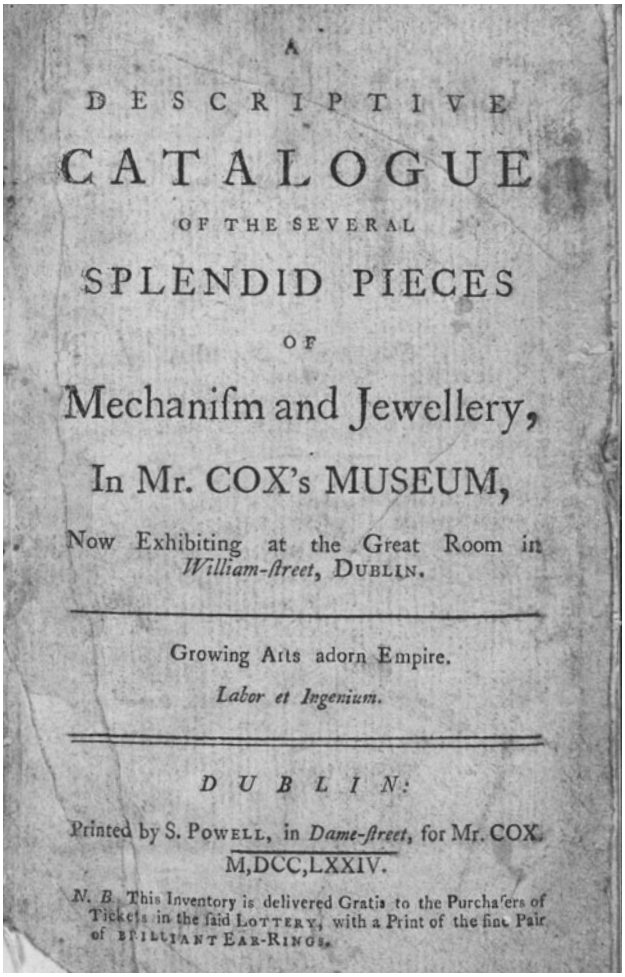
1 – Peacock automaton and clock attributed to the workshop of James Cox
(State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

Astonishing automata: staging spectacle in eighteenth-century Dublin[1]

ALISON FITZGERALD

In 1774, Dublin newspapers announced the arrival of James Cox's celebrated Museum of Automata to the city (Plate 3).[2] The accompanying catalogue (Plate 2) described the twelve exhibits in meticulous detail, which, by the standards of any period, constituted a remarkable display (see appendix).[3] There was a buffalo – one of a pair – 'so richly gilt as to appear like solid gold'.[4] Contained in its body was a mechanism that activated music and artificial water. Swans and boats glided on the water, stars moved in time to the music, and there was even a three-headed dragon into whose mouth the artificial water appeared to cascade. Just inside the entrance, two mechanical flautists played 'duets and solos', which, according to the catalogue, were performed 'with the strictest musical truth ... the wind actually proceeding from their mouths and their fingers performing the various graces of every note'.[5] And then there were the peacocks, a life-sized pair, whose feathers fanned out in such a convincingly naturalistic way that they were described by their promoter Cox as a 'miracle of Art' which could not fail in 'exciting general admiration', as they turned their heads, opened and shut their beaks, and displayed their tail feathers 'with a precision actually astonishing'.[6]

The timing of this show coincided with a period when art and entertainment were becoming increasingly commercialised across the British Isles, and there is no doubt that profit was central to Cox's agenda.[7] However, the Dublin exhibition is of particular interest for a number of reasons. Firstly, while the museum was a scaled-down version of the one shown at the Spring Gardens in London between 1772 and 1774, it contained, according to the newspaper advertisements, 'a variety of new, splendid and magnificent pieces'.[8] Although survivals of the extraordinary automata from the workshop of James Cox are rare, there is persuasive evidence for the fact that an automated peacock (Plates 1, 5, 7), now in the collection of the Hermitage in



A

DESCRIPTIVE

CATALOGUE

OF THE SEVERAL

SPLENDID PIECES

OF

Mechaniſm and Jewellery,

In Mr. COX's MUSEUM,

Now Exhibiting at the Great Room in *William-ſtreet*, DUBLIN.

