ Bennett, *Collecting*, p. 147.

¹⁶⁷ TCD archives, MUN/P/4/86/41.

¹⁶⁸ Bonhams London, *Silver, 8 November 2005* (London, 2005), lot 265.

its maker can be identified as Aeneas Ryan and its date-letter reads as 1803.¹⁶⁹ Although documentary evidence to link this Long box with Keen has not been traced in the college's accounting records, it is likely that it was also supplied by Keen as he clearly retained the college's business in this period. In the following year, he submitted an invoice for a 'gold Box for the Duke of Richmond & silver box for the Rt Hon A Wellesley' and received payment of £42 7s. 2d. The boxes were presented to Richmond who took office as lord lieutenant in April 1807 and to his chief secretary Wellesley.¹⁷⁰ These were John Keen's last box transactions with the college before his death in April 1808. In June 1808, there is record of a payment of £13 8s. 5d. made to the account of Keen 'for repair of [sundry] articles of plate', which was presumably collected by his executors.¹⁷¹

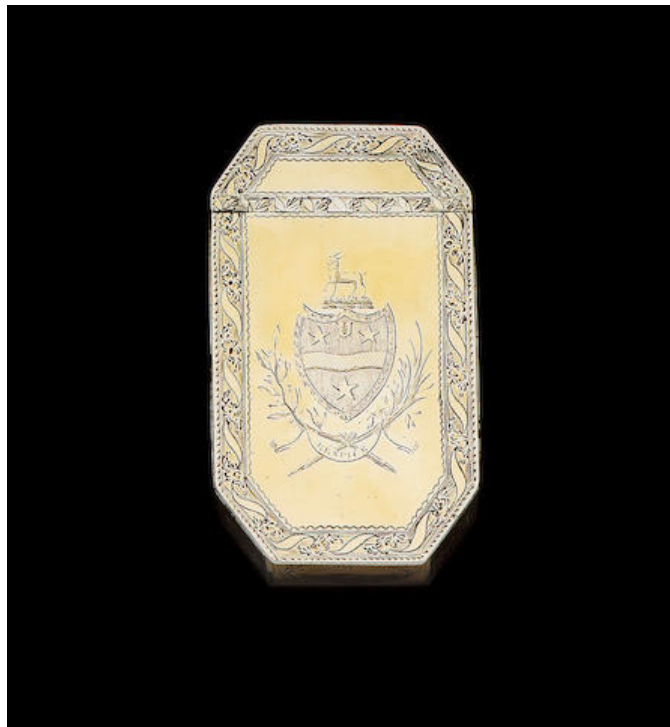


Figure 6.15 Aeneas Ryan, *Rectangular box with canted corners presented by Trinity College, Dublin to Evan Nepean in 1804 (top with arms of Nepean)*, silver-gilt, Dublin, c.1804, courtesy of Bonhams.

¹⁶⁹ Christie's London, *Centuries of Style, European Ceramics, Portrait Miniatures, God Boxes and Silver*, 3 June 2014 (London, 2014), lot 347.

¹⁷⁰ TCD archives, MUN/P/4/91/17; MUN/V/57/8, 1806/7 (third quarter).

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1807/8 (third quarter).



Figure 6.16 Aeneas Ryan, *Rectangular box with canted corners presented by Trinity College, Dublin to Charles Long in 1805 (top with Long's arms)*, silver, Dublin, 1803 (author's collection).



Figure 6.17 Aeneas Ryan, *Box presented by Trinity College, Dublin to Charles Long in 1805 (base with the arms of Trinity College Dublin)*, silver, Dublin, 1803 (author's collection).

By 1812, John Keen's son, John II, was free of the guild and established in the shop at 67 Dame street. The college continued to give him minor commissions, but Matthew West who already had a decade of experience of supplying boxes to the corporation was circling. Keen

received a small payment of £4 16s. 3d. ‘for sundry repairs’ in Autumn 1812.¹⁷² Earlier that year, Matthew West had submitted an invoice for £373 10s. 1d. for thirty soup plates and thirteen ‘plated dish covers’ and for engraving the college arms on the soup plates.¹⁷³ In 1918, Mahaffy was able to identify the soup plates West had supplied a little more than a century earlier: twenty-nine of the plates had the Dublin hallmarks for 1789 and a maker’s mark I.I that Mahaffy identified with Joseph Jackson; the thirtieth had a maker’s mark that Mahaffy read as James Le Bas.¹⁷⁴ The plates are still in the college collection.¹⁷⁵

In October 1812, John II submitted his invoice in the amount of £7 7s. 10 ½d. for a silver box the college presented to Robert Peel (1788-1850) who had been appointed chief secretary in August.¹⁷⁶ When the box was offered for sale a few years ago, it had the mark of Aeneas Ryan and the date-letter associated with 1810 (Figs. 6.18-19).¹⁷⁷ The presence of an earlier date-letter on this Peel box and on the Long box supplied by John II’s father some years earlier, together with similar artefact evidence from boxes supplied by the West family to the corporation, points to decisions by the retailers to keep boxes in stock in their shops, ready for supply to their institutional customers in the city. From the customers’ point of view, the ready availability of boxes was an advantage of the retail model. Any delay associated with the supply was limited to the time required to engrave the box. The Keens and the Wests are likely to have confined this *prêt-à-porter* option largely to silver boxes and would probably have been unwilling to take the capital risk associated with maintaining a stock of gold boxes which cost roughly five times more than silver boxes.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷² TCD archives, MUN/V/57/9, 1811 (quarter to Sept.), no. 16.

¹⁷³ TCD archives, MUN/P/4/130/59, 60, 61.

¹⁷⁴ Mahaffy, *The Plate of Trinity College*, Dublin, pp 76-7. Mahaffy seems to have been unaware of West’s invoice in the college archives. He speculated that Le Bas had supplied the soup plates.

¹⁷⁵ Bennett, *The Silver Collection, Trinity College Dublin*, p. 93.

¹⁷⁶ TCD archives, MUN/P/4/135/9.

¹⁷⁷ <https://antiquesandartireland.com/2011/10/irish-silver-robert-peel> (consulted 20 September 2020).

¹⁷⁸ Clifford, *Silver in London*, p. 78.



Figure 6.18 Aeneas Ryan, Rectangular box with canted corners presented by Trinity College Dublin to Robert Peel in 1812 (base with the arms of the college), silver, Dublin, 1810, courtesy of L & K Duvalier.



Figure 6.19 Aeneas Ryan, Rectangular box with canted corners presented by Trinity College Dublin to Robert Peel in 1812 (detail with the date-letter O for 1810), silver, Dublin, 1810, courtesy of L & K Duvalier.

In 1813, John II submitted an invoice for goods and services provided during the previous year, which included the supply in October 1812 of a gold box for presentation to

the lord lieutenant, Whitworth.¹⁷⁹ This is the last record of a box being supplied to the college by a member of Keen family of Dame street. In the years leading up to his bankruptcy adjudication in December 1816, John II continued to trade with the college and there are records of small payments for repairing plate and engraving medals.¹⁸⁰ By the time Talbot, Whitworth's successor, arrived in Dublin as lord lieutenant in 1817, the Keen shop in Dame street had closed and the college had moved its business to Matthew West. When West submitted his invoice for £70 10s. 1d. in respect of goods and services provided during the calendar year 1817, it included a charge of £30 for the box that the college presented to Talbot - 'a Gold Snuff Box for the Lord Lieutenant including engraving'.¹⁸¹ Like the Keens, West relied on less prominent, specialist goldsmiths; the Talbot box has the marks of Edward Murray (Introduction). The following year, West supplied a silver box, probably presented by the college to the new chief secretary, Charles Grant.¹⁸²

The college continued to trade with the West firm in Skinner row after West's death in November 1820. In 1821, the firm supplied the four gold boxes presented to members of retinue that accompanied George IV on his visit to Ireland. The king had dined at the college but does appear to have received a gift.¹⁸³ Bennett identified the accounting record associated with this presentation - in 1822, Matthew West's firm was paid £201 13s. 6d. for 'Repairs to Silver &c, & 4 gold boxes' - but did not identify the recipients.¹⁸⁴ Research in the college records permits their identification. Three men received honorary degrees of LLD, together with their gold boxes: 'Viscount Sidmouth principal Secretary of State in the home department' (Henry Addington (1757-1844), 1st viscount Sidmouth); 'the Duke of Montrose, Chancellor of the University of Glasgow' (James Graham (1755-1836), 3rd duke of Montrose); and, 'Sir Benjamin Bloomfield, his Majesty's private Secretary' (Benjamin Bloomfield (1768-1846), 1st baron Bloomfield). An honorary degree of MD, with a gold box, was conferred on 'Sir [Matthew] John Tierney, the Physician in ordinary attending his Majesty in Ireland'; Tierney (1776-1845) was a native of Ballyscanlan, Co. Limerick.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁹ TCD archives, MUN/P/4/136/17.

¹⁸⁰ TCD archives, MUN/V/57/9.

¹⁸¹ TCD archives, MUN/P/4/169/66.

¹⁸² TCD archives, MUN/P/4/178/58.

¹⁸³ Holton, 'All Our Joys Will Be Completed', p. 256.

¹⁸⁴ Bennett, *The Silver Collection, Trinity College Dublin*, p. 120; TCD archives, MUN/P/4/192/24.

¹⁸⁵ TCD archives, MUN/V/6, p. 306 (26 Aug. 1821).

In March of the following year, the West firm received payment for a gold box (probably intended for presentation to the newly-installed lord lieutenant, Richard Wellesley, 1st marquess Wellesley).¹⁸⁶ Wellesley's chief secretary, Henry Goulburn (1784-1856), was the likely recipient of the silver box supplied by the West firm in August 1822.¹⁸⁷ There is artefact evidence that the West firm continued to rely on Murray to make the boxes supplied to the college later in the decade. Wellesley's successor, Henry Paget (1768-1854), 1st marquess of Anglesey, a colourful character who lost a leg in the Battle of Waterloo, served twice as lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1828-29 and 1830-33. A gold box made by Murray and presented to Anglesey by the college in March 1828, shortly after his first appointment, was sold at Bonhams London in 2015 (Fig. 6.20).¹⁸⁸ An oblong silver box presented to Edward Littleton (1791-1863) who was appointed chief secretary in May 1833 is now in the college collection; Bennett read the marker's mark as that of Edward Murray and the date-letter as 1830.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ TCD archives, MUN/P/191/24.

¹⁸⁷ TCD archives, MUN/P/4/195/28.

¹⁸⁸ Bonhams London, *The Waterloo Sale*, lot 152.

¹⁸⁹ Bennett, *The Silver Collection, Trinity College Dublin*, p. 121.



Figure 6.20 Edward Murray, *Oblong box presented by Trinity College Dublin to Henry Paget, 1st marquess of Anglesey in 1828*, gold, Dublin, c.1828, courtesy of Bonhams.

In the late Georgian period, boxes made by the specialist Dublin box-makers were also used in presentations outside Dublin. From a transactional point view, there is evidence that, as in Dublin, the box-makers did not deal directly with the institutional customers and that local merchants operated as retail intermediaries when they supplied the institutions with boxes made in Dublin. In Drogheda in the final years of the eighteenth century, the trade in boxes was controlled by a watchmaker, George Potter.¹⁹⁰ The records of Drogheda corporation's expenditure from Michaelmas 1794 to Michaelmas 1795 show that Potter received a number of payments for boxes: 'to George Potter, for Freedom Box for the Lord Primate, £28 19s. 4d.'; and 'to George Potter, for four silver-gilt boxes for the Freedom of John Foster Esq, the Hon. Colonel Foster, Norman Steele and Major Bowes £35 3s. 10d.'.¹⁹¹ In 1797, Potter was paid £7 19s. 6d. for a silver box that he supplied for the corporation's presentation to Francis Moylan (1735-1815), the Catholic bishop of Cork, who in 1796 had issued a pastoral letter urging loyalty when rumours of a French invasion circulated.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Moira Corcoran, 'Two Drogheda Voters' Lists: 1798 and 1802.' in *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society*, xx, no. 4 (1984), pp 319-33, p. 327.

¹⁹¹ L.C. Johnson, *History of Drogheda: from the earliest period to the present time* (Drogheda, 1826), pp 78-9.

¹⁹² Corcoran, 'Two Drogheda Voters' Lists', p. 323.

Artefact evidence indicates that at least some of the presentation boxes supplied to Drogheda corporation at this time were made in Dublin by James Kennedy. The box that Potter supplied for presentation to Bowes survives and is now in the collection of the San Antonio Museum of Art (Figs. 6.21-22).¹⁹³ It bears the mark of James Kennedy. There is other artefact evidence of boxes made by Kennedy being presented in Drogheda around this time; in 1999, Christie's London offered a circular silver-gilt box with a removeable cover with Kennedy's maker's mark (mistakenly attributed to James Keating) which had been presented by Drogheda in 1798 to William Willoughby Cole (1736-1803), 1st earl of Enniskillen.¹⁹⁴



Figure 6.21 James Kennedy, *Circular box with removeable cover presented by Drogheda corporation to Frederick Bowes in 1795 (cover with Bowes's arms), silver-gilt, Dublin, 1795, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.*

¹⁹³ SAMA 2004.13; Davis, *The Genius of Irish Silver*, item 105.

¹⁹⁴ Christie's London, *Property from Oxon Hoath and Kinloch House, 22 September 1999* (London, 1999), lot 46.



Figure 6.22 James Kennedy, *Circular box with removeable cover presented by Drogheda corporation to Frederick Bowes in 1795 (base with Drogheda arms)*, silver-gilt, Dublin, 1795, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.

By the early nineteenth century, there is evidence of these local intermediaries being supplanted by Dublin retailers who moved to supply the civic institutions outside Dublin directly. As seen in the Introduction, West supplied Drogheda corporation with the box presented to Talbot in 1818. In 1820, Drogheda presented a box to Patrick Curtis (1747/8-1832), the Catholic primate of Ireland and the former rector of the Irish College in Salamanca. Curtis had been appointed to Armagh in 1819 with the support of the duke of Wellington whom he had met in Spain during the Peninsular War when the cleric operated as a spy for the British.¹⁹⁵ The silver-gilt box is in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland and has the marks of Edward Murray and Matthew West, which indicate the involvement of the West firm in its supply (Fig. 6.23).¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ C.J. Woods, 'Curtis, Patrick' in *DIB*.

¹⁹⁶ M.L. Brenan, *An Ecclesiastical History of Ireland from the Introduction of Christianity into that Country to the year 1829* (Dublin, 2nd ed., 1847), p. 458. Brenan says of presentation to Curtis that 'the corporation of Drogheda, laying aside their inherent bigotry, presented him his freedom in a gold box'.



Figure 6.23 Edward Murray and Matthew West, *Box presented by Drogheda corporation to Patrick Curtis, the Catholic primate of Ireland, in 1820*, silver-gilt, Dublin, 1819, courtesy of National Museum of Ireland.

6.8 Who were the goldsmiths who made the boxes?

Who were the goldsmiths that made the boxes supplied by the Keens and the Wests to institutions in the city? The question cannot be answered definitively because so many of the boxes have not survived. However, the artefact evidence points to the Keens and the Wests relying on a small number of less prominent goldsmiths to produce the boxes they supplied. There is also evidence that the retailers' relationships with these specialist makers operated sequentially, in the sense that they dealt with one specialist maker at a time, moving their trade to another specialist only after the first specialist left the trade.

Two goldsmiths, in particular, emerge as the principal producers of the boxes supplied by the Keens and Matthew West in the period from 1780 to 1810: James Kennedy, initially of Exchange street and later of Chancery lane; and, Aeneas Ryan of Skinner row. Kennedy (Fig. 6.24) and Ryan (Fig. 6.25) were specialist goldsmiths whose output seems have been focused

almost exclusively on boxes.¹⁹⁷ They enjoyed none of the social prominence of the retailers with whom they dealt, and their lives are obscure. However, significant numbers of objects with their makers' marks survive to testify to their skill and artistry. After the departure of Kennedy and Ryan from the trade, there is artefact evidence that Edward Murray of Aston quay made boxes that the West firm supplied to its institutional customers in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century.



Figure 6.24 James Kennedy, Navette-shaped snuffbox, silver, Dublin, 1793 (author's collection).

¹⁹⁷ FitzGerald and O'Brien, 'The production of silver in late-Georgian Dublin'.

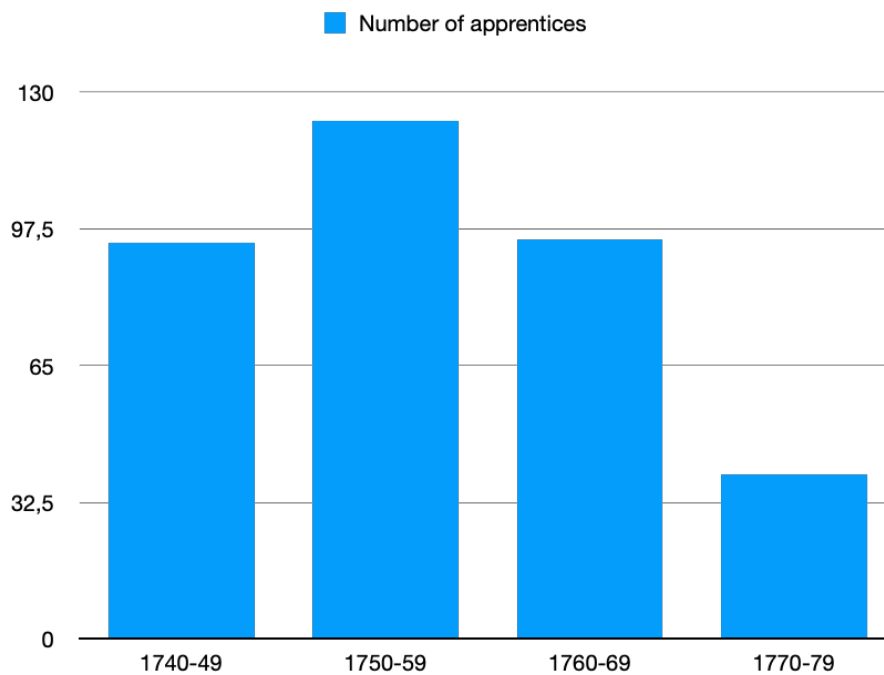


Figure 6.25 Aeneas Ryan, *Silver-mounted olive shell (oliva porphyria) snuffbox*, silver and shell, Dublin, c.1800 (author's collection).

Kennedy, who emerges as a specialist box-maker in the years after Currie and Stokes (Chapter 5), was apprenticed to Benjamin Slack in 1761. In the apprenticeship lists, the name of Kennedy's father was given as James Kennedy, allowing the tentative identification of a record of the future goldsmith's baptism on 4 March 1743 in the parish of St Catherine's.¹⁹⁸ Whatever the exact date of Kennedy's birth, he was part of the same generation as the Keen brothers - William, it will be recalled, was born in 1740 and Arthur in 1749. The Keens and Kennedy were together part of a mid-century boom in the number of apprentices entering indentures with Dublin goldsmiths, a reflection of the increasing prosperity of both the goldsmiths' trade and the city more generally (Table 6.2).

¹⁹⁸ Parish Register of St Catherine's Dublin, book 1, page 24, entry 25 (www.irishgenealogy.ie). From the records consulted, the boy who was christened James Kennedy on 4 Mar. 1743 at St Catherine's was the only Protestant boy christened in Dublin with that name during the decade 1740-9, whose father was also called James.

Table 6.2 Apprentices entering the goldsmiths' trade in Dublin, 1740-1779, by decade.



Source: FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin*.

However, although they belonged to the same generation, the careers of the Keens and Kennedy were very different. In the guild, Kennedy never advanced beyond the quarterage. There are a number of possible explanations for the disparity in outcome as between the Keens and Kennedy, but the difference in their respective introductions in the trade was, perhaps, where the divergence began. The Keens spent their formative years learning the trade in the bustling shop of their D'Olier uncle, alongside their ambitious cousins with whom they formed close connections. Kennedy was less fortunate in his apprenticeship. His master Slack left few traces in the records and those that remain speak principally of adversity - financial embarrassment, chronic illness and a widow reduced to begging for the guild's charity.¹⁹⁹ No reliable record of an object with Slack's mark has been traced in any of the major public collections of Irish silver. The misfortunes that dogged Slack must have had an adverse impact on Kennedy's prospects at the beginning of his career.

In light of indications in the records that Kennedy spent his seven-year apprenticeship with a sickly and struggling master, it is hardly surprising that he struck out on his own immediately after his articles expired. Kennedy registered as a quarter brother in 1768, when

¹⁹⁹ CGD, Minute books, vol. 5 (3 Feb. 1772 and 7 May 1772).

he was probably aged around twenty-five.²⁰⁰ What is more unexpected is that the young man who had spent seven years in the dispiriting Slack milieu would emerge in the next decade as one of the most accomplished and talented goldsmiths of late Georgian Dublin, producing with great precision finely-made small luxury objects that were sold for the next thirty years in the city's smartest shops and were presented to dukes, marquesses and earls. It seems unlikely that Slack taught Kennedy the skills he needed to make boxes. Where did Kennedy learn those skills? The question is impossible to answer. One possibility may be that Kennedy worked in some capacity with Stokes during his first three years as a quarter brother, which were the final years of the master box-maker's life.

It is difficult, in the absence of assay records (which have not survived between 1757 and 1787) to understand with any degree of certainty how Kennedy's career developed in the first two decades of his activity as a goldsmith. The detailed assay records for the calendar year 1788 (published by FitzGerald and O'Brien) show that twenty years after he struck out on his own Kennedy was specialising in box production. He is listed as submitting 128 snuff boxes and two tobacco boxes. In that year, a total of 177 boxes (173 snuff boxes of unspecified form, two round snuff boxes and two tobacco boxes) were submitted for assay, of which Kennedy submitted 130 (or seventy-three per cent of the total). This volume of production would have required Kennedy to produce a box roughly every three days (on the basis of a six-day working week and not taking account of the other items he was submitting for assay).²⁰¹ While this level of output would not have been beyond the capacities of a forty-four-year-old goldsmith working on his own, it must be more likely that Kennedy had some assistance in his workshop or that he used out-workers to assist in production. Is it possible that the relatively small number of boxes (nineteen) assayed by Aeneas Ryan in 1788 might be explained by some form of working arrangement between himself and Kennedy under which Ryan produced some of the boxes Kennedy sent for assay?

Other than the distinction between 'snuff' boxes and 'tobacco' boxes, the 1788 assay records reveal nothing about the types of boxes Kennedy was making. Artefact evidence from over the course of his long career shows that, like Currie and Stokes in the previous

²⁰⁰ Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, p. 314.

²⁰¹ The 1788 assay lists show that Kennedy also made objects other than boxes, albeit in relatively small quantities. In that calendar year, he submitted the following objects (with quantities) for assay: bread basket (1); fork (2); grater (2); knife (2); fish knife (2); ladle (1); mason jewels (2); mason square (1); mustard pot (1); salt (16); skewer (3); snuffers (10); sugar dish (3); tea pot (1); water pot (1) (FitzGerald and O'Brien, 'The Production of Silver').

generation, Kennedy made boxes for both civic presentations and personal use. He worked in all the forms fashionable in the late eighteenth century - circular, rectangular and navette - and also made silver-mounted shell boxes. Some of the boxes Kennedy made for personal use were sophisticated, such as the rectangular trick-opening snuff box with canted corners offered at Bonhams in 2007, which had a short side that was hinged to reveal an opening device (Fig. 6.26).²⁰² Others were unusual. A silver-mounted shell snuff box incorporates an oculus containing braided human hair (Fig. 6.27). A toothpick case from the 1790s shows Kennedy's ability to work precisely in miniature, particularly in the incorporation of a hidden hinge into the small object (Fig. 6.28).



Figure 6.26 James Kennedy, *Snuff box with trick opening device*, silver, Dublin, 1797, courtesy of Bonhams.

²⁰² Bonhams London, *Portrait Miniatures, Objects of Vertu, Silver & Russian Works of Art*, 13 December 2007 (London, 2007), lot 1701.



Figure 6.27 James Kennedy, *Silver-mounted shell snuffbox with an oculus containing human hair*, silver, human hair glass and cowrie shell, Dublin, c.1790 (author's collection).



Figure 6.28 James Kennedy, *Toothpick box*, silver, Dublin, c.1790 (author's collection).

Although the assay figures for Kennedy in 1788 do not distinguish between boxes for personal use and boxes for presentation, some presentation boxes are undoubtedly concealed within the listings. FitzGerald and O'Brien found one, a circular silver box made by Kennedy in 1788 and presented by the glovers' and skimmers' guild to Travers Hartley in 1790.²⁰³ The documentary and artefact evidence set out in section 6.7 above indicates that Kennedy was producing boxes presented by the college from at least the early 1780s. There is artefact

²⁰³ FitzGerald and O'Brien, 'The Production of Silver', p. 18.

evidence that he was also making boxes for guild presentations in the early 1780s. A box with Kennedy's maker's mark that was voted by the sheermen's guild to Luke Gardiner in 1783 is in the San Antonio Museum collection (Fig. 6.29).²⁰⁴ This evidence from the early 1780s suggests that Kennedy may have been making boxes in response to demand previously satisfied by Stokes who had died a little over a decade earlier.



