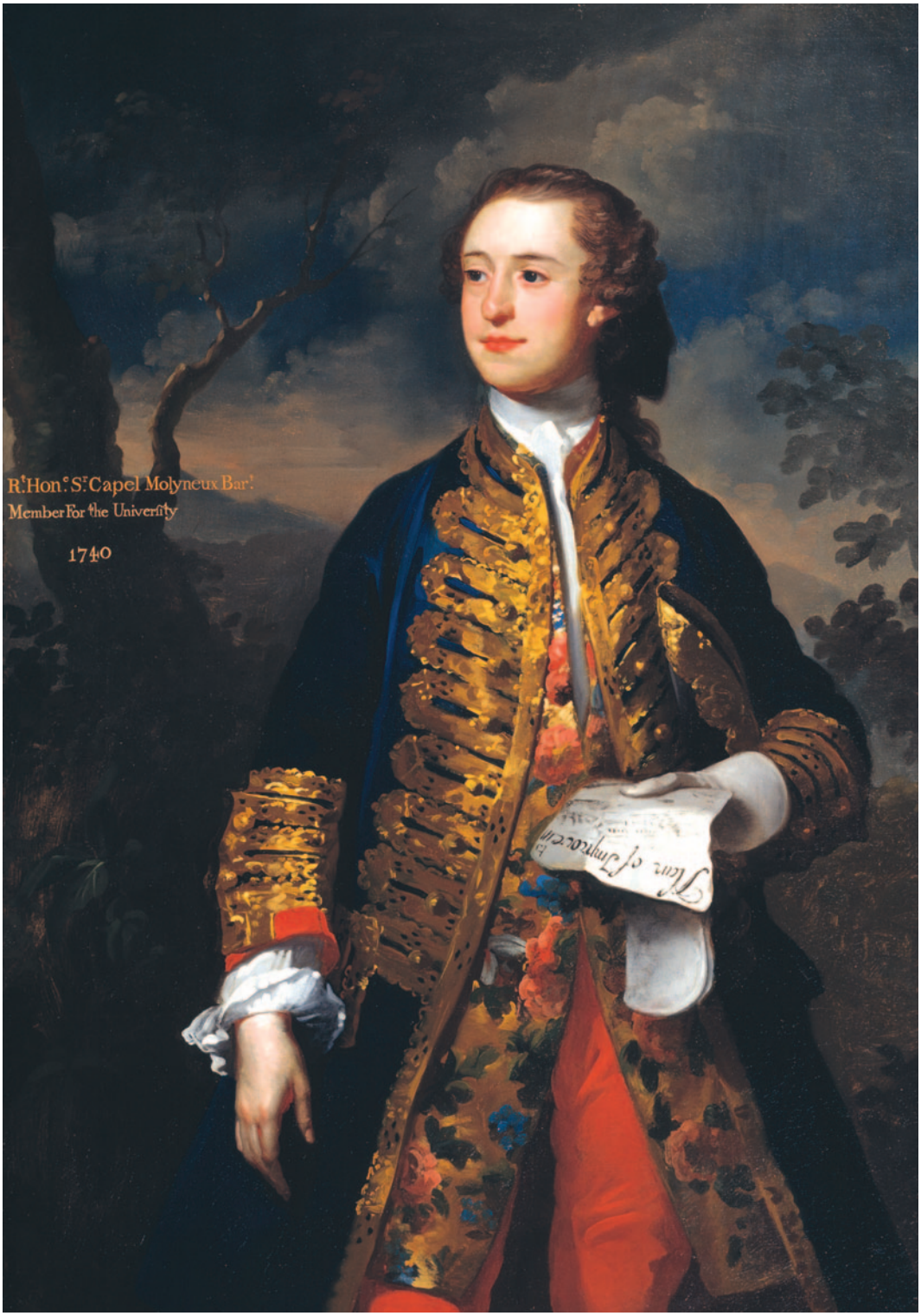
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Rags, riches and recycling: material and visual culture of the Dublin Society 1731-1781

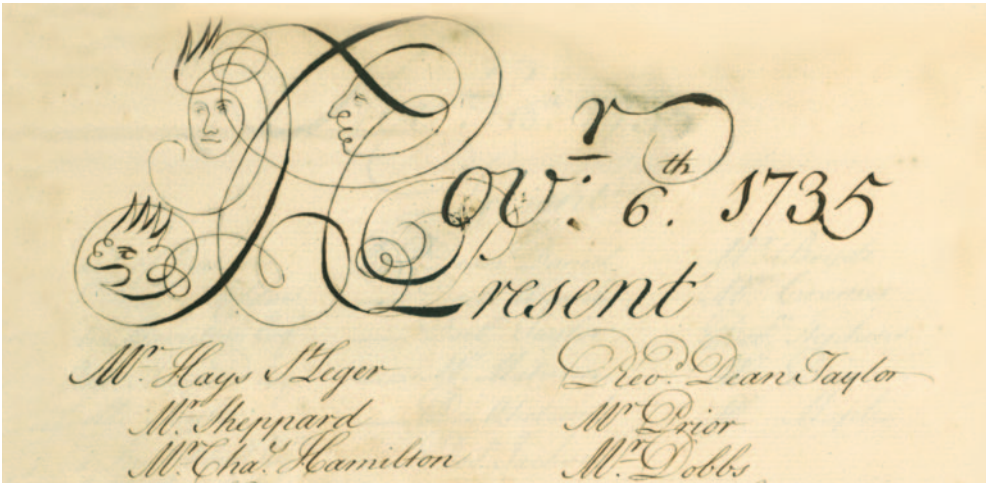
CLAUDIA KINMONTH

THIS ARTICLE EXPLORES THE DESIGN HISTORY OF THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS OF THE DUBLIN Society, drawn from a close reading of the surviving minutes of the society's proceedings that date from its inception in 1731.[1] Aiming to uncover original material, it does not address topics that have been studied before such as linen, silk, fine ceramics and discussions about the Protestant men who set up and ran the philanthropic society. It focuses on the least glamorous occupations, those lowest down the economic scale yet underpinning other manufacturers. What do the early manuscripts reveal about the Society's support for people from the underclasses and, more particularly, the women and children who were among the poorest workers on the periphery of Dublin's ascendant society?[2]

Manufacturers of hoops for barrels, coarse earthenware, buyers of metal lace or rags for white paper, emerge as co-dependent on scavenging, bartering street traders. The focus falls on the nature and elusive identity of such individuals who painted, carved, crafted, recycled or bartered their way out of poverty. Light is shed for the first time on the nature and names of individuals whose products underpinned other trades, such the boilers of horn, glue or salt. Some artists associated with the Dublin Society's art school are invaluable for illustrating the role of such workers in Dublin's manufacturing industries, especially Hugh Douglas Hamilton, John Van Nost III and Patrick Cunningham. Hamilton's sketched *Cries of Dublin*, compared with subsequent anonymous 'Cries', fleshes out the sparse written evidence, revealing more about street sellers' activities.

The Dublin Society (the Royal Dublin Society after 1820) first met in 1731.[3] From the outset, they decided to 'promote improvements of all kinds' in Ireland, including agricultural 'Husbandry, Manufactures and other useful Arts'. By their second meeting, 'science' was added to their subjects, and soon they were publishing, advertising and awarding cash prizes, known as 'premiums', as 'encouragement'.[4] The manuscripts of

1 – James Latham, PORTRAIT OF SIR CAPEL MOLYNEUX (1717-1797), member of the Dublin Society, attired in gold lace, holding his 'plan of improvements'.
c.1740, oil on canvas, 135 x 108 cm (courtesy Tate Gallery, London)

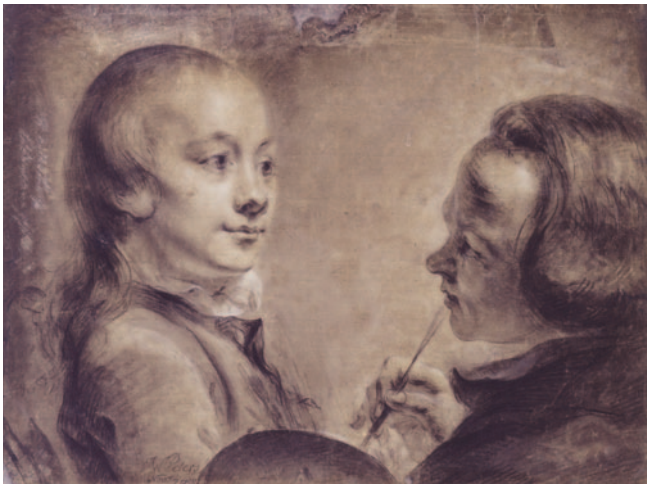


the group's proceedings (henceforth referred to as Minutes) were recorded as they met, then written up in florid copperplate, forming an (incomplete) set of large ledgers. The earliest pages set out the date, then list which gentlemen were present, followed by details of each meeting. One of the earliest scribes used a singularly enticing style, presumably with a quill. Apparently illustrative of the grand and decorative gentlemen members who attended each meeting, one heading seems to reflect directly some of their moods and expressions as they considered the distribution of 'premiums', as the cash rewards became known (Plate 2).[5]

