

JACKSON'S
China Glass
 and
EARTHEN WARE.
Ware House
112
Grafton Street
DUBLIN

AN ELEGANT
Assortment of
EVERY ARTICLE
in the above
LINE TO BE HAD
on the most
REASONABLE
Terms.

1870
July 29th
Bo^{ts} of James Jackson
112 Grafton St

<i>16 tumblers</i>	<i>---</i>	<i>L.</i>	<i>13.4</i>
<i>6 cups saucers</i>	<i>---</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>2.87</i>
<i>6 Egg cups</i>	<i>---</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>3.3</i>
<i>2 Jugs</i>	<i>---</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>2.9</i>
<i>Packet</i>	<i>---</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>1.1</i>
			<i>L. 10 3.17</i>

18

At the Mirror Hotel
Beville Street

Merchants and material culture in early nineteenth-century Dublin: a consumer case study

ANNA MORAN

ON 29TH JANUARY 1820, NATHANIEL TRUMBULL, A DUBLIN-BASED TOBACCO merchant, purchased a number of objects from the ceramic and glass retailer James Jackson, of 112 Grafton Street, Dublin (Plate 1). His purchases included sixteen tumblers, costing 13s 4d, together with a list of ceramic items, including six cups and saucers, six eggcups and two jugs. As evidence surviving for the consumption of ceramics and glass in late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Ireland is sparse, the fact that this bill has survived is fortuitous. Even more exciting, however, is the fact that it is one of a large cache of Trumbull's bills, personal correspondence and business records.¹ Study of this material, combined with newspaper and street directory research, makes it possible to piece together a picture of this man's work and background. The bills for food, ceramics, glass, furniture, clothes and textiles are seen alongside bills for repairs, replacements and redecorations. Letters requesting money, discussing marriage and considering trade survive together with invitations to dinner and letters that once enclosed gifts. These sources allow the material-culture historian to map the acquisitive patterns of Nathaniel and his wife Sarah, establishing a picture of where they shopped and what they purchased, what they gave away, what they sold on, and what they valued enough to have repaired.

Focused on a narrow, but revealing, base of sources, this study cannot convey the Trumbulls' feelings towards their goods or establish broad trends for middle-rank interaction with consumer culture. Instead it provides a valuable case study which points to the existence of a rich material history of early nineteenth-century

1 – Bill for goods bought at Jackson's China, Glass and Earthenware Ware House, 112 Grafton Street, Dublin, January 1820 (courtesy New York Public Library)

Dublin, replacing the very grim picture often presented of exiting peers, a diminishing manufacturing base and a decaying urban fabric. A rare insight is thus provided into the material world of a member of Dublin's burgeoning middle class, a sector of society which provided a crucial market for luxury and semi-luxury goods in the post-Union city.²

Historians of material culture have, in various ways, reflected on and sought to contextualise consumers' motives for buying particular goods. The 'trickle down' or emulatory model advocated by Thorstein Veblen in his 1899 publication assumes that beyond material function, the principal role of goods was to communicate status.³ While forming the bedrock of many historical studies, this model is no longer adopted blindly as the only way to interpret consumption of those of the middle rank. Research published in the fields of sociology, anthropology and design history has contributed greatly to the ways in which material culture of the long eighteenth century is studied. For example, social anthropologists Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood argue that the primary information goods impart is not status, but character, emphasising the importance of things in the construction of identity.⁴ Adopting an approach that allows for innumerable motivations, including those of competition and emulation, they assert that the decisions a consumer makes 'say something about himself, his family, his locality ... the kind of statements he makes are about the kind of universe he is in, affirmatory or defiant, perhaps competitive but not necessarily so.'⁵ Therefore, while emulation is certainly one motivation for consumer behaviour, it is naive to attribute all purchasing choices to a desire to 'keep up with the Joneses'. As argued by Amanda Vickery, the acquisition of the same goods by two individuals, or two families, does not necessarily mean that one or other is attempting to copy his or her social superiors, but instead reflects a shared material culture, so often a feature of 'social solidarity and cohesion'.⁶ Taking cognisance of such research, and being mindful of the fact that consideration of a consumer's choices will always and inevitably be speculative, an (albeit fragmentary) image of the Trumbulls' material world is presented. Rather than conveying a picture of a family which slavishly aped the lifestyle of the gentry, this valuable collection of bills for a range of necessities and luxuries provides a rare insight into the material trappings of polite and genteel living amongst the commercial and professional elites of early nineteenth-century Ireland.

Nathaniel Trumbull was one of many middle-rank Dublin residents who, through shrewd investment and successful trading, achieved great financial security. However, Trumbull did not start his business from scratch with nothing. Trumbull's father, also named Nathaniel Trumbull, started out as a silk weaver in Francis Street, later owning part of a silk mercer's shop on Parliament Street between 1766 and 1769.⁷ Eager to satisfy gentry demand for the very latest fashion, Trumbull and Mackay imported silks which they promoted in twice-weekly newspaper advertise-

ments between October 1765 and May 1766.⁸ However, by 1778 Trumbull is listed as ‘Nathaniel Trumbull & Co. Merchants, 149 Abbey Street’, having ceased to operate as a silk mercer. Considering the agitation witnessed in the textile industries in the 1770s involving violent riots and anti-importation protests, it is not surprising that a move towards trading tobacco was ventured.⁹ By 1792, directories confirm that Nathaniel Trumbull junior had taken over the complete running of the business, Nathaniel senior having stepped down long before to concentrate on his official duties for Dublin Corporation. Being of the Protestant faith, Trumbull senior was able to take up such positions, gaining a more secure foothold in the trading and merchant networks which oversaw Dublin commercial life. In 1765 Trumbull senior was referred to as ‘water bailiff’, and by 1768 he had been appointed to the Common Council of Dublin Corporation. He continued to move up through the ranks, and by 1778 Trumbull senior had been appointed to the position of sword bearer.¹⁰ The extended and influential network of merchants, officials and guild members with which Trumbull senior would have interacted placed Trumbull junior in a fortunate position.

Nathaniel Trumbull junior was born in 1749.¹¹ He not only traded in tobacco, but also wine, hops and sugar. His business correspondence shows that over the course of his working life he dealt with a network of 373 retailers around Ireland. He also corresponded with agents and suppliers in America and various parts of the Continent. However, a great proportion of his incoming and outgoing letters were to and from merchants based in Liverpool and London.¹² He spent periods of time in London, evidenced by a series of love letters with Maria Thompson, the daughter of a business associate with whom he stayed while in London. The letters imply that he planned to marry Maria, but it appears this did not come to pass as his wife’s name was Sarah.¹³ Nathaniel and Sarah Trumbull had a number of children, none of whom followed Nathaniel into the business. Trumbull’s personal correspondence indicates that Sarah fell ill around 1817, and was removed to ‘Bloomfield’, possibly having suffered a breakdown of some description, leaving Trumbull to direct the household and manage the material needs of the home.¹⁴ By that time, Nathaniel had retired to his country residence in Malahide, a short distance north of Dublin, which he had purchased in 1790. In 1814 he had handed over the business to his nephew Nathaniel Anderson, whom he had taken into partnership in 1811.