Figure 6.29 James Kennedy, *Circular box with removeable lid presented by the sheermen and dyers' guild to Luke Gardiner (detail of inscription)*, silver, Dublin, c.1783, courtesy of the San Antonio Museum of Art.

In the case of the corporation (6.7), there is artefact evidence that Kennedy produced boxes for its presentations from at least the early 1790s. The gold box made by Kennedy and supplied by Fitzsimmons for presentation to Foster in 1793 has already been mentioned. Another box produced by Kennedy presented by the corporation to John Pentland (1756-1808) in 1796 has also survived, providing evidence not only of the goldsmith's skill but also of the escalating vulgarisation of the presentation practice in the final decade of the eighteenth century (Fig. 6.30). At the city assembly held on 16 October 1795, Pentland was accorded a vote of thanks 'for his manly and spirited exertions on various occasions in suppressing those daring violators of the peace, styling themselves Defenders'.²⁰⁵ Pentland was an architect and timber merchant who, at the time of the vote, was a member of the

²⁰⁴ Davis in *The Genius of Irish Silver* suggested that the Sheermen Gardiner box dated from 'ca.1775' (p. 42). However, the box was voted to Gardiner with the guild freedom at a meeting held in December 1783 (*Volunteers' Journal*, 22 Mar.1784)

²⁰⁵ *CARD*, xiv, p. 429

assembly.²⁰⁶ In January 1796, a few months after the vote of thanks (which had made no provision for a material gift to Pentland), his case was again discussed at the assembly and some members proposed a motion ‘to present a piece of plate to John Pentland, esquire’. This formulation in respect of the gift - ‘a piece of plate’ - was typically used in the assembly when the intention was to reward or compensate an individual whose social status was lower than the customary recipients of the corporation’s box gifts. However, in Pentland’s case, the assembly resolved that Pentland should be presented with ‘a silver box, not exceeding in value five guineas’.²⁰⁷ In 1976, Bennett published a note on the box given to Pentland.²⁰⁸ He described a box of an elongated octagonal form with Kennedy’s maker’s mark, a date-letter for 1795 and engraving that he attributed to C. Henry Rooke.



Figure 6.30 James Kennedy, *Silver elongated octagonal box presented by Dublin corporation to John Pentland in 1796*, silver, Dublin, 1795 (author's collection).

In addition to the boxes he made for presentations by the corporation and the college, Kennedy also made boxes presented by guilds in the city. Artefact evidence in the San Antonio Museum of Fine Art for this aspect of Kennedy’s production (Chapter 5), together

²⁰⁶ Dictionary of Irish Architects, <https://www.dia.ie/architects/view/4323/PENTLAND-JOHN>; *SNL*, 19 Oct. 1795.

²⁰⁷ *CARD*, xiv, p. 437.

²⁰⁸ Bennett, *Irish Silver*, pp 23-4.

with the glovers' box published by FitzGerald and O'Brien, has already been discussed. In addition, boxes made by Kennedy were presented in cities and towns outside Dublin. The Drogheda boxes connected to Kennedy have already been discussed. A gold box with Kennedy's mark presented by Galway to Henry Grattan in 1780 is in the collection of the National Museum in Dublin.²⁰⁹ The San Antonio Museum collection has three Kennedy boxes that were presented outside Dublin: a circular silver box presented by Carrickfergus to Edward Ward, c.1787;²¹⁰ a circular gold box presented by New Ross to Major General Henry Robinson in 1798;²¹¹ and, a circular silver box presented by Waterford to Henry St George Cole, c.1800.²¹²

Nothing has been traced concerning the personal life of Kennedy, other than a record of a property transaction he concluded in December 1790 to acquire a sixty-six-year lease of a dwelling house in Gardiner street, an area that was under development for residential use at that time.²¹³ Kennedy, described in the deed as a 'silversmith of Exchange street', made an upfront payment of £200 and contracted for a yearly rent of £6 5s. By contemporary standards, the house was modest with a narrow frontage, tending to suggest that as he entered his fifties Kennedy, while relatively comfortable, was not a wealthy tradesman.²¹⁴

Very little is known about Aeneas Ryan (active 1784-1810), beyond the documentary and artefact evidence associated with his activity as a goldsmith. The documentary evidence is limited but the artefact evidence is quite extensive. From the goldsmiths' guild records, it is known that Ryan never became a freeman, remaining a quarter brother for his entire working life. Although a number of explanations for his lowly status are possible, the most plausible conjecture is that Ryan was a Catholic and that his religious convictions were the reason that he did not advance to full guild membership. A Relief Act opened guild membership to Catholics in 1793 but during Ryan's lifetime the membership of the goldsmiths' guild was entirely Protestant.²¹⁵

²⁰⁹ NMI L.1551.5; Delamer and O'Brien, *500 Years*, p. 72.

²¹⁰ SAMA 2004.13.273. a-b; Davis, *The Genius of Irish Silver*, item 102.

²¹¹ SAMA 2004.13.267. a-b; Davis, *The Genius of Irish Silver*, item 109.

²¹² SAMA 2004.13.269. a-b; Davis, *The Genius of Irish Silver*, item 111.

²¹³ ROD, vol. 430, p. 52, memorial 278884; Casey, *Dublin*, pp 204-5.

²¹⁴ I am grateful to Dr Conor Lucey for sharing his knowledge of the housing market in late Georgian Dublin.

²¹⁵ FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin*, p. 15.

Are further conjectures on Ryan's origins possible? His unusual forename may provide some basis for speculation. The forename Aeneas (or its cognate Eneas which Ryan also used) is identified in some sources as an anglicisation of the Gaelic names *Aengus* (otherwise *Aonghus*) or *Éignach*. Research in the 1901 census, taken within a century of Ryan's most active period, may provide some sense of Ryan's possible origins and affiliations. In Ireland in 1901, 125 men and boys had the forename Aeneas (forty) or Eneas (eighty-five); none of them, however, had the surname Ryan. All but eleven of those listed with either of these two forenames were Catholics. Both forenames were relatively widely diffused across the island. Use of the names was particularly strong in the south-west (Kerry (twenty-eight) and Limerick (fourteen)), but it was also widely used in Mayo (twenty-three), Antrim (sixteen) and Donegal (twelve). Almost a third of the men and boys with the forenames were reported in the census returns as speaking Irish (although, with the exception of one infant, they were all listed as also speaking English). Extrapolation backwards from 1901 to a period before the Famine and the enormous disruptions of the nineteenth century is a risky endeavour if a reliable result is being sought, but the exercise does at least permit a question: Could Aeneas Ryan, the man who made boxes presented to lords lieutenant and chief secretaries, have begun his life as an Irish-speaking Catholic in one of the western counties on the Atlantic coast?

Whatever his origins, Ryan first appears (as Eneas Ryan) in the list of goldsmiths who registered with the guild in 1784 after the adoption of the 1783 Act.²¹⁶ No records have been traced of his apprenticeship in Dublin (an option that would have been closed to him if he was a Catholic) and it has not been possible to determine where he acquired his craft. Ryan maintained a workshop in Skinner row, which Bennett places at No 16 making Ryan a close neighbour of the Wests.²¹⁷ In the assay records for the calendar year 1788, Ryan was listed as submitting nineteen snuff boxes. He did not submit any other objects. In comparison with Kennedy, the number of boxes submitted for assay by Ryan is small. The possibility that Ryan was an out-worker for Kennedy has already been mentioned. The relatively low number of boxes he sent for assay may also indicate that Ryan was still at the early stages of his career in 1788 but might indicate that he chose not to engage fully with the assay office. The artefact evidence seen during the course of this research indicates that, while the presentation boxes Ryan made for supply to retailers were generally sent for assay and have

²¹⁶ Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 692.

²¹⁷ Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, p. 327.

hallmarks, many of the boxes Ryan made for personal use do not have hallmarks. For the remainder of his career after 1788 where assay records exist, he can be seen making occasional small assays until around 1810, when he leaves the historical record.

Surviving objects with Ryan's mark confirm that he specialised, probably exclusively, in the production of boxes. Like Kennedy, Ryan made boxes in all the conventional and fashionable forms. His work is highly accomplished, showing a mastery of both fashionable forms and hinge-making. There is also artefact evidence of one-off commissions which allowed him to explore innovative, complex and sometimes even playful forms (Figs. 6.31-35). A significant part of Ryan's box production was used in private and semi-public displays of sociability and friendship (Figs. 6.36-39).



Figure 6.31 Aeneas Ryan, *Nutmeg grater*, silver and other metal, Dublin, c.1800, courtesy of Tennants. The crest can be linked to George Forbes, 6th earl of Granard (1760-1837). The concealed barrel form used here by Ryan is highly unusual in late Georgian Irish graters.

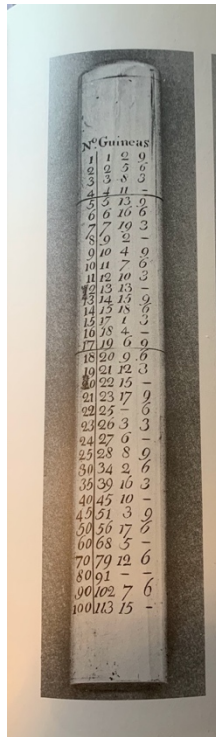


Figure 6.32 Aeneas Ryan, *Travelling pen and ink holder*, silver, Dublin, c.1805.

The illustration is taken from Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver* at p. 153. Bennett explains that the object, made in three sections, is a ‘travelling exchange table with a container for a pen, also an ink reservoir’ and that ‘on one side is an exchange table showing English guineas converted into Irish currency’ and on the other ‘a linear scale of inches’. This object is now in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland.

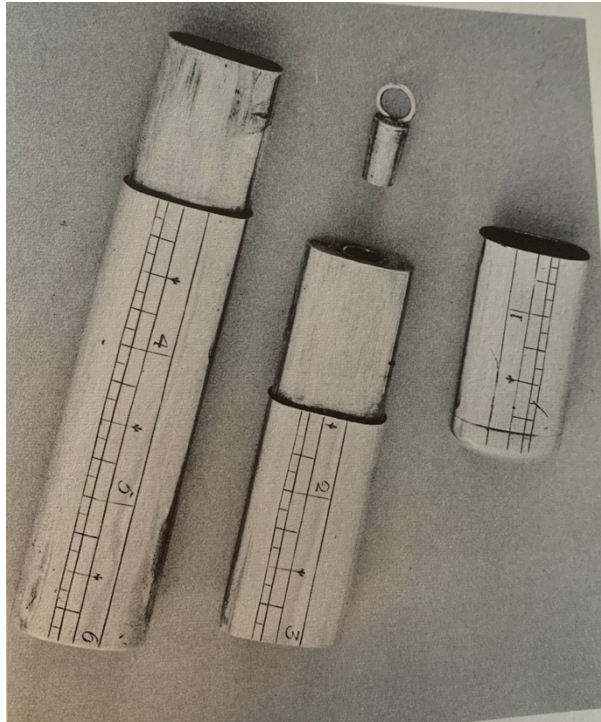


Figure 6.33 Aeneas Ryan, *Travelling pen and ink holder*, silver, Dublin, c.1805.
This image, also from Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, shows the object dismantled into its three constituent parts.

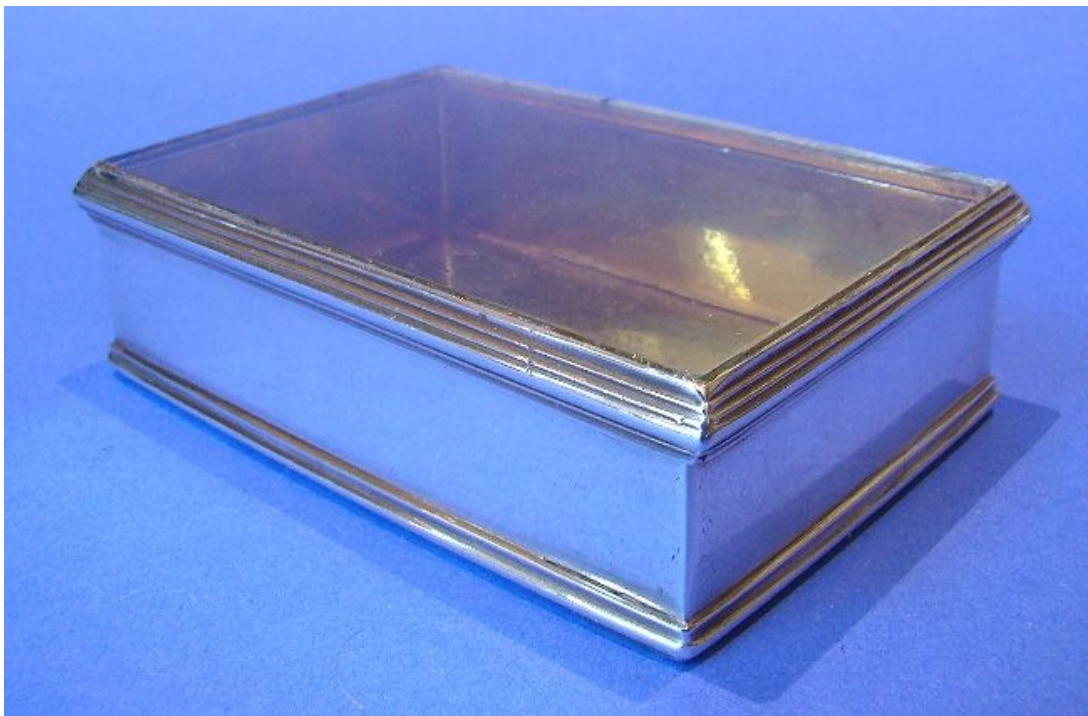


Figure 6.34 Aeneas Ryan, *Glass-topped specimen box associated with Dr Perceval of Kildare place*, silver and glass, Dublin, c.1800, courtesy of Daniel Bexfield, London.
Perceval (1756-1839), whose name is engraved on the box, was Professor of Chemistry at Trinity College, Dublin (1785), President of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland (1799) and a founder of the Royal Irish Academy.



Figure 6.35 Aeneas Ryan, *Glass-topped specimen box associated with Dr Perceval of Kildare place*, silver and glass, Dublin, c.1800, courtesy of Daniel Bexfield, London.
 In this image, the box is open, and the silver-gilt interior with the mark of Aeneas Ryan is visible.



Figure 6.36 Aeneas Ryan, *Silver-mounted shell snuff box*, silver and cowrie shell, Dublin, c.1793, courtesy of Adam's of Dublin.
 The box was presented in December 1793 by a younger militia officer, Touchet Blayney Cadwallader Campbell (1760?-1826?) to his superior officer, Eyer Power Trench (1749?-1820?).



Figure 6.37 Aeneas Ryan, *Double snuff box presented to Captain Monsell by his men*, silver-gilt, Dublin, 1799, courtesy of Christie's London.

This harmoniously proportioned silver-gilt oblong double snuff box with canted corners was presented by the non-commissioned officers and the privates of a dragoon troop to their captain, John Thomas Monsell, as a 'Trifling but Sincere Token of Their Respect for him as an Officer and Heartfelt Gratitude for his unremitting Attention Lenity and Generosity to them & their families'.



Figure 6.38 Aeneas Ryan, *Silver-mounted shell snuff box*, silver and cowrie shell, Dublin, c.1796, (author's collection).

The artefact is a rare example of box-gifting among women (and, possibly, evidence of feminine snuff-taking) in late Georgian Ireland.

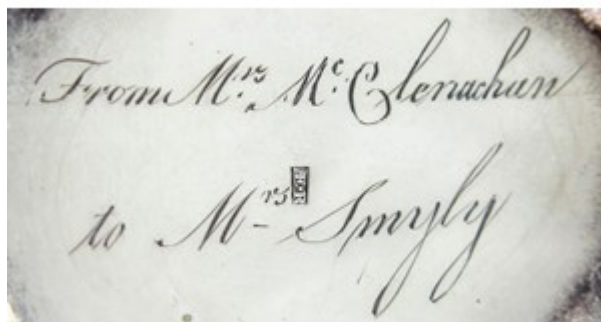


Figure 6.39 Aeneas Ryan, *Silver-mounted shell snuff box*, silver and cowrie shell, Dublin, c.1796 (author's collection).

This inscription inside the shell snuff box records that it was a gift from Mrs. McClenachan (who may have been Isabella Arbuthnot who married William McClenachan in 1797) to Mrs. Smyly (who is likely to have been Belissa Crampton (1771-1849) who married John Smyly KC (1767-1821) in 1796). The maker's mark of Aeneas Ryan is also visible.

The survey of the surviving artefact evidence associated with box presentations by both the corporation and the college discussed earlier in this chapter seems to indicate that Ryan only became involved in producing the boxes supplied to those institutions after Kennedy's death (which Bennett placed in 1803).²¹⁸ No evidence has been found of the corporation or the college presenting a box made by Ryan prior to 1804. The two boxes presented to Nepean in the first half of 1804 provide the earliest reliable records of boxes made by Ryan being presented by those institutions; West supplied one box to the corporation and John Keen supplied the college with the other. Why did Ryan not make boxes for these institutions earlier in his career? He clearly had the ability and there is evidence that he was making boxes for presentation by other institutions in the city in the 1790s (for example, the gold box made by Ryan and presented to Grattan by the brewers' guild in 1792, now in the National Museum in Dublin).²¹⁹ If Ryan replaced Kennedy after his death rather than competing with him during his lifetime, he may have been following the pattern observed in the previous generation with Currie and Stokes. Active together in the niche market for the production of boxes, Kennedy and Ryan may have had a commercial relationship built on complementarity rather than rivalry. If, as conjectured earlier, Ryan and Kennedy worked together as part of an informal network, that arrangement might provide a context for the sequential pattern observed in their trading with the retailers, with Ryan conveniently replacing Kennedy as the source of boxes for the Keens and the Wests.

²¹⁸ Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, p. 314.

²¹⁹ NMI L.1551.3.

After their deaths, Kennedy and Ryan were both entirely forgotten, and their achievements were obscured for many decades. In the case of Kennedy, his work was almost invariably attributed to a more junior contemporary, James Keating, who registered with the guild in 1795 and who used the same initials in his maker's mark.²²⁰ From the first to the third (and current) edition of *Jackson*, Kennedy's distinctive mark (IK with pellet) has been attributed to Keating. Bennett rescued Kennedy from oblivion in 1972 when, writing about a travelling ink box made c.1780, he observed that it 'bears the mark IK, which is that of James Kennedy, who was a box maker, although this punch is usually attributed to James Keating, who was a spoon maker. James Kennedy was the only person with those initials who had boxes assayed in Dublin during this period.'²²¹

Ryan too was forgotten. In the first edition of *Jackson*, Aeneas Ryan's distinctive mark (ÆR) was reproduced under the heading 'Unascribed Marks' in the section on Irish goldsmiths with the comment 'Mounts of shell snuff-box: Mr Dudley Westropp' (probably an indication that Westropp owned the box) and with the additional footnote 'possibly Scottish marks'.²²² Westropp was one of Jackson's principal informants on Irish silver and is described in the first edition of *Jackson* as having 'left nothing unexamined in the archive of the Goldsmiths' Company, or the Dublin civic records, which could in any way elucidate this subject'.²²³ The omission of Ryan is a strange oversight by Westropp who had compiled the 'List of Goldsmiths For Whom Plate was Assayed in Dublin From 1638 to 1811' in the first edition of *Jackson* and had included 'Eneas Ryan' in the list of makers for 1787-8 (presumably relying on the surviving detailed assay records of that period which also reveal Ryan's specialisation as a box-maker).²²⁴ By the time the second edition of *Jackson* was published in 1921, Aeneas Ryan had been rescued from oblivion and his name was reconnected to the ÆR mark.²²⁵

In the assay lists for the calendar year 1788, three other goldsmiths are listed as submitting snuff boxes for assay: Alexander Tickell (active 1771-1800) who submitted nineteen boxes; John Kavanagh (active 1784-8) who submitted seven; and, Robert Eccleston

²²⁰ Jackson (3rd ed.), p. 693.

²²¹ Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, p. 132.

²²² Jackson (1st ed.), p. 667.

²²³ *Ibid.*, p. 536.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 614.

²²⁵ Jackson (2nd ed.), p. 622.

(active 1788-92) who submitted two boxes.²²⁶ None of these goldsmiths has been linked by surviving artefact evidence with presentations by the corporation or the college in Dublin during this period. Of the three, Tickell can be identified, through artefact evidence, as having produced boxes used in presentations by other civic institutions in the city and elsewhere in Ireland. Caution is required in relation to Tickell whose mark is often confused with Abraham Tuppy (active 1761-89), a goldsmith who may have made boxes in the generation preceding Tickell.²²⁷ The National Museum in Dublin has two presentation boxes catalogued under Tickell's name: a circular silver box presented to Xavierus Blake in 1771²²⁸ and a circular gold box presented to Henry Grattan by Drogheda in 1782.²²⁹ Another circular gold box made by Tickell and presented by Waterford to the lord lieutenant John Fane (1759-1841), 10th earl of Westmorland, in 1790 was on display in the Waterford Museum until recently (Fig. 6.40).²³⁰ A rectangular silver box with canted corners presented by the cooks' guild to Captain Thomas Pakenham in 1797 was described as having Tickell's marks when offered for sale in 2018 (Fig. 6.41).²³¹

²²⁶ Details of these goldsmiths' active years are taken from Bennett *Irish Georgian Silver*, with the exception of Tickell whose career has been expanded back to 1771 due to the survival of a box presented in Galway in that year with a mark attributed to him (Hayes-McCoy, 'A Galway Freedom Box of 1771'). It is possible (and maybe likely) that the Galway box was made by Tuppy. Bennett in both *Irish Georgian Silver* and *Collecting* gives Tickell's name as 'Ticknell'.

²²⁷ The dates for Tuppy are taken from Bennett, *Collecting*, p. 155.

²²⁸ Delamer and O'Brien, *500 Years*, p. 72; Hayes-McCoy, 'A Galway Freedom Box of 1771'.

²²⁹ Delamer and O'Brien, *500 Years*, p. 71.

²³⁰ I am grateful to Eamonn McEaney, Director of Waterford Treasures, for this information.

²³¹ Fonsie Mealy, *The Chatsworth Summer Fine Art Sale, 10 & 11 July 2018* (Castlecomer, 2018), lot 43. Tickell's name was incorrectly given as 'Ticknell' in the catalogue.



Figure 6.40 Alexander Tickell, *Circular box with removeable cover presented by Waterford to John Fane, 10th earl of Westmorland in 1790 (cover with the Fane arms), gold, Dublin, c.1790, courtesy of Waterford Treasures.*



Figure 6.41 Alexander Tickell, *Rectangular box with canted corners presented to Captain Thomas Pakenham by the cooks' guild in 1797 (top with guild arms)*, silver, Dublin, 1797, courtesy of Fonsie Mealy.

In addition to boxes for presentations, Tickell made boxes for personal use. A snuff box in the form of a book with the words 'Foot's Works' inscribed on the spine (as a reference to the famous Dublin snuff manufacturer, Lundy Foot) was offered at Adam's of Dublin in 2012 and identified as Tickell's work (Fig. 6.42).²³² Tickell's output was not confined to boxes and from the list of objects assayed in 1788 he emerges as the leading maker of silver corkscrews in the city, having submitted ten of the fourteen corkscrews assayed that year. Bennett noted another area of specialisation by Tickell: 'During the period 1790-1800 a large number of asparagus tongs were made in Dublin, a great many bearing [Tickell's] punch mark'.²³³

²³² James Adam and Sons, *Fine Period Furniture & Decorative Arts, 14 April 2012* (Dublin, 2012), lot 79.

²³³ Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, p. 332.



Figure 6.42 Alexander Tickell, *Snuff box in the form of a book*, silver, Dublin, c.1795, courtesy of Adam's of Dublin.

Like his near contemporaries, Kennedy and Ryan, Tickell never advanced beyond the quarterage. The route by which he entered the trade is unclear as no records of his apprenticeship in Dublin have been traced. Bennett located Tickell's workshop in Exchange street, a few doors away from Kennedy, in the period 1784-1800. The impression given by the evidence of his highly specialised production is that Tickell made a range of small luxury objects that he presumably supplied for sale in the shops of fashionable retailing goldsmiths. However, as no boxes with his mark have survived that can be connected with the Keens and the Wests and their trade with the corporation and the college, it must be assumed that Tickell worked through different channels, supplying his boxes to other retailers in the city. The results of the research discussed in this chapter have focused on retail channels controlled by the Keens and the Wests and supplied by Kennedy, Ryan and Murray; further research may reveal other similar arrangements operated by other retailers.

Artefact evidence indicates that after the departure of Kennedy and Ryan from the trade, the West firm began to work with Edward Murray. A circular silver-gilt box presented by Drogheda to Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole (1772-1842) in 1814 was offered at the 'Luggala Sale' in 2006 and may provide an early example of the collaboration between Murray and the

West's (Fig. 6.43).²³⁴ Reports from the sale mentioned marks associated with the West firm on the box. It is not clear whether Murray's mark is also present but, given the style of decoration, there can be little doubt that it was made by Murray. His highly distinctive use of repoussé work was a dramatic change from the simpler style employed by Kennedy and Ryan in the boxes they made in the preceding decades; it can be seen in other boxes from this period that bear Murray's mark.



