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COMMERCE AND THE CELTIC REVIVAL:
THE HISTORY OF THE IRISH FACSIMILE INDUSTRY, 1840-1940

VOLUME I

Submitted by Tara A. Kelly
PhD in History of Art
Trinity College, Dublin
2013

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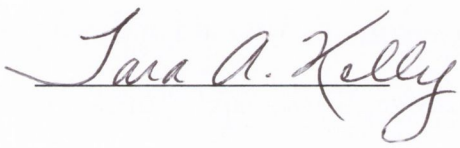

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INTRODUCTION

The term 'facsimile' calls to mind a copy of another object, synonymous with a replica, duplicate or reproduction of an original work of art, which has potentially negative connotations as a poor quality, substandard imitation or counterfeit and raises issues of accuracy, authenticity and purpose. However, it will be demonstrated that as a category facsimiles are not merely derivative works, but have aesthetic and cultural value worthy of a devoted study. This thesis will focus upon facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork produced by Dublin retailers and manufacturers between 1840 and 1940. The Irish facsimiles selected for consideration within this thesis will be confined to examples preserved in museum collections, as private ownership of facsimiles proved too difficult to trace.

No standard terminology in relation to the broader category of facsimiles exists, so it became necessary to construct one for the purposes of this thesis. An 'original' is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as "the earliest form of something, from which copies may be made" and a 'model' is defined as "a thing used as an example to follow or imitate", while a 'fake' is defined as "not genuine" or "an imitation or counterfeit".[1] A 'facsimile' is defined as "an exact copy" of something, which is quite close to the definitions of a 'replica' as "an exact copy or model of something, especially on a smaller scale", a 'copy' as "a thing made to be similar or identical to another" and a 'duplicate' as "exactly like something else, especially having been copied". A 'reproduction' is defined as "a copy of a work of art" or an object "made to imitate the style of an earlier period or craftsman", while the term 'imitation'

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[1] Oxford English Dictionary, accessed 8 April 2013, www. oxforddictionaries.com/definition.

is defined as "a thing intended to simulate or copy something else". This side-by-side comparison demonstrates that a relatively small degree of difference exists between a facsimile and a replica, copy, duplicate, reproduction or imitation. 'Facsimile' was selected as the most appropriate term, based upon the assertion that all of the objects under consideration by this thesis belong to a single category with related subcategories. All of the objects examined by this thesis initially began as "exact copies" of an original model and then in some cases, were further modified or adapted to a new design for commercial manufacture and sale. The clear visual reference to the original models was a key feature shared by all the facsimiles, which had a significant impact on aspects of production, promotion and distribution, and distinguished them from other 'revival-style' works produced during the same period. These facsimiles deserve a specific terminology because they have not been accurately understood as a single category or as the products of an industry in previous scholarship and this approach represents a substantially new and more specific framework for discussion.

'Facsimile' was also a term commonly used by the Dublin retailers and manufacturers in advertising and in stock catalogues to describe their merchandise.[2] In the context of this thesis, facsimiles of Irish archaeological

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[2] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities* (Dublin: I. and E. MacDonnell, 1852), 17; Waterhouse & Company, *Antique Irish Brooches, Manufactured by Waterhouse & Co.* (Dublin: Pim Brothers & Co., 1872), 12-3; Edmond Johnson, *Description and History of Irish Antique Art Metal Work Fac-Simile Reproductions of Which Have Been Specifically Manufactured for Exhibition at Chicago* (Dublin: Swealy, Bryers and Walker, 1893), 7; Edmond Johnson Limited, *Illustrated and Descriptive Catalogue of Some of the Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art in Gold, Silver and Metal Work, as Manufactured by Edmond Johnson, Ltd.* (Dublin: McCaw, Stevenson & Orr, Ltd., c. 1902); "Irish Art Jewellery," *Irish Times,* 19 December 1896; "Irish Art Jewellery," *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser* (hereafter cited in text and footnotes as *Freeman's Journal*), 30 June 1900; "Visit the Spacious Premises of Messrs Hopkins & Hopkins," *Irish Times,* 25 August 1911; Hopkins & Hopkins, *Irish Art Industry, Jewellery, Silver Plate, Etc.* (Dublin: Hopkins & Hopkins, c. 1910), 21. None of the Dublin retailers or manufacturers used one single term consistently to describe their

jewellery and metalwork will be divided into three subcategories: direct facsimiles, modified facsimiles or facsimile adaptations. A 'direct facsimile' will be defined as a relatively accurate copy of an original Irish artefact manufactured on a 1:1 scale, primarily intended for display and sale to museums. The criteria by which the accuracy of a direct facsimile is measured must remain somewhat flexible because of a widespread tendency by the Dublin retailers and manufacturers to recreate structural or ornamental elements on the facsimile missing from the original artefact. A 'modified facsimile' refers to a recognizable copy of an original Irish artefact that has been modified in some way for the purposes of commercial production and sale, primarily to individual customers. Such modifications include a reduction or expansion in scale as compared with the original artefact, simplified or deleted ornamental elements, and specifically in the case of facsimile brooches, the addition of gemstones and other types of embellishments, as well as modern fastening devices. A 'facsimile adaptation' will be defined as the use of a recognizable motif or section of ornament copied from an original Irish artefact that has been adapted for a new jewellery or metalwork design and excludes the adaptation of such ornament for designs in any other medium. This terminology will be used throughout the thesis in an effort to eliminate confusion.

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merchandise, but there are several examples of their use of 'facsimile'. At least one brooch design, the Conyngham brooch, was characterised by Waterhouse & Company as "a facsimile of the original" in their 1852 and 1872 stock catalogues. In the 1872 stock catalogue, Waterhouse & Company also stated that their brooches were "all fac-similes, in shape as well as pattern, of the originals, from which they are copied". Edmond Johnson first used the term "fac-similes" in the title and "exact fac-similes" in the text of his exhibition catalogue for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. The c. 1902 stock catalogue issued by Edmond Johnson Limited also featured the term "fac-simile reproductions" on the title page. Hopkins & Hopkins described their merchandise as "fac-similes" in print advertisements from 1896, 1900 and 1911 and described the 'Ardagh' clasp as a "facsimile of the richly chased ornaments under the handles of the famous Ardagh Chalice" in their c. 1910 stock catalogue.

An examination of the history and development of Irish facsimiles draws together academic publications from a wide range of subject areas, including studies of jewellery and metalwork, national and international exhibitions, and museum history. Facsimiles are mainly discussed within the context of national revivals of archaeological-style jewellery and metalwork, particularly as manifestations of the Celtic Revival or the Arts & Crafts movement in the applied arts. *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival 1830-1930* by Jeanne Sheehy (1980) marked the first examination of facsimile of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork, followed by important studies of Irish jewellery by Elizabeth McCrum (1985 and 1993), Shirley Bury (1971 and 1991), Mairead Dunlevy (2001), Nicola Gordon Bowe (1990/1991) and Elizabeth Cumming (1998), and most recently by Judy Rudoe and Charlotte Gere in their survey of *Jewellery in the Age of Queen Victoria* (2010). The primary approach taken by scholarship on industrial exhibitions and World's Fairs has been to consider facsimiles of art and architecture in the context of nationalist ideologies, the emergence of modern nations and the construction of national identities, exemplified by the work of Bonnie Effros (2008) on collections of early medieval objects at the *Expositions Universelles* in Paris between 1867-1900 and the 1873 *Wiener Weltausstellung* in Vienna and Neil Harris (1990 and 1992) on the presentation of Ireland at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Facsimiles have often been discussed in conjunction with the early stages of museum development, changing priorities in exhibition and collection policies, and canon formation, as in surveys of the history of the Victoria & Albert Museum by Malcolm Baker

and Brenda Richardson (1997) and the Metropolitan Museum of Art by Calvin Tomkins (1970).

This thesis is primarily an empirical study of Irish facsimiles and as such, the objects served as the main starting point for research. Aside from the exhibition catalogue *Imagining an Irish Past: The Celtic Revival 1840-1940* edited by T. J. Edelstein (1992), which includes a full record of nearly two hundred Irish facsimiles in the David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago and an unpublished dissertation on the collection by Paul Kelpe (1948) at the University of Chicago, no other register of facsimiles has yet been compiled. Access to images and catalogue information on Irish facsimiles are available through most museum websites, but the process of uploading collections data is ongoing and not all of the facsimiles are listed. The object catalogue provided in Appendix III is intended to be a representative sample of Irish facsimiles in major collections as the foundation for a comparative analysis, compiled from online sources and museum databases. The original models for the bulk of the facsimiles listed in the object catalogue have been identified and demonstrate the existence of a wider range and more extensive level of facsimile production than previously known. An examination of the facsimiles from multiple museums provided valuable insight into the selection of original models, the manufacturing process, and the production and distribution history for particular artefacts and individual firms.

To date, there has not been sufficient object-based research that brings together the large body of scholarship on Irish artefacts and examines the connection between the original model and its facsimile. Only a limited range

of facsimiles, mainly the 'Tara' brooch, the Co. Cavan brooch and the Ardagh chalice, have been discussed repeatedly in published sources, despite the fact that hundreds of different artefacts were reproduced. With the exception of studies on reproductive technologies such as *The Making of Sculpture* by Marjorie Trusted (2007), there has been very little discussion of the manufacturing processes used to produce the facsimiles by recent scholarship and the possible impact of available production methods on the choice of particular artefacts for replication.

The overall aim of this thesis is to present a comprehensive study of Irish facsimile production, promotion and distribution by the Dublin retailers and manufacturers between 1840 and 1940. Each of the three main chapters addresses one of these aspects of the history and development of facsimiles. It is hoped that this thesis will generate a new interest in the Irish facsimile industry and result in a re-evaluation of all types of reproductions by academics and museum professionals.

CHAPTER ONE: Overview of the Irish Facsimile Industry

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the Irish facsimile industry and create a framework for the more detailed discussions of facsimile production, promotion and distribution to follow in subsequent chapters. It will be argued that the history of the Irish facsimile industry can be broken down into three distinct phases. The first phase (1840s–1865) saw the emergence and rapid growth of the industry in Dublin, dominated by the mass-production of modified facsimiles and facsimile adaptations based primarily upon Irish archaeological brooches. The second phase (1867–1880s) consists of a transitional period in which the production of modified facsimile jewellery and facsimile adaptations continued and expanded to include new models, concomitant with the appearance of a new category of direct facsimiles that replicated examples of Irish archaeological metalwork. The third and final phase (1890-1920's) was characterised by diversification, in response to an increased demand for direct facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork by international museums and the long-term popularity of modified facsimile jewellery and facsimile adaptations of originals with individual consumers. In each phase, the potential stimulus to the Irish facsimile industry from contemporary political, economic, social and cultural events will be considered.

The chapter will consist of three sections arranged chronologically, devoted to the major phases in the history of the Irish facsimile industry. In each section the main Dublin firms responsible for the establishment and development of the Irish facsimile industry of that period will be briefly

introduced, along with the milestones of facsimile production, promotion and distribution. All sections will draw upon supporting material presented in greater detail within the subsequent chapters and the Chronology provided in the Appendix.

Irish Facsimile Industry: 1840s to 1865

There is evidence to suggest that facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery may have appeared in Ireland as early as the first decade of the nineteenth century. In 1807 the Duchess of Bedford, wife of the Duke of Bedford, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and her female companions were all reported to have worn an "Irish bodkin" in their hair while attending the theatre on St. Patrick's Day.[3] The "Irish bodkin" described was likely modelled upon an ancient Irish ring-pin of a type in use from the Bronze Age through the early medieval period in Ireland.[4] It was manufactured by James Brush & Son of St. Andrew Street, Dublin, marketed as the 'Glorvina Ornament', after the hair ornament worn by the heroine of the 1806 novel *The Wild Irish Girl* by Sydney Owenson, and patronised by the Duchess of Bedford.[5] The original model for the 'Glorvina Ornament' has not yet been identified, but it seems probable that the design was inspired by contemporary drawings published in the context of antiquarian scholarship or access to Bronze Age artefacts owned by a private collector or Dublin antiquarian society, such as the Royal

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[3] Charlotte Gere and Judy Rudoe, *Jewellery in the Age of Queen Victoria: A Mirror to the World* (London: British Museum Press, 2010), 446.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., 446-7. Gere and Rudoe refer to advertisements run by James Brush & Son of Andrew Street, Dublin on 25 and 31 March 1807 in the *Freeman's Journal*, which provide evidence of Owenson's novel as the source of the ornament, the patronage of the Duchess of Bedford and its description by the firm as a 'National Jewel'.

Irish Academy.[6] Most notably, the 'Glorvina Ornament' represents one of the earliest accounts of the production and promotion of a copy of Irish archaeological jewellery by a Dublin firm. It remains unclear whether or not this ornament was a direct facsimile based on a specific model and copied to scale, or a design derived from an amalgamation of sources that was given a fictitious literary and historical association to encourage sales. Although outside the scope of this thesis, such an early example of the replication of Irish artefacts provides a foundation for the emergence of an Irish facsimile industry in Dublin by the 1840s.

Irish facsimile production formally began in 1842 with the 'Fibula' brooch, copied from Late Bronze Age gold ornaments that were adapted and sold by Waterhouse & Company as fashionable pieces of jewellery.[7] George Waterhouse of Sheffield, England had arrived in Dublin the previous year to open a branch of the firm at 25 Dame Street under the management of his son, Samuel S. Waterhouse.[8] Official credit for the suggestion to copy and rework examples of Irish archaeological jewellery for commercial sale was given to Corry Connellan, then private secretary to the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but this claim appears to have been made at least in part for promotional purposes.[9] The inspiration to replicate Irish artefacts may have been a response by Waterhouse & Company to the wider European trend

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[6] Ibid.

[7] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 3; Jeanne Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival, 1830-1930* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 86-7; Douglas Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver 1637-1900* (London: Souvenir Press, 1984), 13-4 and 95-6; Elizabeth McCrum, "Commerce and the Celtic Revival: Irish Jewelery of the Nineteenth Century," *Éire-Ireland: A Journal of Irish Studies*, 28 (1993), 37.

[8] Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 95-6 and 157; Charlotte Gere and Hugh Tait, *The Art of the Jeweller: A Catalogue of the Hull Grundy Gift to the British Museum: Jewellery, Engraved Gems, and Goldsmiths' Work* (London: British Museum Publications Limited, 1984), 160; McCrum, "Commerce and the Celtic Revival," 37; Mairead Dunlevy, *Jewellery: 17th to 20th Centuries* (Dublin: National Museum of Ireland, 2001), 15-18 and 30.

[9] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 3.

for archaeological-style jewellery that had developed by the 1840s, including the reproduction of Etruscan and Greek jewellery by Castellani in Rome, as well as designs based on Gothic and Renaissance jewellery by Froment-Meurice in Paris and by A.W.N. Pugin in London.[10] Closer to home, the presence of numerous major collections in Dublin assembled by the Royal Dublin Society, Royal Irish Academy and Trinity College provided Waterhouse & Company with a wealth of source material and scholarship on Irish archaeological jewellery. The 'Fibula' brooch, therefore, may have been introduced by Waterhouse & Company to coincide with the opening of their Dublin branch, creating a particularly 'Irish' type of jewellery designed to appeal to customers with an interest in Irish history, traditions and artefacts.

The 'Fibula' brooch appears to have been an early isolated experiment by Waterhouse & Company, given that it was the only facsimile adaptation based on artefacts of Irish archaeological jewellery produced in Dublin until 1849. The seven-year gap between the initial appearance of the 'Fibula' brooch and the subsequent large-scale production of Irish facsimile jewellery may have occurred because customers did not fully respond to the ornament. This was perhaps due to an absence of promotional support by Waterhouse & Company for the 'Fibula' brooch and a clear link to an original artefact with a romantic or notable history, two crucial components that appear in the successful marketing strategies later used by the firm to advertise and sell their facsimile merchandise. The 'Fibula' brooch was almost certainly known to other competing Dublin retailers and manufactures at the time of its issue, but it did not appear to inspire these firms to follow suit and engage in the

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[10] Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 16-7; Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery*, 337, 354 and 376-7.

creation of facsimile jewellery until several years later. An important related factor may have been the allocation of time, attention and resources to the areas of the country suffering during the Famine from 1845.[11]

The production of facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery received a significant boost in 1849 from two key events: public access was granted to the extensive collection of Irish artefacts in the Royal Irish Academy Museum and the official visit to Ireland by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. Public and privately held collections of Irish archaeological jewellery served as the starting point for facsimiles and the increased access to original models in the Royal Irish Academy aided the expansion of new designs. The royal visit likely spurred Dublin retailers and manufacturers to produce merchandise that would be understood as intrinsically 'Irish' to encourage patronage from the royal family and the upper echelons of British and Irish society. The potential impact of such patronage had already been demonstrated in Scotland after the royal acquisition of Balmoral Castle in 1848 and the resultant promotion of Highland dress and associated types of 'national' jewellery, particularly 'pebble jewellery' made with local Scottish stones, by the royal family.[12] Presumably the Dublin firms wanted to capitalise on the commercial opportunity presented by the royal visit to create Irish merchandise that would have a similar appeal.

Waterhouse & Company and their competitor West & Son, located at 18-19 College Green, were the primary retailers of modified facsimile brooches based upon Irish archaeological jewellery. In 1849 Waterhouse & Company first issued the 'Clarendon' brooch, an amalgamation of two

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[11] T.W. Moody and F. X. Martin, *The Course of Irish History*, 4th edition (Cork: Published in association with *Radio Telefís Éireann* by Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1995), 218-227.
[12] Gere and Judy Rudoe, *Jewellery*, 454-9.

Hiberno-Viking brooches named for the Countess of Clarendon, wife of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who first patronised the design.[13] West & Son engaged a member of another Dublin firm, Edmond Johnson, to manufacture a modified facsimile of the ninth-century Co. Cavan ('Queen's) brooch in Wicklow gold with a large pearl for presentation to Queen Victoria by the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College.[14] During the royal visit Prince Albert also purchased versions of the 'Clarendon' brooch and the 'Arbutus Berry' brooch, based on a Viking 'thistle' brooch, made by Edmond Johnson, Jr. for West & Son as gifts for the Queen.[15]

One of the most famous Irish archaeological discoveries of the nineteenth century was the 'Tara' brooch, which provided a huge stimulus to the nascent Irish facsimile industry. The elaborately ornamented eighth-century brooch was discovered on a beach near Bettystown, Co. Meath, in August 1850.[16] Shortly after its discovery, Waterhouse & Company acquired the original brooch and fabricated an association with the ancient royal site of the Hill of Tara to further enhance the value of the brooch by romanticising its origins. In December 1850, the original brooch was presented to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert at Windsor Castle and the royal couple purchased two modified facsimiles of the 'Tara' brooch.[17] From 1850 onwards, Waterhouse & Company embarked upon the large-scale, commercial

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[13] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 14-5; Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 95-6; Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, 87.
[14] Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 50-1.
[15] Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery*, 449-50.
[16] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 7; Niamh Whitfield, "The Finding of the Tara Brooch," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 104 (1974): 120-42.
[17] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 14; "Court Circular, Windsor, Friday," *Morning Chronicle* (London), 21 December 1850; Gere and Tait, *Art of the Jeweller*, 160; Philip McEvansoneya, "The Purchase of the 'Tara' Brooch in 1868, Collecting Irish Antiquities for Ireland," *Journal of the History of Collections* 24, No. 1 (2012): 80-1; Nancy Netzer, "Art/Full Ground: Unearthing National Identity and an Early Medieval Golden Age," in *Éire/Land*, ed. V. Kreilkamp (Boston: McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2003), 50.

production of modified facsimiles and facsimile adaptations based on the original 'Tara' brooch, which the firm promoted aggressively through patronage, print advertising, stock catalogues and participation at national and international exhibitions, beginning with the 1851 Great Exhibition in London.

These national and international exhibitions held throughout the second half of the nineteenth century were designed to showcase products and industries from around the world and represented a massive commercial opportunity for the Irish facsimile industry. Waterhouse & Company and West & Son participated in the 1851 Great Exhibition in London, the first of the international art and industrial exhibitions, where each firm displayed a wide range of modified facsimiles and adaptations of Irish facsimile jewellery to much acclaim. Both firms received awards for their contributions and a total of seven modified facsimile brooches, four from Waterhouse & Company and three from West & Son, were singled out for acquisition by the new Museum of Manufactures, later known as the South Kensington Museum.[18] By 1853 two additional firms, William Acheson & Company of 109 Grafton Street and Joseph Johnson, brother of Edmond Johnson, had begun to manufacture and display modified facsimiles and adaptations of Irish archaeological jewellery alongside Waterhouse & Company and West & Son at the Irish Industrial Exhibition in Dublin. A further three modified facsimile brooches were purchased for the Museum of Manufacturers from the Waterhouse &

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[18] Department of Practical Art, *First Report of the Department of Practical Art, Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty* (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswode for Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1853), 262; Amy Pierce Miller, "The Selling of Nationalism: The Celtic Revival, Consumerism and the Tara Brooch, 1850-1925" (Master's Thesis, Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, Design, and Culture, 2000), 22-3.

Company exhibit at the 1853 Dublin Exhibition.[19] Facsimile merchandise from the aforementioned Dublin retailers and manufacturers continued to feature at successive national and international exhibitions through 1865, which became important platforms for the Irish facsimile industry to increase profits and gain exposure to new markets.

Irish Facsimile Industry: 1867 to 1880s

The production and sale of modified facsimiles and adaptations of Irish archaeological jewellery by Waterhouse & Company, West & Son and Joseph Johnson remained steady during this transitional phase of the Irish facsimile industry. In 1867, Edmond Johnson Jr. ceased to operate as manufacturer for West & Son and worked independently from his new premises at 89 Grafton Street.[20] A new firm, Hopkins & Hopkins, opened at 1 Lower Sackville Street, later known as O'Connell Street, in 1868 and devoted a portion of their business to the manufacture of modified facsimiles of well-established and popular Irish brooch designs. Waterhouse & Company expanded the range of merchandise offered by the firm to include modified facsimiles of the Co. Cavan ('Queen's) brooch and adaptations designated as 'Antique Earrings', the 'Belle' brooch, based on a medieval ring-pin, and facsimiles of ornamental motifs from the 'Tara' brooch adapted for the design of two 'Tara' bracelets.[21] In 1868 Waterhouse & Company sold the original 'Tara' brooch to the Royal Irish Academy, the primary repository for Irish antiquities prior to the establishment of a national museum, for £200 on the condition that "it should

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[19] Department of Science and Art, *First Report of the Department of Science and Art* (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswode for Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1854), 241.
[20] "The Spur Pin: Edmond Johnson," *Freeman's Journal*, 16 November 1867; "'The Manufacture of Jewellery in Ireland,'" *Freeman's Journal*, 17 March 1877.
[21] Waterhouse & Company, *Antique Irish Brooches*, 12-5.

never be allowed to leave Ireland".[22] Waterhouse & Company continued to carry modified facsimiles and adaptations of the 'Tara' brooch until at least 1872, but as the brooch was no longer exclusive to the firm, competitors including West & Son, Joseph Johnson and Hopkins & Hopkins also began to issue copies of the brooch.

The Ardagh chalice was discovered in 1868 at Reerasta, near Ardagh, Co. Limerick, as part of a hoard containing a smaller bronze chalice and four brooches.[23] The entire group of artefacts, which had been deposited on loan in the Royal Irish Academy, was discussed the following year in a paper given by Lord Dunraven, Vice-President of the Academy.[24] Joseph Johnson of 22 Suffolk Street was selected to provide a detailed technical assessment of the chalice, a choice likely based on his position as master of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin at the time, along with his individual social standing and wealth, the prominent placement of his shop in the city centre of Dublin and his relationships with Academy members.[25] The analysis by Joseph Johnson accounted for a substantial portion of the paper given by Dunraven in 1869, resulting in one of the first published contributions by a Dublin manufacturer to the study of Irish antiquities.[26] The Ardagh chalice commission also represented a watershed moment in the history of the Irish facsimile industry

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[22] Royal Irish Academy, "Council Minutes, 1881-1885" (Minute Book, Vol. 20, Archives of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin), 355-6; Waterhouse & Company, *Antique Irish Brooches*, 7; Whitfield, "The Finding of the Tara Brooch," 138; McEvansoneya, "The Purchase of the 'Tara' Brooch," 77-88.

[23] E.R. Windham-Quinn, Earl of Dunraven, "On an Ancient Chalice and Bracelet Lately Found at Ardagh, in the County of Limerick," *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 24 (1873): 433.

[24] Royal Irish Academy, "Royal Irish Academy Minutes, 1867-1880" (Minute Book, Vol. 5, Archives of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin), 56; Windham-Quinn, "On an Ancient Chalice," 435.

[25] Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin, "Card Index 1637-1900" (Archives of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin); Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 145-6; Cheryl Washer, "The Work of Edmond Johnson: Archaeology and Commerce," in *Imagining an Irish Past: The Celtic Revival, 1840-1940*, ed. T. J. Edelstein (Chicago: David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago, 1992), 110.

[26] Windham-Quinn, "On an Ancient Chalice," 435-9.

that drove first Joseph Johnson, and later Edmond Johnson, to manufacture a new category of facsimiles and open up a previously untapped market for their merchandise.

Joseph Johnson had recognised museums as potential target audience for direct facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery *and* metalwork like the Ardagh chalice on a 1:1 scale. This shift in approach appears to have been partly inspired by the earlier displays of modified facsimile jewellery and adaptations from Waterhouse & Company and West & Son in 1851 and 1853, some of which were acquired by museums. Electrotype copies of domestic furnishings and tableware in museums in Britain and Continental Europe manufactured by Elkington & Company of Birmingham between 1851 and 1867, also purchased by museums, may have been particularly relevant.[27] In response to the demand by museums for high-quality copies, an international network for the exchange of reproductions had been initiated in 1864 by Henry Cole, director of the South Kensington Museum and head of the Department of Science and Art, and formalised by 1867.[28] Thus, there were clearly established precedents for the manufacture and sale of facsimiles to museums in place by 1869 when Joseph Johnson began to create an expanded range of direct facsimiles, including the Ardagh chalice, 'Tara' brooch and the twelfth-century Cross of Cong, which was continued by his firm after his

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[27] Department of Practical Art, *First Report*, 263-4; Shirley Bury, *Victorian Electroplate* (Feltham: The Hamlyn Publishing Group Limited, 1971), 27-30. The catalogue listings include an electrotype copy of a cup by sixteenth-century goldsmith Benvenuto Cellini in the British Museum and a medieval rosewater dish, which was a reproduction of a copy in the Museum of Paris, both by Elkington & Company.

[28] Department of Science and Art, *Twelfth Report of the Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education* (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswode for Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1865), 23-31; Anthony Burton, *Vision and Accident: The Story of the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V&A Publications, 1999), 89; Marjorie Trusted, *The Making of Sculpture: The Materials and Techniques of European Sculpture* (London: The Victoria & Albert Museum, 2007), 164-5.

retirement until 1890.[29]

Irish Facsimile Industry: 1890 to 1920s

After the closure of his brother's firm, Edmond Johnson began to create the most extensive range of facsimiles ever produced in Ireland for consumption by individual customers and international museums. The ability to cater to the demands of both consumer groups set Edmond Johnson apart from all the Dublin retailers and manufacturers, significantly expanded the market for facsimiles and contributed to the long-term success of his firm. The new range of direct facsimiles introduced by Edmond Johnson was likely inspired by the national collection of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork on display in the new Dublin Museum of Science and Art, which opened in 1890. Edmond Johnson created his own 'national' collection of direct facsimiles in c. 1891-2, which included not only brooches, but also a selection of gold ornaments, reliquary shrines, chalices, crosses and croziers, specifically intended for display at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Edmond Johnson enjoyed considerable success at the Chicago Exposition, resulting in the acquisition of nearly two hundred direct facsimiles from his collection for the newly founded Columbian Museum, and this translated into new business opportunities and marks of distinction at home, including membership of the Royal Irish Academy, in subsequent years.

By 1896 Edmond Johnson had amassed sufficient capital and investors to form a limited liability company, Edmond Johnson Limited, located at 94-95

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[29] "10 Suffolk Street in Re: T. Joyce, Deceased," *Freeman's Journal*, 6 November 1890; "Re: W.C. Joyce, Deceased, Late of 10 Suffolk Street, Trading as Joseph Johnson," *Freeman's Journal*, 21 November 1890.

Grafton Street.[30] The firm published two illustrated catalogues simultaneously in c. 1902, the first to showcase the line of direct facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork available for purchase by museums and a second devoted to the line of modified facsimiles and adaptations of both new and well-established examples of Irish archaeological jewellery to meet demand from individual customers.[31] Edmond Johnson Limited dominated much of the facsimile market by this stage with limited competition from the range of modified facsimile brooches and adaptations of Irish artefacts manufactured by Hopkins & Hopkins, as per their stock catalogue published in c. 1910.[32] The firm repeatedly produce large displays of direct facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork for international exhibitions in Paris, Glasgow and St. Louis from 1900 to 1904. Notably at these events the direct facsimiles were no longer presented as commercial products, but as representatives for the original artefacts, viewed and understood by visitors within the context of a museum-like display. This further reflects the attitude in the first decades of the twentieth century towards the continuing use of direct facsimiles by museums such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which purchased a total of 68 direct facsimiles from Edmond Johnson Limited between 1906 and 1911 for display in their galleries.[33] By the 1920s, however, museums began to shift their

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[30] "Edmond Johnson, Limited," *Freeman's Journal*, 12 December 1896; Edmond Johnson Limited, "Company Records of Edmond Johnson, Ltd., 1924-1927" (National Archives of Ireland, Dissolved Companies, Document D 2016).

[31] Edmond Johnson Limited, *Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art*; Edmond Johnson Limited, *Epitome of Reproductions of Ancient Celtic Ornaments* (Dublin: Waller & Co., c. 1902).

[32] Hopkins & Hopkins, *Irish Art Industry*.

[33] Metropolitan Museum of Art, "Principal Accessions: Reproductions of Ancient Irish Metal Work," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 2, No. 4 (April 1907); John H. Buck, "Reproductions of Irish Antiquities," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 3, No. 3 (March 1908); W.V., "Principal Accessions," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 3, No. 12 (December

priorities in favour of original artworks, which resulted in the removal of all types of reproductions, including direct facsimiles, from their galleries.

The Irish facsimile industry was in decline from 1914 onwards as a result of the First World War, along with the events leading up to the 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin and the 1919 War of Independence.[34] By the time of the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, the production of Edmond Johnson Limited and Hopkins & Hopkins appears limited to facsimiles in the form of sports trophies. In 1922 Edmond Johnson Limited created the Liam MacCarthy Cup, a facsimile adaptation based on the form of a wooden *mether*, for the Gaelic Athletic Association.[35] Hopkins & Hopkins manufactured the Sam Maguire Cup, a modified facsimile of the Ardagh chalice, in 1928.[36] The waning popularity of all types of facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork resulted in the closure of Edmond Johnson Limited in 1927 and the discontinuation of facsimile production by the major firms of Waterhouse & Company, West & Son and Hopkins & Hopkins, all of which survived into the late twentieth century.

Conclusion

The history of Irish facsimile production has been presented as three distinct phases in the context of this chapter, which aimed to provide a broad

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1908); John H. Buck, "Recent Accessions: Reproductions of Irish Antiquities," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 7, No. 3 (March 1912).

[34] Moody and Martin, *The Course of Irish History*, 245-59.

[35] "Trophies: Sam Maguire Cup," The GAA Museum, Croke Park, accessed 8 July 2007, www.museum.gaa.ie/page/about.html; Sean Kilfeather, "New Mccarthy Cup Unveiled," *Irish Times,* 26 August 1992; Michael Parsons, "Final Touches: Liam Maccarthy Cup Repaired before Croke Park Appearance," *Irish Times,* 5 September 2008; Michael Parsons, "Top Secret GAA Plan to Create Replicas of Sam and Liam," *Irish Times,* 1 September 2010.

[36] "Trophies: Sam Maguire Cup"; Paddy Downey, "Kerry Leaving Trophy at Home," *Irish Times,* 10 October 1981; "New Sam Maguire Cup to Replace Original," *Irish Times,* 10 August 1988; Michael Parsons, "Top Secret GAA Plan to Create Replicas of Sam and Liam," *Irish Times,* 1 September 2010.

overview of the industry to frame the discussion of specific aspects of facsimile production, promotion and distribution in subsequent chapters. It has been demonstrated that the first phase (1840s–1865) was dominated by the appearance of modified facsimiles and adaptations of Irish archaeological jewellery, including the 'Fibula' brooch, 'Clarendon' brooch, Co. Cavan ('Queen's) brooch and the 'Tara' brooch. Five of the six major Dublin retailers and manufacturers engaged in the production of modified facsimiles and adaptations of Irish brooches, namely Waterhouse & Company, West & Son, William Acheson & Company, Joseph and Edmond Johnson, have been briefly introduced. The second phase (1867-1880s) has been characterised as a transitional period, illustrated by the sustained production of modified facsimiles and adaptations of Irish archaeological jewellery for individual consumers concurrent with the development of a new category of direct facsimiles by Joseph Johnson, copied from both Irish archaeological jewellery *and* metalwork targeted towards museums. This phase was further marked by closure of the firm run by Joseph Johnson and the emergence of the new firm of Hopkins & Hopkins. It has been shown that the third phase (1890-1920s) was defined by diversification represented by a significantly expanded range of both modified facsimiles, adaptations and direct facsimiles manufactured by Edmond Johnson Limited to meet demands by individual customers and museums. The Irish facsimile industry was dominated by Edmond Johnson Limited, with competition from Hopkins & Hopkins, until its inevitable decline in the 1920s as a result of national and international conflicts and the waning popularity of facsimiles.

CHAPTER TWO: Facsimile Production

Introduction

Within the Irish artistic tradition, references to the ancient past manifested as revivalist movements in architecture, sculpture, manuscript illumination, jewellery and metalwork from the late medieval period onwards.[37] The modern reproduction of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork may have to some extent evolved from late medieval practices. Such practices included the creation of new works in an archaic style or format intended as a visual allusion to older models, contrasted with the repeated alteration and refurbishment of existing artefacts to reflect contemporary taste. There does not, however, appear to have been a tradition of manufacturing exact copies of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork prior to the nineteenth century. The facsimile industry was stimulated by the political, economic, social and cultural conditions present in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Ireland, which were paralleled by similar developments across Western Europe. In order to trace the history of facsimiles of archaeological jewellery and metalwork in Ireland, a comprehensive study of their production is necessary.

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the key commercial firms, institutions, artefacts and manufacturing processes associated with the

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[37] Colum Hourihane, *Gothic Art in Ireland, 1169-1550: Enduring Vitality* (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2003); Rachel Moss, "Revivalist Tendencies in the Irish Late Gothic: Defining a National Identity?" in *Reading Gothic Architecture*, ed. Matthew M. Reeve (Turnhout, Belgium and New York: Brepols, 2008): 123-37. This specifically refers to the revival that took place in the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries, during which existing Irish artefacts such as the Shrine of the Stowe Missal and the *Domnach Airgid* shrine were altered and refurbished and new shrines, such as the Shrine of St. Moling and the Shrine of St. Caillin were created in an archaising style. Such revivalist tendencies also manifested in architecture of this period.

production of facsimiles in Dublin between 1840 and 1940. It will be argued that facsimile production was contingent upon the ingenuity of commercial retailers and manufacturers and their active engagement with the antiquarian, academic and museum communities in Dublin. The scope of Irish facsimile production depended upon access to the corpus of archaeological jewellery and metalwork amassed by cultural institutions and private collectors, which required cooperation between the owners and the manufacturers. It will be demonstrated that the artefacts selected as models for facsimiles reinforced the hierarchy established by the Irish artistic canon and helped increase its interest and relevance for a wider audience. An examination of individual facsimiles reveals that production was not uniform, but rather each firm utilised a variety of manufacturing processes, combining traditional metalworking skills and new technologies to approximate the appearance of the original. Furthermore it will be shown that the Irish facsimiles were clearly identified as copies, but never as counterfeits, and were solely intended as modern commercial products and museum-quality substitutes.

This chapter consists of four main thematic sections and relevant subsections that deal with aspects of Irish facsimile production. The six Dublin retailers and manufacturers that acted as the primary participants in the Irish facsimile industry will be identified and a brief history of each firm will be provided. The following section will include an overview of the interactions between Dublin retailers and manufacturers and the Royal Irish Academy, which directly impacted upon the production of facsimiles. The choice of models for replication by manufacturers will be considered through an examination of sixteen representative artefacts from the two main facsimile

categories: archaeological jewellery and metalwork. In the final section a technical discussion on the manufacturing processes used by the Dublin firms to create facsimiles will be presented. All sections will draw upon supporting material found in the Appendices, which offer greater detail on facsimile production by particular firms and a listing of several hundred Irish facsimiles held in a museum context. The chapter will conclude with a summary of findings and a discussion of areas for further research in relation to Irish facsimile production.

Facsimile Production: Retailers and Manufacturers

The chief players engaged in facsimile production were the Dublin firms of Waterhouse & Company, West & Son, William Acheson & Company, Joseph Johnson & Son, Edmond Johnson Limited and Hopkins & Hopkins. Each of these six firms made significant contributions to the establishment of the facsimile industry in Ireland. In this section a brief chronology will be provided for the aforementioned firms compiled from archival materials, commercial directories, newspaper articles, advertisements, stock catalogues and exhibition catalogues (see also the Chronology in Appendix II). The scarcity of surviving personal or business correspondence necessitated the use of these additional sources to present a more detailed record than previously found in published sources. New details have been uncovered regarding the histories of the firms and their owners, which were inextricably bound up with each other and with the history of Dublin itself, through social interactions and professional involvement with guild administration, city

governance and the development of commercial centres (see also the Map of Dublin in Appendix I).

All of the Dublin firms operated primarily as retailers of silverware and plate, new and second-hand gold and diamond jewellery, presentation pieces, prize medals and awards, clocks and watches, some of which was imported with the remainder produced in-house or by a local manufacturer. In addition to the regular stock, the Dublin firms accepted commissions to design and manufacture jewellery, presentation plate and awards by special order, and occasionally engaged in active competition for such opportunities. The firms regularly carried out the usual services performed by jewellers, goldsmiths and silversmiths, such as cleaning, repairs and remounting old jewellery.[38] Although it appears that facsimile production was initially a sideline, these six Dublin firms responded to the publicity and sales generated by facsimiles and made it a central feature of their business.

Waterhouse & Company

George Waterhouse of Sheffield, England arrived in Dublin in 1841 with the intention to expand his business and establish an outlet to sell plate and plated wares manufactured in his workshops.[39] George Waterhouse hired local silversmith and jeweller Robert K. Gardner to manage the new branch of the firm assisted by his son, Samuel S. Waterhouse, who was new to Dublin and had no previous training in the trade.[40] In 1842 Waterhouse & Company

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[38] Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 14-5.

[39] Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 15. For a brief history of the firm in England, see "Libel Case: Waterhouse and Co. vs. Waterhouse, Hatfield and Co.," *Freeman's Journal*, 29 June 1846.

[40] *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1848), 931; "Law Intelligence," *Freeman's Journal*, 6 July 1848; "Police Intelligence," *Irish Times*, 10 June 1876; "Death of Mr. S.S. Waterhouse, J.P.," *Irish Times*, 6 September 1905. Details of a lawsuit filed by Robert K.

opened for business at 25 Dame Street (Fig. 1).[41] The space at 25 Dame Street was initially a short-term rental from Dublin jeweller and silversmith, Michael Bennett.[42] By 1852, however, the Dublin branch of Waterhouse & Company had demonstrated significant profitability and the firm entered into a long-term rental agreement at the Dame Street premises.[43]

The overall size of the firm's workforce remains unknown, but by 1855 Waterhouse & Company employed a bookkeeper, a porter, a collecting clerk and a salesman to attend to clients in the showroom.[44] The Dublin showroom served as a retail outlet for merchandise made in its Sheffield workshops, but it is not yet known whether the firm had additional workshops in Dublin or perhaps contracted another local manufacturer to produce work for the Irish market.[45]

In 1869 the premises occupied by Waterhouse & Company was expanded to include 26 Dame Street to "meet the growing requirements of the trade", which implied a need for increased staff and space, potentially with the

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Gardner against George and Samuel Waterhouse in 1848 state that Waterhouse and his son arrived in Dublin in November 1841. The first listing for Samuel S. Waterhouse in the commercial directory for Dublin appeared in 1848. The obituary for Samuel S. Waterhouse in 1905 stated that he arrived in Dublin in 1849 to run his father's business.

[41] Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 95-6 and 157; Gere and Tait, *The Art of the Jeweller*, 160; McCrum, "Commerce and the Celtic Revival," 37; Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 15-18 and 30; Stephanie Rains, *Commodity Culture and Social Class in Dublin 1850-1916* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2010), 13. According to Dunlevy, Waterhouse & Company opened their premises in Dublin in 1843, as well as another premises at 77 Patrick Street, Cork. The majority of published sources give the date for the establishment of the firm as 1842.

[42] Cited from the *Registry of Deeds*, 1852, Vol. 24, File 247 by Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 15-8 and 30.

[43] "Law Intelligence," *Freeman's Journal*, 6 July 1848; "Law Intelligence," *Freeman's Journal*, 11 November 1852; Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 15-8 and 30. As an indication of the firm's financial success, both Samuel Waterhouse and manager Robert K. Gardner were both paid an annual salary of £300 by 1843.

[44] "Extensive Robbery of Jewellery from the Messrs. Waterhouse," *Freeman's Journal*, 9 August 1855.

[45] "The Royal Visit: Waterhouse and Company," *Irish Times*, 7 April 1868. The earliest reference to the firm as a manufacturer was found in an advertisement from 1868. The advertisement states that Waterhouse & Company are "Diamond Merchants as well as Manufacturers, can guarantee the quality of all Stones sold by them, as well as the Workmanship and the standard of the Gold and Silver used in their Manufactory." It is not clear whether this refers to their workshops in Sheffield or in Dublin, if such existed at this date.

inclusion of a workshop.[46] The entire premises was renovated, resulting in a more open showroom with enhanced lighting and merchandise displayed in glass cases and wide plate glass windows that spanned the entire frontage on either side of a central door.[47] Such changes were in keeping with the extensive rebuilding and redecoration programmes carried out during the 1860s and 1870s by nearby department stores like Brown, Thomas & Co. and Switzer, Beatty & Co. on Grafton Street and Pim Brothers & Co. on South Great Georges Street.[48]

George Waterhouse died in early 1877, leaving ownership of the Dublin firm to Samuel, who continued to manage and develop the business into the early twentieth century.[49] Waterhouse & Company published a notice of retirement at the end of 1901, but their Dame Street showroom remained open for the next three years in order to sell off all remaining stock.[50] In 1903 ownership of the firm passed to Samuel H. Waterhouse, grandson of George Waterhouse and son of Samuel S. Waterhouse.[51] The firm finally closed in 1904, which was followed by the death of Samuel S. Waterhouse in 1905.[52] The firm was revived in 1906 by Samuel H. Waterhouse in Dame House at 24-

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[46] *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1869), 1863.
[47] "Messrs. Waterhouse and Co., Dame Street," *Freeman's Journal*, 16 November 1869; "25 and 26 Dame Street: Waterhouse and Company," *Irish Times*, 25 January 1870.
[48] "Messrs. Waterhouse and Co., Dame Street," *Freeman's Journal*, 16 November 1869; Rains, *Commodity Culture*, 13 and 53-5.
[49] "Classifieds," *Irish Times*, 30 March 1877; "Waterhouse Dame Street Dublin," *Irish Times*, 21 December 1907; Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 18-19 and 31. According to Dunlevy, George Waterhouse died in late 1858, but this is contradicted by a series of advertisements between 30 March and 10 May 1877 that provide details of a massive sale held "in consequence of the death of their Senior Partner". Although not named outright, it is likely that the "Senior Partner" refers to George Waterhouse.
[50] "Christmas in the Shops," *Irish Times*, 21 December 1907. Waterhouse & Company regularly took our advertisements to announce retirement and the subsequent sale of the firm's merchandise between 14 December 1901 and 31 October 1904 in the *Irish Times*.
[51] "Mr. S. H. Waterhouse," *Irish Times*, 16 September 1944.
[52] "Death of Mr. S.S. Waterhouse, J.P.," *Irish Times*, 6 September 1905.; "Death of Mr. S.S. Waterhouse, J.P.," *Irish Times*, 9 September 1905.

26 Dame Street on the second floor of the former establishment.[53] The new Waterhouse & Company consisted of the same workmen previously employed by the defunct firm.[54] Samuel H. Waterhouse died in 1944 and the firm closed its doors for the final time in 1960.[55]

Waterhouse & Company was the first retailer of Irish archaeological-style jewellery beginning with the 'Fibula' brooch, a facsimile adaptation modelled on Late Bronze Age gold ornaments, in 1842. The firm became best known for its acquisition and display of the original 'Tara' brooch and its facsimiles, which were available in multiple sizes and finishes with the option of additional embellishments. Waterhouse & Company offered a wide range of modified facsimiles and adaptations of Irish archaeological brooches, including the 'Clarendon' brooch, the 'University' (Rathlin Island) brooch and the 'Knight Templar' (Kilmainham) brooch, all of which became highly popular, purchased by individual consumers and museums alike. The other Dublin firms subsequently produced many of the modified facsimile brooches initially carried by Waterhouse & Company, demonstrating the influence of their designs on the establishment and continuing development of the facsimile industry in Ireland.

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[53] Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin, "Work Book of Maker's Marks, No. 100" (Archives of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin); "S.H. Waterhouse (Late of Waterhouse and Company)," *Irish Times*, 20 December 1906; Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 157; Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 18-9 and 31. Hallmarks are on file with the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin for Samuel H. Waterhouse of Dame Street for 1897, 1908 and 1928.

[54] "Christmas in the Shops," *Irish Times*, 21 December 1907.

[55] Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin, "Card Index 1637-1900."; "Mr. S. H. Waterhouse," *Irish Times*, 16 September 1944.

West & Son

The Dublin family of goldsmiths associated with West & Son has a long history beginning with Matthew West, who was admitted to the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin in 1769 and registered at 15 Skinner's Row in 1784.[56] Matthew West served as Sheriff of Co. Dublin, held several leadership positions within the Company and sat on the Common Council for the City of Dublin.[57] His son, Matthew West Jr. was admitted to the Company in 1804 and also went on to play an active role in the administration of the guild, thus wielding considerable power and influence.[58] By 1820, Matthew West Jr. had died and other family members had taken control of the family business.[59]

West & Son acquired new premises at 20 Skinner's Row in 1827, but the destruction and reorganization of portions of this Dublin neighbourhood, located near Christ Church Cathedral, in the early nineteenth century and a shift by the wealthy and fashionable towards other areas of the city may have prompted the firm to move again.[60] In 1845 West & Son was listed at 9 Capel

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[56] Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin, "Book of Freemen 1637-1779, No. 93" (Archives of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin); Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin, "Listing of the Principal Goldsmiths of Dublin 1627 to 1800: Abstracted from the Records of the Corporation of Goldsmiths or Guild of All Saints" (National Archives of Ireland, Miscellaneous Index, Document M465); Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin, "Register, County of Dublin, No. 99" (Dublin: Archives of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin). Notably Skinner's Row was the area of Dublin occupied by medieval goldsmiths.

[57] Goldsmiths' Company, "Card Index 1637-1900"; Douglas Bennett, *The Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin: Exhibition 1637-1987* (Dublin: National Museum of Ireland, 1987), 5-9. Matthew West was elected as warden (1780-1783) and master (1783-1784) of the Company of Goldsmiths, Dublin and sat on the Common Council for the City of Dublin (1783, 1789, 1795 and 1801). A master, a position comparable to that of lord-mayor, and three wardens, equivalent in power to the sheriffs of Dublin Corporation, headed the Company of Goldsmiths. The Common Council was made up of a maximum of ninety-six members who would vote on measures put forward by the Inner Council, consisting of twenty-four members, all freemen.

[58] Goldsmiths' Company, "Card Index 1637-1900"; Bennett, *Company of Goldsmiths*, 5-9. Matthew West Jr. served as warden (1808-11) and master (1812-1813) of the Company of Goldsmiths in Dublin and was elected to the Common Council (1804 and 1814).

[59] Goldsmiths' Company, "Card Index 1637-1900".

[60] Goldsmiths' Company, "Card Index 1637-1900"; Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 157.

Street (Fig. 2) and by 1846 at 18-19 College Green (Fig. 3) as well.[61] By this date the firm was run by James West, Sherriff of Co. Dublin and Jacob West, who held leadership positions in the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, served as alderman and Lord Mayor for the Dublin Corporation.[62] James West died in 1869 and the firm was taken over by his son, William H. West, who was admitted to the Company of Goldsmiths in 1835.[63] In 1871 Langley Archer West became involved in the business; like his forebears he held a position of power within the Company of Goldsmiths as master between 1892 and 1900.[64]

At the turn of the century, West & Son had a 'Silver Factory' at 14 Fade Street and a 'Jewellery Factory' at 9 Fleet Street where its merchandise was manufactured.[65] The firm remained at the 18-19 College Green premises until 1900, followed by a move first to 102-103 Grafton Street and then in 1965 to

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[61] Goldsmiths' Company, "Card Index 1637-1900"; *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1845), 841; *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1846), 873; *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1848), 932; Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 157. By 1848, the shop at 9 Capel Street is no longer associated with West & Son.

[62] Goldsmiths' Company, "Card Index 1637-1900"; Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin, "Goldsmith's Corporation Rule Book 1829, Freemasons 1829-1855, No. 98" (Archives of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin); *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1845), 841; *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1846), 873; *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1859), 1401. In 1845, entries in the commercial directory for both West & Sons and James West list the address as 9 Capel Street, which suggests that he was running the firm. Jacob West was also listed at 9 Capel Street in the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin records. In 1859 the entries in the commercial directory list West & Son at 18-19 College Green and James West and Jacob West as junior partners at the same address. Jacob West was elected to the Common Council for the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin (1831-40, 1842-56). He served as alderman for the Dublin Corporation (1821-1840) and as Lord Mayor (1829-1830).

[63] Royal Irish Academy, "Council Minutes, 1868-1870," (Minute Book, Vol. 15, Archives of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin), 153; Goldsmiths' Company, "Card Index 1637-1900"; *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1869), 1865; *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1868), 1797.

[64] Goldsmiths' Company, "Card Index 1637-1900"; *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1871), 1947; Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 157; Charles James Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and Their Marks: A History of the Goldsmiths and Plate Workers of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, 2nd edition (New York: Dover Publications, 1964).

[65] "Her Majesty's Gift to the Royal Dublin Society," *Irish Times*, 9 July 1900; "West & Son, College Green, Dublin," *Irish Times*, 27 August 1901; "By Special Royal Warrant to His Majesty the King, West & Son," *Irish Times*, 2 September 1903.

33 Grafton Street, from which West & Son continued to operate until its closure in 2010.[66]

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, West & Son carried modified facsimiles and adaptations of Irish archaeological jewellery in direct competition with Waterhouse & Company. Just as the original 'Tara' brooch and its facsimiles were for many years closely associated with Waterhouse & Company, the presentation of a modified facsimile of the Co. Cavan ('Queen's') brooch by West & Son to Queen Victoria in 1849 provided the firm with a high profile and popular design of its own. Similarly to Waterhouse & Company, the modified brooch facsimiles from West & Son were executed in a range of sizes and finishes in Irish gold, embellished with locally found precious and semi-precious stones. West & Son were particularly innovative in their isolation of ornamental motifs on the Co. Cavan brooch and other original models to create new facsimile adaptations for brooches and earrings, a practice that was later copied by Waterhouse & Company. The full extent of the facsimile production by West & Son remains unknown, given the lack of surviving stock catalogues or business records to provide further details.

William Acheson & Company

William Acheson was the son of Joseph Acheson, brother of jeweller Matthew Law of Sackville Street.[67] Acheson, in partnership with Barnett Boam, established his firm in 1850 at 109 Grafton Street (Fig. 4) as a retailer and manufacturer of jewellery, plate and watches.[68] Their shop, located

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[66] "West and Son's Grafton House," *Irish Times*, 31 May 1913; Caroline Madden, "West Jewellers Set to Close after 290 Years," *Irish Times*, 21 January 2010.
[67] "Funeral of Matthew Law, Esq.," *Freeman's Journal*, 26 March 1863.
[68] "Dissolution of Partnership," *Freeman's Journal*, 20 April 1863.

directly across from Trinity College at the end of Grafton Street, was secured through a long-term lease from Dublin jeweller Richard Peter.[69] In 1858, the firm was appointed jeweller to the Earl of Eglinton and Winton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.[70] In 1860, Acheson expanded his business by taking over management of a second firm specialising in jewellery, plate and watches. Acheson purchased both the premises and remaining stock of the late Thomas Bennett at 75 Grafton Street (Fig. 5).[71]

Aside from his involvement in the firm, William Acheson was active in many areas of civic life. This included membership of the council of the Dublin Association for the Protection of Trade in 1854 and 1855, his election as a town councilman of the South City Ward in 1856 and his nomination to stand for mayor of Dublin in 1861.[72] Acheson was on the committee for the Royal Irish Society for the Protection of Life from Fire, along with Samuel S. Waterhouse, and was a member of the Historical and Literary Society and the Royal Horticultural Society.[73] Most notably, Acheson was involved in the

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[69] "To Be Sold by Auction in Two Lots...In the Estate Auction Rooms of James H. North," *Irish Times*, 16 August 1873. The lease on 109 Grafton Street was taken for twenty-eight years.
[70] "Christmas Presents: William Acheson," *Freeman's Journal*, 16 December 1858.
[71] "Chancery: Bennetts, Minors., William Acheson," *Freeman's Journal*, 1 December 1859; "Chancery: Bennetts, Minors., William Acheson," *Irish Times*, 4 January 1860; "Most Important Notice: William Acheson," *Irish Times*, 21 April 1860; *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1861), 1454. The initial advertisement of the acquisition of Thomas Bennett's stock by William Acheson appears in 1859 and 1860. The purchase of the premises and remaining stock were advertised in 1860. The entry for the firm in the commercial directory for 1861 lists both the 109 and 75 Grafton Street addresses.
[72] "Dublin Association for the Protection of Trade," *Freeman's Journal*, 14 April 1854; "Dublin Association for the Protection of Trade," *Freeman's Journal*, 9 June 1855; "To the Burgesses of the South City Ward," *Freeman's Journal*, 17 November 1856; "The Corporation," *Freeman's Journal*, 7 August 1860.
[73] "The Committee of the Royal Irish Society for the Protection of Life from Fire," *Freeman's Journal*, 24 December 1860; "Historical and Literary Society, The Session of 1860-1," *Irish Times*, 27 November 1860; "Preservation of Life from Fire," *Freeman's Journal*, 24 November 1860; "Royal Horticultural Society," *Freeman's Journal*, 8 September 1863.

Industrial Exhibitions held in Belfast in 1852 and Dublin in 1853, 1861 and 1864.[74]

In 1863 the thirteen-year partnership between William Acheson and Barnett Boam was dissolved, signalling the closure of the firm.[75] Ten years later in 1873 when the original lease agreement expired, Acheson vacated the premises at 109 Grafton Street, which were subsequently sold at auction.[76] William Acheson never resumed commercial activity as a jeweller and instead focused on his civic activities until his death in 1895.[77]

Few details are known about the size and output of William Acheson & Company, which has only recently been associated with facsimile production in Dublin.[78] An increase in the size of the firm's manufacturing department was announced in 1859, which suggests the capacity to produce at least a portion of their own merchandise and a number of skilled tradesmen employed for this purpose.[79] Although no mention of facsimiles was made in the firm's advertising campaigns, extant direct and modified facsimiles of the Roscrea Brooch and the Hunterston Brooch provide some indication of the types of archaeological-style jewellery manufactured by William Acheson & Company.

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[74] "Closing of the Exhibition, Meeting of Exhibitors," *Freeman's Journal*, 1 November 1853; "Royal Dublin Society, Great Exhibition of 1861," *Irish Times*, 27 July 1860; "Exhibition of Irish Manufactures, 1864," *Freeman's Journal*, 14 July 1863.

[75] "Dissolution of Partnership," *Freeman's Journal*, 20 April 1863; *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1865), 1607. The final entry in the commercial directory for the firm appeared in 1865.

[76] "To Be Sold by Auction in Two Lots...In the Estate Auction Rooms of James H. North," *Irish Times*, 16 August 1873.

[77] "Important Sales by Auction...Messrs Battersby & Co.," *Freeman's Journal*, 22 August 1895.

[78] Elizabeth McCrum, "Irish Victorian Jewellery," *Irish Arts Review* 2, No. 1 (Spring 1985): 18-9; McEvansoneya, "The Purchase of the 'Tara' Brooch," 85. McCrum made a brief reference to the production of facsimiles by William Acheson & Company in an overview of Irish Victorian jewellery, with examples from the Ulster Museum. McEvansoneya mentioned the lending of the Roscrea Brooch to William Acheson for reproduction.

[79] "Manufactory of Jewellery, Plate, Etc.," *Freeman's Journal*, 4 January 1859.

Joseph Johnson & Son

Joseph Johnson, who was admitted to the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin in 1804 and held a number of leadership positions within the guild, established the firm at 32 William Street.[80] His eldest son, James Johnson, was admitted to the Company in 1821 and went to work at the family firm, which was then renamed Johnson & Son.[81] The firm had locations at 8 Parliament Street in 1827 and then at 23 Wellington Quay (Fig. 6) in 1842, which likely served as workshops for manufacturing and the storage of merchandise.[82] A year later the grandson of Joseph Johnson and nephew of James Johnson, Joseph Johnson Jr. (see also the Johnson Family Tree in Appendix IV), was admitted to the Company of Goldsmiths and employed in the family shop on Wellington Quay.[83] Following in his grandfather's footsteps, Joseph Johnson Jr. held several influential positions within the Company.[84] In 1850 the firm was renamed Joseph Johnson & Son and remained at 32 William Street, while the branch at 23 Wellington Quay was moved to 22 Suffolk Street (Fig. 7) by 1858.[85] The firm of Joseph Johnson & Son closed by 1860, presumably after

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[80] Goldsmiths' Company, "Card Index 1637-1900"; Goldsmiths' Company, "Corporation Rule Book"; Jackson, *Goldsmiths and Their Marks*. Joseph Johnson served as warden (1825-8) and master (1828-9 and 1835-6) of the Company and sat on the Common Council for the City of Dublin (1831-1840 and 1842-1856).

[81] Goldsmiths' Company, "Card Index 1637-1900"; Goldsmiths' Company, "Corporation Rule Book"; Jackson, *Goldsmiths and Their Marks*. James Johnson sat on the Common Council for the City of Dublin (1829-30).

[82] Goldsmiths' Company, "Card Index 1637-1900".

[83] Goldsmiths' Company, "Card Index 1637-1900"; Goldsmiths' Company, "Corporation Rule Book"; *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1850), 961. Entries for Johnson & Son at 32 William Street and Joseph Johnson [Jr.] at 23 Wellington Quay appeared alongside each other in the commercial directory until at least 1850.

[84] Goldsmiths' Company, "Card Index 1637-1900"; Jackson, *Goldsmiths and Their Marks*; Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 145-6; Washer, "The Work of Edmond Johnson," 110. Joseph Johnson Jr. served as warden (1845-8, 1851-4 and 1863) and master (1848-9 and 1864-83) of the Company and sat on the Common Council for the City of Dublin (1845-56).

[85] Goldsmiths' Company, "Card Index 1637-1900"; *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1850), 961; *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1858), 1310. The move from 23 Wellington Quay to 22 Suffolk Street appears to have taken place a few years prior to the date of 1861 recorded in the Company records.

the retirement or death of his grandfather and uncle, and Joseph Johnson Jr. continued to operate from 22 Suffolk Street as an independent jeweller and manufacturer.[86]

In 1881 Joseph Johnson Jr. moved to 10 Suffolk Street (Fig. 7), but his occupancy was short-lived. He announced his retirement at the end of 1882 and died the following year, after which his estate was sold off through multiple public auctions.[87] Trading as Joseph Johnson Jr., a goldsmith named Joyce remained at the Suffolk Street premises until his death in 1890, at which time the firm closed and all remaining stock, equipment and shop fittings were sold.[88]

Joseph Johnson Jr. produced direct, modified and facsimile adaptations of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork through his family firm and independently from the mid-nineteenth century, and may have served as the facsimile manufacturer for Waterhouse & Company.[89] By 1861 Johnson began to advertise himself as a manufacturer of bog oak ornaments, for which he patented a stamping process to streamline production and may have been

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[86] *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1859), 1319. There is no listing for the firm in the commercial directory for 1860.

[87] "Retiring from Business: Joseph Johnson," *Freeman's Journal*, 22 November 1882; "Retiring from Business: Joseph Johnson," *Freeman's Journal*, 31 January 1883; "Important Preliminary Announcement: Messrs Bennett and Son," *Freeman's Journal*, 17 October 1883; "Preliminary Notice: Messrs Bennett and Son,, *Freeman's Journal*, 20 November 1883; "By Order of the Executrix of the Late Joseph Johnson," *Freeman's Journal*, 15 December 1883. Joseph Johnson advertised his retirement and the sale of his inventory in late 1882 into the beginning of 1883. Notices for the auction of Joseph Johnson's estate by Bennett & Son were published on multiple occasions in 1883.

