



NUI MAYNOOTH

Ollscoil na hÉireann Má Nuad

**Reconstructing an Ascendancy world:
the material culture of Frederick Hervey,
the Earl Bishop of Derry
(1730-1803)**

Two volumes

by

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**THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF PHD
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND
MAYNOOTH**

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October 2012

VOLUME ONE

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Acknowledgements

Many people have made this thesis possible and very enjoyable. Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor, Alison FitzGerald, whose great kindness and professionalism are exceptional and deeply appreciated. Nothing would have been achieved without my husband, Peter, who has made this period of study possible and has never wavered in his encouragement. My children have generously shared most of their young lives with the eccentric Earl Bishop. I would particularly like to thank Beatrice Bertram, Julia Bertram, Roger Bertram, Benjamin Hilliam, Glascott Symes and Lesley Whiteside, whose skilled and patient help have been invaluable. I have been supported by many friends who have helped me in vital, practical ways, particularly Mary Clarke, Eunice Hall, Catherine Shaw and Verna Wilson.

The staff of the Department of History at Maynooth have been unfailingly helpful, particularly Professor Vincent Comerford, Ms Ann Donoghue, Professor Raymond Gillespie, Ms Catherine Heslin, Professor Jacqueline Hill and Professor Marian Lyons. I appreciate the kindness of scholars who have been so generous with their research and advice: Dr Toby Barnard, Dr Aldous Bertram, Mr Eric Derr, Dr Nicola Figgis, Dr Caroline Gallagher, Ms Jenny Gogherty, Dr David Howarth, Ms Livia Hurley, Dr John Loughman, Dr Conor Lucey, Dr Anthony Malcomson, Dr Patricia McCarthy, Ms Evie Monaghan, Dr Stephen O'Connor, Mr Andrew Whiteside and Dr Christopher Woods. Collaborating with Stephen Price has been particularly enjoyable. I would also like to thank the staff of the Library of the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, the Russell Library, the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, the Irish Architectural Archive, the Royal Irish Academy, the National Library of Ireland, the Suffolk Record Office and the Sheffield Archives. The Thomas Dammann Jr Trust generously enabled me to visit archives in Vicenza and Milan.

Abbreviations

B.L.	British Library
B.M.	British Museum
C.S.H.I.H.E.	Centre for the Study of Historic Irish Houses and Estates
I.A.A.	Irish Architectural Archive
N.G.I.	National Gallery of Ireland
N.L.I.	National Library of Ireland
N.L.W.	National Library of Wales
N.P.G.	National Portrait Gallery, London
N.R.A.S.	National Register of Archives for Scotland
N.U.I.M.	National University of Ireland, Maynooth
P.R.O.N.I.	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland
R.C.B.L.	Representative Church Body Library
R.I.A.	Royal Irish Academy
R.I.B.A.	Royal Institute of British Architects
Sheffield Archives	Sheffield Archives and Local Studies Library
S.M.	Sir John Soane Museum, London
Suffolk R.O.	Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds branch
T.N.A.	The National Archives, London
T.C.D.	Trinity College Dublin
U.C.D.	University College Dublin

Note: the original spelling and punctuation have been retained in quotations.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis seeks to examine how the Ascendancy fashioned their world in eighteenth-century Ireland, through a case study of Frederick Hervey, bishop of Derry and fourth earl of Bristol (1730-1803). It is primarily concerned with reconstructing and re-evaluating Hervey's material world, in order to explore his complex relationship with it. He built, successively, two great houses in county Londonderry, Downhill and Ballyscullion, and one on his inherited lands in Suffolk, Ickworth House, placing them within a landscape setting and filling them with rare artworks. The changing intentions and career trajectory of this intriguing and multi-faceted figure are investigated by recovering the different functions of his three houses and by analysing his stylistic choices. Hervey's campaign of consumption in Ireland will be placed within the wider British and European contexts, through reviewing the migration of objects, ideas and skilled practitioners to the houses and through assessing Hervey's sense of national identity. Contemporary visitor responses are collated and analysed in order to consider the inter-related issues of how meaning is expressed and received through display. The purpose of the present chapter is to locate this study within existing literature, establish the merits of the methodology, survey the sources consulted and outline the content of subsequent chapters.

Historiography

The Earl Bishop has attracted considerable scholarly attention. In the nineteenth century, historians chiefly focused on his political role, as agitator with the Volunteers for parliamentary independence and reform in the 1780s. J. A. Froude dismissed Hervey's political contribution: 'rather from love of excitement and vanity than from personal interest in Ireland, [he] assumed the character of a warlike prelate of the Middle Ages'.¹ W. E. H. Lecky highlighted the many inconsistencies of Hervey's career and character, concluding that it was difficult to ascertain 'whether any real change had passed over the character and opinions of the Bishop, which might help to explain the strange want of keeping between

¹ J. A. Froude, *The English in Ireland in the eighteenth century* (London, 1874), ii, 413.

the different descriptions or periods of his life'.² C. Litton Falkiner lambasted the Earl Bishop who 'resembled rather a prince-bishop of the Middle Ages than an English nobleman or an eighteenth-century divine'.³

In the early twentieth century, Hervey's legacy was revived and rehabilitated by William Shakespeare Childe-Pemberton's *The Earl Bishop* (1924). This canonical work comprises a large number of Hervey's letters, with commentary and biographical notes on the protagonists that appear within them. Childe-Pemberton's approach is narrative and admiring, championing rather than criticising Hervey. Choosing to transcend what he calls the 'idiosyncrasies and eccentricities of his chameleon-like personality' the historian attempts to uncover a worthy core: 'in this, if in nothing else, he [Hervey] was earnest and consistent through life; he strove unceasingly for toleration and freedom in religion and politics, and against tyranny and oppression wherever it was to be found'.⁴ Childe-Pemberton appreciated that Hervey was a highly cultured and enlightened man but his interest in his possessions was limited to his role as a patron and collector of high art. Childe-Pemberton's interpretation and distillation of crucial primary evidence has provided the basis for subsequent works on Hervey. This study is indebted to Childe-Pemberton for access to letters that would otherwise be hard to locate and for biographical information on lesser known correspondents.

Brian Fothergill's 1974 biography, *The mitred earl*, is closely based on Childe-Pemberton's account.⁵ Fothergill sets out to show the whole man: cultured, well-travelled, social and pursuing enlightened interests. He brings to life some of Hervey's friendships, particularly that with his Westminster school-fellow, Sir William Hamilton, British ambassador to Naples (also the subject of an earlier biography by Fothergill, published in 1969). It is within the context of these friendships that Hervey's cultural interests are most fully expressed. Most recently, Stephen Price has brought Hervey to the notice of a wider audience in

² W. E. H. Lecky, *A history of England in the eighteenth century* (7 vols, London, 1892), vi, 334.

³ C. Litton, Falkiner, *Studies in Irish history and biography, mainly of the eighteenth century* (London, 1902), p. 59.

⁴ W. S. Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop: the life of Frederick Hervey, Bishop of Derry and Earl of Bristol* (2 vols, London, 1924), i, 6.

⁵ Brian Fothergill, *The mitred earl: an eighteenth-century eccentric* (London, 1974).

his fresh and entertaining *The Earl Bishop* (2011). Price is also heading a project, on which the author of this thesis has collaborated, that aims to recreate Downhill digitally, so that 'virtual' tours of the rooms are possible for the first time since the fire of 1851.⁶ The reconstructive aspect of this thesis, identifying what Hervey owned and how he displayed it, finds a visual application through Price's digital images of Downhill.

John Walsh's *Frederick Augustus Hervey 1730-1803, Fourth earl of Bristol and bishop of Derry: 'Le bienfaiteur des Catholiques'* (1972) reassesses Hervey as a politician, believing that 'invariably their [historians] treatment of him is marred by sensationalism, facile generalisations, cocksure judgements and inadequate research'.⁷ Drawing on political sources unavailable to Childe-Pemberton (namely 600 documents found in a Coleraine solicitor's office and now held as P.R.O.N.I. D1514) Walsh concentrates on Hervey's role as champion of Catholics in the first twenty years of his episcopacy from 1766 to 1785, to identify the contribution Hervey made to politics and ecumenism. Walsh broadened the scope of his polemic to consider Hervey's role with the Volunteers and his push for parliamentary reform. Pointing out that the Volunteers were at heart as conservative as Lord Charlemont, he claims that Hervey had no chance of winning his dual aims of parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation. Debate over whether Catholic disunity (Patrick Fagan) or Protestant suspicion (James Kelly) was responsible for preventing Catholic emancipation during this period continues, with Hervey's role coming under scrutiny.⁸ New research by Eric Derr suggests a narrower gap between the relative wealth of Catholic bishops and their Church of Ireland equivalents and identifies more personal contact than has been previously allowed. Derr also emphasises fears in the Catholic hierarchy,

⁶ Stephen Price, *The Earl Bishop* (Portstewart, 2011). I am grateful to Stephen Price for allowing me to collaborate on the research for the Northern Regional College/National Trust 3-D Project.

⁷ John R. Walsh, *Frederick Augustus Hervey 1730-1803, Fourth earl of Bristol, bishop of Derry: 'Le bienfaiteur des Catholiques'* (Maynooth, 1972), p. 3.

⁸ Patrick Fagan, *Divided loyalties: the question of an oath for Irish Catholics in the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1997); James Kelly, 'Review of Patrick Fagan, *Divided loyalties*' in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland Journal*, xii (1997), pp 167-170.

particularly on the part of Archbishop Troy, that Hervey was using the test oath to split and weaken the Catholic Church in Ireland.⁹

Specialist architectural studies dating from the 1970s onwards reflect the slow change in Ireland towards appreciating buildings that, due to ambivalence over their Anglo-Irish and exploitative resonances, have been deliberately ignored. Peter Rankin's *Irish building ventures of the Earl Bishop of Derry* (1972) investigates Hervey's houses and his contributions to religious architecture, as well as his engineering projects, such as the Foyle bridge, with particular focus on Downhill for which records are fullest.¹⁰ A. P. W. Malcomson's criticism that Childe-Pemberton's paradigmatic text on Hervey 'did scant justice' to the surviving correspondence with Michael Shanahan (Hervey's architect and overseer) and to 'the interacting personalities and ideas of these two extraordinary characters', is illuminating.¹¹ Rankin sought to identify architectural responsibility for Downhill, focusing particularly on Shanahan's role and concluding that 'whatever the architectural distinction of the Bishop's buildings, it was due as much to Shanahan's determination to achieve something worthy both of himself and of his employer as to that employer's own good taste and judgement'. This thesis re-addresses and offers new insight into the relationship between Shanahan and Hervey (chapter 3). In *'Je n'oublieray jamais': John Soane and Downhill* (1978), Pierre de la Ruffinière du Prey traces the unhappy relationship between the young John Soane and Hervey from their potentially fruitful meeting in Rome to Soane's disastrous visit to the building works at Downhill.¹² Both Rankin and du Prey's studies focus on questions of architectural responsibility and the sequence of building activity, but neither attempts to explore the houses in terms of their function or cultural meanings, as this thesis seeks to do.

Terence Reeves-Smyth carried out a survey of the Downhill Demesne for the National Trust in 1992 as 'an overview of the historical development of the house

⁹ Research conducted by Eric Derr at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, in preparation for a forthcoming Ph.D. thesis.

¹⁰ Peter Rankin, *Irish building ventures of the Earl Bishop of Derry* (Belfast, 1972).

¹¹ A. P. W. Malcomson, 'Introduction to the Hervey Bruce Papers' (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D1514 and D2798) available at (http://proni.gov.uk/introduction_hervey_bruce-2.pdf).

¹² Pierre de la Ruffinière du Prey, 'Je n'oublieray jamais: John Soane and Downhill' in *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, xxi, no. 3-4 (July-Dec. 1978), pp 17-40.

and demesne and to obtain detailed information on the significance of all features, natural and artificial, within the area'.¹³ The historical content of the survey is very strong with extensive appendices, including a wide range of maps, documents and accounts relating to Downhill. The notebooks of Jan Eccles, curator of the grounds around Downhill for thirty years, are presented as *Downhill, a scrapbook of people and place* (1996).¹⁴ Covering an eclectic range of topics, the main focus is on the Earl Bishop and the builders and buildings of Downhill, but also included are his surviving statues and pictures, and inhabitants of the house until it was partly demolished in 1950. Though the *Scrapbook* claimed no scholarly pretensions, Eccles was evidently meticulous and had an unparalleled understanding of the surviving artefacts, architecture and landscaping at Downhill in their own local context. The findings of these architectural and landscaping surveys have informed and enriched this thesis; however, a different range of questions are asked of the architecture. Through considering Hervey's stylistic choices and the layout and development of the houses, a new range of evidence emerges for understanding phases in Hervey's career and self-image.

The Earl Bishop as a patron has attracted the attention of art historians, who concentrate mainly on identifying what works he collected and how he operated as a patron. Brinsley Ford, with his tremendous sense of context, locates Hervey's art patronage within the vibrant eighteenth-century art world, centred on Rome.¹⁵ Nicola Figgis, in her unpublished M. A. thesis, unravels the mystery of Hervey's last collection, through her discovery of an auction catalogue in Rome. Figgis combs this source to identify the pictures and marbles listed within, to find which contemporary artists Hervey patronised, and compares its content with inventories and extant art in both Ickworth and Downhill to discover what reached his houses.¹⁶ Although questions of connoisseurship are not the focus of this study, placing Hervey within the context of other British and Irish collectors is a theme

¹³ Terence Reeves-Smyth, 'Downhill Demesne', (unpublished survey, 2 vols, National Trust, 1992), section 2.1.

¹⁴ Jan Eccles, *Downhill, a scrapbook of people and place* (London, 1996).

¹⁵ Brinsley Ford, 'The Earl-Bishop: an eccentric and capricious patron of the arts' in *Apollo*, xcix, no. 148 (June 1974), pp 426-34.

¹⁶ Nicola Figgis, 'Frederick Augustus Hervey, 4th Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, as patron of art' (M.A. thesis, University College, Dublin, 1992); Nicola Figgis, 'The Roman property of Frederick Augustus Hervey' in *Walpole Society* (1990), pp 77-104.

that is explored, both with reference to art and as part of a wider discourse on the Ascendancy's sense of identity. Figgis also considers the degree to which Hervey was innovative in displaying his pictures chronologically by region and unusual in buying early Renaissance pictures. She concludes that Hervey 'had serious intentions as an art collector' and that the sale catalogue was a valuable source as 'a reflection of contemporary taste'.¹⁷ Her research significantly furthers the previous scholarship on what artworks Hervey displayed. This thesis questions how that display was received and interpreted by visitors.

Methodology

Having considered the ways in which Hervey has been investigated by other historians, the focus now shifts to the issues and problems addressed in this thesis, as well as the methodologies and literature that have informed it. This study is rooted in the methodology of material culture, which utilises objects as a vehicle by which to articulate original readings and interpretations of the man himself, the material world he constructed, how others lived within it and how contemporaries reacted to viewing it. In an early application of material culture, Lorna Weatherill used inventories to gather empirical evidence for the spread of particular goods within Britain and across social strata. However, the danger of categorising the source material is the flattening out of diversity within the evidence.¹⁸ Other historians have applied different methodologies. Toby Barnard rejected establishing quantity in favour of revealing the profusion and meaning of individual objects through examples and short case studies: 'The arresting but untypical example has been favoured above the aggregation; the concrete before the generality'.¹⁹ Much of Barnard's evidence is archival, which has the advantage that text can offer as a commentary on the value and meaning of objects to the owner. Hervey's material world is richly documented in runs of receipts, correspondence with his architect, auction records, inventories, picture lists and visitor accounts. The survival of objects is not as abundant; however, buildings,

¹⁷ Figgis, 'Roman Property', p. 86.

¹⁸ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer behaviour and material culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (London, 1988).

¹⁹ Toby Barnard, *Making the Grand figure: lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (London, 2004), p. vii.

portraits and other high-value items like artworks and chimneypieces invite close analysis.

Barnard considers the study of material culture in Ireland to be at the stage of recovery and recording, after which the ‘knotty riddles of interpretation’ will follow. For Ireland the ‘simple retrieval and assembling of the settings in which past peoples lived constitute formidable undertakings’. The Irish context exhibits peculiarities due to its ambivalent and changing relationship with Britain: the spread of British goods and habits of consumption may suggest assimilation; certain goods and styles may imply the admiration of British or even Protestant characteristics; and, paradoxically, choosing indigenous Irish goods was viewed as patriotic in some quarters but backward in others.²⁰ The parameters and issues raised by Barnard have heavily influenced this project, finding resonance with an Ascendancy figure that ranged across boundaries.

The term ‘Ascendancy’ has been chosen because it connotes privilege, political power, landownership and consciousness of being a numerical minority as the Church of Ireland. Ascendancy implies a specific way of life and way of thought. Other terms could have been employed, such as ‘governing class’, ‘privileged elite’ or ‘upper ranks of society’; but these phrases seem to lose something of the distinctiveness of this group in Ireland compared with their British equivalent. ‘Anglo-Irish elite’ suggests a birthright that excludes British incomers such as Hervey. ‘Protestant elite’ precludes the few major Catholic landowners, such as Lord Kenmare. The disadvantage of using this term is that its meaning to contemporaries was restricted and reactionary. Roche Boyle spoke of threats to the ‘Protestant ascendancy’ during the debate over the Catholic Relief Act of 1782. Bishop Woodward popularised the term in 1786 but, like Roche Boyle and George Ogle, he used it to emphasise the danger to the Church of Ireland landowner from a perceived Catholic threat; indeed, Hervey’s views on Catholic emancipation implicated him within that very threat. In this thesis, ‘Ascendancy’ has been employed to define a social and cultural group, rather than a political standpoint. James Kelly argues in favour of ‘Ascendancy’ over terms like

²⁰ Toby Barnard, *A guide to the sources for the history of material culture in Ireland, 1500-2000* (Dublin, 2005), p. 11.

‘Protestant governing elite’, because it fulfils the ‘need for a pithy and precise formulation’.²¹

Hervey rose in rank on several occasions during his lifetime, but he is generally referred to as Hervey or the Earl Bishop in this thesis. He was born in 1730, the Honourable Frederick Hervey, third son of Lord John Hervey and Lady Molly (Lepell) Hervey, and grandson of John Hervey of Ickworth, Suffolk, first earl of Bristol. Hervey married Elizabeth Davers in 1752 and was ordained in 1754. His brother George, second earl of Bristol and briefly lord lieutenant of Ireland, secured the bishopric of Cloyne for Hervey in 1767. Hervey was translated to the richest see, Derry, in 1768, with an initial income of about £7,000 which he may have doubled through manipulation of rental fines. On the deaths of his two elder brothers, he became fourth earl of Bristol in 1779, resulting in an increase in income of £20,000. He was succeeded by his third son Frederick, later first marquess of Bristol. He left his Irish property and personal fortune to his cousin in Ireland, the Revd Henry Hervey Bruce, later baronet. Hervey undertook a total of six Grand Tours, spending the last eleven years of his life on the Continent where he died in 1803 at Albano near Rome. In this study, his wife is generally referred to as the Countess of Bristol, although she did not receive this title until 1779. His eldest daughters are usually given their married names: Lady Mary Erne and Lady Elizabeth Foster. His youngest daughter Louisa did not marry Robert Banks Jenkinson, second earl of Liverpool, until 1795 and is named as Louisa in this study.

This thesis takes the form of a case study. Focusing critical attention on the individual allows for exploration of the role of human agency rather than functionalist processes. Case studies invite a more nuanced and varied account of Ascendancy experience, offering texture and detail, while broader thematic studies tend to level out diversity and diminish the crucial role of human agency. Investigating an idiosyncratic and esoteric individual works to challenge perceived norms in Ascendancy patterns of building, collecting and consuming. Historians follow a well-established chronology of architectural and decorative

²¹ James Kelly, ‘Eighteenth-century Ascendancy: a commentary’ in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society Journal*, v (1990), pp 182-3, 187.

style, largely shaped by Summerson, but Hervey, in his series of three houses, experimented with styles that were ahead of their time (authentic Roman fresco) or out of fashion in Britain and Ireland (chinoiserie).²² These untypical stylistic choices trouble several accepted norms: firstly, it is traditionally assumed that taste and fashion, and the attendant anxiety over getting them wrong, were the over-ruling factors in making choices; secondly, that the wealthiest patrons relied on well-known architects for a fully integrated and finished result, whereas Hervey trained his own architect; and thirdly, that the Ascendancy took its lead from London, yet Hervey looked to the Continent for inspiration. Hervey's example emphasises that the Irish Ascendancy was far from homogenous.

Although this study centres on Frederick Hervey and his papers and possessions, it is tempered by the awareness that so much of our understanding of the Ascendancy experience is drawn from the perspective of elite men. The survival of evidence strongly favours this bias towards the rich, the literate and the innovative. The subject of this study is just such a man: he was hugely wealthy in the Irish context with an income that may have reached £40,000 a year, and was highly unusual in his tastes and outlook. However, country house archives document a much wider range of material encounters. These sources can be viewed through a more lateral lens, bringing into focus the impact of Hervey's collecting patterns on those who 'consumed' his possessions and collections. To this end, a case study of Hervey's architect, Michael Shanahan from Cork, sheds light on the professional perspective. Another group of 'consumers' of Hervey's display comprised a variety of visitors who viewed his houses and collections and whose personal expectations give rise to an interesting dialectic between Hervey's intentions and visitor perceptions.

This thesis takes a multi-disciplinary approach. Most previous studies of Hervey, as outlined above, are single-disciplinary narratives, which inevitably separate out and place a particular premium upon one specific area. In reality, lives are not compartmentalised; the balance and interplay of one aspect upon another is what makes the whole man. This holistic approach seeks to trace several explorative

²² John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830* (9th ed., London, 1993).

threads of this multi-faceted individual across the study as a whole, despite chapter divisions. For instance, Hervey was steeped in the classics, which not only influenced his style of architecture and choice of artworks, but informed and enriched his travelling, archaeological endeavours and collecting abroad. Moreover, this interest in classicism shaped his political outlook and provided a framework for judging contemporary politicians, inspired artistic commissions, such as busts of philosophers for his library, or gems worn as finger rings, and, finally, impacted the Ascendancy's programme for Ireland as revealed by Hervey's desire for education in farming, derived from the ancient utopian ideal of the citizen farmer, as evoked by Virgil's *Georgics*. Stephen Greenblatt's model of self-fashioning explores these issues in which 'fashioning oneself and being fashioned by cultural institutions – family, religion, state – were inseparably intertwined'.²³ This study seeks to be alert to and analyse the shifts in Hervey's self-fashioning over his lifetime.

Chapter 1 comprises the first of two chapters which focus on Hervey's successive building of three country houses. In seeking an explanation for this unparalleled architectural campaign, the novel hypothesis that these houses reflected Hervey's changing political outlook and aspirations will be tested against Mark Girouard's model of the powerhouse and Thomas Williamson's exploration of landscape parks as political expressions. Accepting that style carried meaning, Hervey's choices of building in the neoclassical idiom and landscaping which ranged from the sublime at Downhill to the romantic picturesque at Ballyscullion, are read in terms of intention and self-expression. These findings are then contrasted with visitor descriptions and judgements, which indicate that visitors valued practical comforts and productive land more highly than contemporary literature suggests. The role of such ambitious, grandiose building projects in the debate on luxury may have a bearing on Hervey's motives. Jules Lubbock argues that seventeenth-century country houses were an expensive form of taxation on the rich; their ostentation represented a symbol of responsibility towards the local economy

²³ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance self-fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1984), p. 256.

rather than a manifestation of competitive consumption.²⁴ Martyn Powell, on the other hand, sets up a more exploitative model. He offers as a framework for his book, a United Irish handbill of 1795, which accuses the elite of constructing their lives of luxury on the hardships endured by the poor: ‘How much comfort do you extort from their misery, by places, offices and pensions and consume in idleness dissipation, riot and luxury’.²⁵ Contemporary visitors to houses drew their own interpretations which feed into this debate.

Alongside the construction of his three country estates, Hervey also undertook a programme of church and glebe house building which has not received much scholarly attention, but may have more in common with the building activities of the next generation of bishops, facilitated by First Fruits money available after the Act of Union. Interpretations of Hervey’s religious and political actions will be viewed in the light of evidence derived from material culture. Hervey’s donations towards Catholic and Presbyterian building projects have implications for the level of co-operation between church leaders of different confessions at the local level. Admiration of architectural idiom may suggest a shared reading of stylistic meaning transcendent of denomination.

Chapter 2 delves into the interiors of the houses themselves to further the theory that each was designed to perform specific and distinct functions. Mark Girouard’s model of the social house informs an investigation into how the changing names and purposes of rooms at Downhill advances our understanding of the ways in which the house operated and was lived in. Dichotomies of public or private, and masculine or feminine, can be usefully considered in relation to individual rooms to convey additional information about their utility. Hervey’s example may undermine the identification of some styles and spaces as conventionally feminine, such as the widespread use of chinoiserie wall coverings in the otherwise masculine neoclassical house, Ballyscullion, built after Hervey had separated from his wife. On the other hand, evidence from visitor accounts may complement Malcolm Baker’s theory that statuary indicated public spaces.

²⁴ Jules Lubbock, *The tyranny of taste: the politics of architecture and design in Britain, 1550-1960* (London, 1995), p. xiii.

²⁵ United Irish handbill, *The cry of the poor for bread* (1795), quoted in Martyn J. Powell, *The politics of consumption in eighteenth-century Ireland* (Basingstoke, 2005), p. 3.

Hervey's intentions in interior decoration open up debate surrounding the meanings attached to specific styles, and question the assumption that house-owners desired a fully integrated and finished decorative effect. Hervey's houses, at least, were in a constant state of flux.

In this chapter, the scarcity of surviving objects, particularly of an every-day, household nature, is most evident. To offset the paucity of this type of evidence, inventories, letters and receipts are analysed in detail, highlighting the debate within the study of material culture over the balance between objects and text. Elite consumption can silence other diverse histories; the expensive or unusual are more likely to leave a record. Looking at Hervey's goods and possessions also raises the issue of male and female participation in consumerism. Hervey demonstrated considerable purchasing skills, haggling over prices for artworks and calculating value in various currencies. Margot Finn explores this theme of male expertise in buying in order counterbalance a perceived overemphasis on female acquisitiveness.²⁶ This concept can be extended to the purchasing going on within the Hervey household. For instance, Anne Shanahan, the assistant housekeeper at Downhill, was held to account for overbuying but could justify in detail what had been bought for her family's consumption and what was for the bishop's table.

Martyn Powell investigates Irish consumption in relation to Britain, stretching the meaning of 'consume' to its fullest by interpreting the political implications raised by objects of consumption, and attitudes towards consumption, among the Ascendancy of Ireland. To this end, he consciously alludes to issues broached by Barnard: namely whether the way Irish Protestants dressed, entertained and bought 'baubles of empire' reveals subordination, assimilation or independence from Britain.²⁷ Hervey's buying activities must be assessed in the light of discourses over the relationship of the periphery to the centre and the question of whether his consumption patterns illuminate Irish or British identity. Hervey's

²⁶ Margot Finn, 'Men's things: masculine possession in the consumer revolution' in *Social History*, xxv, no. 2 (May 2000), pp 133-55.

²⁷ Powell, *Politics of consumption*, p. 2, crediting Toby Barnard, 'Integration or separation? Hospitality and display in Protestant Ireland, 1600-1800' in L. Brockliss and D. Eastwood (eds), *A union of multiple identities: the British Isles, c.1750-1850* (Manchester, 1997), p. 128.

example necessitates an extension beyond the pull of London, to other centres of fashion such as Paris and Rome. Hervey's importation from abroad ranged from artworks and furniture, to ideas, models and skilled craftsmen. This mobility of objects links Ireland with a wider world of commodities; the impact of the Continent in the analysis of eighteenth-century luxury consumption is a theme this thesis seeks to address. How foreign luxury items were received in Ireland will be explored through visitor reactions to Hervey's display.

Chapter 3, structurally the midpoint of the thesis, shifts critical focus from the elite to the professional ranks in Ascendancy society. In a microcosm of the whole, the chapter engages in another case study of an individual, namely Michael Shanahan of Cork, Hervey's architect and overseer. This chapter considers how themes such as stylistic choices, experience of travel and the relationship between patron and employee, already discussed from Hervey's perspective, operated amongst professionals. John Styles raises the issue of the relationship between borrowing and ownership: 'many of the things that poorer people used, treated and spoke of as their own were provided to them by others, on terms that restricted their ability to choose'.²⁸ The material world of the men and women who lived and worked within the Earl Bishop's houses was provided for them. Of particular interest in this regard is new research presented in this thesis on Michael and Anne Shanahan, who lived at Downhill with their family, within a material world that was fundamentally created and controlled by Hervey, but overseen by Shanahan as architect and his wife as assistant housekeeper. Through their example, an interesting dynamic emerges: they were not simply passive as consumers, but in turn shaped the material world chosen by Hervey. In her capacity as housekeeper, Anne Shanahan influenced how guests experienced dining and staying overnight at Downhill. As architect, Shanahan translated Hervey's instructions into the physical structure of the house, suggested designs for his patron's 'modern trophies' ceiling and provided an interpretation of meaning as tour guide to Daniel Beaufort.

²⁸ John Styles and Amanda Vickery (eds), *Gender, taste and material culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (London, 2006), p. 9.

The Shanahan family's home in Cork can be surveyed in order to illustrate the concept of emulation by professionals of the elite. Despite the fact that little documentary evidence concerning the appearance of their house and possessions survives, Shanahan's collection of portfolios, pictures and antiquities (as described by Daniel Beaufort in his journal) can be considered in relation to the background of Hervey's choices which the Shanahan family had experienced at Downhill. On the local level, the top-to-bottom 'trickle down' of style, as well as the practice of hierarchical emulation, can be tested by examining, as far as the evidence allows, the processes of production and consumption at work between Shanahan's marble-yard and his market. The influence of Shanahan's Grand Tour experience and its impact upon his consequent stylistic development is explored through the medium of the 'lost' engravings that the architect made while in Italy; and this intriguing material evidence is presented for the first time here.

The last two chapters return Hervey to centre stage. Chapter 4 engages with his extensive art collection. Hervey's use of portraiture is analysed diachronically to investigate the ways in which he sought to position himself within the larger family narrative and what image he intended to project to contemporaries. Quantitative analysis of auction lists, combined with the exploration of a series of individual artworks, paint an intriguing picture of what Hervey displayed and how his wealth of art compared with other patrons in both Ireland and Britain. Hervey's art collections in Ireland are viewed, not from a connoisseurial angle, a topic which has previously received considerable scholarly attention, but as evidence for Hervey's intentions and how they were read. Following the lead of art historians such as Kate Retford and Marcia Pointon, the 'interaction between artistic forms and the socio-cultural milieu in which they were produced' has been explored in preference to aesthetic qualities.²⁹ Previous accounts of Hervey's engagement with the art world have focused only on Hervey's point of view. In this study, visitor accounts are marshalled to gauge how viewers interpreted the display on his walls and whether good taste exonerated expensive consumption from accusations of luxury.

²⁹ Kate Retford, *The art of domestic life: family portraiture in eighteenth-century England, c.1740-90* (London, 2006), p. 5.

The final chapter deals with the Grand Tour experience, which informed so much of Hervey's building, art collecting and display. The range of Hervey's activities abroad question traditional definitions of the Grand Tour. Vicky Coltman argues for neoclassicism to be understood, not as a decorative style, but as a style of thought. Hervey's enthusiastic engagement with antiquity may support her hypothesis that the shared classical education of the British and Irish ruling classes trained them to imitate Roman thought and art.³⁰ On the other hand, Hervey was also interested in other cultural forms, such as Greek, Egyptian and chinoiserie elements, which must be incorporated into this paradigm. Hervey's example begs questions of national identification, of whether he considered himself to be British or Irish, or whether he transcended such boundaries, emerging instead as a cosmopolitan figure. How Hervey was viewed by his compatriots is investigated in a period when national sentiment was growing in response to the French Revolution and Revolutionary Wars.

In summary, this thesis seeks to reconstruct the material world of the Earl Bishop in order to re-evaluate its role in his life and work. Barnard contends that contemporary figures observed the cultural patronage of elite figures to explain their dominance. On the other hand, he argues, interest in material culture, such as building, landscaping, collecting and furnishing, has been side-lined by modern historians, and 'segregated from the public and 'useful' activities of landowners ... It is only the myopia of modern scholars which consigns these matters to a rarefied realm at best peripheral, and at worst irrelevant to the business of Irish politics'.³¹ This holistic case study seeks to address this critical neglect of material culture. Through investigating the various meanings of the objects that comprise his collections, and the houses they inhabited, this study hopes to test perceived norms in the relationship of the Irish Ascendancy to ownership, building and display. Primary evidence supplied by contemporary visitor accounts will be analysed to illuminate themes such as his architectural and artistic agenda and how Hervey's unprecedented material mission affected his standing in Ireland.

³⁰ Vicky Coltman, *Fabricating the antique: neoclassicism in Britain 1760-1800* (London, 2006), pp 11-14.

³¹ Toby Barnard, 'The languages of politeness and sociability in eighteenth-century Ireland' in D.G. Boyce, R. Eccleshall and V. Geoghegan (eds), *Political discourse in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ireland* (Basingstoke, 2001), p. 209.

CHAPTER ONE

ARCHITECTURE AND LANDSCAPING

1.1 Introduction

Frederick Hervey, the ‘edifying bishop’, is best known for his remarkable and unparalleled building campaign, which spanned the period from the late 1760s until his death in 1803. He left a rich and diverse architectural legacy that included three mansions in two countries as well as garden buildings, churches and glebe houses. This chapter examines what motivated him to build so prolifically; even within the context of the eighteenth-century building boom in Ireland, Hervey appears to have been operating on an unprecedented scale. Contrasting his example with other Ascendancy figures illuminates and questions both the general patterns and the exceptional.

Firstly, this chapter explores the unique sequence of Hervey’s three distinctive country houses, and, in a novel hypothesis, suggests that he intended them to perform different functions: the political house (Downhill), the cultural house (Ballyscullion) and the dynastic house (Ickworth). Intriguingly, the selection of site appears loosely to reflect the vagaries of his political outlook. Situated on the cliff-edge above Downhill strand, Downhill acted as his base during the politically charged decade of the mid-1770s to mid-1780s, when he was reframing the Test Acts, involved in the Volunteer movement, and agitating for Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform. The establishment of the more sophisticated house at Ballyscullion, on the romantic picturesque site of Lough Neagh, coincided with Hervey’s disillusionment with Irish politics from the mid-1780s, and catered for his growing interest in collecting art. Towards the end of his life, retrenching after the French Revolution, he turned his attention to his inherited parklands at Ickworth in Suffolk, created by his Whig ancestors. Hervey prized natural terrain above man-made landscaping, sparking debate in contemporary visitor accounts on the relative merits of the sublime and the romantic. Architecture was a very visible and expensive marker of status; building in stone went hand-in-hand with fashioning an image, communicating wealth, taste and political outlook. Through a close analysis of the precedents provided by

his exposure to architecture on the Grand Tour, this study will reveal how experiences abroad were translated structurally and stylistically back at home.

Secondly, this chapter questions why the Earl Bishop did not possess a Dublin townhouse. Evidence of outmanoeuvring by his rival, Lord Charlemont, hints that Charlemont's dominance of the Dublin scene acted as a disincentive. Except for his period of Volunteer mania, Hervey found the Continent more stimulating than Dublin. He rented a series of houses in foreign cities which facilitated his lifestyle abroad and which held the artworks he had collected for his display while they awaited shipment home. As earl of Bristol from 1779, Hervey was well served by a London townhouse in St James's Square. A new source reveals that he considered one last building venture, a new London house in Hyde Park.

Thirdly, this chapter will review Hervey's building of Church of Ireland churches and glebe houses and argue that they illuminate his ambitions for the established church in Ireland. His donations towards Catholic and Presbyterian projects constituted political actions. In religiously contested Ireland, architecture could act as a common language between denominations. The reception of Hervey's overtures to the Roman Catholic bishop of Derry concerning the building of a Catholic church throws new light on shifting interdenominational relationships between the 1760s and 1780s.

1.2 Three country houses

Hervey was unique in building three country houses. Downhill Castle, near Castlerock on the coast of county Londonderry, was begun in 1776 and is now a ruin. Ballyscullion House, near Bellaghy on Lough Beg county Londonderry, was begun in 1787 and was demolished in 1813. Ickworth House, near Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk, was begun in 1795, only partly built when Hervey died in 1803 and was completed by his son in 1829 [figs 1.1-1.2]. Unfortunately the survival of these architectural and landscaping projects and their supporting documents has been patchy. Downhill is best served by evidence: runs of receipts and letters between Hervey and his architect, Michael Shanahan, allow for detailed investigation into the process of building, the relationship between patron

and architect, sourcing of materials and the craftsmen involved. Evidence for Ballyscullion and Ickworth is sketchy but Hervey's letters give insight into his intentions and visitor accounts indicate how the houses were regarded.

Hervey underwent several major changes of status and correspondingly of income: he was an improver, then a politician, then a connoisseur; he was a third son, a rich bishop and then the immensely wealthy Earl Bishop. As bishop, Hervey had lived in the palace in Derry for ten years, building a casino for dining in the palace gardens overlooking the river.¹ Downhill (begun in 1776) was the product of the rental income of the richest see in Ireland and a legacy of £10,000 from Hervey's eldest brother in 1775, combined with increased political aspirations. Houses were a measure of the owner's sense of status, real and hoped for. Looking at newly built country houses, Mark Girouard argues that 'the size and pretensions of such houses were an accurate index of the ambitions – or lack of them – of their owners'.² John, Lord Hervey, father of the Earl Bishop, understood the role that houses played in advertising and attracting power. Lord Hervey's political patron and friend, Robert Walpole, was helped at the start of his career by his better connected brother-in-law, Lord Townshend; however, when Walpole built Houghton, Lord Hervey observed that Townshend interpreted it as a hostile move.³ Toby Barnard describes Carton as 'a fanfare for the Kildares' re-entry into politics and high society. Architecture played a role in their public careers'.⁴

In Ireland, Hervey was a new arrival. Maurice Craig noted that most houses were built by landowners who were 'new men' because four-fifths of the land of Ireland had recently changed hands; in contrast, Sir John Summerson estimated

¹ Lewis claimed that the palace at Derry, built by Bishop Barnard in 1761, was almost rebuilt by Hervey. This seems unlikely as the only references in his papers were for painting and cleaning, Samuel Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (2 vols, London, 1837), i, 567. The palace was damaged when it was occupied as a barracks in 1802 (Hervey was absent from Ireland from 1791 to his death in 1803) and extensively repaired by Hervey's successor, Bishop Knox.

² Mark Girouard, *Life in the English country house* (London, 1978), p. 3. See also Christopher Christie, *The British country house in the eighteenth century* (Manchester, 2000), pp 30-47; Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating paradise: the building of the English country house* (London, 2000), chap. 1.

³ Romney Sedgwick (ed.), *Lord Hervey's memoirs* (London, 1952), pp 46-7, quoted in Girouard, *Life in the English country house*, p. 4.

⁴ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p. 69.

that in England only a quarter were built by ‘new men’. Craig also pointed out that the main period for building new great houses was similar in England and Ireland, though in England the number of houses built was far greater. In England the main building period was 1710-1760 (peaking between 1720 and 1724) whilst in Ireland two dozen large country houses were begun between 1716 and 1745.⁵ Frederick Hervey was building much later (Downhill from 1776, Ballyscullion 1787, and in England Ickworth from 1795). Craig identified the Earl Bishop’s houses as prodigy houses, claiming that after 1750 only Castle Coole, Downhill and Ballyscullion approached the size of the earlier mansions by Richard Castle and Edward Lovett Pearce. Building on this scale indicates that Hervey’s ambition ran high.

Architecture as a gentlemanly pursuit was a trail blazed by innovative amateur architects of the earlier Palladian era, notably Lord Burlington. It is noticeable that among the small Ascendancy class of Ireland, there were a number of able architects. Agmondesham Vesey exercised his considerable architectural skills at Lucan House, in consultation with William Chambers and James Wyatt, building for pleasure rather than dynastic reasons.⁶ Like Hervey, Edward Stratford, Earl of Aldborough, had a passion for architecture and built in both England and Ireland, but his motives were different: Aldborough House in Dublin was intended to secure splendid accommodation for his young second wife at the expense of his grasping brothers and his huge building project at Stratford Place in London was speculative development aiming for, though not achieving, real profit. Like Hervey, Charlemont was inspired by travel and was almost bankrupted by his passion for his perfect neoclassical Casino and his great townhouse. Hervey’s political aspirations were played out at Downhill. Anthony Malcomson identifies Castle Coole as a reflection of ‘Belmore’s confidence in his own political future and the future of the political institutions of his day’.⁷ Castle Coole’s importance

⁵ Maurice Craig, *The architecture of Ireland from the earliest times to 1880* (London, 1989), p. 180.

⁶ According to his friend, Boswell, Vesey ‘understood architecture well and has left a very good specimen of his knowledge and taste in that art by an elegant house built on a plan of his own at Lucan’, quoted in Christopher Hussey, ‘Lucan House Co. Dublin, the property of Mr William Teeling M.P.’ in *Country Life*, 101 (31 Jan. 1947), p. 278.

⁷ A. P. W. Malcomson, ‘Introduction to the Belmore papers’, (P.R.O.N.I., Belmore papers, D3007).

as a status symbol and political base was quickly overtaken by the Act of Union: Belmore's two boroughs were disenfranchised and his opposition to the Act of Union prevented him from receiving the right to sit in the British House of Lords.

1.2.1 Downhill: the political house in a radical landscape

Downhill will be examined primarily in terms of why it was built and how it was lived in. Apportioning architectural responsibility for Hervey's houses conclusively may be impossible. John Robinson believes that James Wyatt supplied the original design for Downhill. Wyatt was enjoying great fame following the success of the Pantheon in London and was already involved in Ireland from 1772 at Lucan House, Mount Kennedy and the Dartry Mausoleum at Castle Dawson.⁸ James McBlain, stonemason at Downhill, claimed in the *Ordnance Survey Field Memoir* (1834) that his father was working to Wyatt plans when he came to Downhill in 1778.⁹ Peter Rankin rejects James Wyatt as the designer of Downhill, believing that a Wyatt pattern book may account for similarities with the façades of Wyatt's Heaton Hall, Lancashire, (1772) and Radcliffe Observatory at Oxford (1773).¹⁰ Rankin argues that Charles Cameron may have been the hidden hand behind the design, citing a plan and elevation of 'an Unidentified Country House' in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad.¹¹ Wyatt and Hervey were both in Italy during Hervey's first Tour and Cameron and Hervey overlapped in 1770-71. Whether or not Hervey met either architect abroad, they were all exposed to similar ancient, Palladian and neoclassical influences. The Italian architect, Placido Columbani, also worked on Downhill from 1783 to 1785 and has been suggested as architect but, as will be examined in chapter 2, his role was largely decoration and overseeing.¹² As will be demonstrated, Hervey's pattern of patronage typically involved approaching

⁸ John Martin Robinson, *James Wyatt, 1746-1813: architect to George III* (London, 2012), p. 112.

⁹ A. Day and P. McWilliams, eds, *Ordnance Survey Memoirs of Ireland, vol. vii, Parishes of County Down, II, 1832-4: North Down and the Ards* (Belfast, 1991), p. 60.

¹⁰ Rankin, *Irish building ventures*, pp 15-17.

¹¹ The plan is actually dated 1779 when Cameron arrived in Russia. Rankin, *Irish building ventures*, p. 15. Maurice Craig found Rankin's case for Cameron compelling, adding that Downhill was unlike any other Irish house. Craig, *Architecture of Ireland*, p. 245.

¹² Attributed to Placido Columbani by James Kelly, 'Frederick Hervey' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

several specialists. Though Robinson's recent research has not identified further documentary links between Wyatt and Hervey, it does provide a compelling case for Wyatt based on stylistic evidence. This chapter assumes a Wyatt plan but shifts the focus onto Michael Shanahan, Hervey's architect, who, whether the original design was his or not, was largely responsible for Downhill as it was finally executed.

Other contemporary patrons had a variety of experiences. Lord Charlemont had a remarkably sympathetic and productive relationship exclusively with William Chambers, whose Marino Casino and Charlemont House are considered to be some of Chambers's best work. Another whole group of neoclassical houses were designed and built by what Craig has identified a cartel of architects centred on James Wyatt (who visited Ireland only in 1785) and his agents in Ireland, Thomas Cooley, Thomas Penrose and Richard Johnston.¹³ Like Hervey, William Burton Conyngham was fully involved in his schemes, approaching James Wyatt, a Mr Robinson, John Sutherland, James Gandon, Capability Brown, Thomas Penrose and Francis Johnston over his architectural improvements for Slane Castle.¹⁴

It is the contention of this chapter that material culture, in this case the building of Downhill, provides evidence for Hervey's political and religious outlook and action. Hervey's political career has been viewed as a short-lived enthusiasm; there is some truth in this, for he tired of Irish politics after the cautious Lord Charlemont took over the Volunteer movement in 1783. Nevertheless, the architectural development of Downhill indicates a more serious political determination than Hervey has been given credit for, or in fact achieved. Downhill began in 1776 as a compact neoclassical villa, five bays wide, intended as a country retreat that combined Hervey's love of impressive scenery and bracing sea air. It is posited that Downhill quickly became inadequate as Hervey's involvement in politics grew, hence renewed building work to extend the house. As bishop, Hervey had responsibilities of overseeing clerical conduct and dispensing patronage and took upon himself the task of improving the stock of

¹³ Craig, *Architecture of Ireland*, p. 244.

¹⁴ Livia Hurley, 'Public and private improvements in eighteenth-century Ireland: the case of the Conynghams of Slane, 1703-1821' (M.Litt. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2009).

church buildings and the incomes of curates and clergy widows. These duties involved meeting and entertaining. At a national level, his interest in the test oath and his short but intense period as a Volunteer colonel brought further assemblies and hospitality. This would explain the addition of a new east wing of accommodation for overnight visitors in the form of ‘barracks’ for single men, later known as the Curate’s Corridor [fig. 1.3]. Hervey’s father, John Lord Hervey, had attended Sir Robert Walpole’s political congresses at Houghton in the 1720s and 1730s, hammering out the upcoming parliamentary season against a background of impressive art, grand architecture and lavish entertainment. Next Hervey expanded Downhill by adding a gallery and then the ‘new gallery’. These had a display function (discussed in chapter 4), but also acted as spaces for the political hospitality familiar to his father, for wooing and impressing.

Hints of Hervey’s use of Downhill for political and Volunteering purposes appear among the Downhill papers. A grand dinner costing £37 5s. 1d. was given for the officers of the Coleraine Battalion of Volunteers in July 1784. Anne Shanahan, assistant housekeeper, justified expenses incurred in feeding a company of Volunteers: ‘When your Lordship sent orders to provide for the Volunteers I expected that the Officers were to dine & sleep here’.¹⁵ A receipt for ‘Dinner given to the officers of the Battalion’ shows that £12 1s. 3d. was spent; some or all the officers must have stayed overnight because £4 13s. was paid for blankets.¹⁶ Drinking and toasting played an important political role in bonding and in articulating political purposes. Martyn Powell points to toasts becoming more explicitly political during the American War period, the text circulated in newspapers and letters.¹⁷ Anecdotal evidence points to Hervey’s enjoyment of toasts among the clergy, his natural powerbase.¹⁸ As bishop, Hervey mobilised the clergy when he needed their political support, for instance, ‘almost all the clergy’

¹⁵ Anne Shanahan to Hervey (n.d.) (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey-Bruce papers, D1514/1/1/64). Anne Shanahan was the wife of Hervey’s architect Michael Shanahan and lived at Downhill, acting as assistant housekeeper until 1784.

¹⁶ Draft on Robert Alexander, 10 Aug. 1784, (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey-Bruce papers, D1514/1/1/14).

¹⁷ Martyn J. Powell, *The politics of consumption*, p. 18.

¹⁸ For example, as curate, Revd Saurin used to make the toast ‘A rot among the rectors!’ which apparently so delighted the Earl Bishop that Saurin received a benefice. When next asked for a toast, he volunteered ‘Patience among the curates!’ quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 381.

attended at convention at Dungiven, having been summoned by letters from their bishop, where there was great mirth and ‘bawdy songs by the clergy’.¹⁹

The Revd William Bruce, later a leader of the political and cultural scene of Belfast, stayed two nights at the house. His journal has not been investigated as a source for Downhill before. At dinner, Hervey criticised government policy in America in the ‘severest and harshest terms’, expressed his intention to become a delegate for the Volunteer Convention in Dungannon and his hopes for parliamentary reform and for a free port. Bruce admired *Count Ugolino and his sons* ‘starving in jail’ and Benjamin West’s *Death of James Wolfe*. He summed up the day: ‘Derry Review. Took refreshment with Lord Bristol before the sham fight. Had a long conversation with him on the terrace. Saw his son, who repeated verses on the death of Chatham’.²⁰ In his journal, Bruce conflated Hervey’s hospitality, political talk, pictures and poetry, all expressions of Hervey’s political programme. Entertainment in the country house reaffirmed the partisan and endeavoured to persuade the undecided.

In 1783 the Earl Bishop was at the height of his Volunteer phase.²¹ In a letter to Hervey, who was attending the Volunteer Convention of November 1783 in Dublin, Shanahan praised Hervey for his work on behalf of Irish Catholics. He went on to describe a new scheme for decorative plasterwork (discussed more fully in chapter 2) as ‘modern trophies... instead of those of the ancients’.²² It is possible that these ‘modern trophies’ were Volunteer iconography. Other patrons used plasterwork to express their outlook. The dining room of Glin Castle had martial themes incorporated into the plasterwork. At the House of Dun, near

¹⁹ Spencer Huey to Thomas Conolly, 14 Feb. 1784, (T.C.D., Conolly papers, MS 3978/829).

²⁰ Revd William Bruce, ‘Journal of a tour in the north in 1783’, 15-17 July 1783, (P.R.O.N.I., T3041/3/1).

²¹ Küttner identified Hervey as the ‘chief and leader of the Volunteers ... Many call him crazy, suggesting that he is fully convinced of being a philanthropist, working for the welfare of the oppressed people. He is very charitable, though his charity is sometimes a little too ostentatious. Last week, for instance, he ordered at his expense a thousand new caps for the light infantry of some corps of the Volunteers.’ John Hennig, ‘Goethe and Lord Bristol, bishop of Derry’ in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 3rd series, x (1947), p. 104.

²² Shanahan to Hervey, 24 Oct. 1783, (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/47). Evidently Shanahan had suggested a previous scheme but Hervey had over-ruled it, suggesting ‘modern trophies’ himself (see chapter 3).

Montrose, David Erskine chose to portray past family Jacobite activities and present loyalty in plasterwork by Joseph Enzer in 1742.²³

Hervey's political role, particularly as a champion for Catholics between 1766 and 1785, has been examined by John Walsh.²⁴ Material culture also offers evidence, which, it is posited, indicates longer lasting political intentions. In Volunteer terms, Hervey entered the movement late, having been in England for two years following his inheritance of the Bristol title and lands in 1779. Initially he wrote to his son-in-law warning that the Volunteer movement might lead to 'civil war' but later saw its usefulness in pressing for his political goals; he became colonel of the Londonderry Corps in 1782.²⁵ Hervey's explosion onto the Volunteer scene in 1782 has been seen as evidence of his opportunism; however, visits to Ickworth by Sir Patrick Bellew (an intermediary between Hervey and the Catholic Committee) suggests a more active interest in events in Ireland while he was out of the country.²⁶

Hervey's involvement with the Volunteers was part of a broader, ever-shifting political and professional programme. At Ickworth he was involved in a local initiative, led by his brother-in-law Sir Charles Davers, to raise money by subscription for a seventy-four gun ship for the navy. Within two months, £20,000 had been pledged, of which the largest single sum, £1,000, was offered by Hervey. The second largest sum, £600, was pledged by the Duke of Grafton (who held land near Bury St Edmunds) and another £600 by the 'The clergymen of the diocese of Derry assembled at a visitation'.²⁷ Ascendancy landowners in Ireland

²³ Christie, *British country house*, p. 52 and footnote 144.

²⁴ Walsh, *Le bienfaiteur des Catholiques*, *passim*.

²⁵ Hervey to John Thomas Foster, 21 May 1780 (R.I.A., MS 23.G.39).

²⁶ Lord Sydney used to see Sir Patrick Bellew in Suffolk 'at that time a good deal with the bishop of Derry', Sydney to Rutland, 28 Sept. 1784 (N.L.I., Sydney MS, quoted in Karen Harvey, *The Bellevs of Mount Bellew: a Catholic gentry family in eighteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1998), p. 154). Archbishop Agar complained that after voting in the test bill in 1780, Hervey 'went to the house of Sir Patrick Bellew where he remained for some time broaching his heterogeneous politics according to this custom', Archbishop Charles Agar to Sir George Macartney, 17 Feb. 1780 (P.R.O.N.I., Macartney papers, D572/7/52, quoted in Thomas Bartlett, *Macartney in Ireland, 1768-72: a calendar of the chief secretaryship papers of Sir George Macartney* (Belfast, 1978), p. 303).

²⁷ Yasushi Aoki, 'To be a member of the leading gentry: the Suffolk voluntary subscriptions of 1782' in *Historical Research*, lxxiv, no.191 (Feb. 2003), p. 84.

often had land and influence in England; not only did their concerns intersect each sphere of influence, but others were drawn into this wider transference.

On his return to Ireland in 1782, Hervey quickly recognised the power of the Irish Volunteers as a political lever. Though historians have regarded his Volunteer phase as short and notorious, two points have been overlooked. Firstly, Hervey could not foresee how quickly the Volunteer movement would lose its power after he became involved in 1782. Secondly, his Volunteerism was a more conspicuous flowering of his long-term political interest in the status of Catholics, one of the few lasting concerns of so mercurial a man. The need for hospitality, linked to the short but intense period of Hervey's Volunteering, provided the impetus for the initial expansion of Downhill. The expense invested in the fabric and decoration in the early 1780s suggests a more fixed purpose, at variance with studies of his political role.

Outside the house, garden buildings allowed for iconographical and architectural freedom. At Stowe, the Temple of Ancient Virtue and the Temple of British Worthies represented Lord Cobham's views on contemporary politics. Tom Williamson reads purposes into these gardens:

They could be used to proclaim the wealth and power, and thus by implication the continuing political success, of great landowners: overawing the local population and attracting the undecided to their 'interest'. They could be used to demonstrate a governing elite's particular beliefs and ideology and also – as advertisements of its taste and knowledge – its fitness to rule.²⁸

Williamson suggests that these gardens of incident became stylistically 'an evolutionary dead end, swept away by the landscape park'.²⁹ Hervey's garden buildings indicate that landscaping remained open to fantasy. His period as Volunteer colonel was represented in the Downhill demesne: the main entrance was through a Roman arch named after the Coleraine Battalion, for which the

²⁸ Tom Williamson, *Polite landscapes: gardens and society in eighteenth-century England* (Baltimore, 1995), p. 16.

²⁹ Tom Williamson, 'Gardens and society in eighteenth-century England', in Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery (eds), *History from things: essays on material culture* (New York, 1993), p. 106.

balance of £44 19s. 5d. was paid in July 1784 [fig 1.4].³⁰ At Laurencetown, county Galway, there is a similar arch with Volunteer inscriptions. An ancient hill fort at Downhill was reshaped, using dynamite and tree planting, and renamed Dungannon Hill to commemorate the Dungannon Volunteer Conventions of 1782 and 1783 and acted as a parade ground.

As in the case of architecture, landscaping has been read as evidence of social change and political expression. Edward Malins and the Knight of Glin trace an interesting contrast between Hervey's sublime landscape at Downhill and Charlemont's romantic-poetic landscape at Marino: 'Here the vast sweeps of Burke's sublimity reflected the extravagance and grandeur beloved by the Earl-Bishop, producing not the idea of the Roman villa [Marino] set near the metropolis, wooing the elements and even the inhabitants, but a palace set high on a cliff far from anywhere, aweing visitors to silence and fighting Atlantic salt and winds'.³¹ Barnard warns against 'seductive interpretations' which link design innovations with larger intellectual currents.³² Viewed in this light, the shift from the sublime site of Downhill to the picturesque site of Ballyscullion, at a time when fashion was moving in the opposite direction, could be interpreted either as Hervey's declining interest in politics or as the desire for an easier environment in which to live and garden.

It is evident that Downhill's cliff-top site had a powerful appeal to Hervey. He chose a basalt plateau, bordered by chasms to the sides and an 180 foot cliff to the sea below with magnificent views [fig. 1.5].³³ Hervey was in tune with the growing interest in the awe-inspiring wildness and grandeur of nature. On his first Grand Tour he visited sites associated with the sublime: the Rhine at Schaffhausen, the Harz Mountains, the Montagne du Luberon in Provence, the Grand Chartreuse at Grenoble, the Alps and Vesuvius. The Ickworth library had a

³⁰ Draft on Robert Alexander of Londonderry, 7 July 1784 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D1514/1/1/10).

³¹ Desmond FitzGerald, the Knight of Glin and Edward Malins, *Lost demesnes: Irish landscape gardening, 1660-1845* (London, 1976), p. 144. Edmund Burke, *The Sublime and the Beautiful* (1759). Also see Peter Rankin, *Irish building ventures*; and Reeves-Smyth, 'Downhill demesne'.

³² Barnard, *Guide to sources*, p. 36.

³³ From Downhill, there are views of the mountains of Islay and Jura ahead, Lough Foyle and the Donegal Mountains to the west and the Antrim coastline and the Magilligan sands to the west, with the Giants' Causeway and Dunluce Castle just out of sight.

1764 copy of Burke's *The Sublime and the Beautiful*.³⁴ At Downhill, Hervey displayed pictures by Salvator Rosa and views of Vesuvius in eruption. Travelling, Hervey viewed landscapes through eyes trained to admire art: north of Florence, he anticipated 'scenes of Salvator Rosa till we totally forget the more than Divine Claude Lorrain'.³⁵

The site of Downhill also offered health benefits. Originally sea-bathing brought the Hervey family from the palace in the city of Derry to this area; they were 'lodging at the bathing-house of Mount Salut, near Magilligan' when they heard the harpist Dennis Hempson play.³⁶ Hervey believed in the health properties of sea air which with the 'Magnificent Ocean roaring ... brac'd up anew ... to the enjoyment of such natural pleasures & edifying Scenes'.³⁷ Diet, exercise and fresh air were Hervey's chief weapons against recurrent digestive problems and gout.

In Ireland, little remains of Hervey's landscapes because, as Shanahan complained, Hervey was too impatient and because he emphasised site over planting; the priorities of the patron were more powerful than the wisdom of the textbook. The layout and visual impact of the Downhill demesne are gleaned from early Ordnance Survey maps, published descriptions by G.V. Sampson, *Statistical survey of county Londonderry* (1803) and J.P. Neale, *Views of the seats of noblemen and gentlemen* (1823) and comments of visitors [figs 1.6-1.7a and b].³⁸ While the neighbouring Conolly estate at Limavady was surveyed or valued on four occasions between 1750 and 1782, Downhill was not surveyed at all, perhaps because it was still officially diocesan land. Unlike other proud landlords, Hervey did not commission views from landscape artists like William Ashford and Thomas Roberts (a theme explored further in chapter 4).

Eye catchers, to be appreciated from the windows of the house, were the strongest man-made element of this landscape. The Mausoleum, based on the much admired Tomb of the Julii in St Remy, Provence, was built by Michael Shanahan

³⁴ 'Ickworth library catalogue', c.1795 (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/76, p. 49).

³⁵ Hervey to Lady Mary Erbe, 25 Aug. 1794 (Sheffield Archives, Wharncliffe muniments 552b/1).

³⁶ Edward Bunting, *The ancient music of Ireland* (Dublin, 1840), reprinted Dublin, 2005, p. 75.

³⁷ Hervey to Lady Elizabeth Foster, 5 Mar. c.1780 (R.I.A., Ms 23 G 39).

³⁸ Note that J. P. Neale, *Views of seats of noblemen and gentlemen in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales* is not paginated. Downhill appears in series 1, volume vi (1823).

between 1779 and 1783, possibly to a design by Wyatt, at the estimated cost of £426 0s. 9d.³⁹ Hervey intended it to commemorate his elder brother George, 2nd earl, who had secured the Irish bishopric and left a bequest of £10,000 on his death in 1775; a statue of George by van Nost stood in a ring of Corinthian columns under a dome. The Mausoleum was balanced by another tall, domed structure, the icehouse and pigeon tower in the walled garden, built in 1786.

Hervey was a strong advocate of agricultural improvement and a friend of Arthur Young who lived near Ickworth. Hervey viewed Downhill as a 'laboratory' where he experimented with 'mountains converted into arable, & grouse metamorphosed without a miracle into men ... The limestone is at the bottom of the hill, the turf at the top; what gold may this chemistry produce?'⁴⁰ As early as 1787 Daniel Beaufort, a frequent commentator on improvements, was impressed that the moor was 'now a firm level rich turf, by his wonderful exertions'.⁴¹ On his later visit in 1807, Beaufort noticed limestone kilns; lime appears very frequently in the Downhill papers, sometimes apparently issued as a reward to tenant-improvers.⁴² Hervey may have almost doubled his rental income by running leases against his life, since he was not yet forty when appointed bishop. He reserved to himself the bog and mountain land considered unprofitable and set about improving it and building cabins. Viewing these cabins in 1796, Chevalier Latocnaye approved of this investment in a 'desert':

The Bishop of Derry has built a superb palace in an unfrequented spot, or rather a place that was entirely desert before the erection of the building. It is with pleasure that one notices here a large number of houses for the peasants, built by the bishop at his own charges. They seem very fit and comfortable, and the peasants themselves, the tenants, seem to be greatly attached to their bishop, although they have never seen him.⁴³

³⁹ Estimate for the mausoleum, c. 1777-9 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/6).

⁴⁰ Hervey to Arthur Young, 13 Apr. 1783, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 295.

⁴¹ Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 18 Nov. 1787 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4028).

⁴² Hervey did not cease in his exhortations; ten years after he had left Ireland, he was still reminding Shanahan: 'need I recommend to you to make the Demesne as productive as possible. All the excavations of the Canal mixed with hot lime will make it a mine of Gold'. Hervey to Shanahan, 17 June 1801, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 622.

⁴³ Chevalier de la Tocnaye, *A Frenchman's walk through Ireland, 1796-7* (Belfast, 1917), p. 203.

Hervey's activities echo the complex mixture of motivations for improvement identified by Barnard: 'the cult of improvement would be embraced only if it appealed simultaneously to the self-interest and altruism of the landed. Fashion as well as duty popularised active supervision and innovation'.⁴⁴

Enriching the Downhill lands was part of a larger programme of improvements. At the time of his translation to Derry, Hervey's passion was for geology. Financial advantage (though not for himself) and improvement converged in a search for coal and the development of mines. He drew upon his experiences and contacts from the Continent when he gave £1000 towards the building of a bridge to cross the Foyle instead of the inadequate ferry. He wrote to d'Anville (whom he had met in Paris in 1767) asking him to send plans for the bridge at Schaffhausen and received an 'incredible' number of proposals from engineers when he advertised in gazettes in Switzerland and Germany.⁴⁵ As a result of these activities, Hervey was granted freedom of the city of Derry, commemorated by a gold freedom box discussed in chapter 2. Livia Hurley has indicated a circle of like-minded improvers, such as William Burton Conyngham, with whom Hervey shared interests in geology and the potential profits of mining, canals and bridges.⁴⁶

Fear of the disaffected in untouched areas of Ireland lingered through the eighteenth century. 'Unadorned nature took longer to be appreciated in Ireland than in England and never won over all'.⁴⁷ The Killarney area became the most

⁴⁴ Toby Barnard, *Improving Ireland? Projectors, prophets and profiteers, 1641-1786* (Dublin, 2008), p. 38. Also Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and ideology: the English rustic tradition, 1740-1860* (Los Angeles, 1986), pp 1-2.

⁴⁵ Hervey to D'Anville, c.1770 (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/51/2); Hervey to Sir William Hamilton, 20 Sept.1778 (N.L.I., MS 2263).

⁴⁶ William Burton Conyngham was also interested in improvements to boost trade; like Hervey, he drew upon his travel experiences and contacts. After travelling through Iberia in 1783 and 1784, Burton Conyngham managed to secure Merino sheep which he out-crossed with his own to produce Hibernian Superfine, admired by Sir Joseph Banks and Arthur Young. See Hurley, 'Public and private improvements', p. 170. In his will, Davis Ducart (who died in 1781), named James Fortescue of Ravensdale Park, John Townsend of Castle Townsend and Frederick Hervey, the Earl of Bristol, as his particular friends. Hervey asked Ducart for plans for the Foyle bridge, Burton Conyngham employed Ducart for his canal and the Earl of Abercorn requested plans and estimates from him. Ducart to Hervey, 'Estimate for bridge for Derry' £32,000 and a 'Plan for a wooden bridge' with no estimate, 13 Feb. 1769, (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey-Bruce papers, D2798/2/1). See Hurley, 'Public and private improvements', p. 136.

⁴⁷ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p. 192.

admired scenery in Ireland, attracting tourists and artists. The Giant's Causeway increasingly drew tourists for whom the Earl Bishop provided pathways. The metamorphic rock of the Causeway inspired his travels to Staffa and, unusually, Dalmatia.⁴⁸ Visitor reaction to the location of Downhill illuminates contemporary debate between proponents of the sublime and the beautiful. In this thesis, visitor accounts have been collected to form a body of evidence for assessing Hervey's building and landscaping. Robert Slade responded to the sublime power of the site in terms of man pitted against mighty nature:

It is built upon a rock, within a few paces of the sea, and the mind is struck with awe, in reflecting, that the broad expanse of water, which in tempestuous weather, dashes its spray into the chambers of the house, is continued for the space of more than three thousand miles ... the building is equally visible from the sea shore, near Coleraine, where it appears an object of Roman magnificence.⁴⁹

Chevalier de Latocnaye was also impressed by the Mussenden Temple, Hervey's library on the cliff top at Downhill: 'He has built a temple of fine architecture on the edge of a precipice, as if to brave the waves and winds. The sea furiously beats against the perpendicular rocks at its base, and rises at times to a height of 150 feet'.⁵⁰

Mr Justice Robert Day shared Hervey's interest in Catholic emancipation and admired many of the same political figures, notably the Pitts and Lord Shelburne, who held estates in Day's native Kerry. He was 'astonished and delighted by the splendid collection of pictures and statues and by the costly architecture of the eccentric Mitred Earl, the Lord of that wild scene'. However, he voiced prophetic despair at:

the misapplication of so much treasure upon a spot where no suitable Demesne can be created, where trees will not grow, ... where the salt spray

⁴⁸ Hervey favoured 'vulcanism' over 'neptunism' as the agent of these formations, undertaking his own research and having topographical views drawn. His enthusiasm for volcanoes led to Hervey's injury by a rock flung out of the mouth of Vesuvius in 1766 which was reported back at home: William Cole recorded the this incident which had been published in Sir William Hamilton's *Observations on Mount Vesuvius* in 1772 (B.L., Cole Ms 5829, p.135v).

⁴⁹ Robert Slade, *Narrative of a journey to the north of Ireland in the year 1802* (London, 1803), p. 56.

⁵⁰ Chevalier de la Tocnaye, *A Frenchman's walk*, p. 203.

begins already to corrode the sumptuous Pile of Grecian architecture, and the imagination, anticipating no distant period weeps over the splendid Ruin, a sad monument of human folly!⁵¹

To Day in 1801, Hervey's efforts were impressive, eccentric and regrettably wasteful.

The Revd William Bisset in 1799 was disparaging because he valued productive land over the fashion for the sublime:

The Scite is indeed elevated beyond all reason, and assuredly beyond all comfort ... a keen and stormy compulsion that precludes the Idea of a Tree, and ought to have arrested the hand of a Builder ... I hardly imagine an unenlightened man in the country could have been found so absurd as to place his Hut on the Top of Downhill.⁵²

The location of buildings was assessed as evidence of good taste and good sense and Hervey was found to be negligent on both counts. Finola O'Kane notes that 'Thomas Conolly understood the standard iconography of garden design, and disliked the new concept of romantic landscape in particular', preferring a landscape of more utility and improvement. To Conolly, Downhill was Hervey's 'extraordinary Mansion, upon a high cliff near the Sea, without Trees, open to the Atlantick, but with Distant Views, of the Giants Causeway'.⁵³ Louisa Beaufort in 1807 commented on the approach to the house:

it is seen like an hospital on the top of a bare hill on the left the Mausoleum, on the right the Mussendon temple, time would not permit us to go either – the Avenue most absurd, steepness & length of the ascent to the house, is dangerous on the right is a tremendous precipice, fenced from the road by a low dry stone wall – a few trees at the gate which is handsome, but the Lodge is gothic – the house is remarkably low, the plan very odd.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Gerald O'Carroll, *Mr Justice Robert Day: the diaries and the addresses to Grand Juries, 1793-1829* (Tralee, 2004), p. 58.

⁵² Revd William Bisset, 'The journal of William Bisset, August 1799', ed. Godfrey Brown in *Journal of the Glens of Antrim Historical Society* (2005), p. 89.

⁵³ Finola O'Kane, *Landscape design in eighteenth-century Ireland: mixing foreign trees with the natives* (Cork, 2004), pp 121-2.

⁵⁴ Journal of Louisa Beaufort, 27 Oct, 1807 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4034).

Assessing Louisa Beaufort's journal, Marie Davis suggests that her 'omission of any description of the scenery, and her lack of admiration for the Mausoleum and Temple point to a disaffection for the picturesque, like that of Jane Austen'.⁵⁵ Fashions did not appeal to all.

How the house related to its landscape was an important consideration. Neale considered the view of Downhill from a distance, showing the cliffs and ocean, as worth a rare second engraving in *Views of seats of nobility and gentlemen* [fig. 1.7b].⁵⁶ It did not meet with universal admiration: the Revd Samuel Burdy in 1802 felt that Downhill 'has rather the appearance of a public seminary than a gentleman's residence'.⁵⁷ He blamed the owner for the lack of integration between the house and landscape: 'In laying out the demesne we did not discover any remarkable taste displayed. His lordship indeed seems to have better relish for painting and architecture than for rural improvements'.⁵⁸ Though thousands of trees were planted, only those in the Port Vantage Glen (which was the approach to the house) and inland parts of the demesne survived.

Port Vantage with its ponds, cascades and viewing opportunities was a more orthodox landscape and more admired.⁵⁹ Hervey had the landscapist William King at work and wrote home from Italy that 'Mr. King's operations begin now to be interesting & I should be glad to know their effect upon the Eye'. Unlike most contemporaries, Hervey prized nature over human design, leading him to 'fear the new garden will interrupt the view from the Window of the drawing room in wch case I should make no scruple to remove it, even if completed'.⁶⁰ For Hervey, the drama of the site could hardly be improved upon. Shanahan's cry 'it is but a folly

⁵⁵ Marie Davis, 'The Beaufort visits to Downhill' in Jane Fenlon, Nicola Figgis and Catherine Marshall (eds), *New Perspectives, studies in art history in honour of Anne Crookshank* (Dublin, 1987), p. 157.

⁵⁶ J. P. Neale, *Views of Seats of noblemen and gentlemen in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland* (6 vols, London, 1823), vi.

⁵⁷ Samuel Burdy, *A tour of a few days to Londonderry, the Giant's Causeway &c in September 1802* (Dublin, 1807), p. 33.

⁵⁸ Burdy, *A tour 1802*, p. 34.

⁵⁹ 'I wrote to Mr King at Lord Enniskillen to procure in time an ample store of Tamarisk, Laburnum, Myrtles, roses of every kind, sweet briars etc, etc, as your Lordship ordered; this is the only scheme I approve of that has yet been proposed for adorning Downhill, the walks around the demesne will be very delightful and soon come to perfection without any degree of suffering by storms'. Shanahan to Hervey, 22 July 1778 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey-Bruce papers, D2798/2/8).

⁶⁰ Hervey to Archdeacon Monck, 10 Jan. 1778 (P.R.O.N.I., Montgomery papers, T1638/35/1).

to think your Lordship could live here without a garden' was more representative of the opinions of Hervey's viewing public.⁶¹

By default Shanahan has been credited with landscaping at Downhill, but traces remain of contact with three Irish landscape gardeners, none of whom are mentioned by Malins and Glin.⁶² Hervey's attempt to secure a really good landscape gardener throws an interesting light onto the business of visiting and viewing and raises the issue of relationships between patron and employee. Hervey wrote to the eighth earl of Abercorn in London asking to borrow his landscape gardener Thomas Hudson who 'has given proofs of his ability so far beyond what Mr Shanley or King, or any of the common manufacturers of lawns and plantations can rise to' because, in Hervey's assessment of the site of Downhill, 'I could not in justice to one of the most romantic and picturesque spots in Ireland forbear entreating your Lordship's assistance to adorn it to the utmost'.⁶³ This prompted a flurry of letters from the earl of Abercorn: these were polite and flattering acquiescence to Hervey, though with a caution not to 'spoil' Hudson, a barrage of instructions for the unfortunate Hudson himself, and irritation expressed to his agent and kinsman James Hamilton.⁶⁴ Abercorn feared the consequences 'knowing how dangerous it is, to take a servant out of the plain track, in which he is going on well, yet I cannot refuse this civility, in a part of the world, where a system is so hard to be got'.⁶⁵

A vignette of the busy visiting and viewing that went on at a new house, even when the owner was absent, emerges from these letters. James Hamilton informed the earl of Abercorn of two visits. The Earl Bishop stayed a night at Baronscourt with a retinue including his son, his cousin, the dean of Derry, a Scottish dissenting minister and an English clergyman: 'he chose to sleep in one of the

⁶¹ Shanahan to Hervey, 22 July 1778 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/8).

⁶² Patrick Bowe and Keith Lamb, *A history of gardening in Ireland* (Dublin, 1995) does discuss these landscape gardeners with specific reference to Downhill (but footnote 51 p. 42 is incorrect and should read Hervey to Earl of Abercorn, 6 Jan. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Abercorn papers, D623/A/44/218), not H. Dutton, *A statistical survey of the county of Galway* (1824).

⁶³ Hervey to Earl of Abercorn, 6 Jan. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Abercorn papers, D623/A/44/218).

⁶⁴ Earl of Abercorn to Hervey, 20 Jan. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Abercorn papers, D623/A/25/73); Earl of Abercorn to Thomas Hudson, 20 Jan. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., D623/A/25/71); Earl of Abercorn to James Hamilton, 20 Jan. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I. D623/A/25/72).

⁶⁵ Earl of Abercorn to James Hamilton, 20 Jan. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Abercorn papers, D623/A/25/72).

upper rooms; he went through every bit of the house and offices, and expressed great satisfaction, with that and the grounds which he also admired'.⁶⁶ A few days later Lord Charlemont, accompanied by an entourage of leading local Volunteers, spent the day at Baronscourt: 'Lord Charlemont went through every corner, and he and all the rest seemed to admire very much the house and place, and were astonished when they found, in what short time all was done'.⁶⁷ Building works were carefully inspected by other patrons and doubtless influenced their own works.

1.2.2 Ballyscullion: the cultural house

The case for Hervey investing in a political career has been made using evidence from Downhill. Ballyscullion, begun in 1787, suggests a very different function and a new phase in Hervey's self-fashioning. Moving away from his role as busy bishop, family man and politician, Hervey the traveller and collector needed a show house to display his growing acquisitions. Downhill was not entirely successful: it had sprawled in size, with wings and offices as piecemeal responses to growing needs. Hervey's architectural connoisseurship had developed since Downhill and crystallised into a unified concept of a rotunda flanked by galleries. Ballyscullion was to be an architectural gem of a single style and execution. So delightful was this design that Hervey replicated it ten years later at Ickworth: 'In all Europe I have not seen a Style of building with which I am so Enamored as with my own'.⁶⁸

In contrast to the sublime vigour of Downhill, the site chosen for Ballyscullion, beside the river Bann at Lough Beg in the south of the diocese, was picturesque. Hervey had withdrawn from the cliff edge physically and metaphorically. Hervey used potentially treasonable language in his published replies to volunteer addresses, for instance exhorting the people 'to repel the tyranny and exterminate

⁶⁶ James Hamilton to Earl of Abercorn, 27 July 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Abercorn papers, D623/A/44/257).

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Hervey to John Symonds, 9 Oct. 1796 (Suffolk R.O., Hervey Bruce papers, 941/51/4).

the tyrants'.⁶⁹ Rutland advised arresting him and George III called him 'this wicked prelate'.⁷⁰ Hervey and Sir Edward Newenham were suspected of conspiring with France, despite their obvious political differences.⁷¹ Pitt advised that it would be difficult to prove treason and would only encourage Hervey, who did indeed lose interest in Irish politics after the Dublin Volunteer Convention was disbanded and Lord Charlemont outplayed him by spending the summer of 1784 calming the Volunteers in their local areas. The Earl Bishop was to spend very little time in Ireland after 1787 but had a reliable agent in his relation and later heir, the Revd Henry Hervey Bruce.⁷² With a central hall reaching up to the roof, Ballyscullion had less sleeping accommodation because having left his wife and withdrawing from Irish politics, his family and his entertainments were smaller.⁷³ The novelty of Ballyscullion was to be the two flanking galleries for Hervey's rapidly growing art and statuary collections. If Downhill was the political house, then Ballyscullion was the show house, the cultural house.

As with Downhill, architectural responsibility for the design of Ballyscullion is uncertain. Shanahan may have been drawn up the original plans, but in the light of John Robinson's recent conclusions about Wyatt at Downhill, it seems unlikely. Certainly Shanahan had a model made 'for my own improvement and for the opinion of some good judges in architecture which daily visit me'.⁷⁴ The Sandys brothers were also involved. Like Shanahan, Francis and Joseph Sandys gained advancement through Hervey's patronage. Francis Sandys was funded in Italy by the Earl Bishop, both brothers were responsible for the building of Ickworth from

⁶⁹ Address to the Newtownards Reform Club, *Belfast News Letter*, 16-20 Jul. 1784, quoted in Walsh, *Le bienfaiteur des Catholiques*, p. 45.

⁷⁰ Walsh, *Le bienfaiteur des Catholiques*, p. 41.

⁷¹ James Kelly, *Sir Edward Newenham MP, 1734-1814* (Dublin, 2004), pp 222-3.

⁷² Hervey returned from his fourth Tour and spent 1787-88 at Downhill, beginning Ballyscullion, spent 1788-90 in France, Germany and Italy on his fifth Tour, returning to Ireland in November 1790 and left Ireland (for the last time) in 1791. He died in Italy in 1803. The Revd Henry Hervey Bruce (later baronet) was Hervey's cousin and brother of Hervey's favourite, Mrs Mussenden. In his will Hervey left his entailed English possessions to his son Frederick (later first Marquess of Bristol) and his Irish possessions and collections abroad to his cousin Henry Hervey Bruce.

⁷³ The Earl Bishop was separated from the Countess of Bristol, who remained at Ickworth Lodge with their youngest child Louisa; Mary and Elizabeth were living separately from their husbands in England and Elizabeth had become the Duchess of Devonshire's main companion; John Augustus had left the navy, married and begun his unfortunate career as a diplomat in Florence in 1787; and Frederick had fallen out with his father by 1787 by refusing to go to the Netherlands for more education and was beginning a diplomatic career in England.

⁷⁴ Shanahan to Hervey, 17 July 1787 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/93).

1796 and the Revd Joseph Sandys received preferment within the diocese of Derry.⁷⁵

Building Ballyscullion was a joy: Hervey did not really need or use the house, but building and collecting became his passions. This growing collection needed to be displayed, a theme discussed in chapter 4. In America, Thomas Jefferson echoed these sentiments: ‘Architecture is my delight, and putting up and pulling down one of my favorite amusements’.⁷⁶ It is interesting that Jefferson was also inspired by Palladio’s Villa Capra la Rotonda for his entry to the President’s Palace competition. Furthermore, Hervey was motivated by a landowner’s responsibility to improve and employ; many in the area would benefit tangibly through the local economic boom that accompanied a great building project.⁷⁷

All this amuses me at the distance of 3000 miles as much as if I were on the Spot, & sometimes as Now I can write, talk & think of nothing else – my Weekly Bills amount to £130 all spent among masons carpenters, stonecutters, limeburners, Carmen & all the most Valuable and industrious part of the community – judge of the wealth & comfort I disseminate among such vertue’.⁷⁸

Ballyscullion illustrates how architectural influences from abroad found their way into county Londonderry through a well-travelled patron. Ireland was linked into a broader cultural world. Ideas, objects and craftsmen were mobile. Inspiration for the rotunda design came from the Pantheon in Rome, Palladio’s Villa Capra la Rotonda near Vicenza and Hervey’s favourite modern house, Belle Isle (1774) on Lake Windermere [fig. 1.8 a-c].⁷⁹ Ballyscullion was ‘Oval like the Pantheon ...

⁷⁵ The Revd Joseph Sandys was curate of Donagh 1792 to 1794, rector of Kilrea 1794 to 1798 and prebend of Aghadowey 1798 to 1808.

⁷⁶ Thomas Jefferson, quoted in Desmond Guinness and Julius Trousdale Sadler Jr., *Palladio, a Western progress* (New York, 1976), p. 139.

⁷⁷ Shanahan observed: ‘it would have made me happy could I have been present when your Lordship was laying the foundation stone. The tenants and all that neighbourhood have a good right to rejoice. They all know very well it is the only means to enrich them. Shanahan to Hervey, 25 Apr. 1787 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/89).

⁷⁸ Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, Aug. 1794, quoted in Rankin, *Irish building ventures*, p. 54.

⁷⁹ In his travels Hervey had seen Belle Isle. John Plaw illustrated plans, elevations and a view of this house in John Plaw, *Rural architecture; or designs from the simple cottage to the decorated villa; including some that have been executed by John Plaw architect* (1785). Hervey described Ballyscullion as ‘perfectly circular in imitation of one which I saw upon an Island in the Westmoreland Lakes’, Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 8 Mar. 1787, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 400.

The offices will be join'd to the House by a semicircular colonnade like That of St Peters only closed, because of the Climate'.⁸⁰ Hervey had considered a round house for some time, but he and his wife had different priorities in terms of comfort versus splendour. In 1777 she described a visit to 'two Country Palaces' near Vicenza:

One of these is a rotunda on wch Palladio valued himself, wch. has been much admir'd, & twice copied in England,⁸¹ but there is neither beauty on the outside nor convenience wthin. The whole is sacrific'd to a room in the center with a Dome from wch. you go out to ye four winds & cool yrself under four porticos ... Yr. Father had once thought of this plan for ye Downhill, we shd. certainly have been a prey to Neptune & have gone down ye rock, Castle & all, but I have convinc'd him that it is only a beauty to coquet with, but not to marry.⁸²

Palladio's Villa Capra la Rotonda was built exclusively for display and entertainment. Until bedrooms were created upstairs in the eighteenth century, the Capra family had never slept there, always returning to their nearby palazzo in Vicenza. Hervey was moving more towards this model of a house for display.

Hervey took trouble over the stairs for Ballyscullion, which were 'in the Center of the house & oval, & like a double screw includes the Back stairs, like Ld. Besborough's [sic] at Roehampton and that of Marshall Saxe at Chambord in the Poitou'.⁸³ Sending for plans from London and France, illustrates the means by which an architectural idea might arrive in Ireland.⁸⁴ Books offered guidance too: Palladio illustrated the Chambord example.⁸⁵ The choice of this staircase, which allowed servants to remain unseen, may reflect the slow process of separation

⁸⁰ Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, Nov. 1789, quoted in Rankin, *Irish building ventures*, p. 54.

⁸¹ Perhaps she referred to: Colen Campbell, Mereworth, Kent (1723); Isaac Ware, Foot's Cray Place, Kent (1754); Lord Burlington, Chiswick (1725); or Nuthall Temple, Nottinghamshire, for Sir Charles Sedley (c. 1754).

⁸² Quoted in Mary McNeill, 'Frederick Hervey: a reappraisal' (P.R.O.N.I., McNeill papers, D3732/10/2).

⁸³ Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 8 Mar. 1787, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 400.

⁸⁴ 'I have sent for a very intelligent Man, & directed Him to make a Plan Section & Elevation of our Staircase at Roehampton, which I should think would be quite sufficient without putting you to the Expence of a Model, which it might be difficult to read;... I think ours is the best double Staircase I know as the great Stairs are not at all darkened by the others...', Lord Duncannon to Hervey, 24 Feb. 1787 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D1514/1/2/8); 'I cannot forbear reminding you of the plan of the staircase at Chambord which you was so good as to promise me', Hervey to Messrs Peregeaux, 17 April 1788 (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/51/7).

⁸⁵ Isaac Ware, *The four books of Andrea Palladio's architecture* (London, 1738), iv, 35, plate 33.

between family and servants. The *Belfast Newsletter* in 1787 was quick to pick up on a novelty which ‘is the only thing of its kind in the Kingdom’ and ‘presents a figure resembling a double corkscrew; a great stair surrounding a lesser one for servants, both so constructed that passengers in one can’t perceive those on the other, and forming in their winding ascent communications with every story in the house’.⁸⁶

This was a period of country house parties and visits, which facilitated comparison and copying. Staying with the duke of Richmond, Hervey’s daughter Elizabeth Foster suggested his country house at Goodwood as a possible model; Hervey requested an elevation so he could ‘adopt any improvement it contains’.⁸⁷ Hervey himself travelled about at great speed, making it impossible to follow his movements closely within the British Isles; however letters were written from Goodwood, Knole, Bowood, Blenheim and Althrop, and from the spa towns of Bath, Bournemouth and Southampton. The landscape of the British Isles was observed and drawings commissioned on an expedition to view the geology of Staffa, with stops in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and through comparisons of the scenery at the Giant’s Causeway and Killarney. His brother’s diary referred to a visit to the Roman remains in Colchester and a tour of Norfolk including a stay at Holkham Hall. Hervey enjoyed Home Tours as he did Grand Tours. When Capability Brown came to Ickworth in 1782, Hervey invited a party of Suffolk gentlemen, interested in building and planting on their own demesnes, to meet him.⁸⁸ Architecture and landscaping, visiting and viewing, were sociable and gentlemanly activities.

Views were essential to the Earl Bishop. Barrell argues that long views were associated with the ability to govern, to see the broad picture.⁸⁹ As Hervey’s interior decorating in chapter 2 makes clear, style was imported directly from the

⁸⁶ *Belfast Newsletter*, 14-18 Sept. 1787.

⁸⁷ Hervey to Lady Elizabeth Foster, 6 Mar. 1796, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 496.

⁸⁸ Diary of William Hervey, May 1781, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 282. The party consisted of: Sir Gerard Vanneck who had recently built Heveningham, Sir John Rouse later Lord Stradbroke who had rebuilt Henham and Kent who was building Fornham. There is no record of what Capability Brown was asked to do, nor what he suggested.

⁸⁹ J. Barrell, ‘The public prospect and the private view: the politics of taste in eighteenth-century Britain’ in S. Pugh (ed.), *Reading landscape: country-city-capital* (Manchester, 1990), p. 32, quoted in Richard Muir, *Approaches to landscape* (London, 1999), p. 178.

Continent. It is suggested that the inspiration for landscaping at Ballyscullion was not the British landscape park, but was derived from the Villa Capra la Rotonda and other Palladian houses of the Veneto, centred on long views over the productive and varied landscape of wood, water and meadow. Supporting this proposal are Hervey's plans to erect an eclectic and international set of garden buildings at Ballyscullion (spires, bridges, a pagoda and an obelisk). Gardens of incident were falling from favour in England, but were enjoying a revival in France at this time. In this thesis, the theme of the powerful influence of travel constantly recurs.

Not only was Hervey inspired by what he saw abroad but he was content to manage and to imagine the project from a distance. Being present was not important. The following description (written three years after he had last seen Ballyscullion) is couched in the language of the picturesque and of improvement:

such a [prospect] of wood, water, Steeple, Spires, hills & mountains as are Impayable – a Bridge of nine arches built by Ld. O'Neill fronts my centre window, & from one out of windows I see a wood of ancient full Grown Oaks for which I gave the proprietor £1,000 – all this amuses me at the distance of 3000 miles as much as if I were on the Spot ... a serpentine River of Two miles length will decorate the view from my drawing room⁹⁰

Unlike blustery Downhill, Ballyscullion was to be a place of virtuous rural retirement. For the frieze around the rotunda he chose lines from Virgil's *Georgics*:

*Hic viridi in campo, templum de marmore ponam,
Propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
Bannius, et tenui praetexit arundine ripas.*⁹¹

Contemporary comment was less flattering than his vision for Ballyscullion. William Blacker of Carrickblacker, county Armagh, saw the house in 1796 and commented that 'the house appeared as if dropped from the clouds into a large

⁹⁰ Hervey to Lady Mary Erskine, 25 Aug. 1794 (Sheffield Archives, Wharnccliffe muniments, 552b/1).

