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ANDREW CALDWELL (1733-1808)

A STUDY OF A 'GUARDIAN OF TASTE AND GENIUS'

Volume 1

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ANDREW CALDWELL (1733-1808)
A STUDY OF A 'GUARDIAN OF TASTE AND GENIUS'

(in two volumes)

JANE MEREDITH

Volume 1

Text

Submitted to

Department of the History of Art

Trinity College

Dublin

for the degree of Master in Letters

November 2004

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Declaration

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Signed: Jane Meredith

Jane Meredith

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Summary

The purpose of this thesis has been to explore the role played by Andrew Caldwell, barrister, estate owner and fine arts connoisseur, in the cultural life of Dublin in the second half of the eighteenth century. Caldwell was thought to have had a special interest in architecture and the initial aim of the study was to explore the extent of this interest and ascertain whether it was based on his own architectural experience. When it became obvious from the sources studied that there was insufficient material for a thesis based wholly on architecture, its scope was widened to include Caldwell's other areas of interest.

Very little has been published on Caldwell to date and the main sources consulted for this thesis have been private collections of contemporary letters, a long and detailed inventory of household effects, minute books and contemporary printed material. The bedrock of the study has been a recently discovered important private archive of family letters and papers, owned by a descendant of Benjamin Caldwell, our Caldwell's brother.

Visits to Caldwell's two homes in Dublin, combined with the inventory detailing with the contents of one of them, and letters written from and about them, have helped to build up a clear picture of the style in which he lived. Other eighteenth century houses he admired were visited and the contents of his library and his painting collection were studied.

This thesis has established that Caldwell was an influential architectural connoisseur but not an architect, and that he was also a connoisseur of painting, an enthusiastic botanist and a voracious bibliophile. A committed Presbyterian, he was a fully integrated and respected member of Dublin society. He was conscientious about his public duties but not politically minded, preferring more cultural activities. He lived in Dublin all his life, his Newgrange estate being run by a manager.

Acknowledgements

My first acknowledgement goes to my supervisor, Dr. Edward McParland. I am grateful to him for his sustained support and encouragement throughout the over-long time it has taken me to produce this study. Without him the study would not have taken place at all as he found the archive of private papers on which it is based; I also inherited from him my interest in Andrew Caldwell. Next I would like to thank the owner of the Caldwell papers for her trust and friendship during the months I researched them. I am grateful to Dr. Philip McEvansoneya for his help and advice on the painting chapter, and to Dr. David Dickson for his interest in this project from its outset and for sparing time to meet occasionally to discuss it. Special thanks go to Dr. Ray Astbury for so generously sharing with me his work on George Cockburn and for lending me his microfilm of the Cockburn papers held in the National Army Museum, London. Special thanks, also, to Anthony Duggan whose thesis on the development of Parnell Square proved invaluable to me.

For personal assistance, information and support I am grateful to Malcolm Alsop of Alsop Verrill, planning consultants, for arranging my visit to Parksted House, Roehampton, Julia Armstrong-Totten and Carolyne Aycaguer of the Getty Provenance Index, Evelyn Beattie, to whom I am so grateful for persuading Lord Caledon to allow me to visit Caledon House, Barbara Beevor, Charles Benson and the staff of Trinity College Early Printed Books, Rosemary Brown, who set me off on the trail of the Riall family, John Burcher for allowing me to photograph Belline's gate lodge, James Burke for coping with my computer problems, Nesta Butler for sharing her work on William Baillie, Mary Clark of the Dublin City Archive, Philip Clarke of the National Gallery, London, Bridget Clesham, the late John Cornforth, Anne Crookshank, Rev. Bill Darlison, David Davison, Brendan Dempsey of Audio-Visual and Media Services, Trinity College, Gina Douglas of the Linnean Society library, Burlington House, Brenda Doyle, Lord Duncannon, for sending me photocopies from the Bessborough archive, Paul Ferguson, Nicky Figgis, the Firemen's Social Club, for allowing me to visit and photograph 12 Parnell Square, Desmond Fitzgerald, the Knight of Glin, Patricia Friel, Rev. David Graham, David Griffin and the staff of the Irish Architectural Archive, Georgina Hammick, Vaughan Hart, the late Patricia Heyman for allowing me to photograph portraits in her home, Susan Hood of the Representative Church Body library, Ruth Illingworth for telling me about the Presbyterian archive in the basement

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I would like to thank especially my daughter and friend Judy Devine, and my friend Eve McAulay, for finding time in their busy lives to proof read the text of this thesis. I thank the rest of my family for their tolerance of my single-minded pursuit of Andrew Caldwell and, finally, I thank my sister Pattie (Pat Nichols) for all the support she has given, and all the translating and listening she has done, over the last few years. I dedicate this thesis to her.

Abbreviations

Bessborough MSS	Private collection of Bessborough papers
BL	British Library
BMPL	British Museum Dept. of Prints & Drawings
Caldwell MSS	Private collection of Caldwell papers
Cockburn MSS	Private collection of Cockburn papers
DCL	Dublin City Library
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*
DS	Dublin Society
Geo.Soc.Records	*The Georgian Society records of eighteenth-Century domestic architecture and Decoration in Dublin*. 5 vols. (Dublin, 1909-1913)
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
IAA	Irish Architectural Archive
Life	James Gandon, junior, and Thomas J. Mulvany, *The Life of James Gandon, Esq*…, (Dublin, 1846); Maurice Craig (ed) reprint of *The Life* (London, 1969)
Lin.Soc.Lib.	Linnean Society Library, Burlington House, London. Letters from Andrew Caldwell to Dr. James Smith.
NA	National Archive
NLI	National Library of Ireland
NAM	National Army Museum, London
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National biography* (Oxford, 2004)
PB	Paving Board
PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland
RD	Registry of Deeds
RIA	Royal Irish Academy
TCD	Trinity College Dublin
UCD	University College Dublin
WSC	Wide Streets Commission

NOTE
Throughout the thesis the spelling, punctuation and contractions of all quotations mirror the original documents.

INTRODUCTION

Very little has been published on Andrew Caldwell. Dr. Edward McParland is the only writer to have discussed him at any length in print, in his book *James Gandon,*[1] and in articles in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*[2] and the *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society.*[3] It was McParland's belief that Caldwell was probably the anonymous author (calling himself 'L') of an important series of 'Observations on Architecture' published in the *Freeman's Journal* between 27 December 1768 and 7 February 1769, and also that he, together with one or two other Dubliners, such as Frederick Trench and Sackville Hamilton, formed a clique of special significance in the development of late eighteenth-century architecture in Dublin.

An article written by Luisa Vertova in the *Burlington Magazine* in July 1995,[4] entitled 'A late renaissance view of Rome', reinforced the belief that Caldwell had a special interest in architecture. It concerned the discovery in an English private collection of a previously unpublished late sixteenth-century pen and ink drawing entitled *View of the Campidoglio*, 1598-1603 (Plate 1). Inscribed on the back of the drawing was an annotation reading: 'sent from Rome to Andrew Caldwell by his uncle Colonel Heywood 1776'. Not only did McParland gain permission to view this drawing, but its owner informed him of the existence of a substantial archive of Caldwell papers held in the private collection of another family member. This archive (to which I was allowed completely free access) turned out to be a treasure trove, comprising nine bound volumes of letters and papers dating from 1639 to 1863, housed in an oak cabinet especially made for them in the 1850s. Other drawers and cupboards in the same cabinet overflowed with family papers. Until the finding of the archive little was known about Caldwell's personal life, his education, his family, his friends, his interests and his life in general. Although the archive fully covered all these aspects it failed to confirm McParland's speculation concerning Caldwell's individual architectural significance, and established that as he was not himself an architect there was no body of his own designing to discuss. The range, richness and potential of the

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[1] Edward McParland. *James Gandon* (London, 1985), pp.35,41,94-96,175,189.
[2] Ibid. 'James Gandon and the Royal Exchange Competition, 1768-69' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol.cii, part 1 (1972), p.58.
[3] Ibid. 'The Wide Streets Commissioners: their importance for Dublin architecture in the late 18th-early 19th century' in the *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, vol.xv, no.1 (1972), pp.1-31.
[4] Luisa Vertova. 'A late renaissance view of Rome' in the *Burlington Magazine* (July, 1995), p.445.

archive far transcends the merely architectural and for this reason I decided that the most rewarding way to approach Caldwell was as savant, connoisseur, critic, collector and man of taste rather than as mere architectural critic; hence my title.

In order to flesh out the picture available from the Caldwell papers other related archives were pursued and examined. The Cockburn papers in the National Army Museum, London,[5] the Linnean Society correspondence between James Smith, president of the Society, and Caldwell, in Burlington House, London, and the Edmund Malone correspondence in the Bodleian library, were particularly satisfying sources in that, in several instances, they responded directly to letters in the Caldwell papers. The correspondence between Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore, and Caldwell, published in John Nichols's *Illustrations of the literary history of the eighteenth-century*[6] was similarly fruitful. Other Cockburn papers, held in the British Library,[7] provided much helpful information, as did two volumes of George Cockburn's reminiscences, found to be in the possession of one of his direct descendants, living in England. Members of the staff of the *Getty Provenance Index* in San Francisco, and London's National Gallery, contributed relevant material, as did Viscount Duncannon, who supplied copies of papers from the Bessborough archive. References in the Caldwell papers were followed up with visits to Caledon House, in Co. Tyrone, and Parksted House, in Roehampton, and to Caldwell's two residences in what was Rutland Square (now Parnell Square). Other manuscripts, minute books and *Proceedings* consulted in the National Library, Royal Dublin Society, Royal Irish Academy, Civic Museum in South William Street (now Dublin City Library and Archive, Pearse Street), the Irish Architectural Archive, Trinity College library and the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland all helped towards building the picture of Andrew Caldwell presented in this thesis. I was also fortunate to be allowed free and unsupervised access to an archive found to be held in the basement of the Unitarian Church in Stephen's Green, which shed very interesting light on Dublin's Presbyterian scene in the late eighteenth-century. In all this research only one frustration was met with; efforts to gain access to the Rutland papers held in Belvoir Castle, Leicestershire, failed.

With the exception of the first biographical chapter, which covers Caldwell's life until he was called to the Irish Bar in 1760, the arrangement of the thesis is

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[5] Studied on microfilm.
[6] John Nichols. *Illustrations of the Literary History of the 18th Century*, vol.v (1858), p.24.
[7] BL. Cockburn papers. Add.MS 48312-48315.

thematic. Because the major part of my research concentrated on the study of private family papers, so the major part of the thesis explores how Caldwell's private life related to his major artistic interests and only in chapter eight does he move into the public arena. Chapters two and three are concerned with his own private domestic life, his family and his homes in Rutland Square; chapters four, five and six illustrate the rich cultural life Caldwell enjoyed in Ireland and England as a result of close friendships with others who shared his interest in architecture, botany, prints and painting and books; chapter seven is devoted to his own painting collection, his patronage of young painters, and the general way in which he kept abreast of events in the art world; chapter eight is devoted wholly to his public life, as a Member of Parliament, of the Dublin Society, the Paving Board, the Wide Streets Commission, the Royal Irish Academy and as a member of the commission set up to establish the town of New Geneva, and chapter nine returns to the *Freeman's Journal* 'Observations on Architecture'.

CHAPTER ONE

Early days and before

Andrew Caldwell (1733-1808 - Plate 2; for the moment referred to as Andrew II) was the eldest of the ten surviving children of Charles Caldwell (1707-1776 - Plate 3) and his wife Elizabeth Heywood (1708-1792 - Plate 4 (see Appendices I(a) and I(b) for Caldwell and Heywood family trees). The family lived in Henry Street, Charles Caldwell choosing to live in Dublin rather than on his considerable estate in Co. Meath (Plate 5), which was run by a manager. In order to understand how the estate came into the family it is necessary to go back to the end of the seventeenth century when, on 14 August 1699, Alice Moore, Countess Dowager of Drogheda, leased the lands of Newgrange for ninety-nine years to Charles Campbell.[1] Campbell, who in his earlier years had seen many vicissitudes, becoming at the young age of eighteen on the death of his father the head of his large family of siblings, had by that date established himself and, as Andrew II wrote in 1808 in his privately printed book on the Caldwell family, 'was now become a man of great weight and power, a Member of Parliament [for Newtown Ards], and Privy Counsellor, and had made a large fortune'.[2] He built a mansion on his newly acquired Newgrange estate, complete with 'outhouses, coach houses, stables, orchards and gardens'[3] and lived there in great style during the summer months, returning to his house in Capel Street in the winter. Around the year 1696 Campbell's attention was drawn to the plight of Andrew Caldwell (1683-1731 - Plate 6; for the moment referred to as Andrew I), then thirteen years of age and a distant relation. This young man (who was eventually to become our Caldwell's grandfather) was at that time living with his mother, sister, stepfather Mr. Dixon[4] and his step-brothers and sisters, in reduced circumstances. When the widowed Mrs. Caldwell[5] married Mr. Dixon, who was a farmer, her Caldwell relations would have nothing more to do with her, considering her second marriage to be 'low and degrading'.[6] No doubt with an eye to the great opportunity being offered to her son she agreed to Campbell's

2 3 4 App.I a,b 5 6

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[1] NA, Caldwell Papers, M1095/2/2:7.

[2] Caldwell MSS. *Caldwell Family*, p.7. This record of the Caldwell family history was written by Andrew Caldwell shortly before his death in July 1808. It was sent to his brother, Admiral Benjamin Caldwell, and was printed privately, preceded by the Admiral's 'Observations'. Two copies were found among the Caldwell MSS, one of which was annotated by later members of the Caldwell family.

[3] RD 77-448-54314, Burton to Netterville, 1734.

[4] There is confusion about the name of the widowed Mrs. Caldwell's second husband; he is named Fawsit in the pedigree compiled from records found among the Caldwell MSS.

[5] Her husband had died while her two children by him, Ann and Andrew, were very young.

[6] Caldwell MSS. *Caldwell Family*, p.6.

request that he should assume complete responsibility for Andrew I, and consented to his stipulation that she should have no future contact with him. Under Campbell's wing Andrew I flourished, receiving a good education and, in due course, being taken into his office to be 'bred an attorney'.[7] In the fullness of time he married Campbell's youngest sister Catherine (see Appendix I(c) for Campbell family tree), who was three years older than himself, and so his adoptive father became also his brother-in-law. Andrew I continued to act as an attorney and, thanks to Campbell's influence, was employed by many public figures, including the first Lord Duncannon and, on his death, by his son Brabazon, the second Lord Duncannon, who in 1739 was to receive his earldom, becoming the first earl of Bessborough. As we shall see, the Bessborough family was to have a large role to play in the development of our Andrew Caldwell's taste and in his appreciation of architecture. Andrew I and Catherine set up house in Stafford Street (Plate 7) and had five children, three daughters and two sons. Charles, who was to become our Caldwell's father, was their firstborn son while their younger son, Hugh, died in infancy. Catherine was a conscientious mother and loyal wife, and also continued to cherish her brother Charles Campbell, spending time in the summer months staying with her children in the little house which he had built for her at the end of his Newgrange garden and, in the winter months a constant visitor to his home in Capel street (Plate 7), managing his domestic affairs and often acting as his hostess. 7
His marriage to a Miss Catherine Tisdall, 'an odd woman',[8] had been of short duration, although he looked after her kindly and generously after their separation, and they lived next door but one to each other in Capel street. Their only child, Ann, was the joy of his life and while she was growing up remained under his roof, taught by a governess and allowed only to visit her mother. On 20 October 1714 tragedy struck when Ann, now married to the wealthy Samuel Burton, one of the leading Dublin bankers of that period, and pregnant with their third child, fell to her death from the scaffold from which she was watching the coronation procession of George I. Her father was heartbroken but in spite of his deep depression, and final three years illness, continued for the remaining eleven years of his life to look after the interests of his Newgrange tenants and Andrew II records that 'his memory is still held in veneration by the grand-children of many of them, who are tenants to me'.[9]

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[7] Ibid, p.8.
[8] Ibid, p.21.
[9] Ibid, p.25.

Charles Campbell died at his house in Capel Street in October, 1725. Disappointed by what he considered to be his adoptive son and brother-in-law's reckless behaviour in money matters (Andrew I had lost £4000 when the South-Sea Bubble burst[10] and spent excessively when enjoying the company of such aristocratic business clients as Lords Hillsborough, Rosse and Drogheda, which three were considered by Andrew II to be 'the most dissipated extravagant lords that we have ever heard of')[11] he left him nothing in his will. Surprisingly he left only a sum of £800, not even an annuity, to his devoted and favourite sister Catherine, Andrew I's wife. His Balfeddock and Newgrange estate he left to his grandson, Benjamin Burton.[12]

Much interesting research remains to be done into the extent to which the earlier Caldwells, Andrew I and Charles, were involved, through their family and working relationship with Charles Campbell, with the great development of Dublin in the first half of the eighteenth century by Luke Gardiner (ante 1690-1755). As the Earl of Drogheda's seneschal (steward) from 1707[13] Campbell was responsible for leasing a large part of Drogheda's Dublin estate which, on Campbell's death, was acquired by Gardiner. Further study of the Caldwell papers covering the earlier years of Charles Caldwell's life, including long letters to his father Andrew I during his years at Glasgow university, may well shed new light on this question.

In February 1729, Andrew I made his first land purchase, acquiring the lands of Knowth and Giltown, and the rectorial tithes of Rathkenny (a parish lying between Slane and Navan),[14] which were later to be added to by his son Charles (who bought Benjamin Burton's Balfeddock and Newgrange lands in 1766)[15] to form the great Newgrange estate (Plate 5). He did not have much time to benefit from his purchase, however, as he died suddenly on 17 March 1731 (new style). Andrew II recounts how his grandfather had been to evening service in Capel Street Meeting House (the Caldwell family was Presbyterian) and gone afterwards, as was his custom, to drink wine at the home of his old friend Mr. Gordon, who also lived in Stafford Street, a few doors from his own. Suddenly, a portrait of King William which hung over the

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[10] In September 1720.
[11] Caldwell MSS. *Caldwell Family*, p.9.
[12] NA, Caldwell papers M10951/2/2vi.
[13] Nuala Burke. *A study in Urban Morphagenesis 1600-1800,* p.248, endnote 23. Ph.D thesis, TCD, 1972
[14] RD 62-410-43431. Edward Earl of Drogheda to Andrew Caldwell 1729.
[15] Caldwell MSS. 'Rental and Particulars of the estate of Admiral Benjamin Caldwell in the Counties of Meath & Louth, 1820', p.2.

chimney-piece fell down, hitting Andrew I on the knee, and shortly afterwards he complained of feeling unwell and had to be escorted home. Charles (Andrew I's son, who was still living at home) was sent to fetch the doctor but by the time they arrived back at the house Andrew I was dead.[16] He died intestate leaving his affairs in considerable disarray but his son Charles, young as he was, was made of sterner stuff and set about getting the family back on its feet again. An attorney like his father, he had received a classical education at Glasgow University and matriculated in 1724. The date of his return home to work in his father's law office is uncertain but he would almost certainly have been back in Dublin by 1725 and so had at least six years to learn his profession before the death of his father in 1731. Some time after his father's death Charles was approached by Brabazon, Viscount Duncannon (who was not to become the Earl of Bessborough for another eight years), who had noted with approval the business like way in which Charles had dealt with his father's affairs. With that visit began a friendship which was to last until that Lord's death in 1758, and to continue with his heir William, the second earl, and with William's two brothers John Ponsonby, the long-time Speaker of the House of Commons (from 1756-1771) and Richard. Charles was appointed agent for the Bessborough estate in Ireland and, through the influence of Lord Bessborough, was also appointed Solicitor to the Customs in 1744, a post which he held until shortly before his death in 1775. His contact with the Bessborough family meant a great deal to him throughout his life but he found the law business of the revenue 'not worth the solicitations and anxiety it cost',[17] especially as it brought him in no more than £500 per annum. Like everything else he did, though, he carried out this work rigorously and meticulously and those aspiring to be appointed collectors or to other offices are said to have been warned that 'you have the fiery trial to go through yet, you have to pass Charles Caldwell's office'.[18]

In January 1733 (new style) Charles Caldwell and Elizabeth Heywood were married in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda. She was the daughter of Benjamin Heywood, a Drogheda merchant, and his wife Ann, who was sister of General Arthur Graham of Ballyheridan, Co. Armagh. Two of Elizabeth Heywood's siblings in particular, Nathaniel and Mary, were to become especially important in Andrew II's (henceforth to be called Caldwell) life, Nathaniel because for over thirty years he was equerry to the

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[16] Ibid. *Caldwell Family*, p.16.
[17] Ibid, p.18.
[18] Ibid.

Duke of Gloucester and corresponded with Caldwell while travelling abroad with the Duke and his entourage, and Mary because she married Patrick Stewart of Ballymenagh, Co. Tyrone. Their daughter Ann Helen Heywood married Frederick Trench of Heywood, in Queen's County.[19] Trench was probably Caldwell's closest and dearest friend. Within a year of Charles and Elizabeth's marriage Caldwell was born, on 19 December 1733, and at regular intervals during the ensuing years he was provided with eleven more siblings, nine of whom survived into adulthood.

Little is known of Caldwell's life before he left home for Glasgow University in the autumn of 1751. An extant receipted bill relates to his brothers' education. It reads:

> 1752, Nov 8th. To one Years Tuition of Sons Masters Charles & Benjamin Caldwell, commencing the 28th of October, 1751, & due the 8th Nov 1752 at £1.2.9. per Quarter each - £9.2.0.
>
> Recd. From Charles Caldwell Esq. the above sum of Nine pounds two shillings Dublin February the 24 1753. Signed: J. Hepburn.[20]

Although it has not been possible to identify J. Hepburn, it seems most probable that he taught at a school and was not the two boys' private tutor. At this stage their education would almost certainly have been following the same course as their elder brother's, who had by this time departed for Glasgow. We know that he went to school from a letter that his grandmother Catherine Caldwell wrote to him on 8 March [no year] in which she said:

> …you say your very busey att scowl & reading History att home but you must mind writing too for ther is no doing without it for An accomplished Gentell man and youl see by my bad spelling what an onggly thing it tis in a woman & fare wors in a man….[21]

A letter dated 20 September [no year] which Catherine Campbell wrote to her granddaughter Nancy (family name for Caldwell's sister Anne, closest to him in age) suggests that as a young man, still at home before departing for university, he was already of a serious disposition. She wrote:

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[19] Co. Louth.
[20] Caldwell MSS.
[21] Ibid. Catherine Caldwell to Andrew Caldwell, 18 March, no year.

'My Dr Girell…Anday is too much a philosopher now to write to me his letters was very entertaining…I shod be glead to hear from him or any of you am very lonely…'.[22]

In October 1751, aged 17 years, Caldwell, as had his father before him, enrolled as an undergraduate at the University of Glasgow, his presence there being recorded in the University's matriculation album. This old university, founded by Pope Nicholas V in January 1451, received a high proportion of Presbyterian students who, as 'dissenters', felt unable to take the religious tests required by the universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Dublin. By the eighteenth century fewer sons of higher nobility went to Glasgow, the majority of students being the sons of the 'middling sort', ministers, professional men, merchants and farmers, as well as an increasing number of sons of the 'lower sort', such as weavers and workmen.[23] The main university buildings faced onto the High Street and throughout his time there Caldwell was fortunate to be lodged 'At the House of Mr. Moore[24] Greek Professor in the University of Glasgow',[25] in a quadrangle known as the Professor Court, with a carriage entrance from the High Street, which was begun in 1722. By 1780 it comprised eleven terraced houses, occupied by the principal and all thirteen professors. James Moor was professor of Greek at the university from 1746-1774 and Charles Caldwell was delighted to have been able to procure accommodation for his son in his house.[26] On 8 August 1752, in a letter to Caldwell, he wrote 'I am mightily pleased you say Mr. Moors table talk and yours is always on some matters improving to you – it will be a vast advantage to you to have a person of his Genius and knowledge to converse'.[27]

The correspondence which took place between Caldwell and his father during his three years at Glasgow is of considerable interest and will be discussed at some length but, first of all, an attempt will be made to describe the richness and wonderful continuity of thought and learning which he [Caldwell] was lucky enough to inherit and for this we must start with the Irish philosopher Francis Hutcheson. Hutcheson (1694-1746), son of a Presbyterian minister, was born in Drumalig, Co. Down, and studied at the University of Glasgow between 1710 and 1716. On completion of his studies he

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[22] Ibid. Catherine Caldwell to Nancy (Anne) Caldwell, 20 September, no year.
[23] A.L.Brown & M.Moss, *The University of Glasgow – 1451-1996* (Edinburgh, 1996), p.16.
[24] The correct spelling of his name is Moor.
[25] Caldwell MSS. Charles Caldwell to Andrew Caldwell 26 October 1751.
[26] It was common practise for the university professors to swell their income by accommodating students in their own homes.
[27] Caldwell MSS. Charles Caldwell, Custom House, Dublin, to Andrew Caldwell, 3 March 1752.

returned to Ireland, this time to Dublin, where he founded a Presbyterian youth academy, where he was later assisted by his friend Thomas Drennan, another Glasgow-trained Ulsterman and father of William who, in later years, was to become an acquaintance of Caldwell and, among other things, a prominent United Irishman. There he stayed, writing and teaching until, in 1730, he moved back to Glasgow to take up the chair of moral philosophy, a post he held until his death.

His years in Dublin were among the most fruitful of his life and his writings at that time among the most important. In 1725 he wrote his first thesis, *An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue,*[28] which contained the main tenets of his aesthetics. He drew much of his early thinking not only from the theory of perception formulated by John Locke (1672-1704) and outlined in his [Locke's] *Essay concerning Human Understanding*[29] but from the idea of a disinterested [as opposed to egotistic] moral sense conceived by Anthony Ashley Cooper, the third earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713), a pupil of Locke. The earl's insight was to provide a springboard for the remainder of his thesis.[30] From early on Hutcheson took a more optimistic and kindly view of human nature than could be found in orthodox Calvinism, crediting it with a willingness to listen to reason and believing that, at heart, people were motivated by benevolence and humanity. (Although much influenced by Hutcheson's philosophy both David Hume (1711-1776) and Adam Smith (1723-1790) were later to reject the idea of such extensive benevolence).

Robert Molesworth (1656-1725), who was intermittently a member of both Irish and English parliaments until elevated to the Irish peerage in 1716, had been a close friend of Shaftesbury in the last years of his [Shaftesbury's] life. He was instrumental in encouraging Hutcheson's literary talents and also those of yet another Ulster Irishman and former Glasgow university student, James Arbuckle (1700-1742). Arbuckle was the editor and main contributor (writing under the pseudonym *Hibernicus*), of the *Dublin Weekly Journal,* published between April 1725 and March 1727, to which Hutcheson was also a contributor.

In 1730, sadly for Dublin, Hutcheson left to take up the chair of moral philosophy at Glasgow. His work and style there (which included conducting his

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[28] A copy of which was among others by Hutcheson listed in the catalogue for the sale of Caldwell's books on 3 May 1809. A copy of this catalogue may be found in the Department of Early Printed Books, Trinity College, Dublin. RR.K.82.no.9.

[29] John Locke. *An essay concerning Human Understanding*, P.H.Nidditch (ed.) (Oxford, 1979). See Michael Brown, *Francis Hutcheson in Dublin, 1719-30* (Dublin, 2002), pp.37,38.

[30] Ibid. *Francis Hutcheson in Dublin, 1719-30*, p.69.

lectures in English instead of Latin) were so different to those of his predecessors that he became known as the 'New Light' which term, because of his anxiety not to upset his more conservative friends, associates and students, caused him some misgivings. In 1743 he wrote to Thomas Drennan 'I am already called 'New Light' here. I don't value it for myself, and I see it hurts some ministers here who are most intimate with me'.[31] This comment was made only three years before his death, by which time he had been teaching for thirteen years and had made good friends among his academic colleagues. The oldest of these, Robert Simson (1687-1768), professor of mathematics, had previously been *his* teacher and was to go on to teach both Adam Smith (who studied at Glasgow University from 1737-1740) and Caldwell, only retiring from the active duties of his chair in 1761. Robert Dick, appointed to the chair of natural philosophy [physics] in 1727 would also teach Smith and Caldwell, as would George Rosse, professor of humanities, who arrived at the university in 1735, five years after Hutcheson. Only James Moor, appointed to the chair of Greek in 1746, would not have had time to get to know Hutcheson well, if at all, as Hutcheson died in that year. Unlike all the others mentioned, except for Hutcheson, of course, Moor was the only professor teaching Caldwell who had not also taught Adam Smith.

Caldwell and Smith began their new lives in Glasgow in October 1751, Caldwell to experience life away from home for the first time and Smith, returning to his *alma mater*, to take up his appointment to the chair of logic. Following his student days in Glasgow Smith had spent four years studying at Balliol College, Oxford, on a Snell exhibition scholarship, and between 1748 and 1751 had taken up an offer to become a freelance lecturer in rhetoric in Edinburgh. It was during these Edinburgh years that he and the historian, philosopher and sceptic David Hume (1711-1776) established a close friendship which was to last until Hume's death. This friendship provided yet another link in the chain of learning passed down to Caldwell because Hume, as a young man with a profound respect for Hutcheson's abilities as a philosopher, nevertheless engaged in protracted written discussions with him about their differences, which surely would have been discussed in Smith's classes. Smith's Edinburgh lectures were to stand him in good stead during his early teaching years at Glasgow, during the first of which he also substituted for the sick Thomas Craigie, who had followed Hutcheson into the chair

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[31] W.I.P.Hazlett. 'Religious subversive or model Christian?' in *Francis Hutcheson, a* Supplement to *Fortnight,*.Damian Smith (ed) (July/August, 1992), p.20.

of moral philosophy. It was on Craigie's death that Smith was appointed to that chair in April 1752.

The scene having been set, Caldwell's correspondence with his father can now be considered. Charles Caldwell kept a close watch on his son's progress, requiring from him regular letters setting out in detail what classes he had attended and what books he was reading. In his first extant letter, dated 26 October 1751, Charles was anxious to know that Caldwell was up to the general standard of education and wrote:

> you have not given me any Account of Mr. Smith, what sort of Man he is, and how you like his teaching. What number of Students are there in his Class in yr whole, and how many English and Irish are there, and of what sort, both as to Gentility and Scholarship I hope you are not among the worst as to the latter, write me honestly how you find yourself, compared with Strangers educated at an other School.[32]

The 'Mr. Smith' to whom Charles referred was, of course, Adam, who at that time, was still relatively unknown and had not yet acquired the scholastic acclaim that was to be his in the ensuing years. It becomes obvious in this letter, from the following extract, that Caldwell was going to have to work very hard indeed. His father wrote:

> As to your attending Mr. Ross this year, I think it will not be convenient, for consider, at eight you go to Mr. Smith's Class, and I suppose again at Eleven, at 12 to Mr. Simpson's, (and if to Mr. Ross), from one 'till two. Then to Dinner and thrice a week at 3 again to Mr. Smith's, and at four to Mr. Moore's, now if you are to attend all these Classes – from 8 in yr morning 'till 5 in yr afternoon, pray what time will you have to read and digest what has been taught. If you say from 5 'till you go to bed, you'l find that more than you'l be able to do, for you will not have spirits to undergo so much, and tho' I want you to apply close, I wou'd not have you injure your Health, or overclog your brain with too much, remember Horace's – *Est Modus in Probus* etc. 'tis a wise and just maxim, Mr. Simpson told me he thought those classes enough to attend diligently and well, and you'l find that Logick [Smith] and Mathematicks [Simson] will require close study and thinking.[33]

At the end of his first academic year Caldwell stayed on in Glasgow, although could not have been said to have had a holiday. On 8 August 1752 his father wrote:

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[32] Caldwell MSS. Charles Caldwell to Andrew Caldwell, 26 October 1751.
[33] Ibid.

> I must confess you have been extremely Diligent if, since the College broke up, you have finish'd four long Orations of Demosthenes, Six Books of Euclid, four Books and a half of Livy, Dr. Nettleton on Virtue, the Second Volume of Lord Shaftby, and some part of Herodotus, and since you say you have done so, I must, and do believe it, and have only to hope you have read all with proper care and attention....[34]

A feature of the correspondence between father and son is Caldwell's constant desire to gain his father's approval and, as in this letter, Charles's initial reluctance to give it, instead urging Caldwell on to even greater effort. Later in this letter he wrote 'I am extremely pleased Mr. Moor likes Horace so well that you say you believe he can repeat him every word from beginning to Ending, I hope his Example and my earnest solicitations to you on that Head will induce you to strive to do the same...'.[35] Such striving on Caldwell's part did his health no good and in February 1753, now in his second year at college, his father was concerned that not only had he not grown taller,[36] but he had also grown thinner. Perhaps regretting his previous admonishments, Charles now urged him to

> have as great Attention to your Health, as to any thing else, for to have you a poor sickly Weak Philosopher will not answer my Schemes or your own Happiness – hereafter, when ever you find yourself tired or fatigued with reading, quit it, for you'l not improve much by overpowring nature, and if yr Weather will permit walk out two or three miles, or ride when you can....[37]

The summer of 1753, which was to be his last in Scotland, was a happy time for Caldwell. On 7 May 1753 he wrote to his father relating with much enthusiasm the discussions on marriage, polygamy, adultery, divorce and slavery which had taken place in Mr. Smith's class and telling him that Mr. Bowman[38] had 'found a place (called Barncluth)[39]... within a quarter of a mile of his own house, where Mr. Maxwell and

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[34] Ibid. 8 August 1752.
[35] Ibid.
[36] In fact Caldwell was to remain small of stature. William Drennan, in a letter to his sister Martha McTier in Belfast dated 28 October 1798, wrote : 'I dined the other day at Mr. Caldwell's..... I was very hoarse with a cold at the time and little Andrew listened as well as he could'. *The Drennan-McTier letters 1794-1801.* Jean Agnew (ed), vol.2 (1999), p.418.
[37] Caldwell MSS. Charles Caldwell to Andrew Caldwell, 22 February 1753.
[38] A family friend who kept a watchful eye on Caldwell during his Glasgow years.
[39] Barncluth cannot be found on the map but was somewhere in the country near Glasgow.

Arbuckle[40] and I can board cheaply for the summer'.[41] Writing again on 21 May he outlined his proposed plan of study (if we can believe him!)

> ...the method I have now form'd for studying is this, to rise at six, or if I can earlier and read Cicero 'till Breakfast, then to take Thucydides & read him 'till twelve, after that translate some of Cicero's more amusing works, one day into English, & the next into Latin; by this exercise I intend if I can to form my stile after his & then attempt a thesis, in the Evening I shall read the compend[42] & take out Shaftsbury, Clark & some other Writers in that way & compare and examine their several opinions; when I go out to walk I shall take Horace & he is to serve us with diversion & chat. Thus I have laid a scheme for passing the summer excessive happily, and shall I flatter myself receive improvement & pleasure every hour; I am entirely convinced that this is much beyond any of the more common but trifling amusements of Life which afford no real happiness either in reflection or enjoyment...[43]

On June 9, having arrived with his friends at their country retreat, Barncluth, outside Glasgow, Caldwell wrote to tell his father that they were:

> ...now quite settled in our Country habitation, I never was so delighted with anything as I am with it, nor ever was more dispos'd to read...there is nothing here to disturb one but the murmuring of the river and the singing of the birds. I have bought but few Books & mostly Greek Poets, because they are more beautifully printed here at present than in any other part of the World, and I shall never meet with them so cheap again.[44]

The love of beautiful books and the habit of reading, well acquired by now at the end of his second year at university, was to stay with Caldwell for the rest of his life and to be his main passion. As far as appreciation of books and printing was concerned he could not have been in a better place because in 1743 Robert Foulis (who had attended Frances Hutcheson's lectures and been encouraged by him to become a printer and bookseller) was appointed printer to the university of Glasgow. Together with his brother Andrew, over a period of thirty years he was to publish over five hundred items, including fine editions of many Greek and Latin classics. His press-correctors were

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[40] James Arbuckle, Caldwell's friend prior to attending the university, not, it seems, related to the James Arbuckle of p.7 (see below, p.16).
[41] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell to Charles Caldwell, 7 May 1753.
[42] Presumably Hutcheson.
[43] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell to Charles Caldwell, 21 May 1753.
[44] Ibid. 9 June 1753.

George Rosse and James Moor, two of Caldwell's professors, and it is very probable that some of these works were included in the table-talk of which Charles Caldwell so much approved. As we shall see, Caldwell was also to become a connoisseur of painting and drawing and it is very probable that it was in Glasgow that his taste in these arts was first formed. Not only did Robert Foulis publish for the university, but in 1753 he founded an Academy of Arts to teach painting, engraving, moulding, modelling and drawing to young students. Pictures were exhibited, sometimes in the college quadrangles, and the university granted him the use of several rooms for the students. This, then, would have been inaugurated during Caldwell's time at Glasgow and although there is no record of his actually trying his hand at any kind of practical artwork, there can be little doubt that his interest was aroused, all the more so because he was so close to what was happening.

Caldwell's country idyll was interrupted for three weeks in July 1753 when he travelled on horseback to Edinburgh to stay with his relations Sir John Whitefoord and his wife, and their son Jack. Lady Whitefoord was Charles Caldwell's first cousin – his mother (Catherine, nee Campbell) and Lady Whitefoord's mother were sisters. Jack attended the university of Edinburgh and, during Caldwell's visit, the two young men were allotted study periods in their separate rooms, during which they were not allowed to disturb each other. Caldwell had visited Edinburgh once before, in the winter of 1751/2 but enjoyed himself much more this time and wrote to his father that he:

> …was introduced to more than I was last Winter & lik'd my jaunt much better; the Company here are so much superior to any I have met with since I left Ireland that they appear'd to no small advantage in my eyes, the behaviour of Polite people has so little appearance of that mean selfishness & narrowness that I have observ'd prevails much among the contrary sort of people and at the same time so much more friendly and obliging, that I think it must be always for ones interest and improvement to be admitted among them.[45]

His journey to Edinburgh obviously delighted Caldwell and he described it to his father in some detail. After visiting Linlithgow

> we set out for Hopton;[46] it is the only House I have seen yet that excels my Lord Kildare's, the situation & Gardens are the finest I think that can be imagin'd, if

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[45] Ibid. 17 August 1753.

[46] Hopetoun House, W. Lothian, completed for 2nd Earl of Hopetoun 1750-1754. Architect John Adam (1721-1792), eldest son of William Adam and brother to Robert Adam.

> the Duke of Hamilton's Forrest could be transported there, I believe it would be the noblest seat in Europe, we were not allow'd however to see the inside, but I am told that does not at all come up the magnificence of the outward appearance; his stables quite surprised me, they are so fine and neat, that the nicest Lady might be entertain'd in them; we took Newliston[47] on the way from this to Edenburgh, a place that belonged to the late Lord Stair, at present it is much out of repair, & tho' very beautifull appears at a great Disadvantage after Hopton.[48]

Back at his vacation home Caldwell returned to his books 'with very great relish',[49] determined 'not to move a hundred yards from Barncluth until the College sits',[50] and feeling in such health and spirits that he hoped 'to read faster & make more progress than usual'.[51] He felt guilty that he had stayed rather longer in Edinburgh than planned, and had spent more than he felt he should. During these years away from home he was learning for the first time to manage money and was required by his father to account for every penny.

As, in the autumn of 1753, he embarked upon what was to be his final year at the university Caldwell had some decisions to make and it is interesting to note that he no longer totally relied on his father's opinion but had strong ideas of his own. He would dearly have loved to take the Civil Law course but, having discussed the matter with his professors, made a decision not to pursue it as it would have required more time than could be spared from his other subjects. He would also have liked to stay on for a fourth year at college and was encouraged to do so by his professor Mr. Moor, whom he considered to be 'one of the properest Persons I ever met with for raising a Passion for Learning in a Young Man, as he is quite enthusiastic in its cause himself, and excessively warm in encouraging and promoting it'.[52] By now 'passion' was a word which could certainly be associated with Caldwell's attitude to learning, one which he never lost. Although disappointed that his father opposed another year Caldwell could accept his reasons with equanimity; to stay on would be extremely expensive and, from his career point of view, unnecessary, as Charles Caldwell proposed that Caldwell should study law with him in Dublin for two years, before

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[47] Built 1725-1735 – architect William Adam.
[48] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell to Charles Caldwell 24 July 1753.
[49] Ibid. 22 August 1753.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid. 3 December 1753.

entering the Middle Temple. The third decision to be made, which Charles left entirely to Caldwell, was whether or not he should take his degrees. Expense was again involved with this – if he took them publicly it would cost four or five pounds – and his father wrote that if he did not take them publicly he would rather he did not take them at all 'for the Degree itself is of no use to you, and therefore nothing but the honour of taking them in a publick way and printing a Thesis can answer your being either at Expence or Trouble abt the matter, so determine with yourself in Time'.[53] It is interesting to note that not only had Charles now begun to allow his son to make choices for himself, but as well as exhorting him to continue in his efforts, was prepared to offer a small element of praise. He encouraged Caldwell in

> an Emulation to equall others that have gone before you, and to excel in the knowledge of a Profession which must be your Business and Occupation for Life [the law]. I have endeavoured as far as I have been capable to give you a good and thorough Academicall Education, and so far as I can judge at this distance by your Letters, I have no reason to complain, but on the contrary to be satisfied with the Progress you have made and therefore from thence I hope you'l continue your Diligence and Attention 'till you have entirely finish'd the whole Course of your Education, by that time you'l have contracted a Habit of Industry and Application, which will probably abide by you all your Life and so justly adopt this motto; *labor ipse voluptas*.[54]

No excuses are offered for writing so much about Caldwell's university years for there can be little doubt that it was there that firm foundations were laid for the man of taste he was to become. As he said himself, by the time he left he had 'dipt a little into all the celebrated Authors of antiquity',[55] which he considered he had learned to read 'with some Taste';[56] he had been closely associated with some of the greatest minds of the time and had the opportunity of friendship, debate and discussion with them; he had enjoyed being introduced to such new subjects in Mr. Dick's natural philosophy class as optics, mechanics and 'the doctrine of Pendulums and Projectiles',[57] all of which excited in him an interest and curiosity about how things worked which also was to stay with him throughout his life; he had discovered that to

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[53] Ibid. Charles Caldwell to Andrew Caldwell 16 February 1754.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid. Andrew Caldwell to Charles Caldwell 30 March 1754.
[56] Ibid 20 March 1754.
[57] Ibid 18 December 1753.

read and learn was a delight and not a chore and it was here that his passion for book collecting began and, thanks to the Foulis brothers, he had almost certainly been exposed to contemporary art at first hand. As well as all this, Caldwell had enjoyed the freedom of his halcyon weeks in the country during his 1753 summer vacation where, with no classes to attend, he could set his own itinerary and read freely and to his heart's content.

The importance of Caldwell's inheritance of learning at the university and of the role that Hutcheson played in that inheritance (even though dead for five years before Caldwell arrived) cannot be stressed enough. Hutcheson was considered to be the founding figure of Irish aesthetics, 'father of the Scottish Enlightenment', the first 'New Light' man, and through those who had worked with him and studied under him in the recent past, Caldwell, together with his fellow students, was in the privileged position of having, at that time, greater access to him than any other students anywhere. Who better to have had as his teacher than Adam Smith who could lecture on *his* teacher's work and discuss how his own philosophy, and that of others (his friend David Hume's for instance), had developed from it? By his final year Caldwell was thinking deeply for himself and in an important letter to his father dated 20 February 1754 expounded at some length his own emerging philosophical theories. He wrote:

> In those reasonings which I offer'd last to you with regard to the benevolent Principles that appear to form part of the human constitution, I agree entirely with you in thinking that however pleasing and beautiful they seem, and necessary to constitute happiness, yet over the generality of Mankind Self Love seems to prevail over any other Principle whatever;[58]

This thinking would seem to be in line with that of his teacher, as well as his father, but later in the letter, Caldwell had gained the confidence to disagree with Smith, writing:

> As you ask'd what those affections and virtues were which Mr. Smith thought Mr. Hutcheson had not taken into consideration, I shall now take notice of them, but however I begin to think Mr. Smith a little mistaken, and that Mr. Hutcheson attributed as much to them as was proper, if he did not I should agree with Mr. Smith in the opinion that they are of great importance & extremely necessary to be comprehended in the General word Virtue; to enumerate them they are such as these, Sympathy, Magnanimity, Resolution, Fortitude, Generosity and

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[58] Ibid. Andrew Caldwell, Glasgow, to Charles Caldwell, Custom House, 20 February 1754.

> Temperance; to all which, as I have just said I begin to think Mr. Hutcheson has ascrib'd a sufficient degree of influence and importance with regard to Virtue and Happiness.[59]

Three of Hutcheson's books were included in the sale of Caldwell's library after his death, Lot.431. *Hutcheson's Works*, 7 vols. Glasgow 1772, Lot 539. *Hutcheson on beauty & Virtue*. London 1726 (already mentioned), and Lot.726. *Hutchesoni Philosophiae Moralis*, Libra III. Glasgow 1743; Lot.432. *Hume's Essays*, 3 vols. London 1748, was also included in the sale.

Leaving his university years behind him with some regret, having decided not to take his degrees, Caldwell returned home to Dublin in May 1754, accompanied by his friend 'Jemmy' Arbuckle. Both of them were to begin their law studies in Dublin under the supervision of Charles Caldwell before crossing the Irish Sea once again, two years later, this time to study at the Middle Temple. Arbuckle remained Caldwell's friend for life and the archive contains many references to him, the last in October 1807, when his [Caldwell's] friend Mrs. Tennant wrote to tell of the rude reception she had received from Mr. Arbuckle and his wife Lady Sophia when visiting their home in Donaghadee.[60] Could yet another link in the continuity of learning be found by establishing that this James Arbuckle was in some way related to the James Arbuckle of the *Dublin Weekly Journal*? It seems not. There is no mention in the archive correspondence of our Arbuckle's parents but an aunt, uncle and sister seem to have been closely associated with him. In a letter to his father from Barncluth in the summer of 1753 Caldwell wrote 'I believe he [Arbuckle] will not go to the Temple these two years, and then I believe his Aunt will go to Chelsey, with his sister, as she can not bear to part with him, but this scheme is a secret yet…'.[61] In a Dublin Directory for 1738[62] two James Arbuckles are listed:

> Arbuckle (James), Clerk, Quit Rent & Forfeitures Offices, Revenue Commissioners.
>
> Arbuckle (Dr. James), Physician, Capel St.

the first being he of the *Dublin Weekly Journal*. An entry in the Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow 1728-1858 (published), for 1747, reads: '1228. Jacobus

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[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid. Mrs. Tennant, Glasgow, to Andrew Caldwell, Cavendish Row, Rutland Square, 20 October 1807.
[61] Ibid. Andrew Caldwell, Barncluth, to Charles Caldwell, 17 August 1753.
[62] *A Directory of Dublin for the year 1738 compiled from the most authentic sources.* Dublin Corporation Public Libraries, A.D.2000.

Arbuckle filius natu maximum quondam Jacobi Arbuckle Med. Doctoris in Dublin'.[63] Students were required to enrol at the Middle Temple some years before beginning their studies there. Caldwell's registration is confirmed in a note from the Middle Temple dated 11 December 1752,[64] and the entry for Arbuckle in the *Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle* Temple reads: 'Feb 6. James Arbuckle, only son of James A., late of the City of Dublin, Ireland, doctor of medicine, decd.'[65] The facts would therefore seem to be that in 1747, some years before Caldwell, Arbuckle began his studies at the university of Glasgow,[66] at which time his father was still alive. At some time during his university years, when his aunt was much in evidence, his father had died and she and her husband (presumably Dr. Arbuckle's brother, living in Scotland) had taken the young Arbuckle under their wing. There is one more twist to the story. According to the writer of the entry on the James Arbuckle of the *Dublin Weekly Journal* in the *Dictionary of Eighteenth-Century British Philosophers*[67] there was often some confusion between him and the physician James Arbuckle, both of them resident in Dublin at the same time. Although there is no known connection between the two, Dr.Arbuckle was brother-in-law and correspondent of Hutcheson!

Things had changed at home by the time Caldwell returned to Dublin in May 1754. His brother Charles had departed to Liverpool to pursue the life of a merchant, watched over by his Heywood uncles, and what was to be Ben's illustrious career in the navy had begun with his entry into Portsmouth's Naval Academy. Nothing is known about the two years which Caldwell spent studying law in Dublin under his father's direction, but in 1757 he once more left Ireland, this time to begin his studies at London's Middle Temple. He was to stay in England until the autumn of 1760 when he was called to the Irish Bar.[68] Information regarding his doings during these years is very scanty, comprising only five letters from his father, written between October 1758 and June 1759, with no address, which are concerned mainly, as when he was in Glasgow, with the progress of Caldwell's studies. On 14 October 1758 Charles wrote 'I

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[63] W. Innes Addison (Transcribed & annotated), *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow From 1728-1858*. (Glasgow, 1913), p.37.

[64] Caldwell MSS..

[65] H.A.C.Sturgess, *Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple*, vol.1 (London 1949), p.345.

[66] It was quite common for students to begin at a very young age.

[67] John Yolton, John Valdimar Price, John Stephens (eds). *Dictionary of Eighteenth-Century British Philosophers*, vol.1, A-J (Bristol, 1999), p.28.

[68] Edward Keane, P. Beryl Phair, Thomas U. Sadlier (eds). *King's Inn Admission Papers 1607-1867* (Dublin, 1982), p.71.

am so anxious abt your Improvement, that I can't avoid wishing to have continuall evidence of your proceeding and advancemt in knowledge and Learning in your profession, Accounts from you of this kind are the most pleasing subjects you can offer to me, and therefore hope you'l not disappoint me',[69] and on 13 January 1759 'You have already perceived that the study as well as profession is very laborious, There is no looking back, it must now be manfully fought through, and I hope yr End will Crown yours and my wishes'.[70] Much of Charles's correspondence is concerned with the books which he is anxious that Caldwell should acquire for what will be their joint law library on Caldwell's return home. Books, as has already been stated, were Caldwell's great love and he did not find searching for them a chore. In his letter of 14 October 1758 Charles wrote 'as you express an Inclination to go to yr top Booksellers Shops as well in way of amusement as Conversation with the Literati, an Entertainment I own I shou'd be extremely fond of, I … send you Enclosed a List of such Law Books as we want I think in the whole, for when they are got, with those you have, and are at home, we shall then have I think as Compleat a Law Library as any in this Kingdom, some Curiositys excepted'.[71]

We can only speculate as to how Caldwell passed his leisure time during his London years and wonder whether it was during this period that he began to acquire his special interest in architecture, of which there seemed little evidence during his time in Glasgow. On his visits to England in later years he would spend time with Lord Bessborough, at his country villa in Roehampton and his town house in Cavendish Square, with his brother Ben at 22 Charles Street, Berkeley Square and, in the 1770s, was thought to have been among the painter Paul Sandby's friends, who met at his brilliant Sunday afternoon *conversazioni.*[72] In 1757 Lord Duncannon (who was not to become the Earl of Bessborough until the death of his father in July the following year) maintained a London home in Cavendish Square and one in the country, Ingress Abbey, in Kent, both of which he shared with his wife Caroline Cavendish, eldest daughter of William, 3rd Duke of Devonshire. It was not until her death, in 1760, that he commissioned William Chambers to build his villa at Roehampton. Lord Charlemont, who was to become Caldwell's very good friend and neighbour, was by

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[69] Caldwell MSS. Charles Caldwell to Andrew Caldwell 14 October 1758.
[70] Ibid 13 January 1759.
[71] Ibid 14 October 1758.
[72] Dublin City Library, MS version of the *Life* [of Gandon] (Gilbert collection MS 135, pp. 236-237).

now back from his Grand Tour and although he had made the decision to settle in Ireland and to commission William Chambers to built his beautiful *Casino* at Marino, continued to spend a good deal of his time in London. William Chambers himself, back from *his* Grand Tour in 1755, had settled in London and was busy establishing his practise. Paul Sandby, who for some years from 1751 lived with his brother Thomas (who was deputy ranger of the Great Park) at Windsor, was said to have spent a portion of each year in London; his first fixed address was recorded at Mr. Pow's, Dufours Court, Broad Street, Carnaby Market, where he was living in 1760[73]. In c.1757 Gandon, aged no more than fifteen, joined Chambers's office as a pupil. As agent for Lord Bessborough's estate in Ireland Caldwell's father was close to the Bessborough family and Caldwell would almost certainly have met both him and Lord Duncannon in Ireland. Surely Caldwell would have met all the other people just mentioned during his London years and be party to groups who enthused knowledgeably over books, painting and architecture and who discussed their Grand Tour experiences, and also could it not have been that during these years Caldwell's lifetime admiration for the work of William Chambers was formed?

Be that as it may, in the autumn of 1760 Caldwell was called to the Irish Bar and returned to Dublin, where he was to live for the rest of his life. He was now 26 years old and at this point, as he stood on the brink of his new career and was in a position to support himself for the first time, it is proposed to call a halt to this chronological account and, after a brief resume of the rest of his life, to continue, instead, thematically. On the death of his father in 1776 as the oldest son he inherited the Newgrange estate and so became financially independent, free to pursue his own interests, and also took over his father's position as Lord Bessborough's agent in Ireland. The death of his sister Anne in 1769, followed by that of her husband George Cockburn in 1775, left their twelve year old son, also George, an orphan and, as his appointed guardian, Caldwell moved at once into the Cockburn home, 10 Cavendish Row (later to become 7 Rutland Square East and, even later, 7 Parnell Square). Here he lived, in company with his mother and sisters Francis and Henrietta (who all moved in with him on the death of Charles Caldwell) until 1792, when he bought his own house further up the same street. His life was full. In Rutland Square he shared architectural

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[73] *Dictionary of National Biography.* CD-ROM (Oxford, 1995)

interests with his friends and neighbours Lord Charlemont and Frederick Trench. Other learned friends, in Ireland and England, played an important part in his life, such men as Joseph Cooper Walker, Edmund Malone, Alexander Mangin, Thomas Percy, the Bishop of Dromore and James Edwards, President of the Linnean Society. With them he variously shared his hobbies and interests as a bibliophile, botanist and collector and patron of the arts, especially those concerning painting and architecture. His only trip to the continent was to the Low Countries in 1773 but he travelled frequently to England, where he visited friends and relations, consulted with Lord Bessborough at his London home or Roehampton villa, and sometimes took the waters at Bath or Harrogate. His public life in many respects mirrored his architectural interests in that he was a member of the Paving Board, a committed Wide Streets Commissioner, one of a group set up to establish the town of New Geneva, in Waterford, and, with his friends Frederick Trench and Sackville Hamilton, was appointed an adjudicator of the 1803 architectural competition for converting the Parliament House into the Bank of Ireland. As a member of the Dublin Society he was in a position to promote the aspirations of young painters and architects and, in the Royal Irish Academy, could freely mix with others who shared his own cultural aims and ambitions. A Presbyterian, he was one of a minority of 'dissenters' in parliament, of which he was an unenthusiastic member for some years; as he would admit himself, he was more interested in the arts than politics. His known written works number but two, *An Account of the Extraordinary Escape of Athenian Stewart from being put to death by some Turks, in whose company he happened to be travelling*, in which he set down, in April 1804, events related to him by Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore, and his own privately printed (in 1808) account of the *Caldwell Family*. However, the writer of his obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in August 1808 suggests that Caldwell was the anonymous writer of some 'very judicious Observations on architecture' which had been published 'around 1770', while the *Monthly Magazine* obituary writer of 1 September 1808 suggests that Caldwell had contributed occasional 'articles on subjects of taste' to his magazine. It may be that the anonymous Observations to which the *Gentleman's Magazine* refers are those published in the *Freeman's Journal* between 27 December 1768 and 7 February 1769, which will be discussed at length in Chapter 9.

After a short illness Caldwell died, aged 75, on 2 July 1808, at Shanganna Castle, the home of his nephew George Cockburn, and was buried in the family plot in St.Mobhi's Parish Church, Glasnevin. How the various strands of his life

related above came together to contribute towards making him the Dublin man of taste and fine arts connoisseur he was known to have become, and the knowledgeable critic of architecture he was purported to have become, are what this thesis is all about.

CHAPTER TWO

Andrew Caldwell, family man.

Although he never married, Caldwell was a family man and in this short chapter his relationship with various members of his large family will be explored. It is realised that there is little of art historical interest in this chapter, but it can be justified for two reasons: firstly, because this is a study of one particular man, and how his personality is revealed through the way he relates to his family members is important and, secondly, because this information may be of use to others, perhaps with different interests, who follow up leads within the Caldwell archive. Future chapters will introduce many of his friends, after which (remembering that friends are chosen and family members are not) it will be possible to consider how his perception of these two groups of people, and theirs of him, differed.

Caldwell's father Charles had three sisters, and a brother who died young (see Caldwell family tree Appendix I (a)). Two of his sisters, Ann and Catherine, married, Ann remaining childless and Catherine having two daughters. The third sister, Alicia, (the family's much loved 'Aunt Ally') did not marry so, from that side of the family, there were aunts but only two cousins. All Caldwell's mother's siblings, on the other hand, married (see Heywood Connections family tree Appendix I (b)) and, with the exception of her brother Nathaniel (equerry to the Duke of Gloucester), had children so, from his mother's side, Caldwell was provided with an abundance of aunts, uncles and cousins. We know already about his sister Anne's early death, followed by that of her husband George Cockburn, and of Caldwell's appointment as the young George's guardian. Two others of his sisters married, Catherine to Phineas Riall and Elizabeth to Jacob Sankey. Only one of his brothers, Benjamin, married and had one surviving son, Charles Andrew, who was eventually to inherit the Newgrange estate. His second brother, Charles, while remaining unmarried, fathered four children, two sons and two daughters, all of whom took his name. This, then, was Caldwell's immediate family of parents, aunts, uncles, siblings, cousins, nephews and nieces, and it was important to him that they should all keep in touch. Perhaps the fact that he was a bachelor made the family ties more important to him than to some other members of his family.

As we have already seen, Charles Caldwell senior's influence on his son's early life was profound. Caldwell was the only one of his siblings to go to university, where he showed himself to be a natural scholar and the foundation for his future life was laid. By the time he was called to the Irish bar and returned to Dublin in 1760 his father, a

man usually very hard to please, was well satisfied with his son's achievements. In his will, dated 27 March 1776, which left Caldwell the administrator and chief beneficiary of his estate, he wrote that he had 'great trust and confidence in the prudent and discreet conduct of my Eldest Son and Heir Apparent'.[1] Caldwell's brothers Charles and Benjamin, as we shall see, were not to share this confidence in their elder brother's competence.

A bachelor and unused to children, Caldwell found his responsibilities for caring for the young and recalcitrant George Cockburn onerous, even though he was helped by his mother and sisters and George was away at Dr.Darby's boarding school for most of the time. In the summer of 1777 he [Caldwell] went to England on business and to find a suitable boarding school for George; one which would be prepared to keep him in the holidays. He wrote to his mother on 26 July 'I am afraid you have too much on your hands at present, I suppose George is come home & he & all the workmen besides [the house was being redecorated] I doubt will be very troublesome, I am uneasy whenever I think about it'.[2] On 31 August, the English school having been found, George was duly packed off, seemingly his departure regretted by his grandmother, Eliza Caldwell, who wrote 'this morn I have parted with our Darling Child nothing but abselute necessity could have reconciled me to it'.[3] The 'abselute necessity' would seem to have been George's totally disruptive behaviour at Dr. Darby's, which did not augur well for his behaviour at his new school in London. In the same letter Mrs. Caldwell wrote:

> I would advise you to acquaint the man he is going to as much as you can of his Temper he cant bear Contradiction, and is very reselute in accomplishing his on schemes, and he openly declares he hats the Book, if the man should press him or forse him too much in that respect I am apt to fear he will run away or do some desperate thing.

George travelled to London on the Clermont Packet in the care of a 'Genteel young Gentleman a Captain Doyn that Fanny addressed'[4]. With ten guineas in his trunk and four guineas and some silver in his pocket George set sail 'in great health and spirits',[5] declaring that, come what may, he would join the army at the first possible opportunity. And this he did. On 7 May 1781 he wrote to his uncle informing him that he had got a

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[1] Caldwell MSS. Charles Caldwell's Will.
[2] Ibid. Andrew Caldwell, London, to Eliza Caldwell, 10 Cavendish Row, 26 July 1777.
[3] Ibid. Eliza Caldwell to Andrew Caldwell, London, 31 August 1777.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

Commission in the 1st Regiment of Guards and that 'I am now satisfied (you will say for the first time in my life) & my friends will be satisfied, for I am resolved to stay in the Army'.[6] Caldwell had been opposed to George's plans to join the army from the beginning, writing in April 1778 to Archibald Cockburn, George Cockburn senior's nephew:

> I have had two letters from George declaring the greatest aversion to learning Latin and Greek and wishing to go into the army. This vexes me beyond anything you can conceive but for some years I will be peremptory.....But in other respects it may turn out better and *infinitely* cheaper than having him here.[7]

Caldwell's protests were to no avail and the young Cockburn went on to achieve a distinguished army career (Plate 8). Soon coming to terms with his nephew's choice and, indeed, approving of it, Caldwell's affection for him thereafter is evidenced in the considerable correspondence which took place between them over the years. Cockburn's travels, both with the army and in a private capacity, took him all over Europe, and the correspondence is full of the sort of information which he knew would appeal to his uncle, describing the places, people, pictures and buildings he encountered along the way. He felt, however, that Caldwell's contribution to their correspondence was less than it should have been, as is demonstrated in a letter he [Cockburn] wrote to him from Naples in February 1783 saying 'I am much surprised at having received no letter from you, there has been plenty of time, but since I have been 12 years old,[8] it has been the case & I hardly ever get an answer to a letter'.[9] Many years after Caldwell's death, when he was himself an old man, Cockburn recounted to his cousin Charles Andrew (Benjamin Caldwell's son and heir – Plate 9) how unreliable he had felt his uncle to be, particularly in regard to his last will, where he 'broke his promise to me over and over solemnly made'.[10] Basically, though, there was a strong bond between uncle and nephew and it was at Cockburn's Shanganna home, near Bray, that Caldwell died in July 1808.

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With Cockburn's departure to school in England Caldwell presided over a household of women, comprising his mother and his two unmarried sisters Fanny and

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[6] Ibid. George Cockburn, London, to Andrew Caldwell. 7 May 1781.
[7] Robert Cockburn & Harry A. Cockburn. *The records of the Cockburn Family* (London & Edinburgh, 1913), p.227.
[8] The age when he was sent to boarding school in London.
[9] NAM Cockburn papers. George Cockburn, Naples, to Andrew Caldwell, 15 February 1783.
[10] Caldwell MSS. George Cockburn, Shanganna, to Charles Caldwell, 28 February 1843.

Harriet. In his correspondence he referred to this trio as 'My Ladies'. A letter from Cockburn, written in 1783 in answer to one from his uncle, indicated that Caldwell was sometimes oppressed by these 'ladies'. He wrote 'I feel much for your present situation in Cavendish Row, as you are obliged to see the fire side & 3 old women every morning & which you seem to dislike so much'.[11] Many years later, in a letter to Cockburn written in 1800, Caldwell described 'the silent mumpish manner of Mad[am]. R. (Catherine Riall, one of his married sisters) and Fny (Fanny)' [who] 'really with good understanding are dull women, don't enliven company & too indolent to exert, it is a bad Habit to indulge'.[12] In spite of such remarks he was devoted to his mother and Fanny and became frantic with anxiety if they fell ill. In August 1787 his mother was very ill and he wrote to Charlotte Caldwell (Ben's wife) 'My Mother had been extremely ill about ten days ago, but is now perfectly recovered, I was much alarmed and felt severely, when the utmost danger is impending, & the total revolution of a family in view, it is impossible to think of it without perturbation'.[13] If his mother and Fanny went away he was lonely in the house without them and kept in as constant touch as wind and tide would allow when he was out of the country. But for his feeling of responsibility for them it is very probable that he would have spent more time travelling abroad, which is noted by the writer of his obituary in the *Monthly Magazine* of 1 September 1808. They, in their turn, looked up to him and relied on him and Fanny acted as his hostess throughout all their lives together. Both of his married sisters lived in the country and, although he did not see much of them, he was always keen to have their latest news. While he was in London in July 1777, looking for a school for the young George, he had worrying news from his mother about his sister Betty (Mary Elizabeth Sankey), and wrote back saying 'I am glad I did not hear of poor Betty 'till the danger was over & pray she may have no more children'.[14] This must refer to the difficult birth of William Sankey on 8 July 1777. The following September he again wrote to his mother that 'I have bought a Pint & half Castor Oil for Betty, and wish she had it safe'.[15] It is not clear what Caldwell thought the taking of castor oil would do for his sister. If in some way he thought it would prevent her having more children, then he

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[11] NAM Cockburn papers. George Cockburn, Florence, to Andrew Caldwell, 22 March 1783.
[12] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, London, to George Cockburn, near Bray, 17 October 1800.
[13] Ibid. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to Charlotte Caldwell, Southampton, Hants, 27 August 1787.
[14] Ibid. Andrew Caldwell, London, to his mother Eliza Caldwell, 30 July 1777.
[15] Ibid.15 September 1777.

was to be disappointed because she bore a daughter the following year and a son the year after that.