Growing Arts adorn Empire.

Labor et Ingenium.

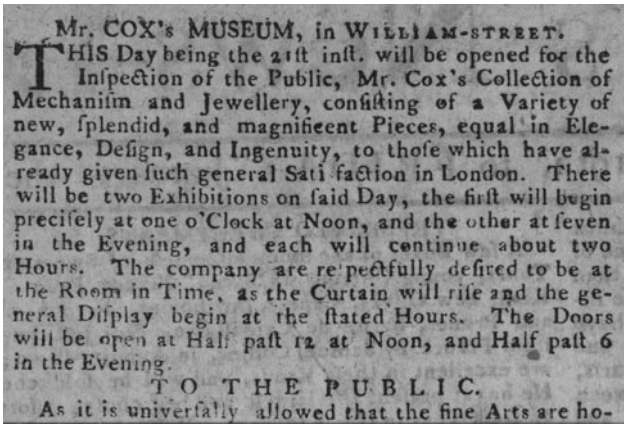
D U B L I N:

Printed by S. POWELL, in *Dame-ſtreet*, for Mr. COX.

M,DCC,LXXIV.

N. B. This Inventory is delivered Gratis to the Purchaſers of Tickets in the ſaid LOTTERY, with a Print of the fine Pair of BRILLIANT EAR-RINGS.

2 – Title page of the catalogue for James Cox's museum (Dublin 1774)
(courtesy National Library of Ireland)



Mr. COX's MUSEUM, in WILLIAM-STREET.

THIS Day being the 21ſt inſt. will be opened for the Inſpection of the Public, Mr. Cox's Collection of Mechaniſm and Jewellery, conſiſting of a Variety of new, ſplendid, and magnificent Pieces, equal in Elegance, Deſign, and Ingenuity, to thoſe which have already given ſuch general Satiſfaction in London. There will be two Exhibitions on ſaid Day, the firſt will begin preciſely at one o'Clock at Noon, and the other at ſeven in the Evening, and each will continue about two Hours. The company are reſpectfully deſired to be at the Room in Time, as the Curtain will riſe and the general Diſplay begin at the ſtated Hours. The Doors will be open at Half paſt 12 at Noon, and Half paſt 6 in the Evening.

TO THE PUBLIC.

As it is univerſally allowed that the fine Arts are ho-

3 – Advertisement for the Dublin showing of James Cox's museum
(SAUNDER'S NEWS-LETTER, 19th-21st January 1774)

4 – Trade card of James Cox, c.1750
(courtesy British Museum)

5 – Rear view of the peacock with the tail feathers fanned
(State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)

St Petersburg, is an adapted version of one of the pair that was shown in Dublin in 1774.[9] Interestingly, the promotional language employed in the museum catalogue was revised when it was redrafted for the Dublin viewing. Patriotic references to Britain were toned down; Cox made it clear that he did not plan to take orders as a jeweller in Ireland.[10] Instead he packaged the exhibition as a unique event that would not in any way injure Irish craftsmen. Nevertheless, there are clear indicators that jewellers both in Dublin and in London saw this kind of enterprise as a threat to their livelihoods.

James Cox (*c*.1723-1800) was a London jeweller and entrepreneur (Plate 4).[11] He established an initially lucrative business producing elaborate musical clocks, automata, and jewelled items, primarily for export to the Far East.[12] When the overseas market for these expensive objects declined in the late eighteenth century, his decision to exhibit some of his finest automata in London can be seen as a cleverly calculated exercise in damage limitation. Prior to its arrival in Dublin in 1774, Cox's museum had established itself on the London scene as one of the greatest 'shows' in a city where there was no shortage of choice. Writing to a friend in 1770, the antiquarian and collector Horace Walpole commented that 'the rage to see these