Those who judged the prizes were initially men, although premiums for drawing, for example, were open to male and female competitors. As the provision of cash awards evolved, 'ladies of quality and fortune' were encouraged to put up premiums for needlework.[6] So male-dominated was the society that, at least once, a group that included two women, was listed as present under the title 'Gentlemen'.[7] The first prize for drawing, in 1741, turned out (after anonymous judging) to be by a woman. 'Three pieces of Landscape of the Giant's Causeway' (gouache on vellum) by Miss [Susanna] Drury, were awarded the £25 premium.[8] According to the diarist Mrs Delaney, Drury had spent three months at the Giant's Causeway depicting her highly technical subject.[9] So intrigued was the Society by the Causeway that by 1738 they had samples of the basalt columns put into a smith's forge and turned to glass.[10] Drury's work was engraved by Vivares in 1743-44, enabling Diderot's *Encyclopéedie* to announce the Causeway's origins as volcanic for the first time in volume twelve (1765). Propelled into the public domain by the Society's premium, Drury's work was an important primary step in publicising significant scientific discoveries.[11]

Hugh Douglas Hamilton (1740-1808) was one of the first of many successful pupils trained in the Dublin Society's Drawing School. His acclaimed chalk or pastel portraits, some later also in oils, are well known.[12] First listed simply as Hugh Hamilton in the Society's Manuscripts on 15th February 1753, his work was awarded one of 'Dr Madden's premiums for the best Drawing by Boys or Girls under 16 yrs'. The Reverend Samuel Madden (1686-1765) instigated the premiums awarded from 1740 to support art

3 – Matthew William Peters, Robert West; Matthew William Peters
1758, charcoal, 40.6 x 54.6 cm (courtesy National Portrait Gallery London, NPG 2169)



opposite

2 – Detail from manuscript for Dublin Society's minutes, 6th November 1735, including animated caricature faces (courtesy Royal Dublin Society)

and design, so these categories of award (co-funded by the Society) became known as Madden's premiums.[13] As one of six boys listed in the fourth class, Hamilton was awarded 9s 1d, and was then about thirteen years of age. The drawings were certified by Mr [Robert] West, whose drawing school the Society had taken over and was running by 1750.[14] It was one of the first public exams to judge art in Ireland. It is impressive that the Society used such celebrated architects as Edward Lovett Pearce, Thomas Ivory and Richard Castles [*sic*], to judge what they called the 'children's genius for art', and so their names appear in the manuscripts intermittently.

A younger contemporary of Hamilton's, overlapping as a student with him in 1755-56 at the Drawing School, was Matthew William Peters (1742-1814). His double portrait deftly combines his own self-portrait as a boy student in the act of being painted by the drawing master Robert West (Plate 3). This rare view of Robert West (d.1770) is important because he excelled in chalk and crayon drawing, and was impressive enough to be employed as master by the Society. The complexity of the composition by West's student of barely sixteen is notable. The Society was strict about punctuality, idleness or 'excessively high-spirited behaviour', which must have been inevitable as pupils 'had to be under 14 years of age' when admitted.[15] So it is rare to be able to study the fresh face of one of the earliest talented boys, who subsequently was sent to study in Italy by the Society, and exhibited portraits at London's Royal Academy.

The Society recognised the importance of providing art education to promising young people, who would help to design Dublin's increasingly lavish architecture. The arrival from London in 1749 of John Van Nost III (1713-1780), a highly talented Anglo-Flemish sculptor, spurred the Society's support for sculpture.[16] Some pupils who had learnt drawing with Robert West then became apprentice sculptors under Van Nost. Three surviving Van Nost 'bustos', still in the RDS collection, prove his undoubted skill.[17] One of his pupils, Patrick Cunningham, was so well trained that his marble bust of Dublin Society member William Maple shares the same classical baroque style and impressive standard of his master, to the point of being almost indistinguishable. The pupil's authorship, while still on his seven-year apprenticeship, is revealed in his struggle to inscribe it

with 'Cunningham 1753'.[18]

Pupils often lacked basic education prior to the Society's help, or arrived penniless from the Blue Coat School.[19] The minutes are tantalisingly sparse in detail, yet the empathy of those in charge, and the level of absolute poverty of those beneath them, is revealing. In 1750, 'Mr Nost having taken Pat Coningham [*sic*] as an apprentice without fee to instruct him in the art of statuary ordered that the Treasurer pay for a Bed and Bed Cloathes for said Conningham [*sic*].'[20] Subsequently, the Dublin Society rescued the pupil again when 'he was very bare of clothes and linen.'[21] Another apprentice, William Graham, 'a poor country boy', was granted £10 by the Society 'for his maintenance and clothing' in 1769.[22] Some pupils were financed to travel and work in Italy, reflecting the aristocratic habit of the grand tour. Occasionally a work's title alone reveals the degree of skill, as in 1754 when the young Cunningham, 'by a great majority of the gentlemen present', won Madden's premium of £15 for a 'group of Boys playing with a basket of flowers, done in white marble'. However, when Madden (who corresponded with the jury but did not attend meetings) was consulted, he decided 'that the premium for sculpture was adjudged for masters and not apprentices', a judgement that favoured van Nost for the award and resulted in Cunningham's disappointment. It was agreed, however, that the Treasurer would 'pay Cunningham four guineas'.[23] The decision may have been affected by Nost's 'frequent failure to make ends meet' and subsequent incarceration for debt.[24] The minutes reveal some of the hardships endured by such artists and also the empathy and financial support that they received from the Society.

The Dublin Society's establishment of Ireland's first art school reflected their recognition that art training was the proper foundation for Ireland's future architects, manufacturers and sculptors. Interdisciplinary research, here juxtaposing images from art history alongside surviving things (with object analysis), spotlights where the Society succeeded with this vision. Hence, the choice of their star pupil Hamilton's sketches alongside photographs of items that the Society actively encouraged Irish craftspeople to make, in what the visionary Rev. Madden described as 'Poor Ireland!'.[25]

In design history, the division of labour often points towards industrialisation. Land management, of a progressive and innovative character, was one of many broad-ranging subjects valued by the Society. The planting of specific 'useful' trees was successfully encouraged, as indigenous timber for cabinetmakers and builders was scarce.[26] Cabinetmaking however, along with silversmithing (and various other trades), is absent from the Society's lists of advertised premiums, suggesting they did not need financial support. In June 1750 the Society announced that £12 would be awarded the following year to 'the person who shall raise and make the greatest number of Hoops before the 1st of May 1751, taking barrels etc, into Consideration, the quantity and value of said hoops'. Hoops were in demand, as women wore 'fashionable dresses with hoops so wide that hinges were fitted on both sides so that they were able to pass through doorways and enter sedan chairs'.[27] Willow was the raw material required by such people as James Donovan the Elder, for example, who practised as a 'lady's hoop-maker or tailor' with premises on George's Quay (in 1765-80).[28]

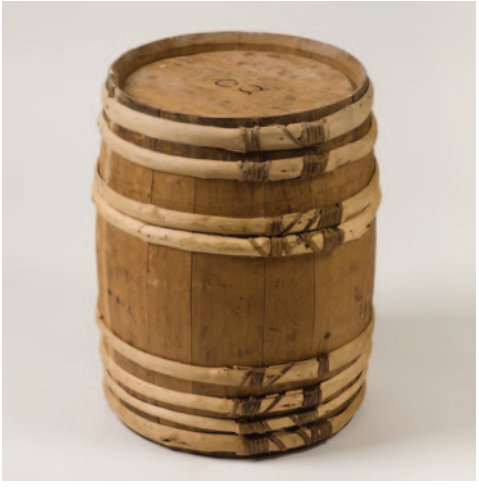
The highly skilled 'wet' coopers made oak-staved casks for spirits, ale, 'barrelled pork', beef, etc.,[29] whereas 'dry' or 'white coopers' made closed and open-topped staved

vessels to contain everything from gunpowder to acorns or tea leaves. Firkins for butter and tallow were regulated by statute throughout the eighteenth century to deter fraud, and they were the smallest of the assortment of barrels required by the provisioning trade at home and for export.[30] The ubiquitous wood-hooped firkins were crucial for Munster's dairy trade, which underpinned Ireland's export of butter (Plate 4). Wooden hoops cost far less to produce, incorporate and maintain than the heavier metal hoops, requiring heat and fuel to make. Casks of multiple sizes could be rolled and stacked. Maintenance was attended to by coopers on their regular visits to markets and farmhouses, where closed and open-topped staved vessels answered a range of needs and were reused as containers and tables, as evidenced by their frequent appearance in genre paintings.[31] At the smallest end of the scale, the diminutive one- or two-pint noggin for food or drink, its wooden hoops secretly interlocked by the travelling noggin-weaver, was proudly displayed on kitchen dressers.[32]

Willow grows rapidly in damp ground and can be closely planted. By May 1751, premiums were awarded for impressive quantities of hoops; Robert Ross of Rostrevor won £12 for raising '612,500. Being 5 feet hoops, Sugar hoops for ferkins barrels etc', while Mr Lower and Mr Jones from Kilkenny produced 58,000 and 35,140 hoops respectively.[33] Each pole was split along its length; then a cunning system, dating back to Viking times, of cut and interlocked ledges was used (without glue or metal), to bind the hoops tightly around each barrel.[34]

Another previously unresearched area of manufacture encouraged by the Society was that of home-produced salt. Salt was crucial for preserving pork and fish (especially herring), to ensure a continuous year-round supply of the food consumed by the rural masses. Poorer families depended on salt alone to flavour their staple diet of potatoes, often eaten directly from a flat basket or 'skib' without utensils. To avoid importing salt, the Society gave many premiums to encourage the production of 'salt from seawater', and in 1743 experiments by the Society compared Irish salt products to English, French and Portuguese salt, and even used a technique of floating eggs in salt water to compare the strength of solutions.[35] The minutes reveal applicants such as Messrs Wilson, Sharp & Co of Belfast, with '450 tuns' 'fitt for cureing fish' and the aptly named Mr Peck with '300 Tuns', as well as 'large salt', 'small salt', 'basket salt' and other applications from manufacturers working on the quays in Dublin.[36] The admittance of 62-year-old Michael Conway, when 'sickly', whose occupation was a 'Salt Boiler', into Limerick's 'House of Industry' in 1775, illuminates the process.[37]