Caldwell was a kind and indulgent uncle to his many nephews and nieces, concerned for their well-being and prepared to help them positively if they were in trouble. The marriage prospects for his niece Ann, Charles Caldwell's daughter, had been poor, the obstacle being, as she wrote to Caldwell, 'my birth you no doubt know'[16]. She had fallen in love with young George Dunbar, son of Sir George Dunbar, and he with her. As Ann had no dowry and he did not approve of her illegitimacy, Sir George refused permission for the alliance and threatened to deprive his son of his business interests, and therefore his income, if he defied him. The couple went ahead and married anyway and in response to her plea for help Caldwell wrote kindly back to her, congratulating her on her marriage and sending her a gift of £100 to help ease the temporary financial difficulties she and her husband were experiencing. Sadly, her husband died very shortly after their marriage. Concerning affairs of the heart Caldwell also exerted himself on behalf of another niece, this time Mary Riall, his sister Catherine's very beautiful daughter (Plate 10), with whom young Valentine Browne Lawless fell in love when they met at the Granby Hotel in Harrogate[17] in 1798. The relationship blossomed, in spite of Mrs. Riall's conviction that 'in his [Lawless's] heart he is a papist & would be right glad Mary wd go to Mass'.[18] In October 1798 Lawless wrote to Caldwell stating that he and Mary Riall liked each other so much that they wished to be married as soon as matters could be arranged, rather than waiting for the year insisted on by his father, and asking him to intercede to Lord Cloncurry (Lawless's father) on their behalf. This he asked because he knew his father had 'a high personal respect'[19] for Caldwell and he felt it to be 'necessary that some friend of the lady should stand forward to uphold her rights and pretensions'.[20] All came to naught, however, as on 14 April 1799 Lawless was arrested for what were considered to be his subversive political activities and imprisoned in the Tower of London, where Caldwell was granted permission to visit him.[21] By the time young Lawless (who, on the death of his father,

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[16] Ibid. Ann Dunbar, Bold Street, to Andrew Caldwell, Rutland Square, Dublin, 8 February 1807.
[17] Although Andrew Caldwell sometimes spells Harrogate 'Harrowgate', the modern form will be used throughout this thesis.
[18] Caldwell MSS. Mrs.Riall, Dowry Parade, to Andrew Caldwell, Cavendish Row, Dublin, 20 March 1799.
[19] Ibid. Valentine Browne Lawless to Andrew Caldwell, 22 October 1798.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid. J.King, Whitehall, to Andrew Caldwell, 86 Piccadilly, 31 July 1799.

had become Lord Cloncurry during his time in jail), was released without charge on 9 March 1801 poor Mary Riall had died and had been buried in the Caldwell family grave at Glasnevin, where her uncle was to join her eight years later. The cause of her death, on 12 September 1800, is not known but was romantically attributed by her family to a broken heart. In the opinion of Caldwell's friend Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore, however, Mary's heart might just have likely been broken if she had lived. He wrote 'I sincerely sympathize with you & your Ladies on the lamented Loss of amiable Miss Ryall & especially for the very affecting cause, yet I suspect the object of her Regard was very unworthy of it & it wd probably [have] been the source of unhappiness had an union taken place…'.[22]

Caldwell's attitude towards his brothers Charles and Benjamin does not seem to have been nearly so benevolent as to his female relations, who held him in such high regard. Neither had received his education, Charles having been sent off at a young age as apprentice to his mother's merchant brothers Arthur and Benjamin Heywood in Liverpool,[23] and Benjamin despatched to the Royal Naval Academy in Portsmouth at the age of fourteen, which turned out to be the start of what was to become a distinguished naval career. While Ponsonby (known as Ponsy) was the most inadequate member of the family,[24] Charles was the black sheep. He was idle and did not take advantage of the many opportunities offered to him by his uncles and, at one stage in his career, was declared bankrupt. The main cause of his family's dissatisfaction with him, however, was that although he had fathered four children, George[25], William, Ann and Henrietta (all of whom took his name), he remained unmarried and the identity of his children's mother undisclosed. Little love was lost between the next brother, Benjamin (known as Ben, Plate 11), and Caldwell. Their life styles could not have been more different; Caldwell, unmarried, scholarly, curious, serious, restrained, and Ben, married, gregarious, very successful in his naval career, talkative, travelled and enormously interested in world affairs but not a bit scholarly. The sort of conversations concerning cultural topics which Caldwell enjoyed with his friends would have had little part to play in his exchanges with his brother, which he often found tedious.

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[22] Ibid. Bishop of Dromore, near Northampton, to Andrew Caldwell, 7 Johnsons Court, Fleet Street (redirected from Admiral Caldwell's, Charles St.) 25 September 1800.

[23] Both of whom were later to become wealthy bankers. Another brother, Nathanial, was equerry to the Duke of Gloucester for thirty years.

[24] It would seem from the correspondence that he had learning difficulties and, with his erratic adult behaviour, was a constant cause of anxiety to the family.

[25] Who was to become a Cambridge classical scholar and a great favourite of Andrew Caldwell.

Nowhere is this better illustrated than in a letter he wrote to Cockburn in October 1800, saying:

> I yielded one evening to him [Ben], he ran on from six to eleven with a vehemence and rapidity that in [illegible word] half hour, not a syllable did the Madame [Ben's wife Charlotte] or I utter, she work'd & sometimes look'd into a Pamphlet. A happy Ben he was & would have been glad I could have staid 2 hours longer … he does knock about Words, a complt Slip slop entre nous.[26]

Cockburn was also on the receiving end of letters from Ben, in his turn complaining about his brother but, in Ben's case, more unkindly. Ben's perception of his brother Andrew was of one 'too refined for politics, or public business' who would prefer to receive from him an Exhibition catalogue than news of the war with France,[27] and who 'when he came to the estate, shewed a great desire to be sole director and guide of the family but unfortunately had little knowledge of Men or the World – hates business and peculiarly indolent – it was scarcely possible to have a more improper person'.[28] This was reiterating what he had written in a previous letter to Cockburn, when he said 'I must say that my bro. Andrew, was the weakest, and most insignificant Man that ever was at the Head of a family'.[29] Although Caldwell was a bachelor there is nothing in his own correspondence to suggest that he may have been homosexual but Ben's intolerant, jeering and unkind comments in some of his letters to Cockburn seem to indicate the contrary. Writing in December 1783 he said:

> Your Uncle's robbery was attended with strong circumstances in his favour – the coolness he shew'd relative to his buckles[30] – what could they be, that he was so anxious about them – if the men were taken he could not with propriety appear against them – if the case was mine, I should not like to be so situated – You are a Comical fellow! And related the story with infinite humour – I can conceive of La Fleur[31] Drunk – big with the idea of Fight, overwhelm'd with

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[26] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, London, to George Cockburn, near Bray, 17 October 1800.
[27] Ibid. Benjamin Caldwell to Andrew Caldwell, 25 May 1803.
[28] Ibid. Benjamin Caldwell to Lieut.Gen.Cockburn, Shanganna, Bray, 7 May 1817.
[29] Ibid. 29 March 1814.
[30] It is not clear what Ben is referring to here. Buckles, often diamond studded, were fashionable menswear at this time, worn on shoes and at the knee. Is Ben suggesting that the buckles were stolen from Caldwell and that he knew the thieves but, for circumstances which are not explained, he was unable to reclaim his property from them?
[31] This would seem to be an unkind and mocking name for Caldwell, suggesting he lacked manhood.

> hurry, wadding the pistols with lace Ruffles – strutting through the streets, with drawn sword begirthed with pistols, like a Knight Errant, in search of adventures – inquiring where are they! Let me but find them![32]

After Caldwell's death Ben again wrote to Cockburn in this unpleasant and insinuating vein in reference to Caldwell's interest in getting his brother to take some of his youthful acquaintances away from Dublin:

> I was no favorite I paid no court … a coolness originated years ago by refusing to take "fine chubby cherry cheeked boys" he knew nothing off to sea without clothes money or allowance, and could not be made to understand we were limited in Numbers, and, in 1779 denied he had sent them, 'till I produced his letters, the surprise and rage he was in you can conceive, swearing he would never write to me again – "what to keep his letters!" supposing I had died at sea, answerd they must have been read in the presence of two officers and returnd to him by the naval instructions.[33]

Caldwell's male relations reacted with hostility to his Will, to which he had added a contentious codicil in the summer of 1806. In this he directed that his house and all its contents, including the pictures, should be inherited by his next of kin, his brother Charles, *on condition* that he made the house his principal home and did not sell any of the contents. If Charles declined these terms then he forfeited his right to inherit and the house was offered to Benjamin. If he, in turn, declined these terms then the house should be offered to Benjamin's son, Charles Andrew. In the event of Charles Andrew also declining, then the house with all its pictures and other contents was to be sold at Auction and the proceeds divided between his siblings, with the exception of Ponsonby. One wonders why Caldwell, who must have known, even as he wrote in his will 'I am far from wishing to controul the inclinations of my said Brothers or Nephew [but] I wish my sd dwelling House to be the chief Residence of one of my family of the name of Caldwell' that they would all decline, put forward such an idea. His brother Charles was particularly enraged as, on the death of his brother, he had considered himself to be the rightful heir to the whole estate. He must have got wind of Caldwell's plans as on 11 June 1808, less than a month before Caldwell died, Charles wrote to Cockburn:

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[32] Caldwell MSS. Benjamin Caldwell to George Cockburn, 31 December 1783.
[33] Ibid. 6 January 1809.

> My mind has been in a state of perturbation & fermentation since you told me of the plot against me with the Governor.[34] .....I reminded him of a promise that he made me several years ago .... That he would leave me the Estate exactly as his father left it to him but only for my life, giving as a reason fact I was not married & had a son, & therefore he dare not trust me, otherwise he would leave it to me in full fee as his father had done to him. I said it was all I coud possibly expect & was grateful in thanks & I have ever since flattered myself that he woud do so, & been not a little proud of it.[35]

The alteration in the will did not affect Benjamin in the same way that it did Charles, whose hopes had been utterly dashed by it, but he was still angry and suspicious of his brother's motives. Included in his letter to Cockburn dated 13 January 1809 was the following:

> From Marriage Settlements!
>
> Fitting and furnishing a house for another person!
>
> And a weak mans Will!
>
> Good Lord! Deliver me!!![36]

The previous year his son Charles Andrew had got married and Ben was obviously still smarting at the enormous expense of getting him set up in his new London home, 23 Charles Street, Berkeley Square. The will, together with the complications and resentments it brought with it, must have seemed like the last straw to him.

George Cockburn was not happy about the will either, as was mentioned earlier. He had been left a sum of money (fifteen hundred guineas) and a 'Mahogany Box which lies on the floor in my Library together with a number of prints of my own collection which will be found therein'. In a letter to his cousin, Archibald Cockburn, after his uncle's death he wrote 'I think he might have paid me the compliment of [leaving me] the pictures – indeed considering our long intimacy and connection and the affection he always expressed for me – the quantity of money he had, and the very great

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[34] This was the name given by Charles and Benjamin to their brother.

[35] Caldwell MSS. Chas. Caldwell, no address, to Major General Cockburn, at Admiral Caldwell's, Charles St., Berkeley Sq., London, 11 June 1808.

[36] Ibid. Ben Caldwell to George Cockburn, 13 Jan 1809.

losses I suffered by his mismanagement and neglect of my father's trustee, I think the legacy *to me* very small indeed'.[37]

So what emerges from this short and selective account of some of Caldwell's closest relations? For a start there can be no question about his devotion to his mother. When she died his friend and correspondent Coquebert de Montbret, writing a letter of condolence from Paris, quotes Swift on the death of Pope's mother:

> She died in an extreme old age without Pain, under the care of the most dutiful son that was ever known or heard of, which is a felicity not happening to one in a million…her great Piety and virtue will infallibly make her happy in a better life and her great age hath made her fully ripe for heaven and the grave and her best friends will most wish her eased of her labours, when she has so many good works to follow them.

He goes on to say that these words could equally apply to Caldwell.[38] Although perhaps a little intolerant of his sisters he cared for their well-being and, in the case of his married sisters and brother, and his unmarried brother Charles, that of their families. Although a bachelor he was not above giving advice on the correct way to bring up their children and in a letter to Ben's wife Charlotte in August 1787 wrote:

> I hear Charles is a healthy Boy, I hope not a spoild one, Parents often chuse to Blind themselves under the cover of fondness, & shun the true methods of advancing the improvement of their charge; I never knew above one instance of a petted child not perverted, it spoils their Temper; they are unfit to buffet thro' Life, where yr multitude, instead of humouring, will perpetually thwart them. But the worst of all is, it gives a sad byass to the Character, destroying the generous affections, it leaves an unfailing selfish disposition that will prevail in every circumstance thro' life, every one should in early years be train'd a little in the school of adversity & hardship, that's the surest culture of the Virtues.[39]

Fortunately Charles Andrew, an only child, was reared in the loving secure care of both his parents and in spite of receiving no training 'in the school of adversity & hardship'

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[37] Robert Cockburn & Harry Cockburn. *The records of the Cockburn Family* (London, 1913), p.228.
[38] Caldwell MSS. Coquebert de Montbret, 5 Rue Tournon, Paris, to Andrew Caldwell, 11 March 1793.
[39] Ibid. Andrew Caldwell to Charlotte Caldwell, 27 August 1787.

grew into one of the most amiable and responsible of all the Caldwell men . His cousin George Cockburn, on the other hand, who had suffered severe adversity, if not hardship, as a young man, also came through unscathed, developing an ebullient personality, a strong sense of leadership and a responsible attitude towards his relationship with his uncle Andrew Caldwell. Perhaps it tells us a lot about Caldwell that he seemed unaware of the extent to which his treatment of Cockburn and his affairs had been hurtful? As for Ben, they were like chalk and cheese, disapproving of each other, it would seem, in about equal measure.

From all the above we can gather that by the time he died in 1808 Caldwell seemed to have lost the respect of both his brothers Charles and Ben, and Cockburn, his nephew and ward. In future chapters, when his wide circle of intellectual friends will be introduced, it will be seen that the picture is very different.

CHAPTER THREE

Andrew Caldwell's homes in Rutland Square

Andrew Caldwell always lived north of the river Liffey. On returning to Dublin in the autumn of 1760 he moved back into his parents' home in Henry Street. Much had changed in the immediate vicinity of his home since his departure to begin his studies at Glasgow University in 1751. Mention has already been made of the large tracts of land acquired by Luke Gardiner (mainly on the north side of the city) in the first half of the eighteenth century and by the time Caldwell returned Gardiner's development was well under way. In the early 1740s work had begun on widening the upper end of Drogheda Street on the west side and by 1760 building on either side of what had now been re-named Sackville Street was almost completed, with a 48' wide pedestrian Mall, ornamented with lamps and obelisks,[1] running down the centre of it (Plate 12 – detail Rocque's 1756 map). In the 1750s Gardiner 12
opened Cavendish Street, which ran parallel to Bartholomew Mosse's New (pleasure) Gardens on their east side (Plate 12). These gardens, set out behind what 12
was to become Mosse's Lying-in Hospital, and referred to in one contemporary publication as Dublin's Vauxhall and Ranelagh,[2] were already open to the public before Caldwell's departure for Glasgow, the membership subscriptions going towards the hospital building fund. Considering Luke Gardiner's voracious appetite for acquiring land it would seem to have been quite a coup on Mosse's part to manage to purchase, on 15 August 1748, 'four acres and one rood plantation measure'[3] for his great hospital and pleasure gardens project. Could it be that perhaps he and Gardiner had come to a special arrangement in respect of this land?

The foundation stone for the new hospital was laid on 9 July 1751, shortly before Caldwell left, and by the time of his return not only was the building completed, but it had been occupied since December 1757. As can be seen from Rocque's 1756 map, with the exception of five plots at its lower end Cavendish Street had also been completed. By 1764 Cavendish Street had been renamed Cavendish Row, and Palace Row, to the north of the New Gardens, and Granby

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[1] E.Walsh, 'Sackville Mall: The First One Hundred Years', *The Gorgeous Mask: Dublin 1700-1850.* D.Dickson (ed) (Dublin, 1987), p.30.
[2] Philip Luckombe, John Cash,.*Compleat Irish Traveller* (London, 1788), p.45.
[3] I.Campbell Ross. *Public Virtue, Public Love* (Dublin, 1986), p.20.

Row, to the west, had been opened and building begun (Plate 13). By 1789 what had now been named Rutland Square was completed (Plate 14). 13 14

Caldwell came to live in what was then 10 Cavendish Row[4] (see Appendix II) and is to-day 7 Parnell Square, in the summer of 1775 and this street remained his home for the rest of his life, although in 1792 he moved five doors up to 12 Rutland Square East, the street having by then been re-named.[5] His initial move was occasioned by the sad family circumstances related in the first chapter, when he was appointed by his brother-in-law, George Cockburn, as his young son's guardian. George Cockburn senior was born in Scotland in 1712, the son of Archibald Cockburn and Isobel Butler. In 1739 he settled in Dublin, where he became prosperous as an investor in stock,[6] as a merchant[7] and as an army agent.[8] In 1762, the year of his marriage to Anne Caldwell (Plate 15), who was twenty years younger than himself, he bought his house in Cavendish Street.[9] They were not to share this home for long. Anne's health was never good and she died on 16 April 1769 while the family was staying at the health resort of Spa, in Belgium.[10] Both before her death, and in the ensuing years until his own, in May 1775, Cockburn senior kept scrupulous records of his business and domestic affairs, including an inventory of the contents of his Cavendish Row house. This inventory was sold to a Mr. Nailor at the 1936 Hamilton Rowan sale of the contents of Shanganna Castle, Bray, which had been the country home of George Cockburn junior. Nailor lent the inventory to the historian C.P.Curran, who copied it out, and this copy is now in the Irish Architectural Archive.[11] Recently the original inventory, the eighteenth-century handwriting much more legible than Curran's, was found to be in the British Library,[12] and a copy of it, with the exception of Cockburn senior's library, has now been deposited with the Irish Architectural Archive. Extant mid-eighteenth century

App.II

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4 The street naming and numbering is complicated. See Appendix II.

5 Many, including Caldwell, continued to call it Cavendish Row.

6 BL. Cockburn Papers. MS Add.48312.

7 He is listed as a wine merchant in Dublin Directories. This is confirmed by several entries in the BL Cockburn Papers, viz. MS 48315, 17 May 1773, p,54 'By 8 Hhds.Claret delivered viz.Mr. Caldwell 3, Col.Graham 2, Mr. Fisher 2 & Dr.Cleghorn 1 -l55.18.0.' and Ibid. 17 December. 'By Household Expenses 2 Hghds of this vintage 71 kept for my own use, to be drunk in 75 – 39.1.6.'

8 Cockburn, Robert & Cockburn, Harry. *The records of the Cockburn Family* (London & Edinburgh, 1913), and BL Cockburn Papers, MS.Add 48312-48315.

9 BL. Cockburn Papers. MS Add. 48,312, final page.

10 Ibid.

11 Curran notebook No. 14.

12 BL Cockburn Papers. MS Add.48314.

inventories as comprehensive and detailed as this one (right down to the last spoon, stair rod and 'lacquered ring for pulling out the window shutter') are rare and its importance cannot be emphasised enough; it permits a reconstruction of how the house was used which is almost unparalleled among comparable Dublin town houses of the period. With regard to this thesis it has proved invaluable. The contents reflect the taste of George and Anne Cockburn, chosen in the early 1760s, and we do not know to what extent they reflected Caldwell's. However, the inventory paints for us a very detailed picture of the house he moved into in the summer of 1775, on taking up his duties as the young George Cockburn's guardian, and for this reason it will be briefly analysed, after the lay-out of the house has been discussed.

7 Parnell Square is today a hotel, the St. George (Plate 16), and little remains 16
of the original interior. Anthony Duggan, who wrote a thesis entitled *The Development of Parnell Square, its Houses, Decoration and Fittings,*[13] has classified the houses of the square into types A, B and C, and No. 7 falls into the most common category, type B, of which there are 29 in the whole square. No. 7 is among the largest in this group, having a frontage of 34'7". With a few variations (the main one being a large bow in the rear wall, which continues to the parapet level and is capped with a conical shaped roof), No.7 conformed to a typical floor plan for type B houses (Plate 17). Plates18, 19, 20, 21 & 22 show Duggan's floor plans, each room labelled 17
according to his idea of its use from those named in the inventory. The basement (Plate 18) comprised areas to front and rear, a large kitchen facing into the front area, 18
housekeeper's room, servants' hall, butler's pantry, plate and knife pantry and larder. A single flight of stairs led up to the ground floor (Plate 19) where the main entrance 19
to the house (always in this category situated to one side) led into the front hall. A door from the front hall opened into the front parlour, and a fanlight separated the front hall from the staircase hall, off which another door led to the back parlour. The staircase, which in these houses is of the 'dog-leg' type,[14] led to the first floor (Plate 20), the piano nobile, comprising two large rooms, a drawing room running the 20
complete width of the front of the house, and a dining room at the back. The main staircase continued to the second floor (Plate 21), which comprised a small and a 21
large dressing room at the front and a large bedchamber at the rear. The third floor

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[13] Anthony Duggan, unpublished thesis *The Development of Parnell Square, its Houses, Decoration and Fittings*, prepared for submission to UCD for a Masters Degree in Urban and Building Conservation, 1991. Architectural library UCD. Ref.M.25.

[14] Floors reached by two flights of stairs running parallel and joined by a half landing.

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(Plate 22) was reached by a smaller central staircase, and comprised four bedchambers, two in the front and two at the rear. It would seem that Anne and George Cockburn occupied the entire second floor, sleeping in the large bow windowed bedroom at the rear of the house. Duggan has labelled the best bedroom at the top of the house, also bow windowed, as Miss Hunter's. Here he may be wrong. As the inventory for 'Miss Hunter's Bed Chamber' only lists curtains for *two* windows, and the bow windowed room has three, Miss Hunter's room was probably the larger one at the front of the house. Miss Hunter was a relation or close friend of the Cockburns who would seem to have been living with them from the outset and who probably acted as Cockburn's hostess after the death of his wife. She was to die just weeks after Cockburn and Caldwell was responsible for her funeral arrangements[15] and for returning her effects to Archibald Cockburn, Cockburn senior's nephew, in Scotland. The housemaid's room at the time of Cockburn's death belonged to Judith Greghan (named in the careful cash accounts which Caldwell kept when he assumed responsibility for the household).[16] Another female servant is named as Sarah Toole who, Caldwell's accounts show, was paid, in September 1776, £16.10.8. for 'Household Expences'.[17] This is a large sum for a servant to manage and perhaps suggests, given this responsibility, that she was the housekeeper and occupied the housekeeper's bedroom. If she were, though, would she not have been called by the more respectful title of Mrs. Toole? The young George Cockburn was away in the country in term time at Dr. Darby's boarding school in Ballygall, near Portarlington, and usually spent his vacations there as well. As a little child the bow windowed room was probably his; 'A Press for the Nurse', was added to this (unnamed) bedchamber's inventory in 1764, the year of George's birth. Two male servants are mentioned in Caldwell's accounts, Pat Swan, the coachman, and Anthony Vernold. It is not clear where Pat Swan slept (presumably over the coach house at the end of the rear garden) but Vernold, of whom we will hear more later, would have occupied one of the 'Two Deal Beds Painted with Sacken Bottoms' in the servants hall. Who occupied the other we do not know.

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15 BL. Cockburn Papers. MS Add.48315, p.63.
16 Ibid., p.60.
17 Ibid., p.66.

On 26 July 1775 Caldwell, together with his mother and sisters Francis and Henrietta, began the considerable task of checking the contents of the inventory.[18] The kitchen contents are itemised under metal goods (pewter, copperware, iron, brass and tin), glazed pottery (Roan ware)[19], and blue and white, or red and white, china, of all of which there is a substantial amount. Among the kitchen furniture is 'One large Press made up in the Kitchen with w[i]th 6 Locks and Keys' which, valued at £4.10.0., is one of the most expensive items in the kitchen inventory. The fact that it was 'made up in the Kitchen' suggests that it must have been very large indeed (confirmed by the fact that it required six locks and keys) and much too big and heavy to have been carried into the house. Hot food was cooked either in, on top of or in front of a coal range and utensils for this purpose are listed. Five copper 'Tea Kettles' suggest that tea was a popular household drink. Coffee beans were roasted in the kitchen (two coffee roasters are listed) and one of the two coffee mills, an iron one, was 'fixed to the Dresser'. There are utensils for carrying out every possible food preparation activity - knives, sieves, copper pots and pans of every shape and size, jugs, ladles, funnels, jelly moulds, pie tins, dish warmers, etc. The whole inventory summons up a cheery picture of the kitchen in its heyday, with copper utensils gleaming, range glowing, and the whole lit by, among others, 'Five Brass Tall Candlesticks'. It also summons up a not so cheery picture of the amount of work the kitchen alone entailed for the domestic staff, not counting what had to be done in the rest of the house; such a huge number of copper items to be cleaned, fire stoked and food laboriously prepared and all, in the last years of Cockburn senior's life, with his son away at boarding school for much of the time, for himself and Miss Hunter.

It is not proposed to dwell on the pottery and chinaware except to comment on the sheer quantity of it. The 'Street Aria' is listed next. As was common at that time, it was railed off for security reasons and did not allow access to the basement from the street. All the items it contains, except for the 'Coal Barrell', are in some way connected with water ('a Pipe for Watter..., Four Washing Tubs' etc.), as are those in the 'Back Aria', which include 'A leaden Cistern for Water' and 'Two

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[18] BL. Cockburn papers. Add MS 48314. Inside front cover of inventory.

[19] Rouen ware (glazed pottery imported from France) was especially popular in Ireland in the 1740s and 1750s. Its import was curtailed during the Seven Years War. See Toby Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure* (New Haven & London, 2004), p.132, and Peter Francis, *Irish Delftware* (London, 2000), p.178.

Porrangers for lifting the Water'. It would have been the job of the housemaid or manservant to carry the water in buckets to its destination elsewhere in the house. The 'Back Aria' also contained a safe, with padlock, for keeping meat, and a garden roller, which suggests that there was a lawn in Cockburn's rear garden.

Unlike the housekeeper, who had her own comfortable bedchamber on the third floor, the male servants (possibly with the exception of the coachman Pat Swan) slept, ate and worked in the basement. The accommodation provided for them was adequate – the painted deal beds with 'sacken' bottoms already mentioned, feather beds, bolsters, blankets and rugs, and provision for their clothes. In the housekeeper's room is the first mention of pictures; five, unnamed, hang on her walls. Some of the contents of her room indicate her special role. Two pairs of scales suggest that hers was the responsibility for weighing ingredients for food preparation, and spices, an expensive luxury in the eighteenth century, were kept in a 'Mahogany Spice Box with lock & Key'; when required, she would grind them herself in one of the 'Two Marble Mortars One Small & Two Pestels'. Clothes were dried, or aired, in front of her fire and one of the two cupboards in her room was for holding books. What a pity that her books are not listed; it would have been of interest to know what she dipped into in her moments of leisure as she sat by her fireside, sharing her hearth with the clothes drying on the clothes horse.

The contents of the butler's pantry indicate his special role in the house, including his responsibilities for waiting at table. On its shelves were arrayed 'A Copper Boiler Burnished for Boiling Water for Tea', sundry bread and plate baskets and knife boxes, cruets, materials for tending the house's candles and lamps, steel and silver candle snuffers, and a pair of glove stretchers. His pantry also housed 'Oyle Cloath for the Kitchen Stairs'. Fabric slip covers over carpets, upholstery and bedding are understandable, but why slippery oil cloth should on occasion be laid over the wooden kitchen stairs is a mystery.[20] Of interest are the 'Green cushions for Seat in Church'. The Cockburn and Caldwell families were Presbyterian and regular attenders at the Strand Street Meeting House. The fact that the cushions were stored in the butler's pantry suggests that it was customary for them to travel to and fro to the Sunday Meeting with their owners. The inventory specifies *the* seat, so

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[20] Toby Barnard writes, in *Making the Grand Figure* (Newhaven & London , 2004), p.165, that 'oiled floorcloth [was] an important decorative feature in houses of pretension'. It is still difficult to understand why the kitchen stairs should, on occasion, require such treatment.

presumably the family always sat together in the same pew. Another entry of considerable interest is 'A Brush, Powder Bag, Silk Puff & Velure'.[21] Presumably these were for powdering hair, so it looks as though the butler was responsible for his master's *coiffure*, unless they were for his own use. Next in the inventory is the list of glasses, which it is not proposed to discuss here, followed by six pages of 'Plate' comprising silver and jewels valued, on 31 December 1773, at £1998.6.9. Interesting though this list is, it is not proposed to linger over it as it has little relevance to Caldwell. Anne Cockburn's jewellery was extremely valuable, as was much of the silverware. In Caldwell's careful accounts, kept under the heading 'Master Geo. Cockburn',[22] there is an entry made on 15 April 1776, for 'Carrying the plate to the Bank…£0.2.8.', which suggests that at least some of the Cockburn valuables were put into safe keeping.

The hall, next on the inventory, must have been rather crowded and included tables, chairs, two clocks, a linen press and a sedan chair. The walls were hung with guns, pistols, swords, etc. Had the year been 1798 there might have been some reason to have this quantity of arms readily available in the hall but, in smaller houses as well as large, in the mid-eighteenth century this was merely in keeping with fashion. Unlike the 'oyle cloath' to protect the kitchen stairs, 'Sixty Two Yards of Market Cloath Tannd' are listed for covering the 'Stair Cloaths', which comprised forty-eight yards of Wilton carpet. So thorough was Cockburn in making his inventory that even the stair rods and 'half Eyes' to keep them in place are listed. Part of the original plaster cornice can still be seen in the front hall together with the later neo-classic frieze on the stair wall.

Moving on to the living accommodation and the street parlour, an old photograph[23] shows part of the original cornice and frieze of this room, now lost. The colours chosen for all the main rooms were blue or yellow. The street parlour was blue, hung with 'Blue English Paper' and the frieze embellished with 73 ¼ yards of gilded moulding. Seventeen pictures originally hung on the walls but by 1773 they had been joined by thirteen more. In 1768 the original carpet, which had been

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[21] 'Velure' not in the dictionary. Velour – 'a silk or velvet pad'. *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary.* Lesley Brown (ed), vol.2 (Oxford, 1993), p.3556.

[22] BL. Cockburn Papers. MSS Add.48315, p.61.

[23] In IAA.

bought from Lawless,[24] was replaced with 56 ¼ yards of Wilton. There was an Italian marble gilded fireplace and Italian shades for the windows. No doubt Cockburn's books were shelved in this comfortable room, which was obviously his sanctum, as it was destined to become Caldwell's. Here he could be shaved, have his breakfast, write his letters and receive his friends or business acquaintances, possibly pouring them a drink from one of the bottles stored in his 'Mahogany Cooper'.[25] The doors leading into the hall and the back parlour from his sanctum were secured with 'One of Days best locks',[26] as were many of the main reception rooms.

The room leading from the front parlour, although named as the back parlour in the inventory, was obviously used as a dining room in Cockburn's time. A section of the original cornice and frieze has been retained in this room, its main glory, then and now, being its large bow window (Plate 23). The colour of the 'English Paper' in this room is not noted, but the walls above the timber panelled dado were adorned with ten paintings and six 'laquerd Socketts' supporting three girandoles. Here surely much entertaining must have been done, with seating accommodation for twelve at one table and eight at the other. The inclusion in the hall inventory for 'A Lady Picture over Dinning Room door' would seem to confirm that, in Cockburn senior's time anyway, the ground floor back room was, indeed, used as a dining room. 23

There were only two splendid rooms on the piano nobile, one leading into the other and both sumptuously decorated and furnished. The colour scheme in the drawing room, which ran across the width of the house at the front, was yellow, with 'Yellow Flock English Wallpaper', armchairs upholstered in yellow damask and curtains for the three windows made from the same fabric. Once more the carpet was a Wilton, 93 ½ yards of it, imported like all the rest from England, so incurring freight and duty charges. The original fireplace in the drawing room is described in the inventory as 'A Marble Statuary chimney Piece Bt. from Darley 68.5.0.' It is not known which members of the Darley family, 'dynastically and commercially …the leading quarrymen and stone contractors in the mid and late eighteenth

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[24] Possibly Nicholas Lawless, Weaver, Elbow Lane. *The Gentlemen's & Citizen's Almanack* (1762), p.30.

[25] Cooper – a six (or twelve) bottle basket, used in wine cellars.

[26] There is no mention of Day in the early Almanacks.

century',[27] were responsible for this fireplace and for the one in the dining room, but the most likely contenders would seem to be George Darley (1731-1813) and his brother Hill Darley (1735-1800). A considerable collection of their chimneypiece drawings exists in the Royal Irish Academy,[28] many with styles and prices similar to those in No. 7. Without the photographic record of No. 7 made for the Irish Architectural Archive in the 1980s the drawing room fireplace would have been lost for ever because later in the 1980s it, together with the other fire surrounds in the house and the stair balusters, were stolen. C.P.Curran describes the centre of the mantel as 'Psyche winged recumbent against a cloud background. Fan ornament in the corners upper. Plain white marble. Plain white columns with a low base & rectangular cap. Carving rather naturalistic floral leaf design tied with interlaced knots'.[29] Plate LXXIV in the *Georgian Society Records*, volume IV, shows that there was a similar carving in the centre of the mantel in the first-floor front drawing room of No. 7 Upper Merrion Street. The walls were hung with nine pictures.

The furnishings in the large bow windowed first floor back room listed in the inventory as the 'Dining Room', would suggest that it was not used for that purpose in Cockburn senior's time; the room beneath it, as already discussed, served that purpose. The theme in this room was blue, the walls hung with 'Blue English Flock Paper' and the ten arm chairs, two settees and two 'Conversation Sofas' all covered with blue damask, with blue 'cheque' [slip][30] covers, and blue damask curtains at the windows. With so much more comfortable seating available than in the drawing room, this may well have been the room where the greater number of guests would congregate for conversation and other diversions. Also carpeted with Wilton carpet, and with a Darley chimneypiece, the walls of this room were hung with twenty-two pictures.

There were three rooms on the second floor, a large bow fronted bedchamber to the rear and two rooms described as 'Dressing Rooms' to the front. The inventory illustrates that the bedchamber was the height of comfort, as would be expected of

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[27] E.McParland. *Public Architecture in Ireland 1680-1760* (New Haven & London, 2001), p.191.
[28] RIA. MS 3C.34.
[29] IAA. Curran notebook No.14.
[30] Such slip covers, thrown over furniture, beds and even stairs were to be found in most richly furnished houses. They were often left on while the family was in residence and only removed for special visitors.

the master bedroom in the house. The 'Mahogany four posted bed' had been imported, as indicated by the fact that the price of £12.9.6. included duty and freight, and although there were no pictures or ornaments in this room, there were plenty of upholstered chairs and two silk fringed Persian carpets on the floor. The room contained only one clothes chest, further provision for clothes being made in the two dressing rooms.

Both dressing rooms were hung with English paper, the larger of the two almost certainly being Anne Cockburn's. Here was her 'Toilet Table', hung with 'Flowerd Muslin', plenty of upholstered seating, and good mahogany furniture, including a desk, card table, 'Tall Boy' and 'Cloaths Press. Although only three pictures are listed, the inventory lists a 'Zogarscop with 51 Pictures',[31] and the room surfaces must have been covered with Anne's large collection of china figures. The walls of the smaller of the two dressing rooms, Cockburn senior's, were hung with thirty-three pictures. It contained only six chairs and one armchair, and housed much of his library. The title deeds of the house were kept in this room, as well as an iron chest containing jewellery.

Two further flights of stairs led to the four bedrooms on the third floor, one large and bow windowed and one small at the rear, and one large and one small at the front. Miss Hunter, as established earlier, was probably the occupant of the large two windowed room at the front of the house. Seventeen pictures hung on her walls and the room was comfortably furnished. The equally comfortably furnished large bow windowed bedroom at the back of the house, hung with twenty-one pictures, was probably used as a spare room until it became Cockburn junior's nursery in 1764. The two smaller bedchambers, the housekeeper's and housemaid's, were both adequately furnished and provided with a lock and key.

This, then, was the house which Caldwell was to share initially with his mother and sisters, and very occasionally with its owner, the young George Cockburn, until 1792, when he moved into his own house. How did this house and its contents compare with others of the same period and style? Unfortunately no inventory anything like as comprehensive as Cockburn's has been found but a rather

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[31] Zograscope – a lens and mirror on a wooden stand; a device of the eighteenth century for viewing perspective prints.

meagre account of some of the contents of the late Luke Gardiner's house in Henrietta Street was taken on 9 November 1772 by Joseph Ellis and J. Kirchoffer.[32] It goes without saying that the original contents of Gardiner's magnificent eight-bayed house must have far exceeded those of Cockburn's three-bayed Cavendish Row home. Perhaps an explanation for the scanty nature of the Gardiner inventory is that Ellis and Kirchoffer had been instructed to value only items which were to go to auction? Often, in the Cockburn inventory, items are listed as having been bought at auction from, for instance, the late Mr. [Topham] Mitchell, General Foukes, the Bishop of Dublin,[33] General Greeves, General Irwin, General Townsend (the sedan chair), Major Whitelock and Mr. Sandford. Occasionally Cockburn inserts the name of the supplier of an item, although not all of them can now be traced. No such interesting detail can be found in the Gardiner inventory, although there are several entries which suggest its former glory. For instance, all the reception rooms listed, the breakfast parlour, street parlour, gilt parlour, yellow drawing room, blue drawing room (there is a similarity here in that Cockburn also chose a yellow or blue décor for his 'best' rooms) and ballroom, contain a marble topped table, with two in the ballroom. Cockburn's inventory does not include one such table. Four of the Gardiner rooms, the street parlour, gilt parlour and yellow and blue drawing rooms, contain large pier glasses in carved frames. There are no pier glasses in the Cockburn inventory. While both inventories list an abundance of pictures, with more detail as to artist and subject in Cockburn's, unlike Cockburn Gardiner possessed some full length portraits: two 'Pictures of Ladies' in the blue drawing room, and one of George the First, one of the Duke of Bolton and one of Lord Strafford and his Secretary in the ballroom. Such detail, however, can give us only the merest glimpse of the manner in which the Gardiner family lived, while we are left in no doubt about the style and comfort of the Cockburn home.

There can also be no doubt that when the Caldwells moved into Cavendish Row changes were made, although because the house was held in trust for the young Cockburn the main furniture and fittings would have been retained. As Caldwell's own collection of paintings (to be discussed in chapter seven) grew did they join or

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[32] I am indebted to Edward McParland for lending me his copy of this inventory, which he extracted from unsorted Gardiner papers in the National Library of Ireland (NLI PC 11 (6)). Kirchoffer is listed in *The Gentlemen's and Citizen's Almanack* of 1772 as 'Kirchoffer, John, Joiner & Auctioneer, Marlborough St.' Joseph Ellis is not listed.

[33] William Carmichael, d.1765.

replace Cockburn's on the walls? Cockburn's collection, listed in his inventory, was considerable. It is not clear whether the most expensive picture, *Abraham turning Haggar away*, attributed to Rembrandt and valued at £50, was a print or a painting. With such a high valuation it is unlikely to have been an etching;[34] if a painting, then it could not have been by him. He [Rembrandt] was a great admirer of Pieter Lastman's painting of this subject but he himself only produced etchings of it.[35] And what about Cockburn's books? Caldwell was a compulsive book buyer and surely, as his collection grew, Cockburn's would have been eased off the shelves?

Caldwell's library, comprising 1,364 books and pamphlets, was auctioned after his death.[36] All his special interests are represented (architecture and sculpture 43 titles;[37] prints and painting 49 titles; botany 24 titles;) but these form only a small part of the entire collection. Largely represented are travel books, biographies and memoirs, poetry, works of literature, critical studies, philosophy, politics (English and Irish), law, history and religion. There are books on physics, chemistry and agriculture, a small section on music, and many miscellaneous volumes. His classical studies are represented by 178 Latin titles and his linguistic abilities confirmed by the fact that there are over 250 titles in French and 88 in Italian, as well as Latin, French and Italian dictionaries. That Caldwell kept himself up to date with current affairs of general interest is confirmed by the 176 bound volumes of pamphlets listed, and by complete sets of the *Monthly Review* and *Gentleman's Magazine*. The fact that some books which one would have expected to see in his collection (for instance John Aheron's *A General Treatise of Architecture* (Dublin, 1754)) are not listed does not necessarily mean that they were not originally there. Caldwell left his library to his nephew George Caldwell, a fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, who presumably sold only those books that he did not wish to keep. This suggests that the number of volumes in Caldwell's library before his death numbered many more than 1,364. How he shelved them and what he did with Cockburn

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[34] See Appendix IV(a), Cat. nos. 37 & 38.

[35] Astrid Tumpel, Peter Schatborn. *Pieter Lastman, the man who taught Rembrandt* (Amsterdam, 1991), p.67.

[36] A copy of the sales catalogue can be found in the Early Printed Books dept. of TCD, ref.rr.k.82.No.9.

[37] Christine Casey points out in her Ph.D. thesis *A bibliographical approach to the Irish eighteenth-century architecture*, vol.1, p.61, that Caldwell's collection of books on architecture was particularly rich.

senior's books we do not know but are left with the impression that this was to become an extremely crowded house.

As far as the use of rooms is concerned we know that the street parlour became Caldwell's domain but whether or not the back parlour continued in use as a dining room under the new regime we do not know. As for the sleeping arrangements, the best bedchamber on the second floor would surely have been Mrs. Caldwell's, one of the dressing rooms also being for her use, while Caldwell and Fanny slept in the two large third floor bedrooms. Perhaps Fanny had to share with Henrietta until her (Henrietta's) early death in 1785.

Caldwell's meticulous bookkeeping shows how he dealt with the aftermath of his brother-in-law's death,[38] paying his funeral expenses, household accounts and outstanding debts, as well as bills incurred by the young George for riding, fencing, drawing, his [George's] visits to the theatre with his friend 'Master Cleghorn' (whose father, Doctor Cleghorn was in attendance for George's attack of measles), boarding school fees for Dr. Darby's educational establishment in Ballygall, and chaise hire to take him on his journeys there and back. (Caldwell lost no time in selling Cockburn senior's coach and horses. A cash account entry for 15 June 1775 notes that £17.10 was received for a pair of horses, and that the next day, 16 June, the 'chariot' was sold for £40.)[39] George was already a pupil at Dr. Darby's school at the time of his father's death and remained there until August 1777, when he was packed off to boarding school in England. Much though his family loved him and were concerned about him, he was obviously a disturbed little boy (and no wonder, considering that he was an only child and had lost both his parents within a short space of time and had been sent to boarding school at a young age) and, it seems, a trouble maker both at school and at home. His schoolmaster Dr. Darby, writing from Ballygall on 3 April 1776 assured Caldwell that he would 'with Pleasure keep him the two long Vacations, for I know he will be very troublesome to you & good Mrs. Caldwell'.[40] George was to fulfil his early ambition to become a soldier, leaving school in 1781 having obtained a commission in the 1st Regiment of Guards and subsequently enjoying a successful military career. It suited him very well that his uncle should

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[38] BL. Cockburn Papers. Add. MS 48315

[39] Ibid., p.64.

[40] NAM, Cockburn papers. Dr. Darby, Ballygall, to Andrew Caldwell, 3 April 1776. (Mrs. Caldwell was Andrew Caldwell's mother and Geo.Cockburn's grandmother).

continue to live in his house (free of charge) both because it would be well looked after and because it provided him with a *pied-a-terre* on his infrequent visits to Dublin.

We know Caldwell inherited the Cockburn staff, Patrick Swan, coachman, (soon to become redundant when the coach and horses were sold) Anthony Vernold, man servant, and Judith Groghan, housemaid. These were joined by the doughty Mrs. Donovan, employed by Caldwell as his housekeeper, and his servant Jack. Although Patrick Swan's services were not retained, this did not mean that Caldwell was without a coach ever after. In July 1777, while staying in England at Roehampton with his friend and patron Lord Bessborough, he wrote to his mother that he was looking for a second-hand coach but was having difficulty 'having no skill and not knowing whom to apply to for advice'.[41] This ties in with comments made by Cockburn junior who, writing in his old age in a volume he entitled *Select and Curious Memorandums* (which is now in a private collection owned by one of his descendants), noted 'he [Caldwell] was not a master of a carriage and horses till past 44 – and the most job[42] could not bear to use it. He has walked to and from Mangins[43] in French Street[44] from Rutland Square, in depth of winter and bad weather hundreds of times rather than take out his carriage'.[45] A little further on he wrote 'I remember my uncle Caldwell (who I always thought de facto stingy) walking home supported and scarcely able to walk from his sisters Mrs. Riall's after supper a few months before his death and then very ill – rather than order out his carriage – that which was a job one'.[46] Certainly by 1793 he owned his own coach as Martha McTier, writing to her brother Sam McTier in Belfast, noted 'I was introduced to Andrew Caldwell at his desire. He came here on Sunday morning…in his coach, brought his sister and took me with them, where he said he had never been

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[41] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell to Eliza Caldwell, 22 July 1777.

[42] This word may have been wrongly transcribed. The meaning would seem to be 'most times', or usually.

[43] Andrew Caldwell's dear friend Alexander Mangin, who bequeathed his valuable collection of prints and drawings to him.

[44] Not in Roque's 1756 map but mentioned in C.T.M'Cready's *Dublin street names dated and explained'* (1892); Called in 1728 'Love Lane', in 1733 'Little Cuffe St' and since 1860 'Mercer St. Upper', last name change on account of previous bad repute. The name appears on a Wilson Dublin Directory map in 1766.

[45] Cockburn MSS. *Select & Curious Memorandums.*

[46] A 'job chaise' in the eighteenth century was one hired for the trip. Although Caldwell owned his own carriage there is no mention in the correspondence of a coachman. Perhaps he employed a 'job' coachman only when required?

before on a Sunday, the Circular Road, and asked me to dine on Tuesday or Wednesday. I wished to evade going there, as I know they are fine people'.[47] Vernhold and Jack lived below stairs in what the inventory calls the 'Servants Hall'. Mrs. Donovan had the comfort of her own sitting room in the basement, as well as her bedroom on the third floor, where Judith Greghan also had a bedroom to herself. While Jack remained Caldwell's servant for many years, Vernhold was not to last long. In a letter to his mother written from Lord Bessborough's Roehampton villa in July 1777 Caldwell wrote 'I enclose you Vernhold's Discharge and hope sincerely it will be of use in procuring him a good Place, his complexion is much against him, and I confess I don't blame the other servants for their Delicasy'.[48] In reply his mother wrote 'I have advised Vernhold to try what he cd do in London for he never will get a place here. I lost the discharge you wrote … but did not signify much for it would not have got him a place he got dead drunk last night & put me allmost mad. I was up this morn almost as soon as it was Light he got up very sober & cry'd & made the sollomest promisses that man cd make so venturd not knowing how to do better'.[49] Caldwell appeared to have had a particularly soft spot for his servant Jack. He was concerned about him while he was away and wrote to his mother that he hoped Jack was behaving well and asking her to 'tell him I enquir'd for him, and if he continues good shall bring him with me when I come again to London',[50] and in a later letter while still away he wrote again to his mother saying that 'I did make a sort of promise to Jack about the Hair Dresser but expect he will take great pains and not let his time and my money be thrown away, I hope the man is a person of credit and that he wont be in danger of meeting with bad company at the shop, and tell him I desire he will take care of that'.[51] In 1789 Jack seems to have blotted his copy book severely. Benjamin Caldwell, our Caldwell's seafaring brother, wrote to Cockburn:

> The history you gave of Mr. Jack's tan-tarararu made us laugh as well as you – but such insolence and impudence being borne with is totally past my comprehension, why should it be borne? and were is the goodness or the

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[47] Jean Agnew (ed). *The Drennan-McTier Letters 1776-1793*, vol.1 (Dublin 1998), p.538. Martha McTier to her brother Sam McTier, 7 May 1793.

[48] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell to Mrs. Caldwell, 22 July 1777.

[49] Ibid. Mrs. Caldwell to Andrew Caldwell, 31 August 1777.

[50] Ibid. Andrew Caldwell to Mrs. Caldwell, 16 July 1777.

[51] Ibid. Andrew Caldwell to Mrs. Caldwell, 22 July 1777. The comment concerning a visit Jack has made, or is about to make, to the hair dresser, at Caldwell's expense, is confusing.

> obligation? more manliness and spirit in the Master would probably save that worthless person from the gallows – the world is but one great army, and should be govern'd accordingly – rewards where due and punish the worthless with exemplary severity – had that servant fallen into proper hands, at this time, he would have been a good serv. and a happy man, when now a miserable wretch, who at his last moments, will date his ruin, with his master, so much for mistaken Lenity.[52]

This comment is the first of several, made by each brother, which will be noted as the thesis progresses, showing that there was not much love lost between them.

With family and servants occupying all the rooms, accommodation for guests was not easy. In the summer of 1787 Caldwell wrote to his sister-in-law Charlotte, Ben's wife, hoping that 'if we get settled in any decent country house next summer, you will come over and see my mother and the cousinhood, as for this place, as I hope to be saved, I can't conceive how we could stow you, Ben will inform you how Dublin Houses are calculated, & we have such a quantity of Pictures, Carpets, Books … we are very nearly out of the House ourselves'[53]. To escape from Dublin to rented country accommodation every summer was important for Caldwell and in this letter he bemoaned the fact that 'we have wasted all this summer in Town which I regret, the scheme for Bessborough[54] was not given up 'till too late and all the convenient Summer Retreats were engaged, we must provide in time next year'. At least during that 'wasted summer' he would have been able to enjoy the Rotunda Gardens from the windows in the front of his house. In the early autumn a decade later, by which time he had moved further up the road into his own house, he wrote to a favourite of his, his friend Frederick Trench's daughter Mary, bemoaning the wet weather and commenting that at least 'If the Rain has been continual, some advantage has followed, our opposite Grove[55] was never perhaps in higher beauty, the Trees have more foliage than I ever remember, a Landscape painter might find them a good study'.[56] He had by this time become enthusiastically interested in botany and had formed a firm friendship with Dr. James Smith, the first

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[52] Ibid. Ben Caldwell to Cockburn, 29 October 1789.
[53] Ibid. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to Charlotte Caldwell, Southampton, 27 August 1787.
[54] What this 'scheme' was is not known.
[55] He is referring to the Rotunda Pleasure Gardens.
[56] NLI.Domville papers. MS 11354 (3). Andrew Caldwell to Mary Trench. 23 Sept.1797.

President of the Linnean Society, with whom he corresponded from 1792 until the time of his [Caldwell's] death in 1808. In 1795 Caldwell played a large part in the founding of the National Botanic Gardens in Glasnevin by the Dublin Society and was himself elected a fellow of the Linnean Society on 26 January 1796, all of which will be discussed again in a further chapter relating to Caldwell's commitment to the Dublin Society.

It emerges from the correspondence that Caldwell was not over-enthusiastic about looking after the house and most of the responsibility for it seems to have fallen on his mother's and sister's shoulders. Although expressing concern about their involvement he nevertheless often managed to be away when general maintenance and redecoration were taking place. While on a prolonged visit to England in the summer of 1777 he wrote to his mother on 30 June 'I am afraid you are in a disagreeable way at present with the house fulld with workmen';[57] on 10 July 'I am afraid you will have a vast deal of plague with the House and I think it very hard you should have the trouble';[58] and on 16 July, referring again to his mother's 'disagreeable situation', suggested that he fancied she 'had better remove to Mrs. Stewarts,[59] tho that will be troublesome and inconvenient'.[60] Much of his time in England in the summer of 1777 was spent staying with Lord Bessborough, both at his London house in Cavendish Square and his villa,[61] and from that distance his Dublin home seemed less and less attractive. Throughout his life it was Caldwell's opinion that nothing could ever be done as well in Ireland as it could in England. In his letter from London to his mother of 10 July 1777 he wrote 'I observe the skirting Boards are all painted white in the genteel Houses here, but I think the Man said ours could not be done so now, it is no matter, we are so much behind we must be humbly content, hereafter every attempt towards fine or handsome, will appear to me low and trivial … I do assure you the elegancies of this Town, the beauty of the Buildings are such that it is a perfect Paradise'.[62] In another letter to his mother, dated 30 July 1777, in which he tells her of the gift to her from Lord Bessborough of two panes of

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[57] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, Liverpool, to Mrs. Caldwell, Cavendish Street, 3 June 1777.
[58] Ibid. Andrew Caldwell, London, to Mrs. Caldwell, 10 July 1777.
[59] Mrs. Stewart was Caldwell's aunt, his mother's sister Mary. Her daughter, Ann Helen, married Caldwell's great friend Frederick Trench. Mrs. Stewart's house was in Palace Row, 24 Rutland Square, which was subsequently owned by Frederick Trench.
[60] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, London, to Mrs. Caldwell, 26 July 1777.
[61] Roehampton, designed by Caldwell's favourite architect William Chambers.
[62] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, London, to Mrs. Caldwell, 10 July 1777.

painted glass for the windows of her dressing room,[63] he wrote 'I was not solicitous to have the stairs done in any particular manner and therefore if another way was easier would have liked it, people here do not do this work as often as we, they keep things free from dust, but as to their getting a dark gloomy colour that is not the least regarded'.[64]

With Cockburn's forthcoming marriage to his cousin Eliza Riall, Caldwell's niece, in mind[65] it was time for him to reclaim his house and on 10 December 1788 he wrote to his uncle saying that he had promised to give him six months notice and 'I am now to request you will look on this as the promised warning. But you are perfectly welcome to remain twelve months (or till you can suit yourself), as I would put myself to any inconvenience rather than incommode you, or my Gd Mother'.[66] A fortnight later, on Christmas Day, he wrote to his grandmother Eliza Caldwell and the letter gives us an interesting insight into Caldwell's character. He said:

> I wrote to my Uncle about a fortnight ago & mentioned that I should soon want the house. I however request you will not put yourself to inconvenience. To say the truth, I think you may be able to get a house in six months, but I am serious when I say I will wait longer with pleasure to convenience you. I have only one request, which is certainly reasonable, & that is that you will, as <u>from yourself</u> desire my Uncle to look out, in earnest; you know the Caldwells are very slow, & put off things to the last moment, & for that reason it will be necessary to remind him to look out, however do not mention that I have desired you to remind him, he might take it ill, as between ourselves I am afraid the moving may disconcert him.[67]

On 16 March 1789 Cockburn wrote to his uncle from Paris 'As matters are now arranged I think you had better remain this year in Cavendish Street. You are perfectly welcome, and as I have mentioned before I must positively decline any rent

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[63] Presumably the large front room on the second floor of 10 Cavendish Row.
[64] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, London, to Mrs. Caldwell, 30 July 1777.
[65] They married 8 March 1790.
[66] NAM Cockburn papers. George Cockburn to Andrew Caldwell, 10 December 1788.
[67] Caldwell MSS. George Cockburn to Mrs. Caldwell, 25 December 1788.

for the time you have had it. On the contrary I am much obliged to you for the care you have had of it. I wish you to suit your convenience, without considering me'.[68]

On 28 March 1792 Caldwell obtained a lease of No. 12 Rutland Square East (Plate 24) (built in 1755 and five doors up from his nephew – see Appendix II) from Sackville Gardiner at a yearly rent of £100[69] and, at the age of 60, became a house owner for the first time. His mother and sister Fanny moved with him but only a few months afterwards, on 17 November 1792, his mother died. The house was of a similar size and layout to No. 7, having a frontage of 33'10" to No.7's 34'7" but lacked the beautiful bow windows at the back. What was the long established Ierne dance hall now adjoins the back of the building and until two years ago the whole was owned by the Dublin Fire Brigade Social Club, who bought it in 1994. Some traces of the original kitchen vaulting can still be seen in the basement, the gracious stairway, with its original handrail and balusters, has survived on the upper floors and some original door-cases remain. The big surprise in this house was to find what seemed to be a neo-classical ceiling in the piano nobile front drawing room, which had been discovered by the firemen (and subsequently rather heavily painted) when they removed a false ceiling in that room in 1994 (Plate 25). It is not known when the false ceiling was put in place but it was certainly there in the 1970s when Trinity College carried out a survey of the houses in Parnell Square, and was still there in 1991 when Duggan wrote his thesis. The excitement aroused by the finding of this ceiling soon abated as the conviction grew that this was a rather clumsily executed neo-classical revival ceiling, carried out by subsequent owners of the house. We can be fairly sure that the rococo cornice and frieze (Plate 26) are original and contemporaneous with the house but that the rest of the ceiling decoration was a later addition. The heavy frame surrounding the central stuccowork cannot be reconciled to other 1750s ceilings, and the rather pancake like quality of the central harvest theme, with its moulded plaques, confirm a later date for this work. It must be remembered that Caldwell was a man of highly refined taste. He was familiar with the dining room of his friend Frederick Trench's country seat Heywood, 'one of the most accomplished interiors of the Adam period in Ireland'.[70] His friend Charles Gordon had lived for thirty years down the road in the

24 App.II 25 26

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[68] NAM Cockburn papers. George Cockburn, Paris, to Andrew Caldwell, 16 March 1789.
[69] *Geo. Soc Records*, vol.iii (Dublin, 1911), p.108.
[70] M.Bence-Jones, *A Guide to Irish Country Houses* (London, 1988), p.152.

sumptuously decorated 9 Cavendish Row, which he had bought from Dr. Bartholomew Mosse in 1759 and, of course, Caldwell was close friends with Lord Charlemont and a frequent visitor to his Rutland Square home and the exquisite little Casino at Marino. It goes without saying that he simply could not and would not have settled for such a second-rate ceiling as that uncovered by the Dublin Fire Brigade Social Club.

In the Autumn of 1797, however, much other work seemed to have been taking place in No.12 Rutland Square. Caldwell, writing to Mary Trench, informed her that he had heard her father [Frederick] 'was six days in Town, but never call'd to enquire whether my lot was happy or miserable, or shew'd any concern about me' and went on to say that he [Caldwell] had 'for several weeks been involv'd in very inconvenient disagreeable circumstances, white washers, Painters, Plaisterors, Char-women, & Carpenters, it was precisely the case in which the assistance & advice of that particular friend could have been material'.[71] There seemed to be general cleaning up and refurbishment going on which perhaps may have included the lowering of the piano nobile windows, which was the fashionable thing to do at that time.

By November of 1797 the work, whatever it was, was still not completed. Caldwell, always uneasy about any domestic disruption, had for some time been staying with his brother, now Admiral Benjamin Caldwell, at his house in Charles Street, London, when Fanny (who had been in charge of the running of the house since the death of Mrs. Caldwell in November 1792) wrote to say that it was lucky that he had decided to prolong his stay in London as the house was not yet finished, and the garret room not yet papered. She continued 'After fixing on the paper your Room looks Beautiful but the rest shabby for it. Everybody surprised you would not go through with the work & finish it'.[72] We can guess that Caldwell's decision was related more to getting the running of the house back to normal again than to spare expense.

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[71] NLI Domville Papers, MS 11,354 (3). Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to Mary Trench, 23 September 1797.

[72] Caldwell MSS. Fanny Caldwell, Dublin, to Andrew Caldwell, London, November 1797.

As he grew older his conviction that Dublin in general, and Rutland Square in particular, were second rate compared to England persisted. Around 1803, when he was in his seventies, he wrote to Mary Trench from Bath. Although he never enjoyed Bath – 'a more dull unpleasant Quarter than Bath, never did I experience in my Life'[73] – he still considered that 'It must be acknowledged this place is magnificent and commodious, plenty of Architecture of all sorts, tell the great Orderer [Frederick Trench] I think nothing now of his little dab of an up & down Square call'd Rutland; shabby & dirty as is Sackvill St. compar'd with Gt. Pulteney, thank God it's twice as wide, that's some comfort'.[74] The previous year, writing to Mary Trench from Harrogate on 5 September 1802, he said 'what a glorious Country is this, such industry, such wealth! Taste arrived at perfection, & their expenditures the most noble refin'd Luxuries, I can't help feeling the most mortifying comparisons'.[75] Before that again, on 24 November 1800, writing from London to George Cockburn 'near Bray'[76] he said 'I often wish I could transport my Habitation from Cavendish Row to the [word obscured by seal] end of Piccadilly, London [words obscured by seal] continual gratification of Curiosity for me but it is very lounging & unsettled to be in a Lodging, & then what signifies having one's home & conveniencies to no purpose, Home is Home is a true maxim'.[77]

Some years before, in the autumn of 1794, having spent four months in England, Caldwell returned to Dublin and, as he wrote to Cockburn in Guernsey on 10 October, found home to be on this occasion

> a lonely habitation, not one of the family to meet me, very different from former occasions, but such are the melancholy changes that Time brings about. A servant I hir'd in London has disappointed me, so I am without a Man, but Donovan & the other Maid answer admirably, never was so well attended, Redwell comes to tye my Hair, I have several times din'd alone, and not even drank one Glass of Wine, Porter being quite sufficient, how cheap & easy may a single Person Live.[78]

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[73] NLI Domville Papers, MS 11354 (3). Andrew Caldwell, Bath, to Mary Trench, 1803.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid. Andrew Caldwell, Harrogate, to Mary Trench, 5 September 1802.
[76] Cockburn had now established Shanganna, his country home near Bray.
[77] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, London, to George Cockburn, near Bray.
[78] Ibid. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to George Cockburn, Guernsey, 10 October 1794.

His comment that he had 'several times dined alone' suggested this to be the exception rather than the rule. He and his sister Fanny would normally have dined together[79] and Caldwell in particular, when not entertaining friends to dinner in his own house, was often entertained at theirs.

In his personal wants Caldwell was not extravagant and, whenever he could, managed without a fire. In a letter to his friend James Smith in the summer of 1802, recounting the trials of the previous winter, he wrote 'I have not a fire in my Bedchamber, & one morning about an hour after my Man left the Bason of Water, it was all frozen over the thickness of half a Crown'.[80] However, the following summer, in a show of extravagance for him, he again wrote to his friend 'Summer I believe may be given up for this Year, the weather is really so cold I have been glad to put on my fire again, when the servants in the Kitchen have constantly a cheerfull hearth, I have no notion why the Gentleman above stairs should sit shivring because the Almanack tells him it is the beginning of July'.[81] Towards the end of his life he decided to allow himself to invest in a new bed. He wrote to Cockburn on 27 January 1806 to tell him that he had

> been consulting Preston[82] about making up a new Bed, the expence is very great, now I should be obliged to you to enquire, & it will be an amusement too, at one of the best upholsterers, what might be the price of the best feather Bed six ft wide or more, and also mattress & Paillase, I should like to have some idea of this before I fix absolutely with Preston; it may amuse both Eliza & you, serve for an excuse for looking about & seeing fine things, there are I believe fine upholsterers in Bond St. there was Seddons formerly I think in Bishopsgate St. and that had great fame.[83]

The bed was duly made, by whom the correspondence does not make clear, but sadly Caldwell did not have long to lie on it. It was included in the auction of his books,

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[79] She was out of the country when this letter was written.
[80] Lin.Soc.Lib. Caldwell, Dublin, to James Smith, 30 June 1802. .
[81] Ibid.
[82] MSS Caldwell papers. John & Nathanial Preston, Upholsterers, Henry Street, Dublin, who at that time were furnishing Castle Coole. John Preston was Caldwell's tenant in Henry Street.
[83] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to George Cockburn, 27 January 1806.

after his death on 2 July 1808, and noted in the catalogue as 'a fine large four-post Bedstead Mahogany Pillars, Mattras and Curtains lined' (Plate 27).[84] 27

[84] Dept. of Early Printed Books, Trinity College, Dublin, RR.K.82, No.9.

CHAPTER FOUR

Andrew Caldwell and the Rutland Square clique

John Brewer, in *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, proposed that 'discussions of taste concerned the position of the *amateur*, the lover of the arts, rather than the artistic creator',[1] and considered that the tasteful public could be defined 'not as those who were *present* as listeners, viewers or readers, but as those few among them who could *appreciate*, who could respond tastefully to what they saw, heard or read'.[2] As will be seen, almost all of Caldwell's circle of friends could be numbered among 'those few', and this chapter will consider his special relationship with two of them, Lord Charlemont and Frederick Trench.

Perhaps the most illustrious of Caldwell's friends was his neighbour James Caulfeild, 1st Earl of Charlemont (1728-1799), whose town house, designed by William Chambers and built between the years 1762-1765, was situated on the north side of Rutland Square in what had previously been known as Palace Row (Plate 28). Of all his friends it was probably with Charlemont that Caldwell shared the most interests, so cementing the permanence of their companionable relationship. They were both deeply cultured men, passionate bibliophiles and collectors, with a consuming interest in books, prints, drawings and paintings. Discussing their latest acquisitions was a favourite topic not only between themselves but among the wider circle of their like-minded friends, such people as Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore, the Shakespearian scholar and critic Edmund Malone and Joseph Cooper Walker, the latter sharing with Charlemont an especial interest in Italian literature. But between Charlemont and Caldwell a special bond existed because of their mutual interest in architecture and admiration of the work of William Chambers. In 1769 Charlemont had encouraged Chambers to put in an entry for the Royal Exchange Competition,[3] and Caldwell had done his best to promote Chambers as architect for the proposed Blue-Coat Hospital, as illustrated in this extract from his letter to Charlemont dated 24 February 1773:

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> The Governors of the Blue-Coat Hospital have distributed the Premiums for Plans, in which they have acted generously in encouraging the labours of young

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[1] John Brewer. *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (London, 1997), p.92.
[2] Ibid.
[3] HMC *MSS of the Earl of Charlemont*, 94, p.290.

> Artists, but they were all detestable & they resolved not to execute any of them, I have had some small share of merit towards carrying that Point, and am now intriguing busily to have an application made to my favourite and admir'd Sir Wm. Chambers, if I succeed I shall immediately acquaint your Lordship with it, but do not mention this to him for fear we should miscarry, which I rather expect we shall, as ill fate seems to attend Ireland.[4]

Also, because of his close ties with the Bessborough family, whose Irish agent he became on the death of his father, he was familiar with the Chambers designed Bessborough (now Parksted) House at Roehampton.

As early as 1773 (just four years after the publication of the 'Observations on architecture' in the *Freeman's Journal*) it became obvious from their correspondence that the two men's tastes were similar and that not only did Charlemont greatly appreciate Caldwell's help and involvement in his affairs but also cared for his approval. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in a letter which has recently come to light, the relevant parts of which are quoted below:

> My dear Caldwell,
>
> However modestly I may think of my own discernment I cannot avoid allowing myself some little share of applause for the excellent choice which I have made of a Friend to whose kind care to entrust an object so highly interesting to me as my Library; nor indeed was ever confidence more amply repaid; not content with preserving this my favourite Mistress, confided to your guardianship from the many Mischiefs to which my absence and the crowds of company which, as you tell me, she has been obliged to admit, have made her liable, you have done much more – you have studied her thoroughly, found out her Defects, and put it into my power to remedy them – so great is the advantage which accrues from choosing rather to confide what we love to the charge of a trusty friend, whose abilities and experience enable him to enter into the character and value of his Charge, than, after the eastern fashion, to trust the Object of our affection to the limited and ignorant care of a service eunuch – If such your Merit, judge then

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[4] RIA. Charlemont Papers. Letter 38. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to Ld.Charlemont, London, 24 February 1773.

what must be my gratitude! – Indeed, my dear Caldwell, I am, without farther figure, most exceedingly obliged to you for your kind attention, and particularly for that list of deficiencies you were so good as to send me, which I shall endeavour, in this wonderful place, where everything is to be found, to supply…

Lord Shelburne is not yet come to Town. When he does I will ask him about the Pamphlets. However I may admire him as a Politician, I can not say that I have much confidence in his taste – Pilasters of Schaiola[5] would, in my opinion, have a bad effect in the library – they would look too cold and cutting. I know not well how to express it, but they would, I think, produce that sort of effect which may be called a rawness. I know my own meaning, which probably none but myself can conceive from my mode of expression. Marble pilasters would be improper and cold, and that which exactly imitates them would probably have an effect equally displeasing. I am preparing colours here, under Chambers' directions, to paint the whole body of the library. I have already chosen them, modest, I think, and proper, and I believe that you will not disapprove my choice.[6]

The 'favourite Mistress' to which Charlemont referred, in his humorous and long drawn out opening metaphor was, of course, his library (Plate 29). In 1773 it comprised a square ante-room, known as the Venus library because a statue of the goddess occupied a niche to the left of the entrance (Plate 30),[7] which led, through a central pedimented door case, into the splendid main chamber (Plate 31), the lower part of which was lit by five windows looking out onto the garden, and the upper by arched windows facing north and south in the gallery above. Maurice Craig writes that the bookshelves were punctuated by 'a noble Corinthian order of wooden pilasters',[8] one of which may be seen in Plate 31 with a Cipriani grisaille on either side of it. Doors flanking the chimneypiece at the far end of the library, in the east wall, led into the two smaller rooms (one for 'pictures and antiquities' and the other for 'medals and bas-relievos')[9]

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[5] With reference to the term 'schaiola', John Cornforth suggests (in correspondence with the writer) that Charlemont surely intended 'scagliola', and that he had probably not seen this word written but only heard it in conversation.

