

	pd. for cakes		
	Bread 2:6 - Goats Whey RR. 3:4 8 Days		0
	Eggs 3: Shickings 3:6 Bathing Girl 7:		0
	cod 1:1 Crabs 6:4 ² Side of Kid 4: Postage 6		0
	Labourer at my Field		0
22	pd. Margaret Doyle on Acct.		0
	gave the Plates		0
23	Fish 1:7 1/2 Oranges 10: Cakes 6:12		0
	Surgeon Doyle		1
25	Surgeon Doyle 1:29 Doct. Emmet 2:5:6		3
	pd. Shee maker in full		0
	pd. for 2 Table Spoons 1:10:6 two Desert ^{14:6}		2
	6 yds Linnen for mattresses at 1:3		0
	Pork 14:10 1/2 Oranges & Cakes 2:2		18
	Tea 1:7 1/2 Fish 6:1 ² Morgan a Box of seals		
	Pruins 2 Ribbon 2:8 Almonds 6:1 ²		
	Oil for Tables 1:4 Oranges		
	Discharged Margaret Doyle low girl		
26	Pork		

‘A map of her jurisdiction’:
the account books of
Meliora Adlercron of Dawson Street,
Dublin, 1782-94

VALERIE MOFFAT

A GENERAL REASSESSMENT OF THE SUBJECT OF FEMALE CONSUMPTION AND MATERIAL culture in the eighteenth century has been taking place in recent times. The work of social and economic historians continues to challenge many of the assumptions that have previously characterised female consumption of goods in the historiography of eighteenth-century mores. Amanda Vickery, for example, argues that women’s apparent covetous ‘nature’ has long been cited by social and economic historians as proof of the female predilection for unbridled materialism and ostentation. Social historian Colin Campbell, who further dismisses the generally accepted ‘manic’ pattern of eighteenth-century consumption, cites the rise of the novel, romantic love and pleasurable leisure in particular as the motivating factors for female consumption. However, although Campbell fully acknowledges the prominent part played by women in these spheres, we are still left with the impression that women are innately covetous, vacuous consumers. The work of economic historian Lorna Weatherill has done much to redress this perceived notion, demonstrating how close analysis of household accounts can provide an important and insightful method for both looking at the past and countering naïve assumptions about consumer behaviour. She also stresses that women’s attitudes to the acquisition of goods and possessions suggest that they saw themselves as part of a family and a household. Her arguments echo the theories of economic historian Jan de Vries, who acknowledges the rising decision-making role of the woman of the household. In the de Vries model, it is the wife who makes most choices of consumption, becoming an ‘active consumer’ as opposed to a passive ‘fashion victim’.¹

While there is little doubt that the research of Vickery, Weatherill and de Vries

1 – Page from the account book of Meliora Adlercron (courtesy National Library of Ireland; © NLI, MS 4481)

benefits from the availability of rich primary source material in British records offices and archives, it is my contention that the observation of the minutiae contained within contemporary Irish household accounts can assist in uncovering a wider range of consumer motivation than has been generally acknowledged within the context of genteel Irish female consumption during the eighteenth century. In recent times, thanks in part to the women's movement in Ireland, women's history is finally being recognised as a subject worthy of academic exploration. The work of writers such as Margaret MacCurtain, Mary Cullen and Maria Luddy, combined with a revival in Irish economic history, has served to bring women's particular histories into focus.² The pioneering work of Toby Barnard, with its contingent rationale of positioning Irish consumerism within the larger models of eighteenth-century western Europe and colonial America, has further served to highlight the rich variety of Irish material culture and how it is gradually being appreciated.³ His work has provided the catalyst for more detailed case studies within female consumption, which remains a largely hidden history. The nineteenth-century publication of the autobiography of Mary Delany (1700-1788), and more recent work about her by Angelique Day, Ruth Hayden and Katherine Cahill, have also undoubtedly served to bring women's history into focus, but Mrs Delany was English by birth, and while she lived in Ireland from 1744 to 1785, her status and social connections was not typical of the majority of genteel Irish women.⁴

This article adopts an interdisciplinary approach to women and goods in an Irish context. It will explore how issues relating to objects and the consumption of goods can be negotiated and explored within the cultural spaces of an individual's private and public interaction, and how they might be considered as a means of negotiating and maintaining social status. While referring to a range of source material, the primary focus will be on the close observation and analysis of the domestic account books of an eighteenth-century Dublin gentlewoman, Mrs Meliora Adlercron.⁵

MARRIAGE, FAMILY AND WIDOWHOOD

HISTORIANS HAVE DEMONSTRATED HOW THE MANAGEMENT OF A HOUSEHOLD WAS A complicated business, requiring skill and expertise on the part of its executive, which, by the eighteenth century, had been firmly consigned to the remit of women. For the majority of women, becoming the 'mistress' of a household was generally arrived at through marriage. In the eighteenth century, women derived considerable status from their role as keeper of the house where they endowed belongings with private family meanings. An equally important consideration was the importance of projecting what Toby Barnard has described as 'the grand figure'. Barnard cites various devices that were used to impress, such as houses, furniture, clothes, objets d'art and hospitality, and it is clear that possessions were essential props in both the construction and maintenance of an individual's identity according to socially acceptable standards.⁶ Maintaining records



2 – Circle of Joseph Highmore, JOHN ADLERCRON ESQ. c.1760, oil on canvas

3 – James Latham, GENERAL JOHN ADLERCRON c.1747, oil on canvas (detail)

(both private collection, © 2012 Christie's, London)

of both domestic and personal acquisitions was, therefore, considered essential for financial security and avoiding insolvency, so much so that bookkeeping was considered to be ‘a method of predicting and controlling the future, a mysterious art on a par with divination and magic’.⁷ Mrs Adlercron’s account books, now held in the National Library of Ireland, document a wide variety of purchases and transactions ranging from food and drink and servant’s wages, to travelling expenses and medical attendances (Plate 1). They also contain a number of dated and detailed descriptions of events, such as births, marriages and deaths, and as such can be read as ‘a map of her jurisdiction’.⁸

The Adlercron manuscripts also contain references to the pedigree of Mrs Adlercron (née Bermingham). They indicate that she was from the aristocratic Bermingham family who ‘claimed the title of the Lord of Louth and Baron of Athenry’.⁹ Born Meliora Bermingham in 1741, she was the eldest child of Richard and Meliora Bermingham ‘of the county and town of Roscommon’, and had a brother, Walter, and two sisters, Louisa and Frances. Her marriage to John Adlercron, a member of a highly respected military family of Huguenot origin, quite possibly improved the social mobility of the Bermingham family.¹⁰ Marriages such as this, where the wife brought a titled connection into the family, serve to highlight the important role played by women in the construction and maintenance of elite ties and familial alliances.¹¹