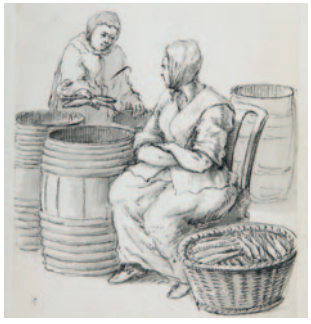
4 – Wooden-hooped firkin, archetypal for containing around 56-70lbs of butter
See also hooped barrel in Plate 5 (overleaf).
(photo: Roland Pashhoff, courtesy Cork Butter Museum)

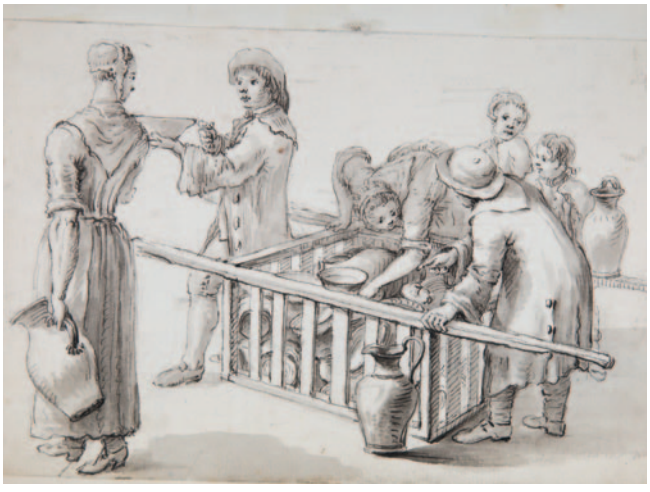


HUGH DOUGLAS HAMILTON AS WITNESS

As one of the Drawing School's most accomplished pupils, Hugh Douglas Hamilton's art work is a crucial link in the chain demonstrating the Society's support for the underprivileged. His illustration of 'Fresh & Pickled Herrings' from his *Cries of Dublin Drawn from the Life*, shows us precisely how the popular salt-cured fish was sold by women in 1760.[38] His title tells us what she called aloud to advertise her wares, and his delineation of the hooped barrels compares closely to surviving examples (Plate 5). Women also followed the fishing fleets to process such fish, salt them down and pack them. Seated on a simpler version of a chair made fashionable by Chippendale in 1754, she is not barefoot like many country women then were. One single salt herring was the traditional centrepiece into which rural families dipped their staple diet of boiled potatoes for flavour. Any such centrepiece, whether salt, herring or a noggin of buttermilk, was simply known as 'kitchen'.[39] The buyer in this sketch seems to be debating the purchase of only two fish. The narrative within Nathaniel Grogan's painting *c*.1800, *Whipping the Herring out of Town – A Scene of Cork*, reflects the centrality of herring to many working people's diets, just as Hamilton does.[40] These minutely observed, naturalistic sketches of Dublin's street sellers shed rare light on a community of working people with whom Hamilton, as the son of a peruke (wig) maker, must have been familiar.

One of Hamilton's most narrative cries shows men selling 'Coarse Earthen Ware' (Plate 6). According to Peter Francis, this drawing is 'the most important visual record relating to Irish coarse or "country" pottery that survives from the eighteenth century'.[41] An analysis of 'coarse earthenware' descends the economic ladder, illuminating the realms of vernacular furnishings and plenishings, frequently unmarked and under-researched yet important in the material culture of Ireland's working majority. As well as supporting, inspecting, discussing and rewarding progress in manufacturing fine Irish ceramics,[42] the Dublin Society recognised that by encouraging home production of country earthenware they could reduce the flow of imports from England and Wales. The Society had been 'encouraging' home earthenware production since at least 1733.[43] In Hamilton's drawing,





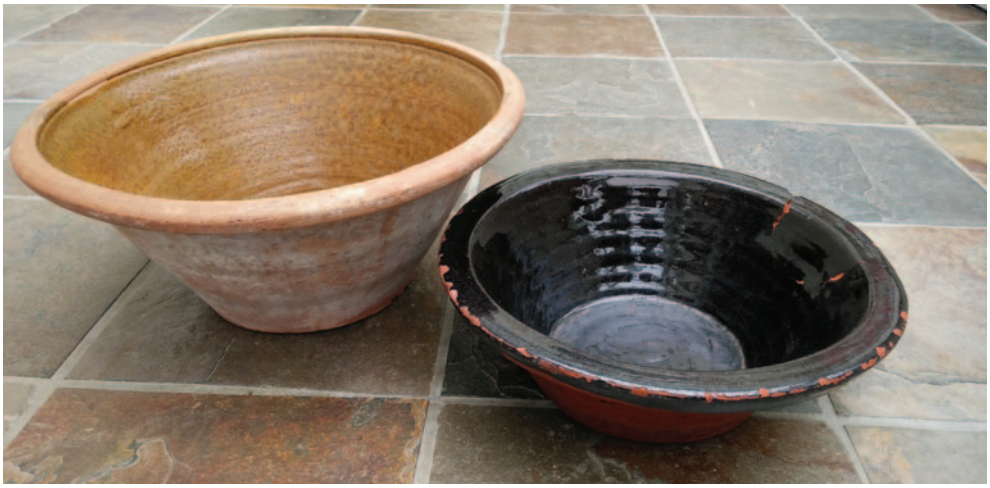
Hugh Douglas Hamilton ,
Cries of Dublin (1760)
5 – 'Fresh & Pickled Herrings'
6 – 'Coarse Earthen Ware'
(both: private collection)

the earthenware is carried with great care, sedan-chair style, in a crate between paired poles, where other sellers might use a pony and cart. We see wide-mouthed pans or crocks shaped perfectly for settling or souring cream, then skimming off the top layer, to churn it into butter. The dairymaid's task of scrubbing woodenware with fine sand and scalding it for meticulously for cleanliness, was laborious. Earthenware was far more easily cleaned, adding to its appeal. Each pitcher, crock or pan had a shiny smooth glaze inside to aid cleaning, but unlike the shallow, coopered wooden keeler, it was irreparable once cracked. Hence the noise being made as Hamilton's seller taps his knuckle against the pan, reassuring the buyer that it is sound. The late Megan McManus described how Irish country potters from the eighteenth century onwards created such crocks on hand-cranked potters' wheels, firing them in kilns using turf or coal.[44]

The largest surviving crocks (or pancheons, or pans) were used for many purposes (Plate 8). The widest were called 'petit pans'. The smallest, called 'pudding bowls', were useful for everything from mixing dough and washing hands to storing, preparing and chilling food in the kitchen, and some pierced with holes served as colanders (Plate 7, centre). Some were glazed with lead (for dark brown) or with manganese for black (Plate 8). Splatters of glaze on the outsides, bubbled glaze, careless hand and thumb prints and ridges indicate swift throwing and glazing, and characterise the Irish made examples. Object analysis reinforces the concept of a high quantity of such utilitarian vessels competing in a low-cost market. Future research incorporating testing of materials could help differentiate those produced 'in our Kingdom of Ireland' from those imported.[45] Many other potters are mentioned in the minutes, such as Mr Carree from Cork and Hugh Pollock from Youghal, whose work awaits identification.[46]

The inspection of samples, with their producers' names carefully concealed, was part of the Society's routine. Close scrutiny of Hamilton's sketch shows that the rim of one of the crocks in the centre is dotted. A collection of six later slip-trailed crocks, probably from Samuel Burns & Co pottery at Coalisland, county Tyrone, also include such distinctive dotted rims and variations of the looping trailed slip, applied with a spouted can or a feather to decorate their brown-glazed insides (Plate 7). Photographs of Burnbrae Pottery, show such dotted, trailed crocks right into the 1930s. McManus writes of the smallest bowls being called 'pudding bowls', the largest 'petit-pans', while jugs, vases and chamber pots of coarse slipware were produced for workhouses.[47] A small bowl found in Fiveally, county Offaly, has the same colouring and simpler trailed interior, with the glaze on the rim nearly worn away from sustained use.[48] During excavations at Ballykilcline, county Roscommon, Charles Orser identified twenty-six different glaze colours, among shards of locally made coarse earthenware. He considered such ubiquitous, functional ceramic to be 'a powerful symbol of rural Ireland', despite its neglect by academics.[49] Such 'ware' found its way into farmhouses via fairs, market towns and local shops, as well as on the doorstep via pedlars and hawkers. Surviving intact examples reveal a wide range of sizes, qualities and glaze colours – yellow, pale green and brownish green – on various different heavy clay bases.[50]