⁹¹ Translation: 'Here is a verdant plain; I will place a temple of marble beside the waters, where the vast Bann strays in sluggish windings, and clothes his banks with tender reed'.

field completely in a state of nature'.⁹² Samuel Burdy praised the architecture and interiors of Ballyscullion 'Yet, what seems very odd, the demesne was just in a state of nature, being covered over with rushes'.⁹³ Sampson, in his *Statistical Survey*, formed a similar conclusion, identifying tree planting and mature timber as significant markers:

Lord Bristol has planted a considerable number of trees near Ballyscullion house. They lie too far from the mansion, and are situated too low, to give any additional effect to this princely edifice. It is to be regretted, that the lawn around is not yet made to correspond with the rest of the noble and diversified scenery and landscape.⁹⁴

Judging by the constant assessment of tree planting by agriculturalists and tour guides, trees were a symbol of the English programme for Ireland, representing future investment. Tree planting was the antithesis of living off the fat of the land, a constant criticism of Gaelic culture.⁹⁵ The failure of the thousands of trees planted at windswept Downhill and the lack of mature trees at Ballyscullion were roundly criticised as a dereliction of duty. Ballyscullion became known locally as 'Bishop's Folly': the landscape never matured, the house with its magnificent interior decoration was barely used and the two wings for galleries or offices were never completed. In 1813, Henry Hervey Bruce 'levelled the whole smack smooth, selling even the very stones of which it was composed'.⁹⁶

1.2.3 Ickworth: the dynastic house

The meaning of being simultaneously British and Irish in the second half of the eighteenth century is an elusive theme that runs through this thesis. Though it is tackled again in chapter 5 in the context of foreign travel, a comparison of Hervey's Irish and English houses also raises the issue. Many Irish Ascendancy figures had concerns in both countries: estates, houses, business, relations, friends,

⁹² T. G. F. Paterson, 'The edifying bishop: "bishop's folly"' in *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, ix (July-Dec 1966), p. 80.

⁹³ Burdy, *A tour 1802*, p. 14.

⁹⁴ G. V. Sampson, *Statistical survey of the County of Londonderry* (Dublin, 1802), p. 415.

⁹⁵ William Williams, *Creating Irish tourism: the first century, 1750-1850* (London, 2010), p. 58.

⁹⁶ Paterson, 'Edifying bishop', p. 82

common origins. The convergence of these elements of Irishness and Britishness in one individual helps to explain the identity of the Ascendancy class. The cartoon *A whisper across the Channel* indicates complexity and contradictions: Ireland is represented by an English nobleman, both countries are endangered by the convergence of political interest, and the root of trouble is increased autonomy for Ireland [fig. 1.9].⁹⁷ Among Hervey's Irish contemporaries, models varied: Lord Charlemont made a conscious virtue of choosing, and improving, Ireland. Lord Aldborough built in both countries, with a speculative eye to profit in London and to establish a position in Ireland. The duke of Leinster enjoyed both his position as Ireland's leading nobleman and his English connections, while his English wife became the centre of a Lennox sisterhood settling in county Kildare. The Act of Union altered the balance again, strengthening the pull of London over Dublin. The case of the Earl Bishop is interesting because he was involved in England and Ireland but developed a European persona too. This study of an untypical individual enriches understanding of the variety of Ascendancy experience.

The Earl Bishop's grandfather had demolished the old Ickworth Hall in 1702, altered a farmhouse, Ickworth Lodge, into a temporary home and prepared to build a great house to match his peerages granted in 1703 and 1714.⁹⁸ The family lived in the temporary Ickworth Lodge from 1702 to 1828 [fig. 1.11]. Ickworth was the land of his ancestors, of the Whig politicians and courtiers who had established and shaped the family. The park at Ickworth was much admired.⁹⁹ The park was later altered a little by Capability Brown, for Augustus third earl of Bristol and Frederick fourth earl, although it is not clear what he did. The fact that

⁹⁷ James Sayers, *Whisper across the Channel* (1785) (N.P.G. D9546).

⁹⁸ The first Earl commissioned plans from Vanbrugh and Talman. His pride in the architectural designs, but failure ever to execute them, became a society joke. Probably it was the result of the extravagance of his wife and the gambling and spending of his children (he had twenty). The Hervey family had always employed fashionable architects. The first Earl consulted Talman and Vanbrugh for his projected country house and employed Richard Morris to alter his townhouse, 6, St James's Square. Henry Flitcroft worked for the Earl Bishop's mother, Lady Hervey, at 25, St James's Place in 1747-50. The Earl Bishop's elder brother Augustus sought advice from Capability Brown. His younger brother William, after an army career, built in the gothic style at Broadwell Grove, Oxfordshire in 1804, employing William Atkinson, known for his irregular, asymmetric gothic houses with battlements.

⁹⁹ The park was created by the first Earl, Hervey's grandfather, between 1700 and 1731, over a landscape that had been a deer-park in the thirteenth-century but had become a network of small fields. Lord Bristol enclosed it, moved the tenants to new homes in Horringer village, reintroduced deer in 1706 and planted groves of trees.

Hervey approached him shows that he understood that the relatively featureless and mature parkland created by his grandfather were well suited to Brown's style. It also indicates that Hervey, with his wealth, was able to access the master, a choice viewed as in unimpeachable good taste at the time. Criticism of Brown's style was soon to come. By the 1790s the Brownian landscape park was the established Whig landscape; Hervey had stopped experimenting.

On becoming earl, Hervey spent 1781 to 1782 at Ickworth and commissioned 'Plans and elevations for an Intire New House' from Capability Brown (they have not survived). At the end of 1782 he left his wife at Ickworth, never to see her again. He immersed himself in Volunteer politics in Ireland and then travelled abroad, losing interest in the Irish political scene. He visited Ickworth again in 1792 (while his wife was in Ramsgate), confirmed the site proposed by Brown for his new house and for the Continent where he remained until his death in 1803. At Ickworth Hervey was at his most conservative. Ickworth was a larger version of Palladian Ballyscullion, so although the rotunda style was unusual, it was not new to him. The 1790s were a period of retrenchment for liberal Whigs: the French Revolution and war with France were changing attitudes to reform, particularly in Ireland, where the Church of Ireland and the state felt under attack. Much of what Hervey had striven for was finally given to Catholics in the 1793 Relief Acts, but instead of the hoped for harmony, there was an intensification of sectarianism. He deliberately separated his Irish and English lands in his will of 1791 and codicil of 1794, leaving to his cousin and loyal agent, the Revd Henry Hervey Bruce, all his Irish land, two Irish houses and his art collection in Italy.¹⁰⁰ His son inherited only the entailed land and title. Hamstrung by his father's will, twenty years passed before Frederick, later first marquess, could afford to finish building Ickworth, where only the rotunda had been built [fig. 1.10]. Since he had not inherited the great art collection, he changed the internal layout, opting to live in one gallery, use the rotunda as state rooms for entertaining and leave the other gallery as a blank shell.

¹⁰⁰ Will of Frederick Hervey, 4th Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, 17 Sept. 1791 and codicil 27 Feb. 1794 (National Archives, Probate 11/1403).

Hervey's motives for building a third house at the age of sixty while living abroad, may stem from his restless love of building. Ickworth was to be his greatest house of all, fully designed, unlike Downhill, and benefiting from an experimental prototype at Ballyscullion. From his vantage point in war-torn Europe, after the shocks of the French Revolution and the 1798 Rebellion, he may have consciously wanted to return to his roots and re-establish the Hervey family in Suffolk. He spent his last ten years moving around a Europe dominated by the Revolutionary Wars. What he witnessed, the misfortunes of his European friends, the vandalism and confiscation of artworks (including his own great collection), perhaps made him more aware of the importance and fragility of his inherited status. Revolution was the extension of ideas that he had argued in his political days. Now, shocked by the French Revolution he, and most of the British and Irish aristocratic class, pulled rank. Yet this was tempered by awareness that French aristocrats had lost their position through their own failure to behave responsibly. Ickworth would provide a suitably impressive stage for Hervey's last dynastic plan. Becoming increasingly eccentric and erratic towards the end of his life, Hervey decided that his son Frederick should marry into the Prussian royal family, planned for the King of Prussia to visit Ickworth and believed that his new status as father-in-law of royalty (albeit illegitimate) would be rewarded with a dukedom.¹⁰¹ His son Frederick was determined to marry Elizabeth Upton, daughter of Lord Templetown; the Earl Bishop had married for love and strongly advised against that course.

For Ickworth, Hervey sought fashionable architectural advice in Italy; perhaps what had impressed in county Londonderry was not enough to impress in England. Hervey's new house at Ickworth was to be Ballyscullion, perfected and enlarged. He approached Charles Heathcote Tatham, then studying in Rome, who wrote to the architect Henry Holland:

The Earl of Bristol Bishop of Derry, lately arrived in Rome, to my great surprise consulted me to make him a design for a Villa to be built in

¹⁰¹ Hervey to Lady Elizabeth Foster, Aug. 1796, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 510. Hervey became a close friend of Countess Lichtenau, previously known as Wilhelmina Encke and Madame Ritz. Mistress of King Frederick William II of Prussia. She had two children whom their father, the king, adored and favoured (Count Alexander who died young and Countess Mariana von der Mark/de la Marche).

Suffolk extending nearly 500 feet, including offices. The distribution of the plan is very singular the House being oval according to his desire.¹⁰²

Changeable as ever, the Earl Bishop fixed upon Mario Asprucci the Younger. Two plans by Asprucci of 1794 and 1795 have recently been rediscovered [fig. 1.12].¹⁰³ Both are similar to Ballyscullion but on a larger scale and with more sophisticated ornamentation. Hervey's admiration of Asprucci's work is implied in the full-length painting by Hugh Douglas Hamilton of the *Earl Bishop and his granddaughter Lady Caroline Crichton* (c.1790). The setting is the English garden designed in 1786 by Hervey's agent, the artist Jacob More, with Asprucci's Temple of Aesculapius (1787) in the background [fig. 4.16]. Hervey brought the Sandys brothers, Francis and Joseph Sandys, from Ballyscullion to Ickworth. They simplified Asprucci's plans for Ickworth and adapted them to the climate, joining the curving corridors onto the rotunda further round to the north, to make the most of the weak English sunshine.

In England, Hervey imported plans from Italy and overseer/architects from Ireland. On the other hand, several great houses in Ireland were British affairs. Castle Coole, the only contemporary house in Ireland being built on the same or greater scale as Downhill or Ballyscullion, had 'not altogether the look of an Irish house, and small wonder since all the stone and nearly all the craftsmen were sent over from England'.¹⁰⁴ The cosmopolitan Earl Bishop shopped for ideas and plans across Europe. He was a difficult employer who preferred less established men to carry out his projects, since they were more likely to accept his opinions and constant interfering. The architects he relied on most heavily were Irishmen: first Michael Shanahan at Downhill and Ballyscullion and then the Sandys brothers at Ballyscullion and Ickworth. Despite being an Englishman who owed his bishopric to nepotism, Hervey made a virtue of employing no English clergy in his diocese unless they had put in significant residence in Ireland first. This delighted his diocese and frustrated his British friends, trying to place their own dependents. It

¹⁰² C. H. Tatham to Henry Holland, 19 Nov. 1794 quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 465.

¹⁰³ Pamela Tudor-Craig, 'The evolution of Ickworth' in *Country Life*, 153, (1973), pp 1362-5. Mario Asprucci, *First design for Ickworth House, Suffolk, c.1800* (Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York, 18550443).

¹⁰⁴ Craig, *Architecture of Ireland*, p. 245.

is suggested that in art and architecture, the nationality of the artists and architects he approached seems to have been a secondary consideration. In his architects he looked for a combination of talent and personality; Shanahan and the Sandys brothers were Irish, but more importantly, they were men with whom he could work.

It may be that those with architectural pretensions had an advantage in their clerical careers in the Hervey's diocese. The Revd Trefusis Lovell was taken abroad as the Earl Bishop's chaplain from 1791 to 1797 and received a prebend. Lovell was dispatched from Pymont to England in the summer of 1797, primed to judge the work at Ickworth as Hervey would and to issue instructions. Hervey introduced Lovell to his friend, John Symonds, as 'no bad artist & a Connoisseur of merit' and asked Symonds to accompany Lovell to Ickworth 'as he can better explain to you my Architectural Ideas, than even my Architect himself - & I flatter myself they are both Pure & Noble'.¹⁰⁵ The brothers Francis and the Revd Joseph Sandys were put in charge of Ickworth. Local friends with discernment and education like John Symonds and Arthur Young were prevailed upon to give their opinion on the proportions of Ickworth.¹⁰⁶

My young Hounds there [the Sandys brothers at Ickworth] are now at a Fault – one brother deems that a Gallery of 115 feet long will drown my mansion - & Eclipse its splendor – the other computes that less than 115 feet in the length of each gallery will not leave sufficient Room in the square of each office yard for Larders, Laundries etc., etc., suitable to the mansion & the family that must Inhabit them. Who shall decide when the Doctors disagree ... and truly shake their spheres ... like a true friend examine with your judicious Classical Eye the relative proportions of this puzzling animal

Let it be, neither a Bustard with Wings too Small – nor yet an Heron with Wings too large that drown or Eclipse the Body – take if possible Arthur Young with you, that Soul of fire.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Hervey to John Symonds, 16 July 1796 (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/51/4).

¹⁰⁶ John Symonds was professor of Modern History at Cambridge and in Bury St Edmunds, near Ickworth. Arthur Young, agriculturalist, had land nearby. They were part of a Thursday evening dining group hosted by the Earl Bishop while he was at Ickworth 1780-82.

¹⁰⁷ Hervey to John Symonds, 29 Mar. 1798 (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/51/4).

1.3 Townhouses

Hervey's decision not to have a Dublin townhouse has not been questioned. It seems surprising for a bishop who had resources, enjoyed display and liked to be at the centre of political and cultural action to have assumed this stance. Hervey looked for a Dublin house when he first came to Ireland, presumably envisaging a political career, as a member of the Irish Privy Council from October 1767 and of the House of Lords. The miniaturist, Rupert Barber, advised Hervey against taking Delville in Glasnevin, where the Dean and Mrs Delany had lived:

To any person who has a greater regard for health than parade and the conveniency of others, it certainly would answer to a town house, fifteen minutes being sufficient to convey him into Dublin. But the idea of its being in the country would make your visitors very few in the winter, none at all in the evenings. Few would consent to dine with you in parliament winters, as you know the members sit very late. As it now is, I think the house not sufficient for your family, neither do I think it fashionable. It will look very poor after Derry. ... The pleasure part of the garden is charming.¹⁰⁸

Hervey's love of fresh air perhaps recommended Delville to him over unhealthy Dublin.¹⁰⁹ Amongst his papers, no further ambitions for a townhouse appear. Not long after Barber's letter Hervey was in Bath (1769) and then the Continent (1770 to 1772). He rarely sat in parliament except in the 1770s when he was agitating for changes in the test oath. Jeremiah Falvey records that over the eighteenth century, attendance in the House of Lords by bishops fell by 50% because the influence of the bench of bishops was reduced by the creation of new lay peers. The bishops of Derry had the poorest attendance rate at parliament, present at only 20% of 3573 sittings of the House of Lords, whereas the bishops of Clonfert at 58%, Killala 55% and Dublin 50% recorded the highest attendance.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Rupert Barber to Hervey, 29 Aug. 1769 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/3/3).

¹⁰⁹ He complained of the 'banefull air of Dublin.' Hervey to Lady Elizabeth Foster, 19 Oct. c.1780 (R.I.A., Foster papers, MS 23G39).

¹¹⁰ Falvey accounted for the differences in attendance as bishops in the poorer sees working towards a translation, whereas Derry was the richest see. Jeremiah Falvey, 'The Church of Ireland episcopate in the eighteenth century: an overview' in *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, viii (1993), pp 110-11.

In the 1780s Hervey threw himself into the Volunteer movement. As a delegate of the Volunteer Convention of November 1783, Hervey entered Dublin in style, with a pseudo military escort and a specially designed, episcopal-military costume, discussed in chapter 5. He rented the Merrion Square house of his nephew, George Robert Fitzgerald, for £1,000 for the month of the Dublin Volunteer Convention.¹¹¹ By this stage, Hervey and Lord Charlemont were firm rivals. Hervey's efforts to trump him by gaining control of the Volunteer Convention were thwarted by Charlemont, who understood Hervey's intentions. Charlemont dominated the Dublin scene from his stylish townhouse designed by Sir William Chambers. He used the layout of his streetscape to gain advantage over Hervey:

As I was well acquainted with his disposition and already dreaded his designs, it was necessary that I should be circumspect in the manner of his reception. It was fitting that the Derry troop should be received in a military manner, and accordingly a guard of infantry and a squadron of horse were drawn at my door who saluted them at their arrival. But lest the Bishop should suppose that any particular honour were paid by the Volunteers to his person, I took care, by my orders, that his coach should be prevented from coming close to the door, that so, under the appearance of respect I might receive him at some distance from this house, and that returning with him from his coach, the subsequent salute should appear to me as general, and not to him. This manoeuvre he clearly understood, and appeared with difficulty to refrain from showing some symptoms of displeasure.¹¹²

The Earl Bishop and Lord Charlemont had both travelled on the Continent for long periods; they shared a love of neoclassical architecture and a desire for parliamentary independence and reform. Their rivalry within the Volunteer movement, however, revealed their extreme temperamental differences: the former so volatile and the latter so conservative. They chose to revolve in different spheres. Hervey never tried to assail Charlemont's position in Dublin, preferring a wider and more stimulating canvas. Once Charlemont had decided

¹¹¹ This was a surprising choice as his nephew, George Robert Fitzgerald, had been recently released from prison for abducting his brother and allegedly imprisoning his father in a cave with a muzzled bear. 'Fighting Fitzgerald' became one of the four Derry delegates and rode at the head of the Earl Bishop's military retinue to the Volunteer Convention. He was hanged for murder in 1786. Mary MacCarthy, *Fighting Fitzgerald and other papers* (London, 1931).

¹¹² Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 304-5.

that Ireland needed him, he threw himself into her improvement, becoming a leader of taste in Dublin. Both built wonderful garden buildings, the Mussenden Temple and the Casino at Marino, though Hervey concentrated on country houses whilst Charlemont built Charlemont House, so admired that the street name changed to Palace Row.

Many bishops and noblemen built or rented a townhouse, despite frequent complaints of the expense of Dublin. Barnard noted that in the first half of the eighteenth century, Henry Boyle, Speaker of the House of Commons and Earl of Shannon, spent the minimum on his Dublin life, renting rather than building. Instead he lavished his money and care on Castlemartyr; he had based his successful political campaign on his provincialism and needed to remain close to his political base. Barnard concluded that:

Henry Boyle skilfully elevated these preferences into a political statement, which numerous neighbours applauded. This showed his inventiveness as a politician. The truth was that the Speaker, like his shrewd ancestor [Lord Orrery], wanted the wherewithal simultaneously to run sumptuous establishments in Dublin and in the country.¹¹³

Hervey's lack of Dublin house indicates that it was possible to be a significant Ascendancy figure in Ireland without working the Dublin circuit. Hervey did not lack money but may have been conscious, as a new man in Ireland, of needing a strong local base. He won over the citizens of Derry through projects like the Foyle bridge and the expectation of a resident magnate spending his money locally. Reporting on his last visit to Ireland, a London newspaper reported that the 'Citizens and Corporation of Derry are making preparations to honour the Earl of Bristol, on his arrival among them from the Continent, by every mark of esteem and affection ... the last pier of the bridge at Londonderry was sunk, by which a communication was opened between the City and the water-side'.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Barnard, *Grand figure*, pp 40-1.

¹¹⁴ *The World* (London) 30 Nov. 1790, issue 1221 (Burney Collection).

In London, Hervey inherited the family townhouse and, as earl of Bristol, a seat in the House of Lords from 1778.¹¹⁵ To the frustration of his wife, Hervey rented the house out when not in use by him.¹¹⁶ A late letter of 1799 to his daughter, Lady Mary Erne, has not heretofore been printed or considered. It shows that Hervey considered building a new London townhouse: ‘I mean to sell it under an Act of Parliament & wt Mr F’s [his son] leave to build another near Hyde Park and in better air’.¹¹⁷

During his last eleven years, living on the Continent, Hervey rented houses and apartments in several European cities. The Countess d’Albany reported that the Earl Bishop had taken a five-year lease on a villa in Florence called *Il Broschetto* onto which he built another storey, suggesting that he considered it a significant and long-term arrangement. He displayed more artworks in these houses: in Naples he had ‘the handsomest & best situated house there; fourteen rooms on each floor all hung with Rafaels, Titians, & what not’.¹¹⁸ When absent, Hervey seems to have let people live in his houses, increasing his stock of patronage on the Continent, although at times he promised the same premises to several people at the same time.¹¹⁹ When Hervey’s changeable interests settled, the balance tipped towards building country houses, travelling abroad and collecting treasures for his mansions rather than carving out a sustained career as a politician or leader

¹¹⁵ 6, St James’s Square was built for John Hervey in 1676 by Robert Hooke, made more Palladian in 1731 by Roger Morris, remodelled by George Dance early nineteenth century and sold in 1950. John Hervey also had five houses on The Strand designed by Robert Hooke in 1678. The family were drawn to Palladian architects. Frederick’s mother Molly Lepel, who moved easily in cultured circles where architectural taste and skill were prized, had 25, St James’s Place built by Henry Flitcroft.

¹¹⁶ In 1792, the London papers identified Lady Gordon and Lord Thurlow as consecutive tenants of 6, St James’s Square, *Morning Chronicle* (London), 15 Mar. 1792; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (London), 23 May 1792; ‘Extracts from the account book of John Shillito’, 29 April 1801, ‘for half a year’s rent of the House in St James’s Square £262’ (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/30/137).

¹¹⁷ Hervey to Mary Erne, 14 May 1799 (Sheffield Archives, Wharncliffe Muniments, 552b/8).

¹¹⁸ Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 502.

¹¹⁹ While Hervey was in Castellamare and Naples in 1802, he agreed that a Florentine lawyer, Colini, his ‘most esteemed Cicerone’ could live in *Il Broschetto*, his villa in Florence. But he had already promised the same favour to Mrs Wyndham, who now ‘unless she has actually entered into possession of *Il Boschetto* is to be prevented from doing so; since I had never thought for a moment of letting it to anyone; if the abode is agreeable to Thee’, Hervey to Colini, 7 July 1802, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 633. Soon, Colini was asked to move into a corner of the house while a Signora Fabroni and her family were granted the use of the first floor suite.

of taste in a single capital city. He was not making choices between London and Dublin; he became a cosmopolitan figure.

1.4 The improving bishop: Hervey's church building

Hervey's most active period in Ireland, from his arrival as bishop of Cloyne in 1767 until 1785, coincided with a time of relative peace and prosperity which encouraged the activities of improving landlords. Bishops were also major landlords, 'apologists and beneficiaries from Protestant privilege'.¹²⁰ Barnard has explored the fascination with improvement in the eighteenth century, suggesting that Protestants saw improvement as a religious duty, as a way of differentiating themselves from the supposed indolence of their Catholic neighbours and justifying their appropriation of land. Improvement bought the reward of good opinion but also made sound economic sense: Protestants had a 'larger mission – to improve the land and its inhabitants and thereby themselves as well'.¹²¹ The Physico-Historical Society and similarly minded groups mixed sociability with duty, education with rewards.

Hervey immediately set about draining the bog of Cloyne and dividing it into farms. Anxiety about bogs had a long tradition in Ireland. For Protestant settlers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, unimproved areas like woodland and bogs were a threat, harbouring the disaffected. The bog of Cloyne may have been essential to the survival of those on the margins, but their voice was heard only in the stones thrown at Hervey, the burning of his gates and the fences torn down as fast as he was erecting them. Eventually the matter was settled at the Cork assizes and the improved land later brought in a high rent. As part of this programme of improvement, Hervey undertook a visitation of his diocese and acted upon the problems he uncovered: in Derry he found inadequate glebe-land, churches in need of rebuilding and a shortage of glebe houses. Bishop Hervey also lobbied for tithe reform, for adequate income for curates and gave money towards a fund for clergy widows.

¹²⁰ Barnard, *Improving Ireland*, p. 37.

¹²¹ Toby Barnard, 'Public and private uses of wealth in Ireland, c.1660-1760' in Jacqueline Hill and Colm Lennon (eds.), *Luxury and austerity* (Dublin, 1999), p. 67.

In architecture, patrons chose styles because they appealed to them, because the choice said something about their discernment, or because they deemed them appropriate to the beneficiary. Hervey chose a neoclassical style for his houses, yet he built gothic parish churches. Primate Robinson of Armagh also built parish churches in a gothic style; however, his private chapel beside the palace at Armagh was neoclassical, designed by the same architects, Thomas Cooley and Francis Johnston, who had designed his gothic parish churches [fig. 1.13].¹²² This may indicate that men like Hervey and Robinson perceived a divide between the educated, highly civilised ruling class, expert in the classical idiom, and their parishioners whose experience was more suited to familiar, home-grown styles. Hervey may have sought to build appropriate churches; mildly gothic churches were reminiscent of the medieval gothic of Established Church buildings, particularly in England. He would have been familiar with growing antiquarian interest in the medieval period and the accompanying fashion for gothic architecture and interiors.¹²³ Gothic spires suited his purposes; often in his correspondence, he described the spires he had raised as eye-catchers to improve his views.

Other wealthy Ascendancy figures in Ulster made different stylistic choices, opting for classical churches if they were to be an adjunct of the demesne, such as at Moira (1723), linked to the house by an avenue across the Moira demesne. There was a correlation between the aspirations or wealth of the landowner and the size of the church, as demonstrated by the Dowager Viscountess Midleton who employed Richard Castle for the classical church at Knockbreda, Belfast (1737). Wills Hill, later first Marquess of Downshire, outdid all local landowners by lavishing money on two churches, one classical and one gothic. Hillsborough

¹²² Francis Johnston was born in Armagh diocese and became a pupil of Thomas Cooley through Archbishop Robinson's patronage.

¹²³ This movement was most famously led by Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill. Walpole scorned Frederick Hervey's father John, Lord Hervey. Walpole was rumoured to be the son of Lord Hervey's elder half brother, Carr Hervey, who had died young, Lucy Moore, *Amphibious thing: the life of a Georgian rake* (London, 2000), p. 17.

Church (1760) cost him the enormous sum of £20,000. It was a visible reminder of Hill's unfulfilled hopes that it would be a cathedral for the diocese of Down.¹²⁴

Both Hervey and Primate Robinson built simple hall and tower churches with no nave, transepts, chancel or sanctuary. Their gothic appearance therefore, was only superficial: pinnacles, spire, pointed windows and sometimes crenellations. Craig has pointed out that in the period 1780 to 1800, architects like Richard Morrison and Francis Johnston designed in either the classical or gothic idiom according to the desire of the patron, so much so that their personal preference is unknown.¹²⁵ Only Hillsborough Church was a true gothic building with the full gothic layout. Rankin suggests that Hervey's hall and tower churches anticipated the style of the First Fruits churches built so widely thirty years later.¹²⁶ These were cost-effective, practical churches, hence their later appeal. In order to preserve heat, there were no windows on the north wall at Desertoghill, Garvagh, and Tyanee, Tamlaght O'Crilly, both in county Londonderry. Hervey revelled in the reputation of an improver and a builder, but he watched the costs very carefully. At Desertoghill the 1775 subscription list in Hervey's hand recorded that local landowners gave a total of £383, of which the bishop gave £95. By the time Samuel Lewis was compiling his *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* in 1837, Hervey was given full credit for most of these churches, even the sole expense of Tyanee. Image was everything and could be achieved by the canny without enormous expense.

One element of his church building was less successful. In 1778 he had a new spire put on St Columb's Cathedral, Derry, probably designed by Shanahan, which appeared as the background of Hervey's portrait of the bishop by Pompeo Batoni. When funds were exhausted, a new money-making scheme was begun. Hervey wrote to Mrs Isabella Forward, the wife of a local landowner, promising a print of the cathedral with its new spire for every subscriber. Mrs Forward sent

¹²⁴ Hillsborough Church took thirteen years to build. James McBlain was a stonemason at Hillsborough and later worked for Hervey.

¹²⁵ Craig, *Architecture of Ireland*, p. 248. As bishop of Cloyne, Hervey had been Richard Morrison's baptismal sponsor.

¹²⁶ Craig extended Rankin's argument to cover the churches of Robinson too, Craig, *Architecture of Ireland*, p. 215.

£30.¹²⁷ When the spire became unsafe, Hervey ignored James Gandon's advice and looked to the Continent for solutions; the spire subsequently became a source of rancour between the bishop and the dean.¹²⁸

Hervey's early sermons emphasise God's generosity to mankind; in his sermons on creation, God is described as the master builder.¹²⁹ Hervey's church building in the diocese of Derry came in two bursts: the three churches of the 1770s were simple in design and decoration; in the 1790s, Ballyscullion and Tamlaghtfinlagan (built in conjunction with the Honourable John Beresford) had more sophisticated gothic decoration and acted as estate churches.¹³⁰ Between the 1770s and the 1790s, Hervey developed from an improving bishop to a sophisticated nobleman and connoisseur; even his church architecture reflected the shift. His mixed motives for building were most evident in his last and most gothic church at Tamlaghtfinlagan, even though he was on the Continent and would never return to Ireland [fig. 1.14]. The Earl Bishop's letter to local landlord, John Beresford, gives hints of his building experience: he advised calling in pledged money quickly, before 'death may deprive us of some of them, & caprice of others'; paying the builder in three instalments, the last one on completion; and listed the subscriptions, his own being £100 (a fifth of the total pledged), leaving Beresford's contribution ominously open. He signed off 'I am now eight weeks in bed with the gout, & have nothing to do but to build steeples & churches & other castles in the air'.¹³¹ Hervey was conscious of the Church of Ireland as a minority but believed it had a civilising and benevolent role: 'Let it decorate the country if

¹²⁷ Rankin, *Irish building ventures*, p. 10.

¹²⁸ The steeple was 'most intentionally neglected from the hatred the Dean bears me', Hervey to Revd Henry Hervey Bruce, 17 Nov. 1802, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 634.

¹²⁹ Willa Murphy, 'The 'oral-bishop': the epicurean theology of Bishop Frederick Hervey' in *History Ireland* (May/June 2012), p. 29.

¹³⁰ Hervey was known to have instigated, and at least partly paid for, the building of Church of Ireland churches in the diocese of Derry: Desertoghill parish church, Garvagh (1775); Banagher parish church near Dungiven (1775); Tyanee chapel of ease near Tamlaght O'Crilly (1775); St Tilda's, Ballyscullion near Bellaghy (1790s); St Findluganus, Tamlaghtfinlagan near Ballykelly (1795); and also perhaps Tamlaghtard church near Magilligan (1777). Shanahan is thought to have been the architect for all of these, although he had ceased to work in person for Hervey in the 1790s. He was also responsible for the spire of St Columb's cathedral, Derry (1778). Hervey built spires at the ruined Dunboe church as a folly for the Downhill demesne, at St Guaire, Aghadowey (c.1797), perhaps at St Columba's, Ballynascreen (1792) and the spire on Church Island, Lough Beg (1788) to be viewed from the library at Ballyscullion.

¹³¹ Hervey to John Beresford, 16 May 1792 in John Beresford and William Beresford, *Correspondence of the Right Hon. John Beresford* (2 vols, London, 1854), ii, p. 6, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 442.

it cannot receive it ... If we can employ the idle they will no more open their mouths ... Let its steeple and spire make it the visible as well as the Established Church'.¹³² When finished, Tamlaghtfinlagan church became the living of Hervey's favourite relation, the Revd Henry Hervey Aston Bruce. Building was rarely completely altruistic.

Hervey had a visible impact on his diocese with his church, glebe-house and spire building. The dilapidation of churches and glebe houses had been one of the main findings of his visitation on becoming bishop. Tabulating First Fruits money by diocese (to 1823), Caroline Gallagher records Derry diocese as having the lowest take-up of First Fruits money: only £200 compared to Meath with the highest at £8,398.¹³³ However, this evidence may point to a different conclusion: it may reflect the success of Hervey's efforts to secure adequate glebes and to build glebe houses. Hervey also considered radical ideas for supporting super-annuated curates and for replacing the unpopular tithe payments to clergy with parcels of land. As we shall see, he was supportive of the building projects of other denominations too: a physical proof of his unusually liberal views on the rights of Catholics and Non-Conformists.

1.4.1 Architecture as a common language

During the early part of Hervey's career in Ireland, as bishop he differed from the landowning English class from which he had emerged: his interests were focused on Irish religious and social issues. This was in contrast to the later period of his life when as absentee bishop, house-builder and collector, he behaved more like a lay lord. Architecture and religious outlook overlapped in his programme of improvement. As has been noted, his concern for the fabric of the churches and glebe houses of Derry diocese exceeded other bishops, until post-Union First Fruits money was systematically sought by the next generation, notably Bishop

¹³² Hervey to John Beresford, 3 Sept. 1793 quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 452.

¹³³ Caroline Gallagher, 'Bishop Thomas Lewis O'Beirne and his church building programme in the diocese of Meath 1798-1823' (Ph.D. thesis, National University of Ireland at Maynooth, 2009), p. 106. 'Beaufort's Survey of Church of Ireland Dioceses' c.1788 shows that clergy in Derry diocese were more likely to have an adequate glebe and a house than in most other diocese (R.C.B.L., Beaufort papers, MS 49/1-2).

O’Beirne in Meath. Hervey’s concern to provide adequate church buildings extended to the woeful lack of places for Catholics to worship. It is proposed in this chapter that he realised that building was an area in which he could make a visible difference; it was a political action, a proof of his support. This proposal will be tested through two case studies: firstly, his offer to build a Catholic church in the diocese of Derry and secondly, his contribution to the building of Rosemary Street First Presbyterian Church, Belfast.

1.4.2 Case study one: Hervey’s offer to Bishop MacDevitt

It is proposed that in religiously contested Ireland, architecture provided a language and an appreciation of style shared by cultured men of different denominations. Education and aesthetic appreciation could transcend the gulf between the assured position of the Church of Ireland clergy, who were recipients of tithes and rents, and the Roman Catholic and Dissenter clergy, whose congregations supported them as best they could. Barnard identifies an Ascendancy conviction that permanent and fashionable building set the Protestants apart morally and culturally from the impermanent structures of the inhabitants.¹³⁴ Clergy had exercised a disproportionate influence over building in early eighteenth-century Ireland, because, through travel, they ‘encountered the new classicism, purchased treatises, engravings and pattern books, and returned to their livings confident that building bestowed larger cultural, ideological and practical benefits’.¹³⁵ By the late eighteenth century, the debate over the housing of the indigenous Irish had become more complex. Barnard cites the example of Charles O’Conor, a Catholic landlord, who concluded in 1786 that although he had profited a little from his improvements, he doubted whether his tenants had, since better housing had led to them paying increased hearth tax. O’Conor blamed not indolence, but the political and legal system that prevented Catholics from taking a responsible and long term view of their land.¹³⁶ Barnard suggests that this was not a view popular with the Ascendancy; yet it might have struck a chord

¹³⁴ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p. 22.

¹³⁵ Toby Barnard, *Protestant ascents and descents, 1641-1770* (Dublin, 2004), p. 322.

¹³⁶ Barnard, *Improving Ireland*, p. 184.

with Hervey, who sought to tackle some of the legal disabilities faced by Catholics.

Hervey was unusually sensitive to the injustices of the Penal Laws. Returning from his first Grand Tour to take up his appointment as bishop of Cloyne in 1767, Hervey, probably on the instructions of William Pitt, interviewed Irish clergy, friars and merchants in France to learn their views on a possible test oath. He translated his concern into political action: he was instrumental in the wording of the Test Act of 1774 and threw himself, with some notoriety, into Volunteering, with a Catholic emancipation agenda, from 1782. In his consideration of Hervey's association with the Catholics from 1766 to 1785, J. R. Walsh rates Hervey's contribution to the Test Act of 1774:

Bishop Hervey ... had advocated such a measure for over eight years and had drawn up a very similar Oath; he had been very active in the House of Lords from October, 1773 until the following May; and must be given much of the credit for preparing the way for this act. Lord Kenmare claimed that Hervey's part in the proceedings would 'immortalise the name of the Bishop of Derry'. The Catholics of Ireland have, to their shame, largely forgotten their debt to him.¹³⁷

Nigel Yates identifies the 1774 Test Oath as the 'brainchild' of Bishop Hervey and as the essential precursor to the relief legislation that followed between 1778 and 1793, the importance of which, Yates argues, 'cannot be overstated'.¹³⁸

Debates in Ireland over Roman Catholics swearing loyalty to the British crown were taking place within a wider discourse. The Quebec Act, also of 1774, recognised the necessity of compromising with the French Roman Catholic majority, in an area where British Protestants existed in tiny numbers and faced threats from the Thirteen Colonies and from France. It legalised freedom of worship for Roman Catholics and set up a legislative council, comprising seventeen to twenty-three residents of the colony, with a special oath that allowed

¹³⁷ Walsh, *Le bienfaiteur des Catholiques*, p. 22; Kenmare to Hervey, 22 Feb. 1768 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D1514/9/76).

¹³⁸ Nigel Yates, *The religious condition of Ireland, 1770-1850* (Oxford, 2006), p. 32 and xx.

Roman Catholics to serve on this council.¹³⁹ The Quebec Act represented the softening attitude of the British government towards Roman Catholicism and was indicative of variation of policy within the British Empire.

Hervey's political programme, though aimed ultimately at emancipation for Catholics, took material forms, too. He offered practical assistance to Catholic congregations, in the shape of disused churches. He donated an old Church of Ireland church, St Aidan's near Limavady, to the local Catholic congregation when the new church was built at Duncrun, and similarly at Tamlaghtard, and he sent money to help build a Catholic church at Desertmartin, county Londonderry.¹⁴⁰ The basement of the Mussenden Temple was used for services, since there was no Catholic chapel. In 1784, *Finn's Leinster Journal* reported that passing through Saul on his way to Castle Ward, county Down, Hervey saw unroofed walls:

Being informed that they were designed for a Romish Chapel but that the indigence of the people prevented its further advancement, his Lordship immediately repaired to the priest's place of abode, and laying aside the pomp of greatness, entered his humble cabin and generously presented him with ten guineas'.¹⁴¹

Emmet Larkin demonstrates the difficulties Catholic priests faced in ministering to their flock, finding that the ratio of priest to people was two and a half times worse in 1800 than in 1750.¹⁴² Larkin dates the beginning of improvement in church and chapel accommodation to 1790, with the most building in Derry diocese taking place between 1815 and 1830.¹⁴³ Hervey's concerns significantly predated this period.

Other Church of Ireland bishops also maintained good relationships with the Roman Catholics of their diocese, notably Charles Agar, archbishop of Cashel,

¹³⁹ John Ward, *Colonial self-government: the British experience 1759-1856* (London, 1976), p. 8. I am grateful to Professor Jacqueline Hill for drawing my attention to the Quebec Act 1774.

¹⁴⁰ Walsh, *Le bienfaiteur des Catholiques*, p. 29.

¹⁴¹ *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 1 Dec. 1784, quoted in Walsh, *Le bienfaiteur des Catholiques*, p. 29.

¹⁴² In 1750 the ratio of priest to people was one priest to 880 people; in 1770 ratio was one to 1,660; in 1800 ratio was one to 2,260, Emmet Larkin, *The pastoral role of the Roman Catholic Church in pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850* (Dublin, 2006), p. 1.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 2 and p. 167.

who contributed towards the building of a new Roman Catholic chapel near his cathedral in Cashel and enjoyed reciprocal hospitality with the Catholic archbishop, James Butler, in their residences at Cashel and Thurles.¹⁴⁴ Overall though, Hervey was unrepresentative of the largely conservative Church of Ireland bench of bishops, for instance John Ryder, archbishop of Tuam, who advised Hervey that ‘from the principles of their religion, Papists have no right to be tolerated in the exercise of their religion in Protestant countries’.¹⁴⁵

Though the growth of religious toleration was gradual and complex in Ireland, Graham Gargett points out the prevalence and potential influence of French Enlightenment thought in Irish newspapers: the *Dublin Magazine* published eleven references to Voltaire between 1762 and 1765 and the *Hibernian Magazine* contained eighty references between 1771 and 1784 to the subject of toleration derived from the writings of Voltaire and French Enlightenment thought in general.¹⁴⁶ It is difficult to determine Hervey’s religious views because his tone varied according to the viewpoint of his audience; however, he was sympathetic to French Enlightenment thought through his reading and travels, which included visits to Voltaire at Ferney in 1768 and 1770. At the root of his thinking, ‘The rights of humanity form a great article in my Creed’. This extended to Non-Conformists, whose beliefs he viewed as ‘nonsense’ but ‘as for their political principles, I think their system of purity & their practice in most parts of Europe, infinitely more favourable to political liberty than ours’.¹⁴⁷ Similarly, scepticism of what he viewed as superstition in Catholicism did not outweigh natural rights:

What a madness in our government not to legalise the daily exercise they make of their religion; as if a man was a less faithful subject, or a less brave soldier for being fool enough to believe that to be *Flesh* which all the world sees to be only *Bread* or as if doing that legally which he now

¹⁴⁴ Yates, *The religious condition of Ireland*, p. 252.

¹⁴⁵ Ryder to Hervey, 26 Feb. 1768 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D1514/9/75).

¹⁴⁶ Graham Gargett, ‘Toleration in later eighteenth-century Ireland: Voltaire and the *Dublin* and *Hibernian* magazines, 1762-84’ in Whelan, Ruth, and Baxter, Carol (eds), *Toleration and religious identity: the Edict of Nantes and its implications in France, Britain and Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), p. 211.

¹⁴⁷ Hervey to Arthur Young, 9 Mar. 1785, quoted in Matilda Bentham-Edwards, *The autobiography of Arthur Young* (London, 1898).

does illegally would render him a more tumultuous or a more dangerous citizen.¹⁴⁸

The Catholic hierarchy suspected his motives. Archbishop Troy of Dublin believed that Hervey intended to divide the Catholic Church in Ireland in order to weaken it. Alarmed that his correspondent, Dr James Dillon, had been flattered by private conversations with Hervey at the Dungannon Volunteer Convention and that Dillon had invited Hervey to stay at his palace, Troy warned:

He will talk a great deal of Gallican Doctrines and Privileges, but you will find him either ignorant of both, or misrepresenting them. As to his political Principles, I have been solemnly assured, even yesterday, by a great personage that he is a mere weather cock, and regarded by all parties as a mischief maker. I thought it necessary to be explicit with regard to him, in order to put you on your guard.¹⁴⁹

Where Hervey stood with regard to Catholicism is not entirely clear. At Easter 1786, Hervey was in the company of the duke of Cumberland and Admiral Keppel at a celebration of the Misere in St Peter's, Rome. Cumberland earned the scorn of Fr Charles O'Connor, studying at the Irish College in Rome, who reported his uncouth behaviour to his family in Ireland.¹⁵⁰ The establishment in Britain, and particularly in Ireland, regarded Catholicism with suspicion, yet the 1770s and particularly 1780s saw some rapprochement at the local level in Ireland.

In 1770, Hervey approached Philip MacDevitt, Roman Catholic bishop of Derry, offering to build him a church, a point not explored by previous studies.¹⁵¹ This approach suggests a high level of respect for the office of bishop and perhaps a personal relationship with the incumbent himself. The timing places this offer within Hervey's initial burst of improvements, during his first couple of years in Derry. Unfortunately Hervey 'clogged' his offer with a restriction that made the

¹⁴⁸ Hervey to Hamilton, 3 June 1778 (N.L.I. Hamilton papers, MS.2262).

¹⁴⁹ Dr Troy to Dr Dillon, 18 Sept. 1783 (Dublin Archdiocesan Archives, Troy Papers 116/3, p. 129).

¹⁵⁰ Fr Charles O'Connor, Easter 1786 (Clonalis, L.H.096). I am grateful to Dr Toby Barnard for this information.

¹⁵¹ Only Childe-Pemberton mentions William Cole's comments, adding his opinion 'But although Hervey's generous offer in this instance came to nothing, he is surely not the less entitled to credit, for being the first Protestant, and what is more, the first Bishop, to make so humane an overture', Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 97.

gift impossible for the bishop to accept, revealing that even this most sympathetic Church of Ireland cleric failed to understand fully the Roman Catholic situation.¹⁵²

William Cole, the Cambridge antiquary and friend of Hervey, carefully copied out from the London newspapers details both of Hervey's offer and the trouble it caused. Hervey offered 'a very considerable sum' to MacDevitt 'provided he would pray for the King and Royal Family by Name'. Cole also copied out the reply of an Irish correspondent who believed Bishop MacDevitt's 'Behaviour is very unfairly & dishonestly represented', because 'the titular Bp. of Derry at his own Instance, & by Principle, constantly prayed, publickly & solemnly in his Congregation for our most gracious Sovereign King George the third, & the Royal Family, by Name; & did so before the noble Bishop's Accession to the See of Derry, which some Hundreds of unexceptionable witnesses are ready to testify on Oath'.¹⁵³ MacDevitt was not acting unusually: Catholic clergy had routinely offered prayers for the king since George III's accession in 1760. Though there had been a failed attempt by the bishops of Armagh, Clogher, Meath, Derry, Kilmore, Raphoe and Kildare, meeting at the house of Lord Trimlestown in 1757, to demonstrate Catholic loyalty by offering weekly prayers for the king and a monthly denial of contentious tenets imputed to Catholics, the issue of loyalty to the crown was not eased until the pope omitted the name of James III from briefs of appointment to Irish sees on the accession of George III in 1760 and ceased to recognise the claims of the Stuarts to the throne on the death of the Old Pretender in 1766.¹⁵⁴

A traditional reading of the position of Catholic clergy and bishops in the Penal Era has emphasised the poverty, danger and disabilities they faced.¹⁵⁵ The city of Derry, with its particularly troubled history, had not had a Catholic bishop living within the walls of the city since 1601. John MacColgan (Roman Catholic bishop

¹⁵² William Cole (B.L., Cole MS, 5886.50).

¹⁵³ *London Chronicle*, 30 Jan. 1770, quoted in William Cole (B.L., Cole MS, 5829.135v).

¹⁵⁴ Gerard O'Brien (ed.), *Catholic Ireland in the eighteenth century: collected essays of Maureen Wall* (Dublin, 1989), pp 59 and 101.

¹⁵⁵ See P. F. Moran, *The Catholics of Ireland under the penal laws in the eighteenth century* (London, 1899). Moran believed Hervey's correspondence showed 'intense hatred of the Catholics of Ireland, and that he hoped by friendly dealings with them to weaken their affections for Rome', Moran, *Catholics under the penal laws*, p. 199.

of Derry from 1752 to 1766) led an itinerant life. Philip MacDevitt lived in a small seminary outside the diocese and did not have a house in Derry nor a church until late on in his episcopate. Masses were said in the priest's house on Ferguson's Lane in Derry or outdoors by the hawthorn tree marking the remains of Derry's Teampall Mor. His nephew, Charles O'Donnell, as bishop still lived in the priest's house on Ferguson's Lane. This was in contrast with their Church of Ireland counterparts, William Barnard, from England, who enjoyed a rental income of £7,000 from his see, and the Earl Bishop, who may have had an income of up to £40,000 a year from his English lands and diocesan rents.

Reviewing the historiography of the penal laws, James Kelly characterises this emphasis on the sufferings of the Irish Catholic clergy and laity in the writings of historians such as Archbishop Moran as an ideological construct by nineteenth-century clerical leaders to view the Catholic Church of their own day as emerging triumphantly from the 'trials and persecutions' of the penal era.¹⁵⁶ Kelly traces the emergence of a more evidentially driven interpretation of the penal laws to the 1960s, led by Maureen Wall, John Brady and Patrick Corish, whose work dealt a 'devastating blow' to the traditional interpretation of intense repression by claiming both that the worst of the religious repression was over by the 1730s and that the Catholic church possessed a functioning episcopacy and sufficient clergy to minister to the Catholic population. They argued that the architects of the penal laws were more concerned to perpetuate Protestant political power through safeguarding their property and privilege rather than with the destruction of the Catholic Church.¹⁵⁷ Kelly identifies the most recent direction of scholarship as 'the realisation that the so-called penal laws must be disaggregated if we are to replace myth and generalisation with accurate perception of a complex reality which meant that some laws (those against religion notably) were rarely enforced after 1745, while others (like the law on bearing arms and voting) were applied as long as they remained on the statute book'.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ James Kelly, 'The historiography of the penal laws', in *New perspectives on the penal laws, Eighteenth-Century Ireland* special issue no. 1 (Dublin, 2011), quoting P. F. Moran, *Historical sketch of the persecutions suffered by the Catholics of Ireland under the rule of Cromwell and the Puritans* (Dublin, 1884), p. 13.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

New work by Eric Derr is unearthing evidence that also suggests the traditional picture of the experience of Catholic bishops in Ireland during the penal era is more nuanced. Derr notes that leading Catholic families filled a bishopric for several generations, citing Derry as an example in which Bishop Philip MacDevitt was succeeded by his nephew, Bishop Charles O'Donnell. O'Donnell was nicknamed 'Orange Charlie' because of his easy contact with Anglicans and Presbyterians.¹⁵⁹ Looking at wills, he notes that some of these bishops were landowners or lived in the family home in some comfort. Bishop MacDevitt's will has not heretofore attracted attention but he spread out among his nephews and nieces a gold watch, silver spoons, money, beds and linen. He left silver candlesticks, chalices and embroidered vestments to parish churches. He also leased land through the cover of a Protestant, Colonel Richard Maxwell. His chief bequest was an educational bursary at St Patrick's College, Maynooth.¹⁶⁰ Hervey and MacDevitt had more in common than has previously been allowed. As well as enjoying a more varied and affluent material life than has previously been identified, MacDevitt had travelled and studied abroad, though obviously under different circumstances from the Grand Tourists.

Hervey's rejected offer of a church was made in 1770; over the next decade the situation changed significantly. It has not previously been noted in the context of Hervey's involvement in the Test Acts, that in August 1782 Bishop MacDevitt, his nephew O'Donnell and the parish priest John Lynch swore the Oath of Allegiance.¹⁶¹ The month before, the *Londonderry Journal* reported:

Yesterday evening in consequence of an invitation the different Volunteer Companies of the city marched to the review ground where they were politely entertained by the Reverend Mr Lynch the Roman Catholic Clergyman of Londonderry ... This act of hospitality is a pleasing instance

¹⁵⁹ Edward Daly and Kieran Devlin, *The clergy of the diocese of Derry: an index* (Dublin, 2009), p. 13. Also see Oliver Rafferty, 'Catholic and Protestant relations in Derry in the Episcopacy of Charles O'Donnell 1798-1823' in Gerard O'Brien (ed.), *Derry & Londonderry: History and society* (Dublin, 1999), p. 449.

¹⁶⁰ Will of Dr. Philip McDavett in William Carrigan, 'Catholic Episcopal wills in the Public Records Office, Dublin, 1683-1812' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, i (1912), p. 162.

¹⁶¹ *Londonderry Journal* (3 Sept. 1782), P.R.O.N.I., Mic 60/4.

of the liberal spirit of the times leading us to charity and brotherly love, the genuine fruits of the Christian religion.¹⁶²

It was in this atmosphere that fundraising for a Catholic church in the city of Derry was begun in 1783; within hours, 500 guineas had been promised. The Protestant community contributed: the Corporation voted £50 and the Earl Bishop pledged the large sum of 200 guineas. In 1787, Daniel Beaufort noted Hervey's interference in the building project: 'Lord Bristol promis'd £200, & gave One of it, but now refuses the other, because they finished it with Oak, instead of Cedar as he desired'.¹⁶³

1.4.2 Case study two: Hervey's offer to the First Presbyterian Church, Rosemary Street, Belfast

The second case study also uses architecture, in this case a choice of style, as a vehicle to investigate interdenominational relationships. In 1781 (or possibly 1783), Hervey contributed fifty guineas towards the building of the new First Presbyterian Church, Rosemary Street, Belfast.¹⁶⁴ Alone in the list of donations recorded in the minute book was Hervey's note, copied in, praising 'a Building which does equal honor to the taste of the subscribers and the talent of the Architect'.¹⁶⁵ The note implies that he had seen the plans or the finished neoclassical oval building designed by Roger Mulholland [fig. 1.15]. Rankin suggests that there may have been some connection between Hervey and Mulholland since Hervey was so insistent on complimenting him, possibly through the Volunteer Movement of which they were both members, or through the Italian architect, Columbani, who named Mulholland as his 'particular

¹⁶² *Londonderry Journal* (16 July 1782), P.R.O.N.I., Mic 60/4. In 1780, MacDevitt and the clergy of Derry had given a gift of £39 to the Volunteers, *Finn's Leinster Journal* (30 Aug. 1780) quoted in John Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth-century press* (Maynooth, 1965), p. 209.

¹⁶³ Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 15 Nov. 1787 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4028).

¹⁶⁴ He gave money to Non-Conformists on other occasions such as ten guineas towards building a meeting house at Macosquin in 1787 and £50 for the use of Mr Knox's meeting house in 1785, probably during renovations to the Church of Ireland building, quoted in Rankin, *Irish building ventures*, p. 45.

¹⁶⁵ List of contributions: from 66 'Old Members' in 1781 gave £960 11s. 1d. (just under £15 each on average); in 1783, 19 'New Members' gave £68 16s. 4d. (just over £3 each); 1781-83, 119 'Non Members' gave £714 3s. 8d. (£6 each) (First Presbyterian Church, Belfast, Minute Book 1783, P.R.O.N.I., Records of the Non-Subscribing Presbyterian Church MIC 1B).

friend'.¹⁶⁶ Hervey mixed with Dissenters through his visits to Larchfield near Lisburn, the country house of the wealthy Presbyterian businessman Daniel Mussenden whose son Daniel was married to the bishop's favourite, Frideswide Mussenden. Martha McTier, whose father had been the minister of the First Presbyterian Church, wrote to her brother William Drennan: 'The meeting house is finished and meets with great admiration but is not to be opened until Lord Donegall comes. There is still a large debt to which the Bishop of Derry very genteely, and unasked, sent £50. He is at present at L[arch]field and pays Mrs Mussenden adoration'.¹⁶⁷

Clearly Mulholland's church appealed strongly to Hervey's architectural taste; his houses at Ballyscullion and Ickworth would also be round, neoclassical buildings. When Presbyterians in the 1780s moved away from functional, cheap Penal chapels and put up a building of architectural worth, they were signalling visually a claim to their actual current financial position and hopes of political status. Neoclassicism was identified with progress and rationalism.¹⁶⁸ Neoclassicism was also a conscious separation from the gothic churches of the Established Church. The fact that Hervey's compliment to their good taste was carefully recorded in the Rosemary Street Minute Book, indicates that architectural style could unite, transcending religious divides and political inequalities. Mulholland won the church committee over with a model of how an elliptical rafter system could be built and he was then given the commission 'to alter the design of the new meeting house to be a perfect ellipsis'.¹⁶⁹ This plan suited the emphasis on the pulpit in Protestant preaching denominations. An ellipsis was also functional: it

¹⁶⁶ Mulholland was a founder member of the First Belfast Volunteer Company but in 1781 was described as 'a very bad attender', quoted in C. E. B. Brett, *Buildings of Belfast, 1700-1914* (Belfast, 1975), p. 5; Columbani to Shanahan, 30 June 1784, P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/67. Mulholland was later a founder member of Belfast Reading Society (established 1788) and presented copies of *Vitruvius Britannicus* and Duncan's translation of *Caesar's Commentaries*. See Irish Architectural Archive Dictionary of Irish architects; C. E. B. Brett, *Roger Mulholland, architect of Belfast* (Belfast, 1976).

¹⁶⁷ Martha McTier to William Drennan, Sunday night 1783, quoted in Jean Agnew (ed.), *The Drennan-McTier letters, 1776-1793* (Dublin, 1998), p. 99. Martha McTier's letters have not been viewed as evidence for Hervey's relationship with Mrs Mussenden, but McTier's sister-in-law was Mrs Mussenden's closest friend, allowing McTier privileged information.

¹⁶⁸ Looking at public buildings in Dublin, Lynda Mulvin argues that 'the style [neoclassicism] quickly became associated with commerce and synonymous with progress', Lynda Mulvin, 'Charles Robert Cockerell, Francis Johnston and the dissemination of Neo-Classical principles' in *The fusion of Neo-Classical principles* (Dublin, 2011), p. 165.

¹⁶⁹ Quoted in Simon Walker, *Historic Ulster churches* (Belfast, 2000), p. 58.

could seat a large number with good acoustics and uninterrupted view, and the simplicity of the classical lines lent elegance without further ornamentation or expense. Another Non-Subscribing Presbyterian congregation adopted a less sophisticated elliptical plan at Randalstown, County Antrim (completed in 1790). These two churches may have been inspired by the round St Andrew's in Dublin.¹⁷⁰

1.5 Conclusion

Wealth enabled Hervey to build on such an extensive scale. Changes in status launched new and increasingly ambitious building projects. The eighteenth century saw tremendous building activity, yet Hervey was extraordinary in the construction of three successive country houses. Comparison of style, interior layout, size and choice of architect shed light on his changing career trajectory. The need for expanding accommodation for guests and family at Downhill, his political base, was replaced by a zest for creating galleries to display artworks at Ballyscullion, his cultural house. Ickworth, the dynastic house, was twice the size of his Irish mansions, and this, combined with the fact that Hervey deemed it necessary to consult with fashionable Italian architects, indicates that more was needed to impress in England than Ireland. Pleasure also played a significant factor; Hervey clearly enjoyed the building process and had the funds to keep perfecting his architectural ideal through three country houses.

Architectural influences entered Ireland through patrons like the Earl Bishop. 'The capillaries of friendship and consanguinity slowly suffused eighteenth-century Ireland with classicism'.¹⁷¹ In *Making the grand figure*, Barnard reveals a wealth of seeking and offering advice, copying and commissioning, networks of relations and friends, and membership of associations. Hervey was in a position to be a conduit between Ireland and the architecture of Britain and of the Continent. His neoclassical houses and garden architecture indicate that, as in so much of his life, travel informed and inspired.

¹⁷⁰ Walker, *Ulster churches*, p. 33.

¹⁷¹ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p. 52.

Hervey used architecture, or donations towards architectural projects, as a means of communication between denominations in a religiously divided Ireland. The aesthetic appreciation of architecture was a common language among educated men, irrelevant of their denominational backgrounds. Studies of Hervey's political career have consistently highlighted his religious tolerance. By outlining the way he approached other denominations through building, and by providing pertinent examples of his methods of political and religious communication, the chapter sought to re-evaluate how such overtures were received.

CHAPTER TWO

INTERIORS AND GOODS

2.1 Introduction

The Earl Bishop's houses have received attention from historians for their architecture and art collections but not for the appearance or use of the rooms themselves. To rectify this scholarly neglect, and reclaim these houses as the centre of daily life and work within the context of Ascendancy society, this chapter takes material culture as its starting point. As evidence for interiors and goods is sparse and relates mainly to Downhill, the net has been cast widely to encompass descriptions in letters and tourist comments. Objects are examined through receipts, auction records and stylistic choices. Inevitably, this chapter brings together disparate material which is organised into categories: interior design, craftsmen, fixed elements (notably chimneypieces) and finally moveable goods. In a symbiotic relationship, this chapter has both contributed to, and been enriched by, a project undertaken by Stephen Price at the Northern Regional College in Coleraine, to recreate the interiors at Downhill digitally [figs 2.1-2.2].¹

Several inter-related themes are raised through collating and analysing the material evidence that relates to the interiors of Hervey's houses, which are traced, as they emerge, throughout this chapter. Firstly, it seeks to develop and advance the conclusions reached by the previous chapter, that Hervey's three houses were built for different purposes. To this end, focus shifts towards social history, influenced by the work of Mark Girouard, particularly *Life in the English country house* (1978), as a theoretical tool to further our understanding of how rooms functioned, were lived in by family and dependents, and were experienced by a wider audience. Secondly, by tracking the sourcing and movement of skilled practitioners, networks of patronage are revealed. This brings into focus other social groups, notably the architects and craftsmen working at Downhill, some of whom, like the Shanahan family, lived in the house. Thirdly, this chapter

¹ The National Regional College/National Trust Downhill 3D Project has involved a considerable effort of recovery and research. I am grateful to Stephen Price for including my researches and suggestions, and for sharing his findings so generously.

examines issues of stylistic choices. Intriguingly at Downhill and Ballyscullion (both neoclassical houses with similar Grand Tour collections on display) two very different decorative styles were employed for the wall treatments: classical and, as new evidence presented here shows, chinoiserie. The investigation of possible sources and models for inspiration leads to questions of emulation or innovation and works to place Hervey's projects within the wider neoclassical movement. Fourthly, the status of rooms is considered. A hierarchy of chimneypieces finds expression here, with expensive Italian chimneypieces presiding over the chief rooms and English mantles in the bedrooms; a hierarchy that Hervey's architect, Michael Shanahan, managed to upset. Throughout this chapter, comparison of the interiors and contents of Downhill and Ballyscullion with other Irish and British houses provides context for stylistic choices, consumption patterns and trends in the changing performative functions of rooms.

2.2 Living within the house: the interiors at Downhill and comparison with contemporary houses

The interior layout, the decoration and the names of the rooms at Downhill indicate their function and importance, the balance between public and private space, and the role of hospitality. Hervey's houses have not been scrutinised from these angles before. In rejecting a formal layout in favour of a circular progression through the rooms, Hervey was in tune with attitudes of the 1770s. Changing room names give an interesting indication of the uses intended for them [fig. 2.3]. The Downhill library metamorphosed into the 'lounging room'. Both Peter Rankin and Maurice Craig noted the early use of this word in Ireland, Craig commenting that 'by a strange paradox, this least cosy of houses seems to have been one of the very first to have one of its principal rooms labelled a 'lounge'.² Lounge suggests the use of the library as a family sitting room for informal socialising and anticipates the house parties of the late eighteenth century.³

² Peter Rankin, *Irish building ventures*, p. 19; Craig, *Architecture of Ireland*, p. 245.

³ House parties were not unknown in Ireland: in 1779 the Duchess of Leinster described a house-party at Carton at which, after prayers, 'we then go as we like – a back room for reading, a billiard room, a print room, a drawing room, and whole suites of rooms, not forgetting the music room ... There are all sorts of amusements', quoted in Girouard, *Life in the English country house*, p. 232.

Girouard charted the changing functions of libraries from personal spaces in the early eighteenth-century, to family sitting room mid-century and a place for house party entertaining by the turn of the century.⁴

Despite a new vogue for asymmetric and gothic fronts, Hervey preferred a strictly symmetrical, neoclassical façade. Visually, the drawing room and dining room balanced each other at the front of the house. Drawing rooms have been designated as female spaces, to which women withdrew while men dominated the dining room.⁵ Visitor accounts of Downhill pay least attention to the drawing room, typically the most richly furnished room, possibly because it lost its purpose after Hervey separated from Lady Hervey in 1782. A rare view of family life involved music. Frederick Hervey, Hervey's fifteen-year-old son, described a typical day to his sister:

I have been practising on the fiddle all this morning almost – I read some of Montesquieu's Spirit of the Laws this morning before breakfast – since that I read some Greek & practis'd some Overtures – dress'd for Dinner & I am now sat down to write to you ... When we have no other Company Papa reads Milton to us every Evening & delightfull it is so well read.⁶

The evidence points to the dining room being well used. It has not previously been noticed that Downhill hospitality reached the attention of a London newspaper: 'Among the new mansions lately erected in Ireland, that of the Earl of Bristol, near Coleraine, is the most magnificent; and though his Lordship is absent, yet hospitality reigns in his palace'.⁷ In the same year as this newspaper report, Beaufort was less impressed: 'Dinner very small & plain – Wines excellent – Burgundy, port Claret, madeira – Champagne in the room'.⁸ Hospitality seems typically to have embraced large numbers, as Hervey's cheerful letter of 1783 to his daughter Mary suggests: 'Everything is redolent of Joy and Youth, and we commonly sit down to table from 20 to 25. We have cold Suppers and a bottle of

⁴ Girouard, *Life in the English country house*, p. 180.

⁵ Girouard, *Life in the English country house*, p. 233.

⁶ Hervey to Mary Erne, 25 Jan. 1784 (Sheffield Archives, Wharncliffe muniments, 548/2).

⁷ *World and Fashionable Advertiser* (London), issue 6, 6 Jan. 1787.

⁸ Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 18 Nov. 1787 (T.C.D. MS 4028).

Champaigne at each end of the table. The Songsters sing Ketches'.⁹ As these Irish songs were performed in Hervey's dining room at Downhill, one can assume that, when there was a harpist in the house, he performed there also. Hervey even had a house built for Dennis Hempson, the blind harpist.¹⁰ Hervey featured in political cartoons of 1783-84 as an Irish patriot in the form of a harp [fig. 2.4].¹¹ Where the balance lay, between becoming too Irish and degenerating into the excessive hospitality associated with Gaelic culture, and dispensing the largesse expected of a bishop and nobleman, is difficult to judge and may have been determined by the viewpoint of the observer.¹² On the other hand, excessive hospitality, feasting and drinking, was not the preserve of Gaelic culture, as Hervey had discovered when campaigning for his brother for the seat of Bury St Edmunds in 1753.

Downhill, the neoclassical family villa, quickly expanded into Downhill, the house for entertaining. The gallery wing was added in the early 1780s and then extended, and a billiard table arrived at Downhill in 1787 which was noticed in the gallery in 1823 along with an organ.¹³ Galleries were public entertainment spaces in which the owner could display his taste, learning and acquisitions. Soane recorded his frustration with the Earl Bishop's plans for Downhill: *'the whole house is an assemblage of Galleries, & passages'*.¹⁴ Soane favoured *'enlarging the HKeepers Room, Servants hall &c, to build a new Room in the West pt for a Gallery Library &c'*.¹⁵ *He was a thoroughly modern architect, concerned with convenience and the workings of the staff in relation to the design. He proposed rooms for mixed, flexible use ('Gallery Library' and 'Room & Gallery') and considered the internal look of the gallery for which a massive*

⁹ Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 1783, quoted in Jan Eccles, *Downhill*, p.74.

¹⁰ Bunting, *Ancient music of Ireland*, p. 75. Bunting quotes G. V. Sampson to Lady Morgan, 3 July 1805: 'Lord Bristol, when lodging at the bathing-house of Mount Salut, near Magilligan, gave three guineas, and ground rent free, to build the house where Hempson now lives. At the house-warming, his lordship with his lady and family came, and the children danced to his harp'. Dennis Hempson the blind harpist was greatly admired and was among the ten harpists whose music Bunting recorded at the Belfast meeting in 1792. Hervey's heir, Sir Henry Hervey Bruce, looked after Hempson in his last years (he died in 1807 supposedly aged 112); Hempson's harp made by Cormac O'Kelly (c.1700) came to Downhill and is now displayed in the Guinness Brewery.

¹¹ William Dent, *Hibernia in the character of charity*, 1784-5 (B.M., satires 6785).

¹² Barnard, 'Integration or separation', pp 129, 137.

¹³ 'for Hire & Expences at Gowing to Downhill to set a Billartabe', Edward Dogherty, 3 Nov. 1787 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D1514/1/1/32/68); Neale, *Views of the seats of noblemen*, vi.

¹⁴ John Soane, 'Downhill notebook' (S.M., vol. 80/15r-15v).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

ceiling painting of Aurora was already in train. These galleries upset the circulation route around the house. The changing names of room at Downhill highlight Hervey's search for a role and persona during the 1770s and 1780s and suggest uncertainty as to how he wanted to use his house. Even as Downhill became more of a hub for entertaining and business, Hervey sought more personal privacy, building a new bedroom suite for himself, accessed only from the stable courtyard. Ballyscullion had less accommodation and more display space.

The balance of responsibility between the patron, architect and craftsman may be explored through the process of designing fixed elements of the interior, the layout of the rooms and the stucco, woodwork and painting. The example of Downhill challenges the impression, given by architect's plans and books, such as Robert and James Adam, *Works in architecture* (1773), that an interior was a fully designed space, with architecture, decoration and even furniture all unified.¹⁶ Downhill developed piecemeal, influenced by the tastes, needs and availability of the owner, architect, interior designers and craftsmen. While this piecemeal approach must have been characteristic of older houses being updated, it must have been less usual in a house like Downhill which was a new-build.¹⁷ It is difficult to know how unusual Hervey was in not leaving the project in the hands of a single architect, because architectural historiography emphasises the work of famous architects, ignoring more complicated and piecemeal building projects.

By the time Hervey was ready to decorate Downhill in the late 1770s and early 1780s, neoclassical interiors were becoming established in Irish buildings. Examples can be found in William Chambers's townhouse for Lord Charlemont from 1763; Thomas Cooley's Royal Exchange 1769; James Stuart at Rathfarnham Castle for Lord Loftus 1770-1; Robert Adam's ceiling designs for the townhouse of Hercules Rowley 1765 and for Summerhill 1779; and the Long Gallery at Castletown painted in the Pompeian style in 1777 by Charles Reuben Riley and Thomas Ryder. The most influential neoclassical interior was Wyatt's picture

¹⁶ See Peter Thornton, *Authentic décor; the domestic interior, 1620-1920* (London, 1993); Charles Saumarez-Smith, *Eighteenth-century decoration: design and the domestic interior in England* (London, 1993).

¹⁷ Wilson and Mackley, *Creating paradise*, chap. 6.

gallery at Leinster House of 1777.¹⁸ At Downhill in 1777 the dining room, drawing room and library (later lounging room) at Downhill were decorated with ‘Ornamental Entablature according to Mr. Wyatt’s designs’.¹⁹ Summerson has identified 1775 as marking the end in Britain of the dominance of Adam and Chambers over the ‘revolution in taste of which he himself [Adam] was so arrogantly conscious’.²⁰ In choosing this second generation of neoclassical architects, led by James Wyatt and John Soane, Hervey was abreast of British fashion. Wyatt was considered to be more true to the Roman and Greek models, more refined. He restricted decoration to the ceiling, leaving walls unadorned (picture hanging space was at a premium for Hervey), and limited motifs to a couple of themes repeated in ceiling, friezes and chimneypieces. Wyatt also had an extensive practice and influence in Ireland: Conor Lucey has noted the stylistic debt Stapleton owed to Wyatt, through Penrose, Wyatt’s agent in Ireland.²¹

Oddly, the only surviving stucco estimate for Downhill, for the stair hall, is suggestive of a composite style, apparently fusing neoclassical medallions with the now out-dated naturalistic elements so beloved of Irish plasterers and patrons. Curran has charted the changes in style in Ireland: 1750 marked the high point of the open ceiling, with naturalistic and rococo elements, particularly the famous bird motifs of Irish plasterwork, superseded around 1770 by the low-relief, geometrical style of Adam, practised in Ireland by Stapleton and Thorp.²² William Fitzgerald’s estimate or bill featured images derived from classical themes: ‘a sacrifice in which there is 3 figers, a Cow Urn and Bird 9 days £1.16.0’ and ‘a figer of the Goddess Flora which is 19 inches high which took me 7 days £1.8.0’. The scheme also involved ‘32 Birds in different Atatudes which will take 32 days £6.8.0’ among tree branches and tendrils.²³ Fitzgerald’s scheme would have been unfashionable in a neoclassical house; perhaps it was rejected.

¹⁸ Robinson, *Wyatt*, p. 113.

¹⁹ Shanahan to Hervey, 31 Jan. 1777 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/3).

²⁰ Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, p. 410.

²¹ Conor Lucey, *The Stapleton collection: designs for the neoclassical Irish interior* (Tralee, 2007), p. 15.

²² C.P. Curran, *Dublin decorative plasterwork of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (London, 1967), p. 20.

²³ William Fitzgerald, c.1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/17).

Nevertheless, a recurring theme in this thesis is the influence of the idiosyncratic patron: fashion and cost were not the only factors governing choices.

Conor Lucey points out that ornament had a social function, hence the concentration of stucco decoration in the entrance halls of town houses in Dublin and Amsterdam. The great expense of ornamental decoration was ‘recovered in terms of social commerce ... it provided a high ‘return’ through its visibility and legibility as an expression of taste and classical erudition’.²⁴ However, using visitor accounts as a guide suggests that the Downhill stair hall did not have a strong impact, for only two visitors commented upon it and none described stucco work. This reticence was typical because, despite the great expense of ornamental plastering, it was considered lower in the artistic hierarchy that placed decorative art below fine art. Jocelyn Anderson has demonstrated that published guidebooks adhered exclusively to descriptions of architecture, artworks and landscaping. This triumvirate dominated individual tourist accounts too, though personal interest in furnishings and colour schemes might find expression.²⁵ In the stair hall, Daniel Beaufort in 1787 commented only on the painting in the dome: ‘a horrible Colossal picture of the Father bestriding the clouds & dividing light from darkness’.²⁶ Neale in 1823 also homed in on the painted elements:

In the Entrance Hall is a statue of the Fighting Gladiator. The staircase is extremely light and elegant, it is of stone, with gilt balustrades, the walls painted in fresco, with rustic scenery: from the dome, in which is painted a representation of the Deity dividing light from darkness, depends a large glass chandelier.²⁷

Francis Reagel (a German painter and mosaic artist based in Rome) was noted at work ‘now painting the pannel under the middle window of the great stairs’.²⁸

²⁴ Conor Lucey, ‘Introduction’ in Christine Casey and Conor Lucey (eds), *Decorative plasterwork in Ireland and Europe* (Dublin, 2012), pp 30-1.

²⁵ Jocelyn Anderson in her lecture ‘Remaking the country house: country house guidebooks in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century’ in C.S.H.I.H.E. conference ‘The country house and its visitors, past, present and future’, N.U.I.M., 10-11 May 2012.

²⁶ Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 18 Nov. 1787 (T.C.D. Beaufort MS 4028).

²⁷ Neale, *Views of the seats of noblemen*, vi.

²⁸ Anne Shanahan to Hervey, 23 Dec. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/50). On the same day Michael Shanahan wrote that ‘Mr Rigel’ was working in the gallery, but only able to do an hour a day because he was so ill. Hartshorn and garlic were prescribed but to no avail, Shanahan to Hervey, 23 Dec. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/49).

Possibly these fresco panels were framed by William Fitzgerald's stucco, as were Robert Adam's early schemes for Admiral Boscawen at Hatchlands Park (1759), contrasting stucco panels of arabesques with fresco views of ancient ruins [fig. 2.5]. Adam's Saloon for Kedleston (c.1761) for Sir Nathaniel Curzon [fig. 2.6], though on a far grander scale, combined the same constituents as Downhill: dome, fresco, plasterwork and statuary. Hervey developed these ideas at Ballyscullion and Ickworth where the tall portico columns at the entrance, the immense height of the dome and specially commissioned statuary groups dominated.

Receipts provide evidence of further decorative details. The balustrade for the great stairs at Downhill cost £62, whilst the balustrade of the stairs to the offices cost £6 6s. 8d. in 1782, indicating how money was apportioned between areas designed to impress visitors and working areas, in this case a difference of a multiple of ten.²⁹ James Forbes, a Belfast carpenter, added a Vitruvian scroll to the stairs, window architraves for the five windows and two ionic columns placed at the base of the stairs at a cost of £5 13s. 9d.³⁰ He also carved 'vine-leaf and grapes at 20d a foot' for the dining room (a typical dining motif) and 'vine-leaf only' for the lounging room.³¹

The influence of a patron is evident in the design for the ceiling of the main corridor (discussed in terms of political iconography in chapter 1). Three letters from Shanahan to Hervey, one each month from September to November 1783, offer a revealing glimpse of the design process operating at Downhill. For the ceiling plan, Hervey had first suggested that Shanahan 'copy one from a book'.³² Evidently the pattern books had nothing to offer the Earl Bishop, currently in the heat of his Volunteer phase, so Shanahan tried again:

you have not seen any design for the Ceiling of the Corridore that pleased you, I have lately made out two designs, quite different from any as yet in the Downhill – one of which my wife tells you approve of but saying you

²⁹ 'Shanahan's monthly return January/February 1782' (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/13).

³⁰ 'Shanahan's monthly return March/April 1782' (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/14); Shanahan, 23 Dec. 1785 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/82).

³¹ Shanahan to Hervey, 23 Dec. 1785 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/81).

³² Shanahan to Hervey, 22 Sept. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/44).

wished to have Modern Trophys introduced instead of those of the Antients – I therefore send it by the bearer for your Lordship’s further instruction in filling the Compartments.³³

Finally, the Earl Bishop’s very specific requirements were met: ‘Fitzgerald is working at the ceiling of the corridor, filled with modern trophies by Mr. Rigel [Reagel]’.³⁴ On this occasion the patron had strong views, pattern books were consulted, the architect made out the plans, there was wider discussion which included the architect’s wife, the patron approved them, and finally the stucco expert and the German painter executed the design, possibly with some modifications of their own. This corridor (where statues were displayed in niches) also reflects the piecemeal development of interiors: in 1783 it had a trophy theme but in 1780 Soane had suggested arabesques.³⁵

A letter from William Salmon of Dublin reveals that Hervey bought pre-cast plaster medallions, which allows comparison with the taste of other patrons. From Salmon’s collection, Hervey selected exclusively classical designs, for instance ‘Aurora in her chariot’ costing £4 11s.³⁶ Salmon advertised in *Faulkner’s Journal* and offered a catalogue for perusal.³⁷ James Wyatt decorated the dining room of Westport House for Lord Altamont with classical medallions and roundels. Stapleton purchased medallions from Salmon; based on Salmon’s letter

³³ Shanahan to Hervey, 24 Oct. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/47).

³⁴ Shanahan to Hervey, 18 Nov. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/48).

³⁵ John Soane, ‘Downhill notebook’, 10 Aug. 1780 (S.M., vol. 80/3r).

³⁶ William Salmon, n.d. (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D1514/1/2/11). William Salmon’s letter is undated but tentatively placed at 1782-3 by P.R.O.N.I. and by Conor Lucey. A letter from Shanahan: ‘I enclose Your Lordship Mr Salmon’s letter & bill for the Basso relievo’ seems to confirm this dating, Shanahan to Hervey, 29 July 1782 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/36).

³⁷ William Salmon, Statuary, Nom 5, Anglesea Street has now highly finished a new and curious Collection of Bass-reliefs, well adapted for all Kinds of Ceilings, Dining Parlours, Stair Cases, Halls, &c. he also executes Statues in Lead or Plaster for Gardens, &c. he likewise repairs and Brownzes Bustos and Figures, having found out a Method of imitating Brownzes of all Colours, viz. Brass, Copper, Alabaster, and all Sorts of Figures of any Composition, done to such Perfections as to deceive the greatest Connoisseur in that Art; where also is sold Plaster of Paris prepared or unprepared for the smallest Profit. B.B. Any Gentleman directing a Line Post paid, to said Salmon, may be furnished gratis, with a Catalogue of his valuable Collection of Bustos, Figures, and Medallions, with their Sizes and Prices’, *Faulkner’s Dublin Journal*, 17-19 Aug. 1780.

to Hervey, Lucey has located similar (probably identical) models [fig. 2.7].³⁸ These serve both to provide visual examples of what has been lost at Downhill and to highlight that other patrons made similar choices, sourced in Dublin and London.

Some degree of a classical education was shared by patrons and architects, but as Lucey has proven in relation to speculatively built Dublin townhouses of the late eighteenth century, a combination of illiteracy in the canon of classical imagery and ‘commercially motivated pragmatism’, resulted in the apparently indiscriminate use of classical motifs. In contrast, George Richardson warned in *Iconography* (1779) that the decorator should select images appropriately in order to ‘render his art singularly entertaining, and intelligible to reason, taste and judgment’.³⁹ Richardson assumed that the stucco schemes would be read and enjoyed by the occupants.

Downhill exhibited a wide variety of media and sources for wall decoration. Salmon’s letter reveals that he brought his patterns for moulds from London. Some mouldings were made on site at Downhill. Murphy was paid for stucco work in 1782 and may have made his own wax moulds: Shanahan ordered 18oz. of beeswax for the stucco-man.⁴⁰ Hervey also displayed contemporary sculpture such as Mr Foy’s ‘basso relievo for the staircase’ which was ‘on the road from Dublin’ in 1783.⁴¹ The much admired bas-relief of *Socrates detecting Alcibiades in the society of courtesans* (discussed in chapter 4), over the chimneypiece in the gallery may have been ancient. Hervey mixed unique pieces, often sourced abroad, with ready-made items produced closer to home.

³⁸ Stapleton used ‘Aurora in her chariot in Number 20, North Great George’s Street c.1789 and illustrated ‘Graces erecting Cupid on a pedestal’ in a room design, see Lucey, *Stapleton Collection*, p. 38 and plate 71.

³⁹ George Richardson, *Iconography* (London, 1779), p. ii, quoted in Conor Lucey, ‘Pattern books and pedagogies: neoclassicism and the Dublin artisan’ in Lynda Mulvin (ed.) *The fusion of neo-classical principles* (Dublin, 2011), p. 146.

⁴⁰ ‘Shanahan’s monthly account June/July 1782’ (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/16). On-site workshops were used by the Adam brothers, for example at Audley End in Essex 1764-6 where archaeology has revealed fragments of models for guilloche and anthemion and a beeswax mould for a patera, Lucey, *Stapleton Collection*, p. 36.

⁴¹ Shanahan to Hervey, 20 July 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/29).

2.3 The craftsmen

As bishop, Hervey made a virtue of giving preferment only to Irish clergy; whether he consciously extended this patriotic policy to his building projects is less clear. Undoubtedly, the skills profile of an area was altered by a major building project. A web criss-crossing Ireland, England and the Continent, emerges through the Downhill papers: a web of personal introduction, advice seeking, viewing work undertaken elsewhere, looking at published examples, and doubtless, chance. Delineating the strands of this web indicates pathways by which ideas, styles and skills circulated within or entered Ireland. Identifying the origins and interplay of the employees at Downhill contributes new material to the picture of building and decorating in Ireland in the second half of the eighteenth century. Some of these men (and Michael Shanahan's family) lived as well as worked at Downhill, bringing another social group into focus.

Among local craftsmen, Ulster was a more vibrant place for decorative and building skills than might be expected, considering that this region was remote from Dublin, the centre of Irish building activity. Father and son stonecutters, James and David McBlain, were locals who found work in the area, for Wills Hill at Hillsborough, Robert Stewart at Mount Stewart and Frederick Hervey at Downhill and Derry cathedral spire. They chose to be buried in Dunboe churchyard beside Downhill [fig. 2.8]. William Fitzgerald, master plasterer from Dublin, came to Downhill from the nearby Temple of the Winds at Mount Stewart. James Forbes was a carver and carpenter working in Belfast.⁴² Less skilled local craftsmen worked under a master: in August 1783 Connor the carpenter had three Derry carpenters helping him in the gallery and Heffernan (who often had trouble finding labourers or plasterers) had 'a man' to help him that week.⁴³

⁴² Brett, *Buildings of Belfast*, p. 4.

⁴³ Shanahan, Downhill, to Hervey, 2 Aug. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/40).

Local men with skills might move out of the area, for example ‘young Hiffernan’, who was gilding in the Gallery in 1783, was probably the James Heffernan of Derry whom Shanahan took on as an apprentice at his Cork marble-works in 1796. His father, also James Heffernan, was ‘an honest man and a very good plain plasterer, but as for ornaments he would not at all answer my purpose’.⁴⁴ Francis Johnston of Armagh benefited from the patronage of Primate Robinson of Armagh: he was nominated for the Royal School in Armagh by Robinson, was apprenticed to his architect Thomas Cooley in Dublin and became Robinson’s main architect. The Sandys brothers of Dublin received opportunities through the Earl Bishop. The Revd Joseph Sandys became Hervey’s chaplain and clerk of works at Ballyscullion and then at Ickworth. Hervey may have helped finance Francis Sandys’ four years in Rome from 1791 and certainly introduced him to Canova and engaged him at Rome for Ickworth. Joseph Sandys returned home to become rector of Kilrea and married into the Burroughs family, particular friends of Hervey, while Francis Sandys first settled in Bury St Edmunds, near Ickworth in Suffolk, and then moved to London as an architect.⁴⁵ Architecturally-minded patrons could significantly boost the career of a talented or deserving individual.

Others came to Ulster in search of opportunity. Richard Louch of London, builder, architect and timber supplier, was considering emigration to America after his London premises were destroyed by fire, but was persuaded to come to Armagh by Primate Robinson.⁴⁶ Whilst at Downhill, John Soane rode over in person to secure Louch’s superior carpentry services; whether Louch’s London training was the chief recommendation or whether Soane already knew him *is unknown*.⁴⁷ The capital cities of Dublin and London were tapped directly too. As *du Prey comments*, ‘The comradely contacts with London craftsmen which Soane maintained since his days in the office of Henry Holland would now be of use to

⁴⁴ Shanahan, Downhill, to Hervey, 13 May 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D1514/1/2/3).

⁴⁵ There were many connections with this family. Archdeacon Burroughs was Hervey’s particular friend in Derry and his widow died at Bury St Edmunds near Ickworth. Of the archdeacon’s children: Frances married the Revd Joseph Sandys, Hervey’s architect; Newburgh became archdeacon and travelled with Hervey on the continent where he died; Mary Anne Burroughs lived at Bellaghy Castle as overseer to Ballyscullion; Selina received a pension in Hervey’s will.

⁴⁶ Biography of Irish architects, I.A.A. (<http://www.dia.ie/architects/view/3220/LOUCH-RICHARD>) (2 May 2011).

⁴⁷ John Soane, ‘Downhill notebook’, 18 Aug. 1780 (S.M., vol. 80/10r).

the young architect on a job of his own'.⁴⁸ Soane wrote from Downhill to Richard Holland in London 'to send two good Joiners by his Lordships orders, recommend Derham & Webb if not engaged'.⁴⁹ Shanahan developed his own professional networks: he knew Roger Mulholland (of Belfast) and travelled with George Steuart (a Scottish architect who had worked at Baronscourt), and he intended to consult Wyatt and Adam in London and Thomas Penrose, Malton (an English architect, Christian name unknown) and James Gandon in Dublin.

Some specialist skills were not available near home. Soane wrote 'to England for somebody to paint the long Gallery ... in Arabesque Pergolas'.⁵⁰ In about 1783 William Fitzgerald travelled in search of stucco men and a supply of alabaster, and in 1787 Shanahan was going to London for a skilled sculptor.⁵¹ Painters were paid for the journey to Downhill from Dublin (James Cosgrave 'and partners' received 2s. 5d. per day each, for a five day journey) and then worked for twenty-nine days painting the drawing room and lounging room; this must have been specialist work to make it worthwhile.⁵² Mr. Murphy appeared in the monthly accounts of January and February 1782 as a stucco man. Here he is tentatively identified for the first time as Daniel Murphy of Cork; Shanahan was from Cork and may have sourced craftsmen through his home contacts. Daniel Murphy actively sought out work, considering it advantageous to advertise his London training under a top architect:

all manner of ornament stucco-work in the Antique Grotesque style and colouring of apartments in oil and water now practised in the Cities of London and Westminster where he received his education and professional knowledge under the ingenious James Wyatt, architect.⁵³

When Soane needed 'another Ornament hand if more enrich'd Cielings are required, & at least three more plain men' in 1780, he planned to 'go to Armagh

⁴⁸ Pierre de la Ruffiniere du Prey, 'Je n'oublieray jamais': John Soane and Downhill' in *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, xxi, no. 3&4 (July-Dec. 1978), p. 31

⁴⁹ John Soane, 'Downhill notebook', 18 Aug. 1780 (S.M. vol. 80/8v).

⁵⁰ John Soane, 'Downhill notebook', 10 Aug. 1780 (S.M., vol. 80/3r).

⁵¹ Shanahan to Hervey, c. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/24) and Shanahan to Hervey, 29 Mar. 1787 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/88).

⁵² Account of James Cosgrave and partners, Mar. 1787 or later (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/87).

⁵³ *Hibernian Journal*, 8 April 1782, quoted in Curran, *Dublin decorative plasterwork*, p. 74.

to make every enquiry to get men from thence or from Dublin'.⁵⁴ Presumably Primate Robinson's projects had created a pool of craftsmen in Armagh. When Shanahan fell out with William Fitzgerald, the plasterer, he found that he could not easily replace him in Ireland and suggested that Hervey might 'have recourse to Mr. Wyatt or Adam for a man', but eventually Fitzgerald's terms were met.⁵⁵ The Rose family in England were Robert Adam's main plasterers. He treated them well, settling Joseph Rose's bills directly whereas the client paid the other workers.⁵⁶ The Roses also accepted other commissions, for instance at Castle Coole under James Wyatt.