Figure 6.43 Matthew West (and Edward Murray?), *Circular box presented by Drogheda corporation to Galbraith Lowry Cole in 1814*, silver-gilt, Dublin, c.1814, courtesy of *Antiques Trade Gazette*.

Murray had become free of the goldsmiths' guild in 1812. Details of his apprenticeship have not been found. There are records of a number of goldsmiths called Murray in eighteenth-century Dublin (Nathaniel, free 1747; Nathaniel Junior, free 1758; Robert, free 1761) but no link between them and Edward has been traced.²³⁵ Murray was a guild warden between 1816 and 1819 and served as master in 1820/1. He effectively retired from the trade in 1835 when he became assay master, a post he held until his death in 1854.²³⁶

After the Drogheda Cole box, artefact evidence of other boxes points to an ongoing working relationship between Murray and West. As no business records survive for either

²³⁴ *Antiques Trades Gazette*, 27 May 2006: <https://www.antiquetradegazette.com/news/2006/luggala-the-best-irish-house-sale-in-years/> (consulted 25 September 2020).

²³⁵ Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, p. 320.

²³⁶ CGD archive, *Minute books*, vol. 8 (11 Oct. 1824-7 May 1855), p. 530.

goldsmith, it is not possible to know with certainty the nature of their relationship. However, the available evidence points to some form of arrangement by which Murray operated as an out-worker to make the boxes that West sold to his prestigious clients. Murray's mark, alongside West's mark, was noted on the gold box that the college presented to Talbot in 1817, when it was offered at Christie's London in December 2011 (Fig. 6.44).²³⁷ Records in the bursar's quarterly accounts and in the bursar's vouchers confirm that West invoiced the college for this box.²³⁸ The box, circular in form with restrained engraving, was in the more classical style used in the previous generation by Kennedy and Ryan. Other boxes from this period include the box with Murray's mark that West supplied to Drogheda for presentation to Talbot in 1818 (Introduction) and the silver-gilt box with the marks of Murray and West presented by the corporation of Drogheda to Patrick Curtis in 1820 (Fig. 6.23). Around this time, Murray may also have been making boxes for West to keep in stock, ready for engraving and presentation. A silver-gilt box from 1816, with Murray's mark and West's retailer's mark, has a small panel on the cover that was likely intended to provide a surface for an inscription (Fig. 6.45).



Figure 6.44 Edward Murray, *Circular box presented by Trinity College Dublin to earl Talbot in 1817*, gold, Dublin, c.1817, courtesy of Christie's.

²³⁷ Christie's London, *An Iberian Private Collection part 1: Important Gold Boxes & Objects of Vertu*, 8 December 2011 (London, 2011), lot 129.

²³⁸ TCD archives, MUN/V/57/9, MUN/P/4/169/66a.



Figure 6.45 Edward Murray, *Circular box with military and patriotic decoration*, silver-gilt, Dublin, 1816 (author's collection).

From the beginning of the 1820s, there is evidence of Murray working on much more lavish boxes. His mark is present, together with the mark of the West firm, on the most opulent and complex box to have survived from Georgian Dublin - the shamrock-shaped hinged bejewelled bog oak and gold box associated with the visit of George IV to Ireland in 1821 and now in the Royal Collection (Fig. 6.46).²³⁹ The box has a 'shaped lid with three green guilloché enamel leaves with diamond borders, each mounted with a gold and enamel crown with a pearl' and a central plaque with the king's cipher (in a form of Gaelic script) and an inscription in Irish (in the same Gaelic script) reading '*Go mbeannughudh Dia thu*'.²⁴⁰ The three crowns within the leaves of the shamrock represent the three kingdoms of England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland, with the knot pattern on the side signifying the Union. The box's form reflects the centrality of the shamrock in the public displays that welcomed the king during his Irish visit and its decorative scheme combines features inspired by contemporary continental European *objets de vertu* with motifs associated with the emerging taste for Celtic design.²⁴¹

²³⁹ Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 4036; Myles Campbell and William Derham (eds), *Making Majesty: The Throne Room at Dublin Castle; A Cultural History* (Newbridge, 2017), pp 218-9.

²⁴⁰ Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 4036; www.rct.uk. The Irish text can be translated as 'May God bless you'.

²⁴¹ One contemporary commentator expressed the opinion during the king's visit that "The Shamrock will be associated with the name of GEORGE IV. We believe that he is the first British Monarch that ever wore one" (*DEP*, 18 Aug. 1821).



Figure 6.46 Edward Murray and Matthew West, *Box associated with the visit of George IV to Ireland in 1821*, gold, bog oak, enamel, diamonds and pearls, Dublin, 1821. Source: Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2019.

Evidence from contemporary newspapers points to this box having been commissioned by George IV from the West firm as a personal souvenir of his visit to Ireland in August 1821. In November 1821, M. West & Sons placed the following advertisement in the Dublin newspapers:²⁴²

‘M.WEST & SONS,
GOLDSMITHS AND JEWELLERS TO HIS MAJESTY,
Beg to inform the Nobility and Public, that the Snuff Box and articles of Gilt Plate, ordered by his Majesty when in Dublin, are to be sent to London in the course of this week; therefore any Lady or Gentleman wishing to see them, will please to call at their Ware-Room, 15, Skinner-row, before Saturday next.
Nov. 12, 1821.’²⁴³

From this text, it is clear that the king ordered a snuff box (together with other articles) from M. West & Sons when he was in Ireland in August and September 1821 and that at least

²⁴² *SNL*, 13 Nov. 1821.

²⁴³ *Ibid.* The advertisement was also published on the same day in the *Freeman’s Journal*.

two months were required before the box was ready to be sent to London. The use of the words 'ordered by his Majesty when in Dublin' provides a very strong indication that the snuff box supplied by the West firm was a private purchase by the king, a transaction that permitted the West firm to describe itself in the advertisement as 'Goldsmiths and Jewellers to His Majesty'.

But is the shamrock box now in the Royal Collection the same box that George IV ordered from the West firm in 1821? From the presence on the box of the mark associated with the West firm (specifically the shop in Skinner row in the period after the death of Matthew Junior in 1820), it is clear that the shamrock box passed through the West shop. While it is possible that the box was purchased from the West firm for presentation to the king by an Irish civic institution or by an individual, there is nothing on the surface of the object itself that identifies the box a third-party presentation to the King. The absence of an inscription or other sign recording a presentation is significant. Throughout the currency of the box presentation practice in Ireland, boxes presented by civic institutions were, with very few exceptions, engraved with arms or textual inscriptions that identified the participants to the gift-exchanges. Boxes given as personal gifts also frequently bore inscriptions recording the gift-exchanges and it is likely that boxes were regarded as particularly suitable as gifts precisely because their surfaces could be used to record the exchanges. The absence of any text or sign on the surface of the box (other than the king's arms) provides a strong indication that it was a personal commission - a gift from George IV to himself (Fig. 6.47).



Figure 6.47 Edward Murray and Matthew West, *Box associated with the visit of George IV to Ireland in 1821 (base with the arms of George IV)*. Source: Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2019.

The West firm continued to retail boxes made by Murray until shortly before his appointment as assay master in 1835. Aspects of the relationship between Murray and the Wests are puzzling. Murray had a more prominent profile within the guild than Kennedy and Ryan. He was a freeman and occupied the most senior guild offices. While he was working on the shamrock box that allowed the Wests to claim royal patronage, Murray was guild master. Nevertheless, despite his prominence within the guild, Murray remained invisible in the public reports and notices about the objects he made, which were identified with the Wests who retailed them. The occlusion of Murray provides further evidence of the extent to which the box trade was controlled by the retailers in the final years of the presentation practice.

6.9 Conclusions on the trade in boxes in late Georgian Dublin

Due to the loss of business records, it is not possible to recover the exact commercial form of the relationship between the retailers and the specialist makers in the late Georgian period. However, documentary and artefact evidence of delays in supply and of advance purchases by the retailers, together with the frequent requirement for gold to execute commissions, points to a fairly basic form of pre-industrial putting-out or out-working, with

individual objects commissioned from the specialist goldsmith by the retailer who may have provided the raw material.²⁴⁴

Although surviving artefact evidence confirms that both Kennedy and Ryan were highly accomplished and versatile box-makers, their social status was much lower than Currie and Stokes a few decades earlier. Neither Kennedy nor Ryan advanced beyond the quarterage of the guild and, although Kennedy was sufficiently prosperous to enter a lease for his home, no records have been traced to suggest that either he or Ryan prospered in the same way as Currie and Stokes. The modest obscurity of the box-makers, when compared with the prosperity (albeit fragile) of the Keens and the Wests, suggests that from the late eighteenth century onwards the economic balance in transactions associated with box presentations had shifted in favour of the retailers over the specialist makers. When Leslie traded with Currie in 1756 for the supply of gold boxes, he was dealing with an equal, a guild brother who also maintained a shop in a fashionable location. The relationship of Kennedy and Ryan with the Keens and the Wests would have been of a different order. Even with Murray's status as a guild brother and officer, his position in transactions with the Wests does not appear to have been any stronger than that of the lowly quarter brothers who preceded him as specialist makers.

By the early 1830s, the presentation practice in the city was on its last legs and the skills of the specialist box-makers were increasingly redundant. The production side of the Dublin goldsmiths' trade faced overwhelming competition from industrially-produced English plate. Even the niche presentation box market was not spared and English-made boxes were intruding into the Dublin presentation practice. When the weavers presented a silver box to their representative on the common council in February 1835 (Chapter 4), the box they selected (now in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland) was an import from Birmingham.²⁴⁵ Six months later in August 1835, Murray, the last of Georgian Dublin's specialised box-makers, abandoned active engagement with the trade to seek refuge (and, probably, a steadier source of income) in the security of guild office as assay master.

²⁴⁴ James G. Carrier, *Gifts and Commodities: Exchange and Western Capitalism since 1700* (London, 1995), p. 40.

²⁴⁵ NMI 32.1929.

Conclusion

The history of the box presentation practice in late Stuart and Georgian Dublin and of the associated trade for gold and silver boxes is marked by both continuities and discontinuities. Of all the continuities and discontinuities encountered, the persistence of the presentation practice itself is the most striking element of continuity. The records of box presentations by Dublin corporation (Appendices 1, 2 and 3) chart a practice that continued essentially uninterrupted, at least in its external forms, for sixteen decades between 1662 and 1821, generating a small but sustained demand for boxes from goldsmiths in the city. Although other institutions in the city took time before they adopted the corporation's practice, once on board they too became reliable customers for boxes. In the case of the college, more than half a century passed after the corporation's first presentation to Ormond before it decided, with its presentation of a gold box to the prince of Wales in 1716, that the presentation practice could provide a suitable material expression for its recently-discovered enthusiasm for the newly-arrived Hanoverians. By the mid-eighteenth-century, box presentations had been integrated by the college into the extravagant displays of welcome and deference at the banquets it organised for lords lieutenant (Chapter 4). In the case of the guilds, there are indications of some presentations of boxes in the 1730s (Chapter 5). However, the documentary and artefact evidence suggests that the guilds' adoption of the practice in a sustained manner occurred in the second half of the eighteenth century when, in the wake of an increase in civic activism among the artisan and merchant classes within the city's Protestant population, the guilds recognised the utility of the practice as a means of projecting views on issues affecting their trades and of marking their appreciation for support received from their social superiors. Some of the guilds adopted the box presentation practice *con brio*. In the case of the weavers' guild which may have been the guild most committed to the practice, there are records of at least thirty-seven presentations in the three decades after its first recorded presentation in 1764; this rate of presentation exceeded that of the corporation which in the same period presented thirty-four boxes.

Persistence of the practice was not inevitable. Limerick, for example, provides a contrast with the lengthy continuity observed in Dublin (and in Cork). O'Brien traced the first instance of box presentation in the city to the decade after Dublin's Ormond presentation,

when the Limerick city assembly voted the freedom in a silver box to the earl of Thomond in November 1672.¹ O'Brien found records of nine votes to present boxes in the years up to 1680, a greater number than was recorded in Dublin at the same time. These votes, O'Brien thought, testified 'to the perceived popularity of the practice as a political relations exercise'.² However, his research also suggests that in Limerick the practice never gained the same traction as in Dublin and Cork and he found that evidence for further presentations in Limerick after 1680 was 'scanty'.³ In Dublin, by contrast, after a precarious start in the final years of Charles II's reign, the presentation practice was revived promptly by the corporation after the Williamite capture of Dublin in 1690, in a reinvigorated form that carried through to the final years of the Georgian period.

In Dublin, in addition to the persistence of the practice, a type of ceremonial continuity, with its own peculiar (but coherent) code, can be traced over the sixteen decades of the corporation's presentations. This continuity is particularly apparent in the case of the corporation's presentations to the lords lieutenant. It has been suggested by Clark that 'although it was usual to confer the freedom of Dublin upon the lord lieutenant, this was by no means automatic' and that there were as many as seven lords lieutenant who 'were effectively snubbed by the city of Dublin'.⁴ These statements risk misrepresentation of the practice as capricious and they appear to be contradicted by the evidence found in the course of this research of a practice that, once established, was followed with consistency. From Clarendon in 1685 to Whitworth in 1813, thirty-five men who occupied the position of viceroy were voted the freedom with a gold box by the corporation, meaning that during those thirteen decades every viceroy who came to the city received the corporation's gift. (As explained in Chapter 6, Whitworth's successor, Talbot, was presented in 1821 with a box made in oak with gold mounts; in itself, a sign of discontinuity and, perhaps, a material prefiguring of the ebbing confidence of the municipal *ancien régime*).

Within the corporation's distinctive ceremonial economy, the understanding was that the civic freedom (together with the accompanying box) were unique gifts that could not be repeated. The corporation's practice in respect the viceroys provides a clear illustration of the application of this rule. There are no records of the corporation voting the freedom or a gold

¹ Bowen and O'Brien (eds), *A Celebration of Limerick's Silver* (Cork, 2007), p. 76.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., p. 77.

⁴ Clark, 'The Dublin Civic Portrait Collection' (PhD thesis), pp 61-2.

box for a second time to the three viceroys who had received the city's gifts prior to their viceregal appointment.⁵ Similarly, the two individuals who served as viceroy twice during the eighteenth century received the corporation's gift only in their first term.⁶ Furthermore, the corporation felt itself under no obligation to present the freedom or gold boxes to viceroys who, although nominated or appointed, did not take up office or failed to travel to Ireland. Thus, there are no records of votes of freedom with gold boxes by the corporation to the five individuals who were appointed but never travelled to Ireland.⁷

Early modern Europeans understood that the presence in a city of a royal court was both a sign of, and a spur to, civility.⁸ In early modern Dublin, the viceregal court, usually presided over by a duke or an earl, had both a similar function and an equivalent allure. In the case of Ormond, as Dickson puts it, he 'brought tangible prestige to Dublin by his very presence' after his re-appointment in 1662.⁹ Despite its apparent formalism, the corporation's box presentation practice required an element of reciprocity from the viceroys; the corporation's gifts were contingent on, and rewards for, the viceroys' presence in the city. If a viceroy could not be bothered to come to Dublin, the corporation snubbed him in return. Analysis of the records of the corporation's discussions also shows that, for lords lieutenant, although their presence in the city was necessary for the presentation to be voted, it was also sufficient. Attempts by radicals within the corporation's common council in the 1780s and 1790s to delay presentations and to introduce an element of performance review, so that 'the City might have an opportunity of forming a Judgment whether his Excellency's conduct was deserving of such a Compliment from the Corporation', were invariably unsuccessful.¹⁰ To a limited but definite extent, box presentations were an expression of public opinion among the enfranchised section of the city's population. In this connection, it is suggested that there is scope for further research into the broader issue of the ceremonial reception of the viceroys

⁵ James Butler, 2nd duke of Ormonde, served two terms as viceroy (1703-7, 1710-13) but had already been voted his freedom in a gold box in 1697; Charles Paulet (or Powlett), 2nd duke of Bolton, took up office in 1717 but had been voted his freedom in a gold box in 1697 when (as marquess of Winchester) he was lord justice; and, Charles FitzRoy, 2nd duke of Grafton, took up office in 1720 but had previously been voted his freedom in a gold box in 1715 when he was lord justice.

⁶ Lionel Cranfield Sackville, 1st duke of Dorset, (1730-37 and 1750-55), and George Nugent-Temple-Grenville (1782-83 as 3rd earl Temple, and 1787-89 as 10th marquess of Buckingham).

⁷ Charles Spencer (1675-1722), 3rd earl of Sunderland, who was appointed in Sept. 1714; Charles Townsend (1674-1738), 2nd viscount Townsend, who was appointed in Feb. 1717; Thomas Thynne (1734-96), 3rd viscount Weymouth, who was appointed in June 1765; George William Hervey (1721-75), 2nd earl of Bristol, who was appointed in Oct. 1766; and, Edward Clive (1754-1839), 1st earl of Powis, who was appointed in Nov. 1805.

⁸ Keith Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility* (New Haven and London, 2018), p. 95.

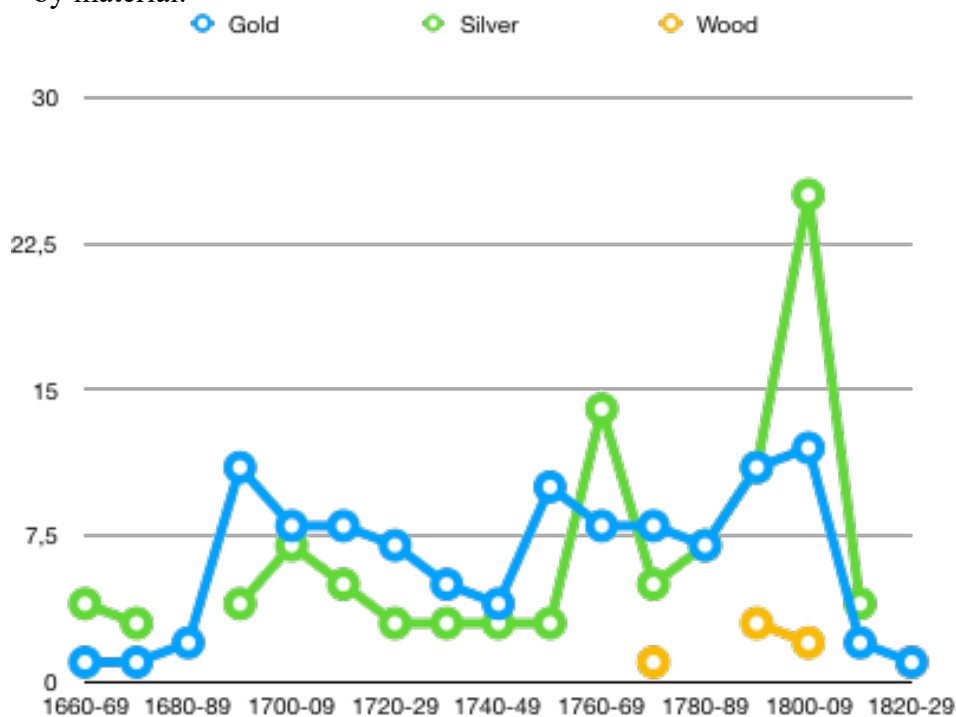
⁹ Dickson, *Dublin*, p. 79.

¹⁰ DCA, C1/JSC/05, vol. 5 (19 Jan. 1781-16 Feb. 1786), folio 96.

and the members of their courts (including their wives) by the corporation, its freemen and other civic institutions in eighteenth-century Dublin, which may provide insights into changing perceptions of the office and the officeholders within the city.

In contrast with the ceremonial continuity in presentations to the viceroys, analysis of the materiality of boxes presented to all categories of recipients by the corporation in Dublin over the course of sixteen decades shows significant changes and discontinuities. When the corporation’s presentations are considered progressively by reference to the materials used (Table 1), two distinct phases can be identified: a first phase from 1662 until 1759, when gold predominated; and, a second phase from 1760 until the final presentation in 1821, during which boxes in silver were presented more frequently than boxes in gold.

Table C.1 Boxes presented by Dublin corporation, 1662-1821, by numbers, by decade and by material.

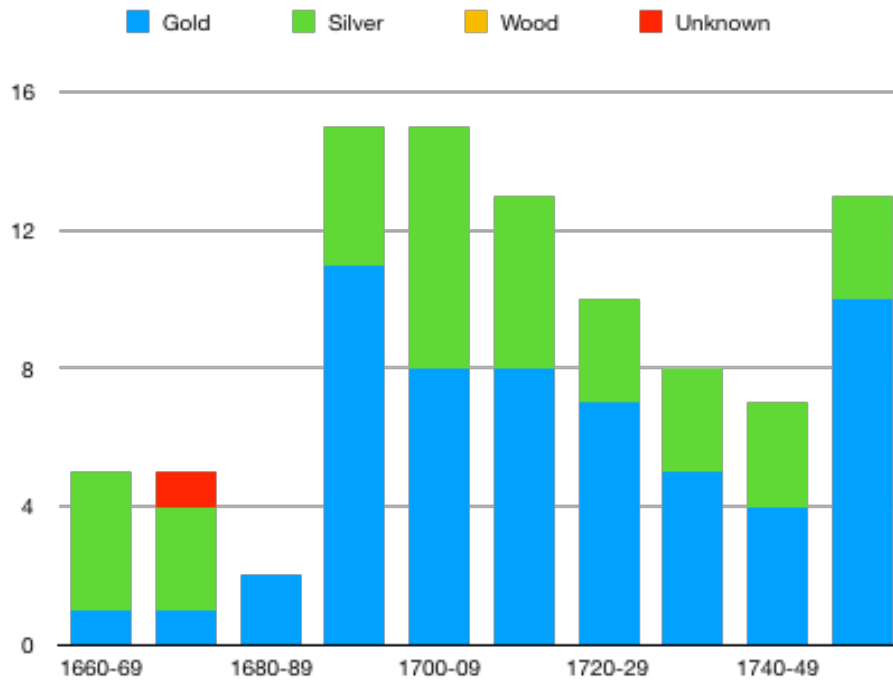


Source: *CARD*, iv-xvii.

For the first phase (from 1662 to 1759), records have been traced for ninety-eight boxes voted by the corporation (Table 2); of these, fifty-eight were made in gold, thirty-nine in silver and in one case the metal used was not recorded. Gold predominated in every decade from 1680 onwards. In the second phase, covering the seven decades from 1760 until 1821,

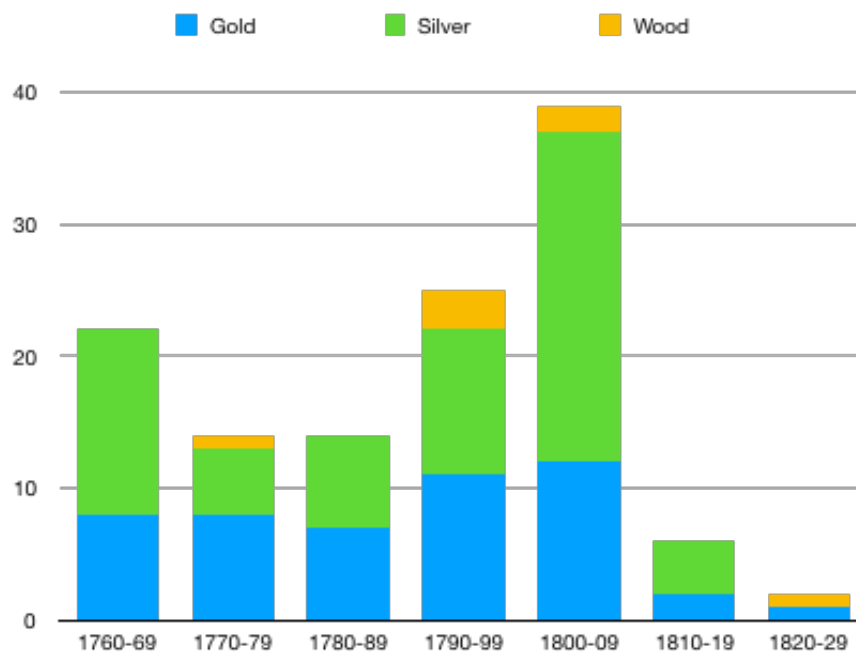
records indicate that, while the rate of presentations accelerated, gold boxes were less frequently presented: of the 120 boxes presented, sixty-three (53%) were made in silver, fifty (41%) were made in gold and seven (6%) in wood (Table 3).

Table C.2 Boxes presented by Dublin corporation, 1662-1759, by number, by decade and by material.



Source: *CARD*, iv-x.

Table C.3 Boxes presented by Dublin corporation, 1760-1829, by number, by decade and by material.



Source: *CARD*, x-xvii.

What do these figures mean and what does the material change reveal about underlying changes in the presentation practice? Essentially, the move towards silver and the proportionate decline in gold can be explained by an extension of the corporation's presentation practice, from roughly the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, to include recipients of lower social status (Chapter 4). During the first phase, when boxes in gold accounted for just over 60% of presentations, there was a sustained continuity in the corporation's selection of recipients. Presentations were largely confined to men whose high social status or prestigious offices required presentations in gold - principally lords lieutenant, lords justice and lord chancellors. In this period of the practice, the corporation's box presentations had strong affinities with the early modern culture of gift-giving described by Natalie Zemon Davis and Felicity Heal in their work on gift-exchange in sixteenth-century France and early Stuart England.¹¹ Drawing on insights from the historical, sociological and anthropological literature on gift-exchange inspired by Mauss,¹² Zemon Davis's and Heal's

¹¹ Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-century France* (Oxford, 2000); Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2014).