The patriotic Dublin Society encouraged Ireland's production of items they had identified directly from the import lists kept by the Custom House.[51] In 1764 they advertised cash encouragement for 'Crockery Ware, such as and not inferior to that imported



from Liverpool'.[52] The following year, they specified more precisely the 'black Crockery Ware...fully equal in Goodness to that imported, in Proof of which Samples must be produced'.[53] Scrutiny of the Society's minutes reveals the identity of some of those Irish manufacturers of coarse earthenware, especially of 'black crockery' (Plate 8). 'Joseph M'Clusky, of New Street, Dublin City' won a two guinea premium for this in 1750, and in 1751, together with five other earthenware producers, both he and John Conolly of Arklow each won £10.[54] By 1767 Thomas Hardy was encouraged by a £6 premium for 'black crockery', but the Society's proceedings do not include his address.[55] The proceedings mention Mr Caree (of Cork city), who in 1741 utilised white clay,[56] a material also available at Youghal, county Cork, where Hugh Pollock manufactured his earthenware in 1776.[57] Shiny black glazed earthenware was imported in quantity from Buckley in East Wales and Liverpool. Such distinctive black pottery often appears in Irish genre paintings, while the black glaze is assumed to have incorporated (locally mined) manganese oxide.[58] In common with other vernacular artefacts, the makers of country earthenware were economical with their materials (any glaze is usually on the inside or only the top of the outside rim). They were designed with kiln space in mind (i.e. tall and narrow rather than wide-bellied pitchers). They were also fundamentally functional, so the shallow pans had wide mouths to facilitate the skimming of cream off the top of soured milk before churning, and they also stacked neatly one inside the other for transport.[59]

The printer of the Dublin Society's pamphlets in the 1760s, S. Powell (of Dame Street), may somehow be connected to the G. Powell (of Green Street) who printed an anonymous pamphlet, *The Dublin Cries*. In his contextual analysis of 1923, George Panter dates this broadsheet convincingly to 1773-75.[60] Although Powell's anonymous images are more naive, smaller and more stylised than Hamilton's, the similarities in what they depict have been suggested by Sean Shesgreen as plausible rather than derivative.[61] Powell's prints are each captioned by what the seller cried aloud, so are informative about, for example, the colour of pottery for sale (Plate 9). His earthenware sellers are better dressed and carry their fragile load the same way as Hamilton's, but through a rural landscape rather than an urban one. According to Mayhew's description of pedlars bartering in the early nineteenth century, they walked miles, progressing from door to door, working their way from rural areas (where people lived at a distance from shops) towards the city. Then they sold their accumulated wares to numerous urban 'marine Shops', who sorted, weighed and paid cash for rags etc.[62] He asserts that nineteenth-century 'sellers of crock-

7 – Six small slip-trailed crocks, for multiple uses
Used for mixing dough, washing vegetables, etc. Probably from Samuel Burns & Co., Coalisland, county Tyrone (30-33cm diam, 12-15cm high). The central rare yellow-glazed strainer probably for making cheese. Elder leaves used for the 'shamrock' motif with sgraffito technique.
(photo P. Francis)

8 – Brown-glazed cream setting pan and black pan
Used to hold milk prior to skimming off cream for butter-making, typically sold in sets of three (42cm and 34cm diam). Smaller black pan, probably Irish, imitative of imports from Buckley, Wales and north Devon. (author's collection and photo)

9 – Anon/Powell c.1773 'Sellers of Earthenware: Black pans' (private collection)

ery "ware" preferred to barter rather than to sell', and illustrates one in the process of 'bartering for old clothes', helping to explain Powell's legend (see Plate 11): 'Old Rags old Rags, Have you any old Rags to sell? – Here's Ware for old Rags'.[63] The latter cry seems likely to have been equally appropriate for the woman driving her heavily laden pony in an untitled, recently discovered drawing by Hamilton (see Laffan, Plate 2, page 30).[64] Such calls also reveal more about glaze colour and vernacular terminology: 'Who buys the Black-Pans? Who buys the Black-Pans? Who buys? – Here's the Earthen-Ware: Here's the China, but where's the money?' (Plate 9).

FROM RAGS TO PAPER

> RAGS make Paper / PAPER makes Money / MONEY makes Banks /
> BANKS make Loans / LOANS make Beggars / BEGGARS make Rags.[65]

Paper began to be manufactured in Ireland in the late seventeenth century, and the Society's support for rag-gatherers arose because linen rags were essential for recycling into the best white paper. The women who worked gathering rags were known as 'bunters' (bunting originally referring to rags).[66] Hamilton's sketches reveal the involvement of women in this work (Plate 11). The Dublin Society's recognition of the manufacturers' struggle to compete with imports from abroad was timely, as demand rose for the best white Irish paper, especially for printing, as well as for writing and indeed artwork. The Society began to gather and test samples to see how well they bore ink in 1736, when Mr Slator, a Dublin paper-maker, 'was desired to attend' a meeting.[67] Paper was graded by colour, price and quality, and it was also in demand for packaging, bookbinding, wall hangings and for various wrappings, known as 'lapping' when used for linen.[68] Paper makers needed to power the mills with running water that was also sufficiently clean to make the whitest paper. The names of Dublin mills on the rivers Camac, Liffey and Dodder, reflect those requirements with Mr Richard Matthewson's mill at Ballsbridge claiming to be the first maker of 'blue paper commonly called sugar loaf'.[69] Ample supplies of 'old sacking, sailcloth, rope' and other raw materials provided the basis for making brown paper, and for the whitest paper, worn linen rags.[70] The principal storage and transport concerns for manufacturers related to rags and paper, so mills were ideally near roads and/or ports. A paper-maker near Belfast, Francis Joy, advertised that he would collect 'all kinds of linen rags' that he so badly needed, transport and part barter them for 'such papers as ... from time to time may be wanted at moderate prices'.[71] The Society offered premiums not only for building mills, but for associated machinery, especially for 'moulds' and 'screws' made of wood or metal.[72] After grading, then shredding and soaking the linen rags in vats of water, the

11 – Anon/Powell c.1773
'Ware for old Rags' huckster

12 – Anon/Powell c.1773
'Old Gold or Silver lace'

opposite

10 – Hugh Douglas Hamilton,
'Raggs or old Cloaths'
from CRIES OF DUBLIN, 1760

(all: private collection)

mixture was beaten, then moulded to press the excess water from the wet paper, before hanging it up to dry and then, for best quality white paper, sizing it with gelatine.[73] A shortage of raw materials occurred in 1769 when Frances Joy's advertisement in the *Belfast Newsletter* sought '2 or 3 poor women of good character for picking linen rags for which more will be given than they can earn at the [spinning] wheel'.[74] Having identified the shortage of linen rags as a hindrance to Ireland's white-paper-makers, the Society offered premiums for 'gathering and selling [the] most linen Rags to the Paper-Makers of Dublin, from March 1754 to ... January 1755'. Cash premiums were to be awarded 'in proportion to the value sold by each Gatherer. There appeared 242 Rag-Gatherers.'[75] The assembly of people 'who sold rags to the Paper-Makers in Dublin to the value of £2654:6:3 halfpence' must have been quite a spectacle in the Society's room in the Parliament House. The names of women who gathered are not listed. However, studies show how central female and child labour was to the initial sorting of rags (where linen was identified, white was separated from coloured, extraneous buttons and trimmings were laboriously removed, and grading was organised).[76] The heaviest work, involving lifting dripping 'moulds' of wet material from the vats, was necessarily done by men. However, the finishing and grading of the finest white paper, inspecting for knots or lumps, and counting the resulting sheets, was traditionally women's work that was passed down through generations, who learnt from each other.

Hamilton's sketches show how the female gatherers or rag-pickers looked. In one of his sketches, a woman almost enveloped by huge bags, turns her head as if suddenly surprised by the artist's presence (Plate 11). She wears a bonnet, indicating her married status, and her sleeves are rolled up. Maybe her open mouth shows her in the act of crying out 'Raggs or Old Cloathes'. We know the name of one 'second hand rag vendor', Mary Purcell, because in 1787 she was held up 'at pistol-point' by a woman who robbed her of eighteen shillings. The following month, Margaret Savage was hanged in front of Newgate prison for the crime.[77] So it seems the Society was assisting women in comparatively lucrative work, within such subcultures.

Panter recalls the 'Rag and Bone man' in 1860s Dublin being called 'the gather 'em up man'.[78] The author recalls the melodic call of 'rag bone' ringing through London's streets, as unwanted items were gathered with a pony and cart, or by the 1980s, with a hand-barrow, whereas in Dublin such a cry is still remembered as 'Any old rags, bottles or tins!'[79] The repeated call encouraged people who wanted to get rid of things, by barter

or sale, to go out and find the caller. Above his ink caption of 'Raggs or Old Cloathes', Hamilton added another cry of 'Have any old Raggs! Old Raggs!' in pencil. It seems likely that the men who collected premiums for gathering and selling most linen rags would collect them from such women, or they employed them directly. After gathering rags, they needed sorting and separating. Wool, for example, was unsuitable for use in paper-making. Worn (and therefore soft) linen torn into pieces was best. The clothing trade was, by one account, sufficiently important to amount to 'about one quarter of national expenditure' of the British Isles in 1688.[80] Poor Irish people were notoriously raggedly dressed or sometimes almost naked.[81] Clothes were stolen from children's backs, with thieves 'motivated by greed as well as by need, wanting things just to keep up with the changing fashions'; in 1788 a man was hanged for a street robbery involving a hat and coat.[82] Pawnbrokers profited from the periodic use of old clothing, while the recycling of secondhand clothing probably accounted for any potentially wearable clothes that in more affluent societies might otherwise have gone for rags. A verse describing the guests attending 'Susy's Wedding' *c.*1785 adds satirical detail to what little is known about such resourceful pedlars:

> Tom Foley came wid bungy Peg, dat sels old wigs and shoes Sir,
> Bob Caffrey shuffled his game leg, de lad cries bloody News Sir,
> Davy Dog and Harry Shaw, Wid shoe-black and knives to grind Sir,
> Such a gallows crew you never saw, Or in Dublin scarce could find Sir.[83]

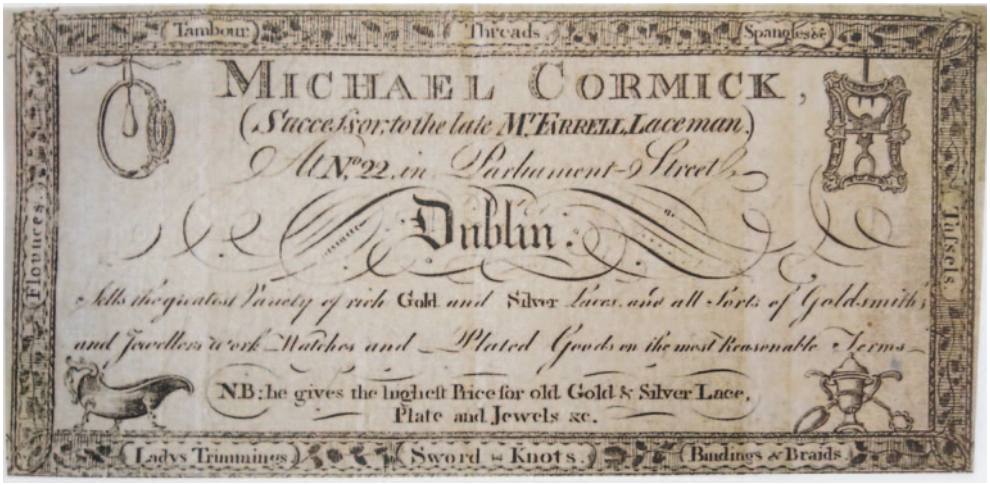
Powell's version of the ragman's cry reveals more than Hamilton's. His gatherer calls 'Old Rags old Rags; Have you any old Rags to sell? – Here's Ware for old Rags' (Plate 11), revealing that earthenware was sometimes offered as barter. Recycling, as well as barter, was not confined to the poorest classes, with Jonathan Swift advising servants to drive 'those china hucksters from the door' and railing against the 'execrable Custom got among ladies, of trucking their old Cloaths for China, or turning them to cover easy chairs'.[84] More evidence arises from the *c.*1740 trade card of Hannah Tatum, advertising that she 'buys and sells (for ready Money) all Sorts of old Cloathes and changes all Sorts of fine China for left-off Cloaths'.[85] Perhaps the shortage of small coinage at that time, considered especially problematic to the smallest traders, encouraged barter.[86] The prospect of a woman capable of carrying earthenware as well as rags for barter, on foot, is impressive. The recently discovered image, by Hamilton, offers the most realistic solution to the physical challenge of carrying earthenware as well as old clothes (see Laffan, Plate 2, page 30). With no words as clues, he shows the back view of a woman raising her arm to drive forward her heavily laden, dishevelled pony while brandishing a stick. She is dressed in a skirt but has a man's coat over it, and is wearing a wig with a hat perched on top. She bears all the hallmarks of old clothes or rag dealers, known as 'disorderlies' and archetypically 'having several hats piled on top' of their heads.[87] The bag hanging in front of her, other huge misshapen bags and yet another coat, all slung over the pony's back, further inform Hamilton's visual narrative, which is untitled. Led by the hand, a small child (also conspicuous in an oversized coat, and wearing shoes) tags along with a dog, as they walk away from the artist's viewpoint. The pony is tackled with a straddle and crupper to secure the load, and simply driven without reins.

GOLD AND SILVER LACE

THE SOCIETY'S SUPPORT FOR USED CLOTHES DEALERS ALSO FACILITATED THE RECYCLING of raw materials made by workers in precious metals. Men of means expressed their wealth in numerous ways, and conspicuous consumption was heightened with the decoration of their clothing. Buckles and fastenings could be ostentatiously decorative, cast, engraved or variously augmented in silver or gold. Less expensive was the manufacture of 'Birmingham Ware' – cast metal buckles and buttons that were suitable for regiments. In 1741 the Society awarded £50 to 'Mr Roche's House and Workhouse' on condition that he 'employ several apprentices' involved in 'stamping, filing the edges, drilling, polishing and finishing' such buttons. They supported him further by recommending his products to 'all agents of Regiments or others who have occasion for large quantities of Birmingham wares'.[88] Others had their buttons engraved with initials, or portraits of their horses, complete with their names.[89]

Another of Powell's cries emphasises the potential intrinsic value of male attire. It shows a man walking carrying a hat in one hand and a pair of rabbits hanging from a stick on his back (Plate 12). The implications of his cry 'Have you any old bits of Brass, or broken Glass to sell, old Gold or Silver Lace to sell. – Here's ready Money for your Rabbet-Skins, Maids!' would then have been clear. Brass and broken glass was melted down and recycled. The Society encouraged 'glass houses', with their attendant pollution, to provide window and table glass, green ware, decanters, bottles and vials, in and beyond Dublin.[90] Rabbit skin was one raw material (as well as hooves and horn filings) for making water-soluble hot glue, essential for cabinetmaking. It is rare to be able to name people such as the 'Glueboiler', called Thomas Barton, appropriately based in Dublin's Marrowbone Lane in 1708, who processed rabbit skins into dry flakes, ready to rehydrate into glue. By 1716 he had moved to Rathmines where he was also a parchment maker – a writing material traditionally made of untanned sheep or goat skin.[91] John Collum was another gluemaker, located in Dolphin's Barn in 1717.[92] The names of the specific people involved in such noxious, stinking trades, usually working near the tanneries, with no 'combinations' or guilds, rarely come to light, but their work again underpinned the more glamorous manufactures.[93]

Metal lace, made from gold or silver foil wrapped around a linen core, was identified by the Society as a significantly valuable import, and they therefore encouraged its home production intermittently.[94] Male conspicuous consumption was facilitated by laces made of metal-covered thread woven minutely into patterned ribbons or braids to adorn the fronts and cuffs of coats and waistcoats. Officers, whose uniforms were tailored, had the width and arrangement of such sparkling braids dictated by rank, and surviving examples from the NMI are heavy with the quantity of metal involved. Those examples that remain untarnished indicate the use of gold, as silver lace is usually blackened by tarnish. The fashion for deep cuffs that reached as far as the elbow allowed men to sport weighty quantities, catching the light and drawing attention. Trimmings for hats, belts and harness provided further opportunities for the metal thread and lace manufacturers. Dunlevy discusses the manufacture of such lace, including contemporary instructions for cleaning and polishing it with day-old bread and red velvet.[95]



13 – Billhead of Michael Cormick illustrating pattern of lace on border, advertising 'Highest price for old Gold & Silver Lace' (c.1760-80?) (courtesy National Library of Ireland, Ms. 10,707)

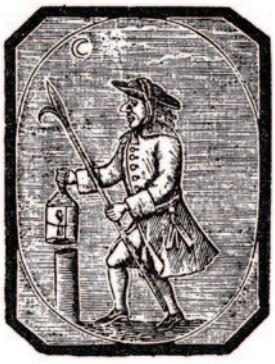
'Old gold or silver lace' was intrinsically valuable, and retained this value after the garments themselves had become unfashionable or worn. Its recycling involved unpicking, then burning to eradicate core linen threads (around which metal thread had been wrapped in a close spiral). Then, like other metalwork that had gone out of fashion, it was melted down for reuse by silversmiths, jewellers or metal thread- and lace-makers. Thread was made by repeatedly drawing down (or pulling) annealed metal wire through decreasing sizes of holes in a 'drawer plate' until an ounce of silver could potentially make a thread that was hundreds of yards long. Wire drawers and workers such as Robert Phillis of Meath Street, in Dublin's Liberties, worked in 1762 and 1765, presumably supplying makers of metal thread.[96] Printed evidence from goldsmiths, as well as a Mr Farrell, 'Laceman', based on Parliament Street, shows them buying old 'Gold and Silver Lace' as well as selling 'the greatest variety' and 'lace burnt or unburnt'. Michael Cormick's trade card announces spangles, flounces, tassels, bandings and braids, 'Ladys trimmings' and tambour, indicating that metal thread was also required for embroidery (Plate 13). The billhead's border illustrates the decorative weave of metal lace, both old and new, that Cormick dealt with.[97] Portraits from that period further demonstrate the craving for flashy, ostentatious male attire.[98] James Latham's dazzling portrait of the Irish politician the Right Hon. Sir Capel Molyneux (1743-1797) shows the dramatic effect of gold lace on a man's appearance (Plate 1). A Dublin Society member from 1743 to 1797, he symbolically holds a 'Plan of Improvement' to reveal his philanthropy.[99] However, during the 1760s, Society support appears to waver for such Irish makers of gold and silver lace, as Elizabeth Weld, who said of the 'purls, spangles etc' that she made in Dublin, that there was 'not any kind of goods made in London, that they don't make here'.[100] Likewise, Nicholas Brady, a manufacturer whose 'workmen were in distress' after the death of their expert craftsman Robert Calderwood, in 1766 was left unsupported.[101] Madden wrote disapprovingly of how imported 'Gold and Silver lace, and plate buttons are ... fashionable trumpery which our pretty fellows, and especially our very pretty fellows, think they can-

not in reason and conscience be denied', and which he castigated as 'their detestable finery'.[102] But the Society's lack of assistance may also have been affected by metal lace falling out of fashion by the second half of the eighteenth century, although it continued to be in demand for servants' livery and by the Crown Forces.[103]