[88] "10 Suffolk Street in Re: T. Joyce, Deceased," *Freeman's Journal*, 6 November 1890; "Re: W.C. Joyce, Deceased, Late of 10 Suffolk Street, Trading as Joseph Johnson," *Freeman's Journal*, 21 November 1890. The manufacturing jeweller is referred to as 'T. Joyce' in one advertisement and then as 'W.C. Joyce' in another, both published in 1890. It is not clear if this discrepancy is the result of an error or if two members of the Joyce family were involved in the firm.

[89] Gere and Tait, *Art of the Jeweller*, 161; Shirley Bury, *Jewellery 1789-1910, The International Era*, 2 vols. (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1991), 537-9; Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery*, 450.

linked to facsimile production.[90] In 1868 Joseph Johnson Jr. was chosen to clean and repair the Ardagh chalice, which has been previously misattributed to his younger brother, Edmond Johnson (see below).[91] This commission led directly to the production of direct facsimiles and adaptations of the chalice and a considerable range of Irish metalwork artefacts, including the Cross of Cong and the 'Tara' brooch.

Edmond Johnson Limited

Edmond Johnson, younger son of Joseph Johnson and brother of James Johnson, initially established the firm as The Jewellery Manufactory located at 5 Fleet Street. Edmond Johnson was admitted to the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin in 1825 and held several leadership positions within the guild.[92] His eldest son, Joseph Johnson Jr., was engaged in another branch of the family firm (see above), while his younger son, Edmond Johnson Jr., began working at the Fleet Street shop after his admission to the Company in c. 1845.[93]

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[90] *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1861), 1542; Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, 84-5; Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 21-2. By 1865, Joseph Johnson was selling between £4,000 and £5,000 of bog oak jewellery and is credited with the invention of a device that stamped designs into the bog oak, rather than carving, thereby facilitating mass-production.

[91] Although the commission to conserve the Ardagh chalice has previously been attributed to Edmond Johnson, it was actually carried out by Joseph Johnson. This appears to be the result of a change made years after his brother's death by Edmond Johnson in his catalogue for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, in which he implied that he had done the work on the Ardagh chalice. See the section on stock catalogues in Chapter Three for further discussion.

[92] Goldsmiths' Company, "Card Index 1637-1900"; Goldsmiths' Company, "Corporation Rule Book"; Jackson, *Goldsmiths and Their Marks*. Edmond Johnson Sr. served as warden (1830-3, 1844-7 and 1861-4) and master (1833-4) of the Company and sat on the Common Council for the City of Dublin (1829, 1831-40, 1842-56).

[93] Goldsmiths' Company, "Card Index 1637-1900"; Goldsmiths Company', "Corporation Rule Book"; Goldsmiths' Company, "Listing of the Principal Goldsmiths"; "Law Intelligence," *Freeman's Journal*, 12 December 1854; Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 145-6 and 57. The relationship between Joseph and Edmond Johnson had previously been uncertain, but can now be firmly established. In an 1854 newspaper article on the theft of merchandise from Edmond Johnson of Fleet Street, it was reported that the thieves "offered the silver for sale to Mr. Joseph Johnson, of Suffolk Street, who at once recognised it as the property of his brother".

Over the span of forty years, Edmond Johnson and subsequently Edmond Johnson Jr. were engaged as manufacturers for West & Son, including the production of modified facsimiles of Irish archaeological-style jewellery from 1849.[94] Edmond Johnson Jr. took over the business at 5 Fleet Street and opened a second location at 89 Grafton Street (Fig. 8) by 1867.[95] The working relationship between Edmond Johnson Jr. and West & Son ended that same year, presumably to elevate the status of Johnson's firm and increase profits by expanding beyond manufacturing into retail.[96]

Edmond Johnson Jr. remained in business after the closure of his brother's firm and appeared to thrive, given his move to 94 Grafton Street (Fig. 8) in 1875 and further expansion into 46 Wicklow Street and 95 Grafton Street by 1891 (Fig. 9).[97] He amassed sufficient capital and investors to form a limited liability company in 1896 known as Edmond Johnson Limited, with Viscount Powerscourt as head of the Board of Directors and Edmond Johnson Jr. as a

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[94] *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1867), 65; Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 19; Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery*, 450.

[95] Goldsmiths' Company, "Card Index 1637-1900"; "To Be Sold by Auction...by Direction of the Executors of the Late Mr. Edmond Johnson," *Freeman's Journal*, 7 August 1865; "Edmond Johnson Begs to Announce...," *Freeman's Journal*, 27 November 1866; *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1867), 1697; Washer, "The Work of Edmond Johnson," 110. The last mention of Edmond Johnson (or his brother James Johnson) in guild records was in 1864 and it was reported that he had died by August 1865 in an advertisement for the sale of his property. Details regarding the new premises at 89 Grafton Street are advertised in 1866. The following year, Edmond Johnson Jr. registered a new maker's mark under this address with the Company of Goldsmiths in Dublin.

[96] "The Spur Pin: Edmond Johnson," *Freeman's Journal*, 16 November 1867; "'The Manufacture of Jewellery in Ireland,'" *Freeman's Journal*, 17 March 1877. The date for the termination of their relationship is based upon an advertisement, which refers to Edmond Johnson as the "late Manufacturer to Messrs. West and Son". The issue of Johnson's earlier work for the firm resurfaced in 1877, when a letter from West & Son was published in the *Irish Times* stating that "Mr. Edmond Johnson was employed by them to manufacture their Jewellery" and reprinted in an advertisement for Johnson's Jewellery Factory.

[97] "Notice of Removal: Mr. Edmond Johnson," *Freeman's Journal*, 5 August 1875; "Clearance Sale: Mr. Edmond Johnson," *Freeman's Journal*, 2 July 1877; "The Jewellery Factory, 94 Grafton Street," *Freeman's Journal*, 10 September 1879; *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1891). Details of the move from 89 Grafton Street to 94 Grafton Street and the expansion into 46 Wicklow Street were publicly advertised. The firm expanded for the final time in 1891 when Johnson acquired 95 Grafton Street

Managing Director.[98] Although Johnson died in 1900, Edmond Johnson Limited continued to operate after its founder's death under manager and foreman James C. Wallace until 1927, when the firm was dissolved and all company records were destroyed.[99]

The workforce employed by Edmond Johnson consisted of a large staff of local jewellers, watchmakers, goldsmiths, silversmiths and electroplaters required to manufacture the merchandise sold by the firm, including facsimiles.[100] In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Edmond Johnson Jr. and his firm began to create the most extensive range of facsimiles ever produced in Ireland. Johnson distinguished himself from all competitors by providing a selection of high-quality, direct facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery, as well as Irish crosses, chalices, reliquary shrines and other metalwork artefacts for purchase by museums. A line of modified facsimiles of both new and well-established Irish brooch designs were simultaneously issued to meet demand from individual customers. Edmond Johnson and his firm were unique in their approach, catering to multiple target audiences and expanding the market for Irish facsimiles to include museums both at home and abroad.

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[98] "Edmond Johnson, Limited," *Freeman's Journal*, 12 December 1896; Edmond Johnson Limited, "Company Records". Records in the National Archives of Ireland state that the start-up capital for the company was £80,000.

[99] Royal Irish Academy, "Council Minutes, 1899-1908" (Minute Book, Vol. 24, Archives of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin), 117; Edmond Johnson Limited, "Company Records". According to a personal communication with Douglas Bennett, the records for the firm were destroyed following the dissolution of the company in the late 1920s.

[100] "The Jewellery Factory," *Freeman's Journal*, 3 July 1883; "Irish Manufacture," *Freeman's Journal*, 25 August 1886.

Hopkins & Hopkins

Hopkins & Hopkins was established at 1 Lower Sackville Street (Fig. 10), later renamed O'Connell Street.[101] The senior partner, William C. Hopkins, took over the existing firm of Matthew Law and Son, purchased the remaining stock and lease for the Lower Sackville Street premises from F.H. Ellis in bankruptcy proceedings then re-opened as Hopkins & Hopkins in December 1868.[102]

Like many of the other manufacturers, William C. Hopkins was actively involved in civic life in Dublin, serving as a Director of the *Irish Daily Independent* and as a town councilman for the North Dock Ward from 1883.[103] In 1893, William C. Hopkins fell ill and died, leaving the firm in the hands of Miles Richard Hopkins.[104] Miles Richard Hopkins ran the firm until his death in 1911.[105] In 1912 the manager, John Fisher, became a partner in the firm, but problems arose in 1915 when Martha Hopkins, co-executor of the estate of Miles Richard Hopkins, challenged his position.[106] As a result of the subsequent legal proceedings, Hopkins & Hopkins became a private limited company with John Fisher, Robert Murphy, the newly appointed manager of the firm, and a representative for Martha Hopkins among the members of the first Board of Directors.[107]

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[101] Goldsmiths' Company, "Card Index 1637-1900"; Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 145.
[102] "Messrs. Hopkins and Hopkins," *Irish Times*, 1 December 1868; *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1869), 1772; "New Year's Presents: Hopkins & Hopkins," *Irish Times*, 8 January 1887. The firm continued to include 'Late Law and Son' in its advertisements until at least 1887.
[103] "North Dock Ward," *Irish Times*, 3 November 1883.
[104] "Illness of Mr. Hopkins," *Irish Times*, 2 September 1893; "Death of Mr. W.C. Hopkins," *Irish Times*, 4 September 1893; "Funeral of the Late Mr. W.C. Hopkins, T.C.," *Irish Times*, 7 September 1893.
[105] "Dublin Merchant's Will," *Irish Times*, 10 July 1912.
[106] "Testimonial to Mr. John Fisher," *Irish Times*, 24 May 1912; "Dublin Jewellery Business," *Irish Times*, 1 July 1915.
[107] "Dublin Jewellery Business," *Irish Times*, 1 July 1915.

By the early twentieth century, Hopkins & Hopkins employed a large staff and had sizable showroom on the first floor of the premises (Fig. 11).[108] The basement functioned as an area for manufacturing, containing die-stamping machinery which mass-produced merchandise for the firm, including a range of facsimiles.[109] Along with the die-sinking department, the firm had departments devoted to enamelling and electroplating.[110] During the Easter Rising in 1916 Hopkins & Hopkins premises were occupied and then destroyed by bombardments and the burning of Sackville Street.[111] By September 1916 the lost stock was replaced and a temporary shop opened at the old address until a new building was erected on the original site in 1923 (Fig. 12).[112] The first floor of the new building served as the showroom, while the upper floors were designated as workshops for the manufacture of watches and jewellery.[113] Hopkins & Hopkins continued to operate until 1974, when the company was voluntarily dissolved and the remaining stock and premises was sold off by 1975.[114]

The range of merchandise produced by Hopkins & Hopkins primarily consisted of jewellery and personal ornaments, particularly modified facsimiles and adaptations of popular designs previously issued by competing firms. By 1892 the modified facsimiles and adaptations available from

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[108] Hopkins & Hopkins, *Irish Art Industry*, 10.
[109] From an article entitled "Irish Artistic Gold and Silver Work, Messrs. Hopkins & Hopkins, Opposite O'Connell Monument, Dublin" in the 1911 Christmas issue of *Lady of the House*, 6 cited by Miller, "The Selling of Nationalism," Fig. 27.
[110] Ibid.
[111] "Tuesday's Developments," *Irish Times*, 28 April 1916.
[112] "Messrs. Hopkins and Hopkins Re-Opening," *Irish Times*, 15 September 1916; "Messrs. Hopkins and Hopkins' New Premises," *Irish Times*, 18 January 1923.
[113] "Messrs. Hopkins and Hopkins' New Premises," *Irish Times*, 18 January 1923.
[114] "Hopkins & Hopkins Limited," *Irish Times*, 21 June 1974; "Major Central Dublin 5 Storey Property to Be Auctioned Soon," *Irish Times*, 27 November 1974; "Auction Wednesday, 4 December," *Irish Times*, 8 November 1974; "Auction Today," *Irish Times*, 4 December 1974; "£190,000 Paid for City Property," *Irish Times*, 6 December 1974; "Property Auctions and Fine Art Sales," *Irish Times*, 14 January 1975; "Auction Today," *Irish Times*, 15 January 1975.

Hopkins & Hopkins included the 'Tara' brooch first sold by Waterhouse & Company in 1850, the 'Fibula' brooch first sold by Waterhouse & Company in 1842 and the 'Fibula' bracelet sold by William Acheson from c. 1853, and 'Celtic' Letters based on models from the Book of Kells sold by Joseph Johnson from c. 1869.[115] Hopkins & Hopkins added to their repertoire of modified facsimiles in the early twentieth century, manufacturing copies of the Kilkenny (Killamery) brooch, the Co. Cavan ('Queen's') brooch, the 'Dalriada' (Loughlin) brooch and the Kilmainham ('Knight Templar') brooch by c. 1910.[116] The firm is best known not for their facsimiles, but rather for the manufacture of the Sam Maguire Cup, modelled on the Ardagh Chalice, in 1928.

Facsimile Production: Scholars and Merchants

Public and privately held collections of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork served as the starting point for facsimiles. Dublin was unquestionably the centre of facsimile production due to the presence of numerous major collections that were the focus of newly emerging art historical and archaeological scholarship. The Royal Dublin Society, Trinity College Library and the Royal Irish Academy held the most significant public collections of Irish material culture, which were repeatedly drawn upon by facsimile manufacturers for models. The Royal Dublin Society, founded in 1731 to promote "scientific agriculture, home manufactures and technical education", amassed a collection of antiquities by 1819 that included the

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[115] "Messrs. Hopkins and Hopkins, Lower Sackville Street," *Irish Times*, 10 December 1892. Two additional brooch designs were mentioned in an 1892 article on Hopkins & Hopkins: the 'Dunraven' and 'Talbot' brooches. The original models for these facsimiles have not yet been identified, but the 'Dunraven' may refer to a copy of one of the brooches associated with the Ardagh Hoard, which was first published by Lord Dunraven in 1869.

[116] For an illustrated listing of facsimiles available from the firm see Hopkins & Hopkins, *Irish Art Industry*, 11-21.

Ballyspellan brooch.[117] The Trinity College Library collection not only featured the renowned Book of Kells, but the 'University' (Rathlin Island) brooch and three other ancient brooches, as well as the Shrine of the Book of Dimma.[118] By far the largest collection of antiquities was assembled by the Royal Irish Academy, founded in 1785 as a centre for the promotion of studies in science, literature, history and antiquities.[119] During the nineteenth century the Royal Irish Academy fulfilled its remit through the promotion of archaeological and art historical scholarship and became the primary repository for Irish antiquities prior to the establishment of a national museum. A number of prominent individuals such as George Petrie and Robert Day built up notable collections of Irish antiquities, which were purchased for the Royal Irish Academy museum after their deaths.[120] These collections provided the Dublin firms with the inspiration and design resources to undertake a new business venture to manufacture and sell facsimiles.

This section will focus on the association between antiquarian institutions, specifically the Royal Irish Academy, and the commercial retailers

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[117] John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 59-60; Patrick F. Wallace and Raghnall Ó Floinn, *Treasures of the National Museum of Ireland: Irish Antiquities* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd., 2002), 4-6. The Royal Dublin Society was originally known as the Dublin Society for Improving Husbandry and Manufacturing, but changed its name in 1820.

[118] Isolde Harpur, "A Select Chronology," in *Essays on the History of Trinity College Library, Dublin,* eds. Vincent and Anne Walsh Kinane (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 185-9; E.C.R. Armstrong, "Four Brooches Preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 32 (1914-1916): 243-8. Henry Jones, Bishop of Meath, presented the Book of Kells to Trinity College in the seventeenth-century. In 1836 the Book of Dimma and its shrine were purchased by Trinity College from Sir W. Betham for £150. The four brooches in the Trinity College collection were described in a paper given by Armstrong in 1914.

[119] R.B. McDowell, "The Main Narrative," in *The Royal Irish Academy: A Bicentennial History 1785-1985,* ed. by T. Ó Raifeartaigh (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1985), 10; Hutchinson, *Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*, 65-6.

[120] "Day Antiquarian Collection," *Irish Times*, 31 May 1913; G. Frank Mitchell, "Antiquities," in *The Royal Irish Academy: A Bicentennial History 1785-1985,* ed. by T. Ó Raifeartaigh (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy 1985), 128. The Petrie Collection was acquired in 1868. Objects from the collection of Robert Day were acquired in 1913.

and manufacturers of facsimiles in Dublin. The Royal Irish Academy will serve as the case study for interactions between these two groups, supported by primary records from the minute books of the Academy Council and select committees. The records demonstrate that the Dublin firms engaged with the Royal Irish Academy on a number of levels: as manufacturers seeking to study the design and construction of artefacts in the Academy collection; as dealers keen to profit from the sale of antiquities to the Academy; and as restorers and consultants appointed by the Academy for their technical knowledge and experience. Dealings between the Dublin firms and the Royal Irish Academy in each of these areas were crucial to facilitate the production of facsimiles.

Facsimile production required not only a familiarity with public and private collections of antiquities, but direct access to the artefacts and permission to replicate them. This allowed the Royal Irish Academy to regulate the handling of artefacts and to some extent dictate the terms of facsimile production by the Dublin manufacturers. In 1849 public access was granted to the collection of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork housed in the Royal Irish Academy museum, which was utilised by the Dublin firms to identify and study models for commercial facsimiles.[121] This coincided with the introduction of copyright legislation in 1842 that provided a three-year period of protection for a registered design to ensure exclusivity and led to a substantial increase in facsimile production.[122] Joseph Johnson registered designs for a penannular brooch from Virginia, Co. Cavan and the

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[121] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 3; Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, 87; Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 13-4; McCrum, "Commerce and the Celtic Revival," 37.
[122] McCrum, "Commerce and the Celtic Revival," 37; Clare Philips, *Jewellery from Antiquity to the Present* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 1996), 152; Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 17.

Kilmainham ('Knight Templar') brooch on 25 July 1849.[123] West & Son registered a design for the Co. Cavan ('Queen's) brooch on 17 December 1849 and Waterhouse & Company registered designs for the 'University' (Rathlin Island) brooch on 9 December 1850 and the 'Tara' brooch on 19 December 1850.[124] Waterhouse & Company sent a letter of thanks to the Academy in 1852 for "allowing them from their Museum copies of antiquities to assist them in their manufacture", along with a drawing of the original 'Tara' brooch by Samuel Watson as a gift.[125]

Despite the fact that the Royal Irish Academy museum was open to the public and therefore, to the Dublin retailers and manufacturers, requests to examine specific artefacts continued to be made.[126] West & Son requested access to the 'Dalriada' (Loughan) brooch in 1878.[127] Joseph Johnson also applied for permission to examine the 'Dalriada' (Loughan) brooch in 1878 and the Cross of Cong in 1882.[128] Hopkins & Hopkins asked permission to inspect and take measurements of the Ardagh chalice in 1906 and other

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[123] Patent Office, "Ornamental Design Act 1842: Register, Vol. 1" (Records of the Patent Office, National Archive, London, 1842-1885); Patent Office, "Ornamental Design Act 1842: Representations, Vol. 6" (Records of the Patent Office, National Archive, London, 1842-1885); Philips, *Jewellery from Antiquity*, 152; Bury, *Jewellery*, 539; Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 17; Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery*, 450; Gere and Tait, *Art of the Jeweller*, 161. Design Registry No. 61470. Designs were registered at the Patent Office and each piece was stamped with a small lozenge-shaped mark that contained a code to indicate the name and date of registration.

[124] Patent Office, "Ornamental Design Act 1842: Register, Vol. 1"; Patent Office, "Ornamental Design Act 1842: Representations, Vols. 6-7"; Bury, *Jewellery*, 540-3; Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 17; Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery*, 450; Gere and Tait, *Art of the Jeweller*, 161; McCrum, "Commerce and the Celtic Revival," 37. Design Registry No. 65089, No. 74210 and No. 74781 respectively.

[125] "Royal Irish Academy," *Freeman's Journal*, 27 January 1852.

[126] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 13-4. Waterhouse & Company encouraged customers to visit the Royal Irish Academy museum by providing the specific days and times for open admission in their stock catalogues. By 1852 the Royal Irish Academy Museum was open to the public on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays from 12 to 3pm.

[127] Royal Irish Academy, "Council Minutes, 1879-1881" (Minute Book, Vol. 19, Archives of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin), 78.

[128] Royal Irish Academy, "Minutes of the Polite Literature and Antiquities Committee, 1875-1886" (Minute Book, Vol. 6, Archives of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin), 349; Royal Irish Academy, "Council Minutes, 1879-1881" (Vol. 19), 73-4. The 'Dalriada' brooch is now known as the Loughan brooch after its find-spot.

artefacts in 1907.[129] The Academy allowed the firms to make drawings or take photographs of the specified artefacts, but in most cases denied their requests to take wax impressions or make casts, perhaps to avoid potential damage. For example, the loss of several panels of ornament from the original 'Tara' brooch since its discovery appears to have been a direct result of frequent handling for examination, replication and transport.[130]

Beyond merely studying the collections in the Royal Irish Academy museum, the heads of two Dublin firms actually became members of the Academy signalling a much more active level of engagement. James West was elected as a member the Royal Irish Academy in 1856 and shortly afterwards presented an electrotype of the *Soisceál Molaise* book shrine as a gift for the Academy museum.[131] Given the date of this presentation the electrotype was almost certainly made by Edmond Johnson, whose family firm was engaged as manufacturers for West & Son until 1867. Edmond Johnson, who was also a member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, was elected as a member of the Royal Irish Academy in 1897.[132] Johnson prided himself and his foreman, James C. Wallace, who was often consulted on technical questions regarding items in the Academy collection, on a working knowledge of the "history of the various articles reproduced [by his firm] as well as the various styles of our antique Irish ornaments", demonstrating a genuine interest in art historical and archaeological scholarship.[133]

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[129] Royal Irish Academy, "Council Minutes, 1899-1908" (Vol. 24), 355-6 and 428.
[130] Niamh Whitfield, "The Original Appearance of the Tara Brooch," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 106 (1976): 5-30.
[131] Royal Irish Academy, "Council Minutes, 1868-1870" (Vol. 15), 153.
[132] Royal Irish Academy, "Royal Irish Academy Minutes, 1880-1897" (Minute Book, Vol. 6, Archives of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin), 23-4, 33 and 421.
[133] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 8-9; E.C.R. Armstrong, *National Museum of Science and Art, Dublin: Guide to the Collection of Irish Antiquities, Catalogue of Irish Gold Ornaments in the Collection of the Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin: The Stationary Office, 1933), 8.

The publicity surrounding new finds generated excitement and increased public consciousness regarding the value of Irish antiquities. As a result, artefacts uncovered countrywide were often brought for sale to jewellers, goldsmiths and silversmiths. In their capacity as dealers the Dublin manufacturers regularly offered artefacts for sale to members of the academic and antiquarian communities, who were the primary purchasers of archaeological jewellery and metalwork in Ireland. Waterhouse & Company successfully sold a gold fibula from Mullingar, Co. Westmeath and a gold penannular ring to the Royal Irish Academy in 1874 and 1876, respectively.[134] Dr. Stokes purchased a gold torc found in Co. Mayo from Waterhouse & Company in 1867, which was publicised in the *Freeman's Journal* shortly before it was transferred to the Academy museum.[135] The Royal Irish Academy purchased an unprovenanced gold fibula from Joseph Johnson in 1874 and a gold fibula from Edmond Johnson previously in the collection of the jeweller Matthew Law of Sackville Street.[136]

Although perhaps motivated more by commercial gain than national feeling, the firms had a considerable impact on the consolidation of the most significant artefacts in Dublin-based institutions, particularly the Royal Irish Academy. Edmond Johnson purchased a gold lunula unearthed by ploughing in Ross, Co. Westmeath in 1896 and even though he had been "offered a larger

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[134] Royal Irish Academy, "Minutes of the Polite Literature and Antiquities Committee, 1870-1875" (Minute Book, Vol. 5, Archives of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin), 131-2; Royal Irish Academy, "Minutes of the Polite Literature and Antiquities Committee, 1875-1886" (Vol. 6), 110.

[135] Royal Irish Academy, "Minutes of the Polite Literature and Antiquities Committee, 1866-1869" (Minute Book, Vol. 4, Archives of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin); "A Rare Piece of Antiquity," *Freeman's Journal*, 19 June 1867; Armstrong, *Guide to the Collection*, 60 and 91, Plate 12. Dr. Stokes purchased the gold torc for £31.15s and offered to transfer it to the Academy at the price he paid for it, which was approved. The accession number for the gold torc is R. 2605.

[136] Armstrong, *Guide to the Collection*, 56 and 69.

sum from an American museum" he "reserved it for the Academy", a claim which had become a patriotic cliché by this date.[137] Waterhouse & Company sold the 'Tara' brooch to the Academy in 1868, but only on the condition that "it should never be allowed to leave Ireland, otherwise we could have disposed of it for a much larger sum".[138] On another occasion in 1867, however, the Academy refused to match the price set by Waterhouse & Company for a gold torc, prompting the following response from Samuel S. Waterhouse:

> "With the offer of the Irish Academy I have nothing to say, but I do know that the parsimony of the Royal Irish Academy causes many of the best Irish Antiquities found to leave the country where a better market is always open."[139]

This statement demonstrates that despite the appearance of acting in the national interest, the dealings between the Royal Irish Academy and the Dublin manufacturers were first and foremost business transactions.

Several Dublin manufacturers were often engaged by the Royal Irish Academy as restorers and technical consultants. Although West & Son held the title of the official 'medallist and jeweller' to the Academy, it appeared as though much of the repair work was carried out by Joseph and Edmond

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[137] "Royal Irish Academy," *Freeman's Journal*, 1 May 1896; Armstrong, *Guide to the Collection*, 65. A summary report of an Academy meeting referenced a paper read by Dr. Frazer on a gold lunula and the role Edmond Johnson played in its acquisition.

[138] Royal Irish Academy, "Council Minutes 1866-1868" (Minute Book, Vol. 14, Archives of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin), 297; Royal Irish Academy, "Council Minutes, 1881-1885" (Minute Book, Vol. 20, Archives of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin), 355-6; Waterhouse & Company, *Antique Irish Brooches, Manufactured by Waterhouse & Co.* (Dublin: Pim Brothers & Co., 1872), 7; Whitfield, "The Finding of the Tara Brooch," 138; McEvansoneya, "The Purchase of the 'Tara' Brooch," 77-88.

[139] Royal Irish Academy, "Minutes of the Polite Literature and Antiquities Committee, 1866-1869" (Vol. 4), 209 cited by McEvansoneya, "The Purchase of the 'Tara' Brooch," 82.

Johnson.[140] In 1868 Joseph Johnson was commissioned to clean and repair the Ardagh chalice and contributed a lengthy discussion of his observations to the first paper given on the find by Lord Dunraven, Vice-President of the Academy.[141] A newly purchased gold torc, which was broken into four pieces, was sent to Joseph Johnson in 1877 by the Academy to be joined.[142] Edmond Johnson conducted technical assessments of ancient gold fibulae as an expert working with William Frazer and co-authored two papers published in the Academy *Proceedings* between 1895 and 1898.[143] George Coffey, curator of the Royal Irish Academy Museum, suggested the manager of Edmond Johnson Limited (presumably James C. Wallace) to repair a loosened boss on the 'Tara' brooch and to re-solder the rim around the base of the Ardagh chalice in 1910.[144] These records demonstrate that at least two of the leading Dublin manufacturers played an integral part in the care and preservation of the original artefacts they replicated.

The association between the Royal Irish Academy and the commercial retailers and manufacturers of facsimiles in Dublin had a tremendous impact on the production of facsimiles. The collections of the Royal Irish Academy functioned as a source of inspiration for the manufacturers, who then created

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[140] Royal Irish Academy, "Council Minutes, 1879-1881" (Vol. 19), 78; Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 20. In a letter of 1878 from Langley Archer West to the Royal Irish Academy, he stated: "our firm has long been well known for its Irish Antique Jewellery, and also, because I believe we have the pleasure of doing most of the work for the Academy."

[141] Windham-Quinn, "On an Ancient Chalice," 435. Although the commission to conserve the Ardagh chalice has previously been attributed to Edmond Johnson, it was actually carried out by Joseph Johnson.

[142] Royal Irish Academy, "Minutes of the Polite Literature and Antiquities Committee, 1875-1886" (Vol. 6), 205.

[143] Royal Irish Academy, "Council Minutes, 1896-1899" (Minute Book, Vol. 23, Archives of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin), 3, 13 and 22; William Frazer and Edmond Johnson, "On Fine Gold Fibulae Lately Discovered in the South of Ireland, and on the Art Processes Used in Their Manufacture," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 3 (1893-1896): 776-83; William Frazer and Edmond Johnson, "On the Manufacture of a Gold Fibula Purchased for the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 5 (1898-1900): 336-7.

[144] Royal Irish Academy, "Minutes of the Polite Literature and Antiquities Committee, 1886-1916" (Minute Book, Vol. 7, Archives of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin), 337-8.

facsimiles that were informed by the careful study of the artefacts and their histories. Through their roles as dealers, restorers and technical consultants for the Academy, the Dublin firms increased their knowledge of the form and construction of the original artefacts, which was applied to the manufacture of facsimiles.

Facsimile Production: Selection of Models

Hundreds of facsimiles based on Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork dating from the Bronze Age through the fifteenth century were manufactured between 1840 and 1940 (refer also to the Object Catalogue in Appendix III). Unlike contemporary replicas of Irish manuscripts and plaster casts of high crosses and sculpture, facsimiles of archaeological jewellery and metalwork were more commercially viable. The size, portability, materials and ornament of these artefacts made them well suited to adaptation and mass-production. Only a portion of the surviving corpus of archaeological jewellery and metalwork was replicated by the Dublin firms, limited primarily to Irish artefacts discovered in an Irish context and thus, the selection of models appears highly nationalistic. The issue of accessibility to Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork in public and private collections potentially restricted the choice of models for facsimiles further. In particular, Irish artefacts held in collections outside of Ireland were rarely replicated, which almost certainly influenced public awareness of these artefacts as part of the canon of Irish art. The canon was established with increasing clarity by nineteenth-century art historical and archaeological scholarship and represented a hierarchy of Irish art that became politicised as nationalist, and

that utilised the material remains of the past to define national identity, which ultimately had a significant impact on facsimile production.[145]

The criteria for the selection of facsimile models included an evaluation of the overall condition and aesthetic value of the artefact, but with additional consideration given to examples of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork that were readily adaptable to modern manufacturing and reproductive processes and were in keeping with current fashion trends. An awareness of the historical significance of artefacts associated with high-profile personages or sites in Ireland was central in the choice of models for replication, given that links with the ancient past underscored by scholarship were frequently exploited to market and sell facsimiles. The distinctively Irish character of particular artefacts, such as crosiers, book and bell shrines, and types of ornament, such as interlace, triskeles and trumpet spirals, enhanced the associative value of the facsimiles for audiences at home and abroad. Finally, the rarity and the monetary value of the artefacts selected for replication enabled the widespread distribution and ownership of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork, albeit in facsimile, which would be otherwise inaccessible to all but a privileged few. The ideal models for facsimiles appeared to reinforce the value judgements made by antiquarians and academics to establish the Irish canon, which were then translated by commercial manufacturers into merchandise available for popular consumption.

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[145] Elizabeth M. Crooke, *Politics, Archaeology, and the Creation of a National Museum in Ireland: An Expression of National Life* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2000), 5-7; Elizabeth M. Crooke, "Revivalist Archaeology and Museum Politics," in *The Irish Revival Reappraised,* ed. Betsey Taylor Fitzsimon and James H. Murphy (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), 84-6.

This section will examine the selection of models for replication by highlighting major milestones in the history of facsimile production within two main categories: archaeological jewellery and metalwork. Facsimiles of archaeological jewellery include lunulae, gorgets, collars, torcs, dress fasteners, penannular rings, bullae, pins, earrings, fibulae, brooches and other personal ornaments. Modified facsimiles and adaptations of Irish brooches dominate this category, as the first and most enduring examples of Irish facsimile production. Facsimiles of archaeological metalwork include chalices, bells and bell shrines, book shrines and reproductions of elements from the Book of Kells, crosiers, corporeal reliquaries, crosses, trumpets, horns, discs and bosses. This category represents a new direction, an expansion beyond the exclusive manufacture of modified facsimiles and adaptations of Irish brooches in order to introduce a greater range of direct facsimiles of Irish metalwork aimed at museums.

'Fibula' Brooch

Irish facsimile production began in 1842 with the conversion of copies of archaeological jewellery into fashionable modern ornaments by Waterhouse & Company. The first facsimile issued by the firm was an adaptation of Late Bronze Age gold ornaments known as the 'Fibula' brooch (Fig. 13).[146] Official credit for the suggestion to rework, "copies of antique Irish Fibulae (with the addition of a joint and pin) into Brooches" was given to Corry Connellan, then private secretary to the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which

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[146] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 3; Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, 86-7; Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 13-4 and 95-6; McCrum, "Commerce and the Celtic Revival," 37.

seems designed to hint at future patronage from Dublin Castle and the Anglo-Irish ascendancy.[147]

The model for the 'Fibula' brooch was never identified by Waterhouse, but the similarities in form and use of geometric motifs suggest the design was a composite of gold dress-fasteners in the Royal Irish Academy like those dating from 900-700 BC found near Clones, Co. Monaghan (Fig. 14, Cat. 31) and in Castlekelly, Co. Galway (Fig. 15), along with gold ornaments similar to those found in Arboe and Killycolpy, Co. Tyrone (Fig. 16) and dating from c. 800-700 BC.[148] Waterhouse contended that, "in their original form, these curious gold ornaments were apparently useless, and totally inapplicable to modern purposes".[149] By 1853 Waterhouse acknowledged theories regarding the function of the original artefacts, with the most commonly accepted being that "they represented the rank of the owner, and were given as pledges of domestic and other treaties."[150]

As well as being the first facsimile adaptation of Irish archaeological jewellery the 'Fibula' brooch also had considerable longevity, being produced by three different firms for almost seventy years. The design was initially available for purchase from Waterhouse & Company in silver at 20 shillings, gilt and oxidised for 25 shillings and in gold for a significantly higher price of £3-13s-6d.[151] Waterhouse carried the 'Fibula' brooch for at least another thirty years, as the design continued to appear in the firm's stock catalogues

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[147] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 3.
[148] Wallace and Ó Floinn, *Treasures*, 95-7.
[149] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 3.
[150] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 2nd edition (Dublin: I. and E. MacDonnell, 1853), 18.
[151] Ibid., 17.

until 1872 (Fig. 17).[152] By this date the 'Fibula' brooch was only offered at three prices, 15, 20 and 25 shillings, and the price list provided no details regarding the metals or finishes, perhaps an indication of declining demand.[153]

The 'Fibula' brooch was not included among the group of facsimiles manufactured by Edmond Johnson for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, which instead featured direct facsimiles of related gold ornaments designated as 'armillae or bracelets' and 'mammillary fibulae'.[154] Johnson's firm manufactured direct facsimiles of a wide range of 'armillae' and 'fibulae' (Fig. 18) for museums at prices as high as £3-15s for the largest example.[155] It was not until c. 1902 that multiple sizes of the 'Fibula' brooch (Fig. 19) became available from Edmond Johnson Limited in silver or gilt silver from between £4 and £12 and in gold starting at £25.[156] By 1910 Hopkins and Hopkins carried several sizes of the 'Fibula' brooch (Fig. 20), which came in silver from £5 and gold from £12-6s up to £35.[157] The reissue of the 'Fibula' brooch by two Dublin manufacturers in the first decade of the twentieth century suggests a renewed popularity for archaeological-style jewellery in Ireland.

The 'Great Clare Find'

During the nineteenth century Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork that had been lost for centuries was rediscovered at sites around the country. The "largest number of associated gold ornaments of Bronze Age date discovered in Ireland or ... in Western Europe" was uncovered in

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[152] Waterhouse & Company, *Antique Irish Brooches*, 13.
[153] Ibid., 16.
[154] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 67-71.
[155] Edmond Johnson Limited, *Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art*, 21 and 25-7.
[156] Edmond Johnson Limited, *Epitome of Reproductions*, 17.
[157] Hopkins & Hopkins, *Irish Art Industry*, 16.

Mooghaun North, Co. Clare, during the building of a railway in 1854.[158] The hoard of gold bracelets, collars, neck rings and ingots weighing nearly eleven pounds came to be popularly known as the 'Great Clare Find.' Only thirty-four artefacts survived from a total of 146 (Fig. 21, Cat. 16-19 and 75-220), which were sold off by railway workmen to jewellers in Limerick, Belfast and Dublin with the bulk subsequently melted down.[159] The Royal Irish Academy purchased twelve of the remaining gold ornaments for its collection and later acquired an additional three, while fourteen gold ornaments were purchased by the British Museum.

In 1854 James Henthorn Todd made casts of artefacts from the group for exhibition at the Royal Irish Academy and the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.[160] Edmond Johnson produced direct facsimiles of four of the gold collars from the hoard (Fig. 22, Cat. 16.1-19.1) and at least a portion of the numerous gold penannular rings manufactured by his firm in c. 1891-2 for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago were likely based on examples from the 'Great Clare Find'.[161] Edmond Johnson Limited continued to produce direct facsimiles of the gold collars (Fig. 23) for museums at £1 for a larger example and 17 shillings for a smaller example.[162]

Given the high profile of the discovery, described as "one of the most sensational in Irish archaeology", the sheer size of the hoard and the

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[158] E.C.R. Armstrong, "The Great Clare Find of 1854," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 6th series, 7, No. 1 (30 June 1917): 21; Wallace and Ó Floinn, *Treasures*, 99.
[159] Armstrong, "Great Clare Find," 21-3; Wallace and Ó Floinn, *Treasures*, 99.
[160] Armstrong, "Great Clare Find," 32-3. According to an entry in the Museum Register of Acquisitions for the Irish Antiquities Department in 1902, after the death of Dr. Todd the casts passed to Margaret Stokes and then after her death to Lady Stokes.
[161] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 72-3. Edmond Johnson made particular reference to the Clare Find in the section on 'Gorgets' in his exhibition catalogue published for the 1893 World's Exposition in Chicago, which suggests that these artefacts served as models for his facsimiles.
[162] Edmond Johnson Limited, *Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art*, 21; Edmond Johnson Limited, *Antique Work Net Cash Price List* (Dublin: McCaw, Stevenson & Orr, Ltd., c. 1902), 3.

commercial value of the gold, the 'Great Clare Find' represented an ideal model for replication.[163] In 1902 Edmond Johnson Limited produced a total of 150 gilt-bronze direct facsimiles, recast from those made by Todd, for the National Museum in Dublin.[164] The group of direct facsimiles consisted of the ornaments in both the Royal Irish Academy collection and the British Museum, but four of the larger 'cup-ended fibulae' may not have been part of the original hoard.[165]

The Broighter Hoard

The Broighter hoard dates from the first century BC and consists of a tiny gold boat, an elaborate gold collar, a golden bowl with suspension rings and two twisted gold collars (Figs. 24-5, Cat. 20).[166] It was discovered in 1896 near Lough Foyle, at Broighter, Co. Derry, and sold to a dealer in Belfast.[167] Robert Day, a collector, dealer and member of the Royal Irish Academy, travelled to Belfast to purchase the hoard and subsequently brought it to Edmond Johnson for repairs, at which time it is likely that moulds were taken for replication.[168] The Broighter hoard was then exhibited by Day in London at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London, where a member of the

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[163] Armstrong, "Great Clare Find," 24.
[164] Armstrong, "Great Clare Find," 32. Facsimiles of 120 bracelets and 2 ingots, which formed part of the original hoard, are currently on display in the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin.
[165] Ibid., 32-3.
[166] Wallace and Ó Floinn, *Treasures*, 138.
[167] Robert Cochrane, "On Broighter, Limvady, County Londonderry, and on the Find of Gold Ornaments There in 1896," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 5th series, 32, No. 3 (30 September 1902): 211-3; Mitchell, "Antiquities," 139; Wallace and Ó Floinn, *Treasures*, 138. Mitchell gives a date of 1893 for the discovery of the Broighter hoard.
[168] "Irish Treasure Trove: The 'Broighter Find' Controversy," *Irish Times*, 8 August 1928. Edmond Johnson's prior relationship with Robert Day, who later served as his sponsor for membership to the Royal Irish Academy in 1897, likely played a part in his firm being selected to repair the artefacts.

British Museum approached him and a sale was concluded.[169] The sale resulted in a dispute over the appropriate repository for the artefacts, with the Royal Irish Academy claiming that the British Museum was holding the hoard illegally and exerting pressure on the Irish government to claim it as treasure trove.[170] A protracted legal battle resulted in a judgement confirming the Broighter hoard as treasure trove in 1903 and its transfer to the Royal Irish Academy in 1906.[171]

No evidence remains to suggest that any reproductions were made while the Broighter hoard was in the possession of the British Museum. Direct facsimiles of four artefacts from the hoard were available for purchase through the c. 1902 stock catalogue from Edmond Johnson Limited (Fig. 26), which together cost more than £10.[172] The only surviving direct facsimile of an artefact from the Broighter hoard, the elaborately decorated collar, was produced by Edmond Johnson Limited in c. 1906 (Fig. 27, Cat. 20.1), the same year the originals returned to Ireland.[173]

'Clarendon' Brooch

Waterhouse & Company issued the first modified facsimile of an Irish archaeological brooch in 1849 as the 'Clarendon' brooch, named for the

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[169] Ibid. Charles Hercules Read, Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities approached Robert Day regarding the sale of the hoard to the British Museum. According to the article, the hoard was sold for £600.

[170] Crooke, "Revivalist Archaeology and Museum Politics," 84-6; Mitchell, "Antiquities," 139; R. Lloyd Praeger, "The Broighter Gold Ornaments," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 7th series, 12, No. 1 (31 March 1942): 29.

[171] Crooke, "Revivalist Archaeology and Museum Politics," 84-6; Mitchell, "Antiquities," 139; Praeger, "The Broighter Gold Ornaments," 29.

[172] Edmond Johnson Limited, *Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art*, 20.

[173] Metropolitan Museum of Art, "Principal Accessions," 73-4. Although there is documentary evidence to suggest that the firm did produce and display facsimiles of the entire Broighter hoard, for example at the 1904 St. Louis exhibition (see Chapter Four), this is currently the only known surviving example held in a museum context.

Countess of Clarendon, wife of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who first patronised the design.[174] Waterhouse & Company described the brooch as a "shawl fastener", in which the "pattern of the original is preserved, while it admits of being made in various ways".[175] By 1852 the 'Clarendon' brooch was widely available in silver and gilt silver, with insets of bog-oak, 'Irish diamonds' (iron pyrites), amethysts and malachite from 20 to 30 shillings and in gold with Irish pearls from four to eight guineas.[176]

The model for the 'Clarendon' brooch was identified by Waterhouse & Company as a brooch from Ballyspellan, Co. Kilkenny with an inscription in *Ogham*, an ancient Irish form of writing, on the back.[177] The Ballyspellan brooch (Figs. 28-9, Cat. 336) was discovered in 1806 by a peasant working on the farm of Charles Byrne, Esq. on the estate of Lord Ashbrook in Co. Kilkenny.[178] The large silver penannular brooch was a representative example of Hiberno-Viking style brooches of the late ninth and early tenth centuries,

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[174] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 14-5; Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, 87; Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 95-6. Bennett cites an advertisement by Waterhouse in Drogheda paper, the *Conservative* on 7 September 1850: "Waterhouse and Company with pride and pleasure announce that Her Excellency the Countess of Clarendon having been pleased to testify her approval of one of these specimens of Modern Antique, they have ventured to grace it by the designation of the Clarendon Shawl brooch. Her Majesty's and His Excellency's Gold and Silversmiths, 25 Dame Street, Dublin."

[175] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 14-5.

[176] "The Clarendon Shawl Brooch," *Freeman's Journal*, 11 March 1850; Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 16-7. In the stock catalogues from 1852 and 1853, the price for the 'Clarendon' brooch in gold was quoted as "four to eight guineas each" or the equivalent of £4 4s - £8 8s. The guinea, equal to 21 shillings or £1.05, was no longer in circulation after 1816 and the use of the term by Waterhouse may be interpreted as deliberate to appeal to aristocratic clientele. For a detailed discussion of 'Irish diamonds' and their use in nineteenth-century jewellery see McCrum, "Commerce and the Celtic Revival," 49-50.

[177] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 3 and 15-6; Charles Graves, "On a Silver Brooch, with an Inscription in the Ogham Character," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 4 (1847-1850): 183-4; McCrum, "Commerce and the Celtic Revival," 42; Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery*, 448. The inscription was comprised of four rows of scholastic *Ogham* identified as the names of individuals, perhaps the previous owners of the brooch. William Halliday first translated the inscription and Eugene Curry conducted further research into the history of these names, one of which appeared in a genealogy in the Book of Lecan.

[178] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 15-6. An account of the discovery of the Ballyspellan brooch was given by General Vallancey in his *Collectanea* 7, 149 and reprinted in the 1852 Waterhouse & Company stock catalogue.

but the presence of the *Ogham* on the back was unique, making it the first example of archaeological jewellery found in Ireland with an inscription.[179]

The original brooch had been acquired by the Royal Dublin Society by at least 1819 and was on view in their museum located on the first floor of Leinster House on Kildare Street.[180] According to the Waterhouse & Company stock catalogue, Robert Tighe brought the Ballyspellan brooch to the attention of the firm through an article published in 1849 by Reverend Charles Graves of Trinity College, Dublin in the Royal Irish Academy *Proceedings*.[181] This led to a more comprehensive examination of the Irish archaeological brooches in the Royal Dublin Society, Royal Irish Academy, Trinity College and other collections by Waterhouse & Company, which the firm claimed directly inspired the large-scale production of modified facsimile jewellery beginning with the 'Clarendon' brooch.[182]

Although the design was advertised as a copy of the Ballyspellan brooch, a comparison between the 'Clarendon' brooch and the original artefact reveals significant stylistic anomalies. As illustrated in the Waterhouse & Company stock catalogue of 1852, the 'Clarendon' brooch (Fig. 30) was a reduced-size copy of an Irish archaeological brooch with a shortened pin and a flat rectangular pinhead ornamented with geometric motifs that swivelled freely

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[179] Ibid.

[180] "Royal Dublin Society," *Dublin Penny Journal* 4, No. 174 (31 October 1835): 137-8; Henry Fitzpatrick Berry, *A History of the Royal Dublin Society* (London, 1915); Wallace and Ó Floinn, *Treasures*, 6. The Royal Dublin Society purchased Leinster House from the Duke of Leinster in 1815. The library and museum collections were placed on the first floor of the new premises, with the Ballyspellan brooch on display in a case of 'Irish curiosities' in the first in a series of five rooms devoted to the Royal Dublin Society museum. The Royal Dublin Society had built up a collection of Irish antiquities and works of art by 1819.

[181] Charles Graves, "On a Silver Brooch, with an Inscription in the Ogham Character," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 4 (1847-1850): 183-4; Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 2nd edition, 3; Waterhouse & Company, *Antique Irish Brooches*, 3. The same text was reprinted verbatim in the second edition of the stock catalogue issued by the firm in 1853. However, in the 1872 stock catalogue, any mention of Robert Tighe had been removed.

[182] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 3; Bury, *Jewellery*, 537.

around a plain tubular ring. In contrast, the Ballyspellan brooch (Fig. 28, Cat. 336) is relatively large and has an extremely long pin and a barrel-shaped pinhead formed by a folded ridged sheet of silver with beading, bound in two sections with twisted wire, but that also moves freely around a plain tubular ring.[183] The curved and tapering silhouette of the terminals on the 'Clarendon' brooch do not correspond with the straighter and wider shape of the Ballyspellan brooch terminals. The surface of the 'Clarendon' brooch terminals were decorated with four domed bosses surrounded by a simplified pattern of zoomorphic interlace nearly indistinguishable from the bands linking the bosses, both of which appear to have been incised with hatched lines. The two animal heads at the junction of the ring and terminals were highly abstracted, enclosed within a narrow border decorated by small circular punchmarks. The Ballyspellan brooch features five domed bosses with more clearly defined zoomorphic interlace and connecting bands in a different configuration, surrounded by a narrow border of incised lines in groups of three that extends outwards from the animal heads at the junction with the ring, making it appear as though the terminals are about to be swallowed.[184] Only the four lines of *Ogham* on the back of the Ballyspellan brooch (Fig. 29, Cat. 336) have been accurately reproduced on the back face of the modified facsimiles (Fig. 31). Given such disparity between the form and ornament of these two examples, it seems probable that Waterhouse & Company used another artefact as the basis for the 'Clarendon' brooch.

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[183] Susan Youngs, ed. *The Work of Angels: Masterpieces of Celtic Metalwork, 6th-9th Centuries AD* (London: British Museum Publications in association with the National Museum of Ireland and the National Museums of Scotland, 1990), 103-4; Wallace and Ó Floinn, *Treasures*, 226.
[184] Youngs, *Work of Angels*, 103; Wallace and Ó Floinn, *Treasures*, 226. Descriptions of the ornament on the Ballyspellan brooch in these two sources incorrectly state that it has four bosses instead of five.

A more likely model for the 'Clarendon' brooch was a silver Hiberno-Viking penannular brooch discovered in Virginia, Co. Cavan (Fig. 32, Cat. 332) in the early nineteenth century and subsequently acquired by the Royal Irish Academy.[185] The form and ornament of the 'Virginia' brooch are nearly identical to that of the 'Clarendon' brooch issued by Waterhouse & Company from 1852 (Fig. 30), including the plain tubular ring and stylised animal heads at the junction with the terminals, which are curved in shape and decorated with four domed bosses connected by bands and surrounded by a distinctive pattern of zoomorphic interlace, within a narrow border of circular punchmarks.[186] The only clear differences between the 'Virginia' brooch and the modified facsimile from Waterhouse & Company are the truncated pin with a flat pinhead and the inclusion of the *Ogham* inscription from the Ballyspellan brooch on the back face. As a result of the similarities between the 'Virginia' brooch and the Ballyspellan brooch (Fig. 33, Cat. 332 and 336), along with its supposed use as the original model, some confusion has occurred regarding the 'Clarendon' brooch in earlier published sources.[187]

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[185] Gere and Tait, *Art of the Jeweller*, 161.

[186] E.C.R. Armstrong, "Catalogue of the Silver and Ecclesiastical Antiquities in the Collection of the Royal Irish Academy," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 32 (1913-16): 296; Adolf Mahr and Joseph Raftery, *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland: Selected Objects Illustrated and Described*, 2 vols. (Dublin: Stationery Office of *Saorstát Éireann*, 1932-41): 73 and 148. Armstrong incorrectly described the brooch from Virginia, Co. Cavan as having five domed bosses. The presence of only four domed bosses on the terminals of the 'Virginia' brooch was cited as unusual by Mahr and Raftery, which differed from the more common cruciform arrangement of five domed bosses found on Hiberno-Viking brooches. The division of the interlacing strands, or bodies of animals, into three sections was further highlighted as "a very unusual feature in Irish art of the whole Christian Period."

[187] Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, 87 and 155; Bury, *Jewellery*, 539; Gere and Tait, *Art of the Jeweller*, 161; Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 17; Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery*, 446-9. Sheehy was among the first to identify the Ballyspellan brooch as the sole model for the 'Clarendon' brooch by Waterhouse & Company. Bury correctly stated that in 1849 Joseph Johnson registered designs for the 'Clarendon' ('Ogham') brooch and the Kilmainham (Knight Templar) brooch, with both original models held in the Royal Irish Academy collection. However, in an illustration of modified facsimile brooches shown by Waterhouse & Company at the 1851 Great Exhibition in London, the 'Clarendon' ('Ogham') brooch was incorrectly identified by Bury as a copy of the Ballyspellan brooch. Gere and Tait conflated the Ballspellan brooch and the 'Virginia' brooch in their catalogue entry for a modified facsimile brooch by Joseph

Similar to the 'Fibula' brooch, Waterhouse & Company appear to have used an amalgamation of elements from both the 'Virginia' brooch and the Ballyspellan brooch to create their design for the 'Clarendon' brooch.

Broadly speaking, examples of the 'Clarendon' brooch may be grouped into three main categories. The first category is represented by the 1852 Waterhouse & Company design: a modified facsimile of the penannular brooch from Virginia, Co. Cavan to which the *Ogham* inscription from the Ballyspellan brooch may or may not have been applied. In 1849 Joseph Johnson registered a modified facsimile of the 'Virginia' brooch (Fig. 34, Cat. 332.1) that lacks an inscription, but closely corresponds in all other respects with the 'Clarendon' brooch sold through Waterhouse & Company.[188] This may be explained by Joseph Johnson's possible role as manufacturer for the firm and further strengthens the likelihood that the 'Virginia' brooch served as the primary model for the Waterhouse 'Clarendon' brooch design. Waterhouse & Company also issued a facsimile adaptation in 1852 known as the 'Ogham' pin (Fig. 35) that consisted of a miniature copy of the 'Clarendon' brooch attached to the

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Johnson from 1849, described as a "free copy of a ninth-century silver penannular ring-brooch with an Ogham inscription on the reverse, found near Virginia, Co. Cavan." The original 'Virginia' brooch does not have an *Ogham* inscription and the catalogue entry went on to state that "versions of this brooch were also registered by Waterhouse in 1849, when the original belonged to the Royal Dublin Society", which was clearly another reference to the Ballyspellan brooch. No record of the registration of the 'Clarendon' brooch design by Waterhouse & Company exists. Dunlevy also incorrectly stated that "Johnson registered reduced copies of the historic Ballyspellan and Kilmaninham brooches". In the most recent major published work on Celtic Revival jewellery, Gere and Rudoe continue to incorrectly identify the Ballyspellan brooch as the sole model for the 'Clarendon' ('Ogham') brooch.

[188] Patent Office, "Ornamental Design Act 1842: Register," Vol. 1 (Records of the Patent Office, National Archive, London, 1842-1885); Patent Office, "Ornamental Design Act 1842: Representations," Vol. 6 (Records of the Patent Office, National Archive, London, 1842-1885); Gere and Tait, *Art of the Jeweller*, 161. On the back of this modified facsimile brooch is a Design Registry mark that refers to the registration of this design by Joseph Johnson of 23 Wellington Quay, Dublin on 25 July 1849 (No. 61470). This example, owned by the British Museum, does not include a reproduction of the *Ogham* inscription from the Ballyspellan brooch on its back face. As no other version of the 'Virginia' brooch by Joseph Johnson has been found in a museum collection, it remains unclear whether or not any of his modified facsimile brooches included the inscription.

top of a longer pin.[189] Edmond Johnson Limited and Hopkins & Hopkins carried on production of the 1852 Waterhouse design for the 'Clarendon' brooch into the first decades of the twentieth century. A modified facsimile of the 1852 'Clarendon' brooch design was available in silver from Edmond Johnson Limited (Fig. 36, Cat. 338.2) from at least c. 1902.[190] Hopkins & Hopkins advertised their modified facsimile as the 'Ogham' brooch with a decorated pin (Fig. 37), available in both silver and gold from at least 1910, and an accompanying catalogue description that perpetuated the conflation between the 'Virginia' brooch and the Ballyspellan brooch begun by Waterhouse & Company in 1852.[191]

Examples of the 'Clarendon' brooch belonging to the second category are those more closely associated with the 1872 Waterhouse & Company design: a modified facsimile of the penannular brooch from Virginia, Co. Cavan with the *Ogham* inscription taken from the Ballyspellan brooch that demonstrate some notable differences from the 1852 version. The changes to the 'Clarendon' brooch as illustrated by Waterhouse & Company in their 1872 stock catalogue (Fig. 38) were limited to the ornament on the terminals. In the 1872 design, the bands linking the four bosses on the terminals were eliminated and the

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[189] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 16; Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 2nd edition, 16. The 'Ogham' pin was priced between 9 to 12 shillings each. In the 2nd edition of the stock catalogue from 1853, the 'Ogham' brooch is shown with a long chain attached.

[190] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 87; Edmond Johnson Limited, *Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art*, 16; Edmond Johnson Limited, *Price List*, 4; Edmond Johnson Limited, *Epitome of Reproductions*, 14; Buck, "Reproductions of Irish Antiquities," 52. The design of this modified facsimile brooch does not correspond with any of the other surviving examples or illustrations of the 'Clarendon' brooch as manufactured by Edmond Johnson and his firm from 1893 onwards, but regardless, does appear closely linked with the version of the 'Clarendon' brooch sold through Waterhouse & Company. This modified facsimile brooch was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1908 directly from Edmond Johnson Limited for £1-15s. The amount paid for this modified facsimile brooch does not match up with the price listed for the 'Clarendon' brooch as sold by Edmond Johnson Limited and as such, may represent a facsimile design variation listed without a specific name or description.

[191] Hopkins & Hopkins, *Irish Art Industry*, 16.

zoomorphic interlace given greater prominence, particularly with the addition of realistic animal or bird heads and the removal of the abstracted heads at the junction with the ring. Edmond Johnson and his firm also produced modified facsimiles of the 1872 'Clarendon' brooch design into the early twentieth century, the only other major Dublin retailer and manufacturer to do so. The 'Clarendon' brooch first exhibited by Edmond Johnson at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (Fig. 39-40, Cat. 338.1) was identical to the 1872 Waterhouse design, minus the design registry mark. By c. 1902 Edmond Johnson Limited concurrently sold modified facsimiles of the 1872 'Clarendon' brooch design for £1-5s to museums (Fig. 41) and in silver or gilt silver for between 9-12 shillings to individual consumers (Fig. 42).[192]

The third category consists of full-scale, direct facsimiles of the penannular brooch from Virginia, Co. Cavan and the Ballyspellan brooch. In 1849 Edmond Johnson manufactured a facsimile of the Ballyspellan brooch (Fig. 43, Cat. 336.4) for West & Son that was designated as the 'Clarendon' brooch.[193] A comparison between the original artefact (Fig. 28, Cat. 336) and the facsimile demonstrate that the version for West & Son was highly detailed and accurate, with the exception of amethysts used in place of the silver bosses and the recreation of a missing section of twisted wire on the pinhead. The decision to directly copy the Ballyspellan brooch, rather than produce the composite design, and label it as the 'Clarendon' brooch may have allowed West & Son to circumvent copyright restrictions and sell the brooches in direct competition with Waterhouse & Company. By 1893 Edmond Johnson had also

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[192] Edmond Johnson Limited, *Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art*, 16; Edmond Johnson Limited, *Epitome of Reproductions*, 14-5.

[193] "Collection: Brooch," The Royal Collection Trust, accessed 30 April 2010, www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/4833/brooch.

manufactured a direct facsimile of the 'Virginia' brooch (Fig. 44, Cat. 332.2) for display at the Chicago Exposition, as distinctive from his modified facsimile of the 'Clarendon' brooch. Edmond Johnson Limited continued to make direct facsimiles of both the Ballyspellan brooch and the 'Virginia' brooch (Fig. 45) for museums into the early twentieth century, each of which sold for £1-15s through stock catalogues and were listed separately from the modified facsimiles 'Clarendon' brooch.[194]

'Tara' Brooch

One of the best known, if not *the* most famous, examples of Irish archaeological jewellery brought to light during the nineteenth century was the so-called 'Tara' or 'Royal Tara' brooch. The elaborately ornamented eighth-century brooch (Figs. 46-7, Cat. 298) was discovered on a beach near Bettystown, Co. Meath, in August 1850.[195] The local woman in possession of the brooch "offered it for sale to the proprietor of an old iron shop in Drogheda, who refused to purchase so light and insignificant an article".[196] Thomas North, a Drogheda watchmaker, ultimately purchased the brooch and in turn sold it later that same year to Samuel S. Waterhouse in Dublin.[197] Waterhouse fabricated the association with the ancient royal site of the Hill of Tara to further increase the value of the brooch by romanticising its origins.

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[194] Edmond Johnson Limited, *Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art*, 22; Edmond Johnson Limited, *Price List*, 4. The facsimile of the Ballyspellan brooch was listed as No. 62 and the facsimile of the penannular brooch from Virginia, Co. Cavan was listed as No. 63.

[195] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 7. Waterhouse & Company first published this account of the discovery of the brooch in 1852. A conflicting account later surfaced from Sir William Wilde, which stated that the "brooch called that of Tara" was discovered in the "excavation for the harbour wall at the mouth of the river Boyne, near Drogheda, in an oak box". For a full discussion and analysis of the Waterhouse and Wilde accounts, see Whitfield, "Finding of Tara Brooch," 120-42.

[196] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 7.

[197] Whitfield, "Finding of Tara Brooch," 120-1 and 131-7; Douglas Bennett, *Irish Silver* (Dublin: Eason, 1976), 24; Gere and Tait, *Art of the Jeweller*, 160; Netzer, "Art/Full Ground," 50.