Meliora Bermingham married John Adlercron (Plate 2), son of the distinguished

Lieutenant General John Adlercron (Plate 3) and his wife Elizabeth, on 17th July 1774. Shortly after the wedding, Meliora Adlercron moved into her husband's family home, a not unusual arrangement for young brides.¹² The Adlercron manuscripts indicate that the family lived both on Dawson Street, Dublin (Plate 4), and at 'Newtown' (possibly Newtown House) in Blackrock, county Dublin.¹³ Throughout the eighteenth century, Dawson Street was home to many of the city's gentry and nobility.¹⁴ In common with high-quality residential enclaves throughout the British Isles, strict leasing conditions – in this instance, laid down by Joshua Dawson in 1707 – ensured that no commercial or manufacturing activity was permitted in the street.¹⁵

Undoubtedly, the city provided the greatest variety of entertainments and opportunities for social interaction, but Blackrock had been both a resort and a fashionable residential area for the gentry since the early eighteenth century. In 1783, *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* described Blackrock as:

A noble village ... in fine evenings it is as much crowded with carriages as the most populous streets in the city; and as there is a number of genteel families residing here at this season of the year, they have drums and assemblies as in town whereby it is very sprightly and agreeable to such as has nothing to do.¹⁶

The parish registers for the Union of Monkstown 1669-1786 record, on 5th March 1766, a 'General Adlercron' in a list of 'Protestant families of the parish of Monkstown generally and at present residing in the City of Dublin'.¹⁷ Lieutenant General John Adlercron commanded the first regiment of royal troops sent to India, and in the autumn of 1756 briefly rivalled Sir Robert Clive (1725-1774) for command of the expedition from Madras to recover Calcutta.¹⁸ The following retrospective account, published in 1902, clearly indicates his elevated social position – dependent on money, merit, and the subjective qualities of gentility, politeness and civility – and hints at the social milieu in which the Adlercron family moved:¹⁹



4 – 28 Dawson Street, Dublin
(photographed in 1985 by Seán O'Reilly; courtesy Irish Architectural Archive)

About the same time [1750] Lieutenant-General John Adlercron came to reside at Newtown. He was a member of a Huguenot family, whose ancestors had taken refuge in Dublin at the close of the 17th century, and, as Colonel of the 39th Regiment of Foot, had seen much service in India under Lord Clive. In April, 1762, he entertained at dinner, in his house at Newtown, the Lord Lieutenant of the day, the first Earl of Halifax, and there, in July, 1766, after eating a hearty dinner, as we are told, he died of an apoplectic fit.²⁰

Documentary evidence from the Adlercron papers indicates that John Adlercron – that is, Meliora’s husband – ‘had always lived with his mother’, a situation that continued after his marriage: ‘Mr Adlercron and his mother having always lived together and their property in common’.²¹ By the time of her son’s marriage in 1774, Mrs Elizabeth Adlercron (d.1789) was already a widow of eight years standing, her husband having died suddenly, as we have seen, in 1766. Moreover, the correspondence between mother and son prior to his marriage clearly indicates a strong and affectionate bond which might have precluded any immediate change in the female pecking order.²² However, the birth of the young married couple’s seven children – three girls and four boys born between 1775 and 1782 – would undoubtedly have underscored Meliora’s position as a dutiful wife and mother, while simultaneously raising a challenge to the female hierarchy within the Adlercron household. Instead, however, the premature death of John Adlercron, on 12th April 1782, precipitated Mrs Meliora Adlercron into widowhood, the state in which she would remain until her death twelve years later, in 1794.²³

According to the terms of John Adlercron’s will, Meliora Adlercron inherited both the Dublin house and the Blackrock property, but provision was made for his ‘dear and most honoured mother Mrs Elizabeth Adlercron to live there at all times as she shall and must do so and to have such enjoyment of the said house and domesne [*sic*] as she had during my life.’²⁴ At an unspecified time after General Adlercron’s death in 1766, Mrs Elizabeth Adlercron had raised a mortgage of £3,000 on the Blackrock house.²⁵ At about the same time, John Adlercron sold his army commission, which raised the total sum of £4,948.²⁶ In 1766, £1,000 of this money was settled on Sir Capel Molyneux on his marriage to John Adlercron’s sister Elizabeth, and another sum of £1,000 was settled on Elizabeth (Lady Molyneux) by the terms of her mother’s will. John Adlercron took responsibility for this mortgage after his marriage in 1774; after his death, Meliora Adlercron inherited the liability. Her accounts document monthly payments of between £20 and £22 being made to a Mr Burrows and Mr Mires respectively.²⁷

The manuscripts indicate that Meliora Adlercron and Mrs Elizabeth Adlercron continued to live together until 1785, when the younger woman decided to live separately:

The late Mrs Adlercron her son and his wife lived always together and after Mr Adlercron dyed [*sic*] I continued to do so. The country house we lived in was mine being left to me by my late husband. But from some family reasons I now determine to live by myself.²⁸

She was, however, prepared to respect the wishes of her of her mother-in-law with regard to her living arrangements:

Delicacy and tenderness was such for my mother-in-law that I could not bring myself nor would not do anything that might torment her out of the house but determined myself and the children to quit it, previous to which I gave her a written agreement that she would have wholly and solely have power over it as I gave it up to her during her life the possession of it.²⁹

While Meliora Adlercron appears to have vacated the Blackrock house and returned to Dublin with the children, she was prepared to finance any repairs that might be required:

Some months ago the garden wall being in a ruineous condition – she begged of me to employ and agree with a workman to do it for her – I did agree and got an estimate the man giving me an article signed and the first day of last May that he would begin on the tenth day of May.³⁰

THE MATERIALITY OF MOURNING

JOHN ADLERCRON'S DEATH RESULTED FROM AN ATTACK WHICH OCCURRED ON THE NIGHT of 29th March 1782. According to a newspaper report appealing for information about the crime, John Adlercron was attacked by three or four men in Dame Street while returning home. His assailants struck him on the head with a large key, wounding him on the temple. Adlercron survived the attack, only to die two weeks later. The fact that an appeal for information about the crime was posted in the *Freeman's Journal* in May 1782 and again in June 1782 may indicate that there was some difficulty in apprehending the culprits. Further investigation of the murder reveals that the weapon used in the attack was most likely a 'great key', and that the perpetrators were students of Trinity College.³¹ The Adlercron manuscripts further indicate that these young men 'were perfectly well known', and that John had instructed Meliora not to bring charges against them.³² His body was interred in the family vault at Moyglare, county Meath.