LANTERNS AND HORNERS

THE SOCIETY ENCOURAGED SPECIFIC MANUFACTURES WITH ADVERTISEMENTS, BUT THEY also encouraged non-specific 'inventions' which emerge intermittently in the minutes, and document when their inventors were rewarded. In this way, in the winter of 1750, the work of John Bourk was rewarded 'for making Lanthorn leaves for [i.e. from] Horn'.[104] Working outside the guild system, Irish horners haunted the tanneries, where cow horn was most abundant. The soaking, scraping and processing of this stinking material was highly skilled, and the resulting 'pressed horn' and 'horn tips' feature in eighteenth-century export records, as well as being utilised for a broad range of manufacturers, including spoons.[105] The word lantern (evolved from lanthorn)[106] reminds us that horners cleverly refined the wide basal sections of horn into thin, curved, translucent sheets so light from tallow candles could shine through (Plate 15). As a manufacturer, Bourk probably extolled the material's advantages to the Society – how it was non-flammable, unbreakable, lighter and cheaper than glass (which was another material on the import list). Naturally conical, cow horn lent itself to containing numerous things. The earliest named Irish horner was Benjamin Ellison, a Dublin 'Inkhorn Turner', who probably turned the least expensive tips of each horn, with a pole lathe, for his work in 1724.[107]

Those lavishly dressed members of the Society who rewarded Bourk for his lanthorn leaves were aware of how successful criminals became under cover of darkness. Security concerns, particularly after nightfall, with gentlemen bedecked in gold lace as they navigated the Dublin streets, were exacerbated in the long nights of winter.[108] Dublin's 'rising tide of criminality' in the late eighteenth century commonly involved 'property theft, mainly of clothing', resulting in plans to build a new prison by 1773.[109] In 1784 three innocent men were hanged for the violent robbery of a man's 'watch, coat and buckles'.[110] Even though the parish vestry was responsible for street lighting, people still had to walk in front of their carriages carrying lights.[111] Recognising the importance



14 – Anon/Powell, c.1773, night watchman carrying a lanthorn like that in Plate 15
(private collection)

15 – Lanthorn with translucent horn leaves
(photo: Museum of Design in Plastics, Arts University Bournemouth, collection of Worshipful Company of Horners)

of lighting, the Dublin Society rewarded John Bourk with a guinea for making horn lanthorns. Hamilton sketched a lamp lighter, but Powell's cries show exactly how a lantern then looked (Plate 14). Patrolling with a hooked pike, his night watchman carries the type of lantern likely to incorporate horn 'leaves'. His cry was 'Nine o'Clock! Nine o'Clock! past Nine o'Clock, and a dark cloudy Night'. The way he specified the hour and the weather, as well as other distinctive cries, was traditional at least until the middle of the nineteenth century.[112]

CONCLUSION

The juxtaposition of Hamilton and Powell's 'Cries', with evidence from manuscripts and artefacts, enables some of Ireland's elusive vernacular history to be better understood. It sheds light on a range of hitherto anonymous minorities and individuals that have often been hidden from history and whose work underpinned some of the fabric of eighteenth-century Irish material culture. The Society's Drawing School, the first to appreciate the importance of art education for budding designers, evolved into today's National College of Art & Design. Its students, particularly Hugh Douglas Hamilton, carefully documented this world. The Society's ambition to nurture production at home, rather than to import, resonates still. The nature and names of the people who made salt or glue or who worked with horn or gathered linen rags are now better known, as are the expressive faces of the Society's first drawing master with one of his pupils. Their activities reveal a resourceful economy, with people routinely using, reusing and recycling common materials, echoing concerns today. The influences on specific Irish manufacturers of country earthenware, its function and various forms, are seen contextually and are slightly better understood. The means of encouraging potters, rag-collectors and paper-makers emerge, as well as the role of women among those who bartered, recycled or gathered rags to survive. It was the working people on the margins, as much as those higher up the economic scale, who were helped by the Society's determined philanthropic efforts. By revealing some of the impressively wide design history that the Dublin Society's manuscripts document, it is hoped that future research will follow.

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ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

Minutes	Dublin Society manuscript minutes/ proceedings (1731-1746, 1750-1764)
Minutes	Dublin Society printed minutes (after 1764)
NMI	National Museum of Ireland
RDS	Royal Dublin Society (from 1820)
DS	The Dublin Society or the Society

1 This article is the result of the author's research into craft, funded by the RDS 2018 Library & Archives Bursary. This bursary is the first to focus on the Dublin Society in the eighteenth century. Wherever possible, the manuscript evidence is juxtaposed with related art and artefacts, prioritising material from the RDS's surviving collection

2 This research is founded on the author's analysis of the 'minutes' of the Society's earliest meetings during the initial fifty years of their work. Cross-referred with closely related artwork and artefacts and surviving sculpture, it prioritises those from the RDS's own collection, e.g. James White and Kevin Bright, *Treasures of the Royal Dublin Society: a summary catalogue of the works of art in the collection of the Royal Dublin Society* (Dublin, 1998). It explores some of the Society's early support for arts and manufactures, specifically identifying people from the lowest economic levels, where possible emphasising the women, their children and the underprivileged workers that history often overlooks.

3 For the Society's ethos, membership and context see, for example, Toby Barnard, 'The Dublin Society and other improving societies, 1731-85', in James Kelly and Martyn J. Powell (eds), *Clubs and Societies in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2010) 53-88. Using Barnard's example, the incomplete minutes of the Dublin Society are referred here in manuscript form as Minutes, or printed as *Minutes*. Incomplete manuscript sets span 1731-64 (missing from 1746-50); thereafter follow printed ones. The prevailing system of dating before 1752 (when the year ended March 25th) is altered for Jan-March dates to accord with our current calendar, so, for example, Feb 1749 in the Minutes is here referenced as Feb 1750, etc.

4 Minutes, 25th June 1731, then 'Sciences' added at their second meeting; Dublin Society Minutes, 8th July 1731.

5 Minutes, 13th November 1735. The surviving set of caricatures was perhaps repeated more elaborately in the manuscripts of preceding weeks. Several of those title pages have spaces cut out swiftly with a blade, leaving rectangular gaps where other details of the same size (by the same hand) have been removed. Such embellishment caught the eye of a censor or thief, some time after 1735, and have yet to resurface.

6 Minutes, 17th April 1746.

7 Minutes, 6th Nov 1740.

8 Minutes, 19th Jan 1741 and 20th Jan 1741. Philip Watson, *The Giant's Causeway and the North Antrim Coast* (Dublin, 2018) 33-34. The Ulster Museum owns one of two known pairs of Drury's paintings.

9 P. Doughty 'How things began: the origins of geological conservation', in C.V. Burek and C.D. Posser (eds), *The History of Geoconservation* (London, 2008) 8.

10 Minutes, 26th Oct 1738.

11 Nicola Figgis (ed.), *Art and Architecture of Ireland, Volume II: Painting 1600-1900* (Dublin, 2015) figs 247, 237, 238. Finola O'Kane, 'Ireland: A New Geographical Pastime?', in William Laffan and Christopher Monkhouse (eds), *Ireland: Crossroads of Art and Design, 1690-1840* (Chicago, 2015) figs 8, 9, 82.

12 Ruth Kenny, 'Hamilton, Hugh Douglas (1740-1808)', in Figgis (ed.), *Art and Architecture of Ireland: Painting 1600-1900*, 280-82.

13 John Turpin, *A School of Art in Dublin since the Eighteenth Century: a history of the National College of Art and Design* (Dublin, 1995) 11-12. James McGuire and James Quinn, *Dictionary of National Biography*, 6 (Cambridge and Dublin, 2009) 218-19.

14 Turpin, *A School of Art in Dublin*, 13. Turpin traces the early winnings of premiums by girls for fine art (1746, Jane Tudor) and pattern drawing (9th Dec 1756, Ann Carter; 1761, Elizabeth Lilly and Margaret McDonnell). This Robert West should not be confused with the stuccadore of the same name.

15 Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, 2 vols (Dublin (1913) 1989) I, 229-36; II, 582. William Laffan (ed.), *The Cries of Dublin Drawn from the Life by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, 1760* (Dublin, 2003) 13.

16 M.G. Sullivan, 'The Strange and Unaccountable John Van Nost: the making of a sculptural career in eighteenth-century Ireland', in Jane Fenlon, Ruth Kenny, Caroline Pegum and Brendan

Rooney (eds.), *Irish Fine Art in the Early Modern Period: new perspectives on artistic practice, 1620-1820* (Newbridge, 2016) 119.

17 Marble busts of Samuel Madden, Thomas Prior and Philip Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield (1769). White and Bright, *Treasures of the Royal Dublin Society*, 30-31, 36.

18 David Fleming, Ruth Kenny and William Laffan (eds), *Exhibiting Art in Georgian Ireland: the Society of Artists' exhibitions recreated* (Dublin, 2018), 121.

19 The Blue Coat School was 'a place of abode for the ... relief of poor children, aged, maimed and impotent people' [that] 'by the mid eighteenth century had become exclusively a school for the sons of poorer Protestant citizens.' Joseph O'Carroll, 'Contemporary Attitudes towards the Homeless Poor, 1725-1775', in David Dickson (ed.), *The Gorgeous Mask: Dublin 1700-1850* (Dublin, 1987) 76. In contrast, the young La Touche brothers (from a wealthy banking family) declined to accept the financial premiums they won for art.