6 – Swan automaton by James Cox, c.1773-74
(courtesy Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, county Durham)

exhibitions is so great that sometimes one cannot pass through the streets where they are.' [13] At one end of the spectrum there was the Wonderful Pig, who could read, write and do accounts, and at the other the recently established annual fine art exhibitions at the Royal Academy.[14] Cox was clearly aiming to be associated with polite as opposed to popular culture. This is indicated not only by the claims that he made for his museum, but also by the high admission charges. Entrance to the museum in London was half a guinea, and in Dublin one crown.[15] In a similar way to Wedgwood, but with a different agenda, Cox was presenting decorative art objects in the kind of exhibition context more usually associated with fine art. The London exhibition room included portraits of George III and Queen Charlotte by Johann Zoffany, and chiaroscuro paintings of the liberal arts.

By 1773 Cox had secured parliamentary approval to hold a lottery to dispose of the museum exhibits, with prizes valued at £134,000.[16] The fact that the tickets did not sell quickly most likely prompted his decision to tour to Dublin, in an attempt to boost his revenue and attract more subscribers. A silver swan (Plate 6), now in the Bowes Museum, county Durham, was one of the lottery prizes, though it did not feature in the Dublin show.[17] Upon activating its mechanism, this life-sized

bird turns its head and preens its feathers before bending down and catching a small fish, which it appears to swallow. The base on which it rests incorporates glass rods, which rotate to give the illusion of moving water, and music accompanies the animation.

Automated animals were not a complete novelty by the late eighteenth century.[18] In 1737 Richard Edgeworth of county Longford paid 2s 2d per person to see 'clockwork statues', and five years later the celebrated duck, created by Jacques de Vaucanson, was a tremendous success when it was exhibited in London.[19] According to the publicity, it was 'an artificial duck made of gilded copper who drinks, eats, quacks, splashes about on the water, and digests his food like a living duck'.[20] This celebrity bird toured Europe, and was even shown as far afield as St Petersburg. In 1792 'a series of moving machinery and paintings', the celebrated *Eidophusikon*, created by Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg, reached Dublin, where, along with a sunset view of Naples, visitors were treated to 'a view of the Miltonic Hell ... a scene of magnificent horror', animated by sound, movement and theatrical effects.[21]

It was not just the scope and richness of Cox's exhibits that distinguished them, nor the high cost of seeing them, but the additional lure of the lottery. While the original show in the Spring Gardens contained twenty-three exhibits, and the Dublin version twelve, there were fifty-six prizes listed in the published inventory, with a magnificent set of diamond earrings, valued at £5,000, as the top prize. These were illustrated in a print, which was circulated with the tickets in both cities, and, according to Cox, they were 'by far the most capital pair ... on sale in Europe'.[22] Cox made sure that people travelling from Dublin to London could not use the tickets interchangeably. He specified to the nobility and gentry that admission tickets were 'particularly marked' for Ireland, and highlighted the fact that Irish audiences were enjoying a preferential rate.[23] Needless to say, he did not draw attention to the fact that there were much fewer exhibits in the Dublin show. Like his counterpart Wedgwood, Cox was skilled in the manipulation of advertising rhetoric.[24] For a guinea and a half it was possible to buy a lottery ticket that admitted four people to the Dublin exhibition.[25] The venue was the Exhibition Room in William Street, and there were two performances a day, lasting approximately two hours each with a matinee and evening viewing. Despite the fact that so much publicity surrounded Cox's museum, and that he was not averse to engineering puff pieces in the press, it is curious that no information has come to light regarding the prizewinners in his lottery. The lottery was drawn later than advertised, in 1775, and no list of winners was published. Given the value of the combined prizes this seems remarkable. The previous decade, the Bishop of Elphin had been listed in the *Public Gazeteer* as a major winner in the Irish State lottery, and even Mr Magee, a carpenter, who, according to the notice, 'had but 17 days of his apprenticeship to serve' when he received his smaller £50 prize, was mentioned.[26] While a small number of the origi-

nal prizes from Cox's museum lottery survive, including the silver swan, none of them has a provenance that can be traced back to the period when the lottery was actually drawn.