The three surviving account books kept by Mrs Adlercron commence immediately after the attack on her husband, in April 1782, and her first task was to demonstrate to society that she venerated his memory.³³ A widow 'was shamed in the eyes of the community if she did not provide [her husband] with a proper funeral and demonstrate distress'.³⁴ An entry, dated 12th April 1782, records the cost of a variety of items relating to the funeral of her late husband, including a payment to Champion & Keen, jewellers of College Green:³⁵

Funeral expenses, the leaden coffin included –	£62 7s 7d
To Keen & Champion for four mourning rings bequeathed by the late John Adlercron –	22s 15d

Paid for a probate of late Mr Adlercron's will and codicil --	£5 17s 4½d
Repairing Family Vault at Moyglare --	£30 ³⁶

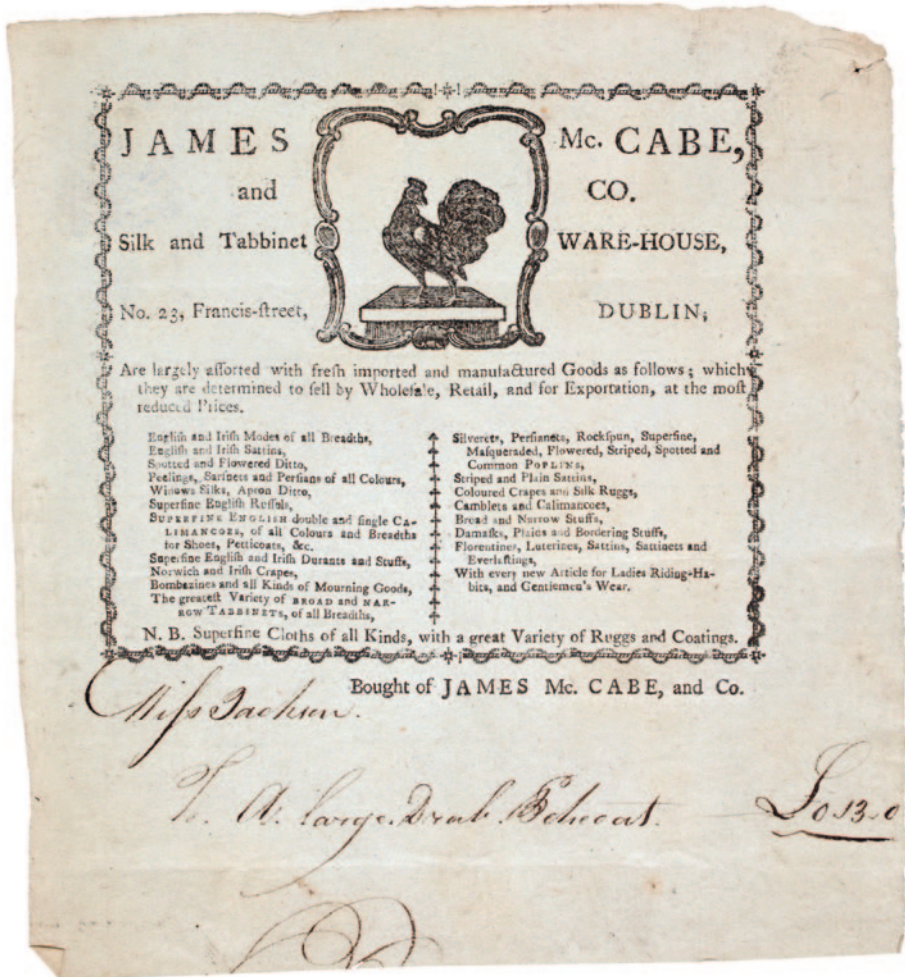
On 17th July 1782, further payments, including one to the stonecutter Richard Parkinson of Townsend Street, were recorded:³⁷

Paid Richard Parkinson for a marble tombstone at Moyglare	£10 17s 6d
To Mrs Gillows for funeral expenses --	£10 12s 7½d
Paid several expenses attending the interment etc, at Moyglare	£4 5s 6½d ³⁸

Of more particular interest in the context of a discussion on women's expenditure are Mrs Adlercron's own expenses with regard to the funeral including, on 15th May 1782, the following poignant entry: 'Paid my mother for servants and own mourning -- £9 19s 1d'.³⁹ Earlier purchases, including 'an Italian love handkerchief' and 'a black Barcelona handkerchief', recorded on 25th April, were commonly used accessories for the public display of mourning.⁴⁰ All rites of passage in the eighteenth century called for costly accoutrements.⁴¹ Rules governing the etiquette of mourning for women varied, depending on their relationship to the deceased. That of a widow mourning a departed husband was the most rigid and lasted between one and two-and-a-half years.⁴²

It is possible, through the account books, to trace the course of Mrs Adlercron's mourning period through her purchases of clothes and accessories. In September 1782, five months after her husband's death, she purchased a pair of black silk gloves (6s 6d) and bombazine for a gown (£1 14s 6d); in October, she purchased a black collar.⁴³ References to black clothing and accessories are still in evidence in 1783, with the purchase of black pins (6d) on 25th January, and a black and grey silk gown (£8) on 12th February.⁴⁴ The inclusion of grey-coloured material into a dress at this point in time might suggest a certain scaling back in intensity of the mourning period, as was customary.⁴⁵ During the month of March 1783, however, there is a notable increase in the number and nature of purchases that appear to relate to the mourning period, perhaps in anticipation of her late husband's anniversary. These were mainly accessories, in the form of seven yards of black ribbon (4s 4d), black sewing silk (3d), Villroy black slippers (10s 3d), 1¾ yards of black lutestring (11s 4½d), and black pins (Plate 5).⁴⁶

Mrs Adlercron's purchases also attest to the growing commercialisation of mourning during the eighteenth century. John Brewer has argued that culture itself became a commodity during the eighteenth century, and that the body, specifically the dead body, was also subject to this process of commodification. The increasing popularity of the physical forms of mourning reflected a changing attitude towards death, in which the focus of the mourning was no longer on the mourned but on the mourners. Moreover, the fundamental division between male and female spheres during the eighteenth century



resulted in mourning becoming the preserve of women.⁴⁷

John Adlercron named his wife as the executrix of his will and guardian of the children, and while it was not uncommon for men to name their wives as executors, the practice varied with social class.⁴⁸ In England by the end of the eighteenth century, 90% of professional men did so, compared with 60% of manufacturers and farmers; 71% of men of independent means left property to their wives.⁴⁹ For most women of all social classes, widowhood was typically the only status that offered them control over their lives and property. It has been suggested that some English women responded to their husbands' deaths with 'barely disguised relief', and while there is no direct evidence of such sentiments in any of the surviving manuscripts, Mrs Adlercron's account books suggest that she resumed her social life in August 1783, a full sixteen months after her husband's death.⁵⁰