Although Hervey was unusually well-travelled, he rarely employed foreign specialists in Ireland, tending to rely on Irish talent more than some patrons in his position. By following a holistic approach, this thesis aims to highlight areas of crossover where one aspect of Hervey's life influences another. Hervey's employment of Irishmen may have been influenced by the popularity of his policy of employing only Irish clergy and by the timing of the project, considering that the extending and decorating of Downhill coincided with his period as patriot politician. It has already been noted that the craftsmen and materials for the other major house of this period, Castle Coole, were shipped over from England. Hervey also employed Irishmen for Ballyscullion and placed two Irish architects, the Sandys brothers, in charge of Ickworth in Suffolk. On the other hand, other factors must have played a part: cost and convenience made Irishmen more attractive, and foreign practitioners were brought in where necessary.

Crookshank and Glin comment on the growing appetite for European art seen in picture collections from the middle of the century and the popularity of painted interiors in the late eighteenth century.⁵⁷ In the area of painting, Hervey mobilised all his resources and contacts abroad, employing a foreign history painter, Francis Reagel. Once at Downhill, Reagel was stricken by a swelling lump in his stomach, had to abandon his work and disappeared from the historical record altogether. He

⁵⁴ John Soane, 'Downhill notebook', Aug. 1780 (S.M., vol. 80/8r).

⁵⁵ Shanahan to Hervey, 7 Apr. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/19).

⁵⁶ Lucey, *Stapleton Collection*, p. 45.

⁵⁷ Anne Crookshank and Desmond FitzGerald, the Knight of Glin, *Ireland's painters, 1600-1940* (London, 2002), chapters 4 and 9.

had only completed some panels on the great stairs and probably the mosaic scenes of Roman views above the doors in the lounging room.⁵⁸ According to Strickland, Hervey met Reagel in Rome where he studied painting and mosaic work under his German father, and Hervey invited him to Ireland in 1784 with the immense promise of £1,000 to create a mosaic pavement for the Mussenden Temple.⁵⁹ Hervey was not the only Irish patron to look abroad for specialist skills. Returning from his Grand Tour in 1805, Lord Cloncurry, brought the Italian landscape painter, Gaspare Gabrielle (*fl.* 1803-33), to decorate the principal reception rooms at Lyons with murals of Italian and Irish scenery ‘creating what must have been the finest painted interior in Ireland’.⁶⁰ This importation of foreign artists indicates that certain high-level skills could not be found at home. Securing the foreign and the famous brought prestige, as testified by the impossible number of decorative pictures attributed to Angelica Kauffmann’s brief period in Ireland. The earl of Aldborough tried for similar effects on a smaller budget. He employed the Italian Filippus Zafforini (*fl.* 1798-1811), a theatre scene painter in Dublin, for Aldborough House in Dublin for 30 guineas from June to July 1798 and alongside Dublin artist, John Meares, for portrait heads in the same scenes.⁶¹ These murals aroused some derision because the patron and his wife appeared too prominently, dressed in Volunteer costumes.⁶²

⁵⁸ Anne Shanahan to Hervey, 23 Dec. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/50); Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 18 Nov. 1787 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4028).

⁵⁹ W. D. Strickland, *A dictionary of Irish artists* (2 vols, London, 1913), ii, 273. Strickland is the only source for this information. I have not found any document mentioning the agreement between Hervey and Reagel and have not found Reagel listed in any other reference book. Strickland gives 1784 as the date of Hervey’s approach to Reagel, but he is first mentioned at work at Downhill in November 1783. Hervey was not on the Continent between 1779 and 1785 though they may have met during Hervey’s third Grand Tour (1777-9).

⁶⁰ June Eiffe, ‘Lyons, Co Kildare’ in *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, xxvii (1984), p. 20. Eiffe speculates that Lord Cloncurry may have been inspired by the painted Renaissance interiors of the Farnesina Villa built for Sieneese banker Agostino Chigi and Villa Maser in Venice with Veronese frescoes. Popplewell argues that Gabrielle’s murals created a taste for panoramic landscapes, copied by anonymous Irish artists. Seán Popplewell, ‘Domestic decorative painting in Ireland, 1720-1820’ in *Studies: an Irish quarterly review*, lxxviii, nos 269/270 (spring/summer 1979), p. 63. See also Jeremy Musson, ‘Lyons, Co. Kildare, the home of Dr Tony Ryan’ in *Country Life* (16 Jan. 2003), p. 40.

⁶¹ Crookshank and Glin, *Ireland’s painters*, p. 178.

⁶² Lady Hardwicke (wife of the Lord Lieutenant) described ‘the ‘Triumph of Amphitrite’, personated by Lady Aldborough in a riding habit, with Minerva’s helmet, sitting on the knee of Lord Aldborough in a complete suit of regimentals, Neptune having politely resigned his seat in the car to his Lordship, and contenting himself with the office of coachman to the six well-fed Tritons’, quoted in Ronald W. Lightbown, *An architect earl: Edward Augustus Stratford (1736-1801) second Earl of Aldborough* (Kilkenny, 2008), p. 457.

Shanahan withdrew from Downhill for a time while Hervey employed the Milanese architect and designer Placido Columbani from 1783 to 1785, the most intense period of decoration at Downhill.⁶³ A vignette of this unusually cosmopolitan (and troubled) period is given by Anne Shanahan's defence of herself and her husband against imported Italian speaking professionals: 'we imagined you had taken a dislike to us of late and I thought my character in very great danger in the house with Mr Columbani by what he told Mr Rigel [Reagel] and some others of our Acquaintance in Coleraine'.⁶⁴ Though the presence of foreign specialists in Ireland has been widely noted, most comprehensively in *Irish painters* by Crookshank and Glin, the impact of this foreign competition on indigenous artists and craftsmen has been little explored. Anne Shanahan's letter reveals a strong sense of them and us; Columbani in particular was identified as a threat. More commonly a foreign painter was attached to an architectural practice, as was Antonio Zucchi who worked for Adam at Headfort House in the 1770s. The teams of stuccadores from the Lombard lake area generally kept within their own company and often had wives and land at home. A different scenario played out at Lyons where Gaspare Gabrielle lived for thirteen years and married an Irish housemaid.

How Columbani came to Ireland and to Downhill is unknown. Possibly his publications between 1766 and 1776 recommended him.⁶⁵ Columbani's style was associated with that of the Adams brothers and was perhaps closest to Pergolesi.⁶⁶ His books made their way to Ireland: in 1788 the *Dublin Journal* advertised Columbani's *New book of ornaments* selling for 7s. 6d. and *Variety of capitals* for 6s. Francis Johnston bought the former and the latter appears in the Westport

⁶³ The first mention of Columbani's name is 2 August 1783 when 'The three Derry Carpenters, with some assistance from Mr Connor are at work for Mr Columbani', Shanahan to Hervey, 2 Aug. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/40).

⁶⁴ Anne Shanahan to Hervey, (catalogued by P.R.O.N.I. as c.1790 but should be c.1783) (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D1514/1/2/13).

⁶⁵ Thomas Milton, John Crunden and Placido Columbani, *The chimneypiece maker's daily assistant* (1766); Placido Columbani, *New book of ornaments* (1775); *Vases and tripods* (c.1776); and Placido Columbani, *Variety of capitals, freezes and corniches* (1776).

⁶⁶ See Michaelangelo Pergolesi, *New book of ornaments* (London, 1777).

House library catalogue of 1845.⁶⁷ The purpose of these books, ostensibly to spread good taste and offer ideas, was also to attract patronage.

There was a wealth of pattern book publishing during the neoclassical period, creating a decorative revolution, so that the ‘domestic interior had become a vehicle which could be moulded according to the tastes of the individual owner’.⁶⁸ Among the most influential pattern books were lavish publications like *The works in architecture of Robert and James Adam* (1770s) and John Soane’s *Plans, elevations and sections of buildings* (1788) in which he criticised Adamesque style. Some of these books contained minimal text and were intended to be used flexibly by craftsmen, such as Placido Columbani’s *Variety of capitals, freezes and corniches, and how to increase and decrease them, still retaining the same proportion as the original* (1776).

Placido Columbani may be a member of the Columbani family of Lodi, an area specialising in ceramics.⁶⁹ The stuccodore families of the Lombard lakes, who travelled for work all over Europe, were multi-talented, often covering a range of decorative functions within the family or even individual. Thus Columbani claimed to be an architect and stuccodore, published decorative schemes, was an engraver, landscape designer and acted as a clerk of works.⁷⁰ It is suggested in this chapter that Hervey may provide a previously unnoticed thread running through the career of Columbani, whose career is hard to trace and has not received academic attention before. Columbani worked at Audley End in Essex before and after coming to Ireland. The Earl Bishop has not been linked with Audley End, but he owned land there; in fact he owned Ring Hill (the principal view from the Jacobean house) which Sir John Griffin Griffin rented from the earls of Bristol and built the circular Temple of Victory by Robert Adam in 1771 as an eye

⁶⁷ Francis Johnston’s copy bears his signature and the date 1790 (25 years after it was originally published), now in the Irish Architectural Archive Acc 77/6.1; Westport House library catalogue 1845, N.L.I. MS 41,059/1; also see Conor Lucey, ‘Pattern books and pedagogies’.

⁶⁸ Saumarez-Smith, *Eighteenth-century decoration*, p. 299.

⁶⁹ I am indebted to Dr. Andrea Spiriti, Insubria University (Varese-Como, Italy) for pointing out the Columbani family of Lodi and for his comment that an interesting design interchange developed in Italian ceramics as Wedgwood’s style, derived from ancient Italian sources, began to influence modern Italian decorative styles.

⁷⁰ Columbani was one of ten engravers who contributed to Matthew Brettingham, *Plans, elevations and sections of Holkham in Norfolk* (London, 1773).

catcher.⁷¹ Howard Colvin locates Columbani at Audley End in 1781 amending the designs of Richard Woods's Elysian Garden.⁷² From 1783-5 he was at Downhill but was back at Audley End again in 1786, making record drawings of the Adam rooms and presumably making some changes since new curtains for the dining parlour and a dining table and six chairs for the vestibule were purchased [fig. 2.9].⁷³ Sir John Dick employed Columbani to Italianise his villa, Mount Clare, at Roehampton c.1780 with ornaments and a Doric portico.⁷⁴ Again, Sir John Dick knew Hervey, with whom he and Sir John Strange had tried to sell Italian pictures in Ireland (see chapter 4).⁷⁵ In the 1790s, Columbani worked at Mulgrave Castle, the seat of Hervey's nephew, Constantine Phipps.⁷⁶ Surprisingly, at the age of forty-two in 1786, Columbani enrolled in the Royal Academy Schools.⁷⁷ Whether Hervey had a direct hand in recommending Columbani to friends and relations is speculation, but Columbani's example indicates how a skilled practitioner might circulate within a patronage group.⁷⁸

The capacity in which Hervey employed Placido Columbani is far from clear. According to Peter Rankin:

Placido Columbani has sometimes been suggested as architect of Downhill, or if not architect then at least responsible for much of the internal decoration. But he appears at Downhill only between 1783 and

⁷¹ This land had been acquired when Frederick Hervey's eldest brother George and the Countess of Portsmouth had joined forces to challenge the Berkshire Howards in a long legal case from which they eventually benefited (Sir John Griffin Griffin was the Countess of Portsmouth's nephew and heir), William Addison, *Audley End* (London, 1853), p. 105.

⁷² Howard Colvin, *A biographical dictionary of British architects, 1600-1840* (3rd ed., London, 1995), p. 272.

⁷³ *Audley End guidebook*, English Heritage (St Ives, 2002), p. 25. The Adam rooms were designed mid 1760s, furniture commissioned to Adam's design, and walls and ceilings painted by Biagio Rebecca in 1773. In 1796, Columbani and local bricklayer Richard Ward added a signalling station to the ruined Norman castle in Saffron Walden on the orders of Sir John Griffin Griffin, (<http://unlockingessex.essexcc.gov.uk>) (20 Apr. 2010)

⁷⁴ Anne Riches, 'Mount Clare, Roehampton' in *Architectural History*, xxvii (1984), p. 260.

⁷⁵ Hervey to Sir John Strange, 2 Apr. 1770s (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/51/3).

⁷⁶ Hervey to Constantine Phipps, 7 Mar. 1773, requesting fossil and rock samples from Phipps' expedition for the North West Passage, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 126.

⁷⁷ His reasons for enrolling at the Royal Academy Schools are unknown but a parallel may be found in Biagio Rebecca, who had a successful career in England as a highly skilled painter for Robert Adam, James Wyatt and James 'Athenian' Stuart, and had been a student at the newly formed Royal Academy in 1769 (having arrived in England in 1761).

⁷⁸ Columbani also worked for Reginald Pole-Carew 1793 on a walled garden at Antony House, Torpoint, Cornwall and on his London house 1801 with whom no link to Hervey has been identified. For Columbani's career see Colvin, *Dictionary of British architects*, pp 267-8.

1785, and then in a somewhat overseeing capacity, more concerned with matters of plumbing and the installation of the waterclosets. He described himself as a 'particular friend' of Roger Mulholland, the Belfast architect.⁷⁹

It seems highly unlikely that the Earl Bishop would employ a man of some standing in the world of interior decoration and not use him in that role. A hint among Hervey's papers, not previously noted, indicates that Columbani did execute design drawings: 'I will be much obliged to yr. Lordship for the Drawing of the Skreen etc. I had left in the Drawing Rm. for yr. Lordship's approbation'.⁸⁰ The lack of evidence for what Columbani executed at Downhill, presumably results from Hervey's residence during this period, so decisions were not recorded on paper.

Later in England, Hervey employed Casimiri and Donato Carabelli, two specialists from Italy who had worked on Milan cathedral, for modelling the frieze around the rotunda at Ickworth in terracotta. This frieze demonstrates the network Hervey could draw upon abroad. He wrote to Alexander Day, miniature artist and agent, in Rome:

certainly a more beautifull, elegant, noble façade [Ickworth] never was seen ... the only difficulty now is how to get the basso relievos executed. The upper ones must certainly be painted as Dear Canova suggests being beyond the read[ing] of the Eyes accuracy, but the lower ones must be bold & I suppose cast from all parts - & I should be thankfull to you if you would begin an experiment on the basso relievos of Villa Bourghese: & then try The Casts with the composition of our formula ... as the extent of our Basso relievos is immense we must blend Oeconomy with our Magnificence or we shall wreck the Vessel.⁸¹

The scheme was based on Flaxman's illustrations of Homer's *Odyssey* (1793) and *Iliad* (1805), a remarkable experiment in replicating ancient images seen in vase decoration [fig. 2.10]. Hervey's granddaughter, Lady Caroline Crichton, may have designed the panels under the portico on the theme of the Olympic Games [fig.

⁷⁹ Peter Rankin, *Irish building ventures*, p. 14.

⁸⁰ Columbani to Hervey, 23 June 1784 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/66).

⁸¹ Hervey to Alexander Day, 8 Sept. 1795 (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/30/1). In fact neither frieze was painted. Further plans of the Earl Bishop to run the frieze along the pavilions were not carried out by Hervey's son.

2.11]. The section unfinished at Hervey's death was completed in Coade stone in the 1820s.

Comparing wages and prices at Downhill with the wider Irish building scene, Hervey seems to have paid his employees well. Conor Lucey notes that Dublin and London plasterers were paid at similar levels. Quantity surveyor Bryan Bolger's itemized labour costs for Stapleton's team at Trinity College in 1790, giving a daily rate of 4s. for plasterers, 1s. 9d. for labourers, and 1s. 3d. for 'boys'.⁸² At Downhill William Fitzgerald, master plasterer from Dublin, was apparently paid at almost twice the rate noted by Lucey for Dublin (at £2 5s. 6d. a week) whilst Heffernan, the plasterer from Derry, was closer to the norm (£1 6s. a week). Foreign practitioners commanded more: Hervey may have offered Reagel £1,000 and the Carabelli received wages of £26 5s. per month 1799-1804 at Ickworth.⁸³

Prices were carefully compared. Shanahan kept abreast of building projects in Dublin, using them as a guideline to prices: 'it would be a pleasure to me, if your Lordship enquir'd of Lord Mountgarret who has lately finish'd a large House in Stephen Green, what he had paid Mr. Darley a foot for his stairs'.⁸⁴ He even knew what Robert Adam was charging in London, justifying an expensive carpentry estimate with a flattering comparison: 'I hope your Lordship will not be surprised at the amount of the carver's bill. The carving of the frame of a looking-glass at Sir Watkin Williams Wynn's cost £200'.⁸⁵ Overseers and architects also had pricing books to guide them: comparing prices paid at Downhill in 1777 with Philip Levi Hodgson, *A set of tables of solid and superficial measure* (Dublin, 1774), indicates that Downhill craftsmen were paid slightly above suggested prices.⁸⁶ Columbani regretted agreeing to James McAlister's plumbing estimate

⁸² T.C.D. mun/P/2/163/38 quoted in Conor Lucey, *Stapleton Collection*, p. 40. See also Conor Lucey, 'The scale of plasterwork production in the metropolitan centres of Britain and Ireland' in Christine Casey and Conor Lucey (eds), *Decorative plasterwork in Ireland and Europe* (Dublin, 2012), pp 194-216.

⁸³ Strickland, *Dictionary of artists*, ii, 273; 'Extracts from Ickworth Account Book 1796-1810' (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/30/134).

⁸⁴ Shanahan to Hervey, 29 Mar. 1787 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/88).

⁸⁵ Shanahan to Hervey, 1777-9 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/7).

⁸⁶ At Downhill 'coated and floated ceilings' were 14s. per yard, Hodgson recommended 16s. 6d.; 'Ornamental Entablature according to Mr. Wyatt's designs' for the dining room and drawing room

before comparing prices with other architects. The Dublin plumbers' rate was 3s. a day 'but [McAlister] would have 5 per day – Board, expences, and all days paid he was at leisure'.⁸⁷ Prices were dictated by the cities; in this case local work was no cheaper and might even be more expensive. The clerk of works had to be experienced and on guard against the unscrupulous. Columbani enquired about prices with architects in Dublin and Belfast: 'A particular friend of mine Mr Roger Mulholland in Belfast hearing of my distress in the plumbing work has sent me a Man Plumber, who has worked for him there, and for Lord Abricorn [sic]'.⁸⁸ Personal recommendation carried weight. Later, the Earl Bishop was pleased with the pump supplying the water closets and paid McAlister £22 15s. in part payment for what the Earl Bishop noted on the bill was a 'very ingenious Pump'.⁸⁹

Examining the craftsmen and the logistics of the building programme has placed Downhill within the wider picture of late Georgian building. Although original plans by Wyatt may speculatively be assumed, Downhill and Ballyscullion were overseen, built and decorated by Irishmen, perhaps linked to Hervey's patriotic outlook in the 1770s and 1780s. Only where decorative art met fine art did Hervey import specialists, sourced through his travels. Other patrons also sought the prestige of the foreign if they could, either through London based architectural firms with associated specialists or sourcing decorative artists abroad in person. Shanahan had a network of contacts across Ireland and England and kept a keen eye on prices. The constant changes of room names, decorative schemes and extensions of galleries and accommodation indicate both Hervey's search for a role during the period of the building of Downhill and his proactive, even meddlesome, approach to building and decorating.

2.4 Sources of inspiration

was estimated at only 4s. per yard whereas Hodgson suggested 5s. 6d. to 6s. 6d. per yard. Shanahan 'Estimate of work to be finished at Downhill', 31 Jan. 1777 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers D2798/2/3); Philip Levi Hodgson, *A set of tables of solid and superficial measure* (Dublin, 1774), pp 203-4.

⁸⁷ Columbani to Hervey, 2 July 1784 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/70).

⁸⁸ Columbani to Hervey, 30 June 1784 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/67). It is not known whether Columbani knew Mulholland before he came to Downhill.

⁸⁹ Hervey, draft on Robert Alexander in favour of James McAlister, 3 Nov. 1786 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D1514/1/1/21/36).

Having discussed the sourcing of craftsmen and specialists working at Downhill, attention is now turned to the circulation of ideas between Ireland, Britain and the Continent and, by extension, to locating Hervey's building projects within the wider neoclassical movement. Travel informed Hervey's taste and models seen abroad were reconfigured at home. Archaeology brought new inspiration and collecting pictures and statues gave new purpose to his houses. His building plans had to adapt in response to new stimuli. Hervey's engagement with neoclassicism was serious: his purchase of the Villa Negroni frescoes in 1777 and exploration of the ruins of the Palace of Lucullus with Soane in 1779, reveal contemporary fascination with experiencing and replicating the classical world. The previous chapter considered his use of neoclassical architecture and copies of Roman buildings in his demesne which were comparable to other contemporary country houses. This chapter proposes that (in intention at least) his ambitions for neoclassical interiors were more radical.

The interiors of Ballyscullion have been a mystery, but new evidence presented here reveals unsuspected chinoiserie decoration. This choice appears incongruous in a neoclassical house, at a time when chinoiserie was out of fashion in Britain. This chapter proposes that by selecting the foreign as a backdrop for his display, Hervey was responding to the flimsy architecture depicted in the wall frescoes of the Villa Negroni, Pompeii and Herculaneum. Chinoiserie was enjoying renewed popularity in France; Hervey was more attuned to Continental than British fashion.

2.4.1 Sources of inspiration: prints and books

Faced with bald areas of inner wall beyond the shutters in the gallery (due to the very deep thickness of the walls) Shanahan recommended a fashionable solution: panels with 'a few ornaments from Raphaels Gallery either in painting, or Carving, which will give them a light elegant effect'.⁹⁰ Shanahan only had eight

⁹⁰ Shanahan to Hervey, 16 Dec. 1785 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/79).

inch strips around the windows within which to work, but these designs could be easily adapted. This exchange between Shanahan and Hervey underscores Hervey's insistence on having every design decision passed by him, even when he was abroad. A letter sent from Shanahan on 30 December 1785 to Hervey in Rome, bears the annotation in Hervey's hand 'answered Feb 26', giving an impression of the delays this micro-management involved.⁹¹

Shanahan was following fashion, not dictating it; Raphael's Vatican loggia had strongly influenced interior design in Britain, especially through the Adam brothers. Father Thorpe, writing to his patron Lord Arundel, commented that 'Since the Vatican Pilasters have been printed & coloured, their ornaments are now put upon every thing'.⁹² Horace Walpole described the interior of the Pantheon, which launched James Wyatt's career in 1771: 'The ceilings even of the ballroom and the panels painted like Raphael's Loggias in The Vatican'.⁹³ Küttner in 1785 observed that Irish houses followed the trend:

Almost everywhere in the houses I find stucco work which is either old and in the Italian taste, or new in the best style of the antique ... Many houses are decorated in the taste to the so-called Loggia of Raphael in the Vatican, certainly a highly agreeable and tasteful style which for the last ten years and especially in the great houses has become the fashion.⁹⁴

Shanahan's idea of using the fashionable and flexible decorations from 'Raphael's Gallery' was already well established in Irish houses, yet it is interesting that he chose to explain his idea by referencing Raphael himself and not through an interpretation from a pattern book.

At Castletown, Lady Louisa Conolly also used Grand Tour folios for inspiration for her gallery, drawing on a similar visual repertoire to the Earl Bishop and

⁹¹ Shanahan to Hervey, 30 Dec. 1785 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/84).

⁹² Father Thorpe to Lord Arundel, 27 Aug. 1774, discussing plates from the *Loggia di Raffaele nel Vaticano* (Rome, 1776), quoted in Vicky Coltman, *Fabricating the antique: neoclassicism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Chicago, 2006), p. 81.

⁹³ Horace Walpole to Horace Mann, 1771, quoted in Curran, *Dublin decorative plasterwork*, p. 72.

⁹⁴ Küttner, *Briefe über Irland* (Leipzig, 1785) quoted in Curran, *Dublin decorative plasterwork*, p. 72.

Shanahan.⁹⁵ She was inspired by work underway in the library of her brother's seat, Goodwood House in Sussex, which was 'to my taste is one of the prettiest rooms I ever saw'.⁹⁶ In 1775 she secured the same artist, Charles Reuben Riley. Just as Hervey liked to be involved in his projects, Lady Louisa Conolly, her sister Lady Sarah Bunbury and Riley collaborated on the Castletown gallery. The largest single feature was a copy of Guido Reni's *Aurora in her chariot* placed over the door. Hervey had a huge copy painted by William Pars in Rome (Soane expected it to measure *23 feet by 9 feet 6 inches*⁹⁷) as the focus of his gallery ceiling.⁹⁸ *The gallery at Castletown had been intended by William Conolly as a picture gallery; however, Louisa Conolly sought a more modern look and use, describing the success of the room for varied activities including eating, cards, reading, dancing, concerts and more. The Castletown long gallery was light and elegantly painted rather than hung with paintings, had eight busts by Vierpyl on brackets, a life-size statue of Diana brought back by Thomas Conolly from his Grand Tour, and huge windows framing landscape features, designed, according to Finola O'Kane, to mirror the decorative programme of the cult of Apollo, god of arts and the Muses.*⁹⁹ Some patrons expected the architect to determine the interior decoration; others stamped their own tastes and interests on key rooms.

2.4.2 Sources of inspiration: the Villa Negroni frescoes

Hervey attempted to import not just the neoclassical approach to his house but actual Roman interiors. While the chaste marble temple had inspired interior decoration for a century, contemporary architects and patrons were beginning to translate the strong colors and lively images, seen in the new excavations at

⁹⁵ They chose images from Montfaucon's *L'Antiquité expliquée*, the *Loggie di Raffaele nel Vaticano*, Sir William Hamilton's *Collection of Etruscan, Greek and Roman Antiquities*, and the *Antichità di Ercolano esposte*. Ann Keller, 'In great vogue': the Long Gallery at Castletown' in Elizabeth Mayes (ed.), *Castletown, decorative arts* (Trim, 2011), p. 58.

⁹⁶ Lady Louisa Conolly to the Duchess of Leinster, 21 Jan. 1773 in Brian Fitzgerald (ed.), *Correspondence of Emily, Duchess of Leinster* (3 vols, Dublin, 1957), iii, p. 67, quoted in Coltman, *Fabricating the antique*, p. 119.

⁹⁷ John Soane, 'Downhill notebook' (S.M., vol. 80/15r-15v).

⁹⁸ Ann Keller suspects that the *Aurora* in the Long Gallery at Castletown was there before the redecoration took place, Ann Keller, 'Long Gallery at Castletown', p. 62.

⁹⁹ 'As the north wall [of the gallery] contained this theme, the garden outside could be interpreted by 'reading' this wall'. O'Kane, *Landscape design*, p. 60.

Pompeii and Herculaneum and transposed into deluxe folios, as decorative effects. Hervey arrived in Rome on his third Grand Tour in November 1777 shortly after the Villa Negroni was discovered. His enthusiasm is evident in this letter to his daughter Mary Erne after his purchase from Henry Tresham for £300:

I have been singularly fortunate – several ancient rooms have been unearthed since my arrival – the ptgs were in fresco & almost as perfect as at first – the secret was soon found of detaching the ptd stucco from the walls, & I have bought three complete rooms with wch I propose to adorne the Downhill *et le rendre un morceau unique*.¹⁰⁰

It seems that he did not keep the rooms ‘complete’ because the *Diario Ordinario* indicates that only the figurative paintings were cut out and kept, including a Venus and a faun.¹⁰¹ This selection of individual masterpieces at the expense of the integrity of the whole was typical of current practice. Hervey’s intention to display actual ancient fresco at Downhill was highly unusual, apparently unique. Ultimately the scheme was not carried out, but the intention underscores Hervey as untypical and deeply interested in the authentic and archaeological aspect of neoclassicism.

Thomas Jones recorded the excavation of this rare Roman domestic interior in his painting *An excavation of an antique building in a cava in the villa Negroni, Rome* (1779) [fig 2.12]. He recorded in his Journal: ‘The painted Ornaments much in the Chinese taste – figures of Cupids bathing &c and painted in fresco on the Stucco of the Walls – The Reds, purples, Blues & Yellows very bright – but had a dark & heavy effect’.¹⁰² It was difficult for contemporaries to interpret the historical context of these images and to determine the treatment of the original. In discussing how Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villa Negroni were incorporated into British interiors, Vicky Coltman does not explore why the original might be purchased but focuses on how and why ancient images were

¹⁰⁰ Hervey to Mary Erne, 24 Dec. 1777, quoted in Childe Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 177.

¹⁰¹ ‘Da un certo Negoziante Inglese... si fanno distaccare dall’incrostatura del muro le due Pitture sotteranee ritrovatesi nella Cava che si prosiegue nella Villa Negroni a Termini, già descritte in altro nostro Diario, rapresentante una Venere, ed un Fauno’ *Diario ordinario*, 19 July 1777, quoted in Hetty Joyce, ‘The ancient frescoes of the Villa Negroni and their influence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries’ in *Art Bulletin*, lxxv, no. 3 (Sept. 1983), p. 426.

¹⁰² Journal of Thomas Jones, 5 July 1777 (N.L.W., MS 23812D).

copied. She does note that Thomas Jenkins recognised the Villa Negroni frescoes as a unique opportunity to acquire originals, and offered them, unsuccessfully, to the great collector of ancient statuary Sir Charles Townley: ‘would you wish to have the whole Room or is it a single picture only you desire. I have preserved one half of the end of the Room intire, which is in my opinion an interesting object’.¹⁰³ For an agent like Tresham or for a collector like Bishop Hervey, this site was an opportunity for profit and plunder. Others viewed it differently. The young Philip Yorke wrote to his uncle regretting that this rare example of an ancient house was literally disappearing before his eyes (the bricks were being used for the Sacristy of St Peter’s).¹⁰⁴ The contrasting experiences of the sites of Pompeii and Herculaneum (with strict royal control over excavation, viewing and publishing) and the Villa Negroni (cut up, purchased privately and materials recycled) represent contemporary uncertainty as to how to view and treat ancient sites.

Copies were very acceptable to the eighteenth-century collector and the Earl Bishop owned both the original and the copy. He must have supported the engraving project of the Villa Negroni frescoes, because the last four engravings were dedicated to him [fig. 2.13a and b].¹⁰⁵ This ambitious cycle was unusual in its intention of recording the whole decorative scheme undisturbed, instead of presenting dislocated images as in the Herculaneum and Pompeii publications. In his *Manifesto* (1778), Camillo Buti claimed:

the idea which can be had of the ornaments of the ancients is so rare, or at least ornaments in this style, while the works so far published are either copied from detached pieces and therefore do not give an idea of the whole, or are restored and the additions confused with the true antique, or are copied with such thoughtlessness that they are not delicate enough: Wherefore our rooms are drawn (before being removed from the walls) with the most scrupulous exactness and with the same colours, in order

¹⁰³ Thomas Jenkins to Charles Townley, 30 Sept. 1777 (B.M., TY7/375) quoted in Coltman, *Fabricating the antique*, p. 116.

¹⁰⁴ Philip Yorke to his uncle, 22 Dec. 1778 (B.L., Add. MS 35,378:31), quoted in Darley, *John Soane: an accidental Romantic* (London, 1999), p. 38.

¹⁰⁵ The sets at Ickworth and at the British School at Rome both have the printed dedications masked and a dedication to the Earl Bishop inked in: ‘Excellentissimo Domino Friderico Comiti Bristolienſe &c &c/ aequo Bonarum Artium aestimatori et Patrono Munificentissimo/ Parietinas... C.B. Arch. Rom. D.D.D’. Joyce, ‘Villa Negroni’, p. 428. Engraving iii is now missing from the Ickworth set.

that it can be seen what was the effect that the parts made with the whole, and finally so that one can form an idea of the taste of the ancients in this type of mixed ornamental and figurative painting.¹⁰⁶

Despite being the work of Anton Raphael Mengs (and after his death Anton von Maron), the Villa Negroni engravings had little impact on taste because only a small number were produced and the project stretched from 1778 to 1802. The Villa Negroni engravings belonged to an intellectual circle which included the artist Mengs, art historian Winckelmann, the Spanish minister Azara, and publisher Buti, all interested in the concept of authenticity, accuracy and artistic quality. Hervey was beginning to move in these international circles, beginning to fashion himself into a patron and connoisseur. Archaeology became the bridge between his waning interest in geology and his new passion for art.

It was the idea of the antique rather than the authentic that actually caught on in interior design. The Pompeian/Etruscan/Ancient rooms appearing in British country houses between 1760 and 1790, led by architect-designers such as James ‘Athenian’ Stuart, Robert Adam and James Wyatt, were imaginative and eclectic.¹⁰⁷ These rooms were named almost without recourse to the actual origins and were derived from images already dislocated by excavation and reinterpreted into book form, such as the appropriation of images from Grand Tour folios by Louisa Conolly for the Long Gallery at Castletown.¹⁰⁸ Hervey’s vision for Downhill would have been ‘*un morceau unique*’; no other patron seems to have attempted a genuine Roman interior, either using antique fresco or a fully authentic replication. Unfortunately the experiment was never carried out, presumably because the frescoes deteriorated too far.¹⁰⁹

The final effect that Hervey intended for his Villa Negroni frescoes is unclear; perhaps he did not know himself but jumped at the opportunity to acquire them. In her article on the frescoes, Hetty Joyce doubts that the frescoes ever left Italy,

¹⁰⁶ Quoted in Joyce, ‘Villa Negroni’, p. 266.

¹⁰⁷ John Wilton-Ely, ‘Pompeian and Etruscan tastes in the neo-classical country-house interior’ in Gervase Jackson-Stops (ed.), *The functioning and fashioning of the British country house* (London, 1989), p. 51.

¹⁰⁸ Coltman, *Fabricating the antique*, p. 119.

¹⁰⁹ In 1879 a Pompeian Room was created at Ickworth by architect F. C. Penrose and artist John Diblee Crace, see conclusion.

quoting Brinsley Ford's opinion that such an unusual feature would have been talked of and Rankin's view that among all the papers there was no mention of fresco.¹¹⁰ These points carry weight; however, a damaged letter from Shanahan of 1786 is the only example of his use of the word fresco, suggesting that he employed it deliberately for the '6 Cases containing Fresco'. Despite the loss of the edge of the letter, the phrases '7 Illuminated or Colour'd prints by Me...' and 'from your Lordship's Fresco, very ...' appear to be linked.¹¹¹ It is just possible that these were the Villa Negroni engravings, of which the seventh engraving was published in 1783. In 1788 Beaufort noted that Shanahan himself owned 'some painted colored plaster from the walls of Herculaneum' which could conceivably be the remains of the Villa Negroni purchase.¹¹² If the Villa Negroni frescos did reach Ireland, they probably deteriorated too far to be displayed. This may account for the other rooms at the Villa Negroni not being sold and presumably perishing with the site.¹¹³

John Soane travelled with Hervey shortly after Hervey bought the frescoes and later Soane purchased the first eight plates for £2 8s. at a Christie's sale in 1796.¹¹⁴ In 1802, Soane commissioned mirrors with blue panels (painted by John Crace) derived from the Villa Negroni engravings; Joyce considers this to be the only eighteenth-century attempt to use the designs as wall decoration.¹¹⁵ Soane displayed the engravings themselves on the walls of his breakfast parlour at Lincoln Inn Fields 1813.

¹¹⁰ Brinsley Ford in personal communication with Hetty Joyce suggested 'somehow one would have heard of [the frescoes] if they had ever adorned Downhill as they would have been such a very unusual feature', quoted in Joyce, 'Villa Negroni', p. 426.

¹¹¹ Shanahan to Hervey, 13 Jan. 1786 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers D2798/2/84). Though the identity of the artist beginning with M is most likely to be Mengs, it could be von Maron (*Villa Negroni*), or another artist or publisher like Mirri (*Baths of Titus*).

¹¹² Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 7 Dec. 1788 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4030).

¹¹³ Rebecca Champion, 'Consuming the antique: Frederick Hervey and the translation of continental style in an Irish context' in *New Griffon*, xiii (July 2012), pp 71-80.

¹¹⁴ Information in catalogue for Christie's auction, London, 9 Mar. 2006, lot 7198.

¹¹⁵ Joyce, 'Villa Negroni', p. 438. Other uses of the Villa Negroni engravings identified by Joyce: two small oil copies now in Leipzig, perhaps by Mengs or Tischbein; motifs from the Villa Negroni as well as from other ancient sources incorporated into Catherine II's Silver Cabinet 1788-9; and the engravings themselves along with engravings from Raphael and the *Antichità* used as framed wall decorations hung in rows over yellow silk hangings in the 'Gelbe Zimmer' of the Marmorpalais at Potsdam decorated by Carl Gotthard Langans 1790.

2.4.3 Neoclassicism and Sir John Soane

Collaboration between Hervey and the young architect John Soane during Hervey's third Grand Tour from 1777 to 1779, led to plans for a dining room based on a Roman triclinium. Gillian Darley traces Hervey's influence over Soane:

The Bishop led Soane to imagine that he was a potential patron, and quickly swept him, astonished by such good fortune, into his train. He became an ebullient *cicerone* for Soane and, presenting him with Palladio's *Quattro Libri* and a copy of Vitruvius, set the tone of a pedagogical relationship.¹¹⁶

Soane's notebook, kept during his week-long trip to Naples with Hervey over Christmas 1778 and return journey to Rome in March 1779, took on a different voice under the stimulation of Hervey's enthusiasms. Notes on agriculture and comparisons with Irish practices found their only expression here. A strong vein of interaction with the classical past runs through this section of the notebook. It was Hervey's habit to quote from the classical literature he knew intimately, both through his days at Westminster School, where the boys studied classical literature and were expected to communicate in Latin, and through his later reading. In recommending books to his older brother-in-law, Hervey was clearly preparing himself for classical encounters a decade before he had the opportunity to go abroad, exploring parallel virtual worlds through ancient and modern maps: 'Will's Geography ... is a summary account of all parts of the world both what was known to the Ancients and what has since been discover'd by the moderns, and has this particular convenience, that it gives you the names of places us'd by both'.¹¹⁷ Likewise, Montaigne could claim of his own education:

I was familiar with the affairs of Rome long before those of my own house. I knew the Capitol and its position before I knew the Louvre, and

¹¹⁶ Darley, *John Soane*, p. 28.

¹¹⁷ Hervey to Constantine Phipps, 15 June 1753, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, p. 31.

the Tiber before the Seine. I have meditated more on the conditions and fortunes of Lucullus, Metellus and Scipio than I have about many of our own men.¹¹⁸

Vicky Coltman's proposal that English aristocrats on the Grand Tour found 'their classical education was both fleshed out once on classic ground *and* imaginatively played out before their eyes' finds resonance with Frederick Hervey.¹¹⁹

Soane's delight in sharing a Christmas meal of local sea bass, in what Hervey was convinced was the ruined Apollo triclinium of the Villa of Lucullus, famous general and gastronome, appeared fifty-five years later in Soane's *Memoirs*, with the remembered conversation, quotations and literary proofs of Hervey's excited discovery.¹²⁰ This experience took on a physical form in the plan for a semi-circular *triclinium* as a dining room for Downhill, based on the ruins they had found [figs 2.14 and 2.15]. They were engaging in the process proposed by Coltman: ancient artefacts were 'parsed, translated and imitated'.¹²¹ Du Prey considers that such deference to archaeology and strong link between function and form single Soane and Hervey out as pioneers in neoclassicism.¹²²

Hervey let it be known among the architectural community in Rome that he sought plans for a dining room and circulated dimensions recommended by Palladio. Though this was a policy Hervey often adopted, it was unpopular among designers and architects, causing competition and misunderstandings over whether Hervey had actually committed to a commission. For instance, John Soane kept copies both of his dining room designs for Downhill and those of John Henderson (Scottish architect in Rome 1776-79) due to a dispute over plagiarism. Soane later used this oval of columns, coffer-barrelled ceiling and dominating statues when planning rooms intended to give a sense of ancient authenticity, for example that most distinctively Roman room, the bath-house, as seen in plans for Taverham Hall (1784) [fig. 2.16]. In her survey of surviving architectural plans

¹¹⁸ Montaigne, *Essay III 'De la Vanité'*, quoted in Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the antique: the lure of classical sculpture, 1500-1900* (London, 1981), p. 45.

¹¹⁹ Coltman, *Fabricating the antique*, p. 15.

¹²⁰ John Soane, *Memoirs of the professional life of an architect* (London, 1836), p. 12 quoted in du Prey, 'John Soane and Downhill', p. 20.

¹²¹ Coltman, *Fabricating the antique*, p. 15.

¹²² Du Prey, 'Soane and Downhill', p. 23.

and inventories of Irish houses between 1730 and 1830, Patricia McCarthy comments on the strongly architectural nature of dining rooms, where columns, niches, bows and columnar screens added interest. Soane's dining room design for Downhill was never executed [fig. 2.17].

2.5 Wall papers, fabric, upholstery and chinoiserie

Daniel Beaufort's first impression of Downhill (1787) gives the best sense of what the finished interiors looked like. He was struck by the richness and gilding: 'The rooms are rather low, but magnificently fitted up with much rich decoration of painting & gilding, the furniture is of the same order, the chair frames gilt, the covers & curtains red & white damask with gold lace & fringe'.¹²³ McCarthy has found that in Irish houses, red was the most frequent colour for drawing rooms and damask the favoured fabric; therefore Downhill fits within this spectrum.¹²⁴ The colour of the Downhill dining room is not known. Soane's design drawing was washed with a very pale apple green but this room was never built. In the 1823 Downhill inventory, the curtains and upholstery of the gallery are given as green and white striped. The inventory lists the upstairs bedrooms by shape or colour: the oval room, the crimson room, the green duping room, the blue room, the green room, the alcove room, Sally's room, the buff room, the stair room, the end room and the bow room.¹²⁵ The rooms upstairs at Westport House were described by similar colours in a valuation of 1845.¹²⁶ Though there are a few receipts from drapers and haberdashers in Dublin and Derry, they offer no evidence of major fabric orders, which may have been sourced outside Ireland. Fabric and accoutrements for chintz curtains cost £8 10s. 7d. from the draper

¹²³ Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 18 Nov. 1787 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4028).

¹²⁴ Patricia McCarthy, 'The planning and use of space in Irish houses 1730-1830' (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2009), p.166.

¹²⁵ 'Green duping room' was presumably covered with green dupion silk. Copy of 'Summary of inventory 1823' supplied by Terence Reeves-Smyth to Stephen Price. This inventory is a problematic source because I have found no trace of the original. 1823 was the year Hervey's heir, Sir Henry Hervey Bruce died, bequeathing Downhill to his son.

¹²⁶ 'Valuation of furniture of Westport House by Robert Masterson Cabinet maker', 1845 (N.L.I., MS 41,057/1).

Begley.¹²⁷ These curtains were only a tenth of the cost of £85 6s. 3d. for ‘3 parlour curtains’ ordered by the De Vesci family from Eggleso, Dublin, in 1808.¹²⁸ Mrs Watson (whose identity is unknown) spent £15 11s. 4½d. in Dublin on knotted fringe in crimson and green and crimson silk tassels, possibly for curtains at Ballyscullion.¹²⁹

Interestingly, Hervey entrusted the supervision of certain decorative work underway at Ballyscullion to women: ‘I have at this moment upholsterers, gilders, carvers etc etc under the direction of two or three Gentlewomen, employ’d in arranging all’.¹³⁰ Judging by the Hervey’s correspondence, men were consulted on architectural and art themes whereas women were entrusted with furniture and furnishings. Wives often took on this role: the Duchess of Leinster, Louisa Conolly and their sister Sarah Bunbury exchanged detailed letters over interior design, furnishing schemes and decisions. Hervey, having left his wife, to whom he used to refer as his ‘Excellent’ but now the ‘Magnificent Ruin’, at Ickworth from 1782, found other ‘gentlewomen’ to oversee the decoration of Ballyscullion. Their number almost certainly included Mary Anne Burroughs (sister of Archdeacon Burroughs), who was living in the Hervey’s house, Bellaghy Castle, on the Ballyscullion estate in 1796. Hervey left domestic decisions to her: ‘As to Dearest Indefatigable Mary Anne give my love to her and assure her how highly I approve all her proposals about Beds, Bolsters & Pillows’.¹³¹ This hints at a larger correspondence of instructions that has not survived. She received a pension of a hundred pounds in Hervey’s will.¹³²

¹²⁷ Among the 132 entries on the Begleys’ bill for the two years to Feb. 1787, appear some probable curtains, perhaps for a bedroom: 24 yards of fine chintz cotton, lined with linen, two tassels, fringe and two brass curtain rods. These curtain materials, excluding the brass curtain rods, added up to £8.10s.7d. Draft on Robert Alexander in payment to Alexander and Thomas Begley, 7 Feb. 1787 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D1514/1/1/32/14).

¹²⁸ McCarthy, ‘Planning in Irish houses’, p. 119.

¹²⁹ Lau. Johnston, 7 Mar. 1791 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D1514/1/1/32/76).

¹³⁰ Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 25 Aug. 1794 (Sheffield Archives, Wharncliffe muniments 552b/1).

¹³¹ Hervey to Newburgh Burroughs, 26 Mar. 1795, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 479.

¹³² Will of Frederick Hervey, 4th Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, 17 Sept. 1791 and codicil 27 Feb. 1794 (National Archives, Probate 11/1403).

The interior and furnishing of Ballyscullion have been a mystery; the house only lasted twenty-five years. New sources presented here reveal a previously unsuspected chinoiserie interior of the richest fabrics, probably unique in Ireland. France had incorporated the oriental into the rococo from the early eighteenth century. Chinoiserie in Britain and Ireland, which had reached its apex in the 1740s and 1750s, was becoming outmoded in the 1770s, just as it was enjoying a renewed vogue in Europe. Hervey's interiors of the 1780s and 1790s at Ballyscullion were aligned with Continental rather than British fashion. Patricia McCarthy notes that colours in Irish houses in the late eighteenth century became lighter; in contrast Ballyscullion, with oriental fabrics and gilded furniture, paintings and marbles, was a riot of splendour.

Gilbert Innes, a discerning visitor from Edinburgh, saw Ballyscullion in 1799 while touring northern Antrim and Londonderry. He found the house 'whimsical' and was critical of the architectural concept of the rotunda; however, he was very impressed by the exotic wall coverings which eclipsed the Grand Tour artworks on display. His description is given in full because it has not previously appeared in print:

The Rooms are all out of proportion being the segment of a Circle on the one side, straight at the other, and narrowing to the ends[,] they are most superbly fitted up and remarkable for the shew of fine painting and cut Marble from Italy, some of them are covered with satin embroidered in imitation of Indian paper others with painted silk, and one with Chinois paper representing views and manufactures of that Country. The Beds and furniture far surpasses any thing of the sort I have seen[,] they are rich far beyond any idea I could have form'd and hath me in mind of some story I read in the Arabian nights - tho the House has been finish'd several years the Bishop has not yet seen it.¹³³

The published travel account of the Revd Samuel Burdy (1802) has not appeared as a source in connection to Ballyscullion before. Burdy's account corroborates Innes' findings:

¹³³ Gilbert Innes, 17 Oct. 1799 (University of Edinburgh Library, N.R.A.S. GD113/5/70a/19). With thanks to Dr David Howarth for drawing my attention to this letter.

The chairs were covered with embroidered satin, with which also many of the rooms were lined, especially those of the first story ... His Lordship's bedchamber was lined with China paper, representing the different customs of that country; in other rooms were prints and pictures representing the manners of other countries, so that one might imagine himself conveyed to the different nations of the world.¹³⁴

Embroidered satin chair upholstery appears in photographs taken at Downhill in about 1900, some emblazoned with mitres [fig. 2.18]. Another visitor of 1802, Robert Slade, described Ballyscullion as 'inhabited and partly finished, and ornamented in a style of eastern magnificence'.¹³⁵ These descriptions reveal unexpected decoration at Ballyscullion. No other Irish house is known to have had an interior as lavishly oriental. Presumably the chinoiserie rooms were chiefly bedrooms and dressing rooms though the sources do not definitively rule out rooms of the *piano nobile*.¹³⁶ William Blacker, who did not note any chinoiserie specifically, did comment that 'The reception rooms on the ground floor were segments of circles superbly fitted up as to paper and silk hangings, the walls covered with pictures'.¹³⁷

Although the craze for chinoiserie had faded in Britain and Ireland by 1770, it had not disappeared. Chippendale supplied all elements from paper to furniture for the chinoiserie bedroom suite at Nostell Priory in 1770. A gift of Indian chintz given to David Garrick's wife in 1771 inspired a Chinese drawing room.¹³⁸ Contemporaneously with Hervey, the Prince of Wales also ignored British fashion trends by creating a Chinese drawing room at Carlton House [fig. 2.19a and b].¹³⁹ The duke of Bedford was the only other British patron also building in the Chinese style, with a Chinese temple seating thirty diners on a lake-island at

¹³⁴ Burdy, *A tour 1802*, pp 13-14.

¹³⁵ Slade, *Narrative of a journey*, p. 66.

¹³⁶ In *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director* (1754), Chippendale noted that Chinese taste was 'very proper for a Lady's Dressing-Room; especially if it is hung with India Paper', quoted in Dawn Jacobson, *Chinoiserie* (London, 2007), p. 132. The duchess of Leinster's 'India Paper Drawing Room' of 1759 was a more unusual room choice, though drawing rooms were also often designated as feminine spaces.

¹³⁷ Paterson, 'The Edifying Bishop', p. 79.

¹³⁸ Jacobson comments that 'so vain a man was unlikely to employ a style that would invite ridicule', Jacobson, *Chinoiserie*, p. 141.

¹³⁹ Designed 1787-90 by Henry Holland and Dominique Daguerre and illustrated in Thomas Sheraton, *The cabinet maker and upholsterer's drawing book and repository* (1793) David Beevers (ed.), *Chinese whispers: Chinoiserie in Britain, 1650-1930* (Brighton, 2008), p. 124.

Woburn and an elegant Chinese Dairy erected in 1787.¹⁴⁰ John Dinkel describes the Chinese Dairy as a ‘quiet reimportation’ of Chinese taste from the Continent.¹⁴¹

In a rare comment on the ongoing decorating at Ballyscullion, Hervey boasted that though he had once spent £3,000 on pictures in one day, ‘my Richest furniture is in Persiennes and China taffetas & Papers; than all which nothing can be more exquisitely Beautyfull’, suggesting that his expenditure on these showy wall coverings must have been prodigious.¹⁴² There is no clue of how he sourced these fabric hangings, though they were widely available in London and Paris. At Caledon, James Alexander probably availed of his Indian residency to import the apple green paper with white bamboo and bright birds (now hanging in the boudoir), as Lord Clive did for Powis Castle.¹⁴³ Hervey was acquainted with Lord Macartney, who had been Governor of Madras 1781-5, headed the first British Mission to China (1792-4) and had estates in Antrim. Hervey followed Macartney’s embassy to China through books, recommending ‘Anderson’s Narrative of Ld Macarthy’s Chimney-sweepers Embassy’ which ‘has greatly amused me & must you: it is as poignant as the other is Vapid’.¹⁴⁴

The Earl Bishop’s own travels continually informed his taste. Chinoiserie flourished in France, Germany, Sweden, Russia and Italy. At Sans Souci, Frederick the Great had entertained Voltaire in chinoiserie rooms to their mutual taste and built a Chinese tea house 1754-7. Hervey spent a delightful month at Sans Souci, ‘this Philosophic Mansion’, in 1796 as the guest of Frederick William

¹⁴⁰ Henry Holland’s designs at Woburn were derived from William Chambers, *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, etc.* (1757), Jacobson, *Chinoiserie*, p. 175

¹⁴¹ John Dinkel, *The Royal Pavilion Brighton* (London, 1983), p. 29.

¹⁴² Hervey to Mary Erne, 25 Aug. 1794 (Sheffield R.O., Wharnccliffe muniments, Wh M 552b/1).

¹⁴³ Christopher Hussey, ‘Caledon, Co. Tyrone, the seat of the Earl of Caledon’ in *Country Life*, 82 (6 Mar. 1937), p. 254.

¹⁴⁴ Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 27 Jan. 1798 (Sheffield Archives, Wharnccliffe muniments 552b/7). Aeneas Anderson, *A narrative of the British embassy to China* (London, 1795). Anderson was Lord Macartney’s valet and the book became something of a society joke. Presumably the ‘Vapid’ book was the official account based on Lord Macartney’s papers: Sir George Staunton, *An authentic account of an embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China* (London, 1797). Other members of the embassy also published accounts. In a package of books and pamphlets (1799) for his father, who was abroad, young Frederick Hervey included Smith’s *Wealth of Nations*, Pitt’s *Speech on the Union* and a warning that ‘Lord Macartney’s will not entertain you much’, Frederick Hervey to Hervey, 1799 (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers 941/51/1).

II of Prussia.¹⁴⁵ He was intimate with Ferdinand, king of the Two Sicilies and particularly Queen Maria Carolina, who enlivened their forced retreat to Palermo by building and decorating the Palazzina Cinese. The façade, by the neoclassical architect Giuseppe Patricola, employed a portico of columns with pagoda roofs and balconies, which it is proposed in this chapter, are possibly reminiscent of Roman frescoes [fig. 2.20]. Inside, chinoiserie rooms, again with fragile architecture, coexisted with Pompeian-style conceits inspired by the excavations near their palace at Naples.

Hervey planned to build a pagoda at Ballyscullion just as British landscapers were turning away from the garden of incident; however in France, growing interest in the *jardin anglo-chinois* was fuelled by Chambers's *A dissertation on oriental gardening* (London, 1772) and engravings of the Great Pagoda at Kew from *Plans, elevations, sections ... of the gardens and buildings at Kew in Surrey* (London, 1763). The Earl Bishop took his lead from France, requesting a model of the Chanteloup pagoda (1775) from the duc de Penthièvre.¹⁴⁶ This pagoda was itself an oddity because it was so classicised: seven domed storeys built in stone, supported by columns [fig. 2.21].

That a man attuned to the neoclassical idiom would be drawn to a fanciful style, leads to the proposal in this chapter, that the strangeness of the Roman domestic interiors, seen inside the Villa Negroni and Pompeii, directed Hervey to engage with the foreign. It is possible that, as he sought to interpret Roman frescoes, he was inspired to transpose chinoiserie from its rococo home, to incorporate it into a neoclassical scheme. Discussing neoclassicism, Vicky Coltman notes that references to the exotic arts of China, India, and Arabia enabled European visitors to accommodate the ancient architectural paintings from Herculaneum, and Pompeii within an aesthetic that was familiar to them but that at the same time was stereotypically foreign.¹⁴⁷ In her study of chinoiserie, Dawn Jacobson also hints at this theme without developing it: 'Here [Portici], within shouting distance

¹⁴⁵ Hervey to Lady Elizabeth Foster, 30 Oct. 1796, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 521-2.

¹⁴⁶ Hervey to messieurs Peregeaux, 15 Oct. 1789, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 411.

¹⁴⁷ Coltman, *Fabricating the antique*, p. 107.

of the greatest excavations of classical remains at Pompeii and Herculaneum – which had then been recently revealed – the King and Queen of Naples created a porcelain room at their royal palace'.¹⁴⁸ Thomas Jones, William Chambers and Horace Walpole drew parallels with oriental decoration.¹⁴⁹ Lady Miller assumed that the Romans had contact with China:

In the architecture there is a strange mixture of the Gothic and Chinese taste; and some views in particular of country-houses or villas, situated on the margin of the sea (probably Baja) [Baiae] where there appears Chinese ornaments, such as pales, bridges, temples etc. represented as belonging to the gardens. That these people should have any knowledge of the Chinese and their gardens, ornaments etc. is surprising. I observed one representation of a Chinese temple built on piles over a piece of water, and open on all sides.¹⁵⁰

Whether structures like the Palazzina Cinese and the Chanteloup Pagoda, or hybrid designs like Sèvres neoclassical vases with chinoiserie motifs and Chippendale's chinoiserie chairs with straight neoclassical legs, represent this proposed interface between chinoiserie and neoclassicism, is beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, at Ballyscullion Hervey, perhaps inspired by Roman frescoes, may have seen an oriental background as appropriate for a neoclassical display.

2.6 Chimneypieces

The theme of hierarchy that runs through Hervey's interiors can best be explored through the chimneypieces of Downhill which reflect the status of rooms: Italian marble for the grandest rooms and English marble for the main bedrooms. Shanahan slowly managed to upset this order by placing his own Cork chimneypieces in the new gallery of Downhill. Hervey took great pains over the choice of art and statuary, upon which he relied for the chief visual expression of his taste and style. It is proposed that he viewed his chief chimneypieces as

¹⁴⁸ Jacobson, *Chinoiserie*, p. 116.

¹⁴⁹ Coltman, *Fabricating the antique*, pp 104-5.

¹⁵⁰ Anna Miller, *Letters from Italy, Describing the Manners, Customs, Antiquities, Paintings etc of that Country* (London, 1776), pp. 179-80.

artworks not fixtures. Hervey chose them, commissioned them, shipped them and admired them as he did pictures and statues.

Hervey's choices of chimneypieces place him within known circles of buyers, mainly elite British collectors. Hervey's chimneypieces from Lorenzo Cardelli and Carlo Albacini in Rome were related or identical to others exported to Britain; evidence of a chimneypiece industry aimed at British collectors [figs 2.22-2.24].¹⁵¹ These same studios also worked on sculpture and restoration so that their chimneypieces were informed by developments in art and archaeology. Albacini sold sculptural chimneypieces to Thomas Mansel Talbot (1773), Lord Shelburne (1775), Patrick Home (1776) and the Earl Bishop (c.1778). He was also a restorer for Henry Blundell, James Smith Barry, John Brown, Thomas Hope, Thomas Jenkins and Gavin Hamilton, and in 1777 had thirty-four marbles awaiting shipment to Charles Townley. Lorenzo Cardelli had an international clientele including Prince Borghese and the King of Poland as well as British Grand Tourists like Lord Arundell, Thomas Mansel Talbot (1771) and the Earl Bishop (1778 and 1789). The 1804 list of his collection in Rome, presumably intended for Ickworth, included fourteen chimneypieces, some by named sculptors: Focardi, Blasi, Rinaldini and Cardelli.¹⁵²

Letters from agents reporting on developments in chimneypiece design indicate that Hervey was buying highly fashionable and desirable neoclassical pieces. Father Thorpe recommended to his patron Lord Arundell that 'A Sig.re Cardelli cuts ornaments in marble as fine as the ancients did'.¹⁵³ Lord Arundell must have followed Thorpe's advice, for Neale later listed a Cardelli chimneypiece in the 'Chintz bedroom' at Wardour Castle.¹⁵⁴ In 1795 Tatham described the styles of

¹⁵¹ See Damie Stillman, 'chimneypieces for the English market: a thriving business in late eighteenth century Rome' in *Art Bulletin*, lix, no. 1 (Mar. 1977), pp 85-94, passim.

¹⁵² Some chimneypieces had only been bought or commissioned a year before his death: on 14 and 15 June 1802, Hervey paid a hundred sequins each for a Porstum chimneypiece and a mosaic chimneypiece to 'Giochino Rinaldi' in Rome. Hervey, 14 June 1802 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers D2798/7/3) and Hervey, 15 June 1802 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers D2798/7/4). From the brief catalogue descriptions, most appear to be classically inspired, all carved with various figures and some with semi-precious stones incorporated, including columns of breccias and lapis lazuli and with pietre duri or gilt decoration.

¹⁵³ Stillman, 'chimneypieces', p. 85, footnote 3.

¹⁵⁴ Lord Arundell must have made the purchase because Neale listed a Cardelli chimneypiece at Wardour Castle in 1823, Neale, *Views of the seats of noblemen*, v.

new Roman chimneypieces to his patron Lord Holland including one costing £350 for Prince Augustus: ‘The mosaic is inimitable, And comes so near to painting it is literally a deception. The ornaments have the recommendation of being copied minutely from the antique’.¹⁵⁵ One of Cardelli’s chimneypieces for the Earl Bishop (they had documented dealings in 1778 and 1789) combined the ancient art-forms of rosso antico medallions and micro-mosaic panels, so Hervey was up-to-date with Roman taste as admired by Tatham, Lord Holland and Father Thorpe [fig. 2.22].¹⁵⁶ He was, however, out of step with less cosmopolitan viewers. Possibly it was this piece with rosso antico oval frieze medallions depicting Apollo and Daphne, the eagle borne ascent of Ganymede and the goddess Hebe that offended the sensibilities of Thomas Conolly of Castletown in 1786: ‘He has filled this house with bad pictures and statues at an amazing expense from Italy, and from the frequent appearance of Ganymede I should suppose his Lordship fonder of boys than of girls’.¹⁵⁷

It was more typical for patrons to rely on the architect to arrange the chimneypieces as part of the interior decoration. Wyatt had chimneypieces carved by Westmacott of London, with the same decorative scheme as the destined room. Sometimes designs by English architects were sent to be made up in Italy because of the increased éclat of displaying an Italian piece. Lord Charlemont bypassed Chambers in commissioning a chimneypiece with a lapis lazuli tablet and a bronze ram’s head from Francis Harwood in Florence.¹⁵⁸ O’Connor argues that Charlemont was unique in Ireland and that not until 1795 ‘we find his arch-rival and enemy, the Earl Bishop, looking for chimneypieces to be sent from Rome’. This is not correct; Hervey was shipping chimneypieces from Rome to Downhill from the end of the 1770s. The Earl Bishop may represent another variant of patronage, possibly misread by Damie Stillman. Stillman’s implication, in quoting Hervey’s letter of 1789, is that he left the actual choice to family members (here

¹⁵⁵ Stillman, ‘chimneypieces’, p. 85.

¹⁵⁶ Sotheby’s confirm this chimneypiece as Cardelli’s work with micro-mosaics by Cesare Aguatti because of similarities to a documented chimneypiece at Penrice Castle with signed micro-mosaics. See Sotheby’s auction, New York, 20 Nov. 2007, lot 115.

¹⁵⁷ Thomas Conolly to Lord Straffan, 19 Nov. 1786 (T.C.D., Conolly papers MS 3978/912). With thanks to Patrick Walsh. Thomas Conolly had a secondary estate at Limavady near Downhill.

¹⁵⁸ O’Connor, ‘Furnishing for the Casino at Marino: a chimneypiece made in Florence for Lord Charlemont’ in *Burlington Magazine*, cxxviii, no. 1002 (Sept. 1986), pp 670-672.

his daughter Mary Erne) and to the master practitioner (here Cardelli): ‘I want some beautiful chimney pieces pray tell Cardelli so’.¹⁵⁹ However, when viewing this chimneypiece request within the wider picture of the Earl Bishop’s patronage, it becomes apparent that this was a method he often used: Hervey would put out word of what he wanted and wait to see what wonders would appear.¹⁶⁰ He was never wholly dependent on any one agent and retained the freedom to choose, or to abandon designs and even finished pieces as it pleased him.

Hervey seems to have differed from the majority of patrons in viewing his chimneypieces as statuary rather than decorative fixtures intrinsic to the room. In support of this proposal, Hervey listed chimneypieces among his artworks when he visualised his confiscated and vulnerable treasure: ‘all that immense & valuable & beautiful property of large mosaick pavements, sumptuous chimney pieces for my new house, & pictures, statues, busts & marbles without end’.¹⁶¹ Italian chimneypieces ranked alongside sculpture in terms of price: Tatham’s letters of 1795 mentioned examples ranging from £75 to £350 and shipping and customs costs must be added. Thomas Mansel Talbot paid £200 in 1771 for his chimneypiece by Cardelli with micro-mosaic panels by Aguatti (similar to the Downhill example) for the drawing room at Penrice Castle, Glamorgan.¹⁶² He also patronised two of the same sculptors as Hervey: Cardelli (1771) and Albacini (1773). Collectors like Hervey and Talbot were not content with contracting one studio to produce all the chimneypieces for their houses but selected individual pieces from different masters.¹⁶³

Further supporting the proposal of chimneypiece as artwork, is the Albacini piece with free-standing statuary groups of lovers which blurs the line between chimneypiece and statue altogether [fig. 2.24]. Sculpture was the strongest

¹⁵⁹ Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 6 Nov. 1789, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 416; and Stillman, ‘chimneypieces’, p. 85.

¹⁶⁰ For example dining room designs by Soane and by Hardwick which caused an argument over plagiarism, see S.M., 45/1/33; S.M., 59/6; designs for Ickworth, see Charles Heathcote Tatham to Lord Holland, 15 Feb. and 7 June 1795 (Victoria and Albert Museum, D.1479-1898, fols. 8,13).

¹⁶¹ Hervey to Lady Elizabeth Foster, 20 Mar. 1798, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 577.

¹⁶² John Cornforth, ‘Penrice Castle, Glamorgan II’ in *Country Life* (25 Sept. 1975), p. 757.

¹⁶³ Both Hervey and Talbot took advice from the agent Thomas Jenkins, so perhaps he was the link, though Hervey, true to style, used several agents including Jacob More, Alexander Day and Robert Fagan.

element in contemporary fascination with the classical world. Albacini's studio also sold new, restored and ancient statuary, so that chimneypiece design was informed by developments in art and archaeology.¹⁶⁴ Albacini restored the spectacular Farnese collection; Hervey commissioned a cast of the *Farnese Hercules* from him in 1786.¹⁶⁵ The two pairs of lovers by Albacini in Hervey's chimneypiece were Roman copies of late Hellenistic sculptures: *Cupid and Psyche* was discovered in 1749 and exhibited in the Capitoline Museum; and *Bacchus and Ariadne* was displayed by James Smith Barry at Marbury Hall in Cheshire from 1780.¹⁶⁶ Impeccable credentials: these ancient groups had Hellenistic inspiration and formed part of much admired collections in the Italian museum and the British country house. Vicky Coltman comments on the manipulation of ancient images in Britain:

This educated elite did not simply collect copies of antique sculptures and busts 'as seen' in royal and elite collections on the grand tour in Italy. They had them translated into a variety of aesthetic media, tailor-made by being enlarged to fit existing architectural and domestic spaces and juxtaposed in unusual pairs and different groupings. These novel reconfigurations ensured that the cachet of the copy complied with an elite British agenda of social emulation, aristocratic competition, and ... self-representation.¹⁶⁷

Like Lord Charlemont who had the *Farnese Mercury* copied in all forms (print, plaster and bronze), the Earl Bishop displayed *Cupid and Psyche* in different media in the same room, as a statuary group in the chimneypiece and as a painting by Cipriani. Hervey's Albacini chimneypiece with the free-standing groups of lovers was not unique: not only did he own two examples, but the fourth earl of Darnley (a generation younger than the Earl Bishop) bought one for Cobham Hall, Kent,¹⁶⁸ and the duke of Gloucester lost a similar chimneypiece when H.M.S. Westmorland was captured in 1778 and her contents secretly bought by Charles

¹⁶⁴ Stillman, 'chimneypieces', p. 86.

¹⁶⁵ Ilaria Bignamini and Clare Hornsby, *Digging and dealing in eighteenth century Rome* (2 vols, London, 2010), i, 227.

¹⁶⁶ Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, p. 190.

¹⁶⁷ Coltman, *Fabricating the Antique*, p. 163.

¹⁶⁸ These chimneypieces were attributed to Canova until recently. 'Diary of Elizabeth Gibbes' Roman sojourn', 10 Apr. 1790, supports the assertion of Albacini's authorship. Sotheby's auction catalogue, London, 26 Nov. 2003, lot 87.

III of Spain.¹⁶⁹ Also, the attraction of this chimneypiece was not exclusive to the British Grand Tourist; Albacini was paid in 1813 for an identical composition for the Quirinale.¹⁷⁰

Exactly where Hervey placed his two identical Albacini chimneypieces is a puzzle. Until now they have been associated only with his English houses: the library at Ickworth and the drawing room of 6, St James's Square. However, visitor comments at Downhill indicate a new solution: that one or both were intended for and installed in his Irish houses.¹⁷¹ Therefore, unlike later appearances, Hervey did not save his choicest items to impress in sophisticated London and in Suffolk, but lavished marvels on his houses in county Londonderry. Italian chimneypieces were choice items and the Albacini chimneypieces had the desired effect: only these elicited specific descriptions from visitors over a forty year period, from Daniel Beaufort (1787), his daughter Louisa (1807) and Neale (1823).¹⁷²

Looking at Downhill, a hierarchy of chimneypieces emerges. Due to the 1851 fire, subsequent auction and Lanyon's rebuilding, chimneypieces shown in photographs are not necessarily in their original position.¹⁷³ However, conclusions can be drawn with some certainty using Shanahan's letters and visitor accounts.

¹⁶⁹ The duke of Gloucester had already bought a larger statuary group of Bacchus and Ariadne but was forced to leave it with Jenkins due to financial problems in 1771. Bignamini and Hornsby, *Digging and dealing*, p. 270.

¹⁷⁰ Sotheby's auction catalogue, London, 26 Nov. 2003, lot 87.

¹⁷¹ Louisa Beaufort located one in the 'Library' presumably the new gallery and Neale located it in the gallery. Possibly one was bought for Downhill and one for Ballyscullion? There is no record of this Albacini chimneypiece leaving Downhill, nor of the Albacini chimneypieces arriving in England. Certainly John Field, London builder, was paid £125 10s. 2d. for fixing an Italian chimneypiece in the drawing room and one in the library at Ickworth, 29 May 1829 (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/30/29). The St James's Square drawing room chimneypiece was moved to the East Wing at Ickworth after the Herveys sold their London house in 1950.

¹⁷² 'One Chimney piece has, on one side in Alto Relievo, - Bacchus & Ariadne, & on the other Cupid kissing Psyche', Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 18 Nov. 1787 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4028); 'several very beautiful white chimney pieces one in particular in Library - the side slabs of which are hollo'd in & in the recess stand, on one side Hercules with his arms round Omphale & on the other Cupid kissing Psyche', Journal of Louisa Beaufort, 27 Oct. 1807 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4034); 'the chimneypiece, of white marble, is very handsome, and embellished with small groupes of Cupid and Psyche, Bacchus and Ariadne, a glass behind each heightens the effect', Neale, *Views of seats of noblemen*, vi.

¹⁷³ 'About one hundred pieces of antique SCULPTURED MARBLE of great value, including 2 elegant drawing room mantle pieces, with Venus, Vulcan and family, in bas relief, exquisitely executed. 1 Large Antique MOSAIC mantle piece, executed in the year 450', Reeves-Smyth, 'Downhill Demesne', appendix 36 'Downhill auction 1851'.

The most important rooms received Italian chimneypieces, chosen abroad by the Earl Bishop himself. These marked him out as a man of taste and wealth and, as intended, they were admired by visitors. Beaufort commented that ‘the chimney pieces are mostly Italian & extremely fine’.¹⁷⁴ Louisa Beaufort recorded ‘four mosaic chimney pieces one of them beautiful ... several very beautiful white chimney pieces one in particular in Library’.¹⁷⁵

The presence of a ‘Roman’ chimneypiece in Lady Bristol’s dressing room, adjoining her bedroom upstairs, indicates that this room was semi-public. Robert Adam championed fine and feminine decoration for women’s dressing rooms, emphasising their role for entertaining other women. Downhill was not as grand as Wardour Castle, where a Cardelli chimneypiece was recorded by Neale in the ‘chintz bedroom’.¹⁷⁶ In Downhill, bedrooms were more private spaces, requiring less expensive fixtures, indicated by the choice of English chimneypieces rather than Italian. Shanahan made clear his disgust with English workmanship and saw an opportunity for himself:

In your Lordship’s bed Chamber the mantle of the Chimney piece is bent down in the middle, and endangers the falling of the frieze & Tablet – this is one of your English Chimney pieces, the Cause of this is that the mantle was never lined with anything to strengthen the marble – and that in Lady Erne is much in the same state, for the above reason, I took the dimensions of them to get new ones made.¹⁷⁷

Slowly Shanahan managed to infiltrate his own Cork made chimneypieces into the bedrooms [fig. 2.25].¹⁷⁸

Hervey championed Irish clergy in his diocese and Irish architects for his houses, but for highly skilled decorative art and fine art he imported. Perhaps Shanahan had proven that Cork chimneypieces were good value and presentable or perhaps

¹⁷⁴ Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 18 Nov. 1787 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4028).

¹⁷⁵ Journal of Louisa Beaufort, 27 Oct. 1807 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4034). She may be conflating the gallery and new gallery at Downhill. Neale places the Albacini chimneypiece in the gallery but the bas relief of Socrates and Alcibiades in the new gallery (which was the library).

¹⁷⁶ Neale, *Views of seats of noblemen*, v.

¹⁷⁷ Shanahan to Hervey, 13 Jan. 1786 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/84).

¹⁷⁸ This bedroom chimneypiece at Downhill is similar to fig. 3.38, a chimneypiece originating in Cork and attributed to Michael Shanahan by the Knight of Glin.

the Earl Bishop was losing interest in Downhill once the new project of Ballyscullion began in 1787; regardless, in 1787 Shanahan sent a shipment from Cork of eight chimneypieces. Shanahan had overturned the chimneypiece hierarchy at Downhill: he installed ‘One statuary Chimney piece with carved terms, tablet & veined hearth’ in the new gallery at Downhill with a matching one to follow which had a tablet of the Bristol arms in the centre and a coronet and mitre at the sides.¹⁷⁹ This was a significant new room for display; Shanahan’s chimneypieces had to hold their own with ancient statuary, busts and a cast of the Apollo Belvedere.

Beaufort was astonished to witness an extraordinary chimneypiece under construction for the Earl Bishop when he visited Michael Shanahan in Cork in 1788. He described the sketch he had made in his journal [fig. 2.26]:

with the large figures labelled a, b, Liberty & Loyalty, supporting an Oval which contains a groupe – in relief – Minerva unfolding (or rather drawing the Curtains off from) arts & sciences, w. Lord B. bust, and shewing them to Hibernia, whom Britain strives to keep back, - both these represented by boys - with the proper insignia.¹⁸⁰

This heavy-handed political message and identification of himself with the arts and sciences, could only have originated in the mind of the Earl Bishop. Stephen O’Connor points to Hibernia as an important iconographical figure for the Volunteers, the bringer of peace and prosperity or the embodiment of an increasingly confident polity.¹⁸¹ Lord Charlemont was associated with similar iconography (though less eccentric) as depicted in a medal by Mossop of 1786. One side showed Lord Charlemont in Volunteer uniform wearing the star of the Order of St Patrick. The reverse depicted Hibernia seated on a pile of books, helmeted and holding a shield with a harp and Irish crown and the rod and cap of

¹⁷⁹ Shanahan to Hervey, 17 July 1787 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/92). Shanahan to Hervey, 26 Jan. 1788 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/95).

¹⁸⁰ Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 9 Dec. 1788 (T.C.D., Beaufort Ms 4030). This may have been the chimneypiece described by Shanahan: ‘I have an elegant piece of sculpture lately done here, which is the tablet [?] of your great Chimneypiece. I wd wish to send it for your Lordship inspection, but [? ?] in the centre of the friese, and [?] the continuation of the work on each side of the Tablet must meet it, one part cannot be sent until the whole fries is finishd’, Shanahan to Hervey, 26 Jan. 1788 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers D2798/2/95).

¹⁸¹ Stephen O’Connor, ‘The Volunteers 1778-1793: iconography and identity’ (Ph.D. thesis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2008), p. 132.

Liberty. In front was a round tower and behind emblems of astronomy, chemistry and literature.¹⁸² The motto on the medal, *veteras revocavit artes*, recalls the message of Hervey's chimneypiece.¹⁸³

2.7 Moveable goods

Architecture and fixed internal features, such as chimney-pieces, might survive as physical evidence and were topics on which the Earl Bishop and Shanahan corresponded. Artworks were valuable and were listed by impressed visitors. Yet goods like furniture, silver and household items have been dispersed with little trace, rendering the examination of moveable goods within Hervey's houses as the most problematic area of his display. Occasional receipts, auction records for valuable items and rare comments in letters can be assessed and placed in the context of other houses. An otherwise invaluable inventory of 1823 has been used with caution because it survives only as a copy.¹⁸⁴ These goods were essential to the impact of Hervey's display in his public rooms and vital to the running of the house in domestic areas. From the evidence surviving, questions will be asked about sourcing items, about gift-giving and the role of women in his houses. An assessment of how his patterns of consumption compared with the wider Hervey family is possible through viewing the good he inherited in England.

2.7.1 Furniture

Hervey probably sourced his furniture widely but evidence is scarce. Only two receipts for furniture for Downhill survive, both from Edward Dougherty, a

¹⁸² Siobhán O'Rafferty and Bernadette Cunningham (eds), *Lord Charlemont: exhibition at The Royal Irish Academy 16 April to 30 June 1999* (Dublin, 1999), p. 39.

¹⁸³ Translation: he recalled the ancient arts.

¹⁸⁴ Terence Reeves-Smyth quotes this '1823 inventory' in 'Downhill demesne' (1992) but, in communication with Stephen Price, he could not recall where he located it nor whether he saw an original or copy.

cabinet-maker in Derry.¹⁸⁵ Presumably basic furniture was sourced locally for convenience and cost. He supplied twelve mahogany chairs, billed in March 1785, possibly augmenting the entertaining potential for extra guests. Guest bedrooms and barracks are suggested when Dougherty supplied fifteen mahogany basin stands each costing 25s. and fifteen mahogany dressing tables each at 15s. in 1787.¹⁸⁶ These guests, mainly bachelors, enjoyed gentlemanly comfort but not luxury, judging by the prices of their mahogany bedroom furniture. Entertaining was central to the function of Downhill; as proposed in chapter 1, Hervey used Downhill as his base for political entertaining during his Volunteer phase and for diocesan activity.¹⁸⁷ Thus Downhill maintained the tradition of country house hospitality which Dana Arnold notes was in decline during the eighteenth century, as owners spent more time in the city for the season or in the spa towns.¹⁸⁸ Ballyscullion fits Arnold's model more closely: Hervey was rarely in residence and there was less scope for accommodation in the rotunda. Interestingly, when William Blacker was visiting the Earl Bishop's houses on a tour in 1796, he and his party did not sleep at Ballyscullion:

we took up our abode at the old castellated mansion adjoining the village then inhabited by Mrs Burrowes, a particular friend of the Bishop and who exercised a kind of agency over his affairs in that quarter. She was a very agreeable woman and sung sweetly.¹⁸⁹

Mary Anne Burroughs seems to have acted as a housekeeper at Ballyscullion and was provided with a house, Bellaghy Castle. Samuel Burdy in 1802 stayed at an inn near Ballyscullion.

Comparing furniture prices between the Downhill bills from Edward Dougherty of Derry, with the prices paid by James Alexander (later first Earl of Caledon and

¹⁸⁵ Edward Dougherty is listed as a cabinet-maker of Derry in 1782 in John Rogers, *Dictionary of eighteenth century furniture makers*, in The Knight of Glin and James Peil, *Irish furniture* (London, 2007), p. 282.

¹⁸⁶ Thirty down and feather mattresses and twenty-five hair mattresses were sold in the Downhill Auction 1851, quoted in Reeves-Smyth, 'Downhill demesne', i, appendix 36.

¹⁸⁷ There is a rich oral tradition of stories about the Earl Bishop entertaining his clergy. The main themes are his dinners and toasts for large numbers of clergy, his eccentric methods of dispensing ecclesiastical patronage and his cruel sense of humour.

¹⁸⁸ Dana Arnold, *The Georgian country house: architecture, landscape and society* (Gloucester, 1998), p. 23.

¹⁸⁹ Paterson, 'The Edifying Bishop', p. 79.

elder brother of Hervey's Derry banker Robert Alexander of Boom Hall) to his Dublin furniture makers Kirchoffer, indicates that Derry prices were close to Dublin for mahogany furniture. Hervey spent £17 16s. 0d. on twelve mahogany chairs in 1787 in Derry; James Alexander paid Kirchoffer in Dublin £26 10s. 0d. for '20 best Mahogany Parlour Chairs' in 1783. Hervey paid Dougherty £7 for a mahogany bureau; Alexander spent £6 5s. on a 'Mahogany Library table' and Lord Aldborough spent £7 19s. 3d. in Dublin on 'an inlaid Cabinet' for Lady Aldborough in 1792.¹⁹⁰

Though no bills for high end furniture exist for Downhill, comparisons between the furniture bills of Hervey and James Alexander, suggest that Hervey might have bought serviceable furniture from his local Irish supplier. Alexander bought his basic furniture from Kirchoffer of Dublin but went to Mayhew and Ince of London for his grander furniture for the newly built Caledon, county Tyrone, in the 1780s and 1790s. The most expensive items supplied by Mayhew and Ince were three large mirrors in carved frames costing £336 10s. 0d.¹⁹¹ However, cost was watched carefully and Alexander compared quotations. Twice Kirchoffer was chosen and the item struck off the Mayhew and Ince list, for example Mayhew and Ince quoted £25 for a leather-topped library table against Kirchoffer's £6 5s. 0d.¹⁹² London dictated style and quality in the late eighteenth century. Irish manufacturers emphasised their London training or described their wares as equal to those manufactured in London; for example Dublin's leading cabinet maker, William Moore, advertised his training under Mayhew and Ince of London.¹⁹³ Lower down the social scale, the Belfast merchant Daniel Mussenden used his commercial contacts to import English furniture from Lancashire via Liverpool for himself and his customers, though the majority of his furniture came from Dublin.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ Draft on Robert Alexander in favour of Edward Dougherty, 1785 (P.R.O.N.I. Hervey Bruce papers D1514/1/1/17/8) and 3 Nov. 1787 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers D1514/1/1/32/68); Kirchoffer to James Alexander, 1778 and 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Caledon papers D2433/A/2/2/2-6), quoted in Glin and Peill, *Irish Furniture*, p. 176; Lightbown, *An architect earl*, p. 356.

¹⁹¹ Glin and Peill, *Irish furniture*, p. 162.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 179.

¹⁹³ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 23-26 Oct. 1779, quoted in Glin and Peill, *Irish furniture*, p. 163.

¹⁹⁴ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p. 124. N.B. Daniel Mussenden's son Daniel married the Earl Bishop's distant cousin and favourite, the beautiful Frideswide Bruce (Mrs Mussenden of the Mussenden Temple).

There were periods when patriotism became identified with buying Irish manufactured goods, usually coinciding with times of economic downturn. Patriots were convinced that Free Trade and a stronger parliament in Dublin would stimulate Irish manufacture and export. Feelings ran high: Henry Grattan was lambasted by the *Freeman's Journal* in 1782 for ordering a new coach from England.¹⁹⁵ Powell argues that at the height of Irish patriotism in the late 1770s to early 1780s, a new sense of equality with England showed itself in ambitious building projects and luxury goods. He identified a crisis in Protestant identity 'torn between ambitious emulation and scornful revulsion'.¹⁹⁶

Viewing consumerism in the American colonies, Breen argues that colonists developed a common identity by participating in the same consumer revolution; this shared experience as consumers provided them with the cultural resources to develop a new form of political protest, boycott.¹⁹⁷ In Ireland there were examples of feathering and tarring of drapers selling British cloth, of weavers attacking shops, of the fashionable wearing Irish cloth, of Volunteer iconography appearing on commemorative items, and of Irish motifs like shamrocks in William Moore's inlaid furniture.¹⁹⁸ But buying patterns in Ireland never became so sharply polarised as in colonial America. Indeed, observing responses to increasingly diverse trade, Barnard concludes that 'obedient to cross-channel and international fashions, they willed this greater integration'.¹⁹⁹ The political leadership of Ireland was a different body to the American colonists: self-assured, born to power, in breeding many were closer to their British relations than to their Irish tenantry, and when Union loomed, some of the most outspoken patriots (like Hervey) voted in favour.²⁰⁰ Though the duke of Leinster, Earl of Charlemont and the Earl Bishop were leading Volunteers and leaders in taste, they by no means bought only Irish

¹⁹⁵ Powell, *Politics of consumption*, p. 50.

¹⁹⁶ Powell, *Politics of consumption*, p. 48.

¹⁹⁷ T. H. Breen, *The marketplace of Revolution: how consumer politics shaped American Independence* (Oxford, 2004), p. xv.

¹⁹⁸ Sarah Foster, 'Buying Irish: consumer nationalism in eighteenth century Dublin' in *History Today* (June 1997), pp 49-50.

¹⁹⁹ Barnard, 'Integration or separation', p. 141.

²⁰⁰ Twenty years earlier in 1779, Hervey was exploring the concept of union between Ireland and Britain, sounding James Boswell out on whether Scotland had benefitted from Union with Britain; Boswell thought not. Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 242.

products; their complex buying patterns reflected their search for a new role within the British Empire but not a rejection of it.

In architecture, plasterwork and chimneypiece selection, Hervey was fully involved; however in terms of furniture, there is not enough evidence to determine Hervey's personal input. To ensure a more unified look, patrons often employed one furniture-making company or one architect for the majority of their furniture. Robert Adam supplied the Earl of Bective with a pair of marble-topped giltwood pier tables and pier glasses which harmonised with the oval medallions in the stucco scheme he had designed for Headfort House.²⁰¹ James Wyatt, architect of Abbey Leix for Lord Knapton, produced a united scheme; in the dining room, plasterwork and Wyatt dining furniture and urns remain today.²⁰² William Chambers designed much of the furniture for Charlemont House and the Marino Casino. The Earl of Ormonde spent £7,000 on furniture from London cabinet makers Kennett and Kidd 1794-5 who advertised in Dublin for Irish custom.²⁰³ There is no evidence for where Hervey bought the majority of his furniture, although drafts drawn in London may mask furniture buying.²⁰⁴

Hervey's sensibilities lay in collecting and connoisseurship. Auction records indicate a hint of the elite furniture he commissioned. The workshop of Henry Clay, a Birmingham manufacturer who patented new techniques in japanning, was on the itinerary of visitors to England's emerging industrial towns. Visiting Birmingham in 1791, Edward Daniel Clarke (traveller and collector) saw 'two pier tables' made from papier mâché 'for Lord Bristol, which were painted after some designs brought purposely from Rome. They were by far the most beautiful things of the kind I ever saw'.²⁰⁵ Hervey ordered six semi-circular tables with

²⁰¹ Glin and Peill, *Irish furniture*, p. 160.

²⁰² Jeremy Musson, 'Abbeyleix, Co Laois' in *Country Life* (24 July 2003), p. 55.

²⁰³ *Hibernian Journal*, 26 Apr. 1793, quoted in Glin and Peill, *Irish furniture*, p. 178.

²⁰⁴ Account for £2,953 9s. 7d., 30 June. 1786 and £1,022 6s. 2d., 31 Dec. 1786, with George Fletcher, Son and Westby, London (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers D1514/1/1/21/18 and *ibid.*, D1514/1/1/22/28).

²⁰⁵ Edward Daniel Clarke, *A tour through the South of England, Wales and part of Ireland made during the summer of 1791* (London, 1793), p. 377 quoted in Yvonne Jones, 'A recent discovery of two papier mâché pier tables by Henry Clay' in *The Furniture History Society Newsletter*, no. 162 (May 2006), p. 1.

ancient and modern scenes of Rome and Vesuvius [fig. 2.27].²⁰⁶ It has not previously been noted that Daniel Beaufort must have seen two of these tables when he admired ‘2 Tables with Vesuvius on One, Colliseum & 2 Views of Tivoli on the Other’ at Downhill in 1807.²⁰⁷ Decoratively these tables were the height of neoclassical decorative fashion; the gilt frieze corresponded with a pattern by Tischbein which at this date (1791) had not yet been published in *A Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases Discovered in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies between 1789-1790* (Naples, 1793-1803).²⁰⁸ Reporting to Henry Holland on developments in decoration, architect Charles Heathcote Tatham wrote of Tischbein’s Etruscan schemes that ‘you can scarce imagine how successful and new such ornaments appear’ in 1796.²⁰⁹ It is possible that the Earl Bishop, who had been staying in Naples in 1790 before returning home, may have brought engravings or designs by Tischbein before publication to England, fuelling developments in British neoclassical decoration.²¹⁰ Henry Clay’s workshop also supplied Robert Child with a Pembroke table for Adam’s Etruscan Dressing Room at Osterley Park and ‘several pieces of superb furniture which now adorn the royal residence’.²¹¹ Innovative, fashionable and foreign furniture, some of it potentially in a chinoiserie style, was not to everyone’s taste. The Reverend William Bisset, viewing Ballyscullion in 1799, detested the furniture: ‘Nothing can be more gawdy and effeminate, nothing less suitable to a Bishop, or agreeable to a manly taste’.²¹² At Downhill ‘the Furniture in the same frippery style with that I had already seen at Ballyscullion though by no means equally rich and expensive’.²¹³

²⁰⁶ Two had scenes covering the whole tabletop (the Campo Vaccino in Rome on one and Vesuvius erupting on the other) and four had vignettes within formal borders (the Colosseum flanked by the Tivoli gardens; Cupids sacrificing at an altar; St Peter’s Piazza, Rome; and the Trojan Wars). See Jones, ‘Two papier mâché pier tables by Henry Clay’, p. 3.

²⁰⁷ Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 27 Oct. 1807 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4033).

²⁰⁸ Christie’s auction, London, sale 7095, 24 Nov. 2005. Two were previously sold by Christie’s auction, London, 9 Apr. 1987, lot 88. Two are owned privately.

²⁰⁹ Charles Heathcote Tatham to Henry Holland, 4 Apr. 1796 (Tatham correspondence, S.M. library) quoted in Coltman, *Fabricating the antique*, p. 79.