There was no exhibit in the London show that matched the description of the magnificent peacocks that came to Dublin, the pair described in Cox's own words as ' a miracle of Art'.[27] According to the catalogue, these glittering birds were originally displayed 'within a very rich and sumptuous quadrangular pavilion', supported by gold and white pillars, topped by an elaborate dome and hung with curtains, 'bordered, fringed and tasselled with gold ... to enclose the piece[s] at the discretion of the Spectator'.[28] Visitors could not fail to have been impressed when the curtains were pulled back and the life-sized birds began to move. According to Cox, the whole was 'finished in a manner truly masterly; whether we speak of elegance, magnificence, or ingenuity'.[29]

Recent research has uncovered documentary evidence for two peacocks linked to Cox, one paid for by Catherine the Great of Russia in 1781 and the other sold by Christies as part of Cox's bankrupt estate in 1792.[30] There is persuasive evidence for the fact that the peacock now in the Hermitage was one of the pair shown in Dublin in 1774. The connection with the Russian Empress is not unduly surprising. It was during this period that she commissioned from Wedgwood the exceptional Frog dinner service, with almost a thousand individually painted components.[31] She appears to have paid approximately £1,800 pounds for the peacock, the acquisition of which was facilitated by Prince Grigori Alexandrovich Potemkin. The Duchess of Kingston had been in St Petersburg just a few years prior to the purchase. She was a supporter of Cox and may have spoken favourably of his museum in courtly circles. In November 1778 she wrote to him:

> If you wish to have anything done for you at St. Petersburg, I shall go to the Empress soon – but that you must not mention, I think the things you send there are too rich – no person but the Empress can buy them, they like diamonds of a carrot [sic] or half a carrot each, strung to ear in any shape – pearl bracelets they like much.[32]

The correspondence between Cox and Kingston reveals that the latter facilitated the ordering of personal items for Potemkin.[33] Networks of this kind were invaluable for suppliers of luxury goods, particularly in cultivating markets overseas, and retailers like Cox and Wedgwood depended upon them.

By the time that payment was authorised for the Empress's peacock, Cox was bankrupt, and the payment was made to Frederick Jury, recently identified as one of the principal craftsmen he had employed.[34] Some details of the piece differ from the description in the Dublin catalogue, notably the cockerel and the owl located on the base (Plate 7), but it seems unlikely that Jury made a third peacock at this stage

7 – Detail of the peacock clock showing the owl in its cage (State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg)
opposite 8 – Thomas Robinson (d.1810), Review of the Belfast Yeomanry by the Lord Lieutenant (courtesy Belfast Harbour Commissioners)