CIVILITY AND SOCIABILITY

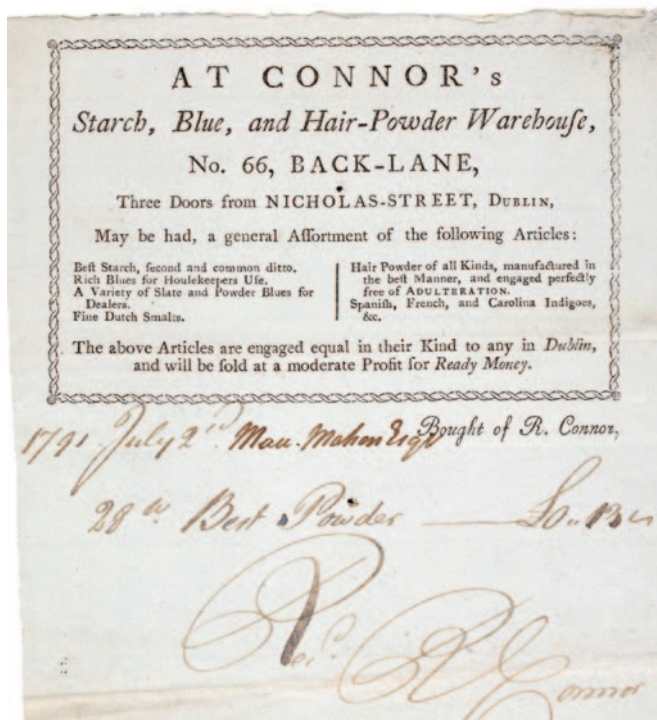
THE ACCOUNTS INDICATE THAT FROM THE BEGINNING OF 1783, MELIORA ADLERCRON was paying particular attention to the maintenance of an agreeable appearance; between January and August of that year she spent a total of £11 9s on hairdressing and related products, having her hair dressed on average twice a month and with regular purchases of powder, pomatum, hair cushions and hairpins (Plate 6). In July, she had her teeth cleaned by a Mr Hudson, probably Edward Hudson, dentist of Grafton Street, at a cost of 11s 4¼d.⁵¹ As she was still officially in mourning at this time, Mrs Adlercron would have been restricted to ‘appropriate’ forms of sociability, such as visiting and card-playing, and her account books contain a number of references to both.⁵² The records of her card-playing begin in August 1783 and continue at regular intervals until September 1785. Mrs Adlercron does not appear to have been a skillful card-player; indeed, her accounts document a litany of losses. On 13th November, for example, she noted that she had ‘lost at cards several times’ to the tune of 10s 10d.⁵³ Card-playing, however, would have provided her with ideal opportunities for genteel social interaction in the wake of her husband’s death, and was an essential part of the ritual of sociability that facilitated and sustained the ties of friendship between elite families in polite society.⁵⁴ From 1784 on, there is a noticeable reduction in the number of card parties attended by her and an increase in her support of charities and benefits; in March, for example, she

6 – Trade card of Connor’s
Starch, Blue & Powder
Warehouse, 6 Back Lane,
Dublin

(courtesy National Library of
Ireland; © NLI, acc. no. 641)

opposite 5 – Trade card of
James McCabe & Co, Silk &
Tabbinet Warehouse, 23
Francis Street, Dublin

(courtesy National Library of
Ireland; © NLI, acc. no. 1348)



donated 1s 1d to ‘Mr Adlercron’s Old Soldiers’, and in August she contributed 3s 3d to a ‘Cripple Ball at the Rock’.⁵⁵

As well as charitable donations, there are also a number of references which suggest that she was a regular visitor at the home of Lady Arbella Denny (1707-1792), the philanthropist and founder of the Magdalen Asylum for Protestant Girls on Leeson Street in 1765.⁵⁶ The two women were close neighbours, both having homes on Dawson Street and in Blackrock.⁵⁷ Moreover, in spite of a thirty-four year age difference, the two women were clearly good friends. Mrs Adlercron appears to have harboured a sincere love and admiration for the older woman, and was genuinely distraught by her death, in 1792, as this tribute clearly demonstrates:

Sunday March the 18th, 1792 at nine o’clock in the morning that saint Lady Arbella Denny was translated from this world of woe and wickedness to the unspeakable delights and bliss of an eternal one which is prepared for the spirits of the just made perfect. That she honoured me with a particular and flattering kindness at the same time that the recollection gives me pleasure, wounds me so much when I think how severe the loss of such a friend is to me. The last time she saw my children, she blest them one by one that it may and will rest on those heads which were tenderly pressed by her dear hand is my hope and belief alas how unhappy am I when I think that my great imperfections cannot allow me to suppose I shall ever be admitted to see her in the next world. The balmy cordiality, tenderness and sympathizing kindness of her manners endeared her to all, the strength of her understanding, the goodness of her heart and the multitude of virtues with which it was fraught made her the admiration of the age she lived in. May all those I love strive to imitate her lovely example.⁵⁸

MISTRESS OF THE PURSE STRINGS

THERE IS SUFFICIENT INFORMATION IN MRS ADLERCRON’S ACCOUNT BOOKS TO INDICATE that she associated with some of the most fashionable and influential members of Dublin polite society. Toby Barnard contends that ‘women with money, just as much as men, commanded a large and varied company’.⁵⁹ Therefore, the fact that Mrs Adlercron was associating with such elevated company is in itself evidence that she had, or at least was perceived to have had, enough money to facilitate her social mobility.

Mrs Adlercron evidently became a wealthy woman after the death of her husband. The family’s main source of income appears to have been generated by the rents from tenants on lands at Moyglare, and while the account books clearly demonstrate that the Adlercrons were making a generous living from these lands, there are a number of indications in the documents that Mrs Adlercron’s financial affairs were being overseen by persons other than herself.⁶⁰ It would appear that, even though she was appointed ‘acting

guardian and executrix' by the terms of her husband's will, Mrs Adlercron was obliged to defer financial control to the administrators or trustees appointed by her husband.⁶¹ Gender historian Merry E. Wiesner describes how in many parts of Europe during the early modern period, it was common practice for a widow to have a male guardian, appointed by the husband, to co-sign all financial transactions, including religious donations, and giving him power over the children.⁶²

However, widowhood and relative financial independence would have provided Mrs Adlercron with opportunities that would ordinarily have been beyond the remit of most women in eighteenth-century Ireland. Her inheritance of the Adlercron estate meant that she was in a better position to control her own destiny and that of her children. With the approval of the trustees, Mrs Adlercron was in the enviable position of being able to decide what to do with her money, and there were a number of options open to her in the closing years of the eighteenth century in Ireland.

The war in America had induced an exchequer crisis which led to the founding of an Irish version of the Bank of England in 1783.⁶³ Essentially, this new institution was intended to be banker to the government. It would manage the national debt and foster commercial liquidity through the issuing of bank notes. The venture was overseen by the La Touches, described by David Dickson as 'the wealthiest and most enduring financial dynasty of Anglo-Ireland'.⁶⁴ Calls for public subscriptions to the new Bank of Ireland began in 1782, and its charter was granted in 1783. A list of the initial subscribers was published in the December 1782 issue of *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*.⁶⁵ All were listed in order of magnitude of subscription, the La Touches heading the list with £40,000. The lowest subscription of £100 was made by a woman, Miss Letitia Burke. Mrs Adlercron subscribed £600.⁶⁶ This investment in the new bank, less than a year after her husband's death, suggests not only that Meliora Adlercron was sufficiently solvent at this time, but also that she was in receipt of advice from the trustees of his will as to the best course of action for her newly acquired status. That said, it is also possible that John Adlercron had made provision for such an investment prior to his death, although there is no direct evidence in the existing documents. As her husband's executrix, Mrs Adlercron was certainly in a position to make her own decisions with regard to her future financial security.