[6] Caldwell MSS. Lord Charlemont, Hertford Street, Mayfair, to Andrew Caldwell, 16 January 1773.

[7] This full-scale copy of the Venus de' Medici was sculpted, according to Thomas Malton, by Joseph Wilton from the original. *Geo. Soc. Records*, vol.iv, p.31.

[8] Maurice Craig. *The Volunteer Earl* (London, 1948), p.132.

[9] *Geo,Soc.Records,* vol.iv, p.31.

which completed what John Harris has called 'this connoisseur's suite'.[10] The medal room, which looked out onto the garden, contained Charlemont's famous medal cabinet (Plate 32) and filled the entire chimney wall. The main house and the library (which was built at the far end of the rear garden) were connected by a covered passageway, half way along which stood, in a small square vestibule, a bronze copy of Giovanni de Bologna's *Mercury* (Plate 33).[11] This magnificent library, then, was the pride of Charlemont's life and the place where, during the ensuing years, Caldwell was to spend many happy hours. Here Charlemont would gather round him, for discussion and debate, his educated and enlightened neighbours and friends, among them Caldwell, a trusted and respected member of this privileged circle. Here he [Caldwell] would have little cause to remark, as he did when staying as an old man in Cockburn's country home Shanganna, near Bray, that 'I am in a sort of Solitude, tho' plenty of hospitable acquaintances in the neighbourhood, they never think about literary Anecdotes, have little curiosity, & know nothing of occurrences in the great societies of Science and Letters'.[12] However, at the time of Charlemont's 1773 letter it becomes obvious that the library was not yet fully completed, although word had spread about its magnificence and crowds were already flocking to see it. As we know, Charlemont settled for wooden pilasters which, we learn from his comments, were to be painted in colours prepared under Chambers's directions. Charlemont was confident that he and Caldwell shared the same taste and that his choice 'modest, I think, and proper' would be approved of by his friend.

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Although Caldwell was pleased to be able to help his friend by keeping a watching brief on the new library, there were some aspects of his self-imposed task which did not please him at all, as is illustrated in the following passage of his reply to Charlemont's letter:

> Your Lordship sent orders that the Medal Room should be clean'd, in my opinion there was no sort of occasion for it & I objected, but would not directly

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[10] John Harris. *Sir William Chambers* (London, 1970), p.66.

[11] This was a copy of Giovanni Bologna's Medici *Mercury*. Parker, Charlemont's agent in Rome, wrote to him on 4 October 1758 to inform him 'that the bronze figure of Mercury is finished and sent off to Leghorn' (*HMC 12th Report*, appendix, p.250). The Rockingham Library, seen on the plan to the left of the passage leading to the vestibule, had not yet been built at the time of this correspondence. It was designed by Gandon in the late 1780s, the only domestic commission he carried out in Dublin, and named after Charlemont's friend the Marquess of Rockingham.

[12] Andrew Caldwell to Edmund Malone, 16 October 1807. Bodleian Library,.vol..MS. Eng.letters c.15, fol.127.

> fly in the face of Government, the Workmen were there ten days and made such Dirt that if anything the Room is rather not so well as before, at length back'd by your friend Murphy[13] in a passion we dismiss'd them; let me recommend it to your Lordship, nay entreat that you will not hereafter order any thing to be done either here or at Marino[14] 'till you are on the spot yourself. It is not to be supppos'd that two Garcons, fresh and healthy could be so long shut up there and not sensible to the charms of the Venus, your Lordship will find whatever the Sculptor might have omitted the Pencil has now amply supplied, nay I am not sure but the same accident has happen'd to the Venus de Charlemont that happen'd long ago to the Venus of Praxiteles, which old story yr Lordship knows they have vamp'd up at Rome relative to a statue on the Tomb of one of the Popes, the worst of it is, it will bring great inconvenience on Prudes before company, I mean your Venus my Ld.[15]

One can detect a measure of considerable irritation in Caldwell's comments about the cleaning of the medal room but his equilibrium was quickly restored as he proceeded to allude, tastefully and with good humour, to the graffiti perpetrated on Charlemont's statue of Venus. The picture of Caldwell which is emerging so far is of a quiet and scholarly man but his exasperation when his quiet times were invaded by sightseeing crowds[16] surfaced later in the same letter, when he wrote:

> I don't mix with the World but as often as I can I retire to a certain Bibliotheque where I am always delighted, but some how or other I am continually found out and intruded upon, many a hearty but I hope involuntary curse I foresee your Lordship will bestow on me for the scrape I have involv'd you in, my discovering your belle inconnue to the Vulgar gaze.

In this exchange of letters we also learn of Caldwell's sense of humour, which has not been much in evidence so far. Confident of their mutual esteem he and Charlemont felt

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[13] Edward Murphy was Charlemont's friend and former tutor who had accompanied him on the Grand Tour.

[14] It is not clear whether this reference is to the Casino or Marino House.

[15] RIA. Charlemont Papers .Letter 38. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to Ld Charlemont, London, 24 February 1773.

[16] It was perfectly acceptable in the eighteenth century for strangers to view grand houses in the absence of the owner.

free to tease each other. For instance, writing of some bids he had made for his friend at a sale of books, Caldwell wrote:

> I procur'd some things for you at Debrises auction that are not quite common, & without running you to an expense of more than two Guineas, one thing happen'd there which I wished to have hinted to you for Smith's auction and all future occasions, which is that your Lordship should keep as close behind the Curtain as possible, for when they found out who I bid for, they all swore they would push me up & said why should a Lord get Bargains, I own it discomposed me a little but on reflection I see it was only comme il faut, for we Plebians should on all occasions keep down you Patricians.[17]

Charlemont, on a later occasion, teased his friend with the following poem:

The Blessings of Life

To Andrew Caldwell, Esq.

A Heart without Guilt, and a Friend without Guile,

A wife, who still greets you adorn'd with a smile,

A Bevy of Children, good humour'd and spritely,

The Males strong and healthy, the Females all sightly,

A Genius, whose Strength, tho' it glory refuse you,

Suffices, at least, to instruct and amuse you,

A Temper not easily fretted by Trifles,

Still open to Hope, while black Presage it stifles,

A character, even by envy unsullied,

A courage not boisterous, nor yet to be bullied,

Philanthropy, Health both of Body and Mind,

The Love of your Friends, and esteem of Mankind,

Say – would not these blessings to Thankfulness win ye,

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[17] RIA. Charlemont Papers Letter 38. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to Ld Charlemont, London, 24 February 1773.

Do you know of ought better? Quoth Caldwell – a Guinea.[18]

Surely this is a very kindly dig at what Cockburn called his uncle's stinginess but which Charlemont knew from his own experience to be his friend's careful avoidance of unnecessary spending? The date of this poem is not known but Charlemont, a devoted husband and father and a man of complete integrity, may perhaps unwittingly have been writing about the pleasures and joys of his own life. His confidence in his friend's affection is further evidenced by his poem 'Andy's Nose', which could only have written in the certain knowledge that no offence would be taken:

Andy's Nose

All you who choose a wondrous theme,
The Traveller's vaunt, the poet's dream,
Of miracles I sing the cream –
The Nose of Andy Caldwell.
Achilles, though in Styx besteeled,
The good Aeneas too must yield,
And Milton's devil quit the field
To Nose of Andy Caldwell.
Seven wonders of the world we've heard
Through every age have been revered
In scorn of art till Nature reared
The Nose of Andy Caldwell.
Eclipsed, the Rhodian sun must wail
Between whose legs whole fleets can sail,
And pyramids their pride must veil
To Nose of Andy Caldwell.

Tom Arthur's nose is vast in size,

[18] Caldwell MSS. Poem composed for his friend Andrew Caldwell by Lord Charlemont.

And that which grows 'twixt Farnham's eyes,

Yet both of these must yield the prize

To Nose of Andy Caldwell.[19]

Charlemont's death in 1799 was a grievous blow to Caldwell. Although he did not lack for friends, his inclusion in Charlemont's immediate circle had enriched his life and provided him with frequent opportunities for the kind of intellectual discussion and debate with like-minded friends that had meant so much to him ever since his student days. But his other close friends were still there for him, Frederick Trench (Plate 34), his cousin by marriage (see Appendix I (b) 'Heywood Connections'), being one of them. Trench's town house, 24 Rutland Square North, was next door but one to Lord Charlemont's.

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Trench was a lifelong friend and probably the one with whom Caldwell felt at his happiest and most relaxed. When their paths first crossed is not known but they certainly knew each other by the late 1770s when, if the manuscript version of Gandon's *Life* is to believed,[20] they were both among those privileged to attend the artist Paul Sandby's convivial Sunday morning gatherings at his London home. Numbered among the other Irishmen who gathered there were several with whom they were both to have much to do in the future, including Lord Charlemont, Sackville Hamilton and Lord Carlow (later Earl of Portarlington). Present, too, at many of those meetings was Gandon who, by 1771, had already produced plans for Trench's villa Heywood, in County Laois. Trench (1746-1836) was educated at Kilkenny College[21] and Trinity College, Dublin, where he was conferred with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1766.[22] He went on to study in the Middle Temple and was called to the Irish Bar in 1774. Unlike Caldwell, he had an opportunity to travel to Europe in his student days where he several times visited his landlord,[23] Lord Stanhope, at his home in Geneva. He married Anne Helena Stewart, Caldwell's first cousin, in 1775, Caldwell being a named party in their marriage settlement.[24] This alliance was to bring the two friends even closer together and in the ensuing years Caldwell was always a welcome visitor to

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[19] Francis Gerard. *Picturesque Dublin Old and New, ch.vi* (London, 1898) p.172.
[20] DCL, MS version of the *Life* (Gilbert collection MS 135, pp. 236-7).
[21] Kilkenny College Register, Kilkenny.
[22] Burtchaell & Sadlier. *Alumni Dublienses 1593-1860* (Dublin, 1935), p.823.
[23] Trench remained a tenant of his Heywood land throughout his life, never succeeding in buying it out. See Patricia Friel. *Frederick Trench (1746-1836) and Heywood, Queen's County* (Dublin, 2000), p.34.
[24] NLI MS 11,368.

Heywood[25] and also enjoyed being included in extended family gatherings which took place in English spa towns in the summer months.

Their shared interests and public commitments ensured that it was not only socially that their paths crossed. They were both members of parliament (Caldwell for Knocktopher from 1776-1782 and for Downpatrick from 1783-1790, and Trench for Maryborough from 1785-90), both members of the Dublin Society (Caldwell from 1767 until his death and Trench from 1792) and both Wide Streets Commissioners (Caldwell from 1784 until shortly before his death in 1808, and Trench from 1785). With their special interest in architecture (Trench was himself an amateur architect) they both played an important part in the Commissioners' activities and, during the meetings (where Caldwell especially was one of the most regular attenders) they came in contact with many of the most prominent men of their day. Numbered among this group of knowledgeable, discerning and confident collectors, amateurs and patrons was Samuel Hayes (also an amateur architect), of Avondale who, together with Frederick Trench, was among those appointed to the House of Commons Committee in 1787 to investigate extending the existing buildings westward.[26] Caldwell was not included on this occasion or, on a previous one in 1783, when Trench and Sackville Hamilton were appointed to assist the Duke of Leinster and the Earls of Tyrone, Charlemont and Viscount Carlow in overseeing the expenditure on the proposed new extension (Gandon's) to the House of Lords.[27] With the exception of Hayes all the men just mentioned had been among those meeting at Sandby's house and we can be fairly sure that Trench kept his friend informed of the new developments. However when, in the early 1800s, the Bank of Ireland purchased the parliament buildings Caldwell was appointed, together with Trench and Sackville Hamilton (under secretary in the Civil Department of the Chief Secretary's office and much admired by Gandon for his skill 'in the science of architecture'),[28] to adjudicate the competition entries to suitably convert the building. They were unable to agree and published their differing views in *Thoughts on the Appropriation of the Parliament House for the National Bank*[29] and, as

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[25] Named after Trench's mother-in-law, Caldwell's maternal aunt.
[26] C.P.Curran. 'The Architecture of the Bank of Ireland' in F.G.Hall, *The Bank of Ireland 1783-1946* (Dublin & Oxford, 1949), p.445.
[27] Ibid. p.440.
[28] *Life*, p.54.
[29] RIA Haliday Collection. Pamphlet, *Observations, etc. on Appropriating the Parliament House to the Bank of Ireland by different hands* (1803).

will be discussed in Chapter Nine, the Board went ahead, independently of the competition, and appointed Francis Johnston as its architect.

Another area of interest shared by the two friends was in the development of Rutland Square (named after Charles Manners, 1754-1787, the fourth Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from February 1784 until his early death in 1787). Trench, who was a Governor of the Lying-in Hospital, was much involved with the square's architecture and general improvement and his fund raising activities included raising revenue for the hospital from the pleasure gardens adjoining the Rotunda.[30] In 1784 his plans and elevations for new Assembly Rooms to extend the capacity of the Rotunda were submitted by the hospital governors to Gandon for his comments.[31] They adopted Gandon's recommendation that the 'great room' should be forty feet wide[32] but it is now generally accepted that although the Assembly Rooms were built to Trench's plan (Plate 35), the façade was by Richard Johnston (Plate 36).[33] Trench remained on the building committee for the new Assembly Rooms with, among others, Lord Charlemont, David La Touche and Luke Gardiner,[34] all of them Wide Street Commissioners, and in June 1784 the first stone was laid by the Duke of Rutland. 35,36

To the end of his life Caldwell was to enjoy the social and cultural opportunities which these new premises, so conveniently situated just a few steps down the road from his own front door, afforded. In January 1806, when in his seventies, he wrote to Cockburn:

> Miss Linwood that you have heard of[35] gave a grand Assembly at our rooms three nights ago, it was very full, brought old times to mind, but Mrs. Trench[36] & Lady Ann Maxwell moan'd and grumbled, they did not know six people in the room but what did it signifye, they were all well dress'd & well behav'd, & some ridiculously dress'd which was more diverting, who & what the Men were the Lord Knows! I met with but three I could speak to, but I am old and off the stage. Miss Linwood's Pictures look'd as well by Candle as Daylight, the room,

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[30] The round building adjoining the hospital, which eventually became known as the Rotunda.
[31] NA Rotunda Hospital, Dublin Governors' minute book. June 8 1784.
[32] Ibid. July 12 1784.
[33] Francis's brother.
[34] NA Rotunda Hospital Governors' minute book, 8 June, 12 & 17 July, 11 Oct 1784 & 15 April 1786.
[35] DNB CD 1995. Mary Linwood (1755-1845), English, musical composer and artist in needlework.
[36] Anne Helena, Trench's wife and Caldwell's cousin.

it is the upper one, is much finer than her London one, she made some Rocky Caves for her Lyons, etc. and her woodman in a forest of ivy & laurel that was really very handsome.[37]

When the pleasure gardens were first laid out they were surrounded by an unsightly wall. In 1784 an Act of Parliament[38] (promoted by Trench) provided for the wall to be removed and replaced with 'a secure and certain fence or railing of iron or metal, with lamps at proper distances, and other improvements…'.[39] As a result of this the square dwellers would be able to enjoy from their front windows the green delights of what Caldwell called 'our opposite Grove'.[40] The hospital was to recoup the cost of this by imposing a tax per foot frontage on all the houses in Rutland Square, starting with that of Charles Gordon (originally built for Dr. Bartholomew Mosse), on the corner of Cavendish Row, north of Stable Lane. Appointed to oversee the proposed work were 'William lord viscount Enniskillen, John lord viscount Erne, Andrew Caldwell, esquire, Crofton Vandeleur, esquire, Hector Graham, esquire and Thomas Burroughs, esquire, [who were all residents of Rutland Square]…together with the guardians and trustees of said hospital'.[41] Attached to an amendment Act of 1785,[42] passed on completion on Rutland Square, was a schedule setting out frontage widths of all the houses in the square, and a statement of the expense of the new enclosure and proposed annual charges. These show that No.1 Rutland Square was to be the house of James Alexander, the second house north of Stable Lane, and not of Charles Gordon (Plate 37), as provided for in the previous act. Gordon had taken advantage of a clause in that act stating that each occupier had to consent to the proposed imposition of charges to cover the installation and upkeep of the railing. As he would derive no benefit whatsoever from the railing and continue to see from his front window not Caldwell's 'green grove' but the side wing of the Rotunda, he declined to pay the tax and therefore became the last house in Cavendish Row, No. 9, which it still is to this day.

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Trench kept the Duke of Rutland informed about his work in Rutland Square and also, presumably at the Duke's request, drew up plans for the improvement of the Duke's home in England, Belvoir Castle. Having looked at Lancelot Browne's designs

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[37] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell to George Cockburn, 27 January 1806.
[38] 23 & 24 G.3., c.57, LXXV.
[39] Ibid.
[40] NLI. 11,354(3) Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to Mary Trench, 23 September 1797.
[41] 23 & 24 Geo.3., c.57.
[42] 25 Geo.3.c.43.

for the castle, on 21 August 1784, and worked at them for only a fortnight, Trench sent the Duke a portfolio of his own drawings.[43] It would seem that, if these plans were put into execution at all, it was not to be for another three years. On 25 June 1787 the Duke, in a letter to an unnamed recipient, wrote:

> I have received a very good humoured letter from Frederick Trench on returning his Plans for yr improvements of Belvoir Castle which I am preparing to Put in Execution immediately. He offers to go to England to give any Personal Assistance on this (his) object. Power to this Great Work.[44]

The Duke died suddenly only three months later. Without access to the Muniment Room at Belvoir Castle the question of whether at all, or to what extent, Trench's plans were put into execution must remain unanswered. We do know, however, that James Wyatt remodelled the castle in castellated Gothic style for the fifth Duke between 180l-1813.[45]

When not involved with his Dublin affairs, or visiting England with his family, Trench, unlike Caldwell (who, although he owned the Newgrange estate and derived a considerable amount of his income from it, never lived there), was able to retire to Heywood, his much loved demesne in the Queen's County (Laois). That Gandon did, indeed, design a house for him in 1771 is confirmed by the fact that in that year S.White exhibited at the Society of Arts a drawing of the 'Front of Mr. Trench's House in Ireland…from a design of Mr. Gandon's'.[46] However, the house as built varied considerably from Gandon's original and, as suggested by McParland, is much more likely to have been 'a product of Trench's modish but amateurish ingenuity'.[47] It was eventually built in 1773 and extended in Victorian times, but the chunky four bay three storey original building, between its later additions, can be seen in this early photograph (Plate 38).[48] Trench spent the rest of his life labouring, with armies of workmen, to achieve the idyllic landscape of his dreams. That he was successful in this is confirmed by Malins & Glin, who wrote that by the time of his death in 1836 'this landscape, in

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[43] I am indebted to Edward McParland for copies of four letters concerning Trench taken from the Belvoir Archives and sent to him by the Leicester County Archivist.

[44] NLI, Bolton MSS 1784-1787. MS 16,352, Duke of Rutland to unnamed recipient, 25 July 1787.

[45] Howard Colvin. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840.* (New Haven & London, 1995), p.1119.

[46] Ibid., p.386.

[47] E. McParland. *James Gandon* (London, 1985), p.122.

[48] The house was totally destroyed by fire in 1950.

the Stourhead romantic-poetic tradition, was perfect'.[49] He designed follies and garden buildings (classical on one side of the garden and gothic on the other), planted trees, and installed three artificial lakes and a bathing house. Although he did not move mountains he did move hills, as he reported to Caldwell in his letter of 28 June 1804:

> The Promontory required close planting, it would have been done, but more interesting work intervened – the holes are made – one side will be very full, the other cannot; nor can Enclosures round the Lake be made good with wood, as it would preclude the view of the water from the House, which we only obtained by the enormous work of cutting thro' two Hills, no trace of which is now extant.[50]

His friend's interest in his endeavours meant a lot to Trench and in the autumn of 1805 he wrote 'I really feel a want of you, for though I did bore you somewhat with my Place, you certainly are one of the few in Life, to whom I am anxious it should be pleasing'.[51] He often felt a 'want' of his friend. Although not such a bibliophile as Caldwell, Trench loved his books and finding the time to spend in his library. Two years later, writing, as he so often did, to urge Caldwell to visit, he said:

> This is the Weather I coud wish for you, & you woud not be the less welcome if you coud bring yr books on your back and George's[52] along with you. I never rise without a determination to sit down & read for the day, but the Business of the Farm interfered, I slave till night never open a Book, & rise the ensuing day with the same good intentions, & close the day with similar disappointment, yet this is a point of Rural Happiness.[53]

The quality of the relationship between Caldwell and Trench and of the concern which they felt for each other is well illustrated in a series of letters they wrote to each other in the early years of the nineteenth century when one or other of them was in England on holiday. They kept each other up to date with the latest Dublin and London gossip and scandal, discussed the state of their health and recommended cures and

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[49] E.Malins & The Knight of Glin. *Lost Demesnes: Irish Landscape Gardening 1660-1845*. (London, 1976), p.95.
[50] Caldwell MSS. Frederick Trench, Heywood, to Andrew Caldwell, 28 June, 1804.
[51] Ibid. 5 November 1805.
[52] George Cockburn, who also had an extensive library in his Shanganna home near Bray.
[53] Caldwell MSS. Frederick Trench to Andrew Caldwell, 12 Cavendish Row, Rutland Square, Dublin. Undated but two postmarks, 19 October and 27 October 1807.

remedies, reported on family activities and gave an account of places visited and exhibitions viewed.[54] Trench's constant plea, when he was away, was that Caldwell should join his party and his letters are full of comments illustrating the respect he had for Caldwell's scholarship. For instance, from Bath in 1801 'I have reserved…all matters of Taste – for your expected, and much wished for arrival',[55] and, after describing a neglected fountain in the grounds of a ruined manor house his party had visited, while journeying from Nantwich to Litchfield, where 'the apparatus of a forcing fountain still remained in the conche, with a niche of Rock-work. Perseus & the sea monster were in full Force, but Andromeda had quite disappeared…[and] Pluto was disembodied' continued 'Now how wonderfully entertaining woud these very foolish matters be to me, if under your Classical Tutelage'.[56] In London in the summer of 1808 Trench wrote of the changes he had seen in Westminster and then continued:

> Ld. Grosvenor has purchased the Duke of Gloucester's House in Grosvenor Street , and has expended a Mint on it, it will be open for the 1st time tomorrow the 2nd June. Ld. Elgin lives in the Corner House of Park Lane, once Ld. Cholmondeley's – and there exhibits every Saturday & Tuesday at noon in a covered Area, almost all the Frieze of the Parthenon, or Temple of Minerva at Athens, and a quantity of broken stuff – which he wants the Parliament to purchase at £20.00 – Bravo![57]

Caldwell, in his turn, while visiting Liverpool in the autumn of 1802, wrote enthusiastically and at length of the high quality of architecture he found there. He was impressed with the 'three great Coffee Houses, built of stone & very good Architecture',[58] but found the names of two of them, the Atheneum and the Lyceum, rather 'Pedantick'. He was especially pleased to see that each of the three was well supplied with books and that 'Ladies' as well as 'Gentlemen' were seen to be patronising the Atheneum library. That he should comment on this suggests that such a sight was a rarity and one of which he approved. As well as appreciating the 'very good architecture' of the three Coffee Houses Caldwell comments on other building that was

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[54] Trench was one of several of Caldwell's friends and relations who saved their exhibition catalogues to give to him.

[55] Caldwell MSS. Frederick Trench, Bath, to Andrew Caldwell, 12 Rutland Square, 1801.

[56] Ibid. Frederick Trench to Andrew Caldwell, Rutland Square, Dublin, 27 May 1806.

[57] Ibid. Frederick Trench, London, to Andrew Caldwell, 1 June 1808.

[58] NLI Domville papers. MSS 11,354 (3). Andrew Caldwell, Harrogate, to Mary Trench (Frederick's daughter and a favourite of Caldwell), 5 September 1802.

going on in Liverpool at the time of his visit, including the conversion of the Exchange into a Court House and 'a new Exchange to be built… opposite to Wyats new Assembly room'.[59] Surely the voice of authority of Caldwell the Wide Streets Commissioner and town planner can be heard behind his words when he writes 'a large space is already open'd to form a Square, the new Building to be on the opposite side, they talk of a fine Arch or Gateway across the old St. I beg'd them to reconsider that part of the plan, & rather widen the St. down to the Canal & River, it could be easily completed by degrees, it all belongs to the Corporation, & the Houses old & of no great value'?[60] He was as experienced as anyone in Liverpool would have been in arranging for old houses to be knocked down to make way for wider streets. It is interesting to note that Caldwell's architectural standing was recognised to the extent that he was able to look at the plans and to beg 'them' (presumably members of the Corporation) to reconsider along the lines that he suggested.

Moving on from Liverpool to Wakefield Caldwell wrote of his visit to his cousin Ben Heywood, where he had looked at the plans for the house Heywood intended to build. In Caldwell's opinion 'the best Plan is from Mr. Car [John Carr 1723-1807], an old Architect of York, he seems to me to possess more Genius & Merit than any of them except Sr. Wm. Chambers'.[61] If, indeed, building of Heywood's house went ahead on Carr's plans, no reference to it has been found among the very considerable number of his works in and around Yorkshire, one of which, Harewood House, Caldwell visited on the same vacation. He wrote 'Yesterday was the day Harewood is open for Visitors….the House is magnificent every thing in the way of architecture & Ornament that the Taste & Abilities of Car & Adams could effect'.[62] We note from Caldwell's comments that his championship of Chambers had remained undiminished through the years.

The mutual friends they had seen also figured largely in the friends' correspondence. In 1803, en route to Bath, and again in 1808, en route to London,

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[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.

Trench and his party passed through Wales where they visited the 'Ladies of the Vale'.[63] Mary Trench wrote to Caldwell in 1803:

> Our travels were extremely agreeable – we were not pressed for time, so avoided the common road and came through South Wales. We passed one day at Langollen with the Ladies of the Vale and were much amused, their Library seems Valuable and Well Chosen, Lady Elinor talked to me much of the pleasure they received from your visits, and their hopes that they would soon again have an opportunity of enjoying a little Savoury conversation'.[64]

The word 'savoury' suggests that the 'Ladies' regarded Caldwell as a good source of the latest news and gossip rather than more intellectual conversation! Travelling again through Wales, in the spring of 1803, Trench wrote 'We passed more than 3 Hours with your Friends at Langollen, where their enquiries were with a warmth that ought to be flattering; they seemed anxious abt. Mr. Clarke of Cambridge's Letters,[65] which if you read to them in your passage will be a Treat'.[66] Apart from listing the many shared family members he and his party spent time with on their travels, other mutual acquaintances mentioned by Trench in various letters included the Duke of Gloucester, Lord and Lady Charlemont and the Dowager Lady Charlemont, Lord Charleville, Lady Ormonde, Lady Carhampton, Lord Caledon, Lord Melville, Lord and Lady Meath, Lord Clare, William and George Ponsonby and the Bishop of Ossory and his son. In October 1802, while on an excursion from Harrogate, where he was taking the waters, Caldwell wrote of his visit to Lord Fitzwilliam, at Wentworth [Wood]House, followed by one to 'Mr. [Thomas] Conolly and Lady Louisa at Wentworth Castle'.[67] Of this second visit he wrote:

> I thought myself at home there, this place is perhaps as magnificent as the other, one new front is most correct elegant Architecture, some people think superior

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[63] Two Irish aristocratic spinsters, Eleonor Butler and her friend Sarah Ponsonby (related to the Earl of Bessborough,) who left Ireland for Wales in 1778, never to return, and established a home together in Llangollen. There they lived a reclusive life. They were avid readers and book collectors. Their fame spread far and wide and their home became an important port of call for many Irish travellers.

[64] Caldwell MSS. Mary Trench, Bath, to Andrew Caldwell (about 1803 written on the back in another hand).

[65] No reference to Mr. Clarke of Cambridge was found in the Caldwell papers.

[66] Caldwell MSS. Frederick Trench, Bermingham, to Andrew Caldwell, Rutland Square, 14 April 1808. It was common practise at that time to read aloud personal correspondence to other interested people. Caldwell's friend Joseph Cooper Walker particularly advocated this practise.

[67] Thomas Conolly was the son of Lady Anne Wentworth. The Conolly's Irish home was Castletown.

> to Wentworth House, I need not mention what an amiable engaging creature the Lady is; you know it well. They are just come over to take possession and are unsettled, without servants & find themselves uncomfortable, & will soon return to Ireland.[68]

Caldwell obviously relished his visits to Wentworth House (as he called it) and Wentworth Castle, enjoying the splendid architecture of both and glad that Thomas Conolly and Lady Louisa were in residence at the Castle at the time of his visit.

As Caldwell and Trench became older they became even closer and Trench dreamed of establishing 'a Club of *cy-devants*, that is elderly people, Leigh, Godley, You, and I, & a few more [which] might be a good thing in a long winter'.[69] Whether or not such a club was established we do not know but a permanent memorial to Caldwell (in the form of a stone cross) was erected by Trench in the grounds of Heywood (Plates 39 & 40). Roughly transcribed, the Latin dedication (beneath a representation of the Caldwell coat of arms) reads 'May this monument to Andrew Caldwell of Dublin be a memorial of friendship beheld by everyone who passes by'.[70] 39,40

No excuses are given for the length of this account of Caldwell and Trench's friendship. Although Caldwell's circle of good friends and acquaintances was wide, some already discussed and others to be introduced in a future chapter (among them the Shakespearian authority Edmund Malone, James Smith, the president of the Linnean Society, Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore, Joseph Cooper Walker, William Roscoe and Alexander Mangin, who bequeathed his collection of valuable prints and drawings to Caldwell) no friend was as special to him as Trench. Their friendship covered every aspect of their lives, both public and private, and in the convivial atmosphere created by their mutual respect and affection for each other, the usually studious and serious minded Caldwell could be his most relaxed and natural self.

One more brief call in Rutland Square must be made before this chapter is concluded, to number 34 (see Plate 37), although this time not to a friend. Until the end 37

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[68] NLI Domville papers. MS 111,354 (3). Andrew Caldwell, Harrogate, to Miss Trench, Ballynakill, Ireland, 6 October 1802.
[69] Caldwell MSS. Frederick Trench, Heywood, to Andrew Caldwell, 16 September 1802.
[70] Thanks to Pat Nichols for this rough (because two of the words are illegible) transcription.

of 1805 this house was owned by Lord Belmore[71] but on 27 January 1806 Caldwell, writing to Cockburn, informed him that

> Ld.Belmore has sold his House to Mr. Cash the Lottery Office Keeper, & all the furniture perfectly new to be sold by Auction, the Drawing room furniture was never uncover'd, it came all from London & is the most elegant best workmanship I ever saw, the whole room is done in one stile, there is a uniformity & correspondence throughout, & if it be pull'd to pieces the merit of each article will be greatly diminish'd, there are no pictures, but in every other respect I have seen no Apartment in England of equal taste, Ld. Belmore is a rich extravagant young man, he won't deign to keep a House in Dublin, has a magnificent one in the Country,[72] that he is going to furnish with boundless expence, it is a pity not to take all this furniture to the country, but I suppose the fact is, he has no room it will fit exactly, the fault of his House is, I hear that all the rooms are immence, that in my mind is a great fault, & very uncomfortable, we thought Mrs. Burgh's paper was charming, it is a Dish Clout to Ld. Belmore's, the whole furniture of the House, has been offer'd to Mr. Cash at 30 pr.ct. under the prime cost, but he refus'd, whether from hope to get it cheaper at the auction, or from modesty & good sence, can not yet be known, it is far above his Rank & Manners, tho' not his Opulence. [73]

After the Act of Union in 1800 the aristocratic population of Dublin diminished considerably, many departing either to take up their seats in the English parliament or to live more permanently in their country houses. Caldwell's sneering comment that the beautiful furniture in the Rutland Square house bought by Mr. Cash was 'far above his Rank & Manners' indicates his opinion that the tone of the Square had been lowered by Mr. Cash's arrival, and this sentiment was echoed in a letter written by Mary Dawson to Lady Charleville (who had owned No. 34 before Lord Belmore) saying that 'Cash the Lottery man has purchased your House in Granby Row from Lord Belmore: indeed I think most of the best Houses are now in possession of them sort of people'.[74] It becomes clear from Caldwell's letter that he had not paid a visit to Castle Coole – 'I *hear* that all the rooms are immence' – but it would seem that he was not predisposed to like it as much as he had admired Caledon (a house to be discussed in the next chapter),

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[71] Armar Lowry-Corry, who succeeded as 2nd Earl of Belmore in 1802.
[72] Castle Coole, Co. Fermanagh, designed by James Wyatt.
[73] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to George Cockburn, no address, 17 January 1806.
[74] Quoted in R. Warwick Bond (ed). *The Marlay letters*, 1778-1820 (London, 1937), p.97.

where he considered the rooms to be of a more comfortable size. However, recognising Caldwell's taste in furniture and his admiration of the uniformity, quality and style of that imported from London by Lord Belmore for his Rutland Square house, it can be surmised that when and if the time came for him to visit Castle Coole his enthusiasm and appreciation would equally have known no bounds. Lord Belmore employed the upholsterers John and Nathaniel Preston of Henry Street[75] to furnish Castle Coole and, as Gervase Jackson-Stops tells us,[76] over a period of eighteen years he spent £26,367 with the firm.[77]

It is hoped that this chapter illustrates that Caldwell, when in the company of his friends and contemporaries, could give rein to his lively curiosity, and share with them not only the reassurance and comfort of mutual respect and affection but also the stimulation of intellectual discussion and debate concerning the world of books, paintings and architecture. With their alert sensibilities they all fitted comfortably into Brewer's category of those discerning few who could not only *appreciate* but also 'respond tastefully to what they saw, heard or read'.

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[75] The same firm who probably made Caldwell's bed, which was auctioned with his books.

[76] Gervase Jackson-Stops. 'A Temple Made Tasteful', *Country Life* (April 10, 1986), p.918.

[77] Ibid. We learn from this article that early in 1986 the firm's accounts were discovered in a trunk at the house. 'Not only do they show the progress of this important commission, but their detailed descriptions of silks and satins, chintzes and calicoes, damasks and broadcloths' would enable many of the surviving scraps of material found in the bedrooms and attics to be identified.

CHAPTER FIVE

Andrew Caldwell and the Irish world outside Dublin

Life for Caldwell when at home in Ireland was very full. His income from his Newgrange estate (run by his manager, Ellis) and from his own employment as agent for Lord Bessborough's Irish estate, was substantial and meant that he was not obliged to pursue his career as a barrister. However, he was always available to help and advise his friends and, as George Cockburn remarked, 'You will soon be Executor general of Ireland. I think you cannot have much time to yourself'.[1] His public activities as Member of Parliament, Paving Board Commissioner and Wide Streets Commissioner, his membership of the Dublin Society and Royal Irish Academy, his painting collection and connoisseurship, his writings and the advisory role he played in architectural matters, will be discussed in future chapters. This chapter will look at his friendship and involvement with Alexander Mangin (the only Dublin resident to be discussed in this chapter), Joseph Cooper Walker, Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore, Lord Bessborough and Peter Walsh (Bessborough's Irish manager), and the role these particular friends played in his life. Mention will also be made of his association with Gandon and his interest in Caledon (James Alexander's new house on his Co. Tyrone estate).

There is only one short letter from Alexander Mangin to Caldwell among the Caldwell papers, the reason being that they lived in the same city, within walking distance of each other (Mangin, as mentioned in an earlier chapter, at 10 French Street, south of the river Liffey), saw each other often and therefore had no cause to correspond any way other than verbally. Not a great deal is known about Mangin's life. He was born in 1731 in Lisburn, in the north of Ireland, into a distinguished Huguenot family with military connections, the son of Anne Henrietta de la Lande and Captain Paul Mangin, and brother to Samuel Henry Mangin, Lt. Col. 12th Dragoons. Another brother, Thomas, died when he was only seventeen, fighting in North America in the attack on the Ticonderoga Fort.[2] The family moved to Dublin when the boys were young and Alexander and Samuel eventually lived next door to each other in French Street, Samuel at No.11. While Alexander did not marry, but looked after their widowed father until his death in 1797, aged 96, Samuel married Susanna Corneille in

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[1] NAM Cockburn papers. George Cockburn, Paris, to Andrew Caldwell, 24 May 1783.
[2] *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, vol.9 (1909-1910), p.120.

St. Peter's Church in Dublin in 1769 and fathered thirteen children. Samuel died, aged sixty-one, in 1798 and was survived by his wife and eight of his children.[3] It is not clear how Alexander accrued the considerable income which allowed him to stock his library[4] and invest in his valuable collection of paintings, prints and drawings. According to his brother he 'held a situation in an office of an army-agent',[5] and Daniel Augustus Beaufort wrote in his diary of 19 July 1789 that 'Mr. Mangin of the Secret.[ary's?] Office lent me £100 for 3 weeks to pay Upton'.[6] It may be, though, that Beaufort is here referring to the man we must assume to be our Alexander's nephew, also Alexander, listed in the *Gentlemen's & Citizen's Almanack*, under 'State Officers' as 'Clerk in the Civil Dept.', and still working there in 1808.[7] In case the editor had just neglected to remove our Alexander's name from the list after his death in 1802, a search through earlier editions of the *Almanack* showed an Alexander Mangin doing continuous service from at least 1795. As, sadly, our Alexander was to lose much, if not all, of his sight during the last few years of his life it is unlikely that these entries refer to him.

When Caldwell was in London staying with his brother Ben in the summer of 1799 his friend Joseph Cooper Walker wrote to him of Mangin's blindness: 'My brother[8] calls sometimes on poor Mangin, whom I pity from my soul. Loss of sight is the greatest misfortune that could befal him'.[9] Whether Mangin was totally blind or not we do not know, but the two friends continued to see each other and to enjoy their companionable times together right up until Mangin's death on 28 July 1802. He was buried in Peter Street Huguenot Cemetary, Dublin, beside his brother Samuel.[10] His collection of books and paintings were subsequently sold at auction but, with two exceptions, he left his entire valuable collection of prints and drawings to Caldwell. The exceptions were two volumes of exquisite water-colour paintings on vellum, to illustrate Albin's *Natural History of Birds*, which had been given to him by his friend

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[3] TCD MS.2322. *Sketch of the Life and Character of Lieut. Colonel Samuel Henry Mangin* by E.M. [Edward Mangin].
[4] A catalogue of his library, compiled for the auction held after his death, is held by TCD library, rr.k.82.1.
[5] TCD MS.2322. *Sketch of the Life and Character of Lieut. Colonel Samuel Henry Mangin* by E.M. [Edward Mangin].
[6] TCD MS 4031. Beaufort Diaries.
[7] *Gentlemen's & Citizen's Almanack*, compiled by J.W.Stewart (Dublin, 1808)
[8] Sam Walker, Comptroller of Tonnage in Dublin's Custom House.
[9] Caldwell MSS. Joseph Cooper Walker, St.Valeri, Bray, to Andrew Caldwell at Admiral Caldwell's, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, 28 August 1799.
[10] *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, vol.9 (1909-1910), p.126.

the Honourable General John Fitzwilliam in February 1787. An extract from Mangin's will is written on the first page of Volume I[11] and reads:

> I desire that my two large quarto volumes of Water Colour Paintings on Vellum for Albin's Natural History of Birds may be given by my Executors hereinafter named to the Public Library in Saint Patricks Close founded by Primate Marsh where they will remain to testify the real Friendship with which I was Honoured by the Honorable General John Fitzwilliam.
>
> Presented to the Library by the Executors: Andw. Caldwell
>
> H. Standish
>
> Received by the Assistant-Librarian T. R. Cradock on 15th June 1803.[12]

Mangin's death was a bitter blow for Caldwell. Theirs was a special relationship; both bachelors, both around the same age, both sharing an absorbing interest in painting and literature. Certainly Caldwell shared similar interests with others but these two seem to have been kindred spirits, sharing the most peaceful and companionable of friendships. Caldwell's feelings on losing his friend are well illustrated in an exchange of correspondence between himself and Frederick Trench. On 16 September 1802 Trench wrote:

> I feel most sensibly what you have undergone, by the loss of a fast Friend of 30 years standing. What the compass of a very few years have taken from me that way, recalls to my mind what you had to feel – similarity of Pursuits is surely the strongest Tie; and in fact when we esteem particular Habits of thinking in Others, and on it form the Grounds of regard, tis little compliment to them; but it is our own Ideas we are pleased with, & tis self in that (as well as in other matters) that predominates.[13]

In his reply to this letter, written on 6 October 1802, Caldwell wrote:

> You, Mr. Old Fred, may metaphysically explain friendship as selfish, I don't comprehend it, I know the loss of my late friend unhinges me terribly, & I know that time now will never diminish regret. I foresee that next winter I shall

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[11] There were originally three volumes but only two had been acquired by Fitzwilliam.

[12] In the opinion of Dr. Muriel McCarthy, the present Marsh's librarian, these two volumes hold pride of place in the library's natural history collection. Muriel McCarthy. *All Graduates and Gentlemen* (Dublin, 2003), p.207.

[13] Caldwell MSS. Frederick Trench, Heywood, to Andrew Caldwell, 16 September 1802.

> perpetually miss his pleasant instructive conversation in the quiet evenings. I don't think there is a Catalogue [of the prints and drawings bequeathed to him], that may give me considerable employment & amusement, yet when I tried to open one Portfolio, it shock'd so, I shut it immediately.[14]

In his will Caldwell specified that the prints and drawings should be sold privately and the proceeds divided between Mangin's two nephews, Rev.Edward Mangin and Alexander Mangin esquire. As one of his executors he was also responsible for disposing of Mangin's collection of paintings and this will be discussed in a future chapter.

With Joseph Cooper Walker (1761-1810) Caldwell also shared the 'similarity of pursuits' which Frederick Trench, in the letter quoted above, deemed essential for any friendship. Walker, twenty-eight years Caldwell's junior, was one of the original members of the Royal Irish Academy, a scholar and antiquarian with a special interest in Italian literature, having spent some time in Italy. Among the Caldwell papers are seventy letters written by Walker between 1795 and 1807, many of them undated, but the two were in correspondence before this. Writing to his brother Sam, while visiting Italy in April 1792, Walker mentions letters he has received from 'Mr. Caldwell', containing 'amusing and much interesting matter' and one of them reminding him to visit the Villa Madama, which he hopes to do the next day.[15] In a long letter from Sam to his brother, dated 20 November 1792, he includes Caldwell's name in the list of those to whom he plans to read all Walker's letters from Italy; it would seem to have been the general custom for recipients to show their letters to interested friends and this is referred to several times in the Caldwell papers.

In February 1795 Walker had returned from Italy and was taking the waters at Hot Wells, near Bristol. He was enjoying the 'Society' of the town but still found time to pursue their great shared interest in books. He wrote 'I have not totally neglected Books. My mornings are generally employed in reading – but it is reading of the lighter kind. To study, it is necessary to have all one's thoughts at home, which is impossible in a water-drinking place'.[16] By the beginning of 1796, back in Ireland, Walker and

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[14] NLI MS. 11,354. Andrew Caldwell, Harrogate, to Frederick and Mary Trench, 6 October 1802.
[15] NLI MS 146. Walker letters 1792-96. Joseph Cooper Walker, Rome, to Samuel Walker, Custom House, Dublin, 25 April 1792.
[16] Caldwell MSS. Joseph Cooper Walker, Hot Wells, to Andrew Caldwell, Cavendish Row, Dublin, 27 Feb 1795.

his sister Jane were living in the country, in Enniskerry, while his father and brother Sam shared the family home in Dublin, 15 Eccles Street. A generous host, he constantly invited Caldwell to visit him, offering 'a well-air'd bed – an hearty welcome – homely fare - & the amusement of such books as my little collection will afford'. He continued 'Wherever I may happen to reside, I beg you may consider me as one who would be ever happy & whose house will be ever open, to receive you'.[17] He was soon to reside at a different place, informing Caldwell in February 1797 that 'I shall shortly remove to St. Valeri, which I purchased last Wednesday. The house is not bad & the situation delightful. But you shall judge for yourself.'[18] Dr. Robert Anderson,[19] in an interesting letter to the Bishop of Dromore, describes his visit to St. Valeri:

> I spent ten days very agreeably in the society of a very amiable and interesting circle of friends. St.Valeri is delightfully situated at the confluence of three rivers, near the entrance to the Dargle, about a mile from Bray, opposite to the two Sugar Loaves, the most beautiful mountains in Wicklow. The grounds, which do not exceed eight acres, are laid out with great taste. The lawn before the house, sloping to the river, was laid out this year in wheat, for the purpose of some further improvement. The library is an elegant and spacious room, well filled with a judicious selection of books in all the departments of classical and polite literature. Mr. Walker accompanied me to Dublin on Thursday sen'night, and continues to show me unwearied attention, almost beyond his ability. I live with him at his brother's house, whose carriage is constantly at our service. He is one of the worthiest of men, with a mind highly cultivated.[20]

Anticipating Anderson's visit Walker wrote to Caldwell, who was in England taking the waters, regretting that he would not be able to join them at St. Valeri. He hoped that the 'bathing & drinking' were having the desired effect and agreed with Caldwell that 'time is miserably wasted at Watering Places. To relish their joys, it is necessary to be in perfect health - & what have people in perfect health to do at such places?'[21] This is just one instance of the flashes of humour constantly cropping up in

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[17] Ibid. Joseph Cooper Walker, Jubilee, Bray, to Andrew Caldwell, Cavendish Row, 21 January 1797.
[18] Ibid. 21 February 1797.
[19] Dr. Robert Anderson (1749-1830), literary scholar and biographer.
[20] John Nichols & J.B. Nichols (eds). *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century,* vol.vii (London 1817-1858), p.105. Dr.Robert Anderson to Bp.of Dromore, Eccles St., 1 Oct 1802.
[21] Caldwell MSS. Joseph Cooper Walker, St. Valeri, to Andrew Caldwell, 14 Sept 1802.

Walker's letters, there even when he is undergoing one of his bad bouts of ill-health. He had suffered severely from asthma all his life and was sometimes confined to his room for weeks on end. Anderson's remark that Walker had looked after him 'almost beyond his ability' no doubt alludes to his poor health. By 1802 Caldwell had become very interested in and knowledgeable about botany and horticulture, spending much time at Shanganna, George Cockburn's country home near Bray. He had, at Walker's request, supplied him [Walker] with the seeds of a particular type of weed which would hold together the sandy soil on the sloping river bank ('the offspring of your own seeds anxiously expect a visit from you');[22] maybe it was also at Caldwell's suggestion that the front lawn had been sown with wheat which, after harvesting, could be dug in to enrich the soil?

Calamity struck the Walker family on 30 July 1799 when the roof and two upper stories of their Eccles Street house caught fire and were totally destroyed. Walker described to Caldwell how on the 1st August his 'poor father – the best, the most amiable of men, died – in an attempt to stop the progress of the fire, he imbibed some of the flame, & an internal mortification ensued'.[23] Fortunately for Walker he had removed most of his collection of valuable books from Eccles Street before the fire. This would have been a sad time for Caldwell too because on August 4th Lord Charlemont died. Lord Charlemont's library remained intact after his death and Caldwell, Walker and others of their circle of learned friends were free to consult it, as they were the College library, St. Patrick's (Marsh's) and Stephen's [Dr. Steevens] Hospitals.[24] Writing to Caldwell in May 1803 Walker asked him 'Did you ever look thro' the library in Stephen's Hospital? It is one of the most valuable – in every point of view – in Ireland. Parliament had it in contemplation to sell that library. It was valued, I think, at £3000. Dr. Anderson passed a morning in it and was delighted with the Collection'.[25]

A discussion of the contents of Walker's seventy letters to Caldwell could be a thesis in itself and is out of the question in this context. Instead, the question will be asked 'what does this correspondence tell us about Caldwell and his circle and what did

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[22] Ibid. Undated.

[23] Ibid. Joseph Cooper Walker, Bray, to Andrew Caldwell at Admiral Caldwell's, Charles St., Berkeley Square, London, 28 Aug 1799. (Lord Charlemont died on 4 August 1799).

[24] 'The library of Dr. Steevens hospital was bequeathed by Edward Worth, a trustee and governor who died in 1733, leaving some four thousand volumes'. Maurice Craig. *Dublin 1660-1860* (London 1952), p.97.

[25] Caldwell MSS. Joseph Cooper Walker to Andrew Caldwell, Cavendish Row, Dublin, 31 May 1803.

he gain from it'? Often in the papers researched Caldwell admits to being a dilatory correspondent and so it is unlikely that he responded to even a small number of Walker's letters in writing. However, there is no doubt that Walker kept him informed of the various happenings in the lives of their friends and in the world of literature, and kept him on his toes in responding to his various requests. Walker's comments range widely. In architecture he seeks help in obtaining sections etc. of Dublin theatres for his correspondent 'Sig. Signorelli', author of *Ancient & Modern Theatres*.[26] He wonders if Vincent Waldré might help with information about the Villa Madama and asks did Serlio discuss it in his *Treatise on Scenery*.[27] He requests Caldwell to see if Charlemont has any knowledge of the present state of the Pal[azzo] Ducale at Urbino, is upset to hear of the proposed demolition of Swift's house in Dublin (could Caldwell arrange for drawings to be made of it?) and he tells Caldwell of Andrew Lumisden's recently published book, *The antiquities of Rome*.[28] The majority of Walker's letters, however, concern literary matters. He refers to the anecdotes which Caldwell had given to Hardy, Lord Charlemont's biographer, and was shocked at the pirating of Malone's *Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds*[29] in Dublin. He asks for details of Caldwell's recent meeting in England with Roscoe, whose writing he considers to be elegantly simple compared with Gibbons's pompous prose, and wonders whether Caldwell knew that Roscoe's grandfather was a man he [Caldwell] must have seen – old Henry Delamains the dancing master. He is grateful for Caldwell's criticism of his *Memoir*[30], which had been well received by Hayley[31], Roscoe[32] and Dr. Burney[33] and wonders whether Caldwell knew that Malone and Dr. Warton[34] were preparing an edition of Dryden.[35] He remembers Caldwell saying that he had some anecdotes of Pope's *Unfortunate Lady*[36] and requests that these should be communicated to him as he had a friend collecting

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[26] Efforts to find details of this book have failed.

[27] This 'treatise on Stage Scenery' is in the concluding section to book 2 (on perspective) of Serlio's *Tutte L'Opere D'Architettura et Prospectiva* (first five vols. Venice1537-1751). His *Architettura* was in Caldwell's library (1139 in the sales catalogue of his books). We can gather from this, and the other Italian works in Caldwell's library, that written Italian presents no problems for Caldwell.

[28] Andrew Lumisden. *Remarks on the antiquities of Rome and its environs* (London 1797).

[29] Malone was one of Reynolds's executors. An edition of *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds* was published in London in 1797, prefixed by an account of his life and writings by Edmund Malone.

[30] Probably *Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy* (London, 1799).

[31] William Hayley (1745-1820), poet and biographer.

[32] William Roscoe (1753-1831), author of *Lorenzo de Medici* and founder of Liverpool's Botanic Garden.

[33] Charles Burney (1726-1814), musician and author.

[34] Joseph Warton (1722-1800), literary critic.

[35] Edmund Malone (ed). *The critical and miscellaneous prose works of John Dryden*. 3 vols. (London, 1800)

[36] This was included in several collections of Pope's work.

material for a new edition of Pope's works, and informs Caldwell that he was at present reading Dante and was shortly to 'visit Beatrice in Paradise'. He wonders whether Caldwell would like an introduction to his friends Flaxman and Dr. Burney in London, advises him to visit Strawberry Hill, presumes that he has read Fuseli's lectures,[37] and informs him that their mutual friend, Mrs. [Charlotte] Smith, was writing another novel. He was trying to obtain for the Academy [Royal Irish Academy] information regarding a town which had recently emerged from the bog. Finally, he had heard from his friend Cortese, secretary to the King of Naples in Rome, in which he [Cortese] mentioned Durno, who had introduced Walker to Gandon. He also mentioned Hewitson, 'the person to whom we are indebted for Baldwin's Monument in the College'.

The above provides only a small sample from the Walker letters, which should serve to illustrate their variety. Because he was so often unwell and lived outside Dublin, Walker depended on Caldwell to perform tasks which, had he lived in the city, he would have carried out himself. Although his interests were as wide ranging as Caldwell's he was not, like his friend, a frequent traveller. Apart from his involvement with the Royal Irish Academy and dining with friends, during the course of this correspondence (which spanned the last twelve years of Caldwell's life), he lived a quiet and studious life at St.Valeri, often in ill health, reading, entertaining other scholarly friends and acquaintances and carrying on a prolific correspondence.

And so, what *does* this correspondence tell us about Caldwell and his circle and what did he gain from it? First of all it tells us how expert these learned men were at spreading the news of current literary publications and events, both by letter and word of mouth. Caldwell would not have considered it a chore to be asked to search in the various Dublin libraries on Walker's behalf, or to deliver or collect 'packets' for him when visiting London. The passion of people like Walker, Caldwell and Lord Charlemont for building up their libraries can nowhere be better illustrated than in this correspondence, or of their willingness to lend their books and share their knowledge. When they were together there would not have been a moment of boredom as they discussed and criticised current publications and literary events, and proudly showed each other their recent acquisitions. Caldwell would have found Walker, an author and assiduous scholar, a stimulating friend with whom to share his literary interests, while

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[37] A selection of Henry Fuseli's lectures delivered to the Royal Academy were published separately in 1801. DNB CD (Oxford 1995)

turning to others to share his equal passion for paintings, prints and drawings, and architecture.

Caldwell's friend Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore (1729-1811), was an eminent scholar with a wide range of interests. He was more knowledgeable about architecture than Walker and the correspondence which took place between them concerning the alterations to the Parliament House when it became the Bank of Ireland will be discussed in Chapter 9. His main preoccupation, however, was with books and he, together with Caldwell, Lord Charlemont until his death in 1799, and Walker in Ireland, and Edmund Malone in England, were in constant correspondence with each other concerning mainly literary matters. Only seven of his letters, dated between 1793 and 1808, are among the Caldwell papers but John Nichols, in his *Illustrations of the Literary History of the 18th Century*, vol.viii (1858), published a number of letters exchanged between them in the last eight years of Caldwell's life.[38] Caldwell and the Bishop, near contemporaries, enjoyed each other's company and on several occasions over the years Caldwell stayed with his friend at Dromore. As was mentioned earlier, Caldwell's Rutland Square home was limited in accommodation and although he and his sister gave dinner parties, it would seem that only visiting family stayed overnight. In 1793 we learn from the correspondence that the Bishop was considering establishing a *pied a terre* in Dublin, where he hoped to 'have the happiness of enjoying as much of your [Caldwell's] company as possible'.[39] Caldwell had sent him particulars of several houses and the Bishop wrote to say that he liked the one in Gardiner's Row the best, providing that it had sufficient coach-house room and stables. His requirements illustrate the style in which he was accustomed to live:

> The stables should contain 4 horses and the coach-house 2 carriages. My new coach cannot enter a coach house which is not perfectly clear 9 feet 3 inches high. I hope there is a Dining Parlour large enough to give a Dinner to a Dozen Persons. Other Particulars I believe I formerly mentioned, as to beds. 3 for ourselves and 6 or 7 for servants.[40]

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[38] John Nichols. *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol.viii (London, 1858), pp.25-69.

[39] Caldwell MSS. Tho. Dromore, Dromore House, to Andrew Caldwell, 25 November 1793.

[40] Ibid.

The number of servants seems excessive – twice as many as masters – but were no doubt deemed necessary in view of his station in life.[41] Whether or not the coach-house was too small or the Bishop just changed his mind about coming to Dublin we do not know, but the correspondence tells us no more about this proposed venture.

Apart from literature, among other subjects the friends discussed in their letters were conchology (Caldwell was able to recommend his friend Luckombe, an expert in the subject, to help the Bishop dispose of a relation's collection), the conservation of the Giant's Causeway, the state of the King's health and the removal of the Irish Parliament to London. Although Caldwell expressed no regret about the Irish Parliament's removal, if it meant 'bring[ing] us nearer to the literary movements of the world'[42], he was doubtful whether the 'new contrivances' being put in place to accommodate the Irish Members would be ready in time for the Parliamentary meeting in November 1800. One point the Bishop cleared up was whether or not Caldwell had prepared for publication works other than those few which will be discussed in Chapter 9. In his letter of 25 September 1800 he wrote 'I fancy you are just now superintending some literary work (I must conjure you by our friendship not to conceal this from me) yourself of your own or some other…'[43] In his reply Caldwell settled the question:

> Your suspicion of my choice of residence for the sake of some publication, I assure you is not the case; ….. I may have felt inclination to obtrude sentiments and observations on the public, though the world already is pretty well crammed, but my being for many years past involved in the trust and management of important concerns to other people, has compelled me to relinquish many gratifications. I am, however, taking measures to release myself from servitude for the future.[44]

In many ways the friends discussed so far were one in several aspects of their lives. They were all highly cultivated discerning men of taste who deeply respected and

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[41] Caldwell MSS. Four servants are recorded in Caldwell's Executors' Accounts, James Gregan, butler, Mary Kelly, cook, Abigail Armstrong, housemaid, and James Kavanagh, footman. At the time this would have been considered a modest number of servants for a man of Caldwell's standing (see Toby Barnard. *A New Anatomy of Ireland* (New Haven & London, 2003), pp.294-306)). In his will Caldwell stipulated that each of his servants should be provided with mourning and those who had been in his service for a year or more should receive a year's extra wages.

[42] John Nichols. *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century,* vol.viii (London,1858), p.26. Andrew Caldwell, London, to Bishop Percy, 16 September 1800.

[43] Caldwell MSS. Bishop of Dromore, near Northampton, to Andrew Caldwell, 7 Johnsons Court, Fleet Street (redirected from Admiral Caldwell's, Charles St.), 25 September 1800.

[44] John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century,* vol.viii (London, 1858), p.29. Andrew Caldwell, London, to Bishop Percy, 27 September 1800.

valued each other and who spared no effort in keeping themselves and their circle abreast of the literary happenings of the day; they were all expert and generous communicators, making suggestions and introductions, sharing and asking for information, and helping each other with various 'commissions'. Meetings between them were highly valued and there was an open invitation to Caldwell to stay with Cooper Walker and the Bishop at any time.

While Caldwell's visits to the Bishop were, through necessity, only occasional, in his role as agent for the Bessborough estate he regularly visited Kilkenny. William, the 2nd Earl (1704-1793) was rarely in residence at Bessborough House (Plate 41), having lived in England since before he inherited the title on the death of his father in 1758, but Caldwell's business was with Peter Walsh, the estate manager. Among the Caldwell papers are five letters from Walsh and one from his wife (written between 1784 and 1807), and among General Sir George Cockburn's papers, in the National Army Museum, London, six long letters from Walsh, written in 1785 while he was abroad touring the low countries, and 1787 while he was in England, combining a short tour of the country with a business visit to Lord Bessborough. At this time Walsh was a young unmarried man and wrote to Caldwell that Lord Bessborough had urged him 'to marry soon – and repeated some Greek Verses translated by Potter recommending Marriage at the Age that sufficient Prudence was obtained & sufficient Vigour remaining to make it a happy state'.[45] More will be written about the 1785 and 1787 letters in Chapter 7 (which concerns Caldwell's interest in painting) as they contain much about the works of art which Walsh was seeing on his travels. Through the years Walsh and Caldwell became fast friends, which Caldwell acknowledged in his will, leaving Walsh the sum of two hundred guineas.

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Having taken Lord Bessborough's advice Walsh was to enjoy a very happy marriage and he and his wife lived in considerable comfort in Belline, the house in Piltown, Co. Kilkenny, just down the road from Bessborough House, which they built towards the end of the eighteenth century (Plate 42). Here they could entertain the 'Gentlemen Residents on the Bessborough Estate'[46] in the manner to which those 'Gentlemen' were accustomed. Some time around 1800 Frederick, the 3rd Earl of Bessborough, bought Belline and until 1934 the house continued to be occupied by

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[45] Caldwell MSS. Peter Walsh, London, to Andrew Caldwell Esqre, Cavendish Row, Dublin, Ireland, 16 July 1785.
[46] Ibid. Mrs. Walsh, Belline, to Andrew Caldwell, Shanganagh, Bray, 5 December 1806.

successive agents of the Bessborough estate.[47] In the grounds of Belline, near the main entrance, is a small rustic temple lodge (Plate 43), which is of very considerable interest and calls for much speculation. The similarity between it and the primitive hut drawn by William Chambers in his *Treatise*, and another drawing by him which survives today in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (Plate 44), cannot be denied. Vitruvius pondered on the nature of man's first buildings as he sought to discover the evolution of various architectural forms. Laugier's *Essai sur l'architecture*, published in 1793, believed, to quote James Howley, 'that this archetypal model represented absolute architectural truth'.[48] Caldwell's library contained a copy of Vitruvius and the only copy of Abbé Laugier's *Essai sur l'architecture* found in any of the libraries researched by Christine Casey.[49] William Chambers was Caldwell's most admired architect. Chambers was the architect for Lord Bessborough's villa at Roehampton, completed in the 1760s. Caldwell would certainly have been around at the time the rustic lodge was being built. Not an architect himself, how nice it would be to think that he, or his friend Lord Charlemont, had prevailed on his 'favourite architect' to provide the plans. It is enjoyable to imagine the pleasure and satisfaction he would have felt, on his visits to Belline, to see the completed Doric building, with its tetrastyle portico, its tree trunk columns capped with square stone abacus and rope-twist echinus (Plate 45), and its entablature comprising timber architrave, modillions and stepped cornice (Plate 46), the only thing missing being the stylobate. The building was, of course, occupied, and remained so until the 1980s, so provision had to be made for light and heat and James Howley's plan (Plate 47) shows the position of the hearth and windows and of the semi-engaged rustic columns on either side (Plate 48).

43 44 45 46 47 48

Caldwell was responsible for remitting to Lord Bessborough the income from his Irish estate. Then, as now, the exchange rate between England and Ireland could be a problem but Caldwell was not above smuggling funds through. Writing to his mother in the summer of 1777, while on a visit to England, he told her that 'I brought over with me fifteen hundred guineas which I remitted Ld. Bessborough…I did not tell you or Fanny of this, found no difficulty, or trouble with'd and am sorry I did not bring the whole over'.[50] Forgetting that he'd told her this he wrote again, three weeks later, 'I

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[47] Mark Bence-Jones. *A Guide to Irish Country Houses*, revised edition (London 1988), pp.38,39.
[48] James Howley. *The Follies and Garden Buildings of Ireland* (New Haven & London, 1993), p.83.
[49] Christine Casey, *A bibliographical approach to Irish eighteenth-century architecture*. Submitted to TCD (Dept. of History of Art) in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. October 1991.
[50] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, Liverpool, to Eliza Caldwell, 30 June 1777.

believe I forgot to tell you the secret that I brought over in my Trunk near seventeen hundred Guineas they were very acceptable at Liverpool and Charles [his brother] gave me a bill on London. If I had told you in Dublin I knew you would have been uneasy so I said nothing there'.[51]

The last letter from Walsh among the Caldwell papers was written on 26 August 1807, less than a year before Caldwell's death, and was varied and full of interest. He discussed the 'fatal and awful' event which occurred during the 'Well sinking for the Martello Tower at Shanganna'. It would seem this refers to a death as he continued 'it is always easy to ascertain the State of the Air in a Well before Men descend into it, by lowering a lighting Candle in a Lanthern'.[52] Caldwell was probably in residence at Shanganana when this 'fatal and awful' event happened, as he lived there for most of the time towards the end of his life. Walsh continued with his anxieties at the prospect of a possible invasion by Bonaparte, discussed the growing of mistletoe and requested Caldwell to obtain for him, from his friend Dr. Wade, some of 'the glutinous seeds which are really very handsome – looking like pears', and commented on their mutual friends, the 'Ladies of Llangollen: 'Sometimes I have the Pleasure of hearing from Miss Ponsonby…She & Lady Eleonor were very well when last I heard from them. They are really not only most uncommon but also most amiable and most worthy. "Such a Pair" are rarely if ever seen'.[53] Finally, Caldwell having requested from Mrs. Walsh her recipe for an eyewash, Walsh painstakingly copied it out for him.

Bishop's Court, designed almost certainly by Richard Morrison,[54] was the home of William Brabazon Ponsonby (1744-1806), eldest son of John Ponsonby (1713-1789), Speaker of the House of Commons and Lord Bessborough's brother, and was also mentioned in one of Walsh's letters to Caldwell. On 29 December 1789 he wrote that he was to send eight brace of deer to Mr. Ponsonby at Bishop's Court in wicker cases on cars and that 'my Father has agreed with the Carman that carries the Deer to bring back from Dublin…young Forest Trees for the Plantations in the Park'.[55] Those deer may well have met with an unhappy end because as well as informing its readers that Mr. Ponsonby lived 'in the most hospitable and princely style' (*Gentleman's Magazine* 1806, pt ii. P.1084), it also informed them that he was said to have kept 'the best

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[51] Ibid. Andrew Caldwell, Roehampton, to Eliza Caldwell, 22 July 1777.
[52] Ibid. Peter Walsh, Roachestown, to Andrew Caldwell, Shanganna, Bray, 26 August 1807.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Edward McParland. *James Gandon* (London, 1985), p.123.
[55] Caldwell MSS. Peter Walsh, Belline, to Andrew Caldwell, 29 December 1789.

hunting establishment in Ireland'.[56] Whose park the young trees were destined for is not clear; probably some for Lord Bessborough's and some for Walsh's.