²¹⁰ Tischbein was Director of the Royal Academy of Paintings in Naples.

²¹¹ Pearson & Rollason’s *Directory of Birmingham* (1780), quoted in Jones, ‘Two papier mâché pier tables by Henry Clay’, p. 4. Of large items, only the Downhill tables and Pembroke table at Osterley Park House, London, survive. Clay is better known for small items like tea boards and caddies.

²¹² William Bisset, ‘Journal’, p. 86.

²¹³ William Bisset, ‘Journal’, p. 89.

To place the Earl Bishop's furniture within a broader Hervey context, Ickworth Lodge contained layers of furniture collected over generations, including perks of office like the pair of gilt Rococo pier-glasses carved with the Prince of Wales's feathers probably given to the Earl Bishop's father, John Lord Hervey who was Vice-Chamberlain of the Royal Household.²¹⁴ Finishing Ickworth House in the late 1820s, his son Frederick bought pieces of French neoclassical furniture on his Grand Tour and then turned to the London supplier Banting, France and Company, paying £7,500 for furniture, carpets, papering and painting.²¹⁵ As with his other decorative features, the eclecticism of the Earl Bishop's collection at Downhill and Ballyscullion was unusual, not in its range but in being assembled by one man in a relatively short space of time. A family over generations might build up a very broad collection; an individual in a hurry usually relied on one supplier.

2.7.2 Silver

Attitudes towards the display of silver in the neoclassical dining room were changing from 1760, with art and statuary becoming more indicative of wealth and taste than an impressive display of silver or the novelty of silver plate. Early in this period of change, Adam's design for Kedleston Hall 1762 provided niches for silver and illustrated where exact pieces of silver were to be placed.²¹⁶ Twenty years later, Soane's unused design for a summer dining room at Downhill relied on architectural features such as columns and statue filled niches. The 1823 Downhill inventory mentions two Egyptian side-tables, indicating that the Earl Bishop might have had an eclectic range of vehicles for display.

There is little evidence for how the Earl Bishop deployed silver in his houses. His grandfather John, first Earl of Bristol, still mindful of Civil War upheaval and the importance of portable wealth, amassed and displayed an impressive horde of silver detailed in 'Expenses of John Hervey 1688-1742'. His silver was made in London, mainly by Kandler (over twenty pieces or sets), though the work of

²¹⁴ *Ickworth House guide book* (National Trust, 1998), p. 14.

²¹⁵ Accounts from Banting, France & Co. for 1827-9 (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers 941/30/133 and *ibid.*, 941/30/40-42).

²¹⁶ Christopher Payne, *Sotheby's encyclopaedia of furniture* (New York, 1989), p. 100.

almost forty other silver and goldsmiths appears in the Hervey collection.²¹⁷ Barnard has argued that the ‘slow development of banking in Ireland, together with recurrent bank failures before 1760, may have encouraged the wealthy in Ireland to prefer accumulations of silver longer than their counterparts in England’.²¹⁸ Just as the first Earl of Bristol had earlier advertised his family’s raised status in silver, so Barnard has shown that the Kildares ‘trumpeted re-entry into Irish Protestant society with commissions for grandiose silver services, as well as by building spectacularly in County Kildare and Dublin’. The Kildare dinner service cost in excess of £4,000. Barnard has estimated that the ‘sideboard of plate’ in the Dublin townhouse of an aristocratic Nugent was (at £60) worth about a third of his total effects.²¹⁹ Alison FitzGerald has demonstrated that Hervey’s neighbour James Alexander, whose East India Company fortune was new money, used silver as a signifier of gentility and status. He spent £1,000 on tableware in London in 1772 on his return from India and indulged in further buying on his elevation to the peerage in 1790.²²⁰ The Earl Bishop’s eldest brother George, second Earl of Bristol, also relied on silver to impress, especially as ambassador in Turin and Madrid. In Turin, he had English pieces carefully copied to augment his hospitality and more pieces made in London (some presumably with government money) at each rise in his diplomatic career.

The plate book of Frederick Hervey, first marquess of Bristol, is a meticulous record in his writing of the weights of the silverware he inherited from his father, the Earl Bishop, at Ickworth.²²¹ He checked his records against those of George, second earl, indicating that neither Augustus, third earl, nor the Earl Bishop made an inventory of silver. The Earl Bishop’s use of silver is uncertain but, as bishop

²¹⁷ Richard Hoar, David Willaume, Robert Ffowle, Philip Rollos, Walter Compton, Isaac Liger, Peter Harrache, Pierre Platel, Louis Mettayer, Louis Hamon, Abraham Chambers, Simon Pantin, Robert Cooper, Edward Waldergrave, James Seamers, Reter Rogers of Bury, Richard Gurney and Thomas Cook, Emick Romer, David Hennell, Paul Crespin, Edward Aldridge, Edward Féline, John Robinson, Paul de Lamerie, Frederick Kandler, Simon Le Sage, Christian Hillan, A. Peterson and P. Podie, Paul Storr, John Emes, John Crouch, J. Carddock and W. Reid, T.W. Matthews, Nicholas Hearnden, William Eley, William Fearn and John Bridge. Names taken from N. M. Penzer, ‘The Hervey silver at Ickworth’ in *Apollo*, lxxv (Feb. 1957), pp 39-43 and (Apr. 1957), pp 133-7.

²¹⁸ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p. 140.

²¹⁹ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p. 139.

²²⁰ Alison FitzGerald, ‘The production and consumption of goldsmiths’ work in eighteenth-century Dublin’ (Ph.D. thesis, The Royal College of Art, London, 2005), p. 178.

²²¹ List of plate, 4 May 1811 (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers 941/75/1).

and nobleman, a high level of hospitality was expected. He had at least eighty-four silver dinner plates, engraved with the arms of the See of Derry impaling the arms of Bristol, made in London in 1776 by John Rowe and Andrew Fogelberg.²²² In 1784, during the flurry of buying and extending at Downhill, generated by his phase as a political host, this set was augmented by twelve more plates by Fogelberg and Stephen Gilbert. Other prelates impressed with plate: in 1781 the Archbishop of Dublin ordered a dinner service from Wakelin and Taylor in London for nearly £1,000, engraved with his arms and mitre; and Archbishop Agar of Cashel bought a second-hand silver service for entertaining at his St Stephen's Green townhouse for £856.²²³

As with furniture, Hervey used a local silversmith for necessities, dealing with John Franks of Ferry Quay Street, Derry.²²⁴ Five receipts survive between August 1784 and September 1787 totalling £163 9s. 2d. including entries for repairs and engraving, two gold bracelets and a silver coffee service (he paid £14 12s. 0d. for the pot and £13 15s. 3d. for the jug).²²⁵ Tea, coffee and chocolate drinking was well entrenched by this period and evidently enjoyed at Downhill by family and dependents. Anne Shanahan reported on the amount of tea drunk during the Earl Bishop's absence (a pound a week in the parlour) and assured him that it was weighed by the housekeeper in front of witnesses.²²⁶ Hervey himself deplored 'That poisonous beverage Tea ... The Whisky of the Women' but equipped his houses with all the paraphernalia including a tea caddy painted with Mount Vesuvius in eruption by Henry Clay of Birmingham to match the japanned tables.²²⁷

²²² Details in Christie's auction catalogue, 27 July 1932, lot 85 (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers 941/12/60).

²²³ Garrard Ledgers, 1781 (John Wakelin and William Taylor, Gentleman's Ledger, 1777-87) in FitzGerald, 'Goldsmiths' work in Dublin', p. 148 and p. 170. FitzGerald quotes Anthony Malcomson's impression that Agar may have bought the deceased Attorney General Tisdall's silver because of associations with Tisdall's eminent political connections.

²²⁴ John Franks complied with legislation (Act of Parliament 23 and 24 Geo. III C.23, 1783) to register with the Company of Goldsmiths in Dublin in 1784. Douglas Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver* (London, 1972), p. 351.

²²⁵ Bills of John Franks (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers D1514/1/1/6/23; *ibid.*, D1514/1/1/6/31; *ibid.*, D1514/1/1/17/16; *ibid.*, D1514/1/1/22/23; *ibid.*, D1514/1/1/32/62).

²²⁶ Anne Shanahan to Hervey, n.d. (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D1514/1/1/64).

²²⁷ Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 27 Jan. 1798 (Sheffield Archives, Wharncliffe muniments 552b/7); Jones, 'Two papier mâché pier tables by Henry Clay', p. 3.

2.8 Gift giving

Gifts were an important element of sociability. Amanda Vickery describes gifts as ‘a significant currency in elite sociability’, part of a wider ‘exchange of compliments, gifts, dinners and teas with other elite families, [through which] the genteel reaffirmed their gentility and maintained a wide polite acquaintance’.²²⁸ Margot Finn argues that male participation in consumerism, including gift-giving, has been neglected due to overemphasis on women as the primary shoppers of the family. Hervey’s skills in elite buying and giving add some weight to her argument, although other commentators note that men were involved in expensive or luxury purchases.²²⁹ Her case study, based on the diaries (1758-1802) of Norfolk parson, James Woodforde, indicates the complexity of maintaining the relationship between patrons, clients, friends, neighbours and family.

Hervey gave gifts to his family. He brought back two pairs of gold bracelets for his daughters from the Continent in 1779, leaving them to be set ‘to your own taste’ in Dublin.²³⁰ Silver and gold items lent themselves to gift giving, being valuable, small and decoratively versatile. His sons-in-law received Roman style gems, suitably masculine gifts since they were adorned with classical allusions and were presumably chosen to flatter: ‘the Apollo I desire dear Mary will offer in my name to Lord Erne. The Plato I hope our philosopher John Thomas [Foster] will accept.’²³¹

A present of a dress for Louisa was not so well received: ‘Louisa has *sold* the beautiful gown I gave her, because the shape was not *fashionable*, and I have

²²⁸ Amanda Vickery, *The gentleman’s daughter: women’s lives in Georgian England* (London, 1998), pp 188, 222.

²²⁹ Finn, ‘Men’s things’, p. 142. Also see Amanda Vickery, ‘His and hers: gender, consumption and household accounting in eighteenth-century England’ in Ruth Harris and Lyndal Roper (eds), *The art of survival: gender and history in Europe, 1450-2000*, Past and Present supplement 1 (2006), p. 16.; John Styles and Amanda Vickery (eds), *Gender, taste and material culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (New Haven and London, 2006), pp 7-8.

²³⁰ Hervey to Lady Elizabeth Foster, 29 Nov. 1779, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 245. He also bought a pair of gold bracelets locally from John Franks for £4. 11s. 0d., 23 Dec. 1786 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers D1514/1/1/22/23).

²³¹ Hervey to Lady Elizabeth Foster, 29 Nov. 1779, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 245.

redeem'd it & paid her the price'. This same letter indicates an increasing separation from his responsibilities:

I am stoick enough to find adopted children, brothers, everything, & can smile with ineffable contempt at the injuries & revilements I incur: in this country [Ireland] I am more popular & more courted than ever: yet I do nothing but build houses, plant forests, decorate villas, &c.²³²

The spirit of giving and receiving was as important as the gift. For Louisa, abandoned for years with her mother at Ickworth and separated from the opportunities she should have enjoyed, a dress was not enough to appease. For Hervey, an obvious reciprocal display of gratitude from his children was required; when he did not receive it, he looked for more loyal beneficiaries, such as his young Bruce cousin who would inherit all the Hervey's un-entailed possessions. After her marriage to Charles Jenkinson (later Lord Liverpool and prime minister 1812-27), Louisa received gifts of a picture and china from her father. Hervey was an experienced purchaser and was pleased with his choices, expecting admiration and gratitude and advising on display options: the picture was 'a real bijou & just fit for her breakfast room ... but you say nothing of the Berlin *déjeuné* which I reckon a great *cadeau*, and when it stands on a tripod of Siberian Malachite will be *impayable*'.²³³

Within a year of arriving in Derry, Bishop Hervey was granted freedom of the city and given a commemorative gold freedom box depicting the arms of See and City of Derry, a bridge of five arches and men hewing coal and sending it up in baskets [figs 2.28a and b].²³⁴ William Cole, the Cambridge antiquary, kept track of the activities of his friends through the newspapers. He recorded that Hervey's improvements in Derry:

rendred his Lordship the Idol of his Diocese, & had a wonderful Effect in conciliating the Affection of the Natives of that Kingdom, who are not apt to be over fond of the English Clergy, who are generally the Incumbents of

²³² Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 8 Mar. 1787, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 399.

²³³ Hervey to Lady Elizabeth Foster, 6 Mar. 1796, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 497.

²³⁴ Hervey initiated the Foyle Bridge to which he pledged £1,000 in 1768 (it was opened in 1790) and a search for coal (which was not successful).

their best Preferments ... presented him with the Freedom of their City, in a golden Box: a Compliment never before paid to any of his Predecessors 'because, as the Mayor observed, his Lordship had almost effected, what none of his Predecessors had before not so much as considered, the two most important Points in this Town, a Bridge & a Colliery'.²³⁵

Hervey's box has been viewed as a reward, but the Derry Corporation Minute Book reveals that the decision to make him a freeman, marked by 'a gold Box Value £25 and that he be Entertained in the townhall with a glass of Wine the day the same is presented to him', was taken only four months after he had been enthroned, suggesting that it was intended as an insurance rather than a reward.²³⁶ The Corporation chose a top craftsman in Benjamin Stokes of Skinner Row, Dublin, Master of the Goldsmiths Company 1767-8 when Hervey's box was commissioned.²³⁷ Ida Delamer considers that the honour 'degenerated into a quid pro quo bargain' during the eighteenth-century.²³⁸ In 1755 James, earl of Kildare, was anxious to accept the gift of a gold freedom box, from a delegation of the Corporation of Cutlers, Stationers and Painters, in the right spirit: 'I am in distress how I am to receive them, for I shall be abused for taking state upon me, which I don't choose to do; and if I don't take the same it will affront them'. Alison FitzGerald teases out this web of reciprocity for this box: 'The dedication invokes Milton to express the Guild's indebtedness. In reality, a mutual obligation existed between donor and recipient. Guild support was important to political candidates and objects like these were reminders of that fact'.²³⁹

²³⁵ William Cole, 'List of Antiquaries educated at Corpus College Cambridge' (B.L., Cole manuscripts, Add. 5852.253).

²³⁶ Derry Corporation Minute Book, 4 Aug. 1768 (P.R.O.N.I., vol. 8B).

²³⁷ Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, p. 330. Several boxes are known from Derry: a silver box with the City arms of c.1760 by Benjamin Stokes; the gold box for the Earl Bishop also by Benjamin Stokes of 1768 (now in the Ulster Museum); a gold freedom box of 1786 by Alexander Tickell for Speaker Foster engraved with a message of appreciation for 'his very great attention to the trade and manufactures of Ireland' (described in Ida Delamer and Conor O'Brien, *500 years of Irish silver* (Dublin, 2005), p.72); and a round, domed, silver-gilt freedom box of 1788 by Abraham Tuppy for Richard Hely Hutchinson with the arms of the City and motto *Vita Veritas Victoria* (illustrated in Bennett, *Irish Georgian silver*, p.140).

²³⁸ Ida Delamer, 'Freedom boxes' in *Dublin Historical Record*, xxxii, no. 1 (Dec 1978), pp 2-14.

²³⁹ FitzGerald, 'Goldsmiths' work in Dublin', p. 165.

Portraits on gifts reflected ties of protection and obligation.²⁴⁰ In 1796, Hervey received a breakfast set of Dresden china decorated with medallions of the King Frederick William II of Prussia and the Queen in 1796. It was an honour to display this obvious mark of royal favour.²⁴¹ Hervey's chaplain, Trefusis Lovell, received a Dresden cup and saucer painted with the silhouette of his protector Bishop Hervey. This sign of esteem must have looked well in the archdeacon's house at Derry; it was carefully kept by the family and later made its way to Ickworth as a gift from Lovell's granddaughter to Geraldine, Marchioness of Bristol.²⁴² These gifts also suggest another function, the presentation gift marking an honourable dismissal. John Hennig claims that the Earl Bishop and his chaplain spent the winter of 1796 at Berlin 'where the King endured Bristol's antics until he became tired of them', hence the presentation of the china.²⁴³ Hervey's relationship with his chaplain Trefusis Lovell also reached breaking point around this time.²⁴⁴

References in the Earl Bishop's letters indicate that furniture was also exchanged as gifts. At Ballyscullion the room which most delighted the Earl Bishop was his Augusta room 'to which the Dss of Brunswick has been so good as to contribute the chief furniture & which is in the attick & peculiarly my own'.²⁴⁵ A second example of a gift of furniture also involved a woman. In 1797 Hervey wrote from Pymont to Sir William Hamilton that he intended to winter in Naples: 'I hope to bring a Beautyfull Cabinet to Beautyfull Emma almost as fair as her Skin, and as Elegant as her form'.²⁴⁶ Emma Hamilton was a close friend of the Earl Bishop; he had written an enthusiastic letter of congratulations to his oldest friend Sir

²⁴⁰ Perhaps these images personify the 'hau' or spirit of the giver in the gift, observed by Mauss in his seminal work *The Gift* (1950). Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: the form and reason for exchange in archaic societies* (London, 2008), pp 13-16.

²⁴¹ The link was Hervey's close friendship with his mistress, Countess Lichtenau, a fact that the very proper images of the royal couple neatly ignores.

²⁴² Geraldine, Marchioness of Bristol, to Miss Palmer-Lovell (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers 941/12/39).

²⁴³ Hennig, 'Goethe and Lord Bristol', p. 106.

²⁴⁴ Lovell remained loyal to their mutual friend, Countess Lichtenau, whom the Earl Bishop was soon to discard. Also, Lovell was incensed by the Earl Bishop's enthusiasm for another member of the party, Monsieur de Savigny. Lovell returned to Ireland in 1797. Hennig, 'Goethe and Lord Bristol', p. 107.

²⁴⁵ Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 25 Aug. 1794 (Sheffield Archives, Wharnccliffe muniments 552b/1). Princess Augusta, Duchess of Brunswick, was a daughter of George III and had a long friendship with the Herveys, beginning in Pymont in 1777 (see chapter 5).

²⁴⁶ Hervey to Sir William Hamilton, 14 July 1797 (N.L.I., Hamilton papers, MS 2262).

William when his second marriage, widely criticised, had taken place.²⁴⁷ The Earl Bishop also sent a set of furniture as a gift to Countess Lichtenau when they parted, the Countess hurrying back to the ailing King of Prussia. She had admired similar neoclassical chairs at the house of General Acton (prime minister at Naples) so much that she had kissed them.²⁴⁸ The set, with twelve chairs, two commodes and two tables perhaps suggests the type of gathering the Earl Bishop favoured; he was of the generation that enjoyed and admired conversation and expected the furniture to facilitate it.

Margot Finn's examples of men as gift givers suggests that gift exchange outside the family was usually between members of the same sex. Instances of Hervey's gift giving, found in his papers, were not only to women but couched in flirtatious language. Doubtless these presents were only a sample of his actual gift exchange; however, this male to female giving adds an interesting and perhaps untypical dimension to eighteenth-century affective sociability. Clearly Hervey's relationship with women caused contemporary disapproval. The Revd Bisset associated the style of Hervey's furniture with the influence of unsuitable women (in this case presumably Emma Hamilton): 'The Whole Taste of the Furniture is vicious; one should imagine it had been chosen by the Neapolitan Lady whose Portrait you are shewn, and who is said to have been a Favourite of his Lordship'.²⁴⁹

Gifts could also be practical. In Hervey's earliest incarnation, as third son and young husband, mentions of furniture in letters reveal concerns alien to the older, wealthy and more sophisticated Earl Bishop. Aged twenty-two Hervey married Elizabeth Davers, daughter of the local political rival and Tory, Sir Robert Davers

²⁴⁷ 'I congratulate you, my old friend, from the bottom of my heart upon the fortitude you have shown & the manly part you have taken in braving the world & securing your own happiness and elegant enjoyments in defiance of them. I was for a long time prepar'd to receive you both... no body mentions your decision, but with approbation – no wonder, [provided?] they have ever seen & heard Lady Hamilton', Hervey to Sir William Hamilton, 21 Dec. 1791 (N.L.I., Hamilton papers, MS 2262).

²⁴⁸ Hervey to Countess Lichtenau, 16 July 1796, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 504. According to Childe-Pemberton, Emma Hamilton had recorded that when a woman (Countess Lichtenau in the light of this document) rapturously kissed the neoclassical chairs of Sir John Acton, the Earl Bishop kissed her; Emma Hamilton reassured the woman 'Laissez-le, chère amie, il vous embrasse comme il embrasse un de ses tableaux!' (Translation: do not worry, dear friend, he kisses you as he would one of his pictures') Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 5.

²⁴⁹ William Bisset, 'Journal', p. 86.

of Rushbrook Hall, Suffolk. Renting and furnishing a house occupied the young couple's attention. Writing to his brother-in-law Constantine Phipps in 1753, Hervey had a 'little sum wch we already have sav'd for furniture'.²⁵⁰ By the next spring, 'Mrs Hervey dreads the not having where withal to furnish our House ... and provisions are become so immoderately dear that I see no other resource for us but that of living where they are cheapest'.²⁵¹ It was important to live like a gentleman even when means were limited; both sexes worried about this. By 1755, Frederick and Elizabeth Hervey with their growing family, were tenants of his brother in a house just outside the gates of Ickworth Park. The gift of a library table from Constantine Phipps was received with delight: 'I am come to thank you for one of the prettiest ornaments of my Small house: it is indeed excessively neat, perfectly convenient, and both on its own account and that of the giver so acceptable'.²⁵² Such a gift was a practical and welcome way to help a relation.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted that Hervey was unusual *among wealthy patrons because he did not employ a fashionable architect to create a unified decorative scheme. Downhill contradicts the impression repeatedly evinced by publications on eighteenth-century houses, that interiors were fully designed spaces, with all aspects determined by the architect. The decorating of Downhill was piecemeal; an evolving project. His travels undoubtedly had a profound impact on the development of Hervey's interiors; however, neither the exciting potential offered by the newly discovered Roman interiors at the Villa Negroni, nor the possibility of his classically inspired collaboration with John Soane, were ever fully realised. Experimental and innovative ideas were attractive in theory, but at Downhill, at least, it seems that tried and tested models were ultimately preferable; intention and reality were at variance. On the other hand, new evidence of the use of chinoiserie in interiors at Ballyscullion shows that Hervey was more influenced*

²⁵⁰ Hervey to Constantine Phipps, 15 Dec. 1753, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 41.

²⁵¹ Hervey to Constantine Phipps, 28 Apr. 1754, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 46.

²⁵² Hervey to Constantine Phipps, 10 Dec. 1755, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 52.

by Continental than British fashion. Ballyscullion and Ickworth were considerably more extravagant in terms of interior decoration than Downhill, revealing that Hervey refined the concept of the interior as a vehicle for display.

This chapter has sought to explore Downhill (and, as far as possible, Ballyscullion) as a functioning house for family, staff and visitors. Hervey's houses were built for different and changing purposes and the validity of this hypothesis is reinforced by the appearance and content of their respective interiors. Extensions and room names reflect the development of Downhill from a family villa to a centre for entertaining and politicking. Ballyscullion, built to display art, neither achieved this objective, since the two galleries were not completed, nor was it properly lived in, inviting criticism by observers of the 'Bishop's Folly'. Intriguing glimpses into everyday life at Downhill are made possible through vestiges of the goods that were once there: the genteel enjoyment of a pound of tea a week during Hervey's absence; the fifteen identical, locally-manufactured gentlemen's dressing tables in the barracks; and the gift of 'frippery' foreign furniture from Princess Augusta. The next chapter, which comprises a case study of Hervey's architect, Michael Shanahan, explores more fully the themes of professional life, patronage and sources of stylistic inspiration that have been alluded to above.

CHAPTER THREE

CASE STUDY OF MICHAEL SHANAHAN (c.1731-1811)

3.1 Introduction

Michael Shanahan, stonemason and architect, probably originating in county Cork, is a fascinating figure who reveals some of the complexities and texture of late eighteenth-century professional life.¹ Hitherto Shanahan has appeared on the historical record merely as an adjunct to the Earl Bishop. Investigation of Shanahan's career places Hervey's projects within the broader context of the Irish building scene. Hervey took Shanahan on the Grand Tour as draftsman, to record his current interests in bridges, geological features and architecture. New research presented here reveals the buildings which Hervey and Shanahan admired abroad, and offers insight into Hervey's patronage and influence. Shanahan's drawings were made into engravings in Vicenza but never reached Ireland; viewing these 'lost' engravings in archives in Vicenza, Milan and Monza leads to new conclusions. It is proposed that these architectural engravings (the exact subject matter previously unknown but now shown to have a Palladian theme) might have been the core of a planned book on Palladian architecture. Shanahan's subsequent career and two publishing projects (European bridges and Palladian buildings) indicate the importance of the Grand Tour experience for an Irish architect.

Secondly the personal and professional relationship between Shanahan and Hervey is explored; this has found mention but not scrutiny in secondary literature.² Shanahan worked for Hervey for over twenty years as architect and overseer at Downhill and early Ballyscullion, on garden structures, churches and glebe-houses. These buildings reflected a symbiotic and often stormy relationship between the architect and the patron. Anne Shanahan's letters give rare voice to the wife of a professional interceding on behalf of her husband in arguments with Hervey. Shanahan had to defend his reputation on several revealing occasions. He

¹ The fullest consideration of Shanahan to date is the entry in the Irish Architectural Archive online 'Dictionary of Irish architects' which lists his works and biography (hereafter I.A.A. Dictionary).

² A. P. W. Malcomson raised this point in 'Introduction to the Hervey Bruce papers' (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D1514 and D2798). See also Rankin, *Irish building ventures*.

was enmeshed in a professional world of competition and co-operation with other Irish and British architects.

In his home in the city of Cork, Shanahan displayed a remarkable collection of prints, ancient marble capitals and a painting of the Hervey family. This collection links Shanahan with other professionals like Michael Stapleton and Joseph Rose who drew on their portfolios for inspiration, and Robert Adam who displayed ancient marbles both for decorative and instructive value. Shanahan ran a stone-yard in Cork's White Street, enabling him to control not only architectural work but also to supply many structural and decorative elements. His Grand Tour experience became available to the genteel of Munster through purchases such as chimneypieces. Shanahan's stone-yard has left little evidence except in connection with Downhill; notwithstanding, an assessment of the processes of production and consumption through this operation is possible and has not been undertaken before.

3.2 Michael Shanahan's Grand Tour 1770-72

Michael Shanahan's Grand Tour has not received scholarly attention to date. Shanahan appears on the historical record when the new bishop of Derry, Frederick Hervey, took him to France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Dalmatia as artist and tutor to his son from 1770 to 1772. Presumably Hervey had noticed this talented draftsman when he was briefly bishop of Cloyne.³ They were congenial and energetic men in their mid-thirties. This was Shanahan's first and only trip abroad and Hervey's second of six. Few direct sources survive but eighteen engravings of Shanahan's drawings made on this Tour and 'lost' at the workshop of the engraver in Vicenza have been located and viewed, and appear in

³ Michael Shanahan and Ann [sic] Uniacke applied for a marriage licence at Cloyne in 1774, see T. George H. Green, *Index to the marriage licence bonds of the diocese of Cloyne 1630-1800* (Cork, 1899), p. 93. She may have been from the wealthy Uniacke merchant family of Cork. Alternatively she may have been the daughter of Henry Uniacke [sic], a Roman Catholic appearing in the Religious Census of 1766 in Kilmahon parish, Cloyne.

this thesis for the first time.⁴ From these engravings, new conclusions are proposed and developed: that Shanahan intended a modernised architectural edition of Palladio's actual (rather than published) designs; and that his known bridge engravings constituted a prototype for the inspection of possible subscribers rather than the finished product.

Shanahan had considerable business acumen. As an unknown man, given the unexpected opportunity to travel, he was keen to capitalise on his good fortune and gain a reputation through publishing. Richard Pococke (later bishop of Ossory) and his cousin Jeremiah Milles, travelling together on a limited budget after leaving Oxford, planned to publish their letters and journals when they returned home in the 1730s; later Pococke's *A Description of the East and of some other Countries* (London, 1743 and 1745) secured him a position in literary and archaeological circles and membership of associations like the Egyptian Club and the Divan Club.⁵ Architects had established their careers on transformative Continental travel: James 'Athenian' Stuart, Robert Adam and William Chambers all presented their encounters as archaeological and architectural books. In describing his *Ruins of the Palace of Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro* as 'a great puff, conducive to raising all at once one's name & character', Robert Adam recognised that the advantages derived from a publication might be in the advancement of the author's career rather than in direct profits.⁶

Hervey's prime interest on this Tour was geology, specifically the recording of geological features similar to the Giant's Causeway. Shanahan drew the basalt columns of the Languedoc area and shared the role of draftsman with Antonio di Bittio on the trip to Dalmatia in 1771 with Hervey and Abbé Fortis (these pictures do not survive). Hervey sent Shanahan and Bittio off in different directions, sometimes for months at a time. The geological aspect of the 1770-72 Tour is discussed further in chapter 5. Hervey's other chief concern was studying bridges: during the whirl of improvement that was his first year in Derry 1768-69, he had

⁴ I have viewed these engravings in Italy: ten are in Civica Raccolta delle Stampe 'Achille Bertarelli' di Castello Sforzesco, Milan; seven in Gabinetto di Disegno e Stampe del Museo Civico di Vicenza; and one in Civic Collection of Engravings, Serrone Villa Reale, Monza.

⁵ See Rachel Finnegan (ed.), *Letters from abroad: the Grand Tour correspondence of Richard Pococke and Jeremiah Milles, Volume 1: letters from the Continent, 1733-34* (Kilkenny, 2011).

⁶ Robert Adam (N.R.A.S., GD18/4849), quoted in Coltman, *Fabricating the Antique*, p. 45.

proposed a bridge for the river Foyle. Two sets of thirty-two prints and some correspondence over missing engraving plates, prove that Shanahan turned Hervey's search for a prototype bridge into an opportunity for a publication. Two of the bridge engravings were signed 'I.A.H', indicating that Shanahan took seriously his other role of drawing tutor to Hervey's thirteen-year-old son, John Augustus Hervey.

The Swiss bridges which Shanahan carefully surveyed and drew were technologically far in advance of bridges in Ireland (discussed in chapter 1). British and Irish bridge builders relied upon Palladio and perhaps read the superior French treatises by Gautier and Bélidor of the early eighteenth century. The pamphlet war over Blackfriars Bridge is just one example of the public controversy surrounding bridge design; everyone had an opinion. Yet only four books came out in English on bridge building in the second half of the century.⁷ Shanahan may have identified a publishing opportunity, especially as he had illustrations of very new Swiss wooden bridges, including Grubenmann's Shaffhausen bridge of the 1750s [fig. 3.1] and a possible plan for the ambitious Derry bridge [fig. 3.2]. On his return home Shanahan produced *Plans and elevations of stone and timber bridges in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy*. The title page of one copy is inscribed for the approval of Lord Lieutenant Harcourt, dating this project to 1772 to 1777. The engravings are marked with letters and numbers, indicating that Shanahan wrote, or intended, a text keyed to them. It has been assumed that he published a very small run since only two variant copies of the engravings exist.⁸ However, it seems more likely that these two copies were inspection samples, hence the small number, the lack of text and lobbying of the Lord Lieutenant, whose approval would be influential. Presumably, Shanahan never published his full book on bridges.

⁷ John Muller, *Treatise containing the practical art of fortification* (1755); Stephen Riou, *Short principles of the architecture of stone bridges* (1760); Charles Hutton, *Principles of bridges* (1772); George Semple, *Treatise on building in water* (1776) in Eileen Harris, *British architectural books and writers, 1556-1785* (Cambridge, 1990), pp 46-7.

⁸ The two copies are in the British Architectural Library and at Ickworth House, not in T.C.D. as stated in Paul W. Nash, Nicholas Savage, Gerald Beasley, John Meriton and Alison Shell, *Early printed books, 1478-1840, a catalogue of the British Architectural Library early imprints collection*, iv (London, 2001), p. 1835.

It may be that Shanahan never, or only much later, got some of his plates back from the engraver in Vicenza. In 1786 he was thanking Hervey (who was on his fourth Grand Tour) for information:

many of my Copperplates which are missing I have given up for Lost many years since, it would make me happy to hear that the Copperplate of Ponte du Gard is not lost for I value it much. I am certain that the publishing of it with that of the bridges would be a means of selling many Copies.⁹

The impressive Pont du Gard engraving, now in the Museo Civico in Vicenza, is the only surviving Shanahan plate of double size; whether Shanahan saw it again is unknown [figs 3.3 a and b].

Although Shanahan had been eager to publish in the 1770s, by 1786 he was an established architect and judge the situation differently. Doubting that there was money to be made, he recognised that he would need British subscribers to supplement the small Irish market and he predicted a protectionist response from the British architectural establishment against an outsider:

I am grateful for your Lordships offer in forwarding this work and subscribing for 20 Copies, but I am sorry to say that no publication by subscription has in my memory met with any success, hitherto in this Kingdom – there is a certain expence attending it, but none of the success ... Wyatt and Adams would not forward the work of an Irish artist, but rather throw cold water upon it. I am in great hopes that, if my success in the marble business continues as it has hitherto, of which I see every prospect, I shall shortly be able to publish this work at my own expence, without any application for subscription.¹⁰

Also, by 1786 arguments with Hervey (discussed later in this chapter) had led Shanahan to seek more independence from his patron. Perhaps he took the advice of ‘many of my friends to dispose of the copper-plates to some of the London booksellers’?¹¹

⁹ Shanahan to Hervey, 12 Aug. 1786 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey/Bruce papers, D2798/2/86).

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid. Josiah Taylor issued a large hand-coloured etching with some aquatint shading of ‘the Wooden Bridge at Shaffhausen in Switzerland’ on 1 Aug. 1799, costing 12s. coloured. See Josiah

Publishing was an expensive business largely undertaken by the author, who paid the printer for paper and typesetting, but engraving was the chief cost. The Society of Dilettanti spent £793 on publishing the first volume of *Ionian Antiquities*; the supplement of just five plates on the Temple of Jackly which completed this volume in 1785 cost £137 13s. 9d.¹² Finding subscribers was difficult and perhaps demeaning work. Adam managed to gather 578 subscribers for *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro* published in 1764, whereas James Byres's proposed 'Etruscan Antiquities at Corneto' failed in 1767 due to lack of subscriptions. James Gibbs may have earned £1,900 through his architectural publications but he was the exception.¹³

The Earl Bishop always used Cristoforo Dall'Acqua in Vicenza (1734-87) for his engraving. That Hervey did not consider Bittio's ten drawings of the Giant's Causeway worth engraving by Dall'Acqua at a cost of £400 in 1774 gives an impression of cost. If the fifty surviving drawings of Shanahan cost £40 each to engrave, the total bill would have been £2,000. It seems likely that these surviving engravings are part of a larger body, for example, three pictures of Porta Palio are linked to letters marked on a ground plan no longer in this collection. Probably, in line with contemporary practice, Shanahan drew a ground plan, façade and section of his key buildings. It has not been possible to establish whether Hervey or Shanahan paid Dall'Acqua. If Shanahan paid or put money in, it implies that he had achieved financial status before he first met Hervey. The latter's comment that 'Dell'Acqua has various plans of Shanahan's to finish; and the poor man's bread and character depend upon the publication of them' suggests investment by Shanahan.¹⁴ Shanahan's despairing cry that 'It never was my interest to stay in the North [Downhill]. I was first induced to it in hopes of getting my copper plates which long since have vanished', implies that he could not afford to abandon the project.¹⁵

Taylor, *Architectural library catalogue* (London, 1801), quoted in Nash, *Early printed books*, iv, p. 1836, though the authors give no definitive evidence that this was Shanahan's drawing.

¹² Society of Dilettanti, Letter Book I, ff 243, 329, quoted in Harris, *British architectural books*, p. 54.

¹³ Harris, *British architectural books*, p. 54.

¹⁴ Hervey to Strange, 20 Dec. 1774, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 142.

¹⁵ Shanahan to Hervey, 29 Dec. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/51).

It is proposed here that Shanahan considered a book on Palladian architecture as well as the bridges publication. Giacomo Leoni's 1715-19 folio edition of Palladio's *Quattro Libri* and Isaac Ware's more accurate edition in 1738, under the patronage of Lord Burlington, had spurred on the growing British and Irish fascination with Palladianism. Palladio was essential reading for any aspiring architect: Hervey, who consciously viewed himself as a nurturer of talent, is known to have given Palladio's *Quattro Libri* to John Soane in 1778.¹⁶ The majority of Shanahan's 'lost' engravings are of Palladian buildings: a church in Vicenza; two important palazzos and the only small-scale house of Palladio in Vicenza; two villas of the Veneto; and two churches in Venice. The new evidence of the engravings points towards Shanahan envisaging not merely a copy of Palladio's buildings in *Quattro Libri*, but an updated version, with measurements in British feet, and Palladio's buildings shown as they were actually executed. If this hypothesis is correct, then Shanahan was in tune with highly sophisticated European architectural thinkers. In order to exemplify this hypothesis, two books (of the same decade as Shanahan's work) by leading French and Italian architects will be examined: Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi, *Les bâtiments et les desseins de André Palladio* in four volumes (Vicenza, 1776-83) and Charles-Louis Clérisseau, *Antiquités de la France* (Paris, 1778).

Palladio published his ideal designs. Shanahan observed the buildings were as executed, some varying just in a few measurements (as Palladio perfected proportions for publication) while others were built only in part. In his engravings, Shanahan drew Palladio's buildings as they currently stood. For example, Shanahan drew the Villa Thiene at Quinto. The designs in *Quattro Libri* show an enormous complex designed for the brothers Marcantonio and Adriano Thiene, each with separate living quarters [fig. 3.4]. Due to the deaths of the brothers, only a third was ever built and half of that was then demolished. Palladio illustrated the full plan and discussed it in the text as if built in its entirety.¹⁷ Shanahan drew only what he saw [figs 3.5-3.6]. Shanahan gave the measurements in his engravings in British feet, whereas Palladio used Vicentine feet which were two inches longer

¹⁶ Darley, *John Soane*, p. 28.

¹⁷ Ware, *The four books of architecture*, plate 47 and p. 52.

and employed minutes as the smallest divisions; these were not easily translated by contemporary British and Irish builders, hence a growing number of handbooks published for calculating Palladio's measurements and proportions for the orders, such as John Wood, *Dissertation upon the Orders* (1750).

Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi published an ambitious explanation of all Palladio's architecture, both buildings illustrated in *Quattro Libri* and others known to be by Palladio (the most famous being Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza designed ten years after *Quattro Libri* had been published). He used only Vicentine feet and painstakingly pointed out where Palladio's measurements in *Quattro Libri* differed from the measurements as executed. Bertotti Scamozzi wavered between presenting buildings as they actually were and as they were intended: he drew buildings as planned by Palladio, explaining in the text what had not been executed. In contrast, Shanahan drew only what was on the ground. Comparing the treatment of the Villa Pisani at Bagnolo by Shanahan and by Bertotti Scamozzi makes this clear. Villa Pisani was originally conceived by Palladio with a magnificent exedra front with concave and convex steps but perhaps due to cost this was sacrificed to a loggia.¹⁸ Considering the loggia inadequate, in *Quattro Libri* (though without mention in the text) Palladio illustrated Villa Pisani from the garden front, dressing it up with an imaginary temple portico [fig. 3.7]. Bertotti Scamozzi drew Villa Pisani with all these imaginary features [figs 3.8-3.9]. Shanahan recorded reality [fig. 3.10].

Bertotti Scamozzi was not consistent: in an interior section of Palazzo Iseppo Porto, the actual wall layout, with a substantial chimneypiece, was carefully recorded instead of the niches and arches of Palladio's plan [figs 3.11-3.12]. Shanahan devoted an engraving to this caryatid chimneypiece [fig. 3.13]. Palladio's pupil, Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'idea della architettura universal* (1615), included a chapter on chimneypieces, recommending that caryatid supports would be suitable in the apartments of important persons such as princes. chimneypieces were a problematic subject since there was no ancient precedent to follow. Later

¹⁸ Andrea Palladio, 'Plan for Villa Pisani, Bagnolo, Vicenza' in R.I.B.A.; illustrated as plates 67a and 67c in Paul Holberton, *Palladio's villas: life in the Renaissance countryside* (London, 1990), p. 216.

Hervey and Shanahan shared an increasing fascination with chimneypieces, as Hervey made expensive choices in Rome on subsequent tours and Shanahan manufactured his own designs in his Cork stone-yard. Shanahan's aspirational publication could never have been on the scale of Bertotti Scamozzi's four volume opus, yet it places this unproven Irishman among serious and sophisticated Continental architectural thinkers.

Charles-Louis Clérisseau had a great influence on architects visiting Rome and on French neoclassical architecture. He recommended to Robert Adam that he undertake a publication and he drew perspectives for *The palace of Diocletian at Spalato*. Shanahan's engravings suggest some parallels with Clérisseau's work. Clérisseau was also interested in the Pont du Gard near Nîmes; his engraving was published in 1804 [fig. 3.14]. In *Antiquités de la France* (1778), Clérisseau illustrated the Roman temple, Maison Carrée at Nîmes, commenting that Palladio had included it in *Quattro Libri* [fig. 3.15]. Like Shanahan, Clérisseau modernised the measurements and recorded in his text Palladio's measurements, stating that they were in Vicentine feet.¹⁹ Shanahan surveyed the Maison Carrée but he also pursued Palladio's explanation that Palladio had based his design for Santa Maria Nuova in Vicenza on this Roman temple [fig. 3.16]. In his survey of Santa Maria Nuova, Shanahan added an extra dimension by representing the scheme of the stucco ceiling as lozenges on the floor plan [fig. 3.17].

Designs for Palladio's churches were not included in *Quattro Libri* but both Redentore and San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice bear some similarity with Bertotti Scamozzi's treatment of them, showing a half section through the dome and front, simultaneously offering façade and internal views [figs 3.18-3.20]. Bertotti Scamozzi did not include internal features like altars but Shanahan devoted an engraving to a transept altar in San Giorgio Maggiore; this could easily be reconfigured at home as a classical church monument [figs 3.21-3.23].²⁰ However, though churches were some of Hervey's and Shanahan's earliest

¹⁹ For example the inner doorway of the Maison Carrée at Nîmes measured by Palladio at 9 ¼ Vicentine feet; Clérisseau 10.2.10 feet (9.11.10 if plinth included); Shanahan 10.6 ½ feet.

²⁰ The altar is classical in style; the strangely concave pediment is actually an accurate portrayal of the curve in the end wall of the north and south transepts.

building projects on return to the Derry diocese, they chose a mildly gothic style for these small parish churches (discussed in chapter 1).

A minority of the engravings now in Milan, Vicenza and Monza are not buildings by Palladio. Of Shanahan's three surviving engravings of ancient subjects, the ground plan of Maison Carrée at Nîmes was featured by Palladio in *Quattro Libri*.²¹ The other two engravings are harder to interpret: an Egyptian column trussed up (perhaps for restoration or carriage) and an obelisk in pieces, both with inscriptions to Emperor Antoninus Pius (who was born in Nîmes) [figs 3.24-3.25]. Their inclusion in this form suggests that these items may have been bought by Hervey for display at Downhill. Later, in 1797, Hervey seriously considered an expedition to Egypt (see chapter 5), partly to collect obelisks, columns and sphinxes which he believed could be had for just the cost of transportation.²²

Five engravings are not buildings by Palladio but views and sections of three gates by Michele Sanmichele of Verona. Shanahan's 'Architectural overview of the mainland gate of Zadar' was a coup because few tourists ventured into Dalmatia [fig. 3.26]. Shanahan may have recognised this trip, to record the karst scenery of Dalmatia, as an opportunity to publish drawings of buildings off the beaten track, which was also the reasoning for James Stuart's and Nicholas Revett's selection of Athens and Robert Adam's choice of Spalato. Shanahan also drew Michele Sanmichele's Porta Nuovo and Porta Palia at Verona [figs 3.27-3.29]. Sanmichele travelled through the Venetian empire as inspector of fortifications, gaining experience of Hellenistic architecture. Recognising baseless Doric as the primary order of Greek architecture, he used it (on rusticated drums) for the city façade of his Porta Palio (1548-50), which Vasari described as 'the crowning miracle' of Sanmichele's career.²³ Shanahan recorded that elevation [fig. 3.29]. He also made close-up drawings of the classical bucrania, popular as a

²¹ Ware, *The four books of architecture*, iv, pp 106-107 and plates 81-86.

²² There was interest in Egyptian obelisks: Angelo Maria Bandini published a whole folio of commentary, *De Obelisco Caesaris Augusti* (Rome, 1750), with only three plates of the obelisk, beautifully drawn by James 'Athenian' Stuart. The appendix includes a letter from James 'Athenian' Stuart to Charles Wentworth of observations on the obelisk, indicative of the British enthusiasm for ancient subjects.

²³ Adolf K. Placzek (ed.), *Macmillan encyclopaedia of architects* (London, 1982), iii, 650.

neoclassical ornamentation and used on the Lion's Gate entrance at Downhill [figs 3.30-3.33].

To place Shanahan's intended 'Architecture' within a British context, his engravings had more in common with Palladio's publications than with Colen Campbell's influential *Vitruvius Britannicus*, because Shanahan provided accurate measurements, ornamental detail and a three-dimensional result, by cutting away sections of the façade to reveal the interior behind. Dana Arnold charts a process of 'democratisation' in the appreciation of architecture, through inexpensive publications in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. She identifies over thirty books of country house designs published 1780 to 1815, by architects advertising their own work and services, such as John Plaw, who 'furnishes designs, and working drawings, and will advise or attend to their execution (if required), at the usual commission'.²⁴ Nor did Shanahan appear to have been contemplating a practical guide to building in the Palladian style along the lines of William Paine who claimed in his preface to *The builder's pocket treasure or Palladio delineated and explained* (1766) that:

as Palladio is allowed, by all Hands, to be the greatest Master that ever Published anything on this subject, the principal View in this Treatise is to Render his excellent Performance of universal Service to builders of every Denomination, by affixing such Explanations as will enable a Workman to put his Designs in Practice.²⁵

For Paine, Palladio represented guidelines for building; Paine advised on the orders and proportions, on chimneys and stairs, windows and rafters, even bridges and greenhouses, but made no reference to Palladio's actual buildings. Shanahan's work was neither advertising his own designs nor was it a practical guide; rather it belonged to the tradition of engaging with great buildings of the Continent.

Though travel had become more common, it was still an exclusive club, membership of which brought many and varied advantages. The defining episode in Shanahan's life was being taken abroad by his patron. Shanahan's engravings

²⁴ Arnold, *Georgian country house*, pp 37-41.

²⁵ William Paine, *The builder's pocket treasure or Palladio delineated and explained* (1766), p. iv.

presented in this thesis offer a unique and previously unexplored view into what interested Hervey and Shanahan on their travels. Hervey set Shanahan tasks that initiated him into the neoclassical desire for accuracy in surveying and imitating authentic ancient architecture. These surveys found direct expression in the garden buildings designed by Shanahan at Downhill and discussed more fully in chapter 1: the mausoleum at Downhill was based on the Roman mausoleum at St Remy in Provence, and the Mussenden Temple was derived from the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli. Shanahan absorbed the neoclassical style that characterised his future work. This idiom was only becoming established in Ireland from the 1760s, through landmark buildings like William Chambers's Casino at Marino.

3.3 The professional and the patron

Hervey provided Shanahan with steady work for twenty years. The epithet the 'edifying bishop' had nothing to do with his churchmanship; to Shanahan's good fortune, Hervey was obsessed with building. Of Hervey's three great houses, Shanahan was largely responsible for both of the Irish ones. He also designed and built garden structures, churches and glebe houses for the Earl Bishop (discussed in chapter 1). It is interesting to note Shanahan's methods concerning Ballyscullion. He learned to appreciate the value of viewing buildings for inspiration through travelling with his patron; Hervey identified Palladio's Villa Rotunda La Capra and the Pantheon as models for Ballyscullion. Later Shanahan regretted missing an opportunity to view 'your Lordship's favorite building', the round house of Belle Isle on Lake Windermere [fig. 1.8c].²⁶ Shanahan had an architectural model made of Ballyscullion and discussed it with other architects, tapping into a circle of professional advice: 'Mr Penrose and Mr Malton, an English architect, said they never saw a plan they like so much as that of your Lordship's house. They declared it would be a perfect beauty. I am sorry I did not meet with Mr Gandon to have his opinion'.²⁷ The Irish Sea was no barrier: in 1787 Shanahan travelled to London intending to consult there with 'Wyatt or Adam'

²⁶ Shanahan to Hervey, 22 May 1787 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/91).

²⁷ Shanahan to Hervey, 29 Mar. 1787 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/88).

and Scottish architect George Steuart (who had designed Baronscourt for Lord Abercorn).²⁸

Shanahan's strengths lay in architecture, but there is ample evidence of his passionate interest in the interior of the Mussenden Temple. A close comparison of the Mussenden Temple with James 'Athenian' Stuart's Temple of the Winds at Mount Stewart, underscores the problems Shanahan faced with his employer and the difference between a project managed by a well-known architect and a home-grown one [figs 3.34-3.35]. The patrons Frederick Hervey, the Earl Bishop, and Robert Stewart, Lord Londonderry, shared more in common than status and land in Ulster; they were both influenced by foreign travel and by neoclassicism. Lord Londonderry had been educated in Geneva, undertook a Grand Tour and chose the leading neoclassical artist Mengs for his portrait. He was the only Irish patron of James 'Athenian' Stuart, who had published the influential *Antiquities of Athens* in 1762. Lord Charlemont described Londonderry as 'Ireland's most important cognoscente'.²⁹ Unlike Charlemont, who relied exclusively on William Chambers, but in common with the Earl Bishop, Londonderry approached several architects, notably James 'Athenian' Stuart and James Wyatt.

A closer examination of Lord Londonderry's accounts (table 1) allows for some comparison of the spending patterns of Londonderry and Hervey. It is not possible to recreate Hervey's accounts, but building must have outweighed all other outgoings. Londonderry was prevented from implementing Wyatt's plan for Mount Stewart by the cost of electioneering, so a temporary wing was put up on the existing house as a stopgap. Like Downhill, Mount Stewart was a work in progress, with plans ever changing. Lord Londonderry did not use Wyatt's design when finances allowed him to resume building, but intended his carpenter-turned-architect, John Ferguson of Belfast, to design the new house. When he persuaded his father to opt for George Dance over 'Ferguson's detestable plan', Londonderry's son, Lord Castlereagh, may have revealed more about the

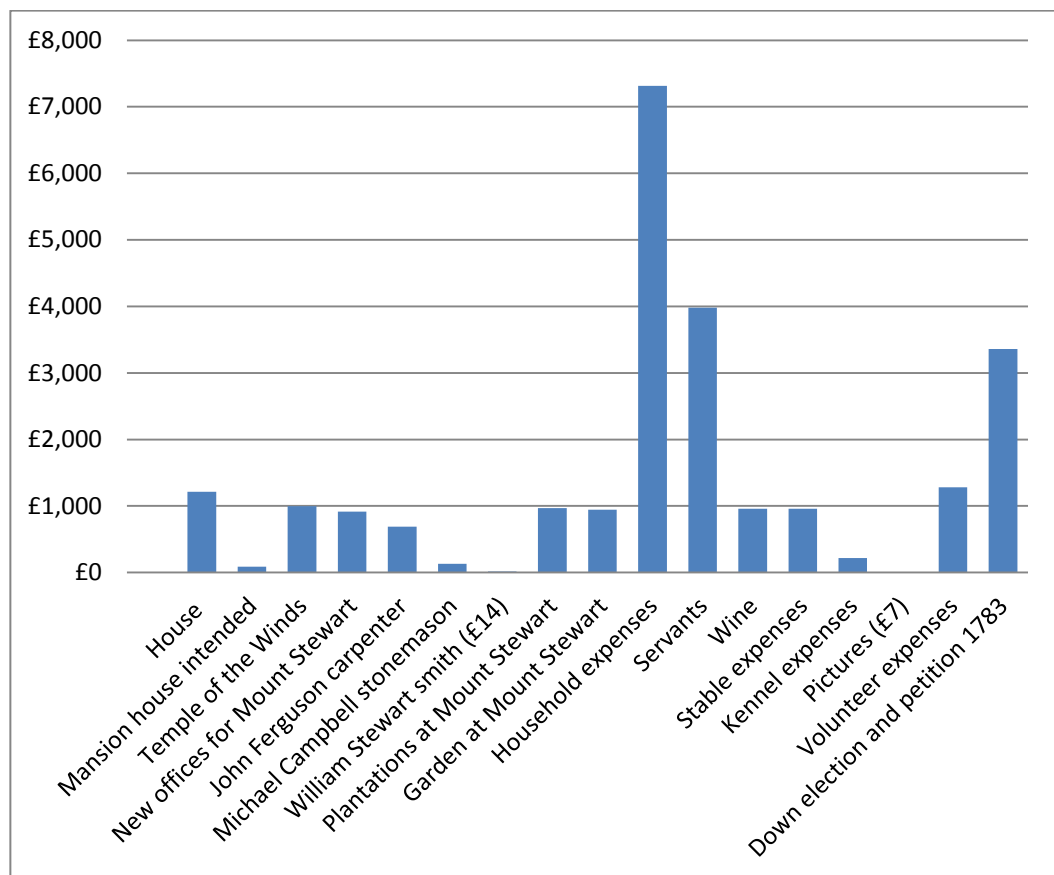
²⁸ Shanahan to Hervey, 22 May 1787 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/91).

²⁹ Desmond Guinness, *The Temple of the Winds, Mount Stewart: a historical note*, National Trust (n.d.) (I.A.A., RP.D.17.10).

importance of employing a fashionable architect than the merits of the design.³⁰ The Earl Bishop was out of step with contemporary Irish patrons of his stature in employing Shanahan, an architect he had raised himself; however, the arrangement suited the Earl Bishop's notorious meddling.

Table 1 Selected expenses of Robert Stewart, Lord Londonderry, at Mount Stewart (1781-89).

Source: Robert Stewart, 'Journal of accounts' (P.R.O.N.I., Londonderry papers, D654/H/1/1).



The interior of the Mussenden Temple was the cause of a clash of views between patron and architect. The dispute proves that Hervey collected designs that appealed to him. It also reveals that Shanahan, though he had to tread warily, could be just as determined in pursuing his concept; he had identified the Mussenden Temple as his architectural show-piece. Other patrons were more

³⁰ Lord Castlereagh quoted in Gervase Jackson-Stops, 'Mount Stewart, Co. Down, a property of the National Trust' in *Country Life* (6 Mar. 1980), p. 649.

willing to bow to the aesthetic expertise of their architect, especially if the architect were a great name, as demonstrated by the Casino at Marino. Charlemont made suggestions and asked for mock-ups to allay his fears, but ultimately he always deferred to Chambers's decision.

Hervey had sent Shanahan a coloured design for the ceiling of the drawing room of Hagley Park, Sir Assheton Curzon's house in Staffordshire [fig. 3.37].³¹ In selecting a Wyatt design, Hervey was in the company of other Irish patrons like the Duke of Leinster, Lord Altamont and later Lord Belmore.³² But Shanahan objected to the scale and femininity of Wyatt's Hagley Park ceiling. He tried to be uncharacteristically diplomatic:

Mr Ashton Curzon's room: although this design is very elegant and from the drawing I believe it is finished with great precision, yet I would not wish to finish the Temple with such colours and minuteness. I like much better a more bold and ample style. The former manner is much better adapted for a lady's dressing-room than for a Temple built in a rural and romantic situation, where much strength and solidity is required.³³

Shanahan emphasised the sublime nature of the site and drew on the concept of the classical, man-made building, contrasting with nature untamed. He identified a library as a masculine space. His objection to decoration that detracted from the architecture was comparable to James Gandon's criticism: 'A minute manner was introduced by Athenian Stuart and afterwards by the Adams whose ornaments were not always adapted to the character of the buildings in which they were introduced'.³⁴

³¹ James Wyatt, ceiling design for Hagley Park (Metropolitan Museum Washington, 58.511). Design entered in 1771 Exhibition of the Royal Academy. Hagley Park is not to be confused with Hagley Hall in Worcestershire.

³² Designs for ceilings by Wyatt in Irish houses exist for: Viscount de Vesci at Abbeyleix 1772-78; the Knoxes at Northland House c.1772; Viscount Conyngham at Slane Castle 1773; the picture gallery at Leinster House for the Duke of Leinster 1775; Earl of Tyrone at Curraghmore 1778-87; a dining room for Lord Altamont at Westport House 1781; Castle Coole for Lord Belmore 1790-96; and Earl of Farnham at Farnham House 1790s.

³³ Shanahan to Hervey, n.d. (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/24).

³⁴ James Gandon, 'On the progress of architecture in Ireland', in *Life of James Gandon* (Dublin, 1846), p. 268, quoted in Curran, *Dublin decorative plasterwork*, p. 67.

Decorative plasterwork was expensive. Mid-century ceilings were extremely costly, due to the work involved in hand-modelling: Lafranchini charged £521 for the saloon at Carton and £491 for (probably) the staircase at Castletown. Foreign experts may have been able to charge more than Irish born craftsmen. Christine Casey explores a court case in London involving Pietro Lafranchini to suggest that stuccadores had risen beyond craftsmen, into the lower middle class, and had at their disposal significant sums of money.³⁵ Lord Londonderry paid £234 (and possibly £338) to William Fitzgerald (whose next placement was at Downhill) for executing James ‘Athenian’ Stuart’s design for the ceiling of the Temple of the Winds [fig. 3.36].³⁶ At Castle Coole, Joseph Rose charged £2,249 for the plasterwork designed by Wyatt in the 1790s.³⁷ Shanahan only allowed for £100 for ‘plasterers and stuccowork’ for the Mussenden Temple, probably for a coffered ceiling.³⁸

The walls of the Mussenden Temple were to contain bookcases and scagliola pilasters. Samples of scagliola in ‘Porphyry – Brocketelli – Sciena – Verd Antique and Jasper’ were sent for before costly decisions were made; Shanahan argued persuasively that ‘if the columns or pilasters within the Temple were finished in any of the above specimens it would be one of the finest things in England or Ireland’ [fig. 2.2].³⁹ Shanahan urged the bishop towards more expensive options, like hewn stone rather than hammered for the exterior, for though the price difference was £90, ‘I need not tell your Lordship how much more light and magnificent this would look’ [fig. 3.34]. The success of a project was as important to the reputation of the practitioner as to the patron. Other architects traded on key projects: William Chambers circulated designs of the Casino at Marino through his book, *A treatise on civil architecture* (London, 1759), and benefited from

³⁵ Christine Casey, ‘Stucco and sterling: the earning power of Ticinese stuccadori’ in Christine Casey and Conor Lucey (eds), *Decorative plasterwork in Ireland and Europe* (Dublin, 2012), p. 138. Pietro Lafranchini brought £200 to St Dunstan’s coffee house, London, to invest in a comic opera venture in 1754 (ibid.).

³⁶ ‘Journal of Accounts 1781-1789’ (P.R.O.N.I., Londonderry papers, D654/H1/1). In Lord Londonderry’s accounts, £234 is specified as paid to William Fitzgerald for the Temple, plus another £105 to Fitzgerald, though the latter may have been for the house or Temple (ibid.).

³⁷ Geoffrey Beard, *Decorative plasterwork in Great Britain* (London, 1975), p. 77.

³⁸ Shanahan to Hervey, n.d. (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/33).

³⁹ Shanahan to Hervey, n.d. (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/24).

publicity through Robert Ashford's painting (1776) and James Malton's engraving (1795).

Hervey had intended that the floor of the Temple would be a mosaic pavement, possibly mirroring or complementing the ceiling as at Syon House by Robert Adam 1762-3). He must have had an ambitious model in mind, for he brought Francis Reagal over from Rome with the offer of £1,000.⁴⁰ Mosaic floors were very rare in Ireland; Ballyfin was exceptional with a mosaic floor imported from Rome for the entrance hall and a parquetry floor of Moorish influence in the central vestibule.⁴¹ Ultimately, the Mussenden Temple was given flagstones, possibly as a temporary solution. Mount Stewart's Temple of the Winds had a floor of bog oak from the estate, attributed to the master carpenter from Belfast, John Ferguson [fig. 3.36]. Terence Reeves-Smyth suggests that this marquetry floor was installed twenty years after the Temple was completed; even in a project fully designed by a well-known architect, improvements could present themselves later.⁴²

Comparing the costs of the Mussenden Temple (estimate) and Temple of the Winds [table 2], indicates the priorities of the patrons: Londonderry spent more on the interior of his garden building while the Earl Bishop tended to lose interest in a project before it was finished.⁴³ James 'Athenian' Stuart's Temple of the Winds emulated the Tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes in Athens on the outside and was beautifully and fashionably presented as a dining pavilion on the inside. Hervey's impatience may be the reason why the Mussenden Temple, fitted up as a library, was not so lavishly finished.

⁴⁰ Strickland, *Dictionary of Irish artists*, ii, 273.

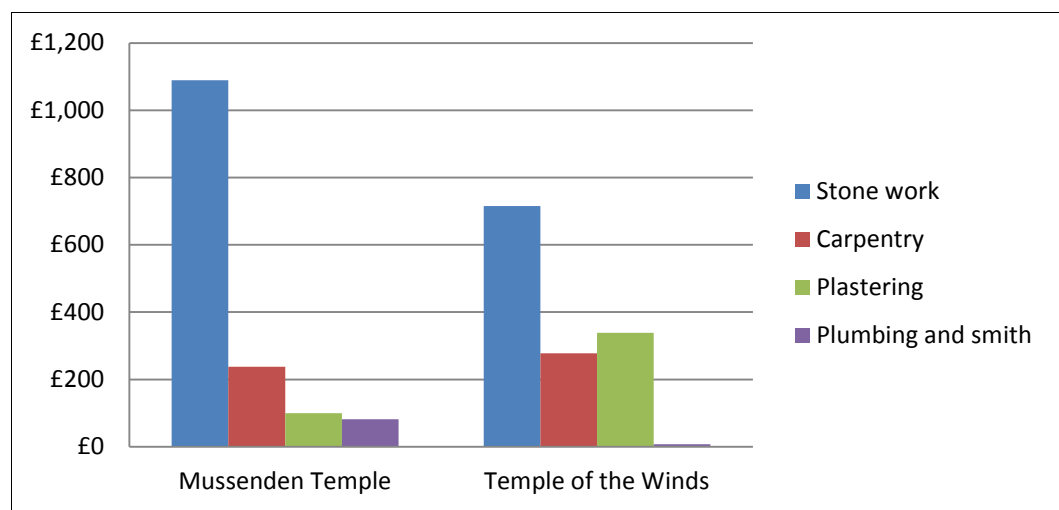
⁴¹ McCarthy, 'Planning in Irish houses', p.79.

⁴² Terence Reeves-Smyth, 'Athens on the Lough' in *Irish Arts Review* (Nov. 2009-Feb. 2010), p. 107.

⁴³ 'Estimate for the Mussenden Temple', 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/33); 'Journal of accounts' 1781-9 (P.R.O.N.I., Londonderry collection, D654/H1/1).

Table 2 Comparison of costs of the Mussenden Temple at Downhill and the Temple of the Winds at Mount Stewart.

Source: Michael Shanahan, ‘Estimate for the Mussenden Temple’ (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/33) and Robert Alexander, ‘Journal of Accounts’ (P.R.O.N.I., Londonderry papers, D654/H/1/1).



As has been highlighted in earlier chapters, working for the Earl Bishop was not easy. Unannounced, Hervey would upset the chain of command, threatening Shanahan’s position. In 1780 the Earl Bishop enticed the young architect, John Soane, to Ireland. In his ‘Downhill Notebook’, Soane listed alleged neglect by Shanahan: no water supply, poorly fitting doors and windows, smoking chimneys and lack of soundproofing.⁴⁴ Shanahan did not stand idly by on these occasions; one suspects that those whom Soane called ‘Shanahan and Co’ in his notebook had a hand in driving Soane off. Ultimately, he found the patron to be the source of these problems and after only a month he left Downhill, infuriated by Hervey’s constant interference and changes of mind: ‘Experience ... taught me how much I

⁴⁴ John Soane, ‘Downhill notebook’ 1780-81 (S.M., vol. 80, 5v).

had overrated the magnificent promises and splendid delusions of the Lord Bishop of Derry'.⁴⁵

Reflecting on the relationship between patron and architect reveals more of the texture of eighteenth-century professional life. Reading Shanahan's letters to the Earl Bishop one cannot help but be surprised at the familiarity: flattery, frustration, justification, political commentary and even scatological jokes that punctuate Shanahan's letters. Even Shanahan's patience had its limits and he complained about the arrival of yet another letter which 'with its multiplicity of queries, is merely calculated to puzzle and embarrass my thoughts ... I have neither leisure, time nor talents to answer such queries. No man but an adept in law is equal to such a task'.⁴⁶ Shanahan's frustration with his patron was by no means uncommon. The marquess of Downshire's 'autocratic over-riding of his architect's conception and of his overseer's practical considerations must have been in varying degrees characteristic of relations which produced many a country house in Ireland'.⁴⁷ Lord Bective simplified Robert Adam's plans for Headfort House. Francis Johnston raised the spectre of interfering patrons when reflecting on 'the imperfections of many of my undertakings, some caused by my own inexperience and others by the whims and obstinacy of my employers'.⁴⁸

The Shanahan family fortunes were closely tied up with their patron, as previously mentioned. The family lived at Downhill and Anne Shanahan became the assistant housekeeper. In the spring of 1783, Shanahan and the Earl Bishop had a falling out. When Hervey upset the chain of command yet again without warning, Anne Shanahan tried to mediate between her employer and her husband, outlining her husband's point of view:

[Shanahan] thought himself not well used, by sending Mr Loutch here without consulting him, especially as he never heard of his being employed farther than as a Carpenter by any one before, he understands by

⁴⁵ Soane, *Memoirs of the professional life of an architect* (London, 1835) quoted in du Prey, 'Soane and Downhill', p. 17.

⁴⁶ Shanahan to Hervey, 7 Apr. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/19).

⁴⁷ Francis Johnston to J. N. Brewer, 29 Feb. 1820, *Dublin Historical Record*, 11 (1950), pp 12-13, quoted in E. R. R. Green and F. M. Jope, 'Patron and architect: an example of relations in the late eighteenth century' in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, third series, 24/25 (1961/1962), p. 145.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

a letter he got this day that Mr Loutch has made out several plans for Altering the Galery, this too he is determined never to cooperate with him in.⁴⁹

As the situation worsened, Anne Shanahan had to justify her housekeeping expenses.⁵⁰ She valued her reputation and honour: 'I am thank God conscious to myself of not having committed the least fraud or depredation on any one in my life'.⁵¹ Shanahan looked for alternative patronage and relocated to William Burton Conyngham's ultimately ill-fated model fishing village on Rutland Island. He was wary: 'nothing could have given me more concern than parting with your Lordship in enmity after having lived with you so many years'.⁵² And he was careful to leave his wife in his stead at Downhill; her letter of this period reports to the Earl Bishop on the progress of decorative work.⁵³ The voice of the wife of an Irish professional is a rare survival.

Though the Shanahan family had employment and lodging to lose if they fell out with the Earl Bishop, their example proves that professionals had some latitude for action. It was Anne Shanahan who issued the subtle ultimatum:

Mrs Bradley shall have all the rooms we occupy cleared for her any hour she comes as I have nothing to remove but a few boxes with our cloaths and books and as we are now but an encumbrance.⁵⁴

Angry and impulsive, Shanahan withdrew his family from Downhill:

On receipt of Lord Bristol[']s] Note Shanahan Sent his three Eldest children out of his Lordships house, and as soon as it is convenient to Lord Bristol to settle S-n Affairs he and his Wife will follow them. S-n can Assure his Lordship what perhaps he did not know before that his family were not so expensive to him as he might imagine.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Anne Shanahan to Hervey, 18 Apr. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/21).

⁵⁰ Anne Shanahan to Hervey, answering the charge of ordering too much butter, meat and tea (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D1514/1/1/64); answering the charge of ordering too much sugar (*ibid.*, D1514/1/2/13).

⁵¹ Anne Shanahan to Hervey, dated by P.R.O.N.I. *c.*1790 but should be late 1783 or early 1784 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D1514/1/2/13).

⁵² Shanahan to Hervey, 13 May 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D1514/1/2/3).

⁵³ Anne Shanahan to Hervey, 23 Dec. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/50).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Shanahan to Hervey, n.d. (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/101).

Possibly Shanahan's sensitivity over whether his family was taking advantage of the Earl Bishop's generosity, stemmed from a fear or accusation of parasitism, often a criticism of Gaelic culture.⁵⁶ Offended, the Shanahan family left Downhill for Cork in 1784, though looking after their marble business was given as the excuse. Shanahan returned to work with the Earl Bishop from 1786; however, the family appear to have remained in Cork and Shanahan also pursued an independent career there.

In happier times, Shanahan acted as host to visitors to Downhill. The Revd Daniel Beaufort arrived unannounced:

Lord Bristol's architect, who did the honors & shewed me the house, the Bishop having an attack in his bowels which confined him to his bed – So that I had the mortification of not seeing him. – This Mr Shanahan who lives in Cork, was very civil & asked me to see him at C. when I go southward.⁵⁷

It is interesting to observe Shanahan so comfortable in the role of host at his patron's table, inviting Beaufort to visit him in Cork. Shanahan's relationship with Hervey was complex. Evidently Shanahan had considerable charm and moved easily in the Downhill milieu of the household, family, visiting clergy, Volunteer officers and learned visitors. The relationship is also indicative of the easy manners of the Earl Bishop, who enjoyed the company of people who interested him or could further his plans, regardless of rank or nationality. This theme is revisited in chapter 5 in the context of European travel. Shanahan's experience compares with that of Samuel Waring in the early eighteenth-century, whose status as an authority on architectural matters brought him interaction with social superiors, because of his Tour as companion to Ormond's grandson, the future Earl of Arran, skill as a draftsman and personal charm.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Barnard, 'Integration or separation', p. 138.

⁵⁷ Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 18 Nov. 1787 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4028).

⁵⁸ Barnard, *Protestant ascents and descents*, p. 259.

Reputation was vital in a line of work where word-of-mouth was the chief recommendation. Evidently employers and architects discussed these issues and word could spread. Shanahan had to defend himself:

I am quite a stranger to what your Lordship says you have seen in Ducarts Books with respect to me – I never had any dealing Whatever with him, nor was I ever concern'd when he was employd, but at Mr Rogers in Lota near Cork – the front of Whose House he Stuccoed, which totally came off the Winter following, the fault of which he attempted fixing upon me ... No man could behave politer to me than Mr Rogers the last time I was in Cork ... [and] how exceedingly friendly Mr Ducart has been to me the only time he was here.⁵⁹

Hervey checked accounts minutely; columns of figures in his hand appear frequently on the back of Shanahan's accounts. In Hervey's last extant letter, Shanahan was under suspicion again: 'I am impatient for the result of Mr Mitchell's measurement of the Galleries & various articles at B.Scullion as I fear old Shanahan is deeply in my debt'.⁶⁰ Presumably Mitchell was a quantity surveyor whose measurements were one of the only ways an employer could check on his clerk of works. The Earl Bishop's concerns reflected wider discussion of architects' fees, then around 5%, such as the commission appointed in 1795 by the Architects' Club to make recommendations on fee levels.⁶¹ In 1801 serious complaints were raised by the Inspector General of Prisons in Ireland, the Revd Forster Archer, who visited Cork County Gaol in 1801:

The Defects in its Building and in its Plan, The Dishonesty used in its construction, the pitiful Frauds Practiced by its Architect ... Greater Imposition, Greater Fraud, Greater Wrong & Robbery was never Committed by any Gaol Builder in any County in Ireland, than has been Committed by Shannahan the Architect.⁶²

⁵⁹ Shanahan to Hervey, 4 Jan. 1784 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/52).

⁶⁰ Hervey to Revd Henry Hervey Bruce, 21 Mar. 1803, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 639.

⁶¹ Green and Jope, 'Patron and architect', p. 146.

⁶² 'Observations on a Tour made through Leinster, Munster & Connaught by the Rev F. Archer, Inspector General of the Prisons of Ireland', 1801, ff 7v, 8 (B.L., Add MS 35,920), quoted in I.A.A. Dictionary entry for Michael Shanahan.

No charges were ever brought against Shanahan and his position in Cork society does not appear to have suffered.

As work for the Earl Bishop dried up, Shanahan concentrated on his standing in Cork, securing public and private commissions. He found private patronage, chiefly that of Francis Bernard, first Earl of Bandon, remodelling Castle Bernard to give the house a more neoclassical look. Castle Bernard went through many major alterations, so Shanahan's work was relatively short-lived, but a visiting tourist's description of high ceilings, large rooms with Palladian proportions and an oval room, reflect training under the Earl Bishop.⁶³ Shanahan's St Patrick's Bridge in Cork 1786 (now replaced) evoked Palladio's bridges in *Quattro Libri* and employed the same ornamentation as the bridge that Shanahan had drawn in Vicenza fifteen years before [fig. 3.38-3.39].⁶⁴

3.4 Michael Shanahan's collections

The Revd Daniel Beaufort took up Shanahan's invitation issued over dinner at Downhill and visited Shanahan in Cork in December 1788. He was very impressed by Shanahan's collection and portfolios. The portfolios of plasterers Joseph Rose and Michael Stapleton comprised not only designs of their own creation but also designs acquired through other professionals, and from engravings and pattern books. It is probable that Shanahan's collection took on a more physical and intellectual form due to experiencing Hervey's collections. In Shanahan's portfolios, Beaufort was:

delighted with the colored & gilt sections of the Carraccia Gallery in the Farnese Palace at Rome, many excellent prints & drawings – especially some coloured copies of Antient paintings, in Baths of Titus &c – the whole engravings of those Baths discovd. in 1777 – From whence it appears that all our modern Ceilings are stolen – the Work being

⁶³ George Bennett, *History of Bandon* (Cork, 1869), p. 245. This tourist is not identified.

⁶⁴ Edward McParland gives Perronet's *Description des projets* (1783) as the source, which suggests that Shanahan was aware of technical developments in France. Edward MacParland, 'Eclecticism: the provincial's advantage' in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* (1991-1992), p. 112.

extremely light & fine – Also Raphael’s Vatican – w. some of them coloured from Nature; and some Originals of Hackert.⁶⁵

Shanahan’s collection represents the symbiotic relationship between himself and Hervey: Shanahan drew inspiration from the architectural and decorative models selected by Hervey. Presumably, Hervey gave the engravings of the Baths of Titus to Shanahan as he did to his daughter Lady Mary Erne. Her mother explained to Mary their significance in terms of decoration: ‘Your father continues to amuse himself ... He has bought a set of Prints for you ... taken from Titus’ Baths, & suppos’d to have been what Raphael took his hints from for the Vatican’.⁶⁶ Hervey was also anxious that Mary experience Roman decoration and use of colour:

I sent you ... some tolerable engravings of the new discover’d Baths of Titus – you have yet, my dear, but half the sett: the rest is not published but before I leave this you shall have the remainder – one or two of them illuminated to give you an Idea of old Roman magnificence⁶⁷

If Hervey considered the engravings merely ‘tolerable’, his generosity in buying sets of engravings for his daughter and probably for Shanahan is diminished by an awareness that they were not top class work. If these were Mirri’s engravings, they were subject to harsher criticism than Hervey’s. James Byres wrote to his patron, William Constable of Burton Constable, that the publication on the treasures of the Vatican Museum:

will not do justice to so noble a collection, being in the hands of a Sig.r Mirri an illiterate man, who employes the cheapest artists he can find to execute this work. The same Mirri published some years ago the antient paintings of Titus’s Baths in plain and colour’d prints which might have been a good and useful work, had it been well executed.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Journal of Daniel Beaufort, Cork, 9 Dec. 1788 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4030). Beaufort’s account is the only record of this remarkable collection.

⁶⁶ Countess of Bristol to Lady Mary Erne, 18 Nov. 1777, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 175.

⁶⁷ Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 24 Dec. 1777, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 177-8.

⁶⁸ James Byres to William Constable, 11 June 1785 (East Riding of Yorkshire Archives Service DDCC/145/6), quoted in Coltman, *Fabricating the antique*, p. 42.

In general, the value and impressiveness of gifts was tailored to the status and usefulness of the recipient. Later Hervey sent a possible Raphael to the Earl of Liverpool whose political influence the Earl Bishop desired to secure.⁶⁹

To return to Beaufort's visit to Cork, he also admired 'some painted colored plaster from the walls of Herculaneum'.⁷⁰ Perhaps these were actually the remains of Hervey's deteriorating Villa Negroni frescos discussed in chapter 2. Shanahan also had at least two carved marbles from the ruins of Baalbek and Palmyra which the architect Thomas Deane bought at auction after Shanahan's death.⁷¹ Shanahan possessed a remarkable collection of Roman and Renaissance models from which to work. The scope of the Rose and Stapleton collections is narrower, restricted to their craft. Shanahan's collection suggests either that diverse and vibrant assemblages, now lost, were gathered by Irish building professionals or, perhaps more likely, that the patronage of the Earl Bishop trained and raised Shanahan above his peers.

Shanahan's portfolios, artefacts and library, his marble-works in Cork and his influence on apprentices and Irish marble-carving have not previously been studied.⁷² How he translated his experiences and images into interior design is now hard to trace since his domestic buildings are now so altered or gone. Shanahan's working life spanned the revolution in interior decorating initiated by the Adam brothers. His determination to keep up to date with developments indicates that he anticipated his clients in Ireland to be sophisticated and exacting; the Earl Bishop certainly was. From an early stage, Shanahan was clearly conscious of the importance of interiors and relied on the Earl Bishop for new material and ideas:

⁶⁹ Hervey to Charles Jenkinson, 8 June 1801, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *Earl Bishop*, ii, 620.

⁷⁰ Journal of Daniel Beaufort, Cork, 7 Dec. 1788 (T.C.D., Beaufort papers, MS 4030).

⁷¹ Frederick O'Dwyer, *The architecture of Deane and Woodward* (Cork, 1997), p. 15. The nineteenth-century architect and antiquarian J. G. Robertson pointed out the value of the Palmyra and Baalbek marbles as architectural models: 'Lord Hervey was accompanied to the East by a sculptor who brought home with him to Cork the two fine white marble capitals ... they belonged to the ancient cities of Palmyra and Baalbek. The manner in which relief of the foliage has been produced on the Tuscan capital may be worth the study of architectural sculptors', quoted in J. G. Robertson in *The Irish Builder*, 1 Nov. 1898, p. 165. The lecture Deane gave on Palmyra and Baalbek, using the marbles as illustrations, was quoted in full in *The Builder*, 25 Jan. 1851, p. 60.

⁷² The I.A.A. Dictionary entry for Shanahan draws together references to Shanahan as architect and the works attributed to him.

I am very thankful to your Lordship for the plans and sections you are pleased to promise to bring me of those beautiful rooms lately discovered of Augustus's palace on the Palatine hill. By your Lordship's description of them, they are exceedingly curious. Drawings of them would be very acceptable and certainly would be very improving.⁷³

Shanahan also unpacked and admired the treasures arriving at Downhill from abroad, further honing his architectural and decorative understanding. An undated letter announced the safe arrival of '6 Cases containing Fresco ... There are also a great quantity of Prints'.⁷⁴ Experience of Hervey's approach to collecting must have trained his eye and given him an edge over more provincial Irish designers.

3.5 Michael Shanahan and his Cork stone-yard

Shanahan possessed an entrepreneurial spirit. During the 1783-85 arguments with Hervey, the first evidence emerges that Shanahan owned a stone-carving business on White Street in Cork; it has received very little attention from historians and has left little evidence. It is my contention that exposure to Continental style through the Tour of the 1770-72 and experience of imported chimneypieces and artworks arriving at Downhill, found expression in the products of the marble-yard available to Cork customers. Traces of the business aspect of Shanahan's trade will be explored as far as is possible, filling out a little further the picture of the trade in carved stone during this prolific period of building.

When he died at eighty in 1813, Shanahan was a relatively wealthy man. In his will, he divided between his five sons and a daughter six houses (in White Street, George's Quay and Dunbar Street), some with 'premises', a marble-works in White Street, Ballintemple quarry, Ballinlough field and fields at Bohreenmanagh. His eldest son, Michael, inherited his father's house and contents, including 'furniture, pictures, books, prints and collections' and the quarry at Ballintemple, while his third son, Henry, inherited the marble-yard in White Street and other

⁷³ Shanahan to Hervey, 22 July 1778 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/8).

⁷⁴ Shanahan to Hervey, n.d. (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/84).

workshops and stables. Henry Shanahan appears in later rental documents of 1834 as ‘chimney-piece manufacturer’, showing that the marble-works continued in business. Henry, brother of Michael Shanahan senior, acted as executor and was to discharge any debts by selling ‘whatever chimney piece unrought Marble or Portland stone may belong to me at the time of my decease’.⁷⁵ The will must have been contested because it was not proved until 1830. Michael Shanahan had built up a considerable business in Cork, based on stone carving, quarrying, house-building and rents.

It is not known how Shanahan acquired the stone-yard and quarry; he may have inherited them, bought them or gained them through his wife Anne Uniacke. References to the stonecutting yard in White Street begin around 1783, when the deteriorating relations with Hervey led them to move from Downhill to Cork city. During the period of rapprochement, he was able to write in December 1785 of ‘my Marble business, which has increasd upon my hands beyond my expectation’.⁷⁶ By August 1786 he asserted ‘I am certain it will give you pleasure to hear that they go on beyond anything I could at first have flattered myself to expect. I keep now constantly at work 28 men, and get my work sold as fast as I can make it up’.⁷⁷ He was now a significant local employer.

How did Shanahan’s works compare with other stone-yards? With twenty-eight employees, the White Street yard was smaller than Colles’s Kilkenny Marble Works, which was estimated in 1800 to employ forty to fifty men in the quarry and mills.⁷⁸ Stonework was a labour intensive business. In 1787, Shanahan claimed to have ‘constantly at work for your Lordship 6 stone-sawyers, 3 carvers, 3 polishers and 4 stone-cutters’. He went to London to find another ‘sculptor’ to replace the ‘most excellent carver’ whose death while working on the matching

⁷⁵ ‘The last will and testament of Michael Shanahan, late of the city of Cork, deceased, 29 Apr. 1811, proved 18 Mar. 1830’ (www.shanahanfamilygenealogy.com) (1 Aug. 2012).

⁷⁶ Shanahan to Hervey, 11 Dec. 1785 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/78).

⁷⁷ Shanahan to Hervey, 12 Aug. 1786 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/86).

⁷⁸ William Tighe, *Statistical Observations Relative to the County of Kilkenny, made in the year 1800 & 1801* (Dublin, 1802), p. 102, quoted in Tony Hand, ‘“Doing Everything of Marble wch can be Done with it”: some descriptive accounts of the Kilkenny Marble Works’ in *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, xi (2008), p. 91.

chimneypiece for the New Gallery was causing Shanahan problems.⁷⁹ Clearly, talented sculptors were hard to recruit in Ireland. Shanahan trained apprentices in White Street; he probably brought ‘young Hiffernon’, who was born in Derry and worked at Downhill with his plasterer father, to train as a sculptor at the White Street marble-works in Cork.⁸⁰

In 1786 Shanahan claimed to have little competition locally, though Cork was the second city of Ireland: ‘I carry a trade never thought of here before, the Novelty I believe is a great means of the Success’.⁸¹ Shanahan identified ‘Novelty’ as root of his success; though Cork quarries had always been active for building materials, he saw a gap in the local market for finely finished items, particularly for chimneypieces [fig. 3.38-3.39].⁸² In the Cork area, those who could afford it were evidently keen to participate in the display of these expensive markers of status, wealth and taste. In its early days the Kilkenny Marble Works produced an even wider range of goods than was listed by Shanahan above. In 1734 Colles advertised his showroom in Dublin: ‘Marble Chimney Pieces, Tables and other Marble Furniture of the best kinds and newest Fashions. As also, a large Parcel of Flags, the best and cheapest, for flooring of any Flags hitherto brought into this City’.⁸³ A later advertisement of 1785 indicates that the Kilkenny Marble Works shifted the focus to chimneypieces which presumably brought the highest return: ‘For sale, a large assortment of Kilkenny Marble Chimney Pieces of the newest kinds of Italian and Kilkenny Marble finished in the best manner, which will be sold on the very lowest terms’.⁸⁴ While Shanahan emphasised his chimneypieces to the Earl Bishop, he also tried to supply the stone materials for Ballyscullion, just as he served the Cork building trade with flagstones and stairs, but Hervey turned these down.⁸⁵

⁷⁹ Shanahan to Hervey, 29 Mar. 1787 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/89).

⁸⁰ James Heffernan (1785-1845). His works include a monument of Bishop Florence MacCarthy in the South Chapel Cork and a monument to Bishop Bennet in the Church of Ireland cathedral, Cloyne. See Kate Newmann, *Dictionary of Ulster biography* (Belfast, 1993).

⁸¹ Shanahan to Hervey, 12 Aug. 1786 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/86).

⁸² The two chimneypieces illustrated were from the Cork area and attributed to Michael Shanahan by the Knight of Glin. Compare with the Downhill chimneypiece fig. 2.26.

⁸³ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, Nov. 1734, quoted in Tony Hand, ‘Kilkenny Marble Works’, p. 78.

⁸⁴ *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 29 Jan. 1785, quoted in Tony Hand, ‘Kilkenny Marble Works’, p. 91.

⁸⁵ Shanahan to Hervey, 1 Feb. 1788 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/96).

There were at least ten quarries in County Cork, specialising in slate, dark limestone, pink marble (known as ‘Cork Reds’ or marbles) and sandstones.⁸⁶ Though Townsend’s *Statistical Survey of County Cork* did not discuss any individual stone-yards, the quality of marble was highly praised; he considered the marble around Castle Hyde equal to Greek and Italian marble.⁸⁷ Shanahan, like Colles in Kilkenny, also imported Italian marble and Portland stone.⁸⁸ During the facing of Downhill, the Ballycastle quarry failed.⁸⁹ Shanahan travelled in the British Isles sourcing stone for Hervey’s building projects and looking for alabaster columns in London.⁹⁰ Later Hervey owned a marble quarry near Monte Baldo in Italy, indicating that the vagaries of supply made this worthwhile for the needs of a major builder.⁹¹

The look and cachet of imported marble was worth the higher prices to customers. At Kilkenny, the 1785 advertisement included chimneypieces in Italian marble. Tighe described Carrara marble, imported from Liverpool, ‘which he works up at Kilkenny into handsome and high priced chimney pieces, generally inlaid with coloured stones, and adorned with sculptures in relief’.⁹² From Beaufort’s description, Shanahan was also producing chimneypieces with inlaid stones and sculptured relief:

We then went to see his Chimney pieces, which are very handsom & much cheaper than in Dublin – One is making for Lord Bristol with very large figures in sculpture - what is done is very light & nice. Many things in that way here – And some Inlaid with Jasper – a beautiful stone – NB the Purple Marble is called Braccia.⁹³

⁸⁶ Daphne Mould, *Discovering Cork* (Dingle, 1991), p. 174.

⁸⁷ Horatio Townsend, *General and statistical survey of the county of Cork* (Cork, 1815), i, 17.

⁸⁸ ‘I would be obliged to your Lordship for enclosing me a letter I some time ago sent yr L:p of Mrs Elliotts – I expect a cargo of marble from her every day’, Shanahan to Hervey, 17 July 1787 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/93); ‘Sent to Francis Stewart of Weymouth Eng for a cargo of best Portland stone for the geometrical stairs and flagging’, Shanahan to Hervey, 29 Mar. 1787 (PRONI D2798/2/88).

⁸⁹ Shanahan to Hervey, 13 Jan. 1786 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/84).

⁹⁰ Shanahan to Hervey, 22 May 1787 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/91).

⁹¹ Frederick Rehberg, 1818 (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/56/28).

⁹² Tighe, *Statistical Observations 1800*, quoted in Tony Hand, ‘Kilkenny Marble Works’, p. 103.

⁹³ Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 9 Dec. 1788 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4030).

Shanahan's inventory of eight chimneypieces for Downhill, shipped on the *Mayflower* in 1787, indicate that he could satisfy a discerning patron (as discussed in chapter 2):

One statuary Chimney piece with carved terms, tablet & veined hearth for the West end of the Library Downhill – NB there is another Chimypice almost finished for the East End but no fireplace to make it Uniform'd with the West end & shall be sent by the next Opportunity ...

A mantle, cornice & hearth for your Lordships bedchamber – joining the library.

A mantel for the chimneypiece in Lady Erne's bedchamber.

Veined hearth and black covings for the alcove room .

Ditto for Lady Elizabeth.

Sienna & statuary chimneypiece for your Lordship's dressing room to the North end of the 2nd gallery.

A purple or Breccia with statuary cornice & tablet for your Lordship's bedchamber joining the 2nd gallery.