¹² Marcel Mauss, *Essai sur le don: Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques*, (Paris, 1925); the most current English language translation is Jane I. Guyer (ed.), *Marcel Mauss, The Gift* (Chicago, 2016).

work could provide a basis for further research on the social and cultural significance of municipal gift-exchange in early modern Ireland.

In the second phase, from the middle of the eighteenth century onward, high status individuals and senior office holders continued to receive boxes made in gold. However, there is a material discontinuity with the earlier phase. Just over two-fifths of the boxes presented were made in gold. Recipients of gold boxes were outnumbered by an increasing number of recipients whose lower social status dictated that the boxes they received should be made in silver. The material shift toward silver coincided with the corporation moving away from its earlier practice of associating box presentation exclusively with honorary grants of freedom. In the first century of the presentation practice, from 1662 to 1760, gold and silver boxes were only presented together with grants of freedom, meaning that recipients were drawn from outside the ranks of the city's freemen and that men who were already freemen were never presented with boxes. From the 1760s onwards (for reasons explored in Chapter 4), the corporation changed its practice and began to present boxes to its own freemen, including former municipal office-holders. The façade of disinterested giving that shielded earlier presentations from the appearance of corruption or impropriety gradually fell away and these later presentations by the corporation to its own members began to resemble the 'dangerous gifts' of questionable morality that have been examined by Groebner and Heal.¹³ The political and social significance of these changes in the pattern of municipal gift-exchange could be the subject of further research.

In both their ceremonial and material aspects, box presentations in eighteenth-century Ireland provide an index of the prosperity and self-confidence of the municipalities that operated the practice. Cork's early move to use box presentations as a means of promoting its commercial interests has already been mentioned (Chapter 1). Building on the work of Bowen and O'Brien, there may be space for further research into the specificities of this aspect of the material culture of Georgian Cork and the response it generated in the goldsmiths' trade in the city.¹⁴ In the case of Dublin, the expansion of the practice from the mid-century onwards both by the corporation and other civic institutions occurred at a time when the enfranchised minority in the city had become more assertive of its civic identity and

¹³ Valentin Groebner (trans. Pamela E. Selwyn), *Liquid Assets, Dangerous Gifts: Presents and Politics at the End of the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2002); Heal, *The Power of Gifts*, chapter 7.

¹⁴ Bowen and O'Brien, *Cork Silver and Gold*, pp 154-65.

increasingly influenced by new notions of citizenship from Britain, continental Europe and North America. In some ways, the new understanding of civic identity gave a refreshed lease of life to the box presentation practice, providing the corporation and the guilds with an existing conventional idiom to express their new perspectives and enthusiasms. This tendency was seen in particular in the series of presentations of gold boxes by the corporation to retiring lord mayors from the 1770s onwards, discussed in Chapter 4. The abandonment of the practice in the 1820s may, in its turn, be understood as a reflection of the deteriorating circumstances of the corporation and the guilds. Undoubtedly, the increasing obsolescence of formulaic expressions of deference and esteem also played a role in the collapse of box presentation in the city. In the final decades, the records suggest that the conventions formerly underpinning the practice were barely understood even by participants in the exchanges and, in the case of individuals whose preference for cash rather than a box was recorded in the treasurer's notes, entirely disregarded. By the early 1820s the corporation and the historic corporate structure of the city were under existential threat, facing the ultimate discontinuity of abolition. After decades of extravagance and financial malfeasance, the corporation (famously goaded by Daniel O'Connell in 1815 as 'beggarly') was increasingly indigent and pitiful.¹⁵ Within a couple of decades, the entire structure of the guilds and the corporation was swept away by the 1840 act that reformed Irish municipal government.¹⁶ It is not difficult to understand that in the remaining decades of decline after the final presentation to Talbot in 1821 the aldermen and council members sitting in the corporation might have been preoccupied by issues more pressing than the presentation of boxes made in gold, silver or bog oak.

Patterns of continuity and discontinuity can also be observed in the arrangements for the production and supply of presentation boxes within the city from the late seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century. The most striking element of continuity, as noted throughout the preceding chapters, was the unwavering preference of the city institutions for transacting with socially and commercially prominent goldsmiths. In itself, this finding is unsurprising. Clifford and FitzGerald have shown how in both London and Dublin the most prominent goldsmiths served the most prestigious (and profligate) consumers. This was largely a function of fashion, a lure to which the civic institutions in Dublin were not impervious. In common with fashionable elite consumers, the institutions may have had financial reasons for

¹⁵ Oliver MacDonagh, *O'Connell; The Life of Daniel O'Connell, 1775-1847* (London, 1991), p. 134.

¹⁶ Hill, *From Patriots*, chapter 14; Dickson, *Dublin*, pp 338-9.

their preference. As Clifford noted concerning eighteenth-century London, ‘luxury retailers depended on their ability to grant credit to their important customers’.¹⁷ Prominent goldsmiths in Dublin also operated on the basis of extended payment terms or credit.¹⁸ The records of petitions for payment by goldsmiths who supplied the corporation with boxes, from Pallas in the reign of James II (Chapter 2) to West more than a century later (Chapter 6), suggest that the corporation was not always prompt in the discharge of its debts. In the case of Bellingham, his ability to construct financial arrangements that allowed the corporation to satisfy its yearning for ceremonial objects, including its extravagant gifts to Ormond, must have contributed to his recurrent selection as a supplier by the corporation (Chapter 1). In the generation immediately after Bellingham, reliable access to supplies of gold and to the technical capacities required for box-making may have been additional factors that led the institutions to the shops of prominent goldsmiths such as Bolton and King (Chapter 3).

However, among the suppliers of boxes to the corporation, social and commercial prominence was not the sole shared trait. From Bellingham in the 1660s to West in the 1810s, a recurring pattern of participation in municipal politics has been observed in the cases of almost all goldsmiths who were selected for the corporation’s commissions. It must be supposed that these politically active goldsmiths regarded the award of prestigious (and, presumably, relatively lucrative) box commissions as a perk of office. In the late seventeenth century, the choice of Ram, Pallas and Cottingham as suppliers can most likely be linked to their political profiles (Chapter 2). With the arrival of Bolton on the scene in the 1690s, the dilemma of causality between political participation and selection as a municipal supplier comes into sharper focus. The records considered in Chapter 3 indicated that Bolton began to receive commissions for boxes and regalia from the corporation around the time that he first became involved in municipal politics. Did he obtain these commissions because of his political profile or did he cultivate his political profile in order to obtain the commissions? It is not possible to say but it is clear that, if Bolton accounted the prospect of obtaining commissions among his motivations for seeking municipal office, his strategy was very successful. The evidence points to Bolton having obtained most of the corporation’s commissions for decades; he wielded a degree of influence that permitted him, on at least two occasions, to arrange for the insertion of his name in the corporation’s gifting resolutions.

¹⁷ Clifford, *Silver in London*, p. 68.

¹⁸ FitzGerald, *Silver in Georgian Dublin*, pp 128-30.

In the decades after Bolton's apogee, a shift in the corporation's criteria for the selection of its suppliers of boxes can be observed. Leslie who supplied boxes throughout the 1750s had a profile as a long-term participant in corporation politics that appears to fit into a pattern of continuity with Bolton and his other politically-active predecessors. However, an element of discontinuity also becomes apparent from the middle of the eighteenth century. Leslie and the goldsmiths who succeeded him as suppliers were for the most part members of lower house of the corporation's assembly, the common council, rather than of the upper house in which aldermen like Bolton sat. From the period of Leslie's transactions onwards, membership of the common council seems to have become increasingly a necessary condition to obtain box commissions. The movement of commissions away from aldermen in the upper house to the members of the lower house may reflect the shift in power and influence between the two houses of the assembly in the wake of Lucas's agitation and subsequent municipal reform. Further research might indicate whether similar patterns can be found in other aspects of the corporation's procurement processes at this time.

An expectation that the corporation's commissions would be divided up among councilmen is probably the most likely explanation for the large number and the diversity of suppliers identified in the corporation accounts between the late 1750s and 1779 (Chapter 5). The preference for selecting sitting councilmen as suppliers also probably explains the absence of any record of direct supply of boxes by the specialised box-makers, Currie and Stokes. Their political careers at municipal level were either unsuccessful or short-lived. Subsequent records of the corporation's payments suggest that its preference for transacting with council members continued into the early nineteenth century. The Wests, in particular, benefitted from this arrangement. Their first recorded commissions for boxes occurred in 1798 when Matthew Senior was sitting on the council. John Keen's experience between 1801 and 1804 operates as a succinct summary how the system worked: during Keen's time on the council, he obtained commissions to supply boxes (and other gifts) but, once he lost his seat, he lost the corporation's business too.

As far as arrangements for the production of the boxes supplied to the corporation and the college are concerned, the evidence discussed in Chapter 3 points to the possibility that in the first half of the eighteenth century at least some of the goldsmiths who were selected to supply boxes were using an integrated model, in the sense that the boxes they supplied were made within the workshops they controlled. In the case of Bolton, but also of King and

Calderwood, this finding should not be surprising. All three were large-scale producers with sizeable workshops, capable of producing a variety of objects relying on the skills of specialised craftsmen. It is tempting to identify another causality dilemma in respect of the orders these goldsmiths received: were the goldsmiths chosen by the institutions because they could make boxes, or did they make the boxes because they received the institutions' commissions? However, framing the question in this way would risk missing the point. All the evidence indicates that, like the goldsmiths who preceded and succeeded them as suppliers, Bolton, King and Calderwood received their commissions from the corporation (and probably from the college too) not because of any specific technical capacity they were thought to have within their workshops but due to their social, commercial and political prominence within the city.

Evidence of the likely production of boxes within the diversified workshops of the first half of the eighteenth century is significant for the contrast it provides to evidence of how specialisation and out-sourcing operated in the next generations.¹⁹ Writing in the 1740s about the trade in London, Campbell in an oft-quoted observation explained how goldsmiths relied on specialist craftsmen: 'The Goldsmith employs several distinct Workmen, almost as many as there are different Articles in his Shop; for in this great City there are Hands that excel in every Branch, and are constantly employ'd but in that one of which they are Masters'.²⁰ This may also be a fair description of how craftsmen with box-making skills were integrated within the Dublin workshops of Bolton, King and Calderwood. Campbell, however, also observed that the goldsmith 'employs besides those in his Shop, many Hands without'.²¹ This comment by Campbell led Clifford to ask the question 'how were they [i.e. the 'distinct Workmen'] divided between those based within the 'shop', and those without, between dependent and independent suppliers?'²² The evidence presented in Chapter 5 concerning the respective roles of Currie and Leslie in the production and supply of the Kildare and Ponsonby boxes goes some way to show how the division between 'within' and 'without' operated in the Dublin trade in the late 1750s, at least as far as the trade in boxes was concerned. Unlike Bolton a few decades earlier, Leslie seems not to have had the capacity to make boxes within his workshop and instead relied on Currie as an independent supplier from outside his shop to supply boxes that he sold to the corporation. By the 1780s, the

¹⁹ Maxine Berg, *Luxury & Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2008), p. 170.

²⁰ R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747), p. 142.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

²² Clifford, *Silver in London*, p. 70.

evidence shows that this type of outsourcing arrangement was standard procedure among the goldsmiths who supplied boxes to the institutions (Chapter 6). Once Arthur Keen secured his *entrée* to the college in the early 1780s, all the artefact evidence connected to his transactions (and later to those of his brother) shows that the boxes they supplied were made outside their shop by Kennedy and Ryan. Similarly, once the Wests had established themselves as suppliers of boxes to the corporation, they relied on Kennedy and Ryan and subsequently Murray, as subcontractors or out-workers.

These later out-working arrangements were constructed in a way that operated principally to the advantage of the retailers. In common with fashionable goldsmiths in London at the time, the retail businesses operated by the Keens and the Wests were essentially based on a form of credit supply to their customers and, as a result, were vulnerable to insolvency and failure (outcomes experienced by members of both families).²³ As retail goldsmiths, they invested heavily in their premises and stock. Out-working arrangements allowed them to hedge against the additional cost that would have been involved in maintaining a workshop and specialised workers. Looking at late-eighteenth-century London, Clifford found that retailing goldsmiths ‘who subcontracted out were freed from supporting a permanent workforce that required regular payments whatever the state of the market’.²⁴ Clifford also points out that the model based on out-working had some advantages for the specialists as they ‘would have been diversifying their risks and delivering their lines to a number of different retailers’.²⁵ For Kennedy, Ryan and Murray, the advantages experienced by subcontracted specialists in London may not have been so easy to replicate in Dublin. The market for presentation boxes in the city was highly concentrated, and the position of the Keens and the Wests within that market was strengthened by the degree of control they exercised over access to the small number of important institutional customers.

The similarities between the Wests and the Keens extended beyond their use of the same out-workers to make boxes; both family enterprises operated within kinship networks, connected by birth or marriage and based on intergenerational transmission of guild membership and commercial know-how (Chapter 6). Sons worked with fathers, nephews

²³ Clifford, *Silver in London*, p. 68; Culme, ‘The embarrassed goldsmith’.

²⁴ Clifford, *Silver in London*, p. 68.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

were bound to uncles, and younger brothers worked with older siblings. The families' business model was also fissional, with individual members splitting away from the family business to start their own shops. In the case of the Keens and their D'Oliers cousins, family members appear to have operated within a broader collaborative network rather than as competitors: Isaac II trained his Keen nephews alongside his own sons and kept them in his shop after their articles expired; Arthur Keen passed his shop on to his younger brother and, together with his wife, he lent money to his older brother; Richard D'Olier's business was managed by Arthur Keen during the D'Olier family's confinement in France. With the Wests, the experience of fission may have been less positive. The brothers Matthew Junior and Jacob maintained cordial relations but there is evidence of acrimony between West cousins whose fathers had worked side-by-side. By 1820, Matthew Junior thought it necessary to publish advertisements in the press informing the public that he 'had no connection whatever' with a goldsmith named John West who had set up shop next-door;²⁶ the unwelcome neighbour is likely to have been Matthew Junior's cousin.

Extended family structures were also important as sources of the capital required to establish and operate a retail goldsmith's business. This research has revealed how the Keen brothers' marriage settlements were crucial to their ability to set up their own shops. The younger John Keen's failure may have been related to the capital impairment he incurred as a result of his sisters' settlements, but long-term success or failure within this distinctive business model was often dependent largely on factors outside the individuals' control. Health problems and premature mortality disrupted the best-laid plans. Within the family structures examined in this research, outcomes varied in the face of these imprevisibilites - the businesses of John Keen in Dame street and of Matthew West in Skinner row both probably failed because their proprietors' relatively early deaths left the businesses in the hands of young and inexperienced heirs. By contrast, William Keen's business survived his death due to the tenacity and business skills of his widow Jane who managed her own apparently decorous departure from the trade fifteen years after her husband's death. Jacob West's exceptional longevity is likely to have been a factor in the stability and continuity of his business. The Keens and the Wests were not alone in operating these intergenerational and fissional family structures within the Dublin goldsmiths' trade in the late eighteenth

²⁶ *DEP*, 30 May 1820.

century.²⁷ Undoubtedly, similar structures operated in other trades in Georgian Dublin. There is scope for further work to investigate and compare the structures, dynamics and outcomes related to these arrangements within the Dublin goldsmiths' trade (and other trades) and to place them in a broader context of business organisation within Dublin and in the North Atlantic world.

Social capital was also transmitted through the family networks. Both William and Arthur Keen owed their admission to the guild to their influential uncle whom they mentioned prominently in the advertisements announcing the opening of their own shops. Matthew Junior took his father's seat on the council, the first step in his progress to being elected in 1820 to the mayoralty, a prize denied him by his early death but attained by his brother Jacob in 1829. In the final decades of the box presentation practice, the economic and social capital transmitted through these family networks allowed the Keens and the Wests, acting as retailers, to dominate the processes for the production and supply of presentation boxes. By contrast, the social and commercial profiles of the goldsmiths who made the boxes seem to have declined. The relative modesty and obscurity of Kennedy, Ryan and Murray when compared with Currie and Stokes a generation earlier was noted in Chapter 6. As the retail model became more established, the retailers' access to capital and their control of the customer relationship allowed them to consolidate their advantages by means of investment in attractive premises, advertising, and the pursuit of the social status derived from the guild and municipal offices they held; both Matthew and Jacob West, for example, never missed an opportunity to mention their status as aldermen. The social and commercial prominence of the retailers, it seems, provided their customers, including the city institutions, with the guarantee of quality and trustworthiness that had previously been assured by guild membership. The retailers recognised the prestige associated with the boxes they supplied and publicised their involvement in the presentation practice to enhance further their social and commercial status.

In this final period of the presentation practice, a curious and repetitive insistence can be observed on the part of the retailers to connect themselves materially with the boxes they supplied but which they knew were made by other hands. Their insistence seems to go beyond the retailer's conventional assertion of responsibility for the quality of the objects he

²⁷ Bennett in *Irish Georgian Silver* (p. 337) listed ten goldsmiths with the Williamson surname who were active in Georgian Dublin.

sold in his shop. In part, the retailers sought to connect themselves to the lofty recipients of the boxes, but something more seems to have been at play. It is as if the guild ideal of the solitary, skilled artisan firing and hammering crude metal into unique, graceful objects still maintained its hold on the minds of Matthew West and John Keen.

As this thesis began with an example of Matthew West taking credit for the artistry of a box presented in Drogheda, it will close with an earlier example, this time involving John Keen and a box presented by Dublin corporation. As with many aspects of the retailing model that they both operated, West's appropriation of the credit for Murray's work in 1818 followed a precedent set by the Keens. Sixteen years earlier, on 1 July 1802, a brief paragraph had appeared in *Saunders's News-Letter* praising John Keen in connection with a box made for presentation by the corporation to the recently-departed chief secretary, Charles Abbot:

‘A most elegant silver box, intended to inclose [*sic*] the freedom of the Corporation of Dublin voted to the Rt. Hon. Charles Abbot, speaker of the Imperial House of Commons, has lately been finished by Mr. John Keene, of Dame-street. The workmanship is exquisitely performed, and highly creditable to the operator.’²⁸

The box, of course, was not made by Keen. When it was offered at Christie's New York in 1991, the maker's mark was read as that of ‘James Keating’, a certain indication that the box was made by James Kennedy.²⁹ Described by Christie's as ‘octagonal, bright cut engraved with stylized foliate borders’, the box was made in the idiom used by Kennedy in his final decades as a box-maker. Closer reading indicates that the author of the newspaper report may have had some awareness of the presence of a hand other than Keen's in the box's production and perhaps even some knowledge of the rupture between production and supply that was central to Keen's retail business model: the box was described as being ‘finished’ rather than having been made by Keen; and, the ‘highly creditable’ and ‘exquisitely performed’ workmanship was attributed to an anonymous ‘operator’ rather than directly to Keen.³⁰ If they subscribed to *Saunders's*, Kennedy and Ryan might have been amused.

²⁸ *SNL*, 1 July 1802.

²⁹ Christie's New York, *Silver*, 9 January 1991 (New York, 1991), lot 39.

³⁰ *SNL*, 1 July 1802.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Records of votes for the presentation of boxes by Dublin corporation, 1662-1759

Records have been traced in Gilbert's *CARD* of ninety-eight votes for presentations by the Dublin corporation of boxes made in gold and silver in the ten decades between 1662, when the duke of Ormond was presented with his freedom in a box made in gold, and 1759. The traces of the presentations made to Flower, Stephens and Harman in 1664 (2, 3 and 4 below) open the possibility that some votes for box presentations during this period may not have been recorded or may not have been transcribed in the *CARD*. The majority (fifty-eight) of the votes recorded were for boxes made in gold; votes for thirty-nine boxes made in silver were recorded. The metal to be used in the box presented to Thomas Butler, earl of Ossory, in 1670 (6 below) was not specified in the resolution authorising the presentation.

1660-9

1. ***James Butler, duke of Ormond, gold, 1662.***

James Butler (1610-88), 1st duke of Ormond, was appointed lord lieutenant in February 1662 and returned to Ireland on 27 July 1662. At an assembly held on 22 July 1662, the corporation voted to present him with his freedom in a gold box, together with a gold cup, to a combined value of £350 (*CARD*, iv, p. 242). This is the first record of the corporation in Dublin voting to present the freedom with a box in precious metal.

2. ***William Flower, silver, 1664.***

William Flower, together with John Stephens and Thomas Harman, were presented with silver boxes in connection with their admission to the freedom pursuant to a vote at the Michaelmas assembly in April 1664. The vote is not transcribed in the *CARD*; however there is a record from the following year of a petition for payment for £12 6s. by the goldsmith who supplied the boxes (*CARD*, iv, pp 336-7). It has not been possible to identify these three recipients with any certainty.

3. ***John Stephens, silver, 1664.***

See ***William Flower*** above.

4. ***Thomas Harman, silver, 1664.***

See ***William Flower*** above.

5. ***Paul Davies, silver, 1667.***

Sir Paul Davies (or Davis) (d.1672) took up the position of secretary of state on 3 June 1663. He was voted his freedom in a silver box, together with a piece of plate to a value of £50, at an assembly held in January 1667 (*CARD*, iv, p. 398).

1670-9

6. ***Thomas Butler, earl of Ossory, unspecified metal, 1670.***

Thomas Butler (1634-80), earl of Ossory, was the second, but eldest surviving, son of James Butler, 12th earl and 1st duke of Ormond. Ossory was named as deputy on a number of occasions to take the place of his father. Ossory was voted his freedom at an assembly held in January 1670 in a box of unspecified metal (*CARD*, iv, p. 487).

7. ***Arthur Capel, earl of Essex, gold, 1673.***

Arthur Capel (1631-1683), 1st earl of Essex, was appointed lord lieutenant on 21 May 1672 and arrived in Dublin on 5 August 1672. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to an unspecified value at the assembly held in October 1673 (*CARD*, v, p. 22).

8. ***Edward Conway, viscount Conway and Killulta, silver, 1674.***

During an extended stay in Ireland (1672-4) which coincided with the viceroyalty of the earl of Essex, Edward Conway (c.1623-1683), 3rd viscount Conway and Killulta, was appointed commissioner for the Irish customs and lieutenant-general of horse in Ireland.¹ Conway was a political ally of Richard Jones, viscount Ranelagh, with whom he was voted the freedom with a silver box of unspecified value at the assembly held in October 1674 (*CARD*, v, p. 54).

9. ***Richard Jones, viscount Ranelagh, silver, 1674.***

Richard Jones (1641-1712), 3rd viscount Ranelagh, was a tax farmer who in 1671 devised a scheme that amounted to 'the effective privatisation of the Irish exchequer'.² As part of the legal arrangements in connection with this scheme, 'he was made the chief commissioner of the office of vice-treasurer of Ireland in 1671 and was made sole vice-treasurer in 1674'.³ He was voted his freedom in a silver box of unspecified value at the assembly held in October 1674, at the same time as his ally Edward Conway (*CARD*, v, p. 54).

10. ***John Povey, silver, 1674.***

Sir John Povey (1621-1679) was appointed lord chief justice in 1673. He was voted his freedom in a silver box of an unspecified value at the assembly held in January 1674 (*CARD*, v, p.65).

11. ***Lord Blessington, silver, 1675.***

Murrough Boyle (1648-1718), 1st viscount Blessington, was appointed to the Irish privy council in 1675. He was voted his freedom in a silver box of an unspecified value at the assembly held in January 1675 (*CARD*, v, p. 100).

¹ T. C. Barnard, 'Conway, Edward 3rd Viscount Conway 1st earl of Conway' in *DIB*.

² John Bergin, 'Jones, Richard 1st earl of Ranelagh 3rd Viscount Ranelagh' in *DIB*.

³ *Ibid*.

12. **Philip Savage**, *silver*, 1677.

Philip Savage (1644-1717) held the office of clerk of the crown and prothonotary and chief clerk of the King's Bench from 1671.⁴ He was voted his freedom in a silver box of an unspecified value at the assembly held in January 1677 (*CARD*, v, p. 134).

13. **William Wentworth**, *earl of Stafford*, *gold*, 1678.

William Wentworth (1626-95), 2nd earl of Stafford, was the only surviving son of Thomas Wentworth (d.1641), 1st earl of Strafford, who had served as lord deputy between 1632 and 1640. He had studied at Trinity College, Dublin and led 'obscure, undistinguished and uninteresting life'⁵. He was a member of the English Privy Council at the time he was voted his freedom with a gold box of an unspecified value at an assembly held in January 1678 (*CARD*, v, p. 152).

14. **Richard Coote**, *silver*, 1678.

This recipient was likely to have been Richard Coote (1620-1683) who was created 1st lord Coote, baron of Coloony, on 6 September 1660. He was appointed to the Irish privy council in December 1660. Coote was voted his freedom in a silver box of an unspecified value at an assembly held in April 1678 (*CARD*, v, p. 156).

1680-9

15. **Lemuell Kingdom**, *silver*, 1684.

Lemuell Kingdom (?-?) was a revenue commissioner and member of the privy council in July 1684 when the assembly voted him his freedom with a silver box of an unspecified value (*CARD*, v, p. 331).