Trumbull’s working life traverses a key period in Irish political and economic history. Important political events such as the granting of legislative independence in 1782, the 1798 rebellion, the Act of Union of 1800, the removal of protective trade tariffs (beginning in 1801, with complete removal in 1816), and the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, punctuated his life, impacting to varying degrees on his work and the city in which he lived. The Act of Union is long thought to have had a deleterious effect on Dublin. It was felt that the exodus of peers returning to London

would result in a collapse of the residential property market, the deterioration of the luxury retail market, and the decline of the building industry. Anti-Union lobbyists also showed concern for Dublin's artisan and small manufacturing industries, which had become dependent on the Irish market, assisted up to that point by import tariffs put in place by the Irish parliament. The superb research carried out by David Dickson highlights the fact that while the aristocratic exodus was not completely a myth, the withdrawal was not as sudden as predicted:

Prior to that nemesis, wartime prosperity, shared by rentiers, merchants and rural consumers of Dublin's goods and services, had masked the dislocating effects of the parliamentary exodus. A dozen years of post-Union prosperity stimulated the fresh building on the Gardiner and Fitzwilliam estates and sustained expansion in luxury craft production – silver-plating and musical-instrument manufacture, for example – and in the high-status professions. Indeed, Napoleonic Dublin saw more signs of expansion than contraction, and it seemed to a careful observer like Edward Wakefield a surprisingly lively place, especially in springtime – the new social season – its theatre 'better frequented than the play-houses in London', and respectable society more animated than either London or Paris.¹⁵

While property prices did drop following 1820, and evidence indicates a general deskilling across many trades in the 1830s, research carried out by Dickson relating to the period pre-1820 clearly points to the growth of the professional, urban and middling sorts.¹⁶ During the last decades of the eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth century, many of the grand town houses lining Dublin's Georgian squares became home to lawyers, physicians and tradesmen. Just as Nathaniel Trumbull was able to buy Beechwood, his country residence in Malahide, in 1790, in the same year the Dublin brewer Mr Farrell was able to entertain the English traveller Charles Topham Bowden at his residence in fashionable Merrion Square.¹⁷ Bowden was also entertained by Farrell's brother-in-law, Mr Byrne, another 'eminent' brewer, and recounted that he 'was never more elegantly entertained in [his] life', both gentlemen being 'held in the highest estimation by all ranks for the most exalted virtues'.¹⁸ Not all contemporary accounts of the new Dublin bourgeoisie were as complimentary. In reference to the smart villas and country houses bought by the middle sort, Lord Colombe in Maria Edgeworth's *The Absentee* declared: 'After the Union these were bought by citizens and tradesmen, who spoiled, by the mixture of their own fancies, what had originally been designed by men of good taste.'¹⁹

Alongside purchasing his country abode, Trumbull had invested shrewdly in property, owning numerous houses across the city which he rented to tenants at a fixed annual rent.²⁰ Significant rental income supplemented his mercantile earnings, which were by no means trifling. On 24th July 1809 the *Freeman's Journal* included the following announcement: 'we have to notice an entry on Saturday which will

be agreeable intelligence to many persons in this city, 35 Hhds tobacco from New York, by Trumbull & Co'. A list detailing the imports and exports for Dublin on 3rd January 1814 allows us to position this quantity in context.²¹ Trumbull & Anderson are listed as having imported fifteen hhds (hogsheads) of tobacco from Liverpool, having to pay an enormous £799 1s 4d in duties.²² In terms of the amount of duty paid, Trumbull & Anderson were second highest, with Conolly, Maxwell & Co. paying £1660 4s in duties on fifty-four hhds and forty-three tierces of Muscavado sugar. Such quantities highlight the great rise in the amount of sugar imported over the course of the eighteenth century in accordance with the growing practice of putting sugar in tea.²³

While Trumbull had business contacts in various parts of America, changes within the nature of Irish foreign trade in the early nineteenth century were seen in a decline in Atlantic trade and the increased relative importance of Anglo-Irish mercantile operations.²⁴ The 1814 flyer produced by Dublin's Custom House records the assortment of ironmongery, piano fortes, Indian floor mats, candles, earthenware, cotton, muslin, flag stones and old drapery that was imported from London, Liverpool and Lancaster. Also recorded is a very short list of cargo coming from outside the United Kingdom, including sugar (from Barbados), port wine (from Oporto) and salt (from St Ures). The very brief list of exports at the very bottom of the page details linen, beef, butter, oats and tongues destined for London, Liverpool and Glasgow, highlighting the prominence of linen within Irish exports, but also the eclipsing of Dublin's Atlantic trade.²⁵

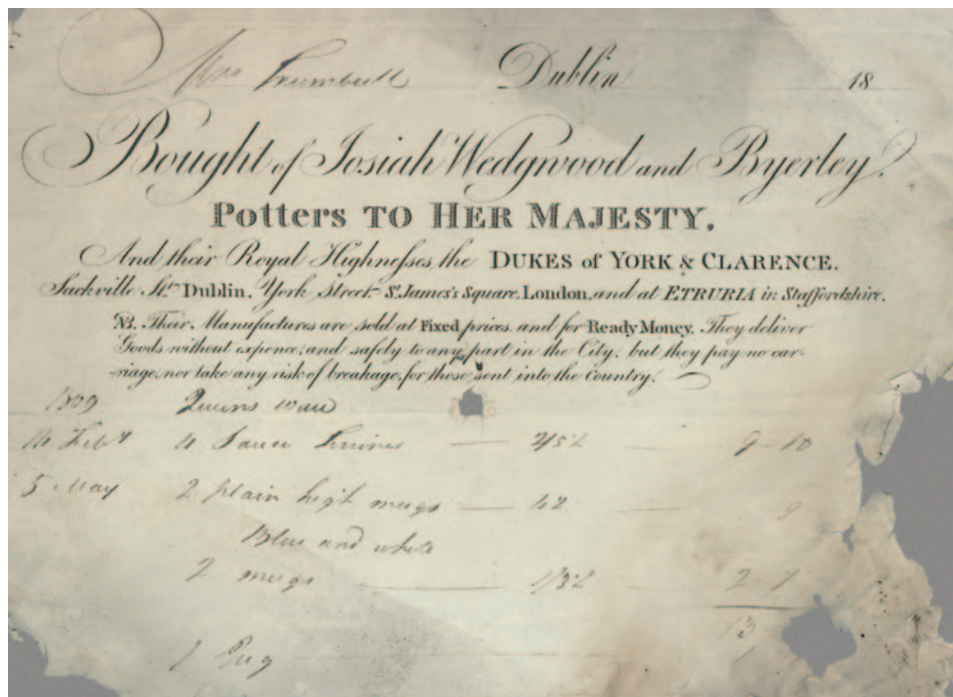
Overseeing all aspects of trade was Dublin's Customs House on the far eastern edge of the city, designed by the architect James Gandon and completed in 1791. It replaced the old Custom House (built in 1707) which had been sited further west along the River Liffey at Essex Bridge, in the heart of the old merchant quarter. This, and other buildings designed by Gandon, were part of an extensive building programme in the eighteenth century which saw Dublin's muddled medieval topography rethought and strategically reordered so that the main symbols of power and wealth were connected by straightened, widened or entirely new streets. This programme of urban redesign was engineered and managed by the Wide Streets Commission, founded by an Act of Parliament in 1757.²⁶ Architects such as James Gandon, Thomas Sherrard and Henry A. Baker executed designs for the buildings lining these newly constructed streets.²⁷ Following the Continental fashion, the Commissioners' very enlightened and coherent agenda included the practical combination of shop space on the ground floor with residential space above.²⁸ This facilitated the construction of not only elegant shopfronts and façades, but also entirely new contexts for fashionable consumption in the form of new shopping streets.²⁹