The increasing reliability of government stock and the development of banks in Ireland during this period resulted in the relative parity between the English and Irish currencies.⁶⁷ This would have contributed to improve Mrs Adlercron's prospects of a safe income.⁶⁸ Recent research has shown that gentry and middle-class widows often invested their money in property and loans which enabled them to live off the proceeds.⁶⁹ It seems likely that to be seen to be investing in a modern venture such as the new Bank of Ireland would have been important to Mrs Adlercron. As a widow, she would have been acutely aware of the necessity of raising and advertising her comfortable financial position, particularly for the sake of the future prospects of her children. This is illustrated by the astuteness of her investments in the years between 1787 and 1789. During October 1789, for example, Mrs Adlercron purchased a total of eleven debentures, at 3½% interest, at a

cost of £1,050. This money appears to have been the result of a mortgage raised by her on the property of her brother-in-law William Adlercron, which he had bequeathed to her four surviving children on his death (date unknown). Four years later, in 1793, her investment had amassed £147 6s 7d in interest.⁷⁰

References to woman investors and female consumption in general are rare in eighteenth-century Irish economic history. Apart from the scarcity of primary source material, this is most likely because, in many cases, their power and influence as consumers is hidden behind the names of fathers, husbands, brothers, sons and even lovers.⁷¹

THE BUSINESS OF CHILDCARE

AS ONE WOULD EXPECT, THE ACCOUNT BOOKS RECORD MRS ADLERCRON'S ATTENTION to the needs of her children. Between 1784 and 1794, there were regular purchases of clothes, shoes and playthings. Significantly, she referred to each of her children by name, providing a useful barometer of expenditure according to their individual age and gender. Purchases of clothes for her eight-year old son Richard abound in 1785: in July, a coat (2s 8d) and shoes (2s 2d); in August, payments to 'Wade the hatter' (6s 6d), presumably Thomas Wade of Dame Street, and 'Maylay the tailor' for a great-coat (18s 3d), presumably Charles Maylay of Stafford Street.⁷² At a combined total of £1 9s 7d, these items of clothing, compared with the annual wage of £5 10s paid to nursery maid Margaret Wild on 12th January 1783, suggests that quality garments for children were expensive in Dublin in the late-eighteenth century.⁷³ The fact that Mrs Adlercron was prepared to pay such prices suggests that maintaining standards through the outward appearances of one's children was of great importance to a woman's credibility as a widow, mother and mistress of the household. The purchase of such fine clothes perhaps also demonstrates her pride and delight in her growing children.

There are numerous entries in the account books that document payment to doctors and nurses for attending the children, for which the standard fee was £1 2s 9d. Dental healthcare was also a regular feature of the Adlercron family life. In March 1786, Mr Hudson was paid for 'drawing four of Richard's teeth' (11s 4½d); a month later, in April, he was paid for 'extractions for daughters Emelia and Maria'. Perhaps unsurprisingly, 'Brushes for children's teeth' (2s 8½d) were purchased in June 1788.

Mrs Adlercron evidently recognised the importance of providing her daughters with skills that were considered essential for a young girl of the polite classes. Drawing, piano-playing and knowledge of the French language were universally recognised as vital accomplishments, while most genteel young women were also taught to sing, dance and play the harpsichord.⁷⁴ In August 1788, Mrs Adlercron paid £11 7s 6d to 'Lady Lisle' – most likely Catherine, wife of John Lysaght, 1st Baron Lisle (1702-1781)⁷⁵ – for 'a harpsichord for daughters'.⁷⁶ Further payments of £11 8s 8d and £11 7s 6d were made in September and December respectively.⁷⁷ It is worth noting that the total amount laid out

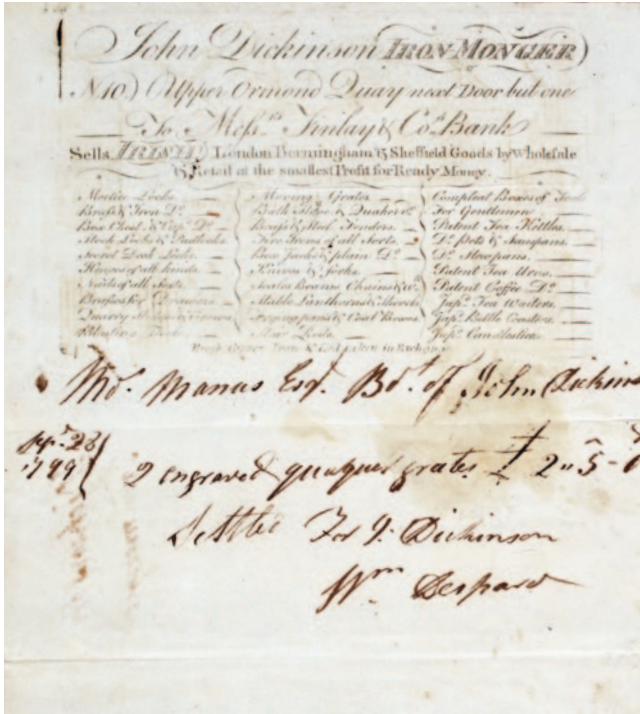
was £34 3s 6d, suggesting that a harpsichord, even a second-hand one, was indeed a luxury item in late eighteenth-century Dublin.⁷⁸

Four years later, in 1792, the investment seems to have paid off; in January, 'Maria Adlercron's old harpsichord' was sold for £17 1s 3d, half the full purchase price, and in March 1792, £68 3s was 'paid to Mr. Lee for a Grand Piano for Maria'.⁷⁹ In August 1792, a further outlay of 18s 11d was made for 'a mahogany music case and a turning [*sic*] key for Maria's piano'.⁸⁰ The cost of the piano was almost double the amount paid for the second-hand harpsichord, and might indicate the purchase of a new instrument. It may also indicate the need to keep up with current trends, as the relatively new pianoforte was beginning to displace the harpsichord as the fashionable musical instrument of choice.⁸¹

Mrs Adlercron's care and supervision of her children was supported by servants whose wages constituted a major portion of the family's annual expenses. The account books reveal, albeit laconically, the names, roles and, in some instances, the wages of their servants. In January 1783, for example, there are a number of references to Margaret Wild 'nursery maid', Betty Hogan 'children's maid', and Elizabeth Dawson 'children's maid'.⁸² The names of Betty Hogan and Elizabeth Dawson, in particular, continue to appear in the account books at regular intervals for up to four years. In June 1783, there are references to at least two housemaids by the names of 'Kitty' and 'Mary', as well as an unnamed washerwoman.⁸³ Although the everyday particulars of their tasks are not here documented, given the nature of the accounts, it is interesting to note that the reasons for a servant's dismissal are sometimes recorded, such as on 30th April 1782: 'Paid and discharged Elizabeth Hogan housemaid for impertinence £1 6s'.⁸⁴

KEEPING UP APPEARANCES

THE MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP OF THE HOUSE AT NEWTOWN IN BLACKROCK IS recorded in meticulous detail. While the ownership of a house in what was considered to be a very fashionable area would have contributed greatly to Mrs Adlercron's social credibility and personal status, entries in the account books suggest that the house was constantly in need of repair. References to its renovation commence in September 1782 and continue at regular intervals until 1789, recording the considerable financial outlay involved. While most of the payments are for work on the exterior of Newtown House, included slating, glazing, new chimney pots, firebricks and locks, work was also carried out in raising the garden walks and planting trees, which would have necessitated the service of gardeners.⁸⁵ Between November 1782 and June 1785, there are a number of entries recording payments to gardeners and labourers: on 7th November 1782, she 'Paid and discharged Leydon gardener, 4 months £4 12s';⁸⁶ in June 1783, the gardeners Harry and Lawrence Gammon were each paid 10s 10d;⁸⁷ and in November 1784, Mrs Adlercron hired a John Hatton, noting that 'I am to pay him £6 per year'.⁸⁸ While the exact nature of Hatton's duties is unclear, the lower annual wage could indi-



7, 8 – Billhead of John Dickinson, Ironmonger, 10 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin (front and (opposite) detail of back) (courtesy National Library of Ireland; © NLI, acc. no. 648)

cate that he was engaged as a general labourer or handyman.