20 Minutes, 24th May 1750.

21 Minutes, 26th July 1756.

22 Henry F. Berry, *A History of The Royal Dublin Society* (London, 1915), 114.

23 Minutes, 28th Feb 1754. The runner-up, with four guineas, was John Crawley's 'Hermophredite' [*sic*] in white marble. An instalment of the 150 guineas total was paid to Van Nost towards the Prior monument, commissioned with a maquette model back on 12th March 1752. Juxtaposing a rare surviving lead maquette made by Van Nost prior to his sculpting of a marble statue for the Shell House at Curraghmore House, Waterford (and juxtaposed by the author) provides material evidence for his practise of providing maquettes to clients, also noted in the Minutes.

24 Sullivan, 'The 'Strange and Unaccountable John Van Nost', 136, 144. David Kelly, 'Insolvents in Eighteenth-Century Dublin', in Dickson (ed.), *The Gorgeous Mask*, 117, explains that Nost was relieved and released by legislation in 1760. More detailed discussion of Van Nost and his work is needed but is beyond the scope of this article.

25 Rev Samuel Madden, *A Letter to the Dublin Society on the Improving of their Fund* (1739), in Turpin, *A School of Art in Dublin,* 10-11.

26 Claudia Kinmonth, *Irish Country Furniture 1700-1950* (New Haven and London, 1993) 10-13. Some of these trees survive – for example, in Tullynally Castle Gardens, county Westmeath, according to Thomas Pakenham.

27 Tighearnan Mooney and Fiona White, 'The Gentry's Winter Season', in Dickson (ed.), *The Gorgeous Mask*, 9. Hooped skirts were imitated lower down the economic scale and willow may have been used as it was lightweight and inexpensive. Hoops were also used in farmhouses to hold eggs, potatoes etc, on a table-top; Claudia Kinmonth, 'Noggins, "the nicest work of all": traditional Irish wooden vessels for eating and drinking', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, XVII, 2015, 134, pl. 4.

28 Mairéad Reynolds, 'James Donovan "The Emperor of China"', *Irish Arts Review*, II, 3, Autumn 1985, 28. The author thanks Audrey Whitty for drawing attention to this reference.

29 David Dickson, 'Society and Economy in the Long Eighteenth Century', in James Kelly (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland, 1730-1880*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 2018) III, 157 t.1. Brian Henry, *Dublin Hanged: crime, law enforcement and punishment in late eighteenth-century Dublin* (Dublin, 1994) 133.

30 For example, in 1739: 13 George II c.12, and 1755: 29 George II c.8. The author thanks Peter Foynes for information.

31 Claudia Kinmonth, *Irish Rural Interiors in Art* (New Haven and London, 2006) figs 1, 17, 20-21, 23, 24, 49, 57, 80, 83, 88, 91, 94, 95, 118, 160, 175, 178, 185-86, 188, 189, 197-99, 200-02, 206, 107, 209, 214, 115, 219, 222, 244, 248, and p.217.

32 Kinmonth, 'Noggins', 130-51, pl. 13.

33 Minutes, 9th May 1751.

34 Martin G. Comey, *Coopers and Coopering in Viking Age Dublin* (Dublin, 2010) 64-76.

35 Minutes, 5th Jan 1744.

36 Minutes, 15th Jan 1744, 30th March 1744, 24th May 1744, 3rd May 1745, 30th May 1745, 20th June 1745, 7th Mar 1750. Kinmonth, *Irish Rural Interiors in Art*, 17-24, figs 16-21 show people eating potatoes out of baskets, presumably giving rise to the term 'basket salt'.

37 David Fleming and John Logan (eds), *Pauper Limerick: the register of the Limerick House of Industry 1774-93* (Dublin, 2011) xxx, 6.

38 Hugh Douglas Hamilton, 'Fresh & Pickled Herrings' in Laffan (ed.) *The Cries of Dublin*, 94-95. Twogood Roche illustrates how the salt was sold out of straw baskets on the streets by c.1820; Kinmonth, *Irish Country Furniture*, 107.

39 Kinmonth, *Irish Rural Interiors in Art*, 17-24, fig. 20.

[40] Peter Murray (ed.), *Whipping the Herring, survival and celebration in nineteenth-century Irish art* (Cork, 2006) 68-69.

[41] Peter Francis, private correspondence quoted in Laffan (ed.), *Cries of Dublin*, 126.

[42] Peter Francis, *Irish Ceramics at Churchill* (Tralee, 2017) 31. Peter Francis, *Irish Delftware: an illustrated history* (London, 2000).

[43] Minutes, 5th July 1733 and e.g. 29th May 1740. Francis, *Irish Delftware*, 39.

[44] Megan McManus 'The Potteries of Coalisland, County Tyrone: some preliminary notes', *Ulster Folklife*, 30, 1984, 67-77. Megan McManus, *Crafted in Ireland* (Belfast, 1986) 20.

[45] Examination of black glazed pans suggests the smoothest, thinnest ones, marked on the unglazed, unsplashed undersides where clay was pared off at leather-hard stage are factory imports, with one (author's collection) stamped with a no. 3, likely to be from north Devon. The heavier, thicker ones, with rougher clay and glaze, may be from Irish potteries (Plate 8). The author thanks Peter Francis, who also suggests that later examples are usually heavier than early ones.

[46] Minutes, 22nd Nov 1741 and 8th March 1776. Henry Delamain of the Strand won numerous premiums for his Delft. Examples of his work are illustrated and discussed in Francis, *Irish Ceramics at Churchill*, 8, 27, 29-30, 66, 83, 169.

[47] McManus 'The Potteries of Coalisland, 69, fig. 2. McManus, Crafted in Ireland, 20-22. Megan McManus, 'Ceramics, Coarseware', in David Shaw-Smith (ed.), *Traditional Crafts of Ireland* (London, 1984) 197-201, pls 4, 199.

[48] Clare McCutcheon and Rosanne Meenan, 'Pots on the Hearth: domestic pottery in historic Ireland', in Elizabeth Fitzpatrick, James Kelly (eds.) *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C*, III, special issue: Domestic Life in Ireland, 2011, 107-10, pl. 1.

[49] C.E. Orser, 'An Archaeological Perspective on the Irish Rural Interior', in Vera Krielkamp (ed.), *Rural Ireland, The Inside Story* (Boston, 2012) 64-65, figs 78, 197.

[50] Examples of crocks survive, in collections of e.g. Donaghmore Famine Workhouse Museum, county Laois, and Damer House, Roscrea, county Tipperary (OPW), as well as in the NMI. The Butter Museum, Cork, has, in contrast, a large shallow white glazed pan with a pouring lip (probably Belleek), as well as version in tin.

[51] They did this intermittently, e.g. in Minutes, 11th March 1736, they 'ordered that 500 copies of the Annual imports ... commodities etc as may be raised or manufactured in Ireland to be printed' for distribution.

[52] *Minutes*, Dublin Society Proceedings, 'The Application of Eight Thousand Pounds granted by Parliament to the Dublin Society, For the encouragement of certain Trades and Manufactures, 1764' (S. Powell, printer to the Society) 12.

[53] *Minutes*, Dublin Society Proceedings, 'The application of the money granted by Parliament to the Dublin Society for the encouragement of certain Trades and Manufactures' (S. Powell, Printer to the Society, 1765) 17. The total potential allocation that year is £700 out of the total of £9961.3.10 provided by Parliament to the Society for 'Encouragement' (by advertising, judging and premium distribution). The sum of £700 is the fourth largest of a list of eleven categories, after manufacture of e.g. Silk (£3,200), Wool (£1,800), and printing, stamping or staining of Linens or Cottons (£1,600). Earthenware is followed by manufactures of e.g. Iron or Steel (£600), Glass (£561.3.10), Gold or Silver Thread or Laces thereof manufactured (£500), Thread of various types: silk, wool, cotton, mohair or linen (£400), Leather (£300), Paper (£200), Copper or Brass (£100). It needs to be considered in the light of previous evidence because some manufactures, such as paper, had benefitted sufficiently from previous financial support, so premiums had been reduced as a result.

[54] Minutes, 31st May 1750, 7th June 1750 and 19th December 1751.

[55] *Minutes*, 25th June 1767.

[56] Minutes, 22nd October 1741.

[57] *Minutes*, 8th March 1776. Francis, *Irish Delftware*, 150-51. Francis asserts that 'A sizeable coarse earthenware industry existed in Youghal [producing] ... a handsome and distinctive range of country wares.'

[58] Rosanne Meenan, 'Post-medieval pottery in Ireland', in Audrey Horning, Ruairí Ó Baoill, Colm Donnelly and Paul Logue (eds), *The Post-Medieval Archaeology of Ireland 1550-1850* (Dublin, 2007), 394-98. Krielkamp (ed.), *Rural Ireland*, 139, 155, 181. Murray (ed.) *Whipping the Herring*, 116-17, 168-69, 176-77. Claudia Kinmonth, 'Margaret Allen's Interior with a Man Reading, c.1863', Gorry Gallery catalogue (Dublin) 7th June 2018, 5. Also Gorry Gallery catalogue, 27th Nov 2016, 4-5. Personal correspondence with Peter Francis and Dr Elspeth Barnes re. glaze, 2018. Also S. Moreton, D.

Green, A. Tindle, 'Manganese Oxide Minerals from Veins in the Leinster Granite', *Irish Journal of Earth Sciences*, 24, 2006, 29-36.