Peter Walsh is buried in the graveyard of the small Piltown church. This church replaced the old parish church of Fiddown, which was pulled down several years ago. The original chancel remains and contains several interesting monuments to members of the Ponsonby family, the most magnificent to Brabazon, 1st Earl of Bessborough, and his wife Sarah. Their son, the 2nd Earl, William, friend and employer of Caldwell and Walsh, is not there; he was buried beside his wife Caroline (née Cavendish, eldest daughter of William, 3rd Duke of Devonshire), who had pre-deceased him by many years, in what is now Derby Cathedral but was then All Saints' Church.

Not being part of Caldwell's Dublin circle it is unlikely that Peter Walsh would have known James Gandon, the last friend to be discussed. Caldwell, of course, had known him for a long time, first meeting him in London in the 1770s, but the extent to which they socialized in Dublin is not known. Perhaps they were more acquaintances than friends? Certainly Caldwell would have been interested in Gandon's architectural undertakings in Ireland from the very beginning, when he would have seen his competition design for the Royal Exchange. In his role as a Wide Streets Commissioner, which will be discussed more fully in Chapter 8, Caldwell would have been deeply involved in plans to move the city eastwards and build a new Custom House and a new bridge (Carlisle) further downstream. On 3 October 1787, when the building of the new Custom House was well under way, a Hungarian visitor to Ireland, Baron Miklos Vay, who carried a letter of introduction to Caldwell from his [Caldwell's] brother Charles in Liverpool, recorded in his diary that 'Mr. Caldwell took me to the architect of the new Customs House _____ who showed me a few nice sketches'.[57] At the time of Vey's visit Gandon's House of Lords additions (1784-c.1789) were taking shape and work had also just begun on his central block of the new Four Courts, on the quays. Gandon had inherited this commission on the death of Thomas Cooley in 1784, leaving his work on the Four Courts uncompleted, and the foundation stone was laid by the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Rutland, on 13 March 1786.[58]

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[56] DNB CD (Oxford 1995)
[57] Orsolya Szakaly. 'Eighteenth-century Dublin in the Eyes of a Hungarian Aristocrat' in *Irish Economic and Social History*, vol.xxix (2002), p.64.
[58] Edward McParland. *James Gandon* (London, 1985), p.154.

Not yet built during Vey's visit were Gandon's King's Inns, the foundation stone for his dining hall and library being laid on 1 August 1800.[59] This was a prestigious commission and Gandon was not the only architect who had sought it. That he was not everyone's first choice is illustrated in a letter from Lord Mountjoy [Luke Gardiner] to Andrew Caldwell dated 24 March 1798, written in response to one from Caldwell shortly before he [Mountjoy] was killed in the 1798 rebellion. The letter is transcribed in full as it sheds important new light on Gandon's last public building, and reads as follows:

> Mountjoy [illegible address] to Andrew Caldwell, 24 March 1798.
> Dear Caldwell,
> I should be very glad, in the instance you mention, that I had the power which you suppose me to be possessed of, relative to the selection of a plan for the Inns of Court. The fact is, as I understand, that it remains with the Benchers alone to decide.
> I am entirely of opinion with you that the choice ought to be guided alone by the superiority of the design, in point of ornament & convenience; But I have reason to fear, that that will not be the result.
> I have already seen two plans and elevations; The one by Mr. Gandon, which I entirely disapprove of, as I think it would rather be a deformity than an Improvement. The other is by Mr. Woodgate, who has corrected the errors in Mr. Gandon's plan, or rather drew an original one, without those imperfections, which I object to in the other.
> Perhaps I may be able to explain my ideas by the rough sketch enclosed.[60]
> Henrietta Street, if carried on parallel to the front of my house, and to the front of the late Primate's, does not strike the boundary of the Society's ground at right angles. Mr. Gandon has laid out his courts and buildings without any mention whatsoever to Henrietta Street, but forming them at right angles to the Lot itself, as is represented in Sketch A. By this, there is, of course, an angle at *a* (the dotted line representing the boundary of the Society's Lot) so that in the approach up Henrietta Street, you have no view but the gable of a building in an oblique direction; and should you stop at *a*, in order to admire the principal

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[59] King's Inns Benchers' Minutes 1792-1803, fol. 163. (Thanks to Patricia McCarthy for this reference. Her book on the King's Inns is due to be published in 2005).
[60] Unfortunately this sketch was missing from the Caldwell papers.

building at *b*, and turn your eyes round, you would have a full prospect of the deformity of the line of the street.

In sketch C, the dotted line still represents the Society's boundary but, by Mr. Woodgates having laid out his courts and buildings at right angles to the street, the whole has the appearance of perfect uniformity, and the building in front to the street, which is the principal one, shews to the greatest advantage.

It is true that this plan throws the ground into several triangular parts, but these are distributed so that nothing is lost, in points of convenience, whilst everything is gained in the great courts, as to what relates to ornament.

I cannot give any opinion of Mr. Morrison's plan and Elevation, but think, from some of his works that I have seen, that he is a man of great merit in his profession. If he has adhered to the form of the Lot, as Mr. Gandon has, I would, prima fascie, reject his design. If he has not, then a question would arise on a comparison between Woodgate's plan and his. I shewed Woodgate's to Lord Portarlington, who approved of the ground plan very much, but made several just strictures on the elevation. Those might be corrected.

At all events, it might be well to make a very great outcry against Gandon's plan, which would effectively disfigure the approach through Henrietta Street, which constitutes the principal means of displaying the magnificence of the internal edifices. It will require a great deal of exertion to conquer the Interest that Mr. Gandon has with the Society.

I believe Mr. Norman, No. 84 [14?] Gardiner St. has Woodgate's plans; you may have them to investigate, but it would not be fair to communicate them to others, lest some of the Artists should take up his idea and, by improving upon it, preclude him from the merit he has had in correcting the irregularity in the ground.

I am, Dear Caldwell, Yours very sincerely, Mountjoy.[61]

In so many ways this letter is of interest. From Mountjoy's letter it would seem that Caldwell had not seen any plans but was just anxious that all submissions should be studied carefully and that 'the choice ought to be guided alone by the superiority of the design, in point of ornament & convenience'. Mountjoy, however, had seen Gandon's

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[61] Caldwell MSS. Lord Mountjoy [Luke Gardiner] to Andrew Caldwell, 24 March 1798.

plans and those of Mr. Woodgate,[62] and also knew that Morrison[63] had submitted plans. It seems that it was not so much Gandon's actual plans which perturbed Mountjoy but the way the buildings had been squashed into the corner of the four acre site on Constitution Hill and turned their back on Henrietta Street, 'so that in the approach up Henrietta Street, you have no view but the gable of a building in an oblique direction' (Plate 49). The site was not rectangular and met Henrietta Street at an angle. How much better it would be, Mountjoy thought, if instead of the great front facing west, where it would merely look on to the backs of houses ranged along the east side of Constitution Hill, it should face squarely east, its entrance front providing a monumental focal point to the view up Henrietta Street. What pleased Mountjoy about Woodgate's plan was its arrangement at right angles to the street, and he was also prepared to consider Morrison's, provided it was arranged in a similar way. If the choice was his he would give Gandon's plans no further consideration. However, the choice was not his. Powerful as he and Caldwell were in their roles as Wide Street Commissioners they were powerless in this instance to influence the benchers in their decision; it seems that they had made up their minds from the beginning. On the 13th June 1800 Gandon's plans were approved and all other submissions were disregarded. Confirmation of this was provided in the *History of the King's Inns* by Duhigg, who scathingly wrote: 'As no premium was given to disappointed candidates, nor their designs ever reviewed the reader will naturally conceive that the approbation was preconcerted, and the Society of Benchers gravely assembled to sanctify such resolution'.[64] So, as it turned out, Mountjoy's fears had not proved groundless. Only a few years after Caldwell's plea to Mountjoy to ensure that the choice of plan 'ought to be guided alone by the superiority of the design, in point of ornament & convenience', he had an opportunity to be more directly involved in choice of plan, this time in relation to the conversion of the Parliament House to the Bank of Ireland. In Chapter 9 this involvement will be considered, along with all the rest of his known writings.

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[62] Woodgate, a carpenter turned architect, worked mainly in Ulster. He succeeded Vincent Waldré as architect and inspector of civil buildings with the Board of Works in Ireland in 1802 and died in his third year in office. He was succeeded in the post by Francis Johnston (1760-1829).

[63] Sir Richard Morrison (1767-1849), born in Cork and set up practice in Clonmel. Moved to Dublin about 1800 where he established a flourishing practice specialising in the design of country houses and villas. His son, William Vitruvius, joined his practice in 1809.

[64] Bartholomew Duhigg. *History of the King's Inns* (Dublin, 1806), p.508. My thanks to Patricia McCarthy for this reference.

In the autumn of 1787 Caldwell was invited by his Rutland Square neighbour, James Alexander (1730-1802), to visit his newly built home, Caledon, in Co. Tyrone, which he *did* find totally correct and to his taste. Alexander (1730-1802), the third son of Nathaniel Alexander, a Derry alderman, amassed a considerable fortune during his years working for the East India Company and returned to Ireland in 1772 a Nabob,[65] aged only forty, ambitious to further his prospects and career. In this he was entirely successful, gaining a parliamentary seat in 1775,[66] being created Baron Caledon in 1790,[67] Viscount in 1797,[68] and achieving his earldom shortly before his death in 1802.[69] In 1784 he bought 1 Rutland Square from Mary Cradock,[70] widow of the Archbishop of Dublin,[71] and died there in 1802. In 1803 the 2nd Earl of Caledon sold it to Caldwell's good friend William Colville.[72] In the winter of 1778 Alexander abandoned his first building project, Boom Hall, in Derry, 'that unfinished House [which] now has sunk my Fortune £5285.11.11 ½',[73] and in January 1779 set about building his new house on the prestigious County Tyrone Caledon estate (originally Kenaird or Kennard Castle) which he had purchased from the absentee 7th Earl of Orrery.[74] In August 1787 Caldwell wrote to his sister-in-law Charlotte Caldwell, among other things describing his visit to Caledon (Plate 50). Bemoaning the fact that he had not managed to escape to the country for a summer break, as was his usual custom, he continued: 50

> The only excursion I ventured was for about ten days to Mr. Alexanders at Caledon, I had never seen that part of the Country before so it was quite new to me, Mr. Alexanders new House is built from Designs of Wyatts, very well contrived and handsome, it is large enough, & not too large, for a private family to occupy, as really is the case of many Houses in England, his Drawing Room an Oval of 36 ft long, by 26 (Plate 51), his best Parlour 32 ft, his common one 26 by 20, a fine Hall (Plates 52 & 53), & other Rooms all on the same floor, the Bed Chambers above large & pleasant, the stucco ornament, chimney pieces & 51 52,53

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65 A common term at that time for one who had returned from India having made a fortune.
66 For the City of Londonderry. *Gentleman's and Citizens Almanack* (1777), p.56.
67 Christopher Hussey. 'Caledon I, Co. Tyrone' in *Country Life* (27 February 1937), p.224.
68 Ibid.
69 Ibid.
70 *Geo. Soc. Records,* vol. iii, p.102.
71 DNB CD (1995). John Cradock (1708?-1778), created archbishop of Dublin on 5 March 1772
72 *Geo. Soc. Records,* vol.iii, p.102.
73 PRONI D/2433/A/3/2, James Alexander to Robert Alexander, Dublin, 28 November 1778.
74 Sean O'Reilly. *Irish Houses and Gardens* (London, 1998), p.102.

> Glasses in the best Rooms are very elegant & expensive, but he has not been able yet to get the House completely furnished; …I strol'd about in spight of the Weather, which for the most part seem'd outrageous with me, but notwithstanding I explor'd all the peculiarities of the Region, found out several remembrances & amusements of Ld Orrery who had once been the Proprietor (Swifts Orrery), several little Buildings, Ornaments and Inscriptions Latin & English of his Composition, they will now be preserved, partly by my means, & add pleasure to the Rambles of the stranger. It was at this place that formerly stood the Castle of Sir Phelim O'Neile, the great Chieftain & Prince of the Country in Chas the 1st time, the whole Province of Ulster belong'd nearly; on his forfeiture the Caledon Estate was granted to a family of Distinction of the Hamiltons, it came by a marriage of their Heiress to the Earl of Orrery, his son Ld. Cork dissipated it at Brooks & Newmarket, it was purchased by the son of a Derry Linnen Draper our friend Alexander, who was fortunate enough to weather out many years Broiling in Bengal, & returned to the Hive well stor'd with Wax & Honey, such is the mutability of human Possessions, it reminds me of the Persian fable, Alas! This is not a Dwelling but a Caravansery.[75]

What is immediately striking about this letter is the mention of Wyatt, as it is the first time that his name has come up in connection with Caledon. Alistair Rowan states unequivocally that the architect of Caledon was Thomas Cooley,[76] and Mark Bence-Jones does the same.[77] Although Wyatt only came to Ireland once, in 1785, in connection with his work on Slane Castle, his practice was conducted through a network of agents including, as well as Cooley, such people as Thomas Penrose and Richard Johnston. Through their work Wyatt's villa plan was popularised and can be recognised in Mount Kennedy, Co.Wicklow (designed in 1772 but not built until ten years later), Lucan House (built in the 1770s), and Caledon (begun in 1779).[78] Thomas Cooley was the architect for General Cunningham's Mount Kennedy, producing a modified version of a design which Cunningham had obtained from James Wyatt ten years earlier.[79] In this instance Cooley appears to have been assisted by

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[75] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to Charlotte Caldwell, Southampton, 27 August 1787.
[76] Alistair Rowan. *North-West Ulster* (London, 1979), p.162.
[77] Mark Bence-Jones. *A Guide to Irish Country Houses* (revised edition London 1988), p.54.
[78] Edward McParland. *James Gandon* (London, 1985), p.130.
[79] 6 designs for Mount Kennedy signed by James Wyatt and dated 1772 are in the NLI,

Richard Johnston.[80] Agmondisham Vesey acted as his own architect, in consultation with William Chambers, when building Lucan House. However, Alexandra Byrne, in her thesis, writes that Wyatt plans for Lucan House exist, together with others signed by Thomas Penrose, his agent. Wyatt and Penrose drawings are held in the National Library of Ireland.[81] Wyatt's plan of Mount Kennedy first appeared in 1772 and Chambers's plan of Lucan House in 1773, two different architects and yet a very similar plan, to be echoed in Caledon (1779) and Wyatt's Castle Coole (1790-1797). So, in view of Caldwell's comment on Wyatt, what can be said about Caledon? We know that Cooley worked from modified Wyatt plans when building Mount Kennedy. Wyatt's name is mentioned in connection with Lucan House. We know that Wyatt was the architect for Castle Coole, and that Richard Johnston carried out the work there. We know that all four houses conformed to Wyatt's general villa plan, with a large entrance hall screened by columns at the far end leading into an oval saloon, which in turn extends into a bow window in the garden elevation (Plates 54 & 55). There is no doubt about the extent of Cooley's involvement with Caledon from the very beginning. In a letter to Richard Thwaites, probably of January 1779, James Alexander wrote: 54,55

> As I purpose building here, & shall employ Mr. Cooley as my Architect, if he will accept of the Charge, I request the favour of your applying to him to send Me an Account of what timber and Boards he judges necessary for the following Buildings A Dwelling House much the same size as Mr. Veseys at Lucans stables sufficient for forty Horses – Coach Room for six carriages.[82]

There is further confirmation of Cooley's involvement among the Caledon papers, including a letter from Alexander to Cooley dated 16 July 1783 asking for a full account of what was owing,[83] and in a sketch book, now in a private collection in Ireland.[84] This sketch book was discovered towards the end of the twentieth century and written about in detail by McParland in the *Burlington Magazine*.[85] He attributes many of the

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LBR.72884 (9-14). See Alexandra O'Byrne's thesis *The Villa and the Place of James Wyatt in eighteenth century Irish Country House Architecture*, BA thesis TCD History of Art Dept., May 1984.

[80] Mark Bence-Jones. *A Guide to Irish Country Houses* (revised edition London, 1988), p.215.

[81] Alexandra O'Byrne. *The Villa and the Place of James Wyatt in the Irish Country House Architecture*. BA thesis, TCD History of Art Dept., May 1984.

[82] PRONI Letterbook D/2433/A/3/2. James Alexander to Richd.Thwaites – placed between letters of 16 & 20 January 1779.

[83] Ibid. James Alexander to Thos. Cooley, 16 July 1783.

[84] But a copy of which is in the Irish Architectural Archive.

[85] Edward McParland. 'The early history of James Gandon's Four Courts' in *Burlington Magazine*,

sketches to Cooley and his immediate circle and noted that on folio 35v (Plate 56) 'is a detail of the staircase balustrade (with unimportant variations) at Caledon, County Tyrone (Plate 57), which Cooley designed in 1779'.[86] 56 57

Could Caldwell have got it wrong? The finished Caledon certainly had all the characteristics of a Wyatt villa, with its progression of large entrance hall leading, through a screen of scagliola columns, to oval drawing room and bow fronted garden front. Up until the present time Caledon has been nowhere in Wyatt's oeuvre and yet here is a contemporary, a learned and knowledgeable one, stating quite categorically that 'the New House is built from Designs of Wyatts'. Were they original Wyatt designs or ones which, like Mount Kennedy, Cooley had adapted from Wyatt's? Is that what Caldwell meant? There can be no definite answer. What is in no doubt is that Cooley was responsible for building Caledon. What is also in no doubt is that Wyatt was responsible for designing Castle Coole (Plate 54). The ground floor plans for Mount Kennedy, Lucan House, Caledon and Castle Coole are similar in their progression of columned hall to oval drawing room. Only in Caledon's case, however, is the oval on the transverse axis, an idea which was taken up by Gandon in his unexecuted ground-floor plan for Carrickglass, Co. Longford (Plate 58).[87] In all the buildings discussed Wyatt's influence can be felt, but positive attributions must await future researchers. 54 58

From the fact that Caldwell was invited to stay with Alexander at Caledon for ten days it can be assumed that the two must have been on good terms with each other, if not close friends. Alexander would surely have been aware of Caldwell's special knowledge and interest in architecture and probably would also have known of his championship of William Chambers, architect to Caldwell's friend Lord Charlemont and his friend and employer the Earl of Bessborough. Proud of his new house there is no doubt that Caldwell's opinion would have been greatly valued by Alexander and, as can be seen from the letter quoted, Caldwell's reaction was all he could have hoped for. The house certainly appealed to Caldwell's architectural taste as far as country houses were concerned, with rooms 'large enough, & not too large, for a private family to occupy, as really is the case of many Houses in England'. It is not clear from this

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vol.cxxii, no.932 (November, 1980), pp.727-35.

[86] Ibid., p.728.

[87] Edward McParland points out in his *James Gandon* (London, 1985), p.130, that this arrangement was traced by the Knight of Glin (in the context of Carrickglass) to Vaux-le-Vicomte.

comment whether he meant that many houses in England had rooms proportioned to his taste, or generally too large for his taste.

Caldwell's scholarship, his sense of history and the importance he placed on recording his discoveries for others with a curiosity and interest as lively as his own, is well illustrated in his description of his ramble around Caledon's garden, which had previously been the demesne of Swift's friend Lord Orrery[88]. He was fascinated by the garden ornaments installed by Orrery, with their inscriptions in Latin and English, which, he told his sister-in-law, 'will now be preserved, partly by my means & add pleasure to the Rambles of the stranger'.[89] Quite how he achieved this we can only conjecture but it seems probable that he drew Alexander's attention to them and suggested that they should be restored to their original pristine condition. Classical scholar that he was, he may even have provided translations of the Latin inscriptions.

Space does not allow for the introduction of the many more Irish friends and acquaintances who contributed to the rich variety of Caldwell's life, but those discussed in this and the previous chapter made the most major contributions. The next chapter will consider those who meant the most to him in England.

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[88] The 5th Lord.

[89] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to Charlotte Caldwell, Southampton. 27 August 1787.

CHAPTER SIX

Andrew Caldwell and the English *milieu*

When William Ponsonby, the second earl of Bessborough (1704-1793), inherited his title in 1758, on the death of his father, the first earl, he was already living in England. Deeply grieved by the premature death of his wife, Lady Caroline Cavendish (eldest daughter of William, 4th duke of Devonshire 1720-1764), he decided to leave the home they had shared, Ingress Abbey, in Kent, and commissioned William Chambers to design a villa for him at Roehampton.[1] This was probably Chambers's first commission to build a domestic villa[2] and the original designs were recorded in book IV of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (Plates 59 & 60). The front of the house, with its Ionic portico (Plate 61) faced out onto Richmond park and Chambers arranged the domestic quarters on either side of a courtyard at the rear, so that the view from the park was of an unencumbered villa front, faced in Portland stone. The design was straightforward; a rectangle which, on the first floor, was three compartments wide by two deep. The staircase, at the back of the house, was unusual, combining in an oblong well the principal stair, which enclosed an octagonal timber framed stair for the servants.[3] 59,60 61

By 1769 the work was finished and the earl living in his new home, which he was to enjoy for the rest of his life, happily surrounded by his 'capital collection of pictures, statues, ancient gems, and other valuable curiosities'.[4] A good friend of Lord Charlemont, he was a highly cultured man who had done the Grand Tour and was a patron of the fine arts (and of the Caldwell family). He had been a member of the Dilettante Society since 1736, two years after its inception, where he enjoyed the company of many of the foremost patrons, artists, collectors and travellers of his day, and was also a member of the *Accademia di Disegno* at Florence.[5] He played a prominent role in society and for many years was deeply involved in politics, but by the 1770s, when Caldwell came to know him well, his interest in politics had waned and he chose to devote a greater proportion of his time to the arts. He lived in great style at

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[1] Although always referred to in the correspondence as Roehampton, the villa was first called Parksted House. In this thesis it will be referred to as Roehampton in the text and Parksted, or Parksted House, in the illustrations.

[2] John Harris. *Sir William Chambers* (London, 1970), p.245.

[3] To-day the servants' stair no longer exists.

[4] John Woolfe & James Gandon. *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol.iv (London, 1767), p.4.

[5] ODNB (Oxford, 2004), Gerard O'Brien. *Ponsonby, William, second earl of Bessborough* (1704-1793).

Roehampton and both Caldwell and his father Charles before him enjoyed his generous hospitality on their visits to England in connection with the earl's Irish affairs. Whether or not Caldwell visited Roehampton before the death of his father in 1776, when he inherited the job of agent to the Bessborough estate, is not known but, with his interest in architecture, his intimate knowledge of Charlemont House and his admiration of William Chambers, there is little doubt that he would have kept himself informed about the new villa. Perhaps he even saw the building contract, the original of which still survives in the Bessborough papers.[6] Thanks to careful restoration work carried out by the Greater London Council Historic Buildings Division between 1982 and 1986 a visitor to Roehampton to-day can see for himself the most complete surviving interior scheme by Chambers, with the exception of Somerset House.[7] It is nice to think of the pleasure and excitement Caldwell would have felt on his first visit. As he entered the main hall (Plate 62) he would have seen straight ahead of him a chimneypiece (Plate 63) 62,63
which he would surely have recognised as being identical to the one in the hall of Charlemont House, in Dublin (Plate 64).[8] Chambers's design for the hall (Saloon) 64
ceiling (Plate 65)[9] was executed in its entirety, with a neo-Palladian frieze of vases, 65
drapes and lions' heads (Plates 66 & 67). Most of his 1761 design for the library ceiling 66,67
(Plate 68)[10] was used instead in the drawing room (Plate 69). The library ceiling, the 68,69
most complex of all the designs, was divided into compartments filled with finely executed low relief trophies of the arts and sciences, owls of Athena, and sphinxes (Plate 70). Delicately executed plant ornaments intermingle with the various themes. 70
Simpler designs, in accordance with their lesser importance, decorated the coved bedroom ceiling and dining room. The sharply defined diamond shape in the centre of the flat dining room ceiling contains garlands which enclose vases and panthers with water-pouring female figures in the corners of the room. The variety of doorcases on the first floor are all still intact and as Caldwell would have seen them, those leading out of the hall heavier than those leading into it (Plates 71 & 72). 71,72

The remains of a most interesting feature can still be seen on the ground floor. The door beneath the portico leads to a vaulted passage (Plate 73) decorated with plaster 73

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[6] My thanks to Viscount Duncannon for sending me a copy of this contract.
[7] Michael Snodin. 'Interiors and Ornament' in *Sir William Chambers, Architect to George III*, John Harris & Michael Snodin (eds) (New Haven & London, 1996), p.128.
[8] These stone chimneypieces were a new invention of Chambers's and were probably carved by William Wilton or his son Joseph. Two others existed, in Chambers's Peper Harow and Duntish.
[9] Victoria & Albert Museum, 2216.30.
[10] Ibid. 2216.42

relief foliage (Plate 74) and arched niches. Clearly not accommodation for servants, this must have been where Lord Bessborough displayed his collection of marbles, the sale of which in 1801 was so to distress Caldwell. 74

This, then, is the glorious house where Caldwell, when on business in England connected with the Bessborough estate, was always a welcome guest. In the summer of 1777 he paid the earl a long visit (probably the first in his role as agent) and wrote to his mother 'Roehampton you have often heard of, so shall say nothing about it but that it answers all my expectations, the magnificence and expence that I see every where astonished me'.[11] He found the earl 'delightfully absolutely handsome', was overwhelmed by 'his kindness, his civility, [and] his never ceasing attention',[12] and already felt regret that the visit must come to an end. He enjoyed the social whirl and found life to be 'a continual succession of pleasure and variety. We breakfast near eleven, dine rather after five, sup near twelve, consequently sit late and cant rise very early, the remainder of the time is spent riding, walking and dressing and towards ten o-clock half crown Whist, so there is not half a moment to spare'.[13] He was introduced to other friends and family members, including Lady Catherine Beauclerk (Lord Bessborough's elder daughter, married to Hon. Aubrey Beauclerk, afterwards 5th Duke of St. Albans). Because the earl had heard Caldwell express a wish to meet General Paoli[14] a dinner party was specially arranged, of which Caldwell wrote:

> Gen. Paoli dined here on Sunday, I was very desirous to see him and not disappointed but much pleased when I did see him, he is rather a well looking man, has red hair and fair complexion, never would be taken for an Italian, his behaviour very plain and unaffected but Gentlemanlike, talks just enough and as well as I could judge very agreeable and entertaining, but they will not let him speak English, every one addresses him in French or Italian.[15]

It would seem that Caldwell would have preferred it if the General had been allowed to talk in English. There were many books in Caldwell's library in French and Italian but

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[11] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, London, to his mother, 10 July 1777.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Pascal Paoli (1725-1807), the Corsican general and patriot, considered a hero and exiled in England from 1769 for twenty years. He was granted a pension of £1,200 a year on the civil list. He was admired by and made friends with Boswell, Samuel Johnson, Joshua Reynolds, Edmund Burke and Oliver Goldsmith. Introduced at court, he was graciously received by George III.
[15] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, Roehampton, to his mother, 22 July 1777.

his comment 'as well as I could judge' suggests that perhaps, in 1777, his comprehension of the written French and Italian word was better than the spoken.

As Caldwell's visit progressed he began to find the earl's constant companionship a little wearing: 'Tho' it is so agreeable it is very inconvenient to stay at this House, my whole time is engross'd, I cant get the smallest matter done for myself nor have seen one sight or show in London; I must avoid this another time'.[16] He did find time, however, to carry out a little research for his sister Fanny in trying to ascertain 'what will be the fashionable silks next Winter, Mr. & Mrs. Burton say it is in vain to attempt it, the Mercers will not let that secret be known till the latter end of September'.[17]

Again in London in 1784, but this time staying at the Prince of Wales Hotel, Suffolk Street, Charing Cross, instead of the earl's London house in Cavendish Square, Caldwell had a much livelier time. Accompanied by Lord Duncannon (Frederick, the earl's only son) he attended a concert in Westminster Abbey to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Handel's birth. He wrote:

> It is supposed there were at least four thousand people there, the sight was very fine, the whole Isle fill'd and new, Galleries on each side from the Organ Loft to the great West Door, the Royall family in a magnificent Box at the other end (Plate 75), the Orchestra reach'd almost to the Top of the Church above the West Door, there could be nothing more striking, than the view of 513 Musicians moving together, & forming such a vast Group. The Pantheon [by James Wyatt] was equally new & dazzling,[18] suppose it never appear'd to more advantage, the particular description would be too much for a letter, but every one agrees the Performance was masterly & perfect, one pays however exceedingly dear for all this, the Ladies go in Crowds four hours before the performance begins, such crashing & screaming that it is frightfull, yet I think they bustle forward better than the Men.[19]

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Caldwell was in London on this occasion to attend his brother Ben's marriage on 7 June to Charlotte Osborne (daughter of Vice Admiral Henry Osborn), but decided to devote

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[16] Ibid. Andrew Caldwell, London, to his mother, 30 July 1777.
[17] Ibid. Andrew Caldwell, Roehampton, to his mother, 7 August 1777.
[18] There were a series of these Handel concerts so it seems that Caldwell went to two.
[19] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, London, to his mother, 28 May 1784.

himself, in the meantime, entirely to gratifying his curiosity.[20] Such gratification did not involve politics ('I have not troubled myself with any enquiries abt. Politicks, nor attempted the House of Commons, I am very different abt that from most people in Dublin'),[21] but it did involve a visit to Court:

> I was at Court morning & evening yesterday, a vast crowd of well dress'd men…, the Ladies not near so numerous as at our Ball, their Dresses I believe more expensive, they were all in Pale colours, chiefly straw-colour, Green & Pink, entirely cover'd with white crape flower'd or spotted with silver, the Queen was in Green cover'd with Crape & Diamonds, the Princess Royall in Green, white & silver Diced, cover'd with Crape, & a quantity of emeralds or some Green stone, the Princess Augusta in Pale blue, they are both very pretty good humour'd looking Girls, the P of Wales in a most Gorgeous Dress, silver Tissue? Richly embroider'd down the seams with Gold, Diamond Epaulette & Diamond George & Star, he is quite captivating I think, dances a Minuet beyond any man I ever saw, it is astonishing in a Prince, several Ladies in black lappets & black lace on their Gowns, I thought very odd for a Birth day, the scarlet field Poppy is the flower most worn artificial, on the Head, Breast and Gown. Lady Buckingham was absolutely in Black & yellow, it was a very handsome Dress, but appear'd to me very strange for such a day. I met with about eight or ten persons I knew, which was pretty well for a stranger, my Tabinet[22] look'd very well, but the fine Purple, which I was afraid to take, would have done better, they were much the Taste, above 30 in the Room, several Ladies too, most of the Ladies in the morning were elderly, very few handsome, but at the Ball there were several Beauties. I stood just behind Lady Cath. Newgent & Miss Jefferies they were both admir'd.[23]

Caldwell's minute description of what so many people were wearing, and concern about his own appearance, was remarkable and must have delighted his mother and sister. Living as he did in a household of women he would have been well aware of how much such detail would mean to them. It would seem that he was just a spectator at this event, standing *behind* Lady Cath. Newgent and Miss Jefferies. Perhaps this was what

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[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Watered fabric of silk and wool.
[23] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, London, to his mother, 4 June 1784.

was required of such visitors to Court as himself? Would his unabashed admiration for the 'quite captivating' Prince of Wales, described in more detail than any of the 'ladies', (he had earlier described Lord Bessborough as 'delightfully absolutely handsome')[24] have been considered a normal response at that time, or would such comments have given rise to more sneering jibes from his brother Ben?

Ben was also close friends with Lord Bessborough and had good reason to be grateful to him. In 1761 he [Bessborough] had written to Lord Anson[25] reminding him that:

> Sometime ago, I took the liberty of requesting a great Favour from your Lordship, which was, to give Lieutenant Benjamin Caldwell, the Rank of Captain in his Majesty-s Navy, and the Command of any small thing, will do this Business'.[26] He continued 'I know you have many Applications of this sort, But my Lord, this is a thing I have much at Heart, for I have a great Regard for him and his Family.

On 21 May 1762 Bessborough wrote to Charles Caldwell:

> Dear Charles, No one can have more pleasure than I have, in being of use to you or your Family and I have now great satisfaction in acquainting you, that Lord Anson has been so obliging to me, to send me word this Day that he intended giving your son Ben the Rank of Captain and that he had ordered a Commission to be signed for him <u>on Next Monday</u> for a sloop, I believe it will be the Martin sloop. Ben is come to Portsmouth in the Achilles, and I have by this Night past informed him of it, And now Sir I must acquaint you, that I have had this affair more at heart than any thing of the past, that I have ever solicited, first on your account, and next because I believe he will do well in his profession, as a sea man. I have looked over the list of Lieutenants this day, and find above 800 before him, so that the favour from Lord Anson is great, but this we had better not talk of as the Lieutenants may not like it. I do assure you, that in order to carry this point I have promised Lord Anson not to ask for any more admiralty favours from him if he would do it.[27]

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[24] Ibid., 10 July 1777.
[25] George Anson (1697-1762), Admiral of the Fleet.
[26] Caldwell MSS. Copy of letter from Lord Bessborough to Lord Anson (in Charles Caldwell's writing), Cavendish Square, 3 October 1761.
[27] Ibid. Lord Bessborough, London, to Charles Caldwell. 21 May 1762.

Thanks to the earl's intervention Ben did indeed do well 'in his profession as a sea man' (presumably having kept it to himself that, thanks to friends in high places, he had jumped a queue of eight hundred) and at the time of the earl's death had achieved the rank of Admiral.

Ben was with the earl just hours before his death at 2 a.m. on 11 March 1793, and his wife Charlotte wrote to Caldwell on the same day, on behalf of her husband, requesting him to 'inform the Mrs. Ponsonbys and the rest of the family'of the death and telling him that Mr. R. Ponsonby's presence (presumably Richard Ponsonby, the earl's only living brother, John Ponsonby, the Speaker of the House of Commons, having died in 1789) had been requested for the opening of the Will.[28] It would appear that Richard Ponsonby had lost touch with family and friends and he and Ben had not seen each other since April 1756. Lord Fitzwilliam and the Duke of St.Albans, the earl's two sons-in-law, met him for the first time at the reading of the will,[29] on which occasion he invited Ben to dinner. The next day Charlotte wrote:

> Mr. P desired the Adml to name his day & hour for dining with him and next Thursday was fixt on, not having seen each other for twenty yrs must make the meeting entertaining if the former chuses it, which there is no doubt of, or he woud not have asked him to come, there certainly being no occasion for it. Mr. P asked him his usual hour of dining when in his naming half past five the other almost started – but yr bro naturally said any hour was the same to him, and named 4, on which Mr. P came to a compromise and half past 4 was fixt on – I only name this circumstance to shew you how very retired he must live.[30]

On his father's death Lord Duncannon, now the 3rd earl of Bessborough, found himself in considerable financial difficulties and drastic measures had to be taken to pay off the annuities on the late earl's life. In November 1800 Caldwell wrote sadly to George Cockburn, 'Poor Roehampton Pictures & Marbles are to be sold & have already been advertis'd, it will make me melancholy to see the place again. Strange and unexpected are the vicissitudes of this world'.[31] The sale was held in Christie's in 1801 and Thomas Coutts, the earl's banker, reported to Caldwell that although the pictures had

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[28] Caldwell MSS. Charlotte Caldwell, Charles Street, to Andrew Caldwell, 11 March 1793.
[29] Caldwell received a legacy of one hundred pounds.
[30] Caldwell MSS. Charlotte Caldwell to Andrew Caldwell, 12 March 1793.
[31] Ibid. Andrew Caldwell, London, to Geo Cockburn near Bray, 24 November 1800.

sold at good prices they would have fetched even more if 'His Lordship' had consented to an absolute sale of the whole without reserve, instead of buying in to the amount of £3000.[32] Coutts had the earl's affairs much at heart, writing 'I can with truth assure you that what I have done in the affairs is more than any man in England woud have done, or than many could have done in these times – but I shall consider myself to be rewarded if I can see Lord Bessborough free from debts equally disgraceful & ruinous'.[33]

Throughout 1801 Thomas Coutts continued to write to Caldwell encouraging him to raise funds by every means possible, including the sale of wood. How to go about this seemed to be a problem for them both, Coutts writing 'I wish it were in my power to give you any light into the Charge for felling & selling the Wood, but I have always thought it a mysterious subject'.[34] Later that year, desperate for funds, Coutts again wrote 'I think it must become necessary for Lord Bessborough to come to a resolution as to the sale of some considerable property – and I confess I continue of the mind that selling Roehampton would be a measure very adviseable'.[35] As it had been back in 1777, when Caldwell had smuggled in funds for Lord Bessborough in his trunk, the rate of exchange continued to be a problem. Coutts wrote 'I wish to know the sums you are likely to be able to send here before Christmas next from the Rents - & also from the Wood. The Exchange is very unfavourable – I have observed some Irish Gentlemen continue to get their money over cheaper than through the Dublin Bankers but I really do not know how it is managed'.[36] Caldwell could have told him one way!

It would have been painful for Caldwell, both on his own account and that of the family, if it had been necessary to sell Roehampton but this did not happen. The third earl continued to live there until the death of his wife (Lady Henrietta Frances Spencer) in 1821, when he let the house to Abraham Roberts (M.P. for Maidstone), who made many improvements to the grounds. In 1861 he sold the estate to the Conservative Land Society from whom it was acquired by the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) as their English novitiate, and renamed Manresa after the birthplace of St. Ignatius Loyola, their Spanish founder.[37] Until his death Caldwell continued to maintain a warm relationship

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[32] Caldwell MSS. Thomas Coutts, Strand, London to (no addressee but obviously from the contents to Andrew Caldwell), 13 February 1801.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Caldwell MSS. Thomas Coutts, Strand, London, to Andrew Caldwell, 9 March 1801.
[35] Ibid. 6 June 1801.
[36] Ibid. 24 June 1801.
[37] Taken from Report by Historic Buildings Consultants, August 2000.

with the third earl and remembered him in his will: 'To my honoured friend the Earl of Bessborough the sum of five hundred Guineas as a small token of my high admiration of his friendship and the long attachment I have had to him and his family'.[38]

The literary critic and Shakespearian scholar Edmund Malone (1741-1812) belonged to Caldwell's small circle of special literary friends and bibliophiles which included Lord Charlemont, Joseph Cooper Walker and the Bishop of Dromore. He was born and educated in Ireland (at a private school in Molesworth Street and at Trinity College) and, having studied at the Inner Temple, was called to the Irish bar in 1767. He worked hard to establish himself but his heart was not in the law and in 1777 he abandoned it and left Ireland for good to settle permanently in London as a man of letters. There he met and became friendly with many of the most distinguished men of his day, including Joshua Reynolds, Samuel Johnson, James Boswell, David Garrick, Dr. Burney, Edmund Burke and Horace Walpole. He was one of Reynold's executors and, at his request, revised at least one of his discourses on art. He was a member of the Literary Club, founded by Reynolds in 1764, to which several Irish acquaintances and friends belonged, including Lord Charlemont, Bishop Percy and Agmondisham Vesey. Most of his life in London he devoted unremittingly to his Shakespearian studies and investigations, his *Shakespeare* being published in eleven volumes in November 1790. He left his material for the new edition of *Shakespeare* to his friend James Boswell (the younger), who completed the work in 1821.[39]

It is not known precisely when Caldwell and Malone met but it was certainly before Malone left for England. On 2 May 1805 he wrote: 'My dear Caldwell, Thirty years or more, I think, have now elapsed since we were first acquainted with each other, and above twenty since we have lived in habits of friendship together. Encouraged by these considerations, you see I have broke through the formal address we have hitherto used, and hope you will approve the change'.[40] Two sources of correspondence have been looked at: the Caldwell papers, which contain seventeen letters from Malone to Caldwell, and six letters from Caldwell to Malone in the Bodleian library.[41] Happily, in several cases one letter is in reply to another.

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[38] Caldwell MSS.

[39] Most of this information was obtained from the DNB CD, OUP (1995)

[40] Caldwell MSS. Edmund Malone, London, to Andrew Caldwell, 2 May 1805. Caldwell's next letter to Malone likewise abandoned formality and began 'My dear Malone'.

[41] Bodleian Library. MS Eng. Letters c.15.

In the last twenty-five years of Caldwell's life Malone only visited Ireland twice,[42] but Caldwell often took the opportunity to meet him and enjoy his hospitality when he was in London. Joseph Farington records meeting Caldwell twice at dinner at Malone's house, once (on 6 December 1797) in the company of 'Luttrell, Mr. Colwell [Caldwell] and Jephson, Junr.', and again on 4 August 1799.[43] Between meetings their correspondence flourished and covered many topics, including the etymology of words, often gone into in the smallest detail. For instance, in reply to Malone's enquiry about the Irish word *fada* Caldwell wrote: 'The Dance is call'd *Rinca Fada*' and means literally "the long Dance". Tho' Fada is a Reed, the name of the Dance is not borrow'd from it. "Fada is the adjective long, & Rinca the substantive Dance". In Irish the Adjective follows the Substantive, differing from the English construction, hence Rinca fada – Faedan is the diminutive & means little Reed, - Faedam is the first Person of the Verb to whistle, either with the Lips or with a Reed, i.e. I whistle'.[44] To obtain this information Caldwell had written 'to the country to an ingenious and intelligent friend, who understands Irish & is much acquainted with many rural Antiquaries'.[45] Caldwell goes on to give a lyrical description of the dance and continues: 'I believe here is a more exact & entertaining account than you could have expected, but you in return are solicited to bring out the Passages in Shakespeare & Johnson where the Dance is mention'd, the rural Antiquaries are eager to know them and not a little pleas'd at the circumstance & that you have made the enquiry'.[46] This is just one example of the many 'commissions' which Caldwell was happy to carry out for his friend. Among other subjects which they discussed were the difficulty of deciphering Dr. Johnson's handwriting, the best kind of ink to use for letter writing, the tragedy of the publisher Nichols's warehouse fire in the winter of 1807/1808, 'FitzGerald, the celebrated Bagpiper, who flourished about 20 years ago or rather 30, and who greatly improved that vile instrument',[47] the portraits which Malone was collecting of members of the Literary Club (he had 57 out of the 69 who were members between 1764 and 1807)[48],

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[42] Caldwell MSS. Edmund Malone to George Caldwell (Andrew Caldwell's nephew), 2 August 1808.
[43] Grieg, James (ed). *The Farington Diary,* vol.iii (London, 1922-1928), pp. 934-935 and 1262-1263.
[44] Bodleian Library. MS Eng.letters c.15, fols. 113-114. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to Edmund Malone, 9 April 1803.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Caldwell MSS. Edmund Malone, London, to Andrew Caldwell, 2 May 1805.
[48] A maximum of 40 members could belong to The Club at any one time.

the variation in Dublin's population between the reign of James I (2000 inhabitants) and November 1807 (182,000), and much, much more besides.

The friends also discussed philosophical matters and there is a poignant exchange between them in the autumn of 1807. Malone had been reading the 'voluminous catalogue' of his late friend Isaac Reed's books and wrote:

> The reading this catalogue, as all such [illegible word – instances?] etc., has made me melancholy – all the great & good & wise brought before one's eyes, & all now pass'd away; and then what a contest was there in politicks, in religion, in criticism; which is now all over, or glows only in the pages of a Catalogue & in their works, while the contending parties are lying quietly side by side in the dust, without the smallest jar or animosity![49]

Caldwell replied from Shanganna : 'here I am in a sort of Solitude, tho' plenty of hospitable acquaintances in the neighbourhood, but they never think about literary Anecdotes, have little curiosity, & know nothing of occurrences in the great societies of Science and Letters'.[50] He continued:

> Often have I as well as you experienced the melancholy you speak of, in reviewing Catalogues & attending sales, even when total stranger to the individuals, it is affecting to consider the minute attentions & anxieties, & how amiable & innocent the pursuit and all shortly comes to an end. When one reviews old political & religious controversy, the warmth & animosity of the contending parties seem ridiculous, but leads to moderate the passion and to prove that almost every thing in this Life is unimportant.[51]

Although paintings featured in the correspondence (and will be discussed in the next chapter), only once, in October 1807, did Malone write about architecture. At the time he was staying with his great friends Lord and Lady Thomond at their Buckinghamshire home, Taplow Court, and wrote at length about the excursions he had made from there. He described the 'wonderful creation' Lord and Lady Grenville had made of their home, Dropmore, and extolled the 'great things' which the Duke of

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[49] Caldwell MSS. Edmund Malone, Foley Place, London, to Andrew Caldwell, Bray, 21 September 1807.
[50] Bodleian Library. MS. Eng.letters.c.15, fol.127. Andrew Caldwell to Edmund Malone, Friday 16 October 1807.
[51] Ibid.

Portland was doing at Bulstrode under Wyatt's direction. He was particularly impressed with Windsor Castle, which he had not visited for twenty years. He described in detail the work which Wyatt had carried out there, which he deemed 'to be in excellent taste', and considered his masterpiece to be 'the grand staircase…at the great principal entrance'. Wyatt featured once more in Malone's description of his visit to Stoke Poges, to the home of 'Mr.[John] Penn', Stoke Park. Here he [Malone] considered that the house was 'not in the very taste, having been begun by a bad architect',[52] but went on to praise Wyatt's work there. To conclude his long letter he wrote: 'I know everything relative to architecture interests you, and therefore have been thus diffuse.'[53] Caldwell certainly would have been interested in this letter, especially in view of all the references to Wyatt, and it must surely have whetted his appetite to follow in Malone's footsteps. Sadly, though, his health was deteriorating, and by the time he received this letter, he had unknowingly made his last trip to England. He had planned to visit to England in late 1807, principally to see Malone, who was very disappointed when the visit was postponed, writing 'Your not coming here this Autumn is, I assure you, a great disappointment to me; for though I am busy enough all the morning, which is never so long as I could wish it, I am an idle gentleman afterwards, and should have had great pleasure in talking over the old topicks with you from dinner to bed time'.[54] Such times would certainly have appealed to Caldwell and reminded him of the companionable evenings he had spent with his friend Mangin. Another visit was planned in the spring of 1808. Caldwell wrote that he had been 'an invalid and nearly confin'd the whole Winter, with a bilious attack in my stomach', but that although still not well he was much better and was 'determined for London'.[55] On the back of this letter Edmund Malone wrote: 'This was, I think, the last letter that I recd. from my old friend, Andrew Caldwell, a very kind hearted, ingenious and worthy man. He died at Dublin the following July, and very kindly remembered me in his Will, made a few months before. He was in his 75th year'.[56] Caldwell's bequest was as follows:

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[52] He is referring to Robert Nasmith (d.1793) who designed Stoke Park in 1789, leaving the house to be completed by James Wyatt. Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1800* (London, 1995), p.695.

[53] Caldwell MSS. Edmund Malone, Taplow Court, to Andrew Caldwell, 11 October 1807.

[54] Ibid. Edmund Malone, Foley Place, London, to Andrew Caldwell, Bray, 21 September 1807.

[55] Bodleian Library. MS Eng.letters, c.15, fol.129. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to Edmund Malone, 9 April 1808.

[56] Comment by Malone written on the above letter.

> To my highly honoured and much esteemed friend Edward Malone Esqre I Give my Silver Standish & Bell which were Bequeathed to me by the late Dean Stewart I should leave him some Books but on examining my shelves could not find anything worth his acceptance but if he will make choice of a few Articles in remembrance of me I should think it a compliment and desire my Exors to give such to him

How many of Malone's illustrious friends Caldwell met over the years is not known, but he must have felt at the very heart of the literary world when they were together, free, unlike when at Shankill, to indulge his curiosity, exchange literary anecdotes, and keep up to date with occurrences in the great societies of Science and Letters.

Compared to the friendships already discussed, Caldwell and Dr. James Smith (1759-1828), first president of the Linnean Society (Plate 76), knew each other for a relatively short time. They began corresponding in the spring of 1792 and there are twenty-nine letters, most of them long, from Caldwell to Smith in the Linnean Society Library in Burlington House, and eight from Smith to Caldwell among the Caldwell papers. This friendship was different to the others. Smith was not one of Caldwell's intimate literary circle and was not known to any of them. He was a lot younger than Caldwell and he was English. What brought them together was Caldwell's passion for botany, 'botanising' becoming his favourite pastime in the last decade and a half of his life. This interest was greatly stimulated by the role he played, as a member of the Dublin Society, in setting up the Botanic Gardens at Glasnevin, which will be discussed in a future chapter.

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By the time Caldwell first contacted Smith in 1792 he [Smith] had already been appointed first president of the Linnean Society. In 1784, at the instigation of his friend and patron Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society, Smith had purchased, for one thousand guineas, the library, manuscripts and natural history collection of the Swedish botanist and physician Carl Linnaeus (1707-1788). This had come up for sale on the death of Linnaeus's son, also Carl, just five years after that of his father. The collection, which travelled to England in the brig *Appearance* at the end of October 1784, comprised 'nearly 3,000 books in six cases, five cases of plants, four of minerals, two of insects and many more of letters and manuscripts – twenty-six cases in all'.[57]

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[57] Margot Walker. *Sir James Edward Smith* (London, 1988), p.9.

Smith had trained as a doctor because at that time it was only possible to attend lectures on botany as part of a medical course. He received his medical degree in Leiden in 1785 while on a seventeen month trip to the continent, but his heart was never in it and by 1793 he had given up all thought of ever practising medicine.

Caldwell and Smith very quickly became good friends, Smith writing in the summer of 1794 'I am more sorry than I can express to find that you are now in London while I am away, as it would have given me the greatest pleasure to have enjoyed the conversation of a gentleman so ardent in the pursuit of my favorite study, & so partial to my own attempts at promoting it'.[58] As well as keeping Smith informed of the progress of Dublin's Botanic Gardens Caldwell poured out in his letters details of his progress in the study of botany, describing in meticulous detail plants he had found on his various 'botanising' expeditions, his opinion on books he had read on the subject, and even suggesting alterations or amendments which Smith might make to his own books. As fast as Smith's books were published Caldwell acquired them. Interestingly not one is listed in the sales catalogue of his books. With the exception of a few special bequests he left the entire contents of his library to his nephew George Caldwell, the academic son of his brother Charles, so those that went on sale were the ones which George Caldwell did not want. Presumably he wanted Smith's, all of which were illustrated by James Sowerby, his draughtsman and publisher.

In January 1796, only four years after his first contact with Smith, Caldwell heard from Thomas Marsham, secretary of the Linnean Society, that he had been elected a Fellow of the Society.[59] By this time he had got to know the rest of Smith's family, with whom he became very popular. There is a delightful exchange in the correspondence where Caldwell sends samples of eight different striped poplins to Smith, with the request that his three sisters should choose one each. On sending them their duly selected fabrics he wrote 'I have taken the liberty to send a fourth piece, still newer, came out since my first letter, it is call'd strip'd & spangled Tabinet, will you present it, with my compliments and warmest congratulations to the Lady I hope to be introduced to one day or other, & whose esteem I shall be ambitious to merit'.[60] This

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[58] Caldwell MSS. Dr.J.E.Smith, Market Place, Norwich, to Andrew Caldwell at Osborne's Hotel, Adelphi, London, 26 June 1794.

[59] Ibid. Thomas Marsham, Exchequer Loan Office [his place of work], Royal Exchange, London, to Andrew Caldwell, 26 January 1796.

[60] Lin.Soc.Lib. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to James Smith, 22 December 1795.

'Lady' was Smith's fiancée Pleasance Reeve, and the 'strip'd and spangled Tabinet' was made up into her wedding gown.

Smith introduced Caldwell to several members of his circle, including William Roscoe (1753-1831), his close friend and a fellow Unitarian. Roscoe, the biographer of Lorenzo de Medici and Pope Leo X, was the founder of the Liverpool Botanic Garden and on several occasions, when lecturing in Liverpool, Smith stayed with him at his beautiful house Allerton Hall. On Smith's recommendation Caldwell read Roscoe's work and wrote 'I am nearly got through the 2nd Vol.of *Lorenzo de Medici* – it is a perpetual amazement to me, how such a learn'd & elegant Production could issue from the Dross of such a place as Liverpool, the Emporium of the Slave Traffic, Rum Puncheons, sugar and Tobacco Hogsheads & cram'd with Turtle Eaters. Half the place is my nearest Relations, so it would be as much as my ears are worth, if you slip'd this out'.[61] Caldwell would probably have been preoccupied with botany at his meeting with Roscoe but had they had time to talk about painting there is no doubt that Roscoe's didactic approach would have appealed to him. A change in his fortunes decreed that Roscoe had to sell his collection and an advertisement for the sale, which took place in 1816, reads:

> The following works…have been collected during a series of years, chiefly for the purpose of illustrating, by a reference to original and authentic sources, the rise and progress of the arts in modern times, as well in Germany and Flanders as in Italy. They are therefore not wholly to be judged of by their positive merits, but by a reference to the age in which they were produced. Their value chiefly depends on their authenticity, and the light they throw on the history of the arts;[62]

Caldwell felt very comfortable in Smith's company. In 1799 he wrote 'With what pleasure I recollect the quiet studious hours in your Library, it put me in mind of College days, young men then frequently study together, it is not in every one's company now, that I can read with attention, but you never were a discomposure, nor I flatter myself was I to you, I was sometimes impell'd by curiosity to ask a question, but

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[61] Ibid. 11 June 1796.

[62] Michael Compton. 'William Roscoe and Early Collectors of Italian Primitives' in *The Liverpool Libraries, Museums & Arts Committee Bulletin*, Walker Art Gallery, vol.9 (1960-61), p.29.

I believe not too often'.[63] The comfort of his company is reminiscent of his friendship with Mangin, the loss of whom was one of the greatest griefs of his life. In 1803, when Smith had lost a close friend, Caldwell wrote:

> the frequent losses of those we love, is the great Evil of Life, every other misfortune in my estimation sinks before it. I experienced a severe stroke of this kind but little more than a twelvemonth since, a friendship of more than 30 yrs was then terminated, what a blank it has occasioned! Such inflexible virtue, so much good sence and information are rarely met with, there was that intimacy that in his society we might each of us be said to be thinking aloud. I am a great deal older than you, and have met with so many deprivations of this sort, that I feel a sort of insensibility creeping on, I consider myself as a spectator only of a fleeting world, & have little interest in any thing that occurs, nothing you say in these cases avails but Religion, it is the best consolation provided it be pure & benevolent, unmix'd with worldly craft, not such as we have to lament in this country that sows hatred & animosity and is the true source of all our mischiefs. You allude I suppose to a future State, the prospect of which religion holds forth, I must confess however that I do not feel the horror at the idea of non-existance that Dr. Johnson did, I can conceive a much worse circumstance, one alone with the priviledge of immortality when everything else had ceased, that in my opinion would be more shocking than any thing that could be conceived.[64]

Caldwell must have been at rather a low ebb when he described himself as a 'spectator only of a fleeting world' with 'little interest in any thing that occurs'; his continuing enthusiastic interest in botany and involvement in the other areas of his life totally belies his words. Caldwell's comments on religion in this quotation are of interest. As already mentioned, he was a Presbyterian and a member of the Strand Street Chapel, which he attended all his adult life and which he remembered in his will.[65] The congregation did not call itself Unitarian in his lifetime but, in 1863, they became the core of the newly built Unitarian church on Stephen's Green.[66] Smith was already a

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[63] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to James Smith, 19 November 1799.
[64] Lin.Soc.Lib. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to James Smith, 21 October 1803.
[65] Caldwell MSS. 'to the Trustees of the Charitable fund for the widows of the Northern Dissenters the sum of One hundred guineas .... And I desire and direct that my Annual subscription of Six Guineas to the Meeting House in Strand Street Dublin may be continued annually during the Incumbency of the Revd. Mr. Moody and no longer'.
[66] Steven ffeary-Smyrl. 'Theatres of Worship: Dissenting Meeting Houses in Dublin, 1650-1750' in

Unitarian and attended the Octagon Chapel in Norwich. The fact that he and Caldwell were both 'dissenters' would have meant that neither believed in the Trinity and so, as far as religion was concerned, would have thought along fairly similar lines. However, of the two Smith, the younger man, seemed to be the more confident in his beliefs, writing to his friend Davall 'I have taken much pains to settle my faith; and thank God, it is settled so as to make me very happy'.[67] Observing the unhappiness that it caused in Ireland religion did not make Caldwell at all happy. While Smith's beliefs allowed him to hope for life in a 'future State', Caldwell could face the prospect of 'non-existance' with equanimity, preferring it to the prospect of facing into an eternity of conscious nothingness. In spite of his comment earlier in the quotation that he had little interest in anything that occurred, the prospect of being deprived of it completely was 'more shocking than any thing that could be conceived'.

That his friendship with James and Pleasance had come about as a result of Caldwell's newfound passion for botany made it all the more special for him. Nowhere is the excitement engendered by this friendship better illustrated than in a letter he wrote to Smith in the summer of 1802:

> I am so delighted and surprised at the sudden unexpected blessing of Peace, it is always uppermost in my thoughts, your hint about going to Paris electrified me, who knows but that in such a scheme we might coincide; our enjoyments are doubled by sympathy & being shar'd with a friend, mine I am sure would be so, I never have been there, you have tried the ground before, as for me, such a crowd of things to go to see, to search for, rush into my mind, I am bewilder'd, I am fearfull if left to myself, it would end in neither seeing or hearing anything, you could keep me in order & regulate my proceedings, but I must fairly acknowledge I feel insatiable, & greedy to the last degree.[68]

We can see little here of the man who has 'little interest in anything that occurrs'! Sadly, the visit did not take place and for some years their correspondence lapsed. In February 1808, only a few months before Caldwell's death, Pleasance Smith wrote to say that 'tho' by some unfortunate & unaccountable circumstance our correspondence

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Kevin Herlihy (ed). *The Irish Dissenting Tradition, 1650-1750* (Dublin 1995), p.53.

[67] Margot Walker. *Sir James Edward Smith* (London, 1988), p.30.

[68] Lin.Soc.Lib. Andrew Caldwell to James Smith, 30 June 1802.

has diminished yet nothing like an oblivion of the past has ever intervened on our part, & that in the enumeration of our choicest & best-esteemed friends Mr. Caldwell will always have a foremost place'.[69] She continued that her husband was in Liverpool visiting Roscoe at Allerton Hall and carrying out some work in connection with the Botanic Garden there, which was 'very extensive & in great perfection',[70] and she urged that Caldwell should 'cross the ocean' at once to join them. There was nothing Caldwell would have liked better but his health was now deteriorating rapidly and he was never to cross the ocean again, dying at Shanganna Castle on 2 July 1808. He had especially cherished James and Pleasance Smith, friends he had made independently outside his own circle in connection with his interest in botany, and he remembered them in his will:

> To my Learned and Ingenious friend Doctor Smith President of the Linnean Society London I Bequeath One hundred Guineas To Mrs Smith his Lady a sum of One hundred Guineas as a small token of my regard for them and Remembrance of their civilities and attention to me

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[69] Caldwell MSS. Pleasance Smith, Surry Street [Norwich] to Andrew Caldwell, Rutland Square, 22 February 1808.
[70] Ibid.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Andrew Caldwell, collector, connoisseur and patron

According to his obituary writer, in the *Monthly Magazine* of 1 September 1808, painting was the art to which Andrew Caldwell was most devoted, and to explore the extent of that devotion will be the concern of this chapter. Three areas will be looked at: Caldwell as collector, as connoisseur and as patron.

A copy of the auction catalogue for the posthumous sale of Caldwell's collection of framed prints, drawings and paintings was found among the Caldwell papers but, even better, an annotated copy was found in Ireland's National Gallery, contained in a bound volume of sales catalogues collected by a contemporary artist and dealer George Meade (Appendix III)[1]. It is proposed to analyse the catalogue in some detail, noting which schools of painting and artists feature more than others in the collection and selecting a few works for special discussion (including those reputed to have originated in the famous Orleans Collection); the buyers are of interest and will be discussed and the similarity or otherwise of Caldwell's sale to several contemporary ones of a similar size will be noted; Caldwell's unframed prints and drawings were not included in the sale and neither were his own and other family portraits, which will be listed and illustrated where possible. App.III

Also found among the Caldwell papers was a hand written list of 188 drawings entitled *Catalogue of Drawings of Andrew Caldwell's Esq, 21st May 1818.*[2] Space does not allow discussion of this list in length but several points should be made. First of all, could this be a list of the prints and drawings which Caldwell's friend Alexander Mangin bequeathed to him? Almost certainly not, because Mangin's collection was much bigger and was contained in twenty-seven portfolios.[3] In 1818 Caldwell had been dead for ten years so one possibility could be that at some time before his death he compiled a list of his drawings which, in 1818, was copied by someone else. But if that is the case, if he had the original why did the 1818 person bother to copy it? Only Caldwell's framed paintings, prints and drawings were sold after his death. Perhaps

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[1] NGI. Bound volume of catalogues collected by George Meade.
[2] Caldwell MSS.
[3] Ibid. As mentioned by Caldwell in his will.

these 188 drawings had come into the possession of someone else who, for the first time, listed them?

By the large amount of relevant material appearing in the archive correspondence there can be no doubt that Caldwell was recognised as a respected connoisseur of some stature and this will be illustrated with many examples. In Dublin he had his own circle of like-minded friends, collectors like himself, among them Lord Charlemont, Alexander Mangin and Sackville Hamilton and, on his frequent visits to London, as well as visiting galleries and exhibitions, he had many opportunities to see the collection of his friend and patron Lord Bessborough. Other friends and relations, while on their travels, had his interests constantly in mind, with the result that he was kept as up to date with the affairs of the art world as it was possible for a man in his situation to be at that time.

Regarding his patronage, two young artists in particular were promoted by him, John Warren and Conrad Gessner and, to a lesser extent, Thomas Robinson. His efforts on their behalf will be discussed.

The sale of Caldwell's framed paintings, prints and drawings was held on 1st and 2nd March 1809 in his house, 12 Rutland Square East, and was claimed by the auctioneer Thomas Jones, of Eustace Street, 'to be the best assemblage of Original Pictures, which has been offered at Auction in this City for many years'.[4] The sale comprised 127 lots, made up of sixty-four paintings, one crayoned portrait, thirty-four drawings, two etchings and twenty-six prints. In order to facilitate an overall analysis of the catalogue, relevant information has been listed in Appendices IVa, b, c & d, as follows:

Appendix IVa - Artists in alphabetical order (their names spelt as in the catalogue);

Appendix IVb - Schools in alphabetical order;

Appendix IVc - Media (crayons, drawings, etchings, paintings and prints);

Appendix IVd – Buyers in alphabetical order.

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[4] Sales catalogue. Appendix III.

Of the sixty-four paintings thirty-three were Dutch or Flemish, seven Swiss, six Austrian, one German, three English, one Irish, three French and ten Italian. As percentages of the whole, 75% were northern, 10% Italian, 3 % English and 1% Irish and this, with its preponderance of Dutch and Flemish paintings, was a representative picture of similar contemporary sales in Dublin of that period. In their book *Ireland's Painters 1600 – 1940* Anne Crookshank and the Knight of Glin note their study of nine auctions held in Dublin between 1829 and 1839 (where the collections sold were made mainly in the eighteenth century), and the percentages are very similar to those of Caldwell's sale, namely 61% northern, 22% Italian, 9% English, 1% Spanish and 6% Irish.[5]

The artist featured most largely in Caldwell's collection was Adriaen van Ostade, with five prints, including one after him, a drawing and four paintings. George Cockburn, Caldwell's nephew, bought two of the paintings, No. 107, *A School*, and No. 109, its companion, for which he paid £7.7.1. and £7.7.10 respectively. *A School* was engraved by the dealer and amateur engraver and etcher Captain William Baillie (1723-1810, Plate 77).[6] In the centre of the print, beneath the name of the painting, is an inscription which reads 'The Original Picture is in the Collectn of Andw Caldwell Esq., Dublin', on either side of which are verses from Spenser, with the date 18 January 1786. It is not generally clear how Caldwell acquired his collection but it would seem, from four letters in the archive, that Baillie had a part to play. In June 1797, while Caldwell was in London, Baillie looked forward to meeting him at Christie's or the Orleans Gallery next door and, having enjoyed 'the Pleasure & Instruction' of his remarks, would like to show him the considerable additions he had made to his 'little collection', of which he hoped Caldwell would approve.[7] In the autumn of that year Caldwell was once more in London, staying with his brother Benjamin in Charles Street, and Baillie, hoping they would meet, suggested that Caldwell should take one of the Richmond Fulham and Barnes hackney coaches to his house in Little Chelsea, which would set

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[5] Anne Crookshank and the Knight of Glin. *Ireland's Painters 1600-1949* (New Haven & Dublin, 2002), p.58.

[6] William Baillie, Captain. *The Works of...after paintings and drawings by the greatest Masters* (London, 1801). My thanks to Nesta Butler for drawing my attention to this print. A research graduate at UCD, she is preparing a Ph.D. thesis on William Baillie.

[7] Caldwell MSS. William Baillie, 22 Lisson Green, to Andrew Caldwell, Beauford Buildings, Strand, 17 June 1797.

him down at his door for sixteen pence.[8] In a final letter to Caldwell, undated but probably written in August 1784,[9] he wrote that he had spent the evening packing books and pictures and had arranged for a carpenter to attend to the packing case. He would call on Caldwell at any hour he chose to name and would bring with him 'Two more Prints for yr Books'.[10]

No. 98, *A Dutch Wedding*, also by Ostade, was bought by John Sweetman[11] for a client named Byrne for £27.5.0.,[12] The picture would seem to have been in Caldwell's possession for some time prior to 1786 because in a letter to Cockburn on 9 January 1786, in which he commented on several paintings which Cockburn had bought in Ghent, he wrote 'The Boors in the Cottage very pretty, I suspect my large Piece of the Wedding is by the same hand'.[13] The Swiss artist Conrad Gessner featured largely in the Caldwell sale, with seven paintings in all. Caldwell was his most committed patron and he will be discussed in more detail later on in this chapter.