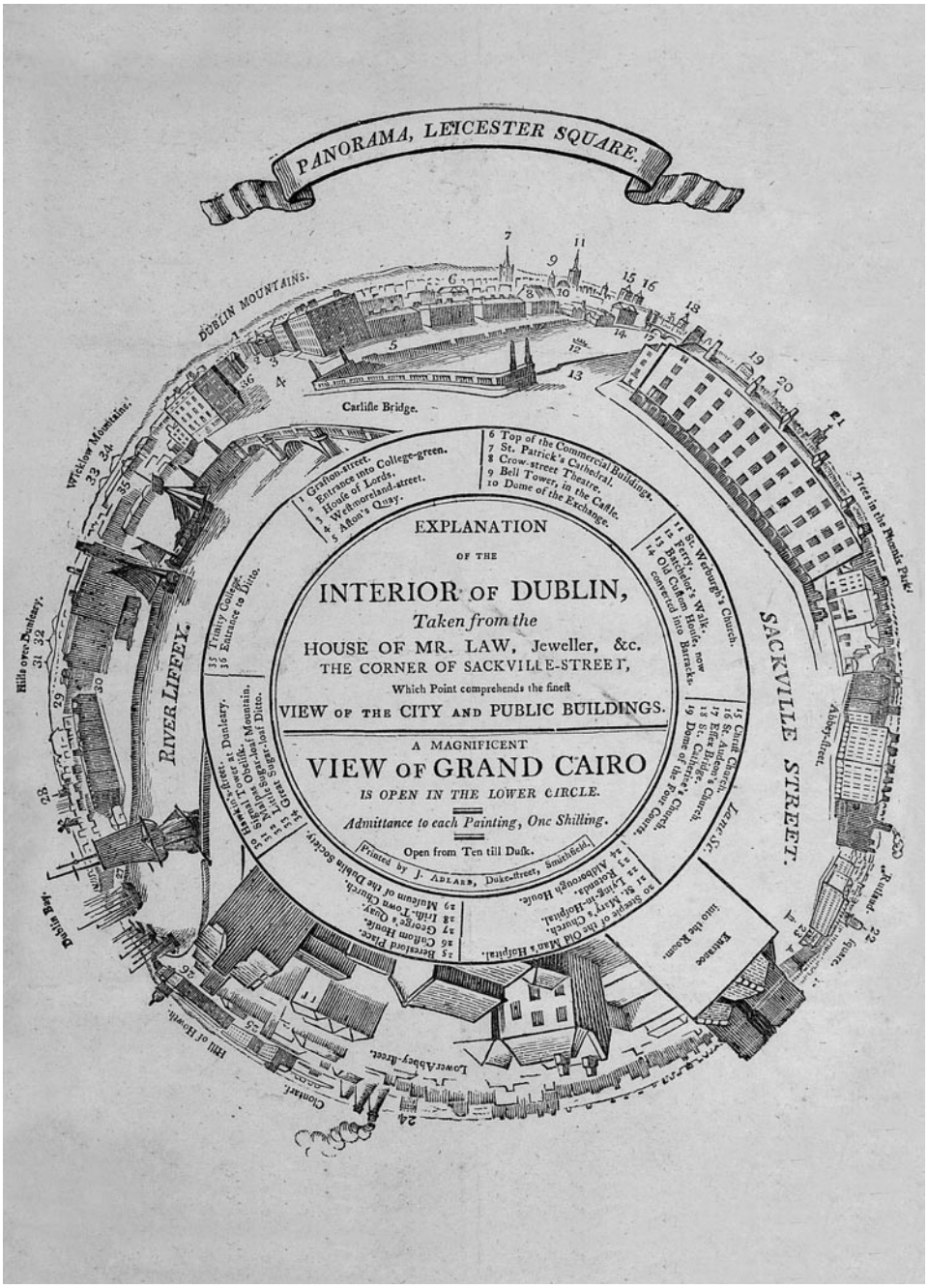
given the investment of capital, time and expertise involved. More plausible is the argument that Jury modified the Dublin peacock before it went to Russia, working at the direction of some of Cox's assignees. It appears that the advertisements were genuine when they claimed that spectacular new pieces distinguished the Dublin showing of the museum, but Cox's promise that he did not intend to take business away from local craftsman was somewhat disingenuous. He used flattery to suggest that Irish jewellers were in a better position to attract local commissions, and claimed that 'in the course of thirty years extensive trade' he had not only admired, but also encouraged 'the genius of capital workmen from Ireland'.[35] Nevertheless, lotteries that offered goods as opposed to cash prizes did rile shopkeepers, who were expected, at least in the luxury goods trade, to offer favourable terms of credit. Even in the larger market of London, Cox's enterprise was evidently a hindrance to those with fixed-trade interests. In 1774 the London jeweller Arthur Webb wrote to his sister in Dublin commenting, 'I had but an indifferent winter. Cox and his Museum scotch interest for the fixed trade.'[36]