16. **Henry Hyde**, *earl of Clarendon*, *gold*, 1686.

Henry Hyde (1638-1709), 2nd earl of Clarendon, was appointed lord lieutenant on 1 October 1685. Clarendon was voted his freedom in a gold box of an unspecified value at an assembly held later in January 1686 (*CARD*, v, p. 376).

⁴ C. Ivar McGrath, 'Savage, Philip' in *DIB*.

⁵ C.V. Wedgwood, *Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford-1593-1641: A revaluation* (London, 1961), p. 395.

17. ***Charles Porter, gold, 1686.***

Sir Charles Porter (c.1640-1696) was appointed lord chancellor 16 April 1686. Porter was voted his freedom in a gold box of an unspecified value at an assembly held in October 1686 (*CARD*, v, p. 410).

18. ***Richard Talbot, earl of Tyrconnell, gold, 1688.***

Richard Talbot, (1630-91), earl of Tyrconnell was appointed lord deputy on 8 January 1687. He was voted his freedom in a gold box at the assembly held in January 1688 (*CARD*, v, p. 460). In May 1688, the assembly authorised payment of £46 for the box (*Ibid.*, p. 475).

1690-9

19. ***Thomas Coningsby, gold, 1691.***

Thomas Coningsby (1657-1729) accompanied William III to Ireland in June 1690. On 4 September 1690, Coningsby and Henry Sidney were appointed as the first Williamite lords justice. At the assembly held on 22 June 1691, Coningsby was voted his freedom in a gold box 'of the same value of that formerly presented to lord chancellor Porter' (*CARD*, v, p. 520).

20. ***Richard Pyne, silver, 1692.***

Richard Pyne (1644-1709) was appointed lord chief justice of the court of common pleas in January 1691. He was voted his freedom in a silver box of unspecified value at the assembly held in January 1692 (*CARD*, v, p. 531).

21. ***Edward Brabazon, earl of Meath, silver, 1692.***

Edward Brabazon (1638-1707), 4th earl of Meath, was voted his freedom in a silver box of an unspecified value at the assembly held in April 1692 (*CARD*, v, pp 535-6).

22. ***Richard Levinge, silver, 1692.***

Sir Richard Levinge (1656-1724) was appointed solicitor general for Ireland in 1690 and in 1692 he was elected to the Irish house of commons, of which he became speaker. He was voted his freedom in a silver box of an unspecified value at the assembly held in April 1692 (*CARD*, v, pp 535-6).

23. **Henry Sidney, viscount Sidney, gold, 1693**

Henry Sidney (or Sydney) (1641-1704), viscount Sidney, was appointed lord lieutenant on 18 March 1692 and arrived in Ireland in August 1692. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 30 June 1693 (*CARD*, vi, p. 34).

24. **Henry Capel, baron Tewkesbury, gold, 1695.**

Henry Capel (or Capell) (1638-96), baron Capell of Tewkesbury, was appointed lord deputy on 9 May 1695. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 19 July 1695 (Source: *CARD*, vi, p. 103).

25. **Joseph Williamson, silver, 1695.**

Sir Joseph Williamson (1633-1701) was an English administrator and diplomat who sat on a number of occasions in the Irish house of commons and privy council. He was voted his freedom in a silver box of unspecified value at the assembly held on 15 November 1695 (*CARD*, vi, p. 129).

26. **Charles Coote, earl of Mountrath, gold, 1696.**

Charles Coote (c.1655-1709), 3rd earl of Mountrath, was appointed lord justice, together with Henry Moore, earl of Drogheda, on 10 July 1696. At the assembly held on 22 September 1696, they were voted their freedom in gold boxes 'of the same value as the boxes formerly given to the lord chancellor Porter and the lord Coningsby' (*CARD*, vi, pp 155-6).

27. **Henry Moore, earl of Drogheda, gold, 1696.**

Henry Moore (d.1714), 3rd earl of Drogheda, was appointed lord justice, together with Charles Coote, earl of Mountrath, on 10 July 1696. See *Charles Coote* above.

28. **Henri Massue de Ruvigny, earl of Galway, gold, 1697.**

Henri Massue de Ruvigny (1648-1720), marquis de Ruvigny and earl of Galway, was appointed lord justice, together with the marquess of Winchester and the viscount Villiers, on 14 May 1697. By resolution adopted on 3 August 1697, the assembly voted the lords justice

their freedoms in gold boxes, to a value of £30 (*CARD*, vi, p. 179). Villiers never came to Ireland.⁶

29. ***Charles Powlett, marquess of Winchester, gold, 1697.***

Charles Paulet (or Powlett) (1661-1722), 7th marquess of Winchester, was appointed lord justice on 14 May 1697. See *Henri Massue de Ruvigny* above.

30. ***John Methuen, gold, 1697.***

John Methuen (c.1649-1706) was appointed lord chancellor on 11 March 1697. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to a value of £20 at the assembly held on 3 August 1697 (*CARD*, vi, p. 180).

31. ***James Butler, duke of Ormonde, gold, 1697.***

James Butler (1665-1745), 2nd duke of Ormonde, succeeded to the dukedom on the death of his grandfather in July 1688. In the parliamentary session of 1697-8, he took his seat in the Irish house of lords. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to a value of £30 by the assembly held on 3 November 1697 (*CARD*, vi, p. 186).

32. ***Charles Berkeley, earl of Berkeley, gold, 1699.***

Charles Berkeley (1649-1710), 2nd earl of Berkeley, was appointed lord justice on 26 June 1699. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to a value of £30 at the assembly held on 27 October 1699 (*CARD*, vi, p. 227).

1700-9

33. ***Lawrence Hyde, earl of Rochester, gold, 1701.***

Lawrence Hyde (1642-1711), 1st earl of Rochester, was appointed lord lieutenant on 28 December 1700. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to a value of £30 at the assembly held in October 1701 (*CARD*, vi, p. 255).

⁶ Charles Ivar McGrath 'Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century Governance and the Viceroyalty' in Gray and Purdue (eds), *The Irish Lord Lieutenancy*, p. 53.

34. **Francis Gwyn**, *silver*, 1702.

Francis Gwyn (1648/9-1734) was chief secretary to the lord lieutenant, Rochester. He was voted his freedom in a silver box of an unspecified value at the assembly held on 16 January 1702 (*CARD*, vi, p. 259).

35. **Alan Brodrick**, *silver*, 1702.

Alan Brodrick (c.1655-1728) was appointed solicitor-general in 1695. He was voted his freedom in a silver box of an unspecified value at the assembly held on 16 January 1702 (*CARD*, vi, p. 260).

36. **Richard Cox**, *gold*, 1703.

Richard Cox (1650-1733) was appointed lord chancellor on 6 August 1703. He was voted his freedom with a gold box to a value of £30 at the assembly held in October 1703 (*CARD*, vi, p. 297).

37. **Edward Southwell**, *silver*, 1703.

In 1703 Edward Southwell (1671-1730) served as chief secretary to the lord lieutenant, the 2nd duke of Ormonde. He was voted in freedom in a silver box of an unspecified value at the assembly held on 19 October 1703 (*CARD*, vi, p. 297).

38. **Robert Molesworth**, *silver*, 1703.

Robert Molesworth (1656-1725) was a Dublin-born politician and author. In 1703 he was a member of the Irish house of commons for county Dublin. He was voted his freedom in a silver box of an unspecified value at the assembly held on 19 October 1703 (*CARD*, vi, p. 297).

39. **John Cutts**, *gold*, 1705.

John Cutts (1661-1707), 1st baron Cutts, was appointed lord justice on 21 May 1705. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held in July 1705 (*CARD*, vi, p. 338).

40. **Thomas Herbert, earl of Pembroke, gold, 1707.**

Thomas Herbert (1656-1733), 8th earl of Pembroke, was appointed lord lieutenant on 30 April 1707. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held in July 1707 (*CARD*, vi, p. 368).

41. **Richard Freeman, gold, 1707.**

Richard Freeman (1646-1710) was appointed lord chancellor on 30 June 1707. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to a value of £25 at the assembly held in July 1707. (*CARD*, vi, p. 368).

42. **Richard Pyne, silver, 1707.**

Richard Pyne (1644-1709) was appointed lord chief justice of the King's Bench in 1695. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to a value of £6 at the assembly held on 22 July 1707 (*CARD*, vi, p. 368). Pyne had previously been voted his freedom in a silver box in 1692 following his appointment as lord chief justice of the court of common pleas.

43. **George Dodington, silver, 1707.**

George Dodington (c.1662-1720) was appointed chief secretary in 1707. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to a value of £6 at the assembly held on 22 July 1707 (*CARD*, vi, p. 369).

44. **Narcissus Marsh, gold, 1708.**

Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713), archbishop of Dublin from 1694, 'was many times a lord justice (1699, 1700-01, 1701-2, 1707, 1707-8, 1710)'.⁷ He was voted his freedom in a gold box to a value of £30 at the assembly held on 16 January 1708 (*CARD*, vi, p. 380).

45. **Thomas Wharton, earl of Wharton, gold, 1709.**

Thomas Wharton (1648-1715), 1st earl of Wharton, was appointed lord lieutenant on 4 December 1708. He was voted his freedom at the assembly held on 6 May 1709; the assembly resolution does not specifically refer to the presentation of a box but authorised a charge 'not exceeding thirty pounds' (*CARD*, vi, p. 397).

⁷ Muriel McCarthy, 'Marsh, Narcissus' in *DIB*.

46. **Joseph Addison**, *silver*, 1709.

Joseph Addison (1672-1719), better known for his writings in the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*, was appointed as chief secretary to the lord lieutenant, Wharton, in January 1709. Addison was voted his freedom at the assembly held on 6 May 1709; the assembly resolution does not specifically refer to the presentation of a box but authorised a charge ‘not exceeding five pounds’ (*CARD*, vi, p. 397).

47. **Richard Ingoldsby**, *gold*, 1709.

Richard Ingoldsby (1664/5-1712) was appointed lord justice on 5 September 1709. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to a value of £30 at the assembly held on 29 September 1709 (*CARD*, vi, p. 412).

1710-9

48. **Henry Echlin**, *silver*, 1710.

Henry Echlin (1652-1725), second baron at the court of exchequer, was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 29 September 1710 (*CARD*, vi, p. 421).

49. **Constantine Phipps**, *gold*, 1711.

Sir Constantine Phipps (1656-1723) was appointed lord chancellor in 1710 and ‘was sworn in as sole lord justice on 27 January 1711’.⁸ He was voted the freedom in a gold box to a value of £30 at the assembly held on 5 February 1711 (*CARD*, vi, p. 427).

50. **John Vesey**, *gold*, 1712.

John Vesey (1638-1716), archbishop of Tuam, was appointed lord justice on 7 February 1712. He was voted the freedom in a gold box to a value of £30 at the assembly held on 7 April 1712 (*CARD*, vi, p. 447).

51. **Charles Talbot, duke of Shrewsbury**, *gold*, 1714.

⁸ John Bergin, ‘Phipps, Sir Constantine’ in *DIB*.

Charles Talbot (1660-1718), 1st duke of Shrewsbury, was appointed lord lieutenant on 22 September 1713. His freedom in a gold box to the value of £30 was voted to him after his departure from viceregal office by the assembly held on 15 October 1714 (*CARD*, vi, p. 497).

52. ***Robert FitzGerald, earl of Kildare, gold, 1714.***

Robert FitzGerald (1675-1743), 19th earl of Kildare, was appointed lord justice on 4 September 1714. His freedom in a gold box to a value of £30 was voted to him by the assembly held on 15 October 1714 (*CARD*, vi, p. 497).

53. ***William King, gold, 1714.***

In September 1714, William King (1650-1729), archbishop of Dublin, was appointed lord justice.⁹ His freedom in a gold box to a value of £30 was voted to him, along with Shrewsbury and Kildare, by the assembly held on 15 October 1714 (*CARD*, vi, p. 498).

54. ***John Stanley, silver, 1714.***

Sir John Stanley (1663-1744) was chief secretary to Shrewsbury between 1713-14. His freedom in a silver box to a value of £5 was voted to him by the assembly held on 15 October 1714 (*CARD*, vi, p. 498).

55. ***Charles FitzRoy, duke of Grafton, gold, 1715.***

Charles FitzRoy (1683-1757), 2nd duke of Grafton, 'was appointed to the English privy council in August 1715, and the following month was made, jointly with the earl of Galway, one of the lords justices of Ireland'.¹⁰ Grafton was voted his freedom with a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 12 December 1715 (*CARD*, vi, p. 550).

56. ***Martin Bladen, silver, 1716.***

In 1715, Martin Bladen (1682?-1746) became joint chief secretary to the lords justice with Charles Delafaye. Bladen was voted the freedom 'in a silver box, as usual' at the assembly held on 13 April 1716 (*CARD*, vii, p. 4).

⁹ Philip O'Regan, 'King, William' in *DIB*.

¹⁰ John Bergin, 'FitzRoy, Charles' in *DIB*.

57. **Charles Delafaye**, *silver*, 1716.

Charles Delafaye (1677-1762) was appointed joint chief secretary to the lords justice with Bladen in 1715. Along with Bladen, Delafaye was voted the freedom in a silver box at the assembly held on 13 April 1716 (*CARD* vii p. 4).

58. **Alan Brodrick**, *gold*, 1717.

Brodrick had been appointed lord chancellor in 1714 and was appointed a lord justice in February 1717. Brodrick had previously been voted the freedom with a silver box; the assembly held on 3 May 1717 voted that his freedom should be 'certified in a gold box' to a value of £30 (*CARD* vii p. 40).

59. **William Conolly**, *gold*, 1717.

William Conolly (1662-1729) 'was appointed a lord justice in February 1717, a position to which he was regularly reappointed until his death'.¹¹ Conolly was voted the freedom in a gold box to a value of £30 at the assembly held on 3 May 1717 (*CARD*, vii, p. 4).

60. **Edward Webster**, *silver*, 1719.

Edward Webster (c.1691-1755) was chief secretary to the duke of Bolton between 1717 to 1720. He was voted the freedom 'in a silver box as usual' at the assembly held on 17 July 1719 (*CARD*, vii, p. 100).

1720-9

61. **Edward Hopkins**, *silver*, 1721.

Edward Hopkins (c.1675-1736) was chief secretary to the duke of Grafton between 1721 and 1724. He was voted the freedom in a silver box 'as customary' at the assembly held on 20 October 1721 (*CARD*, vii p. 167).

¹¹ Patrick McNally, 'Conolly, William' in *DIB*.

62. **Richard Boyle, gold, 1722.**

Richard Boyle (1675-1740), 2nd viscount Shannon, was appointed lord justice in January 1722. He was voted the freedom in a gold box ‘as usual’ at the assembly held on 9 March 1722 (*CARD* vii p. 188).

63. **John Carteret, baron Carteret, gold, 1724**

John Carteret (1690-1763), 2nd baron Carteret, was appointed lord lieutenant on 6 May 1724. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to a value of £30 at the assembly held on 26 October 1724 (*CARD*, vii, p. 280).

64. **Thomas Clutterbuck, silver, 1724.**

Thomas Clutterbuck (1697-1742) was chief secretary from 1724 to 1730, serving under Carteret. He was voted the freedom in a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 26 October 1724 (*CARD*, vii p. 280).

65. **Richard West, gold, 1725.**

Richard West (c.1691-1726) was appointed lord chancellor on 23 July 1725. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 23 August 1725 (*CARD*, vii p. 309).

66. **Richard Edgcumbe, gold, 1725.**

Richard Edgcumbe (or Edgecombe) (bap. 1680; d.1758) was the paymaster-general for Ireland; on 27 August 1725, he had arrived from London ‘with a Resignation in Form of Mr. Wood’s Patent for the coining of Halfpence’.¹² He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 15 October 1725 (*CARD*, vii, p. 310).

67. **Hugh Boulter, gold, 1726.**

Hugh Boulter (1672-1742), archbishop of Armagh, was appointed lord justice on 9 March 1726. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 22 April 1726 (*CARD*, vii, p. 344).

¹² *Caledonian Mercury*, 9 Sept. 1725.

68. **William Rowley**, *silver*, 1726.

William Rowley (1690-1768), a naval officer, had granted protection from the press to the crews of coal ships that supplied Dublin. In return, he was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of £8 at the assembly held on 22 April 1726 (*CARD*, vii, p. 344).

69. **Thomas Wyndham**, *gold*, 1727.

Thomas Wyndham (1681-1745) was appointed lord chancellor in December 1726. He was appointed a lord justice on 15 December 1726. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 20 January 1727 (*CARD*, vii, p. 368).

1730-9

70. **Jonathan Swift**, *gold*, 1730

At the assembly held on 16 January 1730, Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) was voted a gold box to the value of £25 in connection with his freedom (*CARD*, vii, p. 476).

71. **John Hoadly**, *gold*, 1730.

John Hoadly (1678-1746) was appointed archbishop of Dublin in January 1730. He was voted his freedom with a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 10 April 1730 (*CARD*, vii, p. 485).

72. **Ralph Gore**, *gold*, 1730.

Ralph Gore (1675?-1733) was speaker of the Irish house of commons and was appointed lord justice on 27 February 1730. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 17 July 1730 (*CARD*, vii, p. 496).

73. **Lionel Sackville**, *duke of Dorset*, *gold*, 1731.

Lionel Sackville (1688-1765), 1st duke of Dorset, was appointed lord lieutenant on 23 June 1730. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 15 October 1731 (*CARD*, viii, p. 33).

74. **Walter Carey**, *silver*, 1731.

Walter Carey (or Cary) (1685-1757) was appointed chief secretary on 23 June 1730. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 15 October 1731 (*CARD*, viii, p. 33).

75. **Henry Boyle**, *gold*, 1734.

Henry Boyle (1684-1764) was the speaker of the Irish house of commons and was appointed lord justice on 23 March 1734. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 20 May 1734 (*CARD*, viii, p. 137).

76. **Richard Helsham**, *silver*, 1737.

Richard Helsham (c.1682-1738) was a doctor and physicist. For the assistance he provided in connection with the provision of pipe water for the city, he was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 29 August 1737 (*CARD*, viii, p. 262).

77. **William Cavendish, duke of Devonshire**, *gold*, 1737.

William Cavendish (1698-1755), 3rd duke of Devonshire, was appointed lord lieutenant on 9 April 1737. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 15 September 1737 (*CARD*, viii, p. 264).

78. **Edward Walpole**, *silver*, 1737.

Edward Walpole (1706-84) was appointed chief secretary in 1737. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to a value of £5 at the assembly held on 15 September 1737 (*CARD*, viii, p. 264).

1740-9

79. **Robert Jocelyn**, *gold*, 1740.

Robert Jocelyn (c.1688-1765), lord chancellor, was appointed as one of the lords justice on 26 March 1740. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to a value of £30 at the assembly held on 18 April 1740 (*CARD*, viii, p. 369).

80. **William Ponsonby, viscount Duncannon, silver, 1741.**

On 19 June 1741, William Ponsonby (1704-93), viscount Duncannon, was appointed chief secretary for Ireland, serving under his father-in-law, the duke of Devonshire.¹³ He was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 16 October 1741 (*CARD*, ix, p. 36).

81. **Philip Dormer Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield, gold, 1745.**

Philip Dormer Stanhope (1694-1773), 4th earl of Chesterfield, was sworn in as lord lieutenant on 31 August 1745. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 19 September 1745 (*CARD*, ix, p. 181).

82. **Richard Lyddell, silver, 1745.**

Richard Lyddell (or Liddell) (c.1694-1746) was appointed chief secretary to Chesterfield in 1745. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 19 September 1745 (*CARD*, ix, p. 181).

83. **George Stone, gold, 1747.**

George Stone (1708-64), archbishop of Armagh, was the son of a London goldsmith and banker, Andrew Stone (d.1711). He was appointed as one of the lords justice on 31 March 1747. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 1 May 1747 (*CARD*, ix, p. 233).

84. **William Stanhope, earl of Harrington, gold, 1747.**

William Stanhope (c.1683-1756), 1st earl of Harrington, was appointed lord lieutenant on 15 November 1746. He was voted his freedom with a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 15 September 1747 (*CARD*, ix, p. 240).

85. **Edward Weston, silver, 1747.**

Edward Weston (1703-70) was chief secretary to Harrington. He was voted his freedom with a silver box to a value of £5 at the assembly held on 15 September 1747 (*CARD*, ix, p. 240).

¹³ Patrick M. Geoghegan, 'Ponsonby, William' in *DIB*.

86. **George Sackville**, *silver*, 1751.

George Sackville (1716-85) was appointed chief secretary on the reappointment of his father, the duke of Dorset, as lord lieutenant in 1751. Sackville was voted his freedom in a silver box to a value of £5 at the assembly held on 27 September 1751 (*CARD*, ix, p. 390).

87. **Peter Warren**, *gold*, 1752.

Sir Peter Warren (1703-52), an Irish-born admiral in the British navy, was renowned both for his victories against the French during the War of the Austrian Succession in the 1740s and his vast personal wealth. Warren was voted his freedom with a gold box to a value of £25 at the assembly held on 17 July 1752. He died in Dublin on 29 July 1752 (*CARD*, x, p. 36).

88. **William Cavendish, marquess of Hartington**, *gold*, 1755

William Cavendish (1720-64), marquess of Hartington (and, from December 1755, 4th duke of Devonshire), was appointed lord lieutenant in April 1755 and sworn in on 5 May. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 17 May 1755 (*CARD*, x, p. 170).

89. **Henry Seymour Conway**, *silver*, 1755.

Henry Seymour Conway (1719-95) served as chief secretary under Cavendish from April 1755 to January 1757. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to a value of £5 at the assembly held on 17 May 1755 (*CARD*, x, p. 170).

90. **James FitzGerald, earl of Kildare**, *gold*, 1756.

James FitzGerald (1722-73), 20th earl of Kildare, was appointed lord justice in May 1756. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to a value of £30 at the assembly held on 16 July 1756 (*CARD*, x, p. 221).

91. ***Brabazon Ponsonby, earl of Bessborough, gold, 1756.***

Brabazon Ponsonby (1679-1758), 1st earl of Bessborough, was appointed lord justice in May 1756. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to a value of £30 at the assembly held on 16 July 1756 (*CARD*, x, p. 221).

92. ***John Ponsonby, gold, 1756.***

John Ponsonby (1713-87), the second son of Bessborough, was elected speaker of the Irish house of commons in 1756. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to a value of £30 at the assembly held on 16 July 1756 (*CARD*, x, p. 221).

93. ***William Blakeney, gold, 1756.***

Sir William Blakeney (1671/2-1761) was born in Co. Limerick. In early 1756, after seventy days' defence of Minorca, he surrendered to the French on the honourable terms. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to a value of £30 at the assembly held on 16 July 1756 (*CARD*, x, p. 221).

94. ***John Russell, duke of Bedford, gold, 1757.***

John Russell (1710-71), 4th duke of Bedford, took up the office of lord lieutenant on 15 December 1756. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to a value of £30 at the assembly held on 28 September 1757 (*CARD*, x, p. 288).

95. ***Richard Rigby, silver, 1757.***

Richard Rigby (1722-88) served under Bedford as chief secretary. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to a value of £5 at the assembly held on 28 September 1757 (*CARD*, x, p. 288).

96. ***Charles Cobbe, gold, 1758.***

Charles Cobbe (1686/7-1765) was appointed archbishop of Dublin in March 1743. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to a value of £20 at the assembly held on 7 April 1758 (*CARD*, x, p. 319).

97. **William Pitt**, *gold*, 1759.

William Pitt (1708-78), 1st earl of Chatham ('Pitt the Elder'), served as secretary of state in the Pitt-Newcastle ministry that governed between 1757 and 1762, at the height of the Seven Years' War. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to a value of £30 at the assembly held on 14 December 1759 (*CARD*, x, p. 398).

98. **Charles Saunders**, *gold*, 1759.

Charles Saunders (c.1713-75) was promoted vice-admiral of the blue on 14 February 1759 and sailed for North America where he played a crucial role in the capture of Quebec by British forces. There are records of his presence in Dublin from 15 December 1759. He was voted his freedom with a gold box to a value of £20 at the assembly held on 18 December 1759 (*CARD*, x, p. 399).

Appendix 2 Records of votes for the presentation of boxes by Dublin corporation, 1760-1821

Between 1760 and 1821, there are records of votes for 120 presentations by Dublin corporation of boxes made in gold, silver or oak in Gilbert's *CARD*. The majority of the recorded presentation votes (sixty-three) were for the boxes made in silver; fifty boxes made in gold and seven made in oak were voted.

1760-9

1. ***Edward Hawke***, *gold*, 1760.

Edward Hawke (1705-81), commander of the Western Squadron, defeated the French under the command of Conflans in the battle of Quiberon Bay in November 1759, a turning point in the Seven Years' War. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £25 at the assembly held on 18 April 1760 (*CARD*, x, pp 417-18).

2. ***John Elliott***, *gold*, 1760.

John Elliot (1732-1808) led the Royal Navy squadron that defeated Thurot in the Battle of Bishops Court in the Irish sea on the night of 27-28 February 1760. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £20 at the assembly held on 18 April 1760 (*CARD*, x, pp 417-18).

3. ***Philip Tisdall***, *silver*, 1760.

Philip Tisdall (1703-77) sat in the Irish house of commons and held various legal appointments including solicitor-general (1751-60). He was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 18 July 1760 (*CARD*, x, p. 431).