A chimneypiece of fine Irish marble for the mezzinino.

Portland ditto with carved terms & tablet & black hearth for the Barack room under the 2nd gallery.⁹⁴

When Shanahan acted as the architect of Castle Bernard near Bandon, he probably had the chimneypieces and stone carving made through his own Cork marble-yard. David Dickson suggests that by taking Shanahan abroad 'Hervey signally helped in the transmission of neoclassicism to Munster'.⁹⁵ Shanahan was not a mere provincial stone-cutter or architect; he offered his customers a higher level of style and design.

Shanahan was a successful entrepreneur, able to gauge his market. In 1786 he had 'four Chimney pieces bespoke now of 60 guineas each, and a Vast number of a lower price'.⁹⁶ Cork offered good value; Beaufort described Shanahan's chimneypieces as 'much cheaper than in Dublin'.⁹⁷ Shanahan's bread-and-butter pieces were tailored for the middling market. Shanahan's ongoing argument with mason David McBlain at Downhill shows that prices were carefully watched and compared all over Ireland:

⁹⁴ Shanahan to Hervey, 17 July 1787 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/92).

⁹⁵ David Dickson, *Old world colony: Cork and South Munster, 1630-1830* (Cork, 2005), p. 97.

⁹⁶ Shanahan to Hervey, 12 Aug. 1786 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/86).

⁹⁷ Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 9 Dec. 1788 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4030).

He [McBlain] says that each Capital Stood him £10 each and that he is Satisfied to refer the price of the Carving to two Dublin Carvers, Should Your L:p agree to this proposal I am certain that £15 would not clear you of each Capital, I told him that the price of Carving the Capital here [Cork] exclusive of Portland Stone was but £5 each – Now by adding the above sum of £2.18 to the first agreemt he will have £8 for each Capital.

Shanahan repeated to Hervey, George Darley's opinion that if Shanahan had settled in Dublin, he would have had more work than any marble works in Ireland.⁹⁸ The Darley clan, who worked as stonecutters, architects and developers in Dublin, had quarries in Ardbraccan in county Meath, Newtonards in county Down and Golden Hill in county Wicklow.⁹⁹ Like Shanahan's youngest son, two members of the next generation of Darleys enrolled in Trinity College in 1813 and 1816, giving further evidence of the potential for social rise through profits from the building trade, especially in the respectable role of architect. Shanahan identified an opportunity in his native Cork, where he became wealthy and rose in standing in Cork society.

Maps and directories have not previously been used as evidence for Shanahan in Cork. Shanahan was named in Lucas's *Cork Directory* (1787) as 'stone-cutter' in White Street. Three other stonecutters and two architects were also recorded.¹⁰⁰ In West's *Cork Directory* (1810) Shanahan is named as architect, one of seven architects listed, also three stonemasons and a marble manufacturer whose address was Grand Parade.¹⁰¹ The lack of continuity in the names between these directories indicates that, despite their apparent fullness, these are not exhaustive records and that the Cork building trade was ever in flux.

⁹⁸ Shanahan to Hervey, 29 Mar. 1787, P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/89.

⁹⁹ Entry for Darley family in I.A.A. Dictionary.

¹⁰⁰ Lucas, *Cork Directory* (Cork, 1787). Daniel Murphy described as architect in the *Directory* (1787) has been tentatively linked in chapter 2 to Mr Murphy of Cork, working at Downhill in 1782 on interior decoration. Shanahan does not appear in the short *New Cork Directory* (1795) though a William Flaherty, marble-mason of White Street, may reveal either that he had a partner or that related trades congregated together. William Flaherty, who styled himself as 'Master Builder', had a salt and lime works (in partnership with John Barrett) on White Street in *Hibernian Chronicle*, 1800.

¹⁰¹ W. West, *Cork Directory* (Cork, 1810).

Looking at maps of Cork, the number of houses bequeathed by Shanahan in his will may indicate speculative building, paralleling the building practices of Michael Stapleton in Dublin. In John Rocque's map of 1759, the White Street area was all gardens [fig. 3.42]. In William Beauford's map of 1801, the streets on which Shanahan owned houses (White Street, Dunbar Street and George's Quay) were fully developed [fig. 3.43]. This growth towards the south east of Cork reflected the desire of the merchant class to move to more suburban areas.¹⁰² Another hint of speculative building was Shanahan's ability to advertise another house to rent in White Street in 1800.¹⁰³

A letter recommending Shanahan's eldest son Michael for a post as draughtsman and overseer of Cork county fortifications also reveals family wealth and connections:

Son to an Architect of considerable note in this Country ... has been brought up to the business himself ... says he understands the Theory and Execution of Building, Mathematics and Drawing ... pay is not an object to him, as his father is a rich man, and I am convinced he would come for Five Shillings a day... he gave me the inclosed Elevation as a Specimen of his Drawing and said he superintended the building of it [Ballyscullion]; he was educated at the same school with Lt Cunningham, his name is Shanahan, a particular friend of General Vallancy's.¹⁰⁴

His father must have bought him his commission as ensign in the Royal Staff Corps of field engineers in 1803. Michael Shanahan junior was suitably employed

¹⁰² Goold and White, both listed as esquire and Gallway an attorney, lived in White Street according to West, *Cork Directory* (Cork, 1810). Frank Cottrell and Thomas Hackett, *Valuation of the Houses in the Different Parishes in the City of Cork supplied with Pipe Water* (Cork, 1809) listed seven properties on White Street all paying between £50 and £60 (Shanahan's bill was £56 17s. 6d.). Houses on Grand Parade paid the most at £96. The lowest cut-off figure was £10. This source shows that the Shanahans lived on the west side of White Street. Mrs Margaret Flaherty lived on the east side (presumably wife of the lime man and master builder William Flaherty). The *Hibernian Chronicle*, 1800, advertised Mrs Ward's boarding school on White Street, which in 1801 appeared again as 'WARD, MRS., the late, French & English Academy to be continued by her daughters, 1 White St'.

¹⁰³ *Hibernian Chronicle*, 1801.

¹⁰⁴ Major Charles Conway to Lieutenant General Morse, 28 Dec. 1803 (N.A.I., WO 55/831) quoted in I.A.A. Dictionary of Michael Shanahan junior. This letter also reveals that Michael Shanahan junior worked as overseer at Ballyscullion on his father's behalf as a young man. He was 22 or 23 when Hervey died in August 1803 and work stopped at Ballyscullion, hence the letter seeking another position.

and endowed by his father for a respectable position in society and had social connections.

If being a member of the genteel rank of society was indicated by financial means, foreign travel, by participating in civic activity, assembling a library, picture and print collection and sending a son to Trinity College, by the end of his life Michael Shanahan had attained this rank, as his obituary in the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle* attests.¹⁰⁵ Forty years after travelling with Hervey, that trip and the name of his now dead patron were still Shanahan's primary qualifications.

MICHAEL SHANNAHAN, Esq. Architect, of White street. The virtues and merits of this Gentleman secured for him early in life, the friendship and confidence of that dignified Nobleman the late Earl of Bristol, in whose society he spent three year on the Continent of Europe. Scientific acquisition, intellectual expansion, and the minute examination of every species of architecture during his travels, together with his association with the most celebrated masters of Rome, Venice, Naples, Paris, and Vienna, placed him in the first rank of his profession. His rare and valuable collection of Pictures and curious antiques with his select Library, afford the most ample demonstrations of his taste and acquirements. With the noble attributes of nice honor, rigid probity, and strict integrity, he was eminently gifted. After an honourable existence of 80 years, spent in the performance of every duty which renders Man, in all his relative situations, valuable in society; he met his dissolution with the firmness of a philosopher and the resignation of a christian.¹⁰⁶

3.6 Conclusion

Michael Shanahan has hitherto been a shadowy figure, an appendage of the Earl Bishop. Neither Hervey at Downhill nor Shanahan as an architect can be understood without appreciating the contribution of the other. Pivotal to Shanahan's success was his experience of travel in Italy, France, Switzerland and Dalmatia as Hervey's draftsman. This raised Shanahan above most of his peers and left him with an enhanced level of stylistic experience and authority, a

¹⁰⁵ Richard Shanahan (his youngest son) entered Trinity College in 1806, See *Alumni Dublienses* (Dublin, 1935), p. 734.

¹⁰⁶ *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, 24 May 1811.

portfolio, aspirations of publishing projects and, through the Earl Bishop, continued access to neoclassical developments. These experiences reappeared as neoclassical houses in county Londonderry and chimneypieces and carved stonework available for purchase in Cork city. Shanahan left pictures, prints, books, ancient frescoes and column capitals, a remarkable collection influenced and perhaps augmented by Hervey. A high level of culture and gentility was on show in his White Street house and was appreciated by the experienced eye of Beaufort. Investigating Shanahan's marble-yard in White Street, Cork, adds new evidence of an independent dimension to Shanahan's career. Having established himself in Cork, he built up related businesses in architecture, building development, marble carving and quarrying. He was able to provide well for his five sons and one daughter. He left a visual legacy in Cork, perhaps most obviously St Patrick's Bridge, which Townsend thought 'does great credit to his taste and skill'.¹⁰⁷ Shanahan's greatest achievements were in the execution of Hervey's building projects, sometimes adapting the designs of other architects, sometimes executing his own.

¹⁰⁷ Horatio Townsend, *General and statistical survey of the county of Cork* (Cork, 1815), ii, 166.

CHAPTER FOUR

ART: COLLECTING, DISPLAYING AND VIEWING

4.1 Introduction

Frederick Hervey spent a fortune on artworks, amassing collections of both ancient and modern works in a diverse range of media for his three houses. Although he did not begin buying art in earnest until his third Grand Tour of 1777 to 1779, collecting became the driving force behind his travelling and influenced his architectural projects. Picture lists are the richest sources of evidence for his art collections in Ireland: Sampson in 1802 (for Downhill and Ballyscullion) and Neale in 1823 (for Downhill pictures listed in detail by room).¹ The Getty Provenance Index records pictures appearing at auction in London in 1802 and 1803.² ‘Bristol’s Roman Property’ is a catalogue for an auction in Rome in 1804, after Hervey’s death, listing over five hundred artworks which never reached Ireland or England.³ In December 1813 the ‘Ballyscullion collection’ was sold at the Rotunda in Dublin.⁴ This catalogue has not been evaluated before nor have the other lists outlined above been subject to quantitative analysis.

Hervey has been investigated by experts in the field of fine art. Nicola Figgis has significantly added to the understanding of Hervey as a collector, through her discovery (in the Vatican archives) and analysis of ‘Bristol’s Roman Property’ (1804).⁵ Figgis has also placed Hervey’s didactic intentions within the context of contemporary European thought on displaying art through regions and schools. Unfortunately, as Figgis has demonstrated, changed attributions and titles have rendered the tracking down of his paintings almost impossible.⁶ In his study of Hervey as a patron, Brinsley Ford characterised Hervey as ‘an eccentric and capricious patron of the arts’, emphasising his unreliability as well as the extent

¹ Sampson, *Statistical survey*; Neale, *Views of the seats of noblemen*, vi.

² Christie’s, London, 9-10 Apr. 1802; Christie’s, London, 18-19 June 1802. N.B. Some lots reappear in: Christie’s, London, 21 Apr. 1804; Christie’s, London, 5-6 July 1805; Phillips, London, 12-13 Mar. 1806; Mercier, Rutland Square Dublin, 2-7 Nov. 1818 (Getty Provenance Index).

³ The sale catalogue (in the State Archives in Rome) is reproduced in full in Figgis, ‘Roman property’, pp 77-104.

⁴ Herbert, The Rotunda, Dublin, 6-8 Dec. 1813 (Getty Provenance Index).

⁵ Figgis, ‘Roman property’, pp 77-104.

⁶ Figgis, ‘Hervey as patron of art’. Where picture locations are known, they are footnoted here.

and importance of his patronage. Ford, with his immense comparative knowledge of Grand Tourists, traced the movements and purchases of the Earl Bishop chronologically, relying on Childe-Pemberton for the Earl Bishop's viewpoint. Ford drew together specific encounters with artists, architects and agents including Joseph Wright, Thomas Banks, Thomas Jones, Thomas Jenkins, Sir John Soane, Elisabeth Vigée-LeBrun, Angelica Kauffmann, John Flaxman and Antonio Canova.⁷ Hervey's relationship with his agent Jacob More has been examined by Patricia Andrew, who recalled the complex dealings and relationships among the artists, agents and patrons in Rome.⁸ Ilaria Bignamini and Claire Hornsby concluded that Hervey has been underestimated as a collector of ancient statuary and pointed to export records and his collaboration on an archaeological dig with Robert Fagan to support their claim.⁹

This chapter intends to examine Hervey's collection through the critical lens of material culture, rather than that of fine art. By the use of such methodology, the collection itself then transforms into a series of intriguing individual objects which can be interpreted in terms of the meanings and motives of ownership, the projection of the collector's image and their collective impact on viewers. The first half of the chapter investigates how art was displayed in an eighteenth-century house. Hervey's use of portraiture and its placement within the family narrative indicates how he wanted to be perceived. How his paintings and sculptures were displayed at Downhill and (although based on sketchy evidence) at Ballyscullion, adds to current studies emerging on Irish art display. The Earl Bishop's collection and his development as a collector are compared with contemporaries, finding more similarity with British than Irish collectors. His evolving ideas on display influenced his architectural projects, justifying new, grand houses with designated galleries. Ultimately, and unusually, it will be seen that the activity of collecting stimulated Hervey more than the resultant display and its associated social benefits. He built great houses for display, but he did not live in them.

⁷ Ford, 'Capricious patron', pp 426-34.

⁸ Patricia Andrew, 'Jacob More and the Earl Bishop' in *Apollo*, cxxiv (1986), pp 88-94.

⁹ Bignamini and Hornsby, *Digging and dealing*, p. 282.

Having analysed the artworks that comprised Hervey's collection, and considered the way that they were presented within the rooms of his two Irish houses, the chapter will concentrate upon contemporary visitor responses. Accounts of visitors to Downhill and Ballyscullion have not been analysed as a group by previous scholarship. Questions can be asked of the visitors themselves: their purposes for visiting; the cultural or educational preparation they undertook; and how their conclusions compared. A strong communality of opinion is striking. An overlap appears between viewing the display of artworks and viewing the public image of the owner. Hervey's spending and absenteeism brought censure; these criticisms often took the form of an attack on his aesthetic taste. The Earl Bishop's motives for collecting are assessed; he claimed didactic responsibility to be paramount, but visitors viewed his intentions differently. Despite the theories expounded in his letters, he did little to accommodate or educate the growing raft of visitors, begging the question as to whom he envisaged as his audience. These Irish visitor experiences feed into emerging scholarship on British country house visiting.

4.2 Displaying art in an eighteenth-century house

4.2.1 Portraiture

More than any other genre of art, portraiture was open to manipulation: self-presentation, position within a family narrative and relationships between members of the family and friends could be represented, advertised and advanced. The Hervey family were well-versed in the elevating capacity of portraiture. Though not ennobled until 1714, family portraits display a previous history of royal service accompanied by an accumulation of landed and political interest, beginning with Francis Hervey, painted in the uniform of Elizabeth I's Band of Gentlemen Pensioners (1564).¹⁰ Two mid-eighteenth century portraits were the last in this series to show such explicit pride in royal favour. In his 1741 portrait by Van Loo, the Earl Bishop's father John, Lord Hervey, holds up his purse of

¹⁰ Gervase Jackson Stops, *Ickworth House guidebook* (1978), p. 16.

office as Lord Privy Seal [fig. 4.1].¹¹ This image already appeared old-fashioned, revealing little of the character or connoisseurship of the sitter, who had a small but choice picture collection including Gaspard Dughet's *Classical landscape* which is still at Ickworth [fig. 4.2]. In Zoffany's portrait, his fragile eldest son George enjoys the more sophisticated background of classical pillars, but the same symbols of pedigree and royal favour appear [fig. 4.3].¹² The accompanying portraits of his brothers and sisters (including a youthful Frederick Hervey in ordination bands) are all half-lengths, primogeniture emphasised by the full-length for George, second earl of Bristol [fig. 4.4].¹³

Arguing that house-owners went to great trouble to assemble and showcase family portraits, visually linking themselves with their glorious predecessors, Kate Retford offers Sir John Griffin Griffin of Audley End House, Essex, as proof. He had his ancestors copied by Biagio Rebecca in the 1770s and mounted into permanent plaster frames in the remodelled saloon at Audley End [fig. 4.5].¹⁴ However, Retford fails to consider the circuitous route by which Sir John Griffin Griffin came to his good fortune: he was the beneficiary of the struggle waged by his aunt, Countess of Portsmouth, and relation George Hervey, second Earl of Bristol, against other claimants to the Audley End estates. No wonder he was anxious to parade legitimacy, lineage and tradition in his newly acquired Jacobean mansion.

¹¹ Both the portrait and the purse are at Ickworth.

¹² See Retford, *The art of domestic life*; Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the head: portraiture and social formation in eighteenth-century England* (London, 1993); Christie, *British country house*, chap. 5.

¹³ The children of John, Lord Hervey, and Molly Lepel grew up at Ickworth Lodge with their grandfather who liked to have his family about him. He may have commissioned this series by Zoffany (or a follower) before his death in 1751 or the set may be a record of the family in the period of change when he was succeeded by his grandson George. Frederick Hervey's grandfather was John Hervey of Ickworth, first earl of Bristol (1665-1751), his father was John, Lord Hervey, courtier and chronicler of the court of George II (1696-1743), his mother was Molly Lepel, Lady of the Bedchamber who left court and lived at Ickworth. His two older brothers inherited the earldom from the grandfather: George second earl (1721-1775) and Augustus third earl (1724-1779). Frederick Hervey, Bishop of Derry, became fourth earl in 1779 and was succeeded in 1803 by his third son Frederick William (1769-1859) as fifth earl and first marquess of Bristol. Two sons predeceased the Earl Bishop: George aged 10 and John Augustus, Lord Hervey (1757-1796) aged 39. His three daughters were Mary (married John Crichton first earl of Erne), Elizabeth (married M.P. John Thomas Foster of Dunleer, nephew of Speaker Foster, and later William Cavendish fifth duke of Devonshire) and Louisa (married Robert second earl of Liverpool and Prime Minister 1812-27).

¹⁴ Retford, *The art of domestic life*, p. 165.

Hervey, unlike Griffin Griffin, differs from Retford's model: he ignored the family portraits in a cramped Ickworth Lodge, displayed no Hervey genealogy in Ireland, and did not include his own portraits as part of the family collection when planning how to display his pictures in the newly proposed Ickworth House.¹⁵ He envisaged his portraits in his galleries as contemporary artworks by leading modern artists, not created merely to be displayed alongside fusty old family likenesses, but to represent the pictorial culmination of his visual tour through the history of European art: 'from Albert Durer to Angelica Kauffmann & from Cimabué to Pompeo Battoni'.¹⁶

Despite exhibiting little interest in previous family pictures, Hervey did use his own portraits to help fashion and articulate his public image. His earliest and largest portrait, William Hoare's *Frederick Hervey presenting his son to Lord Chatham* (1769), paid homage to the Whig icon, William Pitt [fig. 4.6].¹⁷ Ten years later this picture, hung at the Bishop's Palace in Derry, was joined by *The Death of James Wolfe* (1779) by Benjamin West, featuring Hervey's cousin Captain Hervey Smythe, Wolfe's *aide de camp* [fig. 4.7].¹⁸ His portrait, *Frederick Hervey, bishop of Derry* (1778) was unusual in Battoni's *oeuvre*, for despite Hervey's interest in the classics and archaeology, the background he requested was Derry cathedral [fig. 4.8].¹⁹ Battoni painted only two other British clergy: the Revd Utrick Fetherstonhaugh in the guise of Apollo (1751), presumably intended to accompany his brother's portrait of the same year at Uppark, West Sussex. The other British clergyman was the fashionable dressed Revd Thomas Kerrich,

¹⁵ Other members of the Hervey family showed greater interest in integrating their portrait into the family narrative, yet avoided the heavy-handed power approach of earlier portraits. The Earl Bishop's second brother Augustus, third earl and vice-admiral of the Blue, was painted in his naval uniform by Gainsborough (1767). Retford uses this and an echoing portrait also displayed at Ickworth and also by Gainsborough (1783) of his nephew, John Augustus (son of the Earl Bishop), as an example of affiliation between new and existing family portraits. Through almost identical poses, telescope in hand and background of sea and sky, Gainsborough has connected the nephew to the uncle's successful career (Retford, *The art of domestic life*, p. 155).

¹⁶ Hervey to Elizabeth Foster, Mar. 1796, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 497.

¹⁷ William Hoare, *The future Earl-Bishop presenting his son John Augustus, later Lord Hervey, to William Pitt, Earl of Chatham* (1771).

¹⁸ Benjamin West, *The Death of Wolfe* (1779), at Ickworth. General Wolfe was a close friend of Hervey's favourite sister, Lepel Phipps, Lady Mulgrave. Hervey described Wolfe as 'my military saint', Hervey to Lady Mulgrave, 26 Dec. 1759, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 57.

¹⁹ Sold at Sotheby's, London, 1987 for £231,000.

collector of antiquities.²⁰ Hervey had himself represented as the busy bishop, politician (the Act of Toleration in his hand) and improver of the fabric of the city of Derry. Batoni's portrait has a contrived air, perhaps reflecting the sitter's management of the project (Hervey must have supplied a projected view of the as yet unfinished spire for Derry Cathedral). One might suggest that the pose and background owe something to Reynolds's painting of Thomas Newton, another ecclesiastic and collector of art [fig. 4.9].²¹ Clark and Bowron describe Batoni's portrait of Hervey as highly conservative and firmly rooted in the tradition of British portraiture which 'may be viewed, in view of the Bishop's occasional support of atheism and his far greater interest in the arts than in his diocese, as one of his many 'whims and inconsistencies''.²² On the contrary, this portrait represents a stage in Hervey's self-fashioning: the active bishop of 1768 to the early 1780s. His wife insisted on the portrait as 'a valuable possession to his Family', a professional image designed to hang imposingly in the dining room at Downhill.²³ Price may have been a factor at this stage in Hervey's life: in the 1780s Batoni was only charging £50 for a full-length in Rome while Reynolds charged £200 in London.²⁴

His wife, Elizabeth, Countess of Bristol, was painted in the same year, but despite the fashion for pendant or double portraits, her image, a half-length by Anton von Maron, is not pictorially related to her husband's [fig. 4.10].²⁵ Like many pictures of women in this period, Lady Bristol's offers the viewer little in the way of individuality. Retford comments that the 'contrast between the particularities of masculine professional endeavours and positions of status on the one hand and the generalised nature of ideals of femininity on the other is also apparent in much

²⁰ Anthony M. Clark and Edgar Peters Bowron, *Pompeo Batoni: a complete catalogue* (Oxford, 1985), p. 43.

²¹ John Ingamells, *The English ecclesiastical portrait, 1559-1835: a catalogue* (Guildford, 1981), p. 35. Portrait now at Lambeth Palace. Newton was also painted by Benjamin West as bishop of Bristol in convocation dress but with the pose and attributes of a scholar and patron: he is sitting with a bust of Caesar and a depiction of West's *Departure of Hector* which he commissioned and owned.

²² Clark and Bowron, *Pompeo Batoni*, p. 44.

²³ Countess of Bristol to Mary Erne, 18 Nov. 1777, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 175.

²⁴ Pointon, *Hanging the head*, p. 50.

²⁵ Three versions of the portrait exist, one sold at Christie's, London, 8 June 2006 for £60,000, one in a private collection signed and dated 1779 and one head only without the background of the Antrim coast.

prescriptive literature of the period' even though they often had much more complex roles than such literature suggests.²⁶

As well as her individual portrait, the Countess of Bristol was also depicted in her private role as mother within a domestic setting at Downhill. Retford uses this painting, with a profile portrait of the bishop on the wall and an echoing sketch of his heir, to demonstrate that 'the paterfamilias dominated the family even in his absence'.²⁷ Including a likeness of the heir 'removes him from the domain of the women and divides the family into a hierarchy based on age and sex'. Retford also identifies examples of the inclusion of a portrait of a father who is deceased in the background of a family group portrait, to emphasise the continuance of proper familial structures.²⁸ Similarly, Pointon argues that 'A conversation piece is to be understood as a visualization of the last will and testament, an imagined set of domestic commands for future generations produced at the behest of an individual who will no longer be alive when the text is read'. She cautions that the rise of pictures focusing on maternal relationships do not reflect any decline in patrimony but emphasised the gulf between the active, absent men (appearing as portraits) and the gentle indoor pursuits of women and young boys.²⁹ This interpretation of the dominance of men, even in their absence, is compelling.

On the other hand, Antonio de Bittio's picture *The Countess of Bristol with her children* (1773) may be more nuanced [figs 4.11-4.12]. In 1773 Hervey had returned from a Grand Tour with John Augustus, his draftsmen Michael Shanahan and Antonio de Bittio, had fetched his wife and younger children from Ickworth and resumed his busy life as bishop. In Hervey's estimation, Bittio's geological drawings were very good but his figures were 'so deplorable that his men are beasts and his beasts brutes'.³⁰ Certainly the bovine daughters in this picture bear little resemblance to their later portraits. Perhaps this family conversation piece originated among the women as a pastime; a distraction for those left behind once

²⁶ Retford, *The art of domestic life*, p. 23, 37. See also Christie, *British country house*, p. 192.

²⁷ The whereabouts of this picture is unknown but an autographed copy of the left portion (the Countess and Louisa) is at Ickworth.

²⁸ Retford, *The art of domestic life*, p. 106.

²⁹ Pointon, *Hanging the head*, p. 161.

³⁰ Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 125.

again when the young midshipman John Augustus had departed and the bishop was taken up by his duties. The profiles of the father and elder son then appear less as male dominance but more as a loyal recollection of the full family unit. Elizabeth Hervey's self-image was centred on herself as mother, as her letters to her children when abroad constantly testified. Bittio may well have acted as a drawing tutor for the girls at Downhill.³¹ The whereabouts of this unflattering family picture is now unknown. It is proposed that this could be the mysterious picture Daniel Beaufort saw 'of Lady Bristol & her family whole lengths – in which are some very fine hands' at Shanahan's house in Cork in 1788.³² If this is so, the picture, perhaps generated among bored women, met with little approval and was passed on as a gift. What was not good enough for the Hervey walls must have been acceptable to an employee, who evidently displayed this mark of honour prominently.

Returning to Hervey's pictorial legacy, a complete break is identifiable between the early portraits of the Bishop of Derry and the explosion of portraits of the Earl Bishop in 1790. Hervey sat twice to Elisabeth Vigée-LeBrun, twice to Hugh Douglas Hamilton and once to Angelica Kauffmann.³³ The trappings of bishop and politician have disappeared; instead we are offered an image of a cultured, well-travelled, sophisticated aesthete. This pictorial change echoes the different functions of his houses, proposed in chapter 1: Downhill was the diocesan and political house, whereas Ballyscullion and Ickworth were houses of culture and these later portraits would conclude the tours of his intended galleries.

³¹ In a letter to Sir John Strange, Hervey describes geological pictures of Bittio and tells Strange that his daughters were copying geological formations for Strange's interest. Bittio may have overseen this work. 'Have you seen the last volume of Phil: Transaction for 71. In case you have not I have made my daughters copy two prints of some Basaltine columns at Fielzberg in the Hesse Cassel ... When you get to Venice I will send you all Bitio's drawings which you shall get engrav'd for me by the best hands you can find', Hervey to Sir John Strange, 6 Sept. 1775 (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/51/3/4).

³² Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 7 Dec. 1788 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4030).

³³ Alastair Laing has tentatively reattributed a second Kauffmann portrait at Ickworth as a posthumous portrait by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, since there is no documentary evidence that Angelica Kauffmann painted more than one portrait of Hervey and that the handling and props are all in a British style. He suggests that there was no portrait at Ickworth because the Earl Bishop willed his possessions to his cousin in Ireland. Frederick, first marquess of Bristol, may have asked Sir Henry Hervey Bruce for a portrait based on one of those in his possession at Downhill. Alastair Laing, 'Sir Rowland and Lady Winn: a conversation piece in the Library at Nostell Priory' in *Apollo* (Apr. 2000), p. 17.

His choice of portraitists appears cosmopolitan but in fact all were in Rome at the time. Hervey's admiration for Elisabeth Vigée-LeBrun led to his commissioning in 1791, a copy of her Uffizi self-portrait for Ickworth; a flattering compliment [fig. 4.13].³⁴ Hervey enjoyed the company of women and each female artist brought out a different aspect of his character: his portrait by Elisabeth Vigée-LeBrun, with Vesuvius smouldering in the background, is flirtatious and lively; whereas Angelica Kauffmann captured him in a pensive mood, surrounded by artworks and a bust of the great Augustan patron Maecenas. Of the delightful Vigée-LeBrun portrait, Brinsley Ford commented that 'It was doubly appropriate that Madam Vigée-LeBrun should have depicted her sitter against a background of Vesuvius, for, besides his interest in volcanoes, the Earl-Bishop caused eruptions wherever he went' [fig. 4.14].³⁵

In Hugh Douglas Hamilton's pastel on paper portrait (c.1790), the Earl Bishop is depicted sitting on the Pincian Hill overlooking Rome [fig. 4.15]. Crookshank and Glin consider the seated figure backed by a panoramic view of Rome as unusual in Hamilton's *oeuvre* but not unique.³⁶ Another man might be painted in his library, but Hervey was most at home outdoors, viewing Rome through ancient and modern eyes simultaneously: 'Tis likewise difficult to say wh. pleases me most the magnificence of ancient or the elegance of modern Rome'.³⁷ The medium and intimacy of this picture may suggest that it was intended as a private memento. This intimate image invites comparison with the full-length portrait by Hugh Douglas Hamilton of Hervey and his granddaughter, also completed around the same year [fig. 4.16].³⁸ The Earl Bishop is in the Borghese Gardens, dressed in typically dark, sober, but informal clerical clothes, leaning against the trunk of a great plane tree, venerable and enduring. In contrast, his granddaughter, wearing a white dress with a pink sash, is youthful, light-footed and bathed in light. Here, he is the benevolent patriarch, encouraging Lady Caroline Crichton to appreciate

³⁴ The self-portrait and the portrait are at Ickworth.

³⁵ Ford, 'Capricious patron', p. 430.

³⁶ Anne Crookshank and Desmond FitzGerald, the Knight of Glin, 'Some Italian Pastels by Hugh Douglas Hamilton' in *Irish Arts Review*, xii (1997), p. 68. This pastel has returned to Ickworth.

³⁷ Hervey to Lady Mary Erskine, 24 Dec. 1777, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 177.

³⁸ Hugh Douglas Hamilton, *Frederick Hervey, Bishop of Derry and 4th Earl of Bristol with his granddaughter, Lady Caroline Crichton, in the Gardens of the Borghese Palace, Rome (c.1790)* (N.G.I., 4350).

classicism; the portfolio beside her may contain her sketches.³⁹ Crookshank and Glin describe this as ‘undoubtedly the most exciting of Hamilton’s Italian oils’.⁴⁰ It is interesting to note that Hervey embraced this Grand Tour image in 1790, whereas twelve years previously he had demanded that Batoni, originator of the Grand Tour portrait, depict him as an Irish bishop.

If, on the one hand, Hervey’s own portraits varied in character, style and tone to convey various facets of his character and stages in his career, comparing these portraits with those of his Irish contemporaries further illuminates his esoteric use of self-representation. Figgis has demonstrated that Lord Charlemont’s early portraits attempt to capture his personality. Batoni (1753-5) portrays him as a relaxed young man, leaning on a column with the Colosseum in the background indicating his scholarly interests, while Hogarth’s unfinished portrait focuses on the face alone. Later he highlighted his patriotism and the iconographical trappings of his offices (Commander in Chief of the Volunteers and Knight of the Order of St Patrick). Richard Livesay (1783-5) painted Charlemont full-length in Volunteer uniform with the blue sash and star of the Order of St Patrick, with Volunteers drilling in the background.⁴¹ There are no portraits of the Earl Bishop during this period; Charlemont had seen him off as a rival in Ireland, as the Livesay portrait emphasised. Intriguingly, Hervey’s portraits developed in the reverse order with his first portrait showing him in office in Ireland, while his later ones expressed his personality and interests abroad.

Hervey was one of only three Irish bishops to have sat for several portraits, the others being George Berkeley (1685-1752) and Richard Robinson (1709-94). John Coleman has argued that Robinson used portraiture to further his career and reinforce his public image. Robinson, who was on familiar terms with Joshua Reynolds, was painted by him three times. The first was a modest portrait,

³⁹ This picture links Jacob More, Mario Asprucci and Hervey, as noted in chapter 2. Hervey tried to buy the *Altar of the Twelve Gods* but Napoleon secured it. The same portfolio appears in Hugh Douglas Hamilton’s oil painting of *Caroline Crichton with her mother Mary Erne* (c.1790), presumably also commissioned by Hervey.

⁴⁰ Crookshank and Glin, *Ireland’s painters*, p. 106. See also Nicola Figgis, ‘Irish portrait and subject painters in Rome, 1750-1800’ in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* (1988), p. 133; Paul Caffrey, ‘Reflections of an Age of Grace’ in *Irish Arts Review*, xxv, no. 3 (autumn 2008), p. 112.

⁴¹ O’Rafferty and Cunningham, *Charlemont: an exhibition*, p. 32.

recording him as bishop of Kilalla (1758). In the second the viewer looks in on an intimate scene of Robinson, bishop of Kildare (1763), in full convocation dress and wig, studying a scholarly book and only just becoming aware of being watched. Coleman claims that this picture and the subsequent mezzotint engraving suggest an image intended for circulation when the vacancy at Armagh was about to occur.⁴² Reynolds's third portrait (1775) shows Robinson, now Archbishop of Armagh and Primate, outdoors in the manner of a landowner surveying his estate. Again, Coleman argues that this portrait, which was reproduced as a mezzotint by John Raphael Smith later in the same year, indicates 'an attempt to portray the sitter as a gentleman suitable for elevation to the ranks of the hereditary peerage'. It worked: in 1777 he was given an Irish peerage as Baron Rokeby of Armagh and in 1785 he inherited an English baronetcy from his brother.⁴³

Robinson and Hervey had much in common: both were English noblemen and younger sons, both were bishops in the Church of Ireland, both were interested in architecture and built churches and country houses. Moreover, both had themselves portrayed as a bishop with the attributes of learning (Robinson would build the neoclassical library in Armagh). But in his most intimate portrait (the Hamilton pastel), Hervey is not sitting in his study like Robinson, but outside, studying the whole of Rome. In their later portraits both chose a secular, outdoor setting, one as a landowner, the other as a cosmopolitan connoisseur.

4.2.2 Sculpture

Hervey assembled a large collection of antique marbles, copies after originals and contemporary sculpture, suited to the country house setting. He became involved in the neoclassical fascination with the authentic, planning excavations for new material. Hervey's development as a patron of the arts is illustrated through his sculpture collecting. At the start he did not take risks. One of his few early art purchases was Nollekens's *Boy and dolphin*, bought on his first Grand

⁴² John Coleman, 'Sir Joshua Reynolds and Richard Robinson, Archbishop of Armagh' in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, xi (1995), p. 133.

⁴³ Coleman, 'Reynolds and Robinson', p. 133.

Tour 1765-7. Nollekens supplied other copies of the *Boy and dolphin* to a group of Grand Tourists who were in Naples together in 1764: Lord Palmerston (secured through Gavin Hamilton's agency at the cost of £30), the earl of Exeter, David Garrick and probably Lord Spencer.⁴⁴ The original *Boy and dolphin* may well have been concocted by Cavaceppi but sold as a Raphael. As Howard points out:

This sensational narrative, in a fashionable package, with a Raphael tag, served up with the flair of a Roman dealer, could have been devastatingly effective in beguiling the unsuspecting or inexperienced amateur, who, whether predisposed by temperament to admire the work or not, still saw mainly with his ears, doted principally on impressive labels, and held essentially a literary approach to plastic art.⁴⁵

At the start of his collecting career, Hervey principally chose artworks suggested by his classical education or through the lure of provenance.

As well as searching out originals, Hervey gathered copies of famous antique statues. In Rome, Goethe found that 'when one is surrounded by such statues day after day, one becomes covetous and wishes to make them part of one's permanent surroundings, and the best way to do this is to acquire good plaster casts'.⁴⁶ Copies allowed for an idealised collection, where scale could be manipulated to achieve the symmetrical pairings that were so satisfying to the eighteenth-century eye. Patrons might justify their expensive collecting activities by claiming the importance of a full and representative collection for a wider audience and national pride. The establishment of the Royal Academy of Arts in London in 1768 led to the creation of a cast gallery for the educational benefit of British artists and sculptors.⁴⁷ A year later, on the advice of Mengs, the grand duke of Tuscany instituted a cast gallery at the *Accademia delle Belle Arti* to ensure that

⁴⁴ See figure 76b, 'Viscount Palmerston's memorandum for Prices Marbles & Pictures 1764' (University of Southampton Library, BR 101/34), pictured in Coltman, *Fabricating the antique*, p. 173; Seymour Howard, 'Boy on a Dolphin: Nollekens and Cavaceppi' in *The Art Bulletin*, xlvii, no. 2 (June 1964), p. 178.

⁴⁵ Howard, 'Nollekens and Cavaceppi', p. 181.

⁴⁶ Goethe, *Italian journey*, pp 136, 490, quoted in Coltman, *Fabricating the antique*, p. 130.

⁴⁷ Joseph Baretti, *A guide through the Royal Academy* (1780), p. 15 quoted in David H. Solkin (ed.), *Art on the line: the Royal Academy exhibitions at Somerset House, 1780-1836* (London, 2001), p. 9. In his guidebook, Baretti noted that the first pieces seen in the hall of Somerset House were the *Apollo Belvedere*, and a 'very elegant group' of the *Furietti Centaurs* and the *Medici Vase*. Hervey was making similar choices.

the most famous works of art would be available in Florence.⁴⁸ These more systematic collections were stimulated by Winckelmann's chronology and the neoclassical interest in authenticity. Later the British Museum would render private British collections less necessary, but Hervey in the late eighteenth century still could, and did, justify the edifying role of his collections.

There was considerable cachet in owning a copy of a statue that implied a relationship with the august owner. The *Apollo Belvedere*, copied with the pope's permission, took pride of place at the far end of the gallery at Downhill (as it did in Robert Adam's magnificent hall at Syon House in London).⁴⁹ He had no inhibitions about charming or embarrassing owners, who were sometimes unwilling to allow casts to be taken because the original might itself be damaged or cheapened by frequent reproduction. He pressed Sir William Hamilton to exert his influence over the king and queen of the Two Sicilies:

But if you find him difficult – you may plea that Prince Borghese gave me a written leave under his hand to take casts of All the Statues found at Gabii & also of All his Statues in the Villa Borghese & surely Lord Bristol will not find the Q: of Naples less friendly than P: Borghese.⁵⁰

Hervey also commissioned a large marble copy of a *Furietti Centaur* from Cavaceppi at this time [fig. 4.17].⁵¹ In 1765 Nollekens successfully persuaded Thomas Anson to commission first-time casts of the *Furietti Centaurs* for Shugborough 'that never was seen in England for both the rarity and fineness', hinting that royalty were also interested.⁵² Twenty years later copies of the *Centaurs* were no longer unique in England, but Hervey raised the bar by commissioning in marble. Hornsby and Bignamini describe the statues Hervey commissioned from Falcioni as 'fashionable Grand Tour furnishings', along with

⁴⁸ Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the antique*, p. 67.

⁴⁹ When it arrived, Shanahan was alarmed to discover 'Apollo wanting the nudities and three fingers', Shanahan to Hervey, 13 Jan. 1786 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/84).

⁵⁰ Hervey to Sir William Hamilton, 12 Feb. 1797 (N.L.I., Hamilton papers, MS 2262).

⁵¹ Hervey is supposed to have tried unsuccessfully to buy the original statues. The copy of the Centaur travelled to Ballyscullion, then to Downhill, was sold in the 1920s and is now at Spencer House in London.

⁵² Coltman, *Fabricating the antique*, p. 141.

the bust of Hadrian from Raggi and a cast of the *Farnese Hercules* from Albacini, recorded in the letter-book of his agent Jacob More in 1785.⁵³

Hervey was also anxious to secure ancient marbles.⁵⁴ Lord Cloncurry's *Recollections* describe the trouble contemporaries took to secure antique artefacts.⁵⁵ During his third Grand Tour (1777 to 1779), Hervey's interest in geology was superseded by archaeology and then works of art; this was boosted by his inheritance of the Bristol earldom in 1779, worth about £20,000 a year, more than doubling his income. Thomas Jenkins warned his patron Charles Townley that 'the Bishop of Derry Gleans Rome of its Precious monuments, & as one of his adopted Countrymen lately told him, his Collection will Surprize all the World, there never having been Such things Sent into Ireland before, or Since'.⁵⁶ Of course, such a project was as good for the agent as it was for the prestige of the owner. Gavin Hamilton pushed for a new sculpture gallery for his patron at Lansdowne House (1771-3) 'that will make Shelburne House famous not only in England but all over Europe'.⁵⁷ Ultimately, Lansdowne did not bite; however, patrons were susceptible to the idea of lasting fame attached to a good collection, which justified an expensive interest as a selfless, public and national contribution.

Townley was conscious of the importance of his collection of ancient statuary which had the added benefit of being conveniently situated in London rather than buried in a country house. He employed artists such as Zoffany, Brown, Chambers and John Thomas Smith to copy (and learn from) his statues. Coltman

⁵³ Bignamini and Hornsby, *Digging and dealing*, i, 283.

⁵⁴ Export licences were issued for two shipments (1778 and 1794). The 1778 licence lists fifteen busts, a consular statue and three statuettes of philosophers destined for Downhill. ASR, Camerale I, *Diversorum del Camerlengo*, b. 690, fol. 38v; ASR, Camerale II, *Antichità e Belle Arti*, b. 14, fasc. 298, cited in Bignamini and Hornsby, *Digging and dealing*, i, 285.

⁵⁵ Lord Cloncurry bought four twelve-foot red granite pillars (now supporting the portico at Lyons) from von Humbolt, who was collecting for the King of Prussia, and secured a certificate of provenance that three pillars had been taken from Nero's Golden House by Rafael. Cloncurry was involved in excavations at the Baths of Titus, where he found another larger red granite pillar which he had chiselled down to match. Although forbidden to export them, he wrote that 'the poverty of their owners or of the authorities always opened a way to evade it', and he shipped them to Ireland, quoted in Eiffe, 'Lyons, Co. Kildare', pp 15-16.

⁵⁶ Jenkins to Townley, Rome, 6 Jan. 1779, TY 7/384 quoted in Bignamini and Hornsby, *Digging and dealing*, i, 282.

⁵⁷ Christie, *British country house*, p. 184.

believes that Number 7 Park Street became ‘an unofficial counterpoint to the English arts establishment represented by the Royal Academy ... an academy of ancient sculpture’.⁵⁸ Collecting was a sociable but competitive activity; Hervey scrutinised the acquisitions of his contemporaries in England. Writing to his patron, Thomas Jenkins passed on Hervey’s complaints about his own agent (Gavin Hamilton):

I hear that Weather Cock the Bishop of Derry has been at Your House, he writes Hamilton he Sells travellers Skim Milch only, & Sends the Cream to You [Townley]. he is one of those Cunning ones, that Expect to get Gold for Silver, whereas in the End they find their Error, when too late.⁵⁹

With a limited supply of antiquities, rivalry was fierce and agents were adept at manipulating the competitiveness of their patrons.

As mentioned above, in the last decade of his life, Hervey collaborated with Robert Fagan and Prince Augustus to finance an archaeological dig at Practica di Mare near Ostia (1794-1801). That Hervey was motivated by a desire to collect unique items for Ickworth is evident from Jenkins’s assessment that Hervey possessed ‘Vanity [which] will I Conclude Prevent his Permitting The Things to be Sold’. Bignamini and Hornsby agree with Jenkins, pointing to a bust of *Lucius Verus* at Ickworth which may well be the one Jenkins reported as the ‘most Considerable’ find of the excavation.⁶⁰ A large number of antiquities was listed in ‘Bristol’s Roman Property’ (1804) after his death.⁶¹ An intriguing letter, neglected by previous scholarship, reveals that Hervey sold some of his finds and planned a further excavation, using ancient literature and previous excavations as his guides:

⁵⁸ Vicky Coltman, ‘Representation, replication and collecting in Charles Townley’s late eighteenth-century library’ in *Art History*, xxix, 2 (Apr. 2006). However, it was later, after Townley’s collection became accessible to all as the nucleus of the British Museum from 1805, that his *Venus* and *Clytie* became famous, especially in England; whereas Lord Shelburne’s *Cincinnatus* and *Antinous*, displayed in his private house, did not enter the canon of great ancient sculpture, despite Canova considering them superior to the old versions. Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the antique*, p. 67.

⁵⁹ Jenkins to Townley, 11 Dec. 1779, TY 7/399 quoted in Bignamini and Hornsby, *Digging and dealing*, ii, 120.

⁶⁰ Jenkins to Townley, 23 Sept. 1797, TY 7/547 quoted in Bignamini and Hornsby, *Digging and dealing*, i, 283.

⁶¹ See Figgis, ‘Roman property’.

my Cava too turns out admirably – we have found a narcissus gazing in a well wch we sold to Ld Barwich for £350, a Lucius Verus fully equal to that of the Borghese wch I will not sell at all with an hundred of ceteras - & now I am going to dig at Antium where the Apollo Belvedere was found & where Strabo the geographer of August Cesar says all the rich Romans had rich Villas – what a Peru of marbles may this be.⁶²

The list of ‘Bristol’s Roman Property’ informs us that Hervey and his agents kept an eye on the studios of Rome as well as the archaeological digs. It lists nineteen ancient pieces: three restored pieces (from Pacetti, Labreur and Cavaceppi), a Greek sculpture of *Achilles*, a consul, a female statue and thirteen busts.⁶³ One might surmise that Hervey was not single-minded enough to form a collection of the importance of Townley or Blundell.

To enhance his growing collection of ancient statuary, Hervey also commissioned contemporary images from sculptors. In 1778 he ordered a statue of his eldest brother George, second earl of Bristol, who had left him £10,000 in his will, for an eye-catcher at Downhill based on the Roman Mausoleum at St Remy. Van Nost, in Dublin, was a safe choice of sculptor; Strickland considered that he ‘long enjoyed almost a monopoly of sculptural works in Ireland’.⁶⁴ Family were pressed into action: he exhorted his daughter Elizabeth and her new husband John Foster to check on its progress. Hervey supplied the sculptor with an engraving for the face.⁶⁵ Though he was unusual in not advertising his lineage in painted portraits, Hervey honoured his brother with a statue.⁶⁶

⁶² Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 27 Jan. 1798 (Sheffield Archives, Wharnclyffe muniments, 552b/7).

⁶³ As well as the aforesaid ancient pieces destined for Ickworth, the 1804 catalogue listed modern sculpture: two statues (by Labreur and Pierantoni), twenty-eight busts, a bas relief by Cardelli and four gessi. Also listed were fifty-six columns in various marbles, fifty-two sections of columns and fourteen carved chimneypieces. Commissions uncompleted at Hervey’s death included four sculptures (by Festa, Finelli and two by Villareale) and seven chimneypieces. See Figgis, ‘Roman property’.

⁶⁴ Strickland, *Dictionary of Irish artists*, ii, 478-87. Strickland does not mention Hervey’s statue among van Nost’s known works.

⁶⁵ Hervey to Lady Elizabeth Foster, 28 Jan. 1778, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 128. The Mausoleum was discussed in chapter 1 p. 26. The statue was blown down in the Great Wind of 1839 and the trunk of the statue, much weathered, remains at Downhill. The only portrait of George, second earl, was by Zoffany (at Ickworth).

⁶⁶ Hervey’s choice from Virgil alludes to the freedom the bequest bought:

Ille meos errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum
Ludere quae vellem calamo permisit agresti.

(Translation: He permitted my oxen to wander, as you may see; and myself to play whatever I like, upon my rural pipe.)

Furthermore, Hervey commissioned two portrait busts of himself and one of his granddaughter in 1786 from the Irish sculptor Christopher Hewetson, who spent thirty years in Italy [fig. 4.18 and on table in fig. 4.23]. Later, Hervey commissioned a ‘colossal’ portrait bust of Pitt from Hewetson.⁶⁷ Another Irish sculptor, Michael Foy, was seen in the company of Hewetson in the Cafe degli Inglese in Piazza di Spagna (which Hervey often used as a postal address) by the Welsh artist Thomas Jones.⁶⁸ Foy seems to disappear from the record after 1777. It has not previously been noted that Shanahan forwarded Foy’s letter and address to Hervey in 1783 and recommending placing Foy’s bas-relief over the chimneypiece in the gallery at Downhill.⁶⁹ Possibly Foy was responsible for the bas-relief that was ‘on the road from Dublin’ in Shanahan’s letter of the same sequence, suggesting that Foy may have returned to Ireland.⁷⁰ Though Hervey did commission work from Irishmen, he seems not to have been motivated by patriotism in his choice of artist, sculptor or subject matter. Travel increased Hervey’s opportunities as a collector.

Hervey expressed his admiration of Pitt in rather less conventional ways too, by depicting him as the infant Hercules strangling the Hydra, whose contorted faces were those of his political rivals [fig. 4.19].⁷¹ Morritt of Rokeby reported:

before the heads were finished he [Hervey] almost drove the sculptor [Pierantoni Il Sposino] mad by selecting for a model of Hercules’ countenance that of Mr. Pitt, and insisting on the Hydra being finished off with a triple likeness of Fox, North and Burke, which last he again cut off to make way for Sheridan.⁷²

⁶⁷ Busts of Pitt were popular among Whigs, though Hewetson probably never completed this ‘colossal’ one. Brian de Breffny, ‘Christopher Hewetson’ in *Irish Arts Review*, iii, no. 3 (autumn 1986).

⁶⁸ Breffny, ‘Christopher Hewetson’, p. 53. The interweaving of artists in Rome is illustrated Thomas Bank’s ownership of a bas-relief of James Durno by Michael Foy. Figgis identifies Foy as Irish sculptor, Michael Foye (fl. 1765-77), who arrived in Rome in 1773. The bas-relief was sold after Bank’s death in 1805 (Christie’s, 22 May 1805). Nicola Figgis, ‘Raphael’s Transfiguration: some Irish Grand Tour associations’ in *Irish Arts Review*, xiv (1998), pp 52-8.

⁶⁹ Shanahan to Hervey, 7 Apr. 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/19); and Shanahan to Hervey, 19 July 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/28).

⁷⁰ Shanahan to Hervey, 20 July 1783 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D2798/2/29).

⁷¹ The 1804 catalogue names ‘Pierantonj – Gruppo con putto in forma di serpenti’.

⁷² W. Partington (ed.), *Private letter-books of Sir Walter Scott* (London, 1930), p. 19 quoted in Ford, ‘Capricious patron’, p. 432.

Lady Webster, whose future husband's uncle (Fox) was insulted in stone, wrote in her journal: 'The idea was taken from a caricature. The English artists all to a man refused to execute this puerile conceit ... a lasting monument of Lord Bristol's bad taste'.⁷³ This piece was extraordinary because of the inappropriate choice of medium. Its existence proves that not every commission was motivated by the desire to prove their good taste. Far less cruel, but still considered a lower artform, the caricatures that Reynolds painted for Lord Charlemont and his friends became a source of shame to the artist later in life. Satire worked best in the more spontaneous form of print.

Aside from this piece of political parody, Hervey also arranged for some highly sophisticated commissions, for instance the *Fury of Athamas* from John Flaxman, begun in 1790. It had high credentials: the subject matter was classical, literary (from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*) and suggested by Canova [fig. 4.20]. Hervey's methods as a patron can be followed in this transaction. He visited Flaxman in person, admired his work, flattered, and when Flaxman would not co-operate (because he had decided to return England unless given a work that could establish his reputation) 'His lordship applauded my resolution and immediately ordered me to execute a group in marble, the figures as large as the Gladiator'.⁷⁴ Hervey was better at pricing than Flaxman for although the sculptor was initially delighted with the 600 guineas agreed upon, he found himself significantly out of pocket by the end of the project.⁷⁵ Hervey instructed his agent to pay in instalments rather than a lump sum 'to give his Genius every encouragement he desires'.⁷⁶

⁷³ Earl of Ilchester (ed.), *The journal of Elizabeth, Lady Holland*, (2 vols, London, 1909), i, 141.

⁷⁴ Flaxman to Romney, 15 Apr. 1790, in W. G. Constable, *John Flaxman* (1927), p. 39, quoted in Ford, 'Capricious patron', p. 430.

⁷⁵ Flaxman wrote that was going to leave Rome, 'but I have the honour to inform you at present with much more satisfaction that I shall be detained three years longer by the Noble patronage of Lord Bristol who has ordered me to make a large group for him in marble of the Fury of Athamas from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* from a small composition of my own. I cannot conclude my letter without telling you the liberality of Lord Bristol has reanimated the fainting body of Art in Rome; for his generosity to me I must be silent, for I have not words to express its value.' Flaxman to Sir William Hamilton, Hamilton and Nelson Papers: Morrison Collection, vol. i, p. 237 quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 417.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

Canova was cannier than Flaxman financially, and despite Hervey's obsequious letters to 'Dear Praxiteles', they could never agree terms.⁷⁷ Despite his wealth, Hervey was less generous than some other patrons: both Lord Cawdor and Henry Blundell gave Canova a hundred zecchins over the prices of their statues, to show their delight.⁷⁸ Unusually at a time of almost slavish reverence for ancient sculpture, Hervey was individual enough to try to persuade Canova to improve upon it, suggesting an Apollo without the weaknesses of the *Apollo Belvedere* or a Venus without the faults of the *Venus de Medici*, a statue which he considered 'détestable, l'attitude d'une Coquette, ou d'une Putain'.⁷⁹ Though eighteenth-century house owners were greatly concerned with taste, motives for commissions could be unpredictable. Hervey filled his houses with artworks that appealed to him aesthetically, that would impress and would add to his collection as a whole, but whim or humour might also be indulged.

His statuary collection places him firmly within the typical Grand Tour selection of antique originals (where possible) and carefully chosen copies to emulate the admired canon of famous sculptures. He was unusual in the sums he spent, particularly in having copies made in marble. Though he possessed some rare and ancient pieces, his collection never achieved fame because he collected so broadly and was more interested in a bargain than a specific piece. Towards the end of his connoisseurial career he became more sophisticated in his selection of one great neoclassical sculpture (from Flaxman) to dominate the great hall at Ickworth.

4.2.3 The art collection

The Earl Bishop as a patron and collector of art has been expertly investigated by Nicola Figgis, Brinsley Ford and Patricia Andrew. Where these scholars chiefly

⁷⁷ 'My dear Canova, tho' our cold North English will not admit of your Italian superlatives in expressing our feelings, yet I have too often visited Dear Italy not to have caught some share of that sensibility which its climate and artists inspire. Proud of the contagion I let it break out in the acknowledgement I thought most welcome to you for the delight I had received from your works and still more from your conversation replete as it is with the Simplicity of a Child and the Brio of a Genius' (1791). 'O dear Praxiteles, dear in every sense, but isn't it true, isn't it true, your works cannot be dear, perfection is never dear, it is my purse that is poor' (1794). Canoviani II/184/2433-2438 and I/27/1389-1391 quoted in Hugh Honour, 'Antonio Canova and the Anglo-Romans', part II, in *Connoisseur* (Dec. 1959), pp 230-31.

⁷⁸ Honour, 'Canova', p. 227.

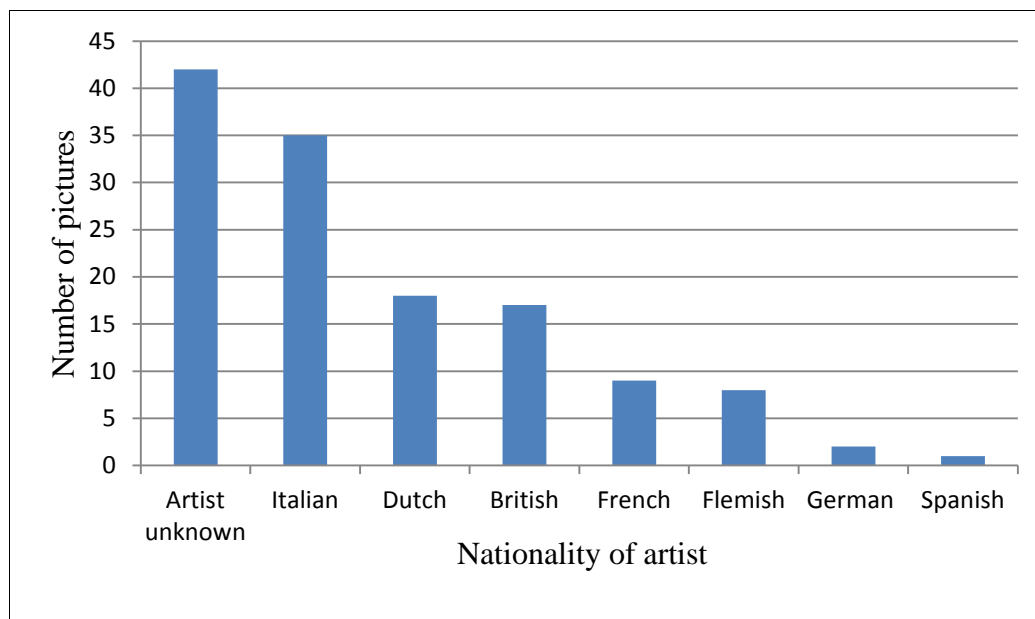
⁷⁹ Honour, 'Canova', p. 231.

explored what he acquired and commissioned, his relationships with artists and his place within the art scene in Italy, this chapter shifts the emphasis onto the collection as displayed at Downhill and Ballyscullion, and utilises picture lists and auction records as chief sources in an attempt to situate it within the Irish context. The conclusions reached by these art historians are drawn upon here, but are redirected towards a different set of criteria: the themes that Hervey chose to display, how his travels influenced his choices, how his Irish collection compared with his intended English collection and how his display compared with art in contemporary Irish houses. By analysing the picture lists quantitatively, some unexpected answers to these questions have emerged.

Pictures brought the exotic into Irish houses; foreign landscapes and customs familiar to Grand Tourists, broadened the horizons of the less travelled. The nationality of artists represented at Downhill reads like a route guide to Hervey's travels, with Italy and France well represented. In common with contemporaries, he admired seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings though he spent less time there. He was very taken by Germany itself but had few German paintings in his early collections at Downhill and Ballyscullion, with the exception of Dürer's *Four Evangelists*; the other German artists represented (Elsheimer and Rosa di Tivoli) were more Italianised. There was only one Spanish picture (*St Lawrence* by Murillo) for though Hervey planned a trip to Spain, he never went, and his brother, ambassador at Madrid, left Spain in the 1760s before Hervey had begun to collect.

Table 3 Nationality of artists in the Downhill picture collection

Source: J. P. Neale, *Views of the seats of noblemen and gentlemen* (6 vols, London, 1823), vi.



Iain Pears has calculated the percentage of paintings entering England of Italian, French and Dutch origin.⁸⁰ Hervey was in line with British collectors in favouring Italian artists most highly and in buying Dutch paintings, but he collected significantly fewer French pictures. The geographical accessibility of France for British tourists may partly explain the popularity of French painting whereas Hervey consistently travelled widely. Comparing Downhill with another Irish house, Neale’s picture list for Russborough shows that Italian artists were favoured but Dutch artists appealed less. Twelve pictures by the contemporary artist Vernet (though bought in Italy) boosted the imports from France.

Table 4 Percentage of pictures imported from Italy, France and Holland

Source: Iain Pears, *The discovery of painting: the growth of interest in the arts in England, 1680-1768* (London, 1988), p. 210; J.P. Neale, *Views of the seats of noblemen and gentlemen*, (series 1, London, 1823) and *ibid.* (series 2, 1824); Getty Provenance Index, Ballyscullion auction by Mr Herbert at the Rotunda, 1813.

Date	From Italy	From France	From Holland
British auctions 1722-1774 (import of pictures over £40, figures from Pears)	43%	21.8%	20.5%
Russborough (collected mainly 1740s-50s, Neale’s list 1826)	42%	20%	9%

⁸⁰ Iain Pears, *The discovery of painting: the growth of interest in the arts in England, 1680-1768* (London, 1988), p. 210.

Downhill (mainly 1770s and 1780s, Neale's list 1823)	40%	8%	20%
Ballyscullion (collected mainly 1780s, 1813 Rotunda auction)	36%	10%	16%

Crookshank and Glin note that Irish collectors favoured paintings from the Low Countries, analysing data from nine auctions held between 1829 and 1839 but selling pictures collected mainly in the eighteenth century. According to these statistics, the Earl Bishop was out of step with other Irish collectors in favouring Italian paintings, but so were the Leasons at Russborough who had also travelled in Italy. Hervey did not utilise many native painters probably because he collected almost entirely abroad: he employed English, Scottish and Welsh painters in Rome, and of Irishmen, Henry Tresham in Rome and only George Barret in Ireland. Neale listed twenty pictures by George Barret at Russborough but no other Irish artist.

Table 5 Origin of pictures imported into Ireland

Source: Anne Crookshank and Desmond FitzGerald, the Knight of Glin, *Ireland's painters, 1600-1940* (London, 2002), p. 58; J.P. Neale, *Views of the seats of noblemen and gentlemen*, (series 1, London, 1823) and *ibid.* (series 2, 1824); Getty Provenance Index, Ballyscullion auction by Mr Herbert at the Rotunda, 1813.

	Northern	Italian	English	Irish	Spanish
Irish auctions 1829-39 (Glin and Crookshank)	61%	22%	9%	6%	1%
Russborough (Neale's list)	38% (Dutch, Flemish, French and German)	42%	2%	16%	0%
Downhill (mainly 1770s-80s, Neale's list)	38% (Dutch, Flemish, French and German)	40%	19% (English, Scottish and Welsh)	2%	1%
Ballyscullion (mainly 1780s, 1813 auction)	40% (Dutch, Flemish, French and German)	36%	20% (English, Scottish and Welsh)	0%	3%

Hervey's collection must be placed within the context of other collections in Ireland. He possessed wealth beyond almost every Irish contemporary but not every British collector. At its peak his income may have been £40,000 a year; Lord Cloncurry witnessed him spending over £5,000 a quarter on artworks alone. Ireland's only duke had half Hervey's total income. Perhaps in his art collecting, it might be suggested that Hervey fits better with his British compatriots, particularly in the scale of his buying. In *Views of the seats of nobility and gentlemen*, Neale offers full picture lists only for Downhill, a portrait list for Gracefield (1823, series one) and a full list for Russborough (1824, series two) out of thirty-nine Irish houses. In England, he published full lists for seven houses in Yorkshire alone (1823 series). The peripheral areas of the British Isles appear to have had lesser collections if Neale (1823 series) is used as a guide: London was not in his remit but he mentioned the pictures in a third of the English country houses he visited, compared to a fifth of Irish and Scottish houses and none in Welsh houses.

Focusing on Downhill alone (his first collection), Hervey can usefully be compared with other ecclesiastical collectors. Hervey's predecessors in Cloyne and Derry had bought art. George Berkeley displayed a fine collection of pictures when he was bishop of Cloyne (1734-53) and wrote sadly to Lady Burlington that he was 'haunted with a taste for good company and fine arts that I got at Burlington House, the worst preparative in the world for a retreat to Cloyne'. Mrs Delany admired Bishop Barnard of Derry's collection, estimating that in his Dublin townhouse he had two hundred pictures 'not many Italian, but the greatest variety of pictures I ever saw in one collection ... and besides a library well furnished with portfolios of fine drawings and prints'.⁸¹ In other dioceses, Bishop Clayton's collection was housed mainly in his Dublin home but impressed in his Cork palace too, and Archbishop Cobbe used the Revd Matthew Pilkington's expertise as a buyer, particularly for northern Old Masters. Archbishop Robinson sat four times to Reynolds and also had a collection of Continental pictures, though exactly what it comprised is now unknown.

⁸¹ Crookshank and Glin, *Ireland's painters*, p. 54.

Lord Charlemont's collection was considered one of the best in Dublin; even Richard Twiss visiting in 1775 admired it. He had pictures by Rembrandt, Titian, Tintoretto, Dughet, Zuccarelli, Van Dyck and Hogarth.⁸² Lord Milltown displayed pictures by Poussin, Panini, Vernet and Rosalba Carriera and showed visitors around his gallery in person.⁸³ Lord Bessborough and the Cobbe family favoured Northern over Italian artists.⁸⁴ Twiss and James Malton were both impressed by the duke of Leinster's pictures, partly collected on the Grand Tour and later inherited from the St George family by marriage. Malton admired the picture gallery as a display venue at Leinster House, 'containing many fine paintings by the first masters, with other ornaments, chosen and displayed with great elegance; the ceiling is arched, and highly enriched and painted, from designs by Mr Wyatt' and he noted drawings and paintings by such famous masters as Rembrandt, Claude Lorrain, Luca Giordano, Rubens, van Dyck and a contemporary landscape by George Barret.⁸⁵ Crookshank and Glin conclude that evidence points towards a strong interest in collecting in Ireland and that Dublin was a 'cultivated city, deeply interested in pictures'.⁸⁶

Comparing the only full picture lists in Neale's *Views of seats* for Irish houses (Downhill and Russborough) reveals similarities in genres collected. Both Leeson and Hervey travelled extensively in Italy (Leeson a generation earlier) and, unlike their Irish contemporaries, favoured Italian artists. The most pronounced differences are the twenty Irish landscapes Leeson commissioned from George Barret and the three caricatures taken at Rome by Reynolds. Leeson, who may have been Batoni's first British client, purchased two portraits, a religious subject and three historical pictures from Batoni. Both collectors had copies of key pictures like Raphael's *Transfiguration* (Hervey's by Durno) and Salvator Rosa's

⁸² John Loughman, 'One of the finest pieces Rembrandt ever painted': Charlemont's collecting of Netherlandish paintings' in Michael McCarthy (ed.), *Lord Charlemont and his circle* (Dublin, 2001), pp 103-111.

⁸³ Aidan O'Boyle, 'The Milltown collection: reconstructing an eighteenth-century picture-hang' in *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, xiii (2010), pp 30-59.

⁸⁴ Charles Sebag-Montefiore, 'Collecting in Ireland in the eighteenth century: the historic Cobbe collection in context' in Alastair Laing (ed), *Clerics and connoisseurs: the Rev. Matthew Pilkington, the Cobbe family and the fortunes of an Irish art collection through three centuries* (London, 2001), p. 47.

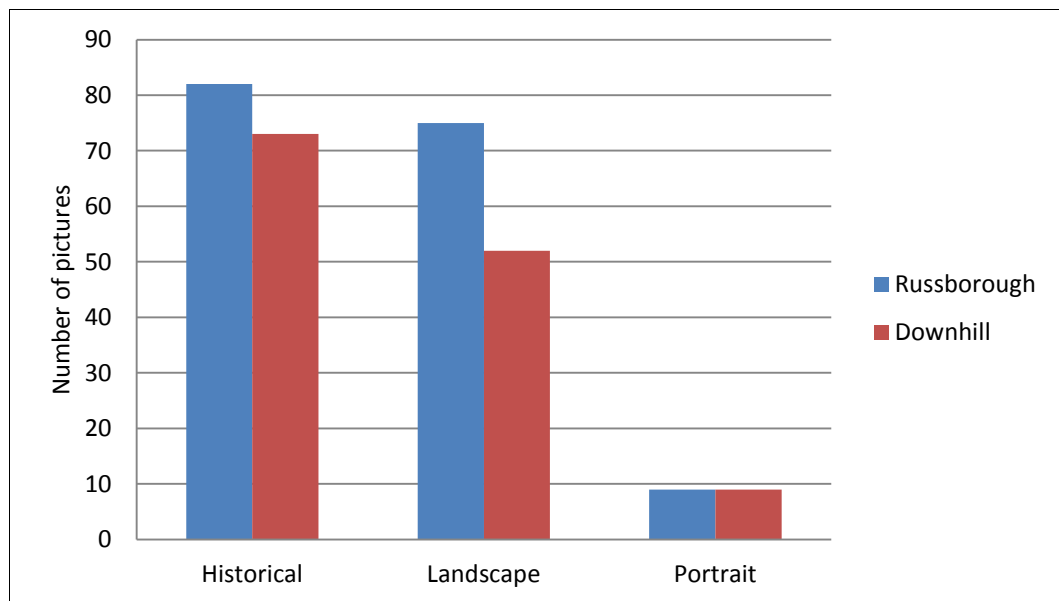
⁸⁵ James Malton, *A Picturesque & Descriptive View of the City of Dublin (1792-99)*, quoted in William Laffan and Brendan Rooney, *Thomas Roberts: landscape and patronage in eighteenth century Ireland* (Tralee, 2009), p. 278.

⁸⁶ Crookshank and Glin, *Ireland's painters*, p. 63.

Death of Regulus (Leeson's by Vernet). Benedetti claims that Leeson was one of the richest tourists ever in Rome, so although he was in a position to buy originals, he chose copies because of the problems of getting export licences.⁸⁷ Figgis suggests that Hervey had so many copies because he had three houses with many walls to cover.

Table 6 Number of pictures of historical, landscape and portrait genres at Russborough and Downhill

Source: J.P. Neale, *Views of the seats of noblemen and gentlemen*, (series 1, London, 1823) and *ibid.* (series 2, 1824).



Figgis concludes that though he was wealthy enough to buy better quality works, Hervey owned no outstanding painting, no original by Raphael and only one by Correggio, and had a large number of copies. She considers Hervey to be a good indicator of eighteenth-century taste, differing only in his purchases of Italian

⁸⁷ Benedetti, Sergio, *The Milltowns: a family reunion* (Dublin, 1997), p. 69.

primitives and the German masters Lucas Cranach and Albrecht Dürer, chosen to illustrate his chronology.⁸⁸ Hervey was highly unusual in collecting early Renaissance art. He had paintings by ‘Cimabue, Giotto, Guido da Siena, Marco di Siena, & all that old pedantry of painting which seemed to show the progress of art at its resurrection’ [fig. 4.21].⁸⁹ He also sought ‘an Original Picture of Wolgmuth, the master of the Great Albert Durer – a Painter so necessary to complete the Historical Siries of my new Gallery’.⁹⁰ He developed Continental sensibilities, subscribing to theories of admiration and organised display. French theoreticians claimed a hierarchy of genre with still-life followed by landscape as the lowest and historical painting as the most elevated and prestigious style of painting. André Félibien, Secretary of the Académie in Paris, charged the artist to ‘represent great Actions like an Historian, or agreeable ones as the Poets. And soaring yet higher, he must by allegorical Compositions, know how to guide under the Vail of Fable the Virtues of great Men, and the most sublime Mysteries’.⁹¹ Reynolds echoed this hierarchy in his *Discourses*.⁹² Hervey was a keen collector of historical and mythological subjects, often as copies of great works.

Hervey bought and commissioned landscapes, sending artists to capture particular Italian scenes.⁹³ He may have commissioned twenty Italianised landscapes from Jacob More alone, who was famed among contemporaries for his Claudian treatment of air [fig. 4.22].⁹⁴ Similarly, Sir Richard Colt Hoare commissioned

⁸⁸ Figgis, ‘Hervey as patron of art’, p. 45.

⁸⁹ Hervey to Sir William Hamilton, 26 Jan. 1798 (N.L.I., Hamilton MS 2262). *Holy Family* by Simone Martini was sold for £5 15s. at the Ballyscullion auction 1813 and is now in the Walker Gallery, Liverpool, accession number WAG2787.

⁹⁰ Hervey to Mary Erne, 18 Dec. 1795 (Sheffield Archives, Wharncliffe muniments, 552b/3). In 1486, Dürer was apprenticed to Michael Wolgemut (1434-1519) woodcut artist and painter in Nuremberg.

⁹¹ Martin Myrone, ‘Sublime as spectacle – the transformation of ideal art at Somerset House’ in Solkin, *Art on the line*, p. 77.

⁹² Joshua Reynolds, *The works of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (2 vols, London, 1797) i, 320.

⁹³ He asked Sir William Hamilton to secure the ‘necessary passport for these two Superlative Artists [Ramsey Reinagle and Simon Denis] to enter the Kingdom of Naples & settle at Sora. Lose no time I entreat you as Time is precious & I expect two [of] the very finest pictures ever painted’, Hervey to Sir William Hamilton, 6 June 1796 (N.L.I., Hamilton papers, Ms 2262).

⁹⁴ It has been assumed that most of these Jacob More paintings perished in the 1851 fire at Downhill. Brinsley Ford commented on More’s contemporary popularity: ‘The disappearance of his pictures, judging by those which are known, is perhaps not quite such a disaster as his contemporaries might have imagined’, Ford, ‘Capricious patron’. To speculate, it may be that fewer burnt than has been assumed since ten landscapes by Jacob More appear in the 1813

thirteen landscapes from Louis Ducros depicting Italian topographies linked to classical and mythological history.⁹⁵ Hervey yearned for a good painting by Claude Lorraine.⁹⁶ He had two paintings by Aelbert Cuyp, the ‘Dutch Claude’ who was avidly collected, not least in Ireland where seven hung at Carton.⁹⁷ His admiration of Old Master landscapes and Northern art in general is evident in his only surviving reaction to a gallery:

[Cassel] is a place of singular amusement for one who loves natural History, Painting & Sculpture ... A gallery 130 feet long contains 4 Master pieces of Claude Lorraine, 2 landscapes of Rembrandt de toute beauté, Portraits & Historical pieces by the same Author – almost inimitable – exquisite Vandykes, Holbeins, Berghems, & invaluable Teniers.⁹⁸

Whereas Hervey fits within known patterns of collecting for landscapes and history paintings, ranging from renowned Old Masters to contemporary works, he was slow to embrace portraiture. The Royal Academy Exhibition reflected the well-established obsession with portraiture among his contemporaries: in 1780, 44% of total exhibits comprised portraits, in 1799 this figure was 36.2% and in 1829, 46%. According to Pointon, ‘Portraiture was the Royal Academy’s source of sustenance and its pervasive poison. Blamed for the failure of history painting and viewed as a sign of the degeneracy of taste, the ever-increasing abundance of portraits on the walls of the Great Room was cause for deep anxiety’.⁹⁹

Hervey came to see himself as a cosmopolitan figure and spread his patronage widely. He described himself as ‘Midwife to the Talents’. Commissions for new work almost dried up during the wars with France; in 1795 William Theed reported that Hervey was the only one giving commissions that year ‘and those only to such as could incircle him; they were the Pyes, Durnos, Hamiltons, Navys

Rotunda auction. *City on Fire* (N.G.I. 1846), may be Jacob More’s *Burning of Troy* (1774) according to Patricia Andrews, ‘Jacob More and the Earl-Bishop of Derry’ in *Apollo*, cxxiv (1986), p. 90. One Jacob More painting hangs at Ickworth.

⁹⁵ Serge Kaplun (ed.), *Images of the Grand Tour: Louis Ducros 1748-1810* (Geneva 1985), p. 27.

⁹⁶ ‘Oh if Lord or Lady Camelford would but yield me one of her small Claudes just to compleat my series how foolishly happy shd I be!’, Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 25 Aug. 1794 (Sheffield Archives, Wharnccliffe muniments, 552b/1).

⁹⁷ FitzGerald, ‘Objects at Carton’, p. 10.

⁹⁸ Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 9 Oct. 1792 quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 446.

⁹⁹ Marcia Pointon, ‘Portrait, portrait, portrait’ in Solkin, *Art on the line*, p. 93.

[Nevay], Hewetsons, Italians, &c., &c.’.¹⁰⁰ The 1798 petition, signed by 343 artists, emphasised the importance of the commissions of ‘this generous Irishman ... in employing artists of all nations’ to ‘form a collection of the most choice works of the first painters and sculptors of our time; unique in its kind and worthy of being preserved entire’.¹⁰¹ He helped artists personally too, providing a house near Ickworth for Mrs Denis, the charming Italian wife of the Flemish painter Simon Denis and exhorting his granddaughter Caroline Crichton to pay a pension to her former drawing master, ‘poor, starving Labourer’.¹⁰² He claimed that his reward was ‘the Hopes & delightfull consciousness of nourishing the Genius of others, of exciting their talents & rewarding their Industry & giving a Noble Pride & ample instances to Humble Merit’.¹⁰³ However, he earned the epithet ‘capricious’ from Brinsley Ford for his shabby treatment of other artists such as Joseph Wright of Derby, Thomas Banks, Thomas Jones, John Flaxman and John Deare. Canova, as we have seen, would not deal with him. Important as his patronage was in artistic circles, like many rich men, he was often tardy in payment and, as noted in his dealings with architects, he thought nothing of changing his mind or refusing a completed work. Joseph Wright of Derby was left with a large painting of Vesuvius that had not pleased Hervey.

¹⁰⁰ 18 Feb. 1795, Theed letters MS, quoted in Ingamells, *British and Irish travellers*, p. 129. Crookshank and Glin, *Ireland’s painters*, comment on the number of Irish artists operating in Rome and the impact on native Irish artists of the taste for foreign works of art.

¹⁰¹ ‘The undersigned Artists to the number of 343, French, Flemish, Savoyard, Roman, Neapolitan, Venetian, Tyrolese, Russian, German, English, Irish, Scots, etc., to Citizen Haller, Administrator of the finances of the Army of Italy. Citizen Administrator – Among the effects belonging to the English at Rome, upon which seals have been put, are different objects of Art collected by the Bishop of Derry Lord Bristol. The Artists who are at Rome conceive that they may venture to represent that this generous Irishman, having for these forty years past spent the greatest part of his income in employing artists of all nations, may be considered as a valuable and useful character to the fine arts which the which the French Republic protects. The Pictures and statues which he had purchased during the period, form a collection of the most choice works of the first painters and sculptors of our time; unique in its kind and worthy of being preserved entire. But a more direct motive, Citizen Administrator, ought to induce you to reinstate Lord Bristol in the possession of these effects; and this is that these articles are the works of men of which a number of the first artists, many of whom are French and Republicans, have been enabled to subsist, during years of War little favourable to the fine Arts. The important benefits which have been lavished upon the Artists of all nations indifferently by a generous and impartial patron, induce them to present this petition; and the protection which the French Government and the French Armies bestow upon the fine Arts encourages them to hope that it will be attended with effect’, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 576.

¹⁰² Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 30 Jan 1801 (Sheffield Archives, Wharnccliffe muniments, 552b/13).

¹⁰³ Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 18 Dec. 1795 (Sheffield Archives, Wharnccliffe muniments 552b/3).

Hervey developed as a collector over time. His first use of pictures was in the Palace at Derry. Daniel Beaufort (the only source) was unimpressed by the Bishop's Palace. He found the political allusions unsubtle, the classical figures inappropriate and the religious pictures suspect:

The Bp's house is very large & has no good room, being very ill contrived. There I saw West's picture of Genl. Wolfe's death – a pict. also of the Bp. presenting his son to Lord Chatham, who seems only copied from the print & turns his eyes another way. In the next room are 8 pictures of Nymphs & Satyrs, & cupids – all half naked & very indecent & there also, Jesus Martha & Mary in another – all but indifferent.¹⁰⁴

Beaufort was more impressed by Downhill in 1787 though found it overstuffed by 1807 when the Ballyscullion pictures had been squeezed in. The 1813 auction at the Rotunda by Mr Herbert for Sir Henry Hervey Bruce is described as the 'Ballyscullion collection'.¹⁰⁵ Some pictures from Downhill were sold; the catalogue confessed that 'the Sea Fogs and Damps, which cannot be repelled, have materially injured several of the finest Pictures'.¹⁰⁶ Using Sampson's list of highlights at Ballyscullion recorded in 1802, it is evident that the best pictures were incorporated into the Downhill collection and not sold in 1813 for they appear in Neale's 1823 list.¹⁰⁷ The Downhill and Ballyscullion collections cannot, therefore, be viewed as completely separate; however, taken chronologically they provide a guide in the process of developing connoisseurship. As previously indicated, the 1813 Rotunda auction list has not previously been analysed. These 88 pictures reveal a balance between Italian and Northern works indicating that Hervey was working towards his didactic hanging scheme even though the two galleries at Ballyscullion were never completely built.

¹⁰⁴ Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 15 Nov. 1787 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4028).

¹⁰⁵ Auction at the Rotunda, Dublin, by J. D. Herbert of 'The Ballyscullion Collection ... for Sir Harvey Bruce, Bart.', 6-8 Dec. 1813 (Getty Provenance Index, Br-1156; original in N.G.I.)

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ The only Ballyscullion pictures mentioned by Sampson that do not appear on Neale's list at Downhill may have been sold in the interim: two landscapes by Ruisdael were sold for 80 guineas and 41 guineas in 1813; in 1818 and again in 1819 Bruce tried to sell *Morning* and *Evening* by Claude Lorraine at the European Museum auction in London, with ambitious asking prices of £500 and £600.

The Earl Bishop's fullest explanation of his intentions is quoted at length here because it has not appeared in print before. Writing to his daughter, he detailed his plans for Ickworth:

For you must know, my dear child that I purpose my new mansion at Ickworth to be an Academy for all rising but Indigent Genius – two Galleries 500 feet long each will form my wings this will be their form & this their distinction: the young artist may here see the Characteristik difference of each school: the colouring of Venice, the tender composition of Bologna, the correct drawing of Florence & so on – the Amateurs will see the Origin, the progress & sometimes the Strides of each school and I possess Pictures from Marco da Sienna 50 years before Cimabue the supposed restorer of Painting in Tuscany down to Pompeo Battoni – Superb Rafael, impayable Correggio, invaluable Titians in Short what not?

The other gallery contains upon the same plan the great, sublime & Inestimable German school whom I prefer to the Italians as much as I do their men, their Heroes & their Philosophy – but then as an Anglo Saxon I hitch into the German school the English painters – Reynolds – Opie &c &c I possess a Series of Pictures from Albert Durer down to Angelica Kauffman. I will show you German Landscapes that Rival Claude Lorrain, works of the greatest taste in colouring & sublimity in composition.¹⁰⁸

Hervey has traditionally been considered to have greatly favoured Italian pictures, but this exclusivity may be illusory; in this letter he claims to favour German art and have a Northern collection parallel to the Italian one recorded in the 1804 sale catalogue of 'Bristol's Roman property'.¹⁰⁹ This letter confirms Hervey's comment to Symonds that his collection was 'more copious in the German than even the Italian School' in 1796.¹¹⁰ The previously unanalysed 1813 Rotunda auction reveals an equal number of Italian and Northern pictures. The 1804 catalogue lists 208 Italian pictures by 85 Italian artists, sixteen French pictures, seven Spanish, four German, four Dutch and three Flemish pictures. Even incomplete, this collection represents a huge development in volume and choice since the motley group of pictures in the bishop's palace at Derry.

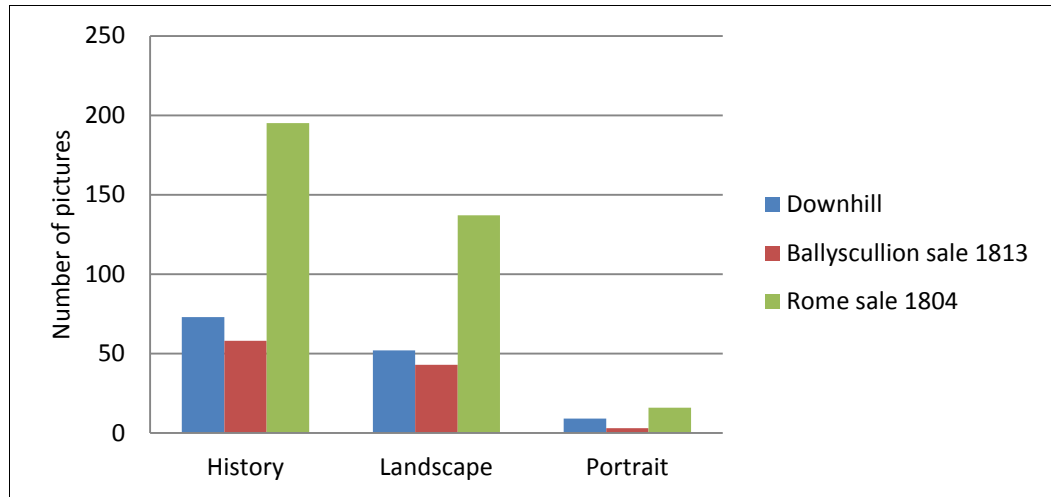
¹⁰⁸ Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 18 Dec. 1795 (Sheffield Archives, Wharncliffe muniments, 552b/3).

¹⁰⁹ For an account of the impounding of the collection, Hervey's attempts to reclaim it and for the text of 'Bristol's Roman property' 1804 see Figgis, 'Roman Property'.

¹¹⁰ Hervey to John Symonds, 5 Oct. 1796 (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers 941/51/4).

Table 7 Comparison of pictures by number and genre at Downhill, Ballyscullion and Rome collection (intended for Ickworth)

Source: J.P. Neale, *Views of the seats of noblemen and gentlemen*, (series 1, London, 1823); Getty Provenance Index, Ballyscullion auction by Mr Herbert at the Rotunda, 1813; Nicola Figgis, ‘The Roman Property of Frederick Augustus Hervey’ in *Walpole Society* (1990), pp 77-104.



Proportionately, Hervey’s collecting patterns of genres did not change significantly between his first collection of the 1770s to 1780s (134 pictures listed by Neale), the second collection at Ballyscullion of the mid-1780s to early 1790s (88 pictures sold by Bruce in 1813) and his last Italian collection of the 1790s to 1803 (350 pictures in the 1804 catalogue). However, the scale of collecting grew hugely, especially considering that a large number of pictures by Dutch, Flemish and German artists must have been amassed. If his choice of genres remained constant, it was his method of display that underwent a revolution: as will be seen, the Downhill Gallery had much in common with the Florentine Uffizi Tribuna as depicted by Zoffany (1772-9) whereas Ballyscullion and Ickworth would reflect the reorganization of the Uffizi collections by Lanzi undertaken from the 1780s.

Comparison of the collections invites comparison of which works Hervey considered most suitable for display in England and in Ireland. Chapter 1 proposed that it was more difficult to impress architecturally in England hence plans commissioned from a fashionable Italian architect for Ickworth. While amassing his last collection, the Earl Bishop had his greatest house in mind. English picture and sculpture collections eclipsed their Irish (and Scottish and

Welsh) equivalents: Blenheim, Houghton, Holkham, Kedleston, Nuneham Park and Woburn. Hervey bought too promiscuously and was unwilling to pay the huge prices demanded for masterpieces.¹¹¹ He was relying on the huge volume of the collection and his *avant garde* display plans, integrated into an unusual neoclassical architectural design, to make an impact.

Hervey's attitudes as curator of his picture collection provide insight into broader changes in his relationship with luxury items. In the mid-1770s (near the start of his own collecting) Hervey had a business relationship with art, trying to sell paintings in Ireland on behalf of his friend Sir John Strange (British Resident in Venice). For both men, augmentation of income was attractive and art dealing was both an acceptable activity and a sociable one. But it also carried risks: money, reputation and friendships might be made or damaged. As he explained to Strange, selling the pictures unseen (they had not yet arrived in Ireland) was tricky:

our nobility are not without Taste but they are terribly without money & it is dangerous to treat with them ... indeed it is very hard to pay for what one does not get, especially when bad is the best that one does get - adieu & use my friends well in their pictures for all our sakes.¹¹²

In another letter he was pessimistic about Irish buyers (amongst whom he identified himself): 'As to your pictures you might as well send them to Pontus as to Ireland, we are E ... 'tis true, but full as barbarous as the Tomitano'.¹¹³

Later money became irrelevant and collecting turned into an obsession. Valentine Lawless of Lyons met the Earl Bishop in Rome during the last months of Hervey's life and commented upon his now manic collecting:

receiving regular remittances from home of upwards of £5,000 quarterly, which he immediately expended in the purchase of every article of vertu that came within his reach ... Toward the end of the quarter the noble

¹¹¹ It is possible that key pictures were taken for Napoleon and do not appear in the 1804 catalogue (the collection had been impounded at least twice) but there is no direct evidence.

¹¹² Hervey to Sir John Strange, April 2 (no year given) (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers 941/51/3).

¹¹³ Hervey to Sir John Strange, 25 Mar. 1775, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 144.