Its designation as the 'Royal Tara' brooch was derived in part from an assertion by George Petrie, in his paper at the Royal Irish Academy given on 9 December 1850, that a prince or a high-ranking noble had worn it.[198] This attribution became even more fitting after the presentation of the original brooch on 20 December 1850 to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert at Windsor Castle and the subsequent royal purchase of two 'Tara' brooch facsimiles.[199]

When the 'Tara' brooch was first exhibited at the Royal Irish Academy in December 1850, Petrie publicly urged Waterhouse, "a prince merchant who is a member of our academy", to donate the artefact and "see it placed in its proper depository".[200] Petrie went on to point out that Waterhouse had "derived a great pecuniary benefit from our exertions to create an interest in such remains", which likely referred to the recent large-scale production of modified facsimiles and adaptations by the firm in 1849 and Waterhouse's probable intention to replicate and sell copies of the newly acquired 'Tara' brooch.[201] Although the antiquarian, academic and museum community did much to publicise Irish antiquities, the extensive promotional campaigns undertaken by the Dublin firms and the distribution of facsimiles resulted in a

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198 "Royal Irish Academy," *Freeman's Journal*, 11 December 1850; "Royal Irish Academy," *Belfast News-Letter*, 20 December 1850. Portions of Petrie's paper given to the Royal Irish Academy on 9 December 1850 were reprinted, including his statement on the rank of the wearer: "I would with as little hesitation express my opinion that the rank must have been a princely one, as we have the authority of a tract of our most ancient Brehon laws, that the size and value of the Aiede Argiot, or silver brooch, should be in proportion to the rank of the wearer".

199 Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 14; "Court Circular, Windsor, Friday," *Morning Chronicle* (London), 21 December 1850; Gere and Tait, *Art of the Jeweller*, 160; McEvansoneya, "The Purchase of the 'Tara' Brooch," 80-1; Netzer, "Art/Full Ground," 50.

200 Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 10; Gere and Tait, *Art of the Jeweller*, 160; Netzer, "Art/Full Ground," 50. An excerpt from Petrie's paper given to the Royal Irish Academy was also published in *Saunder's Newsletter* of 1850 and reprinted by Waterhouse & Company in their 1852 stock catalogue.

201 "Royal Irish Academy," *Freeman's Journal*, 11 December 1850; "Royal Irish Academy," *Belfast News-Letter*, 20 December 1850; McEvansoneya, "The Purchase of the 'Tara' Brooch," 81. McEvansoneya cited a similarly disapproving opinion by W.K. Sullivan, secretary of the Royal Irish Academy. In 1868 Sullivan stated "that Waterhouse had made more than £2,000 'by the production of cheap imitations' of it".

greater level of public exposure at home and abroad (see Chapters Three and Four).[202] Given the contemporary fashion for archaeological-style jewellery that had emerged in Ireland by 1850, sole ownership and control of the original 'Tara' brooch represented an immense commercial opportunity for Waterhouse and as such, it did not immediately go to the Academy. Furthermore, the high status of the original 'Tara' brooch as a work of exceptional beauty and national significance, which was regularly on display in Waterhouse's shop, correlated with increased sales of the facsimiles and allowed him to reap substantial profits.[203]

Ten varieties of the 'Tara' brooch were available from Waterhouse & Company from late 1851 onwards, having been displayed and sold earlier that year at the Great Exhibition in London.[204] These modified facsimiles were reduced-size copies of the original with a modern fastening device, executed in a variety of metals and finishes with optional embellishments such as pearls, diamonds and malachite (Fig. 48, Cat. 298.10). Four of the modified facsimile brooch designs exhibited by Waterhouse, including the 'Tara' brooch (Fig. 49, Cat. 298.3), were purchased after the close of the Great Exhibition for the newly formed Museum of Manufactures, later known as the South Kensington Museum.[205] The firm published its first stock catalogues of modified facsimiles and adaptations of Irish brooch designs in 1852 and 1853, in which the original (Fig. 50) and the facsimiles of the 'Tara' brooch (Fig. 51) were

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[202] Netzer, "Art/Full Ground," 54.

[203] "The Royal Tara Brooch," *Freeman's Journal*, 11 January 1851; "The Royal Antique Brooches," *Belfast News-Letter*, 7 July 1851; "The Royal Antique Brooches," *Freeman's Journal*, 7 July 1851. Waterhouse later offered visitors to the shop a free copy of the report in *Saunder's Newsletter* on the 'Tara' brooch, together with a copy of the paper given by Petrie at the Royal Irish Academy.

[204] "Irish Antique Shawl Brooches," *Freeman's Journal,* 4 December 1851; Whitfield, "Original Appearance of Tara Brooch," 13.

[205] Department of Practical Art, *First Report*, 262. Details of the purchase are provided in Appendix V, Catalogue of the Museum of Manufactures, Division II, Metal Work.

given prominence.[206] Waterhouse & Company went on to create an entire suite of coordinating jewellery, facsimile adaptations including a 'Tara' waist clasp (Fig. 52, Cat. 298.15, 298.19 and 298.21), the 'Tara' pin from 1852 and followed later by a second version (Fig. 53) and three variations of 'Tara' bracelets (Fig. 54).[207]

Waterhouse & Company appeared to dominate the facsimile market with their exclusive designs based on the 'Tara' brooch until 1868, when the firm finally decided to part with it. The British Treasury purchased the 'Tara' brooch from Waterhouse for £200 with public funds for deposit in the Royal Irish Academy.[208] Waterhouse & Company continued to carry modified facsimiles and adaptations of the 'Tara' brooch until at least 1872, according to their stock catalogues.[209] Years later several competing firms and manufacturers including West & Son, Joseph Johnson, Edmond Johnson and Hopkins & Hopkins also began to issue direct facsimiles, modified facsimiles and adaptations of the 'Tara' brooch. West & Son advertised their stock of 'Irish Jewellery' in 1886 as containing various patterns of 'Tara' brooches, bracelets, earrings and pins, likely copied from the earlier facsimile adaptations sold by Waterhouse & Company.[210] Joseph Johnson produced the

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[206] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*; Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 2nd edition.

[207] Ibid., 14-5.

[208] Ibid., 7. Waterhouse agreed to sell the 'Tara' brooch for £200, providing a significant discount despite maintaining that it was worth £500. He further stated that the sale was made on the "express condition that it should never be allowed to leave Ireland, otherwise we could have disposed of it for a much larger sum." For a full discussion of the circumstances surrounding the purchase of the 'Tara' brooch by the Royal Irish Academy, see McEvansoneya, "The Purchase of the 'Tara' Brooch," 77-88.

[209] Waterhouse & Company, *Antique Irish Brooches*, 4-8.

[210] "Irish Jewellery," *Freeman's Journal*, 21 April 1886. The lack of surviving documentation for West & Son makes any definitive conclusions regarding their facsimile production problematic. The only record found which makes reference to the reproduction of the 'Tara' brooch by West & Son is an advertisement from 1886. The Ulster Museum, Belfast owns an example of a 'Tara' brooch facsimile by West & Son from 1911-2 (BELUM.T1130). I would like to thank Elise Taylor of the Ulster Museum for bringing this information to my attention.

first direct facsimiles of the 'Tara' brooch (Fig. 55, Cat. 298.13), which were sold by his firm until at least 1890.[211] Edmond Johnson and his firm manufactured not only direct facsimiles of the 'Tara' brooch (Fig. 56, Cat. 298.14 and Fig. 57) from c. 1891-2, but also modified facsimiles (Fig. 58) into the early twentieth century. Hopkins & Hopkins carried modified facsimiles of the 'Tara' brooch (Fig. 59) similar to those issued by Waterhouse & Company, West & Son and Edmond Johnson, as well as facsimile adaptations such as the 'Tara' belt clasp (Fig. 60).

Hunterston Brooch

The replication of artefacts located outside of Ireland was quite rare and thus, facsimiles of the Hunterston brooch were particularly noteworthy. The late seventh or early eighth-century Irish brooch (Fig. 61, Cat. 297) was named for its association with Hunterston, West Kilbride, Ayrshire in Scotland where it was discovered in 1830.[212] The presence of a runic inscription on the back face of the brooch inspired its alternative designation as the 'Runic' brooch.[213] The brooch remained in private hands, owned by Mr. Robert Hunter of Hunterston, until 1891 when it was sold to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and later transferred to the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh.[214] The selection of the Hunterston brooch as a model for facsimiles was based upon its status as "the most magnificent work of ancient Celtic art that has been found in Scotland", according to a

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[211] "10 Suffolk Street in Re: T. Joyce, Deceased," *Freeman's Journal*, 6 November 1890.
[212] Youngs, *Work of Angels*, 91-2. The details surrounding the discovery of the brooch are unclear, being found on the hillside of Hunterston in either 1826 or 1830. The date for the discovery is usually given as 1830.
[213] "The Dalriada Brooch," *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 1st series, 4 (1856): 1; Youngs, *Work of Angels*, 91-2.
[214] "The Hunterston Brooch," *Glasgow Herald*, 24 March 1893; Youngs, *Work of Angels*, 91-2.

contemporary Scottish commentator, and its visual similarities with the 'Tara' brooch, "which holds a corresponding position among the Celtic antiquities of Ireland".[215] Facsimiles of the brooch perhaps also served to underscore the close ties between Ireland and Scotland during the medieval period.[216]

Whether or not Mr. Hunter, or later the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, granted the Dublin manufacturers permission to access the Hunterston brooch to make copies remains uncertain, but William Acheson & Company appears to have been the first to produce the facsimiles. Acheson exhibited gold and silver brooches "made from the pattern of the Roscrea and Runic brooches", at the Belfast exhibition in 1852.[217] An undated modified facsimile of the Hunterston brooch by Acheson (Fig. 62, Cat. 297.2) was adapted to suit contemporary fashions with a reduction in size and the addition of a modern fastening device on the back. The flattened, stylised imitation filigree ornament, along with the invention of motifs to fill the areas originally for inset glass studs, found on the facsimile suggests that either Acheson did not have direct contact with the Hunterston brooch and may have used drawings to make copies, strict accuracy was not his primary concern or the level of detail was restricted by the method of manufacture. Opportunities to view the original Hunterston brooch at events such as the Leeds National Exhibition at the Museum of Ornamental Art in 1868, alongside other examples of Irish jewellery and metalwork in the Royal Irish Academy Museum and private collections, may have continued to inspire Dublin

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[215] "Archaeological Rambles in Argyllshire," *Glasgow Herald,* 3 December 1892.
[216] F. J. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings,* 2nd edition (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 107-14.
[217] Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Antiquities, and Other Objects, Illustrative of Irish History: Exhibited in the Museum, Belfast, on the Occasion of the Twenty-Second Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, September, 1852* (Belfast: Archer, 1852), 54.

manufacturers to reproduce this artefact.[218] By c. 1902 Edmond Johnson Limited had produced direct facsimiles of the brooch (Fig. 63, Cat. 297.8) concurrent with the production of modified facsimiles (Fig. 64), which were incorrectly referred to as 'Hunterstan' brooches.[219]

Co. Cavan Brooch

The ninth-century Co. Cavan brooch (Fig. 65, Cat. 305) was among the most frequently replicated archaeological brooches, with multiple variations produced by four of the six major Dublin firms. The gilt silver brooch features robust cast ornament well suited to reproduction and tri-lobed bosses decorated with gold filigree and granulation on the terminals and pinhead which could be adapted to hold inset gemstones or pearls.[220] Its early designation as the 'Queen's' brooch was derived from the first modified facsimile manufactured by Edmond Johnson for West & Son (Fig. 66, Cat. 305.1) as a gift to commemorate Queen Victoria's visit to Ireland in 1849.[221] Modified facsimiles of the Co. Cavan brooch (Fig. 67, Cat. 305.8) continued to be manufactured by Edmond Johnson exclusively for West & Son until at least 1862. By that date the Revd Richard Butler, Dean of Clonmacnoise, who had been in possession of the brooch, sold it to the Royal Irish Academy.[222] Ten years later Waterhouse & Company offered modified facsimiles of the 'Queen's' brooch in their stock catalogue, along with facsimile adaptation

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[218] "Leeds National Exhibition, Museum of Ornamental Art," *Leeds Mercury,* 13 February 1868.
[219] Buck, "Recent Accessions," 60; Edmond Johnson Limited, *Epitome of Reproductions,* 20.
[220] McCrum, "Commerce and the Celtic Revival," 39.
[221] Dunlevy, *Jewellery,* 50-1. This facsimile was commissioned by the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin to mark the occasion of Queen Victoria's visit to the Library that same year. H.R.H. Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught, presented it to the National Museum after the Queen's death in 1902.
[222] Youngs, *Work of Angels,* 95.

earrings that incorporated motifs from the original brooch (Fig. 68).[223] By 1891-2 Edmond Johnson began to produce direct facsimiles of the Co. Cavan brooch (Fig. 69, Cat. 305.19 and Fig. 70), along with modified facsimiles by the end of the nineteenth century (Fig. 71).[224] Hopkins & Hopkins issued modified facsimiles of the Co. Cavan brooch (Fig. 72) into the early twentieth century.[225]

'Dalriada' Brooch

The eighth-century 'Dalriada' (Loughan) Brooch (Figs. 73-4, Cat. 299) is unique amongst the surviving corpus of archaeological jewellery from Ireland, being made entirely of gold rather than gilt silver or copper alloy.[226] Although the brooch was discovered in 1855 at an ancient ford on the River Bann in Loughan, Co. Derry, it was immediately designated as the 'Dalriada' brooch to "associate it with the old name of the district in which it was found – the ancient Dalriada."[227] The reference to *Dál Riada* was completely fabricated, as the find-spot was located outside the boundaries of the ancient northern kingdom, but was in keeping with the contemporary practice of enhancing the provenance of Irish brooches with romantic and evocative names to make them more memorable.[228]

The 'Dalriada' brooch was acquired by the Royal Irish Academy in 1878 and shortly thereafter Joseph Johnson and West & Son were both granted

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[223] Waterhouse & Company, *Antique Irish Brooches*, 12-5; Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery*, 450-1.
[224] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 83; Edmond Johnson Limited, *Epitome of Reproductions*, 13; Edmond Johnson Limited, *Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art*, 22.
[225] Hopkins & Hopkins, *Irish Art Industry*, 18.
[226] "The Dalriada Brooch," 1; Wallace and Ó Floinn, *Treasures*, 184.
[227] "The Dalriada Brooch," 1; Youngs, *Work of Angels*, 101.
[228] "The Dalriada Brooch," 1; Richard Warner, "The Re-Provenancing of Two Important Penannular Brooches of the Viking Period," *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 3rd series, 36/37 (1973/1974): 58; Youngs, *Work of Angels*, 101.

permission to copy the brooch.[229] No facsimiles of the 'Dalriada' brooch by Joseph Johnson or West & Son were preserved in a museum context, but Edmond Johnson Limited (Fig. 75, Cat. 299.3) and Hopkins & Hopkins (Fig. 76, 299.4) also replicated the brooch in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. [230] Edmond Johnson Limited advertised facsimiles of the 'Dalriada' brooch in stock catalogues from c. 1902 (Fig. 77-8), manufactured both as direct facsimiles and modified facsimiles in silver or gilt silver.[231] Hopkins & Hopkins offered modified facsimiles of the brooch in both silver and gold in their stock catalogue from c. 1910 (Fig. 79), which illustrate the continuing popularity of the design.[232]

Ardagh Chalice

The Ardagh chalice was discovered in 1868 at Reerasta, a *rath* located near Ardagh, Co. Limerick, as part of a hoard containing a smaller bronze chalice and four brooches of various sizes and types (Figs. 80-2, Cat. 312-315 and 344).[233] The entire group of artefacts, which had been deposited on loan in the Royal Irish Academy, was discussed the following year in a paper given

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[229] Royal Irish Academy, "Minutes of the Polite Literature and Antiquities Committee, 1875-1886" (Vol. 6), 349; Royal Irish Academy, "Council Minutes, 1879-1881" (Vol. 19), 73-4 and 78. In a letter from Langley Archer West to the Royal Irish Academy on 6 May 1878, a request was made "to grant me leave to copy the brooch which the Academy has lately purchased, and known as the Dalriada." The Academy Council granted his request and resolved that the firm be allowed to take an impression from the brooch under the supervision of the curator.

[230] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 88; Buck, "Reproductions of Irish Antiquities," 51-2; Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 97-8, Fig. 94. Edmond Johnson replicated the 'Dalriada' brooch in c. 1891-2 for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. This facsimile was previously held in the David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago, but it was lost after 1948. A second facsimile of the 'Dalriada' brooch was manufactured by Edmond Johnson Limited in c. 1908 for the Metalwork Department at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.15). Bennett illustrated the facsimile of the 'Dalriada' brooch by Hopkins & Hopkins.

[231] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 15; Edmond Johnson Limited, *Epitome of Reproductions*, 15.

[232] Hopkins & Hopkins, *Irish Art Industry*, 19.

[233] Windham-Quinn, "On an Ancient Chalice," 433.

by Lord Dunraven, Vice-President of the Academy.[234] Contemporary newspaper reports in Dublin and London praised the Ardagh chalice for its "rare excellence of Celtic ornamentation, which could only be compared to that of the 'Tara' brooch"[235] and "rejoice that so exquisite a specimen of the skill of our countrymen in working in metal nearly 1,000 years ago had been thus unexpectedly brought to light".[236] The high status accorded to the Ardagh chalice based on its historical significance and the beauty of its ornament made it an obvious choice for replication by the Dublin firms.

Joseph Johnson was chosen to provide a detailed technical assessment of the chalice, which consisted of dismantling it, examining its constituent parts and overall construction, as well as carrying out any necessary cleaning, repairs and reassembly. Johnson's analysis accounted for a substantial portion of the paper given by Dunraven in 1869, resulting in one of the first published contributions by a Dublin goldsmith to the study of Irish antiquities.[237] Furthermore, the Ardagh chalice commission appears to have been a landmark event which inspired an expanded range of facsimiles manufactured by Joseph and Edmond Johnson during the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

The earliest facsimiles of the Ardagh chalice were made by Joseph Johnson while it was still privately owned, which suggests that moulds were taken during his assessment for the Academy and permission to manufacture

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[234] Royal Irish Academy, "Royal Irish Academy Minutes, 1867-1880" (Vol. 5), 56; Windham-Quinn, "On an Ancient Chalice," 435.
[235] "Royal Irish Academy," *Freeman's Journal,* 23 February 1869.
[236] "This Evening's News," *Pall Mall Gazette* (London), 24 February 1869.
[237] Windham-Quinn, "On an Ancient Chalice," 435-9.

copies was obtained from Revd Dr Butler, the Bishop of Limerick.[238] Johnson produced the first facsimile adaptation of the chalice in 1869 to coincide with the presentation of its history by Dunraven and the exhibition of the Ardagh hoard in the Royal Irish Academy. It took the form of an oversized parcel-gilt silver dish (Fig. 83, Cat. 344.1) created by replicating the foot of the chalice (Fig. 84, Cat. 344) and turning it upside down.[239] The Ardagh chalice and the rest of the hoard was deposited in and accessioned by the Royal Irish Academy in 1874, but it was not until 1878 that final agreement was reached with Butler over ownership issues.[240] The earliest known direct facsimile of the entire chalice by Joseph Johnson was deposited in the Academy museum in 1875 to "exhibit the portions not displayed in the original", and was placed on view alongside the copy.[241]

Joseph Johnson was not only the first to produce direct facsimiles of the chalice, but the four Ardagh brooches as well. Johnson created a sizable group of direct facsimiles purchased by the South Kensington Museum in 1881, including full-scale copies of the chalice (Fig. 85, Cat. 344.2) and the

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[238] Royal Irish Academy, "Minutes of the Polite Literature and Antiquities Committee, 1866-1869" (Vol. 4), 256-63. These records refer to the correspondence between the Secretary of the Committee of Antiquities in the Royal Irish Academy, J.T. Gilbert, and Rev. Dr. Butler. In a letter of 21 July 1869 Gilbert sought to negotiate the purchase of the hoard on behalf of the Committee of Antiquities, but expressed "some practical difficulty in bringing the matter about, as they are not exactly informed as to the ownership or trusteeship of the articles".

[239] Bennett, *Company of Goldsmiths*, 35.

[240] Royal Irish Academy, "Minutes of the Polite Literature and Antiquities Committee, 1866-1869" (Vol. 4), 256-63; Royal Irish Academy, "Minutes of the Polite Literature and Antiquities Committee, 1870-1875" (Vol. 5), 147-52; Royal Irish Academy, "Council Minutes, 1868-1870" (Vol. 15), 297; Royal Irish Academy, "Council Minutes, 1870-1873" (Minute Book, Vol. 16, Archives of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin), 14-5 and 34-5; Royal Irish Academy, "Council Minutes, 1873-1875" (Minute Book, Vol. 17, Archives of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin), 227; Royal Irish Academy, "Council Minutes, 1875-1877" (Minute Book, Vol. 18, Archives of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin), 260-1; Royal Irish Academy, "Royal Irish Academy Minutes, 1867-1880" (Vol. 5), 106, 145 and 403.

[241] Royal Irish Academy, "Minutes of the Polite Literature and Antiquities Committee, 1875-1886" (Vol. 6), 63-4. The whereabouts of this particular facsimile remain unknown, but it may have been removed at some point by Johnson and later sold.

brooches (Figs. 86-9, Cat. 312.1-315.1).[242] His brother Edmond began to produce direct facsimiles of the Ardagh chalice by at least 1891, based on the sale of a chalice to the English architect Watson Fothergill (Fig. 90, Cat. 344.3) and direct facsimiles of the chalice (Fig. 91, Cat. 344.4) and two brooches (Figs. 92-3, Cat. 312.2 and 313.2) made in advance of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition.[243] Direct facsimiles of the Ardagh chalice (Figs. 94-5, Cat. 344.5) and the larger Ardagh brooch (Figs. 96-7, Cat. 312.3) were manufactured by Edmond Johnson Limited until the closure of the firm in 1926.[244]

West & Son began to produce facsimiles of the Ardagh chalice by the turn of the century, most notably in 1904 for inclusion as part of a loan collection of contemporary metalwork for public display within the Dublin Science and Art Museum.[245] Hopkins & Hopkins replicated the Ardagh chalice from 1910, as evidenced by an illustrated description of the original artefact (Fig. 98) within the stock catalogue published by the firm that same year.[246] Although the catalogue provided no indication as to whether or not facsimiles were available for purchase, a selection of "pretty copies of the famous Ardagh chalice in the form of presentation cups of all sizes" were listed among the Christmas stock on sale at Hopkins & Hopkins in 1911.[247] Additionally

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[242] Victoria & Albert Museum Object File 224-81 consulted with the assistance of Angus Patterson, Curator, Department of Sculpture, Metalwork, Ceramics & Glass.
[243] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 55-62 and 84; "Replica of the Ardagh Chalice: HCL 010," Hunt Museum, Limerick, accessed 2 July 2007, www.huntmuseum.com; "Watson Fothergill," Watson Fothergill Home Page, accessed 8 July 2007, www.watsonfothergill.co.uk. Details regarding the purchase of an Ardagh Chalice facsimile from Edmond Johnson, Grafton Street, Dublin, in 1891 come from the diary of Watson Fothergill. The online catalogue record includes email communications between Andrew Paris, a scholar of Watson Fothergill (1841-1928), and Fiona Davern, registrar of The Hunt Museum. I would like to thank Jill Connaugton for bringing this object to my attention.
[244] Edmond Johnson Limited, *Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art*, 7-8; Metropolitan Museum of Art, "Principal Accessions: Reproductions," 72-3.
[245] "Earl of Pembroke and Lord Herbert," *Irish Times,* 30 September 1901; "Modern Work at the Museum, Loan Collection on View," *Irish Times,* 31 December 1904.
[246] Hopkins & Hopkins, *Irish Art Industry*, 22.
[247] "Messrs. Hopkins and Hopkins, Lower Sackville Street," *Irish Times,* 21 December 1911.

Hopkins & Hopkins created the 'Ardagh' clasp (Figs. 99-100, Cat. 344.6), a facsimile adaptation based on the escutcheons located under the handles on either side of the original chalice (Fig. 101, Cat. 344) and marketed as an appropriate closure for a "cope, belt or cloak".[248] Probably the best-known copy of the Ardagh chalice produced by Hopkins and Hopkins was the Sam Maguire Cup (Fig. 102).[249] The solid silver trophy, which cost £300, was commissioned from Hopkins & Hopkins in 1928 as a permanent tribute to Sam Maguire by his friends and presented to the Gaelic Athletic Association.[250] The selection of the Ardagh chalice as the model for a trophy awarded publicly each year by the Gaelic Athletic Association, an organisation dedicated to the promotion of indigenous Irish sports, further underscored its cultural significance and status as a national symbol.

Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell

The Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell (Figs. 103-5, Cat. 352) was made in the twelfth century to enshrine an early bronze bell (Fig. 106, Cat. 347) believed to be a relic of the saint.[251] The hereditary keepers, the O'Mellan family, retained possession of the shrine until 1758, when Bernard Mullholland bequeathed it

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[248] Hopkins & Hopkins, *Irish Art Industry*, 21; Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past,* 151.

[249] "Sam Maguire," Wikipedia, accessed 20 June 2012, www.en.wikipedia.org.
According to a Wikipedia article on the Sam Maguire Cup, the trophy was produced for Hopkins & Hopkins by Matthew J. Staunton, a silversmith who at one time worked under Edmond Johnson. No additional evidence has been located to corroborate this attribution, but if true, it would establish yet another connection between two prominent firms involved in the manufacture and retail of facsimiles of Irish jewellery and metalwork.

[250] "Trophies: Sam Maguire Cup"; Paddy Downey, "Kerry Leaving Trophy at Home," *Irish Times,* 10 October 1981; "New Sam Maguire Cup to Replace Original," *Irish Times,* 10 August 1988; Michael Parsons, "Top Secret GAA Plan to Create Replicas of Sam and Liam," *Irish Times,* 1 September 2010. A modern replica produced by Desmond A. Byrne replaced the Sam Maguire Cup in 1988 and the original trophy was placed on display within the Gaelic Athletic Association Museum at Croke Park, Dublin. Most recently replicas of all the GAA trophies have been produced because of an increased demand for the Sam Maguire Cup and other trophies at "social, sporting and marketing events".

[251] Wallace and Ó Floinn, *Treasures*, 233.

to his son Henry. [252] Henry Mullholland consigned it on his deathbed to Mr. Adam MacClean, a Belfast merchant in 1819.[253] The shrine suffered losses to its ornament while in the ownership of Mr. MacClean, who provided the following explanation in 1840:

> "When the article came into his possession he did not think it necessary to place it under lock and key; but that afterwards, finding bits of the ornaments had from time to time been abstracted by the servants and visitors, to be used as charms against disease and other evils, he was obliged to place it beyond their reach."[254]

The antiquarian James Henthorn Todd purchased the shrine from the executors of the MacClean estate for his private collection in the late 1840s.[255] This artefact was considered by scholars and antiquarians to be the "most beautiful and elaborate" of all the extant bell shrines and was much sought after, particularly by the Royal Irish Academy.[256] After the death of James Henthorn Todd, the bell and its shrine passed to his brother, Dr Charles H. Todd, from whom the Academy finally acquired it in 1872.[257]

During the period when the James Henthorn Todd owned the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell, Franchi & Son of London became the first to produce

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[252] William Reeves, "On the Bell of St. Patrick, Called the Clog an Edachta," *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 27 (1877-1886): 18-26; Raghnall Ó Floinn, *Irish Shrines and Reliquaries of the Middle Ages* (Dublin: Country House in association with the National Museum of Ireland, 1994), 18-9 and 45; Wallace and Ó Floinn, *Treasures*, 233. Reeves stated that the bell and its shrine passed between the O'Muichallan (Mullholland) family and the O'Mellan family until the later part of the fifteenth century. Ó Floinn gives the hereditary keepers of the bell and its shrine as the O'Mellan family.

[253] Ibid.

[254] Reeves, "On the Bell of St. Patrick," 16.

[255] Ibid., 26-30. Reeves refers to a dispute as to whether a bell owned by George Petrie was the actual bell and bell shrine of St. Patrick, rather than the artefact owned by Dr. Todd.

[256] Henry Morris, "The Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell," *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society* 1, No. 4 (October 1907): 28. The illustration that accompanied Morris' article appears to have been based on the facsimile, rather than the original shrine, as all of the missing sections from the front face of the shrine have been reconstructed and the large rock crystal in the lower quadrant has been omitted.

[257] Royal Irish Academy, "Royal Irish Academy Minutes, 1867-1880" (Vol. 5), 179-81.

electrotype copies of it for distribution by the South Kensington Museum in 1868.[258] The museum obtained the cooperation of several leading Irish individuals and institutions to issue reproductions of significant artefacts, like the bell shrine, from their collections.[259] Although the moulds and type-patterns were retained by the South Kensington Museum, permission from the Royal Irish Academy was necessary when additional electrotypes were requested.[260] When Franchi & Son went out of business, Elkington & Company of Birmingham assumed the production of electrotypes for the South Kensington Museum and manufactured copies of the bell shrine from 1874.[261]

Among the Dublin manufacturers, only Edmond Johnson made direct facsimiles of both the shrine and the ancient bell. Johnson described the saint's bell as "the most authentic and the oldest Irish relic of Christian metal-work [sic] that has descended to us. It possess the singular merit of having an unbroken history through fourteen hundred years."[262] Edmond Johnson first produced a direct facsimile of the Bell of St. Patrick (Fig. 107, Cat. 347.1) and

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[258] Science and Art Department of the Committee Council on Education, South Kensington, *Reproductions. Part II. Inventory of the Plaster Casts of Objects of Art Collected from Various Sources on the Continent and in Great Britain and Ireland and Wax Impressions of Seals in the British Museum Procured for the Use of Schools of Art, for Prizes, and for General Purposes of Public Instruction* (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1869), 21-6. Franchi & Son also produced plaster casts of the harp of Brian Boroihme in Trinity College, Dublin in 1852 and of the Shrine of St. Monaghan (Shrine of St. Manchan) in 1864, which was issued by the Science and Art Department for use in art schools and for general instruction.

[259] Science and Art Department of the Committee Council on Education, South Kensington, *List of Objects of Art, Reproduced in Metal in the South Kensington Museum. Part I. Examples of Which Copies May Be Supplied by the Electrotypists* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1888), viii.

[260] Royal Irish Academy, "Council Minutes, 1873-1875" (Vol. 17), 52-3. For example, J.O. Westwood requested an electrotype of the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell be made from the moulds in the South Kensington Museum in 1873. Westwood was directed by the South Kensington Museum to contact the Royal Irish Academy directly to obtain permission, which was granted.

[261] Ibid., 213. Elkington & Company requested permission, which was granted, to reproduce the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell for the 'Washington Museum of Art' from the mould in possession of the South Kensington Museum of Art.

[262] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 36-8. Margaret Stokes originally made this assessment in her book *Early Christian Art in Ireland* in 1887 and it was reprinted in Johnson's 1893 exhibition catalogue.

its shrine for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.[263] It appears that Elkington & Company also replicated the shrine for the Chicago Exposition, as evidenced by a written request from the firm to the Department of Science and Art in 1893 for access to type patterns and replicas of the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell.[264] A direct facsimile of the bell shrine that was supposedly acquired from Edmond Johnson after the Chicago Exposition (Figs. 108-9, Cat. 352.1) has two stamps associated with Elkington & Company and the Department of Science and Art on the interior (Fig. 110, Cat. 352.1).[265] Elkington & Company was contracted in 1853 to make moulds and manufacture electrotype copies of antiquities, as well as contemporary works, for the museums and art schools under the direction of the Department of Science and Art. The agreement allowed for electrotypes of those same objects, as well as others chosen by the firm but not required for the museums or schools, to be supplied by Elkington's to the public, but stipulated that the moulds were the property of the Department to be lent only for official reproductions. All electrotypes manufactured for the Department were required to carry "the Seal and Symbol of the Department as reproductions under official sanction".[266] The presence of the stamps would suggest that Elkington & Company, rather than Edmond Johnson, manufactured this direct facsimile of the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell.

By the early twentieth century Edmond Johnson Limited appears to

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[263] Ibid.

[264] Victoria & Albert Museum, "Elkington & Company Ltd., Part 1, 1865-1880" (Archival Record (MA/1/E468/1), Victoria & Albert Museum Archives, London); Victoria & Albert Museum, "Elkington & Company Ltd., Part 5, 1888-1915" (Archival Record (MA/1/E468/5), Victoria & Albert Museum Archives, London); Bury, *Victorian Electroplate*, 47. Details of the agreement were recorded in a letter from the Trade Mark's Registry Office of 11 December 1876 as part of the minutes of the Committee of Council on Education at South Kensington and the Minute Paper, Department of Science and Art, No. 38477 of 14 April 1893.

[265] Bury, *Victorian Electroplate*, 47.

[266] Ibid.

have had exclusive rights to replicate the bell shrine, the probable monopoly is further supported by the absence of any surviving electrotypes of the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell by Elkington & Company from this period. Direct facsimiles of the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell, sold through the illustrated stock catalogue published by Edmond Johnson Limited in c. 1902 (Fig. 111), were produced and acquired by museums until at least 1906 (Figs. 112-3, Cat. 352.2).[267]

Soiscéal Molaise

The eleventh-century *Soiscéal Molaise* (Figs. 114-8, Cat. 354), one of the oldest surviving Irish book shrines, was made to enshrine a Gospel manuscript associated with St. Molaise of Devenish, Co. Fermanagh.[268] Furthermore, the *Soiscéal Molaise* represents the earliest Irish metalwork artefact dated by inscription and the only example in which the dedicatory inscription was placed on the side, rather than the back face.[269] The shrine was in the possession of its hereditary keepers, the O'Meehan family, until 1843 when an intermediary loaned it to Lord Dunraven for several weeks to be examined by George Petrie at the Royal Irish Academy.[270] Petrie obtained the shrine on loan to exhibit it in connection with a paper on the history and inscriptions on the *Soiscéal Molaise* he gave at the Academy in 1855 and shortly afterwards he attempted to raise public funds to purchase the shrine for the Academy

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[267] Edmond Johnson Limited, *Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art*, 12; Metropolitan Museum of Art, "Principal Accessions: Reproductions," 73-4.

[268] Mahr and Raftery, *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, 119; Paul A. Mullarkey, "Irish Book Shrines: A Reassessment" (PhD Thesis, Trinity College, 2000), 102-3; G. Frank Mitchell, *Treasures of Irish Art, 1500 BC-1500 AD: From the Collections of the National Museum of Ireland, Royal Irish Academy, Trinity College, Dublin* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art: A.A. Knopf, 1977), 182-3; Wallace and Ó Floinn, *Treasures*, 233.

[269] Peter Harbison, *The Golden Age of Irish Art: The Medieval Achievement, 600-1200* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 262.

[270] Raghnall Ó Floinn, "The Soiscél Molaisse," *Clogher Record* 13, No. 2 (1989): 50; Mullarkey, "Irish Book Shrines," 80. Mr. John Wynne of Hazelwood, Co. Sligo borrowed the *Soiscéal Molaise* from a tenant farmer of his, who was the keeper of the shrine.

collection.[271] In 1859 Alexander Smullen, the Bishop of Kilmore, acquired the shrine on behalf of the Academy, which did not have the funds to cover the purchase price until 1861.[272]

The necessity of having a copy of the *Soiscéal Molaise* for the Academy Museum while the original was privately owned likely prompted the manufacture of an electrotype by Edmond Johnson for West & Son, presented by James West in 1856.[273] This electrotype was the first recorded instance of an example of Irish metalwork other than the ancient brooches being replicated as a direct facsimile, as well as the first known electrotype manufactured by Edmond Johnson. Edmond Johnson produced a direct facsimile the *Soiscéal Molaise* again for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (Figs. 119-24, Cat. 354.1), having recreated the side and sections of ornament missing from the original artefact. Direct facsimiles of the book shrine were available from Edmond Johnson Limited through their illustrated stock catalogue (Fig. 125) into the early twentieth century. A direct facsimile of the *Soiscéal Molaise* from c. 1908 (Figs. 126-8, Cat. 354.2) demonstrates that the firm continued to manufacture a reconstituted version of the shrine, with strict accuracy subordinated to achieve a more attractive product for display and sale.[274]

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[271] *Saunder's Newsletter* (Dublin), 28 June 1855; Ó Floinn, "The Soiscél Molaisse," 50; Mullarkey, "Irish Book Shrines," 80.

[272] Royal Irish Academy, "Minutes of the Polite Literature and Antiquities Committee, 1850-1859" (Minute Book, Vol. 2, Archives of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin), 117; Ó Floinn, "The Soiscél Molaisse," 52-4; Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 42. Around 1843 Charles Meehan of Latone, purchased the shrine from one of his kinsmen and years later sold it to Alexander Smullen.

[273] Mullarkey, "Irish Book Shrines," 80-1. Mullarkey suggests that this copy of the shrine may be the same electrotype that was acquired by the National Museum of Ireland in 1938 (NMI 1938:9744) and was until recently on loan to Fermanagh County Museum.

[274] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 39-42; Edmond Johnson Limited, *Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art*, 10.

Lismore Crozier

The twelfth-century crozier (Fig. 129, Cat. 362) was discovered along with the Book of Lismore in 1814 concealed within a wall in Lismore Castle, Co. Waterford.[275] The crozier represents an associative relic, constructed to ornament and protect the wooden staff of a saint used as a symbol of authority by the clergy in medieval Ireland.[276] The Lismore crozier features all the distinctive characteristics of Irish crosiers including a curved crook ending in a straight drop, which contained cavities for relics.[277] The cast ornament on the crook incorporates colourful beads inset with *millifiori* glass that distinguish the Lismore crozier from other Irish examples.[278]

In 1898 Edmond Johnson was granted permission by the Duke of Devonshire, then owner of the Lismore crozier, to take wax impressions and plaster casts from the original in order to reproduce it for display at the 1900 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris.[279] According to the preface in a stock catalogue from c. 1902 a large portion of the direct facsimiles on display in Paris were supposedly purchased by the French government, which may have included a copy of the Lismore crozier, but no evidence has been found to support this claim.[280] The appearance of the Lismore crozier in a c. 1902 stock catalogue (Fig. 130) and a direct facsimile manufactured by Edmond Johnson Limited in

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[275] Henry S. Crawford, "A Descriptive List of Irish Shrines and Reliquaries, Part II," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 53 (1923): 171; Wallace and Ó Floinn, *Treasures*, 235.

[276] A. T. Lucas, "The Social Role of Relics and Reliquaries in Ancient Ireland," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 116 (1986): 8-9; Ó Floinn, *Irish Shrines and Reliquaries*, 33-4.

[277] Griffin Murray, "The 'Hidden Power' of the Irish Crosier," *Archaeology Ireland* 18, No. 1 (Spring 2004): 24; Ó Floinn, *Irish Shrines and Reliquaries*, 34-5. Two relics were found inside of the Lismore crozier: a piece of wood wrapped in bronze was placed in the hollow crest of the crozier and the crook contained a piece of cloth and a small bronze box that held an unidentified relic.

[278] Wallace and Ó Floinn, *Treasures*, 235.

[279] "The Lismore Crozier," *Irish Times*, 12 November 1898.

[280] Edmond Johnson Limited, *Epitome of Reproductions*, 7.

c. 1908 (Fig. 131, Cat. 362.1) demonstrates that copies of this artefact were available for purchase into the early twentieth century.[281]

Book of Kells

The eighth or ninth-century Book of Kells is often celebrated as the high point of Irish manuscript illumination for its sumptuous full-page images, elaborate initials and interlinear decorations scattered within the text.[282] Henry O'Neill described the Book of Kells as the finest of all the Irish manuscripts and that it contains pages of "the most thorough mastery in ornament ... that very few artists would venture to attempt copying one of them."[283] Along with the emergence of recognisably Irish symbols such as the harp, wolfhound, round tower and shamrock during the nineteenth century, ornament derived from the Book of Kells became synonymous with the 'Golden Age' of Irish art and ubiquitous, incorporated into designs for clothing, church vestments, carpets, furniture, ceramics and metalwork.[284]

Joseph Johnson was the first to create an alphabet of 'Celtic' Letters based on decorated initials in Book of Kells, facsimile adaptations that may have evolved from the earlier manufacture of similar ornaments in bog oak.[285] A selection of 'Celtic' Letters, incorporated into a carved bog oak and gold

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[281] Edmond Johnson Limited, *Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art*, 13; "Historic Crozier Goes to Museum," *Irish Times,* 2 April 1949; "Relic for Museum," *Irish Times,* 23 March 1949; "Facsimile of Historic Book Published," *Irish Times,* 19 December 1951. The Lismore crozier was acquired for the National Museum of Ireland on permanent loan in 1949, at which time a facsimile was created (manufacturer unknown) for the Cork Public Museum. Additionally the Irish Manuscripts Commission published the Book of Lismore, uncovered with the crozier, as a collotype facsimile in 1951.

[282] Bernard Meehan, *The Book of Kells: An Illustrated Introduction to the Manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin* (New York: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1994), 9.

[283] Henry O'Neill, *The Fine Arts and Civilization of Ancient Ireland, Illustrated with Chromo and Other Lithographs, and Several Woodcuts* (London and Dublin: Smith, Elder and G. Herbert, 1863), 55-6.

[284] Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past,* 8-9 and 71-93.

[285] "10 Suffolk Street in Re: T. Joyce, Deceased," *Freeman's Journal*, 6 November 1890; Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past,* 84-5; Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 21-2.

bracelet likely by Joseph Johnson (Fig. 132, Cat. 358.1), illustrate one of many applications for such ornament. At the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Edmond Johnson exhibited a facsimile adaptation in metalwork of folio 130r (Fig. 133, Cat. 358), the opening page of St. Mark's Gospel, which was perhaps intended to demonstrate the complexity of ornament found in the manuscript.[286] Edmond Johnson also displayed a group of twenty-three 'Celtic' Letters in metal for which several of the models, including the initial 'M' on folio 309r and the initial 'H' on folio 68v (Fig. 134, Cat. 358), in the Book of Kells can be identified.[287] These same letters were placed throughout the exhibition catalogue to mark sections of text, which imitated the function of the decorated initials and their relationship to the text in the original manuscript (Fig. 135).[288]

Edmond Johnson's firm continued to produce the collection of 'Celtic' Letters into the early twentieth century, according to an illustration from their stock catalogue of c. 1902 (Fig. 136).[289] Hopkins & Hopkins manufactured the same assortment of 'Celtic' Letters (Fig. 137), identical in appearance to those previously issued by Joseph Johnson and by Edmond Johnson, as early as 1892

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[286] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 106; Edmond Johnson Limited, *Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art*, 24; Meehan, *Book of Kells*, 51. No illustration of Johnson's metalwork version of this page has been located to date. It appears unlikely that the firm continued to produce this design after the 1893 exhibition, as it is not included in the c. 1902 illustrated supplement to the facsimile catalogue produced by Edmond Johnson Limited.

[287] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 9 and 105-7; Edmond Johnson Limited, *Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art*, 24; Meehan, *Book of Kells*, 67-8. At the conclusion of his catalogue essay, Johnson acknowledges the Rev. Dr. Abbot, F.T.C.D., Librarian of Trinity College for the, "facilities afforded me, in reference to their art treasures and photographs from that priceless gem 'The Book of Kells'." It is not clear if Johnson himself chose these particular decorated initials for replication in metal and perhaps the Rev. Dr. Abbot was consulted during the selection process. It is noteworthy that the majority of initials are self-contained, which appears to have been the type of design best suited to replication at this scale and level of detail.

[288] The initials modelled on those in the Book of Kells appear in Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 13, 21, 31, 43, 50, 55, 72, 80, 85, 90 and 101.

[289] Edmond Johnson Limited, *Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art*, 24.

and included them in their stock catalogue of 1910.[290] An undated assortment of letters, consisting of a painted plaster cast or mould of the letter 'E', an uncut version of the letter 'I' and other letters executed in various metals and finishes (Fig. 138, Cat. 358.3), were likely produced by either Joseph Johnson, Edmond Johnson or Hopkins & Hopkins, or derived from their work by another manufacturer, and provide an indication of the scale and intricacy of these designs.

Cross of Cong

The twelfth-century reliquary-cross known as the Cross of Cong (Figs. 139-40, Cat. 370) was characterised in 1839 as showing the "very high state of art in the country at the time when it was made".[291] The cross was designed to enshrine a relic of the True Cross acquired by Turlough O'Connor, High King of Ireland, placed beneath a large rock crystal at the centre of the arms on the front face.[292] In the nineteenth century the cross was rediscovered along with a group of manuscripts, which were acquired by Abbot Prendergast, the last abbot of Cong.[293] Sir William Betham and Dr James MacCullagh presented papers on the Cross of Cong to the Academy, but it was MacCullagh who eventually purchased it on behalf of the Royal Irish Academy in 1839.[294] When the Cross of Cong was acquired by the Academy several ornamental plates were missing, but three of these were later presented to the Academy

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[290] "Messrs. Hopkins and Hopkins, Lower Sackville Street," *Irish Times*, 10 December 1892; Hopkins & Hopkins, *Irish Art Industry*, 12.
[291] James MacCullagh, "Cross of Cong," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 1 (1836-1840): 326.
[292] Wallace and Ó Floinn, *Treasures*, 232.
[293] George Petrie, "On the Cross of Cong," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 4 (1847-1850): 584-5.
[294] Petrie, "On the Cross of Cong," 572-3; E. Perceval Wright, "Notes on the Cross of Cong," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 5th series, 31, No. 1 (31 March 1901): 41.

by MacCullagh and reattached, but two plates on the back face and a cruciform mount were never recovered.[295] As a result, any reproductions would have required the manufacturer to reconstruct the missing areas of ornament to create a complete version of the Cross.

Both Joseph and Edmond Johnson produced a number of direct facsimiles of the Cross of Cong. Joseph Johnson requested access to the Cross of Cong in 1882 for the purpose of manufacturing reproductions, but none have thus far been identified.[296] Edmond Johnson and his firm replicated the Cross of Cong many times, the first of which was produced for display at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition (Figs. 141-2, Cat. 370.1).[297] Direct facsimiles of the Cross of Cong were available for order from c. 1902 through the stock catalogue published by Edmond Johnson Limited (Fig. 143) and purchased by museums into the early twentieth century (Figs. 144-5, Cat. 370.2). Notably in all the direct facsimiles of the reliquary cross by Johnson, the missing plates and cruciform mount were reconstructed.[298]

The last known direct facsimile of the Cross of Cong made by Edmond Johnson Limited was part of a substantial commission to create liturgical metalwork for the Honan Chapel, Co. Cork in 1916 (Figs. 146-7, Cat. 370.5).[299]

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[295] Wright, "Notes on the Cross of Cong," 41; Cormac Bourke, "On a Lost Mount from the Cross of Cong," *Archaeology Ireland* 3, No. 1 (Spring 1989): 15; Pádraig Ó Riain and Griffin Murray, "The Cross of Cong: Some Recent Discoveries," *Archaeology Ireland* 19, No. 1 (Spring 2005): 19.

[296] Royal Irish Academy, "Minutes of the Polite Literature and Antiquities Committee, 1875-1886" (Vol. 6), 349; "10 Suffolk Street in Re: T. Joyce, Deceased," *Freeman's Journal*, 6 November 1890.

[297] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 13-5.

[298] Bourke, "On a Lost Mount," 15. The cruciform mount as reconstructed by Edmond Johnson is quite similar to the conjectural reconstruction proposed by Bourke.

[299] Virginia Teehan and Elizabeth Wincott Heckett, *The Honan Chapel: A Golden Vision* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2004), 204-8. Edmond Johnson Limited produced a chalice with a protective case, a ciborium and lid with a protective case, altar card frames, a candlestick, cruet set and ewer with stand in addition to the facsimile of the Cross of Cong, intended for use as a processional cross. The firm also produced liturgical items designed by William A. Scott.

The Honan Chapel was designed, built and furnished between 1914-1917 in a unified Celtic Revival style, which referenced Irish medieval art and architecture, executed by some of the leading Irish artists and craftspeople of the early twentieth century. In the context of the Honan Chapel the facsimile of the Cross of Cong functioned as part of a larger expression of Irish national identity, designed to serve the local Catholic community and preserve a continuity of tradition and purpose associated with the site from the medieval period onwards.[300]

Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand

The original fourteenth or fifteenth-century Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand (Fig. 148, Cat. 369), the only extant Gothic arm reliquary in Ireland, consists of the hollow arm and hand of an ecclesiastic in gilt silver ornamented with glass studs and rock crystal.[301] A plate engraved with 'I.H.S.' placed on the base (Fig. 149) appears to close off the end of the shrine to protect the relic that was once housed there.[302] The shrine passed from its hereditary keepers into the possession of the Revd Dr Denvir, the Bishop of Down and Connor, in 1840, at which time it was cleaned and repaired by John Donegan, a Dublin watchmaker and silversmith.[303]

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[300] M.J. O'Kelly, *The Collegiate Chapel, Cork*, 2nd edition (Cork: Cork University Press, 1955), 1-2; Teehan and Heckett, *Honan Chapel,* 37. The dedication to St. Finn Barr as the patron saint of Cork is fitting given that the chapel is located on the western margin of the ancient school and monastery founded by the saint at the beginning of the seventh century.

[301] J. Huband Smith, "The Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand, with Notice of Some Similar Reliquaries," *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 1st series, 2 (1854): 207; Cormac Bourke, "The Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand," *Irish Arts Review* 4, No. 3 (Autumn 1987): 25. According to Smith the shrine underwent numerous repairs and would have originally been set with coloured stones that have subsequently fallen out.

[302] Smith, "The Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand," 207.

[303] Smith, "The Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand," 210-11; Bourke, "Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand," 26; Henry S. Crawford, "A Descriptive List of Irish Shrines and Reliquaries, Part I," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 53 (1923): 90; Máire De Paor, "The Relics of St. Patrick,"

Notably the shrine was replicated a number of times, first as a plaster cast and then as a direct facsimile in metal. As early as 1853 a plaster cast of the Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand (Fig. 150, Cat. 369.1) was made by Dr Alexander Carte, Director of the Royal Dublin Society Museum, and exhibited by Dr John Lentaigne, at the Dublin Industrial Exhibition.[304] The plaster cast replicated the overall appearance of the shrine and was painted in gold to make the surface appear gilded, but the collars intended for glass studs are empty and it lacks the hinged lid of rock crystal that once protected the relic on the original. The cast was deposited by Lentaigne in the Royal Irish Academy Museum, but returned to him by request in 1872.[305] This same cast was acquired for the Dublin Science and Art Museum, likely as part of an effort to replicate significant pieces of Irish metalwork in private collections for display in the national museum.[306]

Edmond Johnson manufactured direct facsimiles in metal of the Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand for his extensive displays of Irish antiquities at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition and the 1895 Belfast Art and Industrial

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Seanchas Argmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society 4, No. 2 (1961-2): 90. A detailed account of the various families that acted as custodians of the shrine throughout its history appeared in the *Dublin Review* 46 (January 1848): 483 and was reprinted by Smith.

[304] *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition in Connection with the Royal Dublin Society, 1853, 3rd Edition* (Dublin: Printed and Published for the Committee by John Falconer, 1853), 140. The entry for the facsimile of the Shrine of St Patrick's Hand by Alexander Carte was numbered 1856B.

[305] Royal Irish Academy, "Council Minutes, 1870-1873" (Vol. 16), 290; Crawford, "Irish Shrines and Reliquaries, Part I," 90. A reference to a "facsimile in the R.I.A. Collection" by Crawford suggests that the plaster cast was returned to the Royal Irish Academy at some point or another facsimile, in plaster or metal, was acquired for the collection prior to 1922.

[306] Wallace and Ó Floinn, *Treasures*, 8. A label affixed to the bottom of the cast of the Shrine of St Patrick's Hand reads: 'Exhibitor's Department, Name: J. Lentaigne, Esq., Object: A facsimile of St Patrick's Hand, Section: Loan'. A second label reads: 'J. Lentaigne No. 17' and a third label reads: 'Science and Art Museum, Dublin, ART 1888 (or 1880), No. 110'. On this basis, it may be concluded that the plaster cast was exhibited at one or more exhibitions and was likely acquired by the museum around 1880-8. The National Museum was established by the enactment of the Dublin Science and Art Museum Act of 1877 and opened to the public in 1890.

Exhibition.[307] Johnson's firm continued to produce direct facsimiles of the shrine into the early twentieth century, as illustrated in the stock catalogue published by the firm in c. 1902 (Fig. 151). At least one direct facsimile of the reliquary shrine (Figs. 152-4, Cat. 369.3) was manufactured by Edmond Johnson Limited in c. 1908, but no other examples have been located to date.[308]

Shrine of St. Manchan

The twelfth-century Shrine of St. Manchan (Figs. 155-6, Cat. 368), consisting of a wooden core with gilt bronze applied ornament, figures and coloured enamels, represents one of the largest corporeal reliquaries to survive from medieval Ireland.[309] Hereditary keepers of the shrine, the Mooney family of Lemanaghan, preserved it until c. 1850 when it was moved to Boher Church, Co. Offaly.[310] The location of the original shrine may have necessitated the production of facsimiles for public collections in Dublin.[311]

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[307] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 31-5; "Belfast Art and Industrial Exhibition," *Irish Times*, 5 June 1895; Field Museum of Natural History, *Reproductions of Antiquities of Ancient Ireland in Field Museum of Natural History: Ten Photogravures* (Chicago: Field Museum Press, 1926). The facsimile, formerly in the collection of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, has been missing since the 1930s.

[308] Edmond Johnson Limited, *Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art*, 14.

[309] James Graves, "The Church and Shrine of St. Manchan," *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, 4th series, 3, No. 18 (April 1874): 141-5; Ó Floinn, *Irish Shrines and Reliquaries*, 16. Measurements of the shrine: length 60cm (24in) x height 50cm (20in).

[310] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 15-6; Ó Floinn, *Irish Shrines and Reliquaries*, 16 and 45; Ian Blake, "St. Manchan's Shrine: A National Treasure," *Irish Times*, 21 November 1968. The story of the transfer of the shrine from its hereditary keepers to Boher Church was recounted by Edmond Johnson in his 1893 exhibition catalogue: "It was then placed in the keeping of the ancient family of Moony, of the Doon, but in consequence of the resort of the peasantry to the house of the present Mr. Moony's grandfather to swear on the shrine, it was, at the request of the then Roman Catholic parish clergyman, handed over to him, from whom it has come down to its present guardian."

[311] The Shrine of St. Manchan was cleaned by the British Museum in the 1930s and later cleaned, rededicated and placed on public view in 1970. More recently, the shrine was stolen from Boher Church and recovered in June 2012.

The Shrine of St Patrick's Hand and the Shrine of St Manchan are two of the few known reliquaries to have been reproduced in both plaster and in metal.

Electrotypes of sections of the Shrine of St Manchan were produced as early as 1853 for presentation to the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland by Alexander Nesbitt to illustrate a paper given to the society on the original shrine.[312] A plaster cast of the Shrine of St. Manchan (Fig. 157, Cat. 368.1) produced by Carte and exhibited by Lentaigne was placed on view at the 1853 Dublin Industrial Exhibition alongside the original.[313] The cast restored areas of ornament missing on the original, particularly the groups of cast human figures and the stones placed on the central bosses and arms of the cross attached to each side of the shrine. In a catalogue of reproductions published by the Department of Science and Art in London, a cast of the Shrine of St. Manchan had been acquired in 1864 for use in their network of art schools and for public instruction.[314] Although the manufacturer of the plaster cast was not listed in the catalogue, it may have been the same cast made by Carte and purchased from Lentaigne or perhaps multiple casts were taken from a mould made by Carte.

Edmond Johnson first produced a direct facsimile in metal of the Shrine of St. Manchan for display at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (Fig. 158, Cat. 368.3).[315] Much like the earlier plaster cast, Johnson reconstructed the missing sections based upon the remaining ornament and figures so as to present a completed version of the shrine. The exhibition

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[312] "Archaeological Institute," *Morning Chronicle* (London), 14 March 1853.
[313] Graves, "Shrine of St. Manchan," 150; *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, 140.
[314] Science and Art Department of the Committee Council on Education, South Kensington, *Reproductions. Part II*, 26.
[315] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 15-20.

display also featured several originals from the collection of Robert Day, including a cast figure identified as one of the missing figures from the Shrine of St. Manchan.[316] Despite its notable absence in the c. 1902 stock catalogue from Edmond Johnson, Limited, the firm manufactured at least two additional direct facsimiles of the shrine. The firm created an electrotype of the Shrine of St. Manchan for display in the National Museum in Dublin and a second in c. 1911, which demonstrate that copies of the shrine were still sought after into the early twentieth century.[317]

Facsimile Production: Manufacturing Process

An innovative combination of traditional metalworking skills and new technologies were utilised to manufacture facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork. Given the wide range of artefacts of varying complexity that were replicated, the methods of manufacture for the facsimiles were necessarily determined by the materials and composition of the originals. Many of the artefacts challenged the technical abilities of the nineteenth-century craftsmen and as a result, creative solutions were found to produce facsimiles that visually adhered to the original, but balanced manufacturing costs against profitability in terms of quality. No two firms took exactly the same approach towards production, as evidenced by a comparative analysis of complete and partial facsimiles manufactured by Waterhouse & Company, West & Son, William Acheson & Company, Joseph Johnson, Edmond Johnson and Hopkins & Hopkins. This section will provide

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316 Ibid., 107.

317 Buck, "Recent Accessions: Reproductions," 59; Crawford, "Irish Shrines and Reliquaries, Part I," 83-4. The facsimile of the shrine must have been made by Johnson's firm prior to 1922 based upon a reference made to a "restored copy in the R.I.A. collection" by Crawford.

an overview of the manufacturing process, from mould making to final construction, as well as a brief assessment of the accuracy of Irish facsimiles.

The initial step in the manufacturing process was the creation of a mould, which enabled the reproduction of the selected model at full-scale, reduced or enlarged, depending upon the desired final result. The preferred and most accurate method of mould making involved taking impressions from the original model, either in sections or in its entirety, to produce multi-piece moulds in wax mixed with gutta-percha or plaster that fitted together into a negative three-dimensional form for casting.[318] Edmond Johnson stated that the accuracy of his facsimiles was due to the use of "impressions and plaster casts actually taken from these relics of antiquity as they were found from time to time."[319] Moulds could also be produced from drawings and photographs aided by measurements, presumably by building up the form of the original model in wax or plaster from which the negative impression was then taken. When Joseph Johnson was prohibited by the Royal Irish Academy from taking casts of the Cross of Cong, he made drawings and took photographs of the original instead.[320] Although the reproduction of surface ornament was paramount, moulds often contained varying levels of fine detail. For extremely complex designs moulds were limited to the basic structure of the original model while the applied ornament was manufactured separately,

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[318] Trusted, *The Making of Sculpture*, 154-66. Gutta-percha is a rubbery latex substance extracted from tropical trees, which produced a flexible mould that could be more easily removed from the original when taking impressions. Limestone or gypsum rock are the minerals commonly used to make plaster, but plaster of Paris uses only gypsum rock and the name references the large gypsum deposits in area around Paris. Gypsum rock is found throughout Europe and has traditionally been used to make sculptural models and reproductions.

[319] Ibid., 154-6.

[320] Royal Irish Academy, "Minutes of the Polite Literature and Antiquities Committee, 1875-1886" (Vol. 6), 349. Joseph Johnson requested to be allowed to have the Cross of Cong at his own house for the purpose of making a metal facsimile, but the Royal Irish Academy Council understandably denied this.

either using additional moulds or by hand replicating the original method of manufacture. The materials used to take impressions from the originals, such as wax, plaster or gutta-percha, were not suitably durable for mass-production, so the impression was transferred into a harder material by casting or by pantograph to create a longer lasting mould.[321] The quality of the mould directly impacted the quality of the finished product, requiring an investment in the cost and skill that would be reflected in every facsimile.

Impressions and moulds were also used to manufacture dies for replication using the die-stamping technique. The number and intricacy of the dies required to make a facsimile varied based on the original model. Regardless of the simplicity or complexity of the original, the design was broken down into its constituent elements and corresponding dies were created, potentially with the assistance of a pantograph, in which the contours of the design were traced and transferred to a cutter at the other end of the mechanism to generate a die in the reduced or enlarged size required.[322] The dies were produced in metal, rather than in wood or other materials, for greater strength and repeated usage. Much like the moulds generated from impressions in plaster and wax, the production of metal dies for stamping was quite costly and required skilled labour, and therefore the finished dies were considered extremely valuable. It is most likely that conforming dies with aligned parts held in a superstructure such as a press were utilised to produce

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[321] I would like to thank Stephen Walker, practising jeweller and silversmith, for his advice on this point.

[322] The pantograph would have been available to manufacturers from 1836 onwards.

facsimiles, as this type of die provided a high degree of control and ensured good-quality duplication despite repeated usage.[323]

Die stamping was widely used by the Dublin manufacturers for the mass-production of brooch facsimiles. The process lent itself best to the reproduction of more robust cast ornament and finer details such as engraving and filigree often appear highly simplified when replicated through die stamping. The front face and pinhead of the 'Tara' brooch (Fig. 46, Cat. 298) contain panels of ornament constructed with gold wire, which according to Waterhouse "defied the best fillagree [sic] workers of the present day".[324] A die-stamped modified facsimile of the 'Tara' brooch preserved on an uncut metal sheet (Fig. 159, Cat. 298.30) illustrates how the complex zoomorphic ornament and interlace on the original brooch were reduced to more basic forms for reproduction. This may represent a later version of a single-sided 'Tara' brooch created using a cast blank, which would have the general shape of the design with raised borders and moulding on the front, given detail through die stamping.[325] In contrast the *kerbschnitt* or 'chip-carved' cast ornament on the front face of the Co. Cavan brooch (Fig. 65, Cat. 305) was well suited to replication by die stamping, as this was similar to the original process of manufacture by carving the ornament into the mould in the

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[323] Tim McCreight, *The Complete Metalsmith: An Illustrated Handbook,* revised edition (Worchester, MA: Davis Publications, 1991), 64.