4. ***Marcus Patterson***, *silver*, 1760.

Marcus Patterson (1712-87) sat in the Irish house of commons from 1756. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 18 July 1760 (*CARD*, x, p. 431).

5. ***Edmond Sexton Pery, silver, 1760.***

Edmond Sexton Pery (1719-1806) sat in the Irish house of commons from 1751 to 1785. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 18 July 1760 (*CARD*, x, p. 431).

6. ***John Hely-Hutchinson, silver, 1760.***

John Hely-Hutchinson (1723-94) sat in the Irish house of commons from 1759. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 18 July 1760 (*CARD*, x, p. 431).

7. ***William Brownlow, silver, 1760.***

William Brownlow (1726-94) sat in the Irish house of commons from 1753. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 18 July 1760 (*CARD*, x, p. 431).

8. ***Robert French, silver, 1760.***

Robert French (1716-79) was first elected to the Irish house of commons in 1753. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 18 July 1760 (*CARD*, x, p. 431).

9. ***Brinsley Butler, silver, 1761.***

Brinsley Butler (1728-79) was styled Lord Newtown Butler from 1735 and sat in the Irish house of commons from 1751. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 3 April 1761 (*CARD*, xi, pp 11-12).

10. ***Hugh Percy, duke of Northumberland, gold, 1763.***

Hugh Percy (1714-86), 1st duke of Northumberland, was appointed lord lieutenant on 27 April 1763. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 14 October 1763 (*CARD*, xi, p. 163).

11. ***Charles Coote, silver, 1763.***

It is likely that this recipient was Charles Coote (1738-1800) (from 1767, earl of Bellomont) who sat in Irish house of commons from 1761. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 14 October 1763 (*CARD*, xi, p. 169).

12. ***James Caldwell, silver, 1764.***

Having served in the Austrian army, Sir James Caldwell (c.1720-84) returned to Ireland in 1750. He was active in the campaign to suppress agrarian unrest. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 20 January 1764 (*CARD*, xi, p. 188).

13. ***Charles Moore, silver, 1764.***

Charles Moore (1730-1822) was appointed chief secretary to Northumberland on 3 July 1764. He was voted his freedom with a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 19 October 1764 (*CARD*, xi, pp 244-5).

14. ***Francis Seymour-Conway, marquess of Hertford, gold, 1765.***

Francis Seymour-Conway (1718-94), 1st marquess of Hertford, was lord lieutenant from August 1765. He was voted his freedom with a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 21 October 1765 (*CARD*, xi, p. 298).

15. ***Francis Ingram-Seymour-Conway, silver, 1765.***

Francis Ingram-Seymour-Conway (1743-1822) was Hertford's eldest son and served as chief secretary during his father's tenure as lord lieutenant. He was voted his freedom with a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 21 October 1765 (*CARD*, xi, p. 298).

16. ***David Ribton, silver, 1767.***

David Ribton elected as one of the sheriffs in 1766 and resigned in late June or early July 1767. He was voted thanks with a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 17 July 1767 (*CARD*, xi, p. 390).

17. ***George Townshend, viscount Townshend, gold, 1767.***

George Townshend (1724-1807), 4th viscount Townshend, was appointed lord lieutenant in August 1767. He was voted his freedom with a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 16 October 1767 (*CARD*, xi, pp 398-9).

18. **Frederick Campbell**, *silver*, 1767.

Frederick Campbell (1729-1816) served from 1767 as chief secretary under Townshend. He was voted his freedom with a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 16 October 1767 (*CARD*, xi, p. 399).

19. **Denison Cumberland**, *gold*, 1768.

Denison Cumberland (d.1774) was appointed bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh in 1763. He was voted his freedom with a gold box to the value of £20 at the assembly held on 22 January 1768 (*CARD*, xi, pp 415-16).

20. **Arthur Smyth**, *gold*, 1769.

Arthur Smyth (1706-71) was appointed archbishop of Dublin in April 1766. He was voted his freedom with a gold box to the value of £20 at the assembly held on 24 February 1769 (*CARD*, xii, p. 14).

21. **George Macartney**, *silver*, 1769.

Sir George Macartney (1737-1806) was appointed as chief secretary to Townshend on 1 January 1769. He was voted his freedom with a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 7 April 1769 (*CARD*, xii, pp 14-15).

22. **James Hewitt**, *gold*, 1769.

James Hewitt (1715-89), 1st viscount Lifford, was lord chancellor between 1767 and 1789. He was voted his freedom with a gold box to the value of twenty guineas at the assembly held on 21 July 1769 (*CARD*, xii, p. 22).

23. **Richard Johnson, silver, 1772.**

This recipient was likely to have been Richard Johnson of Gildford of county Down who was 'created a baronet in 1772 for his services in putting down the Hearts of Oak'.¹ He was voted his freedom with a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 1 May 1772 (*CARD*, xii, p. 188).

24. **Joseph Yorke, gold, 1772.**

Sir Joseph Yorke (1724-92) was appointed minister-plenipotentiary to the Dutch republic in 1751. His status was upgraded to ambassador in 1761 and he remained at The Hague until December 1780. He was voted his freedom with a gold box to the value of £20 at the assembly held on 11 August 1772 (*CARD*, xii, p. 217).

25. **Simon Harcourt, earl Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt, gold, 1772.**

Simon Harcourt (1714-77), 1st earl Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt, was appointed lord lieutenant in October 1772. He was voted his freedom with a gold box to the value of £30 at the assembly held on 14 December 1772 (*CARD*, xii, p. 231).

26. **John Blaquiere, silver, 1772.**

John Blaquiere (1732-1812) was born into a Huguenot family in Derry. He served as chief secretary under Harcourt from 1772. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 14 December 1772 (*CARD*, xii, p. 231).

27. **Anthony Brabazon, earl of Meath, gold, 1773.**

Anthony Brabazon (1721-90), 8th earl of Meath, succeeded to the title on the death of his father in November 1772. Before that, he sat in the Irish house of commons from 1745. He was voted the thanks of the corporation in a gold box to the value of £20 at the assembly held on 22 January 1773 (*CARD*, xii, p. 242).

¹ Anthony Malcomson, 'A Woman Scorned? Theodosia, Countess of Clanwilliam (1743-1817)' in *Familia-Ulster Genealogical Review*, xv (1999), pp 1-25, p. 2.

28. ***Edward Newenham, gold, 1773.***

Sir Edward Newenham (1734-1814) sat in the Irish house of commons from 1769 to 1776. At the assembly held on 23 April 1773, he was voted a gold box to the value of twenty guineas to complement a vote of thanks he had received the previous year in connection with his position as collector of excise for county Dublin from which he had been dismissed in 1772 (*CARD*, xii, p. 262).

29. ***John Cradock, gold, 1773.***

John Cradock (c.1708-78) was appointed archbishop of Dublin in 1772. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of twenty guineas at the assembly held on 23 April 1773 (*CARD*, xii, p. 262).

30. ***George Ogle, gold, 1774.***

George Ogle (1742-1814) was first elected to the Irish house of commons in 1769. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of twenty guineas at the assembly held on 15 April 1774 (*CARD*, xii, p. 313).

31. ***John Hobart, earl of Buckinghamshire, gold, 1777.***

John Hobart (1723-93), 2nd earl of Buckinghamshire, was sworn in as lord lieutenant on 25 January 1777. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £25 at the assembly held on 11 April 1777 (*CARD*, xii, p. 477).

32. ***Richard Heron, silver, 1777.***

Richard Heron (1726-1805) was appointed chief secretary in December 1776. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 11 April 1777 (*CARD*, xii, p. 477).

33. ***William Dunn, gold, 1778.***

William Dunn served as lord mayor of Dublin in 1777-8. He was voted thanks with a gold box to the value of twenty guineas at the assembly held on 16 October 1778 (*CARD*, xiii, p. 26).

34. **Henry Gore Sankey**, *silver*, 1778.

Henry Gore Sankey served sheriff in 1777-8. He was voted thanks, together with his fellow sheriff Henry Howison, at the assembly held on 16 October 1778 (*CARD*, xiii, p. 26). The resolution did not provide for the presentation of boxes. However, at the assembly held on 21 January 1780, the city treasurer was ordered to pay £10 for ‘two silver boxes’ presented to Henry Gore Sankey and Henry Howison (*Ibid.*, p. 100).

35. **Henry Howison**, *silver*, 1778.

Henry Howison served as sheriff in 1777-8. *See Henry Gore Sankey*,

36. **Augustus Keppel**, *oak*, 1779.

Augustus Keppel (1725-86) was promoted to admiral of the Blue in January 1778 and engaged with the French at the battle of Ushant on 27/28 July. In January 1779, he was subject to a court-martial that was conducted in a highly-charged partisan atmosphere. On 11 February the court pronounced the charges against Keppel malicious and unfounded. In Dublin, Keppel was voted his freedom in an oak box at the assembly held on 24 February 1779 (*CARD*, xiii, p. 51). The assembly’s resolution specified that the box should be of ‘shillelah oak properly ornamented’; the value of the box was not specified.

1780-9

37. **James Hamilton**, *gold*, 1780.

James Hamilton served as lord mayor in 1779-80. He was voted thanks in a gold box to the value of twenty guineas at the assembly held on 20 October 1780 (*CARD*, xiii, p. 142).

38. **Frederick Howard**, *earl of Carlisle*, *gold*, 1781.

Frederick Howard (1748-1825), 5th earl of Carlisle, was appointed lord lieutenant on 29 November 1780. He was voted his freedom with a gold box to the value of £25 on 19 January 1781 (*CARD*, xiii, p. 167).

39. **William Eden**, *silver*, 1781.

William Eden (1744-1814) was appointed chief secretary to serve under Carlisle in December 1780. He was voted his freedom with a silver box to the value of £5 at the assembly held on 19 January 1781 (*CARD*, xiii, p. 167).

40. **William Henry Cavendish Bentinck**, *duke of Portland*, *gold*, 1782.

William Henry Cavendish Bentinck (1738-1809), 3rd duke of Portland, was appointed lord lieutenant in April 1782. He was voted his freedom with a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas on 27 April 1782 (*CARD*, xiii, pp 239-40).²

41. **Richard Fitzpatrick**, *silver*, 1782.

Richard Fitzpatrick (1748-1813) was appointed as chief secretary to serve under Portland in April 1782. He was voted his freedom with a silver box to the value of £5 at an assembly held on 27 April 1782 (*CARD*, xiii, pp 239-40).

42. **George Nugent Temple Grenville**, *earl Temple*, *gold*, 1782.

George Nugent Temple Grenville (1753-1814), 3rd earl Temple, accepted the office of lord lieutenant on 15 August 1782. He was voted his freedom with a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 18 October 1782 (*CARD*, xiii, pp 250-51).

43. **William Wyndham Grenville**, *silver*, 1782.

William Wyndham Grenville (1759-1834) was Temple's younger brother and served as his chief secretary until both resigned in April 1783. He was voted his freedom with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 18 October 1782 (*CARD*, xiii, p. 251).

44. **Robert Henley**, *earl of Northington*, *gold*, 1783.

Robert Henley (1747-86), 2nd earl of Northington, was appointed lord lieutenant in May 1783. He was voted his freedom in a gold box the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 18 July 1783 (*CARD*, xiii, p. 308).

² According to a margin note in the roll recorded in the *CARD*, Cavendish was voted his freedom with a gold box at an assembly held on 27 Apr.1782 (rather than at the assembly held on 12 Apr., in the minutes of which the resolution is recorded) (*CARD*, xiii, p.240).

45. **William Windham**, *silver*, 1783.

William Windham (1750-1810) was appointed chief secretary to Northington on 3 May 1783. Windham was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 18 July 1783 (*CARD*, xiii, pp 308-9).³

46. **Henry Pelham**, *silver*, 1783.

Henry Pelham (1756-1826) was appointed chief secretary on 27 August 1783. He was voted his freedom with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 17 October 1783 (*CARD*, xiii, p. 329).

47. **Charles Manners, duke of Rutland**, *gold*, 1784.

Charles Manners (1754-87), 4th duke of Rutland, was appointed lord lieutenant on 12 February 1784. He was voted his freedom with a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 15 October 1784 (*CARD*, xiii, pp 385-6).

48. **Thomas Orde**, *silver*, 1784.

Thomas Orde (1746-1807) was appointed chief secretary in 1784. He was voted his freedom with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 15 October 1784 (*CARD*, xiii, p. 386).

49. **Alleyne FitzHerbert**, *silver*, 1788.

Alleyne FitzHerbert (1753-1839) was appointed chief secretary on 30 November 1787. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 18 January 1788 (*CARD*, xiv, p. 44).

50. **John FitzGibbon**, *gold*, 1789.

John FitzGibbon (1748-1802) was appointed lord chancellor on 20 June 1789. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 16 October 1789 (*CARD*, xiv, p. 133).

³ The original assembly resolution (or its transcription in the *CARD*) contains an error as it includes the name of Windham's predecessor in the office, William Wyndham Grenville, rather than Windham's.

51. **Henry Gore Sankey**, *gold*, 1792.

Henry Gore Sankey served as lord mayor in 1791-2. At the assembly held on 19 October 1792, it was resolved that he should be presented with an address of thanks on the conclusion of his term in a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas (*CARD*, xiv, pp 288-9, p. 317).

52. **John Foster**, *gold*, 1793.

John Foster (1740-1828) was elected speaker of the House of Commons in 1785 and was subsequently re-elected twice, in 1790 and 1798. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of £25 on 18 October 1793 (*CARD*, xiv, p. 339, p. 348).

53. **John Fane, earl of Westmoreland**, *gold*, 1794.

John Fane, (1759-1841) 10th earl of Westmorland, was appointed lord lieutenant on 24 October 1789. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 2 May 1794 (*CARD*, xiv, pp 353-4).

54. **Sylvester Douglas**, *silver*, 1794.

Sylvester Douglas (1743-1823) accepted the office of chief secretary in January 1794. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 2 May 1794 (*CARD*, xiv, p. 355).

55. **Richard Howe**, *gold*, 1794.

In June 1790, Richard Howe, (1726-99), earl Howe, was appointed commander-in-chief of the Channel Fleet and in 1794 led the British fleet at the engagement referred to by British naval historians as the 'Glorious First of June'. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of twenty guineas at the assembly held on 18 July 1794 (*CARD*, xiv, p. 368).

56. **William James**, *gold*, 1794.

William James served as lord mayor in 1793-4. He was voted thanks with a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 17 October 1794 (*CARD*, xiv, p. 376).

57. ***Meredith Jenkin, silver, 1794.***

Meredith Jenkin served as sheriff in 1793-4. He was voted thanks with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 17 October 1794 (*CARD*, xiv, p. 376).

58. ***John Giffard, silver, 1794.***

John Giffard served as sheriff in 1793-4. He was voted thanks with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 17 October 1794 (*CARD*, xiv, p. 376).

59. ***William Fitzwilliam, earl Fitzwilliam, gold, 1795.***

William Wentworth Fitzwilliam (1748-1833), 2nd earl Fitzwilliam (in the British peerage) and 4th earl Fitzwilliam (in the Irish peerage), was appointed lord lieutenant on 13 December 1794. He was voted his freedom in a gold box of an unspecified value at the assembly held on 12 January 1795 (*CARD*, xiv, p. 390).

60. ***George Damer, silver, 1795.***

George Damer (1746-1808), viscount Milton, was appointed chief secretary in 1794. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 16 January 1795 (*CARD*, xiv, p. 392).

61. ***George Ponsonby, silver, 1795.***

George Ponsonby (1755-1817) was a lawyer and prominent member of the Irish house of commons. He had been voted his freedom at the assembly held on 6 May 1791, which was complemented by the presentation of a silver box to the value of £5 voted at the assembly held on 16 January 1795 (*CARD*, xiv, p. 204, p. 392).

62. ***Thomas Pakenham, oak, 1795.***

Thomas Pakenham (1757-1836) was captain of *HMS Invincible* and took part in the 'Glorious First of June' in 1794. He was voted his freedom in 'a box of Irish oak properly ornamented' to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 16 January 1795 (*CARD*, xiv, pp 396-7). At the following assembly held on 13 March 1795, an additional sum of five guineas was voted to finish the box for Pakenham (*Ibid.*, p. 409).

63. ***John Pratt, earl Camden, gold, 1795.***

John Jeffreys Pratt (1759-1840), 2nd earl Camden, was appointed lord lieutenant on 13 March 1795. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 17 April 1795 (*CARD*, xiv, p. 404).

64. ***John Pentland, silver, 1796.***

This recipient was likely to have been John Pentland (1756-1808) who was a timber merchant and architect.⁴ At the assembly held on 16 October 1795, Pentland was voted thanks for his ‘exertions’ in suppressing the Defenders (*CARD*, xiv, p. 429). Subsequently, at the assembly held on 22 January 1796, Pentland was voted a silver box to the value of five guineas (*Ibid.*, p. 437).

65. ***William Worthington, gold, 1796.***

William Worthington served as lord mayor in 1795-6. He was voted thanks with a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 14 October 1796 (*CARD*, xiv, pp 473-4).

66. ***William Stamer, silver, 1796.***

William Stamer served as sheriff in 1795-6. He was voted thanks with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 14 October 1796 (*CARD*, xiv, p. 475).

67. ***Humphry Minchin, silver, 1796.***

Humphry Minchin served as sheriff in 1795-6. He was voted thanks with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 14 October 1796 (*CARD*, xiv, p. 475).

68. ***Sackville Hamilton, gold, 1796.***

Sackville Hamilton (1732-1818) was appointed under-secretary for the civil department in the Dublin Castle administration in 1780. He also sat in the Irish house of commons. In 1795, Hamilton was dismissed as under-secretary by the lord lieutenant, Fitzwilliam, but was reappointed by Fitzwilliam’s successor, Camden, in May 1795. He was voted an address with a gold box to the value of twenty guineas at the assembly held on 6 September 1796 (*CARD*, xiv, pp 479-81).

⁴ <https://www.dia.ie/architects/view/4323/PENTLAND-JOHN>.

69. **Henry Howison**, *gold*, 1797.

Henry Howison had served as lord mayor in 1790-91. He was voted the thanks of the corporation, in recognition of his 'remarkable endeavours' to increase the pipe water revenue, with a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 20 January 1797 (*CARD*, xv, p. 6).

70. **Adam Duncan**, *oak*, 1797.

Admiral Adam Duncan (1731-1804) commanded the British Navy in the defeat of the Dutch fleet in the Battle of Camperdown on 11 October 1797. He was voted the freedom in a box of Irish oak of unspecified value at the assembly held on 20 October 1797 (*CARD*, xv, p. 29).

71. **Richard Onslow**, *oak*, 1797.

Vice-Admiral Richard Onslow (1741-1817) served with Admiral Duncan in the defeat of the Dutch fleet in the Battle of Camperdown. He was also voted the freedom in a box of Irish oak of unspecified value at the assembly held on 20 October 1797 (*CARD*, xv, p. 29).

72. **Robert Stewart**, *silver*, 1798.

Robert Stewart (1769-1822), viscount Castlereagh, was appointed chief secretary in March 1798. He was voted his freedom in a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 20 April 1798 (*CARD*, xv, p. 50).

73. **Charles Cornwallis**, *marquess Cornwallis*, *gold*, 1798.

Charles Cornwallis (1738-1805), 1st marquess Cornwallis, was sworn in as lord lieutenant on 20 June 1798. He was voted his freedom in a gold box to the value of twenty guineas at the assembly held on 20 July 1798 (*CARD*, xv, p. 54).

74. **Thomas Fleming**, *gold*, 1799.

Thomas Fleming served as lord mayor of Dublin in 1797-8. He was voted a gold box to the value of twenty guineas with an address at the assembly held on 18 January 1799 (*CARD*, xv, p. 86).

1800-9

75. **John Exshaw**, *gold*, 1800.

John Exshaw served as lord mayor locum tenens during 1800. He was voted thanks with a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 17 October 1800 (*CARD*, xv, p. 167).

76. **John Cash**, *silver*, 1800.

John Cash served as sheriff with Thomas Kinsley in 1799-1800. At the assembly held on 17 October 1800, he was voted thanks with a silver box to the value of five guineas (*CARD*, xv, p. 170).

77. **Philip Yorke, earl of Hardwicke**, *gold*, 1801.

Philip Yorke (1757-1834), 3rd earl of Hardwicke, was appointed lord lieutenant on 17 March 1801. He was voted his freedom with a gold box to the value of twenty guineas at the assembly held on 17 July 1801 (*CARD*, xv, p. 199).

78. **Lambert Brabazon**, *oak*, 1801

Captain Lambert Brabazon (c.1740-1811) was the regulating captain of the port of Dublin. He was voted his freedom with a box made in oak of unspecified value at the assembly held on 17 July 1801 (*CARD*, xv, p. 206).

79. **William Wickham**, *silver*, 1802.

William Wickham (1761-1840) was appointed chief secretary on 13 February 1802. He was voted his freedom with a silver box of unspecified value at the assembly on 30 April 1802 (*CARD*, xv, p. 238).

80. **Abraham Bradley King**, *silver*, 1802.

Abraham Bradley King (1774-1838) served as sheriff in 1801-2. At the assembly held on 15 October 1802, he was voted the thanks of the corporation with a silver box, the value of which was fixed at five guineas (*CARD*, xv, p. 261).

81. ***Nathaniel Craven***, *silver*, 1802.

Nathaniel Craven served as sheriff in 1801-2. At the assembly held on 15 October 1802, he was voted the thanks of the corporation with a silver box, the value of which was fixed at five guineas (*CARD*, xv, p. 261).

82. ***John Freeman Mitford***, *baron Redesdale*, *gold*, 1803.

John Freeman Mitford (1748-1830), 1st baron Redesdale, was appointed lord chancellor on 15 March 1802. He was voted his freedom with a box made in gold to the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 22 April 1803 (*CARD*, xv, p. 299).

83. ***Evan Nepean***, *silver*, 1804.

Evan Nepean (1752-1822) was appointed chief secretary on 6 February 1804. He was voted his freedom with a silver box to the value of six guineas at the assembly held on 16 March 1804 (*CARD*, xv, p. 353).

84. ***John Foster***, *gold*, 1804.

John Foster (1740-1828) was appointed chancellor of the Irish Exchequer in May 1804. He was voted an address accompanied by a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 20 July 1804 (*CARD*, xv, p. 360).

85. ***Henry Hutton***, *gold*, 1804.

Henry Hutton served as lord mayor in 1803-4. He was voted the thanks of the corporation with a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 19 October 1804 (*CARD*, xv, p. 370).

86. ***Joshua Pouden***, *silver*, 1804.

Joshua Pouden served as sheriff in 1803-4. He was voted the thanks of the corporation with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 19 October 1804 (*CARD*, xv, p. 372).

87. **Mountiford John Hay**, *silver*, 1804.

Mountiford John Hay served as sheriff in 1803-4. He was voted the thanks of the corporation with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 19 October 1804 (*CARD*, xv, p. 372).

88. **John Giffard**, *silver*, 1804.

John Giffard (1745-1819), who had been presented with a silver box at the conclusion of his term as sheriff in 1794, was a prominent Dublin Orangeman and editor of the *Dublin Journal*, a pro-administration periodical. In recognition of his role in finding a new water source, he was voted the thanks of the corporation with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 19 October 1804 (*CARD*, xv, pp 372-3).

89. **Ernest Augustus, duke of Cumberland**, *gold*, 1805.

Ernest Augustus (1771-1851), duke of Cumberland and Treviotdale, was the eighth child and fifth son of George III. Cumberland was voted his freedom by resolution adopted at an assembly held on 19 July 1805 (*CARD*, xv, pp 415-17). Although that resolution contained no reference to the presentation of a box, it is apparent from a later petition for payment presented at the assembly held on 18 April 1806 that the freedom was presented with a gold box which cost twenty-five guineas (*Ibid.*, p. 466).

90. **Meredith Jenkin**, *gold*, 1805.

Meredith Jenkin served as lord mayor in 1804-5. He was voted the thanks of the corporation with a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 18 October 1805 (*CARD*, xv, p. 423).

91. **Mark Bloxham**, *silver*, 1805.

Mark Bloxham served as sheriff in 1804-5. He was voted the thanks of the corporation with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 18 October 1805 (*CARD*, xv, p. 425).

92. **George Thorp**, *silver*, 1805.

George Thorp served as sheriff in 1804-5. He was voted the thanks of the corporation with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 18 October 1805 (*CARD*, xv, p. 425).

93. **Charles Long**, *silver*, 1805.

Charles Long (1760-1838) was appointed chief secretary on 21 September 1805. He was voted his freedom with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 18 October 1805 (*CARD*, xv, p. 435).

94. **John Russel, duke of Bedford**, *gold*, 1806.

John Russel (1766-1839), 6th duke of Bedford, was appointed lord lieutenant on 12 February 1806. He was voted his freedom with a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 18 April 1806 (*CARD*, xv, p. 455).

95. **William Elliott**, *silver*, 1806.

William Elliot (1766-1818) was appointed chief secretary on 26 March 1806. He was voted his freedom with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 18 April 1806 (*CARD*, xv, p. 457).

96. **John Newport**, *silver*, 1806.