59 Mrs S.C. Hall, *Tales of Irish Life and Character with sixteen reproductions from the paintings of Erskine Nicol, R.S.A.* (Edinburgh and London, 1909), 104-05. An illustration by Nichol, 'Buying China', shows 4 white slip glazed earthenware pans stacked closely inside each other, beside a china seller at a fair.

60 George W. Panter, 'Eighteenth Century Dublin Street Cries', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, LIV, series 6, vol. 14, part 1 (30 June 1924), 68-86. The author thanks Bob Richardson (St Bride Foundation, London) for correspondence, concluding that Powell's *Cries* are not later than 1775 as the word' Brass' appearing in Powell's typeface 'uses the long "s" which had started to disappear by 1787. The London printer John Bell ... used the modern "s" form we are now familiar with.' Richardson also compared a similar style of illustration from an example dating 1770 in St Bride Foundation library.

61 Sean Shesgreen in Laffan (ed.), *The Cries of Dublin*, 17, fig. 9, 51-3.

62 Stephen Gill (ed.), *Charles Dickens, Bleak House* (Oxford, 1996) 61-62, describes a marine store in greater detail.

63 Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (London, *c*.1851/61) 139-40. *Ireland of the Welcomes*, vol. 13, no. 4 (Nov-Dec 1964) 30-32.

64 William Laffan, 'The Cries of Dublin revisited', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, XXI, 2018, 30, pl. 2.

65 The author thanks Prof Edward McParland and Maighread McParland for drawing attention to this anonymous verse. See Jonathan Senchyne, 'Rags Make Paper, Paper Makes Money: material texts and metaphors of capital', *Technology and Culture*, vol. 58, no. 2, 2017, 545.

66 Martin O'Brien, *A Crisis of Waste?: understanding the rubbish society* (Oxford, 2008) 58-60.

67 Minutes, 9th and 16th Dec 1736, 6th Oct 1737.

68 White and Bright, *Treasures of the Royal Dublin Society*, 86-87. This statue shows how such laps looked for wrapping linen, C19th.

69 Alfred H. Shorter, *Paper Making in the British Isles: an historical and geographical survey* (Newton Abbot, 1971) 226-30, fig. 26. Minutes, 25th April 1751.

70 Alison Muir, 'The eighteenth-century papermakers of the North of Ireland', *Familia, Ulster Genealogical Review*, vol. 38, no. 20, 2004. The author thanks Toby Barnard for alerting her to this and other references.

71 F. Joy, *Belfast Newsletter*, quoted in *ibid*., 46.

72 Minutes, 7th and 21st June 1750.

73 The multifarious processes historically involved with making paper are oversimplified here, but the author is grateful to Christine Gibbs, maker of traditional paper at Griffen Mill, for discussing traditional paper-making in Roscommon. For further information and publications, see their website: http://griffenmillhandmadepaper.com/papermaking-articles.php.

74 *Belfast Newsletter*, 28th April 1769, quoted in *Familia*, 50.

75 Minutes, 16th Jan 1755. Paper-making was also mentioned on e.g. 19th April 1753 and 2nd May 1754.

76 Author's discussions with Christine Gibbs.

77 Henry, *Dublin Hanged*, 30.

78 Panter, 'Eighteenth Century Dublin Street Cries', 80.

79 The author thanks Madeline McKeever for this recollection.

80 Beverley Lemire, 'Redressing the History of the Clothing Trade: ready-made apparel, guilds and women outworkers 1650-1800', in Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce: the English clothing trade before the factory, 1660-1800* (London, 1997) 43.

81 Mairéad Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland* (London, 1989), 111-13.

82 Henry, *Dublin Hanged*, 107-08, 110. Fleming and Logan (eds), *Pauper Limerick*, 13, 19, 25, 29, 35, 73.

83 Anon, 'The Calleen Fuine' (Limerick, *c*.1785-1800) 5-7. The author thanks Andrew Carpenter for providing a copy and analysis of this satirical poem.

84 Jonathan Swift, *Directions to Servants* (London, 1745) 62.

85 Hannah Tatum, 'Tradecards, Box 6, John Johnson Collection, Bodleian Library Oxford' in Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce*, 114.

86 This is well known and would have adversely affected small trades people. Shortage of coins was noted, e.g. Minutes, 24th April 1735. Dickson, 'Society and Economy in the Long Eighteenth Century', 153, 172-73.

87 Panter, 'Eighteenth Century Dublin Street Cries', 79. Peter Murray, 'Daniel MacDonald (1821-1853), *Cork Characters*, 1843', in Murray (ed.), *Whipping the Herring*, 100-03; the Rag-ut '...wears no less than five hats, one stacked on top

of the other, and carries a mountain of patched clothing on his shoulders'. See the illustration 'The Old Clothesman' in the Johnson Collection, Trades and Professions. 20.5, Bodleian Library, Oxford, reproduced in Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce*, 94, fig. 3.2, 96-97.

88 Minutes, 9th, 16th and 23rd April 1741.

89 Laffan and Monkhouse (eds), *Ireland: Crossroads of Art and Design*, John Nicklin (Irish, active 1784-1800), Ten buttons, 1787, cat. 282, p.259.

90 Minutes, 14th and 21st June 1750, mentions Mr Rupert Barber claiming to have the first small glasshouse for making vials and many sorts of other green glassware, with specimens, for which he was awarded £20 to encourage him to carry on (at the end of Lazers Hill). John Cockerill, 'Glassmaking in the North of Ireland, 1750-1914', in John M. Hearne, *Glassmaking in Ireland, from the Medieval to the Contemporary* (Dublin, 2010) 103-33.

91 NMI, Collins Barracks, Dublin, Makers' Card Index Files, Art & Industry Division, under heading 'Glue & Parchment': Barton, Thomas 'Glueboiler' in Marrowbone Lane, Dublin, 2nd April 1708, PRO Deed no. 116, vol. 1, p.160; Deed no. 118, vol. 1, p.193; also Barton, Thos, Glue Boiler & Parchmentmaker near Rathmines, Co. Dublin – 19th March 1716, Deed no. 8872, vol. 17, p.293-4.

92 NMI, Makers' Card Index Files, John Collum, Dolphin's Barn, Dublin, 31st Aug 1717, Deed no. 9686, vol.19, p.64. Also Owen McCann, Parchmentmaker of Corke Str. Liberty of Donore, Co. Dublin, 2nd June 1704, Land Deeds no. 11637, vol. 22, p.141.

93 Claudia Kinmonth, 'Irish Horn Spoons: their design history and social significance', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 2018, vol. 118C, 231-69; https://doi.org/10.3318/PRIAC.2018.118.05

94 *Minutes*, Dublin Society Proceedings, 'The Application of the Money granted by Parliament to the Dublin Society for the encouragement of certain Trades and Manufactures' (S. Powell, Printer to the Society, 1765) 17.

95 Mairéad Dunlevy, *Pomp and Poverty: a history of silk in Ireland* (New Haven & London, 2011), 89-90, fig. 68, 242-43.

96 NMI, Makers' Card Index Files, Robert Phillis of Meath Str., Wire Drawer & Wire Worker.

97 NLI, MS 10707, billhead of Michael Cormick, 22 Parliament Street, Dublin.

98 Patrick Walsh, 'Between the Speaker and the squire: the Anglo-Irish life of William Conolly II', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, XX, 2017, 57, pl. 3.

99 Mary Kelleher and Fergus Mulligan, *The founders of the Royal Dublin Society, with illustrations of their houses and a list of members who joined the Dublin Society between 1731 and 1800* (Dublin, 2005) 54.

100 Dunlevy, *Pomp and Poverty*, 90.

101 Berry, *A History of the Royal Dublin Society*, 69.

102 Samuel Madden, *Reflections and resolutions proper for the gentlemen of Ireland* (Dublin, (1738) 1816) 189.

103 NMI, Makers' Card Index Files, under 'Lace' lists dozens of Dublin 'lace-men', with one woman, Hanna Lagraviere, Cork Hill (with earlier 'lace man' Francis Lagraviere, both active c.1765-1792), active from 1774. Also William Gibbons, e.g., described as a 'Livery lace weaver', of Winetavern Str., active 1770-72 and 1774-81. Richard Farrell of Parliament Str., 'lace seller' working 1765-72 and 1774-77, presumably the same Mr Farrell as on the billhead at 22 Parliament Street as succeeded by Michael Cormick (not named in card index).

104 Minutes, 6th Dec 1750.

105 Kinmonth 'Irish Horn Spoons', 236-38, figs 2, 6-21.

106 C.T. Onions, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (Oxford, 1966) 514.

107 NMI, Makers' Card Index Files, Benjamin Ellison, Inkhorn Turner, 29th September 1724, Land Deed, No.27030 vol.41. p.92. This is the earliest named Irish horn-worker known to the author to date.

108 *Faulkner's Dublin Journal,* 19th Jan 1762: 'insufficient lighting was [in Dublin] ... a great grievance, and the occasion of the committing of many robberies and other heinous crimes [so an act was passed] ... directing that lamps should be kept lighted and burning from sunset to sunrising during the whole year'.

109 Henry, *Dublin Hanged*, 13, 21, 28, 29, 30, 47, 100-01. The author thanks Sarah Foster for drawing attention to this text.

110 *ibid*., 28.

111 Ruth Lavelle and Paul Huggard, 'The Parish Poor of St. Mark's', in Dickson (ed.), *The Gorgeous Mask*, 89. The author thanks Lisa Godson for drawing attention to this text.

112 Panter, 'Eighteenth Century Dublin Street Cries', 85.

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