In 1784 a plan was approved to widen and straighten Lower Abbey Street,

the street on which Trumbull's office was based, and on which he owned a number of properties. The same plan included a proposal to build a new quay which would link Bachelor's Walk with the new Custom House, creating a new economic hub within that area of the city. The 1790s saw the completion of the Commission-led extension to Sackville Street, also very much in Trumbull's vicinity. The new southern end of the street was designed as a shopping street, and the anticipated diminished appearance of the street provoked controversy within certain circles. In 1786, having studied the proposed designs, one anonymous critic responded to the introduction of shops as 'an absurdity so very gross, that it needs no comment on it; the best, and most spacious Street in Dublin, inhabited, chiefly by the first Nobility in the Kingdom, to be continued, and the Continuation to be occupied by Shopkeepers'.³⁰ The mixture of upper and middling sorts rubbing shoulders on Dublin's finest street was also alluded to in a description of the street provided by the English visitor, Nathaniel Jefferys:

The uses to which the houses in this fine street are applied are as various as their external appearance, and afford no small amusement to a lounging spectator, in the different descriptions of the inhabitants, which are to be seen on the brass plate of private houses, and the written inscriptions over the fronts of those devoted to trade for they comprise Peers, Pastry cooks and Perfumers: Bishops, Butchers and Brokers in old furniture, together with hotels of the most superb description, and a tolerable sprinkling of gin and whiskey shops.³¹

Perhaps due to its convenience to their Dublin base and the great variety of shops to choose from, Trumbull and his wife shopped on Lower Sackville Street for a great number of their everyday goods and occasional luxuries. Bills survive from three of Mrs Trumbull's visits to Wedgwood's showroom on Sackville Street.³² On her visit in February 1809, she bought four queen's-ware tureens, costing 9s 10d (Plate 2). On a subsequent trip in May later that year she purchased four queen's-ware mugs, two blue and white (2s 1d) and two plain (9d), this time choosing objects that were affordable yet still carried the status value of having been bought at Wedgwood's showroom.³³ The shops on Sackville Street were not trade- or product-specific; there was a variety of speciality shops selling everything from fruit to fine silver. Regular trips were made to Hickey's seed and nursery shop at 32 Lower Sackville Street, from which Trumbull bought all manner of seeds for vegetables and foreign fruit to be planted in his nursery and greenhouse at Beechwood. Not far from Hickey's seed shop was Law & Son Goldsmiths, 1 Sackville Street, where Mrs Trumbull brought their table candlesticks, silver breadbasket and plated snuffers to be repaired.³⁴ Apart from listing the various repairs to be made, the bill for this transaction notes that Law & Son gave her a fruit knife free of charge. Evidently Sarah Trumbull was an



2 – Bill for goods bought at the Dublin showroom of Josiah Wedgwood and Byerley, Sackville Street, Dublin, February-May 1809 (courtesy New York Public Library)

astute shopper, cognisant of the subtle but crucial social and economic exchanges which occurred in the context of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century shop. Perhaps the more impersonal and hurried nature of shopping believed by Helen Berry to characterise early nineteenth-century shopping practices was not yet felt in early nineteenth-century Dublin.³⁵

Just across the river on George's Quay was the large high-class china and glass shop run by James Donovan. While nicknamed 'The Emperor of China' due to his reputation for importing ceramics, Donovan was also one of the most prominent glass-sellers in the city. Alongside running his own glasshouse, Donovan ran a workshop where ceramics imported from English manufactories were decorated, and a number of examples survive bearing his name marked on the base.³⁶ In some instances, Donovan may have imported blue transfer-printed wares, which were already decorated with red and yellow over glaze enamels, to which he then added his name on the base (Plate 3, 4).³⁷ Over the course of 1812 and 1813, Nathaniel Trumbull bought two tumblers, costing 8d, from Donovan, together with twelve wine glasses, six of which were larger and thus more expensive.³⁸ While it is likely that the Trumbulls would have had a servant who could be dispatched to acquire



*3, 4 – Selection of Minton
pearl-ware ceramics
decorated in the Water Lilies
pattern (Minton pattern no. 333),
each piece bearing
Donovan's impressed mark
on the base, c.1810-20*

necessities, it is likely that goods of a luxury or semi-luxury nature were acquired in person.³⁹

The scale of Donovan's operation leads one to imagine that it was a fashionable place to shop.⁴⁰ This view is supported by a reference to the shop in an autobiographical account written by William Blacker, who, upon moving to Dublin in 1817 to take up his position as vice-treasurer, visited Donovan's shop. In reference to Donovan's concern, Blacker noted that 'in 1817 you were sure of meeting some of elite of the Dublin society or as I should say the society of Dublin there during the day – he got a fair share of my money as did West the silversmith.' Eager to provide adequate quarters for his wife, he moved to Dublin before she did in order to set up home at 8 North Great George's Street, the house of Alderman King. The house, in Blacker's words, 'was in many respects a good one, the rooms large and handsome, but sundry articles of furniture of my own were necessary to complete its plenishing [*sic*] as we say in the north however I had it so much more reasonable.'⁴¹ Still in reference to Donovan's shop, he recalled how 'a friend of ours, the Honble Mrs Jones, happening to be one day in Donovan's & not minding which way she tumbled head-long down a trap door into the lower regions among the delf & vulgar crockery – old Lord Norbury, on my telling him of it exclaimed "pooh, she meant to be a descendent of In-I-go Jones".'⁴²

The route between Trumbull's base in Abbey Street and Dame Street was significantly improved by the construction of Westmoreland Street. The new street of forty-one four-storey houses, each with a shop on the ground floor, linked the Houses of Parliament and Trinity College with Carlisle Bridge, Sackville Street and the Rotunda Assembly Rooms in Rutland Square.⁴³ In October 1811, Mrs Trumbull, or perhaps a servant running errands for her, brought two hats (one described as 'a white hat', the other 'a feather hat') to James and Robert Wright's Fashionable Hat Warehouse at 33 Westmoreland Street to be cleaned.⁴⁴ Two years later a selection of 'china' items were purchased from Samuel Alker's China and Glass Warehouse and Galleries, the shop neighbouring Wright's hat warehouse.⁴⁵ The illustration of Alker's shop on the billhead indicates the pride he took in his elegant façade and his awareness of the advertising potential of an impressive billhead (Plate 5). On 1st March 1805, not long after taking ownership of his smart Westmoreland Street shop, Alker had requested permission from the Wide Streets Commissioners to 'introduce balconys to his Drawing room windows in Westmoreland St'.⁴⁶ The minutes of the Commissioners' meetings go on to state that 'Mr Alker wishes to be understood that it is not his intention to lower the window stool, or alter the front in any respect whatsoever.'⁴⁷ While not 'altering the front', Alker clearly felt that the addition of a balcony would demonstrably improve the appearance of his façade, distinguishing it from the other buildings in the vicinity. Like the other shops on the street, all being of uniform design, Alker's shopfront was twenty feet in width, fin-



5 – Bill for goods bought from Samuel Alker’s China, Earthen Ware, Glass and Japan Ware premises, 31 Westmoreland Street, 3rd February 1813 (courtesy New York Public Library)

ished in mountain stone, and comprised one window between two doors – one for entering the shop and the other for entering the residence above – each embellished by Ionic pilasters either side.