Sir John Newport (1756-1843) was appointed chancellor of the Irish exchequer on 25 February 1806. He was voted his freedom with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 18 April 1806 (*CARD*, xv, p. 466).

97. **James Blacker**, *silver*, 1807.

James Blacker served as sheriff in 1805-6. He was voted his thanks by the corporation with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 16 January 1807 (*CARD*, xv, p. 481; *Ibid*, xvi, pp 8-9).

98. **John Tudor**, *silver*, 1807.

John Tudor served as sheriff in 1805-6. He was voted his thanks by the corporation with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 16 January 1807 (*CARD*, xv, p. 481; *Ibid*, xvi, pp 8-9).

99. **Charles, duke of Richmond**, *gold*, 1807.

Charles Lennox (1764-1819), 4th duke of Richmond and 4th duke of Lennox, accepted the office of lord lieutenant on 1 April 1807. He was voted the freedom with a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 22 April 1807 (*CARD*, xvi, p. 33).

100. **Arthur Wellesley**, *silver*, 1807.

Arthur Wellesley (1769-1852), (later 1st duke of Wellington), was appointed chief secretary on 19 April 1807. He was voted his freedom with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 22 April 1807 (*CARD*, xvi, p. 35).

101. **Joseph Pemberton**, *gold*, 1807.

Joseph Pemberton was lord mayor in 1806-7. He was voted the thanks of the corporation with a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 16 October 1807 (*CARD*, xvi p. 51).

102. **Richard Manders**, *silver*, 1807.

Richard Manders served as sheriff in 1806-7. He was voted the thanks of the corporation with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 16 October 1807 (*CARD*, xvi pp 53-4).

103. **Edmond Nugent**, *silver*, 1807.

Edmond Nugent served as sheriff in 1806-7. He was voted the thanks of the corporation with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 16 October 1807 (*CARD*, xvi pp 53-4).

104. **Hugh Trevor**, *gold*, 1808.

Hugh Trevor served as lord mayor in 1807-8. He was voted the thanks of the corporation with a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 14 October 1808 (*CARD*, xvi, p. 173, p. 498).

105. **Richard Le Poer Trench, earl of Clancarty, silver, 1808.**

Richard Le Poer Trench (1767-1837), 2nd earl of Clancarty, served as postmaster general between 1807 and 1809. Clancarty was voted his freedom *gratis* at assembly held on 29 April 1808 (*CARD*, xvi, p. 90). At the assembly held on 14 October 1808, it was resolved that Clancarty's freedom should be presented to him in a silver box of an unspecified value (*Ibid.*, p. 116).

106. **Charles Henry St John O'Neill, earl of O'Neill, silver, 1808.**

Charles Henry St John O'Neill (1779-1841), earl O'Neill, was appointed postmaster general in 1807. He was voted his freedom with a silver box of an unspecified value at the assembly held on 14 October 1808 (*CARD*, xvi, p. 116).

107. **Michael Seymour, oak, 1809.**

Michael Seymour (1768-1834), born in Co. Limerick, was a naval officer. As captain of the frigate *Amethyst*, he captured the French frigate *La Thétis* in November 1808. He was voted his freedom with an oak box to the value of ten guineas at the assembly held on 20 January 1809 (*CARD*, xvi p. 126).

108. **Frederick Darley, gold, 1809.**

Frederick Darley (1764-1841) served as lord mayor in 1808-9. He was voted the thanks of the corporation with a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 20 October 1809 (*CARD*, xvi p. 162).

109. **George Sutton, silver, 1809.**

George Sutton served as sheriff in 1808-9. He was voted the thanks of the corporation with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 20 October 1809 (*CARD*, xvi p. 162).

110. **John George, silver, 1809.**

John George served as sheriff in 1808-9. He was voted the thanks of the corporation with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 20 October 1809 (*CARD*, xvi p. 162).

111. ***John Alley***, *silver*, 1809.

John Alley served as sheriff in 1807-8. The Lord Mayor and Board of Aldermen agreed with the request of the Sheriffs and Commons that Alley and his fellow sheriff in 1807-8, Alexander Montgomery, should be presented with silver boxes to the value of five guineas each at the assembly held on 20 October 1809 (*CARD*, xvi p. 163).

112. ***Alexander Montgomery***, *silver*, 1809.

Alexander Montgomery served as sheriff in 1807-8. He was voted the thanks of the corporation with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 20 October 1809 (*CARD*, xvi p. 163).

1810-19

113. ***Hardinge Giffard***, *silver*, 1810.

The recipient was likely to have been Ambrose Hardinge Giffard (1771-1827), the son of John Giffard.⁵ He was voted the thanks of the corporation at the assembly held on 19 January 1810 for a 'loyal ode' he had written for the celebration of the King's jubilee, together with a silver box to the value of five guineas (*CARD*, xvi, p. 194).

114. ***Nathaniel Hone***, *gold*, 1811.

Nathaniel Hone (1760-1819) was lord mayor in 1810-11. Hone was voted the thanks of the corporation with a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 18 October 1811 (*CARD*, xvi p. 289).

115. ***Matthew West***, *silver*, 1811.

Matthew West, a goldsmith of Skinner row, served as sheriff in 1810-11. He was voted the thanks of the corporation with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 18 October 1811 (*CARD*, xvi p. 290).

⁵ Jacqueline Hill, 'Making sense of mixed descent: English and Irish genealogy in the memoirs (1815) of an Irish loyalist, Ambrose Hardinge Giffard (1771-1827)' in Bruno Tributou and Ruth Whelan (eds), *Narrating the Self in Early Modern Europe* (Berne, 2007), pp 277-92.

116. **Brent Nevill, silver**, 1811.

Brent Nevill served as sheriff in 1810-11. He was voted the thanks of the corporation with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 18 October 1811 (*CARD*, xvi p. 290).

117. **George Archer, silver**, 1811.

George Archer served as sub-sheriff, probably in 1810-11. He was voted the thanks of the corporation with a silver box to the value of five guineas at the assembly held on 18 October 1811 (*CARD*, xvi p. 290).

118. **Charles Whitworth, earl Whitworth, gold**, 1813.

Charles Whitworth (1752-1825), earl Whitworth, was appointed lord lieutenant on 3 June 1813. He was voted his freedom with a gold box to the value of twenty-five guineas at the assembly held on 15 October 1813 (*CARD*, xvi p. 444).

1820-29

119. **William Stamer, gold**, 1820.

William Stamer (1765-1838) served two terms as lord mayor, in 1809-10 and 1819-20. He was voted the thanks of the corporation with a gold box to the value of thirty guineas at the assembly held on 20 October 1820 (*CARD*, xvii, p. 341).

120. **Charles Chetwynd-Talbot, earl Talbot, oak**, 1821.

Charles Chetwynd-Talbot (1777-1849), 2nd earl Talbot of Hensol, was appointed lord lieutenant on 17 September 1817. His tenure ended on 10 December 1821. He was voted the thanks of the corporation (without the freedom) with a box of Irish oak of unspecified value at the assembly held on 18 December 1821 (*CARD*, xvii, p. 414).

Appendix 3 Presentations of boxes by Dublin corporation traced in sources other than the *CARD*

1. ***George Montagu-Dunk, earl of Halifax, gold, 1761.***

George Montagu-Dunk (1716-71), the 2nd earl of Halifax was appointed lord lieutenant on 2 April 1761 and sworn in on 6 October 1761. There is no record in the *CARD* of a resolution to present Halifax with his freedom. However, there is a contemporary newspaper report from November 1761 that the corporation ‘waited upon his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, and presented him with the freedom of the city of Dublin in a gold box’.¹

2. ***Charles Thorp, gold, 1801.***

Charles Thorp (d.1817) served as lord mayor in 1800-1. The assembly’s resolution of thanks to Thorp was adopted on 16 October 1801 but, as transcribed in the *CARD*, did not include any reference to the presentation of a gold box.² Newspaper accounts of the October assembly include reference to the adoption of a resolution for the presentation of a ‘gold box value 25 guineas’ to Thorp.³ The treasurer’s accounts record a payment of £22 15s. to John Keene for a gold box for Thorp.⁴

3. ***John Ferns, silver, 1801.***

John Ferns served as sheriff in 1800-01. As with Thorp, the assembly’s resolution of thanks to Ferns was adopted on 16 October 1801 but in the *CARD* transcription there is no reference to the presentation of a box.⁵ Newspaper accounts of the October assembly include reference to the adoption of a resolution for the presentation of a ‘silver box, value five guineas’ to Ferns.⁶

4. ***Charles Abbot, silver, 1802.***

Charles Abbot (1757-1829) served briefly as chief secretary between May 1801 and January 1802. In February 1802, he was elected speaker of the house of commons. Abbot

¹ *DC*, 2 Nov. 1761.

² *CARD*, xv, p. 208.

³ *FJ*, 17 Oct. 1801.

⁴ *DCA*, MR/39, Treasurer’s accounts, p.59; MR/42, Warrants register, folio 2.

⁵ *CARD*, xv, p. 208.

⁶ *FJ*, 17 Oct. 1801.

was voted his freedom at the assembly held on 16 October 1801, the same assembly that had voted thanks to Thorp and Fern. The transcription of the Abbot resolution in the *CARD* also makes no reference to the presentation of a box.⁷ There is, however, a record in the Journal of the Sheriffs and Commons of a decision to present Abbot with ‘a Silver Box value five Guineas to be accompanied with a suitable address’.⁸ In July 1802, the goldsmith John Keen was reported to have ‘finished’ a silver box for the corporation’s presentation to Abbot.⁹ In his diary, Abbot recorded the presentation of the box in London by a deputation of the corporation.¹⁰

5. *Edward Wilson, silver, 1803/4*

The identity of this recipient and the circumstances of the presentation are unclear. The Journal of the Sheriffs and Commons records that at the Michaelmas Assembly held on 14 October 1803 Edward Wilson, described as a merchant, was admitted to the civic freedom by grace especial and that it was resolved that the freedom should ‘be presented with a Silver box value Six Guineas’.¹¹ No resolution concerning Wilson and his presentation is transcribed in the *CARD*. The treasurer’s accounts for the period Michaelmas 1803 to Michaelmas 1804 record a payment of £6 16s. 6d. to the goldsmith Edward Rice for ‘a silver Box for Edw. Wilson’.¹² There are records of Edward Wilson operating as haberdasher at 28 Moore street in 1804.¹³

⁷ *CARD*, xv, pp 208-9.

⁸ DCA, C1/JSC/08, Journal of Sheriffs and Commons, vol. 8 (16 Oct. 1795-24 Mar. 1804), folio 200; *FJ*, 17 Oct. 1801.

⁹ *SNL*, 1 July 1802.

¹⁰ Charles Abbot (ed.), *The Diary and Correspondence of Charles Abbot, Lord Colchester* (3 vols, London, 1861), i, p. 284.

¹¹ DCA, C1/JSC/08, Journal of Sheriffs and Commons, vol. 8 (16 Oct. 1795-23 Mar. 1804), folio 237.

¹² DCA, MR/39, Treasurer’s accounts (29 Sep. 1800-29 Sep. 1812), p. 123.

¹³ *Wilson’s Merchants and Traders Directory, 1804*.

Appendix 4 William Currie's assays in the surviving assay books of the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, 1729-1758

1. CGD, Assay book, vol 15 (May 1725-October 1728).

1727-8

In the assay year from 1 November 1727 to 31 October 1728, Currie presented 11oz of silver for assay.¹

2. CGD, Assay book, vol 16 (1729-13 July 1733).

1731

12 November: 5oz 10dwt.

14 December: 4oz.

1732

No records of assays

1733

2 March: 4oz 10dwt.

3. CGD, Assay book, vol 17 (November 1744-April 1748).

1744

No records of assays

1745

No records of assays

1746

No records of assays

1747

18 September: 4oz 5dwt.

1748

No records of assays

4. CGD, Assay book, vol 18.

CGD, Assay book, Vol 18 is a fragment consisting only of a cover; it contains no data.

5. CGD, Assay book, vol 19 (March 1752-August 1755).

1752

17 April: (gold) 6oz.

8 May: (gold) 8oz 10dwt.

12 May: (gold) 2oz.

29 May: (gold) 4oz 5 dwt.

¹ Sinsteden, 'Surviving Dublin assay records', p. 94.

3 July: (gold) 5oz 5dwt.; 21 July: (gold) 6oz; (silver) 4oz 10dwt.

21 August (gold) 6oz 5dwt.

19 September: (gold) 8oz.

3 October: (gold) 6oz 5dwt.

10 October: (gold) 2oz 10dwt.

27 October: (gold) 6oz.

17 November: (gold) 2oz.

28 November: (gold) 4oz.

7 December: (gold) 3oz.

19 December: (gold) 4oz.

1753

9 January: (gold) 4oz 10dwt.

16 January: (silver) 4oz.

26 January: (silver) 5oz.

13 February: (gold) 6oz 5dwt.

23 February: (gold) 1oz 10dwt.

2 March: (gold) 1oz 15dwt.

9 March: (gold) 4oz 5 dwt.

5 April: (gold) 4oz 15dwt.

18 April: (gold) 2oz 10dwt.

8 May: (gold) 7oz 10dwt.

11 May: (gold) 3oz 15dwt.

22 May: (gold) 3oz.

5 June: (gold) 4oz.

26 June: (gold) 8oz 10dwt.

4 September: (gold) 4oz 5dwt.

5 October: (silver) 17oz 10dwt.

12 October: (gold) 6oz 10dwt.; (silver) 4oz 10dwt.

30 October: (gold) 5oz 10dwt.

20 November: (gold) 4oz 5dwt.

18 December: (gold) 6oz.

1754

5 February: (gold) 6oz 5dwt.
8 February: (gold) 5oz 15dwt.
15 February: (gold) 3oz.

5 March: (gold) 5oz 15dwt.
26 March: (gold) 2oz.

13 April: (gold/Broke) 2oz.

3 May: (gold) 4oz 5dwt.
14 May: (gold) 2oz.
28 May: (gold) 6oz 10dwt.

18 June: (gold) 2oz.
28 June: (gold) 4oz 15dwt.

30 July: (gold) 4oz.

13 August: (gold) 2oz 10dwt.
20 August: (gold) 1oz.

6 September: (gold) 2oz 15dwt.
20 September: (gold/broke/doubt) 1oz.

15 November: (gold/doubt) 2oz.
26 November: (gold) 2oz; (silver) 4oz.

13 December: (gold) 5oz 10dwt.

1755

10 January: (gold) 4oz 5dwt.
31 January: (gold) 5oz 5dwt.

25 February: (gold) 3oz 10dwt.

26 March: (gold) 1oz 10dwt.

9 May: (silver) 5oz.
16 May: (silver) 5oz.
27 May: (gold) 1oz 10dwt.

10 June: (gold) 12oz 10dwt.; (silver) 4oz.
24 June: (gold) 4oz 10dwt.

6. CGD, Assay book, vol 20 (July-November 1758).

1758

15 August: (gold) 2oz.

3 October: (gold) 1oz 15dwt.

**Appendix 5 Monthly assays by Benjamin Stokes, volume and frequency:
1744-8, 1752-5, 1758**

Note: All assays are of silver.

1744 (Nov.-Dec.): Total monthly assays by volume and frequency

Month	Volume (oz)	Days
Nov 1744	42	2
Dec 1744	65	3

Total volume (two-month period): 107oz.

Average monthly volume: 53.5oz.

Estimated percentage of assay days attended: 31.25%

1745 : Total monthly assays by volume and frequency

Month	Volume (oz)	Days
Jan	24	2
Feb	77	3
March	120	5
April	77	4
May	93	4
June	21	1
July	89	3
August	88	2
Sept	7	1
Oct	31	2
Nov	38	2
Dec	82	2

Total annual volume: 747oz.

Average monthly volume: 62.25oz.

Estimated percentage of assay days attended: 32%

1746: Total monthly assays by volume and frequency

Month	Volume (oz)	Days
Jan	78	1
Feb	91	2
March	0	0
April	0	0
May	0	0
June	0	0
July	142	2
August	103	1
Sept	105	3
Oct	16	1
Nov	176	2
Dec	0	0

Total annual volume: 711oz.

Average monthly volume: 59.25oz.

Estimated percentage of assay days attended: 12.5%

1747: Total monthly assays by volume and frequency

Month	Volume (oz)	Days
Jan	37	1
Feb	161	4
March	102	2
April	33	1
May	101	2
June	80	1
July	103	5
August	35	2
Sept	112	1
Oct	125	4

Nov	150	2
Dec	181	2

Total annual volume: 1,220oz.

Average monthly volume: 101.66oz.

Estimated percentage of assay days attended: 28%

1748 (Jan-April): Total monthly assays by volume and frequency

Month	Volume (oz)	Days
Jan	0	0
Feb	80	2
March	127	3
April	69	1

Total volume (four-month period): 276oz.

Average monthly volume: 69oz.

Estimated percentage of assay days attended: 18.75%

[Note: The assay records for the four-year period between April 1748 and April 1752 have not survived.]

1752 (April-Dec.): Total monthly assays by volume and frequency

Month	Volume (oz)	Days
April	95	2
May	169	5
June	219	2
July	254	5
August	191	2
Sept	233	3
Oct	185	5
Nov	212	4
Dec	191	5

Total volume (nine-month period): 1,749oz.

*Average monthly volume: 194.33oz.
 Estimated percentage of assay days attended: 49%*

1753: Total monthly assays by volume and frequency

Month	Volume (oz)	Day
Jan	134	3
Feb	188	5
March	256	6
April	194	5
May	175	5
June	395	6
July	152	3
August	313	7
Sept	245	4
Oct	176	6
Nov	95	2
Dec	133	5

*Total annual volume: 2,456oz.
 Average monthly volume: 204.66oz.
 Estimated percentage of assay days attended: 59%.*

1754: Total monthly assays by volume and frequency

Month	Volume (oz)	Days
Jan	190	2
Feb	217	3
March	250	5
April	228	4
May	150	4
June	174	4
July	254	6

August	249	7
Sept	91	3
Oct	249	5
Nov	113	4
Dec	297	6

Total annual volume: 2,462oz.

Average monthly volume: 205oz.

Estimated percentage of assay days attended: 58.33%

1755 (Jan-July): Total monthly assays by volume and frequency

Month	Volume (oz)	Days
Jan	233	7
Feb	213	5
March	176	5
April	126	4
May	203	4
June	194	4
July	258	6

Total volume (seven-month period): 1,403oz.

Average monthly volume: 200oz.

Estimated percentage of assay days attended: 62.5%.

Bibliography

Primary sources

Manuscript

Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin

Minute books of the corporation of goldsmiths, 1686-1840.

Assay books, 1693-1826 (with intermittent losses).

Enrolment books and registration books, apprentices, 1704-1823.

Dublin City Archives

Treasurers' accounts, 1651-1827.

Warrants register, 1801-41.

Journal of the Sheriffs and Commons, 1741-1821.

Monday books, 1658-1842.

Guinness Archive

Minute books of the corporation of brewers and maltsters, 1750-1802, 1804-31.

National Archives, Kew

Will of Arthur Keen, 1818.

Trinity College, Dublin

College muniments

Board minutes, 1640-1847.

Bursars' accounts, 1716-1831

Bursars' vouchers, 1716-1831.

Guild records

Minute books of the corporation of barber-surgeons, 1703-1841.

University of Kansas, Kenneth Spencer Research Library

D'Olier family papers, 1853-1909.

Royal Society of Irish Antiquaries

Minute books of the corporation of weavers, 1734-92.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Belfast Newsletter

Derby Mercury

Dublin Courier

Dublin Evening Post

Faulkner's Dublin Journal

Finn's Leinster Journal

Freeman's Journal

Hibernian Journal

Pue's Occurrences

Saunders's News-Letter

The London Magazine, Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer

The Gentleman's and London Magazine: Or Monthly Chronologer

Printed primary sources

Abbot, Charles (ed.), *The Diary and Correspondence of Charles Abbot, Lord Colchester* (3 vols, London, 1861).

Alexander, Edward Porter (ed.), *The Journal of John Fontaine: An Irish Huguenot Son in Spain and Virginia, 1710-1719* (Williamsburg, 1972).

Atmore, Charles, *The Methodist Memorial* (Bristol, 1801).

Campbell, R., *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747).

Carte, Thomas, *The Life of James, Duke of Ormond: containing an account of the most remarkable affairs of his time, and particularly of Ireland under his government; with appendix and a collection of letters, serving to verify the most material facts in the said history* (6 vols, Oxford, 1851).

Cassany-Mazet, Auguste, *Annales de Villeneuve-sur-Lot* (Agen, 1845).

Caulfield, Richard (ed.), *Autobiography of the Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Cox, Bart.* (London, 1860).

Fitzwilliam, Charles William, and Bourke, Richard (eds), *The Correspondence of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke; between the year 1744, and the period of his decease, in 1797* (4 vols, London 1844).

Harris, William, *The History of the Life and Reign of William-Henry, Prince of Nassau and Orange* (Dublin, 1749).

Holland, Henry Richard Vassall (ed.), *Memoirs of the reign of King George the Second by Horace Walpole* (3 vols, London, 1847).

King, William, *The State of the Protestants of Ireland under the late King James's Government* (Dublin, 1713).

Le Fanu, Thomas Philip (ed.), *The Registers of the French Non-Conformist Churches of Lucy Lane and Peter Street, Dublin* (Aberdeen, 1901).

La Touche, J. J. Digges (ed.), *The Registers of the French Conformed Churches of St. Patrick and St. Mary, Dublin* (Dublin, 1893).

Richelet, César-Pierre, *Dictionnaire françois contenant les mots et les choses, plusieurs nouvelles remarques sur la langue françoise* (Geneva, 1680).

Shaw, William A. (ed.), *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Ireland 1603-1700* (Lymington, 1911).

Sheridan, Thomas (ed.), *The Works of Dean Swift DD* (19 vols, London, 1801).

Swift, Jonathan (Davis, Herbert, ed.), *Gulliver's Travels (1726)* (Oxford, 1959).

Vicars, Arthur, *Index to the prerogative wills of Ireland, 1536-1810* (Dublin, 1897).

Wright, G.N., *An Historical Guide to the City of Dublin* (2nd ed., London, 1825).

Calendared source material

Caulfield, Richard (ed.), *The Council Book of the Corporation of the City of Cork from 1609 to 1643, and from 1690 to 1800* (Guildford, 1876).

Caulfield, Richard (ed.), *The Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal* (Guildford, 1878).

Gilbert, J.T, and Gilbert, Rosa M. (eds), *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, (19 vols, Dublin 1889-1944).

HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde K.P preserved at Kilkenny Castle* (n.s., 8 vols, London 1912).

Mahaffy, Robert Pentland (ed.), *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland 1660-1662* (London, 1905).

Secondary sources

General histories

Barnard, Toby, *The Kingdom of Ireland, 1641-1760* (Basingstoke, 2004).

Beckett, J.C., *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923* (London, 1966).

Connolly, S.J., *Divided Kingdom: Ireland 1630-1800* (Oxford, 2008).

Cullen, L.M., *An Economic History of Ireland Since 1660* (London, 1972).

Dickson, David, *New Foundations, Ireland 1660-1800* (2nd revised and enlarged edition, Dublin, 2000).

Foster, R.F., *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London, 1988).

Gillespie, Raymond, *Seventeenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2006).

McDowell, R.B., *Ireland in the Age of Imperialism and Revolution 1760-1801* (Oxford, 1979).

Moody, T.W., Martin, F.X. Byrne, F.J., (eds), *The New History of Ireland* (9 vols, Oxford, 1976-2005).

Auction catalogues

Bonhams London, *Portrait Miniatures, Objects of Vertu, Silver & Russian Works of Art, 13 December 2007* (London, 2007).

Bonhams London, *The Waterloo Sale, 1 April 2015* (London, 2015).

Christie's London, *Important Silver, 25 November 1992* (London, 1992).

Christie's London, *Objects of Vertu and Miniatures, 28 June 1994* (London, 1994).

Christie's London, *Property from Oxon Hoath and Kinloch House, 22 September 1999* (London, 1999).

Christie's London, *Magnificent Gold, 20 November 2001* (London, 2001).

Christie's London, *Important Portrait Miniatures and Objects of Vertu, 6 July 2005* (London, 2005).

Christie's London, *Important Silver, 27 November 2007* (London, 2007).

Christie's London, *An Iberian Private Collection Part 1: Important Gold Boxes & Objects of Vertu*, 8 December 2011 (London, 2011).

Christie's London, *Stephane Boudin at 5 Belgrave Square, Les Objects de l'Empire & Mount Kennedy, Ireland. Three Private Collections*, 16 March 2012 (London, 2012).

Christie's London, *Centuries of Style, European Ceramics, Portrait Miniatures, God Boxes and Silver*, 3 June 2014 (London, 2014).

Christie's London, *Christie's Interiors - Masters and Makers*, 2 December 2014 (London, 2014).

Christie's New York, *Important Silver and Objects of Vertu*, 30 October 1990 (New York, 1990).

Christie's New York, *The Collection of Peggy and David Rockefeller*, 10 May 2018 (New York, 2018).

James Adam and Sons, *Fine Period Furniture. Paintings & Decorative Arts*, 14 March 2007 (Dublin, 2007).

James Adam and Sons, *Fine Period Furniture & Decorative Arts*, 14 April 2012 (Dublin, 2012).