Not surprisingly, the lottery format employed by Cox appealed to certain Irish retailers, particularly those who needed to realise ready money quickly.[37] Although cash prizes would have been the staple of most lotteries, items as diverse

as books, looking glasses and even negligees were occasionally retailed in this way in eighteenth-century Ireland.[38] In 1767 the minutes of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Guild (the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin) recorded the concern of its members about a proposed lottery where many of the prizes were 'to be paid in various goods in the jewellers' and goldsmiths' way'.[39] The Guild argued that the public would be 'greatly imposed upon' and the trade would be damaged if the scheme went ahead. In 1771 'a lottery for the disposal of jewellery, hardware and other valuable goods grafted on the English scheme' was debated by the Guild.[40] Similar reservations were aired, and the Master of the Guild was successful in quashing it. Three years later, the year that Cox's museum came to Dublin, the Goldsmiths' Guild was agitating again, this time about a lottery where the prizes included plate.[41] In fact, two schemes for the sale of plate by lottery were organised in the south-east of Ireland that year.[42] Henry Hatchell, a Wexford goldsmith, was responsible for the Wexford Scheme for the Sale of Plate by Lottery. While Cox's top prize was valued at £5,000, the top prize in the Wexford lottery was worth £25. Nevertheless, approximately five thousand tickets sold, and the odds of winning were roughly five to one. The Kilkenny scheme cost 2s 2d to enter, with prizes including a coffee pot, candlesticks and a plain gold brooch.[43]

Political climates also dictated the way in which goods were retailed. The organiser of the Ladies Lottery in Cork claimed, in 1779, that he was hindered from selling his imported clothes and textiles by what he called 'the present Associations'.[44] While he promised not to import more goods in the short term, he was anxious to realise the value of his stock on hand. For 2s 8d the ladies of Cork or any 'adventurer' had a chance of winning a negligee, nightgown or tablecloth. The Belfast artist Thomas Robinson was also clearly trying to move stock and raise revenue when he proposed a raffle or an effective lottery of one of his most famous paintings in the early nineteenth century. The work, *Review of the Belfast Yeomanry by the Lord Lieutenant* (Plate 8), was begun in 1804, and the artist had hoped to raise money by inviting the nobility and gentry to subscribe to have their portraits included.[45] The painting would ultimately become the property of the subscribers, and the artist would retain the right to engrave it. Evidently, the subscribers were insufficiently enthusiastic; an alternative strategy was a proposed raffle of the painting, with seven other paintings as additional prizes. Second prize was a picture of the Giant's Causeway and third prize *A Picture of Dead Game*.[46] While lotteries were not the most usual way of disposing of luxury goods, the lottery format had sufficiently entered the cultural imagination by 1802 for a farce entitled *Lottery Prize* to be performed at the Theatres Royal in London and in Dublin.[47]

In conclusion, the difficulties, which even enterprising figures like Cox or Robinson faced in disposing of their goods, underscores the competitive realities of surviving in the luxury goods trade. For all his success, Cox ended his career in



9 – Advertisement for panoramas of Dublin and Cairo, exhibited in London by Henry Aston Barker in 1809
(courtesy National Library of Ireland)

bankruptcy. The year that his museum came to Dublin, a local jeweller advertised that he had 'secured the services of a workman who principally planned and executed all the jewellery work in Mr. Cox's celebrated museum', underscoring the close links that existed in the supply of patterns, stock, and even craftsmen between the two capital cities.[48] In 1796 the goldsmith William Law advertised his new premises in Sackville Street by highlighting the fact that he had 'some of the greatest curiosities from a celebrated museum' on view in his shop.[49] Law was also instrumental in the execution of a panoramic view of Dublin [taken from the interior of his premises, and] shown in Leicester Square [in London] (Plate 9).[50] In a context where leisure, pleasure and luxury consumption were becoming increasingly interconnected, it is not surprising to find shopping aligned with the 'rage for exhibitions' and polite culture. However, given the complexity of its mechanism, its material worth and its imposing scale, it is remarkable that an eighteenth-century automated peacock could travel from London to Dublin and on to St Petersburg during this period, and survive for its tale to be told.

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APPENDIX

Summary Description of the Exhibits shown in the Dublin Viewing of James Cox's Museum, 1774

Piece the First	A Chariot
Piece the Second	A Buffalo
Piece the Third	A Vase
Piece the Fourth	A Gothic Temple of Agate
Piece the Fifth	A Vase
Piece the Sixth	A Peacock
Piece the Seventh	The Automatons
Piece the Eighth	A Peacock
Piece the Ninth	A large and superb vase of flowers
Piece the Tenth	The Asiatic Temple
Piece the Eleventh	A Buffalo
Piece the Twelfth	A richly Caparisoned Elephant

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

CGD	Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin
Cox, 1774	James Cox, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Several Splendid Pieces of Mechanism and Jewellery, in Mr Cox's Museum, Now Exhibiting at the Great Room, in William Street, Dublin* (S. Powell, Dublin, 1774)

[1] This article is based on a paper delivered at the Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society Conference, Queen's University Belfast, 16th June 2007.