[324] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 10.

[325] According to Stephen Walker, the more common single-sided 'Tara' brooches by Waterhouse & Company were solid rather than being constructed of two halves stamped in thin sheet and soldered together. The dies originally made to stamp sheet were later employed to stamp cast blanks that placed stress on the dies and resulted in cracks and damage to some of the narrower ridges. These details can be seen as rough fill in sections that should be grooves in the finished brooches, which were sometimes re-cut with gravers or left alone.

negative.[326] Edmond Johnson probably used this method to create a modified facsimile of the brooch for West & Son in 1849 (Fig. 160, Cat. 305.2) in which the ornamental details are rendered clearly and accurately despite the reduction in scale.[327]

Hopkins & Hopkins employed die stamping to produce their entire line of modified facsimiles and adaptations, which were somewhat derivative and limited mainly to popular brooch designs introduced decades earlier by Waterhouse & Company, West & Son and the 'Celtic' Letters made by Joseph Johnson and later by Edmond Johnson.[328] Not only did Hopkins & Hopkins adopt the same brooch designs, in 1890 the firm purchased the entire contents of Joseph Johnson's former shop including dies and a 'screw-press', thereby acquiring the very tools used by a competitor to manufacture facsimiles.[329] By 1910 the firm advertised the opening of a Die-Sinking Department in their workshops staffed by fifty men, some of whom were engaged in facsimile production, and that the steel "dies used in the work number more than 600, so that we are enabled to give the public exact copies of these historic relics of the earliest gold and silversmith's art."[330] Hopkins & Hopkins claimed that their mechanisms, which were motorised, were capable of manufacturing several thousand pieces per day.[331]

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[326] Stephen Walker, "A Craftsman's Perspective of the St. Ninian's Isle Treasure" (paper presented at Making Histories: The Sixth International Insular Art Conference, University of York, 2011).
[327] Gere and Tait, *Art of the Jeweller*, 161.
[328] Hopkins & Hopkins, *Irish Art Industry*, 13; Miller, "The Selling of Nationalism," Fig. 20.
[329] "10 Suffolk Street in Re: T. Joyce, Deceased," *Freeman's Journal*, 6 November 1890; "Re: W.C. Joyce, Deceased, Late of 10 Suffolk Street, Trading as Joseph Johnson," *Freeman's Journal*, 21 November 1890.
[330] Hopkins & Hopkins, *Irish Art Industry*, 2-5; Miller, "The Selling of Nationalism," Fig. 27.
[331] Hopkins & Hopkins, *Irish Art Industry*, 2-5; Philips, *Jewellery from Antiquity*, 152. Mechanisation was achieved through the application of steam power to the stamping machines, which were able to punch out the basic form and surface ornament at the same time.

Despite the advent of new manufacturing processes designed to streamline production and increase output, the original model still determined the methods used to manufacture the facsimiles, and in some cases a return to more traditional metalworking techniques was required. Edmond Johnson claimed a portion of the facsimiles produced by his firm were made by hand, including a large gold neck torc, which took his craftsman several weeks to discover the correct method of manufacture.[332] At least ten different types of gold torcs (Fig. 161, Cat. 21.1-30.1, 222.1 and 282.1) were replicated as direct facsimiles by Edmond Johnson and his craftsmen, including two large torcs discovered at Tara, Co. Meath (Fig. 162, Cat. 21-2) made from gold bars, square or rectangular in section, which were hammered and twisted into shape.[333] The technical skill exhibited by these Bronze Age torcs may have forced Johnson's craftsmen to reproduce the original, labour-intensive method of manufacture to create facsimiles. It is more likely that copies of the gold torcs were cast to save time and reduce costs, while the reference to the challenge faced by his craftsmen appears somewhat exaggerated as part of a larger effort by Edmond Johnson to promote his facsimiles as authoritative and highly accurate.

Casting formed an integral part of facsimile production and served as one of the most efficient and straightforward ways to reproduce entire pieces of jewellery and metalwork, as well as multiples of structural or decorative elements. The modified facsimile of the 'Arbutus Berry' brooch (Fig. 163, Cat. 327.1) by Waterhouse & Company was based upon a tenth-century Viking 'thistle' brooch named for the surface texture of the bulbs that decorate the

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[332] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 7-8.
[333] Wallace and Ó Floinn, *Treasures*, 64.

tubular silver ring and the pinhead (Fig. 164, Cat. 327).[334] Waterhouse stated that the distinctive form of the 'Arbutus Berry' brooch demanded a different approach to production as "the points on the bulbs are too prominent to admit of die work, and, they cannot be made otherwise than by hand."[335] The bulbs were cast in solid silver and hand-carved with ridges to create a brambled textural effect.[336] Sections of the gold dress fasteners replicated as direct facsimiles by Edmond Johnson (Fig. 165, Cat. 40.1 and 41.1) were most likely cast, as suggested by two halves of a penannular ring (Fig. 166, Cat. 40.2) produced from the same mould. Joseph Johnson probably cast portions of the ornament on facsimiles of the front face of the large Ardagh brooch (Fig. 82, Cat. 312). A detail of Joseph Johnson's c. 1881 direct facsimile of the Ardagh brooch (Fig. 167, Cat. 312.1) illustrates the high relief of the surface ornament, which may have been cast in pieces, as with the copy of a bird (Fig. 168, Cat. 312.5) placed at the centre of the pseudo-terminals. The bosses, binding strips and gable that decorate the exterior of the Lough Erne shrine (Fig. 169, Cat. 364) were likely cast separately for the direct facsimile produced by Edmond Johnson (Fig. 170, Cat. 364.2), similar to unattributed sections of ornament copied from the original (Fig. 171, Cat. 364.3). Closer examination reveals that a large proportion of facsimiles incorporated cast elements, including the terminals on gold collars, gorgets, dress-fasteners and penannular rings, the heads and shafts of pins, the rings of brooches and the ornamental features on chalices, crosses and reliquary shrines.

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[334] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 88; Patrick F. Wallace, *A Guide to the National Museum of Ireland* (Dublin: Town House Dublin in association with the National Museum of Ireland, 2000), 48. In his catalogue for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Edmond Johnson stated that the name of the 'Arbutus' brooch was derived from "the bulbs resembling the berries of the Arbutus tree".

[335] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 2nd edition, 15.

[336] Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery*, 449.

Rather than being solely replicated in metal, facsimiles of Irish metalwork were occasionally manufactured as plaster casts. The basic casting process consisted of pouring a mixture of plaster and water into a multi-piece mould.[337] The mould was coated with linseed oil to prevent the plaster from sticking or being absorbed, which was then allowed to set until hardened.[338] Finally, the cast was extracted from the mould for finishing to remove the seams produced at the joints of the piece mould and to apply surface decoration such as paint and lacquer to approximate the surface finishes on metal.[339] The moulds were dried, oiled and stored by manufacturers to ensure longevity and the quality of future casts.[340] The process of plaster casting was most prominently applied to manufacturing copies of Irish high crosses and stone sculpture. No plaster casts of Irish archaeological jewellery survive, if in fact any were made, and relatively few plaster casts were made of metalwork artefacts, such as the Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand (Fig. 150, Cat. 369.1) and the Shrine of St. Manchan (Fig. 157, Cat. 368.1). The lack of casts may reflect the dominance of the Dublin firms, primarily jewellers, goldsmiths and silversmiths, within the Irish facsimile industry and the perceived unsuitability of plaster to reproduce of metalwork originals on a commercial scale.

The electrotyping or electroforming process patented in 1840 by Elkington & Company of Birmingham revolutionised facsimile production by

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[337] Trusted, *Making of Sculpture*, 161.
[338] Ibid.
[339] Ibid., 162-4. A gelatine or glue mould was particularly useful in moulding objects with deep undercuts and flexibility of the material ensured that the original would not be damaged, and unlike piece moulds, a gelatine mould left no seams on the finished cast.
[340] Ibid., 161.

providing manufacturers with a new method of casting using electricity.[341] Electrotyping facilitated the replication of metalwork and jewellery otherwise considered too difficult or expensive to produce on a large scale. To create an electrotype a mould of the original model was made and coated with black lead to give it a conductive surface, submerged in a chemical bath containing a dissolved metal, usually copper, and connected to an electrical circuit.[342] As the current passed through the mould, the dissolved copper was deposited on the surface and allowed to accumulate to the level of thickness required for the object to support itself, which could take several days. The resulting cast was carefully separated from the mould, the surface cleaned and any rough edges finished to create a copper type pattern, from which additional moulds were made in order to generate multiple electrotypes.

William Acheson & Company manufactured direct facsimiles of the Hunterston brooch (Fig. 61, Cat. 297), at least in part, by electrotyping. A type pattern and electrotype cast of the Hunterston brooch by Acheson[343] (Fig. 172, Cat. 297.5) illustrates two stages in the manufacturing process in which moulds of the body of the brooch and the pinhead were incorporated into a single copper type pattern, that yielded a further mould to produce an electrotype of both sections. The electrotyped sections were separated, finished and recombined, with the addition of ornamental panels, the shaft of the pin and a modern fastening on the back, to create a completed facsimile stamped by Acheson (Fig. 62, Cat. 297.2). In contrast an electrotyped,

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[341] Bury, *Victorian Electroplate*, 3.
[342] Trusted, *Making of Sculpture*, 164.
[343] Although no maker's mark or other distinguishing marks have been preserved on the type pattern or electrotype cast, both match up exactly in form and dimension with the finished and stamped copy of the Hunterston brooch by Acheson in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland. It has therefore been concluded that Acheson created the type pattern and electrotype cast.

modified facsimile of the 'Tara' brooch (Fig. 173, Cat. 298.29) included the ornament found on the front face of the original brooch (Fig. 46, Cat. 298), albeit in a highly simplified form, rather than manufacture individual panels for later attachment. Direct facsimiles of larger artefacts such as the Shrine of St. Lachtin's Arm (Fig. 174, Cat. 367) appear to have been electrotyped in sections, as suggested by a rough and unfinished electrotype cast of the base section (Fig. 175, Cat. 367.3), and assembled to form the finished copy of the reliquary shrine.

If the original artefact being replicated included areas of openwork, these would have been built into the mould used to produce the type pattern, as it was difficult to pierce, cut out and file down this kind of ornament on the finished electrotype.[344] The layering of openwork plates over a patterned backing plate was a characteristic feature of many Irish shrines and reliquaries, such as the Shrine of the Book of Dimma (Fig. 176, Cat. 357) and the Shrine of the Stowe Missal (Fig. 177, Cat. 356).[345] Edmond Johnson used single plates with contrasting metal surfaces to create depth and give the impression of an openwork plate on top a backing plate in direct facsimiles of the Shrine of the Book of Dimma (Fig. 178, Cat. 357.1) and the Shrine of the Stowe Missal (Fig. 179, Cat. 356.1). A copy of the front face of the Shrine of the Book of Dimma, along with sections from other shrines (Fig. 180, Cat. 352.4-5, 357.3 and 354.3) illustrates how the openwork and backing plates were

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[344] Based upon a personal communication from Michael Neilson, Replication Specialist at the British Museum.

[345] Michael Ryan, "A House-Shaped Shrine of Probable Irish Origin at Abbadia San Salvatore, Province of Siena, Italy," in *Irish Antiquities: Essays in Memory of Joseph Raftery,* ed. Michael Ryan (Bray, Co. Wicklow: Wordwell, 1998), 148. Michael Ryan proposed that the distinctive openwork plates, which consist of grids formed by interlinked crosses, found on Irish reliquary shrines of all types may represent a 'protective grille' through which visual access to the relic was provided.

merged into a single electrotyped plate to approximate the construction and ornament of the original book shrine.

Whether replicated through die stamping, casting or electrotyping, the constituent parts required some finishing and assembly in order to form the completed facsimile. The surfaces and edges of the various sections were cleaned, filed down and polished as necessary, then assembled. At least some of the brooch facsimiles appear to have been manufactured in two halves, front and back, which were soldered together to form a hollow brooch and may have been filled with plaster of Paris to create the impression of solid metal.[346] William Acheson likely used this method to produce a facsimile of the Roscrea brooch (Fig. 181, Cat. 319.5), a modified facsimile of the original (Fig. 182, Cat. 319). Although not stamped with a maker's mark, these two halves are directly comparable with a completed modified facsimile (Fig. 183, Cat. 319.1) by Acheson from c. 1853. Two halves of the back face of the Co. Cavan brooch from Waterhouse & Company (Figs. 184-5, Cat. 305.16) demonstrates that the firm manufactured both modified and direct facsimiles of the brooch from c. 1872. The section of the smaller modified facsimile seems flatter, more solid and self-contained, while the hollow section of the larger direct facsimile retains much of the infilling presumably used to give heft to the finished product.

The complexity of the original Ardagh chalice (Fig. 81, Cat. 344) appears to have necessitated the manufacture of individual panels of ornament that were later applied to the body of the facsimile. In a direct facsimile by Joseph Johnson from c. 1881 (Fig. 186, Cat. 344.2) the panels that

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[346] Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 96-7.

decorate the foot of the chalice seem to have been either inserted into a designated recess and soldered in place or sandwiched between the upper and lower rims of the foot. A comparable group of ornamental panels associated with the foot and the bowl girdle of the Ardagh chalice (Fig. 187, Cat. 344.9) illustrate that the same sections were produced in different sizes, perhaps to fit direct and modified facsimiles, and the presence of tabs around the perimeter of one example suggests that these were needed to help hold the panel in place.[347] It seems that a similar approach may have been taken towards the reproduction of the handle of the Ardagh chalice (Fig. 101, Cat. 344), as evidenced by facsimiles of the escutcheon (Fig. 188, Cat. 344.8) in two sizes.[348] The ornamental panel grouped with these facsimiles suggests that such panels were replicated individually, rather than incorporated into a mould of the escutcheon, and inserted into place.

The Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell (Fig. 103, Cat. 352), like many Irish shrines and reliquaries, was built around a hollow core with decorative panels applied to the exterior secured by strategically placed rivets and binding strips around the outer edges. The construction of the direct facsimile of the bell shrine by Edmond Johnson (Fig. 112, Cat. 352.2) mirrors that of the original, with an electroformed crest and side panels riveted to a trapezoidal base with rounded edges to suggest the binding strips. Much like the construction of the original artefacts, the rivets or screws that joined the parts of the facsimiles were often hidden behind settings for stones and glass beads or incorporated into the overall ornamental programme. A direct facsimile of the *Domhnach Airgid* by Edmond Johnson (Fig. 189, Cat. 353.1) was held together with

[347] These ornamental panels cannot be securely attributed or dated, but have been included here for the purposes of illustrating aspects of the manufacturing process.
[348] Ibid.

screws camouflaged by the collars for glass beads at the corners on each side of the shrine (Fig. 190, Cat. 353.1). Evidence of similar methods used to attach the ornamented metal panels to the shrine was apparent in the construction of the original shrine (Figs. 191-2, Cat. 353).

The exterior of the fully assembled facsimiles were polished and plated, gilded or oxidised to better approximate the appearance of the original artefacts. The effect was achieved with the assistance of newly developed technologies such as electroplating and electrogilding, which supplanted the traditional and highly toxic method of mercury gilding.[349] Electroplating and electrogilding, closely associated with electrotyping, was also patented by Elkington & Company in 1840, referred to electro-chemical processes similar to electroforming in which a fully formed base metal object was coated with silver, gold or bronze.[350] Oxidisation was another chemical process designed to give the finished surface of a facsimile a matt finish to suggest antiquity.[351] Waterhouse & Company produced modified facsimiles of the 'University' (Rathlin Island) brooch, the 'Knight Templar' (Kilmainham) brooch and many others in silver, silver gilt and with an oxidised finish.[352] Experiments were conducted by Edmond Johnson to reproduce the necessary shades of *niello*, a dark inlay used to provide contrast found on artefacts such as the eleventh-century Clonmacnoise crozier (Fig. 193, Cat. 359), as the modern *niello*

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[349] Philips, *Jewellery from Antiquity*, 152.
[350] Bury, *Victorian Electroplate*, 3; Trusted, *Making of Sculpture*, 164.
[351] The term oxidisation is misleading, as the dark patination was achieved by the use of sulphur solution and not by oxidation.
[352] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 2nd edition, 14-5; Waterhouse & Company, *Antique Irish Brooches*, 16.

process resulted in a much darker colour on the direct facsimile (Fig. 194, Cat. 359.2).[353]

The presence of coloured glass, enamels and semi-precious stones incorporated into the ornamental programme of many original artefacts required the Dublin manufacturers to duplicate them as an integral part of the finished facsimiles. Edmond Johnson claimed that the *champlevé* enamelling technique had to be introduced in order to recreate the colourful studs found on the Cross of Cong (Fig. 139, Cat. 370), few of which have survived.[354] The blue and white studs on the direct facsimile by Edmond Johnson from c. 1891-2 (Fig. 195, Cat. 370.1) were composed of variations on the patterning of the remaining original studs and superficial in nature, executed as a thin surface layer of enamel over what appears to be a solid core. The same technique was utilised by Johnson to produce the distinctive coloured studs with insets of *millifiori* glass on the Lismore crozier (Fig. 129, Cat. 362) for the direct facsimile (Fig. 196, Cat. 362.1). The large rock crystals found on the Shrine of the *Cathach* (Fig. 197, Cat. 355) and the Shrine of St. Patrick's Tooth (Figs. 198-9, Cat. 366), as well as on many other artefacts, were replicated with clear glass studs on the direct facsimiles (Fig. 200, Cat. 355.1 and Figs. 201-2, Cat. 366.1) manufactured by Edmond Johnson.

In general facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork appear relatively accurate, despite a widespread tendency to restore damaged or incomplete sections of artefacts that went beyond mere replication. Modified facsimiles of the 'Tara' brooch by Waterhouse & Company (Fig. 49, Cat. 298.3) featured a panel of animal ornament at the top of the ring, which

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[353] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 7-8.
[354] Ibid., 8.

was derived from a panel on the back of the Kilmainham ('Knight Templar') brooch and replaced the panel missing on the original brooch (Fig. 46, Cat. 298).[355] This same panel was also appeared on the back of modified facsimiles of the Kilmainham ('Knight Templar') brooch by Waterhouse & Company (Fig. 203, Cat. 306.1) and repeated in subsequent direct facsimiles by Edmond Johnson (Fig. 204, Cat. 306.3) and modified facsimiles by Hopkins & Hopkins.[356] Moulds were taken of the ornament on the sides and the crest of the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell (Figs. 103-5, Cat. 352), which were then used to create copper type patterns for electrotyping (Fig. 205, Cat. 352.10). A comparison between the original shrine and the type patterns highlight extensive alterations, particularly the reconstruction of missing filigree panels and the elimination of a large inset rock crystal from the front face of the shrine, which must have originated in the mould-making stage and were perpetuated by the direct facsimiles. The large sections of ornament missing from the back face of the original Cross of Cong (Fig. 206, Cat. 370), including the lost mount at the junction of the cross arms (Fig. 207, Cat. 370.9), were recreated by Edmond Johnson to complete his direct facsimiles (Fig. 208, Cat. 370.2).[357] Edmond Johnson also fabricated sections of missing ornament on the front and sides of the *Soisceál Molaise* (Figs. 114-8, Cat. 354) to restore direct facsimiles of the shrine (Figs. 126-7, Cat. 354.2) "so that one can form an

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[355] Whitfield, "Original Appearance of Tara Brooch," 14; Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery*, 450.
[356] Ibid.
[357] Bourke, "On a Lost Mount," 14-6. The form of the lost mount on the back face of the Cross of Cong fabricated by Edmond Johnson for his facsimiles closely corresponds with the conjectural reconstruction by Bourke.

exact idea of the magnificence and splendour they presented to the eye when in actual use."[358]

The accuracy of at least one facsimile must have been of a sufficiently high degree to fool a member of the general public into believing it was the real thing. In 1905 a gentleman from Norwich mistook a facsimile of the 'Tara' brooch for an original and sent it into the Dublin Museum of Science and Art for evaluation.[359] This incident appears to have been an aberration, as no evidence exists to support the conclusion that Irish facsimiles were passed off as fakes. A thin line separates facsimiles from fakes with many considerations relevant to both categories, particularly in regards to modern perceptions and interpretations of authenticity.[360] The same manufacturing techniques required for the production of facsimiles could have been applied equally to the creation of fakes, which potentially blurs the distinction even further.[361] All indications suggest that the Dublin firms responsible for the replication of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork had no intention to deceive, as the majority of modified facsimiles and adaptation were clearly stamped by the retailer or manufacturer and consistently marketed as commercial products (see Chapter Three). Direct facsimiles specifically intended for museum purchase, however, do not appear to have been stamped by their

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[358] Margaret Stokes, "Observations on Two Ancient Irish Works of Art, Known as the Breac Moedog, or Shrine of St. Moedoc of Ferns, and the Soisceal Molaise, or Gospel of St. Molaise of Devenish," *Archaeologia* 43 (1871): 144-50; Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 7. The panels of figural and interlaced ornament created by Edmond Johnson were derived from the single remaining figure depicted on the side of the shrine and possibly from the Book of Kells. A similar reconstruction of ornament missing from the shrine appeared in an 1871 article on the *Soiscéal Molaise* by Margaret Stokes, in which she filled in empty panels with ornament derived from the Book of Kells.

[359] Refer to National Museum of Ireland Archives, File IA/1185/1905. The owner stated in his letter to Colonel Plunkett, Director of the Dublin Museum that it "did not occur to me that the one I have was a copy". Colonel Plunkett noted in the file that the copy was incorrect, reduced in size and made some years ago, probably by one of the Dublin silversmiths.

[360] Mark Jones et al., *Fake? The Art of Deception* (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Publications, 1990), 11-5.

[361] Ibid.

manufacturer. It appears likely that by the time direct facsimiles appeared in large numbers towards the later nineteenth century, the market was already saturated with copies and the high level of public awareness of the originals may have discouraged fakes.

Conclusion

Four interrelated aspects of facsimile production in Dublin between 1840 and 1940 have been examined within this chapter: retailers and manufacturers, scholars and merchants, the selection of models and the manufacturing processes. First a brief social history and overview of facsimile production by six major Dublin retailers and manufactures has been provided. Scattered pieces of historical background on Waterhouse & Company, West & Son, William Acheson, Joseph Johnson, Edmond Johnson and Hopkins & Hopkins have been published in a wide range of secondary sources, but no single source has presented a complete and detailed record of all six firms for comparison. The aim of this section was to compile such a record from archival documents, guild records, stock catalogues, and exhibition catalogues, contemporary newspaper articles and advertisements, as well as from previously published material. This effort was limited by the lack of surviving correspondence and business records from the individual firms, while the advertisements and catalogues issued by the firms required judicious treatment given their function as promotional materials. The resulting histories, however, include new evidence regarding the personal and professional relationships that existed between members of these firms. More information may be obtained in future by undertaking a genealogical search to

trace the families associated with each firm and through contact with living relatives or former employees.

It has been demonstrated that the Dublin firms were actively engaged with the Royal Irish Academy and its collections on multiple levels, as designers and manufacturers, dealers and restorers, and even as Academy members and technical experts. The aim of this section was to discuss the ways in which the Dublin firms worked cooperatively with the Royal Irish Academy to establish and develop the Irish facsimile industry. New details on the regulation of access to artefacts, business transactions related to the sale and exchange of artefacts and facsimiles, as well as the role played by several Dublin firms in the care and preservation of the Royal Irish Academy collection have been provided. Although relevant excerpts dealing with the Dublin firms and facsimile production from the minute books of the Academy Council and select committees have been utilised in other published sources, the link between the expansion and growing significance of the Royal Irish Academy collection with the emergence of large-scale facsimile production in Dublin has not been fully examined. An area for further research may be to conduct a comparable study of the relationship between the Dublin firms and the other leading cultural societies and institutions, such as the Royal Dublin Society, Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland and Trinity College.

A selection of sixteen artefacts representative of the main categories of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork has been presented to broadly illustrate the scope of facsimile production by the Dublin firms. The aim of this section was to discuss the original artefacts as models and the intersection of provenance with the production of facsimiles. The impact of facsimiles on

the status of the 'Tara' brooch and the Ardagh chalice as national symbols has been considered by recent scholarship, but there has been very little discussion of the full range of facsimiles produced during the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century in the context of the canon of Irish art. It has been demonstrated in this thesis that the artefacts selected as models for facsimiles reinforced the hierarchy established by the Irish artistic canon and helped increase its interest and relevance for a wider audience.

The final section provided an overview of the manufacturing processes associated with facsimile production, including mould making, die stamping, casting and electrotyping. The combination of traditional metalworking skills and new technologies allowed the firms to produce facsimiles that closely approximated the appearance of the original artefact, enhanced by the application of surface treatments such as gilding, silvering, oxidisation and inset coloured glass, enamel and stones. The manufacturing processes involved in facsimile production are more often than not divorced from discussions of the facsimiles themselves in published sources. The aim of this chapter was to focus on the manufacturing process as a key factor that shaped the selection of models and facilitated the mass-production of commercial facsimiles. Additional evidence may be revealed by an examination of the production of bog oak jewellery to identify potential links with facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery executed in metal. A detailed technical analysis and comparison of an original artefact with a facsimile has never been conducted by a conservator, but may provide new insight into the materials and construction of facsimiles.

CHAPTER THREE: Facsimile Promotion

Introduction

By the middle of the nineteenth century Ireland was increasingly defined by a national identity rooted in the Celtic past.[362] Facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork served as a material link between the past and the present, a representation of the continuity of a distinctively Irish tradition of design and craftsmanship from the earliest periods of Irish history through the modern age. As products of the Celtic Revival facsimiles were an expression of the growing popular interest in Irish antiquities, paralleled by a renewed study of Irish music, literature, theatre, dancing and sport. The replication of culturally significant artefacts for commercial sale as discussed in the previous chapter required the development of a market for facsimiles, using marketing and promotional strategies to generate demand, which will be discussed in this chapter.

The aim of this chapter is to examine how the promotion of facsimiles played a central role in the designation of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork as national symbols. The elevation of artefacts, architectural monuments and historic sites to iconic status has become a central element of Irish identity.[363] The academic and antiquarian communities in Ireland sought to promote antiquities through scholarship, but it will be argued that the marketing of facsimiles by the Dublin retailers and manufacturers resulted in a far greater audience for these artefacts both at home and abroad.[364] The

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[362] Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past,* 7.
[363] Gabriel Cooney, "Building the Future on the Past: Archaeology and the Construction of National Identity in Ireland," in *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe,* ed. Margarita Díaz-Andreu García and T. Champion (London: UCL Press, 1996), 148.
[364] Netzer, "Art/Full Ground," 54.

frequent appearance of facsimiles at national and international exhibitions helped to reinforce the place of the original artefacts as part of a visual vocabulary used to express concepts of Irishness. Furthermore facsimiles enabled Irish artefacts of surpassing beauty and fundamental importance to become more widely available in a way that would have been impossible with the original artefacts.

This chapter has been divided into two main sections with relevant subsections focused on the promotion of facsimiles by Dublin retailers and manufacturers. The strategies utilised by the Dublin firms to publicise facsimiles and generate sales in Ireland and Britain will be examined in the first section. An analysis of the use of popular names to create a brand identity for facsimile brooch designs, the impact of royal and viceregal patronage on the facsimile industry and an overview of recurrent themes in facsimile advertising and stock catalogues will be provided. The second section will be devoted to a discussion of four selected national and international exhibitions held in Europe and America between 1851 and 1904. The display of facsimiles by the Dublin retailers and manufacturers and their potential contribution to the presentation of Irish national identity at arts and industrial exhibitions will be considered. Both sections will draw upon supporting material found in the Appendices, which include a chronology with a complete listing of participation in national and international exhibitions by the Dublin firms. The chapter will conclude with a summary of findings and the identification of areas for further research in relation to Irish facsimile promotion.

Facsimile Promotion: Strategies for the Insular Market

The commercial production of facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork by Dublin retailers and manufacturers necessitated a market in Ireland and Britain for their merchandise. In order to establish an Insular market the Dublin firms employed promotional strategies that capitalised upon nationalist ideologies, including the use of a variety of names for facsimile designs, highly publicised forms of patronage and aggressive marketing campaigns comprised of print advertising, stock catalogues, shop displays and exhibitions. Primary source material from contemporary Irish and British newspapers and stock catalogues published by the Dublin firms between 1852 and 1910 will be analysed to chart the development of a market for facsimiles. The impact of the emergence of department stores and new patterns of consumption by the growing middle class on the facsimile market will be considered.

Names

One of the primary approaches taken by the Dublin retailers and manufacturers to promote facsimiles was the use of romantic and fanciful names for their designs. Academics and antiquarians commonly referred to an artefact by its type and the location of the find-spot, as with the Broighter collar discovered in near Lough Foyle, Broighter, Co. Derry, or place of keeping such as the Shrine of the Stowe Missal, formerly kept in the library at Stowe, Buckinghamshire. Historic names and associations were retained, such as the *Soisceál Molaise*, the book shrine of St. Molaise of Devenish, Co. Fermanagh, and the Shrine of the *Cathach* of St. Colum Cille and the O'Donnell family of Co.

Donegal. The main features shared by all the designations applied to Irish artefacts were their descriptive function and emphasis on provenance. The Dublin retailers and manufacturers adopted this formula and embellished existing names or created new ones to more effectively market facsimiles, specifically brooches.

Waterhouse & Company initiated the practice of giving names to their modified facsimile designs, which rendered them easily identifiable to customers in the shop, in stock catalogues and in advertisements. Some of the names used by Waterhouse were intentionally romanticised to conjure visions of ancient Ireland. The 'Knight Templar' brooch (Fig. 209) was the designation given to a lobed penannular brooch (Fig. 210, Cat. 306) by Waterhouse & Company, based on a report that a hospital of the order of Templars once stood on its find-spot in Kilmainham, Co. Dublin, where the Grand Master supposedly wore it.[365] Waterhouse named the 'Royal Tara' brooch (Figs. 46-7, Cat. 298) for its fictitious discovery near the Hill of Tara, ancient seat of the High Kings of Ireland. The 'Royal' portion of the name was also derived from the supposition made by George Petrie that a prince might have worn it and its association with Queen Victoria, who purchased two modified facsimiles of the brooch (Fig. 211) in 1850.[366] Other names were merely explanatory, a reference to a particular style or type of ornament, such as the 'Ogham' pin (Fig. 35) based on the 'Clarendon' brooch, which featured an ancient *Ogham* inscription copied from the back of the Ballyspellan brooch (Fig. 29, Cat. 336). The penannular brooch found in a Viking cemetery on Rathlin Island, Co.

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[365] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 15.

[366] "Royal Irish Academy," *Freeman's Journal*, 11 December 1850; "Royal Irish Academy," *Belfast News-Letter*, 20 December 1850; "Court Circular, Windsor, Friday," *Morning Chronicle* (London), 21 December 1850; Gere and Tait, *Art of the Jeweller*, 160; McEvansoneya, "The Purchase of the 'Tara' Brooch," 80-1; Netzer, "Art/Full Ground," 50.

Antrim, during the eighteenth century (Fig. 212, Cat. 317), later owned by Trinity College, was known as the 'Dublin University' brooch (Fig. 213), which linked it to its repository.

The impact of such commercial designations was far-reaching and over time many of the original artefacts came to be known by the same names, perpetuated by scholarship, in museums and by other retailers and manufacturers, who went on to reproduce and sell these same designs. This approach was taken up and expanded by the firm of Edmond Johnson Limited in 1902, which gave modified facsimile brooch designs names linked with particular Irish towns and counties such as the 'Kells' Brooch (Fig. 214), the 'Leitrim' Brooch (Fig. 215) and the 'Galway' Brooch (Fig. 216).[367] Edmond Johnson produced modified facsimiles of the 'Kells' brooch (Fig. 217, Cat. 342.1), 'Leitrim' brooch (Fig. 218, Cat. 321.1) and the 'Galway' brooch (Fig. 219, Cat. 311.1) as early as c. 1891-2, but these designations do not appear to have been in use until the early twentieth century.[368] This represented a new approach to facsimile promotion, by rebranding selected modified facsimile brooch designs and marketing them as souvenirs of a visit to Ireland. The names referenced sites within Ireland associated with the manufacture, preservation or discovery of the original brooches and suggested multiple levels of Irish identity, local and national, in which the customer participated by purchasing and wearing the facsimile. Some direct and modified facsimile brooches were never given names at all, which perhaps indicated a hierarchy

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[367] Edmond Johnson Limited, *Epitome of Reproductions*, 19, 21 and 23; Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, Plate 16. Bennett illustrated an example of the 'Kells' brooch and misattributed it to Waterhouse & Company as a variation on the 'Clarendon' brooch and there is no evidence to suggest that Waterhouse ever produced this design under this or another name.

[368] The original model for the 'Leitrim' brooch is unprovenanced. Although Leitrim may not be considered a popular tourist destination, Johnson's firm likely concocted this name in order to tie the brooch back to a specific location.

of designs that reflected and reinforced the canonical status of the original models.

Patronage

New names emerged as the result of patronage, such as the 'Clarendon' brooch (Fig. 30), named for the Countess of Clarendon, wife of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.[369] This type of viceregal patronage helped create a demand for the modified facsimile brooches in the upper echelons of Irish and British society, which presumably encouraged women of the middle classes who sought to emulate the dress and appearance of the elite to purchase facsimiles as well.[370] Waterhouse & Company's promotional strategy proved highly successful and resulted in the sale of more than 2,000 facsimiles of the 'Clarendon' brooch between 1849 and 1852, with demand attributed to the patronage of the Countess of Clarendon.[371] Given the cost, which ranged from 20-30 shillings for a silver version and from four to eight guineas each in gold, such large sales figures demonstrate the impact of patronage on the facsimile market.[372]

The Countess of Clarendon not only publicly offered her support to Waterhouse & Company, but also facilitated the royal audience at Windsor Castle in 1850 where Queen Victoria and Prince Albert viewed the original 'Tara' brooch.[373] This was not the first royal presentation of an Irish brooch,

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[369] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 14-5; Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 95-6; Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, 87.
[370] McCrum, "Commerce and the Celtic Revival," 36-7.
[371] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 14-5; "The Great Exhibition," *Belfast News-Letter*, 9 June 1851; Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, 87.
[372] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 16-7; Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 2nd edition, 16-7.
[373] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 14; Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 2nd edition, 14; Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 95-6; Gere and

however, as Queen Victoria was given a modified facsimile of the Co. Cavan brooch (Fig. 65, Cat. 305), thereafter known as the 'Queen's' brooch, during an official visit to Dublin in 1849 (Fig. 66, Cat. 305.1). The same year Prince Albert purchased modified facsimiles of the 'Clarendon' brooch (Fig. 43, Cat. 336.4) and the 'Arbutus Berry' brooch made by Edmond Johnson for West & Son as gifts for the Queen.[374] By 1852 the royal couple had also acquired modified facsimiles of the 'University' (Rathlin Island) brooch, the 'Knight Templar' (Kilmainham) brooch, the 'Ring' brooch (Fig. 220) and two versions of the 'Tara' brooch from Waterhouse & Company.[375] The patronage of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert may have provided a boost to the facsimile industry and the popularity of Irish archaeological-style brooches in Ireland and Britain, but no sales figures survive with which to support this suggestion or possibility.[376] At minimum the activities of the royal couple received considerable attention in the media and were reported in detail, resulting in increased publicity for the Dublin firms that enjoyed their patronage.

Royal and viceregal patronage in the form of purchases and official appointments were presumably intended to encourage native industries and manufacturing in Ireland, as elsewhere in Britain.[377] Waterhouse & Company

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Tait, *Art of the Jeweller*, 160-1; McCrum, "Commerce and the Celtic Revival," 39; Netzer, "Art/Full Ground," 51; Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, 87.

[374] Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery*, 449-50; "Collection: Brooch". The 'Clarendon' brooch is registered as RC 4833 and the 'Arbutus Berry' brooch as RC12457 in the Royal Collection.

[375] "The Great Exhibition," *Belfast News-Letter*, 9 June 1851; Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 17 and 19-20; Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 2nd edition, 17 and 19-20. Although the 'Ring' brooch may initally appear to have been an adaptation of the Kilmainham ('Knight Templar') brooch, the fact that it was mentioned in an article describing the merchandise shown by Waterhouse at the 1851 Great Exhibition in London on 9 June 1851 and listed in the Waterhouse stock catalogue as being an original (owned by Joseph Johnson, though the original model has not be identified), the question remains open.

[376] Bennett, *Collecting Irish Silver*, 95-6; Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery*, 16 and 446-7; Gere and Tait, *Art of the Jeweller*, 160-1; McCrum, "Commerce and the Celtic Revival," 39; Netzer, "Art/Full Ground," 51; Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, 87.

[377] Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery*, 16.

received official appointments as the jewellers, goldsmiths and silversmiths to Queen Victoria in 1848, the Prince and Princess of Wales in 1868 and were granted the authority to use the Royal Arms between 1886 and 1897.[378] Additionally Waterhouse & Company were patronised by several of the Lords Lieutenant during their tenure in Ireland, including the Earl of Clarendon, the Marquis of Abercorn, the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, the Earl Spencer and the Irish Court.[379] William Acheson & Company was patronised in 1858 by the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Eglinton and Winton.[380] In 1882 Joseph Johnson's firm received the patronage of Queen Victoria and the royal family, as well as the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl Spencer.[381] In 1886 West & Son were appointed as diamond merchants and goldsmiths to Queen Victoria, the Lord Lieutenant and the Countess of Aberdeen, and the Most Illustrious Order of St. Patrick.[382] Edmond Johnson was appointed as Her Majesty's Jeweller in Ireland in 1895 and was authorised to use the Royal Arms along with Waterhouse & Company and West & Son until 1897.[383]

In the last decades of the nineteenth century a more widespread form of patronage emerged through public support for Irish manufactures, which became a fashionable cause among aristocratic women, and likely resulted in

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[378] Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 15-6; "Royal Tradesmen," *Freeman's Journal,* 6 January 1886; "Royal Tradesmen in Ireland," *Freeman's Journal,* 5 January 1895; "Tradesmen and Royalty," *Freeman's Journal,* 9 January 1897; "Tradesmen and Royalty," *Freeman's Journal,* 17 January 1891.

[379] "The Royal Visit," *Irish Times,* 7 April 1868; "Dublin Castle," *Irish Times,* 20 May 1869; "25 and 26 Dame Street and Waterhouse & Company," *Irish Times,* 31 October 1870; "Waterhouse and Company," *Irish Times,* 26 July 1873; "Highly Important Notice," *Irish Times,* 3 April 1877.

[380] "Christmas Presents: William Acheson," *Freeman's Journal,* 16 December 1858.

[381] "Retiring from Business: Joseph Johnson," *Freeman's Journal,* 22 November 1882.

[382] "Irish Jewellery: West and Son," *Freeman's Journal,* 21 April 1886.

[383] "Fashion and Varieties: The Royal Warrant," *Freeman's Journal,* 23 August 1895; "Mr. Edmond Johnson, Her Majesty's Jeweller in Ireland," *Freeman's Journal,* 23 August 1895; "Tradesmen and Royalty," *Freeman's Journal,* 9 January 1897.

increased trade for the Dublin firms involved in facsimile production.[384] The establishment of the Irish Home Manufacturers Association in 1881, the Donegal Industrial Fund in 1883 and the Irish Industries Association in 1886 signalled a concerted effort to promote the consumption of Irish goods at home and abroad.[385] Although the primary focus of these organisations was the revival of 'cottage industries' such as the manufacture of lace, poplin and wool, support for the Irish textile industry fed the development of the national dress movement, which required the proper accessories such as facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery.

The Countess of Aberdeen, wife of the Lord Lieutenant and founder of the Irish Industries Association, demonstrated her support for native manufactures by organising events to promote and sell Irish goods and set an example with her own wardrobe. In 1886 the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen held a garden party at the viceregal lodge in Phoenix Park and stipulated that all guests wear peasant costume from any country, so long as it was of Irish manufacture.[386] Two thousand guests attended the event, all drawn from applicants who had attended previous functions held by the last four Lords Lieutenant, and thus comprised a particular social and economic class.[387] For the garden party the Lord Lieutenant wore a simple contemporary suit of gray poplin with what appears to be an Irish facsimile brooch on his lapel (Fig.

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[384] Rains, *Commodity Culture*, 95-6.
[385] Ibid., 97-8.
[386] "The Viceregal Garden Party," *Irish Times,* 17 April 1886; Hilary O'Kelly, "Reconstructing Irishness, Dress in the Celtic Revival, 1880-1920," in *Chic Thrills: A Fashion Reader,* ed. Juliet Ash and Elizabeth Wilson (London: Pandora Press, 1992), 81; Janice Helland, "Embroidered Spectacle: Celtic Revival as Aristocratic Display," in *The Irish Revival Reappraised,* ed. Betsey Taylor FitzSimon and James H. Murphy (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), 95-6. The *Freeman's Journal* also published a pamphlet entitled 'The Viceregal Garden Party, How to Dress in Irish Materials' with nineteen illustrated suggestions for costumes in May 1886.
[387] Janice Helland, *British and Irish Home Arts and Industries, 1880-1914: Marketing Craft, Making Fashion* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007), 84; "The Viceregal Garden Party," *Irish Times,* 17 April 1886.

221).[388] In contrast the Countess of Aberdeen was styled as Aoife from the 1854 *Marriage of Strongbow and Aoife* by Daniel Maclise (Figs. 222-3) in a costume designed by Major Robert J. McEniry, curator of the Royal Irish Academy collection (Fig. 221).[389] Her cream-coloured dress embroidered with gold was adorned with several pieces of archaeological-style jewellery purchased from Waterhouse & Company, West & Son and Edmond Johnson and was illustrated in the women's magazine *Lady's Pictorial* (Fig. 224). A gold girdle or belt, the facsimile of the 'Tara' brooch used to secure her mantle and the 'Fibula' brooch that fastened her shoulder-piece in place were all provided by Waterhouse & Company.[390] West & Son contributed to the Countess' costume a headdress in the form of a gold pin based on similar head-pieces in the Royal Irish Academy, a chatelaine purse and a bunch of keys, as well as the gold girdles worn by the two household pages.[391] Edmond Johnson was responsible for the necklace, earrings and torc-style bracelet worn by the Countess of Aberdeen and the badges worn by members of the household, comprised of a Book of Kells type initial 'A' on a St. Patrick's blue ribbon.[392] Such a visible demonstration in support of Irish industrial and economic progress was appropriate for the wife of the Lord Lieutenant and a fashionable nineteenth-century aristocratic woman. However, the symbolic identification of the Countess of Aberdeen with Ireland in the guise of Aoife,

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[388] "Viceregal Garden Party," *Irish Times,* 24 May 1886.
[389] Helland, *Home Arts and Industries* 82-8; Helland, "Embroidered Spectacle," 95-6; "Viceregal Garden Party," *Irish Times,* 24 May 1886.
[390] "Viceregal Garden Party," *Irish Times,* 24 May 1886.
[391] Ibid.
[392] Ibid.

the twelfth-century Irish bride of the Norman invader Strongbow, and the adoption of Irish nationalist emblems appears a bit excessive.[393]

The Countess of Aberdeen continued to utilise the performative aspects of costume to promote native manufactures by wearing dresses of Irish poplin, linen and lace at court covered with elaborate embroidery inspired by the Book of Kells. The effect would often be completed with the addition of facsimile brooches and other jewellery, as seen in a photograph of the Countess in court dress at Dublin Castle in 1907 (Fig. 225), in which at least two facsimile brooches are visible on her bodice.[394] In 1909 the Countess of Aberdeen organised a Pageant of Irish Industries in Dublin Castle on the eve of St. Patrick's Day.[395] Participants were instructed to wear costumes representative of Irish industries such as mining, agriculture, pottery, furniture, textiles and art-metalwork, while carrying products to be displayed at the event.[396] The pageant featured the use of the registered Irish trademark on emblematic banners signifying the various industries and the products on view.[397] The dress worn by the Countess of Aberdeen (Fig. 226) featured a train covered with embroidered motifs from the Book of Kells, a skirt emblazoned with the Irish trademark and two facsimile brooches fastened to her bodice, one a modified facsimiles of the 'Kells' brooch by Edmond Johnson

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[393] Helland, *Home Arts and Industries*, 85-6.
[394] Maureen Keane, *Ishbel: Lady Aberdeen in Ireland* (Newtownards, Co. Down: Colourpoint, 1999).
[395] Miller, "The Selling of Nationalism," 36-8.
[396] "St. Patrick's Eve Pageant of Irish Industries," *Irish Times,* 6 March 1909; "St. Patrick's Eve Pageant of Irish Industries," *Irish Times,* 5 March 1909. Products from the various Irish industries were to be carried by participants, presented to Lord Lieutenant and Countess Aberdeen and then used as table decorations.
[397] "Pageant of Irish Industries, To-Night's Ceremonial," *Irish Times,* 15 March 1909; "St. Patrick's Eve Pageant of Irish Industries," *Irish Times,* 8 March 1909; Miller, "The Selling of Nationalism," 36-8.

Limited, thus transforming herself into a living advertisement for the event.[398] It is not known which of the Dublin firms produced the unidentified brooches worn by the Countess of Aberdeen at these two events, but it does illustrate that modified facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery were incorporated into both her court dress and pageant costume as part of an overall visual statement of Irishness.

Presentation Pieces

Public commissions were yet another type of patronage in which facsimiles often made an appearance. In 1887 Waterhouse & Company was appointed to manufacture a casket for the Jubilee address to Queen Victoria on behalf of the "loyal citizens of Dublin, associated with the loyal inhabitants of the metropolitan county".[399] The solid silver casket was decorated with well-established Irish emblems such as the round tower and wolfhound, along with ornament derived from the 'Tara' brooch and the Book of Kells, surmounted by a replica of the harp of Brian Boroihme.[400] The Waterhouse & Company casket adhered to a formulaic design meant to be read as 'Irish', combining the same elements used more than thirty years earlier in a presentation casket by William Acheson displayed at the 1853 Dublin Exhibition (see below). The casket was praised, however, as "very handsome and beautifully executed" in *The Irish Times* and the *Freeman's Journal* stated the firm should be "congratulated for the superiority and artistic excellence of their

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[398] Ibid. Both Edmond Johnson Limited and Hopkins & Hopkins participated by displaying goods as part of the event.
[399] "The Dublin Jubilee Address to the Queen," *Freeman's Journal,* 24 June 1887.
[400] Ibid.

workmanship".[401] Waterhouse & Company generated additional publicity for the firm by exhibiting the casket in their shop prior to the presentation ceremony.[402]

Just four years later Hopkins & Hopkins accepted the commission to manufacture a casket for an address by the Dublin Corporation on the occasion of Queen Victoria's visit to Ireland in 1900 (Fig. 227).[403] The large jewelled gold casket, modelled on an ancient Irish shrine, featured ornament copied from the Ardagh chalice and the Book of Dimma with feet in the form of fibulae.[404] Similar to the Waterhouse casket, the design by Hopkins & Hopkins appropriated forms and ornament from well-known examples of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork to produce a modern casket in a style intended to convey Irishness. Hopkins & Hopkins took advantage of the publicity surrounding the design and presentation of the casket to the Queen to create tie-in advertising for their range of modified facsimile and adaptation jewellery.[405]

West & Son was commissioned in 1915 to design and manufacture a casket to hold an address for presentation to the departing Lord Lieutenant and his wife, recently elevated to the Marquis and Marchioness of Aberdeen

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[401] "An Irish Jubilee Offering to Her Majesty," *Irish Times,* 17 June 1887; "The Dublin Jubilee Address to the Queen," *Freeman's Journal,* 24 June 1887; "The Jubilee Address from the Citizens of Dublin," *Irish Times,* 24 June 1887). The Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, with Edmond Johnson Jr. as master, also presented an address to Queen Victoria, singled out as the only corporation (except the Dublin Corporation) to express "their loyalty to the Throne". Edmond Johnson Jr. travelled to London with a deputation to present the address housed in a casket to the Duke of Abercorn, who in turn presented it to the Queen.

[402] "The Jubilee Address from the Citizens of Dublin," *Irish Times,* 24 June 1887).

[403] "The Corporation Address, the Casket," *Irish Times,* 2 April 1900; "The Queen's Visit to Ireland," *Glasgow Herald,* 3 April 1900; "The Address and Its Casket," *Irish Times,* 7 April 1900; "The Royal Visit to Ireland," *The Graphic* (London), 14 April 1900.

[404] Ibid.

[405] "Irish Art Jewellery," *Freeman's Journal,* 9 June 1900; "Irish Art Jewellery," *Irish Times,* 23 June 1900.

and *Temair* (Tara).[406] The mahogany casket (Fig. 228) was topped by a gilt silver handle copied from the upper section of the Clonmacnoise crozier attached to a base comprised of a shield decorated with the Aberdeen arms and a dedicatory inscription flanked by ornament from the 'Tara' brooch.[407] Garlands of thistles, roses, shamrocks and ivy surrounded plaques with the arms of the four provinces of Ireland placed at each corner of the top of the casket.[408] The front face of the casket contained a drawer to hold the address, executed in a distinctively Celtic Revival style inspired by the Book of Kells, with a section of a gilt silver torc as a handle.[409] On either side of the drawer were additional armorial motifs and the couple's initials within borders of interlace. Along with the casket, the Marchioness was presented with a facsimile of the Ardagh chalice with a dedicatory inscription and a solid 18 ct. gold facsimile of the 'Tara' brooch set with pearls as reference to her new title and as stated in the address, "a proof and symbol of our ancient civilisation".[410] The firm responsible for the facsimile of the Ardagh chalice and the 'Tara' brooch was not reported and may have been manufactured by West & Son, Edmond Johnson Limited or Hopkins & Hopkins, all of which had produced copies of both artefacts by this date. Such commissions provided the Dublin firms with a high level of publicity at the time of the presentation, which could be extended by further promotion of royal and viceregal patronage through advertising campaigns.

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[406] "Tara of the Marquises," *Irish Times,* 18 January 1915; "Lord and Lady Aberdeen, Official Departure from Dublin," *Irish Times,* 20 February 1915. This appointment appears to have been contentious and an article on 18 January 1915 in the *Irish Times* points out that the title had only been granted twice before, in both cases to Irishmen.

[407] "The Presentation," *Irish Times,* 15 February 1915.

[408] Ibid.

[409] Ibid.

[410] "The Presentation," *Irish Times,* 15 February 1915; "Lord and Lady Aberdeen, Official Departure from Dublin," *Irish Times,* 20 February 1915.

Advertising

The print campaigns run by Waterhouse & Company between 1850 and 1853 promoted specific modified facsimile brooch designs in each advertisement. An early Waterhouse & Company advertisement from 1850 (Fig. 229) for the second series of modified facsimile brooches issued by the firm consisted of a description of a new brooch design that "in shape combines the auspicious emblems of a Horse Shoe, terminating with an Ancient Cross at either end". The description clearly referred to the Kilmainham brooch, but notably did not yet identify the design as the 'Knight Templar' brooch as it would later come to be known.[411] Placed directly below this advertisement in the same issue was a second advertisement for the 'Clarendon' brooch marketed as a shawl fastener from Waterhouse & Company (Fig. 230), which publicised not only the naming of the design after the Countess of Clarendon, but also helpfully explained how to negotiate the moveable pins on the modified facsimile brooches.[412] An 1850 advertisement for the 'Clarendon' brooch (Fig. 231) run several months later expanded upon the previous version by including a description and brief history of the Ballyspellan brooch, promoted as the original model.[413] One of the first advertisements for the 'Royal Tara' brooch, part of a larger notice of silver-plated wares from Waterhouse & Company (Fig. 232), appeared at the beginning of 1851 to

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411 "Her Majesty's Goldsmiths: Waterhouse and Company," *Freeman's Journal,* 11 March 1850; Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities,* 15; Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities,* 2nd edition, 15.

412 "The Clarendon Shawl Brooch," *Freeman's Journal,* 11 March 1850. The only brooch clearly identified within this advertisement is the 'Clarendon' brooch and all other references are vague. The advertisement states that Waterhouse & Company "have by registration secured the pattern of two [brooches]", which by March 1850 must refer to the registration of a penannular brooch from Virginia, Co. Cavan and the Kilmainham ('Knight Templar') brooch by Joseph Johnson in July 1849 (No. 61470). There are no designs registered by Waterhouse & Company until December 1850, so this advertisement appears to further support the conclusion that Joseph Johnson acted as the manufacturer for Waterhouse & Company.

413 "The Clarendon Shawl Brooch," *Belfast News-Letter,* 22 November 1850.

publicise the recent royal inspection of the original brooch and its availability for public viewing in the Dame Street shop.[414] By the end of 1851 Waterhouse & Company ran an advertisement with a full listing of available modified facsimiles and pricing (Fig. 233), which preceded the publication of the firm's first stock catalogue the following year.[415] The focus on particular brooches continued into 1852 with an advertisement for a new brooch design adapted from the 'Brian Boroihme' harp and promotion of modified facsimiles of the 'University' brooch (Fig. 234), both of which were in the collection of Trinity College.[416] An unusual c. 1854 Waterhouse & Company advertisement featured an image of the 'University' brooch (Fig. 235) incorrectly labelled as the 'Clarendon' brooch and lacks any text that refers directly to either design or the modified facsimile brooches produced by the firm.[417]

The early emphasis on individual brooch designs served to familiarise patrons and the general public with the concept of replicating Irish archaeological jewellery and to introduce the facsimile merchandise from Waterhouse & Company. These aims were carried through into advertisements surrounding major international exhibitions. A Waterhouse & Company advertisement appeared during the 1851 Great Exhibition in London (Fig. 236) that reinforced modified facsimile brooches as being fashionable and patronised by "the Nobility of England and Ireland" in order to increase sales at home.[418] This advertisement also marks the beginning of an aggressive campaign to promote the 'Tara' brooch by distributing copies of

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[414] "The Royal Tara Brooch." *Freeman's Journal*, 11 January 1851.
[415] "Irish Antique Shawl Brooches," *Freeman's Journal*, 4 December 1851.
[416] "The Brian Boroihme Harp," *Freeman's Journal*, 27 October 1852.
[417] "The Clarendon Brooch," in *Tourists' Illustrated Hand-Book for Ireland with Six Maps, and Sixty Illustrations from Drawings by Mahony, Crowquill, Jones and Lover* (London: David Bryce, 1854), 73.
[418] "The Royal Antique Brooches," *Belfast News-Letter*, 9 July 1851.

Petrie's Royal Irish Academy paper and an article in *Saunder's Newsletter* on the facsimile brooches exhibited in London by Waterhouse & Company. The first of two advertisements that ran during the 1853 Irish Industrial Exhibition in Dublin (Fig. 237) publicised the acquisition of four modified facsimile brooch designs from Waterhouse & Company by the Museum of Manufactures, London in 1851 and utilised it to further encourage sales.[419] Both the 1851 and the 1853 advertisements included details of the prices of the modified facsimile brooches, an approach used by the department stores that had appeared in Dublin by the 1850s and adopted by Waterhouse & Company to reach middle class consumers mindful of costs.[420] The second advertisement from 1853 (Fig. 238) was directed towards tourists visiting Dublin for the exhibition and repeated the distribution of promotional materials, in this case the second edition of the Waterhouse & Company stock catalogue, to drive customers to their exhibition stand and their shop to generate sales.[421]

From 1853 to 1863 facsimile advertising run by Waterhouse & Company focused almost exclusively upon the original 'Tara' brooch with only passing references to the full range of modified facsimiles and adaptations sold by the firm. Illustrated advertisements in a tourist handbook from 1853 (Fig. 239), with excerpts of the text from the Waterhouse & Company stock catalogues, and a commercial directory from 1856 (Fig. 240) both featured engravings of the front or back of the 'Tara' brooch.[422] Even new facsimile

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[419] "First Report of the Department of Practical Art," *Freeman's Journal,* 29 June 1853.
[420] Rains, *Commodity Culture*, 18-9. The large Dublin department stores were using a "system of cash transactions based upon a fixed and clearly marked pricing system" that increased 'leisure shopping' among the middle classes, who were now able to judge what they could afford without any social embarrassment.
[421] "The Great Exhibition Has Done Good to Dublin," *Freeman's Journal,* 26 September 1853.
[422] "Royal Antique Irish Brooches," in *Tourists' Illustrated Hand-Book for Ireland, with Numerous Engravings from Drawings by Cruikshank, Crowquill, Lover, Mahony, Etc.* (London: Printed for the Railway Companies, Parties to the Irish Tourist Ticket System by J. Cassell,

adaptations introduced by the firm for two 'antique' bracelets were advertised in context with the 'Tara' brooch (Fig. 241).[423] The newspaper advertisements from the firm communicate a clear message regarding the original 'Tara' brooch, describing it as "the most magnificent specimen of the antique in the world" and "universally admitted to be the finest piece of Antique Jewellery extant".[424] The consistent language and aggressive promotion of the original brooch by Waterhouse & Company created a brand identity and perhaps contributed to the use of 'Tara' brooches as a common designation for all facsimiles of Irish antique brooches.[425] Furthermore, such advertisements helped to establish a brand association with Waterhouse & Company as the owners of the original 'Tara' brooch and their premises as the only place to view it. This message was repeatedly targeted towards visitors to Dublin in a series of advertisements from 1859 to 1863 (Figs. 242-5).[426] It seems that advertising for the 'Tara' brooch and all related facsimile brooch designs by Waterhouse & Company tapers off after this point, particularly given the sale of the original brooch to the Royal Irish Academy a few years later in 1868, but production of the facsimiles continued.

West & Son do not appear have conducted extensive campaigns to market their stock of modified facsimiles and adaptations, as only two

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1853); "Waterhouse & Company," in *Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory of Ireland* (London: Isaac Slater, 1856).

[423] "Attractive Novelty in Antique Bracelets," *Freeman's Journal,* 3 July 1856; Waterhouse & Company, *Antique Irish Brooches,* 14. Although not directly stated, it is likely that this advertisement refers to two varieties of the 'Tara' bracelets produced by Waterhouse & Company and featured in their 1872 catalogue.

[424] "Attractive Novelty in Antique Bracelets," *Freeman's Journal,* 3 July 1856; "Strangers and Visitors to Dublin," *Freeman's Journal,* 30 June 1859.

[425] Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery*, 444.

[426] "Strangers and Visitors to Dublin," *Freeman's Journal,* 30 June 1859; "South Kensington Museum," *Freeman's Journal,* 28 June 1862; "Tourists and Visitors to Dublin," *Freeman's Journal,* 1 September 1863; "The Programme for Welcoming the Channel Fleet," *Freeman's Journal,* 28 September 1863.

relevant advertisements have been discovered. Similarly to Waterhouse & Company, West & Son enjoyed success at the 1851 Great Exhibition in London and sought to increase their distribution network by allowing a Belfast jeweller, J. Gray, to act as agent for the firm (Fig. 246) to sell their modified facsimile brooches.[427] An advertisement run by West & Son in 1886 (Fig. 247) demonstrates not only that the firm was still producing and selling modified facsimile brooches, but also that jewellery designs adapted from the 'Tara' brooch remained popular and were no longer exclusive to Waterhouse & Company.[428]

Edmond Johnson ran relatively few advertisements for facsimiles, which was particularly notable given the large-scale production by his firm from the end of the nineteenth through the early twentieth century. An advertisement for Edmond Johnson in *The Graphic* from 1893 (Fig. 248) featured an illustration of a 'Tara' brooch facsimile that also appeared on the back cover of his catalogue for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition (Fig. 249).[429] This advertisement was clearly timed to coincide with the Chicago Exposition and to simultaneously generate sales in Ireland and Britain. The assertion that all the works are exact copies was somewhat misleading, as several of the designs such as the 'Torc' brooch, 'Torc' bangles, 'Fibulae' bangles and 'St. Patrick's Bell' bangles were inspired by the original artefacts in the Royal Irish Academy, but are facsimile adaptations. None of the aforementioned designs were manufactured as part of the facsimile collection for Chicago, but rather were included in the c. 1902 stock catalogue from

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[427] "Irish Antiques," *Belfast News-Letter,* 18 October 1852.
[428] "Irish Jewellery," *Freeman's Journal,* 21 April 1886.
[429] "Celtic Art Jewellery," *The Graphic* (London), 1 April 1893; Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work.*

Edmond Johnson Limited (Figs. 250-1) along with other modified facsimiles and adaptations of popular brooches and revival-style jewellery.[430]

An advertisement in 1900 from Edmond Johnson Limited (Fig. 252) capitalised upon the official royal visit to Dublin to promote merchandise purchased by Queen Victoria, although it was not entirely clear if these items were acquired from Johnson's firm or a competitor.[431] The listing included facsimiles of the 'Royal Tara' brooch, as well as design variations such as 'Royal Tara' scarf pin, 'Tara' safety pin brooches and gold 'Fibulae' brooches. Just as the 1893 advertisement focused upon accuracy, this advertisement from Edmond Johnson Limited emphasised royal patronage and exclusivity of merchandise to boost sales during and after the Queen's visit. Another advertisement from the firm in 1900 (Fig. 253) targeted tourists to Dublin and directly marketed facsimiles as souvenirs. Although Waterhouse & Company had previously appealed to tourists through advertising to drive customers to their shop to view the original 'Tara' brooch, this advertisement from Edmond Johnson Limited re-branded facsimiles as souvenirs and potentially tapped into a new segment of the market.