While matters of economy had thwarted plans to construct a colonnade stretching the length of the street on either side, the grandeur of the shop interiors more than compensated for the flush-fronted façade of the Westmoreland street shops (Plate 6). An article profiling the new street, published in the *Freeman’s Journal* on 26th October 1808, described the ‘lofty’ fourteen-foot-high interiors of the shops, each boasting a mezzanine level comprising a narrow gallery overlooking the shop, from which shop managers could keep check on the ‘eccentricities of apprentices and shop-men’.⁴⁸

From the late-seventeenth century, the development of fashionable squares in the eastern half of the city saw Dublin develop in an eastward rather than westward direction, creating fashionable quarters in and around those areas.⁴⁹ The evolution of districts or sub-centres of social and economic activity within a city’s urban and demographic morphology, each with local loyalties and identities, is typical of cities of the scale of eighteenth-century Dublin.⁵⁰ As Sheridan-Quantz points out, certain centres developed due to the retail possibilities available in that area, giving the Parliament Street / Dame Street area, or that found in the College Green / Dame

Street / Castle Street / High Street area, as examples.⁵¹ However, despite the existence of a fashionable shopping area on their doorstep, the Trumbulls did not restrict themselves to one axis of consumption, instead going slightly further afield to patronise as many speciality shops as required or desired, in streets such as Skinner Row, Essex Street or Thomas Street.

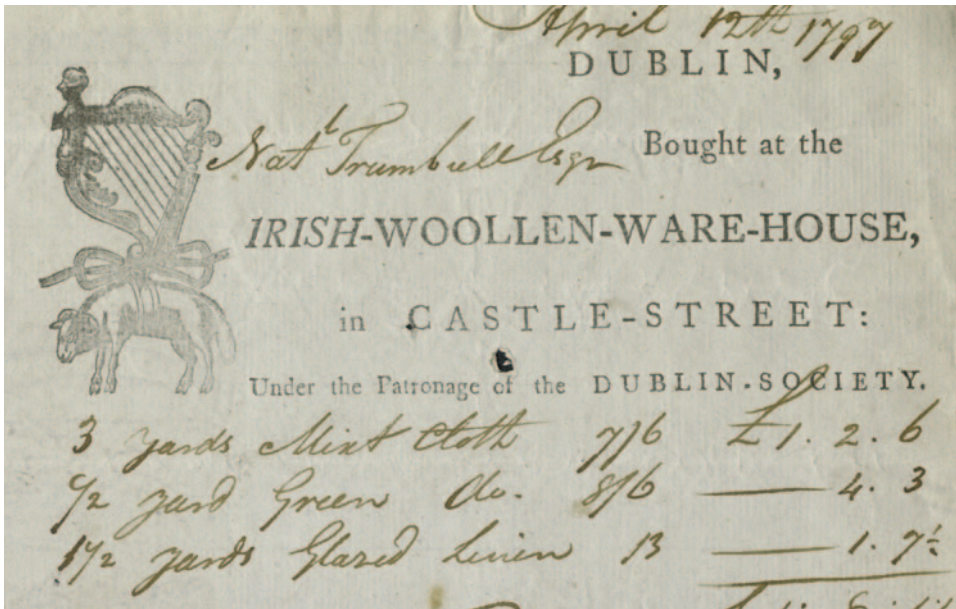
It is not known where the ceramics bought from Samuel Alker's shop were manufactured. Alker bought glass on a wholesale basis from the Waterford glasshouse, as did the Jacksons of Grafton Street, but it is very likely that Alker sourced his ceramics in England or on the Continent.⁵² While the origin of the ceramics and glass purchased is not noted in the bills, just by the name and identity presented by the retailer it can be ascertained that certain textile items acquired were unequivocally Irish. It is clear from the Trumbull bills that they frequented shops such as the Irish Woollen Warehouse in Castle Street, Robert Fletcher's Irish Tabinet and Silk Warehouse at 2 Essex Bridge, and John Shannon's Irish Silk Mercy & Tabinet Ware House at 28 Dame Street (Plate 7).

From the late-seventeenth century, the importation of British goods became a politically sensitive subject as prohibitive acts had been introduced preventing the export of Irish goods. During times of political or economic crisis, Irish political

6 – *'Elevation of the West Side of Westmoreland Street extending from the Portico of the House of Lords to Fleet Street as approved by the Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament for making Wide and Convenient Streets in the City of Dublin, Thomas Sherrard 1800'*

(courtesy Dublin City Library and Archive)





7 – Bill for goods bought at the Irish Woollen Warehouse, Castle Street, Dublin, 12th April 1797
(courtesy New York Public Library)

commentators, backed by numerous pamphleteers, rallied against these restrictions, making the sale and consumption of English goods a highly contentious issue.⁵³ Reaction on the streets was seen in the form of fierce and violent riots and the hanging and burning of effigies wearing foreign (English or French, in particular) cloth. Sarah Foster's research has highlighted the various actions taken by Irish manufacturers, such as the tarring and feathering of merchants and retailers of imported goods and attacks on people thought to be wearing foreign merchandise.⁵⁴

More genteel methods of consumer protest were also seen in the form of 'Buy Irish' campaigns and the conscious donning of Irish cloth at key social occasions. The support of Irish industry was certainly an issue that Trumbull's father was mindful of. Two decades earlier, at the height of the importation protests, Nathaniel Trumbull senior, had entered into resolutions with the board of Aldermen at a quarter assembly 'not to WEAR or IMPORT any goods of the manufacture of England'.⁵⁵ Interestingly, however, the lengthy declaration detailing this pledge was printed in the *Freeman's Journal*, the very same newspaper in which Trumbull senior had advertised his extensive stock of imported silks fifteen years earlier.⁵⁶

Foreign goods, particularly those from London or Paris, always held an allure for a great majority of Irish consumers who delighted in the possession of goods that had just arrived from England or France.⁵⁷ The vibrant consumer market that had developed over the course of the eighteenth century did not, as anticipated, dis-

sipate as a result of the Union. A growing economy in the first two decades of the nineteenth century was reflected in the development of the legal profession, clearly represented in Dublin by the imposing Four Courts building which opened in 1796.⁵⁸ Alongside great numbers of attorneys and barristers, Dublin had a significant concentration of physicians and medical professionals, all contributing to the strong market for consumer goods which kept Dublin retailers in business. However, the various occupations of those comprising the middling sort didn't concern Sir James Brook, a character in Edgeworth's *The Absentee*. In Brook's discussion of post-Union Dublin, they all came under the general heading of 'commerce':

'[M]ost of the nobility and many of the principal families among the Irish commoners, either hurried in high hopes to London or retired disgusted and in despair to their houses in the country. Immediately, in Dublin, commerce rose into the vacated seats of rank; wealth rose into the place of birth. New faces and new equipages appeared: people, who had never been heard of before, started into notice, pushed themselves forward, not scrupling to elbow their way even at the castle.'⁵⁹

The cultural life of Dublin did witness a shift in practices. Maxwell cites the reducing profits at the Rotunda Assembly Rooms as evidence of this.⁶⁰ An increased number of gentleman's clubs and smart hotels appeared on the elegant streets of early nineteenth-century Dublin. Trumbull's correspondence confirms that he patronised gentleman's clubs, and numerous bills denote the 'Moirra Hotel, Sackville Street' as his Dublin base.⁶¹ While Trumbull was very much a participant in Dublin's changing social scene, the breakfast, lunch and dinner invitations received and sent by Trumbull testify to his position within a network of upper-middling sorts and country gentlemen in the north county Dublin area.⁶² In September 1817 Trumbull received a letter from John Hone of Eustace Street, Dublin, thanking him for his kind present, while in December 1820 Trumbull received a present of some game from Arthur Garlen of Longford.⁶³ Sir Thomas Newcomen of Killester sent a pineapple to Trumbull, but enclosed a letter requesting return of the 'crown'.⁶⁴ Richard Brophy wrote to Trumbull in 1817 to express his gratitude for all his kindness, and also to say that he hoped Trumbull's peacock would appear soon.⁶⁵