[2] *Saunder's News-Letter*, 19th-21st January 1774; *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 17th-19th February 1774.

[3] Cox, 1774. The catalogue was also printed by Samuel Law.

[4] *ibid*., 14.

[5] *ibid*., 22.

[6] *ibid*., 19.

[7] On the commercialisation of leisure and the eighteenth-century 'vogue for viewing', see Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (London 1978); J.H. Plumb, 'The Commercialization of Leisure', in N. McKendrick, J. Brewer and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1982) 265-85; David Solkin (ed.), *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House, 1780-1836* (London 1981).

[8] *Saunder's News-Letter*, op. cit. For the London exhibits, see James Cox, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Several Superb and Magnificent Pieces of Mechanism and Jewellery, Exhibited in the Museum, at Spring Gardens* (London 1772).

[9] For the most recent and comprehensive commentary on the Hermitage peacock, see Yuna Zek and Roger Smith, 'The Hermitage Peacock: How an Eighteenth-Century Automaton Reached St. Petersburg', *Antiquarian Horology*, 28, 2004-05, 699-720. The authors state that a copy of the Dublin catalogue in private hands is the only known copy in existence. There are, however, additional copies in the National Library of Ireland and the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford.

[10] Cox, 1774, 3-6.

[11] For further information on Cox, see Clare Le Corbeiller, 'James Cox: A Biographical Review', *The Burlington Magazine*, 112, June 1970, 350-58; Catherine Pagani, 'The Clocks of James Cox: Chinoiserie and the Clock Trade with China', *Apollo*, 141, January 1995, 15-22; Marcia Pointon, 'Dealer in Magic: James Cox's Jewellery Museum and the Economics of Luxurious Spectacle in Late-Eighteenth-Century England', in Neil De Marchi and Craufurd D.W. Goodwin (eds), *Economic Engagements with Art* (Durham and London 1999) 423-52; Roger Smith, 'James Cox (*c*.1723-1800): A Revised Biography', *The Burlington Magazine*, 142, June 2000, 253-361.

[12] According to Cox's catalogue, the pair of automated peacocks shown in Dublin was originally intended for the Palace of the Emperor of China at Peking. Cox, 1774, 21.

[13] Malcolm Baker, 'A Rage for Exhibitions: The Display and Viewing of Wedgwood's Frog Service', in Hilary Young (ed.), *The Genius of Wedgwood* (London 1995) 118.

[14] Altick, *The Shows of London*. See also John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London 1997); Solkin (ed.), *Art on the Line*, op. cit.; Brandon Taylor, *Art for the Nation: Exhibitions and the London Public, 1747-2001* (Manchester 1999).

[15] The museum opened in London in February 1772, and by June, although weekly receipts were estimated at £500 (approximately a thousand visitors a week), Cox was preparing to halve the admission charge to attract more visitors. See Smith, 'James Cox (*c*.1723-1800): A Revised Biography', 358.

[16] *Museum Lottery, The Act for Enabling Mr Cox to Dispose of his Museum by Way of Lottery* (London [?] 1773); James Cox, *A Descriptive Inventory of the Several Exquisite and Magnificent Pieces of Mechanism and Jewellery, Comprised in the Schedule Annexed to an Act of Parliament, Made in the Thirteenth Year of His Present Majesty, George the Third; for Enabling Mr James Cox, ... Jeweller, to Dispose of his Museum by Way of Lottery* (London 1773).

[17] On the silver swan, see T.P. Camerer Cuss, 'The Silver Swan', *Antiquarian Horology*, 4, June 1965, 330-34; Sarah Kane, 'The Silver Swan: The Biography of a Curiosity', *Things*, winter 1996-97, 39-57.