Prelate used to find his purse absolutely empty and his credit so low as to be insufficient to buy him a bottle of Orvieto. Then followed a dispersion of his collection as rapid as it was gathered but as might be expected at a heavy discount.¹¹⁴

Collecting art could be an investment or an entrepreneurial activity. Sir William Hamilton made money through his vases, particularly the Portland Vase. Likewise Sir John Mann and Sir John Strange augmented their incomes. However, according to Pears's calculations, government bonds brought a slightly better return than pictures as an investment in eighteenth-century Britain.¹¹⁵ Investment does not seem to have been a significant motivation behind Hervey's collecting. His heirs were impoverished by his excessive spending and forced to sell a great number of artworks after Hervey's death.¹¹⁶

Collecting became a constant and absorbing activity for the Earl Bishop from the mid-1780s onwards. Another obsessive element was securing the perfect piece, the missing link, or the elusive bargain. Hervey had a plan in mind of what he wanted to achieve and searched for just the right picture. He found himself haunted by the one that got away: 'I have set my heart upon two pictures to be sold at Christie's ... which I actually did buy in my last séjour at Rome, & was jockey'd from by the Vendor'.¹¹⁷ He was also highly aware of his competitors and how their collections were developing, envying Lord Camelford's acquisition of three paintings by Claude Lorrain and snooping disconsolately around sculpture collections in London houses.¹¹⁸

Hervey split his assets in his will: as previously indicated his son received only what was entailed upon him, while the great collections in Ireland and Rome, the

¹¹⁴ Cloncurry, *Personal recollections of the life and times with extracts from the correspondence of Valentine, Lord Cloncurry* (Dublin, 1849), p. 190.

¹¹⁵ Pears, *Discovery of painting*, p. 104.

¹¹⁶ Sir Henry Hervey Bruce sold the collection in Rome in 1804 (see Figgis, 'Roman property') and 88 pictures in December 1813 at auction in Dublin (Auction at the Rotunda, Dublin, 6-8 Dec. 1813, Getty Provenance Index, Br-1156). He tried to sell two landscapes by Claude Lorrain in London in 1818 (Auction at the European Museum, London, June 1818, Getty Provenance Index, Br-1685).

¹¹⁷ Hervey to Lady Mary Fitzgerald, 20 Mar. 1792, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 435.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*; Jenkins to Townley, 11 Dec. 1779, TY 7/399 quoted in Bignamini and Hornsby, *Digging and dealing*, ii, 120.

two Irish houses and their contents were bequeathed to his loyal and dependent cousin. Research into the psychology of ownership has a bearing on the fractured relationships in the Hervey family, suggesting that such obsessive collecting as the Earl Bishop exhibited, could damage familial relationships:

often family members begin to resent the time, love, effort, and money that the collector devotes to collecting and curating the collection rather than devoting the same attentions to them. When the collection becomes a rival or ‘mistress’ to which the collector seems devoted, these family members are unlikely to be willing to carry on the collection if the collector dies (thus quashing the hopes of immortality that some collectors seek through their collections). For this reason, some collectors attempt to cultivate heirs outside of the family for the collection.¹¹⁹

Hervey’s escalating penchant for possessing art and building luxurious houses went beyond the activities of almost all his contemporaries and may have had a detrimental impact upon his familial relationships.

4.2.4 Hervey’s method of display

As a man of wealth and taste, Hervey felt a duty (or, less altruistically, a justification) to collect and display art. Though luxury was heavily criticised in print, buying art was the most acceptable form of spending. As previously noted, importing masterpieces was considered patriotic at a time when foreign rulers were vying to form collections and Britain and Ireland had no national galleries. Supporting Irish and British artists fostered native talent and benefited trade while the development of schools of art in Dublin and London encouraged a sense of artistic patriotism. There was also growing pressure on wealthy collectors to step into the breach. According to Pears ‘the glory of the collector’ was not achieved simply by displaying his taste through a collection but also in the public service of making it visible, quoting George Turnbull’s view that ‘Nothing can be more Absurd than to keep such Incentives to noble Emulation out of Sight. ... ingenious,

¹¹⁹ Russell Belk, ‘Collectors and collecting’ in Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Suzanne Küchler, Michael Rowlands and Patricia Spyer (eds.) *Handbook of material culture* (London, 2006), p. 540.

useful and ornamental arts, aggrandise a state'.¹²⁰ When Sir Robert Walpole's pictures left England in 1774, there was an outcry as if a national collection had been sold and John Wilkes demanded the inauguration of a national gallery, which did not become a reality until 1824.¹²¹ Ireland too had advocates for a national collection. Thomas Campbell's *An Essay on Perfecting the Fine Arts* (1767) won the Dublin Society's first honorary silver medal. As Campbell saw it:

our Connoisseurs and Artists few and trifling ... Now we have no publick Statues, no publick galleries of Pictures, no academies for either Painting or Sculpture, nor will the great allow their pieces to be copied ... It should therefore be rather looked upon as a miracle than expected, that these islands should either breed masters, or have a taste ... There should be, at least in the capital, one great collection of the masterpieces both of Painting and Sculpture, where there might be constant access under certain regulations. Here the *Publick* might view and form its *eye*: here the *Student* might copy and form his *hand*.¹²²

Hervey became highly conscious of his connoisseurial and didactic responsibilities, claiming at Ballyscullion that 'young Geniusses who can not afford to travel into Italy may come into my house & There copy the best masters'.¹²³ For Ickworth, Hervey refined his display intentions further:

The idea I have struck out of showing the historical progress of the art of Painting in all the *five* different schools of Germany and Italy I deem both happy & instructive ... classing the authors under the different schools, will show the characteristick Excellence of each, instruct the young mind & edify the old.¹²⁴

Nicola Figgis has traced these ideas to the Florentine art historian Luigi Lanzi who expounded the importance of the chronological development of painting and

¹²⁰ George Turnbull, *A treatise on ancient painting* (1740), p. 121, quoted in Pears, *Discovery of painting*, p. 174.

¹²¹ Christie, *British country house*, p. 179. See also Francis Haskell, 'The British as Collectors' in Gervase Jackson-Stops (ed.), *The treasure houses of Britain: five hundred years of private patronage and art collecting* (London, 1985), p. 50.

¹²² Thomas Campbell, *An essay on the perfecting the fine arts in Great Britain and Ireland* (Dublin, 1767), pp 35-40, quoted in Fintan Cullen, *Sources on Irish art: a reader* (Cork, 2000), p. 176.

¹²³ Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 25 Aug. 1794 (Sheffield City Archives, Wharncliffe muniments 552b/1).

¹²⁴ Hervey to John Symonds, 9 Oct. 1796 (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/51/4).

classification into regional schools in 1782 and published his history of Italian painting *Storia Pittorica d'Italia* ten years later. Lanzi was instrumental in the chronological and regional arrangement of the Uffizi Gallery.¹²⁵ Winckelmann's work on Greek and Roman statues 1758-68 influenced this dialogue. Figgis has pointed out that the Museum of the Belvedere Palace in Vienna was arranged in 1781 by periods and schools, with the seven rooms to the right of the entrance dedicated to Italian art and the mirroring rooms on the other side to Dutch art.¹²⁶ The Earl Bishop's plans for Ickworth echoed these recent Continental developments.

The significance of how Hervey perceived himself in relation to these ideas has not been discussed. He considered archetypal display models critically, complaining that 'Galleries in general are both confused & uninstrutive'.¹²⁷ He tried out these ideas on John Symonds in Bury St Edmunds (near Ickworth) and his well-travelled daughters Lady Mary Erne and Lady Elizabeth Foster. The tone of the letters suggests that he offered up the ideas as his own. In fact, these innovative concepts were circulating in discussion and print, especially on the Continent. In England there were precursors. Pears identified the earl of Pembroke as the most coherent emulator of a carefully structured art-historical approach with his sculpture collection. A guide to Wilton assured that Pembroke 'resolved not to run into all sorts of curiosities but to buy such as were illustrative of antient history and antient literature' and to confine 'his choice to the best ages'.¹²⁸ Russell suggests Lord Bute of Luton Hoo as an early proponent of segregating pictures by school; he encouraged his erstwhile pupil George III to hang the library and closet at Buckingham Palace with only Italian pictures.¹²⁹ However, the debate in Britain was slower: although Winckelmann's *History of Ancient Art* was first published in German in 1763-4, a chronological listing of statues was not published in English until the Society of Dilettanti sponsored

¹²⁵ Figgis, 'Roman Property', p. 87, fn. 6.

¹²⁶ Figgis, 'Hervey as patron of art', p. 23.

¹²⁷ Hervey to John Symonds, 9 Oct. 1796 (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/51/4).

¹²⁸ James Kennedy, *Description of the antiquities and curiosities in Wilton-House* (London, 1769) quoted in Pears, *Discovery of painting*, p. 163.

¹²⁹ Francis Russell, 'The hanging and display of pictures 1700-1850' in Gervase Jackson-Stops (ed.), *The fashioning and functioning of the English country house* (Washington, 1989), p. 146.

Specimens of Ancient Sculpture in 1809.¹³⁰ The Earl Bishop's plans for display, especially for Ickworth, were grandiose and progressive; however, the great galleries were never completed and the collection never left Italy.

4.3 Viewing art in an eighteenth-century house

4.3.1 Visitors to the houses

Having explored Hervey's reasons for collecting artworks, and his intentions for their display, critical attention will now focus upon visitors' receptions. The primary audience was family and invited guests. Thomas Conolly of Castletown gave his opinions in a letter; he had a neighbouring estate and was a visitor equal in social and financial standing but less travelled.¹³¹ The majority of visitor accounts were generated by the growing popularity of the home tour. Downhill was often viewed on a circuit that included Dunluce Castle and the Giant's Causeway (twenty miles along the coast) where Hervey had built a path for the convenience of visitors viewing the basalt structures. This interest in touring is reflected in the growing literature on country house visiting (including Sampson 1802 and Neale 1823) which included picture lists, typically along with a summary of family history, architecture and tree planting.¹³² The Beaufort visits to Downhill have been considered from the point of view of Louisa Beaufort as a commentator.¹³³ The Blacker, Bisset, Innes, Burdy and Plumptre sources have not been assessed before.¹³⁴ Visitor accounts tend to be an under-used resource in Irish studies.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the antique*, p. 102.

¹³¹ Thomas Conolly, 19 Nov. 1786 (T.C.D., Conolly MS 3978/912). I am indebted to Patrick Walsh for this reference.

¹³² Sampson, *Statistical survey*; Neale, *Views of the seats of noblemen*, vi.

¹³³ See Davis, 'The Beaufort visits to Downhill'.

¹³⁴ Paterson, 'The edifying bishop'; William Bisset, 'Journal'; Innes of Stow, Oct 17th 1799 (Edinburgh University Library, GD113/5/70a/19); Burdy, *A tour 1802*; Anne Plumptre, *Narrative of a residence in Ireland during the summer of 1814 and that of 1815* (London, 1817).

¹³⁵ C. J. Woods, *Travellers' accounts as a source for Irish historians* (Dublin, 2009), will stimulate study on visitor accounts. In her thesis, Patricia McCarthy draws upon four traveller accounts (notably Daniel Beaufort) but not from the angle of the visitor as commentator.

The hospitality of the Earl Bishop has been noted in chapters 1 and 2, particularly during his Volunteer phase. The growing numbers of tourists, however, do not seem to have received encouragement, even though he claimed education as one of the chief motivations for collecting and displaying art on such a scale. No picture catalogue was available at Downhill or Ballyscullion, and Burdy found that the former was closed to visitors on Sundays, while Beaufort took two attempts to get past the porter.¹³⁶ Who acted as tour guide significantly influenced the opinion of the viewer. In many houses the housekeeper or steward acted as an ‘animated catalogue’.¹³⁷ Beaufort was shown around by the architect Shanahan in 1787, resulting in invitations to dinner that night and to Shanahan’s house in Cork. Beaufort was a very experienced visitor, having critically observed and recorded houses all over Ireland in the course of his travels as a school inspector. He formed the most positive impression of Downhill, probably because Shanahan was such an expert and charming guide.

The Revd William Bissett (rector of Loughgall and later bishop of Raphoe), visiting Ballyscullion in 1799, had a less informed guide and was irritated that there was no catalogue, indicating that this was a resource that visitors were coming to expect. Guides were a more common feature of English houses than Irish; Bissett was very familiar with England, having been educated at Westminster School and Oxford. Even so, Tinniswood estimates that only about fifteen or twenty of the greatest properties in England had individual guidebooks by 1800.¹³⁸ Authorities on connoisseurship had made readers aware of their usefulness, for example Martyn’s *English Connoisseur*:

It is well known at how few Houses into which ... the Curious are admitted, any Catalogues of the Paintings ... can be obtained, and it must be confessed little use can be made, by the yet uninformed Observer of these valuable Collections, besides that general one of pleasing the Eye and the Imagination.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Burdy, *A tour 1802*, pp 32-3; Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 18 Nov. 1787 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4028).

¹³⁷ C. S. Matheson, ‘The Royal Academy’s early public’ in Solkin, *Art on the line*, p. 48.

¹³⁸ Adrian Tinniswood, *A history of country house visiting: five centuries of tourism and taste* (Oxford, 1989), p. 95.

¹³⁹ Thomas Martyn, *The English connoisseur* (London, 1766), preface pp ii-iii.

Bisset found that without a catalogue accompanying the paintings at Downhill, he could not be sure what he was viewing: ‘I am told there are no Originals, but the Person who shewed the house not having a Catalogue I could not make a memorandum of particulars’.¹⁴⁰ Sampson in 1802 regretted that he had to list the chief works of Ballyscullion from memory in his *Statistical Survey*, but listed among the highlights original works by Titian, Claude, Guido, Dürer, Wouwerman and Vernet.¹⁴¹ These two visits, undertaken only three years apart, reached very different conclusions on the authenticity of the artworks, indicating that both the competency of the guide and the purpose of the writing (Bisset in his journal and Sampson for a published survey relying on subscriptions from gentlemen) influenced what the visitor recollected.

Visitors arrived with high expectations which were not always met. Bisset modestly made a distinction between the impact of a collection on ‘an unskilful Person’ like himself and on a connoisseur who might not be so easily impressed.¹⁴² Bisset was keen to improve himself through touring. He was part of what Tinniswood has identified as the growing ranks of the polite tourist of the late eighteenth-century, who unlike the connoisseur and antiquarian travellers of previous generations, could not count on his own judgements, but relied on guidebooks, illustrated surveys, philosophical and artistic debates and on touring. Tourists expressed strong opinions and were keen to learn and show off the ability to appraise art. They were conversant with the language of philosophy and connoisseurship and drew upon their classical education to unravel mottos and recognise depictions of characters.¹⁴³ Bisset must have engaged with the dialectic over the sublime and the beautiful most influentially discussed by Burke in his *Philosophical Enquiry* (1759) for he responded to the Mussenden Temple in the language of this debate.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Bisset, ‘Journal’, p. 86.

¹⁴¹ Sampson, *Statistical survey*, p. 414.

¹⁴² Bisset, ‘Journal’, p. 86.

¹⁴³ It has already been noted that Daniel and Louisa Beaufort differed in their attributions of the marble groups of the Albacini chimneypiece in the gallery at Downhill; both father and daughter described classical and mythological characters with confidence and ease.

¹⁴⁴ Despite endless rain, Bisset admired the Mussenden Temple ‘standing on the extreme edge of an abrupt and high Cliff that hangs over the Sea – the Situation is striking and fine, in good weather the view of the sea ... must be very beautiful, but in a storm the scene cannot fail to be

Critical awareness of attribution implicates all the Downhill commentators in preparative study of issues of connoisseurship. Though originals were best, good copies of specific key pictures were highly valued. Correggio's *Cupid shaping his bow* (whereabouts now unknown) serves as an example. Every visitor to Downhill commented on this picture; it seems not to have mattered whether it was a copy or an original. Bisset (1799) gave it his fullest comment, was certain it was original and was annoyed that it could not be seen to better advantage. On Beaufort's second visit in 1807 with his daughter, both noted the work in their journals; Louisa concluding that it was a copy.¹⁴⁵ In their published accounts, both Sampson (1802) and Neale (1823) believed it to be original.¹⁴⁶ On the other hand, Anne Plumptre opined in 1814: 'Among the pictures are two called original Correggios, but their being really so is very much doubted'.¹⁴⁷ Art appreciation was not an exclusively male preserve as the informed views of the well-travelled Louisa Beaufort and Anne Plumptre indicate; interestingly they were the most sceptical of the authenticity of the Correggio. Davis has emphasised that Louisa Beaufort was a very knowledgeable commentator.¹⁴⁸ These visitors concurred with the art market as a whole in admiring Correggio: Pears identified Correggio as the third most valuable artist at auction behind Raphael and Rubens (in the period 1731-59).¹⁴⁹

Sampson and Neale both singled out certain copies for great praise and considered James Durno's copy of Raphael's *Transfiguration* (seen by Sampson at Ballyscullion and later by Neale in the Gallery at Downhill) as 'wonderful'.¹⁵⁰ In 1779 Lord Herbert saw Durno's copy of the *Transfiguration* (bought by Hervey in

magnificent ... To those who like the tremendous, this Coast is generally favourable', Bisset, 'Journal', p. 91.

¹⁴⁵ Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 27 Oct. 1807 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4033); Journal of Louisa Beaufort, 27 Oct. 1807 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4034).

¹⁴⁶ Sampson, *Statistical survey*, p. 414; Neale, *Views of seats of noblemen*, vi.

¹⁴⁷ Anne Plumptre, *Narrative of a residence*, p. 154.

¹⁴⁸ Davis, 'Beaufort visits', p. 153. Davis argues that Louisa Beaufort, because a woman, was overlooked in her lifetime, with the exception of being invited to read her prize-winning essay 'Upon the State of Architecture and Antiquities, previous to the Landing of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland' to the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin in 1827.

¹⁴⁹ Pears, *Discovery of painting*, p. 226.

¹⁵⁰ Neale was aware of Sampson's publication twenty years earlier, as some picture descriptors show. However, Neale's list at Downhill is extensive whilst Sampson gives a summary of the highlights at Downhill and Ballyscullion.

1783 originally for Ballyscullion) priced at £1,000 and wrote that ‘It is most likely the last copy that will ever be done, as the Monks of Montorio swear they will give no more permissions for fear some hurt may come to the valuable original.’¹⁵¹ Sampson’s use of the term ‘chef d’oeuvre’ implies praise not just of the technical quality of the copy but also Hervey’s selection of this particular piece for the collection. At Ballyscullion, Sampson carefully listed a ‘Virgin and child, Magdalen, St Jerom [sic], and two angels – a fine copy of the original by Correggio, considered as his chef d’oeuvre, taken from Parma by the French’.¹⁵² Matthew Pilkington’s *Dictionary* described the Correggios in Parma Cathedral as long exciting ‘the admiration of all persons of taste’ and described the *Virgin and child* admired by Sampson as ‘incomparably beautiful’.¹⁵³

The strong personal opinions expressed, combined with the marked overlap in admiration of particular pictures at Downhill, indicate that these tourists actively prepared for such tours, refined their taste through experience and saw their journals and letters as the proper place to articulate their personal reactions. They were supported by a rapidly expanding field of associated literature. In visiting and assessing collections, these tourists were acting upon the advice of influential commentators like Thomas Martyn in *The English connoisseur* (London 1766, Dublin 1767): ‘the only way, by which we can ever hope to arrive at any skill in distinguishing the stiles of the different masters in Painting, is the study of their works’.¹⁵⁴ Closer to home another divine with wealth and artistic sensibilities, Archbishop Charles Cobbe, was patron to the Revd Matthew Pilkington who acted as Cobbe’s picture advisor and wrote *The Gentleman’s and Connoisseur’s Dictionary of Painters* (1770), the first English compendium of artists from the Renaissance onwards, reissued twice before 1798.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ Lord Herbert (ed.), *Henry, Elizabeth and George (1734-80): the letters and diaries of Henry, 10th Earl of Pembroke and his circle* (London, 1939), pp 272-74, quoted in Figgis, ‘Raphael’s Transfiguration’, p. 54.

¹⁵² Sampson, *Statistical survey*, p. 414.

¹⁵³ Matthew Pilkington, *The gentleman’s and connoisseur’s dictionary of painters* (London, 1779) p. 154. Raphael’s *Transfiguration* was one of the most admired paintings in Italy among Grand Tourists along with Correggio’s *Virgin and Child with St Jerome* at Parma and Guido Reni’s *Aurora* at the Palazzo Rospigliosi. Hervey had copies of all of these.

¹⁵⁴ John Brewer, *The pleasures of the imagination: English culture in the eighteenth century* (Chicago, 1997), p. 258.

¹⁵⁵ Barbara Bryant, ‘Matthew Pilkington and *The Gentleman’s and Connoisseur’s Dictionary of Painters* of 1770: a landmark in art history’ in Laing, *Clerics and connoisseurs*, pp 57-60.

Houses became known for possessing certain illustrious works. New research by Jocelyn Anderson indicates that the most popular picture in Britain was Carlo Dolci's *Our Lord blessing bread and wine* at Burghley House, according to the frequency of mentions in travel guides and tourist accounts. Apparently it stood out among the four hundred other paintings in the room. By the end of the eighteenth-century, this painting had become the chief reason to visit Burghley. Such increased popularity rested on the circulation of engravings and praise in literature on touring and taste.¹⁵⁶ Evidence has not emerged of engravings or descriptions of Hervey's paintings, but the marked admiration of the Correggio suggests that tourists increasingly arrived expecting to see this picture.

Hervey's houses in Ireland were featured in two early nineteenth-century published accounts. Revd G. V. Sampson toured Ballyscullion and Downhill for his detailed and wide-ranging *Statistical Survey of the County of Londonderry* (Dublin 1802), publishing a view of Downhill and an image of Ballyscullion as it might be completed. J. P. Neale visited Downhill twenty years later by which time Ballyscullion had been demolished, many of the pictures transported to Downhill and the excess auctioned in 1813 at the Rotunda in Dublin. Unusually within *Views of seats of noblemen and gentlemen* (1823), Neale published two engravings of Downhill, one to show the house and one the setting [figs 1.7a-b]. Within the world of travel writing, one account influenced another, as authors prepared themselves just as tourists did. Neale drew upon Sampson's earlier work, plagiarising landscape descriptions around Downhill and some commentary of the pictures seen.

When assessing the subjective responses of these visitors to Downhill and Ballyscullion, their experience of other houses must be considered. Daniel Beaufort had a wealth of knowledge of other Irish houses, but Neale had out-visited them all, having travelled to 382 houses (twenty-four in Ireland) for series one of *Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen*. How reliable a commentator was he?

¹⁵⁶ Jocelyn Anderson in a lecture 'Remaking the country house: country house guidebooks in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century' in C.S.H.I.H.E. conference 'The country house and its visitors, past, present and future', N.U.I.M., 10-11 May 2012.

Aidan O'Boyle has used Neale's listing of pictures by room at Russborough, in conjunction with newly located photographs of the 1860s, to recreate the picture hang, concluding that Neale was extremely accurate, moving systematically around the rooms.¹⁵⁷ Neale's picture list is also the chief source for the Earl Bishop's art collection in Ireland. To confirm or question Neale's judgements at Downhill, series one of *Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen* has been investigated and his Downhill entry cross-referenced with Sampson's published list of highlights (1802) and visitor accounts describing artworks.

Viewing Neale's project as a whole reveals that the picture lists that were compiled for Downhill and Russborough were not produced as a result of the experience and discernment of an exceptionally well-travelled British Tourist but instead represent a reflection of which houses supplied picture catalogues or guides to him. Neale gave picture lists for forty-seven of the 382 houses visited in series one and mentioned pictures in fifty-two further houses, therefore in almost three-quarters of the houses he did not comment on the artworks at all. Neale's chief interests were genealogy and landscape, though he often noted family portraits illustrating his narrative.¹⁵⁸ Neale was less assured when speaking of architecture and fine art: he acknowledged the help of architects Richard and William Morrison in his descriptions of Irish houses; at Wardour Castle he stated that 'for the Account and List of Pictures, we are under obligations to the Noble Proprietor'; and at Tirall House he took information from a guide published by the owner in 1817.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, though it has not been previously suggested, in the light of Neale's reliance on catalogues in other houses, the extensive list of pictures at Downhill was probably derived from a nineteenth-century picture list supplied by the Earl Bishop's heir in Ireland, Sir Henry Hervey Bruce. If Neale, with all his experience, could not rely on his personal connoisseurship in viewing pictures, how much was this likely to have been true of the majority of tourists

¹⁵⁷ O'Boyle, 'The Milltown collection', p. 52.

¹⁵⁸ His interest in portraits might be exemplified in the entry for Gracefield, Queen's County, where Mrs Kavanagh had nine family portraits including two by Sir Peter Lely, two by Sir Godfrey Kneller, two miniatures of heiresses by Robinson and a portrait of 1582 of a Plunket. She also displayed twenty-eight engravings of family portraits, carefully listed by Neale, by the London engraver Robert Grave (the originals had been moved to Mantua House). Gracefield Lodge, Queen's County, in Neale, *Views of the seats of noblemen*, vi.

¹⁵⁹ Wardour Castle in Neale, *Views of the seats of noblemen*, vi; Tirall House, in Neale, *Views of seats of noblemen*, v.

visiting houses in the British Isles? The role of tour guides within houses and the availability of in-house or published catalogues were therefore paramount to facilitate tourist experience of houses. That these were lacking at both Downhill and Ballyscullion, especially when the master was away, is reflected in the very different conclusions reached by visitors.

4.3.2 Viewing the rooms

Rooms had varied purposes of which displaying art was only one, though the chief one for tourists. Of the fifty-five artworks (pictures, statuary, chimneypiece etc) listed by Neale in the gallery at Downhill, nineteen received comment from at least one visitor (35%) indicating that this was received (as was intended) as the chief room for display. In the new gallery 24% of artworks received comment, 27% in the dining room, same for the lounging room and 23% for the drawing room. Drawing rooms were often the most expensively furnished and decorated in the house, with choice artworks. Though the Downhill drawing room boasted the much admired Correggio, it otherwise received least attention; possibly the absence of Lady Bristol from 1782 resulted in a loss of purpose for this room (usually considered the most feminine room). Downstairs, nowhere was fully private; all the rooms (except the small breakfast room) were perused by visitors. At Ballyscullion, Innes, Slade and Burdy comment on the decor of the upstairs rooms too.

It is illuminating to consider the physicality of the spaces in which artworks were displayed and to trace the journey a contemporary visitor might take through these two houses. Visitors first entered Downhill through the hall, a space which was dominated by the statue of a *Fighting Gladiator*. The long corridor formed the classical backbone of the house: Neale noted statues of *Flora*, *Minerva*, *Leda*, *Diana*, *Venus*, *Apollo* as well as many busts. The Downhill *Diana* was later photographed on the return of the staircase hall [fig. 4.23]. Gavin Hamilton, who

sold this statue to Hervey, described it to Townley: ‘The Diana you mention is gone to the Bishop of Dery; she is in the usuall short dress with boots, upon one shoulder there is the hole of the perno which fixed the quiver’.¹⁶⁰ The hall was a semi-public area, a place to wait, a thoroughfare, perhaps occasionally used for dining.¹⁶¹ Malcolm Baker has explored how statuary, which was associated with public display, was integrated into the private domestic sphere. He argues that in the Georgian house, the distinction between public and private was not strongly demarcated: some rooms had a public dimension (particularly the hall, saloon and gallery) and these were the rooms most likely to display statuary, as holds true for Downhill.¹⁶² The family were rarely private even in their own home, considering the number of servants, dependents and visitors in a house that operated both as a family home and an administrative centre.

Hervey’s display of statuary became more sophisticated over time. At Downhill, sculpture was part of a mixed display, inspired by Continental precedents like the Tribuna in Florence, which appealed strongly to Hervey as to so many other Grand Tourists attempting similar effects (the scale determined by spending power) back at home.¹⁶³ In Ballyscullion, on the other hand, Hervey created a more refined display, taking inspiration from the Pantheon: a Roman temple provided the perfect backdrop for displaying antiquities and for expressing homage to the ancients. Christie views the eighteenth-century house as a temple to the arts, pointing to the use of Roman temple architecture for halls and galleries as

¹⁶⁰ Hamilton to Townley, 15 Dec. 1778, quoted in Bignamini and Hornsby, *Digging and dealing*, i, 284.

¹⁶¹ The 1823 Downhill inventory included a mahogany table and two card tables. According to McCarthy, ‘Planning in Irish houses’, p.70, tables appeared more frequently in Irish than English inventories. The hall ‘serves as a summer-room for dining; it is an anti-chamber in which people of business, or of second rank, wait and amuse themselves; and it is a good apartment for the reception of large companies at publick feasts’, quoted in Isaac Ware, *A complete body of architecture* (London, 1757), p. 335.

¹⁶² Baker also suggests that the identification of statuary with public display belonged more to the nineteenth century due to the rise of institutions featuring busts of benefactors or museum sculpture displays. Malcolm Baker, ‘Public images for private spaces? The place of sculpture in the Georgian domestic interior’ in *Journal of Design History*, xx, 4 (2007), pp 309-323.

¹⁶³ O’Boyle has suggested that a small octagonal room with mother of pearl inlay at Moira House in Dublin, containing a hundred pictures, may have been a mini-Tribuna. Aidan O’Boyle, ‘The earls of Moira: their property and cultural interests’ in *Artefact*, i (2007), p. 75.

a setting for statuary.¹⁶⁴ Visitor reactions to the house as temple varied. In 1778 Richard Sullivan was smitten by Adam's hall at Kedleston: 'Here indeed the senses become astonished ... In one word, the whole strikes you as if it were designed for more than a mortal residence'.¹⁶⁵ In 1797 the French traveller Latocnaye, who also saw Downhill, was less enamoured by the temple concept, finding Castle Coole frigid: temples, he thought, should be left to the gods.¹⁶⁶

At Ballyscullion, Sampson recognised 'admirable statues of the Apollo Belvedere and the Vatican Mercury' and also busts of Cicero, Demosthenes, Seneca and Pericles in niches.¹⁶⁷ The effect was not perhaps as impressive as intended. William Bisset considered that 'The Hall appeared to me to be small, but I did not measure it, and as it is at present filled with Casts of the Laocoon, Centaurs, &c the dimensions may be more considerable than they now appear'.¹⁶⁸ Owners sometimes sought to impress visitors with images of their own likenesses. Robert Walpole emphasised his political pre-eminence through placing his bust on the mantelpiece at Houghton: 'as if to confirm the pretended fears of his opponents, in the Stone Hall Walpole presides over a company of Roman emperors in the form of portrait busts on pedestals, none as highly placed as himself'.¹⁶⁹ However, visitors were not always suitably awed. William Blacker, an Orangeman from the very inception of the movement in 1795 and opposed to Hervey's tolerance towards Catholics, did not stand in awe of the bishop, but subverted his representation in 1796:

In the Hall stood a marble bust of Lord Bristol by an Italian artist. One of the first pranks of young Phepoe and myself was an attempt to give animation to his Lordship's eyes by the means of little slips of black

¹⁶⁴ Adam drew upon the Pantheon for the Saloon at Kedleston (1760s) and Ince Blundell Hall (1802-10) and upon Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli and the catacombs for a sculpture gallery at Newby Hall (1760s), Christie, *British country house*, pp 181-85.

¹⁶⁵ Sullivan, *Observations*, p. 145, quoted in Tinniswood, *Country house visiting*, p. 104.

¹⁶⁶ Christie, *British country house*, p. 179.

¹⁶⁷ Sampson, *Statistical survey*, p. 414.

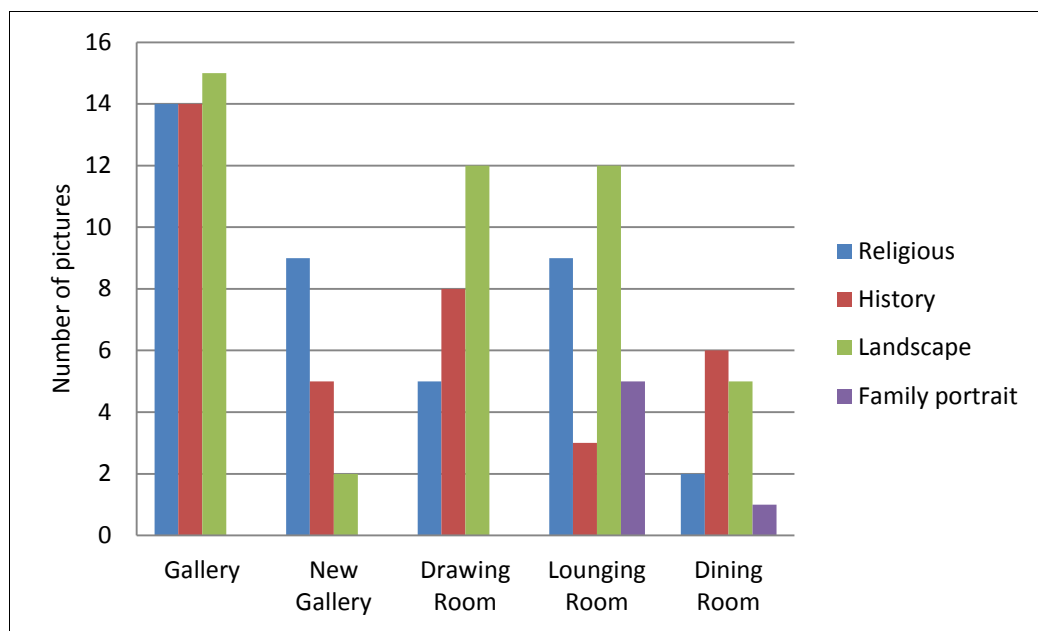
¹⁶⁸ Bisset, 'Journal', p. 86.

¹⁶⁹ Philip Ayres, *Classical culture and the idea of Rome in the eighteenth century* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 72.

plaister, the effect of which was to terrify the housemaid almost into fits as she passed through the hall when we had retired to rest.¹⁷⁰

Table 8 Distribution of painting genre by room at Downhill

Source: J. P. Neale, *Views of the seats of noblemen and gentlemen* (London, 1823).



The lounging room had a wide variety of purposes, simultaneously acting as hall, library, sitting room and waiting room. Most of the few portraits on display were situated in this room. Presumably guests of lesser status never progressed beyond

¹⁷⁰ Paterson, 'The Edifying Bishop', p. 78. Though published in the above article, this source has not been explored in print. It appears that Blacker was staying with Mrs Burroughs in Bellaghy Castle near Ballyscullion rather than in Ballyscullion House itself.

the hall or lounging room. The lounging room and the drawing room both had a large proportion of the landscapes, presumably an intentional device to marry exterior and interior views at a time when there was increasing appreciation of picturesque scenery.¹⁷¹ The rooms of the south block at Downhill featured large bay windows with panoramic views which Neale admired along with the pictures. Old Master landscape painters (as listed by Neale) in these two rooms included Salvator Rosa, Aelbert Cuyp and Rosa da Tivoli (Philipp Peter Roos).¹⁷² There were landscapes of Italy and Wales by contemporary artists, Thomas Jones and George Barret. Crookshank and Glin note that Ireland's best landscapists (including Barret) did not go to Italy but learnt from the largely Dutch landscape paintings prevalent in Irish collections.¹⁷³ Hervey's choice of a Welsh scene indicates interest in a 'sublime' landscape. The 'Welsh Maecenas' Sir William Watkins Wynn undertook a pioneering tour of the landscape of North Wales in the 1760s and like Hervey commissioned pictures from Jones and Barret.¹⁷⁴ As discussed in chapter 1, Hervey was interested in Irish scenery which was becoming the focus of tourism especially at Killarney and his local Giant's Causeway.

As well as a range of landscape scenes, both the lounging room and drawing room displayed predominantly Old Master paintings. Neale's attributions would be considered optimistic today: he saw originals by Guido, Titian, Rubens, Raphael, Correggio, Salvator Rosa, Dou, Elsheimer, Sorgh and Wouwermans.¹⁷⁵ The

¹⁷¹ Thornton notes the fashion for glass doors at the end of the eighteenth century, allowing access to the garden from the main reception room. Thornton, *Authentic décor*, p. 154. Hervey's houses did not follow this fashion for easy access to the garden but did rely on views.

¹⁷² Sampson noted 'Two landscapes – original, by Orizonte' (Jan Frans von Bloemen), 'A landscape – an excellent copy from an original, by Salvator Rosa', and a copy of a Poussin landscape by Jakob Philipp Hackert.

¹⁷³ Crookshank and Glin, *Ireland's painters*, p. 51.

¹⁷⁴ Also like Hervey, Wynn patronised Gavin Hamilton, Anton Raphael Mengs and Christopher Hewetson. Unlike Hervey, Wynn paid Irishman Thomas Roberts £53 for two landscapes displayed on the stairs of his Adam London house on St James's Square (also where the Hervey townhouse was). Wynn paid £450 to Richard Wilson for two landscapes. Joseph Leeson combined Old Masters bought in Rome with the landscapes of George Barret and Thomas Roberts, William Laffan and Brendan Rooney, *Thomas Roberts: landscape and patronage in eighteenth-century Ireland* (Tralee, 2009), pp 245-48 and p. 143.

¹⁷⁵ To illustrate the difficulty of judging whether these attributions are accurate, the Getty Provenance Index lists the pictures sold at the 1813 Rotunda auction. Of five supposed Titians, one was described as 'after' and fetched £7.13.0. One had a 'fine effect' and sold for 14 ½ guineas. 'Titian alone could have been capable of such a production' sold at only 14 guineas. *The shepherd's offering* fetched 100 guineas, for though 'the indescribable beauties of it will be seen

drawing room selection was perhaps the superior one as befitted the status of the room; the most admired picture in the house, Correggio's *Cupid shaping his bow*, was above the chimneypiece.¹⁷⁶ When Bisset toured the house, he was horrified by the hanging of what he considered the jewel of the collection:

there is indeed one Picture in the Drawing room of exquisite beauty; it is a Cupid, I think mending his Bow, by Corregio - as large as Life - the Countenance animated to perfection, and the whole Figure inimitably formed. The Room is so small that you cannot see this Picture in a proper point of view, without going into the next, and looking at it through the Doorway. But in whatever manner one looks at it, it is delightful.¹⁷⁷

For Bisset, it was not just possessing pictures that mattered, but how well they were displayed.

For dining rooms, some collectors favoured landscapes, still-life or sporting themes, others impressed guests with portraits of important ancestors. The dining room at Carton was hung exclusively with family portraits, advertising the status and lineage.¹⁷⁸ At Kedleston Hall, the scheme for the dining room was carefully sketched out by Adam with still-life fruits of the earth and views of the park outside by Zuccarelli.¹⁷⁹ Several Irish patrons commissioned landscapes: Leeson had nine idealised Italian views painted for his dining room by the Irish artist George Barret and Lord Powerscourt commissioned estate views from Thomas Roberts and William Ashford. As Aidan O'Boyle commented at Russborough, the grounds at Downhill were too sparse and new to be painted. Hospitality was central to influence and Hervey was carving out a role as bishop and then politician at Downhill in the 1770s to mid-1780s. At his table groups of clergy, Volunteer officers, local dignitaries and favoured guests would dine and drink under the Batoni portrait of the Bishop of Derry, Act of Toleration in hand. The picture that struck visitors most was Gavin Hamilton's copy of *Achilles with the*

and appreciated by connoisseurs', the attribution was changed from Titian to 'Sch of Rubens' on the catalogue by the catalogue owner Meade. The final lot of the auction, Titian's *Venus and Adonis* 'we are still more at a loss to describe ... it is truly invaluable' and was sold for 300 guineas (the highest price of the auction) to Irish collector Major Henry Charles Sirr.

¹⁷⁶ This painting is discussed in the section on visitor accounts. Its whereabouts is now unknown.

¹⁷⁷ Bisset, 'Journal', p. 86.

¹⁷⁸ FitzGerald, 'Objects at Carton', p. 8.

¹⁷⁹ Russell, 'Hanging and display', p. 143.

Body of Hector; both Beaufort in 1787 and Sampson in 1802 noted it. Sampson gave Hackert as the copyist of a Poussin and the Altieri Claude.¹⁸⁰ Neale listed a copy of the *Aldobrandini Marriage* (probably the one commissioned from Scottish artist Nevay¹⁸¹), ‘a copy of the famous Metza’ by Dumesnil and a copy of da Vinci’s *Vanity and Modesty*. The dining room displayed the fewest religious paintings; only *St Cecilia* (possibly a reference to the music enjoyed at Downhill) and a full-length of the *Virgin* oversaw the Downhill meals. Some religious pictures were eminently suitable for a bishop’s walls, but in the tetchy religious atmosphere of Ireland, subject matter associated with Roman Catholic rather than Protestant teaching (iconic images of the Madonna, the Holy Family and saints) must have surprised some visitors to Downhill.

The gallery at Downhill was added onto the original villa, between Hervey’s third and fourth Grand Tours, in his new self-appointed role as patron of the arts. The hanging in the gallery was notably evenly balanced between genres though it contained no family portraits. Here he filled every space, including the ceiling where *Aurora* raced (a copy of Guido Reni by William Pars in Rome).¹⁸² The gallery display included statues, busts in niches, the Albacini chimneypiece combining free-standing statuary groups, and pictures hung from the dado to the entablature. It soon proved too small and the Earl Bishop was pushing Shanahan to raise the roof and to extend it. Bisset was disappointed by the gallery at Downhill as an exhibition venue:

one large room there is called the Picture Gallery which is occasionally used for dining but it is awkward in its proportions disagreeable, and damp. Here as well as at Ballyscullion the Chimney Pieces are handsome,

¹⁸⁰ Brinsley Ford has noted that two capricci landscapes of Hackert are at Ickworth, one apparently showing the temples of Paestum with Vesuvius dated 1779 and the other featuring the temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli and a river dated 1780. Brinsley Ford, ‘Capricious patron’, p. 429.

¹⁸¹ Andrew, ‘Jacob More’, p. 92.

¹⁸² In April 1779, Thomas Jones recorded in his Memoirs that ‘My messmate Pars at this time was employed in making a copy, the same size as the Original, of the Aurora of Guido at the Rospigliosi palace – which I believe he afterward disposed of to the Bishop of Derry’, *Memoirs of Thomas Jones* (1803) (N.L.W., MS 23812D), transcribed by Walpole Society 1951. Guido Reni’s *Aurora* was one of the most admired images in Italy and was widely copied. In Ireland there are copies in Bellevue, co. Galway; Castletown, co. Kildare; David La Touche’s house on St Stephen’s Green; and William Salmon supplied plaster medallions of Aurora in her chariot to Hervey for Downhill and to Michael Stapleton for use in several Dublin houses.

the Pictures, Statues and Urns though perhaps not of the highest value, are well worthy of being seen.

In the gallery, Italian artists were in the majority particularly for historical subjects. It contained more pictures by contemporary and by British artists than the rest of the house, though some of these were copies of Old Masters. In keeping with contemporary taste, most landscapes were by seventeenth-century Dutch, Flemish and French artists. There were historical and subject paintings by Cipriani, More, Hamilton and Fuseli; copies (most unattributed though Durno named) of religious and historical paintings; and landscapes by Vernet, Tresham and Jones. In the Gallery, Neale listed originals by Italian painters Perugino, Tintoretto, Titian, Salvator Rosa, Guercino, and Albano; Flemish painters Metsys, Jordaens, Van der Meulen, Rubens, Snyders and Van Dyck; Dutch painters van Eyck, Lingelbach, Rembrandt and Bakhuizen; the French painter Poussin; and German artist Dürer.¹⁸³

The new gallery was the last room to be added. This became a library with four bookcases and an organ, presses for engravings and ‘many curious specimens of art’, according to Neale. The much-noted bas relief of *Socrates detecting Alcibiades in the society of courtesans* was placed above the chimneypiece and was admired both as an artwork and for the appropriateness of its philosophical (and moral) subject matter.¹⁸⁴ The classical world was important to Hervey, and here it was expressed through ‘many busts and statues both antique and modern’.¹⁸⁵ Hervey’s sculptural library pieces fit Baker’s model of the changing role of sculpture from a grand form in Palladian halls from the 1720s, to a more

¹⁸³ Neale may have used a nineteenth-century picture-list for Downhill. The unknown whereabouts of the pictures now prevents the attributions from being tested and suggests that the attributions may have changed.

¹⁸⁴ The authorship and whereabouts of this bas relief are unknown; it was probably a victim of the 1851 fire.

¹⁸⁵ Identifying exactly what statues and busts Hervey had at Downhill is now impossible. Being so hard to move, many in the gallery and new gallery were destroyed in the 1851 fire and their remains thrown into the garden. In 2006, Julia Lenaghan undertook a painstaking inventory of these fragments, dividing them into classical and neoclassical periods and giving possible attributions. She found four life or over-life-size statues (one in a toga), at least six busts including a Roman period copy of the head of a fifth century B.C. statue of Achilles and a Roman version of the head of a well-known fourth century B.C. statue of Apollo. She also identified two neoclassical portrait heads, one of which may be the Earl Bishop, and copies of ancient statues, for example the head of Caracalla and of Dionysus (Cavaceppi made copies of both of these for Holkham Hall). Julia Lenaghan, ‘Downhill marbles: inventory and recommendations made for the National Trust’ (May 2006).

domestic, widespread and familiar form in the mid to late eighteenth-century, before becoming associated with the public and institutional in the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁶ The placing of busts in neoclassical libraries resonated with the growing interest in classical accuracy; Pliny the Elder mentioned statues and busts of authors in gold, silver or bronze in his library.¹⁸⁷ Lord Pembroke amassed a huge bust collection at Wilton which, together with coins and medals, would ‘persuade a man he now seeth two thousand years ago’.¹⁸⁸ Lord Charlemont incorporated his tutor Murphy’s unique Roman emperor bust collection by Vierpyl into the Rockingham Library, fusing praise of ancient and modern heroes. Hervey was drawn towards subject matter extolling ancient virtues: *Epaminondas* (at Downhill) and *Regulus returning to Carthage* by Gavin Hamilton (noticed in Ballyscullion by Bisset in 1799) both hung in the new gallery of Downhill by Neale’s visit in 1823. Among the busts were Julius Caesar and Pompey. All these classical figures represented various forms of cultural and political currency familiar to eighteenth-century visitors.

One might speculate that Hervey was conscious of the problems of public display spaces in private houses when he designed the two galleries as separate entities, symmetrically positioned on either side of the inhabited drum, joined by closed, curved colonnades, at Ballyscullion and Ickworth. The galleries would have been a public space, with pictures and statuary; a proto-museum. These didactic galleries were potentially an ingenious and visually pleasing solution to the endless groups of visitors plaguing house-owners like Horace Walpole; Strawberry Hill (open May to September) was visited by an average of three hundred people annually between 1784 and 1797.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ See Baker, ‘Public images for private spaces’, pp 309-323.

¹⁸⁷ Coltman, *Fabricating the antique*, p. 154.

¹⁸⁸ John Cornforth, ‘Conversations with old heroes’ in *Country Life*, cxliv (Sept. 1968), quoted in Christie, *British country house*, p.181.

¹⁸⁹ Tinniswood, *Country house visiting*, p. 89. Ultimately the galleries at Ballyscullion were never finished so visitors experienced the hall as the display space. As discussed in the chapter on Architecture, his son changed the interior plan for Ickworth in the 1820s, reflecting the loss of the artworks and the increasing desire for family privacy.

4.3.3 Reception of the image: the overlap between viewing a public figure and viewing his public display

Having explored Downhill, and as far as possible Ballyscullion, through the eyes of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century tourists, their responses to the layout of his houses and the artworks on display merits evaluation. Contemporary views on Hervey's Irish collections varied but on the whole tended to be negative. He expected visitors to appreciate his high-minded motives and aesthetic taste. The relationship between viewing Hervey's private display (made public to them as a tour) and the public persona he projected was complex. In 1787 Beaufort formed the most positive impression because the master was resident and the collection was appropriately tailored to fit the rooms. Latocnaye, Bisset, Blacker, Burdy and Sampson visited after Hervey had left for the Continent for the last time. After Hervey's death, Bruce crammed into Downhill the contents of Ballyscullion (demolished in 1813), and though resident, did not have the money to live in the style such houses demanded. The Beauforts, Plumptre and Neale visited during this period. Beaufort's initial positive impression of the house in 1787 changed when he visited twenty years later: 'DH. does not seem to be kept in very nice order, & is upon the whole a very absurd house – The profusion of pictures & Statues is much too great'.¹⁹⁰ Anne Plumptre agreed: 'In the house are some good pictures and sculptures, brought from Italy by the former owner of the house; but everything was now in confusion: Sir Hervey, having pulled down the other house built by the bishop'.¹⁹¹

Collating scattered primary sources indicates that the Earl Bishop's star was waning since he had become an absentee from 1791. His building and art collections bore the brunt of the criticism. In his report to the London Companies (1802), Robert Slade censured Hervey for 'the hardship of absence ... the whole of this enormous income having been expended in Italy and France for these last twenty years' and the two houses 'both of them left in an unfinished state, may be considered as two monuments of modern ruins'.¹⁹² The Frenchman, de Latocnaye,

¹⁹⁰ Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 27 Oct. 1807 (T.C.D., Beaufort MS 4033).

¹⁹¹ Anne Plumptre, *Narrative of a residence in Ireland*, p. 154.

¹⁹² Slade, *Narrative of a journey*, p. 55.

accepted that the local area had benefited from the building projects but pointed ominously towards obsession:

The apartments of the interior are very richly furnished, and decorated by a great number of valuable paintings and pieces of sculpture. I am told that this house has cost Lord Bristol nearly eighty thousand pounds sterling. His Lordship has a mania for building superb palaces in Ireland and England, while he lives in ugly rat-holes on the Continent.¹⁹³

Collecting art and starting grand buildings projects which were never completed, could be interpreted as a wasteful and selfish extravagance. No one gave Hervey credit for displaying his artworks for the benefit of others, even though he himself identified this as his chief intention: art for ‘young Geniusses who can not afford to travel to Italy’. Hervey stated his objective on the very walls of Ballyscullion: ‘Immediately open the doors, for much wealth is within, and, with that wealth, fresh-springing benevolence’. No contemporary identified Hervey’s collection with Pears’s model: ‘The collection was not only a visible symbol of wealth and social hierarchy, it was also one of its justifications, metamorphosing wealth into the discharge of a duty and an altruistic act’.¹⁹⁴ The Downhill visitor accounts indicate a disjunction between the theory of the art collection in the treatises and actual tourist opinion.

Praise of good taste was almost conventional when describing a nobleman. Fourteen year old Anna Maria Porter tapped into this theme in the dedication to Hervey of her book *Artless Tales*, flattering ‘your well-known and eminent taste in the fine arts – a taste, my lord, which you possess by hereditary right’.¹⁹⁵ Author and Greek scholar Rev. John Whitaker took Hervey’s artistic pretensions seriously: ‘We have had a singular character with us, the Bishop of Derry. He is ingenious, lively, and a man of great taste in sculpture, painting & architecture’.¹⁹⁶ Some types of literature (particularly those relying on subscription) required admiration of connoisseurship such as Neale’s *Views of Seats* which praised the

¹⁹³ Chevalier de la Tocnaye, *A Frenchman’s walk*, p. 219.

¹⁹⁴ Pears, *Discovery of painting*, p. 180.

¹⁹⁵ Anna Maria Porter, 16 Dec. 1792, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 447.

¹⁹⁶ Revd John Whitaker to Polwhele, May 1792, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 439.

Earl Bishop's 'hand of taste'.¹⁹⁷ But taste could be used as a weapon. Lady Webster lampooned Hervey's statue of Pitt as Hercules as 'a lasting monument to Ld: Bristol's bad taste' when (as argued earlier in this chapter) she was attacking his politics and his insult to her future husband Lord Holland.¹⁹⁸

Some considered the selecting of pictures to be so important that it was essential to employ an expert. Archbishop Cobbe relied on Rev. Matthew Pilkington for Newbridge. If a collector made his own selection, then he was personally responsible for praise or for lapses in taste. Hervey's selection was essentially his own so criticism was directed at him personally. The only social equal to leave a record of viewing the Downhill artworks was Thomas Conolly of Castletown, who questioned the bishop's taste, expenditure and even morals.¹⁹⁹ In fact, Hervey seems to have made a separation between what he displayed in the Irish houses in his diocese and what he displayed abroad. In a highly critical account emphasising his 'immorality and irreligion', the young Miss Catherine Wilmot from Ireland described the walls of his house in Rome to her brother:

He is the patron of all modern artists, whose wives he not only associates with as his only female company, but has their pictures drawn as Venuses all over the House. His three favorite mistresses are beautifully represented as Juno, Minerva, and Venus, in the Judgment of Paris.²⁰⁰

Attacks on his lifestyle merged with attacks on his taste. The man and his public expression, the art collection, were inextricably linked.

To William Blacker of Carrickblacker (reminiscing about a trip of 1796 when Ballyscullion still stood) taste was illusory; desirable but deceptive: he believed the Earl Bishop's 'princely revenue was spent in buying pictures, some of them undoubtedly good, but not a few of a very second rate character, which of course he was cajoled into purchasing by the adroit whisper that he 'had a taste'.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ Neale, *Views of seats of noblemen*, vi.

¹⁹⁸ Lady Webster, 9 Feb. 1796, quoted in Earl of Ilchester (ed), *The journal of Elizabeth, Lady Holland*, i, 141.

¹⁹⁹ Thomas Conolly, 19 Nov. 1786 (T.C.D., Conolly papers Ms 3978/912).

²⁰⁰ Catherine Wilmot, Thomas Sadler (ed.), *An Irish peer on the Continent 1801-3: narrative of the Tour of Stephen, second Earl Mount Cashell* (London, 1920), p. 178.

²⁰¹ Paterson, 'The Edifying Bishop', p. 67.

Blacker's scepticism over the seductiveness of 'taste' may have been coloured by his antipathy to Hervey's religious toleration (it was Blacker who frightened the housemaid by animating the eyes of Hervey's marble bust) and by the clarity of hindsight, for by the time Blacker wrote his account, all traces of Ballyscullion and her collections were long gone. Hervey may have sought to rehabilitate his reputation in portraits like Hugh Douglas Hamilton's *Frederick Hervey, fourth Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, with his granddaughter Lady Caroline Crichton*, depicting himself as the benevolent patriarch and educator. Yet polite visitors continued to be critical whereas the people of Derry, who did not witness Hervey's propaganda nor benefit from his collections, kept faith with the image of the benevolent bishop.

Visitors were involved in a programme of self-improvement to develop the prized critical capacity to judge art, to be known as people of taste. The strong opinions and the overlap of pictures admired, indicate that the Downhill tourists had read literature on art appreciation and connoisseurship. Yet despite their personal quest for judgement, they did not credit the intention or success of Hervey's collections. Several came to find fault, doubted the authenticity of the attributions, suspected Hervey's morals and criticised his evident vast expenditure. With exceptions such as Bisset, who retained an anxiety over his judgement, and Blacker, who lost patience, the majority viewed themselves as sophisticated and confident observers and recorded their judgements in strong terms. The public image of the Earl Bishop came under attack: artworks, lifestyle, morals, absenteeism and expenditure became conflated and were criticised under the cover of taste. The Earl Bishop, despite his excitement over new didactic methods of display, did little to meet the needs of the home tourists visiting his houses in Ireland. Possibly he assumed too much knowledge, imagining connoisseurs like himself or young artists at work, all capable of recognising and appreciating works of art. Possibly he was relatively unaware of the growth and demands of home tourism since he had left Ireland by 1792, just as the numbers increased rapidly.

4.4 Conclusion

Possessing an extensive and diverse collection of artworks in various media was an important part of being an educated nobleman. Hervey showed little interest in art until he was in his forties; presumably securing income and position were more pressing matters in the preceding decades. Later, however, collecting became his defining characteristic, a hobby that bordered on an obsession. Hervey's connoisseurial activities brought him many benefits and pleasures as well as costing him a fortune. Collecting was a sociable, gentlemanly activity which opened doors into esteemed artistic and connoisseurial circles, but it also had a competitive dynamic. Curating his ever-expanding collection was a continuous and absorbing activity for Hervey, who relished seeking out the elusive masterpiece, the bargain, and choosing an heir worthy of inheriting it. Money, status and good taste brought with them responsibilities to act as a patron, supporting struggling or talented artists. His collection was to be shared with interested parties in its extenuating role as a didactic experience, improving the skills of the budding artist or educating the taste of the tourists. These intentions were never fully executed, exposing the Earl Bishop to the disappointment or even criticism by viewers to his collections.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE GRAND TOUR

5.1 Introduction

This final chapter completes the circle, bringing together the inter-connected threads of the Earl Bishop's manner of living that were examined in the preceding chapters. Hervey's travels began in 1765 (following the Peace of Paris in 1763 at the end of the Seven Years War) and straddled the Golden Age of the Grand Tour. He was one of the few travellers who remained after Napoleon's army entered Italy in 1796. And he was still there, by now a curiosity, when the next generation of tourists arrived following the Peace of Amiens in 1802. However, this ultimate traveller, with six trips to the Continent totalling twenty-five years abroad, opens up for debate the definition of Grand Tourist. Brinsley Ford considered education as central to the Grand Tour because 'true taste could only be acquired in Italy', citing Samuel Johnson's anxiety: 'a man who has not been in Italy is always conscious of an inferiority, from his not having seen what it is expected a man should see. The grand object of travelling is to see the shores of the Mediterranean'.¹ For Giovanna Ceserani the Grand Tour was 'the ultimate educational rite of passage'.² Cesare de Seta describes the tourist community as the largest wandering 'academy' ever known.³ Francis Haskell argues that 'the distinguishing and paradoxical feature of the golden age of the Tour ... is that the more it became institutionalised the narrower it became in scope'.⁴ The Earl Bishop renders inadequate the conventional image of the young man sent to Italy to finish his education.

This view of the Grand Tour as an educational construct for young British milords has been challenged. Jeremy Black questions the 'conventional image of the

¹ Brinsley Ford, 'The Englishmen in Italy' in Gervase Jackson-Stops, *Treasure houses of Britain*, p. 41.

² Giovanna Ceserani, 'Mapping the Grand Tour', (<http://www.stanford.edu/dept/classics/cgi-bin/web/projects/mapping-grand-tour>) (29 Sept. 2012).

³ Cesare de Seta, 'Grand Tour: the lure of Italy in the eighteenth-century' in Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini (eds), *Grand Tour: the lure of Italy in the eighteenth-century* (London, 1996), p. 13.

⁴ Francis Haskell, 'Preface' in Wilton and Bignamini, *Lure of Italy*, p. 10.

tourist – an aristocratic youth in search of easy enlightenment and the enlightenment of ease in Paris and Italy’, arguing that this image ‘had fragmented as a consequence of the increasing variety in British tourism, a variety in personnel, intentions, routes and activities’.⁵ But he locates this expansion ‘in the closing years of the European ancient regime’, offering William Wordsworth visiting Paris during the French Revolution as an example. Frank Salmon demands an extension of the Grand Tour into the nineteenth century and argues for a wider definition to include people travelling later in life, women, middle-class professionals, artists and writers.⁶ The example of the Earl Bishop challenges these definitions and time frames in that he travelled for several reasons simultaneously, the balance shifting over a lifetime. John Ingamells considers the Earl Bishop to be unusual, his motives ‘difficult to define’ but including ‘relief of boredom, the exercise of patronage and the study of antiquity and vulcanology’.⁷ This chapter also raises health tourism, political tourism, exploration and freedom from responsibilities as motivations. Hervey mixed with many people who also stood outside a narrow definition of the British aristocrat in terms of nationality, gender, itinerary and motivations for travel. Others in Hervey’s milieu had experiences abroad too complex to be restricted by such definitions: Sir William Hamilton’s publications and collections render the description ‘professional diplomat’ completely inadequate.

This chapter examines three areas: reasons for travel, the mechanics of travel and the influence of travel. Looking at the Earl Bishop, and indeed the travel patterns of the whole Hervey family, conventional definitions clearly fall short. Examination of the Earl Bishop’s destinations points to a range of overlapping motivations for touring, offering a richer and more nuanced picture of the Grand Tour in the eighteenth-century. Hervey undertook, often simultaneously, health tourism, intellectual and scientific tourism, political tourism, exploration, cultural tourism and acquisitive tourism. It is proposed that the key motivation for

⁵ Jeremy Black, *The British abroad: the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century* (New York, 1992), p. 312.

⁶ Frank Salmon, ‘The impact of the archaeology of Rome on British architects and their work c.1750-1840’ in Clare Hornsby (ed.), *Impact of Italy: the grand tour and beyond* (London, 2000), p. 219.

⁷ John Ingamells, ‘Discovering Italy: British travellers in the eighteenth-century’ in Wilton and Bignamini, *Lure of Italy*, p. 26.

Hervey's travelling was the freedom and stimulation it brought. Evidence for this may be found in the contradictory evidence between the sober clothing in Hervey's Grand Tour portraits and descriptions by tourists of Hervey's highly eccentric costumes worn abroad.

The second theme of this chapter offers Hervey's journeys as a case-study, adding further texture to the study of the mechanics of travel. Inevitably, much of the secondary literature in this area is anecdotal. Jeremy Black draws general conclusions from a rich diversity of examples, culled from a wide range of travel letters and journals. Quantitative analysis has not been possible in Grand Tour studies thus far but the database 'Mapping the Grand Tour', based on digitalised data from Brinsley Ford's archive published as John Ingamells's *Dictionary of British and Irish travellers, 1700-1800*, may open new possibilities. Hervey's experiences presented in this chapter also rely on the anecdotal and on what was worth reporting home in letters. Touring involved much time on the road but the travellers often spent considerable periods in particular cities; how they lived and the extent of their integration with local society warrants further study.

Finally, the influence of travel permeates the preceding chapters: the Hervey's display at home was the visual expression of his experiences abroad. His architecture and art collections must be viewed within the context of European travel: models, ideas, modes of display and opportunities for acquisition combined (and were played out chronologically) in the three successive houses and collections of Downhill, Ballyscullion and Ickworth. Undertaking travel changed the traveller. Hervey's exposure to the unfamiliar abroad, contributed to his reputation of a radical religious and political outlook. This chapter examines Hervey's sense of nationality, as a man who straddled the boundaries between Ireland, Britain and the Continent. It also proposes that the changing tide towards narrower national identification at the end of the eighteenth-century left a cosmopolitan man like Hervey behind, explaining why he became an increasingly ridiculous figure to his compatriots.

5.2. Motives for travel

A multiplicity of reasons for travel emerges from the example of the Hervey family alone. During the eighteenth-century, members of the Hervey family visited the increasingly well-worn trail of Grand Tour attractions, travelling for diverse reasons: employment, education, connoisseurship, carrying messages, saving money, seeking excitement and avoiding scandal all played parts. Only the eldest son of each generation received a parentally-funded and educational Grand Tour. Though the first earl of Bristol, John Hervey, disliked travelling even as far as London, he invested £2,000 in a three-year stay in Italy for his eldest son Carr Hervey [fig. 5.1]. His calculations were different for his second son, John (later Lord Hervey and father of the Earl Bishop), who was sent to Hanover to ingratiate himself (very successfully as it turned out) with Prince Frederick.⁸ The eldest son of the next generation, George (later second earl of Bristol) took the traditional Tour to Rome, Florence (with Horace Walpole), Bologna, Reggio and Venice for his education. As a younger son, the Earl Bishop did not travel until his mid-thirties. Motives for his first Tours included his health and the education of his children.

Several members of this aristocratic family worked abroad. George, second earl, sought warm climates for his poor health and was envoy extraordinary to Turin from 1755 and then ambassador to Madrid from 1758 to 1761 [fig. 5.2].⁹ Augustus, third earl, travelled widely in the navy and though nominally a member of the Society of Dilettanti from 1760, did not share his family's interest in the arts [fig. 5.3]. The Earl Bishop's son, Augustus John (Jack), was also in the navy [fig. 5.4]. His complete lack of diplomacy resulted dismissal from the position of envoy to the Tuscan court in 1793. His younger brother raced from England to

⁸ First Earl of Bristol to John Hervey: 'when you see and are sure the foundation in Prince Frederick's favour ... is laid as indelibly as you know I would have it ... you may think of returning homewards' quoted in R. Halsbrand, *Lord Hervey, eighteenth-century courtier* (Oxford, 1973), p. 30. Also see Barnard, *Grand figure*, p. 322, for the neglect of non-Italian destinations.

⁹ William Cole described his 'most delicate and tender constitution, which made him desirous of going into warmer climates', quoted in Ingamells, *Dictionary*, p. 490. He did not take up residency in Ireland during his brief period as Lord Lieutenant, citing health and the resignation of William Pitt as reasons for stepping down.

Italy and back to carry the news of the recall to him in person. The Earl Bishop's daughter, Lady Elizabeth Foster, spent two years abroad as governess to the Duke of Devonshire's natural daughter from 1783.

On the Continent, social codes were looser and with care, a level of anonymity and deception could be achieved abroad, which was impossible within the narrow social circles of home. John, Lord Hervey, took a second Tour to Spa and Italy for his health, for two years from 1727, with his lover Sir Stephen Fox (later Lord Ilchester). The Continent brought freedom from the complete lack of privacy in his life at the centre of court circles.¹⁰ Lord Hervey engaged with the artistic scene in Italy, sitting for a severely classical bust by Bouchardon, his torso almost naked and his hair short [fig. 5.5].¹¹ By travelling to the Continent, Elizabeth Foster, with the help of her brother Jack, concealed the birth of two illegitimate children of the duke of Devonshire. Later, she accompanied Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, on a similar mission.

Life on the Continent was cheaper and more diverting. The Earl Bishop's mother, Molly Lepel, the accomplished daughter of a Dutch courtier, was a Francophile who enjoyed stays in France during her widowhood, participating in the Paris salons. In her will, she left gifts to male and female friends, very carefully and specifically described, including a watch and chain to Madame Geoffrin.¹² Two of the daughters of the Earl Bishop lived abroad: Mary Erne for five years after leaving her husband, and Elizabeth, as dowager duchess of Devonshire, resided in Rome for thirteen years until her death in 1824, engaged in projects like the excavation of the bases of the columns of Phocas [fig. 5.6-5.7]. An extract from Mary Erne's diary helps answer questions surrounding the conversation piece, *A tea party at Evian-les-bains*, by Ludwig Guttenbrunn (1786) [fig. 5.8]. Mary Erne recorded her arrangements on arriving in Evian in 1786: 'living is cheap at a boarding House, even without dining at the publick Table – but to take a House entirely & have a Cook is dear & very troublesome to a stranger especially if it is

¹⁰ It was less successful in terms of his health: he told his mother that he had never suffered more than at Naples, this 'reputed Eden', quoted in Ingamells, *Dictionary*, p. 490.

¹¹ Jackson-Stops, *Treasure houses*, p. 312.

¹² Will of Lady Mary Lepel Hervey, 28 May 1768 (T.N.A., Prob. 11/942).

any distance from the Town'.¹³ This diary appears to confirm Michael Wynne's supposition that the picture showed 'a room in a rented villa or even an hotel; notice the bed behind the table' and accounts for the assortment of china, mismatched but some of it fashionable and modern.¹⁴ The diary indicates that Mary Erne was in charge of the journey with her sister-in-law, Lady Elizabeth Hervey. This may explain why, to Wynne's surprise, Mary Erne was acting as the hostess of the group in the conversation piece, which included the Prince of Piedmont and Princess Clotilde.

5.3 Destinations

5.3.1 Health tourism

Examination of the destinations Hervey reached, reveals the wide variety of motives for travel. Convalescence was often given as the justification for travel. After a severe illness Hervey 'crawled to the Pump' at Bath where he recovered. Though medicines were used, diversion and good spirits were vital: 'Aether and Vitriol contribute, Hemlock & Laudanum assist, Corelli, Bach & Abel come in as powerful Allies, & above all the harmony [of company] ... bring up the Rear of this Auxiliary Army & Insure Victory.'¹⁵ Health was a serious business, as the rise of Bath attests. Those who could afford it increasingly travelled abroad, to Spa and Aachen mid-century, and beyond to Naples, the French Riviera and Portugal by the end of the eighteenth century. The itineraries of the Hervey family mirrored these changes. Their eldest son George died at Spa on their first Tour, aged ten. Later Pymont in Italy, 'this Helicon of health', and Valdagno and Castellamare, near Naples, became their favourites. For Hervey, 'The high road is my Apothecary's shop & my Horse my medicine'.¹⁶

¹³ Lady Mary Erne, 'Diary of the journey from Rome to Evian', 24 May-24 June 1786 (Sheffield Archives, Wharnccliffe muniments 543/182).

¹⁴ Michael Wynne, 'Elegant travellers from Fermanagh' in *Irish Arts Review*, i, no. 3 (autumn 1984), p. 44.

¹⁵ Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 16 Aug. 1785, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 389.

¹⁶ Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 5 Nov. 1788, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 407.

Benefits to health were much anticipated. They planned ahead: Hervey wrote from Ireland to Sir John Strange at Venice to ask him to ascertain ‘the price of the best house’ at Valdagno and ‘whether it be necessary to carry a Cook there, or if we can be supplied by a *traiteur* at a certain price by the head’.¹⁷ He considered the particular properties of the waters and the times of year when bathing would be most attractive. Yet writing to his daughter, Hervey was amused at his wife’s trusting confidence: ‘Your mother, very fortunately found on her arrival Dr Closius ... Such a *trouvaille* immediately quieted the lady’s nerves and prepared her admirably for the waters which were deemed specific for her’.¹⁸

Spas offered diversion and sociability as well as health benefits. Intimate friendships were formed in the looser social milieu. At Pyrmont in 1777, the Herveys enjoyed the company of Princess Augusta of Brunswick (sister of George III) who was ‘vastly good to us, we dine with her quite *en famille* ... we have regulated our hours to theirs’ [fig. 5.9-5.10].¹⁹ They also acquired the Prince of Saxe-Gotha (‘we have taken violently to each other’²⁰) as a travel companion for the onward journey to Rome. Hervey was pleased with the company at fashionable Pyrmont on this occasion:

There was no canaille, little bourgeoisie, and some persons, not only of great distinction but of excellent disposition; and the great parity that is maintained here among all persons gives this little place a spirit of elegant but easy republicanism that is very pleasing and I am sure contributes to the salubriousness of the waters.²¹

Hervey revelled in the variety of tourists in spa towns; this stands in contrast to Black’s findings that a major attraction (particularly at Spa) was the small size, allowing British tourists to dominate and ‘act as though they were in Britain’.²² Hervey’s list is much more eclectic and more Continental European than the

¹⁷ Hervey to Sir John Strange, 25 Jan. 1776, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 151.

¹⁸ Hervey to Lady Elizabeth Foster, 30 July 1777, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 160.

¹⁹ Countess of Bristol to Lady Elizabeth Foster, 15 July 1777, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 159. Chapter 3 identified the furniture sent by the Princess of Brunswick, for whom this drawing room at Ballyscullion was named the ‘Augusta room’.

²⁰ Hervey, Aug. 1777, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 161.

²¹ Hervey to Lady Elizabeth Foster, 30 July 1777, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 160-1.

²² Jeremy Black, *The British abroad*, p. 183.

British-orientated image that dominates histories of the Grand Tour: ‘Among this crowd are expatriated Prime Ministers, exhausted ministers of the gospel, Lutherans, Calvinists, Hernhuters, Jews, Greeks &c.’²³

5.3.2 Cultural tourism

Hervey believed in the civilising power of cultural tourism on his countrymen, who ‘instead of riots, gallantries and drunkenness are wrapt up in antiquities, busts & pictures’.²⁴ Grand Tour studies have been dominated by an interest in the arts. For Irish tourists, ‘the foreign experiences of the cultivated have been mined for explanations as to how they picked up both their polish and their prize possessions’.²⁵ Though this chapter argues that tourism was much more varied, there is no intention to devalue this aspect of the Tour; in this thesis, chapter 3 represents that quest. However, by separating art and the Grand Tour by chapter division, a false dichotomy is formed in this thesis. Hervey’s own Grand Tours moved seamlessly over time from interest in geology to architecture and finally and most powerfully to collecting art.

This chapter also argues that Hervey was not a typical tourist because his travels began later in life and were more prolonged than the educational model of the Grand Tourist. However, he placed education at the heart of the Grand Tour for his children. Historically, the Herveys had prospered at a court where manners, charm and proficiency in languages were essential. Aged twelve and seven, Mary and Elizabeth were brought to Mademoiselle Chomel in Geneva for a year, while their parents travelled on to Italy. Enquiring about a potential tutor for his six year-old son Frederick, Hervey emphasised the need for languages and suggested that ‘In about nine or ten years he [the tutor] might accompany the child abroad, as I did Jack, & give him the cream of Italy, without risk of its turning sour on his stomach’.²⁶

²³ Hervey to Lady Elizabeth Foster, 30 July 1777, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 160-1.

²⁴ Hervey to Lady Elizabeth Foster, 28 Jan. 1778, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 181.

²⁵ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p. 321.

²⁶ Hervey to Sir John Strange, 25 Mar. 1775, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 144.

Jack was encouraged in his interest in architecture. In a reversal of the traditional image of the bored pupil and enthusiastic bear-leader, Hervey claimed, rather disingenuously, that Rome in 1771 ‘is a place I am heartily sick of and would not go twenty miles to visit but on my son’s account, who has a real relish for architecture’.²⁷ In chapter 3, Shanahan’s engravings were examined to indicate the buildings that Shanahan and Hervey admired. Hervey’s houses were derived from models viewed abroad as discussed in chapter 1. Hervey himself delighted in recreating the ancient world of literature around him in his imagination, a theme explored in chapter 2, for example in the short-lived neoclassical partnership with John Soane, beginning with the Christmas Day picnic in the ruined triclinium of the Villa Lucullus in 1778.

Hervey revelled in the artistic scene in Rome where ‘one enjoys not only sculpture, painting & musick in the highest degree, but also sculptors, painters and musicians.’²⁸ Art appreciation provided a common ground, granting entry into circles of the like-minded and their private galleries. In 1777 Hervey wrote with delight:

The Pope has granted me a permission to take a model for the Apollo Belvedere – a favor rarely granted but to crown-heads – I suppose his Holiness is so accustomed to consider mitred ones on a footing with them that in my case he made no distinction, & I will venture to say that few heretics are on as good a footing with him.²⁹

His development into a significant patron is traced in chapter 4. The scope and volume of his picture collecting was enormous, taking into account the collections in Downhill and Ballyscullion, the catalogue ‘Bristol’s Roman Property’ with over five hundred entries (1804) and the petition from the artists in Rome to General Haller (1793). In 1794 Robert Bradstreet described a vignette of Hervey in Naples ‘in the hurry of taking possession of the house he has hired for the

²⁷ Hervey to Sir John Strange, Egerton Ms, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 111.

²⁸ Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 24 Dec. 1777, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 177.

²⁹ Ibid.

winter & surrounded with pictures he had newly bought'.³⁰ The cultural influence of the Grand Tour suffuses this whole thesis.

5.3.3 Political tourism

Tourists varied widely in their response to the range of political systems they viewed on their travels. For some, travel confirmed an innate sense of British superiority. Lord Orrery believed that experiencing and comparing political systems would teach that 'England is possessed of more freedom, justice and happiness than any other nation under heaven'.³¹ Charles Sloane, visiting the National Assembly in Paris in 1790, was convinced 'that there is no country like old England – for ever!'.³² Corsica's struggle against occupation excited the principle of political freedom entrenched in Whig ideology, drawing enthusiasts to meet General Paoli. James Boswell, trying to establish himself in travel literature, published *An account of Corsica* (1768): 'Corsica occurred to me as a place which no body else had seen, and where I should find what was to be seen no where else, a people actually fighting for liberty'.³³ In Corsica, Boswell met Hervey (on his first Tour) and the Revd Andrew Burnaby (chaplain to the factory at Leghorn) who had gone to visit Paoli and spent a week as his guests. Boswell wrote that 'the learned and ingenious Messieurs Hervey and Burnaby were greatly struck with the romantic appearance of Corte' and cited them as saying 'we could scarce help fancying ourselves at Lacedaemon or some other Greek city ... Livy, speaking of Heraclea, has given a description of it very like Corte' followed by three pages of Latin and Greek proofs quoted from Burnaby's journal.³⁴ For these classically educated Whigs, travel over classic ground emphasised the links between ancient and present political figures, as well as landscapes and monuments. Burnaby concluded that Paoli was 'not inferior to the patriots and heros of antiquity'.³⁵ In 1767 another friend and correspondent of Hervey, John Symonds, also made the journey and wrote to thank Boswell: 'as You foretold – I

³⁰ Robert Bradstreet to Revd Narcissus Proby, 20 Nov. 1794, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 467.

³¹ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p. 314.

³² House of Lords, RO CAD/4/29, quoted in Black, *The British abroad*, p. 235.

³³ Edward Chaney, *The evolution of the Grand Tour* (London, 1998), p. 140, fn. 79.

³⁴ James Boswell, *An account of Corsica, the journal of a tour to that island and memoirs of Pascal Paoli* (London, 1769), pp 63-65.

³⁵ Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 80.

never found a Person of a more liberal, improved Conversation, than the General'.³⁶ Christopher Christie notes that 'English aristocrats saw themselves as inheritors of the classical worlds. They believed their political system had an ancient nobility and virtue which could be proclaimed in architecture'.³⁷

This first Tour of 1765-7 encompassed other political tourism too, some of it observational and some with specific goals in mind. Hervey attended a meeting of the Assembly of the *États de Languedoc*, gaining a first-hand view of the *Ancien Regime* at work. While on this Tour, Hervey finally secured a church position as bishop of Cloyne. As discussed in chapter 1, Hervey interviewed Irish Catholic *émigré* priests, friars and merchants in France, canvassing opinion on an acceptable Test Oath. In 1771, on his second Tour, Hervey discussed the plight of Roman Catholics in Ireland with Pope Clement XIV.³⁸

Twenty years later, on the eve of the French Revolution, Hervey was critical of the spectacle of the hunt of the Prince of Condé at Chantilly. Condé and his family 'were dress'd like so many drummers & trumpeters in a Peach Color'd Cloth ... their hair as completely dress'd as if going to a Ball, & their Jack boots the only emblem of hunting'.³⁹ Hervey found Paris exhilarating in the autumn of 1788: 'Politicks are going forward at a great rate – but I do not yet believe in the States General, the Resurrection of the dead, the forgiveness of Sins nor Patriotism Everlasting'. Here he made fun of revolutionary rhetoric in France, yet only four years before, he had employed rebellious language in trying to revive the political spirit of the dwindling Irish Volunteer movement, invoking 'our dauntless ancestors' of 1688 in the face of 'tyranny'.⁴⁰ By the spring of 1789 his political appetite was sated and he left France in disgust.⁴¹ However, a new generation of tourist, like William Wordsworth, rushed to Paris in 1789 and 1790 to witness events.

³⁶ Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p. 140, fn. 79.

³⁷ Christie, *British country house*, p. 29.

³⁸ Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 107-9 and Walsh, *Le bienfaiteur des Catholiques*, p. 20.

³⁹ Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, 5 Nov. 1788, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 406.

⁴⁰ *Belfast News Letter*, 16-20 July 1784.

⁴¹ 'All now is commotion, & all soon will be sing-song, in the meantime the hot heads let one another's blood, the Clergy rise against the Bishops, & the laity against the Nobles', Hervey, Mar. 1789, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 410.

The Earl Bishop's reaction to the French Revolution underscores the recurring theme in this thesis of experiences abroad interacting with home. In Ireland in his absence, he was being fêted as 'a friend and benefactor of mankind' at centenary celebrations for the shutting of the Gates of Derry in December 1789. On the other hand, his incendiary words of the early 1780s and his popularity among the Volunteers, had negative repercussions in England, especially after George III's view of loyalty and disloyalty became more polarised in response to events in France. The Dublin papers reported that George III turned his back on Hervey at court, on his return from the Continent in late 1790.⁴² Within the relative safety of the British political tradition, Hervey had enjoyed his notoriety as an Irish Patriot in the 1780s, which in 1784 had led as far as calls for by Rutland, supported by George III, for his arrest on charges of treason; however, the French Revolution shattered Hervey's complacency. Like others of his class, Hervey was becoming more conservative politically. Confined to bed with gout in April 1792, he assimilated his long-term goals for reform (for Catholics and for parliament) with recent French experiences, reflecting:

what can we expect but an explosion like that in France, which, had the *severity* of the *Bastille* been corrected, the *abuse* of *letters de Châchet* been restrain'd, the Nobility and Clergy tax'd like other citizens, had probably never *happen'd*.⁴³

Watching events in France with increasing horror, Hervey's political outlook began to change.

During his last Tour of 1792 to 1803, Hervey's love of intrigue and hatred of the French revolutionary advance led him to espionage, passing on (unsolicited) his observations of troop and naval movements to Sir William Hamilton at Naples and to the Queen Maria Carolina of the Two Sicilies (sister of the executed Marie-Antoinette). So obvious was his spying that he was arrested and imprisoned in the castle at Milan for nine months in 1798. Hamilton observed to his nephew: 'We

⁴² 'On his soliciting a favour from the greatest personage, instead of receiving a gracious answer, that personage turned short on his heel without deigning to make him any reply', *Dublin Evening Post*, 25 Nov. 1790.

⁴³ Hervey to Lady Mary Erskine, Apr. 1792, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 442; see also Walsh, 'Le bienfaiteur des Catholiques', p. 41.

all know that his Lordship's freedom in conversation, particularly after dinner, is such as to make him liable to accidents of this nature'.⁴⁴ In England, the newspapers followed the Earl Bishop's imprisonment and recorded that he raised a memorial in Milan to General Kray, 'his deliverer', following his release.⁴⁵ There was, however, little editorial or public sympathy: 'It is ludicrous that the Bishop of Derry should be so puffed as the patron of the Artists. He bespeaks pictures it is true, at Rome and elsewhere, but the Lord keep us from such Maecenases!' ⁴⁶ Attracting negative attention and wasting money abroad were criticised back at home.

These wars slowed tourism down. The Earl Bishop, unusual in his curiosity, was drawn towards battlefields, but other tourists, refugees and those stranded abroad sought safer places. Jeremy Black argues that 'Much of the Continent became less accessible, less comprehensible, and hostile, and the old-fashioned Grand Tour was a victim of this change'.⁴⁷ Travel was difficult and Hervey regretted that he could not get to the Hamiltons at Naples to 'hear all your excellent anecdotes & dearest Emma's Dorick dialect, eat woodcock pye & quaff Humble Port'.⁴⁸ Meanwhile the world of the Hamiltons was far more disrupted by war: they had to pack up their property, flee to Palermo, the Palazzo Sessa was ransacked, Hamilton was overwhelmed and Nelson overstepped his mark as their protector. War also made shipments home very difficult. The vicissitudes of the Earl Bishop's collection of artworks in Rome, involving extortionate shipping rates, ransoms, impounding twice and the auction after his death in 1804, has been traced by Nicola Figgis.⁴⁹ Life was also difficult for the agents and artists in Italy. In 1787, Aloys Hirt claimed that there were four hundred Italian artists in Rome and 163 foreign artists, though many left during the French Revolutionary Wars.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Sir William Hamilton to Charles Greville, 29 May 1798 (B.L., Add. 41200).

⁴⁵ *Morning Post and Gazetteer*, 17 Apr. 1800. These newspaper sources have not previously been commented upon.

⁴⁶ *Morning Post and Gazetteer*, 24 Mar. 1800.

⁴⁷ Black, *British abroad*, p.168.

⁴⁸ Hervey to Hamilton, 19 Feb. 1798 (N.L.I., Hamilton papers, MS 2262).

⁴⁹ Figgis, 'Hervey as patron of art'.

⁵⁰ Serge Kaplun (ed.), *Images of the Grand Tour: Louis Ducros, 1748-1810* (Geneva, 1985), p. 19.

There were benefits of war and political turmoil. Those on the ground were well positioned to take advantage of the breakup of great Italian collections: in the 1790s collectors like William Young Ottley, Alexander Day, Guy Head and the Earl Bishop profited from this flood of artworks. Valentine Lawless estimated in 1802 that the Earl Bishop received remittances of ‘upwards of £5,000 quarterly which he immediately expended in the purchase of every article of vertu that came within his reach’.⁵¹ Robert Fagan’s sale of the Altieri Claudes shows how he managed to profit from Old Masters coming onto the art market.⁵² On the other hand, Sloan has pointed out that Sir William Hamilton, as a diplomat and not a tourist, had the opposite experience: he was busier and poorer in the 1790s than at any other time in his life.⁵³

5.3.4 Scientific tourism

Hervey’s geological interests took him into unexplored country when he searched Istria and Dalmatia in 1771 for volcanic geological formations related to the basalt columns of the Giant’s Causeway. Later the same search would inspire a Home Tour to Staffa in 1776. The Dalmatian journey places Hervey within an international group of intellectual friends, a theme that recurs throughout Hervey’s life. On this occasion he was travelling with his son Jack, Abbé Alberto Fortis and draftsmen Antonio di Bittio and Michael Shanahan. Fortis published *Travels into Dalmatia* (1778) as a series of open letters addressed to his international colleagues and patrons (a distinction that was blurred): the Earl of Bute (who financed Fortis in 1770); Symonds, professor of modern history at Cambridge (who travelled with Fortis in 1770); the Earl Bishop (who financed him and travelled with him in 1771); Morosini (Venice); Vallisnieri (professor of natural history at Padua); Abbé Brunelli (professor of natural history at Bologna); Ferber (Mineralogical College of Sweden); Strange (British Resident at Venice);

⁵¹ Valentine Lawless, *Personal recollections of the life and times with extracts from the correspondence of Valentine, Lord Cloncurry* (1849), p. 190.

⁵² According to Bignamini, Fagan sent £5,000 of artworks from Naples to Malta on the ‘ship of force’ that was also carrying property belonging to the Earl Bishop. Bignamini and Hornsby, *Digging and dealing*, i, 266.

⁵³ Ian Jenkins and Kim Sloan, *Vases and volcanoes: Sir William Hamilton and his collection* (London, 1996), p. 85.

Marsili (professor of botany at Padua); and Spallanzani (professor of natural history at Pavia).⁵⁴

Ilaria Bignamini has posed the question of how Italians engaged with the Grand Tour.⁵⁵ In this instance, an Italian artist and an Italian scientist benefited from British patronage (and scientific interest and desire to travel) to pursue their work. The patron was, however, less supportive when he arrived home: Hervey instructed Strange in Venice ‘pray tell him [Fortis] there are not five people in this Island who can read Italian – so no hopes of vending his book’ and indicated that having Bittio’s geological sketches of the Giant’s Causeway made into engravings by Dall’Acqua would cost £400 which was more than Hervey was prepared to spend.⁵⁶ Hervey did recommend Fortis to his nephew who was preparing for a voyage for the North West Passage in 1773.⁵⁷ Much later Fortis was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in London.⁵⁸

Vesuvius was a constant fascination to Hervey; he pestered Hamilton for news: ‘if Vesuvius should burst ... I will sett out immediately having nothing more at heart than to revisit my ancient Foe’.⁵⁹ This interest was widespread and hints of eruption caused people to flock to Naples; Hamilton climbed Vesuvius at least twenty-two times with dignitaries and at least sixty-eight times in total.⁶⁰ Hervey reproduced Vesuvius at home in several media: a japanned pier table painted with Vesuvius in eruption stood in the gallery at Downhill; Vesuvius was the chosen background for his portrait by Elizabeth Vigée Le Brun; commissioned Vesuvius erupting from Joseph Wright of Derby but then rejected it, to the fury of the artist; and he had an extensive collection of samples from the volcano. There is no library catalogue for the Bishop’s Palace, Downhill or Ballyscullion but he must have acquired quite a collection of geological and volcanic books. His younger

⁵⁴ Alberto Fortis, *Travels into Dalmatia* (London, 1778).

⁵⁵ Ilaria Bignamini, ‘Grand Tour: open issues’ in Wilton and Bignamini, *Lure of Italy*, p. 33.

⁵⁶ Hervey to Sir John Strange, 20 Dec. 1774, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 142.

⁵⁷ Hervey to Constantine Phipps, 7 Mar. 1773, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 126.

⁵⁸ This British scientific and social honour was meaningful to Fortis: he addressed the appropriate recipients of the letters in *Travels into Dalmatia* as Fellow of the Royal Society (Sir John Strange, Giovanni Marsili and Lazaro Spallanzani) and Cirillo had published a paper in the Royal Society Transactions in 1770.

⁵⁹ Hervey to Sir William Hamilton, 3 June 1778 (N.L.I., Hamilton MS 2262).

⁶⁰ Jackson-Stops, *Treasure houses of Britain*, p. 43; Jenkins, *Vases and volcanoes*, p. 77.

brother, William Hervey, owned Sir William Hamilton's *Campi Phlegraei* (1776), illustrated with fifty-four gouache pictures by Fabris [fig. 5.11].⁶¹ Hamilton's reports of the eruptions to the London Philosophical Society in 1767 led to his membership and raised his status. Lord Mountstuart wrote to him full of praise and admiration: 'Your memoir on the last eruption of Mount Vesuvius is a great ornament and has been prodigiously well received'.⁶² His geological interests bound Hervey into a group of like-minded men at home and abroad.