Letters enclosing gifts were not as common as letters requesting help. In February 1815 Trumbull received a letter regarding the support of 'Mrs Lunt and two of her children', and in November 1816 Trumbull received a letter from 'A Neighbour' thanking him for repairing the hole in a bridge but now 'the bridge was in danger of falling down'.⁶⁶ If Trumbull did support the Lunt family, then they were three of a number of his dependents. Apart from financing the schooling of his own children, account ledgers show that he also organised and financed the schooling of two nieces. Alongside paying for Miss Mary Jackson's education, food and clothes

for nine years, he also purchased a silver spoon for her to use while at school.⁶⁷

Trumbull's correspondence describes the economic and social networks of exchange, sociable encounters and philanthropic endeavours which delineated the social arenas in which he existed. The world in which Trumbull, or his father, existed was nothing like that described by Richard Twiss, whose account of his tour of Ireland, published in 1776, was the most controversial attack on Irish politeness.⁶⁸ The issue of politeness in Irish society was one taken up by many at the turn of the century. *Saunders's Newsletter* printed concerns that the Union would have a deleterious effect on Irish manners: 'with the desolating increase of absentees, our reviving taste for letters, and the incipient study of the arts, must vanish; works of science and ingenuity cannot exist where none remain to encourage them but tradesmen and labourers.'⁶⁹ Contrary to this disquiet, the picture created by his papers would seem to indicate that Nathaniel Trumbull's lifestyle was that of a member of polite Dublin society.⁷⁰ His great financial capital was matched by social, cultural and religious capital. Like his father before him, his name features in the subscription lists of various publications.⁷¹

Participation within polite society required the correct accoutrements. A bill from Trumbull's tailor records the making and alteration of various items of clothes for Trumbull, his coachman and his butler. The many maps and surveys commissioned by Trumbull illustrate the size and position of his estate, which comprised close to 150 acres.⁷² Alongside a melon yard, pigeon house and a number of stables, Trumbull had a hothouse and an extensive nursery in which grew an amazing selection of foreign fruit and vegetables, which would have been considered highly desir-

Fig. 1 – An undated list of ceramic and glass objects noting either the value or quantities of the items present (Trumbull Papers, NYPL, MS 3039)

Delf		Glass	
Coffee cans	9d	Decanters	7s 4d
Large cups	11s 11d	Tumbler[s]	8s 12d
Small [cups]	9s 4d	Salts	5s 9d
'and one without dish'		Glasses	9s 7d
Large saucer	2s 10d	Cut wine glasses large	22
Small saucers	3d 13d	Small do. [wine glasses]	23
Large plates	6s 6d	Wash hand glasses	18
Small [plates]	9s 9d	Licure glasses	23
Tea pots	3s 3d	Jugs	2
Egg cups	6s 6d		
Cream ewer	1s 1d		
Bowls	2s 3d		

able within the dining rooms of the gentry.⁷³ However, perhaps unlike many members of the gentry who owned hothouses, the many letters requesting quantities of potatoes indicate that Trumbull ran his as a business.⁷⁴

The extent of his nursery, together with bills for food and drink, provide an insight into the Trumbulls' diet, while his correspondence, as noted above, illustrates his social manoeuvrings. Alongside this, an inventory of silver, and another of ceramics and glass, together with various bills for furniture, gives an indication of the material world in which the Trumbulls lived. Moreover, it provides an insight into the glass items found in an upper-middle-rank Dublin home in the early nineteenth century, and a picture of the constellation of objects of which those glass items were part.

An undated list of ceramics and glass details a list of objects which were primarily for use in the context of eating and drinking (fig. 1).⁷⁵ The list does not detail the location of these objects; however, on the basis of other contemporary sources one could speculate that the glass may have been displayed on a sideboard, as suggested by Thomas Cosnett in his *Footman's Directory*.⁷⁶ Alternatively, it may have been stored in a larder or displayed in rows on shelves in a dining room cupboard, as described in a work of contemporary fiction by the character Mrs Soorocks, a middle-aged widow.⁷⁷ The Trumbulls' collection of wine glasses in small, large, cut and plain varieties ensured that they had appropriate wine glasses for a range of formal and informal occasions. Their possession of liqueur glasses reflects an understanding of the importance of having the correct receptacle for that particular alcoholic drink, and their ownership of wash-hand glasses, generally placed within

Fig. 2 – An undated list of items subdivided into two smaller lists, one entitled 'Wanted' and the other 'Have' (NYPL, Nathaniel Trumbull Papers, MS 3039)


Wanted	Have
Cut glass decanters	5 Cut decanters
Wine glasses	11 small wine glasses
Ale glasses	1 Ale glass
Common Wine glasses	7 common wine glasses
Kitchen table & chairs	
All kind of saucepans	
4 pairs of servants sheets	
do. Table cloths	
Towels – & dabbers	
Blue and white plates & dishes	
Castle patterns	

reach of each diner from the late eighteenth century, further alludes to their knowledge of fashions in polite dining. Similarly, the range of large and small saucers, ceramic cups, coffee cans, bowls and cream ewer includes the various utensils required for tea- and coffee-drinking in the context of social occasions of varying formality.

A second list of objects, dating to *c.*1817-24, records in shopping-list fashion the objects he has and the objects he needs (fig. 2). The list indicates that while he has five cut decanters, he would like to acquire some more. Having only one ale glass, he notes that he needs more of those, together with 'wine glasses' and more 'common wine glasses'. In his entry regarding ceramic items, he is specific, describing the plates and dishes desired as firstly 'Blue and white' followed by 'castle patterns'.

The purchase of '8 drawing room chairs', 'a mahogany sofa bordered with bolsters' and a 'spider table' add to the picture of the Trumbulls' objects in use. A bill dated 1795 from the Dublin decorating firm run by Patrick Boylan lists work carried out on two rooms – 'scraping and cleaning of cornice, whitening of ceiling ... wallpapering two rooms' – and in 1807 reference is made to a chimney-piece artist being employed in Beechwood. Three years earlier, in 1804, a substantial amount of money was spent by the Trumbulls on the making and fitting of 'Venetian Ladders' for seven windows: 832 'blades' were made by the King & Dempsey firm of cabinetmakers before being painted in green varnish and hung using ninety-four yards of broad green tape and forty-six pulleys. Apart from the expense of a 'very good house clock' costing £7 19s 3d, further outgoings in the front space areas of hall, drawing room and parlour were focused around repairing particular items already in their possession, suggesting that they may have inherited a collection of furniture. The 1809 bill from Lewis & Anthony Morgan, cabinetmakers of Henry Street, details the repairing and stuffing of a 'parlour chair', 'cleaning, scraping and new painting 6 drawing room chairs', and 'repairing a mahogany card table' (Plates 8, 9).⁷⁸ While it is possible that the objects sent to be repaired were treasured either as a result of their age, quality of workmanship or possibly for their sentimental importance as heirlooms, it was quite the norm to have objects repaired, and doesn't necessarily denote value.