Paul Sandby (No. 43) was, of course, known to Caldwell since the days of those convivial Sunday morning *conversazione* in London in the 1770s. It is interesting to note that Sandby's drawing was sold to a Mr. Verschoyle for the good price of £3.10.0., much higher than others in the sale; for instance, the highest price paid for one of the five Angelica Kauffman drawings in the sale was 14s.6d (No. 21) and the lowest 8s.1d. Richard Verschoyle was married to Barbara Verschoyle (c.1749/53-1837) who was agent for the Fitzwilliam (later Pembroke) estate for nearly forty years, until 1827.

Thomas Jones's assertion, on the front page of his sales catalogue, that 'many [of the paintings] were purchased from the famous Orleans Gallery' would certainly have been of interest to serious collectors, as the arrival of the Orleans collection in

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[8] Ibid. William Baillie, Little Chelsea, to Andrew Caldwell, 22 Charles Street, Berkeley Square, 3 October 1797.

[9] Because Baillie wrote that he had that morning attended the funeral of his friend Hone at Hendon. This was presumably Nathaniel Hone (1718-1784), who died on 14 August and was buried at Hendon. Among portraits exhibited by Hone in the Royal Academy exhibition of 1796 was one of his son Camillus as 'A Piping Boy' (engraved in mezzotint by Captain Baillie).

[10] Caldwell MSS. William Baillie to Andrew Caldwell, 6 Manchester Square, 6 o'clock Friday.

[11] John, probably the son of John Sweetman senior, whose large collection was sold in 1798 when he was exiled abroad for his involvement with the 1798 rebellion. He was unable to return to Ireland until 1820.

[12] More will be said later about Byrne who bought the greatest number of pictures (seventeen) at the sale.

[13] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell to George Cockburn, St. James Coffee House, London, 9 January 1786.

London in the last decade of the eighteenth century had caused a considerable stir in the art world. The collection, formerly owned by Louis-Philippe-Joseph, duc d'Orleans (1747-1793), later known as Philippe Égalite, comprised mainly Flemish, Dutch, Italian and French paintings, and towards the end of 1792 an Englishman, Thomas Moore Slade, acting on behalf of a syndicate comprising Lord Kinnaird and Messrs. Hammersly and Morland,[14] succeeded in purchasing the Flemish and Dutch collection for 350,000 livres.[15] The sale of the Italian and French part of the collection was rather more complicated, Philip Égalite having sold it in 1791 for 750,000 livres to Edouard de Walkuers, a Brussels banker, who in turn sold it for 900,000 livres to his cousin, a Monsieur Laborde de Mereville, who built a gallery for it in Paris.[16] Forced by the Revolution to leave France in 1792, Laborde took the entire collection to England where he sold it to an English merchant banker Jeremias Harman. Acting on behalf of a syndicate composed of the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater, the 5th Earl of Carlisle, and Lord Gower (the future 2nd Marquess of Stafford and 1st Duke of Sutherland), the art dealer Michael Bryan purchased the collection from Harman for £43,500.[17]

In April 1793 the German, Dutch and Flemish paintings were exhibited in the former premises of the Royal Academy, 125 Pall Mall, which, because of the fame of the exhibition, was known thereafter as the Orleans Gallery. The conditions of sale in the exhibition catalogue stated that 'The Purchasers must permit their Pictures to hang up in their present State, during the Time of Exhibition, which will continue until the middle of June 1793'.[18] Two manuscript lists[19] in the possession of Barclays Bank, Pall Mall,[20] note, firstly, which pictures were sold, with the maximum and minimum prices at which they were on offer, and the prices they realised and, secondly, the pictures remaining unsold at the end of the exhibition, some of which were subsequently sold. The four Caldwell paintings Thomas Jones claimed formed part of the Orleans

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[14] Lord Kinnaird (d.1805), the 7th baron, married Elizabeth Ransome in 1777. She was the daughter of a partner in the banking firm of Ransome, Hammersly & Moreland, later amalgamated with Barclays. See Denys Sutton 'The Orleans Collection' in *Apollo* (May, 1984), p.359.

[15] Old French currency.

[16] Denys Sutton. 'The Orleans Collection', *Apollo* (May 1984), p.361.

[17] Jordana Pomeroy, 'The Orleans Collection; Its impact on the British art world' in *Apollo* (February, 1997), pp.26-31.

[18] Page vii of the exhibition catalogue, printed April 1793.

[19] Presumably made out by Thomas Moore Slade.

[20] Photocopies of these lists, and of other material concerning the Orleans Collection, are held in London's National Gallery, who kindly supplied the writer with copies.

collection were No. 122, *An Alpine View*, by Jacob van Ruysdaal [sic] (bought by Major Sirr for £45.10.0.), No. 125, *A Landscape*, by Breughel (bought by Ld. de Blaquiere for £79.12.6.), No. 126, *Politicians*, by D. Teniers Junior (bought by Gill, or GM, for £113.15.0.) and No. 127, *Returning from the Chace*, by Philip Wouvermans (bought by Byrne for £227.10.0., the highest price fetched in the sale). The high prices the buyers paid for these four suggest that they, at least, were convinced of their origin but we can only be fairly certain of one, the Wouwermans, which appears as No. 46 in Thomas Moore Slade's manuscript list as having been sold for £130, ten pounds more than the minimum price fixed. Born in Haarlem and considered by F. Duparc to have been 'undoubtedly the most accomplished and successful Dutch painter of equestrian scenes in the 17th century',[21] Philips Wouwermans's (1619-1668) paintings were much sought after by eighteenth and early nineteenth century collectors. Whether or not Caldwell visited the exhibition and purchased the painting directly, or subsequently bought it from a dealer, there is no way of knowing but the latter course would seem the most likely; letters in the private collection were addressed to him in Dublin in March, April and late May, 1793, and nowhere is there a mention, on this occasion, of a trip to London or a visit to the Orleans Gallery.[22]

The other three paintings claimed by Jones to have been in the Orleans gallery cannot be traced with any certainty. Only one Ruysdael is listed by Slade as sold, No.105, *View of Scheveling*, for £100, and only two are on the unsold list, both entitled *Landscape,* while nine Ruysdaels are in the 1793 Orleans sale printed catalogue. No. 241 in this catalogue, entitled *View in Switzerland* by Ruysdale [sic] could perhaps be *An Alpine View* by Ruysdale [sic], (No. 122 in Jones's Caldwell sales catalogue), for which Major Sirr paid £45.10.0. Ld de Blaquier's Breughel *Landscape* (No. 125 in the Jones catalogue) is equally hard to pin down, and nowhere except in the Jones catalogue is there a D. Teniers Junior painting entitled *Politicians* (No.126).

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[21] F. J. Duparc. 'Philips Wouwermans 1619-1668' in *Oud Holland*, vol.107 no. 3 (1993), pp.257-286. (This painter's name sometimes spelt with a final s and sometimes without).

[22] Although Caldwell did not make any purchases from the later sale of the French and Italian paintings from the Orleans collection, held, because of its size, in two venues in London (Mr. Bryan's Gallery, no. 28 Pall Mall, and the Lyceum in the Strand), which were displayed for seven months from 26 December 1798 to 31 July 1799, he is known to have looked at them. On 28 August 1799 his friend Joseph Cooper Walker, writing from his home St.Valeri in Bray, to Caldwell at his brother Admiral Benjamin Caldwell's home in Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, acknowledged Caldwell's letter to him from London of 23 July and stated that 'I envy you the sight of the Orleans Gallery. It must contain some very fine pieces'. Caldwell MSS.

Mention should be made of the two Rembrandt etchings in the Caldwell catalogue, No.37 *Descent from the Cross* and No.38 *Ecce Homo*. Jones considered these to be 'very scarce and valuable', and they certainly commanded higher prices than some of the paintings, but he omitted to mention that *Ecce Homo* was, in fact, drypoint. In his etching *Descent from the cross* Rembrandt reproduced, with variations, the painting he had done for Prince Frederik Hendrik of Orange in 1632-3, which had been influenced by Peter Paul Rubens' altarpiece in Antwerp Cathedral of 1611-14. The first plate failed (only four impressions from it are known) and so Caldwell's copy would almost certainly have been from a later version. *Ecce Homo* (which was inspired by Lucas van Leyden's large engraving of the same subject, dating from 1510) went through many states, only those from the seventh onwards signed *Rembrandt f 1655*. A connoisseur would have recognised the successive states, as each one was altered and corrected by Rembrandt as he went along – more fully worked out architecture in one, more shadows in another, size of the copper plate reduced in another, re-hatching of some areas in another, etc. Caldwell's library contained three volumes on Rembrandt including *Catalogue of the Etchings of Rembrandt*, London 1721[23] and he would almost certainly have been able to identify the state of his own etching; if not, then Mangin would. Not much more can be said without seeing the etchings, where the variations which occurred in the different versions and states of both could have been pursued.[24]

In George Meade's annotated copy of the Caldwell sales catalogue No. 124, *A Sacrifice*, the artist's name Vander Werf was changed by hand to H. Limborch, fl.1711. Limborch (1680-1758) was born in the Hague and studied under van der Werff and their works show great resemblance. The subject is an unusual one for a Dutch painter but perhaps the fact that he had studied Italian art, of which he owned a considerable selection, accounts for this. The price paid for his painting, £119.8.9. was one of the highest in the sale.

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[23] No. 1321 in the catalogue for the posthumous sale of Caldwell's books, conducted at his home, 12 Cavendish Row (Rutland Square East) by Thomas Jones on 3 May 1809 and following days.

[24] Erik Hinterding, Ger Luijten & Martin Royalton-Kisch in *Rembrandt the Printmaker* (Amsterdam, 2002) pp.132-322. Holm Bevers & Barbara Welzel Exhibition catalogue *Rembrandt: The Master & his workshop* (New Haven & London, 1991), pp.122-125.

In an article in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* Jordana Pomeroy writes, 'So great was the emphasis on name recognition, and so eager were many collectors to own old-master paintings, that the market was rife with false attributions and copies'.[25] Implausible attributions were a feature of the London art trade from the 17th century and names were used as categories as much as anything else. Frequently, totally unbelievable attributions were made and a study of the known works of recognised artists would have shown their reputed output to be far larger than their actual one. It was not so much technical merit on which a particular attribution was based, but rather its resemblance to a prototype or subject type associated with a well-known artist. This would seem to be the case in respect of No. 82 in the Caldwell catalogue, about which the writers of the Getty Provenance Index comment 'some of the attributions, such as *A Philosopher* by Andrea Orcagna – are clearly implausible'.[26] While there was always an abundance of attributions to well known artists such as Bassano, Raphael or Leonardo da Vinci, attributions to Orcagna, a much more obscure artist, were rare. Irrespective of whether or not the painting was genuinely his, the rarity of such an attribution makes it of special interest. In spite of this it would seem that on the whole Caldwell was a shrewd and knowledgeable connoisseur, less vulnerable to unscrupulous art dealers than many, which must have encouraged the buyers at his posthumous sale to feel confidence in their acquisitions.

Apart from the probable connection with the Orleans Gallery and the help of William Baillie little is known of how Caldwell acquired his painting collection, although a considerable amount was written in the correspondence relating to prints. His dear friend Alexander Mangin, who died in 1802, had bequeathed to him his large and valuable collection of prints and drawings[27] but his [Mangin's] collection of paintings was sold by Vallance the auctioneer at his Eustace Street premises on 9 May

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[25] Jordana Pomeroy, 'The Arbiters of Taste: Artists as advisors in early Nineteenth-Century England' in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol.139 (2002), p.264.

[26] Burton B. Fredericksen (ed), assisted by Julia I.Armstrong & Doris A. Mendenhall. *The Index of Paintings Sold in the British Isles during the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 2, part I, A-N, 1806-1810 (Oxford, 1990), p.53.

[27] In his will Caldwell stipulated that, on his death, this collection should not be sold at auction but should be sold privately, the proceeds being divided equally between Mangin's two nephews (sons of his deceased brother Lt. Col. Samuel Henry Mangin (d.1798) - Rev. Edward Mangin and Alexander Mangin Esqre). This sale duly took place in London in 1810, starting on 29 March and continuing for seventeen days. The sale took place at Mr. Crosby's Auction House in Mr.Carpenter's Room, Old Bond St. An annotated catalogue exists in the BMPL with all buyers and prices. I am indebted to Ms. Julia Armstrong-Totten of the Getty Provenance Index for giving me the information about this sale.

1803. This sale was arranged by Caldwell, who was his executor and who, in a letter to Edmund Malone dated 9 April 1803, recorded the difficulties he was having in compiling the sales catalogue. He wrote:

> Here I trouble you with five proofs of the Catalogue of my friend Mangin's Pictures, you know what proof sheets are & will allow for Errors, we have been driving hard to get the Work forward, but from various pretences could make no progress 'till now, there is no day fix'd for the Sale and I shall advise waiting 'till we hear from you. The Catalogue was at first drawn up by me, just naming the Pictures & Masters & no more, Messrs. Vallance & Jones, hooted & roar'd at me, but kindly offer'd to correct & amend the production, tho' they had never seen one of the pictures, I resolv'd then to try my hand and not trust entirely to them; Do you think if the United Irish (who by the by are beginning to ferment a little on the prospect of War) should drive one into Exile, Mr. Christie would take me into pay, consider it is a first attempt and by practice I may improve. The written observations are for your private use & to let you into the whole secret. Vallance intends to add some Pictures to enlarge the Catalogue, to which we have no objection.[28]

Did Caldwell buy any of Mangin's paintings for his own collection? It would seem that he did. The Caldwell sale in March 1809 included two Bloemen *Landscapes* (Nos.70 and its Companion 71), a Neer *Moonlight* (No. 86), two Brueghel *Landscapes* (No.112 and its Companion 113) and a Quadel *Animals* (No. 79), all of which descriptions correspond to entries in the Mangin catalogue.[29]

Two drawings by the Irish born artist Robert Crone (d.1779) were contained in the Caldwell sale, No. 8 *View of Tivoli* and its companion No. 9. The 1810 Mangin

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[28] Bodleian Library. MS.Eng.letters c.15, fols.113-114. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to Edmund Malone, 9 April 1803.

[29] This is useful from the provenance point of view as, included in the Mangin sale, were works owned by William Ashford, Esq., and a 'Privy Councellor who has left the Kingdom'; it has not previously been clear who owned what. Two other paintings can also be confirmed as having belonged to Mangin, *Portrait of Savanarola* by Hussey and *Presentation in the Temple* by La Vasseur. On 7 January 1803 Caldwell's friend Joseph Cooper Walker wrote to him informing him 'when it is determined to sell Mr. Mangin's Pictures…My brother has set his heart on a friar – which was, I believe, painted by Hussey. If it should be sold reasonable either by auction or private hand, he woud, I believe, buy it'. On 31 May 1803 Cooper Walker again wrote to Caldwell 'My brother [Sam Walker, a Comptroller of Tonnage in Dublin's Custom House] was much obliged by your goodness in sending him information about the portrait of Savanarola – we are happy in having been able to procure it. It is now the chief ornament of my Library – May I ask where the original from which Hussey made the copy is? It is not mentioned by Vasari'. He goes on: 'My brother is much pleased with the presentation in the Temple – Is the picture mentioned by any writer you have met with'? Caldwell MSS.

sales catalogue notes that Mangin employed a Mr. Crone in Italy to assist him in buying prints. Crone, who had studied under Robert West at the George's Lane School and was also a pupil of Robert Hunter (fl.1752-1803) and a relation of Philip Hussey (1713-1783), studied in Rome for a time under Richard Wilson (1714-1782) 'and was much employed in procuring prints for Dublin connoisseurs and collectors'.[30] It is not known whether Mangin was in any way responsible for Caldwell's acquiring these two drawings but at least it would seem clear that Crone made them during his sojourn in Rome.

As in other collections of this type, where paintings of the Dutch and Flemish schools predominated, religious subjects were in the minority in Caldwell's collection. Not only were works of the Italian and Spanish schools, where themes were mainly religious, much harder to come by at that time, but they commanded prices which only the very wealthy could afford. When it came to prints and drawings, as we shall see, the reverse applied.

Before leaving the Caldwell catalogue mention should be made of some of the buyers, listed alphabetically in Appendix IVd. As already noted, someone by the name of Byrne bought the greatest number of items, some himself and some, on his behalf, by Sweetman, totalling 17 in all. All were paintings, except for the one drawing attributed to Orcagna. To date little is known about Byrne but that his christian name was Mark is confirmed by the fact that a Mark Byrne lent Wouwermans's *Returning from the Chace* (No. 127 in the Caldwell catalogue), Jouvenet's *Finding of Moses* (No. 119 in Caldwell catalogue) and Zeeman's *Sea Piece* (No. 88 in the Caldwell catalogue) to the Royal Irish Institution, the Wouwermans in 1815 and the other two in 1818.[31] The Sweetman acting for him was probably the son of John Sweetman (1752-1826), whose collection was sold by James Valance at Eustace Street when he was exiled abroad for his involvement with the 1798 rebellion.[32]

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[30] W.G.Strickland. *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, vol 1, A-K (Dublin 1913, reprinted 1968, 1989), p.233

[31] Ann M. Stewart. *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765-192*, vol.3 (Dublin, 1990), pp. 791, 371, 801. Royal Irish Institution, Dublin 1814-1832. These were the earliest loan exhibitions held in Ireland. The stated objective of the Institution was the exhibition of Old Masters to improve native art.

[32] John Sweetman has been the subject of ongoing research by Rebecca Minch.

John Blaquiere (1732-1812), whose four purchases included the Breughel *Landscape* reputed to be from the Orleans gallery, accompanied Lord Harcourt to Ireland as his chief secretary when he took up his post as lord lieutenant in 1772 and, becoming a popular politician, was to spend most of the rest of his life in Ireland, being raised to the Irish peerage Baron de Blaquiere on 30 July 1800.[33]

John Boyd (1769-1836), with addresses at 67 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, and Ballymacool, Co. Donegal, was a Dublin barrister and Accountant-General at the Court of Chancery. His considerable collection, which included auction catalogues from 1790 to 1836, was sold in 1838 by the Dublin auctioneer James Gernon.

Alderman Cash, who bought No. 12, a bas relief by Andrea Casali, was the John Cash mentioned earlier who bought Lord Belmore's house, 34 Rutland Square, in 1805. Caldwell considered the contents of No. 34 to be 'far above his [Cash's] Rank and Manners'[34], and Mary Dawson, writing to Lady Charleville (who had owned the house before Lord Belmore), referred to him as 'Cash the Lottery man' and commented that 'most of the best Houses are now in possession of them sort of people'.[35]

As has already been mentioned George Cockburn, Caldwell's nephew, was a buyer at the sale, as was Mrs. Riall (Catherine), Caldwell's sister and Cockburn's mother-in-law.[36]

Mrs. Johnston (spelt Johnson in the Caldwell catalogue – died c.1845) was the wife of the architect Francis Johnston. The Getty Provenance Index owners database notes that the Caldwell sale is the earliest where Mrs. Johnston is recorded as a buyer. She and her husband purchased paintings from the Ludlow, Down Hill and Newburgh collections, Doctor Bernard, Bishop of Derry, Marquis of Ely, Countess of Milltown, Lord Powerscourt, Right Hon. Sackville Hamilton, Doctor Tuke, David Fitzgerald, St. George Caulfield, Thomas Potter, Mark Byrne, George Hill and Henry Harrington. Johnston's posthumous sale was held on March 24-April 15, 1845, at Littledales.[37]

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[33] DNB CD (1995)
[34] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to George Cockburn, no address, 17 January 1806.
[35] Quoted in R.Warwick Bond (ed.), *The Marlay letters, 1778-1820* (London, 1937), p.97.
[36] George Cockburn married his first cousin Eliza, Catherine Riall's daughter.
[37] Thanks to Julia Armstrong-Totten of the Getty Provenance Index for supplying this information.

Barthomomew Maziere (d.1823) was a Dublin merchant.[38]

Who was Mulvany, who bought an assortment of fourteen paintings, prints and drawings at the sale? The most likely purchaser would seem to have been one, or both, of the two Irish Mulvany brothers, John George (c.1766-1838) or Thomas James (1779-1845), both of them landscape and figure painters and both of them destined to become members of the Royal Hibernian Academy.

William Osborne bought six paintings at the Caldwell sale and on 23 February 1820 and succeeding days his own collection was sold, also by Thomas Jones, at 6 Eustace Street. Two of his Caldwell purchases were listed, No. 60, van Dyke's *Holy Family*, and No. 116, Leonardo da Vinci's *An Italian Princess.* The van Dyke, for which he had paid £40.19.0. at the Caldwell sale, was bought by Goff for only £11.0.0. and the Leonardo da Vinci, for which he had paid £46.12.9., went to Graves for £32.0.0.[39] Both these would seem to be unlikely attributions.

Mr. Sherrard, who bought a print by Adriaen van Ostade, and four drawings, one by 'Bellanger'[40] and three by the Italian Carlo Cignani, was probably Thomas Sherrard, the indomitable and hard working surveyor to the Wide Streets Commission and a man Caldwell, himself a Commissioner, would have known well for many years.

Major Henry Charles Sirr (1764-1841), who was assistant town major from 1796-8, town major from 1798-1808, and then a magistrate, and 'was concerned in almost every important capture during the troubled years from 1798 to the date of Emmet's insurrection',[41] was a passionate art collector and, by the time of his death, his paintings numbered approximately five hundred.[42]

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[38] Jean Agnew (ed). *The Drennan –McTier Letters 1802-1819, vol.iii* (Dublin, 1999), p.67, footnote 329.
[39] RIA, Auction Catalogues 1818-1827, ref. R/17/N/41. The name Boyd is written in ink on the first page of the catalogue.
[40] It has not been possible to establish the identity of this artist. Could it be Gabriel Beranger (1729-1817), landscape painter and draughtsman? Son of a French Huguenot family which had settled in Holland, he came to live in Dublin in 1750 when he was twenty-one.
[41] DNB CD (1995).
[42] Ibid.

Sir James Stronge, on whose behalf Capt. Waring bought three paintings, exhibited his *Sea Port*, by Abraham Storck, at the Irish Institution, Dublin, in 1855.[43]

Caldwell deliberately excluded his own and his family's portraits from the sale of his collection and wrote about them to his nephew Charles Andrew (Benjamin's only son, who was to inherit the Newgrange estate) in January 1808:

> Of these latter [the portraits] there are not many. My Grandfather by Jarvis (Plate 6), My Father by Bindon, very indifferent (Plate 3) and a miniature enamel of him by Z---h [this name effaced by the seal],[44] an excellent picture of my Mother by Quadal (Plate 4), one also of me by the same (Plate 2), a very good picture reckoned very like at the time, but not at all so now. It has been my fate to sit for five picture[s] and of all the shocking wastes of time & dull drudgery it is the foremost; I was tormented into this out of Charity & to serve a promising young artist, but if Vandyke or Rubens were to appear again they should not persuade me. This which I am now sitting for is a miniature, but I should have mentioned that I am at this moment undergoing Pennance.[45]

The two miniatures, the one of his father and of himself have not been traced but, true to form, in the final year of his life, we see that Caldwell was still facilitating some up and coming young artist by 'undergoing [the] Pennance' of sitting for the miniature of himself. Of the other portraits the whereabouts of only two is known, that painted by Robert Woodburn in 1793, which is owned by Dublin's National Gallery and is at present hanging in Malahide Castle (Plate 78), and Quadel's portrait of Andrew Caldwell (Plate 2). This was found recently (by the writer) to be hanging in the English home of descendants of George Cockburn, who had no idea who the sitter was or who had painted him. No mention was made anywhere in the correspondence of the attractive portrait of Caldwell as a much younger man, attributed to Joshua Reynolds (Plate 79).[46] It is an unlikely attribution and is not listed in the Mannings catalogue.[47]

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[43] Irish Institution 1854-1860. The 1855 exhibition was held at the Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts Gallery, Abbey Street, Dublin. 210 works were exhibited. Gifts for the planned National Gallery were included.

[44] No trace could be found of a miniature painter whose name began with Z and ended with h, but the most likely painter would seem to be Zincke.

[45] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to Charles Andrew Caldwell, 25 January 1808.

[46] This photocopy found in the Heinz Archive and Library, National Portrait Gallery, London.

If, indeed, Reynolds had painted it, then surely Caldwell would have mentioned his name in the letter to his nephew quoted above? In a letter to George Cockburn in 1788, Caldwell wrote that 'Stewart the Painter [Gilbert Stuart] has resolved to go directly to London the Death of poor Gainsborough leaves such a prospect open that Stewarts Head is fairly turn'd with the Expectation, I can't get a sight of him, he is always in the Country, I want to get home your Picture, I did intend to have the Madames [presumably his mother and sister Fanny] by him & perhaps my own, but I suppose he will not undertake them now.'[48] Caldwell was successful in 'getting home' Cockburn's picture (Plate 80), as well as getting Stuart to undertake one of himself (Plate 81). A comparison of this portrait with the one by Woodburn suggests that Woodburn's may well have been a copy. 80,81

Caldwell never got around to cataloguing Mangin's prints or his own painting collection. Assuming that Mangin's prints and drawings would already have been catalogued by him [Mangin], Frederick Trench wrote to Caldwell on 16 September 1802 saying: 'I know not any one into whose hands such a Collection as you have got, woud with so much Propriety have fallen. I make no doubt there is a good Catalogue, or Catalogue raissonné. I have long been of Opinion, that an Index was the Quintessence of a Book, and a Catalogue the right Hand of a Collection'.[49] Writing to Caldwell on 8 April 1803 his sister-in-law, Charlotte Caldwell, his brother Benjamin's wife, informed him that the Admiral [Benjamin] had spoken to the auctioneer Christie who recommended that a catalogue [of Mangin's prints and drawings] should be made 'as soon as ever you can – subject, etc., by who engraved, and the year; whether you keep them or sell them, as he has known great inconvenience and loss by not having one'.[50] The size of Mangin's prints and drawings collection is revealed in a letter to Caldwell from Benjamin of 25 May 1803 when he wrote that he had spoken to a Mr. Jee who said that 'his son and him would soon make a Catalogue, with only working 8

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[47] David Mannings. *Sir Joshua Reynolds: a complete catalogue of his paintings* (New Haven and London, 2000)
[48] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell to George Cockburn, 18 October 1788.
[49] Ibid. Frederick Trench, Heywood, to Andrew Caldwell, 16 September 1802.
[50] Ibid. Charlotte Caldwell, Charles St., to Andrew Caldwell, Cavendish Row, Dublin, 8 April 1803.

hours a day…completing 480 a day…and ask nothing if one fault of consequence happened in the 10,000 prints'.[51]

Moving away from Caldwell's collection, the second half of this chapter will be concerned firstly with his patronage of three young artists, Conrad Gessner, John Warren and Thomas Robinson, and secondly with the generosity of his friends and relations who, through their correspondence with him, kept him informed about the state of the art world both in England and abroad. Numbered among these were Colonel Nathaniel Heywood, George Cockburn, Frederick Trench, Edmund Malone, Peter Walsh, Dr. William Cleghorn, William Baillie, Joseph Cooper Walker and Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore.

At the time of his death Caldwell owned the seven paintings by Conrad Gessner listed in the sales catalogue and was probably his most encouraging patron. Unhappy in England, and longing to return home to Switzerland, Gessner wrote to Caldwell in August 1803: 'Nobody but you, dear Mr. Caldwell, has encouraged my talents in this country, for which I shall be thankfull as long as I live'.[52] Gessner (1764-1826), was a Swiss painter and etcher and son of Salomon Gessner (1730-1788), painter, etcher, writer and poet, with whom he first trained. He was born in Zurich and before going to England in 1796 spent some time in Dresden and Rome. He developed a talent for painting horses and battle scenes and many of the landscapes which he painted during his years in Rome (1787-1789) were bought by English tourists. Between 1796 and 1804 he divided his time between London and Scotland (where he stayed on the Scottish estate of his patron Horner Mitchell)[53] and during these years sent landscapes and horse paintings to the Royal Academy in London. At the beginning of 1804 he returned home to Zurich for good. Little is known about his time in Scotland but from his correspondence with Caldwell it became obvious that towards the end of his stay in England he was tired and despondent and desperate to return home and be reunited with his family. He wrote how his mother, 'one of the best and wisest of women whom I have not seen for 7 years past', had suffered in the war[54] when his town had been

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[51] Caldwell MSS. Benjamin Caldwell, Charles Street, to Andrew Caldwell, Cavendish Row, 25 May 1803.
[52] Ibid. Conrad Gessner, Fitzroy Square, London, to Andrew Caldwell, 23 August 1803.
[53] Jane Turner (ed). *Dictionary of Art*, vol.12 (London, 1996), p.500.
[54] The French Revolution.

bombarded and a bomb had fallen into their family home. But for the war he felt that his business would have turned out to his favour, but instead he had lost a great deal of time and money by it.[55] In the same letter he wrote that three paintings and two drawings were ready for Caldwell at Ackermans,[56] the price of the two oils being twelve guineas apiece. This price is of interest as the highest price paid in the Caldwell sale for a Gessner painting, *A Guard House*, was only £7.13.3. Although his father had died in 1788 he was still much in Gessner's mind. In this same letter he referred to a correspondence between his father and himself which had recently been published[57] and told Caldwell that he was 'working now in the soft ground on copper to be able to publish my father's studies'.[58] In December 1803 he again wrote to his patron, this time regretting that he had been obliged to sell elsewhere a battle piece which he had intended for him but that he had 'another in hands which is still better'.[59]

It must be remembered that Gessner was not writing in his native language of German and it can be gathered from his comment in his letter to Caldwell of 29 December 1803 ('your method of putting me into an easy way of writing is truly good and I shall alwais follow it')[60] that his patron endeavoured to help him in this regard. Nevertheless, he was still able to introduce a degree of humour into their correspondence. In the same letter he wrote of the 'old Count de Salis' who was fond only of painting in the 'old stile', who was 'taken in in Rome most terribly; his collection consists in Raphaels, Corregios & all the eminent masters, paid very dear for them, though I would not give him /entre nous/20 Guineas for the whole collection. He got a secret besides from some Quack to clean pictures, which unfortunately occupies him many hours in spoiling them intirely; it is remarquable that a man of so much good sence & Knowledge can have such a injurious hobbyhorse'.[61]

A letter from Gessner to Caldwell of 25 February 1804 is of great interest because it reveals as much about Caldwell's taste as his own. He wrote:

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[55] Caldwell MSS. Conrad Gessner, Fitzroy Square, London, to Andrew Caldwell, 23 August 1803.
[56] Rudolph Ackermann (1764-1834), London based fine art publisher and bookseller.
[57] S. Gessner. *Briefwechsel mit seinem Sohne* (Berne,1801)
[58] Caldwell MSS. Conrad Gessner, Fitzroy Square, London, to Andrew Caldwell, 23 August 1803.
[59] Ibid.3 December 1803.
[60] Ibid. Conrad Gessner, London, to Andrew Caldwell, 29 December 1803.
[61] Ibid.

> I am dear Sir quite of your opinion about the Stile of painting & many talentfull Artists have been spoiled in Rome by copying the Antiques, and forgetting nature instead of considering that those great masters imitated nature truly to the customs of their time and why should we not imitate what we see before us – Nobody but Raphael knew to make use of the antiques to take that noble grandeur what they are possess of & to unite that to nature which he imitated faithfully…..The first painters in London are the same persons you mentioned, Turner is wonderfull clever for effects in Skylights and in perspective of distances, Westall is great in composition and for effect, but gets into a manner of overdoing sometimes, and into a way of repetition that all his figures are alike. Opie is wonderfull sometimes in his effects but seldom graceful in his figures, Hopner, Beechy & Lawrence are certainly great in likeness painting.[62]

In spite of his interest in the two next artists to be discussed, the Irish John Warren (*fl.*1768-1777) and the English Thomas Robinson (*fl* 1770-1810), Caldwell does not appear to have owned any of their work. In March 1776 Warren, who is recorded as a portraitist in 'crayons' (i.e. pastels), and who exhibited twenty-five works at the Society of Artists in Ireland between 1769 and 1777,[63] went to Bath bearing letters of introduction from Caldwell. During the ensuing year he wrote long letters to his mentor in Dublin, whom he considered to be 'one of the Guardians of Taste and genius',[64] describing in considerable, illuminating and often gossipy, detail the artistic scene in Bath at that time. For example, he stated that Gainsborough's reasons for quitting Bath were the result of his being 'uncommonly rude & uncivil to artists…haughty to his employers, which with his proud prices caus'd him to settle in London'.[65] In *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, Vol. II, these letters have been printed in full, accompanied by an article and commentary on them by Philip McEvansoneya.[66] As McEvansoneya notes, the many allusions to Caldwell's

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[62] Ibid. Conrad Gessner, London, to Andrew Caldwell, Rutland Square, Dublin, 25 February 1804.
[63] G. Breeze. *Society of Artists in Ireland: Index of Exhibits, 1765-80*, exhibition catalogue National Gallery of Ireland (Dublin, 1985).
[64] Caldwell MSS. John Warren, Bath, to Andrew Caldwell, 23 November 1776.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Philip McEvansoneya, 'An Irish artist goes to Bath: letters from John Warren to Andrew Caldwell, 1776-1784' in *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies, vol.ii* (1999), p.147-173.

knowledge and position confirm the prestigious and powerful role he played in the promotion of the fine arts in Ireland.

Caldwell's promotion of Thomas Robinson was mainly at the instigation of his [Caldwell's] friend Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore. Robinson, who was principally a portrait painter although he painted some landscapes, including one of the Giant's Causeway, was a protégé of Bishop Percy. Robinson was born in England, at Windermere, in the Lake District, and served an apprenticeship to George Romney in London.[67] He is known to have been in Dublin in 1790 when, on 21 August, he advertised in the *Dublin Chronicle*: 'Twenty guineas full length, ten guineas half length, four guineas the head', but by 1801 had settled in Belfast.[68] There he was also involved in Percy's landscape gardening,[69] as was Caldwell who, in the last fifteen years of his life became an enthusiastic botanist. In a letter to Caldwell dated 17 June 1802 Percy wrote: 'Allow me therefore to thank you, though after too long an interval, for your kind attention to my request in the judicious advice you gave me upon the subject of our intended Agricultural Design. Robinson will, I am sure, most thankfully avail himself of your hints, & explore the sources of information to which you have directed him'.[70] A letter written to Caldwell on behalf of Bishop Percy (who was suffering with a severe eye complaint) on 13 April 1808 regretted that Caldwell had been indisposed and, in a postscript requested his help in promoting Robinson, who was shortly to move to Dublin. This read:

> To so good a Judge of Painting as Mr. Caldwell the Bishop of Dromore has great pleasure in announcing that Mr. Robinson of Windermere whose Portraits have been formerly much approved by Mr. Caldwell intends soon to settle in Dublin, and he is so much improved in his Art, that he will deserve every encouragement from persons of taste, and be found superior to any other Artist who has endeavoured to succeed the late Mr. Hamilton.[71] Mr. C may remember the excellent Picture of the Bishop of Elphins. He has lately painted the little

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[67] His son, who was educated at Trinity College and was to become Astronomer Royal for Ireland, was named Thomas Romney Robinson.
[68] Anne Crookshank and the Knight of Glin. *Ireland's Painters 1600-1940* (London & New Haven, 2002), p.174.
[69] Edward Malins & The Knight of Glin. *Lost Demesnes* (London, 1976), p.132.
[70] Caldwell MSS. Thomas Percy, Dromore House, to Andrew Caldwell, 8 November 1802.
[71] Hugh Douglas Hamilton (1739-1808).

> Group of Mr. Meade's[72] children playing round the margin of a little Bason in the Bishop's Pleasure Grounds in a very superior style indeed, and the Bishop wishes Mr. Caldwell and all his friends would endeavour to excite the expectation of the public for the arrival of Mr. Robinson, who is at present detained at Belfast to finish some Pictures there. Mr. Caldwell is not unacquainted with the merit of his son who is now the pride and admiration of Dublin University.[73]

Sadly Caldwell was not to live to promote Robinson's career in Dublin, or to know that he was to become President of the Society of Artists, Dublin, in 1809-1810, as he died on 2 July 1808, just three months after receiving this last letter from Bishop Percy.

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to Caldwell's connoisseurship and how he acquired the knowledge which merited his being left Mangin's valuable collection of 10,000 prints. He became interested in painting during his years at Glasgow University and this, together with his interest in architecture, would have burgeoned during his attendances at Paul Sandby's Sunday morning *conversazioni* in the 1770s. Like Gandon he did not make the Grand Tour but, unlike Gandon, did venture abroad just once, visiting the Netherlands in the summer of 1773. According to his obituary writer in the *Monthly Magazine* of 1 September 1808:

> His travels did not extend to Italy, and his motive for denying himself that indulgence does him great honour – it was merely from the fear of exciting the anxiety of a tender mother by so long an absence as the performance of such a journey would require. On her death [on 17 November 1792] he would gladly have gratified his anxious desire to visit Italy; but the French revolution, and its dreadful consequences rendering the Continent a scene of danger to travellers, he was induced to relinquish his idea of visiting the collections of France and of Rome.[74]

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[72] Probably Rev. Richard Meade (1768-1852). See Jean Agnew (ed), *The Drennan-McTier Letters 1794-1801*, vol.ii (Dublin, 1999), p.299, footnote 55.

[73] Caldwell MSS. Written on behalf of the Bishop of Dromore, Dromore House, to Andrew Caldwell, Rutland Square East, 13 April 1808.

[74] *Monthly Magazine* (1 September 1808), pp.193-194.

Fortunately for Caldwell not only did he have friends who had completed the Grand Tour, Lord Charlemont among them, but also relations. His uncle, Colonel Nathaniel Heywood, his mother's brother, was for over thirty years equerry to the Duke of Gloucester (1743-1805), with whom he travelled all over Italy, and his nephew and ward George Cockburn was, between 1782 and 1789, an energetic traveller visiting the Netherlands, Germany, France, Spain, Italy and Switzerland. Both kept regularly in touch with Caldwell, reporting what they had seen and heard, and both willingly carrying out 'commissions' for him. On 28 January 1776, when he was in Rome with the Duke of Gloucester, Heywood wrote to his nephew regarding the measures he had taken to execute his commissions which, he said 'will give me great satisfaction provided I can do them well and expeditiously'.[75] It must have been during this visit to Rome that Heywood despatched to Caldwell the very important early drawing of the Capitoline Hill in Rome shown in Plate 1. This drawing, which is in a private collection, has only recently come to light and Luisa Vertova published it in the *Burlington Magazine* in July 1995.[76] A previous owner of the drawing had it framed in Dublin and annotated the back of the mount: 'sent from Rome to Andrew Caldwell by his uncle Colonel Heywood 1776'.[77] (The drawing was seen by the writer just when she was beginning her research and it confirmed her conviction that Caldwell's main interest was in architecture. As this study has progressed, however, it has become obvious that she was wrong in this assumption and that other interests claimed an equal share of his attention.)

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Gleefully recounting his delight at being able to spend some time in Rome where 'it is impossible not to acquire Taste in some Degree in this place, where you cannot turn round without finding something worth examination',[78] Heywood went on to recount that they had been 'at Perenesi's where we saw nothing new nor is there anything of his Doing, that you have not seen a hundred times'.[79] He was, however, pleased to inform Caldwell that he had 'Lately Bought the only remaining collection at

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[75] Caldwell MSS. N.Heywood, Rome, to Andrew Caldwell, Cavendish Row, Dublin, 28 January 1776.
[76] L.Vertova. 'A late renaissance view of Rome' in *The Burlington Magazine* (July,1995), pp.445-451.
[77] Ibid, p.445.
[78] Caldwell MSS. N.Heywood, Rome, to Andrew Caldwell, Cavendish Row, Dublin, 28 January 1776.
[79] Ibid. N.Heywood, Rome, to Andrew Caldwell, 28 January 1776.

Rome of Mr. [Gavin] Hamilton the painter entitled *Schola Italica Picturae,*[80] they are delightful engravings of Joseph Perini, taken from Forty of the Best Pictures of the Best Masters in Italy, I have desired to get one for you, & I am promis'd if there is another impression to have the best that can be found'.[81] Heywood's comment seems to suggest that Perini was responsible for all forty engravings in the collection when, in fact, only two are by him, one being the title page. Six other engravers were involved,[82] Cunego and Volpati being the main contributors, at twenty-one and eight respectively.[83] Heywood went on to write that Mengs was at present in Spain and that 'the few things he has left here are at a very great price, & in my opinion not very Good, His best works were Sold Before he went away & indeed all that I have seen are large and fit only for Great Houses. As to the wash'd Drawings, I have not been able to see the Man,[84] but he has sent to me to come to His home next week, there are many pretty things of that kind in town, & I will endeavour to get you some at a Moderate Price'.[85] From this letter alone it can be seen that as early as the spring of 1776, only shortly after his move to George Cockburn's house in Cavendish Row, Caldwell had already begun to build up his own collection of drawings and prints. The Caldwell archive contains other letters from Nathaniel Heywood, particularly concerning the death of Caldwell's father in March 1766 and the grief he felt at the death of the Duke of Gloucester in 1805, but no more specifically concerned with the art world.

For some years Caldwell's friend, Dr. William Cleghorn, lived and worked in London,[86] which he considered to be a 'vast theatre for pleasure & information'.[87] While there he often encountered Caldwell's nephew, young George Cockburn, who was himself well on the way to becoming a connoisseur. Cleghorn wrote that 'His taste for painting is very considerable, & his judgement better than that of many, who have seen many more paintings. His understanding is excellent & am sure under your

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[80] Gavin Hamilton's *Schola Italica Picturae*, published in Rome in 1773.
[81] Caldwell MSS. N.Heywood, Rome, to Andrew Caldwell, Cavendish Row, Dublin, 28 January 1776.
[82] Dom. Cunego, Antonio Capellan, Johannes Volpati, Ang. Campanella, Camillus Tinti and Franc Lonsing.
[83] J. Irwin, in *English Neo-Classical Art* (London, 1966), p.113, ascribed all the engravings to Cunego and Volpato.
[84] Presumably this is an agent employed by Heywood to seek out works of art for him.
[85] Caldwell MSS. N.Heywood, Rome to Andrew Caldwell, Cavendish Row, Dublin, 28 January 1776.
[86] Prior to his Dublin appointment in 1803 as State Physician on the death of Dr. Robert Emmet (father of United Irishmen Robert and Thomas).
[87] Caldwell MSS. Mr. Cleghorn, 11 Haymarket to Andrew Caldwell, 3 April 1781.

direction it will be well cultivated'.[88] Cleghorn shared Caldwell's love of painting, (although he was not so knowledgeable) and kept him up to date with current London exhibitions, forwarding him annotated catalogues. The following extract from one of his long letters illustrates the effort he was prepared to go to on his friend's behalf:

> You asked me to send you over a catalogue of the exhibition[89] with my notes. I am no connoisseur, therefore my observations are the result merely of comparing paints with nature & with each other. When I compare the pictures in the present exhibition with those of Rubens, Vandyk & Claude I must own I find few which I can praise. Yet there are some which would merit admiration even in the gallery of Dresden or Dusseldorf. Sir Joshua Reynolds has furnished many excellent portraits as usual. His *Thais*[90] is admirable. The figure is noble, but the face though beautiful, is less animated than that of Thais ought to be. You will not wonder at this when I tell you that his model was the famous Emily,[91] the most beautiful, but insipid woman I ever saw. She is represented in the act of walking with her arms extended, & a torch in her left hand. His *Dido*[92] does not meet with universal approbation. I think it great; Anna is represented hanging over Dido & screeching aloud. Her mouth is therefore open, which I think is unfortunate, & what prevents that general applause the picture merits.
>
> Gainsborough has acquired great fame & most deservedly by his shepard boy.[93] It is one of the finest pictures I ever beheld, but it is difficult to say in what its merit consists. He is a ragged boy sitting on the ground looking up to the heavens with a dog at his side. His landscapes are excellent yet his tints are not natural.
>
> I have gone thro' the catalogue & marked with a cross those I think are excellent, & with a straight line the middling ones.

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[88] Ibid. Wm. Cleghorn to Andrew Caldwell, 8 May 1781.
[89] Royal Academy Exhibition, 1781.
[90] Painted in 1781. Now at Waddesdon Manor, a National Trust property near Aylesbury, Bucks.
[91] Famous courtesan, known only as 'Emily'.
[92] Royal Academy 1781. Royal collection.
[93] Destroyed in 1810.

> I cannot help mentioning the merit of Wright of Derby. His moonlights are the most fortunate I ever saw, the most solemn scene I ever beheld in painting is his *Virgils Tomb*.[94]

Later that month Cleghorn sent Caldwell a printed criticism on 'the most remarkable paintings in the exhibition'[95] which, unfortunately, was not found in the archive. However, he described for Caldwell in detail, and with some humour, Copley's *Death of Lord Chatham*, in which he considered some of the attendant Lords 'to look as stupid as if they had been listening for an hour to one of the bishops discoursing on the commutation of tythes or the profonation of the sabbath'.[96] He went on that he had seen some good pictures of Romney's, whom he thought inferior only to Sir Joshua [Reynolds] and Gainsborough, and that Jervais's[97] exhibition of stained glass had been much frequented.

Young George Cockburn also sent his uncle a copy of the 1781 Royal Academy exhibition catalogue which, in his opinion, was a very bad one.[98] 1781 was also the year when he fulfilled his ambition to become a soldier when he obtained a commission in the 1st Regiment of Guards. He informed his uncle (who at that time was still his guardian and held the purse strings of his estate, which he was not to inherit until he was twenty-five) in no uncertain terms that this was to be his lifetime career and nothing anyone could say would deflect him, although he would always heed advice from him and his great-uncle Col. Heywood (Nathaniel, the Duke of Gloucester's equerry). After a short tour of duty in Gibraltar, which lasted only three months, between August and November 1782, he planned his return to London via Leghorn,[99] Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, Turin, Geneva, Lyons, Paris, Spa (in Belgium) and Ostend,[100] landing at Dover on 30 May 1783.[101] Prior to setting off he wrote to Caldwell suggesting that 'any letters of recommendation would be of use' and assuring him that 'If you want Books,

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[94] Royal Academy 1781 with six others.
[95] Caldwell MSS. Wm.Cleghorn to Andrew Caldwell, 8 May 1781.
[96] Ibid 23 May 1781.
[97] James Jervais (d.1799). Irish glass painter. In 1777 he transferred on to glass Joshua Reynolds's designs for the great window in New College Chapel, Oxford.
[98] Caldwell MSS. George Cockburn, London, to Andrew Caldwell. 7 May 1781. It is not clear from his letter which he considered bad, the catalogue or the exhibition.
[99] Now Livorno, in Italy.
[100] NAM Cockburn papers. George Cockburn, Leghorn, to Andrew Caldwell, 23 December 1782.
[101] Ibid. George Cockburn, London, to Andrew Caldwell, 30 May 1783.

Pictures, drawings, Prints, or any thing I will do my best for you and take great care of them'.[102] Throughout this tour, the first of several which he was to undertake in his lifetime, he wrote assiduously to his uncle. By 1 January 1783 he was in Florence, where he visited the 'famous Gallery'[103] and regretted that he had not had the time it would have needed to 'examine well' its 'vast collection of Pictures & Statues, & Antiques'. He did not consider that there was anything else in Florence worth seeing![104]

From Turin, in April 1783, where he found the fortifications and the King's pictures to be the only things worth seeing, he wrote 'there are a fine set of Prints just published in Rome, from the pictures of Raphael in the Vatican, I have got them, but did not bring any for you, having no order to do so, however, if you wish to have them, I can procure them....They are cheap, about four pounds'.[105] That these prints are not listed in the 1809 Caldwell sale catalogue or the 1818 list does not necessarily mean that he did not, in fact, acquire them, as no other catalogue has been found of what was known to have been his considerable collection of prints. Caldwell's apparent lack of appreciation of his nephew's efforts on his behalf is evidenced by Cockburn's letter to him from Paris in May 1783 when he wrote, somewhat sharply, 'You tell me that I don't know what a good Impression is, but I think I must be stupid indeed, if I have not some knowledge of Prints, after the number of them, & the Pictures I have seen'.[106] This criticism from Caldwell would suggest that he [Caldwell] had a fairly high opinion of his own critical ability.

In September 1785 Cockburn was again on the continent, this time purchasing in Ghent eight pictures (for fifty-one guineas) from the cabinet of a Mr. Loridon de Ghellinck, which he had arranged to have despatched to Ireland. He was still none too sure of his uncle's approbation – 'I daresay you will think I have been taken in, however wait till you see them' – but requested that he should write to him immediately on receiving the pictures as 'I long to hear your opinion of them'.[107] Cockburn had to wait until Caldwell's letter of 9 January 1786, addressed to him in St. James Coffee

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[102] Ibid. George Cockburn, Leghorn, to Andrew Caldwell, 19 December 1782.
[103] The Uffizi.
[104] NAM Cockburn papers. George Cockburn, Florence, to Andrew Caldwell, 1 January, 1783.
[105] Ibid. George Cockburn, Turin, to Andrew Caldwell, 2 April 1783.
[106] Ibid. George Cockburn, Paris, to Andrew Caldwell, 24 May 1783.
[107] Ibid. George Cockburn, Bruxells, to Andrew Caldwell, 9 September 1785.

House, London, to hear his uncle's opinion of his purchases. The whole passage is of sufficient interest to quote in full:

> The pictures are extremely well for the money, which in the article of Tableaux was a meer nothing, they are all of a convenient size and we can easily hang them up, but at present they remain in the St. Parlour for me to look at – the Frost Piece is the best and a pretty little Picture, the next is the Table Hill & the Dutch India Man, but it is crack'd thro' in coming over, I expect it was join'd formerly, the Frost prevents its being glew'd but I shall Doctor it up soon & glew Canvas behind the crack will not be very visible, this Picture seems to have been rub'd in the Cleaning.
>
> The Van Goyen seems to have been much repainted, the De Oliegar[108] very well but he is not a very capital hand, the old Peasant probably a fine copy, for you never would have got a real Teniers for that Price. The Boors in the Cottage very pretty, I suspect my large Piece of the Wedding is by the same hand[109], the two little moonlights exceeding cheap and pretty, I never heard the name before, Smeester, & suppose he may be some modern Artist, Hunter[110] the painter lik'd them all extremely well, Mangin is too hard to please.[111]

This passage again throws light on Caldwell's confidence in his own ability; he was able to make a decision about which he considered was the best painting, could discern damage occasioned by over-cleaning and was prepared to set to, with canvas and glue,

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[108] Was unable to identify this artist.

[109] Caldwell's Ostade alluded to earlier in this chapter.

[110] Caldwell knew Robert Hunter and regretted his death. In a letter to Edmund Malone, dated 5 February 1802, he wrote: 'It is strange how soon with most people minute circumstances are forgotten, I had occasion to call the other day on old Mrs. Hunter, she is bedridden & her memory failing, Hunter is dead just 12 months, & the Grandaughter could not recollect the date or day on which he died, poor Hunter is a great loss to one, he was full of Anecdote of Painters, Engravers and other ingenious Artists that were either of this country or ever came into the Country, he knew them all, he had been long consider'd as the Senior of the Profession'. Andrew Caldwell to Edmund Malone, 5 February 1802. Bodleian Library, Oxford. Vol.MS.c.15, fols.109-110. Crookshank and Glin in *Ireland's Painters 1600-1940* (New Haven & London 2002), p.41, give Hunter's dates as 1715/20-c1803, while Strickland, in *A Dictionary of Irish Artists* (first edition Dublin & London 1913; most recent Dublin 1989), p.537, claimed that Hunter was still alive in 1803. From Caldwell's letter it seems that, in fact, Hunter died early in 1801.

[111] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to Capt. Geo.Cockburn, St. James Coffee House, London, 9 January 1786.

and 'Doctor up' the damaged Frost Piece. His uncle's opinion mattered to Cockburn and he would have been pleased and relieved that Caldwell approved of his purchases.

In the summer of 1785 Caldwell was entertained by copious letters from his friend and associate Peter Walsh, the manager of Lord Bessborough's Irish estate,[112] who had been given leave of absence to engage in a short tour of England and the Netherlands. He stopped over in Paris where he suffered agonies of indecision in procuring for Mr. Mangin the 'small Medallion Prints of the Royal Family'[113] which he had requested. He finally procured the prints, seven of them, from Mr. Basson[114] who was, he assured Caldwell, 'the greatest Print Seller in Paris, in Short the Boydell of Paris'.[115] Moving on to Brussels Walsh wrote on 19 August 1785 that a big sale of paintings was to take place the following week at Dort and he had persuaded his contact in Brussels, Mr. Bertels,[116] to secure a copy of the catalogue in French (the majority of them being in Dutch) in order that he could bring back a copy for Caldwell. It seemed that the collection comprised 701 pictures and had been owned by Johan van Der Linden van Slingelandt of Dort, and was being sold, on his death, by his nephew and heir. Mr. Bertels had also given Walsh, to take back to Caldwell, the *Histoire de la Vie de P.P.Rubens* by Michel.[117] Preceding Cockburn to Ghent, Walsh also looked at the collection of Mr. Loridon de Ghellerick[118], and informed Caldwell that the entire collection of 566 pictures was for sale including No. 158 in the descriptive catalogue, 'the Hemskercke[119] you were so anxious about'.[120] From this it would seem that it was at Caldwell's request that Walsh had visited this collection, where he once more diligently bought the catalogue for his friend, which formed 'no inconsiderable Octavo Volume – for the Descriptions are elaborate, & the Panegyrics are not dealt out with a

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[112] Caldwell was the agent.
[113] NAM Cockburn papers. Peter Walsh, Paris, to Andrew Caldwell, 10 August 1785.
[114] Pierre-Francois Basan (1723-1797), engraver, print seller and dealer. In 1767 he compiled and published his *Dictionnaire des graveurs*, a copy of which, Lot 1324, was in the sales catalogue of Andrew Caldwell's books.
[115] NAM Cockburn papers. Peter Walsh, Paris, to Andrew Caldwell, 10 August 1785.
[116] Probably known to Caldwell, who would have given Walsh a letter of recommendation to him.
[117] NAM Cockburn papers. Peter Walsh, Brussels, to Andrew Caldwell, 19 August 1785. *Histoire de la Vie de P.P.Rubens* was included in the sale of Andrew Caldwell's books by Thomas Jones on May 3, and following days, 1909, Lot No. 1314.
[118] His spelling different to Cockburn's and probably correct as he also acquired a catalogue.
[119] Probably Heemskerk. Eleven listed in Benezit's *Dictionnaire critique et documentairedes Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs* (Paris, 1976).
[120] NAM Cockburn papers. Peter Walsh, Brussels, to Andrew Caldwell, 19 August 1785.

very sparing Hand'.[121] Walsh went on to relate a story against himself which might have made Caldwell smile. He told how he had been persuaded, against his better judgement, to be one of a number of signatories to a certificate stating that a certain painting in the collection was, to the best of all their knowledge, a genuine David Teniers. His protestations that he was not a good judge of pictures and but a feeble amateur whose signature would contribute little weight to the authenticity of the picture had been completely over-ruled. The intention was to publish the certificate, together with all the signatories, to assist the sale of the picture and so, wrote Walsh, 'the name of your poor Friend, the farmer of Belline,[122] is to become familiar to the Eyes of the Diletante of Europe'.[123] Perhaps Caldwell did not, after all, smile at this. He took his connoisseurship seriously and may even have been offended that his young friend had been persuaded into such a dishonest act. Certainly Caldwell's connoisseurship was something which Walsh respected. As his tour drew to an end he wrote from Antwerp 'I will not mention how frequently I wished you to be with me since I began this little Tour – Indeed such Wishes were so often formed that they were almost numberless – They were however very selfish Wishes – for they arose from my Desire to obtain Information about various Matters – and my Inclination to have my Opinions justly formed – and my Attention properly directed so as to benefit as much as possible by all I saw'.[124]

Travelling through England, on his way back to Ireland, Walsh visited Okeover and Kedlestone. At Okeover he saw:

> the famous Holy Family…This Raphael must vie with that described so well by Mr. Henry which he saw in Spain[125]… It is in the most perfect Preservation. I studied it as long as I could…I wished to form my Eye to know what a good

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[121] Ibid.
[122] Belline was the name of Peter Walsh's house on the Bessborough estate in Co.Kilkenny.
[123] NAM Cockburn papers. Peter Walsh, Brussels, to Andrew Caldwell, 19 August 1785.
[124] Ibid. Peter Walsh, Antwerp, to Andrew Caldwell, 22 September 1785.
[125] This refers to the Irish connoisseur of Italian renaissance painting Joseph Henry who, in 1754, while travelling in Spain, saw Raphael's painting *Madonna del Pesce*, which was hanging in the Escorial. He wrote a treatise on the painting which is discussed in Joseph McDonnell's chapter entitled 'Joseph Henry of Straffan: a connoisseur of Italian renaissance painting' in Michael McCarthy (ed) *Lord Charlemont and his Circle* (Dublin, 2001), pp.77-89.

> Picture is…This Raphael has been long in his Family and lay hid behind some Wainscot during the Troubles of the last Century – as we were informed.[126]

Okeover is in Staffordshire, near Ashbourne, and the Raphael Holy Family seems to have been a tourist attraction in its own right, with travellers like Walsh (en route to the west to board his boat for home) going out of their way to see it. While Walsh had no doubts about the painting's authenticity, and probably lacked the expertise to question it, Mrs. Thrale, visiting Okeover in 1774 with Dr. Johnson, wrote in her diary of 14 July 'I saw the famous picture *supposed* to be Raphael's, for which the possessor, Mr. Okeover, has been offered £1400. It is a Holy Family, in fine preservation, and eminently excellent'.[127] It is thought to-day that the Okeover Holy Family is, in fact, a copy of Raphael's La Perla, which hangs in the Prado in Madrid.[128]

Of his visit to Kedleston Walsh wrote that 'The Park is very fine – the Oaks are equal to those of Blenheim and the House is magnificent. There are many Pictures here. Those which I remember most distinctly are Joseph interpreting the Dream by Rembrandt[129] and a very large landscape by Cuyp[130]- the Pillars in the Hall are very superb'. Walsh was obviously familiar with Joseph Henry's long treatise on the *Madonna del Pesce,* which would suggest that perhaps he was more knowledgeable about paintings than he had previously given himself credit for. His letters leave us in no doubt of his desire to please and inform his friend, whose connoisseurship he so much admired; it is as if he was striving, throughout his travels, to see things as if through Caldwell's eyes.

Caldwell's friendship with Joseph Cooper Walker was mainly concerned with their mutual passion for books but occasionally in their correspondence the subject of painting did arise. In the summer of 1799 when Caldwell was in London, staying with his brother Benjamin in Charles Street, Berkeley Square, he received a letter from Walker, written from his home St. Valeri, in Bray, in reply to one from him dated 23

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[126] NAM Cockburn papers. Peter Walsh, London, to Andrew Caldwell, 19 July 1787.
[127] *Dr.Johnson & Mrs. Thrale's Tour in North Wales 1774*, with introduction and notes by Adrian Bristow (Wrexham, Clwyd 1995), p.93.
[128] *Country Life, cxxxv* (12 March 1964), pp.568, 572.
[129] L.Harris. *Robert Adam and Kedleston* (The National Trust, 1987), p.12. Now attributed to the followers of Rembrandt.
[130] Ibid. Now in the Drawing Room and bought between 1753 & 1759 by Lord Scarsdale for 95 guineas.

July (which unfortunately has not been found). Walker wrote 'I am sorry to find that the art of Painting does not seem to live in England. I fear it is not encouraged. The Adams injured it much…I envy you the sight of the Orleans Gallery. It must contain some fine pieces. But if the combined powers do not insist on the French restoring some of the plunder (which I think they might) Paris will soon boast the finest collection in the world.'[131] It seems from this letter that Walker was responding to Caldwell's comment that 'Painting does not seem to live in England'. Whether it was Caldwell's opinion that this could be blamed on the Adam brothers, and Walker was agreeing with him, or it was Walker's own opinion, is not clear. Whichever it was, it would be interesting to know why they had formed this opinion. Maybe they felt that Robert Adam's many spectacular and innovative all embracing interior schemes,[132] and smaller schemes also, had become the fashion and had rather pushed the art of painting into the background? We can only guess.

Edmund Malone played his part in keeping his friend up to date with Royal Academy events and of the 1805 exhibition, which he thought was 'much the same as it has been for some years' wrote:

> There are about half a dozen good portraits:- an excellent one of the Marquis of Thomond, by our Countryman, Shee; Ly Elen [Elizabeth] Foster, by Laurence;[133] a good whole length of Mr. Fox by Opie; that is, a strong likeness, but the colouring indifferent, a very well painted portrait of the Duke of Grafton by Hopner, evidently in the Reynolds manner. – Two portraits of Master Betty, both whole lengths, by Opie & Northcot; that of the former much the best. – There are some excellent Pictures lately smugled from Italy, now exhibiting in Oxendon Street; undoubted originals. – Mr. Angersteen[134] is said to have given £3600 for a Claude out of this Colln, one of the most perfect ever seen.[135]

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[131] Caldwell MSS. Joseph Cooper Walker, St. Valeri, Bray, to Andrew Caldwell, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, 28 August 1799. The comment about the French refers to their plunder of art treasures during the French Revolution.

[132] Robert Adam's Library or Great Room at Kenwood and his Marble Hall at Kedleston Hall to name but two.

[133] Now in National Gallery of Ireland. Part of Hugh Lane Bequest 1918. Cat No. 788.

[134] John Julius Angerstein (1735-1823), an insurance and city magnate of Russian extraction, a keen lover of art, whose collection was bought to be the nucleus of the National Gallery, London, in 1824.

[135] Caldwell MSS. Edmund Malone, London, to Andrew Caldwell, 2 May 1805.

We learn from this that Angerstein was reputed to have bought his Claude (probably the Rebecca now in London's National Gallery) from the Oxenden Street collection and so if Malone had visited this collection (and it is not clear that he did), presumably Angerstein's Claude was no longer on show.

Caldwell did not attend the London Exhibition of 1802 but had heard all about it and penned a glowing report to his friend Bishop Percy about one particular up and coming artist – Turner [Joseph Mallord William, 1775-1851]. He wrote:

> The London Exhibition, I am told, was the best that has been for many years. A new artist has started up, one Turner; he had before exhibited stained drawings, he now paints landscapes in oil beats Loutherbourg[136] and every other artist all to nothing. A painter of my acquaintance, and a good judge, declares his pencil is magic; that it is worth every landscape painter's while to make a pilgrimage to see and study his works. Loutherbourg that he used to think of so highly, appears now mediocre.[137]

In the summer of 1806 ill health prevented Caldwell from taking his planned trip to England, where he had hoped to join Frederick Trench. He was sorely missed by his friend who wrote on 30 June 1806 'Twice have I viewed Ld Stafford's House[138] & Paintings[139] - I have scarcely Relish for any objects for half the Comfort is lost by want of remark to some one – how good!! Or how bad!! it is'.[140] Two years later, in June 1808 when, once more, Caldwell was unable to join him in London because of ill health, Trench visited Lord Stafford's gallery again and wrote to tell his friend that it was considered to be 'the most desireable Exhibition in London…open every

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[136] Philip James (1740-1812)

[137] John B.Nichols, *Illustrations of the literary history of the Eighteenth century,* vol.viii (London, 1718-1858), p.43. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to Bishop Percy, 14 June 1802.

[138] H.Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 1600-1840 (London 1995), p.957. 'London, Cleveland House, St. James's additions for 2nd Marquess of Stafford, including Doric portico, park elevation and Picture Gallery, 1803-6'. Architect Charles Heathcote Tatham.

[139] The extensive Stafford House gallery was very important, allowing, as it did, public access to the collection under certain circumstances.

[140] Caldwell MSS. Frederick Trench, 7 Manchester Square, to Andrew Caldwell, 12 Rutland Square, 7 June 1806.

Wednesday by applying the preceding week for Tickets'.[141] 'As for the [other] Exhibitions', he wrote:

> they are poor & mean in the Extreme. Among the Water [colour] drawings now in Bond Street we must except some of Glover (John, 1767-1794) – which have infinite merit. This is a schism, from the old Water Exhibition in Brookes Street, which still continues open; but (except a few of La Portes and some gothick sketches by one Smith) are truly indifferent. The Somerset House[142] is worse than can be conceived, - an old woman's Head, after (or in the style of) Rembrandt, and a Portrait double (that is the Face, and its reflection in a Glass) are the only things that pleased me, - even the Portraits are wretched. There is one small Group in the style of Teniers that has real merit, a Portrait of Mrs. Hope is not amiss but an unfortunate Bambino in her arms, appears as just born, & almost an abortion.[143]

Determined to do his best for his sick friend (who was to die only a month later) he continued 'I shall make it my business for a day to go again thro' the different Exhibitions and make notes which I did not do before; I have not time this day - & yet I would not defer sending you these Catalogues'.[144]

What conclusions can be drawn and questions asked in relation to the above account of Caldwell's activities as collector and connoisseur? His was certainly a valuable collection of paintings and, like most collections of that time, the majority were from the Dutch and Flemish schools. How he acquired his paintings is not completely clear. His friends and relations on the continent certainly carried out 'commissions' for him and perhaps he brought back at least one painting from his one and only trip abroad, to the Netherlands in 1773. Although he was often in London and could go to exhibitions and galleries (an advantage he had over many other Dublin collectors), he also employed an agent as, probably, with his purchase of the Wouwermans from the Orleans Collection. The Orleans Collection was, of course, of special interest to collectors and was widely dispersed, from the top ducal and

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[141] Ibid. Frederick Trench, London, to Andrew Caldwell, Rutland Square, 1 June 1808.
[142] Presumably the Royal Academy exhibition.
[143] Caldwell MSS. Frederick Trench, London, to Andrew Caldwell, Rutland Square, 1 June 1808.
[144] Ibid.

aristocratic buyers who were able to buy the most valuable pictures, to more modest middle class ones like Caldwell, who was the means of bringing at least one back to Ireland. William Baillie also seems to have worked assiduously on Caldwell's behalf in London. Catalogues, too, seemed to play an enormously important role in the lives of collectors. Caldwell would have acquired for himself those relating to sales and exhibitions in Dublin, and his friends, relations and agent(s) in England and on the continent kept him well supplied with catalogues from there, so that he was constantly informed of the present state of the art world and the art market.

Of his connoisseurship there can be no doubt and his good judgement and critical ability are constantly acknowledged in the correspondence. It is still not clear how he acquired this expertise. No doubt, as with his other passions, architecture and botany, it was by scholarly means - reading, looking (especially at prints, the most common way in which connoisseurs familiarised themselves with the works of well-known painters), and discussion with other learned men.