The interior of Newtown also came in for some upgrading. On 3rd July 1783, Mrs Adlercron paid both the painters' and the carpenters' 'jobbing' bills (£6 8s 6d and £5 6s 7d respectively).⁸⁹ Another entry states that 'the whole expense of the repairs attending Newtown Castle' for the month of July 1783 amounted to £109 9s 4½d.⁹⁰ Payments for a plasterer 'on acct. of my room' (11s 4d),⁹¹ and for 'Smith the paper man' for 'papering my room' (£1 7s 9d),⁹² recorded in September 1784 and April 1785 respectively, may refer to Meliora's bedroom or, perhaps, a personalised space for entertainment within the formal suite of reception rooms in the house. The children's nursery was also improved at this time: in December 1784, she purchased a stove from 'Foster, Ironmonger' (16s) and paid an unnamed local stonecutter for a 'Chimney piece and coving stone for stove in said nursery' (£2 5s 6d).⁹³ During August and September 1785, expensive renovations, amounting to £9 3s 8½d, were carried out in the kitchen:

August 19th	Paid Madden for kitchen furniture making £2 1s 10d.
	Paid for hinges and nails for kitchen furniture making 8s 4d.
August 25th	Carriage [of] kitchen furniture 8s 8d.
August 14th	Paid timber bill kitchen furniture £2 7s 4d.
September 29th	Foster in full for grates £2 14s 10½d.
	Foster bill for irons £1 2s 2d. ⁹⁴



In June 1789, following the death of her mother-in-law in May, Mrs Adlercron recorded that 'Newtown House was given up to me' and she began improving those parts of the house that had fallen into neglect.⁹⁵ By October, her accounts record the 'expenses of repairing the little parlour in Newtown House which I found in a most wretched condition, rotten, dirty and tumbling down' (Plates 7, 8):⁹⁶

- Paid for a Quaker Grate, 8s 8d.
- 1 doz. Fire bricks, 1s 7d.
- Setting the grate by bricklayers, 4s 4d.
- Stone cutter coving, £1.
- Nowlan plasterers, £3.
- Ridgly carpenter, £3 6s.
- Paid Mr. Daniel Carpenter for a gutter over the coal hole, 7s 3d.
- Paid slater for closing the same (coal hole), 3s 3d.
- Paid Purcell painter for little parlour, £1 2s 9d.
- Painting outside doors, £1 7s 9d.
- Painting platform before the house, 8s 8d.
- Paid Daniel Graham for making a sewer, £1.⁹⁷

The nature and extent of these repairs strongly suggest that Mrs Adlercron was considering the long-term prospect of the house for herself and her children. She would undoubt-

edly have understood that a large country house was regarded as a symbol of the owner's influence and superior social position, particularly if, like the Adlercrons, the family had been living in the area for a long time.⁹⁸

CONCLUSION

ALTHOUGH MRS ADLERCRON WAS LEFT COMFORTABLY OFF BY HER HUSBAND'S WILL, and demonstrated an obvious acumen in the handling and management of large sums of money, there is a noticeable absence in the purchase of 'luxury items' such as plate, china, glass and jewellery. This may be explained by the fact that these items were already owned in sufficient quantities, being usually associated with marriage and the setting up of a home. It might also suggest a prudent attitude on the part of Mrs Adlercron, who perhaps wished to conserve funds for the future needs and use of her children, in particular the provision of ample dowries for her two daughters.

Mrs Adlercron exemplifies certain traits implicit in eighteenth-century Irish society at large. She was a Protestant and a member of the propertied class, and she demonstrated her use of wealth, admittedly for the provision of her family, but through her philanthropic donations she also responded to social problems. The recognition of the multiplicity of roles played by Mrs Adlercron in the day-to-day running of her household acknowledges how the analysis of the material life of an individual can give rise to deeper insights not only into domestic behaviour, but into a wider range of social and economic interaction. Her status as a widow, in particular, afforded her opportunities to advance beyond the traditional female responsibilities of home and family life.

The Adlercron account books provide glimpses of how an eighteenth-century gentlewoman dealt with household provisioning, with the management and supervision of servants and tradesmen, and with the care and education of her children. They further provide testimony to how a woman might manage the duties of the private sphere while at the same time engaging successfully with a range of activities within the male-dominated public sphere. Consequently, they acknowledge the genteel Irishwoman's position not only as manager of the household, but perhaps, more importantly, as sustainer of the family's prestige within the complex social order of Irish society during the Georgian era.

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ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

GSR Georgian Society Records
 NAI National Archives of Ireland
 NLI National Library of Ireland

- ¹ See Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: women's lives in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, 1998) 162; Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: the commercialization of eighteenth-century England* (London, 1982); Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford, 1987) 42-43; Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour & Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (London and New York, 1996) 155; John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (Oxford and New York, 1994) 118-21; Jan de Vries, 'Purchasing Power and the World of Goods', in Brewer and Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 85-132.
- ² Margaret McCurtain and Donnchadh O'Corrain (eds), *Women in Irish Society: the historical dimension* (Dublin, 1978); Margaret McCurtain and Mary O'Dowd, *Women in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 1991); Maria Luddy (ed.), *The Diary of Mary Mathew* (Kildare, 1991); Maria Luddy, *Women in Ireland 1800-1918: a documentary history* (Cork, 1995); Mary Cullen and Maria Luddy (eds), *Women, Power and Consciousness in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2001).
- ³ Toby Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: lives and possessions in Ireland 1641-1770* (New Haven and London, 2004). Some recent essays that deal with various aspects of domestic life in eighteenth-century Ireland include Conor Lucey, 'Keeping up appearances: re-decorating the domestic interior in late eighteenth-century Dublin', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 111C, 2011, 169-92; Alison FitzGerald, 'Taste in high life: dining in the Dublin town house', in Christine Casey (ed.), *The eighteenth-century Dublin town house* (Dublin, 2010) 120-27; Anna Moran, 'Merchants and material culture in early nineteenth-century Dublin: a consumer case study', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, XI, 2008, 140-65.
- ⁴ Mark Laird and Alicia Weisberg-Roberts (eds), *Mrs Delany and her circle* (New Haven and London, 2009); Angélique Day (ed.), *Letters from Georgian Ireland: the correspondence of Mary Delany, 1731-68* (Belfast, 1991); Ruth Hayden, *Mrs. Delany: her life and her flowers* (London, 2000); Katherine Cahill, *Mrs Delany's menus, medicines and manners* (Dublin, 2005).
- ⁵ NLI, MS 3846, Account Book of Meliora Adlercron; NLI, MS 4481, Household expenses and wages book of Mrs Meliora Adlercron (née Bermingham) of Dawson St. Dublin 1782-94.
- ⁶ Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, xxi-xxii.
- ⁷ Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: commerce, gender and family in England, 1680-1780* (Berkeley, 1996) 58.
- ⁸ Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, 162.
- ⁹ Valerie Moffat, 'Mrs Meliora Adlercron of Dawson Street, widow: household management in late eighteenth-century Dublin', unpublished MA thesis (NCAD, 2008) Appendix B. There are also indications that the Adlercron family was related, through marriage, to the Castle Dillon branch of the Molyneux family. Elizabeth Adlercron, only daughter of General Adlercron and sister of John Adlercron, married the Rt. Honourable Sir Capel Molyneux (MP for the University of Dublin) on 16th August 1766. See NAI, MS 999/562, folder 51.
- ¹⁰ NAI, MS 999/562, folder 55, An account of the children of Richard and Meliora Bermingham of the County and town of Roscommon. 'Meliora born in the year 1741. Married to John Adlercron July