Alongside expenditure in the 'front space' areas of the house where objects would be seen, the Trumbull bills testify to extensive expenditure being focused in the bedrooms. In 1804 King & Dempsey billed Trumbull for an 'elegant painted bedstead with elegant painted sweeping cornice' costing £11 7s 6d, not including the cost of making the curtains. By far the most expensive item listed on Morgan's 1809 bill was a 'mahogany bidet with turned legs and a delf pan per agreement' costing £2 10s. Furthermore, a bill for goods and work carried out in October 1811 by the upholsters La Crille included a wagon roof bedstead, a four-poster bed and a


 Lewis & Anthony Morgan
 Cabinet Makers & Upholders
 To the Right Hon^{ble} and Hon^{ble}
 The Commissioners of His Majesty's Revenue.
 21, Henry Street
 Dublin

1808 *Account from Mr Esqr D.*

Feb 23rd To taking down a pair Post Bedstead and
 for Workmen Linn & Boys Mattress and for
 Straw Linn & for } 0-8-0
 March 12 To Repairing with Mahog^{ey} Parcel Chest
 and Stuffing D. } 0-3-2
 May 17 To Putting up 2 pair Post Bedsteads in
 Curtain removing a false Head and putting
 up another Head } 0-5-5
 24 To Scraping Cleaning and Gas painting by
 Drawing Room Chairs } 0-19-6
 Feb 1 To Repairing a Mahog^{ey} Case table Sunday } 0-7-6
 1809 Prices fitted into D.
 May 20 To a Mahog^{ey} Bedstead returned by having
 a Day for repairment } 7-10-0
 £ 4-14-3

8 – Bill for goods bought between February 1808 and February 1809 from Lewis & Anthony Morgan, Cabinet Makers & Upholders, 21 Henry Street, Dublin (courtesy New York Public Library)



9 – Two of eight Regency mahogany parlour chairs made by Morgan cabinetmakers, c.1810
 The parlour chair which Trumbull wished to have repaired and stuffed was sent to the Morgan firm of cabinetmakers, as recorded in their 1809 bill. (courtesy Christie's).

mahogany 'fancy child's bedstead' costing £5 2s 4½ d.⁷⁹

Despite the relative indulgence in bedroom furniture, when the incredibly long list of properties owned by Trumbull is studied, together with the steady income from each house, the Trumbulls' expenditure on luxuries does not seem overly extravagant. The bills evidence caution in outgoings, buying what was needed and desired but focusing expenditure on either renovating or acquiring property. Trumbull was also wary in his banking arrangements, successfully managing to avoid placing money in what would later turn out to be 'bubble banks'. Instead, he kept his money in the Bank of Ireland, having £2,000 in Bank of Ireland stock by 1812. It seems he preferred having money in the bank to having it tied up in silver and plate, as in 1807 he received a quotation of the value of a long list of silver and plate items to be 'sold by Robert Williams'. This detailed and extensive list was compiled by the goldsmith Robert Williams before these items were sold, accruing a

total of £511 12s 9d. The list includes a 'Large Gilt Salver' valued at £44 5s 2d, a 'Large Tureen' valued at £ 48 19s 2d, four 'Square cover dishes' valued at £ 72 9s 9d, to all manner of cutlery, asparagus tongs, scallop shells, 'sallad spoons & forks', an epergne, various candlesticks, a bread basket valued at £13 6s 4d and '1 lique stand & glasses' valued at £13 13s. The list describes a very extensive silver collection, one that would have been assembled by someone who did a lot of entertaining, someone who relied on the power of silver to evoke one's status, taste and wealth. It is likely that at least some of this collection of silver was amassed by Nathaniel Trumbull senior, who may have hosted many dinners throughout his involvement with the upper ranks of Dublin Corporation. For Trumbull junior, however, the monetary value of these items outweighed any sentimental meaning attached to them, and the money accrued may have been spent either in projects such as developing the business or in acquiring more property.

Things, whether bought, not bought, saved, sold or received as gifts, were integral to the communication of Trumbull junior's identity. In his *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith extolled the virtues of merchant expenditure over that of the landowner.⁸⁰ He described the way in which 'merchants are commonly ambitious of becoming country gentlemen, and when they do they are generally the best of all improvers. A merchant is accustomed to employ his money chiefly in profitable projects, whereas a mere country gentleman is accustomed to employ it chiefly in expense.'⁸¹ Trumbull hovers between Smith's view of merchants and gentry. His occupation as a tobacco merchant and his tendency to focus his expense around profitable projects positions him as a merchant under Smith's criteria. Yet indications of class, patriotism and confessional identity were communicated through the choices made within his material world. His evident wealth, combined with a country residence and an impressive social network, together with his extensive philanthropic outgoings, places him in a social position which was very close to that of a country gentleman, drawing our attention not only to the highly stratified nature of the middling sorts in early nineteenth-century Ireland, and but also highlighting the difficulties inherent in considering consumers in terms of stereotypes.

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ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

NYPL New York Public Library, Nathaniel Trumbull Papers
 TP, 1983 Trumbull Papers (Galway, 1983) – a catalogue of the Trumbull Papers written and published by Kenny's Bookshop, Galway, prior to the sale of the collection to the New York Public Library.

- ¹ The Nathaniel Trumbull Papers are in the collection of the New York Public Library, Manuscripts and Archives Division, MS 3039. I am sincerely grateful to Sarah Foster for alerting me to this collection of papers.
- ² In falling after Toby Barnard's main period of interest and before the well-trodden Celtic Revival, the material culture of early nineteenth-century Ireland has suffered relative neglect. However, the ongoing research of Angela Alexander on the production and consumption of furniture in early nineteenth-century Ireland and Sarah Foster on the middle-class interior in nineteenth-century Ireland will greatly contribute to our knowledge of middle-rank consumer culture in Ireland.
- ³ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (London (1899), 1994).
- ⁴ Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (London (1979), 1996).
- ⁵ Douglas and Isherwood, *The World of Goods*, 45, cited in Amanda Girling Budd, 'Comfort and Gentility: furnishings by Gillows, Lancaster, 1840-55' in S. McKeller and P. Sparke (eds), *Interior Design and Identity* (Manchester, 2004), 28.
- ⁶ A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter Women's Lives in Georgian England* (London and New Haven, 1998) 163.
- ⁷ Nathaniel Trumble (sic) is listed as a weaver in Francis Street in the *Directory of Dublin for the year 1738*. Surviving Dublin street directories show that Trumbull continued to be listed as a weaver in Francis Street until 1764. Between 1766 and 1769 'Trumbull and Mackay, mercers' of Parliament Street are listed in Dublin street directories. *Wilson's Dublin Directory*, 1761, 1762, 1764, 1766-69.
- ⁸ The earliest advertisement found featured in the *Freeman's Journal*, 22nd October 1765. The same advertisement was placed twice weekly until 13th May 1766: 'TRUMBULL AND MACKAY Mercers, At the KING'S HEAD in Parliament-street have just imported a great