Hopkins & Hopkins consistently advertised modified facsimiles and adaptations of 'Irish Art Jewellery' or 'Celtic Jewellery' as a speciality of the firm and emphasised the fact that their merchandise was manufactured on the premises. An 1896 advertisement from Hopkins & Hopkins (Fig. 254) provided a listing of the range of modified facsimiles and adaptations available, such as letters from the Book of Kells, gold brooches, 'Brian Boru

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[430] Edmond Johnson Limited, *Epitome of Reproductions*, 26 and 33-4.
[431] "Royal Visit to Dublin," *Irish Times*, 27 April 1900.

Harp' brooches and 'Fibula' brooches.[432] Similarly to early advertisements from Waterhouse & Company, Hopkins & Hopkins included pricing for the facsimiles promoted in this advertisement, which suggests that it was primarily directed towards middle-class consumers shopping for gifts. A Hopkins & Hopkins advertisement from 1900 (Fig. 255) positioned the various modified facsimiles and adaptations manufactured by the firm as appropriate for souvenirs and ran within weeks of a comparable advertisement from Edmond Johnson Limited.[433] Hopkins & Hopkins ran this facsimile advertisement to reap the benefit of the recent royal visit by stating, "many of those ornaments were introduced on the Casket presented to Her Majesty" manufactured by the firm.

Two advertisements from Hopkins & Hopkins in 1902 and 1910 (Figs. 256-7) related to participation in the Dublin Horse Show as an exhibitor, which provided the firm with the opportunity to reach new customers at this well-known event.[434] The 1910 advertisement (Fig. 257) referenced the new stock catalogue published by Hopkins & Hopkins that was distributed for free and may have helped to generate potential sales after the event.[435] Although the firm did not exhibit merchandise at the 1911 Horse Show, Hopkins & Hopkins did place an advertisement (Fig. 258) to encourage visitors to Dublin to purchase facsimiles from their shop as souvenirs.[436] An advertisement by Hopkins & Hopkins from 1913 (Fig. 259) showcased familiar themes of Irish facsimiles as a specialty and the promotion of Hopkins & Hopkins as

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[432] "Irish Art Jewellery," *Irish Times,* 19 December 1896.
[433] "Souvenirs of Ireland," *Irish Times,* 9 June 1900; "Irish Art Jewellery," *Freeman's Journal,* 30 June 1900.
[434] "Horse Show Stand No. 71 on Gallery," *Irish Times,* 26 August 1902; "Hopkins & Hopkins at the Horse Show," *Irish Times,* 24 August 1910.
[435] "Hopkins & Hopkins at the Horse Show," *Irish Times,* 24 August 1910.
[436] "Visit the Spacious Premises of Messrs Hopkins & Hopkins," *Irish Times,* 25 August 1911.

manufacturers, rather than merely as retailers, with a wide selection available for purchase.[437]

Advertising was an important vehicle to encourage Irish manufacturing in response to depressed economic conditions in the 1870s and 1880s.[438] An 1871 advertisement from Edmond Johnson (Fig. 260) touted his firm's role in the development of native art manufacture, which was reiterated in another advertisement from 1886 (Fig. 261).[439] The common message shared by these advertisements was the importance of native craftsmanship and Johnson promoted himself as "by the far the largest employer of skilled labour in Ireland", for which he argued his firm should be rewarded with increased patronage from the Irish public. By the 1880s the consumption of Irish-made goods was considered "both politically symbolic and socially fashionable" among the upper and middle classes and as such, facsimile industry advertising followed suit.[440] In connection with a decline in the price of silver in 1894, Waterhouse & Company promoted their firm as having the most extensive selection of silver goods in Ireland and "anxious to forward home manufacture" (Fig. 262).[441] Presumably the advertisement was meant to persuade customers to purchase Irish silver and silver plate, rather than buy from London, Birmingham or Sheffield manufacturers, which seems contradictory given that Waterhouse & Company was the Dublin branch of a Sheffield firm that served as the main source of their imported plate. In 1910

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[437] "Christmas, the Most Pleasing Gift, a Piece of Celtic Art Jewellery," *Irish Times,* 29 November 1913.
[438] Rains, *Commodity Culture*, 87.
[439] "Native Art Manufacture," *Freeman's Journal,* 28 October 1871; "Irish Manufacture," *Freeman's Journal*, 25 August 1886.
[440] Rains, *Commodity Culture*, 95-8.
[441] "The Silver Market," *Irish Times,* 22 March 1894. This same advertisement ran at least four times during March and April of 1894 in the *Irish Times.*

Hopkins & Hopkins advertised the employment of thirty skilled workmen, directly linked with the phrase "encourage Irish manufacture", to reinforce that the staff and merchandise were emphatically Irish (Fig. 263).[442]

Overall it appears that the advertising campaigns run by the Dublin facsimile retailers and manufacturers were utilised to accomplish specific goals. The primary purpose was to introduce the concept of making and selling Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork and to educate the general public regarding the historical and cultural significance of the original artefacts to add associative value to their facsimiles. A related promotional message stressed the continuity of Irish design and artistry from the antique models to the contemporary facsimiles manufactured with native materials and craftsmanship, with the past informing the present as a key element in the renewal of Irishness. Such themes appeared not only in advertising, but also in stock catalogues and exhibition catalogues published by the Dublin firms, to create a coordinated message that would generate interest and demand for their merchandise and grow the market for facsimiles.

Stock Catalogues

Stock catalogues were a useful tool for facsimile manufacturers and retailers providing a detailed summary of available merchandise that could be widely distributed, thereby increasing their client base. Among the stock catalogues published by the major Dublin firms only seven examples have survived: three by Waterhouse & Company from 1852-1872, three by Edmond Johnson and Edmond Johnson Limited from 1893-1902 and one by Hopkins

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[442] "Hopkins & Hopkins," *Irish Times,* 4 November 1910; "Hopkins & Hopkins," *Irish Times,* 30 November 1910.

and Hopkins from c. 1910. No stock catalogues from West & Son, Joseph Johnson or William Acheson & Company have been discovered to date. The seven extant stock catalogues will be analysed for commonalities, as well as distinctive characteristics, which contributed to the furtherance of an Insular market for facsimiles.

Nearly all of the stock catalogues incorporated a substantial number of illustrations, labelled to ensure that each brooch design was clearly identified and could be distinguished from others. The 1852 and 1853 editions of *Ornamental Irish Antiquities* from Waterhouse & Company included engravings of the original 'Tara' brooch and the modified facsimile, as well as a range of additional modified facsimiles and adaptations of Irish brooches and pins. An illustration of the 'Ring' Brooch (Fig. 220), available in silver for 25s and gilt silver for 30s, was modelled upon the original owned by Joseph Johnson.[443] Both stock catalogues referred to another original brooch without any pricing, illustrated and labelled as the 'Innesfallen' [sic] Brooch (Fig. 264), which was owned by Edmond Johnson.[444] The presence of these brooch designs in the early stock catalogues of Waterhouse & Company suggests that Joseph and Edmond Johnson may have been involved in the manufacture of facsimile brooches for the firm, as he did for West & Son. The 'Ring' and 'Innesfallen' Brooches were notably absent from the 1872 *Antique Irish Brooches* published by Waterhouse & Company, possibly as a result of the termination of the contract with Joseph and Edmond Johnson as their suppliers. The 'Innesfallen' Brooch reappeared in 1902 as the 'Underwood'

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[443] "The Great Exhibition," *Belfast News-Letter,* 9 June 1851; Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities,* 17; Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities,* 2nd edition, 17.

[444] "The Great Exhibition," *Belfast News-Letter,* 9 June 1851; Ibid., 14.

Brooch (Fig. 265) in the stock catalogue *Epitome of Reproductions of Ancient Celtic Ornaments* from Edmond Johnson Limited.[445] Given the different names used by each firm for the same modified facsimile brooch design, illustrations became an important aspect of the overall presentation of facsimiles in stock catalogues.

The exception to the rule was the catalogue produced by Edmond Johnson as a guide to his facsimile collection for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Illustrations may have been unavailable or too costly to reproduce on such a large scale for the ambitious 108-page catalogue entitled a *Description and History of Irish Antique Art Metal Work Facsimile Reproductions.*[446] Although the international visitors to the Chicago Exposition were the intended audience for this catalogue, Edmond Johnson was able to generate interest and excitement at home by placing his entire facsimile collection on display in his Grafton Street shop.[447] The display was publicised in at least two Dublin newspapers and even the Lord Lieutenant and the Countess of Aberdeen visited the premises to view the facsimile collection.[448] It was not until c. 1902 that Edmond Johnson's firm published an illustrated stock catalogue of direct facsimiles, which were illustrated by means of blocks of images of the original artefacts that were made for the

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[445] Edmond Johnson Limited, *Epitome of Reproductions*, 35; C. Stephen Briggs, "Dealing with Antiquities in 19th C. Dublin," *Dublin Historical Record* 31, No. 4 (September 1978): 146-8; C. Stephen Briggs, "James Henry Underwood: First Dealer in Irish Antiquities," *Dublin Historical Record* 33, No. 1 (December 1979): 25-36. According to the catalogue description by Johnson, the 'Underwood' brooch was found in 1834 near Armagh by Mr. James Underwood and held in a private collection. Underwood was a Dublin antiquities dealer who sold to the Royal Irish Academy and others in the 1840s and 1850s.

[446] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work.*

[447] "Christmas Shopping, Edmond Johnson's, Grafton Street," *Freeman's Journal,* 7 December 1892.

[448] "Christmas Shopping, Edmond Johnson's, Grafton Street," *Freeman's Journal,* 7 December 1892; "Mr. Johnson's Exhibit for Chicago, Viceregal Inspection," *Irish Times,* 20 December 1892; "Lady Aberdeen," *Freeman's Journal,* 10 February 1893.

Dublin Science and Art Museum catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy collection.[449]

Descriptions of original artefacts, frequently excerpted from academic journals, used to promote the facsimiles were another common feature shared by the stock catalogues. As the first firm to publish stock catalogues of their modified facsimiles and adaptations, Waterhouse & Company set a precedent that was consistently repeated by Edmond Johnson and Hopkins & Hopkins.[450] In Waterhouse & Company's *Ornamental Irish Antiquities* from 1852 and 1853, Petrie's paper on the 'Tara' brooch given at the Royal Irish Academy in 1850 was reprinted in its entirety.[451] The description concludes with observations on its ornament, specifically "the oriental and eastern character of this ornament, serves to confirm its Irish origin" and a proposal that the 'Tara' brooch and the Book of Kells "might be copied from one common original".[452] Although no source for these passages has yet been identified, the language and content suggest that the text was taken from one or more antiquarian papers.

In Waterhouse's 1872 stock catalogue, *Antique Irish Brooches*, the excerpt from Petrie's original paper had been considerably shortened and details regarding the sale of the 'Tara' brooch to the Royal Irish Academy were added.[453] Edmond Johnson repeated verbatim the bulk of the text of Petrie's paper found in stock catalogues from Waterhouse & Company for the

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[449] Royal Irish Academy, "Minutes of the Polite Literature and Antiquities Committee, 1886-1916" (Vol. 7), 235; Edmond Johnson Limited, *Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art.*
[450] Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 18.
[451] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 7-10; Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 2nd edition, 7-10.
[452] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 10-13; Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 2nd edition, 10-13.
[453] Waterhouse & Company, *Antique Irish Brooches*, 6-7.

description of the 'Tara' brooch in his 1893 Chicago Exposition catalogue and his c. 1902 stock catalogue *Epitome of Reproductions of Ancient Celtic Ornaments*.[454] Hopkins & Hopkins copied a portion of the same text of Petrie's paper used first by Waterhouse & Company and later by Edmond Johnson for their c. 1910 stock catalogue, *Irish Art Industry, Jewellery, Silver Plate, Etc.* The recurrence of these passages, with few textual alterations, in stock catalogues issued by three different firms between 1852 and 1910 demonstrates that the goldsmiths were drawing heavily from the same sources and from each other. The public appears to have had some awareness of new archaeological discoveries through newspaper summaries of antiquarian society meetings. However, it seems unlikely that most people had the time, inclination and disposable income to obtain copies of the society journals in order to read the published research. Given that the Dublin retailers and manufacturers gave away promotional material freely to customers, the stock catalogues served as a cheaper and more readily available vehicle for archaeological and art historical research packaged in a popular format.

The extraction of relevant material from academic journals demonstrated that the facsimile retailers and manufacturers were familiar with current scholarship on Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork. Edmond Johnson compiled the most extensive summary of such scholarship for his 1893 Chicago Exposition catalogue, providing descriptions and historical background for nearly two hundred direct and modified facsimiles of Irish artefacts. The catalogue reprinted portions of the following: the 1869 paper on the Ardagh chalice by Lord Dunraven which included a technical

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[454] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 80-3; Edmond Johnson Limited, *Epitome of Reproductions*, 30-1.

assessment from his brother, Joseph Johnson; the 1854 paper by T.J. Huband Smith on the Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand; the 1856 paper in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* on the 'Dalriada' Brooch; the 1874 paper by James Graves on the Shrine of St. Manchan; the 1863 paper on the Bell and Shrine of St. Patrick by William Reeves.[455] These excerpts represent just a small sample of the research amassed by Edmond Johnson and his staff to fill the exhibition catalogue to accompany his facsimile display. However, the original author was not often cited except in the case of Petrie's discussion of the *Domhnach Airgid* and Lord Dunraven's paper on the Ardagh chalice.[456] The names of the Irish scholars and antiquarians whose work was reprinted were likely unknown to the international, but predominantly American, audience for the 1893 Chicago Exposition catalogue, which may have resulted in their omission so that Johnson could claim the authority of the texts for himself. This is further suggested by the change from "Mr. Johnson of Suffolk-street" as referenced in Lord Dunraven's paper to "Mr. Johnson of Dublin" in the exhibition catalogue to give the impression that Edmond Johnson had carried out the technical assessment and repair work on the chalice, instead of his brother Joseph.[457] Despite the omissions and misattributions, Johnson's exhibition catalogue did function as a successful vehicle for the presentation of Irish antiquarian scholarship in a format more likely to be read and remembered by people outside the academic community.

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[455] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 15-20, 31-5, 36-8, 55-62, and 88-9; Windham-Quinn, "On an Ancient Chalice," 433-53; Smith, "The Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand," 207-18; "The Dalriada Brooch," 1-3; Graves, "Shrine of St. Manchan," 134-50; Reeves, "On the Bell of St. Patrick," 1-30.

[456] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 21 and 55. Occasionally the name of an expert was mentioned when their opinion or findings were included in the text, but overall the citations are few and inconsistent.

[457] Windham-Quinn, "On an Ancient Chalice," 435; Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 55. This may have been the source of previous misconceptions regarding Edmond Johnson's involvement with the cleaning and repair of the Ardagh chalice.

Endorsements and testimonials from experts, patrons and individual customers were a standard feature of the stock catalogues issued by all the Dublin retailers and manufacturers to promote their facsimiles. The text of the three stock catalogues from Waterhouse & Company contain references to experts in the Royal Irish Academy, including antiquarians Robert Tighe, Charles Graves, George Petrie, General Vallancey and William Halliday, to reinforce the impression that the firm was working in cooperation with leading academics or in light of expert opinion, as some of these men were dead. The mention of various repositories, such as the Royal Irish Academy, Royal Dublin Society, Trinity College and a few private collectors such as the Marquis of Conyngham of Slane and William Lenigan, Esq. of Castle Fogarty, Co. Tipperary, suggests that the firm was granted exclusive access to the originals and sanctioned to produce facsimiles.[458] A relationship with Dublin Castle was implied by the allusion to Corry Connellan, then private secretary to the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant, and references to the Countess of Clarendon as a major supporter and in whose honour the 1852 and 1853 stock catalogues were dedicated.[459] The royal patronage received by Waterhouse & Company was fully exploited by providing excerpts from the court circular and publicising the acquisition of multiple modified facsimile brooches by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, even reproducing the letter sent with their cheque for payment. The references to royal and viceregal support were clearly intended to appeal to a particular social class and encourage them to follow suit by patronising the firm. Waterhouse & Company utilised the authority

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[458] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 2nd edition, 17.

[459] This is further supported by the removal of Corry Connellan's name and the dedication to the Countess of Clarendon from the 1872 stock catalogue, presumably because it no longer had the same political and social relevance since by this date a new Lord Lieutenant had been appointed.

conferred by experts, social and professional distinctions and high-profile patronage of an economically and culturally important enterprise to more effectively promote and sell their facsimiles.

Edmond Johnson took a markedly different approach in his 1893 and 1902 facsimile catalogues by placing greater emphasis upon the support he received from prominent members of the academic and museum community in Ireland. A letter from Valentine Ball, director of the Dublin Science and Art Museum, was reprinted in both catalogues, in which he praised the uniqueness of the facsimile collection and congratulated Johnson on the "skilled artists who have been able to execute his instructions with so much attention to faithful reproduction of details accompanied by considerable artistic taste in treatment".[460] The letter from Major Robert J. MacInery, curator of the Royal Irish Academy collection, signified his approval of the facsimile collection by stating that they are "most effective and are worthy representations of the originals" resulting from "Irish enterprise and the skill of native artificers".[461] Margaret Stokes, author of *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, wrote to Johnson that "Ireland owes you a debt of gratitude for the great work you have done towards the illustration of her National Antiquities" and his facsimiles "cannot fail to astonish and enlighten the crowds who have never seen the originals".[462] The letters from antiquarians William Frazer and Robert Day both acknowledged the variety of ornaments produced by Johnson. Frazer in particular characterised the collection as "most faithful realizations (not copies) of the originals", perhaps referring to Johnson's restoration and

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[460] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 10.
[461] Ibid., 11.
[462] Ibid.

recreation of lost ornamental details to complete his facsimiles.[463] When considered in context with the academic research quoted throughout the text, such endorsements positioned Edmond Johnson and his firm as the most authoritative source for direct facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork.

More than any other firm, Hopkins & Hopkins used their c. 1910 stock catalogue as an extension of their advertising campaigns which focused on customer service and in-house manufacturing capabilities underscored by images of their showroom, offices and workshop facilities, and the wide selection of merchandise. The title, *Irish Art Industry, Jewellery, Silver Plate, Etc.*, and the design of the stock catalogue reinforced the association between Hopkins & Hopkins and facsimiles of Irish artefacts. The outer cover of the stock catalogue featured an illustration of the Ardagh Chalice (Fig. 266), along with images of the prize medal awarded to the firm for 'Celtic Jewellery' at the 1883 Cork Industrial and Fine Arts Exhibition on the back cover and opposite an image of the premises on the title page.[464] The modified facsimiles and adaptations offered by Hopkins & Hopkins, however, were not distinctive and included many well-known brooch designs previously issued by Waterhouse & Company, West & Son, Joseph and Edmond Johnson. In contrast, the promotional strategy adopted by Hopkins & Hopkins was unique amongst the retailers and manufactures of facsimiles. Rather than draw upon royal, viceregal, academic or institutional endorsements, Hopkins & Hopkins chose to highlight support from average customers in the form of seven pages worth

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[463] Ibid., 12.

[464] "Hopkins & Hopkins," *Irish Times,* 2 May 1891; "Hopkins & Hopkins," *Irish Times,* 23 May 1891; "Best Value in Ireland," *Irish Times,* 14 December 1894; Hopkins & Hopkins, *Irish Art Industry*. The firm often publicised their receipt of a medal in 1883 in print advertisements, as well as on the outer covers and title page of their 1910 stock catalogue.

of 'spontaneous testimonials' towards the end of the stock catalogue.[465] The highest proportion of the testimonials referred to the purchase of medals and other sporting awards, but two were excerpted from letters of satisfaction with the facsimile adaptation known as the 'Ardagh' Clasp and the other for a modified facsimile of the 'Tara' brooch.[466] Such records of facsimiles purchased from Hopkins & Hopkins by individual customers demonstrate that the Insular market for Irish archaeological jewellery remained active into the early twentieth century.

Facsimile Promotion: National and International Exhibitions

The numerous and popular exhibitions held throughout the second half of the nineteenth century in Europe and America were designed as a showcase for products and industries from around the globe. These exhibitions fostered a commercially competitive environment, which led to the promotion of distinctive national characteristics and accomplishments. The participating countries projected a carefully constructed, self-conscious image of themselves to the world. Elaborate purpose-built display structures, some incorporating scale-models of architectural monuments, afforded visitors a virtual travel experience closely linked with the development of tourism. The provision of food, music, lectures and exhibits of historic artefacts, along with the opportunity to interact with representatives from each country, helped to educate visitors and complete their experience. The products on display received increased exposure to a national and international audience, which provided each country with an opportunity to create positive new social,

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[465] Hopkins & Hopkins, *Irish Art Industry*, 100-7.
[466] Ibid., 104-6.

economic and political perceptions among visitors or, in some cases, resulted in the reinforcement of existing stereotypes.[467]

This section will consider facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork displayed at four events: the 1851 Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in London, the 1853 Irish Industrial Exhibition in Dublin, the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago and the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis (see the Chronology in Appendix II). The merchandise shown by the major Dublin firms will be analysed in the context of the fine arts and archaeological collections on display at the aforementioned events, drawing upon exhibition and stock catalogues, newspaper articles and advertising to provide new research on this aspect of facsimile promotion. The evolution of Ireland's presentation at national and international exhibitions, the extent of the participation by the Dublin firms and the role played by facsimiles at such events will be discussed. It will be argued that the facsimiles contributed to changing perceptions of Ireland on multiple levels: as commercial products that demonstrated the economic progress made by Ireland in the aftermath of the Famine; as material evidence of a rich Irish artistic and cultural heritage independent of Great Britain; as souvenirs sold as part of a larger effort to promote Irish tourism; as popular representations that helped to create and reinforce the status of the original artefacts as Irish national symbols.

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[467] Neil Harris, "Selling National Culture: Ireland at the World's Columbian Exposition," in *Imagining an Irish Past: The Celtic Revival, 1840-1940,* ed. T. J. Edelstein (Chicago: David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago Press, 1992), 82-105; Anna Jackson, *Expo: International Expositions 1851-2010* (London, V&A Publishing, 2008), 15.

1851 Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, London

The advent of large-scale industrial exhibitions beginning in 1851 provided retailers and manufacturers with commercial venues to showcase their merchandise and the opportunity to compare products from around the world. The first international exhibition took place in Hyde Park, London from 1 May to 11 October 1851, inspired by the series of national arts and industrial exhibitions held in France, Britain and Ireland from the late eighteenth and into the early nineteenth century.[468] Henry Cole, then Assistant Keeper of the Public Records Office, suggested the idea to Prince Albert, the Queen's consort and President of the Royal Society of Arts, to expand their forthcoming exhibition to include foreign products and have a more international scope.[469] Official support for the exhibition was granted by Parliament in 1849 and the event was organised by a Royal Commission headed by Prince Albert with 300 local committees that served as a source of funding and recruited participants.[470]

More than 100,000 entries from 32 countries were displayed within the prefabricated iron and glass exhibition building designed by Joseph Paxton (Fig. 267), dubbed the 'Crystal Palace' by *Punch* magazine.[471] An arched transept divided the main exhibition space into two sections (Fig. 268), with

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[468] Burton, *Vision and Accident*, 22; Jackson, *Expo*, 10-11; Erik Mattie, *World's Fairs* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 11; John Turpin, "Exhibitions of Art and Industries in Victorian Ireland, Part I: The Irish Arts and Industries Exhibition Movement of 1834-1864," *Dublin Historical Record* 35, No. 1 (December 1981): 2-3. Ten French exhibitions of national products were held between 1798 and 1849. In Britain, exhibitions were held from 1760 by the Society of the Arts, later the Royal Society of the Arts. The Royal Dublin Society held exhibitions in 1834 and 1835, then triennially in 1838, 1841, 1844, 1847 and 1850.

[469] Jackson, *Expo*, 12-3; Mattie, *World's Fairs*, 11.

[470] Ibid.

[471] Jackson, *Expo*, 10; Mattie, *World's Fairs*, 12-3; Louise Purbrick, "The South Kensington Museum: The Building of the House of Henry Cole," in *Art Apart: Art Institutions and Ideology across England and North America*, ed. Marcia R. Pointon (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 73.

the eastern half designated for foreign exhibitors (Fig. 269) and the western half for the British and colonial exhibitors.[472] A total of four additional buildings spanning the length of the main building were erected on either side of the central nave with an upper level of exhibition space reached by cross-galleries and stairs (Fig. 270).[473] The exhibits were organised into four broad categories of raw materials, machinery, manufactured products and applied arts, which were then subdivided into thirty different classes, but this system only applied to the British entries and not to the foreign exhibitors.[474] Ireland was represented as part of the British section by 325 firms, with Irish products across the categories accounting for 9,254 feet of floor and counter space and 14,226 feet of wall space.[475]

Waterhouse & Company occupied eighteen feet of space within the section allotted for Class 23 Precious Metals and Jewellery on the upper level in the South Central gallery.[476] The firm exhibited two original brooches, the 'Tara' brooch (Fig. 46, Cat. 298) and another brooch from Co. Waterford, alongside more than sixty varieties of modified facsimile brooches and fibulae in glass cases.[477] The modified facsimile brooch designs were manufactured in gilt silver and gold with the addition of Irish pearls, diamonds, and malachite, pebbles and bog oak.[478] In the official catalogue for the 1851 London Exhibition the entry from Waterhouse & Company was described very succinctly as "registered brooches, adapted to cloaks and shawls, from the

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[472] "The Great Exhibition," *Freeman's Journal,* 22 April 1851.
[473] Ibid.
[474] Jackson, *Expo*, 68; Mattie, *World's Fairs*, 17.
[475] "Irish Industry, As It Will Be Represented at the Great Exhibition," *Belfast News-Letter,* 29 January 1851.
[476] *Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851,* 2nd edition (London: Spicer, 1851), 122.
[477] "The Great Exhibition," *Belfast News-Letter,* 9 June 1851.
[478] Ibid.

mineral products of Ireland".[479] The *Art Journal Illustrated* catalogue featured etchings of the original 'Tara' brooch and four of the modified facsimiles on display including the 'Arbutus Berry' brooch, the 'Knight Templar' (Kilmainham) brooch, the 'University' (Rathlin Island) brooch and the 'Clarendon' brooch (Fig. 271).[480] Additionally Waterhouse & Company showed copies of the Conyngham brooch (Fig. 272), 'Ring' brooch (Fig. 220), 'Innesfallen' brooch (Fig. 264) and the Lenigan Harp brooch (Fig. 273), which along with the five aforementioned designs, constituted the bulk of the modified facsimiles and adaptations advertised in the firm's 1852 stock catalogue, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*.[481] The firm also replicated gold penannular rings or dress fasteners in the Royal Irish Academy collection identified as "a set of ancient Irish fibula, or waistcoat buttons", that may have referred to multiple sizes of the 'Fibula' brooch (Fig. 13) first introduced in 1842.[482]

The firm received an honourable mention for their modified facsimile brooches and four designs, including the 'Tara' brooch (Fig. 49, Cat. 298.3), 'Arbutus Berry' brooch (Fig. 163, Cat. 327.1), 'University' (Rathlin Island) brooch (Fig. 274, Cat. 317.1) and the 'Knight Templar' (Kilmainham) brooch (Fig. 275, Cat. 306.1), were singled out for acquisition by a new museum (see Chapter Four).[483] The Museum of Manufactures was founded to perpetuate the central aims of the 1851 London Exhibition, to serve as an educational

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[479] *Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition*, 123; "The Great Exhibition of 1851," *Belfast News-Letter*, 8 January 1851. Instructions for exhibitors "on the manner of describing their articles" was published in an article on 8 January 1851 and therefore, it appears that exhibitors were required to provide descriptions of their merchandise for the official catalogue.

[480] The Art Journal Illustrated, *The Great Exhibition, London 1851, The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue* (Devon, England: David & Charles Limited, 1970), 20.

[481] "The Great Exhibition," *Belfast News-Letter*, 9 June 1851; Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*.

[482] "The Great Exhibition," *Belfast News-Letter*, 9 June 1851.

[483] Department of Practical Art, *First Report*, 262; Miller, "The Selling of Nationalism," 22-3.

resource to shape public taste and stimulate manufacturing and trade. The purchasing committee tasked with building a museum collection from the exhibits on view selected the modified facsimiles produced by Waterhouse & Company as outstanding examples of modern industrial design. The novelty and technological ingenuity associated with the successful replication of the original artefacts appears to have been a primary factor in their acquisition.

West & Son exhibited a collection of modified facsimile brooches and adaptations as well, but little detail regarding the presentation and full range of designs was given in the official exhibition catalogue.[484] Four modified facsimile brooches and adaptations from West & Son were represented in the *Art Journal Illustrated* catalogue (Fig. 276), which provided a sample of the merchandise on display.[485] Edmond Johnson almost certainly manufactured these four designs, if not most of the facsimiles shown by West & Son at the 1851 London Exhibition. West & Son had already commissioned a modified facsimile of the 'Queen's' (Co. Cavan) brooch in 1849 from Edmond Johnson (Fig. 66, Cat. 305.1), who was still acting as a manufacturer for the firm in 1851, so it seems plausible that he would also have produced facsimiles for London.

The smallest brooch depicted by the *Art Journal Illustrated* shows a design adapted from the tri-lobed motif found on the pinhead and terminals of the original Co. Cavan brooch (Fig. 65, Cat. 305). The 1851 London Exhibition marked the first recorded appearance of modified facsimiles of the Roscrea brooch shown with an elaborate chain attached to the beast head along the bottom edge not found on the original (Fig. 182, Cat. 319). The final

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[484] *Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition*, 122-3. The entry for West & Son read: "Jewellery, embellished with Irish pearls and other gems, copied from antique Irish ornaments".
[485] Art Journal Illustrated, *The Great Exhibition*, 282.

illustration was not a facsimile at all, but a brooch designed by Frederic Burton and manufactured by Edmond Johnson for West & Son, which was presented a few years earlier to the actress Helen Faucit (Fig. 277).[486] A further selection of brooches, bracelets and carved wooden *methers*, a uniquely Irish type of two- or four-handled drinking cup (Fig. 278), set with 'Irish diamonds' (iron pyrites) likely rounded out the firm's collection.[487] The success of the display mounted by West & Son was such that the firm was awarded a prize medal in Class 23 Precious Metals and Jewellery for their modified facsimiles and adaptations of Irish brooches.[488] Additionally three designs, two modified facsimiles of the 'Queen's' (Co. Cavan) brooch (Figs. 279-80, Cats. 305.9-10) and another penannular brooch (Fig. 281, Cat. 341.1) similar to a later version produced by Edmond Johnson Limited known as the 'Wexford' brooch (Fig. 282), were purchased for inclusion in the Museum of Manufactures.[489]

Involvement in the 1851 London Exhibition was potentially quite profitable for Waterhouse & Company and West & Son, but in the absence of any sales records for either firm before or after the event, no definitive conclusion can be reached on this point. Presumably the high level of exposure enjoyed by both firms, whose exhibits may have been seen by over six million visitors predominantly from Britain and Ireland with a smaller percentage from around the world, increased their presence in both the

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[486] Art Journal Illustrated, *The Great Exhibition*, 282; Dunlevy, *Jewellery*, 48-9.
[487] "The Great Exhibition," *Belfast News-Letter*, 21 May 1851; *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, 90. A general description of the Irish jewellery exhibits given in the *Belfast News-Letter* includes a reference to "carved cups with designs from the celebrated Donnybrook Fair, bracelets, and brooches in arbutus wood, mounted with Irish diamonds". Although the *methers* were not specifically attributed to West & Son, the firm produced a wine cooler of bog oak in the form of a *mether* for the 1853 Irish Industrial Exhibition in Dublin, so this may be an earlier reference to the replication of an Irish drinking cup for display.
[488] "The Great Exhibition: Awards to Irish Exhibitors," *Freeman's Journal*, 18 October 1851.
[489] Department of Practical Art, *First Report*, 262.

national and international markets.[490] The museum acquisition of brooch facsimiles from Waterhouse & Company and West & Son, in conjunction with their exhibition awards, conferred a mark of distinction upon the firms that was utilised as part of a larger promotional strategy, as illustrated by examples in advertising and stock catalogues from Waterhouse & Company and noted above. Participation in the event may have resulted in increased sales to visitors and the opportunity to expand their distribution networks, as in the case of Belfast jeweller J. Gray acting as agent for facsimiles by West & Son after the close of the 1851 London Exhibition.[491] Finally the facsimiles exhibited by Waterhouse & Company and West & Son were viewed and understood by visitors primarily as Irish commercial products in the context of a British event staged to demonstrate progress and innovation in manufacturing, educate the general public and stimulate trade around the world.[492] Despite nationalistic references to the facsimiles as being distinctively Irish in form, style and manufacture as "worn by the daughters of Erin some centuries ago", the collections shown by Waterhouse & Company and West & Son were subsumed into the overarching British display at the 1851 London Exhibition and did not have the opportunity to stand out as symbols of Ireland in the same manner as facsimiles at subsequent events.[493]

1853 Irish Industrial Exhibition, Dublin

The Irish Industrial Exhibition was held in Dublin from 12 May – 31 October 1853 in a purpose-built structure located on the grounds of Leinster

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[490] Jackson, *Expo*, 10; Mattie, *World's Fairs*, 11.
[491] "Irish Antiques," *Belfast News-Letter*, 18 October 1852.
[492] Jackson, *Expo*, 13-5.
[493] Art Journal Illustrated, *The Great Exhibition*, 282.

House, then the premises of the Royal Dublin Society, between Merrion Square and Kildare Street (Fig. 283).[494] The leading force behind the event was Irish railway magnate, William Dargan, who proposed an expansion of the exhibitions of arts and manufactures regularly held by the Royal Dublin Society since 1834 and provided the necessary financial support.[495] Modelled on the 1851 London Exhibition, the 1853 Dublin Exhibition served as both a testament to the economic progress made by Ireland after the Famine and an advertisement for Irish industry and manufactures in an international context.[496]

The exhibition building designed by architect John Benson (Fig. 284) was divided into several distinct sections to reflect the four main categories of exhibits: raw materials, machinery, manufactures and fine arts.[497] Visitors entered the exhibition building from Merrion Square and emerged into the Great Hall (Fig. 285), an enormous thoroughfare lined with fountains, statuary and a selection of various manufacturing exhibits. A prominent feature of the Great Hall, located close to the entrance, was a large geographical map of Ireland and a group of Irish High Crosses (Fig. 286) exhibited by the Fine Arts Exhibition Committee.[498] These included the original stone market crosses

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[494] Nancy Netzer, "Picturing an Exhibition: James Mahony's Watercolors of the Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853," in *Visualizing Ireland: National Identity and the Pictorial Tradition,* ed. Adele M. Dalsimer (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1993), 89-90.

[495] Turpin, "Exhibitions of Art and Industries," 2; "William Dargan and the Irish Exhibition of 1853," *Illustrated Magazine of Art* 1, No. 3 (1853): 152-5.

[496] Turpin, "Exhibitions of Art and Industries," 2-3.

[497] "William Dargan and the Irish Exhibition of 1853," *Illustrated Magazine of Art* 1, No. 3 (1853): 91-4.

[498] *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, 24; T.D. Jones, *Record of the Great Industrial Exhibition, 1853* (Dublin, 1853): 43 as cited by Margaret McEnchroe Williams, "The Temple of Industry: Dublin's Industrial Exhibition of 1853," in *Irish Art Historical Studies in Honour of Peter Harbison,* ed. Colum Hourihane (Dublin: The Trustees of Princeton University and Four Courts Press, 2004), 269. The Irish crosses were listed as 1871-1876 in the exhibition catalogue under the Fine Arts Committee of the Great Industrial Exhibition. An account by T.D. Jones of his visit to the exhibition stated that the geological map of Ireland and six crosses were among the first things he saw upon entering the Centre Hall.

from Tuam, Co. Galway and from Kells, Co. Meath, which were transported to Dublin for the exhibition and returned after the close of the event.[499] Plaster casts of stone crosses from Monasterboice in Co. Louth, Ahenny in Co. Tipperary and Kilkieran in Co. Kilkenny were produced for display at the Dublin Exhibition.[500] Both the originals and plaster casts were categorised as 'Relics of Ancient Art' in the official catalogue, despite being displayed separately in the Great Hall alongside commercial products, rather than with the paintings, sculptures and antiquities on view.[501]

The inclusion of the fine arts and antiquities within the context of an industrial event was pioneered at the 1852 National Exhibition of the Arts, Manufactures and Products of Ireland held in Cork and became a regular feature of Irish national and international exhibitions. The 1852 Cork Exhibition included a Fine Arts Court and a section devoted to national antiquities that contained a group of six gold ornaments discovered near Herbertstown, Co. Limerick, a full-scale plaster cast of a tomb effigy from Kilfane, Co. Kilkenny sent by the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, the Lismore crozier loaned by the Duke of Devonshire and a collection of artefacts exhibited by the Dean of Waterford.[502] The practice was continued at the 1853 Dublin Exhibition, a choice based upon the broadest definition of the fine

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[499] "The Great Exhibition Buildings," *Freeman's Journal,* 19 April 1853; *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition,* 24; Williams, "The Temple of Industry," 263-4. Details regarding the transport of the market cross from Kells, Co. Meath to Dublin, supervised by John Lentaigne of the Exhibition Committee, appeared as part of a larger article from 19 April 1853 on the exhibition buildings.

[500] *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition,* 24; Williams, "The Temple of Industry," 263-4.

[501] Ibid., 271.

[502] "The National Exhibition at Cork," *Freeman's Journal,* 9 June 1852; "The National Exhibition at Cork," *Belfast News-Letter,* 9 June 1852; "The National Exhibition at Cork," *Freeman's Journal,* 15 June 1852; "The National Exhibition at Cork," *Liverpool Mercury,* 15 June 1852.

arts of painting and sculpture as applied to the manufacture, design and ornamentation of more utilitarian objects.[503]

The Fine Arts Hall (Fig. 287) was located between the Medieval Hall and the Antiquities Court in the South Hall at the far edge of the exhibition building.[504] A selection of paintings, drawings and sculpture by contemporary Irish and British artists was on view in the Fine Arts Hall, along with work from Dutch, French, Belgian and German artists and a collection of Old Master paintings.[505] The interior of a chapel was recreated within the Medieval Hall primarily as a showcase for revival-style ecclesiastical metalwork, complete with altars, stained glass windows, paintings, stone and wood carvings, encaustic tiles, ornamental brass work and liturgical vestments manufactured by various contributors.[506] An extensive collection of Irish antiquities, both original artefacts and facsimiles, were arranged in a separate gallery referred to as the Antiquities Court. The impulse behind this special exhibit was explained as follows:

> "In the display of a collection of Antiquities the Irish Industrial Exhibition was unique. On no former occasion was such a collection placed before the public, and these for the most part belonging to our own country. Our Antiquities Court being appended to the Exhibition Building was, moreover, a more important and appropriate addition than might at first sight be supposed, as there was something more than a mere speculative interest in comparing the products of the past with those of the present,

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503 "The Irish Industrial Exhibition," *Illustrated Magazine of Art* 2, No. 9 (1853): 138-9.
504 "The Irish Industrial Exhibition," *Illustrated Magazine of Art* 2, No. 9 (1853): 139; John Sproule, *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: A Detailed Catalogue of Its Contents* (Dublin: J. McGlashan, 1854).
505 Netzer, "Picturing an Exhibition," 94-6; Turpin, "Exhibitions of Art and Industries," 8.
506 *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, 106; Sproule, *Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, 480. The stained glass windows, church furniture, liturgical metalwork and ornamental fittings were designed and manufactured by John Hardman of Birmingham. Mr. Myers of London was responsible for the carved stone altar and wooden figures. Minton produced the encaustic tiles and the vestments made by Mesdames Powell and Brown.

> and in tracing the first steps of that progress of which the modern collections afforded so many illustrations. Many of the objects of ancient art and handicraft bore evidence of the great amount of taste and skill which existed at a period so remote as to be associated in our minds with a kind of semi-barbarism; while others presented specimens of workmanship unexcelled even in our own day."[507]

The Antiquities Court functioned as a loan museum, which provided greater popular access to the Irish artefacts scattered among public and private collections in Ireland and Britain prior to the establishment of a centralised national institution.[508] Antiquities, coupled with contemporary displays of the fine and applied arts, were utilised in the context of the 1853 Dublin Exhibition to illustrate the long history of artistic achievements in Ireland as a statement of cultural nationalism.[509] A direct comparison of the "products of the past with those of the present" had particular relevance for the facsimile industry in Dublin, given that the appeal of the commercial facsimiles seemed to lie in the synthesis of antique design sources of historical significance imbued with an aura of technological modernity.

Artefacts of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork from the Royal Irish Academy, which lent its entire collection to the 1853 Dublin Exhibition while their museum building was undergoing repairs, formed the core of the Antiquities Court (Fig. 288).[510] Contributions to the exhibit were also made by local governmental organisations and businesses, museums, antiquarian societies and private collectors, including West & Son which loaned a large

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[507] Sproule, *Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, 476.
[508] Turpin, "Exhibitions of Art and Industries," 5.
[509] Netzer, "Art/Full Ground," 55.
[510] *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, 128; Sproule, *Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, 476.

gold bracelet and six hollow gold balls owned by the firm.[511] Facsimiles such as the plaster cast of the Shrine of St. Manchan by Dr. Alexander Carte of the Royal Dublin Society were placed on view alongside the original reliquary exhibited by the Revd. Charles O'Reilly, C.C.[512] Dr. Daniel Wilson of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland exhibited metal reproductions and casts, Lord Talbot de Malahide lent electrotype copies of weapons, and casts were featured in the collection of Danish and Norwegian antiquities presented to the Royal Irish Academy by the King of Denmark and the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Copenhagen.[513] The number of reproductions incorporated into the Antiquities Court suggests a clear distinction between the reproductions considered appropriate for this museum-style display and those produced by the Dublin firms viewed in the context of the commercial exhibits more akin to the arrangement of a department store.

The Waterhouse & Company exhibit, placed on the south side of the Great Hall, was mainly comprised of elaborate presentation pieces manufactured by the firm and loaned by their owners for the display.[514] The presentation pieces, which ranged from a silver trowel given to the Bishop of Tuam, the 'Farmer's Gazette' Challenge Cup won by Charles Townley, Esq., MP, to an electrotype shield depicting "Acis and Galattea" given to Count Strelitzke by the Poor Unions of Ireland, dominated the cases as evidenced by an

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[511] *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, 128-50; Sproule, *Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, 476-9. The names of all the donors to the Antiquities Court are too numerous to list here.

[512] *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, 140.

[513] Ibid., 134-43.

[514] "First Report of the Department of Practical Art," *Freeman's Journal*, 29 June 1853; "The Great Exhibition Has Done Good to Dublin," *Freeman's Journal*, 26 September 1853; *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, 20-1; Sproule, *Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, 394.

illustration of the Waterhouse & Company exhibit (Fig. 289).[515] The official exhibition catalogue entry for Waterhouse provided a detailed listing of the presentation pieces and their owners, i.e. clergymen, doctors and other public figures, which may have been part of a calculated effort to impress visitors and raise the profile of the firm.[516] Given that Waterhouse & Company held the title of 'Her Majesty's Jewellers and Silversmiths', the stand was likely to have been visited by Queen Victoria, Prince Albert and their retinue during the royal visit to the Dublin Exhibition in September 1853.

A smaller proportion of the exhibit was given over to the display of the original 'Royal Tara' brooch and modified facsimiles and adaptations of Irish archaeological jewellery.[517] It was, however, the modified facsimile brooches and jewellery from Waterhouse, rather than the presentation plate, which received attention and praise from the 1853 *Art Journal Illustrated* exhibition catalogue. Four of the modified facsimile brooches were depicted (Fig. 290), including both sides of the original 'Tara' brooch unusually shown upside-down and facsimile designs for the 'Innesfallen' brooch, a small version of the 'Knight Templar' (Kilmainham) brooch and the Conyngham brooch.[518] These brooches, along with the full range of available modified facsimiles and adaptations, were illustrated and discussed in the second edition of their stock catalogue *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, reissued in 1853 to coincide with the

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[515] "First Report of the Department of Practical Art," *Freeman's Journal,* 29 June 1853; "The Great Exhibition Has Done Good to Dublin," *Freeman's Journal,* 26 September 1853; *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, 20-1; Sproule, *Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, 394; *Tourists' Illustrated Hand-Book for Ireland*, 327.

[516] Ibid.

[517] *The Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin, 1853, Published in Connection with the Art Journal Illustrated* (London: Virtue, 1853), 39; *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, 20-1; Sproule, *Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, 394.

[518] *Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin*, 39.

Dublin exhibition.[519] The *Art Journal Illustrated* catalogue entry focused on the original 'Tara' brooch (Figs. 46-7, Cat. 298) "which exhibits in a very marked manner the high state of the art of the goldsmith and jeweller, as practised in Ireland in ancient days".[520] The entry goes on to state, "for it must be remembered that all their modern works are strict copies of the antique in every particular", thereby equating the aesthetic and commercial value of the facsimiles with the technical excellence and cultural significance of the original model. Using the history and description of the original artefacts to market the facsimiles in the advertisements and stock catalogues from the firm reinforced this conflation.

The exhibit by William Acheson was also located on the south side of the Great Hall, separated from the other participating jewellers, goldsmiths, silversmiths and watchmakers.[521] The display featured a wide range of modified facsimiles and adaptations including bog oak brooches, bracelets and other jewellery, as well as an ornate silver-gilt, bog oak casket set with 'Irish diamonds' and amethysts (Fig. 291) pictured in the *Art Journal Illustrated* exhibition catalogue.[522] The casket was described as "especially an Irish work and is made entirely of native materials" decorated with "national emblems" of the harp, shamrock and Irish wolfhound.[523] Among the jewellery exhibited by Acheson were elastic band bracelets in silver with reduced-size versions of the harp of Brian Boroihme and a fibula, similar in design to the 'Fibula'

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[519] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities,* 2nd edition, 3-20.
[520] *Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin*, 39.
[521] "The Great Industrial Exhibition," *Freeman's Journal,* 17 May 1853; *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, 21; Sproule, *Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, 393.
[522] *Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin*, 47; Sproule, *Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, 393.
[523] *Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin*, 47. For a discussion of the emergence of Irish national emblems to express nationality, see Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past,* 9-13.

Brooch by Waterhouse & Company (Fig. 13).[524] The imagery of the harp of Brian Boroihme was widely reproduced by Acheson and others as an Irish emblem in jewellery and dovetailed with the model of the original harp displayed at the Dublin Exhibition by Robert Ball.[525]

The *Art Journal* catalogue designated the modified facsimiles of both the Hunterston and the Roscrea brooches as 'Runic Brooches' and both having been copied from Scottish examples with "inscriptions in Runic or Icelandic characters upon them and differ in style of design from those which are found in Ireland".[526] The Hunterston brooch is actually an Irish example from late seventh or early eighth-century (Fig. 61, Cat. 297) discovered in Hunterston, West Kilbride, Ayrshire in Scotland in 1830.[527] The Hunterston brooch does, however, have an inscription on its back face and was occasionally referred to as the 'Runic' brooch and was exhibited by Acheson at Belfast in 1852 and referred to as the 'Runic' brooch.[528] The Roscrea brooch (Fig. 182, Cat. 319) is a ninth-century Irish brooch discovered near Roscrea, Co. Tipperary, which was likely on display in the Antiquities Court.[529] Not only was the original brooch available for comparison with Acheson's facsimiles, but also modified facsimiles of the Roscrea brooch by West & Son, which had been replicated for the 1851 Great Exhibition in London, may have been shown in Dublin as well.

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[524] *Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin*, 47; *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, 21; Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 2nd edition.
[525] *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, 143.
[526] *Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin*, 47.
[527] Youngs, *Work of Angels*, 91-2.
[528] Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Antiquities*, 54; "The Dalriada Brooch," 1; Youngs, *Work of Angels*, 91-2.
[529] *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, 145; Sproule, *Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, 478; Wallace and Ó Floinn, *Treasures*, 230; Youngs, *Work of Angels*, 98-9. The Roscrea brooch was part of the collection of George Petrie until its acquisition by the Royal Irish Academy after his death, and as such, it was likely on display with other artefacts in Petrie's collection at the 1853 Dublin Exhibition.

Additional exhibition galleries were located on either side of the Great Hall, with the South Hall set aside for exhibits from France, Belgium, Prussia and India and the North Hall given over to Irish and British manufactures. In the Jewellery and Metalwork section of the North Hall, West & Son exhibited a number of presentation pieces, including a casket of bog oak with native gold and silver, Cork malachite, Irish pearls, amethysts and carbuncles (red cabochon cut gemstones, usually garnets) given by the people of Ireland to the Countess of Clarendon.[530] The *Art Journal Illustrated* catalogue praised the exhibit by West & Son (Fig. 292) highly, particularly the bog oak casket and the modified facsimile brooches and adaptations, which were characterised as "all being very tasteful in execution and remarkable in design".[531] A total of six modified facsimiles and adaptations were featured in the *Art Journal* catalogue. Two of the brooches and an earring or pendant brooch appear to be adapted from the tri-lobed motifs on the pinhead and terminals of the Co. Cavan ('Queen's) brooch (Fig. 65, Cat. 305).[532] The small, circular brooch illustrated at the top of the centre column closely resembles a design later known as the 'Kerry' brooch (Fig. 293) produced by Edmond Johnson Limited from c. 1902.[533] Despite the assertion that "Mr. West has obtained his prototypes from antique originals, preserved in the Royal Irish Academy and elsewhere" the models for the two remaining penannular brooches displayed by West & Son remain unclear.[534]

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[530] *Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin*, 29; *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, 90; Sproule, *Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, 394.
[531] *Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin*, 29.
[532] A brooch of similar design by West & Son (Cat. 305.10) was acquired in 1853 by the Victoria & Albert Museum (2751-1853) and may have been purchased by representatives of the museum at the Dublin Exhibition.
[533] Edmond Johnson Limited, *Epitome of Reproductions*, 22.
[534] *Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin*, 29. The penannular brooch with circular terminals and pinhead decorated with criss-crossed lines appears similar in design to an undated and

Joseph Johnson exhibited samples of Irish bog oak jewellery "produced by a patent process, the invention and manufacture of the exhibitor".[535] There were at least six different exhibits from Dublin manufacturers such as Cornelius Goggin, Denis Connell and J. Classon that specialised in bog oak ornaments, as well as bog oak caskets from William Acheson and West & Son, which may explain why Joseph Johnson's particular display did not receive more attention in contemporary newspapers and exhibition guides.[536] The *Art Journal* catalogue proposed that "the power now possessed of stamping the bog-oak with the same dies used for jewellery will enable all classes to wear these beautiful ornaments", which was an obvious reference to the process patented by Joseph Johnson, but strangely included in the assessment of the display by West & Son.[537] The exhibit also featured brooches "after the antique" manufactured in gold and silver by Joseph Johnson, but the names of the individual brooch designs, whether metal or bog oak, were not specified.[538] It does not appear that there was a significant amount of duplication among the facsimiles by Waterhouse & Company, William Acheson, West & Son and Joseph Johnson, but this cannot be confirmed without a more complete record of the merchandise submitted by each firm.

The 1853 Dublin Exhibition saw an expanded level of participation by facsimile retailers and manufacturers compared with London two years earlier, perhaps because it was held locally and thus eliminated many of the

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unfinished brooch facsimile in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland. The brooch shown on the left seems to be adapted from the head of a ringed pin.

[535] *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, 87; Sproule, *Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, 394.

[536] Neville Irons, "Irish Bog Oak Carving," *Irish Arts Review* 4, No. 2 (Summer 1987): 54-63; *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, 87-8.

[537] *Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin*, 29.

[538] *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition*, 87.

associated costs for travel, insurance and storage. The increased presence of the Dublin firms was also in response to the significance of the event, as a profitable opportunity to promote and sell their facsimiles in the context of a national statement on the progress of Irish industry. Similar to the 1851 London Exhibition, the modified facsimiles and adaptations of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork shown at the 1853 Dublin Exhibition were submitted as commercial merchandise. However, when taken with the extensive displays of selected examples of Irish architecture, sculpture, fine and applied arts, the facsimiles may have been understood by visitors as something more, the concrete expression of a central theme of the 1853 Dublin Exhibition, modern advancements celebrated in conjunction with the products and skills of the past.

1893 World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago

The 1893 World's Columbian Exposition was held to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by of Christopher Columbus, for which Chicago competed against New York, Washington and St. Louis to win Congressional approval to host the event.[539] Opened from 1 May to 31 October 1893, the Chicago Exposition was attended by more than 27 million visitors.[540] The official fairgrounds in Jackson Park were situated on the shores of Lake Michigan (Fig. 294) with an additional sub-section known as the Midway Plaisance designated for ethnographic 'villages' and

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[539] "1893 World's Columbian Exposition Collection: History of the Collection," Field Museum of Natural History, accessed 26 January 2008, www.fieldmuseum.org/columbianexpo/history; Mattie, *World's Fairs*, 87-8.

[540] Ibid. According to the Field Museum website, the attendance of the Chicago Exposition was equal to one-half the total population of the United States at the time.

amusements such as the debut of the Ferris Wheel.[541] The scale of the Chicago Exposition was intended to surpass that of previous European international exhibitions and succeeded, with fifty participating nations and 50,000 exhibitors spread out across an enormous 686-acre site (Fig. 295).[542]

The main venue for commercial exhibits within the Chicago Exposition site was located in the Manufacturers and Liberal Arts Building (Fig. 296).[543] The ground floor of the building was designated for national pavilions, which featured product displays from individual firms specializing in furniture, glassware, textiles, ceramics, metalwork and jewellery.[544] Ireland was not granted its own national pavilion and instead Irish firms were included within the vast exhibition area assigned to Great Britain.[545] Although placed advantageously along the building's main thoroughfare, the British exhibits may have appeared less cohesive than the nearby French, German and American exhibits because they were not organized within a national pavilion.[546] However, the use of an overarching classification system for the exhibits likely provided the British display with some sense of order.[547]

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[541] Harris, "Selling National Culture," 89; Mattie, *World's Fairs*, 97.

[542] Mattie, *World's Fairs*, 87. For comparison: the 1851 London Exhibition site was 26 acres, the 1867 Paris Exposition site was 165 acres, the 1873 Vienna exhibition site was 42 acres, the 1878 Paris Exposition site was 192 acres and the 1889 Paris Exposition site was 237 acres.

[543] Nicola Gordon Bowe and Elizabeth Cumming, *The Arts & Crafts Movements in Dublin and Edinburgh, 1885-1925* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998), 154-5; Harris, "Selling National Culture," 87-8; Washer, "The Work of Edmond Johnson," 114.

[544] Stanley Appelbaum, *The Chicago World's Fair of 1893, A Photographic Record: Photos from the Collections of the Avery Library of Columbia University and the Chicago Historical Society* (New York: Dover, 1980), 51.

[545] Great Britain Royal Commission, *Official Catalogue of the British Section, Royal Commission for the Chicago Exhibition, 1893* (London: William Clowes & Sons, Ltd., 1893), vii-ix; Harris, "Selling National Culture," 87-9. The British exhibitors were assigned approximately 500,000 square feet of space throughout the official fairgrounds, with 100,400 square feet of the total in the Manufacturers Building.

[546] Appelbaum, *Chicago World's Fair,* 51; Harris, "Selling National Culture," 87-8.

[547] Great Britain Royal Commission, *Official Catalogue.* Although not discussed directly, the classification system used within the British section is apparent from the organisation of the official catalogue.

Direct facsimiles produced by Edmond Johnson were shown within the section allotted for Group 93 Art Metalwork, Group 97 Gold and Silver Wares and Plate, and Group 98 Jewellery and Ornaments.[548] The official British catalogue described the exhibit as "facsimile copies of Irish art metalwork, crosses, croziers, shrines taken from the collection of the Royal Irish Academy and Trinity College, Dublin".[549] Edmond Johnson manufactured several hundred direct facsimiles considered to be among the most important examples of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork specifically for the 1893 Chicago Exposition.[550] The facsimile collection featured more than fifty different types of fibulae and brooches, including direct facsimiles of the 'Tara' brooch (Fig. 56, Cat. 298.14) and popular designs like the 'University' (Rathlin Island) brooch (Fig. 297, Cat. 317.2), the Co. Cavan ('Queen's') brooch (Fig. 69, Cat. 305.19) and the Roscrea brooch (Fig. 298, Cat. 319.2) previously shown only as modified facsimiles at national and international exhibitions by Waterhouse & Company, West & Son, William Acheson & Company, Joseph Johnson and Hopkins & Hopkins.[551] Additionally direct facsimiles of a wide range of personal ornaments, such as gold collars, torcs, lunulae, bullae (Fig. 299, Cat. 5.1, 18.1, 25.1 and 222.1) and a variety of pins (Fig. 300, Cat. 376.1, 223.1, 249.1 and 241.1) were displayed.[552] A total of nine reliquary shrines and five croziers, including the *Soiscéal Molaise* (Figs. 119-24, Cat. 354.1) and the Clonmacnoise crozier (Fig. 301, Cat. 359.1) were replicated for the collection, along with well-known Irish artefacts like the Cross of Cong (Figs.

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[548] Ibid., 225-28.
[549] Ibid., 228.
[550] "Mr. Johnson's Exhibit for Chicago," *Irish Times,* 20 December 1892; Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 5-6.
[551] "Mr. Johnson's Exhibit for Chicago," *Irish Times,* 20 December 1892.
[552] "Mr. Johnson's Exhibit for Chicago," *Irish Times,* 20 December 1892; Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 63-76 and 90-7.