- 17th 1774. Walter born in the year 1742. Married in the year 1768 to his first wife Miss Catherine Whitlock who died. Married in the year 1770 to the second wife Ann Fitzgerald. Louisa born in the year 1750 married in the year 1769 to John Smith Esq. of Violetstown in the County of Westmeath. Frances born in the year 1752.'
- ¹¹ Kate Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: family portraiture in eighteenth-century England* (New Haven and London, 2006) 152.
- ¹² Olwen Hufton points out that it was not unusual for a new bride to live in the company of her in-laws. See Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her: a history of women in Western Europe 1500-1800* (New York, 1998) 143.
- ¹³ NLI, MS 8730, folder 1. Letters to John Adlercron from his mother in 1765 all carry the address of 'Dawson Street', while a letter to John Adlercron from his brother William further indicates that he was living in Dawson Street in 1770. The GSR indicate that a 'Mrs. Adlercron' was living at No. 28 on the west side of Dawson Street in 1780. They also indicate the presence of a 'stable and coach house' there; see GSR, 5 vols, 1909-13, III, 111. Peter Pearson in his description of the interior of Newtown House in Blackrock refers to ornate plasterwork which features a giant eagle and military trophies. Both of these motifs could possibly be symbolic references to the Adlercron name, 'eagle crown', and the family's military pedigree; see Peter Pearson, *Between the Mountains and the Sea* (Dublin, 2007) 260.
- ¹⁴ For a gazetteer of the residents of Dawson Street, see GSR, III, 110-13.
- ¹⁵ *ibid.* See also Christine Casey, *Dublin, Buildings of Ireland*, 3 (New Haven and London, 2005) 514-17.
- ¹⁶ Mary Pat O'Malley, *Lios-an-Uisce: the history of a house and its occupants from 1753 to the present day* (Dublin, 1982) 74.
- ¹⁷ NAI, The Parish Registers for the Union of Monkstown 1669-1786.
- ¹⁸ Bruce Lenman and Philip Lawson, 'The Black Jagir, and British Politics', *The Historical Journal*, 26, no. 4, 1983, 801-29.
- ¹⁹ Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, 42.
- ²⁰ Francis Elrington Ball, *A History of the County Dublin*, 6 vols (Dublin, 1902) I, 16.
- ²¹ NLI, MS 8730, folder 6. Written in the hand of Mrs Adlercron in an undated document.
- ²² *ibid.*, folder 1.
- ²³ *ibid.*, folder 6.
- ²⁴ National Archives (Kew), Public Record Office, catalogue reference: Prob 11/131. The Last Will and Testament of John Adlercron, Esq.
- ²⁵ NLI, MS 8730, folder 6.
- ²⁶ NAI, MS 999/561, vol 2. In 1760 John Adlercron was a Lieutenant in the 9th Dragoons. By 1766 he was a captain in the 39th Regiment of Foot.
- ²⁷ For a typical example, see NLI, MS 3846, p.3.
- ²⁸ NLI, MS 8730, folder 6
- ²⁹ *ibid.*
- ³⁰ *ibid.*
- ³¹ The collegians, who were mainly the sons of the nobility, were notorious for their riotous behaviour. Writing in 1847, John Edward Walsh describes 'the gownsmen as a formidable body, who converted the keys of their rooms into formidable weapons'. According to Walsh, 'they procured them as large and as heavy as possible, and slinging them in the sleeves or tails of their gowns, or pocket handkerchiefs, gave with them, mortal blows'. See Edward Walsh, *Rakes and Ruffians: the underworld of Georgian Dublin* (Dublin, 1979; 3rd revised edn) 12.

- ³² NAI, MS 999/562, folder 58. A manuscript account describing the incident by George R.L. Adlercron, grandson of John and Meliora Adlercron, is dated 10th June 1880, and provides further information: ‘The reason given for this atrocious act was that Capt. [sic] Adlercron had purchased that day by auction, some books which these collegians wanted to buy. They therefore determined to revenge themselves and it was returning from the auction room after dinner that this fearful act was committed. Before his death, he made my mother and all parties concerned promise that no prosecution should be taken against those young men who were perfectly well known. The name of the one supposed to have struck the fatal blow was Tisdall (as I have been given to understand). I have also heard that this man became a clergyman in the Diocese of Cork and was himself murdered in the first rebellion of 1798 – his body having been found in a deep well. I cannot vouch for the truth of these particulars but they are as I received them.’
- ³³ Whether or not Mrs Adlercron was keeping records of household expenditure prior to her husband’s death cannot be established due to the absence of primary source documentation prior to 1782.
- ³⁴ Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, 224.
- ³⁵ Champion & Keen, jewellers, 3 College Green, are listed in the *Dublin Directory* for 1782.
- ³⁶ NLI, MS 8730, folder 3.
- ³⁷ Richard Parkinson, stonecutter, 107 Townsend Street, is listed in the *Dublin Directory* for 1785.
- ³⁸ NLI, MS 8730, folder 3.
- ³⁹ NLI, MS 4481, p.60.
- ⁴⁰ *ibid.*
- ⁴¹ Toby Barnard, *A New Anatomy of Ireland: the Irish Protestants, 1649-1770* (New Haven and London, 2003) 264.
- ⁴² Lou Taylor, *Mourning Dress: a costume and social history* (London, 1983) 303.
- ⁴³ NLI, MS 3846, p.1.
- ⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.2.
- ⁴⁵ Taylor, *Mourning Dress*, 114-117.
- ⁴⁶ Lutestring is a glossed silk fabric with a ribbed pattern, used for ladies’ dresses and for ribbon.
- ⁴⁷ McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, 268-86, and Brewer and Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 1-8
- ⁴⁸ NLI, MS 8730, folder 6. In an undated account, Meliora Adlercron writes ‘that Mrs Meliora Adlercron their mother is executrix of late John Adlercron and the only acting guardian of said children.’
- ⁴⁹ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: men and women of the English class 1780-1850* (London and New York, 2002) 209-11.
- ⁵⁰ Sarah Mendelson and Patricia Crawford (eds.), *Women in Early Modern England 1550-1720* (Oxford, 1998) 137. On the representation of widows in eighteenth-century portraiture, see Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life*, 106-09.
- ⁵¹ Edward Hudson, dentist, 69, Grafton Street, is listed in the *Dublin Directory* for 1782.
- ⁵² NLI, MS 3846, pp.5-6. Between August and November 1783, Mrs Adlercron played cards at the homes of Lady Arbella Denny, Lady Lawless, Lady Lisle and Mrs Cuffe.
- ⁵³ *ibid.* Her total losses at cards for November alone amounted to £4 2s 7d.
- ⁵⁴ Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter*, 209.
- ⁵⁵ In September 1784 she donated 5s 5d to ‘Mr. Beatty for the Midwives Benefit’ (NLI, MS 3846, p.9); in September 1785, she attended a charity sermon in Cloghran where she contributed 3s 9d (NLI, MS 4481, p.12); in April 1787, she gave 12s 6d in ‘Charity to an amiable unfortunate woman’ (NLI, MS 4481, p.25); in October 1787, she paid 5s 5d to attend an ‘Assembly patronized by Lady Ranelagh’, where she contributed a further 3s 3d ‘for Orphan Children’ (NLI, MS 4481, p.32). According to The