- variety of Gold, Silver and Flowered Silks, brocaded, enamelled and watered Tabbies; Tissues, Damasks, Sattins, Paduasoyes, Armazeens, &c. with every other Article in the Mercer's business. NB This being the first Importation made by said Trumbull and Mackay of Gold and Silver Silks, the Nobility and Gentry may depend on their being of the richest kind, and of Fancies entirely new, which they are determined to sell on the lowest Terms.'
- ⁹ Other families involved in the textile industry, notably the Bewleys, also ventured away following the difficulties witnessed in this area of manufacture. The Bewleys became the most prominent importers of tea, while other families such as the Caffrys went into the brewing business. D. Dickson, 'Death of a Capital? Dublin and the Consequences of Union', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 107, 2001, 111-31: 129-30.
- ¹⁰ Trumbull is listed as 'Sword Bearer' at 2 College Green in *Wilson's Dublin Directory for 1778*. It is likely that Trumbull senior held this position until his death in 1797. The *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, XV, records that on 6th September 1797, John Minchin was 'praying to be appointed Sword Bearer in the room of Mr Nathaniel Trumbull deceased: whereupon it was ordered that the said John Minchin be and is hereby appointed Sword Bearer to this city, during the city's pleasure, at the yearly salary of £130, to commence this day'.
- ¹¹ TP, 1983, i. The catalogue of the Trumbull Papers, written and published by Kenny's, includes an introduction by Professor John Dillon of Trinity College Dublin. It provides a very useful list of the various letters and account books in the collection. The discovery and sale of the Trumbull Papers are discussed in two newspaper articles: *Irish Times*, 26th November 1983 and *Sunday Independent*, 22nd January 1984.
- ¹² There are forty-eight letters from John Orr in Liverpool to Nathaniel Trumbull in Dublin. It is likely that John Orr acted as Trumbull's agent in Liverpool, as in a letter to Martha McTier (1st May 1806) William Drennan makes reference to John Orr 'serving his time' with Nathaniel Trumbull. Jean Agnew and Maria Luddy (eds), *The Drennan McTier Letters 3, 1802-1819* (Dublin, 1999) 475.
- ¹³ TP, 1983, iii.
- ¹⁴ The exact circumstances surrounding Sarah Trumbull's move to Bloomfield are unclear. There are twenty letters from Sarah to Nathaniel between 29th July 1817 and Nathaniel Trumbull's death in 1824. One letter enclosed a lock of hair sent by Sarah to Nathaniel; however, it seems that Nathaniel was advised not to visit her. Eight letters from Joseph Gough, Bloomfield, inform on her 'progress', with one (letter 460) recommending that 'Sarah would not benefit from a visit' from Nathaniel. TP, 1983, 41.
- ¹⁵ D. Dickson, 'Death of a Capital?', 111-31: 124-25.
- ¹⁶ *ibid.*, 111-31.
- ¹⁷ Charles Topham Bowden, *A Tour Through Ireland* (Dublin, 1791) 47.
- ¹⁸ *ibid.*, 48.
- ¹⁹ Maria Edgeworth, *The Absentee* (London (1812), 1988) 86, cited in M.J. Powell, *The Politics of Consumption in Eighteenth Century Ireland* (Basingstoke, 2005) 230.
- ²⁰ For example, in the years 1803 and 1804 Trumbull purchased 'sundry houses in Abbey Street, [numbers] 147, 148, 151, 155, 156 & 157'. National Library of Ireland, MS 5186, Ledger of Nathaniel Trumbull.
- ²¹ 'Daily List of Goods Imported and Exported into Dublin on 3 January 1814'. This list is illustrated in TP, 1983 (pages bearing illustrations are unpaginated).
- ²² This list is illustrated in TP, 1983 (pages bearing illustrations are unpaginated).

- ²³ Between the 1700s and the 1790s, the national imports of unrefined sugar rose by a factor of eighteen. L. Clarkson, 'Hospitality, housekeeping and high living in Eighteenth century Ireland' in Jacqueline Hill and Colm Lennon (eds), *Luxury and Austerity*, Historical Studies (Irish Conference of Historians), 21 (Dublin, 1999) 84-105: 98.
- ²⁴ Trumbull's business correspondence gives a good indication of the extent and nature of his trading network. Within the collection there are 1,406 letters from England, eighty-four from Europe (Rotterdam, Oporto, Hamburg and Malaga), eighteen from New York, Virginia and Barbados, and thirty-one from Scotland. NYPL, MS 3039.
- ²⁵ However, as those involved in the linen trade developed direct contact with British dealers, the importance of Dublin finance became less crucial and Belfast grew into a distinct regional capital, becoming completely autonomous in the latter half of the nineteenth century. D. Dickson, 'The place of Dublin in the Eighteenth-Century Irish economy' in T.M. Devine and David Dickson (eds), *Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1850* (Edinburgh, 1983) 188.
- ²⁶ E. Mc Parland 'The Wide Streets Commissioners: Their Importance for Dublin Architecture in the Late 18th-Early 19th century', *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, XV, 1, January-March 1972, 1-32: 1.
- ²⁷ *ibid.*, 1-32.
- ²⁸ M. Fraser, 'Public Building and Colonial Policy in Dublin 1760-1800', *Architectural History*, 28, 1995, 116.
- ²⁹ E. Sheridan Quantz, 'The Multi-Centred Metropolis: The Social Topography of Eighteenth-Century Dublin', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 107, 2001, 280.
- ³⁰ *Letters to Parliament ... by an Admirer of Necessary Improvements* (Dublin, 1787), cited by M. Craig, *Dublin, 1660-1860* (Dublin, 1969) 247.
- ³¹ Nathaniel Jefferys, *An Englishman's descriptive account of Dublin, and the road from Bangor Ferry, to Holyhead* (London, 1810) 86, cited in Sheridan Quantz, 'The Multi-Centred Metropolis', 283.
- ³² NYPL, MS 3039.
- ³³ Wedgwood's showroom in Sackville Street, Dublin, opened in 1808 and closed in 1812. M. Reynolds, 'Wedgwood in Dublin, 1772-1777', *Irish Arts Review*, I, 2, 1984, 36.
- ³⁴ NYPL, MS 3039. The total of 5s 5d was 'paid 9 February 1814 per ST'.
- ³⁵ H. Berry, 'Polite Consumption Shopping in Eighteenth Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12, 2002, 375. Berry argues that with the rise of cash-only business at the end of the eighteenth century, there was a shift towards a more hurried and informal form of shopping.
- ³⁶ M. Reynolds, 'James Donovan 'The Emperor of China'', *Irish Arts Review*, I, 3, 1985, 28.
- ³⁷ I am grateful to Peter Francis for sourcing these illustrations for me.
- ³⁸ Trumbull paid 9s 9d for '6 wine glasses', while '6 large do. [wine glasses]' cost 5s 5d. NYPL, MS 3039. The Trumbulls may have been important customers of Donovan's, as in October 1803 Nathaniel Trumbull paid a bill of £37 to James Donovan. However, as Donovan was also a serious property speculator, it is possible that this expense was incurred in some way other than the provision of ceramics or glass.
- ³⁹ H. Berry, 'Polite Consumption Shopping in Eighteenth Century England', 379.
- ⁴⁰ Donovan's shop was certainly extensive. The shop was described as 'having 23 feet frontage onto George's Quay, 22 feet at rear and 95 feet in depth, as well as the land from 25, Poolbeg Street which also had a 22 feet frontage onto that street and stretched 90 feet in depth towards