Hervey also used his travels to gather ideas and models for his architectural projects. His bridge for the river Foyle required a radical design and Hervey scoured Europe for a suitable prototype, discussed in chapter 3, with sketches made by Shanahan, Soane and a plan of Schaffhausen requested from D'Anville in Paris. Intending to tap into superior local expertise, Hervey advertised through gazettes in Switzerland and Germany.⁶³ A final scientific project at Downhill, a twenty foot Herschel telescope (never completed) but commissioned through Herschel in England in 1790, was sourced closer to home. Hervey may have been inspired by interest or rivalry by Archbishop Robinson's Observatory at Armagh set up in 1789.

5.3.5 Exploratory tourism

In 1788 Hervey was planning an unusual extension to the typical Tour route, to Spain and Portugal. The Iberian Peninsula was considered hard to reach, oppressively religious and culturally backward. A few tourists were drawn by the medieval architecture and Roman remains, and Lisbon was sometimes a health destination. Hervey's 'old longing' to visit Spain may originate in his brother's embassy to Madrid in the 1750s. He wanted to engage with Iberian contemporary thinkers and the architectural heritage: 'what I most desire are letters from Litterati or to them – I propose to myself great pleasure, great health, & great improvement by this excursion; all I want is a good Architect to copy the

⁶¹ Christie's auction, London, 17 Nov. 2005, lot 106.

⁶² Lord Mountstuart, 1767 (B.L., Add. MS 42,069, f.81), quoted in John Thackeray, 'Hamilton and Vesuvius' in Jenkins and Sloan, *Vases and volcanoes*, p. 66.

⁶³ Hervey to Sir William Hamilton, 2 July 1778 (N.L.I., Hamilton MS 2262).

interesting buildings'.⁶⁴ Thomas Pitt, nephew of Lord Chatham, a friend and travelling companion of Soane and the Earl Bishop in the winter of 1778-9, had written an account of his travels in Spain in 1760, which circulated in manuscript form among his architecturally-minded friends. As a younger man, Hervey had known many of these men: William Cole who had made a copy of Thomas Pitt's manuscript, knew Hervey well from Cambridge and had visited Portugal in 1737; Thomas Gray had been a friend of Hervey and had considered accompanying George, second Earl of Bristol, as secretary to his embassy in Lisbon; and Thomas Pitt stayed with George Hervey in the embassy. Walpole, Gray and Cole shared antiquarian interests and encouraged the young Thomas Pitt to investigate the origins of medieval gothic architecture. Through this journey and his manuscript on gothic architecture, Pitt gained status, becoming a member of Walpole's 'committee of taste' and a member of the Society of Dilettanti in 1763.⁶⁵ Hervey revealed an interest in the architecture of Spain by his desire to take an architect to draw what he saw; however, the only gothic building he erected was a gate lodge at Downhill.

When Hervey abandoned his plans for the Iberian Peninsula, he cited reports of terrible inns and having to carry all provisions for the journey. Other travellers whom Hervey knew had formed bad opinions: the Earl of Pembroke in 1786 disliked travelling in Spain in 1786 and Arthur Young (often a correspondent of the Earl Bishop) complained of the 'natural and miserable roads' and poor accommodation in Catalonia.⁶⁶ Thomas Pelham told his parents in 1763 that 'there are as many precautions to be taken for travelling in this country as if I were going into Arabia'.⁶⁷ Published travel accounts, such as Henry Swinburne (1779) and William Dalrymple (1774), were also available to the armchair tourist or journey planner. Although Hervey had second thoughts, other travellers made the journey; around the same time, envoy William Eden wrote that he had presented five or six British visitors that day to the royal family.

⁶⁴ Hervey to Lady Mary Erbe, 5 Dec. 1788, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 408.

⁶⁵ Maria João Neto, *Thomas Pitt: observations in a Tour to Portugal and Spain, 1760* (Lisbon, 2006), p. 53.

⁶⁶ Arthur Young, *Travels during the years 1787, 1788 and 1789* (London, 1794), i, 33-43, quoted in Black, *The British abroad*, p. 77.

⁶⁷ Black, *The British abroad*, p. 77.

Another unusual trip, proposed in 1797 but also not executed, was Hervey's hope to visit Egypt, both for his own diversion and with scientific and recording intentions. He had been inspired by accounts of his travelling companion, Claude Etienne de Savary, who spoke Arabic, had spent eight years in Egypt and published *Letters on Egypt* (1786). Hervey supplied and recommended specific letters of Savary to the archaeologist Hirt whom he hoped to entice on the trip. In his proposal, Hervey also planned to take Hirt's patron, Countess Lichenau, Madame Denis (both veiled) and two or three artists to record the customs, monuments and views of the trip. Hervey visited the Count de Cassis, who had made a fortune in Cairo and now lived in Austria, to secure introductions.

Events in Europe were changing rapidly and in Prussia, Countess Lichtenau had been arrested. Yet Hervey was still planning his Egyptian trip for the summer of 1798, inviting Humboldt to join the expedition. Hervey told Humboldt that he would be 'free of expense throughout' and would travel 'with an armoured crew, with artists, scholars etc., and with a kitchen and well provided cellar'.⁶⁸ Humboldt told a correspondent:

You might possibly think the society of the noble lord objectionable. He is extraordinary [*fantasque*] to the highest degree. I have only once seen him, and that was during one of the expeditions he used to make on horseback between Pyrmont and Naples. I was aware that it was not easy to live at peace with him. But I can leave him at any time if he should oppose me too much. Besides he is a man of genius, and it would have been a pity to have lost so excellent an opportunity. I might do something for meteorology. However, I must beg of you not to mention the expedition to anybody.⁶⁹

The scheme was overtaken by Napoleon's expedition to Egypt which took the whole of Hervey's party by surprise 'shattering to the winds' Humboldt's 'own most cherished plans with the Bishop's'.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 563.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Hervey was in tune with current intellectual thought on exploratory travel when he proposed an expedition with an archaeologist, scientist and artists. Napoleon had similar aims but on the grand scale. In 1768, Boswell went to Corsica to ‘find something more than just the common course of what is called the tour of Europe’; at the same time, Hervey was visiting Corsica and Dalmatia. By the end of the eighteenth-century travellers had to go further to reach relatively unexplored areas.

5.4 The logistics of travel

Having considered the destinations and motivations for travel, the logistics of moving about the Continent will be considered. How the Hervey family travelled offers evidence for touring at the wealthiest level. Again, this survey is inevitably anecdotal and impressionistic, yet comparisons may be made with other travellers. The Herveys travelled by carriage, though whether bought in France or shipped over is not recorded. The less affluent could visit the chief cities by public post-chaise while the poorest travelled on foot. At Castel Gandolfo in May 1778 Lady Bristol was feeling sorry for an Irish couple in straightened circumstances who had no horses while the Herveys had a coach and four, a post-chaise and a phaeton.⁷¹ Such vehicles signified considerable show and expense as well as being practical for a nobleman, his wife and youngest daughter, the artist Bittio, cooks and servants. The smart image the family projected in 1778 had become rather ridiculous by 1793 when Colonel Dampmartin, friend of Countess Lichtenau, described the Earl Bishop: ‘With a rather numerous retinue he travelled by short stages, but his horses in this sort of caravan were wretched jades and his carriage resembled the cart of a quack-doctor’.⁷²

Hervey’s favoured mode of travel was horse-back. This gave him the freedom, speed and spontaneity he so desired. When off the beaten track, he dispensed with the coach; for example, he put his horses onboard ship to cross the sea to Spalato

⁷¹ Countess of Bristol to Lady Mary Erbe, 26 May 1778, Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 201.

⁷² Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 526.

and ‘had a most delightful jaunt through that unexplored region Dalmatia’.⁷³ He travelled at pace, covering perhaps thirty miles a day, leaving the baggage to catch up later. Hurrying to cross the Alps before winter made them impassable, his luggage included ‘geese, turkeys, ducks, shoulders & legs of mutton alternately, preceded by two graduate cooks, masters of arts, who arrive just one hour before us ... [We] find our dinner as ready as our appetites’.⁷⁴ Other travellers feared insufficient and bad food; the bookseller, Samuel Paterson, commented in 1767 on ‘a natural dread of being starved’ abroad, hence the packet ships to France groaning with luggage of food and drink.⁷⁵ The Earl Bishop was sheltered by his money and own cooks.

When established in a place, Hervey prided himself on being active and living simply. In Naples, he told the artist Thomas Jones, who attended his levee at six in the morning, that ‘I am not like the generality of our Noble families – poor half-begotten creatures who have not the use of their limbs, and can not stir without a Coach’.⁷⁶ Thomas Jones’s careful observation of Hervey’s habits and the locations he admired paid off: Jones secured commissions for a large landscape of the coast of Baiae with Vesuvius and the islands at £70 and the Rock of Terracina at £40, both framed.⁷⁷

Hervey immersed himself in ancient culture as he had with Soane around Naples (chapter 2), experiencing Rome powerfully and imaginatively:

My rides in a morning are five & six hours among the tombs of Heros, the Palaces of Emperors and spoils of the Universe ... and when one returns, the view of Rome from whence all originated, and to which all tended, fills the eye with all that is magnificent and the mind with all that is awfull.⁷⁸

⁷³ Hervey to Emma Hamilton, 24 Nov. 1798, Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 508.

⁷⁴ Hervey to Lady Elizabeth Foster, 30 Oct. 1796, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 521-2.

⁷⁵ Black, *The British abroad*, p. 146.

⁷⁶ Memoirs of Thomas Jones, 29 Dec. 1778 (N.L.W., MS 23812D).

⁷⁷ Memoirs of Thomas Jones, 8 Mar. 1779 (N.L.W., MS 23812D).

⁷⁸ Hervey to Lady Mary Erbe, 24 Dec. 1777, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 178.

Vicky Coltman has argued persuasively that the education of the British elite prepared them for this engagement with the classic ground of Italy. Apparently, this response was not the preserve of the public school-educated male, for Lady Bristol also felt the presence of famous events and people: 'I walk quietly thro' those very gates where the conquerors pass'd exulting & triumphant to the Capitol'.⁷⁹ Education continued outside the school-room; travel and her husband's commentary trained Lady Bristol's eye and imagination.

Not all aspects of travel were so pleasurable. Sea-sickness was a problem for which Hervey had developed an antidote: he had his carriage lashed to the mast, opened the windows on the windward side and sat there, sweating in all his clothing, in the very centre of the deck. While crossing the Alps, Hervey was thrilled by the grandeur of the Alpine scenery, but his wife's response highlighted discomforts: 'the weakness of my Frame does not support objects of terror, & my long journey, the heat, the bugs &c. sometimes bad Beds'.⁸⁰ Their daughter was made of sterner stuff. Lady Mary Erbe negotiated the terms of her own journey over the Alps, paying at Turin '52 Louis & a half – the expense of crossing Mt Cernis & our eating upon the road included in the agreement'.⁸¹ The journey to the summit of Mount Cernis took three hours by chair and greatly impressed her: 'the scene is wondrously beautiful and sublime – the snow heights of ye surrounding mountains, the torrents which scar them, the trees which ornament them, & the flowers which push their young buds'.⁸²

Roads were a constant source of exasperation and advice in travel literature and were vulnerable to weather conditions. German roads were considered the worst, whereas the Italian roads had a Roman substructure. Significant investment of public money made French roads the most admired. 'The major effect of the nature of the roads was to encourage further the tendency for tourists to travel

⁷⁹ Countess of Bristol to Lady Mary Erbe, 3 Feb. 1778, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 182.

⁸⁰ Countess of Bristol to Lady Mary Erbe, 16 Sept. 1777, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 166.

⁸¹ Lady Mary Erbe, 'Diary of the journey from Rome to Evian, 24 May -24 June 1786' (Sheffield Archives, Wharnccliffe muniments 543/182).

⁸² *Ibid.*

along a relatively limited number of routes'.⁸³ The following extracts, written home by Elizabeth Hervey on their first Tour, are quoted because they demonstrate the problems of the roads and indicate how many methods of transport might be employed even when a family had their own coach. Lady Bristol endured a terrible night in her coach on the road from Naples to Florence, en route to the Monastery of Monte Casino:

We were recommended that night to a famous Benedictine Convent, in order to have a good clean Bed, wch it is very hard to find on this road; we went Post ye first part of ye road, having sent our Voiturier horses on ye day before to wait for us – when we took them up your Papa said he would ride on before to ye Convent ... abt five o'clock in ye aftern' he set his spurs to his horse.

The coach stuck. Oxen and mules brought by local peasants failed to draw the coach out of the mud, despite beatings which shocked Lady Bristol's English sensibilities:

What hurt me most was their barbarous treatment of the poor mules whom they beat most unmercifully with their fists, feet, sticks & even stones. I walk'd about and begg'd them to be more gentle to them, they laugh'd at me – I offer'd them some wine I had in ye coach to put them in good humour.

In the middle of the night, Lady Bristol bribed a local man to carry a message to the monastery, which he did despite his fear of robbers on the road. Assistance came: 'Next morning recd a note frm yr Father with a Sedan Chair & eight men who sometimes walk'd up to their calves in mud'.⁸⁴

Socially, travel could be distressingly levelling. The peasants who were beating their mules laughed at the Countess of Bristol's pleadings. On another occasion Hervey, who was not a man to stand on ceremony, described servants eagerly taking advantage of unaccustomed equality in adversity on the road: 'we have been oblig'd to drink our wine and eat our bread and butter in the same room with

⁸³ Black, *The British abroad*, p. 120.

⁸⁴ Countess of Bristol to Lady Mary Erbe, 21 June 1766, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 77.

our Postilions, blacksmiths & Laborers, who almost strove to drink out of the same glass not contented with doing so out of the same bottle'.⁸⁵

This social fluidity may have benefited those whom Hervey brought on Tour with him, such as Michael Shanahan, who acted as draftsman and tutor. David Watkin gives James 'Athenian' Stuart, who set off for Italy on foot, and Soane, the son of a bricklayer, as examples of 'Architects of more humble birth [who] found the Grand Tour socially, as well as educationally, advantageous, for the British social hierarchy seems to have been temporarily forgotten abroad'.⁸⁶ The Earl Bishop also benefited from the easy relations between patrons and architects. His excursion to Naples with Soane in December 1778 (described in chapter 2) was mutually beneficial and enjoyable; back in Ireland the relationship soured. Soane enjoyed a lifelong friendship with another patron, Thomas Pitt, whom he had met through the Earl Bishop. Soane's Grand Tour had been so significant to him that he celebrated the anniversary of the day he had left for Rome.⁸⁷

Having good servants abroad was important; the Herveys brought servants with them but hired more as necessary. Governesses and tutors were carefully chosen not merely for proficiency but as people with whom one could live in close proximity; in Lady Bristol's 1777 description of the apartment in Rome, she made it clear that both Mademoiselle and 'Finny' slept on the same level as the family, the servants having rooms below. Later Hervey often had a chaplain with him, such as the Revd Trefusis Lovell, who doubled as a secretary and draftsman. As an old man, Hervey tended to fall out with his travelling companions; a Dresden cup with a medallion portrait of the Earl Bishop was despatched along with Lovell (discussed in chapter 2). When the Earl Bishop died, there were no family members with him but only servants and companions, whom Lord Nelson referred to as 'those devils of Italians around him'.⁸⁸ Despite Cardinal Erskine securing, cataloguing and transporting the Earl Bishop's property to Rome, two of these (Elia Giunti and Giuseppe Vecchia) spent time in prison in Rome for stealing from the Earl Bishop's estate. Their alleged behaviour lends weight to

⁸⁵ Hervey to Lady Mary Erne, Oct. 1766, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 82.

⁸⁶ David Watkin, 'Architectural context of the Grand Tour' in Hornsby, *Impact of Italy*, p. 58.

⁸⁷ David Watkin, 'Sir John Soane's Grand Tour' in Hornsby, *Impact of Italy*, p. 103.

⁸⁸ Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 632.

Bignamini's argument that Italians were not passive in the face of the Grand Tour phenomenon but that some engaged with it, finding a variety of ways to benefit from the foreign visitors.⁸⁹

Illness was a real worry. Over the years, Hervey was taken ill on several occasions. There was great gratitude when a good doctor could be found or recommended. Hervey suffered a serious fever while in a remote village but his teenage son received help by sending his father's instructions to the local lord, the Count de Salis, for '12 good lemons and if you could send him a very good Physician or doctor he would be very much obliged to you as he is much afraid of growing worse'.⁹⁰ The family succumbed to malaria while at Rome and the youngest child Louisa almost died. Hervey witnessed the danger coming: 'I saw the fatal vapor one morning rising like a pest from the Pontine Marshes' and though he had their bags packed immediately, they were stricken with 'influenza' before they could leave.⁹¹ He continued to try to persuade the Pope and the Queen of Naples of the economic and health benefits of draining the Pontine Marshes.⁹²

Accommodation was a major factor in travel. Bad inns were an issue on the Continent but experience and wealth mitigated the worst of them. His constant journeys led Hervey to know the better places to stay, leading to the recommendation 'hotel Bristol' entering travel language. Travel off the beaten path risked worse accommodation. Travellers relied on word of mouth. Hervey decided not to visit Spain because 'everything even to a spit for roasting must be carried with us, & the Inns & Passadas are nothing more than bare walls with square holes made here & there for future generations to convert into windows'.⁹³

In the main cities, where tourists might spend some months, wealthy families rented apartments. Lady Bristol's letters from Rome in the winter of 1777-78 indicate what did and did not please in a holiday rental. One recommended

⁸⁹ Ilaria Bignamini, 'The Italians as spectators and actors: the Grand Tour reflected' in Hornsby, *Impact of Italy*, p. 43.

⁹⁰ John Augustus Hervey to the Count de Salis, Oct. 1771, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 115.

⁹¹ Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 216.

⁹² Hervey to Emma Hamilton, 18 Apr. 1800 (N.L.I., Hamilton papers, MS 2262).

⁹³ Hervey to Lady Mary Erbe, 5 Dec. 1788, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 408.

apartment was a disappointment, ‘so full of tattered finery that it really makes one melancholy’.⁹⁴ When Hervey found a new apartment; Lady Bristol described its advantages, including being able to circulate conveniently around the suite of rooms and entertain visitors:

You enter by a passage into a waiting room for ye servants – then an eating room – on one side ye Bp’s room with a *concealed* Bed, where he receives his morning company, on ye other side my *salle de compagnie* – from that my Bed-chamber (where Louisa sleeps) – then Madlle’s which is the school-room, & has ye harpsichord – then Finney’s, and so round again by ye Hall – wch makes ye address convenient – it is all on ye ground floor, wch I like and I have a dab of a garden from my room, yet we are high and look over great part of ye Town. Some comfortable rooms below where ye servants lodge and eat, compleat our lodging wch tho’ not great is commodious.⁹⁵

Though Hervey held the purse strings and made the decisions, finance was not a male preserve. The Hervey women understood money and offered each other advice; this was particularly important for Lady Mary Erne, who was living separately from her husband. Lady Bristol was aware of the comparative costs of Rome and England:

The style of living here is not expensive for, tho’ some articles are high, it is not requisite to live in splendour. You may have a good lodging for 10 pds English a month – Coach 10 s. a day, or something less by the month – eating from 3 to 4 shillings a head.⁹⁶

Adam Walker concluded:

Travelling in Italy is full dearer than in England, without a quarter the comfort, dispatch, or attendance. Our beds are, on an average, 2s 6d or 3s English each per night and nothing but a mattrass laid on a full bed of straw, coarse sheets, and no posts or curtains, dinners 5s and 6s a head, and travelling full 1s per mile’.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Countess of Bristol to Lady Strange, 19 Nov. 1777, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 175.

⁹⁵ Countess of Bristol to Lady Mary Erne, 10 Dec. 1777, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 176.

⁹⁶ Countess of Bristol to Lady Mary Erne, 3 May 1778, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 201.

⁹⁷ Adam Walker, *Ideas suggested on the spot in a late excursion* (1790), p. 381, quoted in Black, *The British abroad*, p. 93.

Jeremy Black comments that it was unusual for travellers to quote in sterling or to make comparisons between cost of travel in Britain and abroad, because few British tourists had toured in their home country.⁹⁸ However, both Walker and Lady Bristol did travel at home and abroad, Walker on a Home Tour from London to the Lake District and Lady Bristol between Suffolk and Ireland.

Hervey spent so much time on the Continent that it appears that he bought or rented houses on long leases. This was unusual for Grand Tourists; it barely registers in secondary literature on the Grand Tour, indicating that once again, his example cautions against generalisations. Foreigners tended to congregate: Nicola Figgis has plotted on maps the locations of Irish artists living around the Piazza di Spagna in Rome.⁹⁹ Richard Pococke observed that although he tried to learn Italian, he had little occasion to practise because ‘we are entirely taken up with antiquities & converse with few except english’.¹⁰⁰ Hervey considered that ‘The English are upon the best footing imaginable, and of course well receiv’d everywhere’.¹⁰¹ He fell into delightful cosmopolitan social circles, mainly with fellow tourists, but also with residents of Rome like the cultivated Frenchman, Cardinal de Bernis:

The little Prince of Gotha & General Woronzoff son of the Lord Chancellor of Russia are our constant companions, & Mr. Gore, an old school fellow of mine ... Every Wednesday I dine with my Cardinal ... The conversations here are highly amusing, such is the equal mixture of cards & company. At one house we have a weekly concert accompanied with some tolerable voices; billiards are a favourite amusement in the evening, & the Gazettes are open to everybody.¹⁰²

The entertainments he enjoyed could have been found in London or Dublin.

⁹⁸ Black, *The British abroad*, p. 93.

⁹⁹ Nicola Figgis, ‘Irish portrait and subject painters in Rome, 1750-1800’ in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* (1988), p. 125.

¹⁰⁰ Rachel Finnegan (ed.), *Letters from abroad: the Grand Tour correspondence of Richard Pococke and Jeremiah Milles, Volume 1: letters from the Continent (1733-34)* (Kilkenny, 2011), i, 164.

¹⁰¹ Hervey to Lady Mary Erbe, 24 Dec. 1777, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 177.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

The Earl Bishop must gradually have become more integrated into society in cities like Rome, Florence and Naples where he rented houses in the 1790s, but this is hard to trace. In Florence the Countess d'Albany noted that Hervey built another storey onto the house he had on a five year lease on Via Strozzi.¹⁰³ In Naples the Earl Bishop had set up a base in the vicinity of the Hamiltons, 'the handsomest & best situated house there; fourteen rooms on each floor all hung with Rafaels, Titians, & what not'.¹⁰⁴ These houses suggest that for extended periods of time Hervey was treading unusual territory, somewhere between tourist and resident.

5.5 The influence of travel

5.5.1 The question of nationality and nationalism

The Earl Bishop was a product of the Enlightenment, moving easily in the cosmopolitan, educated circles of the European courts. A polyphone, he saw himself as an international figure on a larger stage. In Voltaire's view, 'Today, there are no longer Frenchmen, Germans, Spaniards, even Englishmen: whatever people say, there are only Europeans. All have the same tastes, the same feelings, the same customs, because none has experienced any particular national formation'.¹⁰⁵ Towards the end of the Earl Bishop's life, revolution and growing nationalism fragmented this cosmopolitan, educated community, leaving him not only outdated but offensive to the new generation he met on his travels. Tracing his concept of nationality helps to make sense of how he viewed himself, and later, how others responded to him.

Hervey's self-image as a patriot politician in Ireland may have had its roots in a British concept of patriotism, lauding devotion to the welfare of the nation over the interests of the ruling few. In Britain in the 1770s this took the form of agitating for extending the franchise and redistributing parliamentary seats. At the

¹⁰³ Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 633.

¹⁰⁴ Hervey to Lady Elizabeth Foster, 16 Aug. 1796, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 509.

¹⁰⁵ Voltaire, *Essai sur le moeurs*, i, 136, quoted in Otto Dann and John Dinwiddy, *Nationalism in the age of the French Revolution* (London, 1988), p. 14.

same time in Ireland, Hervey pressed for inclusion of Catholics and Dissenters in the extension of the franchise. An acceptable test oath was the first step on this path. He also saw the power of the Volunteer movement as leverage for further parliamentary reforms in the early 1780s. When this failed, he pointed the finger of blame at the self-interest of the rotten boroughs in stifling reform in the Irish House of Commons: ‘But what gratitude or what patriotism can blossom in the representatives of mean, corrupt Boroughs?’¹⁰⁶ His was a very British, Whiggish concept of patriotism, resting on a renovated constitution, limited monarchy and parliament. He assumed a common political heritage between the British and Irish Ascendancy, by invoking ‘our ancestors’, the barons of Magna Carta, who ‘wrenched the Constitution from the tyrannical grip of one part of the legislature, tis now become the duty of their Posterity to rescue it from the corrupt hands of the other’.¹⁰⁷ This heritage represented only the victorious side in 1688, ignoring Gaelic and Catholic traditions. However, many in the Ascendancy identified Hervey as a danger to their interests: Lord Hillsborough reported that ‘Lord Bristol is going on like a madman. I am told he has almost completed his regiment of Roman Catholics; and his publications full of treason every day in the public papers do infinite mischief’.¹⁰⁸ Hervey also made a conscious virtue of appointing only men who had served as curates in his diocese, ruling out the operation of British nepotism, from which he himself had so conspicuously benefited: ‘no merit however transcendent will yet a while induce me to transport a foreign plant into my Diocese’.¹⁰⁹

Anthony Smith identifies two variants of ‘a wider romanticism, a yearning for an idealised golden age and heroic past that can serve as exemplars for collective regeneration in the present’. These variants were a neoclassical nationalism based on the Enlightenment, rationalism and republican virtues, and a romantic medievalism based on a vernacular heroic past.¹¹⁰ Hervey was receptive to both. His metaphors linked modern with ancient politicians, indicating sympathy with

¹⁰⁶ Hervey, ‘Address to the Coleraine Battalion’, Jan. 1784, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 325.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Lord Hillsborough to Lord Pelham, 20 Jan. 1784, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 329.

¹⁰⁹ Hervey, Sept. 1785 quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, p. 391.

¹¹⁰ Anthony D. Smith, *National identity* (London, 1991), p. 90.

the neoclassical strand running through the development of nationalism. Also, his recalling of Magna Carta and reading of Milton to his children, indicate sensitivity to ‘Medievalist literary historicism’ which ‘spread the cult of national distinctiveness’.¹¹¹ Material culture confirms Hervey’s patriotic sensibilities: as seen in chapter 4: the theme of abuse of power may be referenced by Northcote’s *The young princes going to the Tower* and *Count Ugolino and his sons* (perhaps by Fuesli, the Swiss nationalist); the theme of neoclassical patriotic nationalism may be represented by *The death of Epaminondas*. Eighteenth-century patriotism was a forerunner of liberalism, not nationalism.¹¹²

The period before the French Revolution was ‘permeated by neo-classicism, the conscious return in letters, politics, and the arts to classical antiquity and, above all, to the patriotism and solidarity of Sparta, Athens, and republican Rome, the models and exemplars of the public, and often heroic, virtues’.¹¹³ H. T. Parker investigated the ancient metaphors and quotations in speeches given in the National Assembly, Legislative Assembly, National Convention and newspapers in France, finding that they quoted mainly from Roman texts composed 80BC-120AD, in which their present was unfavourably contrasted with the golden age of the republican past.¹¹⁴ This was familiar ground to the Earl Bishop. He may have been in sympathy with dissenting minister Richard Price, whose sermon *A discourse of the love of our country* (1789) found in the early stages of the French Revolution (before the execution of Louis XVI and war between Britain and France) a cosmopolitan ideal: ‘We should love it [Britain] ardently but not exclusively. We ought to seek its good, by all the means that our different circumstances and abilities will allow; but at the same time we ought to consider ourselves as citizens of the world, and take care to maintain a just regard to the rights of other countries’.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Joep Th. Leersen, ‘Anglo-Irish patriotism in a European context: notes towards its reassessment’ in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society*, iii (1988), p. 15.

¹¹³ John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism* (Oxford, 1994), p. 5.

¹¹⁴ Coltman, *Fabricating the antique*, p. 14.

¹¹⁵ Richard Price, ‘A discourse of the love of our country’ (London, 1789), p. 10, quoted in Dann and Dinwiddy, *Nationalism in the age of the French Revolution*, p. 57.

Events would overtake such thinking. A conservative reaction, articulated by Edmund Burke in *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), was later mirrored by the Earl Bishop's mounting horror as he watched events in France. In the mid-1790s, he saw himself again as a political player, but rather than revolutionary, now reactionary, through involvement with the King of Prussia, whose mistress Countess Lichentau became his great friend. He even sought the marriage alliance of his son and the king's illegitimate daughter and a visit of the king to Ickworth (discussed in chapter 1). In response to advances of the French Revolutionary Army, the Earl Bishop's letters were full of counter revolutionary expectation and troop observations. He sought a balance of power in Europe, to Britain's advantage, with France divided into a republic in the north and Louis XVIII in the south.¹¹⁶

An anecdote suggests the Earl Bishop's failure at the end of his life to appreciate the growing tide of national awareness around him. Johann Gottfried Seume left Germany in December 1800 to walk to Sicily, intending to publish an account of the journey. He included a description of a dinner hosted by the Earl Bishop for 'a respectable company of strangers and Romans' to whom the host introduced the painter Johann Christian Reinhardt as 'a man who has no fatherland, he is a cosmopolitan, and is at home everywhere'. Presumably the Earl Bishop viewed this as a quality. The artist was offended: 'I have a fatherland of which I am not at all ashamed ... *Sono Prussiano*'. The Earl Bishop flippantly replied: '*Prussiano, ma mi pare che site Russiano*'!¹¹⁷ Seume, from Saxony, heartily approved of the revenge Rheinhardt took: he circulated a cartoon of a drunken pig with a crozier 'which went the round of Roman society ... there is no punishment like public opinion' and published it in *Spaziergang nach Syrakus im jahre 1802* [fig 5.12].¹¹⁸ Childe-Pemberton interpreted this episode as evidence of a class divide:

¹¹⁶ Hervey to Lady Elizabeth Foster, Dec. 1796, quoted in Childe Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 532.

¹¹⁷ 'Prussian, but I thought you were Russian.' Seume further described the Earl Bishop introducing Rheinhardt 'with a great flourish as a universal genius, an arch-cosmopolitan and a Jacobin leader – they call a man a Jacobin who does not bear himself submissively and patiently towards the very least of the nobility', Seume, *Spaziergang nach Syrakus im jahre 1802*, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 608-9.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* Note that this cartoon has not been pictured in any previous accounts or studies of the Earl Bishop.

in the highest Continental society [Hervey] was everywhere privileged to indulge his freedom of speech, even before Kings and Princes, his sallies were likely to be less tolerated and little understood by men of a different social order, especially by middle-class Germans who took themselves and their own merits seriously, and were not versed in the art of parrying the Bishop's *badinage*.¹¹⁹

But it was not simply a matter of wit and repartee; this emerging nationalism was taken very seriously and cosmopolitans like the Earl Bishop belonged to a world that had been swept away by revolution.

Irish visitors meeting the Earl Bishop abroad also sent home highly critical accounts. There had been a role for Hervey in the early 1780s, but as James Kelly notes, the rejection of reform bills in 1783 and 1784 'signalled unequivocally that the Protestant aristocratic élite which dominated both houses of the Irish parliament was not prepared to share power with the middle classes' and would resist Catholic emancipation.¹²⁰ Though democratic reformers including Napper Tandy wrote to Hervey asking for his support in June 1784, Hervey had lost interest and did not attend the National Congress at Belfast for which he had been elected a delegate; he left for the Continent in 1785 and was only in Ireland from 1787 to 1788 and again from late 1790 to 1791.¹²¹ While he was abroad, Ireland experienced the 1798 Rebellion, Union and the failure of Robert Emmet's Rebellion. As a bishop in a period of Catholic revival in Ireland, more was expected of the Church of Ireland leadership, of which residence was the most basic requirement. The Ireland Hervey had last seen in 1791 changed irrevocably during his absence. Visitors from Ireland now found the Earl Bishop comical, as will be seen in the next section.

5.5.2 A contradictory record: portraits and clothing

There is a wide discrepancy between the simple, sober image portrayed in Hervey's portraits and his flamboyant apparel in written contemporary accounts.

¹¹⁹ Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, p. 607.

¹²⁰ James Kelly, 'Parliamentary reform in Irish politics, 1760-90' in David Dickson, Dáire Keogh and Kevin Whelan (eds), *The United Irishmen: republicanism, radicalism and rebellion* (Dublin, 1993), pp 83-4.

¹²¹ Walsh, *Le bienfaiteur des Catholiques*, p.41.

He avoided elaborate dressing in his daily life, astonishing the artist Thomas Jones: ‘I found him combing and adjusting a small single Curl which was fixed by a String to his own Short Hair – “You see Mr Jones” said he, as I was entering the room, “I am my own Valet.”’¹²² At other times he used costume, such as his regalia as bishop or his unique Volunteer colonel uniform, to signify a role played. Late in his life, contemporaries sent home highly critical descriptions of the eccentric get-ups of the Earl Bishop abroad. These contradictory images give visual clues to the synthesis of his Irish, British and European identities. Foreign living brought a sense of liberation at odds with the conventions and responsibility of his life as a prelate and landowner at home.

As in all his portraits, Hervey’s choice of clothing was deliberate, indicating the image he intended for posterity (chapter 4). Hervey’s first Grand Tour portrait by Batoni 1778 showed the bishop in formal convocation dress [fig. 4.8]. In one respect it is unusual: Hervey wore his own hair. Wigs became unfashionable from the 1770s yet were retained longer among clergy, particularly as the marker of a bishop; Ingamells noted that they remained in church portraiture until 1830.¹²³ Later portraits of the Earl Bishop dispensed with the image of a working bishop in favour of a more contemporary look [figs 4.14-4.16]. Anglican ordinary dress, worn outside church services, followed lay fashion in the eighteenth century with similarly cut coats, waistcoats and knee-breeches, though usually in black. Other professions like lawyers, medical and academic doctors also wore this uniform of black with a white necktie and usually a wig. Comparing church and lay fashion, Janet Mayo has traced some convergence: from the 1740s lay fashion became more sober in colour and by the 1790s (the date of most of Hervey’s portraits) black, with a contrasting white necktie, was considered dramatic and romantic. Using the 1770s-80s diary of the Revd James Woodforde, Mayo has demonstrated that a country parson passed on his old black suits to his servants, suggesting that these clothes were not noticeably clerical.¹²⁴ This was the visual image Hervey wished for posterity: sober, informal and at ease.

¹²² ‘Memoirs of Thomas Jones’, 29 Dec. 1778 (N.L.W., MS 23812D).

¹²³ John Ingamells, *The English ecclesiastical portrait, 1559-1835: a catalogue* (Guildford, 1981), p. 47.

¹²⁴ Janet Mayo, *A history of ecclesiastical dress* (London, 1984), pp 77-8.

Miniatures, a less formal art-form, show him more colourfully dressed. Aged twenty-two, studying for the bar and newly married, Hervey was fashionably dressed in a lavender coat, white waistcoat and cravat with a white wig in Gervase Spencer's miniature of 1752 (at Ickworth) [fig. 5.13]. Another informal picture, a watercolour, painted in 1794 or 1795, aged sixty four, shows Vesuvius and the Bay of Naples in the background, with Hervey in a puce coat over a black waistcoat (and a miniature of Countess Lichtenau around his neck).¹²⁵ Hervey appears to have used puce (the prerogative of a bishop) for full-dress. He commissioned his daughter to send from Dublin to Leghorn 'as much poplin as will make two suits of clothes, one of a grey, and the other of a puce colour'.¹²⁶

As a young man, Hervey well understood that contemporaries made assumptions from the clothes one wore. In a humorous letter to his brother-in-law Phipps, the impoverished Hervey pictured the conclusions the toll men might make as he passed every day for his legal training at the Inns of Court: first he might pass as 'the Dapper Prentice of some rich tradesman' but then they might take him 'for a Smuggler if I jog along soberly in an ambling trot with a bigg-belly'd great coat or seiz'd as an highwayman if I scamper along briskly in a lively gallop with a smart frock, and an impudent Kevenhuller [hat]'.¹²⁷

However, none of this pictorial evidence nor self-awareness squares with contemporary written descriptions of his attire. Some of his costume choices may have been aspirational. A parallel may lie in John Coleman's argument (discussed in chapter 4) that Primate Robinson was advertising his suitability for a peerage by dressing as a country gentleman in his final portrait by Reynolds. Determined to attract attention and hopeful of the presidency of the Volunteer Convention in 1783, Hervey employed a Volunteer colonel's hat combined with the purple of a prelate and a dazzle of wealth in diamonds, when he paraded in an open landau around Dublin. Barrington described his impression as a boy-witness in Dublin:

¹²⁵ Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 494, states that this watercolour was in the possession of Hervey's descendent Sydenham Hervey.

¹²⁶ Hervey to Lady Elizabeth Foster, 3 Mar. 1778, quoted in Childe Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 185.

¹²⁷ Hervey to Constantine Phipps, 24 Feb. 1754, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 43.

He was generally dressed entirely in purple, and he wore diamond knee and shoe buckles, but what I observed most in his address was that he wore white gloves with white fringes round the wrists and large gold tassels hanging from them.¹²⁸

In England and Ireland clothes carried meanings; there were customs and restrictions. Hervey caused confusion and invited censure when he played with these conventions. The clothing of clergy and uniforms of the military were intended to standardise but Hervey blended the clerical and military with finery; this head-turning effect was considered inappropriate. When Hervey was passing through Oxford on his way to London and the Continent in the autumn of 1785, Sackville Hamilton wrote to the duke of Hamilton:

a gentleman of strict veracity mentioned being caught by a sudden exclamation from one country-man to another, as he walked through the street: ‘Why sure, Thomas, that there man cannot be a parson in them there clothes’. The gentleman turned his head and saw no other but the Bishop of Derry in a light lilac coat and his Volunteer hat fiercely cocked, laced and with a cockade. He is going to the Continent.¹²⁹

In 1785 there was a flurry of buying of fabric, clothing and hats, presumably partly in preparation for this journey abroad. The Volunteer hat may have carried some of the lace and ribbon bought in May 1785 from Hervey’s hatter Thomas McCheever: £4.7.0 was laid out on six yards of silver lace plus ‘Best Riband for his Lordship’ at 1.1 a yard and ‘Riband for Mr. Harvey’ (who accompanied his father to the Continent) at 10d a yard.¹³⁰ Political cartoonists caught hold of the visual potential of the contradictions in Hervey’s dress and by implication the paradox of his public roles [fig. 5.14]. In reality, despite being ‘fiercely cocked’, the Earl Bishop’s hat had little political strength by 1785. William Drennan compared Henry Flood’s 1785 reform bill ‘to a balloon left in the clouds ... now

¹²⁸ Sir Jonah Barrington quoted in M. McDonnell Bodkin, *Grattan’s parliament, before and after* (London, 1912), p. 162.

¹²⁹ Sackville Hamilton to the duke of Rutland, Historical Commission MSS, *Rutland Papers*, p. 250, quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 391.

¹³⁰ Draft on Robert Alexander in favour of Thomas McCheever, 14 June 1785 (P.R.O.N.I., Hervey Bruce papers, D1514/1/1/17/12).

precipitating from ... audacious height into vast vacuity'.¹³¹ This trip to the Continent was the beginning of Hervey's disengagement from Irish politics.

Once abroad, the Earl Bishop's costumes continued to raise issues of appropriateness. These were reported home to an audience receptive to criticism of his failure to uphold religious, moral or national image. In Rome, Hervey had been on a good standing with Pope Clement XIV, having discussed political reforms in favour of Irish Catholics with him, and was a privileged guest at tables and salons around Rome, most frequently dining with the French ambassador Cardinal de Bernis. Hervey had worn clerical dress in the company of members of the Catholic hierarchy in France and Italy in 1770-2 without attracting censure. He was painted in black ordinary dress in Italy in his portraits of the early 1790s [figs 4.14-16]. However, wearing the robes of an Anglican bishop in the Sistine Chapel led to humiliation for Hervey on Maundy Thursday 1779, partly because the Anglican hierarchy was not officially recognised, but mainly because espousal of Gallicanism offended Pope Pius VI. Sir Edward Newenham, leader of Irish reformers in the 1770s, disagreed with Hervey's support of Catholic emancipation, though they shared some common ground in parliamentary reform. He recorded in his diary:

The Bishop of Derry most absurdly appeared in his English bishop's dress. He was laughed at by everyone. For this piece of absurdity he was obliged to go to the lowest part of the chapel among the common people while my sons and I were in the same upper division with the Cardinals. After this behaviour the eccentric bishop was held in the greatest contempt. Scarcely a nobleman would visit him.¹³²

Costume carried meaning and provoked reaction. In this case both the inappropriate choice and the penance were public and the reaction continued beyond the walls of the Sistine Chapel.

Hervey spent the last ten years of his life on the Continent until his death in August 1803. His eccentricity became more pronounced, presumably due to age

¹³¹ James Kelly, 'Parliamentary reform in Irish politics, 1760-90' in Dickson, Keogh and Whelan, *United Irishmen*, p. 86.

¹³² Sir Edward Newenham quoted in Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, i, 231.

but also to the freedom he felt abroad. Catherine Wilmot, travelling with Lord and Lady Mountcashel in Italy in the spring of 1803, was struck by the contrast with how a bishop should look and behave:

His figure is little, & his face very sharp & wicked; on his head he wore a purple velvet night cap with a tassel of gold dangling over his shoulder & a sort of mitre to the front; silk stockings & slippers of the same colour, and a short round petticoat, such as Bishops wear, fringed with gold about his knees. A loose dressing-gown of silk was then thrown over his shoulder. In this Merry Andrew trim he rode on horseback to the never ending amusement of all Beholders! The last time I saw him he was sitting in his carriage between two Italian women, dress'd in white Bed-gown & Night-cap like a witch & giving himself the airs of an Adonis.

She was aware not just of the humorous potential of his costume, but also to how he represented his country abroad: 'the English do not esteem it a very creditable thing to be much in his society'. She concluded her description:

The stories one hears of him are endless both in the line of immorality & irreligion, & in general he contrives to affront everyone he invites to his table. To counter-balance all this he admires the Arts, supports the Artists, & spends such a quantity of money in Italy, that amongst other rarities which he has purchased, he has also purchased Friends. However his residence at Rome has thoroughly confirm'd the idea which most Foreigners have of the English character being the most bizarre in the world, bizarre but generous.¹³³

In Hervey's last year, Lord Cloncurry often saw 'the eccentric Earl Bishop ride about the streets of Rome dressed in red plush breeches and a broad-brimmed white, or straw hat, and was often asked if that was the canonical costume of an Irish Prelate'.¹³⁴ The *Gentleman's Magazine* also noted the signature colours of a bishop mixed with both practical and ostentatious elements. Again, there was recognition that foreigners received an extraordinary impression of Irish bishops.

He wore a white hat edged with purple, a coat of crimson silk or velvet (according to the season), a black sash spangled with silver, and purple

¹³³ Catherine Wilmot, Thomas Sadlier (ed.), *An Irish peer on the Continent 1801-3: narrative of the Tour of Stephen, second Earl Mount Cashell* (London, 1920), p. 179.

¹³⁴ Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, ii, 640.

stockings. It need hardly be added, what was a fact, that the good inhabitants of Naples, and other places, looked upon this fanciful suit as the outfit of an Irish bishop!¹³⁵

Hervey's dress as a Volunteer or as an Anglican bishop in Rome in the 1770s and 1780s aroused strong reactions. By the end of his life he had become a curiosity to the younger generation and his influence was spent. These writers were united in an uncomfortable consciousness that he was tarnishing their reputation abroad. Hervey's freedom from the expectations and responsibilities of his 'real' life at home as prelate, politician and landowner found exuberant expression in the clothing he wore abroad. However, the image he intended for posterity through his portraits was decorous and sober. That is not how he has been remembered.

5.6 Conclusion

The Earl Bishop took six Grand Tours and spent twenty-five years abroad. His example warns against a narrow definition of the Grand Tour as an educational construct for young aristocratic males; Hervey proves how wide in scope touring could be. He travelled to escape the depression and gout that plagued him, the social barriers that restricted him and the responsibilities of a bishop, landowner and family head. He travelled to see, excavate, commission and to buy whatever pleased him. He travelled to make counties Derry and Suffolk richer places culturally. He travelled to satisfy political, scientific and cultural interest. Foreign travel brought freedom and stimulation; he could not live without it. His example raises the issue of how Britain, Ireland and the Continent played their parts in the individual man. His identity changed from British to Irish to cosmopolitan. At the end of his life, growing national awareness in Europe, combined with his increasingly eccentric behaviour, left the Earl Bishop side-lined. Travel made him who he was and his material culture, his collections and houses were the physical expression of himself and his experiences. The Grand Tour seems to be the key to the Earl Bishop.

¹³⁵ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1803, p. 836, quoted in G. A. Chamberlain, 'Frederic Hervey: the Earl-Bishop of Derry' in *Irish Church Quarterly*, vi, no. 24 (Oct. 1913), p. 273.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis has been to reconstruct Frederick Hervey's material world and explore his relationship with it. The close study of an idiosyncratic individual has served both to confirm and query perceived norms of the Ascendancy's patterns of building, collecting and possessing. Hervey's example emphasises the fact that the Irish Ascendancy was far from homogenous. Constant cross-referencing between Hervey and models of comparison offered by his contemporaries in Ireland has placed him within the spectrum of Ascendancy experience, finding that due to his spending power, the scale of his architectural projects and his extensive travelling, he was exceptional. By extending the register of scale to include the wealthier builders and more focused collectors of Britain, Hervey's activities find contemporary parallels with those of the earl of Shelburne at Shelburne House, William Weddell at Newby Hall, Thomas Mansel Talbot at Penrice Castle, Sir Henry Blundell at Ince Blundell Hall, the 3rd duke of Dorset at Knole and the 2nd Viscount Palmerston at Broadlands.

The Earl Bishop has received scholarly attention before, principally for his political role, patronage of the arts and his architecture.¹ Despite their evident merit, these studies have inevitably resulted in rather one-dimensional pictures of this complex figure, whereas, as this thesis has aimed to demonstrate, it is the interplay between the elements of his life that have proved so revealing. The Grand Tour experience might serve as a useful analogy: Hervey's travels profoundly shaped his architecture and art collecting; mixing with members of different religious groups abroad, particularly Catholics, resulted in increased tolerance which, in turn, brought him praise; equally the resultant absenteeism and spending of his diocesan income abroad provoked censure; Irish politics made him more radical, French politics led to a more conservative reaction and both had an impact upon his standing in England.

Material culture offers a different methodology and range of evidence. Bringing these to bear on familiar figures, such as the Earl Bishop, may reveal

¹ See Walsh, *Le bienfaiteur des Catholiques*; Figgis, 'Hervey as patron of art'; Ford, 'Capricious patron'; Peter Rankin, *Irish building ventures*.

complimentary or contradictory explanations. John Walsh has charted Hervey's political career, concentrating on his interest in improving the political situation for Catholics and his short period as a Volunteer colonel. Material evidence in the area of architecture strains some of Walsh's conclusions; for instance, Walsh praised Hervey's 'justice and courage' on behalf of Ireland's Roman Catholics, yet the Catholic bishop of Derry was offended by the prescription accompanying Hervey's offer to build a church.² On the other hand, Walsh felt that Hervey had been set up for failure by Lord Charlemont and the more conservative elements in the Dublin Volunteer Convention, a view that is supported by evidence of investment in the physical expansion of Downhill, indicating longer term Volunteer ambitions that did not come to fruition.

Hervey's house building and landscaping at Downhill can be aligned with models propounded by Girouard and Williamson, which emphasise houses and parks as signifiers of status, power and political outlook. However, the unique sequence of three successive houses allows for a more nuanced and diachronic investigation into how houses reflect the changing needs and developing persona of the owner; politics and status were only elements of a more complex programme. Hervey's self-fashioning trajectory, from the politician to the connoisseur, can be traced through the layout of Downhill, designed to function as the political house, Ballyscullion as the cultural house, and huge Ickworth on ancestral land as the dynastic house. Extravagant pleasure in the process of planning and building, adds another layer of interpretation to the emphasis, in current country house scholarship, of deliberate and self-serving powerhouses.

Building in two countries reveals what he considered would impress in Ireland and in England: in county Londonderry he promoted Irish talent (both in his capacity of bishop and builder) but for his final and greatest house in England, he consulted an Italian architect and built on twice his former scale. These houses reveal pathways by which ideas and even personnel from abroad entered Britain and Ireland. The theme of Ascendancy identity, of being Irish and British, also emerges in this study. In terms of buying patterns, fashion had a more powerful

² Walsh, *Le bienfaiteur des Catholiques*, p. 16.

pull than patriotism for Hervey and many others in Ascendancy society. At Downhill, Hervey's period as the Irish patriot politician ran in parallel with the employment of an Italian designer based in Britain and a German painter executing possible Volunteer iconography on a ceiling. Hervey broadens the concept of nationality beyond the balance between Ireland and Britain; he became a cosmopolitan figure who was most at home on the Continent.

The 'edifying bishop' was involved in architectural projects in the diocese, gaining great credit, sometimes cannily acquired without huge expense. Architecture acted as a universal language that transcended class and denomination, as Hervey's admiration of Mulholland's elliptical Presbyterian meeting house reveals. Hervey's offer to build a church for the Catholics of Derry exposes a clash of opposing religious programmes, with his supposed Gallicanism at issue. Feeding into new scholarship on Catholic bishops, comparison between the Church of Ireland and Roman Catholic bishops of Derry suggests that they had more in common than has previously been assumed.

Reconstructing and reading the interior of Downhill has emphasised piecemeal, owner-led development, rather than a fully designed whole. This erratic progress, apparently contradictory to the thrust of architectural historiography dominated by the houses of major architects and decorators, must actually have been very common; a theme evident in studies focused on the financing and practicality of building.³ The mechanics of the decorating process in Downhill have shed light on the sourcing of ideas, craftsmen and materials, tying the building closely, through shared craftsmen and shared inspiration, to other Irish and British architectural projects.

The experience of foreign travel and supporting books in libraries found physical expression in interior design. Shanahan drew on his print collection and first-hand experience of the Vatican to suggest ornamentation based on Raphael's loggias. In interior decoration, Hervey serves as an example of how idiosyncrasy and personal taste could over-ride the norms of contemporary fashion and

³ See Wilson and Mackley, *Creating paradise*.

practicalities of expense. His unique intention to mount ancient frescos in Downhill may have been frustrated by decay, but illustrates an uncertainty in the period about how best to transpose ancient domestic interiors into modern houses, and links him to British experiments that made use of strong ancient colours, Etruscan vase motifs and images from Pompeii. This case study largely supports the current literature which emphasises the influence a shared classical education exerted upon Grand Tourists, and shaped the way they experienced classical Italy and reconfigured it into their libraries and collections.⁴ However, new sources revealing a chinoiserie background to the Grand Tour collections at Ballyscullion, suggest a less explored dynamic: either neoclassicism was not exclusive, or unvisited and unfamiliar cultures had a bearing in the decorative interpretation of authentic Roman domestic interiors. This choice of chinoiserie, out-of-fashion in Britain but enjoying resurgence in France, proves that Hervey looked to the Continent for inspiration, unlike many others in the Irish Ascendancy, who both by inclination and opportunity, took their lead from London.

Evidence for the Earl Bishop's goods is difficult to trace but themes can be distilled, of which a sense of hierarchy is the most persistent. The status of rooms at Downhill was initially indicated by the value of chimneypieces, with expensive Italian ones installed in the best rooms and less expensive English ones in the bedrooms. By inveigling his own Irish-made chimneypieces into the new gallery, Shanahan managed to upset this hierarchy. Chimneypieces serve to highlight the false divisions made by chapters within this thesis: chimneypieces were an element of interior design and a functional requisite, but in Hervey's case, some were viewed as artworks, selected at great expense in the sculptural studios of Rome. Hervey was a channel for the foreign and unfamiliar to enter Ireland. The gift of furniture from Princess Augusta, which so delighted him, was unseemly 'frippery' to a visitor. A hierarchy which ranged from commonplace household goods, through the decorative arts, to fine art is implied by Hervey's discussion of art and architecture with male correspondents. Gender divisions appear, as furniture, fabric, papers and household items are not referred to except in notes to housekeepers. After his separation from his wife in 1782, 'gentlewomen' took

⁴ See Coltman, *Fabricating the antique*.

over the task of buying and organising of soft furnishings and minor goods at Ballyscullion. Women also figure as recipients of gifts of jewellery, fabric and furniture. Other people lived in Hervey's houses, occupying the space as consumers of his material world but with little scope for choice. The Shanahan family provide an interesting dynamic: at Downhill they lived within a material world controlled by Hervey, but overseen by Shanahan as architect and his wife, Anne, as assistant housekeeper.

The selection of Hervey's Irish architect, Michael Shanahan, as a secondary case study within this thesis offers the opportunity to move beyond the elite of Ascendancy Ireland and into the professional ranks. Shanahan has hitherto been viewed as a fascinating but shadowy figure, apparent only through Hervey's papers and buildings. In some ways, Shanahan was entirely dependent upon his patron, who provided him with opportunity to develop his skills through experiencing foreign architecture and financed twenty years of building work. It seems, however, that Shanahan was determined to retain a degree of autonomy and attempted to carve out an independent career, initially through making a name by publishing, despite his fears that Ireland was too provincial and England too protectionist for such a scheme to succeed. Based on the close scrutiny of his engravings, which now reside in Italian archives, a possible form for his unfulfilled project has been proposed and compared with contemporaneous books by Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi and Charles-Louis Clérisseau. Shanahan's independent career and standing in Cork city have been traced as far as is possible. Through his Cork stone-yard, Shanahan was able to make the style of the Grand Tour available to the genteel of Munster. His collections of books, pictures and models were carefully curated, shown to visitors and, like the portfolios of Joseph Rose and Michael Stapleton, mined for inspiration. His correspondence alludes to his wider networking and advice-seeking among professional architects in Ireland and Britain. Shanahan underscores the theme of interdependence emphasised in this thesis: the diverse roles of architect, interior designer, tutor, draftsman, stone-carving expert, advertiser, quarry owner, clerk of works, farm manager and renting out houses were all carried on by Shanahan simultaneously, were connected and were mutually influential.

In this thesis, the Earl Bishop's art collection and patronage have been investigated through the framework supplied by material culture rather than connoisseurship. Collecting brought Hervey advantages: social cachet, conviviality, competition and a reputation for improvement. Reconstructing the picture hang at Downhill largely supports findings in other Irish and British houses. In Downhill, pictures only loosely reflected the function of rooms, though they did confer status: the drawing room was usually the most expensively decorated and at Downhill the most admired picture was the Correggio that was placed above the chimneypiece in the drawing room. The mixed hanging scheme and spread of statuary throughout the ground floor of Downhill corroborates visitor accounts indicating that all these rooms were on public display and several had varied hospitality purposes, particularly the gallery and the 'lounging room', anticipating the informal socialising becoming fashionable in Britain.

Visitor accounts, an under-used source, have provided important evidence both on what Hervey's houses contained and, significantly, on how viewers interpreted what they saw. Surprising unity of critical opinion corroborates the suggestion that these visitors prepared for their tours and held strong views on what they admired or despised.⁵ Hervey's spending and absenteeism brought censure; evidence here shows that these criticisms took the form of attacks on his taste. Although new ideas on didactic display, debated on the Continent, drove Hervey's collecting patterns and his architectural plans for Ballyscullion and Ickworth, visitor comments reveal that he made no effort to facilitate viewers. One might suggest that while Hervey was living abroad, the growing popularity of the home tour brought new kinds of visitors to his houses, whereas Hervey had envisaged artists and gentleman connoisseurs like himself, with the cultural resources to admire and benefit from his didactic displays unaided.

The findings of this thesis emphasise that the Grand Tour was a very powerful experience: it became the strongest influence on Hervey's material world, indeed it actually became his world. Hervey's touring patterns challenge and enrich the definition of Grand Tourist. He shared these sojourns with an international elite,

⁵ Tinniswood, *Country house visiting*.

whose classical education gave them a common framework for experiencing the classical world already familiar through literature. Hervey's houses and collections provide material evidence for how travel changed the traveller and how visual experiences were translated back at home. His constant travel begs questions of nationality: Hervey viewed himself as a cosmopolitan figure, but the concept of nationality narrowed at the turn of the century, leaving him as an anachronism and a source of embarrassment to the new generation of Irish and British travellers arriving after the Peace of Amiens.

This thesis represents a small contribution to the wider question of how Ascendancy society fashioned their worlds in the eighteenth century. Several possible avenues for further research present themselves. The need for evidence of Hervey's houses and collections led to the gathering of visitor accounts. The richness, not only of what visitors saw, but of how they interpreted and contextualised it, would enhance understanding of how elite culture was read by the contemporary audience of visitors. Christopher Woods's recent survey has significantly aided the locating of Irish travel journals.⁶ Recent work appraising the scene of country house visiting in Britain is identifying changes in the popularity of houses, landscapes and individual artworks, but has no counterpart in Ireland.⁷ Ireland's particular confessional, arriviste and patriotic contexts may form an interesting counterpoint to British studies, highlighting differences, or similarities. Turning to the Grand Tour, the experiences of Grand Tourists, and their relationships with their compatriots, have formed the backbone of Grand Tour studies. Ilaria Bignamini drew attention to the question of how Italians interacted with Grand Tourists.⁸ Hervey's long periods spent in foreign cities, where he rented or bought houses, raises the issue of how far tourists engaged with local society. Stanford University's database, 'Mapping the Grand Tour', may have an important role to play in identifying, locating and quantifying these

⁶ C. J. Woods, *Travellers' accounts as source-material for Irish historians* (Dublin, 2009); Glenn Hooper, *Travel writing and Ireland, 1760-1860* (Houndsmill, 2005).

⁷ Doctoral research by Jocelyn Anderson at the Courtauld Institute of Art, London, on her forthcoming thesis, 'Remaking the country house: country house guide books in the late eighteenth century'.

⁸ Bignamini, 'The Grand Tour: open issues'.

longer sojourns abroad.⁹ British and Irish archives will yield some of the pattern of interaction between tourists and local society, though interpreting the local response would require specialist language skills.

Postscript

‘Herveyana’: the reception of the Earl Bishop’s possessions

The tremendous campaign of consumption undertaken by the Earl Bishop has left little in the way of a physical legacy. Downhill is now an empty shell, Ballyscullion has been razed to the ground, and the regency interiors of Ickworth display relatively little collected by the Earl Bishop himself.¹⁰ Two late nineteenth and early twentieth-century women attempted to return and preserve the Earl Bishop’s possessions. Their concerted efforts are redolent of contemporary interests and values.

The intriguing scrapbooks composed by Geraldine, third marchioness of Bristol, and Theodora, fourth marchioness, embody the desire to document, preserve and reunite the scattered Hervey possessions.¹¹ In her recent M.A. thesis which focuses on Theodora’s scrapbook, Sarah Madgett describes the books as wish-lists, recording the whereabouts of portraits, prices fetched at auction and items of family history.¹² Geraldine, restricted by the precarious financial position of the Bristol estate, bought less but used her scrapbook more systematically to gather

⁹ Ceserani, ‘Mapping the Grand Tour’, (<http://www.stanford.edu/dept/classics/cgi-bin/web/projects/mapping-grand-tour>).

¹⁰ At Downhill, the Earl Bishop carved his empire out of diocesan lands which his Irish heirs regularised over time, but the Hervey-Bruce family were not sufficiently endowed to live in style in even one of the two Irish houses. Ballyscullion barely survived the death of its creator. The current owner of nearby Ballyscullion Park (designed by Sir Charles Lanyon in 1840) intends to mark the bicentenary of the 1813 demolition of the original house. Downhill had a chequered history, seriously damaged by fire in 1851 and remodelled by John Lanyon 1870-74. The Hervey-Bruce family, who lived between Downhill and England, slowly withdrew from Ireland over time. The house was used as a barracks in the Second World War and the roof taken off in 1950 and remaining contents auctioned at Christie’s, London, 16 June 1950. The National Trust is currently buying back the demesne, conserving the Mussenden Temple and stabilising the ruined house. An exciting project taking place at the Northern Regional College at Coleraine under Stephen Price is attempting to recreate Downhill digitally so that the house, interiors and collections can rise again from the ruins and be made accessible to a modern audience.

¹¹ The scrapbooks are in the archives kept in Ickworth House.

¹² Sarah Madgett, ‘Theodora, Marchioness of Bristol, as collector and guardian of her family history in early twentieth century Britain’ (M.A. thesis, University of Leeds, 2011).

and document Hervey history [fig. 6.1]. She and her husband employed the architect Francis Penrose and decorator John Diblee Crace to create a Pompeian Room at Ickworth in 1879 [fig. 6.2]. It is not known whether using the Earl Bishop's engravings of the Villa Negroni was the idea of the third Marquess and Marchioness or whether the initiative came from Crace, whose great-grandfather had used the same engravings to decorate Soane's houses, Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1794 and Pitzhanger Manor in 1802.¹³

Theodora's fortune (inherited from her grandfather, the railway contractor, George Wythes) secured Ickworth financially during a period of crisis for British country houses and allowed her more scope for collecting the Earl Bishop's scattered possessions [fig. 6.3]. This was also a time of country house sales as aristocrats were forced to sell off assets. Theodora was especially interested in the auctioning of the contents at Rushbrooke Hall, Suffolk, in 1919 (family home of the Earl Bishop's wife Elizabeth Davers) and Downhill, county Londonderry, in 1950. Madgett proposes the interesting hypothesis that Theodora, who was very selective in her spending, was more concerned with documenting than with owning, and points to the sale of eighty-four silver dinner plates and a cake basket with the arms of the Earl Bishop (discussed in chapter 2) to support her point. Theodora was aware of the auction, noted the prices paid and later wrote to the dealer, who had bought the silver, asking to buy just two dinner plates, which he politely refused.¹⁴ Madgett suggests that to Theodora, these two would have been enough to represent the full set.¹⁵ Similarly, Theodora with Herbert Hervey acting as her agent at the Downhill sale at Christie's in 1950, purchased Hoare's huge conversation piece of the *Bishop of Derry presenting his son to Lord Chatham* but did not buy Batoni's portrait of the bishop [4.6]. This, Madgett suggests, could well be because Ickworth already contained portraits of the Earl Bishop abroad but had nothing representing his political views.¹⁶ Theodora's criteria for selection

¹³ Joyce, 'Villa Negroni', p. 438.

¹⁴ Note in Theodora's handwriting that the dealer, H. Willson of 28, King Street, London, sold the silver on to an American buyer for 10s. per ounce (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/12/60).

¹⁵ Madgett, 'Theodora', p. 43.

¹⁶ Madgett, 'Theodora', p. 40. One might be tempted to think Theodora had not seen the Hoare picture before buying; even her brother-in-law who successfully bid on it for her, wrote teasingly about the difficulty of hanging it. However, (as Madgett was not aware) among the Downhill archive are photographs of key artworks (including Hoare, Batoni and the Nollekens *Boy and*

of what to bring back to Ickworth, therefore, owed more to recording the diversity rather than artistic sensibility.

Working through the Hervey papers deposited in the Suffolk Record Office at Bury St Edmunds, one is struck by Theodora's crucial role in the selection and shaping of what documents have survived. She selectively copied out entries from account books dating from 1796 to 1810 and from newspapers of the 1780s to early 1900s, the originals of which are no longer held in the archive.¹⁷ She labelled 'Herveyana' a volume of items copied from the *Bury Post* of the 1780s to 1790s.¹⁸ Theodora clearly envisaged herself as an integral part of the on-going story of Ickworth: ledgers summarising the costs of furnishing and decorating in the 1820s and 1830s are juxtaposed with details of her own campaign of remodelling, curtain purchases and book restoration that took place between 1910 and 1921.¹⁹ Her tenure also coincided with increased interest in historical biographies and antiquarian studies. Theodora liaised with Childe-Pemberton, whose magnum opus, the painstaking gathering of the Earl Bishop's correspondence, was finally published in 1924, as well as with Dorothy Margaret Stuart who published *Molly Lepel* (the mother of the Earl Bishop) in 1936.²⁰

Theodora bequeathed Ickworth to the National Trust in 1956. When, in 1998, the addictions and eccentric behaviour of the seventh marquess, resulted in the sale of the ninety-nine year lease of the East Wing back to the National Trust, five hundred years of Hervey residence at Ickworth ended.²¹ The brilliance and

Dolphin statue which is now at Ickworth), taken down and standing against the gallery wall at Downhill. There must have been communication between the Bruce and Hervey families in advance of the sale, for duplicates of some of these photographs also appear in the Ickworth archives. So Madgett's supposition that the Hoare purchase was deliberate stands. At the same sale, Herbert Hervey, whose pockets were shallower, bought for himself the Hugh Douglas Hamilton pastel *Frederick Hervey seated on the Pincian Hill overlooking Rome* (now at Ickworth).

¹⁷ 'Extracts from account book 1796-1810' (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/30/134); 'Extracts from John Shillito's account book' (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/30/137).

¹⁸ 'Herveyana' (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/70/24).

¹⁹ 'Summary of works' (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers 941/30/114); 'Summary of furniture costs' (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/30/133).

²⁰ 'Correspondence and cuttings relating to Childe-Pemberton, *The Earl Bishop*, 1914-1928 and Dorothy Margaret Stuart 1935' (Suffolk R.O., Hervey papers, 941/29/1-30).

²¹ 'Obituary of Frederick Hervey seventh marquess of Bristol', *The Independent*, 12 Jan. 1999.

glamour, spirals of addiction and depression exhibited by the current generation finds resonance with earlier generations of Herveys.²²

In reaction to criticism of universal blandness, the National Trust now emphasises the individuality of its properties, linking the characters with their buildings. The Earl Bishop finds himself centre stage once more. The words of his wife, Elizabeth, Countess of Bristol, abandoned at Ickworth Lodge and watching the laying out of the walls of Ickworth House, are now displayed prominently to modern visitors: Ickworth is ‘a stupendous monument to folly’ ... so much for the Earl Bishop’s legacy.

²² The five children of Victor, sixth marquess of Bristol (through three marriages) were: Frederick seventh marquess (1954-99) whose fortune disappeared on his glamorous lifestyle and drugs, resulting in the sale of the lease of Ickworth; Lord Nicholas (1961-98) who committed suicide; Lady Victoria (b. 1978) model and society girl; Frederick ninth marquess (b. 1979) businessman, critical of the National Trust for not selling the lease back to him; and Lady Isabella (b. 1982) model and ‘face of Playboy UK 2005’. O.D.N.B., Frederick Hervey, 7th marquess (online edn, May 2006); *Independent*, obituary Frederick Hervey, 12 Jan. 1999; *Telegraph*, 29 Aug. 2001; *Telegraph*, 23 Sept. 2005.

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NUI MAYNOOTH

Ollscoil na hÉireann Má Nuad

**Reconstructing an Ascendancy world:
the material culture of Frederick Hervey,
the Earl Bishop of Derry
(1730-1803)**

Two volumes

by

Rebecca Margaret Ricardo Campion

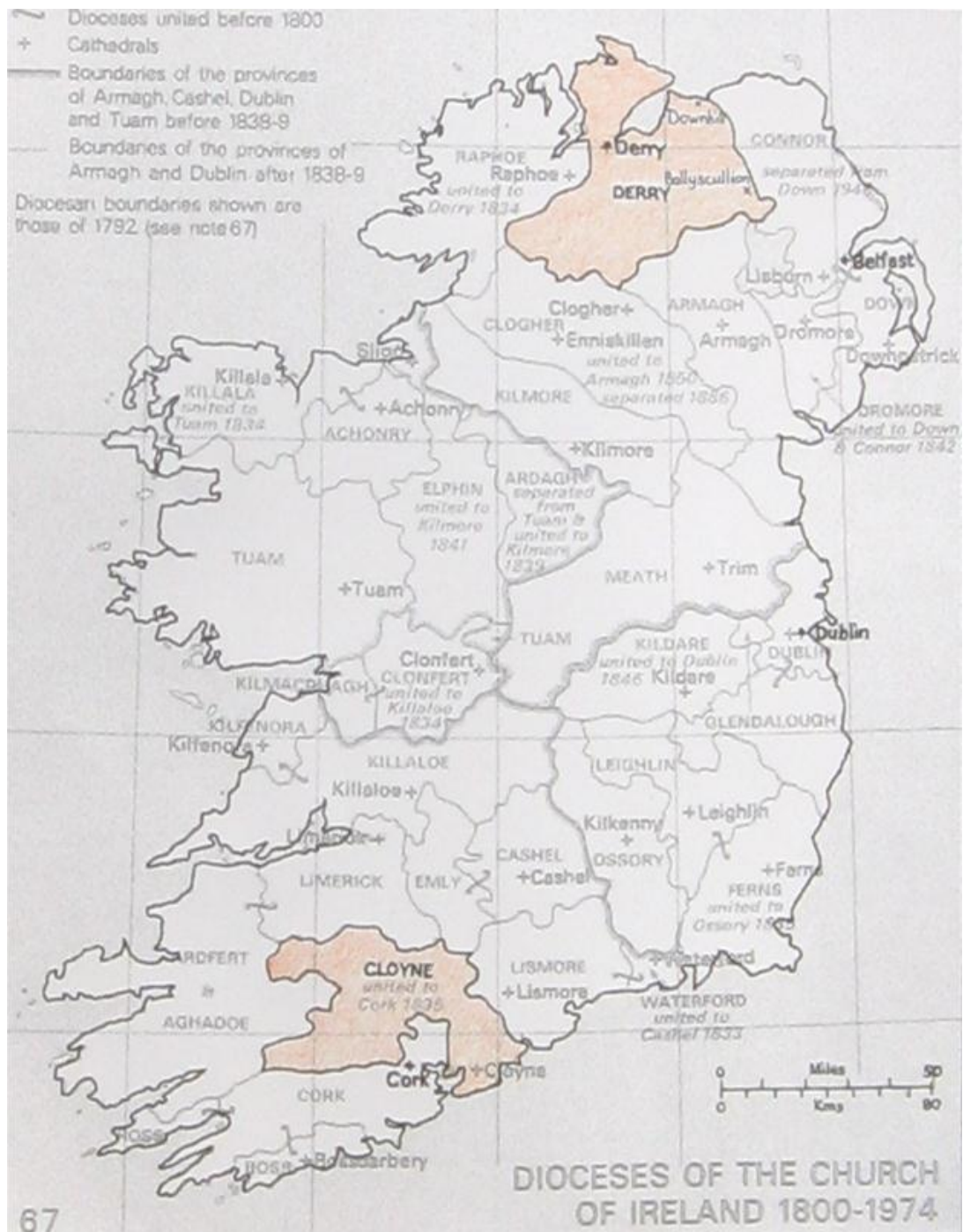
**THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF PHD
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND
MAYNOOTH**

Supervisor of Research:

Dr Alison FitzGerald

October 2012

**VOLUME TWO
ILLUSTRATIONS**



Base map: T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland* (Oxford, 1984), ix, map 67.

Figure 1.1

Map to show the dioceses of Cloyne and Derry, houses Downhill and Ballyscullion and cities of Derry, Belfast, Dublin and Cork.



Figure 1.2a

Downhill Castle, county Derry, begun 1776: in George Sampson's Statistical survey of Co. Londonderry (Dublin, 1802).

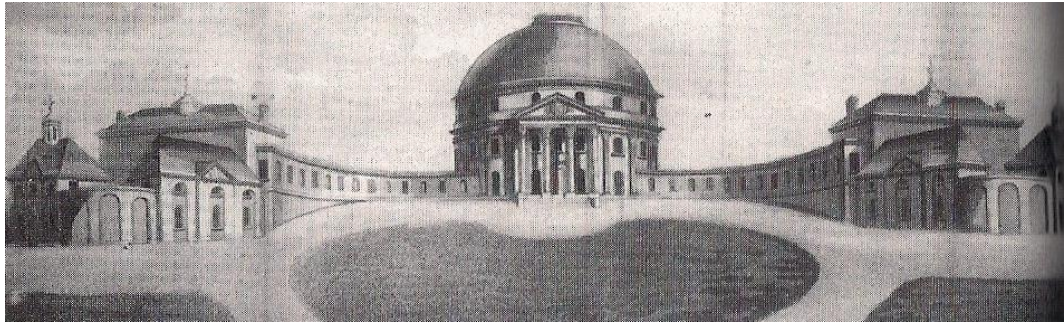


Figure 1.2b

Ballyscullion House, county Derry, begun 1787: in George Sampson's Statistical survey of Co. Londonderry (Dublin, 1802).



Figure 1.2c

Ickworth House, Suffolk: designed by Francis and Joseph Sandys, built 1795-c.1830.

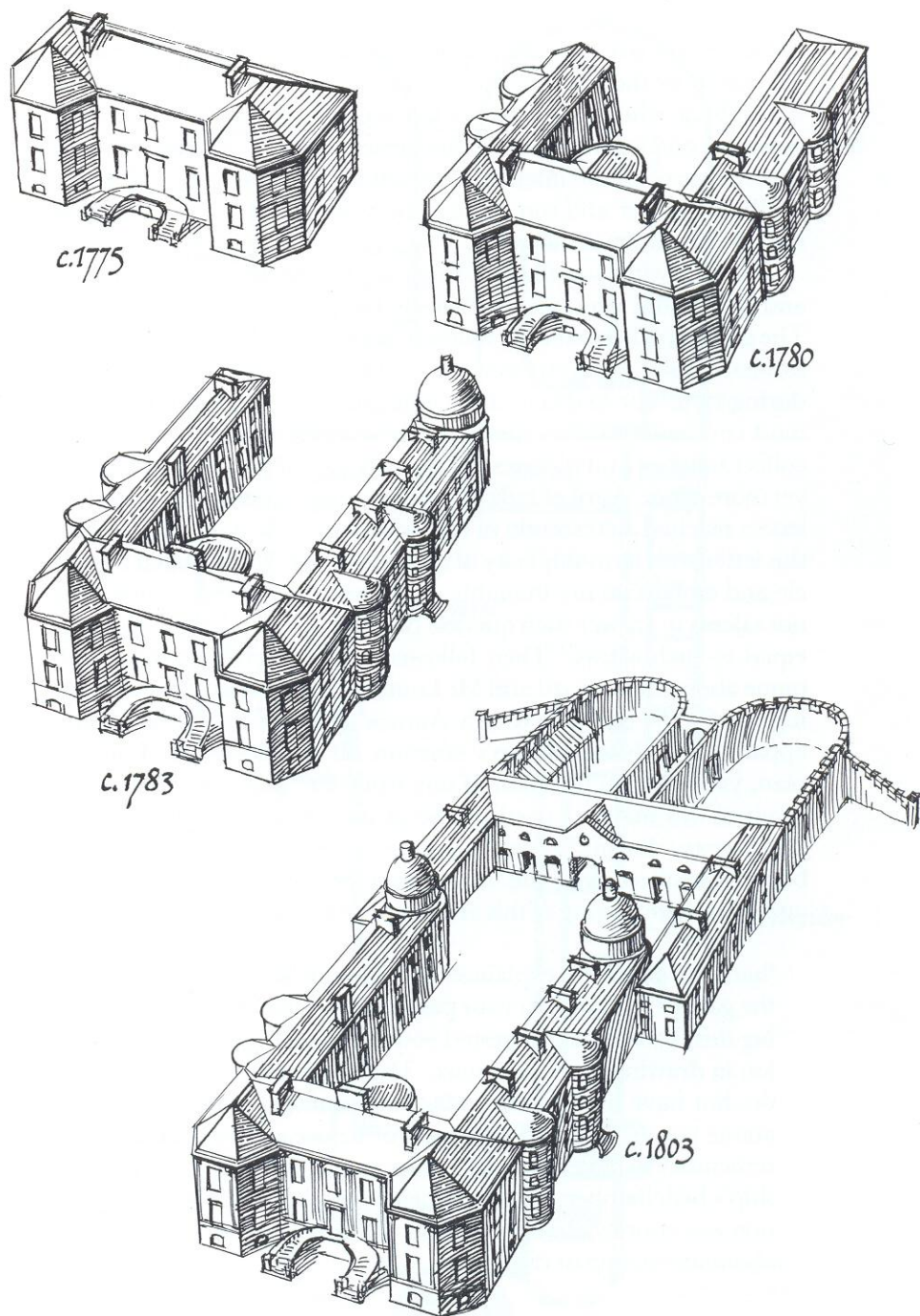


Figure 1.3

Probable sequence of building at Downhill, from Jan Eccles's Downhill: scrapbook of people and place (London, 1996): p. 13. The original villa 1773. The curates' corridor and gallery c.1780. New gallery c.1783. Full house with offices and yards c.1803.



Figure 1.4

Coleraine Battalion Gate, Downhill, Castlerock. Author's photograph.



Figure 1.5

Aerial view of Downhill and the Mussenden Temple, photograph by Gordon 2009, picasaweb.google.com.



Figure 1.6

Ordnance Survey map of the Downhill demesne, 1834. Map.



Figure 1.7a

Downhill: in John Preston Neale's *Views of the seats of noblemen and gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland* (London, 1823).

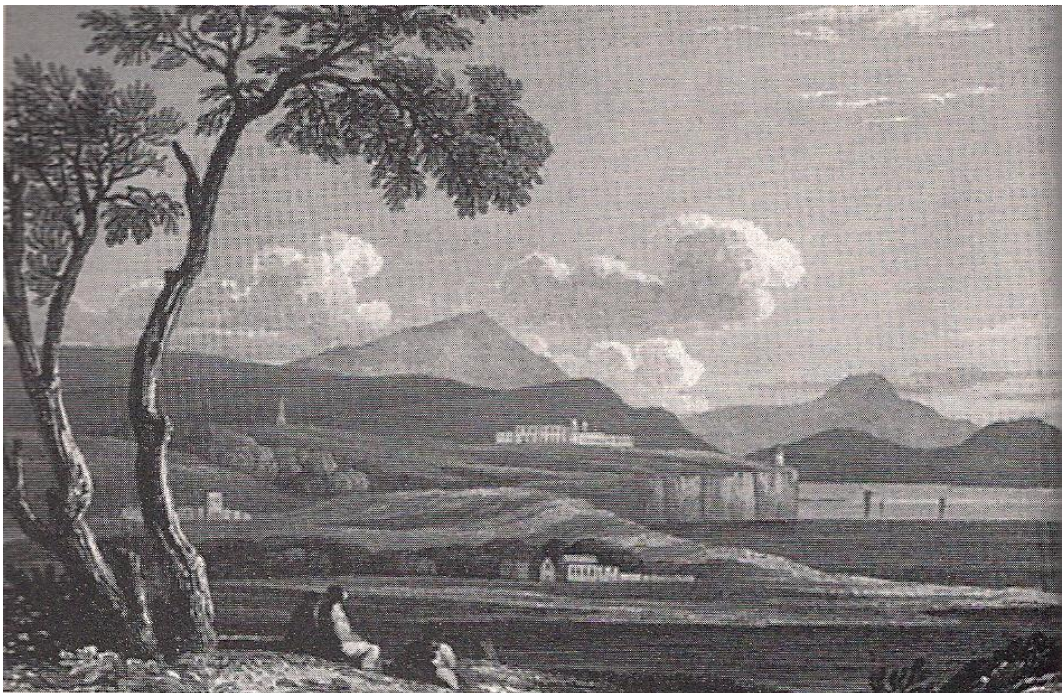


Figure 1.7b

View of Downhill: in John Preston Neale's *Views of the seats of noblemen and gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland* (London, 1823).



Figure 1.8a

The Pantheon, Rome: built 118-125A.D.



Figure 1.8b

Villa Rotonda la Capra, Vicenza: designed by Andrea Palladio, built 1567-1571.

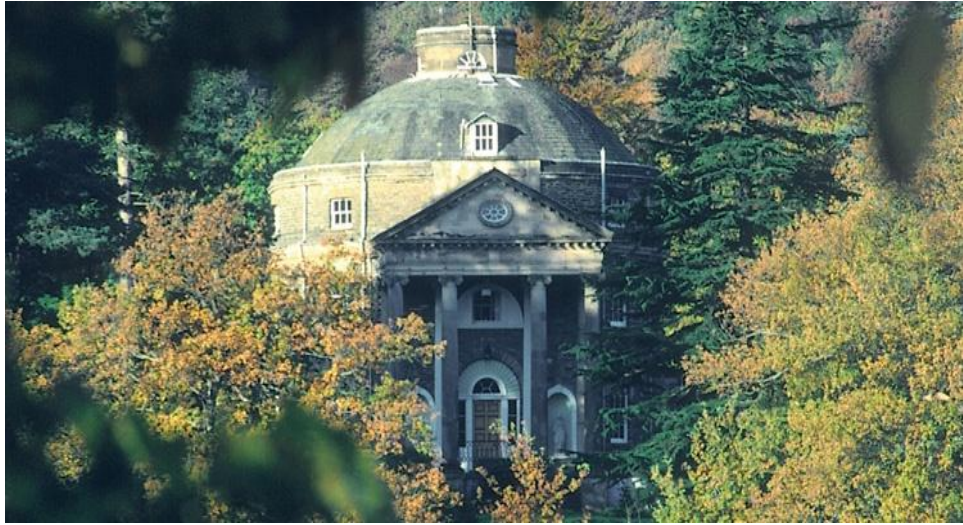


Figure 1.8c

Belle Isle House, Belle Isle, Lake Windermere: designed by John Plaw, built 1774.



Figure 1.9

James Sayers, *A whisper across the Channel*, 1785, National Portrait Gallery, London. Print.

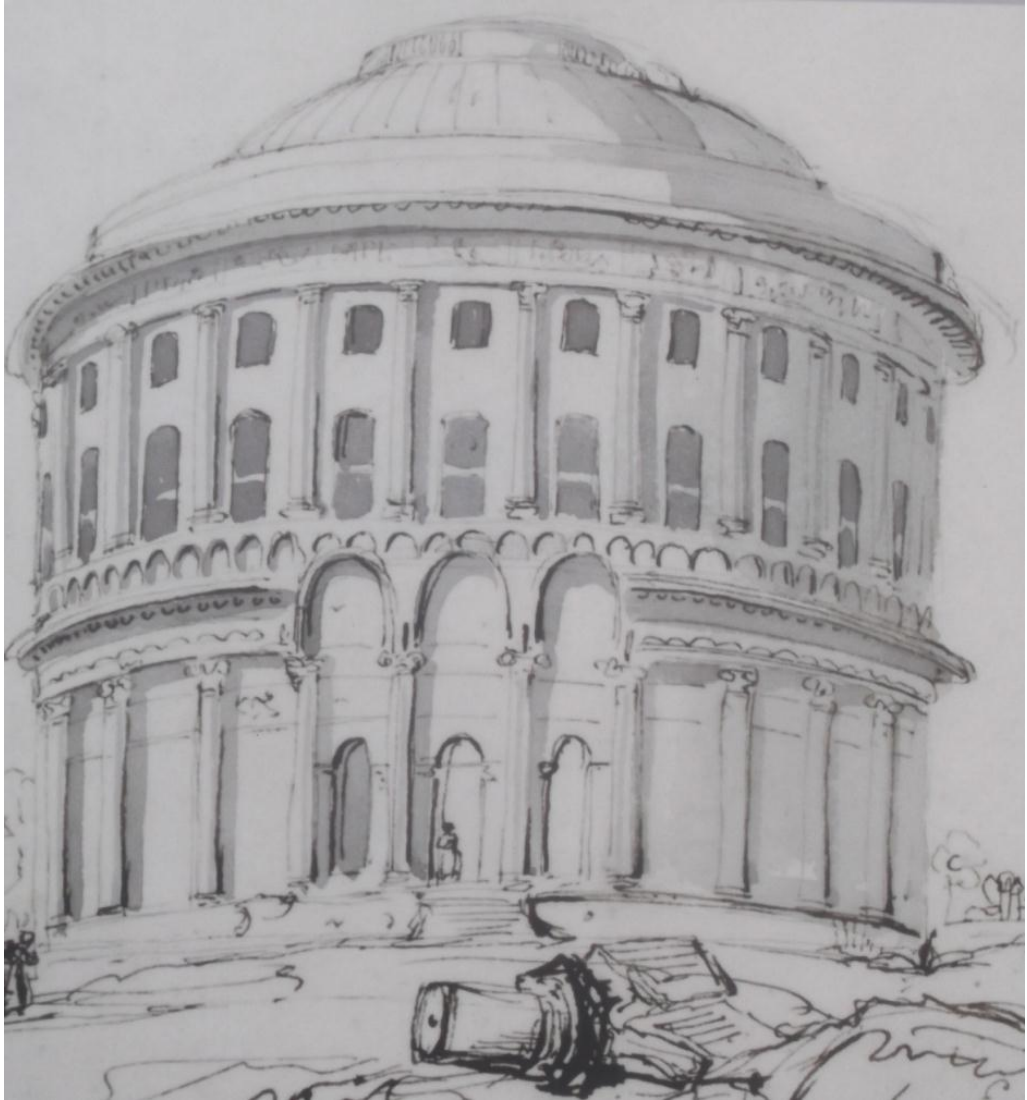


Figure 1.10

Ickworth rotunda in 1818. 1818, Ickworth House, Suffolk. Drawing.



Figure 1.11

Ickworth Lodge, c.1780, Ickworth House, Suffolk. Print.

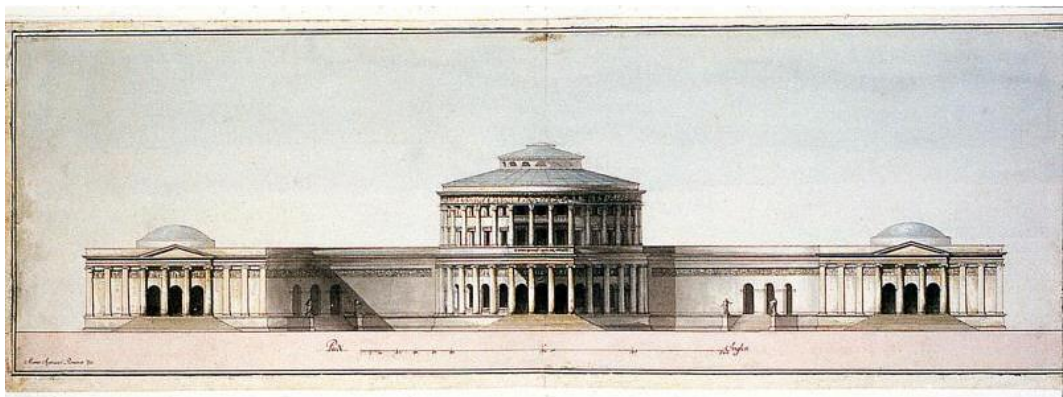


Figure 1.12

Mario Asprucci, *First design for Ickworth House, Suffolk, c.1800*, Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York.

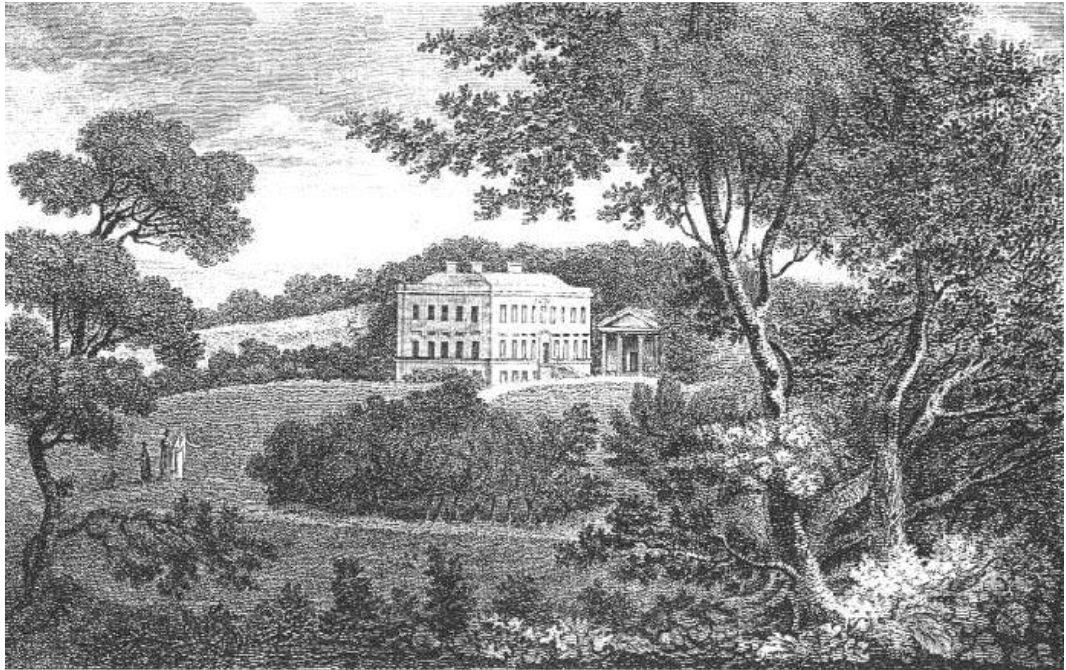


Figure 1.13

Armagh palace and chapel, Armagh: print of building, from James Stuart's Historical memoirs of the city of Armagh (London, 1819).



Figure 1.14

Tamlaghtfinlagan Church of Ireland, 1793. Author's photograph.