James Adam and Sons, *800 Years of Irish History; The Estate of the Late Tony Sweeney* (Dublin, 2013).

James Adam and Sons, *800 Years of Irish History*, 15 April 2014 (Dublin, 2014).

James Adam and Sons, *At Home*, 17 June 2018 (Dublin, 2018).

Mealy, Fonsie, *The Chatsworth Summer Fine Art Sale, 10 & 11 July 2018* (Castlecomer, 2018).

Sotheby's London, *Fine English Silver*, 23 April 1981 (London, 1981).

Sotheby's London, *Important Silver and Gold*, 3 May 1984 (London, 1984).

Sotheby's London, *From Fire to Earth*, 25 October 2016 (London, 2016).

Woolley & Wallis, *A Private Collection of British Silver Snuff Boxes*, 25 April 2006 (Salisbury, 2006).

Museum, collection and exhibition catalogues

Alcorn, Ellenor M., *English Silver in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Volume II: Silver from 1697 including Irish and Scottish Silver* (Boston, 2000).

Bennett, Douglas, *The Silver Collection, Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin, 1988).

Bird, Rufus and Clayton, Martin (eds), *Charles II: Art & Power* (London, 2017).

- Bowen, John and O'Brien, Conor, *Cork Silver and Gold - Four Centuries of Craftsmanship* (Cork, 2005).
- Bowen, John and O'Brien, Conor, *A Celebration of Limerick's Silver* (Cork, 2007).
- Christie's London, *The Glory of the Goldsmith: Magnificent Gold and Silver from the Al-Tajir Collection* (London, 1989).
- Classen-Peré, A-M and De Ren, L., *Dozen om te niezen, Belgische en Franse snuifdozen en tabaksraspen uit de 18de eeuw* (Antwerp, 1997).
- Culme, John, *British Silver Boxes 1640-1840: The Lion Collection* (Woodbridge, 2015).
- Davis, John D., *The Genius of Irish Silver: A Texas Private Collection* (Williamsburg, 1991).
- Davis, John D., *The Robert and Meredith Green Collection of Silver Nutmeg Graters* (Williamsburg, 2002).
- Delamer, Ida and O'Brien, Conor, *500 Years of Irish Silver* (Bray, 2005).
- Hackenbroch, Yvonne, *English and other silver in the Irwin Untermeyer collection* (New York, 1966).
- Heard, Kate and Jones, Kathleen (eds), *George IV: Art & Spectacle* (London, 2019).
- Laffan, William and Monkhouse, Christopher (eds), *Ireland: Crossroads of Art and Design 1690-1840* (Chicago, 2015).
- Mahaffy, J.P., *The Plate in Trinity College, Dublin: A History and a Catalogue* (London, 1918).
- Murdoch, Tessa (ed.), *The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots, 1685 to 1985* (London, 1985).
- [National Museum of Ireland], *The Company of Goldsmiths 1637-1987* (Dublin, 1987).
- Nocq, Henry and Dreyfus, Carle, *Tabatières, boîtes et étuis, orfèvreries de Paris, XVIII^e siècle et début du XIX^e, des collections du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1930).
- [Rosca '71], *Irish Silver 1630-1820* (Dublin, 1971).
- Snowman, A. Kenneth, *Eighteenth-Century Gold Boxes of Paris: Catalogue of the Ortiz-Patino Collection* (London, 1974).
- Teahan, John, *Irish Silver: a guide to the exhibition* (Dublin, 1979).
- Teahan, John, *Airgead na hÉireann; Irish silver* (Dublin, 1981).
- Teahan, John, *The Dr Kurt Ticher Donation of Irish Silver* (Dublin, undated).
- Teahan, John, *Irish Silver from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, 1982).
- Truman, Charles, *The Wallace Collection, Catalogue of Gold Boxes* (London, 2013).
- Wees, Beth Carver, *English, Irish & Scottish Silver at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute* (New York, 1997).

Westropp, M.S.D., *British Gold and Silver in the collection of the Science and Art Museum, Dublin* (Dublin, 1908).

Westropp, M.S.D., *General Guide to the Art Collections: Metal Work. Gold and Silver* (Dublin, 1934).

Other secondary sources

Agnew, David C.A., *Protestant Exiles from France, chiefly in the reign of Louis XIV; or, The Huguenot Refugees and their descendants on Great Britain and Ireland* (2 vols, 1886).

Alborn, Timothy, *All That Glittered: Britain's Most Precious Metal from Adam Smith to the Gold Rush* (Oxford, 2019).

Arminjon, Catherine (ed.), *Quand Versailles était meublé d'argent* (Boulogne, 2007).

Ball, Francis Elrington, *The Judges in Ireland 1212-1921* (2 vols, London, 1926).

Barnard, Toby and Fenlon, Jane (eds), *The Dukes of Ormonde 1610-1745* (Woodbridge, 2000).

Barnard, Toby, *A New Anatomy of Ireland: The Irish Protestants, 1649-1770* (New Haven and London, 2004).

Barnard, Toby, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland 1641-1770* (New Haven and London, 2004).

Barnard, Toby, *A Guide to Sources for the History of Material Culture in Ireland, 1500-2000* (Dublin, 2005).

Barquist, David L., *Myer Myers, Jewish Silversmith in Colonial New York* (New Haven, 2001).

Barr, Elaine, *George Wickes, Royal Goldsmith 1698-1761* (London, 1980).

Ben-Amos, Ilana Krausman, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2008).

Bennett, Douglas, *Irish Georgian Silver* (London, 1972).

Bennett, Douglas, *Irish Silver* (Dublin, 1976).

Bennett, Douglas, *Collecting Irish Silver* (London, 1981).

Bennett, Douglas, *The Goldsmiths of Dublin: Six Centuries of Achievement* (Dublin, 2019).

Berg, Maxine, and Clifford, Helen (eds), *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850* (Manchester, 1999).

Berg, Maxine, *Luxury & Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2008).

Birmingham, Ann, and Brewer, John (eds), *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text* (London, 1995).

Bernstein, Peter L., *The Power of Gold: The History of an Obsession* (New York, 2000).

Blackmore, Kenneth, *Snuff Boxes* (London, 1976).

Blair, Claude and Delamer, Ida, 'The Dublin Civic Swords' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, lxxxviii (1988), section c, pp. 87-142.

Bloch, Marc, *The Royal Touch: Monarchy and Miracles in France and England* (1923; English trans., London, 1973).

Bolton, Charles Knowles, *Bolton Families in Ireland, with their English and American Kindred; based in part on original records that no longer exist* (Boston, 1935).

Brenan, M.L., *An Ecclesiastical History of Ireland from the Introduction of Christianity into that Country to the year 1829* (Dublin, 2nd ed., 1847).

Brett, Vanessa, *Bertrand's Toyshop in Bath: Luxury Retailing 1685-1765* (Wetherby, 2014).

Brewer, John, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State 1688-1783* (Harvard, 1988).

Brewer, John and Porter, Roy (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993).

Burke, Bernard, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Ireland* (London, 1912).

Butel, Paul and Cullen, L.M. (eds), *Cities and Merchants: French and Irish Perspectives on Urban Development* (Dublin, 1986).

Campbell, Myles and Derham, William (eds), *Making Majesty: The Throne Room at Dublin Castle: A Cultural History* (Newbridge, 2017).

Carpenter, Andrew (ed.), *Verse in English from Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Cork, 1998).

Carrier, James G., *Gifts and Commodities: Exchange and Western Capitalism since 1700* (London, 1995).

Casey, Christine, *The Buildings of Ireland: Dublin* (New Haven and London, 2005).

Casey, Christine (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century Dublin Town House* (Dublin, 2010).

Cassidy-Geiger, Maureen, 'Gold boxes as diplomatic gifts: archival resources in Dresden' in *Silver Studies*, xxxi (2014), pp 48-62.

Clark, Mary, Desmond, Yvonne and Hardiman, Nodlaig P (eds), *Sir John T. Gilbert: Historian Archivist and Librarian* (Dublin, 1999).

Clark, Mary, *The Dublin Civic Portrait Collection: Patronage, Politics and Patriotism, 1603-2013* (Dublin, 2016).

- Clark, Peter and Gillespie, Raymond (eds), *Two Capitals: London and Dublin, 1500-1840* (Oxford, 2001).
- Clifford, Helen, *Silver in London; the Parker and Wakelin Partnership 1760-1776* (New Haven and London, 2004).
- Clifford, Helen, *A Treasured Inheritance: 600 Years of Oxford College Silver* (Oxford, 2004).
- Clifford, Helen (ed.), *Gold: Power and Allure* (London, 2012).
- Culme, John, 'The embarrassed goldsmith, 1729-1831: Eighteenth century failures in the London jewellery and silver trades' in *Silver Society Journal*, x (1998), pp 66-76.
- Cooney, D.A. Levistone, 'A Wedding in St Bride's: "Happy the Bride the Sun Shines On!"' in *DHR*, xlvi, no. 1 (Spring 1995), pp 15-39.
- Corcoran, Moira, 'Two Drogheda Voters' Lists: 1798 and 1802.' in *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society*, xx, no. 4 (1984), pp 319-333.
- Craig, Maurice, *Dublin 1660-1860: the shaping of a city* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1980).
- Cripps, W.J., *Old English Plate* (London, 1878).
- Cruikshanks, Eveline (ed.), *The Stuart Courts* (Stroud, 2000).
- Cunningham, Jessica, 'Dublin's Huguenot goldsmiths, 1690-1750: assimilation and divergence' in *IADS*, xii (2009), pp 158-85.
- Cunningham, Jessica, 'John Cuthbert: a portrait of a late seventeenth-century Dublin goldsmith' in *Silver Studies*, xxxii (2015), pp 79-87.
- Curtis, Mattoon M., *The Book of Snuff and Snuff Boxes* (New York, 1935).
- D'Alton, John, *Illustrations, Historical and Genealogical of King James's Irish Army List (1689)* (Dublin, 1855).
- Day, Robert, 'Notes on Some Early Examples of Cork Silver' in *JRHAAL*, ix (1889), pp 127-30.
- Delamer, Ida, 'Freedom Boxes' in *DHR*, xxxii (1978), pp 2-14.
- Delamer, Ida, 'Irish Freedom Boxes' in *Proceedings of the Silver Society*, iii (?), p.18-23.
- Delieb, Eric, *Silver Boxes* (Woodbridge, 2002).
- Dickson, David, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (London, 2014).
- Donohue, Ted, 'Quebec captured - Dublin rejoices' in *Silver Studies*, xiv (2002), pp 124-5.
- Dunlevy, Mairead, *Pomp and Poverty: A History of Silk in Ireland* (New Haven and London, 2011).
- Evans, Joan, 'The Huguenot Goldsmiths in England and Ireland' in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, xiv (1933), pp 496-554.

- Fagan, Patrick, *The Second City: Portrait of Dublin 1700-1760* (Dublin, 1986).
- Findlen, Paula (ed.), *Early Modern Things: Objects and their histories, 1500-1800* (London and New York, 2013).
- FitzGerald, Alison, and O'Brien, Conor, 'The production of silver in late-Georgian Dublin' in *IADS*, iv (2001), pp 9-47.
- FitzGerald, Alison, 'Cosmopolitan Commerce: The Dublin Goldsmith Robert Calderwood' in *Apollo* (September 2005), pp 133-55.
- FitzGerald, Alison, *Silver in Georgian Dublin: Making, selling, consuming* (London and New York, 2017).
- Forestié, Edouard, *Une Famille Irlandaise Recluse à Montauban Pendant La Terreur* (Montauban, 1909).
- Foster, Sarah, ' 'Ornament and Splendour': shops and shopping in Georgian Dublin' in *IADS*, xv (2012), pp 13-33.
- Goodbody, Rob, *Irish Historic Towns Atlas, no. 19: Dublin Part III 1756-1847* (Dublin, 2014).
- Gillespie, Raymond, 'Political ideas and their social contexts in seventeenth-century Ireland' in Ohlmeyer, Jane H. (ed.), *Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000).
- Glanville, Philippa, *Silver in England* (London, 1987).
- Glanville, Philippa, 'The Bowes Gold Cup: A Stuart Race Prize?' in *Burlington Magazine*, cxxxvii, no. 1107 (June 1995) pp 403-10.
- Glanville, Philippa (ed.), *Silver* (London, 1996).
- Grandjean, Serge, *Les tabatières du Louvre* (Paris, 1981).
- Grant, Sarah, *Female Portraiture and Patronage in Marie Antoinette's Court: The Princess Lamballe* (New York and London, 2019).
- Gray, Peter and Purdue, Olwen (eds), *The Irish Lord Lieutenancy c.1541-1922* (Dublin, 2012).
- Grimwade, G.A. , 'A new list of old English gold plate' in *Connoisseur* (May 1951), pp 76-82.
- Guinness, Desmond, *Georgian Dublin* (London, 1979).
- Groebner, Valentin, (trans. Selwyn, Pamela E.), *Liquid Assets, Dangerous Gifts: Presents and Politics at the End of the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2002).
- Gwynn, Robin, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (2nd ed. revised, Eastbourne, 2008).

Harvey, Karen (ed.), *History and Material Culture: a student's guide to approaching alternative sources* (London and New York, 2009).

Hayes-McCoy, G.A., 'A Galway Freedom Box of 1771; with a Note on Corporate Freedom' in *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, xix (1941), pp 147-57.

Hayes-McCoy, G.A., 'A Relic of Early Hanoverian Rule in Galway' in *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, xxiii (1948), pp 57-69.

Hermann, Bernard L., *The Stolen House* (Charlottesville and London, 1992).

Higgins, Padhraig, *A Nation of Politicians: Gender, Patriotism, and Political Culture in Late Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Madison, 2010).

Hill, Jacqueline, *From Patriots to Unionists; Dublin civic politics and Irish Protestant patriotism, 1660-1840* (Oxford, 1997).

Hill, Jacqueline, 'Making sense of mixed descent: English and Irish genealogy in the memoirs (1815) of an Irish loyalist, Ambrose Hardinge Giffard (1771-1827)' in Bruno Tribout and Ruth Whelan (eds), *Narrating the Self in Early Modern Europe* (Berne, 2007), pp 277-92.

Hill, Jacqueline, 'Dublin Corporation and the Levying of Tolls and Customs, c.1720-c.1820' in Brown, Michael and Donlon, Seán Patrick (eds), *The Laws and Other Legalities of Ireland, 1689-1850* (Farnham, 2017), pp 187-208.

Holton, Karina, ' 'All Our Joys Will Be Complated'; The Visit of George IV to Ireland, 1821' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xlv (2020), pp 248-69.

Homer, Sidney, and Sylla, Richard, *The History of Interest Rates* (3rd ed., New Brunswick, 1996).

Hughes, G. Bernard, *English Snuff Boxes* (London, 1971).

Hylton, Raymond, *Ireland's Huguenots and their Refuge; An Unlikely Haven* (Brighton, Portland 2005).

Jackson, Charles, *English goldsmiths and their marks: a history of the goldsmiths and plate workers of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1st ed., London, 1905).

Jackson, Charles, *English goldsmiths and their marks: a history of the goldsmiths and plate workers of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (2nd ed., London, 1921).

Jackson, Robert Wyse, *Irish Silver* (Cork and Dublin, 1972).

Johnson, L.C., *History of Drogheda: from the earliest period to the present time* (Drogheda, 1826).

Jones, E. Alfred, *Old English Gold Plate* (London, 1907).

Kelly, James, 'Harvests and Hardship: Famine and Scarcity in Ireland in the late 1720s' in *Studia Hibernica*, xxvi (1992), pp 65-105.

Kelly, James and Powell, Martyn J. (eds), *Clubs and Societies in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2010).

le Corbeiller, Clare, *European and American Snuff Boxes 1730-1830* (New York, 1966).

Lee, Grace Lawless, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland* (London, 1936).

Leighton, C.D.A., *Catholicism in a Protestant Kingdom: A Study of the Irish Ancien Régime* (Dublin, 1994).

Lennon, Colm, *Irish Historic Towns Atlas, no. 19: Dublin Part II 1610-1756* (Dublin, 2008).

Lennon, Colm and Montague, John, *John Rocque's Dublin; a guide to the Georgian city* (Dublin, 2010).

Lucey, Conor, *Building Reputations: Architecture and the Artisan, 1750-1830* (Manchester, 2018).

McCartney, Mark, Whitaker, Andrew, and Wood, Alistair (eds), *George Gabriel Stokes: Life, Science and Faith* (Oxford, 2019).

McCausland, Hugh, *Snuff and Snuff Boxes* (London, 1951).

McCormack, John, 'The Sumptuous Silver of Thomas Bolton (1658-1736)' in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, xi (1995), pp. 112-116.

MacDonagh, Oliver, *O'Connell: The Life of Daniel O'Connell, 1775-1847* (London, 1991).

McDonnell, Joseph, 'Irish Rococo Silver' in *Irish Arts Review*, xiii (1997), pp 78-87.

McDowell, R.B. and Webb, D.A., *Trinity College Dublin 1592-1952: an academic history* (Dublin, 2004).

McManus, Ruth and Griffith, Lisa-Marie (eds), *Leaders of the City: Dublin's first citizens, 1500-1950* (Dublin, 2003).

Malcomson, Anthony, 'A Woman Scorned? Theodosia, Countess of Clanwilliam (1743-1817)' in *Familia - Ulster Genealogical Review*, xv (1999), pp 1-25.

Maxwell, Constantia, *Dublin under the Georges 1714-1830* (London, 1936).

Maxwell, Constantia, *A History of Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin, 1946).

Mitchell, David M. (ed.), *Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Bankers: Innovation and the transfer of skill 1550 to 1750* (Stroud, 1995).

Mitchell, David M., *Silversmiths in Elizabethan and Stuart London: their lives and marks* (Woodbridge, 2017).

Murdoch, Tessa and Snodin, Michael, 'Admiral Keppel's 'Freedom Box' from the City of London' in *Burlington Magazine*, cxxxv, no. 1083 (June 1993), pp. 403-410.

Murdoch, Tessa (ed.), *Beyond the Border: Huguenot Goldsmiths in Northern Europe and North America* (Brighton and Portland, 2008).

Murdoch, Tessa 'The James II coronation cup and the culture of gifts and perquisites in Stuart and Hanoverian coronations' in *Silver Studies*, xxvi (2010), pp 32-41.

Murdoch, Tessa, and Zech, Heike, *Going for Gold: craftsmanship and collecting of gold boxes* (Eastbourne, 2014).

Murphy, Sean, 'The Corporation of Dublin 1660-1760' in *DHR*, xxxviii, no. 1 (December 1984), pp 22-35.

Nichols, John, *A Brief Account of the Guildhall of the City of London* (London, 1819).

Noble, Mark, *Memoirs of the Protectoral-House of Cromwell* (2 vols, London, 1787).

O'Brien, Gillian and O'Kane, Finola (eds), *Georgian Dublin* (Dublin, 2008).

O'Brien, Conor, 'In search of the Duke of Ormond's wine cistern and fountain' in *Silver Studies*, 15 (2003), pp. 63-67.

Ó Cionnaith, Finnian, *Mapping, Measurement and Metropolis: How land surveyors shaped eighteenth-century Dublin* (Dublin, 2012).

Ó Gráda, Diarmuid, *Georgian Dublin: The Forces that Shaped the City* (Cork, 2015).

Peck, Linda Levy, *Consuming Splendour: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2005).

Perkin, Harold, *The Origins of Modern English Society* (2nd ed., London, 2002).

Pickford, Ian (ed.), *Jackson's Silver & Gold Marks of England, Scotland & Ireland* (Woodbridge, 1989).

Pollard, Mary, *A Dictionary of the Members of the Dublin Book Trade 1550-1800* (London, 2000).

Powell, Martyn J., *The Politics of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Basingstoke, 2005).

Prior, James, *Memoir of the life and character of Edmund Burke, with specimens of his poetry and letters, and an estimate of his genius and talents, compared with those of his great contemporaries* (3rd ed., London, 1839).

Redmond, Janet, 'Restoration Man: Daniel Bellingham' in *Irish Arts Review*, xix, no. 3 (Winter, 2002), pp. 120-123.

Rediker, Marcus and Linebaugh, Peter, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston, 2002).

Robins, Joseph, *Champagne & Silver Buckles: The Viceregal Court at Dublin Castle 1700-1922* (Dublin, 2001).

Roche, Daniel, *Histoire des Choses Banales; Naissance de la consommation XVIIe-XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1997).

Schmeieglitz-Otten, Juliane, 'Out of the darkness into the light: early baroque homage gifts presented to the House of Hanover' in *Silver Studies*, xxxii (2015), pp 88-95.

Sinsteden, Thomas, 'Four selected assay records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company' in *Silver Studies*, xi (1999), pp 145-57.

Sinsteden, Thomas, 'A Freedom Box for "A Hot Whiffling Puppy": Tighe Family Silver from Kilkenny' in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, xvi (2000), pp 139-41.

Sinsteden, Thomas, 'Surviving Dublin assay records: Part 2 (1708-43)' in *Silver Studies*, xvi (2004), pp 87-101.

Sinsteden, Thomas, 'Household plate of the dukes of Ormonde' in *Silver Studies*, xx (2008), pp 123-9.

Southwick, Leslie, 'New Light on the Swordmakers, Goldsmiths and Jewellers, John Ray and James Montague, Active in Partnership in London 1800-1821, With a New and Extended List of Their Known Work' in *Arms & Armour*, xi, no. 2 (Autumn 2014), pp 90-141.

Snowman, A. Kenneth, *Eighteenth Century Gold Boxes of Europe* (London, 1966).

Solnon, Jean-François, *Le Goût des Rois* (Paris, 2015).

Sonnellitter, Karen, *Charity Movements in Eighteenth-Century Ireland: Philanthropy and Improvement* (Woodbridge, 2016).

Strickland, W.G., 'Notes on Plate Formerly in the Possession of the Corporation of Dublin, and the Three Silver Cups Now in the Mansion House' in *JRSAI*, (sixth series) xiv (June 1924), pp 46-54.

Stuart, William Galland (Boles, David Arthur (ed.), *Watch and Clockmakers in Ireland: A List of Irish Watch and Clockmakers from 1611 to 1900* (Dublin, 2000).

Stokes, A.G., *A Stokes Family of Dublin* (Melbourne, 1986).

Sweeney, Tony, *Irish Stuart Silver* (Dublin, 1995).

Thom, Danielle, '"William, the Princely Youth": The Duke of Cumberland and Anti-Jacobite Visual Strategy, 1745-46' in *Visual Design in Britain*, xvi (2015) pp 249-66.

Thomas, Keith, *In Pursuit of Civility* (New Haven and London, 2018).

Ticher, Kurt, Delamer, Ida and O'Sullivan, William, *Hall-marks on Dublin Silver 1730-72* (Dublin, 1968).

Ticher, Kurt, 'Three Huguenot Goldsmiths in Dublin in the Early 1700' in *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, xv, no. 3 & 4 (July-December 1972), pp 73-80.

Ticher, Kurt, *Irish Silver in the Rococo Period* (Shannon, 1972).

Trentmann, Frank, *Empire of Things* (London, 2016).

[Unknown author], 'Letters of Correspondence with Mr. David H. Lane from The Marquess of Breadalbane, Charles J. Jackson & Dudley Westropp' in *The Finial*, xvi, no. 3 (January/February 2006), pp 8-16.

Usher, Robin, *Protestant Dublin, 1660-1760* (Basingstoke, 2012).

Waylen, James, *The House of Cromwell: A Genealogical History of the Family and Descendants of the Protector* (London, 1897).

Weatherill, Lorna, *Consumer Behaviour & Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (2nd ed., Abingdon, 2006).

Wedgwood, C.V., *Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford-1593-1641: A revaluation* (London, 1961).

Whelan, Irene, *The Bible War in Ireland: The 'Second Reformation' and the Polarization of Protestant-Catholic Relations, 1800-1840* (Dublin, 2005).

Wenham, Edward, *Domestic Silver of Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 1931).

Woolf, Noël, *The Sovereign Remedy. Touch Pieces and the Kings Evil* (Manchester, 1990).

Online resources

Cannadine, David (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed via www.oxforddnb.com.

Dictionary of Irish Architects, accessed via www.dia.ie.

Irish parish records, accessed via www.genealogy.ie.

List of freemen of Cork, accessed via <http://www.corkarchives.ie/media/freemen1710-1841.pdf>.

McGuire, James and Quinn, James (ed), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009) accessed via www.dib.cambridge.org.

Parish register of Holy Trinity, Colton, Lancashire: http://70.40.195.139/LAN-OPC/Colton/trinity/baptisms_1715-1752.html.

Registry of Deeds, Dublin, *Transcripts of memorials of deeds, conveyances and wills, 1708-1929*, accessed via www.familysearch.org.

Unpublished theses

Clark, Mary, 'The Dublin Civic Portrait Collection: Patronage, Politics and Patriotism, 1548-2000' (PhD thesis, School of Art History and Cultural Policy, University College, Dublin, 2006).

Cunningham, Jessica, 'Craft and Culture: the design, production and consumption of silver in Ireland in the seventeenth century' (PhD thesis, History Department, Maynooth University, 2016).

Quinn, Anne-Marie, 'Irish Civic Maces, a Study of their Historical, Artistic and Social Contexts' (MA thesis, National College of Art and Design, 2003).