- George's Quay'. Reynolds, 'James Donovan', 28.
- ⁴¹ Armagh Museum, Blacker Papers, 5-1948, Daybooks of William Blacker, vol. 6, 1817, 98.
- ⁴² *ibid.*
- ⁴³ Westmoreland Street was completed by 1805. Christine Casey, *The Buildings of Ireland: Dublin* (Dublin, 2005) 420.
- ⁴⁴ NYPL, MS 3039.
- ⁴⁵ The following items were purchased from Samuel Alker's shop: '1 china bowl, 2s 8d, 1 blue do. [bowl], 10d, 1 jug, 2.6, totalling 6s', NYPL, MS 3039. However, elegant shops such as Alker's were only one source of ceramics and glass. The fact that bills do not exist to evidence transactions between consumers and hawkers, criers and vendors at fairs has led to the underestimation of the prevalence of this mode of acquisition. The collection of drawings known as 'The Cries of Dublin &c Drawn from the Life by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, 1760' illustrates numerous different hawkers who walked Dublin's streets, each specialising in a particular commodity, be it 'old cloaths', 'perukes', 'hard ware' or 'coarse earthen ware'. W. Laffan (ed.), *The Cries of Dublin &c. Drawn from the life by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, 1760* (Tralee, 2003).
- ⁴⁶ Dublin City Library and Archive, Minute books of the Wide Street Commissioners' meetings, 1803-6/Mins/19, p.205.
- ⁴⁷ *ibid.*
- ⁴⁸ The interiors of the Westmoreland Street shops were apparently so bright and 'lofty' that some shopkeepers opted to form 'an apartment out of this extra altitude, to which light is admitted thro' the upper line of panes in the window. But this is not general'. *Freeman's Journal*, 26th October 1808.
- ⁴⁹ Sheridan-Quantz, 'The Multi-Centred Metropolis', 268.
- ⁵⁰ *ibid.*, 265.
- ⁵¹ *ibid.*, 280.
- ⁵² National Museum of Ireland, 1956.138, Waterford glasshouse account books. For further discussion of glass retailers such as Alker and Jackson, see Anna Moran 'Selling Waterford glass in early nineteenth-century Ireland', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, VI (Dublin, 2003) 56-90.
- ⁵³ For an account of the 'Buy Irish' campaigns of the eighteenth century, see S. Foster "'An honourable station in respect of commerce, as well as constitutional liberty": retailing, consumption and economic nationalism in Dublin, 1720-85' in G. O'Brien and F. O'Kane (eds), *Georgian Dublin* (Dublin, 2008) 30-44.
- ⁵⁴ *ibid.*
- ⁵⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 29th June 1779.
- ⁵⁶ For example, *Freeman's Journal*, 22nd October 1765.
- ⁵⁷ S. Foster, 'Going Shopping in Georgian Dublin', *Things*, 4, Summer 1996, 33-61.
- ⁵⁸ The legal profession had developed over the course of the eighteenth century. In 1763, seven hundred attorneys and three hundred barristers had Dublin addresses, but by 1800 those figures had increased by fifty percent. D. Dickson 'The Place of Dublin in the Eighteenth Century Irish Economy', 185.
- ⁵⁹ Edgeworth, *The Absentee*, 83 cited in Powell, *The Politics of Consumption in Eighteenth Century Ireland*. See also S. Murphy, 'Maria Edgeworth's representations of Georgian Dublin' in O'Brien and O'Kane (eds) *Georgian Dublin*, 145-55.

- ⁶⁰ 'Between 1795 and 1815 the average profits from the Assembly Rooms at the Rotunda had reduced from £1,450 to less than £300'. C. Maxwell, *Dublin under the Georges 1740-1830* (London, 1936) 136.
- ⁶¹ On 7th September 1807 Trumbull received an invitation to dinner at the Heathfield Club, TP, 1983, 41. Twelve years earlier, Trumbull received a printed letter from Barthw. Martin, dated 15th December 1795, regarding the establishment of a merchants' club. The letter asked the recipients to signify to any of the gentlemen whose names were at the foot of the letter the desire to become a member, TP, 1983, 118.
- ⁶² Trumbull's correspondents included many noted members of Ireland's upper-middle rank, including among others Arthur Guinness, David and Peter La Touche and Sir Marcus and Richard Somerville. NYPL, MS Col. 3039.
- ⁶³ TP, 1983, 36.
- ⁶⁴ *ibid.*, ii.
- ⁶⁵ *ibid.*, 34, Richard Brophy, Richmond Lodge, 1817, to Nathaniel Trumbull. The exchange of gifts, as Margot Finn's research has shown, was important in the 'reinforcement of affective bonds' and the promotion of local sociability. M. Finn, 'Men's things: masculine possession in the consumer revolution', *Social History*, XXV, 2, May 2000, 143.
- ⁶⁶ TP, 1983, 'A Neighbour' to Nathaniel Trumbull, November 1816.
- ⁶⁷ National Library of Ireland, MS 5186, 47, Ledger of Nathaniel Trumbull.
- ⁶⁸ Richard Twiss, in his account of his tour of Ireland, stated that outside of Dublin and its environs, 'nothing is to be expected in making the tour of Ireland, beyond the beauties of nature, a few modern-antiquities, and the ignorance and poverty of the lower class of the inhabitants', *A Tour in Ireland in 1775*, 3rd edn. (Dublin, 1777) 11.
- ⁶⁹ *Saunders's Newsletter*, 2nd January 1799, cited in Powell, *The Politics of Consumption in Eighteenth Century Ireland*, 229.
- ⁷⁰ Further evidence of Nathaniel Trumbull's standing is suggested by the appearance of his name on a panel of individuals from which the jury would be selected for the 'Government versus James Napper Tandy' case, *The King versus Tandy. Proceedings on the trial of James Napper Tandy, Esq. in the Court of King's Bench, before the Right Honourable Lord Chief Justice Clonmell, the Hon. Mr. Justice Boyd, and the Hon. Mr. Justice Hewit, upon an indictment for sending a challenge to John Toler, Esq; His Majesty's Solicitor General* (Dublin, 1792).
- ⁷¹ For example, Nathaniel Trumbull senior subscribed to W R. Chetwood, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Ben Johnson, Esq: poet Laureat* (Dublin, 1756) and Nathaniel Trumbull junior is listed as a subscriber to Jane Elizabeth Moore, *Miscellaneous poems on various subjects* (Dublin, 1796).
- ⁷² NYPL, MS 3039. These include Map 705, survey of the grange, Portmarnock, 'belonging to Nathaniel Trumbull Esq' by Thomas Sherrard, 1789 and copied by John Chesney, 1812. Map 706: a map and survey of the Mill of Portmarnock and the land belonging to it, the property of Nath. Trumbull Esqr. Copied 1815 by David O'Reilly. Map 707: map and survey of the lands of upper Beechwood in the County of Dublin, belonging to Nathl Trumbull Esqr, October 1819 by David O'Reilly, showing 18 different sections, comprising 95 acres, woods, the road, avenue, a melon yard and a number of buildings. Map 708: lower Beechwood in the county of Dublin belonging to Nathl Trumbull Oct 1819 by David O'Reily. 15 fields, and their size totalling 52 acres, a river and bridge are shown as are wooded boundaries.
- ⁷³ NYPL, MS 3039. Trumbull's bills for seeds such as those from Charles & Luke O'Toole

Nursery and Seeds-Men of Westmoreland Street, Dublin, list an impressive array of seeds. The bill covering the period between February and August 1814 included many different varieties of cabbage, onions, carrots, lettuce and beans, together with three different varieties of peaches and a further three varieties of nectarines.

⁷⁴ TP, 1983, 41. For example, Trumbull received two orders for potatoes from Mrs Norman Luke of Mountjoy Square, dated 17th February 1817 and 3rd August 1818.

⁷⁵ This list was written on a scrap of paper and it is likely that it is not an exhaustive list of their ceramic and glass objects.

⁷⁶ T. Cosnett, *The Footman's Directory, and butler's remembrancer* (London, 1825) 78.

⁷⁷ Stana Nenadic cites Mrs Soorocks' lengthy description of the ceramics and glass displayed in her dining room cupboard. John Galt, *Last of the Lairds*, edited by J.A. Gordon (Edinburgh, 1976) 6, cited in S. Nenadic 'Middle rank consumers and domestic culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1720-1840', *Past and Present*, 145, November 1994, 136.

⁷⁸ NYPL, MS 3039. 'Repairing and stuffing the mahogany parlour chair' cost 3s 2s; 'Scraping, Cleaning and new Painting 6 Drawing Room Chairs' 19s 6d; 'Repairing a Mahogany Card table Sundry pieces fitted into do.' 7s 6d. I am grateful to Dr Angela Alexander for sourcing an illustration of a pair of parlour chairs made by the Morgan firm of cabinetmakers.

⁷⁹ NYPL, MS 3039.

⁸⁰ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, III (London, 1776; reprint 1910) 507-08

⁸¹ *ibid.*, I, 363, cited in Clarkson, 'Hospitality, housekeeping and high living in Eighteenth century Ireland', 84.