141-2, Cat. 370.1) and the Ardagh chalice (Fig. 91, Cat. 344.4).[553] The entire collection not only consisted of direct facsimiles in metal, but also carved wooden *methers* and full-size reproductions of Irish harps, such as the Harp of Brian Boroihme in Trinity College.[554]

Edmond Johnson had no direct competition within the British section of the Manufacturers and Liberal Arts Building, being the sole Irish firm engaged in facsimile production to take part in the Chicago Exposition. Described by the *Chicago Daily Tribune* as an exhibit that will "at once attract the attention of antiquarians, devout Christians, and patriotic Irishmen", Johnson's facsimile collection was understood as unique and resonated with the large numbers of Irish emigrants and Irish-American visitors to the event.[555] The Board of Judges in the Department of Manufactures awarded Edmond Johnson with a gold medal and a diploma of honour for his facsimile display.[556] Further the entire collection was purchased for the Columbian Museum formed in 1894 to commemorate the Chicago Exposition (see Chapter Four).[557]

The Irish presence at the 1893 Chicago Exposition was not limited to product submissions as part of the official British exhibit. Two Irish Villages situated just outside of the fairgrounds on the Midway Plaisance (Fig. 302)

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553 Ibid., 13-62.
554 Ibid., 97.
555 "Relics of Irish Antiquity, Curious Models of Ancient Ironwork for the Fair," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 16 April 1893; "1893 World's Columbian Exposition Collection: History of the Collection". Based on data from the 1890 census, 70% of Cook County (Chicago and the surrounding area) residents who classified themselves as 'white' indicated that they were foreign-born, mostly from Europe.
556 "Chicago Exhibition," *Irish Times,* 18 October 1893; "Round the Shops: Edmond Johnson, Grafton Street," *Freeman's Journal,* 18 December 1893.
557 "Chicago Exhibition," *Irish Times,* 18 October 1893; "Chance to Get a Fine Collection, Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art Offered for New Museum at Low Figure," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 28 October 1893; Washer, "The Work of Edmond Johnson," 115; "1893 World's Columbian Exposition Collection: History of the Collection". The Columbian Museum is now the Field Museum of Natural History. The facsimiles by Edmond Johnson were transferred to the University of Chicago in 1941 and are now held in the collection of the David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, associated with the university.

offered an alternative venue for the display of Irish industries and merchandise.[558] The Irish Village was originally intended as a single exhibit, but differences arose between the organizers Alice Hart and the Countess of Aberdeen, which resulted in separate sites planned around the same concept.[559] The villages were located quite close to each other and as a result, were forced to compete for the largest share of the visitors to the Midway.[560] As a member of the Local Committee for Ireland that oversaw the construction, planning and contents of the villages, Edmond Johnson was afforded the opportunity to produce and display multiples of his facsimile collection at each of these locations.[561]

The Irish Village under the supervision of Alice Hart (Fig. 303) was located at the eastern end of the Midway between the Japanese Bazaar and the Libby Glass Works.[562] It was designed by a New York architect as a showcase for the products of the Donegal Industrial Fund, which Alice Hart had founded in 1883 for the promotion of cottage industries.[563] Visitors entered the site by passing through a reproduction of the St. Lawrence Gate of Drogheda and into a courtyard, which was centred on a high cross and functioned as a performance space for Irish music and dancing (Fig. 304).[564] The thatched cottages that surrounded the courtyard were designated as exhibition spaces

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[558] Appelbaum, *Chicago World's Fair,* 95; Harris, "Selling National Culture," 90-2.
[559] Harris, "Selling National Culture," 90; Paul Larmour, *The Arts & Crafts Movement in Ireland* (Belfast: Friar's Bush Press, 1992), 50-2.
[560] Harris, "Selling National Culture," 90.
[561] Irish Industries Association, *Guide to the Irish Industrial Village and Blarney Castle, The Exhibit of the Irish Industries Association at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago* (Chicago: Irish Village Book Store, 1893), 14; Great Britain Royal Commission, *Official Catalogue,* xii and xxv; Harris, "Selling National Culture," 87-8. According to the official catalogue, a special Local Committee for Ireland was appointed, which consisted of representatives from the Corporation of Dublin, the Dublin Chamber of Commerce and the Royal Dublin Society.
[562] James Burkhart Gilbert, *Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopias of 1893* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 111-2.
[563] Harris, "Selling National Culture," 90; Larmour, *Arts & Crafts Movement,* 50-2.
[564] Harris, "Selling National Culture," 90-2.

where visitors could observe Irish craftspeople engaged in the manufacture of textiles, ironwork and other industries.[565] A concert hall located within the site offered additional musical performances and held lectures to educate visitors on Irish history, art and the industries on display.[566] The most prominent feature of the Irish Village was the ruins of Donegal Castle that served as a gallery for more historical displays and the facsimiles by Edmond Johnson.[567]

The rival Irish Industrial Village designed by L.A. MacDonnell was placed on the opposite side of the Midway just beyond the periphery of the official fairgrounds (Fig. 305).[568] Under the direction of the Countess of Aberdeen this site also focused on the promotion of cottage industries by the Irish Industries Association, which the Countess had founded in 1886.[569] The layout of the Irish Industrial Village (Fig. 306) bore striking similarities to its competitor, including the use of an architectural reproduction as the point of entry into the site, in this case modelled upon Cormac's Chapel on the Rock of Cashel.[570] It too consisted of a group of thatched cottages with demonstrations of lace making, weaving, knitting, embroidery and the carving of wood, bog oak and marble were carried out by Irish craftspeople.[571] The central courtyard was bordered on one side by a large-scale model of Blarney Castle

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[565] Ibid.
[566] Ibid.
[567] Harris, "Selling National Culture," 90-2; Netzer, "Art/Full Ground", 54.
[568] Gilbert, *Perfect Cities*, 112.
[569] Harris, "Selling National Culture," 92; Larmour, *Arts & Crafts Movement*, 49-50.
[570] Irish Industries Association, *Guide to the Irish Industrial Village*, 11-2; Harris, "Selling National Culture," 93.
[571] Irish Industries Association, *Guide to the Irish Industrial Village*, 12-5; Larmour, *Arts & Crafts Movement*, 50-2; Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*, 147.

that featured a piece of the actual Blarney Stone and on the opposite side, reproductions of a high cross and the cloister of Muckross Abbey.[572]

A village museum displayed historical materials including photographs of Irish antiquities by Lord Dunraven, arranged and published by Margaret Stokes.[573] Edmond Johnson's facsimiles of "interesting Celtic jewellery...seen in the making and in the finished state" were on view in a nearby cottage called 'Tara's Hall' that functioned as an exclusive point of sale separate from the gift shop and bookstore on site.[574] The full range of facsimiles manufactured and sold by Johnson through the Irish Industrial Village remains uncertain, but specific reference to "models of the 'Tara' brooch and the fibula and other delicate emblems " in the official guidebook suggest that modified facsimiles and adaptations of Irish brooches and other archaeological jewellery were available. This conclusion appears more likely when considered in light of the description of opening day at the Irish Industrial Village, from which "every visitor brought away a souvenir from the booth of Edmond Johnson of Dublin, who sells facsimile copies of specimens of the celebrated ancient Irish art metal work in silver, gold, bog oak and Connemara marble".[575] Proceeds from the sale of the facsimiles were to go to the Irish Industries Association, which paid for Johnson's workmen to travel to Chicago

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[572] Irish Industries Association, *Guide to the Irish Industrial Village*, 12-5; Harris, "Selling National Culture," 93-6; Larmour, *Arts & Crafts Movement*, 50-2.
[573] Irish Industries Association, *Guide to the Irish Industrial Village*, 15.
[574] "The Irish Village at Chicago," *Freeman's Journal*, 22 July 1893; Irish Industries Association, *Guide to the Irish Industrial Village*, 14; Bowe and Cumming, *The Arts & Crafts Movements*, 154-5; Larmour, *Arts & Crafts Movement*, 50-2; Netzer, "Art/Full Ground", 54; Washer, "The Work of Edmond Johnson," 115. Edmond Johnson's display and the bog oak department were listed as separate from the Irish Village store, with the merchandise being sold directly from each cottage.
[575] "An Irish Day at Chicago, Ethusiastic Proceedings at the World's Fair: Lady Aberdeen's Work," *Freeman's Journal*, 25 May 1893.

and demonstrate the manufacturing process on site as part of the exhibition.[576]

The two villages were intended to form the most effective backdrop for the display of cottage industries and to encourage the purchase of Irish lace, embroideries, woven textiles, woodcarvings and metalwork. The organizers sought to engage visitors through the creation of a virtual travel experience and the distinctive aspects of the country and its people that were emphasized in Chicago have become universally recognized as being representative of Ireland. The reconstructions of picturesque castles and ruins, high crosses and the exhibition of facsimiles of archaeological jewellery and metalwork all played upon romantic associations with Ireland's historic past. The thatched cottages populated with 'villagers' cooking, dancing jigs, singing and making goods by hand epitomized an idealized view of peasant life in rural Ireland, particularly in the West. The villages were likely designed to inspire a strong sense of nostalgia in the large population of Irish emigrants and their descendants living in the Midwest and throughout the United States, who travelled to the Chicago Exposition. The combined gross receipts for the two Irish Villages, $203,000, demonstrate the hugely successful nature of these exhibits to sell merchandise by evoking a particular image of Ireland that still persists.[577]

The presentation of Ireland at the 1893 Chicago Exposition was by necessity a balance between its political identity as part of Great Britain and its distinctive cultural identity underscored by centuries of achievements in

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[576] "Lady Aberdeen," *Freeman's Journal,* 10 February 1893.
[577] Harris, "Selling National Culture," 96. Alice Hart's Irish Village generated $65,000 and the Countess of Aberdeen's Industrial Village more than double that at $138,000, for a total of $203,000.

literature, music, architecture and the applied arts. The display of Irish industries and merchandise in two separate areas, one within the boundary of the fairgrounds and one without, reflected this dichotomy. Johnson's direct facsimiles, viewed in the context of the official British display in the Manufacturers Building, could be read as evidence of the distinctive material culture of Ireland that provided support for its claims to an independent national status. As part of the two Irish Villages on the Midway, Johnson's modified facsimiles and adaptations functioned as both a record of Irish history and a higher calibre of souvenir available for purchase by visitors to commemorate their experience. Members of the organizing committee in Chicago regarded Johnson's direct facsimile collection as a group of museum-quality artworks, which led to their purchase after the close of the event (see also Chapter Four). The success of Johnson's display at the Chicago Exposition also resulted in the expansion of the foreign market for facsimiles and strengthened the role played by antiquities in the construction of Irish national identity. The Exposition provided Johnson with an opportunity to introduce an American audience to Irish artefacts, targeting the population of Irish emigrants living in the United States and their descendants who would be drawn to the purchase of facsimiles as a way to participate in a shared cultural identity.

1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis

The international exhibition in St. Louis, Missouri was organised to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the 1803 signing of the Louisiana Purchase Agreement between France and the United States, but did not open

until 1904.[578] More than 19.6 million people visited the exhibition held in Forest Park from 30 April to 1 December 1904.[579] The plan of the exhibition (Fig. 307) designed by architect Cass Gilbert and Frank M. Howe, who also served on the architectural commission of the 1893 Chicago Exposition, featured an arrangement of buildings that radiated outwards from Festival Hall at its centre (Fig. 308).[580] The main exhibition buildings including the state pavilions and the foreign pavilions were placed along either side of the main water-feature, the Cascades and the Grand Basin (Fig. 309).[581] The amusements section referred to as the Pike (Fig. 310), similar to the Midway Plaisance in Chicago, was situated behind the exhibition buildings with such featured attractions as an architectural reproduction of the city of Jerusalem and the Ferris Wheel.[582]

The location of the Irish pavilion (Fig. 311) was highly criticised by at least one Irish commentator who wondered how "this first-class exhibit came to be enclosed within the concession called [the] 'Pike' and classified as a mere itinerant show is a mystery".[583] The presence of an Irish pavilion separate from Britain was only made possible through funding from Irish-American groups, who provided Ireland with this site outside the main exhibition area.[584] By the beginning of 1904 a consensus had been reached by the British Parliament with the agreement of the Royal Commission for the St. Louis

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[578] "Louisiana Purchase Exposition," *Irish Times,* 15 July 1903; Mattie, *World's Fairs*, 118.
[579] Mattie, *World's Fairs*, 118.
[580] Ibid.
[581] Ibid., 118-20.
[582] Ibid., 120.
[583] "Irish Exhibits at St. Louis," *Irish Times,* 2 December 1904. The *Irish Times* reprinted an excerpt from an article that first appeared in the *Kilkenny Moderator* on 3 September 1904.
[584] "Louisiana Purchase Exposition," *Irish Times,* 15 July 1903; "St. Louis Exhibition, 1904," *Irish Times,* 7 January 1904; Mattie, *World's Fairs*, 118. By 1904 St. Louis was the fourth largest city in the United States. Irish-American groups in St. Louis, where more than one-third of the total population of 700,000 were said to be of Irish descent, raised the funds for the Irish pavilion.

Exposition and the Irish Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, which would only cooperate with the organisation of a special Irish exhibition if the pavilion were paid for by American sources.[585] The rationale behind mounting a separate Irish exhibition was to present a cohesive display of Ireland's resources so as to encourage the "investment of capital" to support further industrial development.[586] The organisers actively sought the participation of Irish firms in the exhibition, framed as a "patriotic endeavour" and a "national advertisement", by providing free space, display cases and covering nearly all the transportation and storage costs involved.[587] Due to the format of the exhibit participating Irish firms were not eligible for awards under the Exposition regulations, while those firms that wished to show for awards were required to submit their products as part of the British display within the main exhibition area and bear the burden of all related transportation and insurance costs.[588]

Around two hundred exhibitors from various industries contributed to the Irish display, modelled on the pavilion built for the Glasgow International Exhibition in 1901.[589] Visitors entered the pavilion from the main exhibition area through a reproduction of the façade of the Irish House of Parliament on College Green, Dublin (Fig. 312) in keeping with the overall Beaux-Arts style of the buildings at the St. Louis Exposition and a seemingly overt statement of

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[585] "Louisiana Purchase Exposition," *Irish Times,* 15 July 1903; "St. Louis Exhibition, 1904," *Irish Times,* 7 January 1904; Bowe and Cumming, *The Arts & Crafts Movements*, 79-80. The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction was set up in 1899 under Horace Plunkett.

[586] "St. Louis Exhibition, 1904," *Irish Times,* 7 January 1904; Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, *Irish Industrial Exhibition, World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904: Handbook and Catalogue of Exhibits* (St. Louis: Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, 1904), 8-9.

[587] "Irish Manufacturers and Lousiana Purchase Exposition," *Irish Times,* 30 January 1904.

[588] "Ireland's Exhibit at the World's Fair," *Irish Times,* 16 November 1904.

[589] "St. Louis Exhibition, 1904," *Irish Times,* 7 January 1904; "Off To St. Louis Exhibition," *Irish Times,* 23 April 1904; "Irish Exhibits at St. Louis," *Irish Times,* 2 December 1904.

political nationalism.[590] The alternate entrance facing the Pike consisted of a full-scale reproduction of the St. Lawrence Gate of Drogheda.[591] The administrative, commercial and exhibition spaces were located in various buildings placed around a central open courtyard. The Industrial Hall (Fig. 313) on the east side of the pavilion, described as "Norman-Irish in style" but not as a reproduction of any one particular building, housed the bulk of the exhibits contributed by Irish firms.[592] Full-scale reproductions of iconic Irish landmarks including Blarney Castle in Co. Cork, the round tower at Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly, Muiredach's Cross from Monasterboice, Co. Louth, and Cormac's Chapel from the Rock of Cashel, Co. Tipperary (Fig. 314), formed a dominant feature of the overall exhibit.[593] An unusual and distinctly Irish-American inclusion was the reproduction of the McKinley family cottage in Co. Antrim, home of the former U.S. President's Irish ancestors, decorated with its original furnishings to illustrate rural peasant life.[594] Many of these structures were previously incorporated into the two Irish Industrial Villages at the 1893 Chicago Exposition and the Irish pavilion at the 1901 Glasgow Exhibition, thus the repetition of these landmarks in the context of another World's Fair reinforced their recognition among visitors as symbols of Ireland.

As a complement to the displays of modern Irish industrial products, a Historic Loan Collection was assembled for the St. Louis Exposition intended

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[590] Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, *Irish Industrial Exhibition*, 12; Mattie, *World's Fairs*, 120. The former House of Parliament is now home to the Bank of Ireland. Many famous buildings were reproduced as part of the foreign exhibition pavilions in St. Louis, including the German Palace of Charlottenburg and the French Grand Trianon at Versailles.

[591] Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, *Irish Industrial Exhibition*, 11.

[592] Ibid., 12.

[593] "St. Louis Exhibition: The Irish Section, Synopsis of Exhibits," *Irish Times*, 21 March 1904; Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, *Irish Industrial Exhibition*, 12-3 and 24. The plaster cast of Muiredach's Cross placed on display was lent by the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin.

[594] Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, *Irish Industrial Exhibition*, 11.

to serve as a "record in visible form of the art, industry and social life of the country for a period of 4,000 years".[595] Three large cases of direct facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork were manufactured and lent for display by Edmond Johnson Limited.[596] Prior to the St. Louis Exposition, the firm had exhibited large collections of direct facsimiles at the 1893 Chicago Exposition, the 1900 Paris Exposition and the 1901 Glasgow Exhibition and published a stock catalogue of direct facsimiles targeted at international museums in c. 1902.[597] Given that the Irish pavilion at St. Louis was modelled upon the pavilion from the 1901 Glasgow Exhibition, it stands to reason that Edmond Johnson Limited would be asked to provide the same type of exhibits.

Of the three cases of direct facsimiles manufactured by Edmond Johnson Limited, the first contained facsimiles of Bronze Age tools and weapons including axes, spears, daggers and swords.[598] Direct facsimiles of Irish artefacts dating from 1500 B.C. through the twelfth century were displayed in the second case, classified as gold collars, gorgets, fibulae, armlets, penannular rings, ring money, earrings, bullae and the Broighter hoard.[599] The third case held direct facsimile brooches and pins of all types (Fig. 315), a wide range of shrines and reliquaries such as the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell (Fig. 316) and the Cross of Cong (Fig. 317), the Ardagh chalice

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[595] "St. Louis Exhibition: The Irish Section, Synopsis of Exhibits," *Irish Times,* 21 March 1904; Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, *Irish Industrial Exhibition*, 10.

[596] Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, *Irish Industrial Exhibition*, 14-20. A full listing of the exhibits is given in Part III of the exhibition catalogue, but did not attribute the facsimiles to Edmond Johnson Limited. This mistake was corrected in the *Errata* inserted into the catalogue after printing.

[597] Edmond Johnson Limited, *Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art*, 1. The title page of the stock catalogue published by Edmond Johnson Limited in c. 1902 states: "Facsimile Reproductions of Irish Antique Art Metal Work specially manufactured for exhibition at The World's Fair, Chicago, 1893; The International Exposition, Paris, 1900; and The International Exhibition, Glasgow, 1901 and as supplied to the principal museums of American, Great Britain and the Continent".

[598] Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, *Irish Industrial Exhibition*, 14-5.

[599] Ibid., 15-8.

(Fig. 318) and facsimile adaptations in the form of a group of 'Celtic' Letters derived from the Book of Kells in silver and gold.[600] With the exception of the tools and weapons on display, all of the facsimiles correspond with those advertised in the c. 1902 stock catalogue from Edmond Johnson Limited, particularly new additions to the collection such as the Shrine of the *Cathach*, Monasterevin disc (Fig. 319 and Fig. 320, Cat. 375) and the Broighter hoard.[601] The Historic Loan Collection appears to have been the only section of the Irish pavilion where merchandise from the firm was displayed, as their name is notably absent from the manufacturers listed in the catalogue of exhibits.[602]

The metalwork facsimiles were viewed by visitors to the Irish pavilion alongside copies of medieval manuscripts, silver plate, antique glass, musical instruments, furniture, embroidery and needlework, weapons and coins displayed in nearby cases.[603] The Irish silver plate was mainly drawn from the eighteenth century and included examples of harp-handled or 'loving' cups and dish-rings (Fig. 321) comparable to those replicated by Edmond Johnson Limited as presentation pieces.[604] Although West & Son did not exhibit merchandise as part of the Irish pavilion, they were represented by pieces of antique silver manufactured by Matthew West and John West, some of which

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[600] Ibid., 18-20.

[601] There is no evidence to suggest that the Shrine of the *Cathach*, the Monasterevin Disc and the Broighter hoard were reproduced by Edmond Johnson Limited before the early twentieth century, as none of these artefacts appeared in the Chicago Exposition catalogue or were preserved with the rest of the facsimile collection exhibited in 1893 in the David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago.

[602] Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, *Irish Industrial Exhibition*, 37. In Part II of the catalogue of exhibits, the only reference to Edmond Johnson Limited in the section devoted to manufacturing in Silver and Gold Work was to see their entry as part of the Historic Loan Collection. It is not clear whether or not the firm exhibited merchandise as part of the British pavilion in the main exhibition area.

[603] "St. Louis Exhibition: The Irish Section, Synopsis of Exhibits," *Irish Times,* 21 March 1904; Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, *Irish Industrial Exhibition*, 20-38.

[604] Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, *Irish Industrial Exhibition*, 24-33.

were lent by the firm.[605] The Loan Collection was rounded out by displays of historical documents, memorabilia and portraits of distinguished figures in Irish history from the sixteenth through the early twentieth century.[606]

The Irish pavilion at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition illustrates the evolution of the presentation of Ireland at national and international exhibitions, from product displays by individual Irish firms within a larger British exhibit to a separate Irish pavilion, albeit outside of the official fairgrounds, to construct and project a distinctive national identity. The repetition of the same imagery of the high cross, round tower, historic examples of secular and ecclesiastical architecture, and direct facsimiles of jewellery and metalwork at such exhibitions formed the basis for the cultural shorthand commonly used to represent Ireland by the early twentieth century. The direct facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork no longer functioned as commercial products, but rather as a proxy for the originals viewed and understood by visitors within the context of a museum display, which reinforced the status of the original artefacts as national symbols.

Conclusion

In this chapter two major aspects of facsimile promotion, marketing strategies and exhibition displays, have been examined to assess the impact of facsimiles on the designation of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork as national symbols. The first section provided a breakdown of the marketing

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[605] Ibid. West & Son lent a cup by John West from c. 1760-70, along with candlesticks and three salvers by other makers. Pieces by Matthew West from c. 1770-80 included a cup loaned by a Miss O'Grady and a pair of cups and a sauceboat by Augustine Roche, Lord Mayor of Cork.

[606] Ibid., 38-53.

and promotional techniques utilised by the leading facsimile retailers and manufacturers to increase demand and generate sales, including an overview of the names selected for brooch designs, the courting of royal and viceregal patronage, and recurring themes in advertising campaigns and stock catalogues. There are a number of published sources that discuss elements of facsimile promotion by Waterhouse & Company and West & Son, and only one or two sources that deal with Edmond Johnson and Hopkins & Hopkins, but no comprehensive or comparative analysis of all six Dublin firms has previously been undertaken. The aim of this chapter was to conduct such an analysis and as a result, the common approach to facsimile promotion taken by the Dublin firms became apparent. Waterhouse & Company set the precedent by creating a brand identity for the firm as a facsimile retailer and for individual brooch designs, particularly the 'Tara' brooch, reinforced by advertisements, high-profile patronage, stock catalogues and exposure at national and international exhibitions. Repeated references to the original artefacts, in the form of illustrations, historical provenance and excerpts from academic and antiquarian journals, were central to the promotion of facsimiles. The competing firms adopted similar promotional strategies, all of which were based on the elevated status of the original artefacts by virtue of their existence as material evidence of distinctive Irish artistic production and cultural traditions.

The second section of this chapter focused on the national and international exhibitions where facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork were on view. Although there are numerous sources on the arts and industrial exhibitions held in Europe and America from the mid-

nineteenth century onwards, very few consider the presence of Irish facsimiles in the context of the overall event, or facsimiles in general, as part of the commercial exhibits from Britain or as part of a separate Irish national presentation, and in comparison with the extensive displays of fine arts, archaeological and ethnographic collections that became a regular feature of national and international exhibitions. An examination of four events, the 1851 Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in London, the 1853 Irish Industrial Exhibition in Dublin, the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago and the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, demonstrated how the presentation of Ireland at home and abroad evolved over time and the role played by facsimiles in construction of Irish identity. An area for further research would be to compare Irish facsimiles with facsimile production and promotion in other European countries with a substantial body of ancient jewellery and metalwork, such as Scotland, England, France, Italy, Germany and Russia.

CHAPTER FOUR: Facsimile Distribution

Introduction

The emergence of a commodity culture in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was the result of advances in manufacturing technologies and mass-production, widespread media consumption and the establishment of large-scale marketplaces such as department stores and industrial exhibitions. The aim of this chapter is to investigate the distribution of facsimiles among individual consumers and museums to analyse their associated value, meaning and usage in each context: as fashionable ornaments, gifts and prizes; as emblems of personal, collective and national identities; as exemplars of modern manufacturing and design; as high-quality substitutes for the original artefacts.

This chapter has been divided into sections that correspond with the two main target audiences for facsimile distribution: individual consumers and museums. The first section will consider the purchase of direct facsimiles, modified facsimiles and facsimile adaptations in Ireland and Britain, primarily copies of the 'Tara' brooch and the Ardagh chalice, by individuals of different political, economic and social groups. As sales records from the Dublin retailers and manufacturers do not survive, documentation of individual facsimile purchases was found in contemporary photographs, newspaper coverage of weddings, presentations, prizes, sports trophies and advertisements for lost property. This represents an attempt to examine the purchase of facsimiles by everyday consumers from the upper and middle classes and it will be demonstrated that there was a much wider distribution and a more complex set of personal values associated with these facsimiles

than has been previously understood. The second section will focus on the acquisition of direct facsimiles, modified facsimiles and facsimile adaptations by museums in Ireland, Britain and America between 1851 and 1920. It will be argued that the broad educational mission of museums during this period created an environment in which facsimiles were viewed as necessary to supplement existing collections in order to present a comprehensive overview of a particular national culture, object type or historical period and were potentially preferred to original works of art due to issues of cost or availability. The crossover between museums, national and international exhibitions and department stores as it relates to facsimiles will be examined. The chapter will conclude with a summary of findings and the identification of areas for further research on Irish facsimile distribution.

Facsimile Distribution: Individual Consumers

The modified facsimiles and facsimile adaptations of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork produced and sold by Waterhouse & Company, West & Son, William Acheson & Company, Joseph Johnson, Edmond Johnson and Hopkins & Hopkins were strategically marketed towards two primary target audiences: individual consumers and museums. Modified facsimiles and facsimile adaptations of Irish brooches, earrings, pins and other types of personal ornaments were broadly targeted to individual consumers, which may be further subdivided by their political, economic and social status. All of the Dublin facsimile retailers and manufacturers catered to this segment of the market at home and abroad, however only Joseph Johnson and Edmond Johnson targeted museums as a potential outlet for facsimile distribution and

produced an expanded range of direct facsimiles to meet their needs. Although this thesis has been limited in scope to Irish facsimiles preserved in a museum context, as private ownership proved too difficult to trace, a discussion of facsimile consumption by both individuals and museums affords a more complete picture of the industry as a whole.

No general sales figures survive for facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork purchased by individual consumers from the six Dublin firms. Beyond royal and viceregal patronage (see Chapter Three), the only direct evidence of the large-scale consumption of facsimile brooches was published by Waterhouse & Company, which claimed to have sold more than 2,000 copies of the 'Clarendon' brooch between 1849 and 1852.[607] Purchasers of the 'Clarendon' brooch were most likely drawn from the Anglo-Irish aristocracy and the upper-middle classes who wished to participate in a fashionable trend for archaeological-style jewellery. The purchase of at least two examples of modified facsimiles and adaptations, an 'Ardagh' clasp and a 'Tara' brooch, by individual customers was documented in the testimonials section of the c. 1910 Hopkins & Hopkins stock catalogue.[608] These probably represent sales to middle-class consumers with nationalist sympathies, given the well-advertised political stance of William C. Hopkins, senior partner of the firm, as a nationalist.[609] In the absence of more complete sales records, further evidence of individual facsimile consumption has been gleaned from

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[607] "The Great Exhibition," *Belfast News-Letter,* 9 June 1851; Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 14-5; Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past,* 87. Despite its popularity, an image of an early example of the 'Clarendon' brooch from this period has not yet been located.

[608] Hopkins & Hopkins, *Irish Art Industry*, 104-6.

[609] "North Dock Ward," *Irish Times*, 3 November 1883. References to William C. Hopkins as a both a Protestant and a Nationalist were made at the time of his nomination for Town Councillor of the North Dock Ward in 1883.

alternative sources, such as contemporary photographs and newspaper coverage of weddings, presentations, prizes, sports trophies and advertisements for lost property. Such sources are limited by the fact that newspaper articles focused on weddings and presentations would only have been written about well-known public figures, mainly members of the Anglo-Irish upper class, and provide few details on purchases by the middle-class. References to facsimiles given away as prizes as part of popular amusements, fundraisers or trophies at sporting events, along with public notices of lost facsimiles, may be more illustrative of middle-class facsimile consumption. Regardless of the context the facsimiles purchased, presented and worn by each political, economic and social group served as a signifier of a complex personal and national identity.

Contemporary photographs represent an important potential source for individual facsimile consumption during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century.[610] *Yes or No?*, a photograph from 1865 by the art photographer Julia Margaret Cameron (Fig. 322), featured two female characters wearing facsimile brooches, one a version of the Co. Cavan brooch and the other hidden in folds of cloth, but the narrative and context for the appearance of the brooches in this context is unclear.[611] In another 1865 photograph by Cameron entitled *Sappho* (Fig. 323), her model wore a facsimile of the 'Tara' brooch as part of her costume, perhaps to reinforce her identification as an ancient figure.[612] The use of facsimile brooches by Cameron demonstrates the more romantic approach to Celtic costume

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[610] Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery*, 448-51. The work of Gere and Rudoe represents the first and only attempt in recent scholarship to identify new sources for individual facsimile and modified facsimile consumption beyond royal and viceregal patronage.
[611] Ibid.
[612] Ibid.

adopted in artistic and literary circles, not strictly historical or particularly Irish, but symbolic of the mythological past.[613] In 1876 the actress Rosina Vokes was photographed wearing a brooch similar to the trefoil motif found on the pinhead and terminals of the Co. Cavan brooch (Fig. 324), which may have been a facsimile adaptation produced by Waterhouse & Company or West & Son, both of whom carried versions of the brooch by this date.[614] The brooch worn by the actress shows how archaeological-style jewellery was incorporated into contemporary dress and considered an appropriate accessory for a portrait to convey her personal sense of style.

Facsimile brooches were not only used as elements of Celtic costumes or as fashionable ornaments, but as symbols of membership and a collective identity. The *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* or Daughters of Ireland, a female political activist group established by Maud Gonne MacBride from 1900-1914, adopted a facsimile of a ninth-century silver brooch known as the 'Roscommon' brooch as their badge to be worn by members (Fig. 325).[615] It was manufactured from c. 1900 by Edmond Johnson Limited, which had produced direct facsimiles of the original brooch from c. 1891-2 (Fig. 326, Cat. 322.1). The badges worn by members differed from the other direct facsimiles only in that they were inscribed '*Inghinidhe na hÉireann*' across the top of the ring (Fig. 327, Cat. 322.2), transforming them into a highly visible statement of Irish identity.[616] Countess Markievicz became a member of the group in 1907 and

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[613] O'Kelly, "Reconstructing Irishness," 82.
[614] Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery*, 450.
[615] Sinéad McCoole, *Guns & Chiffon: Women Revolutionaries and Kilmainham Gaol, 1916-1923* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1997), 11; Jr. Joseph E.A. Connell, "Countdown to 2016: *Inghinidhe na hÉireann*/Daughters of Ireland, *Clan na nGaedheal*/Girl Scouts of Ireland," *History Ireland* 19, No. 5 (September/October 2001): 66.
[616] Miller, "The Selling of Nationalism," 59. Miller incorrectly describes the badge design as a combination of the 'Tara' and Co. Cavan brooches. A copy of the badge by Edmond Johnson

was photographed wearing her badge and a second facsimile brooch (Fig. 328) to secure her *brat* or cloak placed on her shoulder as a nod to traditional Irish dress for women.[617] The use of a facsimile brooch as their badge fit with the agenda of *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* to organise and promote distinctively Irish cultural and artistic activities and to support Irish manufactures.[618]

Wedding announcements published by contemporary newspapers, including descriptions of the ceremony, reception and guest list, indicate a trend for giving modified facsimiles of the 'Tara' brooch as bridal gifts during the second half of the nineteenth century. A modified gold 'Tara' brooch facsimile set with two large Irish pearls and an emerald was given to Lady Mary Dawson, daughter of the Earl and Countess of Dartry, Co. Monaghan, on the occasion of her London wedding to the Earl of Ilchester in 1872.[619] The gift of a modified gold 'Tara' brooch facsimile with amethysts and a set of Irish bog oak shamrocks and harps set in gold were given by the O'Grady family to Rose Emily de Montmorency of Castle Morres, Co. Kilkenny in 1873 when she married Captain F.A. Bertie in London.[620] In 1875 Lady Alice Fitzwilliam gave a modified facsimile of the 'Royal Tara' brooch "with chatelaine appended" as a bridal present to celebrate the marriage of Gertrude Jesse Glynne to the Hon. Douglas Pennant, M.P. in Hawarden, Flintshire, Wales.[621] Among the gifts at the 1886 wedding of Professor Niven of Aberdeen University and Mary Stewart, daughter of a prominent local businessman, was a modified gold

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Limited and a photo of a member wearing a similar badge are currently on view in the permanent exhibition at Kilmainham Gaol, Dublin.

[617] McCoole, *Guns & Chiffon*, 22-3; O'Kelly, "Reconstructing Irishness," 80-1.

[618] Connell, "Countdown to 2016," 66; McCoole, *Guns & Chiffon*, 11.

[619] "Marriage of the Earl of Ilchester and Lady Mary Dawson," *Belfast News-Letter*, 12 February 1872.

[620] "Marriage of Captain F.A. Bertie," *Jackson's Oxford Journal* (London), 26 July 1873.

[621] "Marriage of the Hon. Douglas Pennant, M.P.," *North Wales Chronicle* (Bangor), 23 October 1875.

'Tara' brooch facsimile given to the bride by Sir Robert and Lady Ball.[622] Even Samuel Waterhouse of Waterhouse & Company gave a "massive gold Tara Brooch" facsimile to Mary Dwyer Gray, who wed Commander Gerald Holland, DSO, Royal Indian Marines in a Donnybrook church in 1896.[623] The repeated appearance of modified facsimiles of 'Tara' brooches among the published lists of wedding gifts given to upper and middle class brides in both Ireland and Britain suggests that facsimile jewellery was still considered fashionable by late nineteenth-century consumers.

The high status of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork was underscored by the presentation of facsimiles of the 'Tara' brooch and the Ardagh chalice to commemorate prominent individuals and events. In 1851 Lord Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, presented a visiting 'Zoolu [sic] War Chief' with a facsimile of the 'Tara' brooch, which was placed on exhibit in the Royal Portobello Gardens, Dublin where his troupe had given tribal dance performances.[624] Female supporters of Lady Mary Wentworth Fitzwilliam in Doncaster gave her a gold 'Tara' brooch facsimile and an illuminated address in 1886 for her work on behalf of her husband's candidacy for Parliament.[625] A gold watch and chain and a 'Tara' brooch facsimile, both manufactured by Edmond Johnson, were presented to T.W. Rolleston in 1893 for his role as late honorary secretary of the Irish Literary Society in London.[626] The choice of a facsimile as an appropriate presentation gift for visitors to Ireland, to show political support and friendship, and for service within an organisation

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[622] "Fashionable Marriage in Aberdeen," *Aberdeen Weekly Journal,* 15 April 1886.
[623] "Marriage of Miss Dwyer Gray," *Freeman's Journal,* 30 July 1896.
[624] "Royal Portobello Gardens," *Freeman's Journal,* 8 July 1851; "Fashionable Intelligence," *Freeman's Journal,* 22 September 1851.
[625] "Presentation to Lady Mary Fitzwilliam," *Belfast News-Letter,* 13 September 1886.
[626] "Irish Literary Society," *Freeman's Journal,* 4 December 1893.

devoted to Irish literature demonstrates the multiple meanings and levels of identity ascribed to the 'Tara' brooch.

Both Edmond Johnson and West & Son produced direct and modified facsimiles of the Ardagh chalice for commemorative purposes. A modified facsimile of the Ardagh chalice, double the size of the original, was made by Edmond Johnson Limited and presented as a testimonial to the foreman of the County Sligo Grand Jury, Colonel E.H. Cooper, H.M.L. in 1899.[627] Modified facsimiles of the Ardagh chalice at double the scale of the original continued to be produced by Johnson's firm until at least 1903.[628] Direct facsimiles of the Ardagh chalice manufactured by Edmond Johnson Limited were presented to Dr. Henry Fitzgibbon, Medical Officer of the General Post Office, in 1906 and to William J. Ryan, Honorary Secretary of the Dublin District of the Newspaper Press Fund in 1914 on the occasion of their retirement.[629] West & Son manufactured a facsimile of the Ardagh chalice and a silver tray in 1901 as a birthday present for Lord Herbert, eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke, on behalf of the residents and tenants of the Pembroke Township.[630] In 1918 a facsimile of the Ardagh chalice was presented to Sir Richard Ford, Surgeon-

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[627] "Presentation to Colonel The Right Hon. E.H. Cooper, H.M.L.," *Sligo Independent*, 11 March 1899; "Presentation to Colonel Cooper," *Irish Times*, 11 March 1899. Details of the ceremony were published in a local newspaper, which described the replica chalice as measuring more than 12 inches in height and weighing nearly 200 ounces and characterised it as an example of the "jeweller's and enameller's art brought into such exquisite harmony". According to the article in the *Irish Times* this particular facsimile of the Ardagh chalice was originally meant for display at the 1900 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, but was instead converted into a presentation piece and another double-scale facsimile was used in the exhibition display. I would like to thank Patrick O'Brien for bringing this information to my attention.

[628] Lot 506 in the Sotheby's sale on 31 October 1988 was a large reproduction of the Ardagh chalice by Edmond Johnson's firm dated to 1903. The reproduction, with the underside engraved *'E. Johnson Ltd Dublin'*, measured 13 ¼ inches and weighed 201 oz. I would like to thank Angus Patterson of the Victoria & Albert Museum, London for bringing this information to my attention.

[629] "News of the Week: Dublin," *Irish Times*, 26 December 1914; "Presentation to Dr. Henry Fitzgibbon," *Irish Times*, 19 January 1906.

[630] "Earl of Pembroke and Lord Herbert," *Irish Times*, 30 September 1901.

General and former Deputy Director Medical Services for the Irish Command at the termination of his appointment.[631]

It appears that not only individual facsimiles of the Ardagh chalice were given as commemorative pieces, but copies of the chalice were also incorporated into larger groups of presentation plate. In 1883 Edmond Johnson manufactured the 'Ardagh Vase', an oversized, modified facsimile of the original chalice, for presentation to Lord Wolseley to celebrate his recent military achievements.[632] The 'Ardagh Vase' was part of a twelve-piece set of plate that included copies of a silver punch bowl owned by the Merchant Tailors' Company of London, two 'loving cups' from Trinity College, Dublin and eight silver dish rings.[633] In 1911 Edmond Johnson Limited produced a direct facsimile of the Ardagh chalice for presentation to Sir Charles A. Cameron, C.B., who was made an Honorary Freeman of the City of Dublin, and provided copies of the Dunvegan Cup (Fig. 329, Cat. 345), the Kavanagh 'Charter' Horn (Fig. 330, Cat. 374), the Trinity College 'loving cup' and silver dish rings as part of the table decoration.[634] These newspaper articles demonstrate that in at least two instances individual consumers purchased the same merchandise as museums, which acquired direct facsimiles of the Dunvegan Cup (Fig. 331, Cat. 345.1) and the Kavanagh 'Charter' Horn (Fig. 332, Cat. 374.2) and silver dish

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631 "Presentation to Sir Richard and Lady Ford," *Irish Times,* 12 January 1918.

632 "The Wolseley Testimonial: The Ardagh Vase," *Irish Times,* 21 June 1883; "The Banquet in Dublin to Lord Wolseley," *The Graphic* (London), 7 July 1883; "Banquet to Lord Wolseley," *Weekly Irish Times,* 7 July 1883.

633 "The Wolseley Testimonial: The Ardagh Vase," *Irish Times,* 21 June 1883; Henry Naylor, "Eighteenth Century Dublin Silver," *Dublin Historical Record* 12, No. 1 (February 1951): 14-9; Douglas Bennett, *The Silver Collection, Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin: Trinity College, Dublin Press, 1988), 81. The 'loving cups' refer to two-handled silver cups without covers, about 15 cm in height made between 1770 and 1790. There are several examples of this type of cup in the silver collection of Trinity College, Dublin. The silver dish rings, incorrectly referred to as 'potato rings' and used as stands for hot dishes, were copied from eighteenth-century originals.

634 "Tribute to Sir Charles Cameron, Corinthian Club Banquet, Speech of the Lord Lieutenant," *Irish Times,* 13 March 1911. Cameron was head of the Public Health Department of the Dublin Corporation and president of the Corinthian Club in Dublin.

rings (Fig. 333) manufactured by Edmond Johnson Limited during the early twentieth century.[635] The combination of facsimiles of archaeological metalwork and eighteenth-century silver resulted in two unusual sets of presentation plate that do not appear to have been specially commissioned, but selected directly from the existing stock of Edmond Johnson Limited, and may provide some insight into purchasing practices.

Facsimiles of the 'Tara' brooch were distributed as prizes as part of popular amusements, fundraisers and sports competitions in both Dublin and Belfast. A 'Tara' brooch facsimile was won by members of the audience on two occasions at 'Mr. Levey's Prize Concerts' held in the Round Room of the Rotundo, Dublin in 1851.[636] A modified gold and oxidised silver 'Tara' brooch facsimile, donated by Mrs. E.D. Gray of Abbey Street, Dublin was raffled off to raise funds for the Denmark Street Poor Schools in 1876.[637] At the 1862 meeting of the Belfast Military Archery Club a 'Tara' brooch facsimile was listed among the prizes presented to winners in the various categories of the ladies archery competition.[638] The designation of facsimiles of 'Tara' brooches as prizes appears to be a new application for facsimiles, which suggests that the brooches were seen as desirable and a sufficient draw to raise funds and foster competition.

Many of the Dublin retailers and manufacturers regularly provided medals and trophies for sporting competitions in Ireland and Britain.[639]

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[635] Buck, "Reproductions of Irish Antiquities," 51; Buck, "Recent Accessions: Reproductions," 58. Facsimiles of the Dunvegan Cup, the Kavanagh 'Charter' Horn and six silver dish rings were acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art between 1906 and 1911.

[636] "Rotundo," *Freeman's Journal,* 30 September 1851; "Fashionable Intelligence," *Freeman's Journal,* 6 October 1851.

[637] "Bazaar for the Denmark Street Poor Schools," *Freeman's Journal,* 8 May 1876.

[638] "Grand Archery Meeting," *Belfast News-Letter,* 4 October 1862.

[639] "Messrs. Waterhouse and Co., Dame Street," *Freeman's Journal,* 16 November 1869; "Messrs Waterhouse and Co., Dame Street," *Freeman's Journal,* 2 May 1873; "The 'All Ireland

Hopkins & Hopkins specifically advertised the "preparation of special Celtic designs, suitable for *Feiseanna*, Hurling, Football, and general Athletic Medals and Badges" and produced a selection of silver cups and bowls suitable for awards and trophies.[640] The c. 1910 stock catalogue illustrated not only their range of modified facsimiles and adaptations, but also two types of silver cups inspired by wooden *methers* (Fig. 278), one with an interlaced design covering the surface from £12 10s (Fig. 334) and a plain undecorated version (Fig. 335) available in various sizes from 15s upwards based on size and weight.[641] The testimonials from customers reprinted at the end of the stock catalogue contain numerous references to medals, awards and trophies purchased from Hopkins & Hopkins, which demonstrates that this type of merchandise represented an important segment of their overall business.[642] The best-known sports trophy created by Hopkins & Hopkins was the Sam Maguire Cup (Fig. 102), modelled on the Ardagh chalice, and presented to the Gaelic Athletic Association in 1928 (see also Chapter Two). From c. 1891-2 Edmond Johnson also manufactured copies of ancient Irish *methers*, but it is not clear whether the facsimiles were executed in wood or metal, intended solely as decorative objects or potentially for use as awards or trophies.[643] Thirty years later the firm of Edmond Johnson Limited was commissioned to produce a

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Challenge Shield'," *Freeman's Journal,* 23 July 1868; "Irish Rifle Association," *Belfast News-Letter,* 30 May 1868; "Aquatics: Dublin Metropolitan Regatta, 17th and 18th July, 1885," *Freeman's Journal,* 17 June 1885. Some examples include the Goodwood Cup for 1842 and the Bray Club Hunt Challenge Cup, the United Kingdom Ploughing Match Cup and all the prizes competed for at the recent dog show in 1873 manufactured by Waterhouse & Company. In 1868 Edmond Johnson produced the Abercorn Cup for the Irish Rifle Association Cup (with the Association Prize being provided by Samuel Waterhouse of Waterhouse & Company) and the All Ireland Challenge Shield for Wimbledon. Both West & Son and Edmond Johnson competed for the opportunity to manufacture prizes for the 1885 Dublin Metropolitan Regatta.

[640] Hopkins & Hopkins, *Irish Art Industry*, 5.

[641] Ibid., 23-5.

[642] Ibid., 100-7.

[643] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 97.

sports trophy to honour the prominent role played by Irish-born Liam MacCarthy in the establishment of a Gaelic Athletic Association board in London in the 1890s.[644] First awarded to the winners of the All-Ireland Senior Hurling Championship in 1923, the Liam MacCarthy Cup (Fig. 336) was based on the form of a wooden *mether*, manufactured in silver and embellished with knotwork designs at a total cost of £500.[645] While not strictly accurate direct facsimiles made to scale, awards and trophies based on Irish archaeological metalwork and ancient wooden artefacts exemplify the confluence of past and present as a key component in all aspects of Irish life, including sport, during the Celtic Revival period. In addition the purchase of facsimiles adapted to serve as awards and trophies may be interpreted as further evidence of consumption by middle-class Catholics and Protestants involved in the Gaelic Athletic Association and unified by their support for a revival of Irish cultural traditions.

By wearing facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery produced exclusively by Irish firms, individuals could signal their support of Irish manufactures, reference the 'Golden Age' of Irish history linked with aspirations for the present and make a statement about their personal and national identity.[646] Modified facsimiles and adaptations of the 'Tara' brooch were frequently advertised in newspapers as having been lost, which first and foremost indicates that facsimile jewellery was being purchased and worn by

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[644] "Trophies: Liam MacCarthy Cup," The GAA Museum, Croke Park, accessed 8 July 2007, www.museum.gaa.ie/page/about.html; Sean Kilfeather, "New Mccarthy Cup Unveiled," *Irish Times,* 26 August 1992; Michael Parsons, "Final Touches: Liam Maccarthy Cup Repaired before Croke Park Appearance," *Irish Times,* 5 September 2008; Michael Parsons, "Top Secret GAA Plan to Create Replicas of Sam and Liam," *Irish Times,* 1 September 2010.

[645] Ibid. The original Liam MacCarthy Cup was placed on view in the GAA Museum in 1992 and replaced with a replica manufactured by James Mary Kelly of JMK Gold & Silversmiths, Kilkenny.

[646] O'Kelly, "Reconstructing Irishness," 77-8.

individual consumers. At least two notices in Belfast for lost modified facsimiles of the 'Tara' brooch, including one in bog oak "set with brilliants" and another in silver to be returned for a reward to Mr. Gibson, a jeweller of Donegal Place, were published in 1858 and 1871 respectively.[647] In Dublin a modified facsimile of the 'Tara' brooch "with stones" to be returned to an individual on Wellington Road went missing in 1888 and a large facsimile of the 'Tara' brooch pin "somewhat bent" was advertised as lost in 1891.[648] In addition to lost copies of facsimiles of the 'Tara' brooch, a gold 'Fibula' brooch marked on the back 'West and Son' was lost in Dublin by a Mrs. Lynch Keogh of Portobello Barracks in 1877.[649] The descriptions of the lost items as a 'Tara' brooch or 'Fibula' brooch suggest name recognition and widespread familiarity with these designs, but the possible use of both names as generic terms for a wide range of modified facsimiles and adaptations makes any assertion regarding the distribution of a specific design much more difficult.[650] Furthermore such notices provide evidence of modified facsimiles and adaptations in both Belfast and Dublin, which were of sufficient monetary, political or personal value to their owners to try to recover them when lost.

Overall the individual consumption of facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork is extremely difficult to document. The evidence that has been extracted from advertisements, stock catalogues, contemporary photographs and newspaper articles is limited and provides only a partial purchase record. Notably a high proportion of newspaper references to facsimiles of the 'Tara' brooch and the Ardagh chalice were uncovered, which

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[647] "Brooch Lost," *Belfast News-Letter,* 3 July 1858; "Lost," *Belfast News-Letter,* 11 November 1871.
[648] "Lost," *Freeman's Journal,* 20 July 1888; "Lost," *Freeman's Journal,* 12 October 1891.
[649] "Lost and Found," *Freeman's Journal,* 17 January 1877.
[650] Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery,* 444.

may be the result of the iconic status accorded to the original artefacts that fed the popularity of the facsimiles, and vice versa, or perhaps the uneven coverage of other types of facsimile merchandise sold by the Dublin firms. Without sales records from one or more of the major Dublin firms for corroboration, such evidence must be treated critically. These initial conclusions drawn from available sources represent an attempt to examine the role played by facsimiles in the lives of everyday consumers.

Facsimile Distribution: Museum Acquisitions

Hundreds of facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork were acquired by European and American museums between 1851 and 1920, often purchased in conjunction with major national and international arts and industrial exhibitions or from catalogues of merchandise, or obtained directly from the manufacturer. This section will consider the role played by Irish facsimiles in the history and development of European and American museums. It will be demonstrated that these facsimiles have not been fully utilized as a source of information on the shifting functions and purposes of museums and the overall impact of facsimiles on the collections will be analysed. The display of collections within museums has changed considerably since the nineteenth century onwards; over time, the display of once acceptable facsimiles has been scaled back to make room for original works of art and influenced the way in which facsimiles of Irish metalwork were classified and how they were utilized, whether as educational tools, cultural artefacts or as works of art in their own right.

The 1851 London Exhibition established a model for all subsequent

national and international exhibitions and set a precedent for the creation of a new type of museum, which commemorated the event and endeavoured to break new ground with regard to the relationship between art, industry and public taste. This museum, now known as the Victoria & Albert Museum, initially evolved from the School of Design, which was established in 1837 in Somerset House, London and over the years built up an extensive collection of casts and reproductions for teaching purposes.[651] In October 1851 Henry Cole, who had been actively involved in the London Exhibition, was chosen as its new director and the following year moved the school and its expanding collections to Marlborough House.[652] With the School of Design at its centre, Cole sought to create a nationwide system of art education in Britain and to utilize the collection as a resource for students and manufacturers, as well as a vehicle to influence popular consumption.[653]

In order to further these aims, Cole secured permission from the Board of Trade to form a 'Designs Purchase Committee,' which along with himself included the artist Richard Redgrave and the designers Owen Jones and A.W.N. Pugin.[654] The Committee was granted £5,000 to acquire outstanding designs from among the exhibits at the 1851 London Exhibition for the collection associated with the school, alternately known as the Museum of Manufactures or the Museum of Ornamental Art.[655] A total of 244 objects were chosen by

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[651] Malcolm Baker, Brenda Richardson, and Anthony Burton, *A Grand Design: The Art of the Victoria & Albert Museum* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1997), 27; Burton, *Vision and Accident*, 18-9. The Board of Trade requested the funds from the Treasury to set up a School of Design on 11 July 1836, which were approved days later. The school, located in Somerset House, opened on 1 June 1837.

[652] Baker, Richardson, and Burton, *Grand Design*, 27; Burton, *Vision and Accident*, 27.

[653] Burton, *Vision and Accident*, 30.

[654] Ibid., 27-31. During this period, the School of Design was placed under the control of the Board of Trade and supervised by Henry Cole and Richard Redgrave as joint departmental secretaries.

[655] Baker, Richardson, and Burton, *Grand Design*, 13; Burton, *Vision and Accident*, 36 and 41-2.

the Committee and published in the *Catalogue of the Articles of Ornamental Art, selected from the Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in 1851.*[656] These objects were intended to exemplify the principles of good design espoused by the members of the Committee, which were formally expressed in the catalogue and in the museum exhibition galleries.[657]

Nearly one third of the total budget was spent on examples of British and foreign metalwork selected by the Committee for the new museum, including seven Irish modified facsimiles and adaptations from Waterhouse & Company and West & Son.[658] Four modified facsimile brooches were chosen from among the more than sixty varieties shown at the 1851 London Exhibition by Waterhouse & Company. The descriptions of the modified facsimiles of the 'Tara' brooch (Fig. 49, Cat. 298.3), 'Arbutus Berry' brooch (Fig. 163, Cat. 327.1), 'University' (Rathlin Island) brooch (Fig. 274, Cat. 317.1) and the 'Knight Templar' (Kilmainham) brooch (Fig. 275, Cat. 306.1) given by the Committee indicate that these four examples were selected as being representative of distinctive types of Irish brooches.[659] This series of Irish brooches was augmented by two modified facsimiles of the Co. Cavan ('Queen's') brooch (Figs. 279-80, Cats. 305.9-10) and another facsimile brooch (Fig. 281, Cat. 341.1) purchased from West & Son, sufficiently different in style while adhering to the principles of "subordination of form to utility, and of the

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These objects are distinct from a second group, a 'Trade Collection,' which consisted of contributions from all the participants in the 1851 Great Exhibition. Cole proposed this idea to the Commission in charge of the exhibition as a way to commemorate the event. This collection was described as a 'miniature version of the Great Exhibition,' but as interest in the event faded, it was removed from display. Any duplicates in the collection were distributed to provincial museums.

[656] Burton, *Vision and Accident*, 31.

[657] Ibid., 30-1.

[658] Department of Practical Art, *First Report*, 229. The total sum spent on metalwork was reported as £1,426 15s. 6d.

[659] Department of Practical Art, *First Report*, 262; Miller, "The Selling of Nationalism," 22-3.

ornament to the surface decorated".[660] The loss of ornamental detail as a result of being copied from original models on a larger scale was criticised by the Committee, which perhaps suggests a preference for more accurate, direct facsimiles, but as the modified facsimile brooches were intended as commercial products the reduction in scale was accepted as practical and necessary.

An additional three facsimile brooches were purchased for the museum from the Waterhouse & Company exhibit at the 1853 Dublin Exhibition. The 'Moore' brooch (Fig. 337) was adapted from ornaments displayed in the Tunisian section of the 1851 London Exhibition that shared design features with the Irish brooches (Fig. 338).[661] It was named after Joseph Moore Esq. of Hume Street, who procured a copy of an original brooch for Waterhouse & Company and led to the production of this new brooch design.[662] The 'Moate' Pin (Fig. 339, Cat. 302.1) was a direct facsimile of an Irish brooch from Moate, Co. Westmeath in the British Museum (Fig. 340, Cat. 302).[663] The last of the three facsimiles selected was a direct facsimile of a bronze fibula (Fig. 341, Cat. 288.1) with a rounded bow decorated with La Tène-style ornament based on an original fibula brooch from Clogher, Co. Tyrone (Fig. 342, Cat. 288), which was not illustrated or described in the 1853 stock catalogue from Waterhouse & Company and represents a departure from the rest of the facsimiles produced by the firm.[664] Significantly the 'Moate' pin and the bronze fibula

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[660] Department of Practical Art, *First Report*, 262.
[661] Waterhouse & Company, *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*, 2nd edition, 18.
[662] Ibid.
[663] Ibid., 16-7.
[664] Barry Raftery, *A Catalogue of Irish Iron Age Antiquities*, 2 vols. (Marburg: Philipps-Universität Marburg, Vorgeschichtliche Seminar, 1983), 141. The original fibula brooch from Clogher, Co. Tyrone was purchased by the British Museum from James Huband Smith in 1854, presumably after the Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853. I would like to thank Raghnall Ó Floinn for bringing this object to my attention.

from Clogher, Co. Tyrone were copied at a 1:1 scale and represent two rare examples of direct facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery produced by Waterhouse & Company.

Examples of contemporary design and manufacturing purchased from the 1851 London and 1853 Dublin exhibitions, as well as the casts and other types of reproductions assembled by the School of Design, formed the nucleus of the collection at Marlborough House.[665] A portion of the profits from the 1851 London Exhibition, totalling £186,000, were used to secure a new site and the collections were transferred from Marlborough House in order to establish a permanent public institution, which opened as the 'South Kensington Museum' on 24 June 1857.[666] The acquisition policy at South Kensington as expressed by Cole just a few years later demonstrates his intentions to develop a museum with a broad educational focus and comprehensive collections that incorporated facsimiles as well as original artworks:

> "...The decorative art of all periods and all countries should be completely represented...Original works are to be obtained as far as possible, but where this would seem to be impracticable, the system hitherto pursued of representing the finest known examples by electrotypes, casts, and drawings, will be followed, it being always kept in mind that the aim of the museum is to make the historical and geographical series of all decorative art complete, and fully to illustrate human taste and ingenuity."[667]

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[665] Baker, Richardson, and Burton, *Grand Design*, 13; Burton, *Vision and Accident*, 31-2 and 42. The museum at Marlborough House opened to public on 19 May 1852, but was closed throughout the summer and did not reopen until 5 September 1852.

[666] Baker, Richardson, and Burton, *Grand Design*, 13; Burton, *Vision and Accident*, 41-3.

[667] Department of Science and Art, *Eleventh Report of the Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education* (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswode for Her Majesty's Stationary Officce, 1864), 6-8; Burton, *Vision and Accident*, 100-01.

This statement underscores the early institutional stance on facsimiles as acceptable substitutes and the only means by which the South Kensington Museum could present a complete history of the applied arts, making an important distinction with regard to direct facsimiles, which along with plaster casts and photographs functioned as valuable object records, as opposed to modified facsimiles and adaptations. Cole went on to stipulate, "where the taste of the age or country has been low, few specimens only will be necessary", while artworks from countries judged to be of a higher standard and considered necessary for "the improvement of modern manufactures" received greater representation in the collection and had a significant impact on the formation of the artistic canon. Furthermore it signalled a shift in focus away from contemporary works in favour of historical examples of decorative art in order to document rather than influence public taste.[668] The South Kensington Museum was seen as highly influential and its approach was adopted by a series of decorative arts museums that emerged across Europe and America during the second half of the nineteenth century.[669]

The drive to present a complete history of global artistic development and fulfil the educational mission of nineteenth-century museums gave rise to the establishment of an international network for the manufacture and exchange of electrotypes, plaster casts and other types of reproductions. In 1864 Cole created an International Exchange of Copies of Works of Art with the assistance of the Foreign Office.[670] This formalised efforts to replicate objects in the South Kensington Museum for distribution to art schools and branch

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[668] Burton, *Vision and Accident*, 36.
[669] Ibid., 108.
[670] Department of Science and Art, *Twelfth Report*, 23-31; Burton, *Vision and Accident*, 89.

museums and the earlier acquisition of facsimiles from the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle, the Louvre and the *Musée d'Artillerie* in Paris.[671] Cole touted the advances in reproductive technologies, specifically electrotyping and photography, to facilitate an exchange of important artworks, which would otherwise be impossible given his acknowledgement that the originals "must remain permanently as national treasures of the respective countries possessing them".[672]

The further development of a network for facsimile exchange was likely bolstered by the continued success of facsimile displays at national and international exhibitions and shortly after the 1867 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris Cole organized the International Convention for Promoting Universal Reproductions of Works of Art.[673] Cole successfully enlisted the support of fifteen European princes, who signed an agreement to exchange facsimiles between various public and private European collections.[674] This arrangement benefited the participating nations of Europe, whose institutions were able to supplement their existing collections with copies from other sources. This also had a profound impact on the development of American museums, which looked to European institutions, particularly the South Kensington Museum, as exemplars and actively acquired facsimiles despite the fact that the United States had not joined the accord.[675] Finally, this agreement resulted in the creation of an international market for the production of facsimiles by

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[671] Department of Science and Art, *Twelfth Report*, 23.
[672] Ibid.
[673] Trusted, *Making of Sculpture*, 164-5.
[674] Science and Art Department, *List of Objects of Art*; Elizabeth Bradford Smith, *Medieval Art in America: Patterns of Collecting, 1800-1940* (University Park, PA: Palmer Museum of Art, The Pennsylvania State University, 1996), 102; Trusted, *Making of Sculpture*, 164-5.
[675] Baker, Richardson, and Burton, *Grand Design*, 23-4; Burton, *Vision and Accident*, 113-4; Smith, *Medieval Art in America*, 102. As of 1881, the United States had not joined the International Convention.

museums and specialist firms.

The distribution of these facsimiles was made possible through catalogues, which were designed to raise the profile of the participating museums and fulfil the aims of the accord by making copies widely available to other institutions, individual collectors and students. The first catalogue issued in 1869 by the Department of Science and Art featured facsimiles drawn from its own collections and Continental museums, as well as other public and private collections "for the use of schools of art, for prizes, and for general purposes of public instruction".[676] The catalogue included electrotypes manufactured by Elkington & Company and Franchi and Sons, plaster casts made in London by Franchi, Domenico Brucciani, the British Museum and from sources throughout Continental Europe, fictile ivories supplied by the Arundel Society and photographic prints.[677] Overall the contents of the catalogue demonstrate the range of reproduction methods in use at the time, the types of artwork being copied, and the extensive network of firms and individuals responsible for production, working in conjunction with museums throughout Europe.

The series of catalogues published by the Department of Science and Art that followed provided a full listing of the original objects available to be electrotyped. Among the participants identified in the 1888 edition of the catalogue were several important Irish private collectors and public institutions, such as the Earl of Dunraven, the University Museum, the Royal Irish Academy and Trinity College, Dublin.[678] Facsimiles of Irish artefacts on

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[676] Burton, *Vision and Accident*, 88; Science and Art Department, *Reproductions. Part II*, 21-6.
[677] Burton, *Vision and Accident*, 88; Science and Art Department, *Reproductions. Part II*, 21-6; Trusted, *Making of Sculpture*, 167.
[678] Science and Art Department, *List of Objects of Art*, viii.

offer included plaster casts of the harp of Brian Boroihme and the Shrine of St. Manchan (incorrectly listed as Shrine of St. Monaghan) produced by Franchi & Son, and electrotypes of the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell supplied from 1868 by Franchi & Son and from c. 1881 by Elkington & Company.[679] All seven of the facsimile brooches acquired by the South Kensington Museum from Waterhouse & Company and West & Son at the 1851 London Exhibition also appear within the section of priced articles that may be replicated and supplied to the public.[680] This represents the one of the first recorded instances of direct facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork being sold to the general public through museums, rather than by the Dublin retailers and manufacturers.

As early as 1869 Joseph Johnson had begun to move away from the exclusive manufacture of modified facsimiles of Irish brooches in order to replicate a wider range of Irish artefacts specifically for museums to expand the market for facsimiles, which appears to have been inspired by his work on the original Ardagh chalice. Joseph Johnson produced his first known group of direct facsimiles of the Ardagh chalice (Fig. 85, Cat. 344.2), the four brooches found as part of the hoard (Figs. 86-9, Cat. 312.1-315.1) and the 'Tara' brooch (Fig. 55, Cat. 298.13), which were purchased by the South Kensington Museum in 1881.[681] These direct facsimiles were also among those listed in the 1888 catalogue of objects available for purchase through the South Kensington Museum, but as Joseph Johnson died in 1883, his firm, which remained in business under his name until 1890, must have filled any subsequent orders.