Whether or not painting was, as the writer of his obituary in the *Monthly Magazine* claimed, the art to which Caldwell was most devoted, is debateable, because he was wholehearted about all his major interests. However, it is beyond dispute that in the second half of the eighteenth century he was recognised as one who played a prestigious and powerful role in the promotion of the fine arts in Ireland.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Andrew Caldwell, the public figure

Much of Caldwell's life was spent fulfilling his public obligations and this chapter will discuss his commitment to the Paving Board, the Wide Streets Commission, the Dublin Society and the Royal Irish Academy, his appointment as a commissioner to establish the town of New Geneva in Waterford, and his time as a Member of Parliament.

Paving Board

In the case of Caldwell's role in the Paving Board and Wide Streets Commission it is proposed to concentrate as much as possible on information gleaned from their minute books, which are now in the Dublin City Library and Archive, 138 Pearse Street. Two maps will be referred to, John Rocque's map of Dublin (a detail), revised by Bernard Scale in 1773 (Plate 82), and William Wilson's 1798 plan of the city and environs of Dublin (Plate 83). 82 83

Caldwell was a Commissioner for the Paving Board for ten years from its inception in June 1774. The Board operated under successive acts of parliament, the last to be introduced during Caldwell's time in office being 23 & 24 Geo.c.57, '*An act for the more effectually paving, cleansing and lighting of the streets of the City of Dublin, and other places therein mentioned, and for making sewers, and erecting fountains and conduits in the said city for the use of the poor, and for other purposes therein mentioned*'. On his appointment Caldwell received a letter of congratulation from his father's old friend G.Wills which read: 'I am glad to hear that you have obtained as it must be by pure dint of merit so honorable an Employment as a joint Commissioner for Paving & keeping in repair our publick streets, an Employment well calculated for you, who have nothing else to do, and the Employment is honorable as if I mistake not, you serve without Fee or Reward, which is more than Lord Harcourt can say'.[1] That Caldwell had rather more to do in his life than Wills assumed is perhaps suggested by his attendance or, rather, non attendance at the Board's meetings during his ten years as a Commissioner; either that or his heart simply was not in it (see Plate 84 for a chart of Caldwell's attendances). The first meeting of the Board was held at the Navigation Board house on 6 June 1774 and among those listed members who attended 84

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[1] Caldwell MSS. G.Wills to Andrew Caldwell, July 23. (The year is omitted but must have been between 1774 and December 1776, when John Hobart, 2nd Earl of Buckinghamshire, succeeded Lord Harcourt as Lord Lieutenant).

the meeting held on the following Wednesday[2] are many who were later, like Caldwell himself, to become Wide Streets Commissioners. Each Commissioner was appointed to one of the six divisions into which the city was divided. Conveniently for Caldwell he was appointed to the Second Division, which contained his own house in Cavendish Row. Other members of the Second Division were 'Edw. Bell Swan Esq., Honble Rich.Annesley, Sir Patk. King Knt., John Godley Esq., Rob Tamble, Maj Bury, Wm Handcock Esq., Wm Deane Esqr., Wm. Colville Esqr.'[3] Of these, Swan and Colville (Caldwell's good friend, who had also been at the first full Board meeting on 8 June) were later to serve with him as Wide Streets Commissioners. Some of the experience which Caldwell gained while with the Paving Board was to serve him in good stead when he became a Wide Streets Commissioner; for instance, on 14 April 1775 he was appointed to value 'all unvalued Buildings and Grounds in the Second Division'.[4] He was also in a position to look after his own interests, as confirmed by an entry in the minutes of 2 July 1779 which reads 'Repairs in Cavendish Row. Ordered on the motion of And. Caldwell & Rt. Honble Lord Ranelagh that the Supervisor of the Second Division do repair before Mrs. Gardiner's [No.6] and Mr. Caldwell's [No.7] doors in Cavendish Street, by laying a few carts of shingles to fill the great Ruts which are at present there'.[5] Again, at a meeting on 23 May 1783, it was 'Ordered on the motion of Andrew Caldwell and John Hunt Esqrs. that the Surveyor do forthwith lay before the Corporation, an estimate of the expence of finishing the footway of Cavendish Row, & of Paving thirty feet & shingleing the remainder of the breadth of the Carriage-way of the said Street'.[6]

Little more is heard of Caldwell in the minutes, although it is probable that he worked on committees behind the scenes. There is no doubt that he was preoccupied with his other commitments, having been an enthusiastic member of the Dublin Society since 1767 and a Member of Parliament (for Knocktopher) since 1776. At a meeting in the Exhibition Room (South William Street, now the Civic Museum) on 30 January 1784 the Paving Board commissioners present (Caldwell was not among them) agreed a petition to parliament requesting further financial assistance. The minute recording this

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[2] Dublin City Archive, General minute book of the Commissioners for Paving the Streets of Dublin, vol.1, 6 June 1774-26 January 1776.
[3] This list of those in the Second Division was a loose leaf enclosed between pages 58 & 59 in vol.6 of the minute books.
[4] PB minute book, vol.1.
[5] Ibid.vol.6., 7 May 1779-28 Feb 1780, p.66.
[6] Ibid vol.10, p.289.

occasion ends: 'Ordered that the Secretary do wait upon the following Members of Parliament who have frequently attended this Board, with a Copy of the Petition, to request their Countenance thereto – Thomas Adderley, Esqr., Thomas Burgh of Athy Esqr., Lodge Morres Esqr., Andrew Caldwell Esqr., Wm. Colville Esqr., Thomas St. George Esq'.[7] Such a course of action would not have been possible two years later because in 1786 an Act was passed prohibiting members of parliament from belonging to the Paving Board.[8] Caldwell served the Paving Board until the end of April 1784 and in December that year was elected to an office which he was to enjoy for the rest of his life, that of Wide Streets Commissioner. He did not, though, forget the Paving Board and on 3 February 1786 an entry in *Irish Parliamentary Debates* reads:

> Read a second time the bill for paving, lighting and cleansing the city of Dublin. Mr. Caldwell observed that this being a bill of very great importance to every inhabitant of Dublin, and seeming to clash with the acts by which a corporation was impowered to open the avenues [reference to Wide Streets Commission], it required some time for consideration, and therefore he hoped some reasonable length of time would be allowed for its discussion.[9]

Wide Streets Commission

The history of the Wide Streets Commission is well known. Much has been written about it and, for the present purposes, it must be assumed that the reader is familiar with this work. On this occasion the story will relate solely to Andrew Caldwell who, from an early age, had had his finger on the pulse of the developing Dublin. Caldwell's maternal grandmother, Catherine Caldwell, was the youngest sister of Charles Campbell, of Newgrange, Co.Meath[10] and Capel Street, Dublin. He [Campbell] was appointed by the earl of Drogheda to be seneschal[11] of his estate in Dublin, much of which was bought, shortly after Campbell's death in 1725, by the wealthy banker Luke Gardiner, who at that time was acquiring large tracts of land, mainly on the north side of the river Liffey. Caldwell therefore grew up in a house where the names Campbell and Gardiner were on everyone's lips and, indeed, he was eventually to live in two houses on Cavendish Row built on the original Gardiner estate.

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[7] Ibid.vol.11, June 1783 – April 1784, p.164.
[8] 26.Geo.III.c 61. Clause VI, p.91.
[9] *Irish Parliamentary Debates* (Dublin, 1786), pp.71-72.
[10] Eventually to come into the ownership of the Caldwell family.
[11] Steward.

With his father based in Dublin, as agent to Lord Bessborough and solicitor to the Customs, Caldwell spent his childhood and adolescent years in Dublin, living in Henry Street. By the time he left Ireland for Glasgow University in 1751 the face of Dublin north of the Liffey had already started to change – thanks to Luke Gardiner's enlightened planning Henrietta Street and parts of Dorset Street had become magnificent residential areas, Cavendish Street had been opened along the east side of the New Gardens, and the upper end of Drogheda Street, the narrow road which intersected with Henry Street, had undergone a transformation into the splendid wide Sackville Mall (Plate 82). By the time he returned to Dublin for good, when he was called to the Irish bar in 1760, much more had happened. 82

In 1757, while Caldwell was in London studying at the Middle Temple, an act was passed 'for making a wide and convenient Way, Street, or Passage, from Essex-bridge to the Castle of Dublin',[12] the men subsequently appointed becoming known as the Wide Streets Commissioners. Surprisingly, Charles Caldwell's letters to his son during this time make no mention of this dramatic turn of events; he was far too busy exhorting him to greater and even greater attention to his studies. When Caldwell finally returned home the Commissioners' first task had been completed and the Castle could be approached in a straight line from Capel Street, over Essex Bridge and up the newly created Parliament Street. In the ensuing years Caldwell was to be very busy, gaining experience at the bar, becoming a member of the Dublin Society and a Paving Board Commissioner, being appointed guardian to his sister's orphaned son George Cockburn and moving, in 1775, to the Cockburn home in Cavendish Row, losing his father in 1776 and inheriting the Newgrange estate, becoming Member of Parliament for Knocktopher in that same year, being appointed a Commissioner for planning the town of New Geneva in 1783 and (if he was, indeed, the author of the important 'Observations on Architecture' published in the *Freeman's Journal* in the winter of 1768/69), studying architecture. This study must surely have been influenced by friends of discrimination and taste who shared his architectural interests, such men as Lord Charlemont, Sackville Hamilton, Samuel Hayes and Frederick Trench, the last two themselves amateur architects. He had also known Gandon since the 1770s when, in London, they had met at Paul Sandby's convivial Sunday morning gatherings. His experience and knowledge was recognised by the Wide Streets Commissioners and, at

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[12] 31 Geo.II, c 19.

their meeting on 19 November 1784, it was 'Ordered that an Instrument be made out appointing – Sir Thomas Blackhall and Andrew Caldwell Esq. Comm.rs in the Room of the Right Honble Wm.Brownlow and the Right Honble John Ponsonby'.[13]

There were only two major developments in Dublin (after the opening of Parliament Street) before Caldwell joined the Commissioners at the end of 1784 - the building of Cooley's Royal Exchange in Dame Street, completed in 1779, and, in 1781, the start of work on Gandon's new Custom House. The subsequent years of Caldwell's involvement between 1784 and the end of the century were to change the face of Dublin to one which we can recognise to-day. By 1798 work carried out in the city (Plate 83) 83
included the extension of Cavendish Row northwards through the barley fields to form Frederick Street and connect with Dorset Street, so providing a new more easterly main approach to the city; the completion of building on three sides of Rutland Square; the widening and continuation of Sackville Street to the river, which could now continue over Gandon's new Carlisle bridge; the making of plans for clearing and laying out two streets opposite the bridge – d'Olier Street to connect with Townsend Street, and Westmoreland Street, replacing Fleet Lane, leading to Trinity College and the Parliament House; the extension of the Parliament House on both sides (Gandon's work on the House of Lords connecting with Westmoreland Street on one side, and Parke's on the House of Commons on the other, facing onto the newly opened Foster Place), and the widening of Dame Street. Downriver Gandon's new Custom House had been completed, as had the crescent of his Beresford Place on its landward side, this being connected by Lower Abbey Street to Sackville Street to the west and by Gardiner Street to Mountjoy Square to the north. More private development was also taking place in, for instance, St.Stephen's Green, Merrion Square and Fitzwilliam Square, but these have been discussed in detail by others and will not be pursued here. Instead, using new histograms made for inclusion in this thesis, it is proposed to show the Commissioners who served with Caldwell and note how their attendances through the years compared with his, and then to allude to some of the specific references to Caldwell in the Commission's minutes.

The histograms (Plates 85 (a) to (w)) were compiled from the overall number of 85 a-w
attendances at meetings of all members of the Commission between the years 1785 and 1807, as set out in Plate 86. Plate 87 shows the number of Caldwell's attendances 86,87

[13] Dublin City Archive. WSC minute book 1784-1786, p.30.

compared with the number of meetings called, although on many occasions a quorum was not formed and the meeting did not go ahead. This plate shows that he never missed a year and only three times, in 1797, 1804 and 1807, did he attend as few as ten meetings. As Plate 86 shows, only three members, Caldwell, Frederick Trench and Thomas Burgh (a kinsman of Hayes and Foster), attended in every year from 1785 to 1807 (Caldwell having attended more than anyone else – four hundred and ninety times). There were several reasons, though, why others did not. Some died (including Samuel Hayes in 1795, Travers Hartley and William Burton Conyngham in 1796, James Hamilton, Theo.Thompson and Robert Ross, others resigned (including Caldwell's friend William Colville in 1796 on the grounds of ill-health), and others forfeited their position on account of non-attendance. In the first few years, as the histograms show, Travers Hartley and William Colville attended the most frequently. There is nothing in the minutes to suggest why this was so, but can probably be put down to the strong sense of duty they shared. Like Caldwell, they were both Presbyterians and members of Strand Street Chapel.[14] There they were ministered to by their senior pastor, the Rev.Dr. Moody[15] and also, for eight years between 1782 and 1790, by his junior colleague Dr. William Bruce (son of Samuel Bruce who had also ministered to the Wood Street (later Strand Street) congregation). The bond between this Presbyterian *clique*, Caldwell, Hartley and Colville, was strengthened by other shared interests; all three served as Members of Parliament at various times, they were all original subscribers to the Bank of Ireland, where Hartley and Colville, both respected merchants, served as Directors and Colville as Governor (from 1801-1803), and they had all been members of the Paving Board since its inception. Colville and Caldwell were also close personal friends. Among other members, Trench attended most frequently when his plans for Dame Street were taking shape, and d'Olier was much in evidence between 1798 and 1803 when plans were being made for the street which was named after him.[16] Luke Gardiner/Lord Mountjoy was a frequent attender until his untimely death in 1798, and so was William Burton Conyngham until the last three years before his death in 1796. One possible reason for Caldwell's frequent attendance could be connected to the 'Observations on Architecture' published in the

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[14] Where they are mentioned in the Strand Street Chapel minute books (now held by the Unitarian church on Stephen's Green, Dublin, to which the congregation moved in June 1863), together with Andrew Caldwell and others including his mother and aunt, George Cockburn, William Hamilton, Dr. Cleghorn and Dr.[William] Drennan.

[15] Remembered in Andrew Caldwell's will.

[16] F. G. Hall. *The Bank of Ireland 1783-1946* (Dublin & Oxford, 1959), p.486.

Freeman's Journal in the winter of 1768/69. If, indeed, he was their author, then his forecast for the future development of Westmoreland Street, Carlisle Bridge and Sackville Street would appear to confirm that he was familiar with plans made earlier by the Wide Streets Commissioners and which might, perhaps, even have been conceived by the first Luke Gardiner. This could account for his regular watchful presence to ensure that these plans did not go awry. He was certainly one of the most enthusiastic, powerful, dependable, dedicated and knowledgeable of all the Commissioners. Although a sick man, he still managed to attend seven meetings in 1808, the last, on 14 April, less than three months before his death.

It is now proposed to examine some of Caldwell's specifically named activities. In the early days of his membership plans for the widening and embellishment of Dame Street (then known as Dames Street) were under way and Frederick Trench, himself a new Commissioner, having been appointed only in January 1785,[17] was much involved with this project. Although Caldwell's name was not mentioned in this instance, Trench being his cousin by marriage and probably his most familiar friend, mention of the work in Dame Street has been included. From the entries on 25 and 28 February it becomes clear that Trench had altered the original plans and elevations submitted by Samuel Sproule,[18] the Commissioners believing that the embellishments he [Trench] had suggested (such as rustic quoins, balustrades, pedestals, vases, arms, etc.) were entirely suitable for 'so great and permanent a Work as the Building the principal Street of communication [in] this City'.[19]

On 15 February 1786 Caldwell was appointed, together with 'Lord Portarlington, Mr. Burgh, Mr. Conyngham, Mr. Trench, Mr. Gardiner and Mr. Hayes',[20] (all powerful men and two of them, Trench and Hayes, themselves amateur architects), to a committee required 'to Consult with the Speaker on the Disposition of the Ground on the West Wide of the Parliament House, & on the Distribution of the Ground on the North side of College Green, & also on the Form and Breath of Dame Street'. A year later, in March 1787, a Commons committee (the principal members of which were Samuel Hayes and Frederick Trench) was appointed to ascertain the extent of ground necessary to be opened for proposed extensions to the west of the Parliament House.[21]

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[17] WSC minute book 6.
[18] One of the several architects employed by the Commission.
[19] WSC minute book 6. 28 February 1785.
[20] Ibid.p.257. 15 February 1786.
[21] F. G. Hall. *The Architecture of the Bank of Ireland* (Dublin, 1946), p.445.

The newly opened area was named Foster Place, the east side of which was eventually occupied by Hayes's and Gandon's House of Commons portico (completed in 1792) and the west side by Lots set out by the Commissioners. A Commissioners' meeting on 14 February 1791 concerned the disposal of Lots in the College Green/Foster Place area. Maps were shown. Caldwell bid £19 for Lot No. 5 but was outbid by Mr. Joshua Manders who got it for '£21 ¾'. However, Caldwell was successful with Lot No. 6 on the Foster Place map, which contained:

In Front to Foster Place 58 Feet.6 Inches
In Rere 62 ft
From Front to Rere on the South 61ft.6 inches
On the North 53.6
Yearly rent now to be sold £65.16.3.

and which he acquired for £21 ¾ . He was also able to buy Lot on the Map No. 34 East Side Anglesea Street for £20.[22] Although working hard for no financial reward, Caldwell's purchase is just one instance of how it was possible for the Commissioners to gain financial advantage in other ways.

On 19 April 1802 Thomas Sherrard (the Commissioners' hard working surveyor) laid before the Board a letter he had received from the Bank of Ireland seeking to withdraw from the treaty they had made with the Commissioners to purchase the land on the east side of Westmoreland Street, on which they had intended to build a new bank. Their premises in St. Mary's Abbey being in so weak and ruinous a state that they had become unsafe and, needing to move as soon as possible, they had instead entered into a contract with the Government to purchase the Parliament House.[23] Caldwell was one of a committee formed to consider this matter, together with Peter la Touche (chairman), Richmond Allen and Thomas Burgh.[24] On 13 May la Touche reported from the committee that 'the Commissioners would be safe in entering into a treaty to release the Bank from their said agreement'[25] and recommended that they should do so. Caldwell would have seen John Soane's elegant designs for the proposed

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[22] WSC minute book 10. 14 February 1791. The Caldwell estate continued to receive ground rents on 3 & 4 Foster Place and 32 & 33 Anglesea Street until 1954, when they were sold by public auction and purchased by The Royal Bank of Ireland. Information from documents held in Caldwell MSS.
[23] WSC minute book 17, p.304.
[24] Ibid.p.305.
[25] Ibid.p.326. 13 May 1802.

new bank and one wonders if, perhaps, he was not a little disappointed that his building was not, after all, to grace Westmoreland Street.

At Carlisle Bridge, according to the *Life,*[26] the foundation stone was laid by John Beresford on 5 March 1791, but contemporary newspapers make it clear that the work was proceeding some years before this. In 1793 funds must have been running low because Caldwell was one of the signatories to a 'Memorial of the Commissioners to H.E.Earl of Westmorland' requesting funds to complete the work 'around' Carlisle Bridge.[27] Could the proposed naming of Westmoreland Street have been introduced as an inducement?

The 1798 map shows that by that date Sackville Street, with Luke Gardiner's original width preserved, had now been extended to the river. Clearing this area must have been an enormous task and it was one in which Caldwell was involved. On 17 September 1790 he was in the chair when it was 'Ordered that a Board be specially summoned to meet here [the Royal Exchange] at the hour of One on Monday next to take into consideration what Certificate can be granted to the proprietors of the Ground and houses between Sackville Street and the New Bridge'.[28] Three days later the Board reported that a sum of £65,935.10.1. and upwards had been awarded 'for the purchase of Ground and Houses necessary for the opening and continuation of Sackville Street to the new intended Bridge…'.[29] On 12 November 1790, Sherrard having informed the Board that there were many Memorials from the proprietors of Ground and Houses etc. between Sackville Street and the New Bridge that required particular consideration, it was 'Ordered that said Memorials be referred to a Committee to examine the same, to meet at Lord Mountjoy's and Sherrard to attend with the necessary papers'.[30] The clearing of the great jumble of houses from what had been Drogheda Street, the valuation of each by a jury appointed by the Commissioners, and the granting of compensation must have seemed daunting, combined as it subsequently was with the setting out of lots for the new shops and houses. Thomas Sherrard's efforts on behalf of the Commission seemed to hold the whole operation together and it is pleasing that they did not go unnoticed. On 26 October 1792 Caldwell presented a report from the committee appointed to examine Sherrard's accounts, in which they wrote glowingly of

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[26] *Life* (1969), p.156.
[27] WSC minute book 11, 4 February 1793.
[28] Ibid.9, p.293. 17 September 1790.
[29] Ibid. p.294. 20 September 1790.
[30] Ibid. p.318. 12 November 1790.

his achievements: 'we are happy to add to the Public satisfaction under your orders by the unremitting exertions of the said Thomas Sherrard for all of which Labour and services he has made no charge whatever in his said Accounts. Thos. Sherrard is awarded the £304.5.1. he has requested for his Surveys and Maps, plus £227.10. compensation awarded by your Committee'.[31]

The opening up of Frederick Street, the road which had been driven through the barley fields to connect with Dorset Street, was one of the major achievements of the Wide Streets Commissioners. It should be remembered that until this street was opened the main route to the city centre from the north was still along Dorset Street, down Capel Street, over Essex Bridge and up Parliament Street to Dame Street and the Castle. Caldwell and Trench, the latter who was to buy many of the Lots laid out in Frederick Street and after whom it was named,[32] would have been especially interested in this project, both being residents of Rutland Square; as well as Heywood, his country estate, Trench had a house in Palace Row, Rutland Square, next door but one to Lord Charlemont. At a meeting on 30 January 1800 the Commissioners required an 'Account of the Funds for opening a passage from Dorset Street and the great Northern Road to Rutland Square and Carlisle Bridge through the barley fields',[33] and Caldwell was appointed chairman of the committee required to examine and report back their findings. Some years later the redoubtable Sherrard had prepared a further account of the 'Barley Fields now Fredk. Street Rutland Square'[34] and the Barley Field committee ordered 'Mr. Caldwell, Mr. Trench, Mr. Allen and Mr. Norman' to report on the state of the fund.

Before concluding this section mention should be made of some of Caldwell's other activities during his years as a Wide Streets Commissioner. He was responsible on many occasions for reporting on Sherrard's accounts, and also on those presented by the Commission's Law Agents, John Brabazon Lyster and, on his death in December 1801, his successor Anthony Lyster. In February 1795 he was one of a committee of five, the other four being Mountjoy (Luke Gardiner), Wilkinson, Colville and Trench, deputed to work with Lyster to prepare a draft act revising and consolidating the several acts of parliament under which the Board derived its powers.[35] Subsequently, in August

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[31] Ibid ll, p.105. 26 October 1792.
[32] Ibid.20, pp.79 and 230 note the Lots which Trench had acquired in 1794.
[33] Ibid.16. 30 January 1800.
[34] Ibid 20, p.70. 2 May 1806.
[35] Ibid.13, p.49. 13 February 1795.

1798, he was one of seven memorialists (the others being Clare, Robt.Ross, Wm D.La Touche, Fr.Trench, Richmd.Allen, Thos.Burgh) entreating Lord Castlereagh to act on their behalf in getting their new bill, which had been approved by the late Lord Lieutenant Earl Camden, through parliament before the session terminated.[36]

From all the above it can be seen that Caldwell's input into the affairs of the Wide Street Commission was very considerable. His interest in and knowledge of architecture, his skills as a barrister, his willingness to sit on many committees, his ability to oversee juries of valuers, the trust invested in him by his fellow commissioners to deal fairly with the accounts of Thomas Sherrard and the two Lysters, and many other administrative abilities must have ensured that, on his death, he was sorely missed. His last attendance was on 14 April 1808 when, after the minutes had been read, the rest of the business was solely concerned with paving matters; for him the wheel had turned full circle. He died on 2 July 1808 and his place was taken by Alexander Worthington.

Dublin Society

At a general meeting of the Dublin Society at their house in Shaw's Court, Dame Street, on Thursday, 5 March 1767, seventy-nine members were present, Thomas le Hunte Esq. was in the Chair, and Andrew Caldwell Esq. of the City of Dublin was proposed for membership by Mr. Brice[37] and Mr. Low.[38] The following month, on Thursday, 30 April, along with twenty others, he was duly elected a member of the Society[39]. Only thirty-three years old at the time of his election he was to remain an industrious and conscientious member for the rest of his life, serving the Society at first in their Shaw's Court premises, just north of Dame Street.[40] This accommodation had already become inadequate by the time Caldwell joined and towards the end of 1767 the Society moved to its purpose built premises in Grafton Street, opposite the Provost's house. These new headquarters were built to provide the left-hand half of a matching pair, the other already existing side belonging to the Inland Navigation, which had been designed by Christopher Myers.[41] The matched pair of buildings are illustrated in the *Gentleman's*

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[36] Ibid.15, p.8. 17 August 1798.

[37] Edward Brice. Member of the Society from 1765-1773. Mary Kelleher, Unpublished *List of members of the Dublin Society 1731-1800*, Dublin 1982. Mr. Low is not included in this list. There was a Rev. Robert Law included who was a member from 1764 to 1781

[38] Printed *Proceedings* of the Dublin Society, vol.3, 1766-1767.

[39] Dublin Society MS minute book, 1766-1767.

[40] A site now occupied by the Central Bank.

[41] Maurice Craig. 'The Society's Buildings', in James Meenan & Desmond Clarke (eds), *The Royal Dublin Society 1731-1981* (Dublin, 1981), p.58.

Magazine for May 1786 (Plate 88). In August 1796 the Society was once more on the move, this time to its custom-built premises in Hawkins Street (Plate 89). Initially they employed Thomas Cooley (who died in 1784) as their architect,[42] then for a short time Thomas Sherrard, and finally Robert Parke and his successor Edward Parke (probably his son). By the time the Society moved again, to Leinster House in 1815, Caldwell had been dead for seven years. 88 89

Caldwell was a prominent member of the Dublin Society for forty years. Although he was versatile and active in many areas, his principal involvement was with the drawing and painting schools. For these he would often sit on committees appointed to 'examine the Pattern Drawings; the Drawings of Human Heads and Figures; and the Drawings of, and Answering Architecture, of Boys;'[43] or to decide which candidates' drawings should be given the Silver Medals awarded by the Society to the different Schools;[44] or to superintend the Society's Drawing Schools for one year. The drawing masters could not receive their salaries without a certificate issued by at least two of the committee, confirming that they had 'respectively attended their Duties, as prescribed in the Bye-Laws'.[45] Caldwell must indeed have been highly valued by the Society. He was prepared to turn his hand to anything; he organised exhibitions, bought books, and was even responsible for making out a schedule of the entire possessions of the Society, including books, papers, machines and furniture.[46]

Caldwell first met John Warren, the painter who went to Bath under his patronage in 1776, through the Society drawing schools and the *Proceedings* of 21 June 1770 note that he [Caldwell] was a member of the committee appointed to report on the 'several performances in Painting, Sculpture, Drawing and Modelling in Clay' exhibited in the Artists Exhibition Room in William Street. One of the premiums awarded, for £6.16.6., was to Warren for a portrait.[47] Perhaps Caldwell's special interest in Warren was connected with the fact that his father, also John Warren and an artist, had taught the young George Cockburn drawing until the time he left for his boarding school in England.[48]

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[42] Ibid. pp.58 & 59.
[43] DS *Proceedings*, 25 May 1775.
[44] One one occasion he was on the committee which awarded the second premium to Hoban, 'for Brackets, Stairs, Roofs, etc.' (DS *Proceedings* 23 November 1780). This was, of course, James Hoban, who was to go on to design the White House in Washington.
[45] Ibid.vols.15 & 16, p.39.
[46] Ibid. 26 May 1774.
[47] W.G.Strickland,. *A Dictionary of Irish Artists* (Dublin & London, 1913), vol.ii,, p.502.
[48] Andrew Caldwell's accounts relating to Master George Cockburn in Curran notebook No.14 in IAA.

Before concluding this short résumé of some of Caldwell's activities within the Dublin Society with an account of his considerable contribution towards the setting up of the Botanic Garden at Glasnevin, the opportunity will be taken to mention, briefly, the Rev. Daniel Augustus Beaufort (1739-1821), whom Caldwell introduced to the Society. Beaufort, whom he had met socially on several occasions (in the company of many of his own special friends, including Alexander Mangin, Joseph Cooper Walker, Sackville Hamilton, Thomas Percy, the Bishop of Dromore and Lord Charlemont),[49] was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, ordained by the Bishop of Salisbury, was rector of Navan, Co.Meath from 1765 to 1818 (in succession to his father) and was presented by the Right Hon. John Foster to the vicarage of Collon, Co.Louth, in 1790. He afterwards built the church at Collon, where he remained until his death in 1821.[50] Beaufort was a member of the Royal Irish Academy and, as well as his ecclesiastical duties, a cartographer. At a meeting of the Society on 28 January 1789 it was resolved, 'On the Motion of Andrew Caldwell, Esq. and Capt. Thomas Burgh, that the Society will, on this Day fortnight, proceed to consider of the Propriety of subscribing the Sum of twenty Guineas for ten Copies of a new Map of Ireland, Civil and Ecclesiastical, to be published by the Rev. Daniel Augustus Beaufort, a Member of the Royal Irish Academy'.[51] At the same meeting Caldwell and John Ladeveze proposed Beaufort to be an Honorary member of the Dublin Society. This was an honour about which Beaufort felt uncomfortable because he noted in his diary on 31 January 1789 that he had written to Caldwell stating that he apprehended a mistake respecting the word honorary because he had not wished for a pecuniary advantage.[52]

The Society's involvement in the setting up of Dublin's Botanic Garden in the last decade of the eighteenth-century heralded, for Caldwell, the beginning of an interest in botany which was to absorb him for the rest of his life. As was his wont, he threw himself wholeheartedly into his new interest, devouring books on the subject (as the many listed in the sale catalogue of his books[53] will testify), making new friends and enjoying nothing more than heading off on 'botanising' trips. One of his new friends was Dr. James Smith, first President of the Linnean Society, who we met in the last chapter.

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[49] Beaufort Diary. TCD MS 4031 (old k.6.61).
[50] DNB (Oxford 1985) CD.
[51] DS *Proceedings* vol.25, 28 January 1789, p.39.
[52] Beaufort Diary. TCD MS 4031.
[53] TCD.rr.k.82.9.

The Botanic Garden opened to the public in 1800, a decade after the idea of its creation was first mooted. Ten years before Dr. Walter Wade, a Dublin male-midwife and surgeon, a Licentiate of the College of Physicians and a lecturer in botany, had presented a petition to the Irish Parliament asking for the establishment of a 'Publick Botanical Garden in the city or its environs'. The petition was tabled on 9 February 1790 and so well was it supported in Parliament that a clause was inserted in the Dublin Society Act of 1790 granting three hundred pounds 'towards maintaining and providing a botanical garden'.[54] It is unlikely that Wade, who was not even a member of the Dublin Society at the time,[55] would have initiated such a move on his own and it is almost certain that he would have discussed it with other interested parties – John Foster, the Speaker of the House of Commons, for instance. Foster was known to cherish the idea of a public garden but, in his position as Speaker, could not have presented such a petition himself. Also, in his position as Vice-President of the Dublin Society (which he held from 1775 for fifty years) he would have considered the Society's involvement essential. Initially the plan was that the setting up of the garden should be jointly managed and funded by the College of Physicians, Trinity College and the Dublin Society and at their meeting of 8 December 1791 the Society appointed Caldwell, Sir William Gleadowe Newcomen and Patrick Bride as a Select Committee to consult with the other two institutions. Time passed and, no satisfactory agreement between the three having been reached, the decision was taken that the Dublin Society should be entirely responsible for the project. At their meeting on 2 February 1793 the Society 'resolved, on the Motion of Col. Eustace, that the following members of the Dublin Society, viz.The Rt. Hon. The Speaker of the House of Commons (John Foster), the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, Sir William Gleadowe Newcomen, Samuel Hayes, Esq., Thomas Burgh, Esq., Andrew Caldwell, Esq., and Col. Charles Eustace, be appointed a Committee to take Ground proper for a Botanic Garden'. The Foster involvement on this committee was considerable as Burgh was John Foster's brother-in-law and the Bishop, William Foster, his younger brother.

The search was now on for 'the ground proper for a botanic garden' and on 23 September 1793 Caldwell wrote to Smith that 'We have actually agreed for the House & Garden formerly belonging to Doctor Delany, it is within a short mile of Town, the

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[54] Henry F. Berry. *A History of the Royal Dublin Society* (London, 1915), p.187.

[55] Having been proposed by Sir W. G. Newcomen and Andrew Caldwell, he was elected an Honorary member of the Society at their Meeting of 3 May 1792.

Soil is excellent, the Ground well varied with high and low, a small stream running thro', it seems well adapted in every respect. I mentioned to the Speaker that I had hinted this already to you, it gave him great pleasure, and whenever we get possession and are enabled to begin the Garden, you will be principally consulted'.[56] The site in question was in Glasnevin, to the north-west of the city. However, by October 1794 the committee had reluctantly decided that, for legal reasons, this purchase could not go ahead[57] and the search began again. It did not take long for them to find an even more suitable site, sixteen acres of land adjoining Delany's site, which was leased to James Kiernan. At a meeting of the Society on 5 March 1795 the Bishop of Kilmore, speaking on behalf of the committee, reported on the suitability of the site and confirmed that the leaseholder was prepared to sell.[58] The lease was duly purchased outright and on 25 March 1795 the Dublin Society took possession of the land.[59] Work was immediately put in hand and in 1796 the Society issued a poster (Plate 90) setting out plans for the garden and requesting the assistance 'of all Persons who wish to encourage so useful an Institution, by sending in such Plants and Seeds, as their several Collections, or their Neighbourhood can furnish'. Needless to say, Caldwell was delighted and wrote to Smith 'I can now positively assure you that the Botanical Garden is determined on and actually begun here, it is propos'd to be on a most magnificent extensive scale, liberal fine schemes are in view, and when more matur'd, you will have the first communications, some of our great men have adopted the Idea, and make no difficulties as to expence, all that must be attended to is to give them a right direction'.[60] Thomas Sherrard's plan of the garden, issued to coincide with its opening in 1800 (Plate 91), and Mary Davis's key (Plate 92), confirm that the garden had, indeed, gone ahead magnificently, without a doubt no small part of its success being due to Caldwell's strenuous efforts on behalf of the Society.

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Royal Irish Academy

In 1785 a group of members of the Dublin Society decided that there was scope for a new society which, unlike the Dublin Society, would deal exclusively with scholarly matters (pure science, history, antiquities and literature). As a result of their efforts the Royal Irish Academy was founded in May 1785 and incorporated under royal patronage

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[56] Lin.Soc.Lib. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to James Smith, 13 April 1792.
[57] Ibid. 12 October 1794.
[58] DS MS minute book 5 March 1795.
[59] E. Charles Nelson & Eileen McCracken. *The Brightest Jewel*: a history of the national Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin (Kilkenny, 1987), p.36.
[60] Lin.Soc.Lib. Andrew Caldwell to James Smith, 5 April 1796.

as a society for 'promoting the study of science, polite literature and antiquities'.[61] Lord Charlemont was appointed its President.

Caldwell became a member of the Academy in 1786. He was on the Antiquities Committee seven times[62] but rarely attended the meetings. The first year was the exception, when he attended four out of the eight meetings and, on 16 April 1787, heard his friend Joseph Cooper Walker read part of his 'Essay on the Antient Dress of the Irish'. Antiquities did not hold the same attraction for him as they did for Walker[63] and his priorities lay elsewhere, in his work for the Wide Streets Commission and the Dublin Society. However, he knew many of the Academy members and Walker, a regular attender, would have kept him abreast of happenings there.

New Geneva

Early in 1783 a project, enthusiastically supported by the then Lord Lieutenant, Lord Temple, was set in motion to establish a new town in the south-east of Ireland to accommodate a group of Swiss immigrant watch-making artisans from Geneva. Almost from the beginning this ambitious project was doomed to fail and the following pages will give a brief account of its decline, from its bright beginning to its demise in 1785. The affair was dogged by misunderstanding and procrastination, arguments over funding, shabby treatment of tenants (whose land had been taken over), the reasonable and unreasonable expectations of the Genevans and, towards the end, the lethargy and lack of interest on the part of the Irish Commissioners appointed to plan and oversee the scheme.

The story of the proposed new settlement has often been told; what can be added here comes from Caldwell's correspondence with a trio of Genevans, D'Ivernois, du Roveray and Clavière, all of whom he befriended. These men are known to have been in Ireland from the beginning of 1783, negotiating with the Commissioners and preparing the ground for the arrival of their compatriots. Unhappy with the political

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[61] R.B.McDowell. 'The Main Narrative' in *The Royal Irish Academy a bicentennial history 1785-1895,* T.O.Raifeartaigh (ed) (Dublin 1985), p.10.

[62] 178708, 1790-1, 1792-3, 1794-5, 1796-7, 1798-9, 1800-1. In 1787 the committee comprised 'Rev.Will.Hamilton, Rev.Dr.Lefanu,Rev.Mr.Beaufort,Lord Bp.of Killaloe (Thomas Barnard), Andrew Caldwell Esq., Jo.Cooper Walker'. RIA *Committee Antiquities*,vol.I, 1785-1850, p.34.

[63] As evidenced by the fact that only once in his correspondence does he express interest in the famous passage grave and mound sited on what was then his father's Newgrange estate. In a letter to Lord Charlemont dated 24 February 1773 (RIA Charlemont Papers. Letter 38) he requested help in acquiring a copy of the pamphlet which Governor Pownall (1722-1805 – politician and antiquary) had written after visiting Newgrange in 1769. This pamphlet, entitled *A Description of the Sepulchral Monument at New Grange, near Drogheda, in the County of Meath in Ireland,* was read at the Society of Antiquaries in London on 21 and 28 June 1770 and, with illustrations by James Gandon, was published in *Archaeologia*, 2 (1773), pp.236-75.

situation in their own country they dreamed of, and later demanded, a degree of autonomy in their new home which was to include far greater freedom than that enjoyed by the majority of their new countrymen, but which proved unacceptable to the Irish government.

The first we hear of D'Ivernois is in a draft minute of Council[64] (undated but almost certainly written in early 1783), in which 'Mr.Sec.ty Grenville'[65] reports on:

> A memorial from the Sieur D'yvernons, citizen of Geneva, touching the situation of that republick and the disposition of a considerable body of artists in the watch manufacture to quit that city and to settle in Ireland under proper encouragement.[66]

The 'proper encouragement' was forthcoming from Temple and, the idea having been born, he pursued it with enthusiasm. An architect must be engaged to design the new town, a suitable site found, and a Commission established to prepare plans for the settlement of the Genevans in Ireland. In April 1783 Caldwell received a formal letter from Dublin Castle, written by his friend Sackville Hamilton in his role as under secretary in the civil department of the chief secretary's office, which read:

> My Lord Lieutenant satisfied of your zealous Desire to promote the Trade and Manufactures of this Country, and your general Disposition to forward Measures tending to that desireable End, has inserted your Name in a Warrant empowering you with several other Gentlemen named therein to prepare Plans for establishing the Settlement of the Genevans in Ireland; And I am commanded by His Excellency to request your Presence at the Castle on Friday next at two o'clock when His Excellency will communicate the several Particulars which will be necessary to be taken into Consideration for that Purpose. I have the Honor to be Sir, your most obedient Humble Servant S.Hamilton.[67]

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[64] Presumably the Irish privy council.
[65] The Lord Lieutenant's brother.
[66] Matthew Butler. 'New Geneva. Some correspondence relating to its foundation' in *Journal of the Waterford & South-east of Ireland Archaeological Society*, xv (1912), p.181. Fortunately the letters quoted by Butler were transcribed by him in 1912/13 from papers held in the Public Record Office, prior to the 1922 fire which destroyed most of its contents.
[67] Caldwell MSS. S.Hamilton, Dublin Castle, to Andrew Caldwell, 8 April 1783.

Other Genevan Commissioners included Henry George Quin (Secretary), the earl of Tyrone, his brother John Beresford, Cornelius Bolton, Luke Gardiner, James Cuffe, Alex Alcock, Robert Corbet and W. Blaquire.[68]

Without more ado the earl of Tyrone, later (from 1789) Marquis of Waterford, persuaded Gandon to undertake the planning of New Geneva and, happily, his plan (which is discussed by Edward McParland in his book *Gandon)*[69] is extant (Plate 93). 93
Caldwell, who was in with the Gandon clique, would have approved this appointment as would, of course, Beresford.

In February 1784 a site (at Passage, just outside Waterford) was finally agreed on (Plate 94). One of the contributing reasons for the delay had been that Lord 94
Northington, who had succeeded Lord Temple as Lord Lieutenant in June 1783, shared none of Temple's enthusiasm for the scheme. *His* successor, in February 1784, the Duke of Rutland, was equally unenthusiastic. Much later, in 1786, writing to Lord Sydney, he was to refer to 'the factious Genevois, about whom such animating expectations were formed…which terminated in delusion'.[70] However, the scheme continued to lurch along in spite of severe communication delays between the Commissioners, the government, the Genevans and the builders. On 13 March 1784 'Articles of Agreement for building the new intended town of Geneva in the County of Waterford' were signed by The Rt.Hon.James Cuffe, and the two carpenters John Donnellan and William Hendy;[71] on 18 March, following the signing of the agreement, five of the Genevan Commissioners (Luke Gardiner, Henry Alcock, Corn. Bolton, Rob.Corbet and W. Blaquire) wrote to the Rt.Hon.Mr.Thomas Orde (the chief secretary) requesting £14,180 sterling to be released to Cuffe in order that building works could begin;[72] on 26 March a memorial from the Genevans, signed by du Roveray and D'Ivernois, was received regretting the 'fatal dilatoriness of the Irish executive', reporting that, lacking accommodation or means to carry out their work, thirteen Genevans had returned home in disgust, and requesting a substantial loan (which would be managed by du Roveray and D'Ivernois) to help the remaining workers get established;[73] this loan was refused. On 2 April 1784, in parliament, a lone

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[68] All these names mentioned in *Journal of the Waterford & South-east of Ireland Archaeological Society,* xv (1912, p.181) and subsequent issues.
[69] Edward McParland. *James Gandon* (London, 1985), pp.175-6.
[70] *Rutland MSS* HMC, iii, p.355.
[71] NLI MSS 15910.
[72] *Journal of the Waterford & South-east of Ireland Archaeological Society, xvi, p.88.*
[73] Ibid. p.7.

member, Mr. Griffiths, spoke up in favour of the project, seemingly unaware of the various crises and delays. The parliamentary report reads:

> There is no part of the conduct of administration, said he, which I so highly approve, as the encouragement to the establishment of the Genevans in this country, as it will introduce a number of excellent artisans into Ireland, who will give my countrymen examples of industry, patience and oeconomy. These are virtues of a manufacturing and commercial people, and these are virtues in which the Irish in general are most deficient in. Mr. Griffith concluded with paying a very high compliment to Mr. Gardiner on the very great attention and ability he had displayed in the whole progress of this business.[74]

In spite of Gardiner's reported efforts on their behalf, on 5 May 1784, in a long letter, the Genevans reluctantly announced that, because of broken promises, lack of building progress or any kind of subsistence allowance, they had decided to return to Geneva.[75] It was now revealed that the Commissioners, who had had £50,000 vested in them, seemed to have had no voice either in spending this money, or controlling the way it was spent by others, and on 5 June 1785 they wrote to Sackville Hamilton requesting him to ask the Lord Lieutenant for an account of exactly how and where the money had been spent to date.[76] It would seem that the Commissioners might well have been as dilatory in this matter as they had been in responding to complaints from the Waterford tenants, who had given up their leases on the Newtown site and had received no settlement – when their petition reached Dublin in June 1784 so busy were the Commissioners with their own affairs that a quorum could not be got together to discuss it and, on the suggestion of Lord Tyrone, a special meeting had to be called.[77]

Meanwhile, in spite of the fact that, to all intents and purposes, plans for the Genevan settlement had been abandoned, on 14 July 1784 Cuffe reported that he had 'laid the first stone of the city of New Geneva on the previous Thursday'[78] and thereafter building on the site went ahead. A report from W. Gibson, architect, written from Passage on 8 September 1784, reads:

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[74] *The Parliamentary Register or History of the Proceedings & Debates of the House of Commons of Ireland*, iii, 14 October 1783-14 May 1784, pp.135,136.
[75] *Journal of the Waterford & South-east of Ireland Archaeological Society*, xviii, p.21.
[76] Ibid.xvii,p.165.
[77] Ibid.xviii, p.22.
[78] Ibid.

> Temple Square consisting of Thirty double Houses, is now carrying on – Half of the South side will be ready for the Roof by Monday 13 Instant.
> The joists of the upper floor is now laid on half of the North side, and it will be ready for the roof in three weeks from this date – the joists is also laying on part of the East side, half of which will be ready for the Roof by the 15 of next month.
> The Timber, the Bricks and the stones to compleat the whole are all laid in, and every part of the work going on in the very best manner and with such Expedition as will compleat the present Contract by the 1 of August next.[79]

Sadly 'expedition' was not a word which could be applied to the project as a whole and the Genevans were never to occupy the thirty two-storey and ten one-storey houses which were eventually completed. Temple's dreams of a thriving manufacturing town, with its own university, came to naught and New Geneva is remembered today only as the military barracks it became in the troubles of 1798. Ironically Cuffe, on his release from his post of director of the building of the city of New Geneva, was appointed inspector of the barrack buildings of Ireland and, in April 1787, included New Geneva in his list of barracks. The site is known today as Geneva Barracks.[80]

But what of D'Ivernois and du Roveray? And what is known about Caldwell's contribution to the whole New Geneva fiasco? No references to Caldwell, apart from his appointment as a Commissioner, could be found during the short life of the New Geneva project but, when it was all over he had a role to play in helping D'Ivernois and du Roveray, who did not return to Switzerland. He was to be a good friend to them both. In August 1784 du Roveray wrote twice to Caldwell from London, asking for his help in finding an academic job in Ireland.[81] Nothing came of this and he and his wife settled in London. From two long letters, written in perfect English in January and July 1805, it is clear that the two men had not only kept in touch but had met from time to time in London, and on one occasion that du Roveray's son, still in Switzerland, had contacted the artist Conrad Gessner on Caldwell's behalf.[82] D'Ivernois stayed in

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[79] NLI MS 15915.
[80] *Journal of the Waterford & South-east of Ireland Archaeological Society*, xviii, p.66.
[81] Caldwell MSS. J.A.du Roveray, 25 Cockspur Street, London, to Andrew Caldwell, MP, Cavendish Row, 26 & 27 August, 1784.
[82] Ibid. J.A.du Roveray, 32 Hay Market, London, to Andrew Caldwell, Rutland Square, 21 January 1805.

Ireland for many years, where he was a constant welcome visitor at Caldwell's house, but by July 1794 was living in London. Between July 1794 and June 1800 Caldwell received twenty-seven letters from him.[83] These were all written in French and concerned, among other things, the pension of £200 per annum which D'Ivernois was receiving from the Irish government, and was remitted every six months by Caldwell, presumably in recognition of the part he played in the New Geneva project. An account found recently in a private collection owned by a descendant of George Cockburn,[84] throws new light on D'Ivernois's character. Cockburn, writing towards the end of his [Cockburn's] life,[85] recalled the kindness and hospitality Caldwell and his family had offered to D'Ivernois during the twelve years he remained in Dublin after the New Geneva *débâcle*. Before finally returning to Geneva D'Ivernois spent some years in London and Cockburn recounts how he bumped into him in Coutts bank in London one day, shortly after Caldwell's death. D'Ivernois's response to the news of his supposed friend's demise was 'Oh! Poor Caldwell, is he dead, Oh! He was a terrible Democrat, a weak man, very trifling, but good natured'.[86] Cockburn also noted that 'D'Ivernois and most of the chiefs were pensioned by the poor Irish',[87] so confirming that the Genevan non-event was to remain a drain on the Irish government's resources for many years, a constant reminder of an expensive and futile experiment.

Member of Parliament

Andrew Caldwell was a member of the Irish parliament for two consecutive septennial sessions, for the pot-walloping[88] Knocktopher, with Hercules Langrishe, from 1776-1783, and Downpatrick, with Clotworthy Rowley, from 1783 to 1790 (Plate 95), on both occasions obtaining his seat through the influence of John Ponsonby. Within this

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[83] Ibid. F.D'Ivernois, London, to Andrew Caldwell, Dublin. Correspondence between July 1794 and June 1800.

[84] Cockburn MSS. *Anecdotes of some parvenus, male and female, and of other remarkable persons* by George Cockburn.

[85] He died in 1847.

[86] *Anecdotes of some parvenus...*(as note 84).

[87] Ibid.

[88] 'In the potwalloping boroughs the franchise was vested in the five-pound, and until 1793, protestant householder, who before 1782 had been resident in the borough for at least six months; after 1782 a year's residence was necessary. In addition, the householder had to swear that his house was worth £5 per annum in his own estimation…'. E.M.Johnston, *History of the Irish Parliament 1682-1800.* (Belfast 2002), vol.II, p.111.
Dictionary definition of pot-walloper: 'Potwaller: a male householder or lodger, with his own separate fireplace on which to cook, which qualified him as a voter in some English boroughs before 1832. Potwallopoing: designating a borough where the voters were predominantly potwallers; designating such a voter'. Brown, Lesley, *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles.* (Oxford 1993), vol.2.

time fell the years which came to be alluded to as 'Grattan's Parliament' and the great parliamentary events to which Caldwell was witness during these historic decades will be discussed briefly, as well as describing his own rather meagre contributions, which mainly related to Dublin affairs. In conclusion, contemporary comments on his performance as an M.P. will be noted, together with his own attitude towards politics generally.

In 1785 Caldwell voted with the opposition against the Commercial Propositions put forward by John Foster, then chancellor of the exchequer,[89] which were supported by the British government, especially the new Prime Minister William Pitt. These propositions, although they would have brought with them substantial economic concessions, involved what David Dickson has described as 'the implicit recognition of the overarching function of Westminster in external trade',[90] which the politicians preferred to forego in favour of political principle; no such baggage came with the 1793 legislation.

Except for his vote against the Commercial Propositions Caldwell did not seem to play an active part in the parliamentary build up to free trade. However, there can be little doubt that he would have been keenly interested in the celebratory sculptural decoration of Gandon's new Custom House (1781-91), with its theme of 'the flourishing maritime trade of Ireland, unencumbered by British restrictions'.[91] The sculptor Edward Smyth excelled himself, with his beautiful keystone carvings of the riverine heads, each representing an Irish river, together with the produce of its basin, and his statue of Commerce, crowning the dome and looking east towards England, while below her, on the pediment, Britannia and Hibernia embraced.

Even before the Custom House was begun Caldwell's old friend Kenrick, from his Glasgow University days, had written to him on 20 July 1780 saying 'How much have I admired the spirit of patriotism, & the noble manly speeches of your senators for many years past! These are at last crowned with some advantages – a septennial parliament & an unshackled trade - & if you persist with the same steady resolution you

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[89] E.M.Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament 1692-1800.* (Belfast, 2002), vol.II, p.360.
[90] David Dickson, *New Foundations Ireland 1660-1800,* (second edition revised and enlarged Dublin, 2000), p.174.
[91] Edward McParland. *James Gandon.* (London, 1985), p.68.

will recover all the other rights you are entitled to, by the laws of nature, reason & good policy'.[92]

Nature, reason and good policy also eventually triumphed in Ireland with full Catholic emancipation in 1829. Although, in his correspondence, especially as he got older, Caldwell would often rant against what he called 'the Popishes',[93] he did not allow his personal prejudices to blur his sense of what was right. Himself a 'dissenter' (a person of any religion other than that of the established church, the Church of Ireland), he seemed to have suffered none of the deprivations endured by his Roman Catholic countrymen.

Caldwell was one of the few dissenters in the House of Commons and his voice was rarely heard there. He is not recorded as having contributed to any of the debates concerning the repeal of Poynings's Law and the Act of Declaration, free trade or Catholic emancipation. In January 1786 he was, however, given a role to play which was entirely in keeping with his duties as a Wide Streets Commissioner. The *Commons Journals of Ireland* note that it was ordered:

> That leave be given to bring in a Bill for explaining and further amending the several Acts heretofore passed for the Improvement of the City of Dublin, by making wide and convenient passages through the same; and that Mr. Caldwell, Mr. Frederick Trench, the Rt.Hon Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Rt.Hon.Sir John Blaquiere KB do prepare and bring in the same.[94]

No time was wasted and on 27 January the new Bill, presented by Caldwell, was read for the first time[95] and, the next day, for the second,[96] when it was committed. A note in the *Hibernian Journal* of 8 February 1786 expresses appreciation of Caldwell's efforts in this regard:

> The citizens of Dublin are much indebted to that worthy member, Mr. Caldwell, for the clause he has introduced into his bill for improving this city, which gives liberty to tenants for life, who are possessed of old decayed houses, or plots of ground, to grant such leases as will induce substantial tenants to build and improve, - Houses of this description are to be met with in almost every street, to

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[92] Caldwell MSS. S.Kenrick, Bewdley, to Andrew Caldwell at Col.Heywood's, Manchester Square, London. 20 July 1780.
[93] Ibid. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to General Cockburn, Sunderland, 3 April 1807.
[94] *Commons Journals of Ireland*, vol.xii, part I, 1786-1788, p.15.
[95] Ibid. p.23.
[96] Ibid. p.24.

> the glaring deformity and injury of their neighbourhoods; and as decent people would not occupy them, they have become asylums for prostitutes, footpads, coiners, and others the most atrocious vagabonds.[97]

On 3 February 1786 Caldwell was once more on his feet, this time in regard to a proposed Bill for paving, lighting & Cleaning the City of Dublin, and his comments on this occasion were noted earlier in the section on the Paving Board. Then, on 3 April 1787, Caldwell spoke in support of Dublin Corporation. The report of the committee appointed to enquire into the causes why the act for regulating goals was not conformed to in the city of Dublin having been read, Caldwell said that:

> He thought it contained some words that cast a reflection on the corporation of the city of Dublin, which in his opinion their conduct did not merit, and the blame for not visiting the prisons did not entirely lie with them for the commissioners of police were directed by the police-act to visit and inspect the gaols, and make a report thereof to the lord Lieutenant.[98]

Whatever other direct involvement Caldwell may have had in parliamentary affairs during his fourteen years as a member must have been minor as no record of them could be found. Contemporary reporters on members of parliament concentrated more on his personality and status than his contributions: 'Caldwell, Andrew, B.Knocktopher. Receiver to Lord Bessborough – devoted to Mr. Ponsonby – a Barrister worth £1000 of an Estate. A Man of Taste. No business – A quiet respectable man';[99] 'Caldwell, Andrew – Brought into Parliament by the influence of Mr. Ponsonby for the Borough of Downpatrick – goes with him – a respectable gentleman';[100] 'Of his conduct in parliament, it is only known to the writer of this article, that he uniformly voted with the opposition, and rarely spoke'.[101]

From what has been touched on in this background to some of the events occurring during Caldwell's years as a member of parliament, it would seem that his career there was unremarkable, showing no evidence of the commitment, enthusiasm and dedication he gave to other areas of his life. He was not re-elected in 1790 and may

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[97] *Hibernian Journal*, 8 February 1786.
[98] *Commons Journals of Ireland,* vol.vii, 1787, p.453.
[99] Gilbert Library MS 94/2/5E, p.229.
[100] E.M.Johnston, 'Members of the Irish Parliament, 1784 -7' in *Proceedings of the RIA,*,vol.71, section C, no. 5 (Dublin, 1971), p.173.
[101] Caldwell's Obituary, *Monthly Magazine*, No.175, 1 September 1808 [2 of Vol.26].

well have been glad of the extra time he then had to devote to the Wide Street Streets Commission, the Dublin Society, and his many private interests. After the Act of Union in 1800 his interest in politics waned even more. His brother Ben, writing to him in 1803, acknowledged that he [Caldwell] would rather receive a catalogue of an exhibition than an account of the English political scene, because 'Your ideas are too refined for politics, or public business',[102] and in a letter to his friend the Bishop of Dromore in April 1808, just three months before his death, Caldwell wrote 'Political pamphlets are in plenty, but I have no patience for such dull reading, and look on them all as trash'.[103] In view of Caldwell's known architectural interests, and of the probability that he was the author of the famous *Freeman's Journal* 'Observations on Architecture', could it be that his interest in the actual parliament building was greater than the events which occurred inside it?

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[102] Caldwell MSS. Ben Caldwell, Charles Square, London, to Andrew Caldwell, Cavendish Row, 25 May, 1803.

[103] John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century* vol.viii (London, 1817-1858), p.68. Andrew Caldwell to Bishop Percy, 6 April 1808.

CHAPTER NINE

Andrew Caldwell and the 'Observations on Architecture'

The foundation stone for Thomas Cooley's Royal Exchange was laid by the Lord Lieutenant George Townshend, 4th Viscount Townshend, on 2 August 1769, and with it the building of Dublin's first Neo-Classical public building got under way. The architectural competition for its design had first been announced in the previous summer (in the *Freeman's Journal* for 26-30 July 1768) and the closing date finally fixed on for all entries was 1 January 1769. Their display in the Exhibition Room of the Society of Artists in William Street in early January generated great excitement in the general public:

> All the World is now writing and speaking about Architecture and Exchanges, Things that until very lately we had no more Idea about, than of what is doing behind the Clouds.[1]

With the death of Richard Castle in 1751 confidence had diminished in the ability of architects resident in Ireland, all still rooted in Palladianism, to produce up to date designs of the very highest quality. As Edward McParland notes in his article on the Royal Exchange Competition, it was the opinion of Incertus, writing in the *Freeman's Journal* (13-16 August 1768), that 'The necessity of resorting to England for designs is too obvious to be insisted on'.[2] William Chambers, Lord Charlemont's architect, whose beautiful Casino at Marino was now completed and there for all to see, must surely come to mind here. In fact, there were thirty-three English entrants for the competition, as compared with twenty from Ireland, but Chambers, in spite of Lord Charlemont's urging, was not among them. As is well known, the first premium went to Thomas Cooley, the second to James Gandon and the third to Thomas Sandby.

While the competition was taking place, and the entries being received and displayed, an anonymous writer, 'L…', contributed a series of 'essays' to the *Freeman's Journal,* which were published between 27 December 1768 and 7 February 1769. Understanding that appreciation of architecture required an educated eye, his declared aim was not only to 'amuse' people by opening their eyes to its beauty, but to

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[1] *Freeman's Journal*. 14-18 February 1769.
[2] Edward McParland, 'James Gandon and the Royal Exchange Competition, 1768-69' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol.2, part 1 (1972), p.58.

develop in them a critical ability which would help them to form independent judgements when viewing the submitted plans for the Royal Exchange. He proposed to do this by a detailed 'Examination' of two of Dublin's 'principal Edifices', the Parliament House and the west front of Trinity College. This, after his introductory essay, he proceeded to do, concluding with essays devoted to a discussion of what he considered to be more suitable sites.

In eighteenth-century Dublin there was a dearth of published architectural theory and criticism and these 'Observations on architecture' were of significant importance. Not only had nothing like them appeared before but the writer's rigorously held Neo-Classical principles, which become obvious as the essays progress, were far in advance of any expressed by the resident architects of his day. It also seems to be obvious, from his discussions of the Sublime and the Beautiful in architecture, relating to Italian as well as Irish buildings, that 'L' was familiar with Burke and Alberti and had travelled abroad, perhaps to do the Grand Tour.

The identity of 'L' has never been firmly established but the writer of Andrew Caldwell's obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of August 1808 stated unequivocally that he 'had studied architecture with particular attention' and, equally unequivocally, that *about* [my italics] the year 1770 he had 'published anonymously some very judicious Observations on the public Buildings of Dublin, and on some edifices which were at that time in contemplation, and about to be erected in that city, at the expence of the State'.[3] On the other hand, the far better informed writer of his obituary in the *Monthly Magazine* of 1 September 1808 only lightly alludes to architecture by mentioning that 'Dublin has obligations to his [Caldwell's] taste as a commissioner of wide streets' while stating unequivocally that '*painting* [my italics] was the art to which he was most devoted'. Unlike the first writer, the second knew that Caldwell had been educated at Glasgow University, that he had not made the Grand Tour, that he was 'passionately fond of music', that he had been a Member of Parliament, of the Dublin Society and the Royal Irish Academy, that he was a patron and 'encourager' of the arts and had his own collection of prints and drawings, and that his great friend Alexander Mangin 'had bequeathed to him an inestimable collection of prints, by all the great

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[3] Surely this refers to the 'Observations on Architecture' which appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* between 27 December 1768 and 7 February 1769, at the time of the Royal Exchange Competition. No other such Observations have been found.

masters, to the forming of which he had devoted above thirty years of his life'. Either the second writer had known Caldwell personally or had done more meticulous research, but surely the *Freeman's Journal* 'Observations' were worthy of a mention by him if Caldwell's association with them was generally accepted? Perhaps the second writer was just being cautious? Both writers referred to what seems to have been the only piece of published work to which Caldwell had appended his name, '*An Account of the extraordinary Escape of ATHENIAN STEWART, from being put to death by some Turks, in whose Company he happened to be travelling'*, which the *Monthly Magazine* writer considered to be the only 'effusion of his pen' known '*with certainty'* [my italics] to have been written by him. The only other near contemporary reference which attributed the anonymous 'Observations' to Caldwell was published by John Nichols in his *Illustrations of the Literary History of the 18th Century,*[4] in a piece entitled 'Memoir of Andrew Caldwell, Esq.'; the passage concerning the 'Observations' is an almost word for word transcription of the *Gentleman's Magazine* obituary. Coming into the present time, McParland, writing in his book *James Gandon*, affirms his belief that Caldwell 'was *probably* [my italics] the author of the important 'Observations on architecture' published in the *Freeman's Journal* during the Royal Exchange Competition'[5]. Unless and until a positive attribution surfaces there is no way of proving definitely whether McParland is right or wrong but in the following pages it is proposed to search for clues which might support or, indeed, negate his belief. The search will begin with a brief *résumé* of the contents of the 'Observations' in which some of the main points singled out by the anonymous writer for approval or censure will be noted, and following this an attempt will be made to explore whether any of these could suggest Caldwell's authorship. Next, a comparison of style and content will be carried out between the 'Observations' and other published material either known to have been written by Caldwell ('*An Account of the extraordinary Escape of Athenian Stewart*') or thought possibly to have been by him (other 'Observations', written at the time of the conversion of the Parliament House into the Bank of Ireland in 1803). Finally, the results of the investigation will be summarised and the question asked

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[4] John Nichols. *Illustrations of the Literary History of the 18th Century*, vol.viii (London, 1817-1858), pp.24 ,25.

[5] Edward McParland. *James Gandon* (London, 1985), p.41.

whether, as a result, we are a step nearer to believing that Caldwell cannot, at least, be ruled out as the anonymous writer of the 'Observations'.

In the *Freeman's Journal* of 20 - 24 December 1768 the Trustees of the Exchange Competition had declared that they would be 'obliged to all Persons of Taste, for their sentiments respecting the Merits of the several Plans', but when he wrote the first of his essays 'L' had not yet seen the plans, which were first shown to the public in the Exhibition Room of the Society of Artists in William Street in early January, 1769. His effort was prodigious. Altogether a series of five essays written by him were published in eight editions of the *Freeman's Journal* between 27 December 1768 and 7 February 1769, comprising in all over 20,000 words. The first part to be published explained why he considered the essays to be timely and called for, the second and third offered a detailed *critique* of the Parliament House in Dublin, the fourth a less detailed *critique* of the west front of Trinity College, the fifth considered lost architectural opportunies in Dublin and possible future developments, the sixth considered in some detail the difficulties which would be encountered if the building of the Royal Exchange went ahead on the planned site beside Dublin Castle, the seventh questioned the propriety of that site and the last offered suggestions for erecting the building somewhere entirely different.

In the first introductory essay (27 – 31 December 1768) 'L' is at pains to point out that his 'Remarks, whatever they may be, are extracted from a Variety of Authors'. His tone is didactic. Aware as he is of how little the general public knows about architecture he feels duty-bound to endeavour to enlighten them, in order to sharpen their critical ability when they are considering the proposed plans for the new Royal Exchange. He proposes to teach them to look critically, and 'to become nice in their Taste, and difficult in being pleased'. He introduces the idea of the intense and varied emotions which can be aroused by different styles of architecture and stresses the importance of 'the most rigorous Submission to Rules' in its design. He is appalled by what we would to-day call 'jerry building', which was taking place at that time, particularly in London and Bath, where insufficiently skilled people produced work 'which to the negligent Observer will carry a tolerable Appearance, and yet in Reality be extremely faulty and superficial', and considers that to directly copy any specially designed and unique piece of architecture, be it bridge, house, church or spire, is a form of theft.

In his first two long essays (in the editions of 31 December 1768 – 3 January 1769, and 7 – 10 January 1769) 'L' uses the Parliament House in College Green as a teaching tool, to exemplify the 'Principles' contained in his opening remarks, namely that

> On determining the Merits of any Building, the following Conditions must be insisted on. That in its *Plan* it be *compact* and *regular*, that a perceptible natural *Gradation* be carried on from the *principal* through all the *inferior* Divisions, that the *Distribution* of its Apartments be easy and convenient, That all its Parts be so essentially *connected* as to form one compleat entire Design, that nothing could be *superadded* without seeming crowded and Foreign, that nothing could be *separated* without leaving the whole *visibly* Lame and imperfect.

He finds much to displease him in the plan of the House of Commons (Plate 96). He considers its vestibule and the Court of Requests to be so designed as to have 'no other *Connection* than that of meer *Contiguity*' and deplores the irregularity in the arrangement of doors and windows in the adjoining offices. Although he considers that the gradual increase of size in the progression from the Vestibule, through the Conference Room to the House of Lords is 'pleasing and well contrived', he regrets the 'hardly *discernible*' entrances to the House of Lords. Of the general plan he concludes that 'the Ideas of *Compactness, Regularity*, and *Subordination* cannot be applied in that Structure called the Parliament House; it is nothing more than a *Cluster* of Buildings crowded together in such tolerable Order as seemed most convenient, and the whole *masked* and *concealed* by a great *Portico* in Front'.