Memorials of the Dead for South Dublin (Dublin City Archives), on an unspecified date in 1789 she donated £10 to the parish of St Ann in Dawson Street ‘for the benefactions to ye school’, and her name was included on a plaque containing the names of benefactors of the church which was originally located on the south wall of the centre porch in St Ann’s Church, Dawson Street. It is no longer extant according to Joyce Rankin, the curator of St Ann’s (June 2008).

- ⁵⁶ The daughter of Thomas Fitzmaurice, 1st Earl of Kerry. GSR, III, 111, shows that Arbella Denny was resident at 26 Dawson Street in 1745. In 1754, Denny bought *Lios-an-Uisce* (*Lisnaskea*) in Blackrock, which is located three-quarters of a mile from Mrs Adlercron’s residence, Newtown House. See Pearson, *Between the Mountains and the Sea*, 215.
- ⁵⁷ Lady Arbella Denny held weekly ‘assemblies’ and also admitted visitors to her gardens at Blackrock. Houses such as hers were contrived for both sociability and intimacy. See Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, 73-74.
- ⁵⁸ NLI, MS 4481, p.7.
- ⁵⁹ Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, 356.
- ⁶⁰ NLI, MS 8730, folder 3, contains accounts of the property held by John Adlercron in 1782 and its dispersal by his executors, the family’s annual income for that year, as well as the jointure, annuity and legacies of which Meliora Adlercron was the recipient.
- ⁶¹ NLI, MS 8730, folder 6. Boyle Travers and John Ladeveze are the named administrators of John Adlercron’s estate.
- ⁶² Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000; 2nd edn) 91.
- ⁶³ David Dickson (ed.), *The Gorgeous Mask: Dublin 1700-1850* (Dublin, 1987) 22.
- ⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 17.
- ⁶⁵ *Walker’s Hibernian Magazine*, 1782, 616.
- ⁶⁶ The relative worth of £600 by 2010 standards is approximately £57,500.
- ⁶⁷ Patrick Honohan, ‘Using Other People’s Money: Farewell to the Irish Pound’, in *History Ireland*, 10, no. 1, 2002, 34-37.
- ⁶⁸ Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, 235.
- ⁶⁹ Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society 1650-1850: the emergence of Separate Spheres?* (London and New York, 1998) 138.
- ⁷⁰ NLI, MS 8730, folder 6. The Adlercron manuscripts also contain detailed records and notations of loans and rents from tenants. In an entry dated 1791, Mrs Adlercron describes in detail ‘A list of Securities which I have taken out since the death of Mr. Adlercron’, which clearly shows that she was renting property to individuals in various parts of the city of Dublin. Mrs Adlercron also kept meticulous notes regarding the tenancies at Moyglare. She records the names of the families, their lease and acreage details, along with the annual rent amounts and payment dates, which she describes as ‘belonging to the eldest son of the late John Adlercron Esq.’ These are compiled and presented as Appendix D in Moffat, ‘Mrs Meliora Adlercron of Dawson Street, widow’.
- ⁷¹ Helen Clifford, *Silver in London: the Parker and Wakelin partnership 1760-1776* (New Haven and London) 139-41.
- ⁷² Thomas Wade, hatter, 16 Dame Street, and Charles Maylay, tailor, 45 Stafford Street, are listed in the *Dublin Directory* for 1785.
- ⁷³ NLI, MS 3846, p.2.
- ⁷⁴ Joanna Martin, *Wives and Daughters: women and children in the Georgian country house* (London and New York, 2004) 217.
- ⁷⁵ Lady Lisle, Catherine Deane, daughter of Joseph Deane, Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer, and wife of John Lysaght, 1st Baron Lisle (1702-1781), member of the House of Commons for Charleville,

- county Cork until 1758, when he was raised to the peerage of Ireland.
- ⁷⁶ NLI, MS 4481, p.43.
- ⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p.46
- ⁷⁸ The renowned instrument maker Ferdinand Weber's account book puts the cost of a new harpsichord in 1774 at £22 15s, while in 1776 a new pianoforte cost £20 9s 6d. See Jenny Nex and Lance Whitehead, 'A Copy of Ferdinand Weber's Account Book', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 33, 2000, 122.
- ⁷⁹ NLI, MS 8370, folder 3, p.45. There are no entries for an instrument-maker named 'Lee' in the *Dublin Directory*. It may be that 'Mr. Lee' is a reference to Sir John Lees (1737-1811), Secretary of the Irish Post Office and Black Rod in Ireland. In 1774, he built Blackrock House at Blackrock, county Dublin. The house is next door to Newtown House. See Pearson, *Between the Mountains and the Sea*, 258-59.
- ⁸⁰ NLI, MS 8730, folder 3, p.46.
- ⁸¹ Constantia Maxwell, *Dublin Under the Georges: 1714-1830* (Dublin, 1997) 263.
- ⁸² NLI, MS 3846, p.2.
- ⁸³ *ibid.*, p.8.
- ⁸⁴ *ibid.*, pp.3-5.
- ⁸⁵ *ibid.*, pp.1-15.
- ⁸⁶ *ibid.*, p.2.
- ⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p.4.
- ⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p.18.
- ⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p.4.
- ⁹⁰ NLI, MS 4481, p.5.
- ⁹¹ NLI, MS 3846, pp.9-10.
- ⁹² *ibid.*, p.13.
- ⁹³ *ibid.*, p.11.
- ⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p.15.
- ⁹⁵ NLI, MS 4481.
- ⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p.9.
- ⁹⁷ *ibid.* In the *Dublin Directory* for 1782, there is an entry for a William Ridgway, a joiner and cabinet maker of 31 Bride Street. Thomas Carpenter, ironmonger of 112 Francis Street, John Purcell, house painter of 56 Dorset Street, and Daniel Graham, slater of 6 Pembroke Court, are listed in the *Dublin Directory* for 1785.
- ⁹⁸ Martin, *Wives and Daughters*, xvii
-