[18] For a history of automata, see Alfred Chapuis and Edmond Droz, *Automata: A Historical and Technological Study* (London 1958).

[19] National Library of Ireland, MS 1512, 73, 20th February 1512; Chapuis and Droz, *Automata*, 233-42.

[20] *ibid*., 233.

[21] *The Hibernian Journal*, 3rd February 1792.

[22] This was specified in the print accompanying the descriptive inventory noted above.

[23] Cox, 1774, 5.

[24] For a good survey of eighteenth-century advertising strategies, see Julia Muir, 'Printing Persuasion: Advertising Goods in Eighteenth-Century England', MA thesis (Royal College of Art, London, 2000).

[25] *Saunder's News-Letter*, op. cit.

[26] *Public Gazetteer*, 16th-19th August 1766.

[27] Cox, 1774, 20.

[28] *ibid*., 21.

[29] *ibid*.

[30] The whereabouts of the second peacock are unknown.

[31] According to the descriptive inventory itemising the goods Cox intended to dispose of by lottery, the earrings had originally been intended for the Empress of Russia.

[32] Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, OSB MSS File 17935, Letter from the Duchess of Kingston to James Cox, 13th November 1778.

[33] *ibid*. The Duchess writes, 'let me know what is done to prince Potompkins book, I understand you have had the necessary Instructions for it from Russia.' See also Letter from the Duchess of Kingston to James Cox, 29th April 1779.

[34] Zek and Smith, 'The Hermitage Peacock', 711.

[35] Cox, 1774, 3.

[36] National Archives, London, MS C108/284/16, Letter from Arthur Webb (London) to Miss Webb (Dublin), 29th August 1774. Webb's own accounts are interesting from the perspective of the jewellery trade in eighteenth-century Dublin and London. The author is currently working on an analysis of these.

[37] For the history of lotteries in an Irish context, see Rowena Dudley, *The Irish Lottery 1780-1801* (Dublin 2005).

[38] See, for example, *Dublin Intelligence*, 30th June 1711, and *The Hibernian Chronicle*, 4th January 1792. I am grateful to John Rogers for the former reference.

[39] CGD, MS 21, f.139, Minutes 15th September 1767.

[40] CGD, MS 21, f.218, Minutes 3rd June 1771.

[41] CGD, MS 21, f.288, Minutes 24th November 1774. On this occasion it was agreed that Guild representatives should try and secure a ticket before openly opposing the perpetrators. Rather than being a participatory measure, this was obviously an attempt to secure evidence to support their case against the scheme.

[42] Edward J. Law, 'Some Provincial Irish Silver Lotteries', *Journal of the Silver Society*, 7, 1995 412-16.

[43] *ibid*.

[44] *The Hibernian Chronicle*, 7th-11th October 1779.

[45] Eileen Black, *Art in Belfast 1760-1888: Art Lovers or Philistines?* (Dublin 2006) 6-10.

[46] Bodleian Library, Oxford, John Johnson Collection, Lotteries 4, *Proposals for Disposing by Raffle of a Picture of the Review of the Yeomanry of Belfast by His Excellency Earl Hardwicke, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland painted by Thomas Robinson*, n.d.

[47] *Lottery Prize of 2,5,3,8; or Pedantic Apothecary Quizzed. A Farce in Two Acts. Performed at the Theatres Royal, London and Dublin* (Dublin 1802).

[48] *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 3rd-5th May 1774.

[49] *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 1st September 1796. These were unlikely to include any of Cox's items, not least because this was not specified, but also because the item singled out for mention was a 'diamond beetle got in the East Indies'.

[50] National Library of Ireland, MS PD4254TB, *Explanation of the Interior of Dublin Taken From the House of Mr Law, Jeweller* (London 1809). This served as an advertisement for panoramas of Dublin and Cairo exhibited in 1809 at the purpose-built rotunda in Leicester Square, London, by Henry Aston Barker. For more on Barker, see Altick, *The Shows of London*.

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