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Considering the decoration of the interior, there is much that he regrets. The Court of Requests does not please him at all; he considers it badly lit and the disposition of the 'Rustic and its Cornice' such as to improperly suggest the division of the room into two stories. But at last he expresses pleasure as the House of Commons bursts upon him, and comments that 'the *Surprise* occasioned by this *Artifice* [the dark arch leading to the chamber] on going into the Body of the House, is very agreeable'. He approves of the functional nature of the octagonal chamber although regrets what he accepts as the necessity of installing sash windows. He likes the way the Ionic columns which surround the gallery stand on the floor and not on pedestals and although he considers that the twinning of the columns in the angles of the octagon is necessary, he cannot

pretend that they 'appear beautiful or even tolerable'. He is, however, appalled that the intercolumniations are not equal, so breaking what he considers to be an inflexible rule.

When discussing the lighting of the gallery running behind the columns he is once more able to be enthusiastic, commenting that 'there is no Disposition… throughout the whole Edifice, in which more *Art*, more *Taste* and more *Discernment* has been discovered'. Although he considers the windows to be 'of a very *strange* species', being of several different shapes, the way that the architect has played down the surrounding areas, providing no architraves to the windows or enrichments to the walls, ensures that the eye of the spectator is not drawn to the 'Deformities', which escape notice.

Having mused on how beautiful a circular opening would have looked in the dome of the chamber, like that of the *Pantheon,* only glazed, perhaps with sheets of coloured glass to cast rainbows of light into the vault below, he goes on to object to the fact that the columns were painted one colour, 'the common *Oil Colour*' and the entablature another, 'in what is called *Stucco White*'. This he considers to be unnatural because 'It should be the first Care, the principal Study of Architects in all Ornaments, and in all Compositions whatever, strictly to *follow Nature*. According to this Rule, the *Column* and its *Entablature*, should always be of the *same Materials*'. These remarks lead him on to describe for his readers the origin of the Orders.

In his third article (7 – 10 January 1769) 'L' goes on to give an exceedingly long exposition on the House of Lords chamber. He considers its proportions (breadth and height to the length) to be admirable and, in consideration of many of his readers' unfamiliarity with architectural terms, describes the ceiling not as a barrel vault but as resembling 'the Lid of a Chest'. Always concerned with light, he appreciates the adequate amount which the 'Egyptian' windows set into each end of the vault provide. When it comes to discussing the Corinthian cornice surrounding the room he takes exception to the fact that it is incorrectly represented, with the dentils, oves and leaves and beads all in confusion, very different, he points out, to those to be seen in the *Marino,*[6] 'where they are executed with the nicest Attention'. His irritation with the minutiae of the incorrect cornice is as nothing when compared to the strength of his feeling when noting that the arch leading to the apse of the House of Lords rises so high

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[6] William Chambers's Casino Marino, in progress for Lord Charlemont from the late 1750's.

that it has been necessary to break the entablature (Plate 97); this, in his opinion, is 'one of the most unpardonable, one of the most intolerably *licentious* Practises in Architecture'. Equally to be deprecated is the fact that not only do the tapestries on the long walls of the saloon reach up to the edge of the architrave, but with their variety of colour and ornamentation, they make an 'improper ground' for the richness of the Corinthian capitals, which would be far better set off by a plain background. Still concerned with what he considers to be 'licentious' practise, the author is appalled at the way the entablature in the House of Lords is recessed in the intervals between the columns (Plate 97), giving the appearance of each pillar carrying a heavy block. He notes that 'this *Absurdity*' is common practice all over Europe and can even be seen in the otherwise beautiful Banqueting Hall,[7] and that if only architects would remember to follow nature such errors would not occur. What would a common labourer think, he asks, of a person who would choose to cut into pieces a beam laid across a range of props?

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'L' thinks that the original idea of corridors (or galleries as he calls them) surrounding the Commons chamber, to comprise vaulted arches lit by circular *louvres*, was a noble one, but considers their actual execution to be mean, with narrow galleries, low arches with clumsily executed ornamentation and, instead of the circular *louvres*, little '*Turrets*', resembling '*Rows of Cucumber Glasses*'. How much better it could have been, he writes, with generous *Pantheon* like *louvres*, and the gallery embellished with niches, statues, and wall panels to 'inspire the Mind with noble Sentiments'.

Even when it comes to discussing the front of the Parliament House 'L' is not wholly satisfied. He acknowledges that the portico is 'the most superb Part' of the building and admires its proportions, but regrets that 'that wretched *Gothic* invention, *A Coat of Arms*' occupies the main pediment. He does, however, defend the fact that the flanking wings of the portico support a pediment 'with an *Arch* and *Pillars* both at once' (Plate 98), something which 'the *Ingenious* in *France*' would disapprove of. In his opinion this would be too rigid an observance of propriety in this instance, but such departures from the '*primitive Destination*' of columns should only be undertaken with caution.

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[7] Whitehall, London. Inigo Jones, 1619-22.

Staying with columns, 'L' regrets the heavy appearance of the portico's Ionic volutes and the fact that the *Conge*[8] of each column shaft has been carved from a separate piece of stone, unlike 'the beautiful Columns of *Marino* (Plate 99) where the Conge is really Part of the Shaft and every Person will perceive the Difference'. He goes on to enumerate what he considers to be other portico improprieties concerning the wrong number of *'faces'* on the architrave, the swelled frieze, the unhappy effect of the ceilings, and the principal door, 'which is nothing more than a plain opening' not only being set within an arch, but that arch breaking the cornice. In all he considers the front to be very displeasing and to betray 'Poverty of Invention', but accepts that the fact that the dome cannot be seen except from a distance is acceptable and part of the architect's plan; he considers it 'too small and inconsiderable to stand behind a Portico of such Extent'. 99

Having expounded, for his readers' benefit, the nature of a portico, 'L' then stresses the importance of using materials of the right colour to achieve the effect of what he says 'in the *Language of Painters* is called *Clear Obscure*'. Finally, he draws his readers' attention to the 'immense Range of Vaults' running under the building, and considers that 'there is scarcely any Thing in the whole Pile that more justly claims our Admiration than its subterraneous Parts'.

'L's concluding remarks soften what has gone before. He explains that the faults to which he has drawn attention are common 'not only throughout these *Kingdoms* but throughout *Europe*' and that while he has used the building to serve his purpose, in fact he finds that the '*Chambers* of the two Houses of Lords and Commons are extremely pleasing and magnificent' and that 'the *Portico* is the most superb that I know of in these Kingdoms'. Finally, he pays tribute to

> the two architects, 'one a *Gentleman* of Rank and liberal Education, [who] seems to have possessed a *classic* and polished Taste… The other a *Foreigner* of great Experience and Skill in building, but [who] does not appear to have possessed much Elegance of Fancy. In several of his Works his skill strongly resembles *Sr. John Vanbrugh's;* in others he seems to have had some *Glimpse* of the *Antique and the Italian.* He was a Person of great *Integrity*, a Proof of which

[8] Curved section at each end of column shaft.

is, the Parliament House, the Walls of which are built with the greatest Care and Solidity…

Although in general points made in this resume will not be discussed until it is completed, a small digression is called for here to discuss 'L's comment on the Parliament House architects. Of course he was referring to Edward Lovett Pearce and Richard Castle. Although there is now no doubt in scholars' minds that Pearce designed the Parliament House, with Castle as his assistant, the *Freeman's Journal* comments might at first seem perplexing. Pearce must certainly be the '*Gentleman* of Rank and Liberal Education' and Castle the '*foreigner* of great Experience and Skill in building'. Pearce had family connections with Vanbrugh, (several of whose drawings came into his possession), and aspects of his work (like, for instance, the corridors of the Parliament House), may be thought to reflect that connection. However, 'L's comments suggest that it was *Castle's* work which reflected Vanburgh's influence to a greater extent. McParland considers this to be the 'natural interpretation' of the *Freeman's Journal* remarks and sets out in some detail, in his book *Public Architecture in Ireland 1680 – 1760*, a case based on this 'slender, but suggestive' evidence.[9] Further mention of Pearce and Castle will be made later in this chapter, when discussing 'Observations' made in 1803 regarding the conversion of the Parliament House to a bank.

In his fourth essay, published in the *Freeman's Journal* of 14 January - 17 January 1769, 'L' discusses the west front of Trinity College (Plate 100), although in less detail than the Houses of Parliament. He finds little to please him. The treatment of its four stories is such that it is impossible to emphasise or subordinate any particular one. He cites Pope Innocent the Twelfth's palace in Rome, the *Curia Innocenziana*,[10] also with four stories, but where the façade is managed in a consistent and regular manner. While accepting that the pediment surmounting the main entrance, which is supported by four Corinthian columns, is well proportioned, he laments that these columns instead of standing on an even basement are 'hoisted up' on pedestals which, in their turn, 'are mounted up with Plinths piled on Plinths'. The great gate, the arch of which springs

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[9] Edward McParland. *Public Architecture in Ireland 1680-1760* (New Haven & London,2001), pp.196, 197.

[10] Palazzo Ludovisi, now Palazzo di Montecitorio. Designed by Bernini, in 1650 for Pope Innocent X; completed 1694 by Carlo Fontana for Pope Innocent XII.

from the cornice of the pedestals and breaks into the second story, shrinks back between the pedestals 'as if it were terrified at such huge Masses of stone'. The fenestration 'L' considers to be risible, the great centre window cutting through two stories and flanked by three windows on either side, all of different shapes, so making it impossible to 'read' the layout of the interior from the exterior, and to make matters worse, and wholly inconsistent with propriety, a flight of stairs is carried across the Windows. He deplores the fact that the attic windows are squashed so close to the pediment that 'the Eye in passing over from one *rich* Capital to another finds no *Relief*, it is disturbed and interrupted by something quite unexpected, the Architrave and Aperture of a Window'. He is no more pleased with the pavilions enclosing the main front, which he considers have little relevance to the rest of the building and where, once more, the levels of the stories are broken and altered.

All in all this building gives him little pleasure and he considers it to be 'nothing more than a vast Upright, *perforated* all over with a *Profusion* of windows', entirely unsuitable 'to the Dignity of a great Seminary, from which the Public expected Taste and Improvement'. Instead of a 'learned Imitation of the *antique Grecian Academia*, which, in this Instance, would have bestowed such a *beautiful characteristic Propriety*', he considers the whole Design to be 'in the most common, vulgar Stile'.

In his fifth essay, 17 – 21 January 1769, 'L' first hopes that his suggestions will have been 'productive of Advantage to the Publick, if they meet with Approbation from the *spirited Directors* of the new Exchange, for whom alone they are *intended*'. Suspending with relief 'the severe talk of *Criticism*' he goes on to build '*Castles in the Air*' and to daydream how, with better planning and foresight, the city could have been made more beautiful. Then, with remarkable foresight on his own part, he outlines a series of developments which could be brought about as a result of 'the strong Tendency that the City discovers to enlarge itself *Eastward*'.

His sixth and seventh essays, 21 – 24 January and 28 – 31 January 1769, are concerned with the proposed new Exchange and he discusses at length its appearance, siting and situation under the headings of 'Beauty, Security and Propriety' and in his final essay, 4 – 7 February 1769, he recommends other sites around the city which he considers would be more suitable for the Exchange. For the purposes of the following

discussion only one of these proposed sites will be mentioned, that of the Custom House.[11] 'L' writes 'The extreme Inconvenience that arises from the Smallness of the Custom House Yard, and from being surrounded by the most crowded thoroughfares in the Town has as I have heard reported, (but which I don't pretend to say from any Authority) determined their Honours at the [Revenue] Board to look out for another Situation'.

With the *résumé* of the 'Observations' now completed, our discussion will begin with 'L's comment in his introductory essay (27 – 31 December 1768) that his 'Remarks, whatever they may be, are extracted from a Variety of Authors'. Christine Casey, in her Ph.D. study, *A bibliographical approach to Irish eighteenth-century architecture*,[12] notes that the holders of the most comprehensive architectural libraries in the mid-eighteenth century were Samuel Card and his contemporary John Putland. Of the late eighteenth-century collectors Lord Charlemont's library was the most extensive and was closely mirrored in style and content by those of William Burton Conyngham and Thomas Wogan Browne. Caldwell's collection was also considerable, containing more than twenty books of architectural interest.[13] Of the collections mentioned Caldwell would have had easy access to two. Samuel and Sarah Card were close and dear friends of the Caldwell family and their neighbours in Henry Street. However, Card died in 1755, when his collection was sold. As we know, Caldwell became one of the main custodians of Charlemont's library. Charlemont's name is among the list of subscribers to the first edition (1759) of William Chambers's *Treatise on Civil Architecture*; he bought six copies - more than anyone else. Caldwell had a 1759 copy of the *Treatise* in *his* library; maybe when he was called to the Irish bar and returned home in 1760 he was able to obtain one of Charlemont's copies.

Whoever 'L' was, much of his text seems to relate closely to the *Treatise* and it is tempting to think that he had a copy of it at his elbow he wrote. Eileen Harris describes Chambers's goals, like those of his teacher [J. F. Blondel]:

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[11] Which at that time, of course, stood beside Essex Bridge.

[12] Christine Casey. *A bibliographical approach to Irish eighteenth-centure architecture.* Ph.D. thesis submitted to Trinity College, Dublin (1991).

[13] There is a catalogue of the sale of Caldwell's books, held on 3 May 1809 by Thomas Jones at Caldwell's house, 12 Cavendish Row, in the library of Trinity College:TCD.rr.k.82.No.9.

> ...to simplify the study of architecture without sacrificing its richness, variety and precision; to cultivate taste and increase pleasure not only by providing information and examples but also by encouraging the development of critical judgement.[14]

'L''s goals were almost identical. For the readers of the *Treatise* who had a special interest in architecture, and their own libraries containing books of architectural interest, Chambers's thesis must have seemed like a revision course. Particularly gratifying for Charlemont, and for Chambers's lifelong admirer and promoter Caldwell, was the beautiful drawing of 'the elevation of a magnificent Casine, now erecting from my Designs, at Marino, a seat of the Lord Viscount Charlemont's, near Dublin in Ireland'.[15]

Chambers, as we know, had been on the Grand Tour, but had 'L'? His apparent familiarity with Italian buildings in Rome (St. Peter's, the Pantheon, the Palazzo di Montecitorio) and in Vicenza would suggest that he had. Caldwell we know had not. Although he was a frequent visitor to England throughout his life he had only made one short visit to the continent, to the Netherlands, and possibly Germany, in 1773. Letters in the Caldwell papers researched, exchanged at that time between himself and his father, confirm that this visit did, indeed, take place, and mention of it is made in his *Monthly Magazine* obituary. Although he had not had an opportunity to make his own first hand study of Italian buildings, from his reading, his study of prints (Casey tells us that 'Card's architectural enthusiasm contained a tidy collection of volumes illustrating the famous palaces and public places of Europe'[16] and that he had 'eight folio volumes of expensive grand-tour literature')[17] and conversation with his friends who *had* made the grand tour, he must have felt that he knew these famous buildings well. Would he have known them *so* well, though, that he could describe, as did 'L', feelings of 'Transport and Enthusiasm' on entering St. Peter's or the Pantheon, and 'tranquil' sensations created in him by the sight of Palladian villas in Vicenza if he had not actually been there? Could he describe, as did 'L', the 'transparent luminous Skies of

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[14] Eileen Harris. *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-1785* (Cambridge, 1990), p.157.
[15] William Chambers. *Treatise on Civil Architecture* (1759), plate 1, p.85.
[16] Christine Casey. *A bibliographical approach to Irish eighteenth-century architecture.* Ph.D. thesis submitted to Trinity College, Dublin, (1991), p.75.
[17] Ibid. p.76.

Italy' without having experienced them for himself? 'L', in discussing the Palazzo di Montecitorio (which he attributes to Fontana, with no mention of Bernini) describes the façade as 'one of the best examples *I have met with* (my italics)'. Could Caldwell have done this without actually standing in front of it?

Caldwell's library was the only one of those studied by Casey to contain a copy of the Abbé Laugier's neo-classical manifesto. In fact, it contained three (Lots 1327, 1328 and 1329), the first published in Paris in 1753, the second also in Paris in 1755 and the third in Haye in 1765. Certainly 'L' knew his Laugier and again and again in his essays neo-classical principles are reiterated; classical orders must have a meaning related to structure and their use should be restricted only to ways consistent with their '*primitive Destination*' (7 – 10 January 1769); 'it should be the first Care, the Principal Study of Architects in all Ornaments, and in all Compositions whatsoever strictly to *follow nature*' (31 December 1768 – 3 January 1769); to break an entablature is 'one of the most unpardonable, one of the most intolerably *licentious* Practises in Architecture' (7 – 10 January 1769), etc. Three times 'L' refers to the architectural beauty and correctness of the *Casino Marino,* built on the outskirts of Dublin for Lord Charlemont, to William Chambers's design. We know that Lord Charlemont and Caldwell were good friends and we know that Caldwell was a fervent admirer of Chambers and promoter of his work. With the benefit of hindsight we know that in 1773 Caldwell was to scheme to have Chambers appointed as architect to the Blue-coat School.[18] In the 1760's work went ahead on a villa in England, at Roehampton, which Chambers had designed for the second earl of Bessborough. It is quite possible that Charles Caldwell, when visiting Lord Bessborough on business, would have met Chambers and subsequently discussed his work with his son. 'L's familiarity with Laugier, his taste in neo-classical architecture and his devotion to the beautiful little *Casino Marino,* are all consistent with 'L' and Caldwell being one and the same. If this is so, would it be too far fetched to wonder whether it was Laugier who came to 'L''s mind when he chose his pseudonym?

'L's comment in the January 7 – 10 edition of the *Freeman's Journal* must surely refer to Laugier. He writes: 'Several amongst the *ingenious* in *France*

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[18] RIA. Caldwell to Lord Charlemont, 24 February 1773 (12/R/10, No.38).

disapprove of supporting a Pediment with an *Arch* and *Pillars* both at once, affirming that it is superfluous and contrary to *Nature'*. Although he justifies the necessity for such an occasional departure, he counsels that it should be made with caution. One of the most 'ingenious' in France at this time was J. F. Blondel, who was responsible for Chambers's formal professional education while attending his École in Paris. There most of Chambers's associates were Frenchmen and it is their tastes which most influenced his judgements.[19] Were they, too, like Chambers, contemptuous of Laugier's adherence to the primitive hut, believing it to be merely the first step in the evolutionary development of architecture? So is this one area where 'L' and Chambers, or Caldwell and Chambers, would not be in agreement?

In his emotive response to architecture it becomes clear that 'L' also knows his Burke.[20] The *Enquiry into the origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* was first published anonymously in 1756 and to the second edition, in 1759, was added an *Essay on Taste*. Neither of these appears in Caldwell's posthumous book sale, which does not mean that he did not own them. After specific bequests of some of his books (to his brother Benjamin's son, Charles Andrew Caldwell, and his great friend Edmund Malone, the Shakespearian scholar) he left his library to his brother Charles's son, 'George Caldwell of Jesus College Cambridge'.[21] Presumably the sale consisted only of books which George Caldwell chose not to keep and we will never know how much bigger was Caldwell's original library. One book which it would surely have contained, for instance, would be John Aheron's *General Treatise of Architecture*, published in 1754 and featuring in most of the collections discussed by Casey. It will be remembered from the previous chapters that Caldwell was a passionately enthusiastic classical scholar and among the many classical authors listed in his sale catalogue was Lot 650, *Longinus*, Gr et Lat 1751, Glasgow.' Longinus's Greek treatise *On the Sublime* (1st century AD), mentioned by Caldwell in his letters to his father from Glasgow university, was the major influence on writers on taste during the eighteenth-century. Although Burke's *Enquiry* was not published until two years after Caldwell had left Glasgow we can surmise that he would have revelled in the philosophical

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[19] Eileen Harris. *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-1785*. (Cambridge, 1990), p.159.
[20] Edmund Burke. *A Philosophical Enquiry into the origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the beautiful*. First published, anonymously, in 1756.
[21] Caldwell MSS. Andrew Caldwell's will.

discussions concerning the sublime and the beautiful which took place in the classes of his professors Moor and Smith; a copy of Hutchison's *On Beauty and Virtue* (1726) was also included in his posthumous book sale (Lot 539). 'L''s translation of the 'Words of a fine French Author' in his first essay, which this writer has not traced, suggest he was also familiar with the work of French philosophers.

There would seem to be a French bias in the 'Observations'. Was Caldwell similarly biased? Although he had three copies of Laugier (wrongly spelt as Laguier in the sales catalogue), his library contained more English and Italian architectural books than French. If Caldwell had a bias towards things French, he had probably imbibed it from his admired Chambers.

Can 'L's extraordinary foresight in outlining the series of events which could be brought about as a result of 'the strong Tendency that the City discovers to enlarge itself *Eastward*' (17 – 21 January 1769) be another clue to his real identity? To have forecast with such accuracy the development of Westmoreland Street, Carlisle Bridge, the south end of Sackville Street and the new Custom House so many years before this came to pass seems more than mere coincidence. There can be little doubt that among Caldwell's friends and acquaintances, such men as John Beresford, Frederick Trench and Sackville Hamilton, the ambitious plans for changing the face of Dublin were discussed and as Wide Streets Commissioners they were all in due course, with the exception of Sackville Hamilton, to bring these ideas to fruition. However, at the time of writing the 'Observations' the Commission (of which Caldwell was not yet a member) was in the doldrums, the average number of annual meetings having dropped to under three. In the background, though, work towards the big move east was progressing, mainly at the instigation of John Beresford, who had been appointed a revenue commissioner in 1770. As we know, his efforts were crowned with success when, on 7 August 1781, it was he (now chief revenue commissioner) who laid the foundation stone of the new Custom House. It must be remembered that Caldwell's father, Charles, was solicitor to the Customs and would have been aware from the beginning of plans to move the Custom House downstream and there can be little doubt that Caldwell was also privy to these schemes. If, for the sake of argument, we assume

Caldwell and 'L' to be one and the same, then 'L's comments made in the essay of 4 – 7 February 1769 would tend to reinforce the above. He writes 'The extreme Inconvenience that arises from the Smallness of the Custom House Yard, and from being surrounded by the most crowded thoroughfares in the Town has *as I have heard reported, (but which I don't pretend to say from any Authority)* [my italics] determined their Honours at the Board to look out for another Situation'. Further, in the spate of letters to the *Freeman's Journal* following 'L's series of essays, an anonymous correspondent in the edition of 11 – 14 February 1769 writes 'We understand from the Essays, mentioned in my first letter (and the Writer's Connections secure our reliance on his authority) that the *Custom House* is not only inconvenient but dangerous'. It seems from this that the identity of the anonymous 'Observations' writer was known to this contributor and if the 'Writer's Connections' referred to were filial, surely this too is suggestive that Caldwell was, indeed, our anonymous essayist?

If 'L' had been given a free hand in the planning of Dublin the Royal Exchange would have been built to a different plan and in a different place. He bemoaned the fact that in the past planners had not thought ahead and the opportunity had been lost to create a beautiful piazza in College Green by building the Parliament House at an oblique angle to Trinity College instead of at right angles to it. Opposite the Parliament House 'a magnificent Church, or some other public Building' could have been erected, the resulting '*Square* in all Respects would be according to the true Stile of the *Italian Piazza*, but perhaps more magnificent'. Although that opportunity was lost it was still not too late to separate the '*Magnificance of the Court*' from the '*Plainness* of a Mart' and to open, before an embellished castle front, not a Royal Exchange but a square in which would stand an equestrian statue of the king and other monuments 'consecrated to the Memory of his Virtues, his noble Patronage of the Arts, and the Loyalty and Reverence of his Subjects in Ireland'. To support his general argument 'L' quotes from a letter to him written by 'An Ingenious Friend, a Gentleman well acquainted with the Subject treated of in these essays'.[22] This letter was not to be identified among the Caldwell papers. Had it been, with the identity of 'L' firmly established as Caldwell, this chapter would have taken a different form. 'L''s prediction that 'when it is too late,

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[22] *Freeman's Journal* 'Observations', Sat.Jan 21 – Tues. Jan 24, 1769.

the Execution of the present Scheme will be followed with Repentance' was wrong and to-day, in all its restored glory, Cooley's Royal Exchange is one of Dublin's finest buildings.

The search will now continue with an examination of other printed material either known or thought to have been written by Caldwell. The only 'effusion' of his pen which has been positively established is the account he wrote of 'The Extraordinary Escape of Athenian Stewart, From being put to death by some Turks, in whose company he happened to be travelling'. This, written in 1803, is in a straightforward narrative style in which Caldwell merely retells the story previously related to him by Bishop Percy of Dromore[23], and is of no help in identifying him as the author of the *Freeman's Journal* 'Observations on Architecture'. Also published in 1803 which, it must be remembered, was more than thirty years after the original *Freeman's Journal* 'Observations' first appeared, was a pamphlet comprising a collection of six papers entitled 'Observations, etc. on appropriating the Parliament House to the Bank of Ireland'.[24] It has always been assumed that at least some, if not all, of these were written by the three adjudicators the Bank had appointed to judge the competition, Andrew Caldwell, Frederick Trench and Sackville Hamilton.

In order to make this analysis clearer it is now necessary to backtrack a little. In August 1802 the building committee formed by the bank offered premiums in an open competition for the conversion of Parliament House into the Bank of Ireland.[25] On 9 October Caldwell wrote to Bishop Percy from Harrogate, where he was staying for his health's sake. This is an important letter and is transcribed in full below:

> Your approbation of the paper relative to the plans of the Parliament House is highly gratifying. Your Lordship is the only person to whom I wished it to be communicated in confidence, and for several reasons I could be anxious that the name of the writer should be secret. It was intended chiefly to assist the candidates at a distance in observing the difficulties to be encountered, and pointing out various

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[23] In a letter to Andrew Caldwell from the Bishop, 28 May 1805 (John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the 18th* Century, vol.viii (London, 1817-1858), p.57, the Bishop regretted that Caldwell had omitted an important part of the story. He wrote 'However, the 'Narrative' may pass if it be understood that I did not write it, but that you kindly committed to paper what you heard me relate, from recollection;'

[24] RIA Haliday pamphlets (Dublin, 1803).

[25] C.P.Curran, 'The Architecture of the Bank of Ireland', p.459, in F.G.Hall, *The Bank of Ireland 1783-1946* (Dublin & Oxford 1949).

irregularities. If it shall be found useful in that respect, the writer's utmost aim will be accomplished. Mr. Colvill[26] inclosed to me your Lordship's letter to him, and I am sensible of the honour of your Lordship's partiality, but the Paper would have been much better could it have been possible to have obtained your perusal and corrections before the printing.[27]

It should be noted that at the time Caldwell wrote this paper the entries for the competition had not yet been received or the adjudicators appointed. On 19 March 1803 in a letter from the Bishop of Dromore to Caldwell, who was by now back in Dublin, the Bishop wrote 'Pray inform me how your proposed plan for altering and improving the Parliament-House goes on and give my respects to the Governor of the Bank',[28] and on 25 March Caldwell wrote back:

> The 'Plans for the great Bank' are not yet come over; we are all in expectation of high entertainment from them. It is full two months since the artists, according to directions, delivered them to the wagon office. No account came; the directors and the young artists all thrown into consternation. When they applied at the wagon office, the press of business was so great, that indeed they were forgot; it took a great search at last to find them. If such a thing had happened here, the poor Irish would have been well roasted; but you see the fine exact Londoners may make slips sometimes as well as their neighbours.[29]

On 9 April 1803 Caldwell wrote to Edmund Malone in London, one important paragraph of which is reproduced below:

> There are six & thirty Plans exhibited for converting the quondam Goose Pye[30] in College Green into a Bank, there is a good display of ability & more of labour, the Architects were (short word obscured) much confin'd by what was already done, to allow of Fancy and Invention, the Directors are already in a puzzle, *I rejoice that I have no concern in the business* [my italics]. It is melancholy to see the House of Commons, & more so the House of Lords, all the venerable Tapestry, the Throne, Woolpacks and rich furniture, taken away,

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[26] The Governor of the Bank and a close friend of Caldwell. He was a beneficiary under his will.
[27] John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the 18th Century*, vol.viii (London, 1817-1858), p.44. Andrew Caldwell to Bishop Percy, 9 October, 1802.
[28] Caldwell MSS. Bishop of Dromore to Andrew Caldwell. 19 March 1803.
[29] John Nichols. *Illustrations of the Literary History of the 18th Century*, vol.viii (London, 1817-1858), p.47. Andrew Caldwell to Bishop Percy, 25 March 1803.
[30] The nick-name given to the first House of Commons because of the shape of its dome. 'Goose-pie' was the term that had been applied to Vanbrugh's house at Greenwich.

> what a rich noble appearance it once made, it is at present such a ruin as makes the heart sink. I had never heard of the change & strol'd in by chance the other day, a Person there told me the Tapestry either was, or would be transmitted to London.[31]

This letter, which has only recently come to light, is of enormous interest because we learn from it not only that on 9 April 1803 (despite his earlier involvement in the scheme) Caldwell had still not been appointed an adjudicator in the competition, but that he was delighted not to be associated with it.

So what do we know about Caldwell's involvement so far? We know that he wrote a paper shortly after the competition was announced purely with the intention of giving the competition entrants some useful and helpful information. He sent this paper to his friend William Colville, who was Governor of the bank from 1801-1803. Colville then sent a copy of it to the Bishop of Dromore. The Bishop replied to Colville (who was also a good friend of his), who passed on the Bishop's highly complimentary comments to Caldwell. We know that on 9 April 1803 Caldwell had still not been appointed an adjudicator. It seems very probable that all this correspondence may well have contributed to Caldwell's unsought for appointment as an adjudicator in the competition.

After this lengthy preamble we can now move on to the 1803 pamphlet entitled 'Observations on appropriating the Parliament House to the Bank of Ireland'.[32]
In the following discussion the contributions it contains will be referred to by numbers 1 to 6, in the order in which they appear in the pamphlet. An effort will be made to identify Caldwell's contribution(s) and, if possible, eliminate anyone else's. After that, Caldwell's probable contributions will be examined for style and content to see if there are any similarities between them and the *Freeman's Journal* 'Observations', written by 'L'. It seems certain that the observations relating to the bank include contributions from all three adjudicators in view of a comment in No. 4, (p.53, 12 June 1803), which states that 'Since I came to Town, I have learned that both my Co-adjutors [to whom he later refers as his 'two friends'] had written their thoughts on the Parliament-House and the Bank, and communicated them to the Board'. No. 5 (p.57, 30 March 1803) can be

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[31] Bodleian Library, Oxford. Vol.MS.Eng.letters c.15, fols. 113-114. Andrew Caldwell to Edmund Malone, 9 April 1803. In fact the tapestries were saved by Francis Johnston and returned to their former position, where they may still be seen to-day.
[32] RIA. Haliday pamphlets (Dublin, 1803)

ruled out immediately as we know that at that date Caldwell had not yet been appointed an adjudicator. It is also addressed from Sackville Street and we know that Caldwell and Frederick Trench both lived in Rutland Square, so it is probable that this writer is Sackville Hamilton. Hamilton is definitely not the author of No. 3 (p.43,12 June 1803) because a footnote reference on page 49 refers to 'Our friend, Mr. Hamilton'. Possible connections with Caldwell as regards style and content can be found in Nos.3, 4 and 6. These will be looked at in turn in an effort to establish Caldwell's possible identity, after which any points which could link him to the 'Observations' will be discussed.

No. 6 (p.69, undated) is the most definite of the attributions to Caldwell and would seem to be the key to this investigation. This, surely, is a copy of the paper we know that he wrote to Colville prior to the competition and on which he commented, in his letter to the Bishop of Dromore on 9 October 1802, that his aim was 'chiefly to assist the candidates [of the competition] *at a distance* [my italics] in observing the difficulties to be encountered, and pointing out various irregularities'?[33] Almost the exact phraseology is used on page 75 of No. 6 where the author considers it 'necessary to mention every circumstance, that Candidates *at a distance* [my italics], and who want the advantage of direct inspection, may, in some degree, be informed of the difficulties to be encountered'. Two further points would seem to confirm this attribution, his familiarity with William Roscoe's *Lorenzo de Medici* (page 78) and his reference to Aix la Chapelle (page 82). In chapter seven of this study an extract from Caldwell's letter to his friend James Smith was quoted in which Caldwell wrote 'I am nearly got through the 2nd Vol. Of *Lorenzo de Medici*'[34] and in 1773 Caldwell made his only trip abroad, to the Low Countries, when he would almost certainly have visited Aix la Chapelle.

Having established that Caldwell must be the author of No. 6 it is now time to return to the 'Observations', where three possible connections can be made:

1. On page 77 of No. 6 the author writes 'Every composition of a Man of genius is one and entire; if a part be added or taken away, Unity and Harmony is destroyed, the consequence will be a bad effect, botch instead of amendment'; and 'L', writing about the merits of a building, 'all its Parts be so essentially *connected* as to form one compleat entire Design, that nothing could be

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[33] John Nichols. *Illustrations of the Literary History of the 18th Century*, vol. viii (London 1817-1858), p.47. Andrew Caldwell to the Bishop of Dromore, 9 October 1802.
[34] Lin.Soc.Lib. Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to James Smith, 22 December 1795.

superadded without seeming crowded and foreign, that nothing could be *separated* without leaving the whole *visibly* lame and imperfect' (31 December 1768 – 3 January 1769). Both these writers were clearly familiar with Alberti.

2. Both authors are agreed that two architects were involved in the building of the Parliament House and are uncertain of the role each of them played. Both also use the same phrase to describe one of the architects (who must be Pearce) as 'a Gentleman of Rank' (No .6, p.83 & 'L' 7-10 January 1769);
3. The author of No. 6 refers to 'fine well-built vaults (p.79) and 'L' to the 'immense Range of Vaults' running under the whole building and 'finished in the strongest and most masterly Manner; there is scarcely any Thing in the whole Pile that more justly claims our Admiration than its subterraneous Parts' (7 – 10 January 1769).

Moving on, now, to Nos. 3 and 4 in the pamphlet, it is my opinion that these were also written by Caldwell, for the following reasons:-

1. They both begin with the familiar address 'My dear Friend'. This 'Friend' would be Colville, the Governor of the Bank. As we know, Caldwell and Colville were close friends;
2. They are both written on 12 June 1803. No. 4 is short and was probably an accompanying letter. In it the author writes 'The Design I have chiefly alluded to, certainly discovers much Taste and Science, it appeared to me to be overlooked, or not understood'. In No. 3 we read that 'The Elevation I shall consider is the one that may be distinguished by the name of the Grecian Elevation', and, later, that it was doubtful whether such 'Classic Examples…could as yet be endured by the Public here, whose eyes and attention have not been directed to such forms'. We know about Caldwell's neo-classicism and we know about 'L's neo-classicism. If, in fact, this contribution *is* by Caldwell, and he and 'L' are one and the same, then one can understand the disappointment he must feel that, thirty years after his magnificent *Freeman's Journal* essays, the 'eyes and attention [of the public] had [still] not been directed to such forms';
3. Finally, the two Italian couplets translated on page 47 of No. 3 are of interest. Whether or not he wrote the *Freeman's Journal* 'Observations', in 1768/69 Caldwell's knowledge of Italian must have been limited. However, by 1803 he

was probably fluent and it would have been possible for him to translate these couplets himself. Many Italian books are listed in his book catalogue and two of his closest friends, Lord Charlemont and Joseph Cooper Walker, were students of Italian literature. Many of Walker's letters in the Caldwell papers concern Italian literature and in a letter from Rome to his brother Sam, Walker wrote: '…thank Mr. Caldwell for his Letters, tell him I have written him a long letter in bad Italian.'[35]

In spite of their best efforts Caldwell, Trench and Hamilton were unable to agree and submitted their views independently to the Directors, which were subsequently printed together in the pamphlet discussed above. The Directors themselves adjudicated the competition and awarded the premiums but before doing so, and independent of the competition, appointed Francis Johnston as their architect.

Before summing up, one last point should be made regarding Caldwell's involvement with things architectural round about the time the *Freeman's Journal* 'Observations' were written. Only a year after their publication he was one of a Dublin Society Committee (which included Lord Charlemont) appointed to adjudicate the 'Premiums offered to the Boys instructed in the Society's School who should best Answer in an Examination in Architecture';[36] surely an appointment requiring specialist knowledge?

So did Caldwell write the *Freeman's Journal* 'Observations' or not? There is nothing at all in them to rule him out completely whereas, as it is hoped this investigation has suggested, there are a number of factors to rule him in. 'L's views were rigorously neo-classical and way ahead of most of the architectural thinking of his time. Caldwell owned Abbé Laugier's *Essai sur l'Architecture*, was close friends with Lord Charlemont and an admirer of the *Casino Marino*, also ahead of its time architecturally. Caldwell owned one of the most comprehensive architectural libraries of the time and had a circle of architecturally minded friends who also owned equally well-endowed libraries. The writer of Caldwell's obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* attributed the 'Observations' to him and wrote that he had 'studied Architecture with particular attention'. The accurate forecast of the city's move

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[35] NLI MS 146. Walker Letters 1792-96. Joseph Cooper Walker, Rome, 25 April 1972, to Samuel Walker, Custom House, Dublin.
[36] *Proceedings* of the Dublin Society, vols.7-8, 24 May 1770,

eastwards could well have been made by Caldwell because of his family connections and acquaintance with such powerful people as John Beresford and, finally, several similarities in content have been found between the *Freeman's Journal* 'Observations' and those on 'The appropriation of the Parliament House to the Bank of Ireland'. It would seem, therefore, that when McParland wrote that Caldwell was 'probably' the author of the important *Freeman's Journal* 'Observations' he may well have been right. But we still have questions to ask. Could Caldwell have written so convincingly about Italian buildings if he had not seen them for himself? Why, when the author of his obituary in the *Monthly Magazine* seemed to know so much about him, was there no mention of the 'Observations'? Could the writer of the *Gentleman's Magazine* obituary have been wrong in attributing these anonymous 'Observations' to him? Was he referring to other 'Observations'? A search through the English Short Titles Catalogue has not come up with any others. Whoever wrote them, Caldwell or not, we can be grateful to the writer for setting out in this series of informed, thoughtful and critical essays 'the most explicit recommendation of neo-classicism to be published in Ireland in the eighteenth century'.[37]

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[37] Edward McParland. *James Gandon.* (London, 1985), p.38.

CHAPTER TEN

Conclusion

One of the most satisfying aspects of this study has been that, in the context of Caldwell's family, it has given the writer the opportunity to look at portraits spread between widely held private collections in England. The two Quadels (Plates 2 & 4) are of particular importance because, until they came to light, none of the portrait work that Quadel carried out during his time in Dublin in 1779 had surfaced; only his animal paintings were known. Jarvis's portrait of Andrew Caldwell senior (Plate 6), Bindon's of Charles Caldwell (Plate 3), Hunter's of Anne Cockburn (Plate 15) and Hart's of Charles Andrew Caldwell (Plate 9) all helped to build up the general family picture. Also seen in private collections but not included in this study were two lovely sensitive portraits, one of Charlotte Caldwell (wife of Benjamin Caldwell) and her son Charles Andrew by Hoppner (Plate 101) and the other of Lady Cockburn (George Cockburn's wife) and her children by Hugh Douglas Hamilton (Plate 102).

In many instances the Caldwell papers and other sources provide new information and insights into, in Ireland, James Alexander's Caledon home, the tasteful furniture in Lord Belmore's Rutland Square house, the decoration of Lord Charlemont's library, the entire contents of 10 Cavendish Row as spelt out in George Cockburn senior's inventory, the personalities connected with New Geneva, Caldwell's patronage of the artists John Warren and Conrad Gessner and, in England, Caldwell's appreciation of the new buildings in Liverpool, his friendship with Edmund Malone and James Smith, and Lord Bessborough's lifestyle in his Roehampton home, to name but a few. Caldwell's anglophilia is evident throughout his correspondence. Everything about England appealed to him, especially when it related to English architecture and architects. In Ireland he did his best to exclude Irish architects from big commissions, while at the same time promoting his admired William Chambers and appreciating the Irish work of Wyatt and Gandon. However, his response to Gandon's prolific work in Dublin was cautious, as illustrated by the important letter to him from Lord Mountjoy/Luke Gardiner, which sheds new light shed on the King's Inns buildings.

As far as changing the face of Dublin was concerned Caldwell was a conscientious member of the Wide Streets Commission. It has been noted how regular his attendances were at their meetings, as were those of his two friends Travers Hartley and William Colville, who between them constituted a united Presbyterian clique. The other clique to which McParland attributed special significance, that between Caldwell,

Sackville Hamilton (an architectural connoisseur but not a Wide Streets Commissioner) and Frederick Trench, failed to emerge from the sources. Certainly these three were friends and worked together, most notably as adjudicators in the competition for converting the Parliament House into the Bank of Ireland, but it is the strength of the Trench/Caldwell alliance which emerges most noticeably from the research.

One of the most striking aspects of all the correspondence studied was the degree of scholarly exchange that took place within Caldwell's circle, and the eagerness of its members to keep each other informed of current cultural events. Many of these events concerned areas of interest outside the field of art history, especially those connected with literature (Edmund Malone and Joseph Cooper Walker) and botany (James Smith and William Roscoe), and it is hoped that any new light shed in these areas may be of help to other scholars in the future.

It was surprising not to find more about music and theatre in the archive. The writer of Caldwell's obituary in the *Monthly Magazine* wrote that he was 'Passionately fond of music, and a practical amateur, he warmly patronized the Italian comedians who got up (1764) burlettas in Dublin'.[1] There do not seem to have been any musical instruments in Caldwell's home and not a single reference to Italian comedians or burlettas was found. There certainly are occasional references to his theatre going, both in Dublin and London, but no element of passion emerges. Indeed, he often seemed more preoccupied with the behaviour of the rest of the audience than the performance itself. When it came to politics nowhere is Caldwell's preference for cultural activities over political better illustrated than in his comment to the Bishop of Dromore on the transfer of the Irish parliament to London. He wrote: 'Perhaps the Union, by removing us further from the vortex of politics, may bring us nearer to the literary movements of the world; if such be the consequence, I shall feel little regret.'[2]

Also surprising is the extraordinary lack of interest shown by Caldwell in the Newgrange passage grave sited on his estate. Only once does he mention it, in a letter to Charlemont dated 24 February 1773,[3] (three years before he inherited the estate), where he expresses interest in a pamphlet which had been written by the politician and

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[1] *Monthly Magazine*, No. 175. 1 September 1808, p.194.
[2] Andrew Caldwell to the Bishop of Dromore, 16 September 1800. John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the 18th Century*, vol.v (1858), p.
[3] Andrew Caldwell to Lord Charlemont, London, 24 February 1773. RIA Charlemont Papers, Letter 38.

antiquary Thomas Pownall.[4] As was noted in chapter eight, although Caldwell was a member of the Royal Irish Academy, it becomes obvious from his rare attendances at meetings that, unlike his friend Joseph Cooper Walker, he was not an antiquarian; his architectural and other interests lay in the present and not the past.

Probably in accordance with the tenets of his religion Caldwell was not generally an acquisitive man, but when it came to his library and painting collection it was another matter. Writing to Malone in April 1803 he extolled 'Archer our great Bookseller' but explained that he had resolved 'to abstain, [because] books now germinate in such rapid succession, it is more than can possibly be used. I am asham'd when I see in my own store the number whose leaves have never been cut'.[5] He goes on to say 'varieties of possessions after all create a great deal of trouble, I sometimes wish that I had no books, no prints, no pictures, then there would be no care, & we could move about at a minutes warning'.[6] It is as well that his wish was not granted; he lived in a world of learning and exchange and without his books, his prints and his pictures, and the social intercourse he enjoyed as a result of these collections, his life would have lost much of its zest and purpose.

There can be no doubt that the Caldwell archive is of the utmost importance and I hope that this first introduction to it will encourage others to develop some of its contents further. Much of the archive material has not been touched on at all and awaits future researchers. There are many letters and papers for those interested in naval history, from Benjamin Caldwell's first letters home from the Portsmouth Naval Academy, when aged only fourteen, to his various commands, his involvement in the American War of Independence, his taking of prizes, his correspondence with Lords Howe and Rodney and, in 1779, his 'successfully conveying to Great Britain the Fleet of Merchant Ships from Jamaica'.[7] There are many references to the English and Irish political scene and the events in Ireland of 1798, and also to the French Revolution. The world of literature and books figures largely, and there is an abundance of documents concerning the running of Caldwell's Newgrange estate, right up until the time it was transferred to the Land Commissioners in 1931. Caldwell's eminent friend Coquebert de Montbret wrote frequently, in French, as did the three Genevans,

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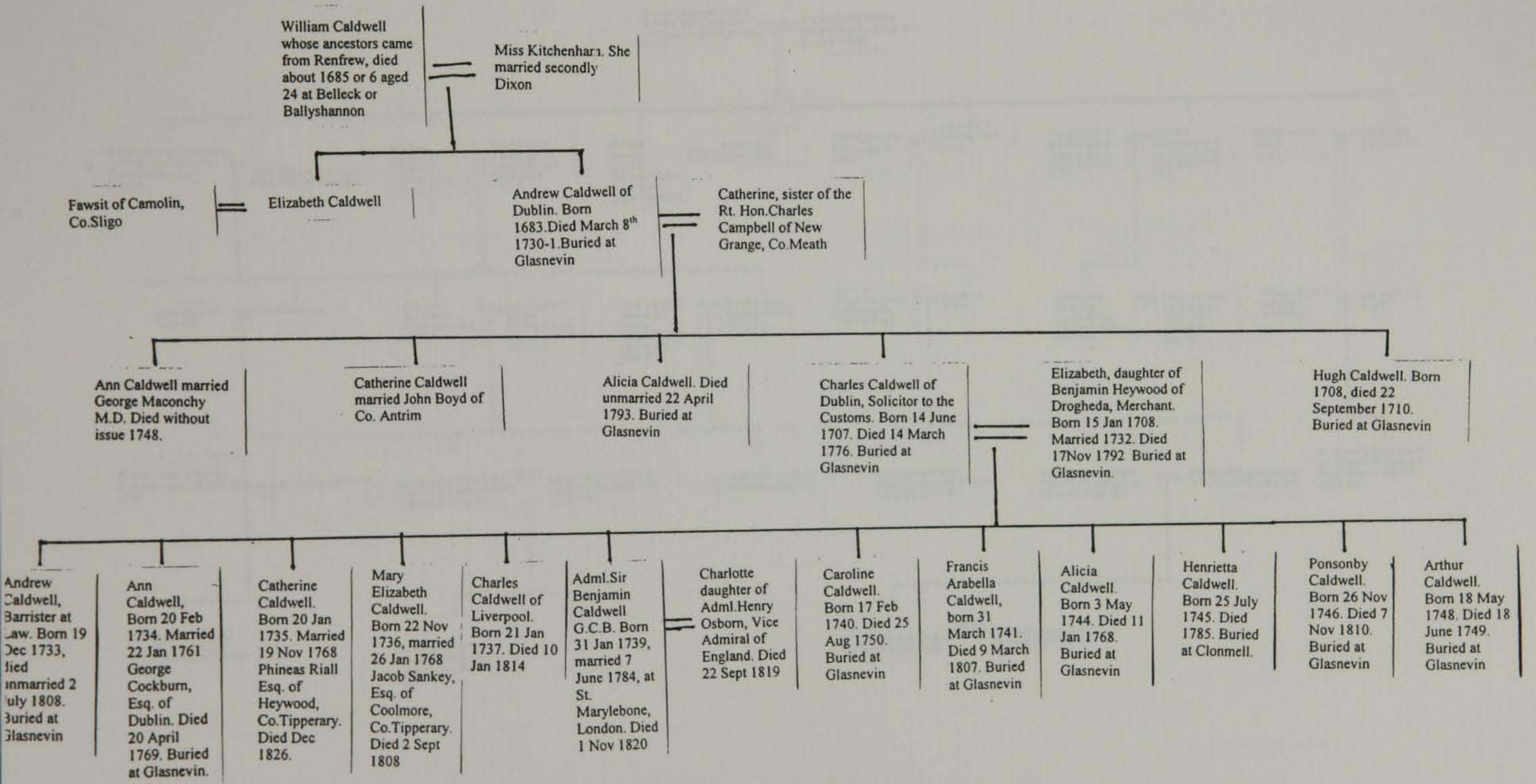
[4] This pamphlet, with illustrations by Gandon and entitled 'A description of the sepulchral monument at New Grange near Drogheda', was reprinted in *Archaeologia*, 2 (1773), pp.236-75.
[5] Andrew Caldwell, Dublin, to Edmund Malone, 9 April 1803. Bodleian Library, vol. MS, Eng. Letters c.15, fols.113-114.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Caldwell MSS Chamber of Commerce, Liverpool, to Ben Caldwell, 9 June 1779.

du Roveray, Claviere and d'Ivernois, who were originally involved in the setting up of the town of New Geneva. This short sketch of just some of the contents of the Caldwell archive will, I hope, be enough to confirm that it is, indeed, the 'treasure trove' described in the introduction to this thesis.

Appendices

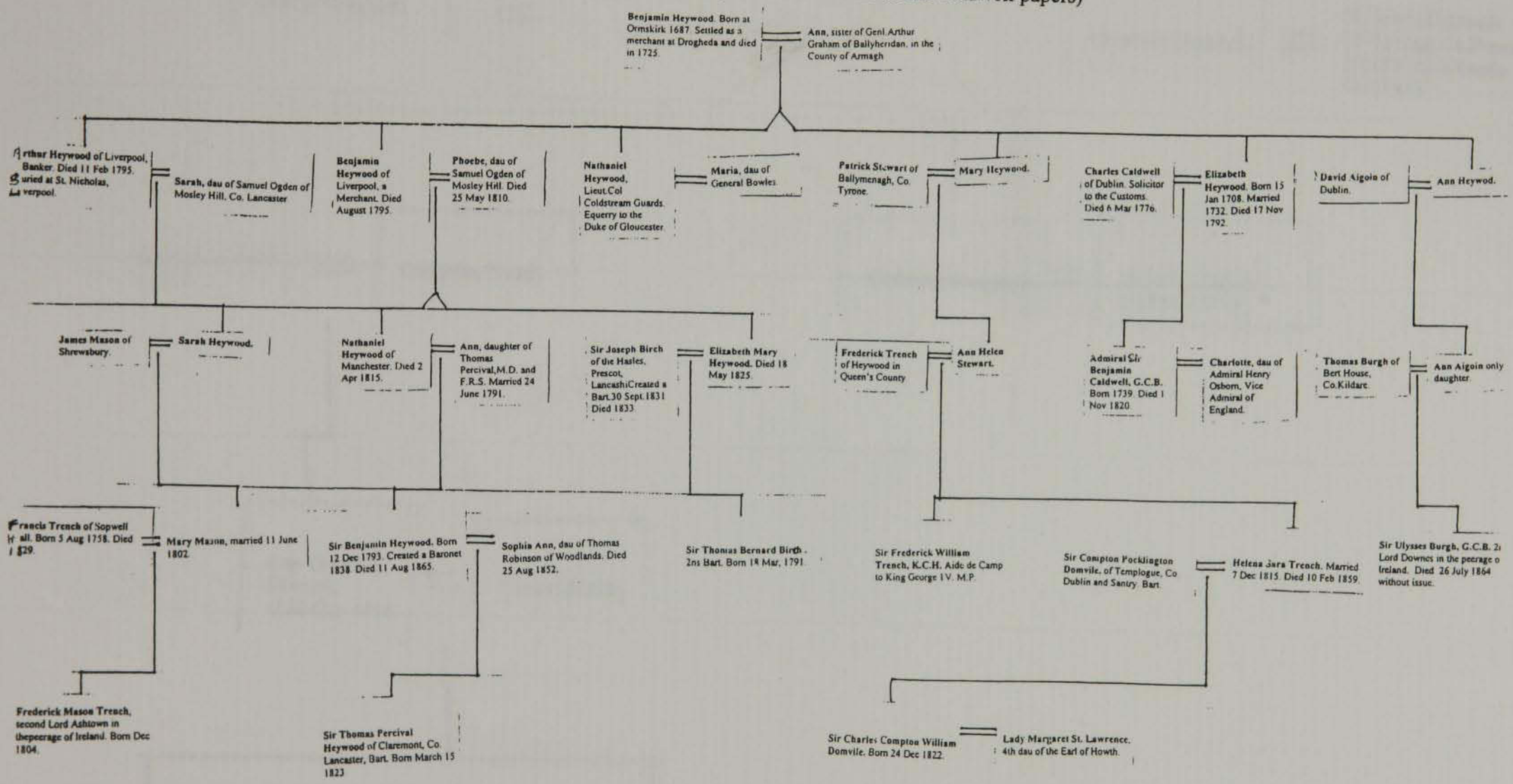
CALDWELL FAMILY

(This pedigree was compiled from records in the Caldwell papers)



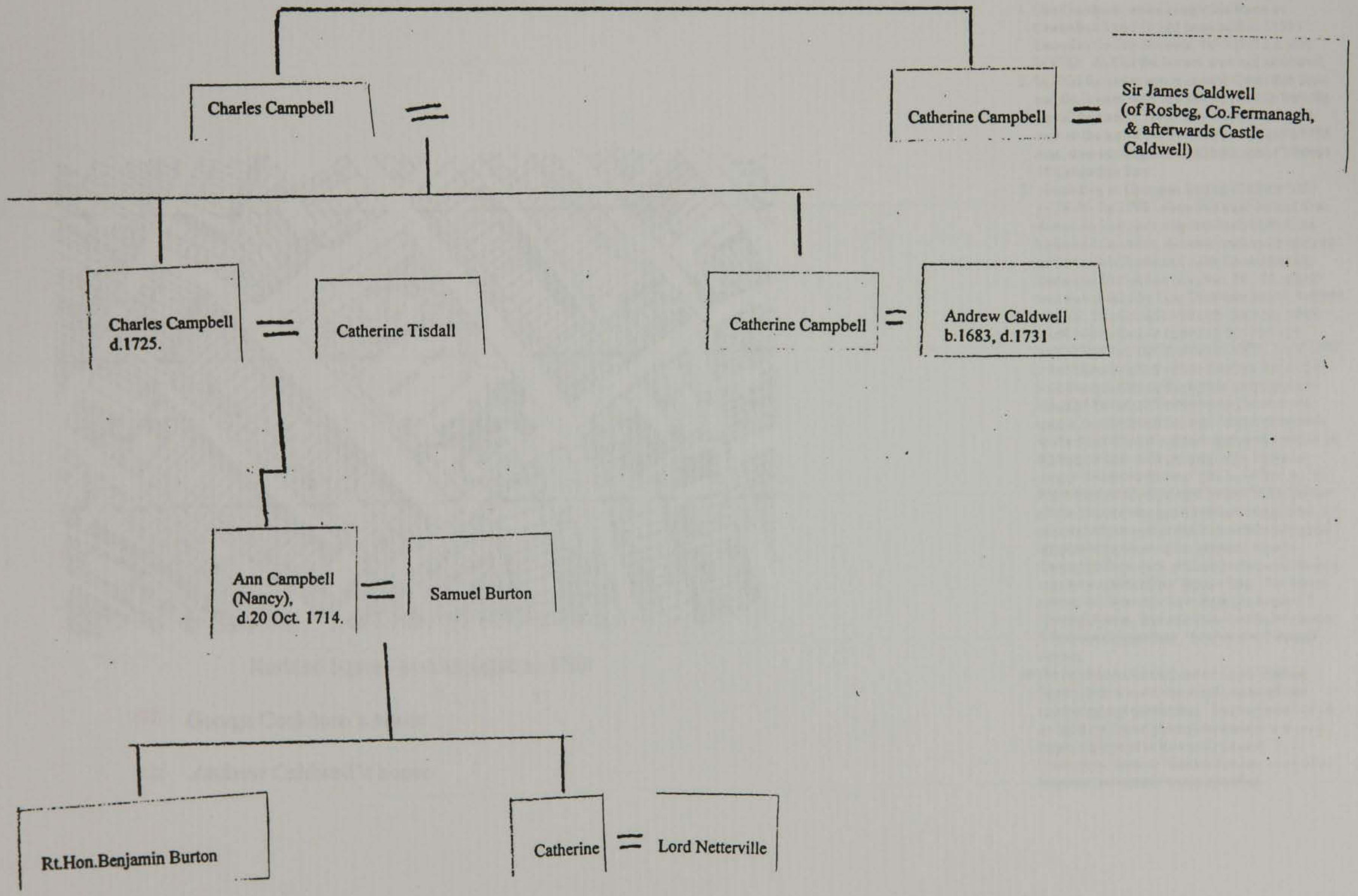
HEYWOOD CONNECTIONS

(This pedigree was compiled from records in the Caldwell papers)

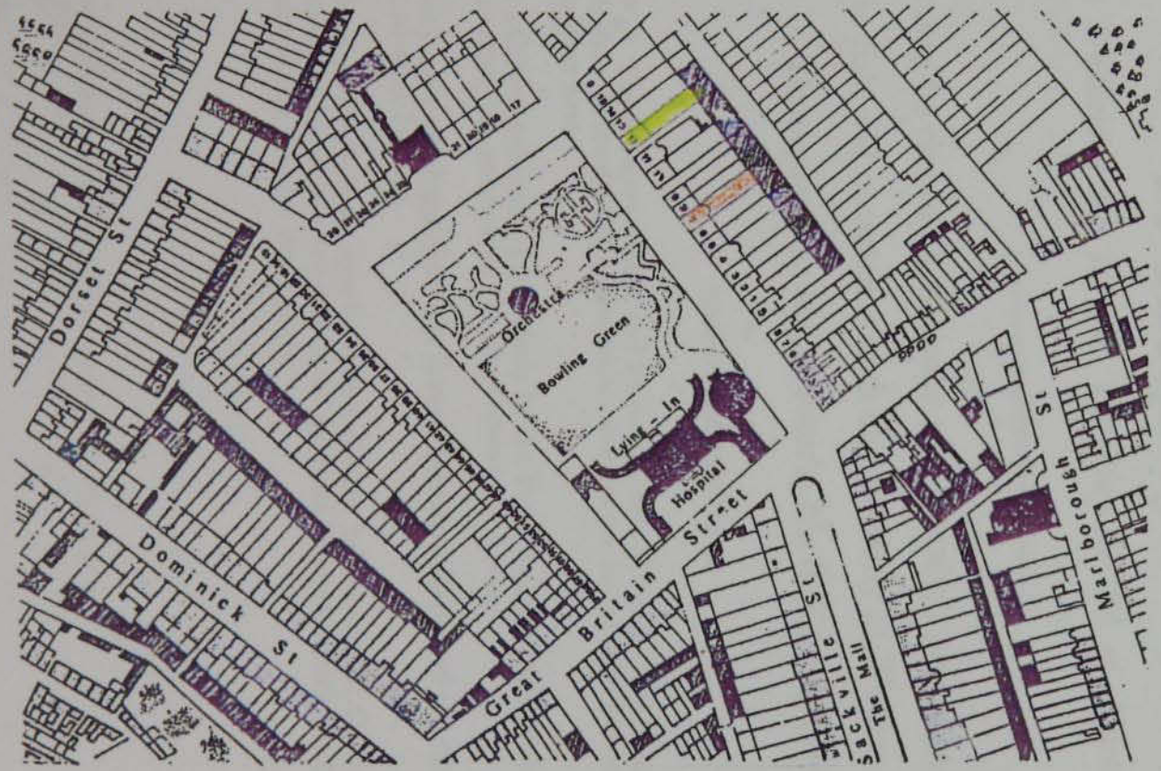


INCOMPLETE PEDIGREE SHOWING CALDWELL/CAMPBELL FAMILY CONNECTIONS

(Compiled by the writer from information contained in Andrew Caldwell's book the *Caldwell Family*, privately published in 1808)



Cavendish Street/Cavendish Row/Rutland Square East/Parnell Square



Rutland Square as completed in 1789

George Cockburn's house

Andrew Caldwell's house

1. Geo Cockburn senior bought his house in Cavendish Street (it had been built in 1753 - Georgian Society Records Vol 3 (1911,p.105) in 1762. At first the houses were not numbered.
2. In 1766 the street was re-named Cavendish Row and the houses were numbered, starting from the top of the street. Three more houses had been built at the top of the street since Rocque's 1756 map, thus making Geo Cockburn senior's house 10 Cavendish Row.
3. According to Georgian Society Records Vol I pp.28-29, by 1798, when five more houses than shown on Rocque's map had been built at the bottom of the street, its name once more reverted to Cavendish Street and, with the numbering starting at the bottom this time, No. 10, which was now owned by Geo Cockburn junior, became No. 16! The Georgian Society Records would seem to be wrong in asserting that this new numbering was still in place in 1798. Until 1784 a wall surrounded the New Gardens but in that year the residents of the square petitioned the Hospital Board of Governors and an Act was passed to take down the wall 'and to substitute in the stead thereof a secure and certain Fence or Railing or Iron or Metal cast, with Lamps at proper Distances thereon' (23 & 24 Geo.3.c.57.). From then on the first nine houses at the bottom of the streeet (who gained no advantage from the removal of the wall as the Rotunda buildings still blocked their view of the gardens) were in Cavendish Row (and still are to-day) and the rest was re-named Rutland Square East. The house next to 9 Cavendish Row therefore became 1 Rutland Square East and Geo Cockburn's house 7 Rutland Square East. To-day it is 7 Parnell Square.
4. The inhabitants of the houses round Rutland Square didn't worry too much about all this re-naming and numbering. To the end of his life in 1808 Andrew Caldwell continued to receive letters addressed to him at Cavendish Row, Cavendish Street or Rutland Square, more often than not no number being specified.

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CATALOGUE

OF

THE VALUABLE AND CAPITAL

PICTURES, FRAMED PRINTS, AND DRAWINGS,

The Collection of the late

ANDREW CALDWELL, ESQ.

Which will be sold by Auction,

AT HIS HOUSE NO. 11. RUTLAND-SQUARE, EAST;

By THOMAS JONES,

On Wednesday the 1st and Thursday the 2d of March, 1809.

The may be viewed on Monday and Tuesday, preceding the Sale.

The Sale will commence each day precisely at Twelve o'clock.

Catalogues to be had at Jones's, No. 6, Eustace-Street.

*** The Pictures, Prints, and Drawings now for sale are the collection of the late Andrew Caldwell, Esq. a Gentleman well known for his taste and encouragement of the Fine Arts.

As a Cabinet collection (particularly in the Dutch and Flemish Schools (it is highly deserving the attention of the Connoisseur and Artist,

Many were purchased from the famous Orleans Gallery, and are the works of the most admired Masters.

There positively is not one lot which did not belong to Mr. Caldwell, and it is presumed to be the best assemblage of Original Pictures, which has been offered at Auction in this City for many years.

Andrew Van Steenkiste

Call to P. Norburne and Cook
at the Sale in the Table
to make a Copy

A CATALOGUE

OF

PAINTINGS, &c.

159

FIRST DAY'S SALE.

2 · 0	1	Print,		
11 · 14	2	Ditto,		
4 · 6	3	Ditto,		
17 ·	4	Ditto,	*Lord Ligonier,*	
1 · 2 · 4	5	Drawing,	ST. PETER,	
2 · 10	6	Ditto,	VIEW OF VICENJA,	
17 ·	7	Print,		
1 · 3 ·	8	(Drawing)	VIEW OF TIVOLI,	
1 ·	9	Ditto,	companion	
17 ·	10	Ditto,	ACADEMY STUDY	
17 ·	11	Ditto,	ditto,	
14 ·	12	A BAS RELIEF (Painting)		
13 ·	13	Print,		
12 ·	14	Ditto,		
2 · 1 ·	15	Ditto,	LAST SUPPER,	
1 · 15 ·	16	Drawing,		
4 ·	17	Ditto,	A STUDY,	
8 · 14	18	Ditto,	ditto,	
11 · 6	19	Ditto,	ditto,	
11 ·	20	Ditto.	ditto,	
14 · 6	21	Ditto,	ditto,	

MASTERS.		
after	Ostade	} Mulvany
do.	Poussin	
do.	Rigaud	
	Sir J. Reynolds	L^d de Blaquiere
	Roberts	Mulvany
Zuccarelli	Unknown	— Lio
after	Rembrandt	— Mr. Moran
	Crone	— Mulvany
	ditto	— — Lio
	Raphael Mengs	Col^o Hope
	ditto	— Lio
	Capali	Mr. Cook
after	Dominichino	Mr Mo.. [Moran?]
	ditto	— Lo.. [do]
	Rubens	Mr. Kane
	Rowlandson	Mrs Rysell
by	Ang. Kauffmann	Mr Cavell
	ditto	— Lio
	ditto	— Lio
	ditto	— Lio
	ditto	— Lio

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1. 2. 9	22	(PAINTING) MORNING,	unknown	Osborne
5 —	23	(PRINT) LADY D. BOYLE,	Faber	Mr. Ryall
5. 6	24	DRAWING,	unknown	— Lee
12 —	25	PRINT,	Ostade	Mr. Moran
5. 13. 9	26	DRAWING,	by Clerisseau	Mr Vanschoyle
4. 10 —	27	Ditto, companion,	ditto	Mr. Mercier
3. 8. 3	28	Ditto, THE APOLLO BELVIDERE,	unknown	Mr. Hanby
8 —	29	PRINT,	Ostade	Mr Morain
1. 2. 9	30	DRAWING, after *Raphael*,	unknown	Ct Top
1. 2. 9	31	Ditto, ditto,	ditto	— Lee
1. 2. 9	32	Ditto, ditto,	ditto	Lee
1. 2. 9	33	Ditto, ACADEMY FIGURE,	Raphael Mengs	Lee
12 —	34	PRINT,	Vandyke	Mr Moran
3. 12 —	35	DRAWING,	Mansherhe	Mr Kaine
1. 4 —	36	Ditto, BODY COLOUR	Zruis	Mulvany
5. 13. 9	37	DESCENT FROM THE CROSS, } Etchings, very scarce		
3. 12 —	38	ECCE HOMO, } and valuable,	by Rembrandt	
2. 7 —	39	PRINT, after *Wilson*, }	engraved by Woollett	} Mr Hanby
2. 5. 6	40	Ditto ditto }		} Mr Wilkinson
14 —	41	Ditto, JUDGMENT OF PARIS,		
1. 7 —	42	Ditto,	Ostade	Mr. Moran
3. 10 —	43	DRAWING,	by Sandby	Mr Vanschoyle
16. 3	44	PRINT,	Vanloo	Mr. Ryall
11. 6	45	Ditto, VIEW OF LIVERPOOL	Rocher	Mulvany
5. 6	46	Ditto, ditto,	ditto	— Lee
11. 4	47	DRAWING,	Zruis	— Lee
1. 4 —	48	Ditto,	by Zuccarelli	Major Price
1. 2. 9	49	Ditto,	ditto	— Lee
2. 12 —	50	Ditto, considered an Original,	by Raphael	— Lee

[3]

161 [Moran].