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[679] Science and Art Department, *Reproductions. Part II*, 21-6.
[680] Science and Art Department, *List of Objects of Art*, 2-3.
[681] Victoria & Albert Museum Object File 224-81 consulted with the assistance of Angus Patterson, Curator, Department of Sculpture, Metalwork, Ceramics & Glass.

After the closure of his brother's firm, Edmond Johnson began to manufacture a significantly expanded range of direct facsimiles intended for museum consumption. The catalyst for this expansion appears to have been the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, which provided him with an exclusive opportunity to debut his collection of nearly two hundred different examples (see also Chapter Three). The Chicago Exposition was the first international exhibition held after the opening of the Dublin Science and Art Museum in 1890. With a core collection drawn from the Royal Dublin Society and the Royal Irish Academy, the Dublin Museum likely served as a source of inspiration for Edmond Johnson to replicate selected artefacts and present them as a cohesive exhibit designed to illustrate centuries of Irish skill and craftsmanship in metal. It is not clear whether or not Johnson was commissioned to produce this facsimile collection, however, the letters of support written by Valentine Ball, director of the Dublin Science and Art Museum, and R.J. MacInery, Curator of the Royal Irish Academy collection within the new museum, suggest that the project was carried out with their cooperation and approval.[682]

Edmond Johnson stated that "the idea of making exact *fac-simile* [sic] copies of all the most important specimens of our celebrated ancient Irish art metal work occurred to me on the first announcement of the 'Great World's Fair' at Chicago".[683] The layout of the fairgrounds, descriptions of the buildings and categories of displays planned for the Chicago Exposition were widely published in newspapers by October 1891.[684] It was also reported that

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[682] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 10-11.
[683] Ibid., 7.
[684] "The Chicago World's Fair II. Its Plan and Scope," *Times* (London), 8 October 1891; Great Britain Royal Commission, *Official Catalogue*, xxv; Office of the Director-General, Department

the organising committee intended to purchase exhibits from the Chicago Exposition to form a museum, which may have led Edmond Johnson to manufacture his facsimile collection with this goal in mind.[685]

Johnson's objective to sell off his collection after the Chicago Exposition, whether to the proposed Columbian Museum or to another American museum, seemed clear from the outset. Irish newspaper reports of the award and highest diploma of honour received by Edmond Johnson for his facsimiles on 18 October 1893 indicate that the collection had been purchased "at a large figure, and will find a resting-place in one of the finest museums in America".[686] Ten days later, however, the facsimile collection was mentioned in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* as "under the care of Tiffany & Co. of New York" and "being removed to South Kensington Museum, London".[687] According to the article Johnson was offering a concession of $5,000, or one-half the price, rather than incur the costs of shipping the collection from Chicago.[688] No evidence has been found to suggest that the South Kensington Museum sought to acquire the collection, but perhaps Johnson made a point of referencing the museum to generate greater interest among American institutions. Although the 1893 exhibition catalogue published by Edmond Johnson advertised Tiffany & Co. as his agents in America (Fig. 343), there is no surviving documentation of any dealings between the firms and as such, the

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of Foreign Affairs, *Information for Foreign Exhibitors* (Chicago: Issued from the Office of the Director-General, Department of Foreign Affairs, 1891), 2. The materials for foreign commissions were distributed by January 1892 and as a member of the local committee for Ireland, Edmond Johnson would have been privy to the information contained in this document.

[685] "The Chicago World's Fair II. Its Plan and Scope," *Times* (London), 8 October 1891.

[686] "Chicago Exhibition", *Irish Times,* 18 October 1893; "Dublin Success at World's Fair," *Freeman's Journal,* 18 October 1893.

[687] "Chance to Get a Fine Collection, Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art Offered for New Museum at Low Figure," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 28 October 1893.

[688] Ibid.

arrangements for storage of the facsimiles in New York appears suspect.[689] As per the general regulations for foreign exhibitors, not only was Johnson responsible for the packing, shipping and care of his collection, but he was also required to remove it immediately after the close of the Chicago Exposition and had until the 1 January 1894 to complete the process.[690] It was therefore more profitable for Johnson's facsimile collection to remain in America, where it was ultimately sold to the newly formed Columbian Museum in Chicago for his full asking price of $10,000.[691] The discrepancy between the final purchase price and the concession as stated in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* remains a source of confusion, but perhaps Johnson utilized the newspaper coverage to secure an alternate buyer and lowered his price for the purposes of the article.

Shortly after its acquisition the entire facsimile collection was placed on loan with the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, D.C. while preparations were being made to open the Columbian Museum to the public the following year.[692] When the Columbian Museum opened in 1894, it defined itself as an institution for the "accumulation and dissemination of knowledge, and the preservation and exhibition of objects illustrating art, archaeology, science and history".[693] The inclusion of the facsimiles in the context of the new museum was both an acknowledgement of the cultural significance of Irish

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[689] Johnson, *Irish Antique Art Metal Work*, 2; Washer, "The Work of Edmond Johnson," 115. Washer cited the agreement between the two firms, but a thorough consultation of the archives of Tiffany & Company did not uncover any documentation of a relationship with Edmond Johnson.

[690] Office of the Director-General, Department of Foreign Affairs, *Information for Foreign Exhibitors*, 2.

[691] Field Museum of Natural History, "November 9, 1893, List of Articles Left on Loan with the Smithsonian Art Institute, Washington, D.C., Edmond Johnson, Grafton St., Dublin" (photocopy, Accession File 82, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago); Washer, "The Work of Edmond Johnson," 115. Washer quoted the purchase price as recorded in Accession File 82 at the Field Museum of Natural History. The final price may have also included three glass display cases with fittings and name tablets from Edmond Johnson's exhibit in the Manufacturers Building of the Chicago Exposition.

[692] Field Museum of Natural History, "List of Articles Left on Loan".

[693] "1893 World's Columbian Exposition Collection: History of the Collection".

metalwork and a commemoration of the overall presentation of Ireland at the Chicago Exposition.

In 1905 the Columbian Museum was renamed the Field Museum of Natural History, but the content of its collections, which still included the extensive group of facsimiles by Edmond Johnson, did not accurately reflect the museum's new focus.[694] However, this did not prevent the Field Museum from utilizing the facsimiles from time to time as part of public exhibitions held in conjunction with St. Patrick's Day celebrations. The centrepiece of the display in 1932, the anniversary of St. Patrick's arrival in Ireland 1,500 years earlier, consisted of direct facsimiles of four shrines associated with St. Patrick, including the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell (Figs. 108-10, Cat. 352.1), the Shrine of St. Patrick's Tooth (Figs. 201-2, Cat. 366.1), the *Domhnach Airgid* shrine (Fig. 189, Cat. 353.1) and the Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand, along with the rest of the facsimile collection.[695] In 1934 the display was limited just to the four direct facsimile shrines, which were placed on exhibition with the anthropological collections at the museum.[696] This exhibition may have been a regular feature of the St. Patrick's Day celebrations in Chicago at the time, but it appears that the display was scaled back after 1934 as the facsimiles no longer made sense in the context of a museum devoted to the natural sciences. It was not until 1941 that the collection of facsimiles was transferred to the University of Chicago where they were used as teaching tools by the faculty.[697]

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[694] Ibid.

[695] "Chicago Ready for St. Patrick's Day Festivities: Exhibit at Field Museum," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 17 March 1932.

[696] Katherine Kelley, "Many Celebrations to Mark St. Patrick's Day Tomorrow: Irish Exhibit at Museum," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 16 March 1934.

[697] T. J. Edelstein, preface to *Imagining an Irish Past: The Celtic Revival, 1840-1940* (Chicago: David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago Press, 1992), ix; Paul Kelpe, "A Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Replicas of Irish Antiquities in the Department of Art of the University of Chicago" (Master's Thesis, University of Chicago, 1948), 11. In 1967 the

The Metropolitan Museum of Art actively acquired reproductions of artefacts, sculpture and architectural monuments from the time of its foundation in 1870 through the early decades of the twentieth century. Several bequests made by private individuals during the late nineteenth century enabled the Metropolitan to supplement its collections of originals with sculptural and architectural casts.[698] In 1873 an order was placed in London for a group of electrotypes featuring representative examples of international metalwork selected by George Wallis, Keeper of the Art Collections at the South Kensington Museum.[699] In 1883 the Metropolitan purchased electrotypes of Russian metalwork taken from the Imperial collections at the Winter Palace, St. Petersburg, the Hermitage and other private collections, again through the South Kensington Museum.[700] However, it was an unprecedented bequest of nearly $5,000,000 by Jacob S. Rogers in 1903 that had the greatest impact on the museum's acquisition policy with regard to both original works and facsimiles.[701] After years of struggling to

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collection was transferred to its current location in the David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art located on the University of Chicago campus.

[698] Calvin Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1970), 70-5. The first bequest received by the Metropolitan was from a local businessman, Levi Hale, who in 1883 designated more than $100,000 for the purchase of architectural casts. This was followed in 1886 by a fund of $10,000 for casts of Antique, Renaissance and modern sculptures given by a Trustee of the museum, Henry G. Marquand.

[699] John H. Buck, "Metallic Reproductions of Foreign Art," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 1, No. 5 (April 1906): 69; Burton, *Vision and Accident*, 41 and 82; Trusted, *Making of Sculpture*, 164-5. Either Elkington & Company or Franchi and Sons, both of which had manufactured electrotypes for the South Kensington Museum prior to this date, probably made the examples referred to here.

[700] Department of Science and Art, *Twenty-Eighth Report of the Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education, With Appendices* (London: Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode for Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1881), 486; Buck, "Metallic Reproductions of Foreign Art," 69; Burton, *Vision and Accident*, 125. In 1880, Philip Cunliffe Owen, then director of the South Kensington Museum, had arranged for the production of electrotypes from "over 200 pieces of silver" in Russian collections. Details were published in the annual report of the Department of Art and Science.

[701] Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces*, 87-91; Smith, *Medieval Art in America*, 109. Jacob S. Rogers, a manufacturer of locomotives from New Jersey, died in 1901. Despite the fact that he had previously demonstrated no interest in art, Rogers became an annual member of the Metropolitan in 1883 and upon his death, bequeathed an estate of approximately $8,000,000

raise funds through membership and appeals, in a single sweeping gesture the Rogers bequest provided the Metropolitan with the means to expand the collections and it is noteworthy that a portion of this money was used to purchase facsimiles.[702]

In 1906, a Department of Metalwork was established and headed by John H. Buck as curator.[703] The fact that metalwork was organized within its own department may indicate the size and perhaps the overall significance of the collection at the time, which was comprised partly of facsimiles. An article by Buck in the *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* from that same year provides insight into the acquisition policy in place at the museum concerning facsimiles of metalwork artefacts. In a discussion of the merits of electrotypes as part of the departmental collection, Buck stated:

> "...By this process the best specimens of the silversmith's art of all ages and of all times can be made available to students, where it is impossible to approach the originals. It is to be hoped that the Museum will soon be in possession of a complete series of copies of the treasures of art of countries now inadequately represented".[704]

Buck clearly intended to further enlarge the collections, presumably through the acquisition not only of original examples of metalwork, but also through high-quality facsimiles.

This approach resulted in the purchase of sixty-eight facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork between 1906 and 1911, likely

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to the museum. After a protracted legal battle with Roger's heirs, a settlement was reached and the museum received nearly $5,000,000 plus the annual income derived from this sum.

[702] Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces*, 35-44.

[703] John H. Buck, "English and Irish Silver," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 1, No. 5 (April 1906): 70; Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces*, 114.

[704] Buck, "English and Irish Silver," 70.

ordered directly from the stock catalogue published by Edmond Johnson Limited.[705] The Metropolitan Museum of Art used the Rogers Fund to obtain the reproductions in three separate groups, beginning in 1906 with direct facsimiles of the Ardagh chalice (Fig. 95, Cat. 344.5), the 'Tara' brooch (Fig. 344, Cat. 298.16) and the Cross of Cong (Figs. 144-5, Cat. 370.2), the "three most remarkable as well as the most beautiful and elaborately ornamented objects in the National Museum" and a further seven additional facsimiles.[706] The bulk of the Irish facsimiles were purchased in 1908 when a total of forty-seven facsimiles were added to the collection, including direct facsimiles of the 'Dalriada' (Loughan) brooch (Fig. 75, Cat. 299.3), the Cross of Clogher (Fig. 345, Cat. 371.1 and Fig. 346, Cat. 371) and artefacts not previously replicated by Edmond Johnson Limited prior to the early twentieth century such as the *Cathach* shrine (Fig. 200, Cat. 355.1), along with a plaster cast of Muiredach's cross from Monasterboice, Co. Louth.[707] The final group of nine facsimiles were added to the collection in 1911 including the direct facsimiles of the Shrine of the Stowe Missal (Fig. 179, Cat. 356.1) and the Ballylongford processional cross (Fig. 347, Cat. 372.1 and Fig. 348, Cat. 372).[708] The facsimiles were placed on display and rearranged according to countries, cities of manufacture and periods in an upper level exhibition gallery and the plaster cast of the cross was set up in the Hall of Casts on the first floor.[709] Facsimiles and plaster casts continued to be purchased and displayed at the Metropolitan

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[705] Edmond Johnson Limited, *Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art*; Edmond Johnson Limited, *Price List*.
[706] Metropolitan Museum of Art, "Principal Accessions: Reproductions," 73-4; Smith, *Medieval Art in America*, 109.
[707] Buck, "Reproductions of Irish Antiquities," 51-2; W.V., "Principal Accessions," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 3, No. 12 (December 1908): 228.
[708] Buck, "Recent Accessions: Reproductions," 58-60.
[709] W.V., "Principal Accessions," 228.

Museum of Art until the 1920s, despite the fact that by this point other American museums had shifted their priorities in favour of original artworks, which resulted in the removal of reproductions from their galleries.[710]

Facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork continued to be acquired and displayed by European museums through the early decades of the twentieth century. The Victoria & Albert Museum, formerly the South Kensington Museum and renamed in 1899,[711] purchased a large group of direct facsimiles from Edmond Johnson Limited in 1904.[712] This included sections of the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell, the Shrine of the Book of Dimma and the *Soiscéal Molaise* (Fig. 180, Cat. 352.4-5, 357.3 and 354.3), a multiple copies of the Killamery (Kilkenny) brooch (Fig. 349, Cat. 318.2 and Fig. 350, Cat. 318), Kilmainham ('Knight Templar') brooch (Fig. 351, Cat. 306.3), 'University' (Rathlin Island) brooch (Fig. 352, Cat. 317.3) and the Co. Cavan ('Queen's) brooch (Fig. 353, Cat. 305.20).[713] In 1912 the museum also acquired a direct facsimile of the Hunterston brooch (Fig. 63, Cat. 297.8) from Edmond Johnson Limited.

The Dublin Science and Art Museum, overseen by the Department of Science and Art in London and directly influenced by practices at the Victoria & Albert Museum, had featured plaster casts and reproductions as part of its collections since it opened to the public in 1890.[714] The presence of original artefacts from the Royal Irish Academy and the Royal Dublin Society

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[710] Smith, *Medieval Art in America*, 109.
[711] Burton, *Vision and Accident*, 152. On 17 May 1899, Queen Victoria laid the foundation store of the new building and renamed it the Victoria & Albert Museum.
[712] Board of Education, South Kensington, *List of Reproductions in Metal and Plaster Acquired by the Victoria & Albert Museum in the Year 1904* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1904), 4-6.
[713] Ibid.
[714] Wallace and Ó Floinn, *Treasures*, 7-8.

collections in the museum made the acquisition of facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork unnecessary. In 1904 a loan collection was placed on display within the museum based on an idea to show "specimens of the best craftsmanship of the present day in the same building with old examples of the same work", thereby placing the original artefacts and the facsimiles in direct comparison with each other.[715] Edmond Johnson Limited showed several facsimiles of eighteenth-century silver dish rings, harp-handled cups and *methers*, and a copy of the Dunvegan Cup.[716] West & Son exhibited a facsimile of the Ardagh chalice, loving cups, *methers* and other tableware, which was a mixture of original designs and those modelled on ancient artefacts.[717] The exhibit was free to the public, which provided two of the major Dublin manufacturers with an opportunity to showcase their facsimiles in the context of the museum and in close comparison with the original artefacts.

Conclusion

Many museums, particularly those intended to stimulate improved design in manufacturing, took a comprehensive approach to the history of art and presented complete series of object types, influenced by commercial displays featured at the international exhibitions and in the newly emergent department stores.[718] Facsimiles in the form of plaster casts and electrotypes were therefore utilised to fill gaps in a series when originals were not

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[715] "Modern Work at the Museum, Loan Collection on View," *Irish Times*, 31 December 1904.
[716] Ibid.
[717] Ibid.
[718] Neil Harris, "Museums, Merchandising and Popular Taste: The Struggle for Influence," in *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America*, ed. Neil Harris (London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 58-66; Rains, *Commodity Culture*, 1-7.

available or copies were deemed preferable. The objectives of these museums and how they changed over time determined how the facsimiles related to the rest of the collections, whether they were used as exemplars of modern manufacturing and design or to illustrate the material culture of Ireland as part of a larger exhibition of metalwork from around the world. Despite the fact that many of these facsimiles have never been formally examined and catalogued, their continuing presence in major museum collections suggests that these are valuable objects worthy of preservation and further study.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Broadly speaking, this thesis has demonstrated that as a category facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork are not merely derivative works, but have aesthetic and cultural value worthy of a devoted study. The first chapter focused on the key commercial firms, institutions, artefacts and manufacturing processes associated with the production of facsimiles in Dublin. It has been established that six Dublin firms were responsible for the majority of facsimile production in Ireland: Waterhouse & Company, West & Son, William Acheson & Company, Joseph Johnson & Son, Edmond Johnson Limited and Hopkins & Hopkins. These firms were actively engaged with each other through social, professional and civic activities, and with the antiquarian, academic and museum communities in Dublin, which was crucial to facilitate the production of facsimiles. It has been shown that a more significant number and range of facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork were manufactured than has been previously suggested by published sources. A selection of sixteen Irish artefacts replicated by the Dublin retailers and manufactures have been discussed to examine the connection between the original model and its facsimile. The original artefacts selected as models for facsimiles were shown to have reinforced the Irish artistic canon and helped increase its interest and relevance for a wider audience. A survey of available reproductive technologies provided insight into the facsimile manufacturing process and modern perceptions and interpretations of authenticity in regards to facsimiles vs. forgeries has been briefly explored.

The second chapter was devoted to the development of a market for facsimiles, using marketing and promotional strategies to generate demand. It has been established that the promotion of facsimiles, as both commercial products and as museum-quality surrogates, contributed to the status of particular Irish artefacts as national symbols. Through their promotional campaigns, the Dublin retailers and manufacturers succeeded in establishing a brand identity for facsimile brooch designs, utilised royal and viceregal patronage to stimulate sales, ran extensive advertising and distributed scholarly stock catalogues, which resulted in an increased audience for Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork at home and abroad. Participation in national and international exhibitions provided facsimile retailers and manufactures with huge opportunities to promote and sell their merchandise. Four national and international exhibitions have been discussed in the context of this chapter: the 1851 Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in London, the 1853 Irish Industrial Exhibition in Dublin, the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago and the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis. The facsimiles have been analysed in the context of each event, as part of the commercial exhibits from Britain or as part of a separate Irish national presentation, and in comparison with the extensive displays of fine arts, archaeological and ethnographic collections that became a regular feature of national and international exhibitions. It has been demonstrated that the presentation of Ireland at national and international exhibitions evolved over time and that facsimiles played a role in the construction of Irish identity at such events.

The final chapter consisted of an analysis of the two main target

audiences for facsimile distribution: individual consumers and museums. Evidence of the purchase of facsimiles in Ireland and Britain, primarily copies of the 'Tara' brooch and the Ardagh chalice, by individuals of different political, economic and social groups has been presented. This represents an attempt to examine the purchase of facsimiles by everyday consumers from the upper and middle classes and it will be demonstrated that there was a much wider distribution and a more complex set of personal values associated with these facsimiles than has been previously understood. The acquisition of facsimiles by museums in Ireland, Britain and America has been discussed. It has been argued that the broad educational mission of museums during this period created an environment in which facsimiles were viewed as necessary to supplement existing collections in order to present a comprehensive overview of a particular national culture, object type or historical period and were potentially preferred to original works of art due to issues of cost or availability. The crossover between museums, national and international exhibitions and department stores as it relates to facsimiles has also been examined.

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London Illustrated News
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The Graphic (London)
Pall Mall Gazette (London)
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David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (smartmuseum.uchicago.edu)
Field Museum, Chicago (www.fieldmuseum.org)
GAA Museum, Croke Park (www.museum.gaa.ie)
House of Commons Parliamentary Papers (parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk)
Hunt Museum, Limerick (www.huntmuseum.com)
JSTOR (www.jstor.org.)
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National Gallery of Ireland (www.nationalgallery.ie)
National Library of Ireland (www.nli.ie)
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (www.museum.ie)
Nineteenth Century British Library Newspapers (find.galegroup.com)
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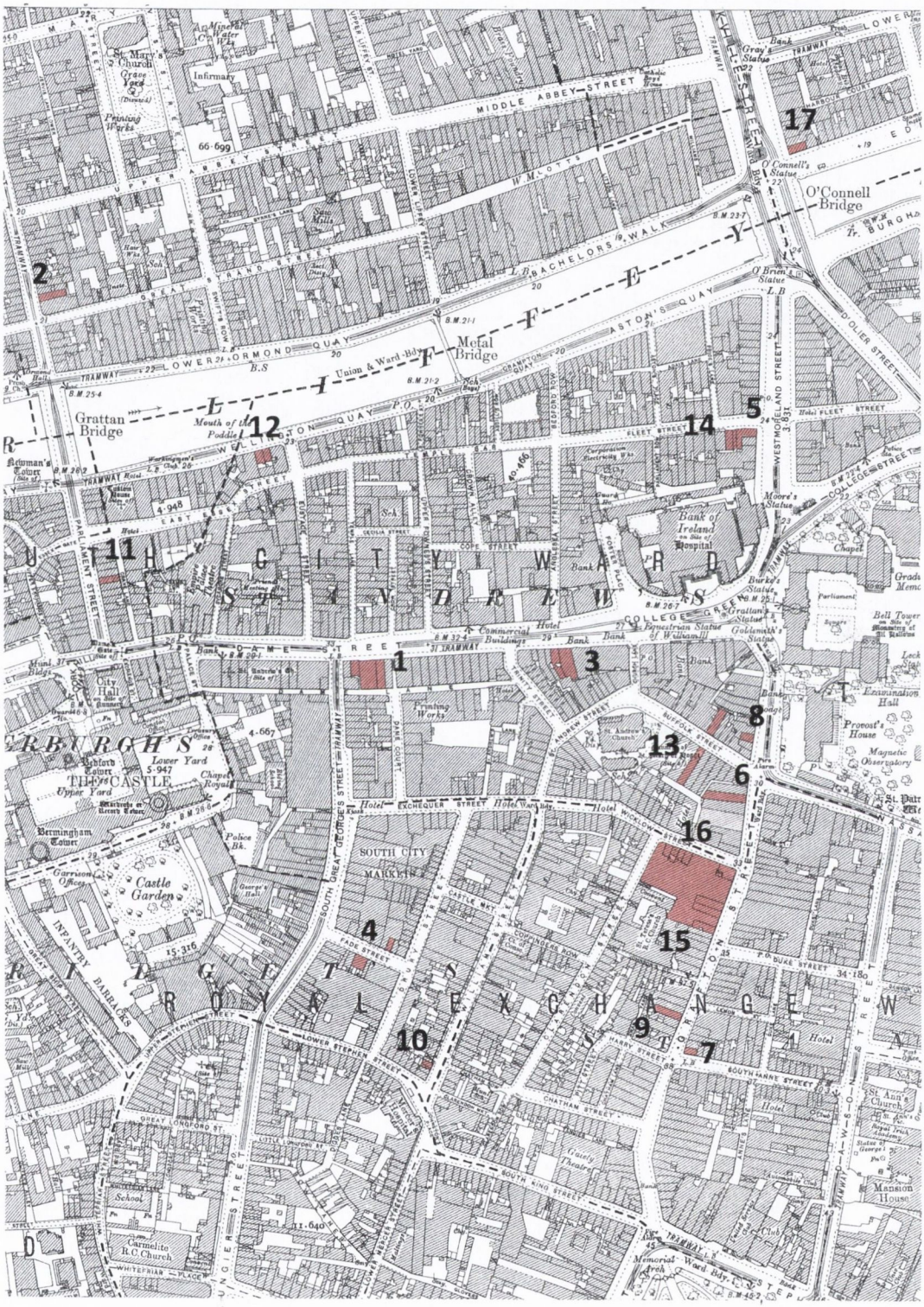
APPENDIX

APPENDIX I: MAP OF DUBLIN



Ordnance Survey Map of County Dublin
Published 1911
Source: Map Library, Trinity College, Dublin

APPENDIX I: LOCATIONS ON MAP OF DUBLIN

1. **Waterhouse & Company**
   25 Dame Street (1842-1904)
   25-26 Dame Street (1869-1904)
   24-26 Dame Street (1906-1960)

2. **West & Son**
   9 Capel Street (1845)

3. **West & Son**
   18-19 College Green (1846-1900)

4. **West & Son**
   14 Fade Street (c. 1900)

5. **West & Son**
   9 Fleet Street (c. 1900)

6. **West & Son**
   102-103 Grafton Street (1900-1965)

7. **West & Son**
   33 Grafton Street (1965-2010)

8. **William Acheson & Company**
   109 Grafton Street (1850-1873)

9. **William Acheson & Company**
   75 Grafton Street (1860)

10. **Joseph Johnson & Son**
    32 William Street (1804-1860)

11. **Joseph Johnson & Son**
    8 Parliament Street (1827)

12. **Joseph Johnson & Son**
    23 Wellington Quay (1842-1858)

13. **Joseph Johnson & Son**
    22 Suffolk Street (1858-1881)
    10 Suffolk Street (1881-1890)

14. **Edmond Johnson**
    5 Fleet Street (1825)

15. **Edmond Johnson**
    89 Grafton Street (1867-1875)

16. **Edmond Johnson Limited**
    94 Grafton Street (1875-1927)
    46 Wicklow Street (1877-1927)
    95 Grafton Street (1891-1927)

17. **Hopkins & Hopkins**
    1 Lower Sackville (O'Connell) Street (1868-1974)

APPENDIX II: Chronology

1840

Elkington & Company of Birmingham, England patent the processes of electroplating, electroforming and electro-gilding

1841

George Waterhouse of Sheffield, England arrived in Dublin to expand his business and to establish an outlet to sell plate and plated wares; hired local silversmith and jeweller Robert K. Gardner to manage the new branch of the firm assisted by his son, Samuel S. Waterhouse

1842

The Ornamental Designs Act enacted by British Parliament, which offered copyright protection for new patterns or technical processes

Waterhouse & Company open at 25 Dame Street and introduced the first facsimile adaptation known as the 'Fibula' brooch

Firm run by Joseph Johnson Sr. and James Johnson at 32 William Street opens another location at 23 Wellington Quay

1843

Joseph Johnson admitted to the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin and employed in branch of the family firm at 23 Wellington Quay

1844

Edmond Johnson Sr. elected as Master of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin (1844-5)

1845

Great Famine begins

West & Son located at 9 Capel Street under Jacob West

Edmond Johnson Sr. elected as Master (1845-6) and Joseph Johnson elected as Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin (1845-8)

Edmond Johnson admitted to the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin and employed in branch of the family firm known as The Jewellery Manufactory at 5 Fleet Street

1846

West & Son located at 18-19 College Green under James West and Jacob West
Edmond Johnson Sr. elected as Master of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin (1846-7)

1848

Joseph Johnson elected as Master of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin (1848-9)

1849

Royal Irish Academy permits public access to its collections; Waterhouse & Company and West & Son given permission to make drawings and produce modified facsimiles of original brooches in the Academy collection

Joseph Johnson Jr. registers a design patent for the Kilmainham ('Knight Templar') brooch and a penannular brooch from Virginia, Co. Cavan (No. 61470)

Queen Victoria presented with a modified facsimile of the Co. Cavan ('Queen's') brooch and Prince Albert purchased modified facsimiles of the 'Clarendon' brooch and 'Arbutus Berry' brooch, both manufactured by Edmond Johnson for West & Son, during an official visit to Dublin

West & Son registers a design patent for the Co. Cavan brooch (No. 65089)

1850

Discovery of the 'Tara' brooch and its acquisition by Waterhouse & Company

George Petrie reads paper on the 'Tara' brooch to the Royal Irish Academy

Waterhouse presents the original 'Tara' brooch to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert at Windsor Castle and sells two modified facsimile brooches to the royal couple

William Acheson forms partnership with Barnett Boam and opens as William Acheson & Company at 109 Grafton Street

Firm run by Joseph Johnson Sr. and James Johnson at 32 William Street renamed 'Joseph Johnson & Son'

Samuel S. Waterhouse of Waterhouse & Company registers design patents for the 'University' (Rathlin Island) brooch (No. 74210) and the 'Tara' brooch (No. 74781)

1851

The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, London: facsimiles displayed by Waterhouse & Company and West & Son

Joseph Johnson Jr. elected as Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin (1851-4)

1852

National Exhibition of the Arts, Manufactures and Products of Ireland, Cork: facsimiles displayed by Waterhouse & Company, West & Son and James West, Esq. (member of the Dublin Exhibition Committee)

Waterhouse & Company publishes an illustrated stock catalogue entitled *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*

Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Belfast: facsimiles displayed by Waterhouse & Company and William Acheson

1853

Irish Industrial Exhibition, Dublin: facsimiles displayed by Waterhouse & Company, William Acheson, Joseph Johnson and West & Son

Waterhouse & Company publishes second edition of *Ornamental Irish Antiquities*

James West of West & Son registers a design patent for the 'Torc' brooch (No. 93035)

1855

Exposition Universelle des Produits de l'Agriculture, de l'Industrie et des Beaux-Arts, Paris: facsimiles displayed by Waterhouse & Company

1856

James West of West & Son elected as a member of the Royal Irish Academy and presented the society with an electrotype of the *Soiscéal Molaise* book shrine manufactured by Edmond Johnson Jr.

Samuel S. Waterhouse of Waterhouse & Company registers a design patent for the 'Royal Tara' bracelet (No. 104843)

1858

William Acheson & Company appointed as jeweller to the Earl of Eglinton and Winton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1858-9)

Branch of Joseph Johnson & Son at 23 Wellington Quay moves to 22 Suffolk Street

1859

William Acheson & Company expand manufacturing department

1860

William Acheson & Company purchased premises and stock of firm run by the late Thomas Bennett at 75 Grafton Street

Joseph Johnson & Son closes and Joseph Johnson Jr. continues to operate as an independent jeweller from 22 Suffolk Street

1861

Edmond Johnson Sr. elected as Master of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin (1861-2)

1862

London International Exhibition of Industry and Art, London: facsimiles displayed by Joseph Johnson

Edmond Johnson Sr. elected as Master of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin (1862-3)

1863

William Acheson & Company closes and partnership between William Acheson and Barnett Boam dissolved

Edmond Johnson Sr. elected as Master (1863-4) and Joseph Johnson Jr. elected as Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin (1863)

1864

Joseph Johnson Jr. elected as Master (1864-83) and Edmond Johnson elected as Warden (changed to Senior Warden after 1872) of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin (1864-74)

Henry Cole of the Department of Science and Art and Director of the South Kensington Museum, London initiates international network for exchange of reproductions

1865

International Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, Dublin: facsimile display by Waterhouse & Company, Joseph Johnson (awarded medal); James West, Esq., JP (member of committee for Section 23 – Precious Metals and Jewellery)

Edmond Johnson Sr. of The Jewellery Manufactory dies

1867

Exposition Universelle, Paris: facsimiles displayed by Waterhouse & Company

Henry Cole of the Department of Science and Art and Director of the South Kensington Museum, London initiates international network for exchange of reproductions

Edmond Johnson Jr. takes over firm at 5 Fleet Street and opens second location at 89 Grafton Street

Edmond Johnson Jr. terminates work as manufacturer for West & Son

1868

Waterhouse & Company sells the 'Tara' brooch to the Royal Irish Academy

Discovery of the Ardagh hoard

William C. Hopkins acquires premises and stock of the late Matthew Law & Son at 1 Sackville Street Lower (later O'Connell Street) and opens Hopkins & Hopkins (until 1974-5)

1869

Waterhouse & Company expand into 26 Dame Street

Joseph Johnson commissioned by the Royal Irish Academy to clean and repair the Ardagh chalice and provides a technical analysis included in a paper on the hoard by Lord Dunraven

James West of West & Son dies and firm is taken over by his son, William H. West

1870

The Metropolitan Museum of Art founded in New York

1871

Langley Archer West becomes involved in running West & Son

1872

Exhibition of Arts, Industries and Manufactures, Dublin: facsimiles displayed by Waterhouse & Company, Joseph Johnson and Edmond Johnson (awarded a First Class Prize Medal for Irish Manufactured Jewellery)

Waterhouse & Company publishes an illustrated stock catalogue entitled *Antique Irish Brooches*

1875

Edmond Johnson Jr. moves to 94 Grafton Street

1876

Centennial Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures and Products of the Soil and Mine, Philadelphia: facsimile displays by Hopkins & Hopkins (awarded four prizes)

1877

George Waterhouse of Waterhouse & Company dies

Edmond Johnson Jr. expands into 46 Wicklow Street

Joseph Johnson Jr. commissioned by the Royal Irish Academy to repair a gold torc purchased for the collection

1878

Exposition Universelle, Paris: facsimile display by Hopkins & Hopkins (awarded gold medal)

West & Son and Joseph Johnson request permission from the Royal Irish Academy to copy the 'Dalriada' (Loughan) brooch

Joseph Johnson registers a design patent for the 'Dalriada' (Loughan) brooch (No. 322082)

1880

Sydney International Exhibition, Sydney: facsimile display by Hopkins & Hopkins (awarded prizes and a gold medal)

Edmond Johnson elected as Junior Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin (1880-3)

1881

International Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures and Agricultural and Industrial Products of All Nations, Melbourne: facsimile display by Hopkins & Hopkins (awarded two gold medals)

Joseph Johnson Jr. moves to 10 Suffolk Street

1882

Industrial Exhibition, Dublin

Edmond Johnson acquires additional premises at 16 Nassau Street

Joseph Johnson, Jr. requests permission from the Royal Irish Academy to make a metalwork facsimile of the Cross of Cong

Joseph Johnson Jr. of 10 Suffolk Street retires

1883

Industrial and Fine Art Exhibition, Cork: facsimiles displayed by Hopkins & Hopkins (awarded Medal for Excellence in the manufacture of Celtic Art Jewellery after the Antique)

Joseph Johnson Jr. of 10 Suffolk Street dies

Edmond Johnson elected as Master of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin (1883-90)

1890

Science and Art Museum opens in Dublin

Firm of Joseph Johnson Jr. (run by T. Joyce and/or W.C. Joyce) closes

Hopkins & Hopkins acquires remaining stock from Joseph Johnson Jr.'s firm including dies and a screw-press for facsimile production

1891

Edmond Johnson expands into 95 Grafton Street and begins production of facsimile collection for Chicago Exposition

1892

Langley Archer West of West & Son elected as Master of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin (1892-1905)

1893

World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago: facsimiles displayed by Edmond Johnson

Edmond Johnson publishes an exhibition catalogue entitled *Description and History of Irish Antique Art Metal Work Fac-simile Reproductions of Which Have Been Specifically Manufactured for Exhibition at Chicago*

William C. Hopkins of Hopkins & Hopkins dies and firm is taken over by Miles Richard Hopkins

1895

First Irish Arts & Crafts Society Exhibition, Dublin: facsimiles displayed by Edmond Johnson, Waterhouse & Company, West & Son and Hopkins & Hopkins

Edmond Johnson contributes technical assessment of ancient gold fibulae to a paper by William Frazer for the Royal Irish Academy

1896

Formation of Edmond Johnson Limited located at 94-95 Grafton Street with Edmond Johnson Jr. as a Managing Director

1897

Edmond Johnson elected as a member of the Royal Irish Academy

1898

Edmond Johnson contributes technical assessment of ancient gold fibulae to a paper by William Frazer for the Royal Irish Academy

1899

Second Irish Arts & Crafts Society Exhibition, Dublin: display by Waterhouse & Company

1900

Exposition Universelle et Internationale, Paris: facsimiles displayed by Edmond Johnson Limited (supposedly a large portion of the collection was purchased by the French government)

Edmond Johnson Jr. of Edmond Johnson Limited dies

West & Son moves to 102 Grafton Street (until 1965, then moved to 33 Grafton Street until 2010 and closure of firm)

1901

International Exposition, Glasgow: facsimiles displayed by Edmond Johnson Limited

Richard Hopkins elected as Junior Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin (1901-2)

1902

Edmond Johnson Limited publishes two illustrated stock catalogues entitled the *Epitome of Reproductions of Ancient Celtic Ornaments* and the *Illustrated and Descriptive Catalogue of Some of the Principal Reproductions of Ancient Irish Art in Gold, Silver, and Metal Work, as Manufactured by Edmond Johnson, Ltd.*

Richard Hopkins elected as Junior Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin (1902-3)

1903

West & Son have two additional locations: the 'Silver Factory' at 14 Fade Street and the 'Jewellery Factory' at 9 Fleet Street

1904

Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis: facsimiles displayed by Edmond Johnson Limited

Waterhouse & Company closes

1905

Samuel S. Waterhouse of Waterhouse & Company dies

1906

Hopkins & Hopkins requests permission from the Royal Irish Academy to study and take measurements from the Ardagh chalice

Waterhouse & Company revived under Samuel H. Waterhouse at 24-26 Dame Street, Dublin (until 1960)

1907

Irish International Exhibition, Dublin

Hopkins & Hopkins requests permission from the Royal Irish Academy to take wax impressions of certain ornaments in the collection

1910

Hopkins & Hopkins publishes an illustrated stock catalogue entitled *Irish Art Industry, Jewellery, Silver Plate, etc.*

Edmond Johnson Limited commissioned by the Royal Irish Academy to carry out repairs on the 'Tara' Brooch and the Ardagh chalice

1911

Miles Richard Hopkins of Hopkins & Hopkins dies

1914

First World War begins

1915

Hopkins & Hopkins becomes a private limited company

1916

Easter Rising in Dublin

Hopkins & Hopkins premises destroyed during Easter Rising and firm reopens a temporary shop on the original site

1920

Last occasion on which direct facsimiles by Edmond Johnson Limited were displayed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

1922

Irish Free State established

Edmond Johnson Limited manufactures the Liam MacCarthy Cup

1923

Hopkins & Hopkins premises rebuilt at 1 Lower O'Connell Street

1927

Edmond Johnson Limited closes and firm dissolved

1928

Hopkins & Hopkins manufactures the Sam Maguire Cup

1934

Last occasion on which direct facsimiles by Edmond Johnson were displayed in the Field Museum, Chicago

1937

End of the Irish Free State; succeeded by the sovereign nation of Ireland

1939

Second World War begins

World's Fair, New York: first appearance of Ireland as a sovereign nation at an international trade fair

APPENDIX III: OBJECT CATALOGUE

The object catalogue consists of a list of facsimiles of Irish archaeological jewellery and metalwork produced between 1840-1940 held by the following museums:

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin
Trinity College, Dublin
Ulster Museum, Belfast
Hunt Museum, Limerick
University College, Cork
British Museum, London
Victoria & Albert Museum, London
Birmingham Museums & Art Gallery, Birmingham
Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museums, Cheltenham
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

This listing is not intended to be comprehensive, but rather to provide a representative sample of the extensive production and distribution of Irish facsimiles. The catalogue is divided into two main sections, which cover jewellery and personal ornaments, then metalwork. The format of each numbered entry begins with a listing for the original artefact, including a brief name and/or description, date, repository and accession number (when known), followed by a chronological listing of facsimiles numbered sequentially. The entry for each facsimile contains as much information as possible, including the manufacturer and/or retailer, date of production, materials, dimensions, repository and accession number, as well as any other relevant details such as hallmarks, maker's marks and Design Registry marks.

PART I: JEWELLERY & PERSONAL ORNAMENTS

LUNULAE

1 **GOLD LUNULA, MULLINGAR, CO. WESTMEATH (NMI 1884:7)**
Irish, Early Bronze Age, c. 2000 BC

1.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gold
Diameter: 19.7 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.29)

2 **GOLD LUNULA (NMI 8)**
Irish, Early Bronze Age, c. 1800-1600 BC

2.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 21.6 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.40)

3 **GOLD LUNULA**
Irish, Early Bronze Age

3.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 19.7 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.41)

4 **GOLD LUNULA**
Irish, Early Bronze Age

4.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 18.3 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.42)

5 **GOLD LUNULA**
Irish, Early Bronze Age

5.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 299) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 18.3 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.43)

6 **GOLD LUNULA**
Irish, Early Bronze Age

6.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 17.4 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.44)

7 **GOLD LUNULA, NEAR KILLARNEY, CO. KERRY (NMI W2)**
Irish, Early Bronze Age, c. 2000 BC
Dimensions: Width 22.6 cm

7.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 23.3 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.45)

8 **GOLD LUNULA (NMI 5)**
Irish, Early Bronze Age

8.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 27.9 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.46)

9 **GOLD LUNULA**
Irish, Early Bronze Age

9.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 18.4 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.102)

10 **GOLD LUNULA**
Irish, Early Bronze Age

10.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 19.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.103)

11 **GOLD LUNULA**
Irish, Early Bronze Age

11.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 14.6 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.104)

GORGETS

12 **GOLD GORGET, CO. CLARE (NMI W21)**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC
Dimensions: Width 27.0 cm

12.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gold
Diameter: 11.0 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.5)

12.2 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gold
Diameter: 11.0 cm; Length: 10.5 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.233.6)

13 **GOLD GORGET, BORRISNOE, CO. TIPPERARY (NMI W17)**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC
Dimensions: Width 25.0 cm

13.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 26.6 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.47)

14 **GOLD GORGET (NMI W20)**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC
Dimensions: Width 25.7 cm

14.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 27.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.48)

15 **GOLD GORGET, ARDCRONY, CO. TIPPERARY (NMI W16)**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC
Dimensions: Width 26.0 cm

15.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 27.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.49)

COLLARS

16 **GOLD COLLAR, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

16.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 22) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 16.2 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.98)

17 **GOLD COLLAR, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

17.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 22) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 13.9 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.99)

18 **GOLD COLLAR, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE (NMI W26)**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**
Dimensions: Width 16.1 cm

18.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 22 Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
and 299) Width: 16.2 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.100)

19 **GOLD COLLAR, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE (NMI W25)**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

19.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 22) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 18.4 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.101)

20 **GOLD COLLAR, BROIGHTER, CO. DERRY (NMI 1903:323)**
(Fig. 25) **Irish, Early Iron Age, 1st Century BC**
Dimensions: Diameter 19.4 cm

20.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 27) Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1906
Gold
Diameter: 7.3 cm; Width: 1.1 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1906
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (07.65.9a,b)

TORCS

21 **GOLD RIBBON TORC, TARA, CO. MEATH (NMI W173)**
(Fig. 162) **Irish, Middle Bronze Age, 1200-1000 BC**
Dimensions: Diameter 37.3 cm

21.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 161) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Diameter: 38.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.15)

22 **GOLD RIBBON TORC, TARA, CO. MEATH (NMI W172)**
(Fig. 162) **Irish, Middle Bronze Age, 1200-1000 BC**
Dimensions: Diameter 43.0 cm

22.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 161) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Diameter: 37.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.21)

23 **GOLD RIBBON TORC (NMI R2605)**
Irish, Bronze Age

23.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 161) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Diameter (max.): 27.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.19)

24 **GOLD RIBBON TORC**
Irish, Bronze Age

24.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 161) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Diameter (max.): 33.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.20)

25 **GOLD RIBBON TORC**
Irish, Bronze Age

25.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 161 Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
and 299) Diameter: 17.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.24)

26 **GOLD RIBBON TORC**
Irish, Bronze Age

26.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 161) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Diameter: 13.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.22)

27 **GOLD RIBBON TORC**
Irish, Bronze Age

27.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 161) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Diameter (max.): 13.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.23)

28 **GOLD BAR TORC (NMI W180)**
Irish, Bronze Age

28.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 161) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Diameter: 26.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.16)

29 **GOLD BAR TORC (NMI W174)**
Irish, Bronze Age

29.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 161) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Diameter (max.): 18.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.17)

30 **GOLD RIBBON TORC, ARDNAGLUG, CO. ROSCOMMON (NMI W292)**
Irish, Early Iron Age, 3rd Century BC
Dimensions: Diameter 14.2 cm

30.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 161) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Diameter: 14.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.18)

30.2 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gold
Diameter: 16.5 cm; Depth: 1.8 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.23)

DRESS FASTENERS

31 **GOLD DRESS-FASTENER, NEAR CLONES, CO. MONAGHAN**
(Fig. 14) **(NMI IA/L/1963:1)**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 900-700 BC
Dimensions: Length 21.27 cm

31.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 21.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.28)

31.2 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gold
Length: 20.3 cm; Width: 10.2 cm; Depth: 8.1 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.6)

32 **GOLD DRESS-FASTENER, CASTLEKELLY, CO. GALWAY (NMI W122)**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 900-700 BC
Dimensions: Length 28.1 cm

32.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 19.1 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.39)

33 **GOLD DRESS-FASTENER**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

33.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 3.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.87)

34 **GOLD DRESS-FASTENER**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

34.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 4.4 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.88)

35 GOLD DRESS-FASTENER
Irish, Late Bronze Age

35.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 4.4 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.89)

36 GOLD DRESS-FASTENER
Irish, Late Bronze Age

36.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 2.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.90)

37 GOLD DRESS-FASTENER
Irish, Late Bronze Age

37.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 4.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.91)

38 GOLD DRESS-FASTENER
Irish, Late Bronze Age

38.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 2.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.92)

39 GOLD DRESS-FASTENER
Irish, Late Bronze Age

39.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 1.9 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.93)

40 GOLD DRESS-FASTENER (NMI 123)
Irish, Late Bronze Age

40.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 165) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 12.7 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.94)

40.2 Facsimile: Section of Ornament
(Fig. 166) Cast section of penannular ring
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:4)

41 GOLD DRESS-FASTENER
Irish, Late Bronze Age

41.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 165) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 9.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.95)

42 GOLD DRESS-FASTENER
Irish, Late Bronze Age

42.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 3.8 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.96)

43 GOLD DRESS-FASTENER
Irish, Late Bronze Age

43.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 3.1 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.97)

44 GOLD DRESS-FASTENER
Irish, Late Bronze Age

44.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

45 GOLD DRESS-FASTENER
Irish, Late Bronze Age

45.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

PENANNULAR RINGS

46 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, c. 1200 - 900 BC

46.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 10.3 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.25)

47 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

47.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 8.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.26)

48 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

48.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 21.4 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.27)

49 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

49.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 13.3 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.29)

50 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

50.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 13.1 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.30)

51 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING (NMI 120)**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

51.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 15.3 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.31)

52 GOLD PENANNULAR RING
Irish, Late Bronze Age

52.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 12.9 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.32)

53 GOLD PENANNULAR RING
Irish, Late Bronze Age

53.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 7.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.33)

54 GOLD PENANNULAR RING
Irish, Late Bronze Age

54.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Diameter: 8.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.34)

55 GOLD PENANNULAR RING
Irish, Late Bronze Age

55.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 10.9 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.35)

56 GOLD PENANNULAR RING
Irish, Late Bronze Age

56.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 11.8 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.36)

57 GOLD PENANNULAR RING
Irish, Late Bronze Age

57.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 11.8 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.37)

58 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

58.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 15.2 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.38)

59 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

59.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 8.9 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.71)

60 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

60.1. Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 9.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.72)

61 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

61.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 8.2 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.73)

62 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

62.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 6.9 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.74)

63 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

63.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 8.8 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.75)

64 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

64.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 8.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.76)

65 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

65.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 8.2 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.77)

66 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

66.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 10.1 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.78)

67 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

67.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 8.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.79)

68 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

68.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 6.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.80)

69 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

69.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 6.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.81)

70 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

70.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 6.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.82)

71 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Late Bronze Age

71.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 9.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.83)

72 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

72.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 5.7 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.84)

73 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

73.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 6.3 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.85)

74 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING**
Irish, Late Bronze Age

74.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 9.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.86)

75 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

75.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.1/2010C4:34.1)

76 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

76.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.2/2010C4:34.2)

77 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

77.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.3/2010C4:34.3)

78 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

78.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.4/2010C4:34.4)

79 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

79.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.5/2010C4:34.5)

80 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

80.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.6/2010C4:34.6)

81 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

81.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.7/2010C4:34.7)

82 GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE
(Fig. 21) Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

82.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.8/2010C4:34.8)

83 GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE
(Fig. 21) Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

83.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.9/2010C4:34.9)

84 GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE
(Fig. 21) Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

84.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.10/2010C4:34.10)

85 GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE
(Fig. 21) Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

85.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.11/2010C4:34.11)

86 GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE
(Fig. 21) Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

86.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.12/2010C4:34.12)

87 GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE
(Fig. 21) Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

87.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.13/2010C4:34.13)

88 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

88.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.14/2010C4:34.14)

89 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

89.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.15/2010C4:34.15)

90 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

90.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.16/2010C4:34.16)

91 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

91.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.17/2010C4:34.17)

92 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

92.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.18/2010C4:34.18)

93 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

93.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.19/2010C4:34.19)

94 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

94.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.20/2010C4:34.20)

95 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

95.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.21/2010C4:34.21)

96 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

96.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.22/2010C4:34.22)

97 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

97.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.23/2010C4:34.23)

98 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

98.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.24/2010C4:34.24)

99 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

99.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.25/2010C4:34.25)

100 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

100.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.26/2010C4:34.26)

101 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

101.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.27/2010C4:34.27)

102 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

102.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.28/2010C4:34.28)

103 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

103.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.29/2010C4:34.29)

104 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

104.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.30/2010C4:34.30)

105 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

105.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.31/2010C4:34.31)

106 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

106.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.32/2010C4:34.32)

107 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

107.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.33/2010C4:34.33)

108 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

108.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.34/2010C4:34.34)

109 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

109.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.35/2010C4:34.35)

110 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

110.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.36/2010C4:34.36)

111 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

111.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.37/2010C4:34.37)

112 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

112.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.38/2010C4:34.38)

113 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

113.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.39/2010C4:34.39)

114 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

114.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.40/2010C4:34.40)

115 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

115.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.41/2010C4:34.41)

116 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

116.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.42/2010C4:34.42)

117 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

117.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.43/2010C4:34.43)

118 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

118.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.44/2010C4:34.44)

119 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

119.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.45/2010C4:34.45)

120 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

120.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.46/2010C4:34.46)

121 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

121.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.47/2010C4:34.47)

122 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

122.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.48/2010C4:34.48)

123 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

123.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.49/2010C4:34.49)

124 (Fig. 21) **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

124.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.50/2010C4:34.50)

125 (Fig. 21) **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

125.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.51/2010C4:34.51)

126 (Fig. 21) **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

126.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.52/2010C4:34.52)

127 (Fig. 21) **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

127.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.53/2010C4:34.53)

128 (Fig. 21) **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

128.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.54/2010C4:34.54)

129 (Fig. 21) **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

129.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.55/2010C4:34.55)

130 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

130.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.56/2010C4:34.56)

131 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

131.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.57/2010C4:34.57)

132 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

132.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.58/2010C4:34.58)

133 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

133.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.59/2010C4:34.59)

134 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

134.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.60/2010C4:34.60)

135 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

135.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.61/2010C4:34.61)

136 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

136.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.62/2010C4:34.62)

137 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

137.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.63/2010C4:34.63)

138 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

138.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.64/2010C4:34.64)

139 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

139.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.65/2010C4:34.65)

140 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

140.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.66/2010C4:34.66)

141 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

141.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.67/2010C4:34.67)

142 (Fig. 21) **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

142.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.68/2010C4:34.68)

143 (Fig. 21) **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

143.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.69/2010C4:34.69)

144 (Fig. 21) **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

144.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.70/2010C4:34.70)

145 (Fig. 21) **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

145.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.71/2010C4:34.71)

146 (Fig. 21) **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

146.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.72/2010C4:34.72)

147 (Fig. 21) **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

147.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.73/2010C4:34.73)

148 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

148.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.74/2010C4:34.74)

149 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

149.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.75/2010C4:34.75)

150 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

150.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.76/2010C4:34.76)

151 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

151.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.77/2010C4:34.77)

152 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

152.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.78/2010C4:34.78)

153 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

153.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.79/2010C4:34.79)

154 (Fig. 21) **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

154.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.80/2010C4:34.80)

155 (Fig. 21) **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

155.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.81/2010C4:34.81)

156 (Fig. 21) **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

156.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.82/2010C4:34.82)

157 (Fig. 21) **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

157.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.83/2010C4:34.83)

158 (Fig. 21) **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

158.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.84/2010C4:34.84)

159 (Fig. 21) **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

159.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.85/2010C4:34.85)

160 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

160.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.86/2010C4:34.86)

161 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

161.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.87/2010C4:34.87)

162 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

162.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.88/2010C4:34.88)

163 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

163.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.89/2010C4:34.89)

164 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

164.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.90/2010C4:34.90)

165 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

165.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.91/2010C4:34.91)

166 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

166.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.92/2010C4:34.92)

167 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

167.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.93/2010C4:34.93)

168 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

168.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.94/2010C4:34.94)

169 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

169.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.95/2010C4:34.95)

170 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

170.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.96/2010C4:34.96)

171 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

171.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.97/2010C4:34.97)

172 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

172.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.98/2010C4:34.98)

173 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

173.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (SA1902:4.99/2010C4:34.99)

174 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

174.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.100/2010C4:34.100)

175 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

175.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.101/2010C4:34.101)

176 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

176.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.102/2010C4:34.102)

177 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

177.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.103/2010C4:34.103)

178 GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE
(Fig. 21) Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

178.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.104/2010C4:34.104)

179 GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE
(Fig. 21) Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

179.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.105/2010C4:34.105)

180 GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE
(Fig. 21) Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

180.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.106/2010C4:34.106)

181 GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE
(Fig. 21) Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

181.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.107/2010C4:34.107)

182 GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE
(Fig. 21) Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

182.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.108/2010C4:34.108)

183 GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE
(Fig. 21) Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

183.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.109/2010C4:34.109)

184 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

184.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.110/2010C4:34.110)

185 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

185.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.111/2010C4:34.111)

186 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

186.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.112/2010C4:34.112)

187 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

187.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.113/2010C4:34.113)

188 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

188.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.114/2010C4:34.114)

189 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

189.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.115/2010C4:34.115)

190 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

190.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.116/2010C4:34.116)

191 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

191.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.117/2010C4:34.117)

192 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

192.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.118/2010C4:34.118)

193 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

193.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.119/2010C4:34.119)

194 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

194.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.120/2010C4:34.120)

195 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

195.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.121/2010C4:34.121)

196 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

196.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.122/2010C4:34.122)

197 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

197.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.123/2010C4:34.123)

198 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

198.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.124/2010C4:34.124)

199 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

199.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.125/2010C4:34.125)

200 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

200.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.126/2010C4:34.126)

201 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

201.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.127/2010C4:34.127)

202 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

202.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.128/2010C4:34.128)

203 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

203.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.129/2010C4:34.129)

204 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

204.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.130/2010C4:34.130)

205 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

205.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.131/2010C4:34.131)

206 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

206.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.132/2010C4:34.132)

207 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

207.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.133/2010C4:34.133)

208 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

208.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.134/2010C4:34.134)

209 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

209.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.135/2010C4:34.135)

210 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

210.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.136/2010C4:34.136)

211 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

211.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.137/2010C4:34.137)

212 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

212.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.138/2010C4:34.138)

213 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

213.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.139/2010C4:34.139)

214 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

214.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.140/2010C4:34.140)

215 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

215.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.141/2010C4:34.141)

216 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

216.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.142/2010C4:34.142)

217 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

217.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.143/2010C4:34.143)

218 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

218.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.144/2010C4:34.144)

219 **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
(Fig. 21) **Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC**

219.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.145/2010C4:34.145)

220 (Fig. 21) **GOLD PENANNULAR RING, MOOGHAUN, CO. CLARE**
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

220.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902
Gilt copper alloy
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin(SA1902:4.146/2010C4:34.146)

221 **SOLID PENANNULAR RINGS/RING MONEY**
Irish

221.1 Direct Facsimiles
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Group of 11 pieces of ring money
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

221.2 Facsimile
Metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:1)

BULLAE

222 GOLD BULLA, BOG OF ALLEN, CO. KILDARE (NMI W265)
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC
Dimensions: Length 6.4 cm

222.1 (Fig. 161 and 299)
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Diameter: 6.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.51)

222.2
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Lead, gold-plated
Dimensions: 2.2 cm x 2.2 cm x 1 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.31)

PINS

223 LARGE SUNFLOWER PIN/BODKIN (NMI P608)
Irish, Late Bronze Age, 800-700 BC

223.1 (Fig. 300)
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Diameter: 8.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.58)

223.2
Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Bronze
Diameter: 8.3 cm; Length of pin: 22.2 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.19)

224 SMALL SUNFLOWER PIN/BODKIN
Irish, Late Bronze Age

224.1
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 17.2 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.158)

225 BRONZE PIN/CLOAK PIN
Irish, 5th or 6th Century AD

225.1
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 13.1 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.170)

226 BRONZE PIN/CLOAK PIN
Irish, 5th or 6th Century AD

226.1
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 9.6 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.171)

227 BRONZE PIN/CLOAK PIN
Irish, 5th or 6th Century AD

227.1
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 9.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.172)

228 BRONZE PIN/CLOAK PIN
Irish, 5th or 6th Century AD

228.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 8.6 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.173)

229 HAND PIN/CLOAK PIN
Irish, 5th or 6th Century AD

229.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 16.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.159)

230 HAND PIN/CLOAK PIN
Irish, 5th or 6th Century AD

230.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 13.8 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.160)

231 HAND PIN/CLOAK PIN
Irish, 5th or 6th Century AD

231.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 13.3 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.161)

232 HAND PIN/CLOAK PIN
Irish, 5th or 6th Century AD

232.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 8.6 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.162)

233 HAND PIN/CLOAK PIN
Irish, 5th or 6th Century AD

233.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 15.9 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.163)

234 HAND PIN/CLOAK PIN
Irish, 5th or 6th Century AD

234.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 10.1 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.164)

235 HAND PIN/CLOAK PIN
Irish, 5th or 6th Century AD

235.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 14.6 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.166)

236 DISC-HEADED PIN (NMI 6.W.26)
Irish, 6th Century AD

236.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Bronze
Diameter: 1.7 cm; Length of pin: 22.9 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.20)

237 HAND PIN/CLOAK PIN (NMI P.634 Petrie Collection)
Irish, Late 6th or Early 7th Century AD

237.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 14.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.165)

238 HAND PIN/CLOAK PIN
Irish, 6th - 8th Century AD

238.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 17.8 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.53)

239 HAND PIN/CLOAK PIN
Irish, 6th - 8th Century AD

239.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 17.1 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.54)

240 HAND PIN/CLOAK PIN
Irish, 6th - 8th Century AD

240.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 14.6 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.55)

241 HAND PIN/CLOAK PIN
Irish, 6th - 8th Century AD

241.1 (Fig. 300) Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 22.2 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.57)

242 BRONZE PIN/CLOAK PIN
Irish, 7th or 8th Century AD

242.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 9.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.167)

243 BRONZE PIN/CLOAK PIN
Irish, 7th or 8th Century AD

243.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 14.1 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.168)

244 BRONZE PIN/CLOAK PIN
Irish, 7th or 8th Century AD

244.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 10.6 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.169)

245 RING PIN/CLOAK PIN
Irish, 7th or 8th Century AD

245.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 8.2 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.150)

246 **RING PIN/CLOAK PIN**
Irish, 7th or 8th Century AD

246.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 10.1 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.151)

247 **RING PIN/CLOAK PIN**
Irish, 7th or 8th Century AD

247.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 11.1 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.152)

248 **RING PIN/CLOAK PIN**
Irish, 7th or 8th Century AD

248.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 13.3 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.153)

249 **RING PIN/CLOAK PIN**
Irish, Late 8th or Early 9th Century AD

249.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 300) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 27.3 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.56)

250 **RING PIN/CLOAK PIN**
Irish, Late 8th or Early 9th Century AD

250.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 14.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.144)

251 **RING PIN/CLOAK PIN**
Irish, Late 8th or Early 9th Century AD

251.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 12.7 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.145)

252 **RING PIN/CLOAK PIN**
Irish, Late 8th or Early 9th Century AD

252.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 8.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.148)

253 **PENANNULAR RING-PIN**
Irish

253.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

254 **PIN**
Irish

254.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

255 **RING-PIN (NMI W346)**
Irish

255.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

256 **GOLD RING-PIN (NMI 84)**
Irish

256.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

257 **GOLD RING-PIN (NMI 83)**
Irish

257.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

GOLD ORNAMENTS

258 GOLD ORNAMENTS, RAPPA CASTLE, CO. MAYO (NMI W267/W271)
Irish, Early Bronze Age, c. 2200-1800 BC
Dimensions: Diameter 7.6 cm/8.1 cm

258.1 Direct Facsimile: Single Disc (W267)
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

258.2 Direct Facsimiles: Pair
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gold
A: 6.4 cm x 0.3 cm; B: 6.4 cm x 0.4 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.7a,b)

259 GOLD ORNAMENTS (NMI 1872:34, 35)
Irish, Early Bronze Age, c. 2200-1800 BC

259.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

260 GOLD ORNAMENT (NMI W268)
Irish, Early Bronze Age, c. 2200-1800 BC

260.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

261 GOLD ORNAMENTS
Irish, Early Bronze Age, c. 2200-1800 BC

261.1 Direct Facsimiles: Pair
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gold
A & B: 6.0 cm x 0.4 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.8a,b)

262 GOLD ORNAMENTS (NMI W266/W272)
Irish, Early Bronze Age, c. 2200-1800 BC

262.1 Direct Facsimiles: Pair
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gold
A & B: 9.7 x 0.1 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.27a,b)

EARRINGS

263 GOLD EARRINGS (NMI W59/W60)
Irish

263.1 Direct Facsimiles: Pair
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

264 GOLD EARRINGS (NMI W61/W62)
Irish

264.1 Direct Facsimiles: Pair
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

265 GOLD EARRINGS
Irish

265.1 Direct Facsimiles: Pair
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gold
Diameter: 2.5 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.24a,b)

266 GOLD EARRINGS (NMI W66)
Irish, Late Bronze Age, c. 1200-1000 BC

266.1 Direct Facsimiles: Pair
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

266.2 Direct Facsimiles: Pair
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gold
Diameter: 2.9 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.25a,b)

267 GOLD EARRINGS, CASTLEREA, CO. ROSCOMMON (NMI W63/W64)
Irish, Late Bronze Age, c. 1200-1000 BC
Dimensions: Width 3.4 cm/3.5 cm

267.1 Direct Facsimiles: Pair
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

267.2 Direct Facsimiles: Pair
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gold
Diameter: A: 3.5 cm; B: 3.7 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.26a,b)

GOLD DISCS

268 GOLD DISCS (NMI W267/W271)
Irish, Early Bronze Age

268.1 Direct Facsimiles: Pair
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

269 GOLD DISCS, TEDAVNET, CO. MONAGHAN (NMI 1872:34, 35)
Irish, Early Bronze Age, 2200-2000 BC
Dimensions: Diameter 11.3 cm/11.5 cm

269.1 Direct Facsimiles: Pair
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

270 GOLD DISC (NMI W268)
Irish, Early Bronze Age

270.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

GOLD BANDS AND PLATES

271 **GOLD BAND, BELVILLE, CO. CAVAN (NMI W71)**
Irish, Early Bronze Age, c. 2300-2100 BC

271.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

272 **GOLD BAND, BELVILLE, CO. CAVAN (NMI W72)**
Irish, Early Bronze Age, c. 2300-2100 BC

272.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

273 **GOLD BAND, BELVILLE, CO. CAVAN (NMI W75)**
Irish, Early Bronze Age, c. 2300-2100 BC

273.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

274 **GOLD BAND, BELVILLE, CO. CAVAN (NMI W76)**
Irish, Early Bronze Age, c. 2300-2100 BC

274.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

275 **GOLD BAND, BELVILLE, CO. CAVAN (NMI W78)**
Irish, Early Bronze Age, c. 2300-2100 BC

275.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

276 **GOLD BAND, BELVILLE, CO. CAVAN (NMI W79)**
Irish, Early Bronze Age, c. 2300-2100 BC

276.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

277 **GOLD BAND, BELVILLE, CO. CAVAN (NMI W80)**
Irish, Early Bronze Age, c. 2300-2100 BC

277.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

278 **GOLD BAND, BELVILLE, CO. CAVAN (NMI W81)**
Irish, Early Bronze Age, c. 2300-2100 BC

278.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

279 **GOLD PLATE**
Irish

279.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

280 **GOLD PLATE**
Irish

280.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

ARMLETS

281 BRONZE ARMLET, NEWRY, CO. DOWN (NMI 1875:120)
Irish, c. 2nd Century AD
Dimensions: (Internal) 9.0 cm x 8.2 cm; Width 6.7 cm

281.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 13.9 cm; Length: 20.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.70)

282 GOLD ARMLET (NMI 193)
Irish

282.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Diameter: 10.1 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.50)

FIBULAE

283 BRONZE FIBULA
Irish, Late Iron Age, Late La Tène Period

283.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 6.3 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.118)

283.2 Facsimile: Bow of Brooch
Metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:8)

284 BRONZE FIBULA
Irish, Late Iron Age, Late La Tène Period

284.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 8.2 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.119)

285 BRONZE FIBULA
Irish, Late Iron Age, Late La Tène Period

285.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 8.2 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.120)

286 BRONZE FIBULA
Irish, Late Iron Age, Late La Tène Period

286.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 5.7 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.121)

287 BRONZE FIBULA, NAVAN RATH, CO. ARMAGH (NMI)
Irish, Late 2nd Century AD

287.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 6.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.154)

287.2 Facsimile
Lacks pin
Metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:7)

288 **BRONZE FIBULA BROOCH, CLOGHER, CO. TYRONE**
(Fig. 342) **(BM 1854,0307.2)**
Irish, 1st Century BC/1st Century AD
Dimensions: Length 8.7 cm; Height 2.44 cm

288.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 341) Waterhouse & Company, c. 1853
Gilt bronze
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (229.1854)

BROOCHES

289 PENANNULAR BROOCH
Irish, 3rd - 6th Century AD

289.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 10.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.127)

290 PENANNULAR BROOCH
Irish, 3rd - 6th Century AD

290.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 7.6 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.130)

291 PENANNULAR BROOCH
Irish, 3rd - 6th Century AD

291.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 12.7 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.133)

292 ENAMELLED PENANNULAR BROOCH
Irish, 3rd - 6th Century AD

292.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 11.4 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.141)

293 ARDAKILLEN BROOCH, ARDAKILLEN LOUGH, CO. ROSCOMMON (NMI W476)
Irish, 4th Century AD
Dimensions: Length 7.75 cm; Width (Terminals) 2.84 cm

293.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Diameter: 9.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.59)

293.2 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1906
Bronze
Length: 7.3 cm; Width: 2.9 cm; Depth: 1.9 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1906
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (07.65.10)

294 **BRONZE ENAMELLED LATCHET BROOCH (NMI W492)**
Irish, 5th-7th Century AD
Dimensions: Diameter (Disc) 5.9 cm; Length 13.1 cm

294.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Bronze
Length: 15.2 cm; Width: 5.7 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.30)

295 **PENANNULAR BROOCH**
Irish, 5th - 7th Century AD

295.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 9.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.126)

296 **BALLINDERRY BROOCH, BALLINDERRY CRANNOG, CO. OFFALY (NMI E6.422)**
Irish, 7th Century AD
Dimensions: Width (Ring) 8.6 cm; Length (Pin) 18.3 cm

296.4 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 14.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.136)

297 **HUNTERSTON BROOCH, HUNTERSTON, AYRSHIRE, SCOTLAND**
(Fig. 61) **(NMS FC 8)**
Irish, Late 7th or Early 8th Century
Dimensions: Diameter (Hoop) 12.2 cm; Length (Pin) 13.1 cm)

297.1 Facsimile: Double-Sided
William Acheson & Company, c. 1853
Parcel gilt silver
Diameter of ring: 6.8 cm; Length: 10.2 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T1017)

297.2 Facsimile
(Fig. 62) William Acheson & Company, 1850-1870
Metal
Stamped on reverse: Wm Acheson Dublin
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:28)

297.3 Facsimile Adaptation: Waist-Buckle
1850-1900
Design of the brooch adapted to a waist-buckle
Silver
Diameter of ring: 7.1 cm; Length of pin: 8.9 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T1012)

297.4 Facsimile
Metal
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1887-88)

297.5 (Fig. 172) Facsimile: Front of Brooch and Pinhead
William Acheson, c. 1850-60
Type Pattern and Electrotype Cast
Metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:28)

297.6 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 10.1 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.179)

297.7 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1911
Metal
Dimensions: 13.3 cm x 11.7 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1911
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (12.4.11)

297.8 (Fig. 63) Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, c. 1912
Metal
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (M.1912.1)

297.9 Facsimile
Silver and brass, gilt, amber
Diameter of ring: 12.5 cm; Length of pin: 17.3 cm; Pinhead: 4.3 cm
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

298 (Fig. 46-47) 'TARA' BROOCH, BETTYSTOWN, CO. MEATH (NMI R4015)
Irish, Early 8th Century AD
Dimensions: Diameter (Ring) 8.7 cm; Length (Pin) 32.0 cm

298.1 Modified Facsimile
Waterhouse & Company, 1850
Gilt silver
Stamped on reverse: 'WATERHOUSE & CO/QUEEN'S JEWELLERS/DUBLIN' and Design Registry mark for 19 December 1850
Dimensions: 7.0 cm x 11.0 cm
Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museums, Cheltenham (1984.1170)

298.2 Modified Facsimile
Waterhouse & Company, after c. 1850-1
Silver and parcel gilt silver
Stamped on reverse: 'WATERHOUSE & CO, DUBLIN'
Dimensions: 7.0 cm x 10.3 cm
Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museums, Cheltenham (1984.1171)

298.3 (Fig.49) Modified Facsimile: Double-Sided
Waterhouse & Company, c. 1851
Oxidized and parcel gilt silver set with river pearls, 'Irish diamonds' and amethysts
Height: 6.9 cm; Width: 10.5 cm; Depth: 1.7 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (920-1852)

298.4 Modified Facsimile
Waterhouse & Company, c. 1851
Parcel gilt silver set with 5 pearls
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T15)

298.5 Modified Facsimile
Waterhouse & Company, c. 1851
Parcel gilt silver
Stamped on reverse: WATERHOUSE & CO. DUBLIN
Diameter: 6.5 cm
Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, Birmingham (1981M499)

298.6 Modified Facsimile
Waterhouse & Company, 1850-1875
Parcel gilt silver
Diameter of ring: 6.4 cm; Length of pin: 8.5 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T2096)

298.7 Modified Facsimile: Double-Sided
Waterhouse & Company, 1850-1875
Parcel gilt silver
With jewellery case
Diameter of ring: 6.4 cm; Length of pin: 9.4 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T1014)

298.8 Modified Facsimile
Waterhouse & Company, 1850-1870
Parcel gilt silver set with 3 Irish river pearls
With jewellery case
Diameter of ring: 6.4 cm; Length of pin: 9.5 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T1016)

298.9 Modified Facsimile
Waterhouse & Company, 1850-1875
Gilt silver
Diameter of ring: 6.4 cm; Length of pin: 8.7 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T1032)

298.10 Modified Facsimile
(Fig. 48) Waterhouse & Company, 1850-1890
Gilt silver set with malachite
Diameter of ring: 6.4 cm; Length of pin: 9.8 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T482)

298.11 Modified Facsimile
Waterhouse & Company, after 1851
Silver and gilt silver
Stamped on reverse: 'WATERHOUSE DUBLIN'
With jewellery case
Diameter: 6.4 cm; Width: 12.5 cm
Donated by Professor John Hull Grundy and Anne Hull Grundy
Transferred from the Victoria & Albert Museum
British Museum, London (1978,1002.1224)

298.12 Modified Facsimile
Waterhouse & Company, after 1851
Silver
Stamped on reverse: 'WATERHOUSE & CO, DUBLIN'
Diameter: 6.4 cm
Donated by Professor John Hull Grundy and Anne Hull Grundy
Transferred from the Victoria & Albert Museum
British Museum, London (1978,1002.1226)

298.13 Direct Facsimile: Double-Sided
(Fig. 55) Joseph Johnson, c. 1881
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (230.1881)

298.14 Direct Facsimile: Double-Sided
(Fig. 56) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 22.7 cm
Gift of the Field Museum of Natural History
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.9)

298.15 Facsimile Adaptation: Waist Clasp
(Fig. 52) Waterhouse & Company, 1894
Design adapted from panels on terminals of brooch
Gilt silver
Length: 7.3 cm; Width: 4.1 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T739)

298.16 Direct Facsimile: Double-Sided
(Fig. 344) Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1906
Gilt bronze
Diameter of ring: 8.9 cm; Length of pin: 21.0 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1906
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (07.65.7)

298.17 Modified Facsimile
Waterhouse & Company, Late 19th Century
Silver set with dark red cabochon paste stones
Diameter of ring: 6.4 cm; Length of pin: 9.5 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T451)

298.18 Modified Facsimile
Waterhouse & Company, Late 19th Century
Parcel gilt silver
With jewellery case
Diameter of ring: 6.4 cm; Length of pin: 10.7 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T1015)

298.19 (Fig. 52) Modified Facsimile Brooch with Chain and Pin
Waterhouse & Company, Late 19th Century
Parcel gilt silver
With jewellery case
Diameter of ring: 6.4 cm; Length of brooch pin: 10.4 cm
Length of pin: 11.4 cm; Length of chain: 50.8 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T783)

298.20 Facsimile Adaptation: Bracelet
Waterhouse & Company, Late 19th Century
Design adapted from panels on terminals of brooch
Silver and silver gilt set with red cabochon paste stones
Circumference: 18.1 cm; Depth of main panel: 4.0 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T818)

298.21 (Fig. 52) Facsimile Adaptation: Bracelet
Waterhouse & Company, Late 19th Century
Design adapted from panels on terminals of brooch
Parcel gilt silver
Circumference: 20.7 cm; Depth of main panel: 4.0 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T888)

298.22 Modified Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1900-1927
Silver
Diameter of ring: 3.6 cm; Length of pin: 5.65 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T1031)

298.23 Modified Facsimile
West & Son, 1911-1912
Red and yellow gold
Diameter of ring: 3.0 cm; Length of pin: 4.0 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T1130)

298.24 Modified Facsimile
Hopkins & Hopkins, 1913
9-carat green, red and gold
Stamped on reverse: *Deanta in Eirinn*; hallmarks; maker's marks
Diameter of ring: 3.5 cm; Length of pin: 5.0 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T1030)

298.25 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson
Metal
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.A55.1910)

298.26 Facsimile Adaptation
Birmingham, England, 1936
Silver
Diameter of ring: 3.8 cm; Length of pin: 5.6 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T35)

298.27 Modified Facsimile
Front and back with pinhead and incomplete shaft
Cast metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:25)

298.28 Facsimile: Panels of Ornament
Four panels of ornament from brooch
Cast metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:26)

298.29 (Fig. 173) Modified Facsimile
Electrotype Cast
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:27)

298.30 (Fig. 159) Modified Facsimile: Front
Stamped on sheet metal and uncut
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:27)

299 (Fig. 73-74) 'DALRIADA' (LOUGHAN) BROOCH, LOUGHAN, CO. DERRY (NMI 1878:29)
Irish, 8th Century AD
Dimensions: Diameter (Ring) 5.2 cm; Length (Pin) 10.0 cm

299.1 Modified Facsimile
West & Son, 1878
Gold
Width (max): 4.29 cm; Length of pin: 6.67 cm
Presented by West and Son to Royal Irish Academy Council
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (RIA 1878:48)

299.2 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

299.3 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 75) Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gold
Diameter: 7.5 cm; Length of pin: 11.1 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.15)

299.4 Modified Facsimile
(Fig. 76) Hopkins & Hopkins, c. 1910

299.5 Facsimile
Lacks pin
Cast metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:16)

300 'BELLE' BROOCH, DUNIPACE, STIRLINGSHIRE, SCOTLAND (NMS FC10, Bell Collection)
Irish, 8th Century AD
Dimensions: Diameter (Ring) 3.4 cm; Length (Pin) 11.3 cm

300.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

300.2 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gold set with red stones
Diameter: 3.8 cm; Length of pin: 10.8 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.32)

301 PENANNULAR BROOCH, CO. DONEGAL (BM 93/6/18, 25a)
Irish, Late 8th Century AD

301.1 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 8.9 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.132)

302 **'MOATE' BROOCH PIN, MOATE, CO. WESTMEATH**
(Fig. 340) **(BM 1888,0719.111)**
Irish, 8th or 9th Century AD
Dimensions: Diameter (Head) 2.7 cm; Length 11.9 cm

302.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 339) Waterhouse & Company, c. 1853
Metal
Victoria & Albert Museum (230.1854)

303 **FOUR-LOBED PENANNULAR BROOCH (NMI 19 W44)**
Irish, Late 8th or Early 9th Century AD

303.1 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 9.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.107)

304 **LONDESBOROUGH BROOCH (BM 1888.7-19.101)**
Irish, Late 8th or Early 9th Century AD
Dimensions: Diameter 10.15 cm; Length (Pin) 23.0 cm

304.1 Modified Facsimile
1850-1900
Gilt silver
Diameter of ring: 5.7 cm; Length of pin: 8.6 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T408)

304.2 Modified Facsimile
Late 19th Century
Gilt silver set with 3 cabochon amethysts
Diameter of ring: 5.3 cm; Length of pin: 8.8 cm
British Museum, London (1993,0105.1)

305 **CO. CAVAN ('QUEEN'S') BROOCH, CAVAN, CO. CAVAN (NMI W43)**
(Fig. 65) **Irish, Late 8th or Early 9th Century AD**
Dimensions: Diameter (Ring) 11.4 cm; Length (Pin) 18.9 cm

305.1 Modified Facsimile
(Fig. 66) Edmond Johnson for West & Son, 1849
Gold set with river pearl
Donated by the Duke of Connaught
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (NMIDT 1902.302)

305.2 Modified Facsimile
(Fig. 160) Edmond Johnson for West & Son, after 1849
Silver
Stamped on reverse: 'WEST & SON, COLLEGE GREEN DUBLIN FECT' and 'REGISTERED DECR 17th 1849'
Original jewellery case
Diameter: 5.35 cm (without protrusions)
Donated by Professor John Hull Grundy and Anne Hull Grundy
British Museum, London (1978,1002.695/HG.695)

305.3 Modified Facsimile
Edmond Johnson for West & Son, c. 1849
Silver and parcel gilt silver
Diameter: 5.5 cm; Height: 8.5 cm
Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, Birmingham (1981M526)

305.4 Modified Facsimile
Edmond Johnson for West & Son, after 1849
Silver
Stamped on reverse: 'WEST & SON, COLLEGE GREEN DUBLIN FECT' and 'REGISTERED DECR 17th 1849'
Diameter: 5.3 cm (without protrusions)
Donated by Professor John Hull Grundy and Anne Hull Grundy
British Museum, London (1978,1002.528/HG.528)

305.5 Modified Facsimile
Edmond Johnson for West & Son, 1849-1851
18 carat gold set with 3 Irish river pearls
Stamped on reverse: 'REGISTERED DECR 17th 1849'
Original jewellery case
Diameter of ring: 3.8 cm; Length of pin: 5.5 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T1003)

305.6 Modified Facsimile
Edmond Johnson for West & Son, 1849-1851
Parcel gilt silver set with 3 Irish river pearls and a red paste stone
Diameter: 6.8 cm; Length of pin: 10.7 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T148)

305.7 Modified Facsimile
Edmond Johnson for West & Son, 1849-1852
Silver set with 3 coral beads
Stamped on reverse: 'REGISTERED DECR 17th 1849'
Diameter of ring: 5.4 cm; Length of pin: 8.4 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T1011)

305.8 Modified Facsimile
(Fig. 67) Edmond Johnson for West & Son, c. 1850
Parcel gilt silver set with 3 coral beads
Diameter: 6.8 cm; Length of pin: 9.3 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T542)

305.9 Facsimile Adaptation
(Fig. 279) Edmond Johnson for West & Son, c. 1851
Gilt silver with coral beads
Stamped on reverse: 'WEST & SON, COLLEGE GREEN DUBLIN FECT' and 'REGISTERED DECR 17th 1849'
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (2750.1853)

305.10 Facsimile Adaptation
(Fig. 280) Edmond Johnson for West & Son, c. 1851
Gilt silver
Stamped on reverse: 'WEST & SON'
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (2751.1853)

305.11 Modified Facsimile
West & Son, after 1850
Gold
Stamped on reverse: 'WEST & SON/18 & 19 COLLEGE GREEN/DUBLIN/QUEEN'S PATTERN TARA BROOCH/REGD'
Dimensions: 3.0 cm x 4.1 cm
Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museums, Cheltenham (1984.1169)

305.12 Facsimile Adaptation: Stickpin
West & Son, c. 1850-1870
Design of reduced-size brooch adapted as pinhead
Silver set with 3 small blue paste cabochon stones
Diameter of pinhead: 2.0 cm; Total length: 7.1 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T828)

305.13 Facsimile Adaptation: Stickpin
West & Son, 1850-1900
Design of reduced-size brooch adapted as pinhead
Gold set with 3 small pale red coral beads
Length: 8.8 cm; Width: 2.7 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T1692)

305.14 Modified Facsimile
Waterhouse & Company, 1850-1900
Silver set with 2 opalescent paste cabochon stones
Diameter of ring: 6.8 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T147)

305.15 Modified Facsimile
Waterhouse & Company, 1850-1900
Silver
Diameter of ring: 6.8 cm; Length of pin: 9.0 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T1034)

305.16 (Fig. 184-185) Facsimiles: Back
Waterhouse & Company, 1850-1900
Two unfinished halves of the back face of brooch
Stamped: 'Waterhouse & Company, Queen's Jewellers, Dublin'
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:32)

305.17 Modified Facsimile
West & Son, 1850-1900
Silver
Stamped on reverse: 'REGISTERED DEC^{R} 17th 1849'
Diameter of ring: 3.8 cm; Length of pin: 5.5 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T1013)

305.18 Modified Facsimile
West & Son, 1850-1900
18 carat gold
Stamped on reverse: West & Son, Queen's Pattern Tara Brooch, Reg'd., 18
Diameter of ring: 3.1 cm; Length of pin: 4.2 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T1123)

305.19 (Fig. 69) Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 21.7 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.10)

305.20 (Fig. 353) Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1904
Electrotype
Stamped on reverse: 'E. JOHNSON L^{TD} DUBLIN'
Diameter: 12.4 cm; Length of pin: 21.9 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1904-16)

305.21 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1904
Electrotype
Stamped on reverse: 'E. JOHNSON L^{TD} DUBLIN'
Diameter: 12.4 cm; Length of pin: 21.9 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1904-16:2)

305.22 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gilt bronze
Diameter: 11.4 cm; Length of pin: 21.0 cm; Depth: 1.9 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.10)

305.23 Modified Facsimile
Manufactured in Birmingham, England, c. 1900
Gold
Diameter of ring: 2.0 cm; Length of pin: 2.5 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T1129)

305.24 Modified Facsimile
1939
Sterling silver
Diameter of ring: 4.3 cm; Length of pin: 6.0 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T1350)

305.25 Facsimile: Ring
Sectional ring of brooch
Metal
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

306 (Fig. 210) KILMAINHAM ('KNIGHT TEMPLAR') BROOCH, KILMAINHAM, CO. DUBLIN (NMI W45)
Irish, Late 8th or Early 9th Century AD
Dimensions: Diameter 9.67 cm

306.1 (Fig. 203 and 275) Modified Facsimile
Waterhouse & Company, c. 1850
Gilt silver with enamel
Stamped on reverse: Design Registry mark for 25 July 1849
Height: 7.5 cm; Width: 6.0 cm; Depth: 1.2 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (2749.1853)

306.2 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Width: 9.6 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.105)

306.3 (Fig. 204 and 351) Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1904
Electrotype, enamel, glass
Stamped on reverse: 'E. JOHNSON LTD DUBLIN'
Diameter: 9.5 cm.; Length of pin: 17.1 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1904-14)

306.4 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1904
Electrotype, enamel, glass
Stamped on reverse: 'E. JOHNSON LTD DUBLIN'
Diameter: 9.5 cm.; Length of pin: 17.1 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1904-14:2)

306.5 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gilt bronze
Diameter: 10.2 cm; Length of pin: 15.2 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.4)

307 DUNSHAUGHLIN BROOCH (NMI P728)
Irish, Late 8th or Early 9th Century AD

307.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 16.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.177)

308 'TIPPERARY' BROOCH, LOUGHMOE, CO. TIPPERARY (NMI 17W42)
Irish, Late 8th or Early 9th Century AD
Dimensions: Length (Pin) 24.3 cm

308.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
White metal, parcel gilt
Diameter: 11.4 cm; Length of pin: 27.3 cm; Depth: 2.1 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.12)

309 BRONZE PENANNULAR BROOCH
Irish, Late 8th or Early 9th Century AD

309.1 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 10.8 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.147)

309.2 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1906
Bronze set with paste stones
Diameter: 3.8 cm; Length: 14.0 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1906
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (07.65.4)

310 PENANNULAR BROOCH (NMI P729)
Irish, Late 8th or Early 9th Century AD

310.1 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 11.4 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.125)

311 'GALWAY' BROOCH (NMI W29 or W30)
Irish, 9th-10th Century AD

311.1 (Fig. 219) Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 12.7 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.129)

311.2 Facsimile: Pinhead
Metal with glass inset
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

312 (Fig. 80 and 82) LARGE ARDAGH BROOCH, REERASTA, CO. LIMERICK (NMI 1874:104)
Irish, 9th Century AD
Dimensions: Diameter (Hoop) 13.1 cm; Width (Terminal) 14.4 cm; Length (Pin) 33.55 cm

312.1 (Fig. 86 and 167) Direct Facsimile
Joseph Johnson, 1881
Metal
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (225.1881)

312.2 (Fig. 92) Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 33.6 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.67)

312.3 (Fig. 97) Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1906
Gilt bronze
Diameter: 14 cm; Length of pin: 34.3 cm; Depth: 8.9 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1906
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (07.65.3)

312.4 Direct Facsimile
Brass, bronze, copper, enamel
Dimensions of ring: 14.0 cm; Height: 3.0 cm; Length of pin: 33.4 cm
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

312.5 (Fig. 168) Facsimile: Section of Ornament
Large bird associated with terminals of brooch
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:11)

312.6 Facsimile: Section of Ornament
Small bird associated with terminals of brooch
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:12)

313 (Fig. 80 and 82) SMALL ARDAGH BROOCH, REERASTA, CO. LIMERICK (NMI 1847:102) Irish, 9th Century AD Dimensions: Width (Terminals) 11.0 cm; Length (Pin) 26.6 cm

313.1 (Fig. 87) Direct Facsimile
Joseph Johnson, 1881
Metal
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (226.1881)

313.2 (Fig. 93) Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 25.4 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.69)

313.3 Direct Facsimiles: Pins
Three copies of pin
Metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:13)

313.4 Modified Facsimile
Cast metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:10)

313.5 Facsimile: Pin
Metal
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

314 (Fig. 80) ARDAGH ANNULAR BROOCH, REERASTA, CO. LIMERICK (NMI 1847:103) Irish, 9th Century AD

314.1 (Fig. 88) Facsimile
Joseph Johnson, c. 1881
Metal
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (227.1881)

315 **ARDAGH THISTLE BROOCH, REERASTA, CO. LIMERICK**
(Fig. 80) **(NMI 1847:101)**
Irish, 9th Century AD

315.1 Facsimile
(Fig. 89) Joseph Johnson, c. 1881
Parcel gilt silver
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (228.1881)

315.2 Facsimile
Joseph or Edmond Johnson
Parcel gilt silver
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.A7449)

316 **BRONZE PENANNULAR ('CELTIC') BROOCH (NMI 1938:30)**
Irish, 9th Century AD

316.1 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 11.4 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.124)

316.2 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Silver
Diameter: 6.4 cm; Length of pin: 10.2 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.17)

316.3 Facsimiles: Double-Sided
Two brooches lacking pins
Metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:23)

317 **'UNIVERSITY' (RATHLIN ISLAND) BROOCH, RATHLIN ISLAND,**
(Fig. 212) **CO. ANTRIM (NMI R87 and IA/L/1963:3)**
Irish, 9th Century AD
Dimensions: Diameter 12.3 cm

317.1 Modified Facsimile
(Fig. 274) Waterhouse & Company, c. 1851
Metal
Stamped on reverse: 'Waterhouse & Compy Dublin'
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (2748.1853)

317.2 Modified Facsimile
(Fig. 297) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 22.8 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.64)

317.3 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 352) Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1904
Electrotype
Stamped on reverse: 'E. JOHNSON L^{TD} DUBLIN'
Diameter: 12.7 cm; Length of pin: 20.0 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1904-15)

317.4 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1904
Electrotype
Stamped on reverse: 'E. JOHNSON L^{TD} DUBLIN'
Diameter: 12.7 cm; Length of pin: 20.0 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1904-15:2)

317.5 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Bronze, plated
Diameter: 12.7 cm; Length of pin: 22.2 cm; Depth: 2.1 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.9)

317.5 Facsimile
Silver
Lacks pin
Diameter of ring (max): 12.6 cm
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1938:9746)

318 KILLAMERY ('KILKENNY') BROOCH, KILLAMERY, CO. KILKENNY
(Fig. 350) (NMI R165)
Irish, 9th Century AD
Dimensions: Length (Pin) 31.3 cm

318.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 26.7 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.66)

318.2 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 349) Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1904
Electrotype
Stamped: on reverse 'E. JOHNSON L^{TD} DUBLIN'
Diameter: 13.3 cm; Length of pin: 27.9 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1904-17)

318.3 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1904
Electrotype
Stamped on reverse: 'E. JOHNSON L^{TD} DUBLIN'
Diameter: 13.3 cm; Length of pin: 27.9 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1904-17:2)

318.4 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1904
Electrotype
Stamped on reverse: 'E. JOHNSON L^{TD} DUBLIN'
Diameter: 13.3 cm; Length of pin: 27.9 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1904-17:3)

318.5 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Parcel gilt silver
Diameter: 12.7 cm; Length of pin: 27.3 cm; Depth: 2.4 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.11)

318.7 Modified Facsimile: Pin
Sectional copy of pin
Metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:14)

318.8 Facsimile: Section
Section of brooch terminals, lacks ring and pin
Metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:15)

318.9 Facsimiles: Animal Ornament
Two animal heads from terminals of ring on back of brooch
Metal
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

318.10 Facsimiles: Panels of Ornament
Two panels of zoomorphic ornament from back of brooch
Metal
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

319 ROSCREA BROOCH, ROSCREA, CO. TIPPERARY (NMI P737)
(Fig. 182) Irish, 9th Century AD
Dimensions: Diameter 8.82 cm; Length (Pin) 18.3 cm

319.1 Modified Facsimile
(Fig. 183) William Acheson & Company, c. 1853
Parcel gilt silver
Diameter of ring: 7.3 cm; Length of pin: 9.9 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T409)

319.2 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 298) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 13.1 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.140)

319.3 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Silver
Diameter: 8.3 cm; Length of pin: 9.5 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.33)

319.4 Modified Facsimile
William Acheson & Company
Stamped on reverse: 'WM ACHESON, DUBLIN'
Electroformed
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:18)

319.5 Modified Facsimile
(Fig. 181) William Acheson & Company
Two separate halves of front and back faces of brooch
Metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:18)

320 BRONZE PENANNULAR BROOCH
Irish, 9th Century AD

320.1 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 8.2 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.142)

321 'LEITRIM' BROOCH (NMI 15)
Irish, 9th Century AD

321.1 Facsimile
(Fig. 218) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 14.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.178)

321.2 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1927
Design variation
Parcel gilt silver
Diameter of ring: 6.05 cm; Length of pin: 8.0 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T930)

322 'ROSCOMMON' BROOCH, DRIMNAGH, CO. ROSCOMMON (NMI 13.W32 or 1931:14)
Irish, 9th Century AD
Dimensions: Diameter (Ring) 9.19 cm; Width (Terminal) 4.4 cm; Length (Pin) 16.2 cm

322.1 (Fig. 326) Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 20.9 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.61)

322.2 (Fig. 327) Modified Facsimile: Badge
Edmond Johnson Limited, c. 1900
Inscribed with '*Inghinidhe na hÉireann*' (Daughters of Ireland)
Kilmainham Gaol, Dublin

322.3 Facsimiles
Four copies of brooch lacking pins
Metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:19)

322.4 Facsimile
Lacks pin
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:19)

322.5 Facsimiles: Pins
Three pins from brooch
Metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:19)

323 BRONZE RING-BROOCH, CORMEEN, CO. CAVAN (NMI W346)
Irish, 9th Century AD

323.1 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1906
Bronze
Diameter: 4.1 cm; Length of pin: 16.8 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1906
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (07.65.5)

324 THREE-LOBED PENANNULAR BROOCH (NMI 23 1859:88)
Irish, Mid 9th Century AD

324.1 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 8.6 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.106)

325 'INNISHOWEN' BROOCH (W469)
Irish, Mid 9th Century AD

325.1 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 12.1 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.135)

326 PENANNULAR BROOCH (TCD)
Irish, Late 9th Century AD

326.1 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 15.2 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.128)

327 'ARBUTUS BERRY' BROOCH, CELEBRIDGE, CO. KILDARE (NMI W40)
(Fig. 164) Irish, Late 9th or Early 10th Century AD
Dimensions: Length (Pin) 25.0 cm

327.1 Modified Facsimile
(Fig. 163) Waterhouse & Company, 1849-1851
Silver and gilt silver
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (2747.1853)

328 THISTLE BROOCH (NMI W38)
Irish, Late 9th or Early 10th Century AD

328.2 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 26.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.63)

328.2 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Silver
Diameter: 9.5 cm; Length of pin: 20.3 cm; Depth: 1.9 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.13)

329 HIBERNO-VIKING PENANNULAR BROOCH (NMI P742)
Irish, Late 9th or Early 10th Century

329.1 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 20.3 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.60)

330 HIBERNO-VIKING PENANNULAR BROOCH (NMI 1964.239)
Irish, Late 9th or Early 10th Century AD

330.1 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 15.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.123)

330.2 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Silver
Diameter: 7.6 cm; Length of pin: 13.3 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.21)

331 KITE BROOCH (NMI 4W27)
Irish, Late 9th or Early 10th Century
Dimensions: Length (Pinhead) 6.1 cm

331.1 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Bronze
Body: Length: 6.0 cm; Width: 2.5 cm
Pin: Length: 18.4 cm; Depth: 1.0 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.14)

332 PENANNULAR BROOCH, VIRGINIA, CO. CAVAN (NMI 8 W33)
(Fig. 32-3) Irish, 9th or 10th Century AD

332.1 Modified Facsimile
(Fig. 34) Joseph Johnson, after 1849
Silver
Stamped on reverse: Design Registry mark for 1849
Diameter: 5.7 cm
Donated by Professor John Hull Grundy and Anne Hull Grundy
British Museum, London (1978,1002.529/HG.529)

332.2 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 44) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 20.3 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.62)

332.3 Facsimile: Pin
Cast metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:21)

333 TORTOISE BROOCH, KILMAINHAM, CO. DUBLIN (NMI)
Irish, 9th or 10th Century AD

333.1 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 8.6 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.108)

334 TORTOISE BROOCH
Irish, 9th or 10th Century AD

334.1 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 8.6 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.109)

335 BROOCH, AGHALOUGHAN, CO. ANTRIM
Irish, 10th Century AD

335.1 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 5.7 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.155)

336 (Fig. 28-9 and 33) PENANNULAR BROOCH, BALLYSPELLAN, CO. KILKENNY (NMI R89)
Irish, 10th Century AD
Dimensions: Diameter (Ring) 11.49 cm; Length (Pin) 25.28 cm

336.1 Facsimile
1849
Silver
Stamped on reverse: Registration mark 26th July 1849
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T23)

336.2 Modified Facsimile: Double-Sided
1849-1851
Gilt silver
Stamped on reverse: Design Registry mark for 26 July 1849
Diameter of ring: 5.7 cm; Length of pin: 6.9 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T935)

336.3 Modified Facsimile
1849-1853
Silver set with cut amethyst paste stones
Diameter of ring: 5.7 cm; Length of pin: 6.35 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T897)

336.4 Modified Facsimile
(Fig. 43) Edmond Johnson for West & Son, 1849-50
Silver set with garnets
Height: 7.2 cm; Length of pin: 13.6 cm
The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle (RCIN 4833)

337 HIBERNO-VIKING PENANNULAR BROOCH (NMI R87 or W32)
Irish, 10th or 11th Century AD

337.1 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 17.8 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.122)

337.2 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Silver
Diameter: 8.3 cm; Length of pin: 15.2 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.18)

337.3 Facsimile
Lacks pin
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:20)

338 'CLARENDON' ('OGHAM') BROOCH
Irish

338.1 Facsimile
(Fig. 39-40) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 7.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.138)

338.2 Facsimile
(Fig. 36) Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Silver
Diameter: 6.4 cm; Length of pin: 10.8 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.16)

339 'INNISFALLEN' ('UNDERWOOD') BROOCH
Irish

339.1 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 10.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.131)

340 PENANNULAR BROOCH
Irish

340.1 Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 6.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.134)

341 'WEXFORD' BROOCH
Irish

341.1 Facsimile
(Fig. 281) Edmond Johnson for West & Son, c. 1853
Gilt metal
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (2752.1853)

342 'KELLS' BROOCH
Irish

342.1 Facsimile
(Fig. 217) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.137)

343 PENANNULAR BROOCH
Irish

343.1 Facsimile
Manufactured by Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing)

PART II: METALWORK

CHALICES

344 (Fig. 80-1 84, 101) **ARDAGH CHALICE, REERASTA, CO. LIMERICK (NMI 1874.99)**
Irish, 8th Century AD
Dimensions: Height 17.8 cm

344.1 (Fig. 83)
Facsimile Adaptation: Dish
Joseph Johnson, 1869
Design adapted from foot of the chalice
Silver and gilt silver, enamel, glass
Diameter: 41.0 cm
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (NMIDT 1983.1)

344.2 (Fig. 85 and 186)
Direct Facsimile
Joseph Johnson, c. 1881
Silver and gilt silver, enamel, glass
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (224-1881)

344.3 (Fig. 90)
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891
Silver and gilt silver, glass, enamel, rock crystal
Stamped on underside: Watson Fothergill (previous owner)
Height: 15 cm; Diameter of cup: 18 cm; Diameter of foot: 17 cm
Hunt Museum, Limerick (HCL 010)

344.4 (Fig. 91)
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Height: 15.8 cm; Diameter of bowl: 19.0 cm
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Edward A. Maser
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1977.125)

344.5 (Fig. 95)
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1906
Silver, enamel, glass
Dimensions: 15.9 cm x 19.1 cm x 17.8 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1906
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (07.65.8)

344.6 (Fig. 100)
Facsimile Adaptation: Clasp or Buckle
Hopkins & Hopkins, 1912
Design adapted from escutcheon under handle of chalice
Silver
Length: 5.3 cm; Width: 10.2 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T345)

344.7 Direct Facsimile
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.A54.1910)

344.8 Facsimiles: Sections of Ornament
(Fig. 188) Five sections of ornament associated with handles of chalice
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:35)

344.9 Facsimiles: Sections of Ornament
(Fig. 187) Seven sections of ornament associated with base of chalice
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:35)

344.10 Facsimiles: Sections of Ornament
Six sections of ornament associated with underside of chalice
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:35)

344.11 Facsimiles: Sections of Ornament
Five sections of filigree panels associated with bowl girdle
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:35)

344.12 Facsimile: Boss
Boss associated with bowl girdle
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:35)

344.13 Facsimile: Section of Ornament
Section of ornament associated with stem of chalice
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:35)

345 DUNVEGAN CUP, DUNVEGAN CASTLE, ISLE OF SKYE, SCOTLAND
(Fig. 329) Irish, 10th Century AD

345.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 331) Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1911
Silver, wood
Dimensions: 27.3 cm x 11.7 cm x 11.4 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1911
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (12.4.7)

346 DE BURGHO (O'MALLEY) CHALICE (NMI 1924.14)
Irish, 15th Century AD
Dimensions: Height 20.3 cm

346.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1911
Gilt silver
Dimensions: 18.7 cm x 12.7 cm x 12.7 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1911
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (12.4.6)

BELLS AND BELL SHRINES

347 **BELL OF ST. PATRICK, ARMAGH, CO. ARMAGH (NMI R4010)**
(Fig. 106) **Irish, Early 5th Century AD**
Dimensions: Height 19.3 cm

347.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 107) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Height: 20.3 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.117)

347.2 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1906
Iron sheet
Dimensions: 19.6 cm x 13.3 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1906
Metropolitan Museum of Art (07.65.2)

348 **BELL OF ARMAGH (NMI R4012)**
Irish

348.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Height: 17.9 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.116)

349 **BELL OF CLOGHER**
Irish, 5th Century AD

349.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1911
Iron, bronze handle
Dimensions: 25.4 cm x 14.3 cm x 12.7 cm)
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1911
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (12.4.3)

350 **BELL FROM MIDDLE DUNGANNON, CO. TYRONE**
Irish

350.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1911
Bronze
Dimensions: 22.9 cm x 12.7 cm x 11.3 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1911
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (12.4.4)

351 BELL
Irish

351.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1911
Bronze
Dimensions: 16.5 cm x 9.7 cm x 10.2 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1911
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (12.4.5)

352 (Fig. 103-105) SHRINE OF ST. PATRICK'S BELL, ARMAGH, CO. ARMAGH (NMI R4011)
Irish, Early 12th Century AD
Dimensions: Height 26.7 cm; Base 15.5 cm

352.1 (Fig. 108-110) Direct Facsimile
Attributed to Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Stamped on interior: 'Department of Science and Art, Elkington' and 'Copyright, Science & Art Depart.'
Gilt metal, enamel, glass
Height: 26.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.1)

352.2 (Fig. 112-113) Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1906
Bronze, gold, silver, enamel, gemstones
Dimensions: 26.6 cm x 15.7 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1906
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (07.65.1)

352.3 Direct Facsimile
Elkington & Company, c. 1868
Electrotype
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1868-12:A)

352.4 (Fig. 180) Direct Facsimile: Front
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1904
Electrotype
Dimensions: 17.5 cm x 14.3 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1904-13)

352.5 (Fig. 180) Direct Facsimile: Side
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1904
Electrotype
Dimensions: 16.5 cm x 9.8 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1904-13:A)

352.6 Direct Facsimile: Side
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1904
Electrotype
Dimensions: 16.5 cm x 9.8 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1904-13:B)

352.7 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1902-3
Gilt silver, enamel, glass
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (Arts & Industries, 1983.6)

352.8 Direct Facsimile
Copper and bronze with silver back, glass insets
Height: 28.0 cm; Width at top: 12.3 cm; Width at base: 16.4 cm
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1938:9747)

352.9 Facsimile: Portion of Handle
Cube with interlace decoration from side of shrine
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:37)

352.10 Facsimile: Type Patterns
(Fig. 205) Elkington & Company, c. 1868
Electrotype patterns for front, back and side panels, crest of shrine
Copper
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1868-12)

BOOK SHRINES

353 (Fig. 191-192) ***DOMHNACH AIRGID*** **SHRINE, CLONES, CO. MONAGHAN (NMI R2834)**
Irish, 8th Century and 14th Century AD
Dimensions: Height 16.7 cm

353.1 (Fig. 189-190)
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Height: 22.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.6)

353.2
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gilt bronze, enamel, gemstones
Dimensions: 16.8 cm x 10.2 cm x 22.7 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.233.3)

354 (Fig. 114-118) ***SOISCEÁL MOLAISE*** **SHRINE, DEVENISH, CO. FERMANAGH (NMI R4006)**
Irish, Early 11th Century and 15th Century AD
Dimensions: Height 14.75 cm; Width 11.70 cm

354.1 (Fig. 119-124)
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Height: 14.9 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.5)

354.2 (Fig. 126-128)
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Bronze, silver and gilt silver, gemstones
Dimensions: 14.1 cm x 8.6 cm x 16.5 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.233.2)

354.3 (Fig. 180)
Direct Facsimile: Front
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1904
Electrotype
Dimensions: 13.6 cm x 10.8 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1904:11)

354.4
Direct Facsimile: Front
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1904
Electrotype
Dimensions: 13.6 cm x 10.8 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1904:11:3)

354.5 Facsimile: Type Pattern
Panel from long side of shrine
Metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:38)

354.6 Facsimiles: Hinges
Two decorated hinges from sides of shrine
Metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:38)

354.7 Facsimiles: Panels of Ornament
Four panels of ornament from front face of shrine
Metal
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

355 (Fig. 197) SHRINE OF THE *CATHACH*, BALLYMAGROARTY, CO. DONEGAL (NMI R2835)
Irish, 11th Century and 16th Century AD
Dimensions: Width 25.1 cm

355.1 (Fig. 200) Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Bronze, plated, gemstones
Dimensions: 21.0 cm x 6.7 cm x 25.9 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.233.8)

356 (Fig. 177) SHRINE OF THE STOWE MISSAL, LORRHA, CO. TIPPERARY (NMI 1883:614a)
Irish, Early 11th Century and Late 14th Century AD
Dimensions: Height 18.7 cm

356.1 (Fig. 179) Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1911
Wood, brass, gilt silver, glass cabochons
Dimensions: 19.1 cm x 7.3 cm x 16.5 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1911
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (12.4.12)

356.2 Facsimiles: Panels of Ornament
Four panels of ornament from sides of shrine
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

357 SHRINE OF THE BOOK OF DIMMA (TCD)
(Fig. 176) Irish, Mid 12th Century, 15th Century and 19th Century AD

357.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 178) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Dimensions: 17.4 cm x 20.3 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.3)

357.2 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gilt bronze, gemstones
Dimensions: 20.0 cm x 6.4 cm x 17.1 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.3)

357.3 Direct Facsimile: Front
(Fig. 180) Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1904
Electrotype
Dimensions: 18.7 cm x 15.9 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1904:12)

357.4 Direct Facsimile
Silver-plated copper with glass insets
Height: 20.0 cm; Width: 17.0 cm; Depth: 6.5 cm
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

MANUSCRIPTS

358 BOOK OF KELLS (TCD MS 58)
(Fig. 133-4) Irish, 8-9th Century AD

358.1 Facsimile Adaptations: Brooch and Bracelet
(Fig. 132) Joseph Johnson, 1850-1870
Gold and bog oak
With jewellery case
Diameter of brooch: 3.7 cm; Length of bracelet: 19.5 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T3317)

358.2 Facsimile Adaptations: Brooch and Bracelet
Joseph Johnson, 1850-1870
Gold and bog oak
With jewellery case
Diameter of brooch: 3.7 cm; Length of bracelet: 19.5 cm
Ulster Museum, Belfast (BELUM.T2099)

358.3 Facsimile Adaptations: Initials
(Fig. 138) Late 19th or Early 20th Century
Painted plaster, various metals and finishes mounted on wood
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:34)

CROZIERS

359 (Fig. 193) **CLONMACNOISE CROZIER, CLONMACNOISE, CO. OFFALY (NMI R2988)**
Irish, 11th Century AD
Dimensions: Length 97.1 cm

359.1 (Fig. 301)
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Staff: Length: 25.7 cm; Crook: Length: 21.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.12)

359.2 (Fig. 194)
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gilt bronze, silver inlay, gemstones
Dimensions: 96.5 cm x 15.9 cm x 4.6 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.34)

360 **CROZIER OF ST. TOLA, DYSERT O'DEA, CO. CLARE (NMI P.1013)**
Irish, 11th-13th Century AD

360.1
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 99.1 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.11)

360.2
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Bronze, gold, silver, enamel
Dimensions: 127.6 cm x 4.4 cm x 16.8 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.233.10)

360.3
Facsimile: Panel of Ornament
Panel of ornament from head of crozier
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:41)

361 **CROZIER OF ST. MURA OF FAHAN, CO. DONEGAL (NMI P.1015)**
Irish, 11th-13th Century AD

361.1
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 127.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.13)

361.2 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Bronze, silver, gemstones
Dimensions: 123.2 cm x 4.5 cm x 15.9 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.233.11)

362 (Fig. 129) LISMORE CROZIER, LISMORE, CO. WATERFORD (NMI L1949:1)
Irish, Early 12th Century AD
Dimensions: Length 116.0 cm

362.1 (Fig. 131 and 196) Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Bronze over wood, enamel
Dimensions: 118.1 cm x 7.5 cm x 15.9 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.22)

362.2 Direct Facsimile
Electrotype
Deposited by Department of Industry and Commerce
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1934:57)

362.3 Facsimile: Half Section of Crozier Head
Metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:42)

362.4 Facsimile: Crozier Ferrule
Metal
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:42)

363 CROZIER OF CORMAC MCCARTHY (NMI P.1020)
Irish, 13th Century AD

363.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 157.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.14)

363.2 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Metal
Length: 134.6 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.233.9)

CORPOREAL RELIQUARIES

364 **LOUGH ERNE SHRINE, LOUGH ERNE, CO. FERMANAGH (Outer)**
(Fig. 169) **(NMI 1901:46a,b)**
Irish, Late 8th or Early 9th Century AD
Dimensions: Length 16.0 cm

364.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Height: 15.9 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.65)

364.2 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 170) Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Silver plate, cabochons
Dimensions: 16.7 x 7.6 x 17.8 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.2a)

364.3 Facsimiles: Sections of Ornament
(Fig. 171) Six sections of ornament from exterior of shrine
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:36)

365 **LOUGH ERNE SHRINE, LOUGH ERNE, CO. FERMANAGH (Inner)**
(NMI 1901:46a,b)
Irish, Late 8th or Early 9th Century AD
Dimensions: Length 10.6 cm

365.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Height: 6.3 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.175)

365.2 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gilt bronze
Dimensions: 5.7 cm x 4.9 cm x 9.2 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.2b)

366 (Fig. 198-199) SHRINE OF ST. PATRICK'S TOOTH, ATHENRY, CO. GALWAY (NMI R2836)
Irish, 12th Century and Late 14th Century AD
Dimensions: Height 27.7 cm

366.1 (Fig. 201-202)
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Height (with stand): 31.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.4)

366.2
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Gilt bronze, gemstones
Dimensions: 30.5 cm x 23.5 cm x 6.4 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.233.4)

367 (Fig. 174) SHRINE OF ST. LACHTIN'S ARM, DONAGHMORE, CO. CORK (NMI 1884:690)
Irish, Early 12th Century
Dimensions: Height 39.0 cm; Diameter (Base) 7.0 cm

367.1
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Length: 42.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.7)

367.2
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Bronze, silver, gemstones
Dimensions: 38.7 x 6.4 x 7.6 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.233.7)

367.3 (Fig. 175)
Facsimile: Section of Base
Electrotype section of base of shrine
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:43)

368 (Fig. 155-156) SHRINE OF ST. MANCHAN (Boher, Lemanaghan, Co. Offaly)
Irish, 12th Century AD
Dimensions: Length 60.0 cm; Height 50.0 cm

368.1 (Fig. 157)
Plaster Cast
Dr. Alexander Carte, c. 1853
Painted plaster
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1864:54)

368.2 Direct Facsimile
1864
Bronze and wood
Acquired by purchase from Sir William Wilde
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (RIA R1753)

368.3 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 158) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Dimensions: 48.3 x 62.9 x 43.2 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.8)

368.4 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1911
Wood, bronze, brass, enamel
Dimensions: 51.4 x 41.9 x 55.6 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1911
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (12.4.1)

369 SHRINE OF ST. PATRICK'S HAND (UM)
(Fig. 148) Irish, 15th Century AD

369.1 Plaster Cast
(Fig. 150) Dr. Alexander Carte, c. 1853
Painted plaster
Three labels affixed to base: 'Exhibitor's Department, Name: J. Lentaigne, Esq., Object: A Facsimile of St Patrick's Hand, Section: Loan'; 'J. Lentaigne No. 17'; 'Science and Art Museum, Dublin, ART 1888 (or 1880?), No. 110'
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1938:9743)

369.2 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (Missing, c. 1948)

369.3 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 152-154) Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Silver, gemstones
Dimensions: 38.7 x 13.3 x 10.8 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.233.5)

369.4 Direct Facsimile
Silver plated with glass insets
Height: 40.5 cm; Width: 14.0 cm; Diameter at base (max): 12.3 cm
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (16.6.38)

CROSSES

370 (Fig. 139-140, 206) CROSS OF CONG, CO. MAYO (NMI R2833)
Irish, Early 12th Century AD
Dimensions: Height 76.5 cm

370.1 (Fig. 141-2 and 195)
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Height: 75.5 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.2)

370.2 (Fig. 144-145, 208)
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1906
Copper, gold, enamel, glass, silver on oak
Dimensions: 85.7 x 48.1 x 0.5 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1906
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (07.65.6)

370.3
Direct Facsimile: Front Panel of Cross Arm
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1904
Electrotype
Dimensions: 21.6 cm x 7.0 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1904-18)

370.4
Direct Facsimile: Back Panel of Cross Arm
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1904
Electrotype
Dimensions: 23.8 cm x 6.0 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1904-18:A)

370.5 (Fig. 146-147)
Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1916
Silver and gilt silver, enamel, semi-precious stones
Stamped on reverse: Hallmarked 1916, Dublin, EJ
Height: 75.0 cm; Width (max): 42.5 cm
Honan Chapel, University College, Cork (HCC/15)

370.6
Direct Facsimile: Front Panel of Cross Arm
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1927
Electrotype
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1928-9)

370.7
Direct Facsimile: Back Panel of Cross Arm
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1927
Electrotype
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1928-9)

370.8 Facsimile: Ring
Three-headed ring associated with base of cross
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:40)

370.9 Facsimile: Panel of Ornament
(Fig. 207) Panel of ornament at intersection of cross arms on back face
Donated by P. Allen, Curator, O'Connell School, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1983:65:44)

370.10 Facsimile
Two sections from the cross and a stud
Metal
Acquired from Messrs. Switzer and Company, Limited, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1939:987)

371 CROSS OF CLOGHER (NMI)
(Fig. 346) Irish, Early 14th Century AD

371.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 345) Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Oak, bronze, silver
Dimensions: 84.1 x 40.6 x 7.9 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.233.1)

371.2 Direct Facsimile
Copper and brass plates with internal support
Height: 85.0 cm; Width: 39.5 cm; Depth at base: 8.0 cm
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

372 BALLYLONGFORD PROCESSIONAL CROSS, BALLYMACASEY,
(Fig. 348) CO. KERRY (NMI 1889.4)
Irish, Late 15th Century AD
Dimensions: Height 67.2 cm

372.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 347) Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1911
Gilt brass
Dimensions: 64.8 x 48.3 x 10.0 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1911
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (12.4.9)

TRUMPETS AND HORNS

373 **BRONZE TRUMPET**
Irish, Late Bronze Age or Iron Age, La Tène Period

373.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Length: 59.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.52)

374 **KAVANAGH 'CHARTER' HORN, BORRIS, CO. CARLOW (NMI 1976:2)**
(Fig. 330) **Irish, 12th and 15th Century AD**
Dimensions: Height 42.0 cm

374.1 Modified Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Metal
Height: 10.8 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.110)

374.2 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 332) Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Ivory with brass mounts
Dimensions: 40.6 x 20.3 cm; Diameter: 12.1 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.28)

374.3 Facsimile
Brass and wood
Purchased from Messrs. Switzer and Company, Limited, Dublin
National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (1938:9745)

DISCS AND BOSSES

375 **BRONZE DISC, MONASTEREVIN, CO. KILDARE (NMI W3)**
(Fig. 320) **Irish, Early Iron Age, 2nd Century AD**
Dimensions: Diameter 30.6 cm

375.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1908
Bronze
Dimensions: 27.3 x 27.3 cm
Purchased by Rogers Fund, 1908
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (08.23.1)

375.2 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson Limited, 1896-1904
Electrotype
Diameter: 27.9 cm
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (1904-10)

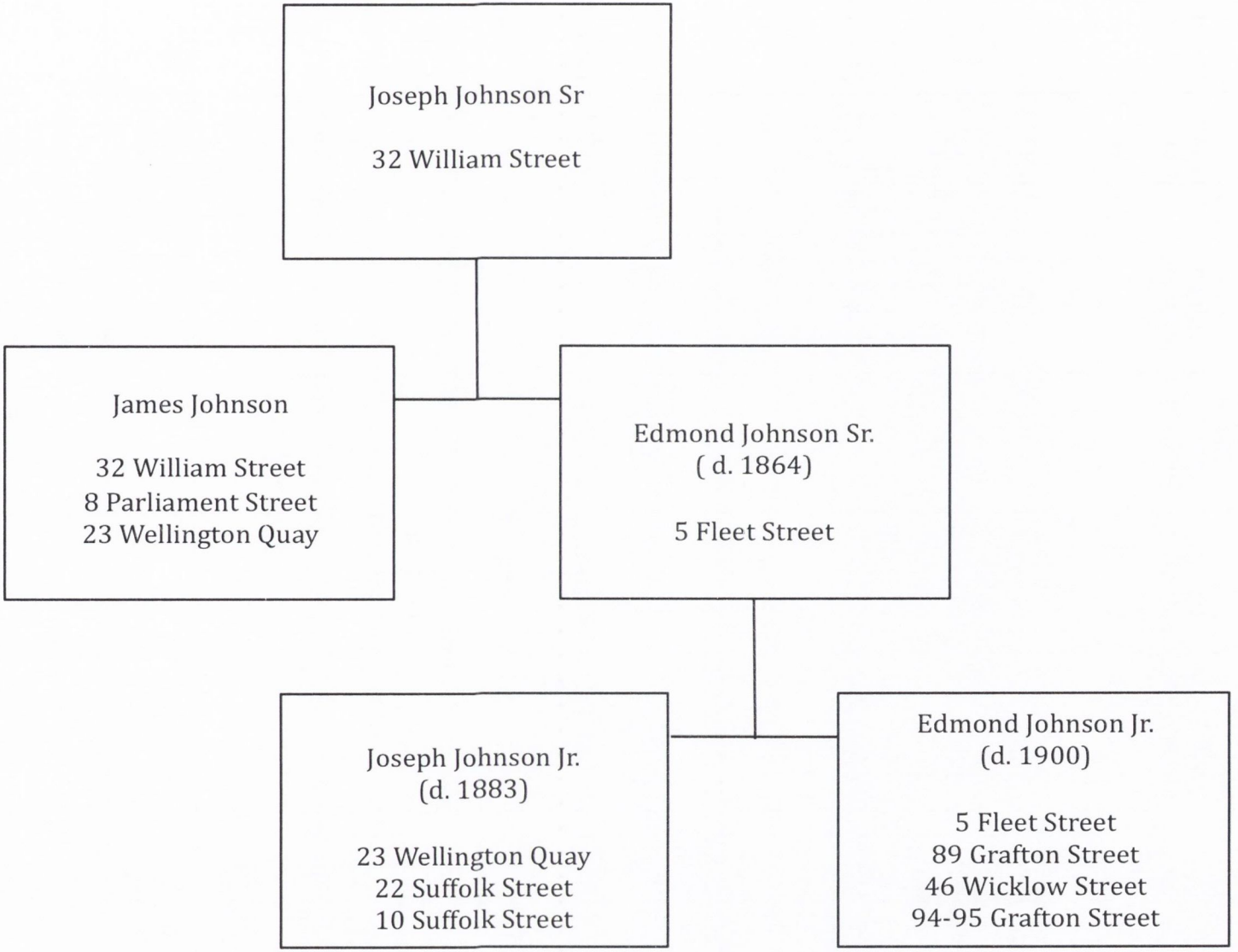
376 **BRONZE DISC (NMI P1147)**
Irish, 5th Century AD

376.1 Direct Facsimile
(Fig. 300) Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Incorrectly restored as a sunflower pin
Metal
Length: 26.0 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.156)

377 **CIRCULAR BOSS OF BRONZE (NMI P1245)**
Irish, 7th or 8th Century AD

377.1 Direct Facsimile
Edmond Johnson, c. 1891-2
Incorrectly restored as a sunflower pin
Metal
Length: 18.7 cm
David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, Chicago (1967.121.157)

APPENDIX IV: JOHNSON FAMILY TREE



APPENDIX V: FACSIMILE PRODUCTION BY FIRM AND DATE

	Waterhouse & Company	West & Son	William Acheson & Company	Joseph Johnson	Edmond Johnson	Hopkins & Hopkins
'Fibula' Brooch	1842-1872	-	-	-	1902	1910
'Great Clare Find'	-	-	-	-	1891-1902	-
Broighter Hoard	-	-	-	-	1902-1906	-
'Clarendon' Brooch	1849-1872	-	-	1849	1849; Late 19th –Early 20th C.	1910
'Tara' Brooch	1851-1872	1886		1869-1881	1891-1906	1910
Hunterston Brooch	-	-	1850-1860	-	Late 19th - Early 20th C	-
Co. Cavan Brooch	1872	1849-1862	-	-	1891-Early 20th C	Early 20th C
'Dalriada' Brooch	-	1878	-	-	1902	1910
Ardagh Hoard	-	1901-1918	-	1869-1881	1891-1914	1910-1928
Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell	-	-	-	-	1891-1906	-
Soiscéal Molaise	-	-	-	-	1856; 1891-Early 20th C	-
Lismore Crozier	-	-	-	-	1898-1908	-
Book of Kells	-	-	-	Pre 1890	1891-1902	1910
Cross of Cong	-	-	-	1882	1891-1916	-
Shrine of St. Patrick's Hand	-	-	-	-	1891-1908	-
Shrine of St. Manchan	-	-	-	-	1891-1911	-