1 . 4 —	51	(Print,) A Portrait,	*Rigaud*	Mr Marian
1 . 8 —	52	Ditto, Madame La Valliere	*Le Brun*	Lea
5 . 5	53	Ditto, Lord Amherst,	*Sir J. Reynolds*	Mulvany
15 —	54	Ditto, Cattle,	*Berchem*	Lea
1 . 2 . 9	55	Ditto,	*De Jonghe*	Mr Kane
1 . 4 —	56	Ditto, The Rat Catcher,	*ditto,*	Lea
2 . 8 .	57	Drawing,		Mr Bernard
2 . 16 . 10	58	Ditto,	Original and very Valuable, *by Carlo Cignani*	Lea
2 . 16 . 10	59	Ditto,		Lea
7 —	60	Print,	*Ostade*	
12 . 6	61	Drawing,	*Ostade*	Mr Moran
4 —	62	Ditto,	*Bellunger*	Lea
11 . 4 . 6	63	Ditto,	*ditto*	Mr Bernard
2 . 12 —	64	(Painting) Flora,	*Sir Peter Lely*	Lea
3 . 19 . 7	65	Ditto, Oliver Cromwell,	*Walker*	Mrs Ryall

This Picture is considered as an original and a remarkable Likeness.

Osborne

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SECOND DAY'S SALE.

[Gibbiere?]

2-2-8½	66	FRUIT PIECE	*Voermeer*	M. Rogers
5-2-11½	67	LOADING A WAGGON	*S. W. de Fontaine*	M. Gibbiere
11-18-10½	68	A DUTCH FERRY. The Scene busy and interesting	*Ferg.*	Le
11-7-6	69	COMPANION	*ditto*	Le
3-3-3	70	LANDSCAPE, by that celebrated Master	*Orizonti*	Major Sir
3-3-3	71	COMPANION	*Ditto.*	Le.
1-14-1½	72	LANDSCAPE AND BIRDS	*by Barrett and Adolphe*	Gen.l Lockhart
3-3-3	73	A PASSAGE BOAT	*Genser*	Mr Swiftman
5-19-2	74	A PARTY OF HUSSARS	*Ditto*	Le
2-10-11	75	A PORTRAIT IN CRAYONS. The colouring soft, tender, and wonderfully delicate, the tints clear and well united and the character strong and impressive.	*Rosalba*	Mr Byrne
8-10-7½	76	PRODIGAL SON	*Beschey*	Mr O Brien
6-16-6	77	ABRAHAM AND HAGAR	*Ditto.*	Mr O Brien
10-4-9	78	ABRAHAM AND ISAAC. These three Paintings are in his best touch and colour, the subjects interesting and the sentimental expression happily marked.	*Ditto.*	Mr O Brien
1-19-6½	79	ANIMALS	*Quadal*	Mr Mulvanny
3-10-11½	80	LANDSCAPE AND FIGURES	*Nuzio Firajouli*	Mr Roberts
4-13-8½	81	COMPANION	*Ditto*	Mr Swiftman
12-11-3	82	A PHILOSOPHER. A very valuable Specimen of this ancient master.	*Andrea Orgagna*	Mr Byrne

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15-18-6 83 LANDSCAPE AND CATTLE — *Bergen* Major Lee

3.8.3 84 WOLVES — *Quadal* Mr. Mulvanny

4.11.— 85 FLOWERS — *Jeremiah Van Wingben* Mrs Johnson

11.18.10 86 MOONLIGHT — *Vanderneer* Mr. Byrne

7.7.10 87 DUTCH MERRIMENT — *Ferg.* — Mrs Johnson

The heads peculiarly graceful and the whole delicately and sweetly coloured. *Le Soninck? Pupil van der Hol. born at Antwerp 1550*

16.9.10 88 SEA PIECE *was a scholar to Rembrandt* — *Scholar to Rubens died 1660* — *Zeeman* Mr. Byrne

In his clear manner, the disposition well arranged and his aerial effect uncommonly just and beautiful.

23.17.9 89 LANDSCAPE AND FIGURES — *Ferg.* Mr. Gilbert

A much admired composition of this esteemed Master in his best manner which he acquired by a strict observance of Nature.

7.13.3½ 90 A GUARD HOUSE — *Gesner* Mrs Johnson

6.10.6½ 91 COMPANION — *Ditto.* — Do.

22.15.— 92 THE LANDING OF MARY DE MEDICI AT ANTWERP, — *Snayers* Mr. Sweet. to

7.19.3 93 PORTRAIT OF JOHN SOBIESKY ON HORSEBACK — *Adolphe* L.d de Blaquiere

18.15.4½ 94 A DUTCH WOMAN — *Adrian Vanderbugh* Jon. Eckhardt

9.13.4½ 95 BATTLE PIECE — *Vandermulen* Mr. Boatman

6.5.1— 96 A FLEMISH LADY — *Oelmbeing* Mr. Burke

5.13.9 97 VIEW IN SWITZERLAND — *Gesner* Mrs Johnson

27.5.— 98 A DUTCH WEDDING — *Ostade* Mr. Sweetman

Never were the attitudes and justness of expression more humourously and happily adapted to the subject than in this picture, nor is it less to be admired in the important requisites of coloring and keeping.

4.11.— 99 A VIEW IN SWITZERLAND — *Gesner* L.d de Blaquiere

13.13.— 100 A SEA PORT — *Storck* Capt. Waring

Painted with great delicacy of pencil in a clear harmonious tone of colour.

36. 2. 6 101 THE RESURRECTION OF OUR LORD, *Zucarelli* Mr. Bellew

In his fine Italian manner, the groups are in a ſuperior ſtile of compoſition, the colouring beautiful and airy, and the general tint judiciouſly contributes to the grandeur and magnificence of the ſubject.

6. 16. 6 102 A VIEW IN SWITZERLAND, 26 G. *Gesner* L'Ecuyer Blaquiere

29. 11. 6 103 FLEMISH MERRY MAKING, *Ostade* Mr. Osborne

Equal in merit to No. 98. 26 G.

22. 15 – 104 AN ITALIAN MARKET, *C. Bega* Mr. Guebert

39. 16. 3 105 A MAGDALEN, *Carlo Maratti* Mr. Sweetman

The figure is lovely and graceful, the angels are inimitably grouped and ſweetly coloured, the landſcape particularly the foreground is touched with a pencil equal to any maſter in that department of the art.

25 £ — 106 BACCHANALIANS, 26 – £ – 25 *Farrela* G. M.

A grand and claſſical compoſition poſſeſſing all the abilities of Cortona,

7. 7. 12 107 A SCHOOL, *Adrian Van Ostade* Genr. Cockburn

The Characters and expreſſions are juſt and natural, the colouring appropriate and exceedingly tranſparent, and may be truly conſidered the greateſt effort of his abilities in this way.

3. 8. 3 108 A STUDY OF A NATIVITY, in two Colours, *by Pietro Facini* Mr. Burke

7. 7. 10 109 Companion to No, 107, and equally valuable, *A. V. Ostade* Genr. Cockburn

7. 19. 3 110 MOON LIGHT, *D. Teniers, jun.* Mr. Osborne

15. 7. 12 111 Companion, *ditto* Mr. Sweetman

These precious morceaus are in the free ſpirited touch of Teniers, replete with the excellencies of character, colouring, and expreſſion.

9. 13. 4 112 LANDSCAPE, *Bruegbel* Mr. Boyd

7. 19. 3 113 Companion, *ditto* Mr. Boyd

A pair of exceeding beautiful little pictures in the moſt admired finiſh of this Artiſt.

28. 8. 9 114 A DRAWING IN CRAYONS, *after Claude Lorraine* Mr. Byrne

40-19 115 HOLY FAMILY, Vandyke Mr Osborne 165

The uncommon clearneſs and delicacy of the carnations, with the dignity and affection of the Virgin Mother unqueſtionably prove this picture the fineſt effort of the mind and pencil of this admirable and deſervedly eſteemed painter.

23-17-9 116 LANDSCAPE AND FIGURES, Valkenburgh Mr Bellisse

15-18-6 117 A VIEW OF THE HIGHLAND AND SEA SHORE AT PATTEN IN HOLLAND, Francis Mans Capt Waring

A beautiful high finiſhed cabinet picture.

22 £ 118 Companion, Ditto, Capt Waring

49-6-9 119 PUTTING THE INFANT MOSES INTO THE NILE, Juvenet Mr Sweetman

The circumſtance is finely expreſſed by the anxiety of the Mother and her attendant. The keeping is excellent and the Landſcape in a fine taſte.

28-8-9 120 A HOLY FAMILY, Parmegiano Mr Burke

The colouring fine and ſuited to the ſubject; the expreſſion well conceived and the airs of the heads beautiful, elegant and ſpirited.

35-5-3 121 THE WOMAN SOLICITING PARDON FOR TOUCHING THE HEM OF CHRIST'S GARMENT, Francisco Mille Mr Byrne

An elegant and graceful compoſition with the characters animated and dignified; the landſcape glows with a richneſs and harmony that are equally ſurpriſing and pleaſing.

45-10 122 AN ALPINE VIEW, Jacob Ruysdaal Major Sirr

A lovely cabinet picture in his beſt time: for the delicacy of the touch and the great truth and tranſparency of the colouring, it ſtood unrivalled in the Orleans collection.

46-12-9 123 AN ITALIAN PRINCESS, Leonardi da Vinci Mr Osborne

A moſt beautiful and high finiſhed picture of this extraordinary great man.

166 [8] H.F. Limborch ft. 1711

119.8.9 124 A SACRIFICE, C — — H.F. Limborch — Mr Sweetman

A matchleſs production by this celebrated Artiſt, who in this capital performance has ſhewn a ſplendid diſplay of his powers. The truth to nature obſerved throughout, the faſcinating finiſhing, the elegance of drawing and compoſition are unrivalled.

79.12.6 125 A LANDSCAPE, a charming cabinet picture from the Orleans collection, C — £ — by Breughel — La. de Blaquiere

This is certainly the happiest effort of his genius, for beauty and ærial effect, it is worthy of admiration, the figures are well deſigned in their various employments and for accuracy of finiſhing it may be looked upon as the Chef d'Oeuvre of this maſter.

126 POLITICIANS C — — £ — D. Teniers Junr. —

113.15.— The ſimplicity of the manners, ſituations and expreſſions of this ſubject proves in a very high degree what a judicious and critical observer of nature this maſter has been of the order of the people he choſe to repreſent: This very valuable picture is painted in his ſilver tone, for which his latter works were deſervedly valued, and got this ſpecimen a diſtinguiſhed ſituation in the Orleans Collection.

Gully

127 RETURNING FROM THE CHASE, from the Orleans Collection. O — — G — Philip Wouvermans

22.10.— A ſingularly fine picture of this great maſter in which he has given us ſuch a rich and voluptuous combination of excellence as muſt command our admiration and wonder, whether we conſider his profound ſkill in the compoſition, the extraordinary richneſs of the coloring, the perfection of the animals, the charming choice of his ſcenery, his free and ſpirited touch that animates and gives a magic effect to the whole and makes it worthy of a place in the collection of the moſt refined amateur.

Mr Bryne

The Paintings bought by Mr Sweetman are for Mr Bryne except the Battle by Vandermeulen Captain Waring for Sir Jas Strong

Catal	Artist	Dates	School	Painting,Print,Drawing	Buyer	Price £
93	Adolphe,Jos.Ant.	b.1729	German	Painting - Portrait of John Sobiesky on Horsebac	Ld de Blaquiere	7.19. 3.
72	Barrett,Geo, (& Adolph)	1767-1842	Irish	Painting - Landscape & Birds	Genl.Cockburn	1.14. 1.
104	Bega, Cornelis	1620-1664	Dutch	Painting - An Italian Market	Giubert	22.15. 0.
62	Bellanger	d.1789	French	Drawing	Mr. Moran	14. 0.
63	Bellanger ?		French ?	Drawing	Mr. Sherrard	11. 4.
54	Berchem,Claes Pietersz	1620-1683	Dutch	Print - Cattle	Mulvany	15. 0.
83	Bergen, Dirk van	1645-1690	Dutch	Painting - Landscape & Cattle	Major Sirr	15.18. 6.
77	Beschey,Balthasar	1708-1776	Flemish	Painting - Abraham & Hagar	Mrs. O'Brien	6.16. 6.
78	Beschey,Balthasar		Flemish	Painting - Abraham & Isaac	Mrs. O'Brien	10. 4. 9.
76	Beschey,Balthasar		Flemish	Painting - Prodigal Son	Mrs. O'Brien	8.10. 7.
70	Bloemen,Jan Frans van	1662-1749	Flemish	Painting - Landscape	Maj. Sirr	3. 8. 3.
71	Bloemen,Jan Frans van		Flemish	Painting - Companion to 70	Maj. Sirr	3. 8. 3.
125	Brueghel		Flemish	Painting - A Landscape (Orleans Collection)	Ld de Blaquiere	79.12. 6.
113	Brueghel,Jan (the Elder)		Flemish	Painting - Companion to 112	Boyd	7.19. 3.
112	Brueghel,Jan (the Elder)	1568-1625	Flemish	Painting - Landscape	Boyd	9.13. 4.
94	Burg,Adriaan van der	1693-1733	Dutch	Painting - A Dutch Woman	Genl. Cockburn	18.15. 4.
75	Carriera,Rosalba	1675-1757	Italian	Crayon - A Portrait in Crayons	Byrne	2.10.11.
12	Casali,Andrea		Italian	Painting - A Bas Relief	Ald.Cash	14. 0.
57	Cignani, Carlo	1628-1719	Italian	Drawing	Mr. Sherrard	2. 8. 0.
58	Cignani, Carlo		Italian	Drawing	Mr. Sherrard	2.16.10.
59	Cignani, Carlo		Italian	Drawing	Mr. Sherrard	2.16.10.
27	Clerisseau	1721-1820	French	Drawing - Companion to 26	Mr. Maziere	4.10. 0.
26	Clerisseau,Charles		French	Drawing	Mr. Verschoyle	5.13. 9.
9	Crone,Robert	d.1779	Irish	Drawing - Companion to 8	Mulvany	1. 1. 0.
8	Crone,Robert		Irish	Drawing - View of Tivoli	Mulvany	1. 3. 8.
55	De Jonghe, Ludolf		Dutch	Print	Mr. Kane	1. 2. 9.
56	De Jonghe/Jongh	1616-1679	Dutch	Print - The Rat Catcher	Mr. Kane	1. 4. 0.
22	Delane,Solomon	1727-c1784	English	Painting - Morning	Osborne	1. 2. 9.
14	Dominichino - after	1581-1641	Italian	Print	Mr. Moran	12. 0.
13	Dominichino - after		Italian	Print	Mr. Moran	13. 0.
34	Dyck,Anthony van	1599-1641	Flemish	Print	Mr. Moran	12. 0.
115	Dyck,Anthony van		Flemish	Painting - Holy Family	Osborne	40.19. 0.

Caldwell sales catalogue (1-2 March 1809), sorted by ARTIST

Catal	Artist	Dates	School	Painting,Print,Drawing	Buyer	Price £
23	Faber,John (the Younger	1684-1756	English	Print - Lady Boyle	Mrs. Ryall	5. 0.
108	Faccini, Pietro	1560-1602	Italian	Painting - A Study of the Nativity in two colours	Burke	3. 8. 3.
106	Farelli, Giacomo	1624-1706	Italian	Painting - Bacchanalians	Gill (or GM)	25. 0. 0.
69	Ferg,Franz de Paula	1689-1740	Austrian	Painting - Companion to 68	Gibbiere	11. 7. 6.
68	Ferg,Franz de Paula		Austrian	Painting - A Dutch Ferry	Gibbiere	11.18.10.
89	Ferg,Franz de Paula		Austrian	Painting - Landscape & Figures	Giubert	23.17. 9.
87	Ferg,Franz de Paula		Austrian	Painting - Dutch Merriment	Mrs. Johnson	7. 7.10.
81	Ferraiuoli, Nunzio	1661-1735	Italian	Painting - Companion to 80	Sweetman for Byrne	3.13. 6.
80	Ferraiuoli,Nunzio		Italian	Painting - Landscape & Figures	Roberts	3.10.11.
74	Gessner,Conrad	1764-1826	Swiss	Painting - A Party of Hussars	Sweetman for Byrne	5.19. 2.
73	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A Passage Boat	Sweetman for Byrne	3. 8. 3.
90	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A Guard-House	Mrs. Johnson	7.13. 3.
91	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - Companion to 90	Mrs. Johnson	6.10. 6.
99	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A View in Switzerland	Ld de Blaquiere	6.11. 0.
102	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A View in Switzerland	Ld de Blaquiere	6.16. 6.
97	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A View in Switzerland	Mrs. Johnson	5.13. 9.
117	Heeremans,Thomas	c1640-1697	Dutch	Painting - View Dutch Highland & Sea Shore	Capt.Waring for Sir Jas. Stron	15.18. 6.
118	Heeremans,Thomas		Dutch	Painting - Companion to 117	Capt.Waring for Sir Jas. Stron	22. 0. 0.
119	Jouvenet,Jean Baptiste	1644-1717	French	Painting - Putting the infant Moses into the Nile	Sweetman for Byrne	19. 6. 9.
21	Kauffman, Angelica	1740-1807	Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	14. 6.
20	Kauffman, Angelica		Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	11. 0.
19	Kauffman, Angelica		Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	11. 6.
18	Kauffman, Angelica		Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	8. 1.
17	Kauffmann, Angelica		Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	9. 0.
52	Lebrun,Charles	1619-1690	French	Print - Madame la Valliere	Mr. Moran	1. 8. 0.
64	Lely, Sir Peter	1618-1680	English	Painting - Flora	Mrs. Ryall	2.12. 0.
124	Limborch, Hendrik van	1681-1759	Dutch	Painting - A Sacrifice	Sweetman for Byrne	119. 8. 9.
114	Lorraine, Claude - after	1600-1682	French	Drawing - A Drawing in Crayons	Byrne	28. 8. 9.
35	Mansherhe ?		Dutch ?	Drawing	Mr. Kane	3.12. 0.
105	Maratti, Carlo	1625-1713	Italian	Painting - A Magdalen	Sweetman for Byrne	39.16. 3.
10	Mengs,Raphael	1728-1779	~~Italian~~ GERMAN	Drawing - Academy Study	Col. Fox	17. 0.
11	Mengs,Raphael		~~Italian~~	Drawing - Academy Study	Col. Fox	17. 0.

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Catal	Artist	Dates	School	Painting,Print,Drawing	Buyer	Price £
33	Mengs,Raphael		German	Drawing - Academy Figure	Col. Fox	1. 2. 9.
95	Meulen,A.F. van der	1753-1787	Dutch	Painting - A Battle Piece	Sweetman	9.13. 4.
121	Millet, Francisque	1642-1679	French	Painting - Woman Soliciting Pardon for Touching	Byrne	35. 5. 3.
86	Neer,Aert van der	1603/4-1677	Dutch	Painting - Moonlight	Byrne	11.18.10.
96	Oelenhainz,Friedrich		Flemish	Painting - A Flemish Lady	Burke	6. 5. 1.
82	Orcagna,Andrea	1344-1368	Italian	Painting - A Philosopher	Byrne	12.10. 3.
1	Ostade - after		Dutch	Print	Mulvany	3. 9.
29	Ostade,Adriaen	1610-1684	Dutch	Print	Mr. Moran	8. 0.
25	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Print	Mr. Moran	12. 0.
60	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Print	Mr. Sherrard	7. 0.
61	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Drawing	Mr. Moran	12. 6.
42	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Print	Mr. Moran	1. 7. 0.
109	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Painting - Companion to 107	Genl. Cockburn	7. 7.10.
107	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Painting - A School	Genl. Cockburn	7. 7. 1.
98	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Painting - A Dutch Wedding	Sweetman for Byrne	27. 5. 0.
103	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Painting - Flemish Merry Making	Osborne	29.11. 6.
120	Parmegiano,Francesco	1503-1540	Italian	Painting - A Holy Family	Burke	28. 8. 9.
2	Poussin,Nicolas - after	1594-1665	French	Print	Mulvany	11. 4.
84	Quadal,Martin Ferdinand	1736-1808	Austrian	Painting - Wolves	Mulvany	3. 8. 3.
79	Quadal,Martin Ferdinand		Austrian	Painting - Animals	Mulvany	1.19. 6.
50	Raphael	1483-1420	Italian	Drawing	Major Sirr	2.12. 0.
38	Rembrandt		Dutch	Etching - Ecce Homo	No purchaser named	3.10. 0.
37	Rembrandt	1606-1669	Dutch	Etching - Descent from the Cross	No purchaser named	5.13. 9.
7	Rembrandt - after		Dutch	Print	Mr. Moran	17. 0.
53	Reynolds, Sir Joshua		English	Print - Lord Amhurst	Mulvany	5. 5.
4	Reynolds, Sir Joshua	1723-1792	English	Print - Lord Ligonier	Ld de Blaquiere	17. 0.
51	Rigaud,Hyacinthe	1659-1743	French	Print - A Portrait	Mr. Moran	1. 4. 0.
3	Rigaud,Hyacinthe - after		French	Print	Mulvany	9. 6.
5	Roberts		Irish	Drawing - St. Peter	Mulvany	1. 2. 9.
45	Rocher ?			Print - View of Liverpool	Mulvany	14. 6.
46	Rocher ?			Print - View of Liverpool	Mulvany	5. 6.
16	Rowlandson,Thomas	1756-1827	English	Drawing	Mrs. Ryall	1.10. 0.

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Catal	Artist	Dates	School	Painting,Print,Drawing	Buyer	Price £
15	Rubens,Peter Paul	1577-1640	Flemish	Print - Last Supper	Mr. Kane	2. 1. 0.
122	Ruisdael,Jacob van	1628/9-1682	Dutch	Painting - An Alpine View (Orleans Collection)	Maj. Sirr	45.10. 0.
43	Sandby,Paul	1730-1809	English	Drawing	Mr. Verschoyle	3.10. 0.
92	Snayers, Pieter	1681-1752	Flemish	Painting - Mary of Medici Landing at Antwerp	Sweetman for Byrne	22.15. 0.
100	Storck,Abraham	c1630-1710	Dutch	Painting - A Sea Port	Capt.Waring for Sir Jas Stron	13.13. 0.
67	Swebach,J.F.J./Fontaine	1769-1823	French	Painting - Loading a Waggon	Gibbiere	5. 2. 4.
110	Teniers, D, (Junior)		Dutch	Painting - Moonlight	Osborne	7.19. 3.
111	Teniers, D, (Junior)	1610-1690	Dutch	Painting - Companion to 110	Sweetman for Byrne	15. 7. 1.
126	Teniers, D. (Junior)		Dutch	Painting - Politicians (Orleans Collection)	Gill (or GM)	113.15. 0.
6	Unknown			Drawing of Vicenja	Mulvany	2.10. 0.
30	Unknown			Drawing - after Raphael	Col. Fox	1. 2. 9.
31	Unknown			Drawing - after Raphael	Col. Fox	1. 2. 9.
32	Unknown			Drawing - after Raphael	Col. Fox	1. 2. 9.
28	Unknown			Drawing - The Apollo Belvedere	Mr. Henly	3. 8. 3.
24	Unknown			Drawing	Mrs. Ryall	5. 6.
116	Valkenburg,Dirck	1675-1721	Dutch	Painting - Landscape & Figures	Bellieu	23.17. 9.
44	Vanloo, Francois	1708-1732	Flemish	Print	Mrs. Ryall	16. 3.
66	Vermeer,Barent		Dutch	Painting - Fruit Piece	Rogers	2. 2. 8.
123	Vinci,Leonardo da	1459-1519	Italian	Painting - An Italian Princess	Osborne	46.12. 9.
65	Walker,Robert	d.1656/8	English	Painting - Oliver Cromwell	Osborne	3.19. 7.
39	Wilson,Richard - after		English	Print - engraved by Woollett	Mr. Henly	2. 7. 0.
41	Wilson,Richard - after		English	Print - Judgment of Paris	Mr. Wilkinson	14. 0.
40	Wilson,Richard - after	1714-1782	English	Print - engraved by Woollett	Mr. Henly	2. 5. 6.
85	Winghen,Jeremiah Van		Dutch	Painting - Flowers	Mrs. Johnson	4.11. 0.
127	Wouwermans,Philips	1619-1669	Dutch	Painting - Returning from the Chace (Orleans Co	Byrne	227.10. 0.
88	Zeemann	1623-1667	Dutch	Painting - Sea Piece	Byrne	16. 9.10.
36	Zruis ?			Drawing - Body Colour	Mulvany	1. 4. 0.
47	Zruis ?			Drawing	Mulvany	11. 4.
48	Zuccarelli,Francesco	1702-1788	Italian	Drawing	Maj. Sirr	1. 4. 0.
49	Zuccarelli,Francesco		Italian	Drawing	Maj. Sirr	1. 2. 9.
101	Zuccarelli,Francesco		Italian	Painting - The Resurrection of Our Lord	Bellieu	34. 2. 6.

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Catal	Artist	Dates	School	Painting,Print,Drawing	Buyer	Price £
46	Rocher ?			Print - View of Liverpool	Mulvany	5. 6.
36	Zruis ?			Drawing - Body Colour	Mulvany	1. 4. 0.
32	Unknown			Drawing - after Raphael	Col. Fox	1. 2. 9.
31	Unknown			Drawing - after Raphael	Col. Fox	1. 2. 9.
30	Unknown			Drawing - after Raphael	Col. Fox	1. 2. 9.
28	Unknown			Drawing - The Apollo Belvedere	Mr. Henly	3. 8. 3.
24	Unknown			Drawing	Mrs. Ryall	5. 6.
47	Zruis ?			Drawing	Mulvany	11. 4.
6	Unknown			Drawing of Vicenja	Mulvany	2.10. 0.
45	Rocher ?			Print - View of Liverpool	Mulvany	14. 6.
84	Quadal,Martin Ferdinand	1736-1808	Austrian	Painting - Wolves	Mulvany	3. 8. 3.
79	Quadal,Martin Ferdinand		Austrian	Painting - Animals	Mulvany	1.19. 6.
89	Ferg,Franz de Paula		Austrian	Painting - Landscape & Figures	Giubert	23.17. 9.
68	Ferg,Franz de Paula		Austrian	Painting - A Dutch Ferry	Gibbiere	11.18.10.
87	Ferg,Franz de Paula		Austrian	Painting - Dutch Merriment	Mrs. Johnson	7. 7.10.
69	Ferg,Franz de Paula	1689-1740	Austrian	Painting - Companion to 68	Gibbiere	11. 7. 6.
94	Burg,Adriaan van der	1693-1733	Dutch	Painting - A Dutch Woman	Genl. Cockburn	18.15. 4.
127	Wouwermans,Philips	1619-1669	Dutch	Painting - Returning from the Chace (Orleans Co	Byrne	227.10. 0.
42	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Print	Mr. Moran	1. 7. 0.
88	Zeemann	1623-1667	Dutch	Painting - Sea Piece	Byrne	16. 9.10.
85	Winghen,Jeremiah Van		Dutch	Painting - Flowers	Mrs. Johnson	4.11. 0.
56	De Jonghe/Jongh	1616-1679	Dutch	Print - The Rat Catcher	Mr. Kane	1. 4. 0.
83	Bergen, Dirk van	1645-1690	Dutch	Painting - Landscape & Cattle	Major Sirr	15.18. 6.
66	Vermeer,Barent		Dutch	Painting - Fruit Piece	Rogers	2. 2. 8.
1	Ostade - after		Dutch	Print	Mulvany	3. 9.
37	Rembrandt	1606-1669	Dutch	Etching - Descent from the Cross	No purchaser named	5.13. 9.
61	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Drawing	Mr. Moran	12. 6.
60	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Print	Mr. Sherrard	7. 0.
54	Berchem,Claes Pietersz	1620-1683	Dutch	Print - Cattle	Mulvany	15. 0.
55	De Jonghe, Ludolf		Dutch	Print	Mr. Kane	1. 2. 9.
86	Neer,Aert van der	1603/4-1677	Dutch	Painting - Moonlight	Byrne	11.18.10.
111	Teniers, D, (Junior)	1610-1690	Dutch	Painting - Companion to 110	Sweetman for Byrne	15. 7. 1.

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Catal	Artist	Dates	School	Painting,Print,Drawing	Buyer	Price £
126	Teniers, D. (Junior)		Dutch	Painting - Politicians (Orleans Collection)	Gill (or GM)	113.15. 0.
124	Limborch, Hendrik van	1681-1759	Dutch	Painting - A Sacrifice	Sweetman for Byrne	119. 8. 9.
122	Ruisdael,Jacob van	1628/9-1682	Dutch	Painting - An Alpine View (Orleans Collection)	Maj. Sirr	45.10. 0.
7	Rembrandt - after		Dutch	Print	Mr. Moran	17. 0.
118	Heeremans,Thomas		Dutch	Painting - Companion to 117	Capt.Waring for Sir Jas. Stron	22. 0. 0.
117	Heeremans,Thomas	c1640-1697	Dutch	Painting - View Dutch Highland & Sea Shore	Capt.Waring for Sir Jas. Stron	15.18. 6.
116	Valkenburg,Dirck	1675-1721	Dutch	Painting - Landscape & Figures	Bellieu	23.17. 9.
95	Meulen,A.F. van der	1753-1787	Dutch	Painting - A Battle Piece	Sweetman	9.13. 4.
25	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Print	Mr. Moran	12. 0.
38	Rembrandt		Dutch	Etching - Ecce Homo	No purchaser named	3.10. 0.
110	Teniers, D, (Junior)		Dutch	Painting - Moonlight	Osborne	7.19. 3.
100	Storck,Abraham	c1630-1710	Dutch	Painting - A Sea Port	Capt.Waring for Sir Jas Stron	13.13. 0.
29	Ostade,Adriaen	1610-1684	Dutch	Print	Mr. Moran	8. 0.
107	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Painting - A School	Genl. Cockburn	7. 7. 1.
104	Bega, Cornelis	1620-1664	Dutch	Painting - An Italian Market	Giubert	22.15. 0.
103	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Painting - Flemish Merry Making	Osborne	29.11. 6.
109	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Painting - Companion to 107	Genl. Cockburn	7. 7.10.
98	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Painting - A Dutch Wedding	Sweetman for Byrne	27. 5. 0.
35	Mansherhe ?		Dutch ?	Drawing	Mr. Kane	3.12. 0.
65	Walker,Robert	d.1656/8	English	Painting - Oliver Cromwell	Osborne	3.19. 7.
4	Reynolds, Sir Joshua	1723-1792	English	Print - Lord Ligonier	Ld de Blaquiere	17. 0.
64	Lely, Sir Peter	1618-1680	English	Painting - Flora	Mrs. Ryall	2.12. 0.
39	Wilson,Richard - after		English	Print - engraved by Woollett	Mr. Henly	2. 7. 0.
40	Wilson,Richard - after	1714-1782	English	Print - engraved by Woollett	Mr. Henly	2. 5. 6.
16	Rowlandson,Thomas	1756-1827	English	Drawing	Mrs. Ryall	1.10. 0.
43	Sandby,Paul	1730-1809	English	Drawing	Mr. Verschoyle	3.10. 0.
41	Wilson,Richard - after		English	Print - Judgment of Paris	Mr. Wilkinson	14. 0.
53	Reynolds, Sir Joshua		English	Print - Lord Amhurst	Mulvany	5. 5.
23	Faber,John (the Younger	1684-1756	English	Print - Lady Boyle	Mrs. Ryall	5. 0.
22	Delane,Solomon	1727-c1784	English	Painting - Morning	Osborne	1. 2. 9.
112	Brueghel,Jan (the Elder)	1568-1625	Flemish	Painting - Landscape	Boyd	9.13. 4.
96	Oelenhainz,Friedrich		Flemish	Painting - A Flemish Lady	Burke	6. 5. 1.

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Catal	Artist	Dates	School	Painting,Print,Drawing	Buyer	Price £
78	Beschey,Balthasar		Flemish	Painting - Abraham & Isaac	Mrs. O'Brien	10. 4. 9.
34	Dyck,Anthony van	1599-1641	Flemish	Print	Mr. Moran	12. 0.
76	Beschey,Balthasar		Flemish	Painting - Prodigal Son	Mrs. O'Brien	8.10. 7.
115	Dyck,Anthony van		Flemish	Painting - Holy Family	Osborne	40.19. 0.
113	Brueghel,Jan (the Elder)		Flemish	Painting - Companion to 112	Boyd	7.19. 3.
15	Rubens,Peter Paul	1577-1640	Flemish	Print - Last Supper	Mr. Kane	2. 1. 0.
77	Beschey,Balthasar	1708-1776	Flemish	Painting - Abraham & Hagar	Mrs. O'Brien	6.16. 6.
125	Brueghel		Flemish	Painting - A Landscape (Orleans Collection)	Ld de Blaquiere	79.12. 6.
44	Vanloo, Francois	1708-1732	Flemish	Print	Mrs. Ryall	16. 3.
92	Snayers, Pieter	1681-1752	Flemish	Painting - Mary of Medici Landing at Antwerp	Sweetman for Byrne	22.15. 0.
71	Bloemen,Jan Frans van		Flemish	Painting - Companion to 70	Maj. Sirr	3. 8. 3.
70	Bloemen,Jan Frans van	1662-1749	Flemish	Painting - Landscape	Maj. Sirr	3. 8. 3.
67	Swebach,J.F.J./Fontaine	1769-1823	French	Painting - Loading a Waggon	Gibbiere	5. 2. 4.
26	Clerisseau,Charles		French	Drawing	Mr. Verschoyle	5.13. 9.
27	Clerisseau	1721-1820	French	Drawing - Companion to 26	Mr. Maziere	4.10. 0.
114	Lorraine, Claude - after	1600-1682	French	Drawing - A Drawing in Crayons	Byrne	28. 8. 9.
52	Lebrun,Charles	1619-1690	French	Print - Madame la Valliere	Mr. Moran	1. 8. 0.
119	Jouvenet,Jean Baptiste	1644-1717	French	Painting - Putting the infant Moses into the Nile	Sweetman for Byrne	19. 6. 9.
121	Millet, Francisque	1642-1679	French	Painting - Woman Soliciting Pardon for Touching	Byrne	35. 5. 3.
3	Rigaud,Hyacinthe - after		French	Print	Mulvany	9. 6.
2	Poussin,Nicolas - after	1594-1665	French	Print	Mulvany	11. 4.
62	Bellanger	d.1789	French	Drawing	Mr. Moran	14. 0.
51	Rigaud,Hyacinthe	1659-1743	French	Print - A Portrait	Mr. Moran	1. 4. 0.
63	Bellanger ?		French ?	Drawing	Mr. Sherrard	11. 4.
33	Mengs,Raphael		German	Drawing - Academy Figure	Col. Fox	1. 2. 9.
93	Adolphe,Jos.Ant.	b.1729	German	Painting - Portrait of John Sobiesky on Horsebac	Ld de Blaquiere	7.19. 3.
72	Barrett,Geo, (& Adolph)	1767-1842	Irish	Painting - Landscape & Birds	Genl.Cockburn	1.14. 1.
5	Roberts		Irish	Drawing - St. Peter	Mulvany	1. 2. 9.
9	Crone,Robert	d.1779	Irish	Drawing - Companion to 8	Mulvany	1. 1. 0.
8	Crone,Robert		Irish	Drawing - View of Tivoli	Mulvany	1. 3. 8.
49	Zuccarelli,Francesco		Italian	Drawing	Maj. Sirr	1. 2. 9.
12	Casali,Andrea		Italian	Painting - A Bas Relief	Ald.Cash	14. 0.

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13	Dominichino - after		Italian	Print	Mr. Moran	13. 0.
14	Dominichino - after	1581-1641	Italian	Print	Mr. Moran	12. 0.
57	Cignani, Carlo	1628-1719	Italian	Drawing	Mr. Sherrard	2. 8. 0.
120	Parmegiano,Francesco	1503-1540	Italian	Painting - A Holy Family	Burke	28. 8. 9.
10	Mengs,Raphael	1728-1779	Italian	Drawing - Academy Study	Col. Fox	17. 0.
58	Cignani, Carlo		Italian	Drawing	Mr. Sherrard	2.16.10.
123	Vinci,Leonardo da	1459-1519	Italian	Painting - An Italian Princess	Osborne	46.12. 9.
11	Mengs,Raphael		Italian	Drawing - Academy Study	Col. Fox	17. 0.
50	Raphael	1483-1420	Italian	Drawing	Major Sirr	2.12. 0.
48	Zuccarelli,Francesco	1702-1788	Italian	Drawing	Maj. Sirr	1. 4. 0.
80	Ferraiuoli,Nunzio		Italian	Painting - Landscape & Figures	Roberts	3.10.11.
81	Ferraiuoli, Nunzio	1661-1735	Italian	Painting - Companion to 80	Sweetman for Byrne	3.13. 6.
108	Faccini, Pietro	1560-1602	Italian	Painting - A Study of the Nativity in two colours	Burke	3. 8. 3.
106	Farelli, Giacomo	1624-1706	Italian	Painting - Bacchanalians	Gill (or GM)	25. 0. 0.
105	Maratti, Carlo	1625-1713	Italian	Painting - A Magdalen	Sweetman for Byrne	39.16. 3.
82	Orcagna,Andrea	1344-1368	Italian	Painting - A Philosopher	Byrne	12.10. 3.
59	Cignani, Carlo		Italian	Drawing	Mr. Sherrard	2.16.10.
101	Zuccarelli,Francesco		Italian	Painting - The Resurrection of Our Lord	Bellieu	34. 2. 6.
75	Carriera,Rosalba	1675-1757	Italian	Crayon - A Portrait in Crayons	Byrne	2.10.11.
20	Kauffman, Angelica		Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	11. 0.
73	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A Passage Boat	Sweetman for Byrne	3. 8. 3.
17	Kauffmann, Angelica		Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	9. 0.
102	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A View in Switzerland	Ld de Blaquiere	6.16. 6.
19	Kauffman, Angelica		Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	11. 6.
21	Kauffman, Angelica	1740-1807	Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	14. 6.
74	Gessner,Conrad	1764-1826	Swiss	Painting - A Party of Hussars	Sweetman for Byrne	5.19. 2.
90	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A Guard House	Mrs. Johnson	7.13. 3.
91	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - Companion to 90	Mrs. Johnson	6.10. 6.
99	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A View in Switzerland	Ld de Blaquiere	6.11. 0.
97	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A View in Switzerland	Mrs. Johnson	5.13. 9.
18	Kauffman, Angelica		Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	8. 1.

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Catal	Artist	Dates	School	Painting,Print,Drawing	Buyer	Price £
75	Carriera,Rosalba	1675-1757	Italian	Crayon - A Portrait in Crayons	Byrne	2.10.11.
59	Cignani, Carlo		Italian	Drawing	Mr. Sherrard	2.16.10.
16	Rowlandson,Thomas	1756-1827	English	Drawing	Mrs. Ryall	1.10. 0.
61	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Drawing	Mr. Moran	12. 6.
43	Sandby,Paul	1730-1809	English	Drawing	Mr. Verschoyle	3.10. 0.
26	Clerisseau,Charles		French	Drawing	Mr. Verschoyle	5.13. 9.
62	Bellanger	d.1789	French	Drawing	Mr. Moran	14, 0.
63	Bellanger ?		French ?	Drawing	Mr. Sherrard	11. 4.
35	Mansherhe ?		Dutch ?	Drawing	Mr. Kane	3.12. 0.
50	Raphael	1483-1420	Italian	Drawing	Major Sirr	2.12. 0.
58	Cignani, Carlo		Italian	Drawing	Mr. Sherrard	2.16.10.
57	Cignani, Carlo	1628-1719	Italian	Drawing	Mr. Sherrard	2. 8. 0.
48	Zuccarelli,Francesco	1702-1788	Italian	Drawing	Maj. Sirr	1. 4. 0.
49	Zuccarelli,Francesco		Italian	Drawing	Maj. Sirr	1. 2. 9.
24	Unknown			Drawing	Mrs. Ryall	5. 6.
47	Zruis ?			Drawing	Mulvany	11. 4.
36	Zruis ?			Drawing - Body Colour	Mulvany	1. 4. 0.
114	Lorraine, Claude - after	1600-1682	French	Drawing - A Drawing in Crayons	Byrne	28. 8. 9.
19	Kauffman, Angelica		Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	11. 6.
20	Kauffman, Angelica		Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	11. 0.
18	Kauffman, Angelica		Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	8. 1.
17	Kauffmann, Angelica		Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	9. 0.
21	Kauffman, Angelica	1740-1807	Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	14. 6.
33	Mengs,Raphael		German	Drawing - Academy Figure	Col. Fox	1. 2. 9.
11	Mengs,Raphael		Italian	Drawing - Academy Study	Col. Fox	17. 0.
10	Mengs,Raphael	1728-1779	Italian	Drawing - Academy Study	Col. Fox	17. 0.
31	Unknown			Drawing - after Raphael	Col. Fox	1. 2. 9.
32	Unknown			Drawing - after Raphael	Col. Fox	1. 2. 9.
30	Unknown			Drawing - after Raphael	Col. Fox	1. 2. 9.
27	Clerisseau	1721-1820	French	Drawing - Companion to 26	Mr. Maziere	4.10. 0.
9	Crone,Robert	d.1779	Irish	Drawing - Companion to 8	Mulvany	1. 1. 0.
5	Roberts		Irish	Drawing - St. Peter	Mulvany	1. 2. 9.

Caldwell sales catalogue (1-2 March 1809), sorted by MEDIA

Catal	Artist	Dates	School	Painting,Print,Drawing	Buyer	Price £
28	Unknown			Drawing - The Apollo Belvedere	Mr. Henly	3. 8. 3.
8	Crone,Robert		Irish	Drawing - View of Tivoli	Mulvany	1. 3. 8.
6	Unknown			Drawing of Vicenja	Mulvany	2.10. 0.
37	Rembrandt	1606-1669	Dutch	Etching - Descent from the Cross	No purchaser named	5.13. 9.
38	Rembrandt		Dutch	Etching - Ecce Homo	No purchaser named	3.10. 0.
12	Casali,Andrea		Italian	Painting - A Bas Relief	Ald.Cash	14. 0.
95	Meulen,A.F. van der	1753-1787	Dutch	Painting - A Battle Piece	Sweetman	9.13. 4.
68	Ferg,Franz de Paula		Austrian	Painting - A Dutch Ferry	Gibbiere	11.18.10.
98	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Painting - A Dutch Wedding	Sweetman for Byrne	27. 5. 0.
94	Burg,Adriaan van der	1693-1733	Dutch	Painting - A Dutch Woman	Genl. Cockburn	18.15. 4.
96	Oelenhainz,Friedrich		Flemish	Painting - A Flemish Lady	Burke	6. 5. 1.
90	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A Guard House	Mrs. Johnson	7.13. 3.
120	Parmegiano,Francesco	1503-1540	Italian	Painting - A Holy Family	Burke	28. 8. 9.
125	Brueghel		Flemish	Painting - A Landscape (Orleans Collection)	Ld de Blaquiere	79.12. 6.
105	Maratti, Carlo	1625-1713	Italian	Painting - A Magdalen	Sweetman for Byrne	39.16. 3.
74	Gessner,Conrad	1764-1826	Swiss	Painting - A Party of Hussars	Sweetman for Byrne	5.19. 2.
73	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A Passage Boat	Sweetman for Byrne	3. 8. 3.
82	Orcagna,Andrea	1344-1368	Italian	Painting - A Philosopher	Byrne	12.10. 3.
124	Limborch, Hendrik van	1681-1759	Dutch	Painting - A Sacrifice	Sweetman for Byrne	119. 8. 9.
107	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Painting - A School	Genl. Cockburn	7. 7. 1.
100	Storck,Abraham	c1630-1710	Dutch	Painting - A Sea Port	Capt.Waring for Sir Jas Stron	13.13. 0.
108	Faccini, Pietro	1560-1602	Italian	Painting - A Study of the Nativity in two colours	Burke	3. 8. 3.
97	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A View in Switzerland	Mrs. Johnson	5.13. 9.
102	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A View in Switzerland	Ld de Blaquiere	6.16. 6.
99	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A View in Switzerland	Ld de Blaquiere	6.11. 0.
77	Beschey,Balthasar	1708-1776	Flemish	Painting - Abraham & Hagar	Mrs. O'Brien	6.16. 6.
78	Beschey,Balthasar		Flemish	Painting - Abraham & Isaac	Mrs. O'Brien	10. 4. 9.
122	Ruisdael,Jacob van	1628/9-1682	Dutch	Painting - An Alpine View (Orleans Collection)	Maj. Sirr	45.10. 0.
104	Bega, Cornelis	1620-1664	Dutch	Painting - An Italian Market	Giubert	22.15. 0.
123	Vinci,Leonardo da	1459-1519	Italian	Painting - An Italian Princess	Osborne	46.12. 9.
79	Quadal,Martin Ferdinand		Austrian	Painting - Animals	Mulvany	1.19. 6.
106	Farelli, Giacomo	1624-1706	Italian	Painting - Bacchanalians	Gill (or GM)	25. 0. 0.

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Catal	Artist	Dates	School	Painting,Print,Drawing	Buyer	Price £
88	Zeemann	1623-1667	Dutch	Painting - Sea Piece	Byrne	16. 9.10.
101	Zuccarelli,Francesco		Italian	Painting - The Resurrection of Our Lord	Bellieu	34. 2. 6.
117	Heeremans,Thomas	c1640-1697	Dutch	Painting - View Dutch Highland & Sea Shore	Capt.Waring for Sir Jas. Stron	15.18. 6.
84	Quadal,Martin Ferdinand	1736-1808	Austrian	Painting - Wolves	Mulvany	3. 8. 3.
121	Millet, Francisque	1642-1679	French	Painting - Woman Soliciting Pardon for Touching	Byrne	35. 5. 3.
1	Ostade - after		Dutch	Print	Mulvany	3. 9.
14	Dominichino - after	1581-1641	Italian	Print	Mr. Moran	12. 0.
44	Vanloo, Francois	1708-1732	Flemish	Print	Mrs. Ryall	16. 3.
7	Rembrandt - after		Dutch	Print	Mr. Moran	17. 0.
3	Rigaud,Hyacinthe - after		French	Print	Mulvany	9. 6.
2	Poussin,Nicolas - after	1594-1665	French	Print	Mulvany	11. 4.
13	Dominichino - after		Italian	Print	Mr. Moran	13. 0.
29	Ostade,Adriaen	1610-1684	Dutch	Print	Mr. Moran	8. 0.
60	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Print	Mr. Sherrard	7. 0.
25	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Print	Mr. Moran	12. 0.
42	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Print	Mr. Moran	1. 7. 0.
34	Dyck,Anthony van	1599-1641	Flemish	Print	Mr. Moran	12. 0.
55	De Jonghe, Ludolf		Dutch	Print	Mr. Kane	1. 2. 9.
51	Rigaud,Hyacinthe	1659-1743	French	Print - A Portrait	Mr. Moran	1. 4. 0.
54	Berchem,Claes Pietersz	1620-1683	Dutch	Print - Cattle	Mulvany	15. 0.
40	Wilson,Richard - after	1714-1782	English	Print - engraved by Woollett	Mr. Henly	2. 5. 6.
39	Wilson,Richard - after		English	Print - engraved by Woollett	Mr. Henly	2. 7. 0.
41	Wilson,Richard - after		English	Print - Judgment of Paris	Mr. Wilkinson	14. 0.
23	Faber,John (the Younger	1684-1756	English	Print - Lady Boyle	Mrs. Ryall	5. 0.
15	Rubens,Peter Paul	1577-1640	Flemish	Print - Last Supper	Mr. Kane	2. 1. 0.
53	Reynolds, Sir Joshua		English	Print - Lord Amhurst	Mulvany	5. 5.
4	Reynolds, Sir Joshua	1723-1792	English	Print - Lord Ligonier	Ld de Blaquiere	17. 0.
52	Lebrun,Charles	1619-1690	French	Print - Madame la Valliere	Mr. Moran	1. 8. 0.
56	De Jonghe/Jongh	1616-1679	Dutch	Print - The Rat Catcher	Mr. Kane	1. 4. 0.
46	Rocher ?			Print - View of Liverpool	Mulvany	5. 6.
45	Rocher ?			Print - View of Liverpool	Mulvany	14. 6.

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Catal	Artist	Dates	School	Painting,Print,Drawing	Buyer	Price £
109	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Painting - Companion to 107	Genl. Cockburn	7. 7.10.
111	Teniers, D, (Junior)	1610-1690	Dutch	Painting - Companion to 110	Sweetman for Byrne	15. 7. 1.
113	Brueghel,Jan (the Elder)		Flemish	Painting - Companion to 112	Boyd	7.19. 3.
118	Heeremans,Thomas		Dutch	Painting - Companion to 117	Capt.Waring for Sir Jas. Stron	22. 0. 0.
69	Ferg,Franz de Paula	1689-1740	Austrian	Painting - Companion to 68	Gibbiere	11. 7. 6.
71	Bloemen,Jan Frans van		Flemish	Painting - Companion to 70	Maj. Sirr	3. 8. 3.
81	Ferraiuoli, Nunzio	1661-1735	Italian	Painting - Companion to 80	Sweetman for Byrne	3.13. 6.
91	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - Companion to 90	Mrs. Johnson	6.10. 6.
87	Ferg,Franz de Paula		Austrian	Painting - Dutch Merriment	Mrs. Johnson	7. 7.10.
103	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Painting - Flemish Merry Making	Osborne	29.11. 6.
64	Lely, Sir Peter	1618-1680	English	Painting - Flora	Mrs. Ryall	2.12. 0.
85	Winghen,Jeremiah Van		Dutch	Painting - Flowers	Mrs. Johnson	4.11. 0.
66	Vermeer,Barent		Dutch	Painting - Fruit Piece	Rogers	2. 2. 8.
115	Dyck,Anthony van		Flemish	Painting - Holy Family	Osborne	40.19. 0.
112	Brueghel,Jan (the Elder)	1568-1625	Flemish	Painting - Landscape	Boyd	9.13. 4.
70	Bloemen,Jan Frans van	1662-1749	Flemish	Painting - Landscape	Maj. Sirr	3. 8. 3.
72	Barrett,Geo, (& Adolph)	1767-1842	Irish	Painting - Landscape & Birds	Genl.Cockburn	1.14. 1.
83	Bergen, Dirk van	1645-1690	Dutch	Painting - Landscape & Cattle	Major Sirr	15.18. 6.
116	Valkenburg,Dirck	1675-1721	Dutch	Painting - Landscape & Figures	Bellieu	23.17. 9.
89	Ferg,Franz de Paula		Austrian	Painting - Landscape & Figures	Giubert	23.17. 9.
80	Ferraiuoli,Nunzio		Italian	Painting - Landscape & Figures	Roberts	3.10.11.
67	Swebach,J.F.J./Fontaine	1769-1823	French	Painting - Loading a Waggon	Gibbiere	5. 2. 4.
92	Snayers, Pieter	1681-1752	Flemish	Painting - Mary of Medici Landing at Antwerp	Sweetman for Byrne	22.15. 0.
86	Neer,Aert van der	1603/4-1677	Dutch	Painting - Moonlight	Byrne	11.18.10.
110	Teniers, D, (Junior)		Dutch	Painting - Moonlight	Osborne	7.19. 3.
22	Delane,Solomon	1727-c1784	English	Painting - Morning	Osborne	1. 2. 9.
65	Walker,Robert	d.1656/8	English	Painting - Oliver Cromwell	Osborne	3.19. 7.
126	Teniers, D. (Junior)		Dutch	Painting - Politicians (Orleans Collection)	Gill (or GM)	113.15. 0.
93	Adolphe,Jos.Ant.	b.1729	German	Painting - Portrait of John Sobiesky on Horsebac	Ld de Blaquiere	7.19. 3.
76	Beschey,Balthasar		Flemish	Painting - Prodigal Son	Mrs. O'Brien	8.10. 7.
119	Jouvenet,Jean Baptiste	1644-1717	French	Painting - Putting the infant Moses into the Nile	Sweetman for Byrne	19. 6. 9.
127	Wouwermans,Philips	1619-1669	Dutch	Painting - Returning from the Chace (Orleans Co	Byrne	227.10. 0.

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Catal	Artist	Dates	School	Painting,Print,Drawing	Buyer	Price £
12	Casali,Andrea		Italian	Painting - A Bas Relief	Ald.Cash	14. 0.
116	Valkenburg,Dirck	1675-1721	Dutch	Painting - Landscape & Figures	Bellieu	23.17. 9.
101	Zuccarelli,Francesco		Italian	Painting - The Resurrection of Our Lord	Bellieu	34. 2. 6.
113	Brueghel,Jan (the Elder)		Flemish	Painting - Companion to 112	Boyd	7.19. 3.
112	Brueghel,Jan (the Elder)	1568-1625	Flemish	Painting - Landscape	Boyd	9.13. 4.
108	Faccini, Pietro	1560-1602	Italian	Painting - A Study of the Nativity in two colours	Burke	3. 8. 3.
120	Parmegiano,Francesco	1503-1540	Italian	Painting - A Holy Family	Burke	28. 8. 9.
96	Oelenhainz,Friedrich		Flemish	Painting - A Flemish Lady	Burke	6. 5. 1.
121	Millet, Francisque	1642-1679	French	Painting - Woman Soliciting Pardon for Touching	Byrne	35. 5. 3.
127	Wouwermans,Philips	1619-1669	Dutch	Painting - Returning from the Chace (Orleans Co	Byrne	227.10. 0.
86	Neer,Aert van der	1603/4-1677	Dutch	Painting - Moonlight	Byrne	11.18.10.
75	Carriera,Rosalba	1675-1757	Italian	Crayon - A Portrait in Crayons	Byrne	2.10.11.
114	Lorraine, Claude - after	1600-1682	French	Drawing - A Drawing in Crayons	Byrne	28. 8. 9.
82	Orcagna,Andrea	1344-1368	Italian	Painting - A Philosopher	Byrne	12.10. 3.
88	Zeemann	1623-1667	Dutch	Painting - Sea Piece	Byrne	16. 9.10.
100	Storck,Abraham	c1630-1710	Dutch	Painting - A Sea Port	Capt.Waring for Sir Jas Stron	13.13. 0.
118	Heeremans,Thomas		Dutch	Painting - Companion to 117	Capt.Waring for Sir Jas. Stron	22. 0. 0.
117	Heeremans,Thomas	c1640-1697	Dutch	Painting - View Dutch Highland & Sea Shore	Capt.Waring for Sir Jas. Stron	15.18. 6.
30	Unknown			Drawing - after Raphael	Col. Fox	1. 2. 9.
32	Unknown			Drawing - after Raphael	Col. Fox	1. 2. 9.
31	Unknown			Drawing - after Raphael	Col. Fox	1. 2. 9.
11	Mengs,Raphael		~~Italian~~	Drawing - Academy Study	Col. Fox	17. 0.
10	Mengs,Raphael	1728-1779	~~Italian~~	Drawing - Academy Study	Col. Fox	17. 0.
33	Mengs,Raphael		German	Drawing - Academy Figure	Col. Fox	1. 2. 9.
94	Burg,Adriaan van der	1693-1733	Dutch	Painting - A Dutch Woman	Genl. Cockburn	18.15. 4.
107	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Painting - A School	Genl. Cockburn	7. 7. 1.
109	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Painting - Companion to 107	Genl. Cockburn	7. 7.10.
72	Barrett,Geo, (& Adolph)	1767-1842	Irish	Painting - Landscape & Birds	Genl.Cockburn	1.14. 1.
69	Ferg,Franz de Paula	1689-1740	Austrian	Painting - Companion to 68	Gibbiere	11. 7. 6.
68	Ferg,Franz de Paula		Austrian	Painting - A Dutch Ferry	Gibbiere	11.18.10.
67	Swebach,J.F.J./Fontaine	1769-1823	French	Painting - Loading a Waggon	Gibbiere	5. 2. 4.
106	Farelli, Giacomo	1624-1706	Italian	Painting - Bacchanalians	Gill (or GM)	25. 0. 0.

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Catal	Artist	Dates	School	Painting,Print,Drawing	Buyer	Price £
126	Teniers, D. (Junior)		Dutch	Painting - Politicians (Orleans Collection)	Gill (or GM)	113.15. 0.
89	Ferg,Franz de Paula		Austrian	Painting - Landscape & Figures	Giubert	23.17. 9.
104	Bega, Cornelis	1620-1664	Dutch	Painting - An Italian Market	Giubert	22.15. 0.
93	Adolphe,Jos.Ant.	b.1729	German	Painting - Portrait of John Sobiesky on Horsebac	Ld de Blaquiere	7.19. 3.
99	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A View in Switzerland	Ld de Blaquiere	6.11. 0.
102	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A View in Switzerland	Ld de Blaquiere	6.16. 6.
4	Reynolds, Sir Joshua	1723-1792	English	Print - Lord Ligonier	Ld de Blaquiere	17. 0.
125	Brueghel		Flemish	Painting - A Landscape (Orleans Collection)	Ld de Blaquiere	79.12. 6.
49	Zuccarelli,Francesco		Italian	Drawing	Maj. Sirr	1. 2. 9.
122	Ruisdael,Jacob van	1628/9-1682	Dutch	Painting - An Alpine View (Orleans Collection)	Maj. Sirr	45.10. 0.
70	Bloemen,Jan Frans van	1662-1749	Flemish	Painting - Landscape	Maj. Sirr	3. 8. 3.
71	Bloemen,Jan Frans van		Flemish	Painting - Companion to 70	Maj. Sirr	3. 8. 3.
48	Zuccarelli,Francesco	1702-1788	Italian	Drawing	Maj. Sirr	1. 4. 0.
50	Raphael	1483-1420	Italian	Drawing	Major Sirr	2.12. 0.
83	Bergen, Dirk van	1645-1690	Dutch	Painting - Landscape & Cattle	Major Sirr	15.18. 6.
21	Kauffman, Angelica	1740-1807	Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	14. 6.
20	Kauffman, Angelica		Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	11. 0.
17	Kauffmann, Angelica		Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	9. 0.
18	Kauffman, Angelica		Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	8. 1.
19	Kauffman, Angelica		Swiss	Drawing - A Study	Mr. Connell	11. 6.
39	Wilson,Richard - after		English	Print - engraved by Woollett	Mr. Henly	2. 7. 0.
40	Wilson,Richard - after	1714-1782	English	Print - engraved by Woollett	Mr. Henly	2. 5. 6.
28	Unknown			Drawing - The Apollo Belvedere	Mr. Henly	3. 8. 3.
35	Mansherhe ?		Dutch ?	Drawing	Mr. Kane	3.12. 0.
55	De Jonghe, Ludolf		Dutch	Print	Mr. Kane	1. 2. 9.
15	Rubens,Peter Paul	1577-1640	Flemish	Print - Last Supper	Mr. Kane	2. 1. 0.
56	De Jonghe/Jongh	1616-1679	Dutch	Print - The Rat Catcher	Mr. Kane	1. 4. 0.
27	Clerisseau	1721-1820	French	Drawing - Companion to 26	Mr. Maziere	4.10. 0.
62	Bellanger	d.1789	French	Drawing	Mr. Moran	14. 0.
29	Ostade,Adriaen	1610-1684	Dutch	Print	Mr. Moran	8. 0.
61	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Drawing	Mr. Moran	12. 6.
51	Rigaud,Hyacinthe	1659-1743	French	Print - A Portrait	Mr. Moran	1. 4. 0.

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Catal	Artist	Dates	School	Painting,Print,Drawing	Buyer	Price £
14	Dominichino - after	1581-1641	Italian	Print	Mr. Moran	12. 0.
13	Dominichino - after		Italian	Print	Mr. Moran	13. 0.
25	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Print	Mr. Moran	12. 0.
7	Rembrandt - after		Dutch	Print	Mr. Moran	17. 0.
34	Dyck,Anthony van	1599-1641	Flemish	Print	Mr. Moran	12. 0.
42	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Print	Mr. Moran	1. 7. 0.
52	Lebrun,Charles	1619-1690	French	Print - Madame la Valliere	Mr. Moran	1. 8. 0.
60	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Print	Mr. Sherrard	7. 0.
63	Bellanger ?		French ?	Drawing	Mr. Sherrard	11. 4.
59	Cignani, Carlo		Italian	Drawing	Mr. Sherrard	2.16.10.
58	Cignani, Carlo		Italian	Drawing	Mr. Sherrard	2.16.10.
57	Cignani, Carlo	1628-1719	Italian	Drawing	Mr. Sherrard	2. 8. 0.
26	Clerisseau,Charles		French	Drawing	Mr. Verschoyle	5.13. 9.
43	Sandby,Paul	1730-1809	English	Drawing	Mr. Verschoyle	3.10. 0.
41	Wilson,Richard - after		English	Print - Judgment of Paris	Mr. Wilkinson	14. 0.
85	Winghen,Jeremiah Van		Dutch	Painting - Flowers	Mrs. Johnson	4.11. 0.
87	Ferg,Franz de Paula		Austrian	Painting - Dutch Merriment	Mrs. Johnson	7. 7.10.
97	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A View in Switzerland	Mrs. Johnson	5.13. 9.
90	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A Guard House	Mrs. Johnson	7.13. 3.
91	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - Companion to 90	Mrs. Johnson	6.10. 6.
76	Beschey,Balthasar		Flemish	Painting - Prodigal Son	Mrs. O'Brien	8.10. 7.
77	Beschey,Balthasar	1708-1776	Flemish	Painting - Abraham & Hagar	Mrs. O'Brien	6.16. 6.
78	Beschey,Balthasar		Flemish	Painting - Abraham & Isaac	Mrs. O'Brien	10. 4. 9.
16	Rowlandson,Thomas	1756-1827	English	Drawing	Mrs. Ryall	1.10. 0.
23	Faber,John (the Younger	1684-1756	English	Print - Lady Boyle	Mrs. Ryall	5. 0.
24	Unknown			Drawing	Mrs. Ryall	5. 6.
44	Vanloo, Francois	1708-1732	Flemish	Print	Mrs. Ryall	16. 3.
64	Lely, Sir Peter	1618-1680	English	Painting - Flora	Mrs. Ryall	2.12. 0.
3	Rigaud,Hyacinthe - after		French	Print	Mulvany	9. 6.
8	Crone,Robert		Irish	Drawing - View of Tivoli	Mulvany	1. 3. 8.
6	Unknown			Drawing of Vicenja	Mulvany	2.10. 0.
5	Roberts		Irish	Drawing - St. Peter	Mulvany	1. 2. 9.

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Catal	Artist	Dates	School	Painting,Print,Drawing	Buyer	Price £
9	Crone,Robert	d.1779	Irish	Drawing - Companion to 8	Mulvany	1. 1. 0.
79	Quadal,Martin Ferdinand		Austrian	Painting - Animals	Mulvany	1.19. 6.
84	Quadal,Martin Ferdinand	1736-1808	Austrian	Painting - Wolves	Mulvany	3. 8. 3.
2	Poussin,Nicolas - after	1594-1665	French	Print	Mulvany	11. 4.
1	Ostade - after		Dutch	Print	Mulvany	3. 9.
45	Rocher ?			Print - View of Liverpool	Mulvany	14. 6.
36	Zruis ?			Drawing - Body Colour	Mulvany	1. 4. 0.
46	Rocher ?			Print - View of Liverpool	Mulvany	5. 6.
47	Zruis ?			Drawing	Mulvany	11. 4.
53	Reynolds, Sir Joshua		English	Print - Lord Amhurst	Mulvany	5. 5.
54	Berchem,Claes Pietersz	1620-1683	Dutch	Print - Cattle	Mulvany	15. 0.
38	Rembrandt		Dutch	Etching - Ecce Homo	No purchaser named	3.10. 0.
37	Rembrandt	1606-1669	Dutch	Etching - Descent from the Cross	No purchaser named	5.13. 9.
65	Walker,Robert	d.1656/8	English	Painting - Oliver Cromwell	Osborne	3.19. 7.
115	Dyck,Anthony van		Flemish	Painting - Holy Family	Osborne	40.19. 0.
22	Delane,Solomon	1727-c1784	English	Painting - Morning	Osborne	1. 2. 9.
103	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Painting - Flemish Merry Making	Osborne	29.11. 6.
110	Teniers, D, (Junior)		Dutch	Painting - Moonlight	Osborne	7.19. 3.
123	Vinci,Leonardo da	1459-1519	Italian	Painting - An Italian Princess	Osborne	46.12. 9.
80	Ferraiuoli,Nunzio		Italian	Painting - Landscape & Figures	Roberts	3.10.11.
66	Vermeer,Barent		Dutch	Painting - Fruit Piece	Rogers	2. 2. 8.
95	Meulen,A.F. van der	1753-1787	Dutch	Painting - A Battle Piece	Sweetman	9.13. 4.
124	Limborch, Hendrik van	1681-1759	Dutch	Painting - A Sacrifice	Sweetman for Byrne	119. 8. 9.
119	Jouvenet,Jean Baptiste	1644-1717	French	Painting - Putting the infant Moses into the Nile	Sweetman for Byrne	19. 6. 9.
111	Teniers, D, (Junior)	1610-1690	Dutch	Painting - Companion to 110	Sweetman for Byrne	15. 7. 1.
105	Maratti, Carlo	1625-1713	Italian	Painting - A Magdalen	Sweetman for Byrne	39.16. 3.
98	Ostade,Adriaen van		Dutch	Painting - A Dutch Wedding	Sweetman for Byrne	27. 5. 0.
81	Ferraiuoli, Nunzio	1661-1735	Italian	Painting - Companion to 80	Sweetman for Byrne	3.13. 6.
74	Gessner,Conrad	1764-1826	Swiss	Painting - A Party of Hussars	Sweetman for Byrne	5.19. 2.
73	Gessner,Conrad		Swiss	Painting - A Passage Boat	Sweetman for Byrne	3. 8. 3.
92	Snayers, Pieter	1681-1752	Flemish	Painting - Mary of Medici Landing at Antwerp	Sweetman for Byrne	22.15. 0.

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DROGHEDA

St. Peter's Church
Copy of marriage certificate – Charles Caldwell to Elizabeth Heywood

DUBLIN

Dublin City Library and Archive, Pearse Street
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