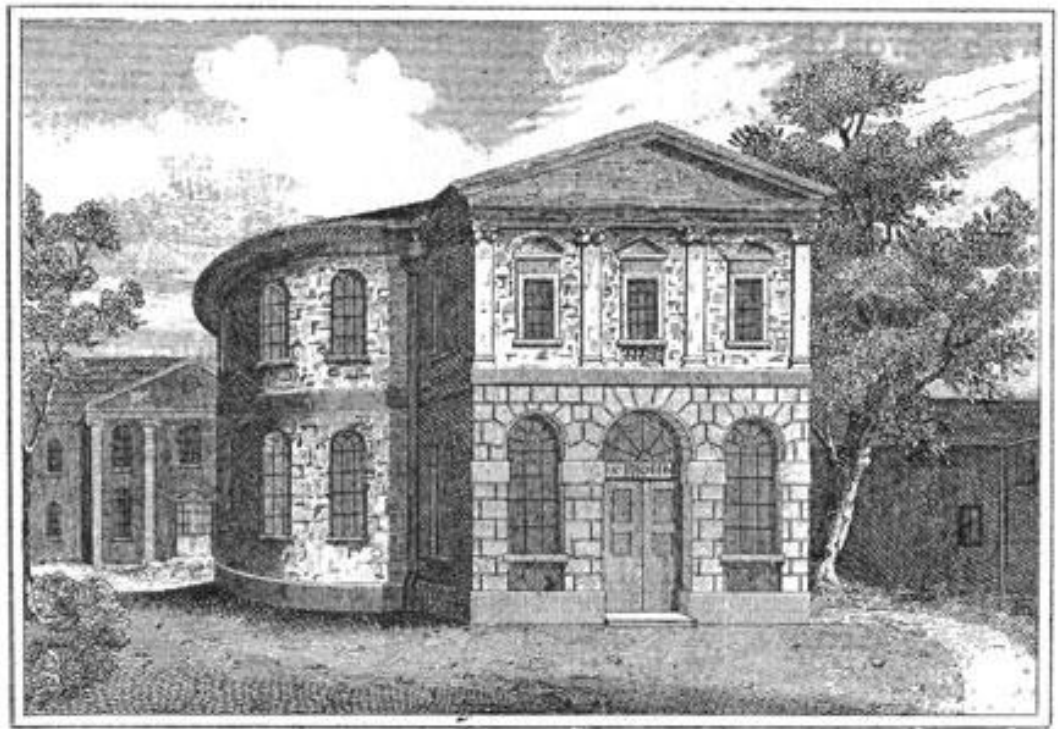


Figure 1.15

J. Thomson, *First Presbyterian Church, Rosemary Street, Belfast, designed by Roger Mulholland*. Print.



Figure 2.1

Digital reconstruction of the gallery at Downhill, Northern Regional College/National Trust 3-D Project.



Figure 2.2

Digital reconstruction of the Mussenden Temple, Northern Regional College/National Trust 3-D Project.

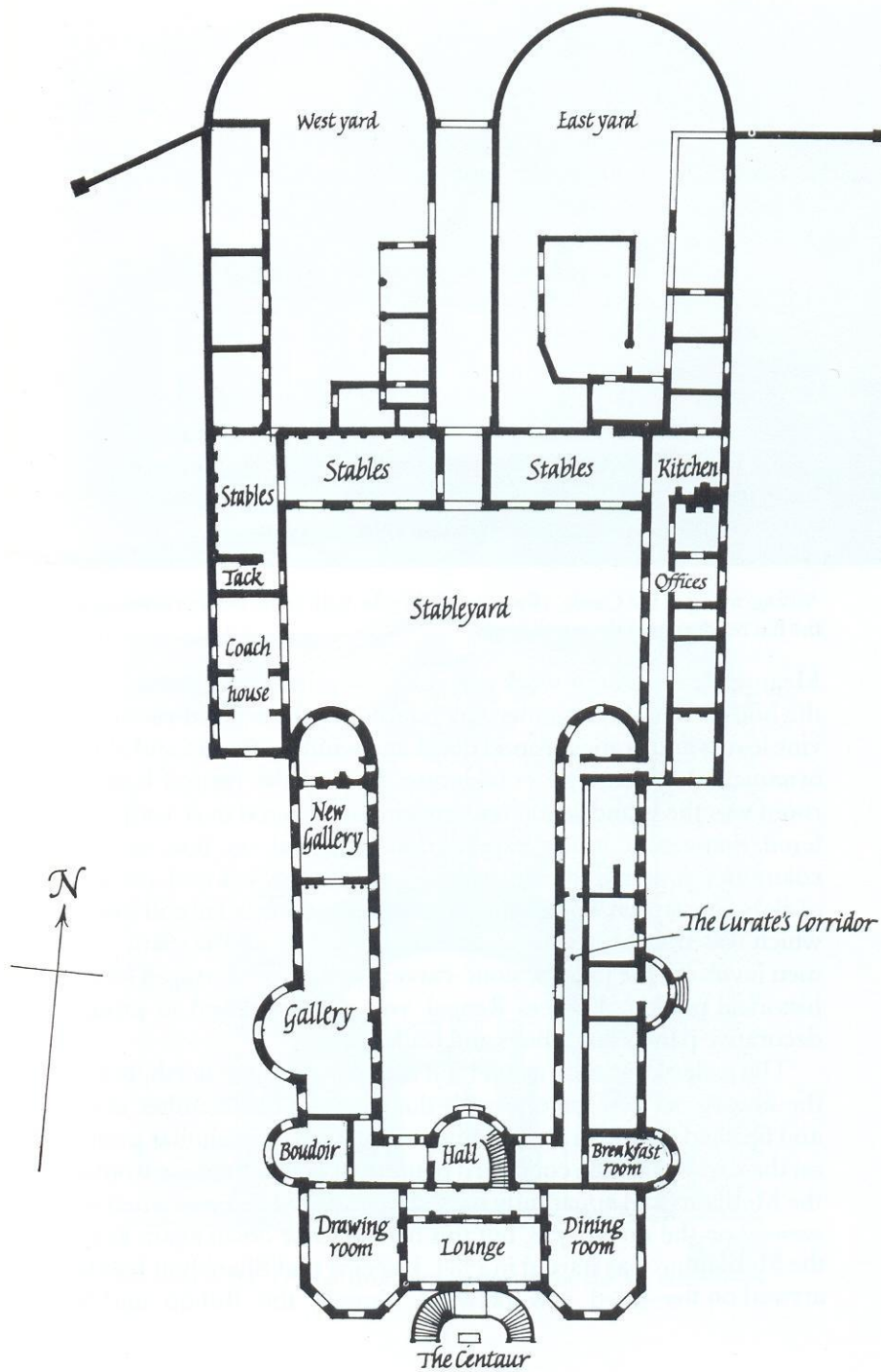


Figure 2.3

Ground plan of Downhill: ground plan, from Jan Eccles's Downhill: scrapbook of people and place (London, 1996) p. 15.



Figure 2.4

William Dent, *Hibernia in the character of charity*, 1784-5, British Museum, London. Print.

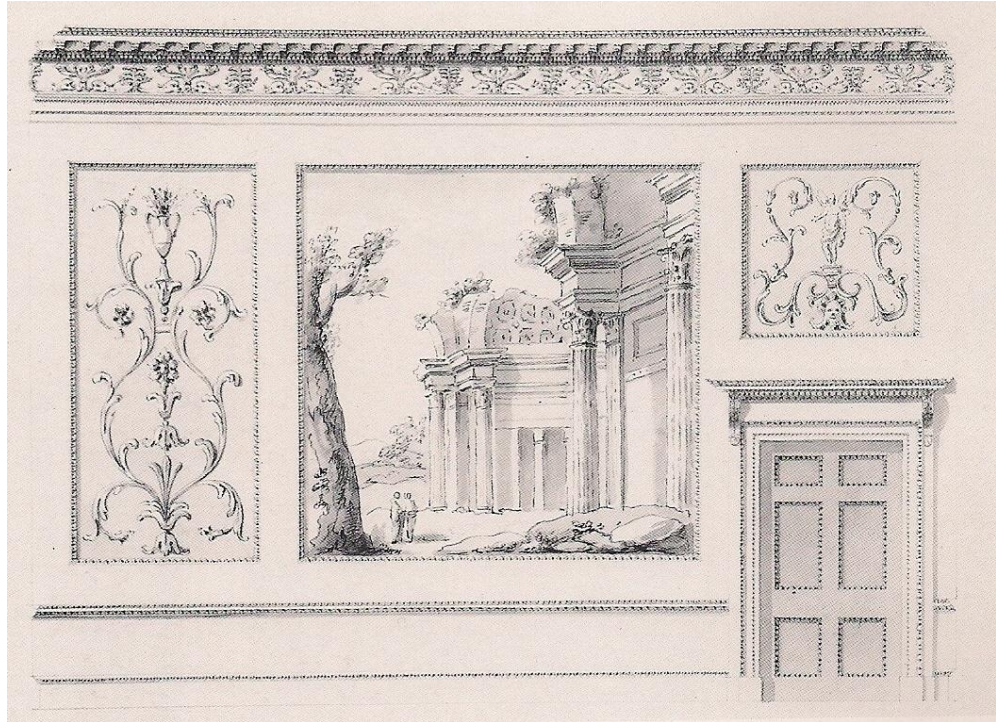


Figure 2.5

Robert Adam, *Design for great drawing room for Admiral Boscawen, 1759*, Sir John Soane Museum, London. Drawing.

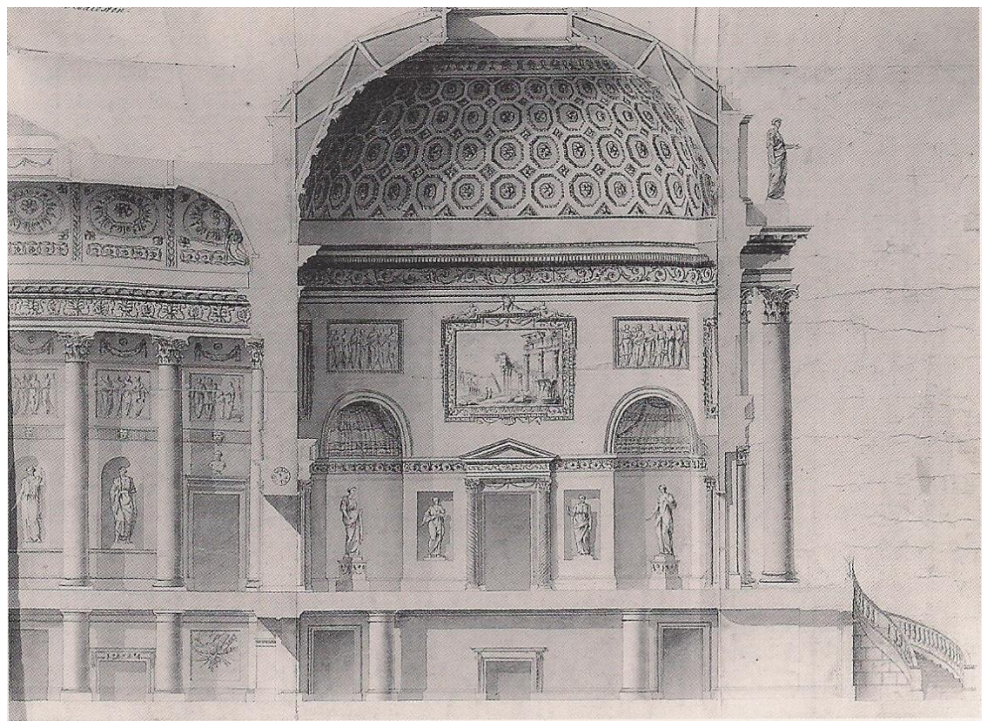


Figure 2.6

Robert Adam, *Design for the saloon at Kedleston, 1761*, Sir John Soane Museum, London. Drawing.



Figure 2.7

*Medallions used by Michael Stapleton. Photographs, from Conor Lucey's *The Stapleton collection*, plate 71 (Tralee, 2007).*



Figure 2.8

McBlain monument, Dunboe churchyard, County Derry. Author's photograph.



Figure 2.9

Placido Columbani, *Record drawing of the Little Drawing Room at Audley End, 1786*, Audley End, Saffron Walden. English Heritage.



Figure 2.10

[Higher image] *The Odyssey of Homer*: engraving by Thomas Piroli after John Flaxman, Thomas Piroli and John Flaxman's *The Odyssey: Of Homer engraved by Thomas Piroli from the compositions by John Flaxman sculptor* (Rome, 1793).
[Lower image] *Friezes at Ickworth House, Suffolk*. Author's photograph.



Figure 2.11

Frieze, Ickworth House, Suffolk. Author's photograph.



Figure 2.12

Thomas Jones, An Excavation of an antique building in a cava in the Villa Negroni, Rome, c.1779, Tate Britain, London. Oil on canvas, 40.6 x 55.2cms.



Figure 2.14

Sketch of triclinium, 1778-9, Sir John Soane Museum, London. Italian sketchbook, SM vol. 164, pp 6-7. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Sir John Soane Museum.

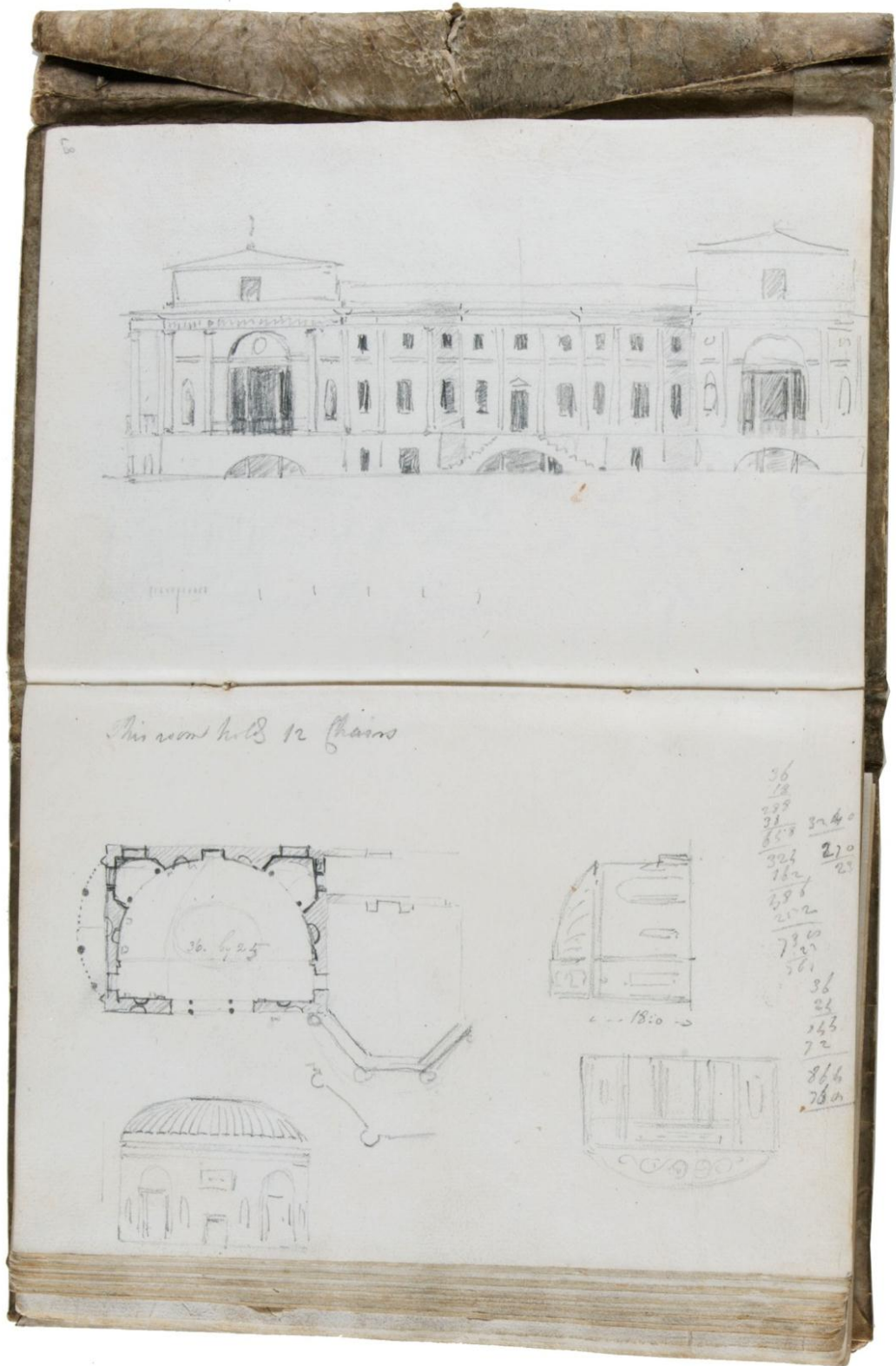


Figure 2.15

Sketch of proposals for Downhill, 1780-1, Sir John Soane Museum, London. Italian sketchbook, SM vol. 39, pp86v-87r. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Sir John Soane Museum.



Figure 2.16

Sir John Soane, *Bath house at Taverham Hall, 1784*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Drawing.

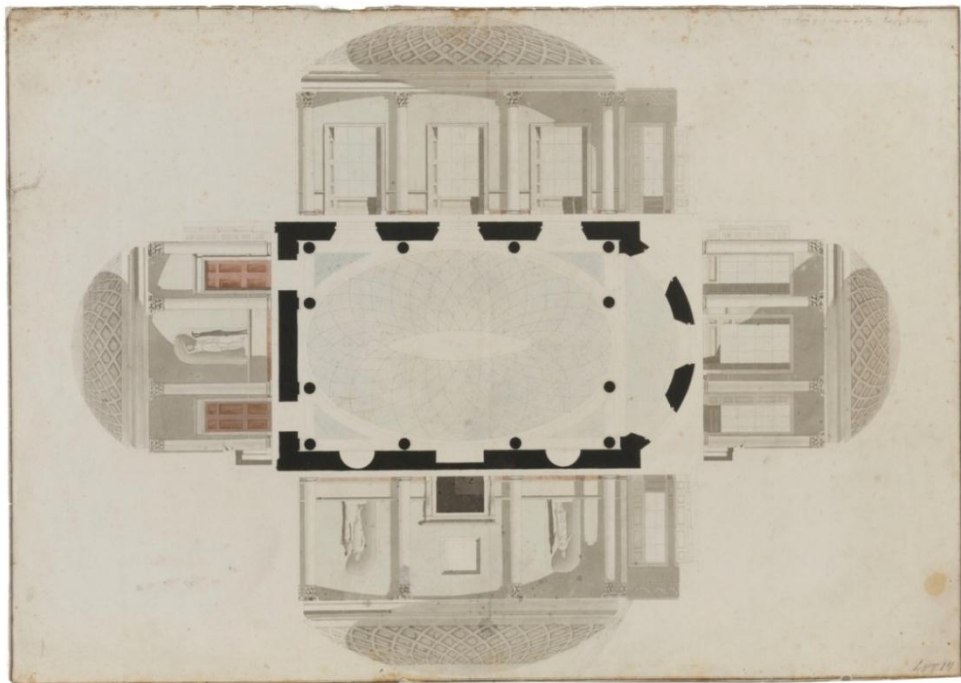


Figure 2.17

Sir John Soane, '*Last*' presentation design for dining room at Downhill, 1778-79, Sir John Soane Museum, London. Drawing. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Sir John Soane Museum.



Figure 2.18

Downhill drawing room, c.1900. Courtesy of the National Trust collection.



Figure 2.19a

Chinese drawing room at Carlton House: print, from Thomas Sheraton's *The cabinet-maker and upholsterer's drawing book*, 2nd ed., vol 2 (London, 1794), p51, plate 31.

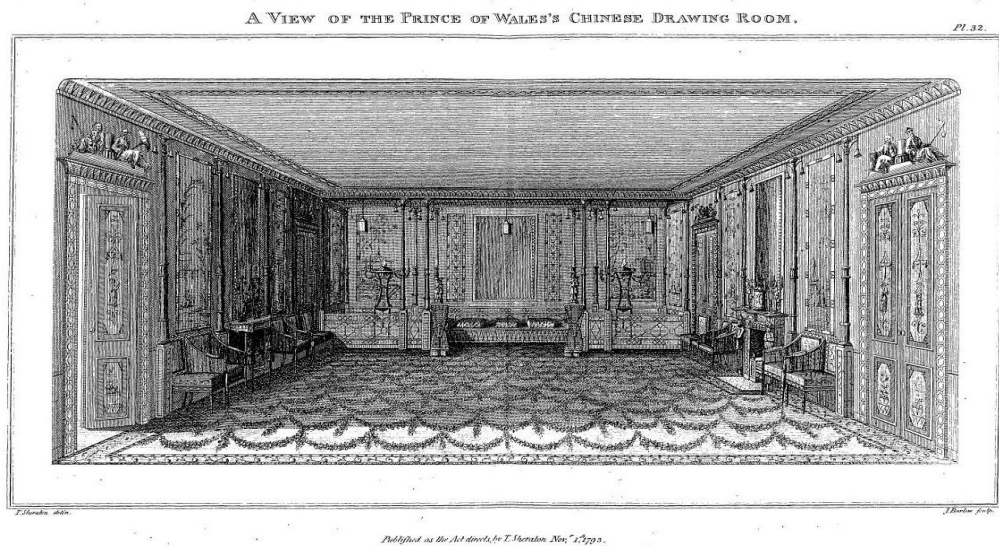


Figure 2.19b

Chinese drawing room at Carlton House: print, from Thomas Sheraton's *The cabinet-maker and upholsterer's drawing book*, 2nd ed., vol 2 (London, 1794), p52, plate 32.



Figure 2.20

Palazzo Cinese, Palermo: designed by Giuseppe Patricola, built c.1799.

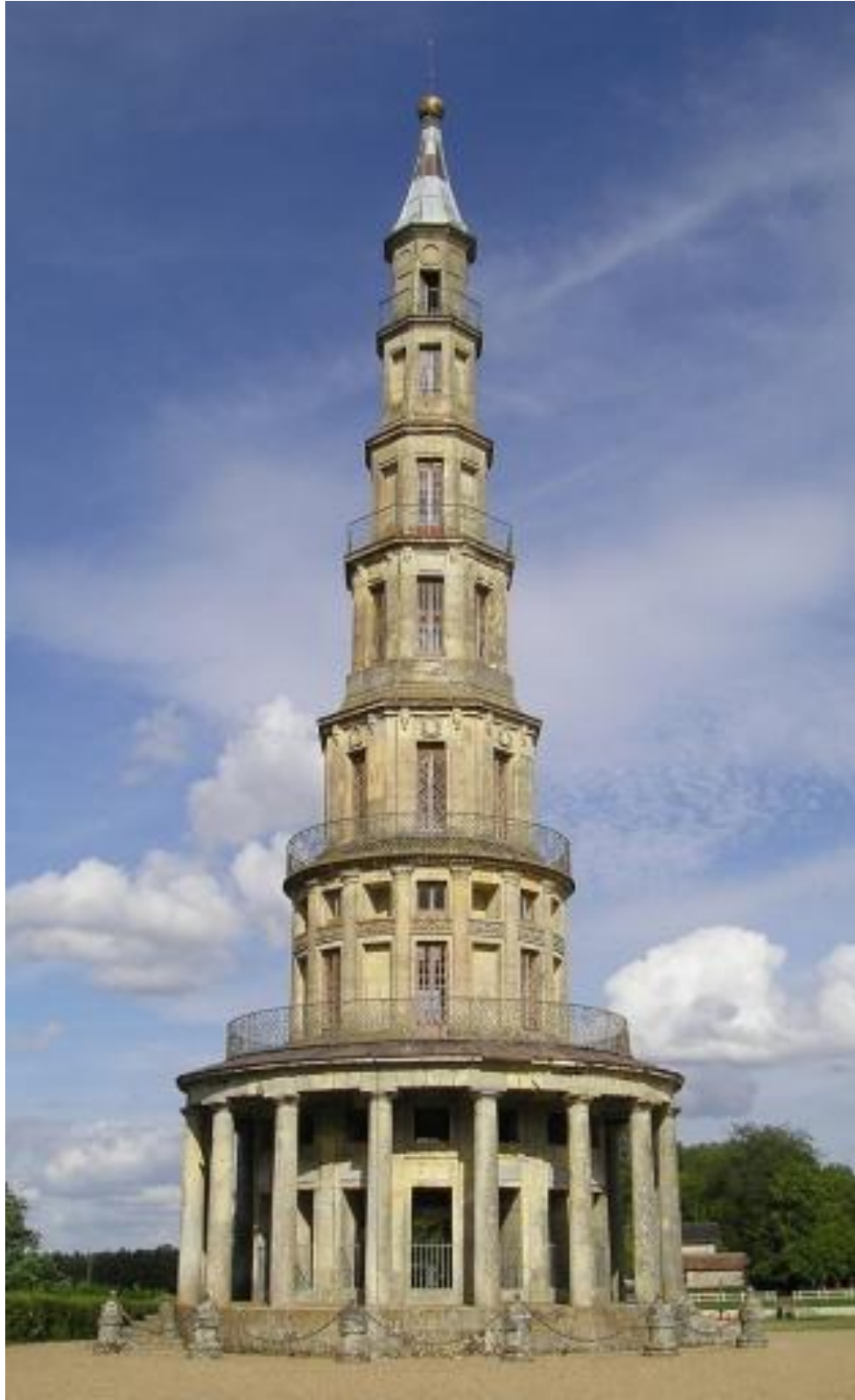


Figure 2.21

Pagoda at Chanteloup, Amboise: constructed for the Duke of Choiseul, built 1775.



Figure 2.22

Lorenzo Cardelli, *Marble chimney-piece with rosso antico relief plaques and micro mosaic attributed to Cesare Aguati, c.1778*, Private collection. Marble.



Figure 2.23

Lorenzo Cardelli, *A carved statuary marble chimneypiece*, c.1778,
Private collection. Marble.



Figure 2.24

Carlo Albacini, *Marble chimney-piece with free standing statuary groups*, c.1770,
Private collection. Marble.



Figure 2.25

Chimney-piece in bedroom at Downhill, photograph c.1900. Courtesy of the National Trust collection.



a, b, Liberty & Loyalty, supporting an oval
 which contains a groupe - in relief - Athena
 unfolding (or rather drawing the curtain
 off from) Arts & Sciences, w. Lord B. bust, and
 shewing them to Hibernia Hibernia, who
 Britain strives to keep back, - both
 these represented by boys - with the
 proper innuendo

Gregor a young painter of merit
 here, and a Carver - has much fancy
 they say - could not see him

Figure 2.26

Sketch of a chimney-piece for Downhill, Journal of Daniel Beaufort, 9 December 1788, Trinity College Dublin Library. Courtesy of the Trustees of Trinity College Dublin Library.



Figure 2.27

Henry Clay, *Pair of George III black and gilt-japanned and polychrome-decorated pier-tables*, c.1780, Private collection.



Figure 2.28a

Benjamin Stokes, *Gold freedom box*, 1767, Ulster Museum, Belfast. Gold.



Figure 2.28b

Benjamin Stokes, *Gold freedom box*, 1767, Ulster Museum, Belfast. Gold.

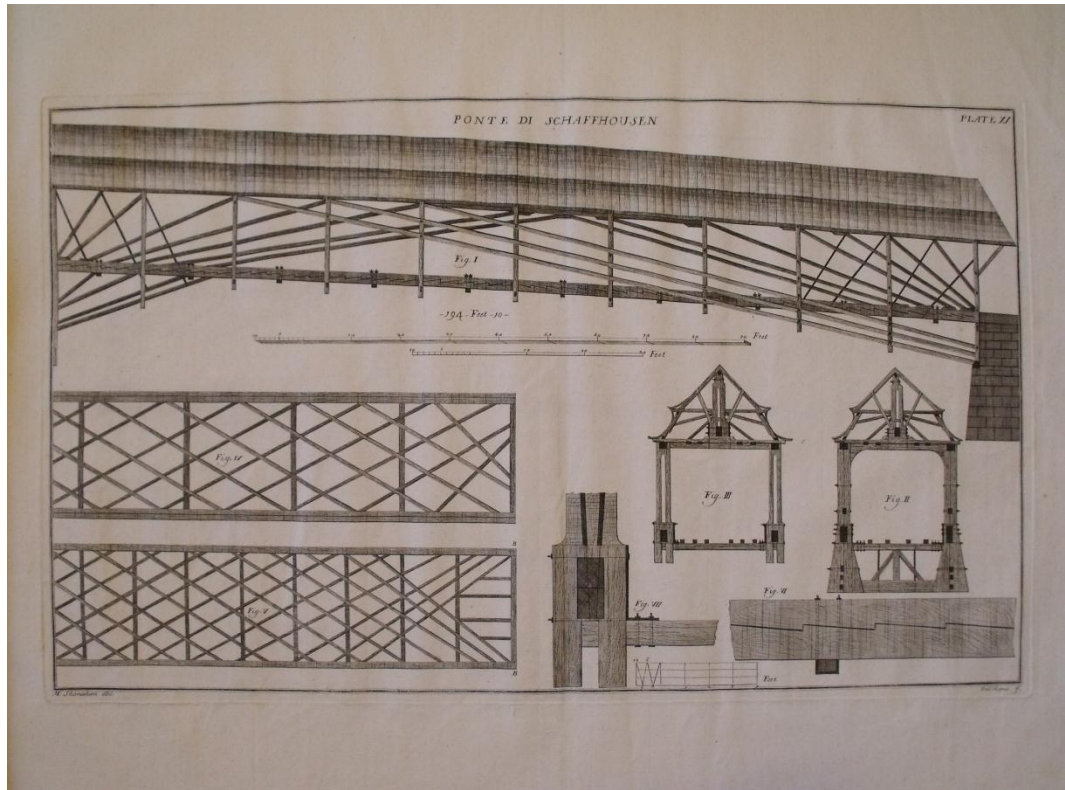


Figure 3.1

After Michael Shanahan, *Bridge at Schaffhausen*, c.1779, Ickworth House Suffolk. Print.

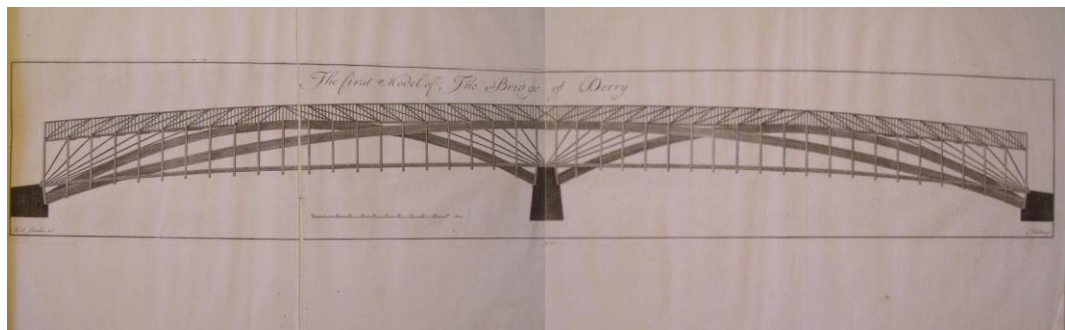


Figure 3.2

After Michael Shanahan, *Proposed bridge at Derry*, c.1779, Ickworth House, Suffolk. Print.

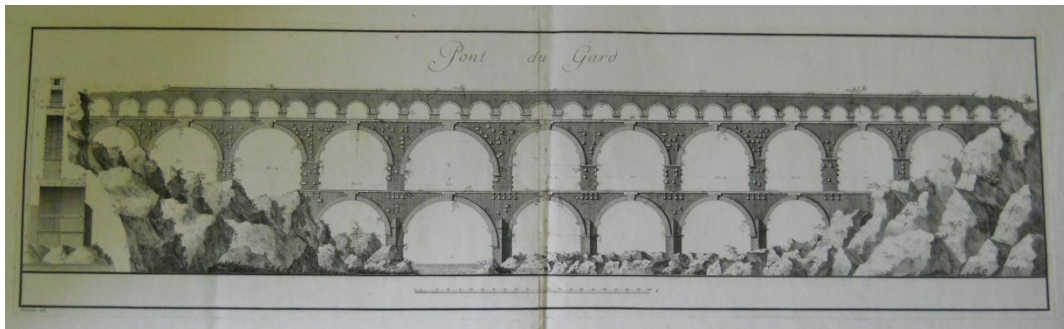


Figure 3.3a

Cristoro Dall'Acqua after Michael Shanahan, *Pont du Gard*, c.1772, Museo Civico, Vicenza. Print.

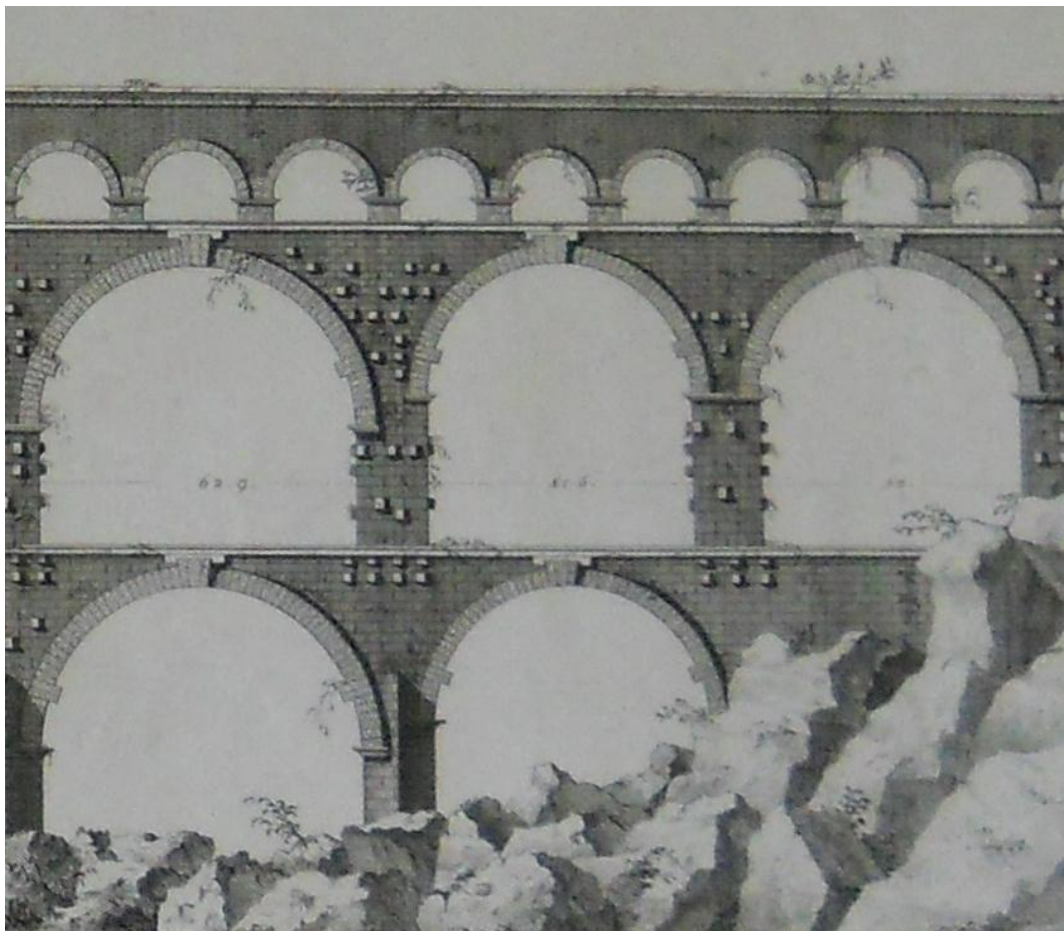


Figure 3.3b

Cristoro Dall'Acqua after Michael Shanahan, detail from *Pont du Gard*, c.1772, Museo Civico, Vicenza. Print.

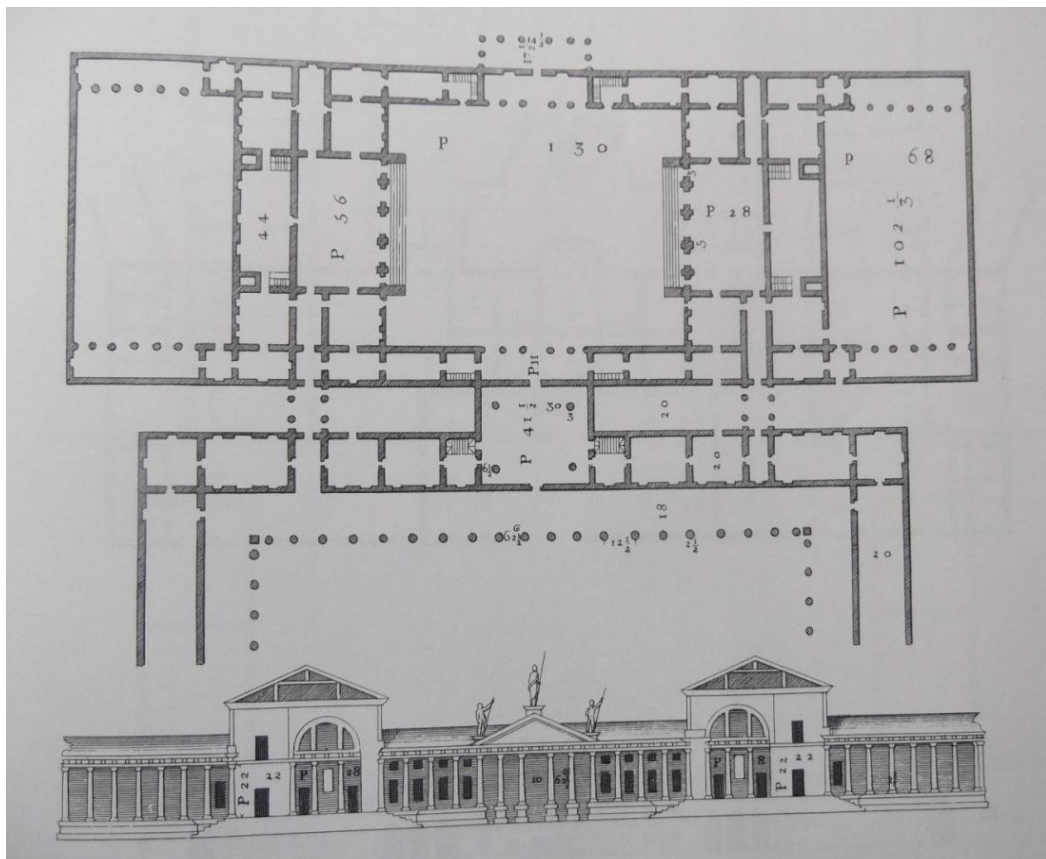


Figure 3.4

Villa Thiene, Quinto: print of ground plan and cross section, from Isaac Ware's The four books of Andrea Palladio's architecture, vol 4, plate 47 (London, 1738).

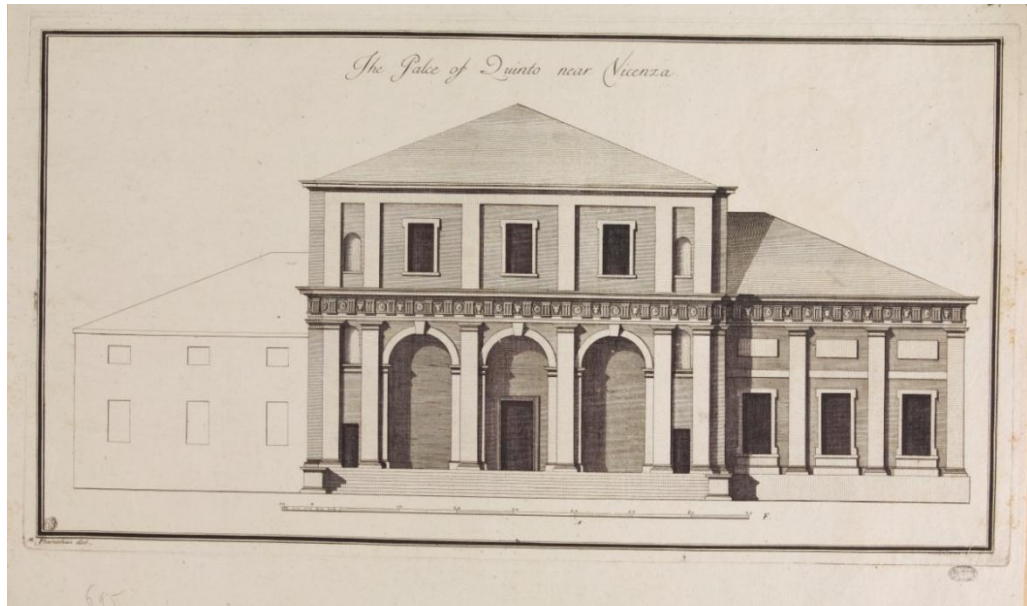


Figure 3.5

Cristoro Dall'Acqua after Michael Shanahan, *Villa Thiene at Quinto*, c.1772, Castello Sforzesco, Milan. Print.

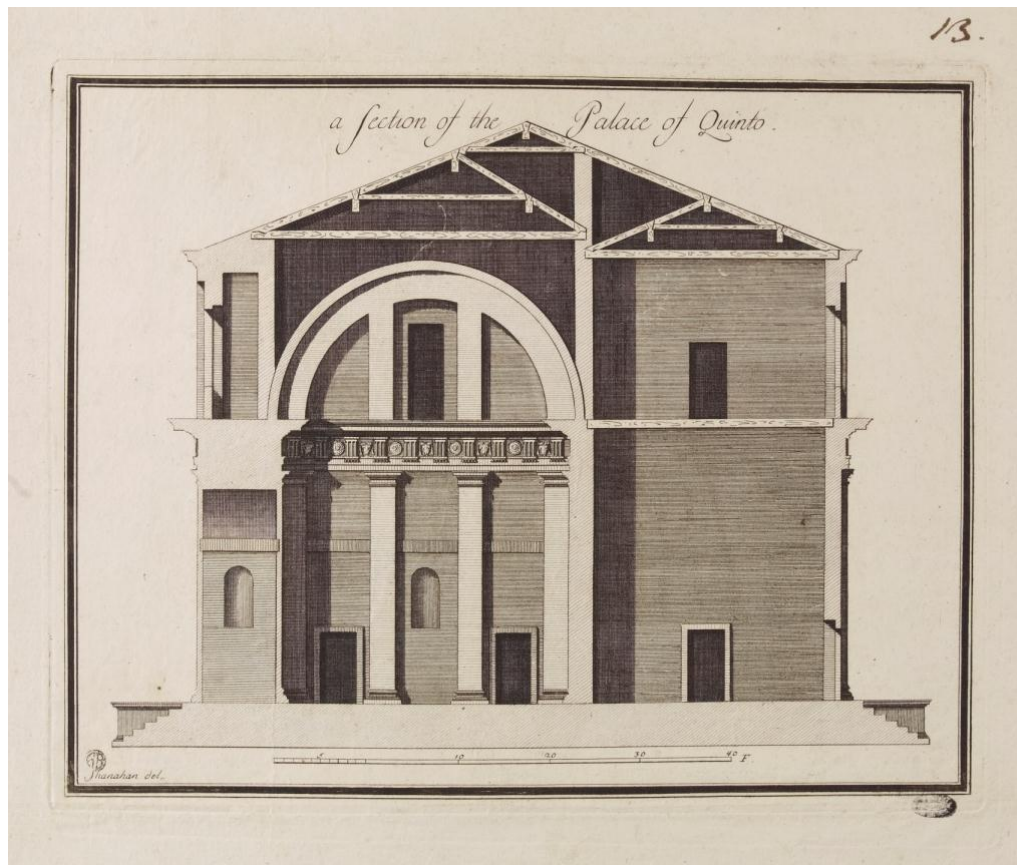


Figure 3.6

Cristoro Dall'Acqua after Michael Shanahan, *Section of the Villa Thiene at Quinto*, c.1772, Castello Sforzesco, Milan. Print

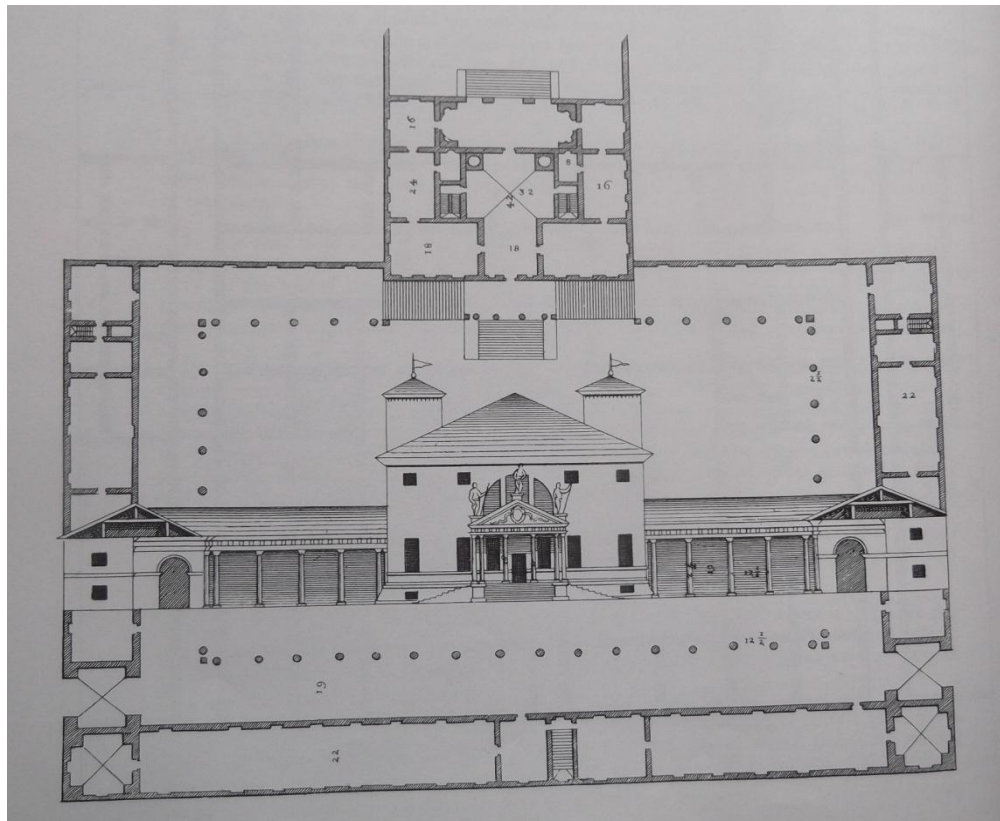


Figure 3.7

Villa Pisani at Bagnolo: print of ground plan and cross section, from Isaac Ware's *The four books of Andrea Palladio's architecture*, vol 4, plate 30 (London, 1738).

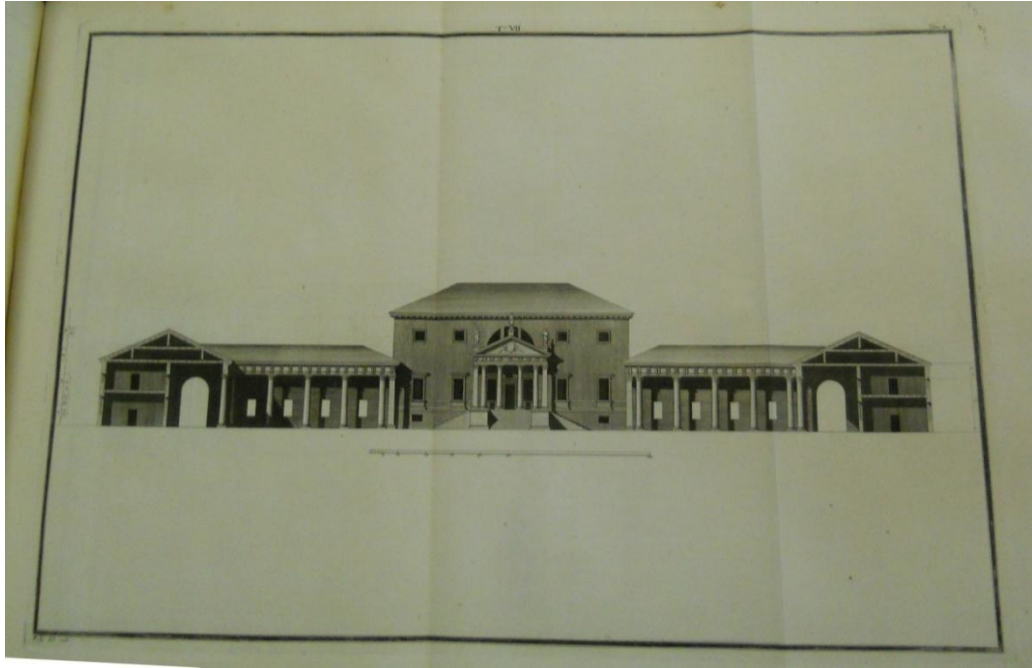


Figure 3.8

Villa Pisani at Bagnolo: print of façade, from Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi's *Les bâtimens et les desseins de André Palladio*, 4 vols, Plate 6 (Vicenza, 1776-83).

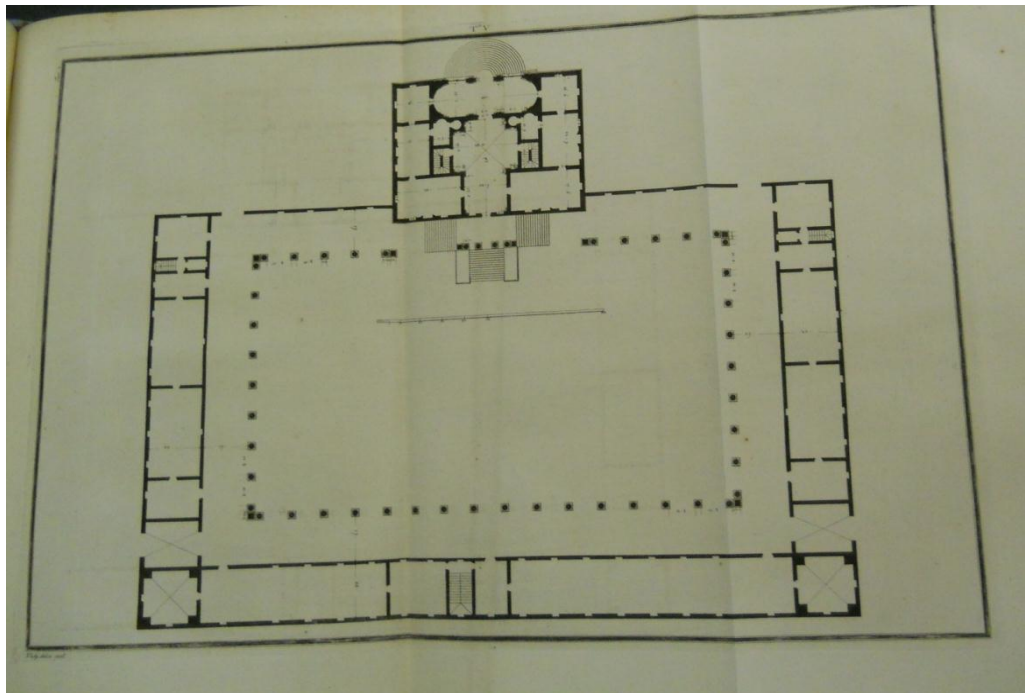


Figure 3.9

Villa Pisani at Bagnolo: print of building plan, from Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi's *Les bâtimens et les desseins de André Palladio*, 4 vols, Plate 5 (Vicenza, 1776-83).

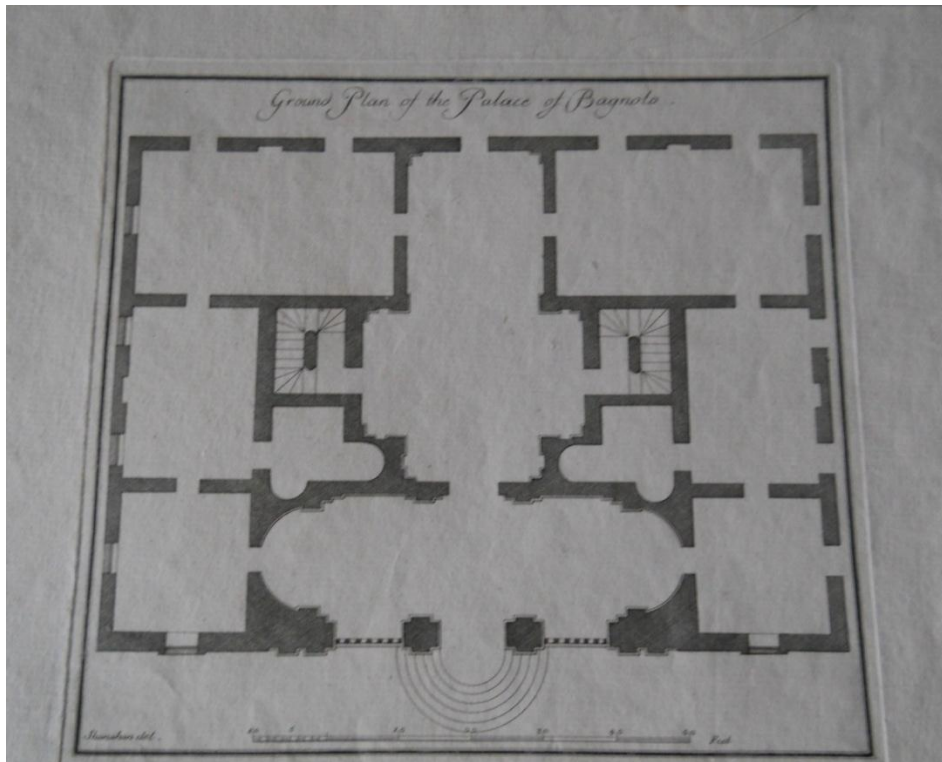


Figure 3.10

Cristoro Dall'Acqua after Michael Shanahan, *Plan of Villa Pisani at Bagnolo*, c.1772, Museo Civico, Vicenza. Print.

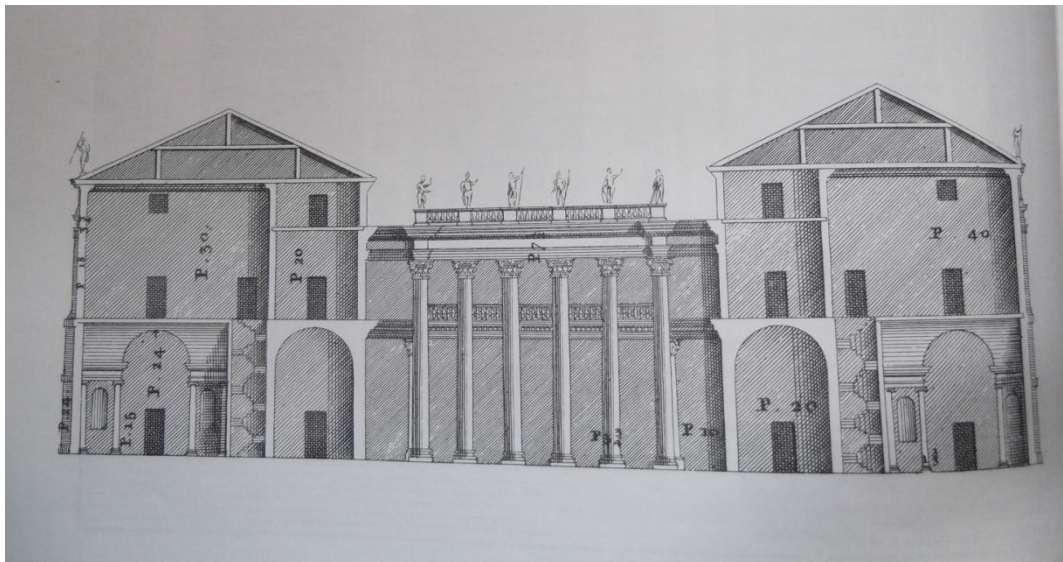


Figure 3.11

Palazzo Iseppo Porto: print of cross section, from Isaac Ware's *The four books of Andrea Palladio's architecture*, vol 4, plate 6 (London, 1738).

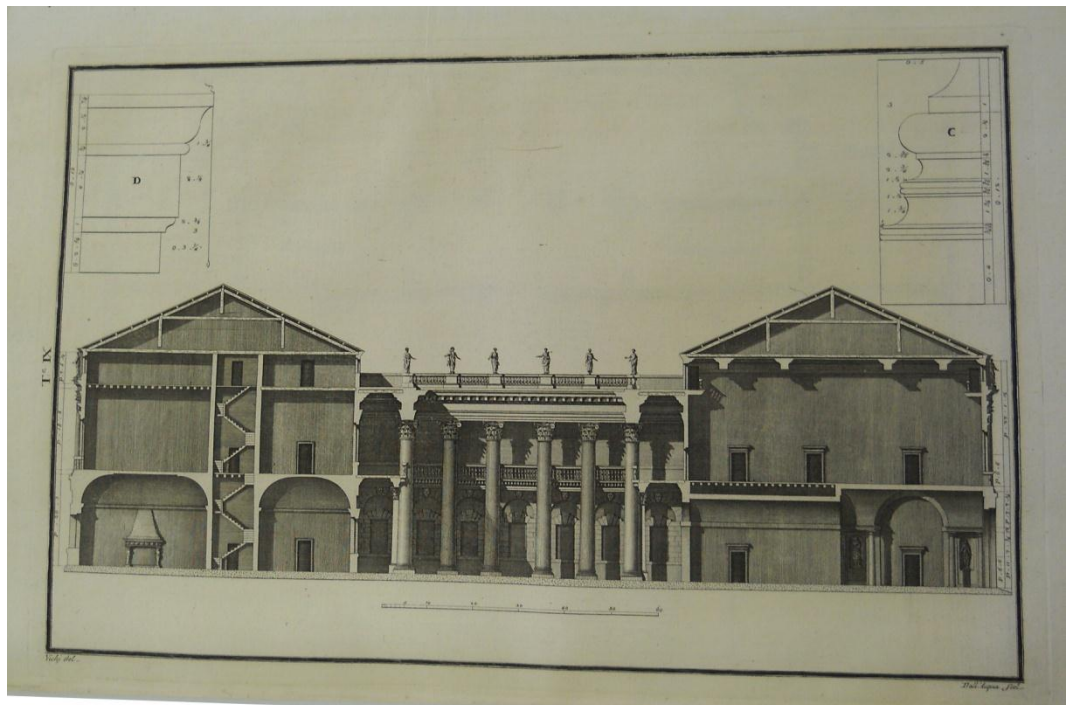


Figure 3.12

Palazzo Iseppo Porto: print of façade, from Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi's *Les bâtimens et les desseins de André Palladio*, 4 vols, Plate 8 (Vicenza, 1776-83).

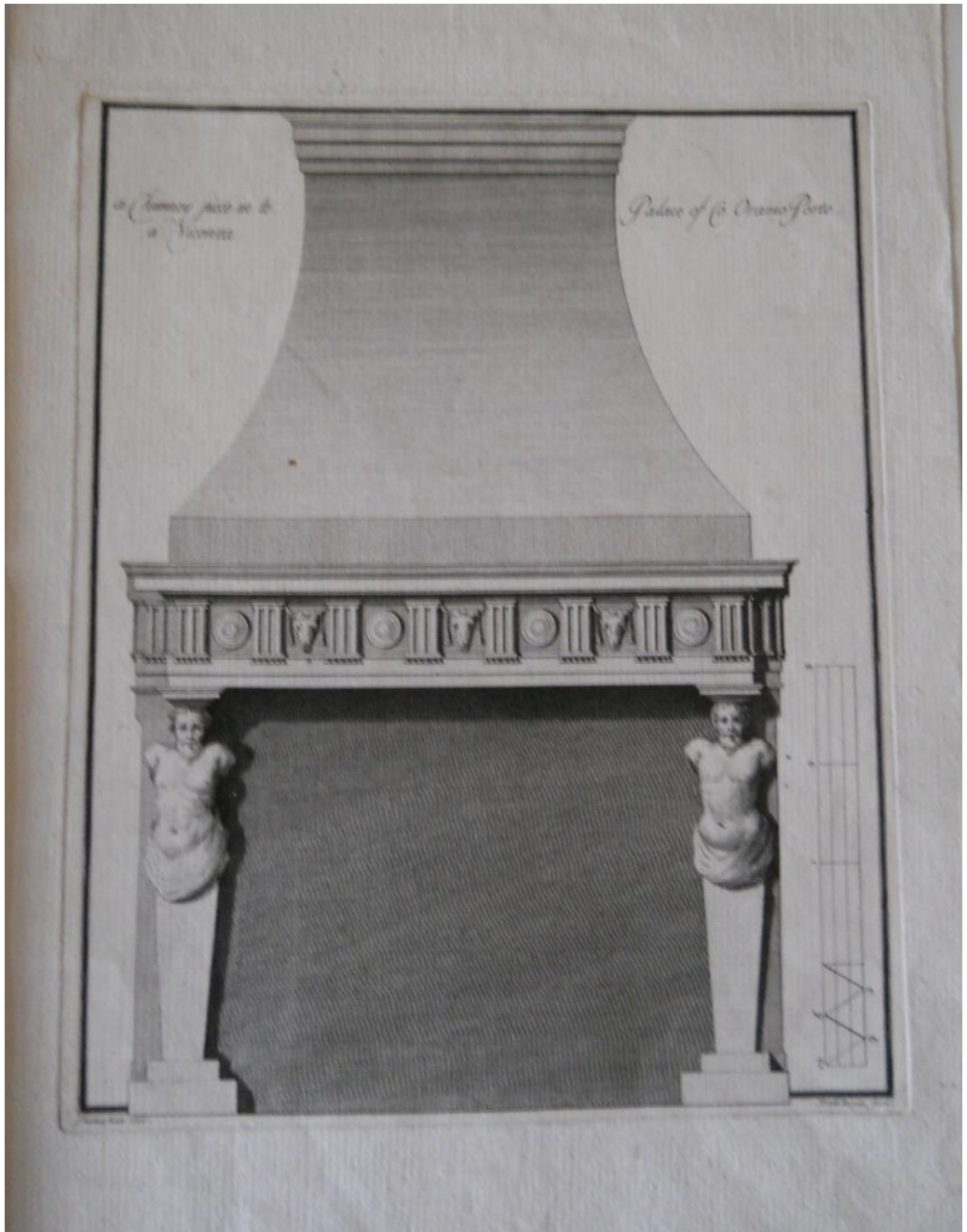


Figure 3.13

Cristoro Dall'Acqua after Michael Shanahan, *Caryatid chimney-piece in Palazzo Iseppo Porto, Vicenza, c.1772*, Museo Civico, Vicenza. Print.

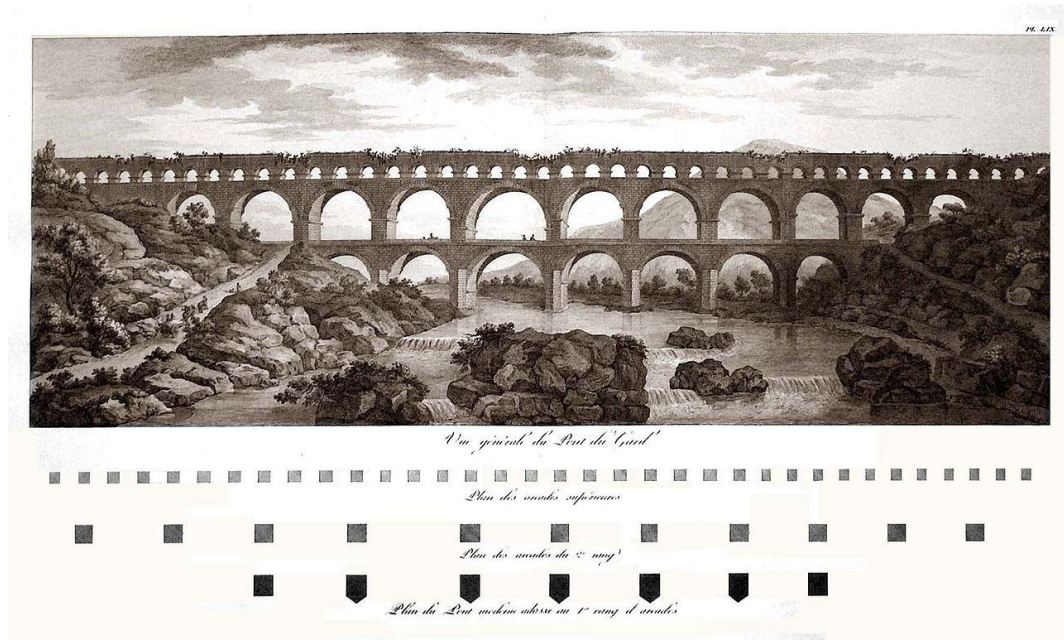


Figure 3.14

Charles-Louis Clérisseau, *Pont du Gard*, 1804. Print.

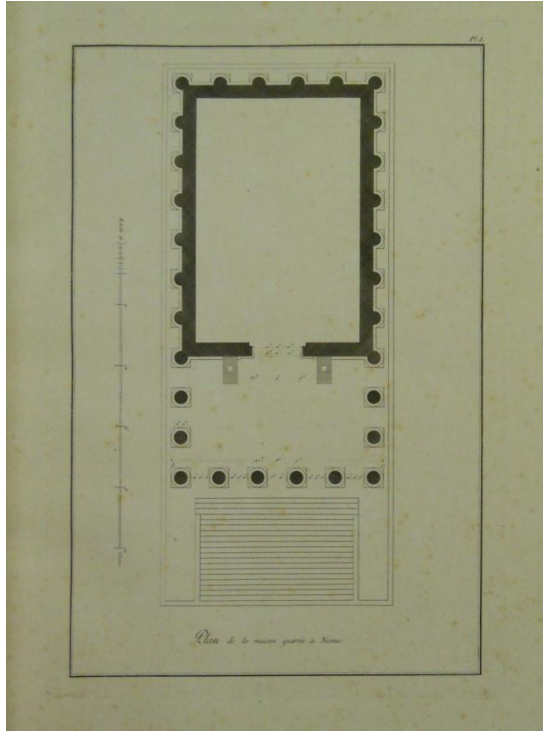


Figure 3.15

Maison Carrée at Nîmes: print of ground plan, from Charles-Louis Clérisseau's *Antiquités de la France*, plate 1 (Paris, 1778).

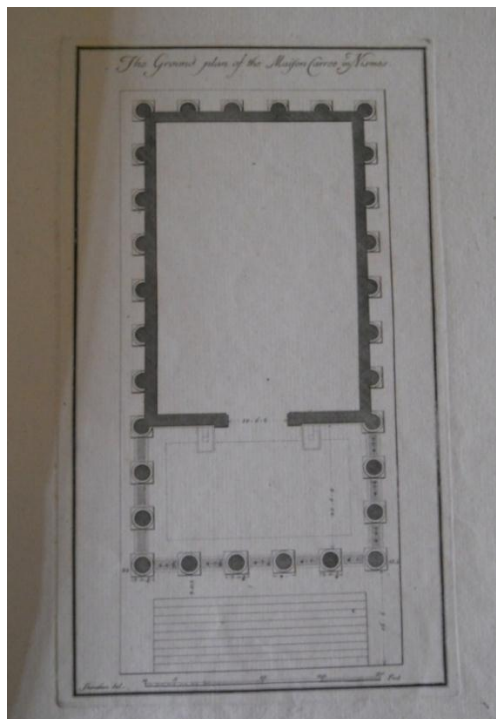


Figure 3.16

Cristoro Dall'Acqua after Michael Shanahan, *Maison Carrée at Nîmes*, c.1772, Museo Civico, Vicenza. Print.

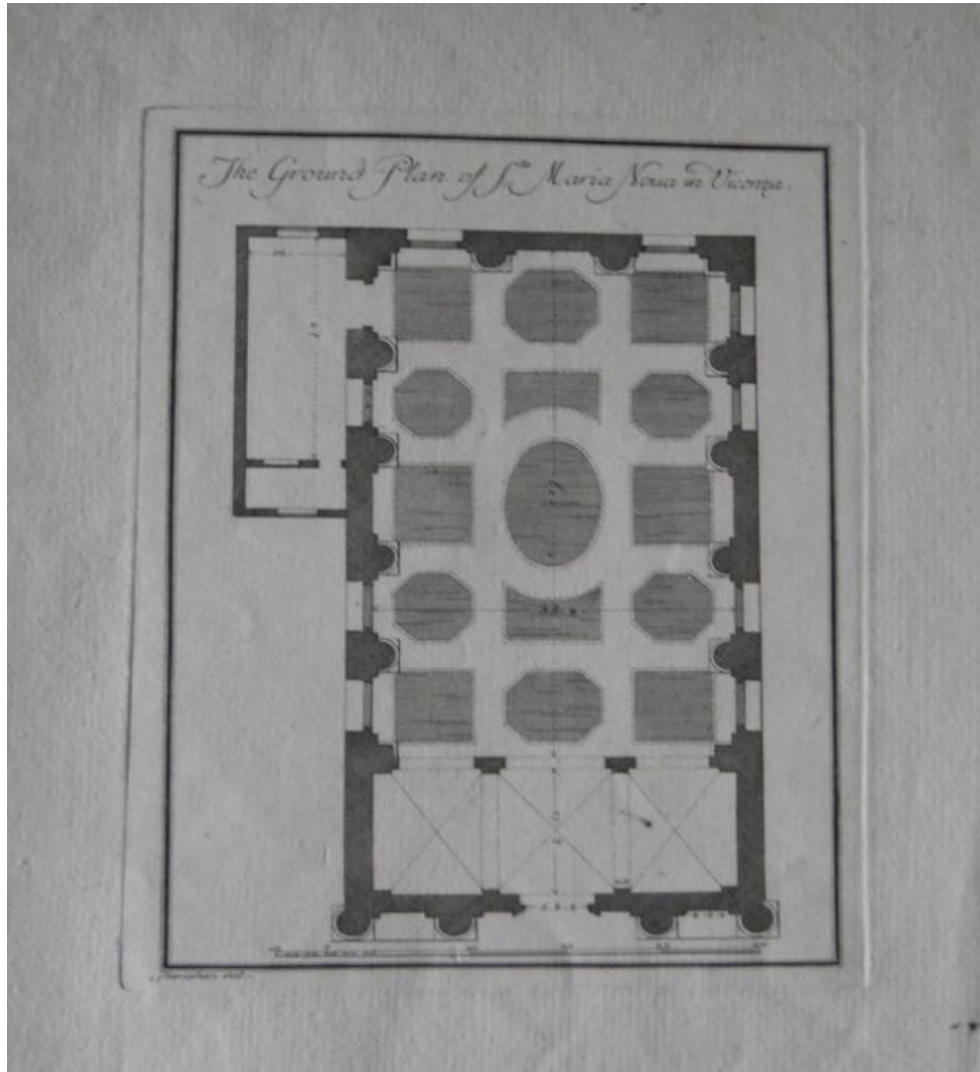


Figure 3.17

Cristoro Dall'Acqua after Michael Shanahan, *Plan of Santa Maria Nuova, Vicenza, c.1772*, Museo Civico, Vicenza. Print.

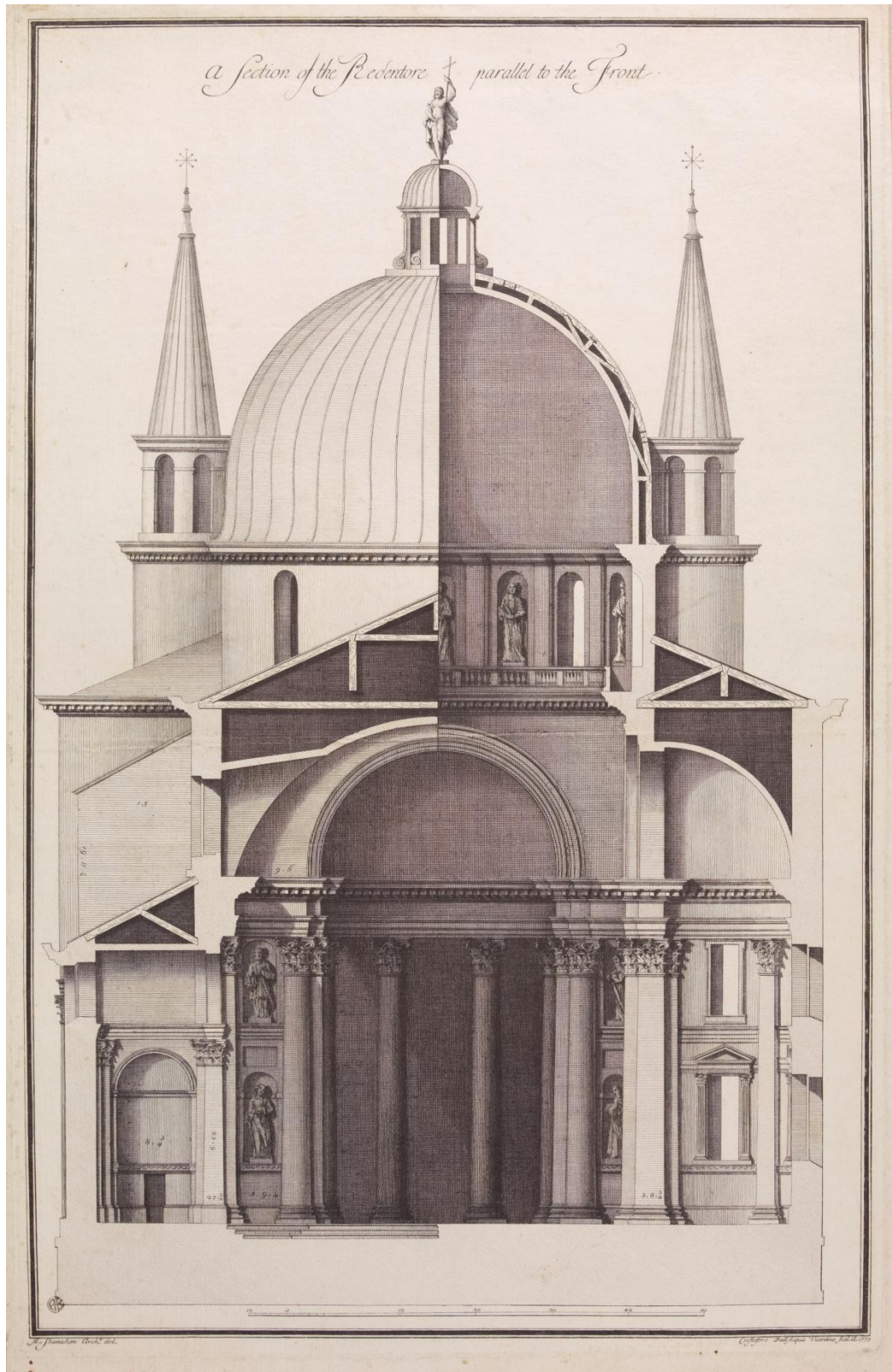


Figure 3.18

Cristoro Dall'Acqua after Michael Shanahan, *Section of Santo Redentore, Venice*, c.1772, Castello Sforza, Milan. Print.

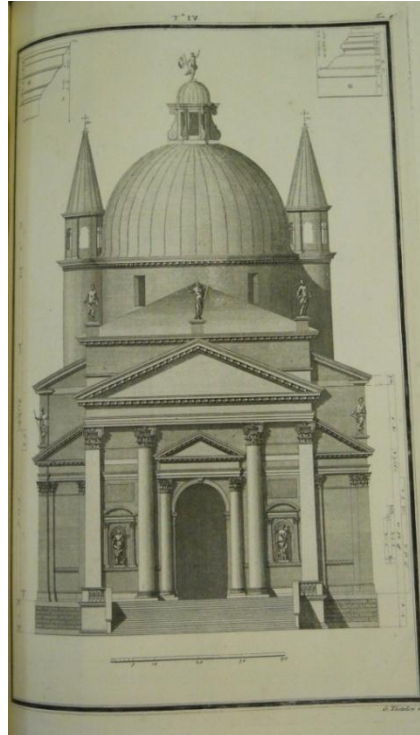


Figure 3.19

*Santo Redentore, Venice, print of façade, from Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi's *Les bâtimens et les desseins de André Palladio*, 4 vols, Plate 2 (Vicenza, 1776-83).*

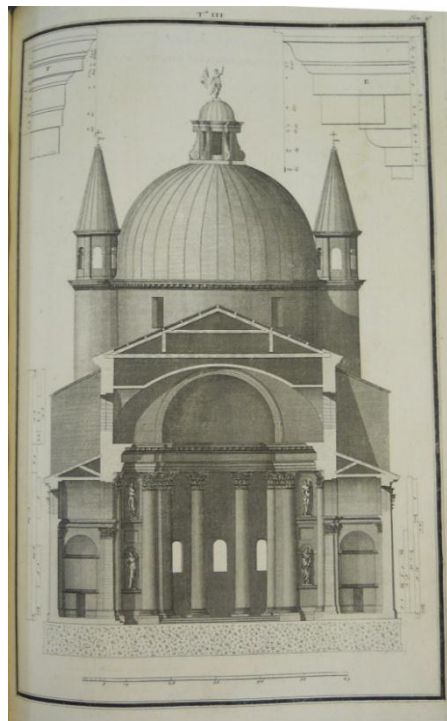


Figure 3.20

*Santo Redentore, Venice, print of façade, from Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi's *Les bâtimens et les desseins de André Palladio*, 4 vols, Plate 3 (Vicenza, 1776-83).*

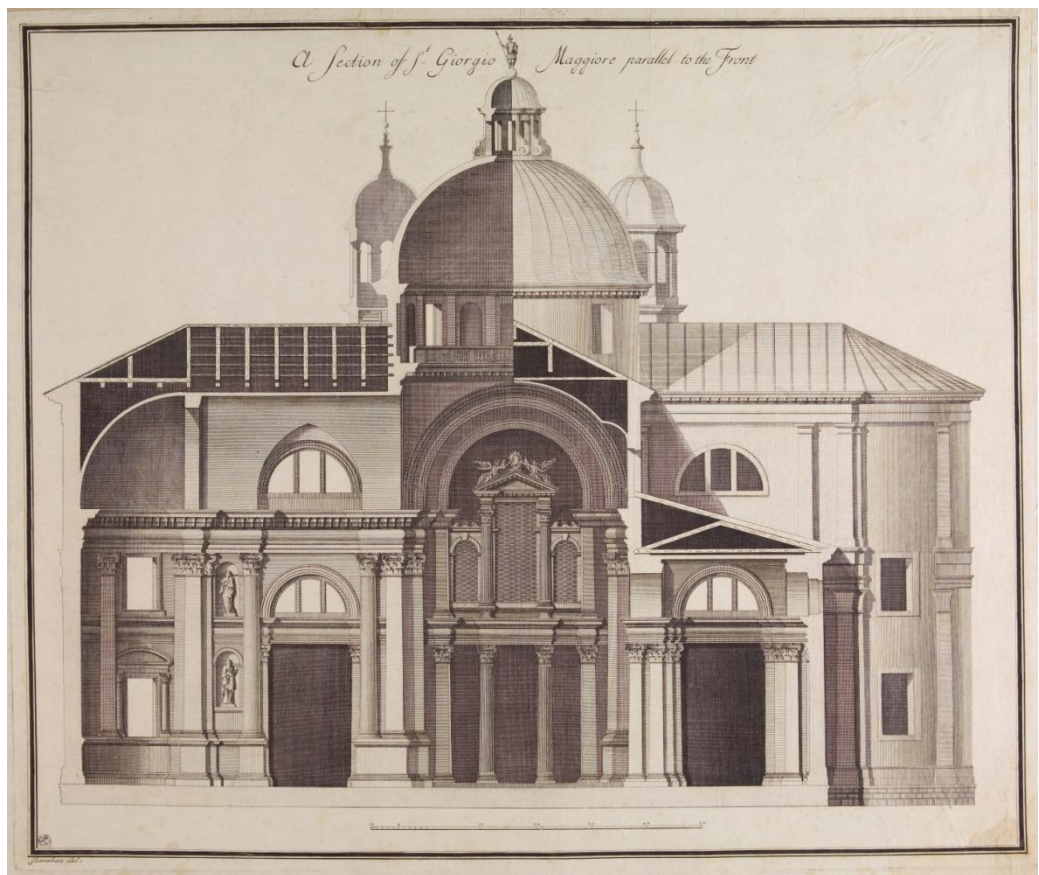


Figure 3.21

Cristoro Dall'Acqua after Michael Shanahan, *Section of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice, c.1772*, Castello Sforza, Milan. Print.

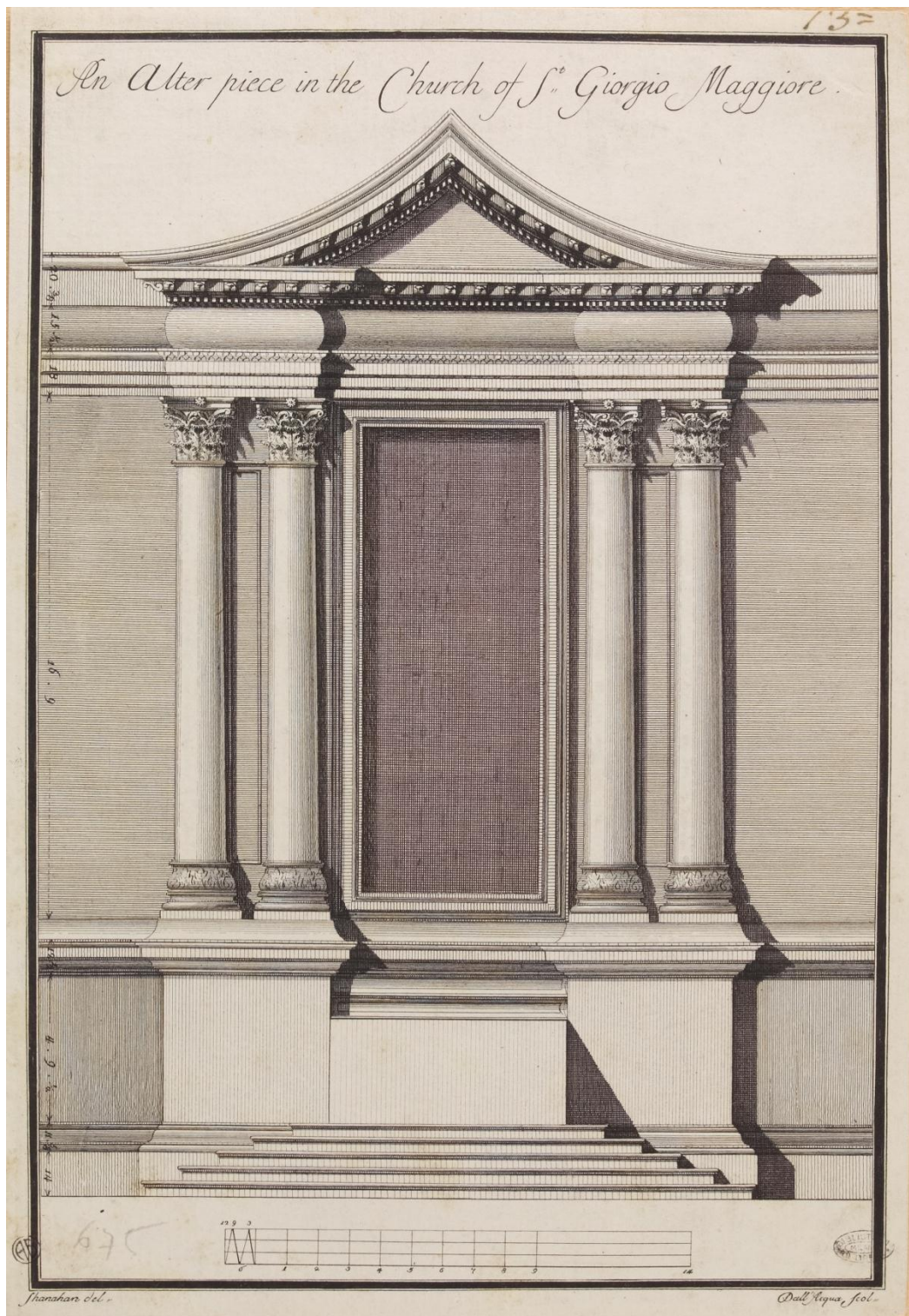


Figure 3.22

Cristoro Dall'Acqua after Michael Shanahan, *Altar in San Redentore, Venice*, c.1772, Castello Sforza, Milan. Print.



Figure 3.23

West transept altar, 1566-75, San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice. Author's photograph.

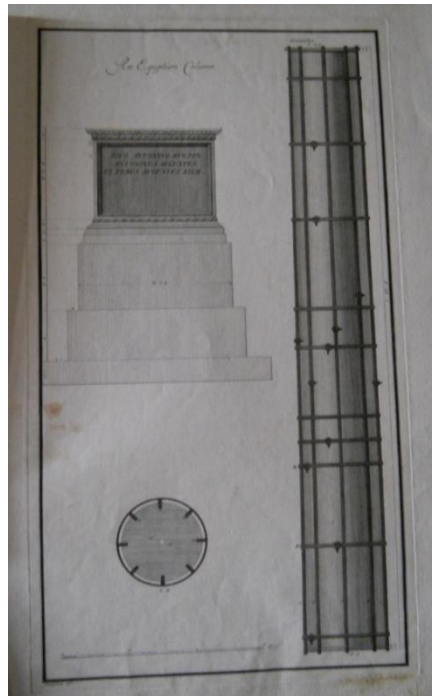


Figure 3.24

Cristoro Dall'Acqua after Michael Shanahan, *Egyptian column*, c.1772, Museo Civico, Vicenza. Print.

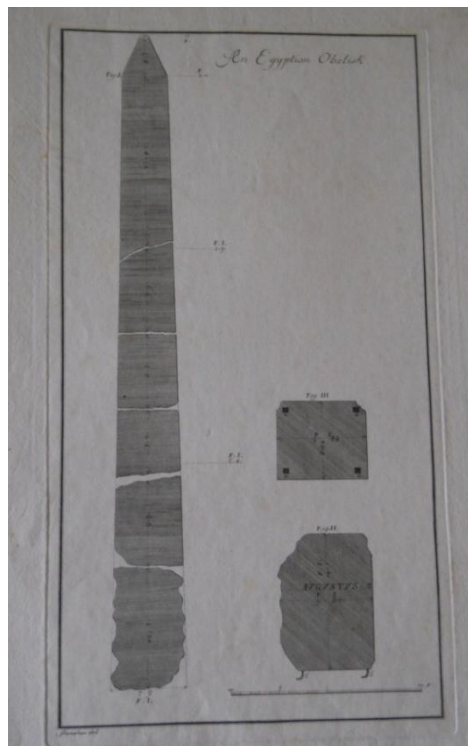


Figure 3.25

Cristoro Dall'Acqua after Michael Shanahan, *Egyptian obelisk*, c.1772, Museo Civico, Vicenza. Print.



Figure 3.26

Cristoro Dall'Acqua after Michael Shanahan, *Architectural overview of the mainland gate of Zadar*, c.1772, Civic Collection of Engravings, Serrone Villa Royale, Monza. Print.

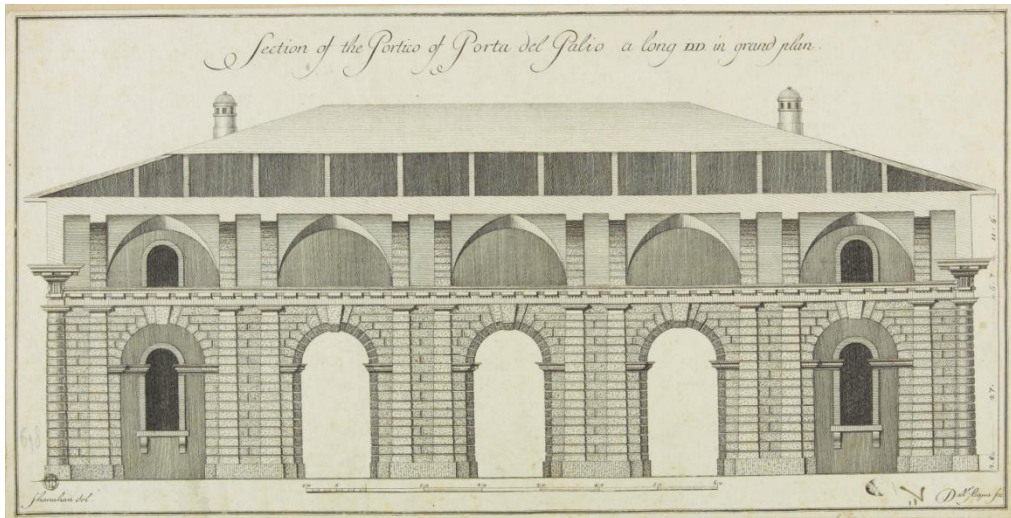


Figure 3.27

Cristoro Dall'Acqua after Michael Shanahan, *Section of Porta Palio*, c.1772, Castello Sforza, Milan. Print.

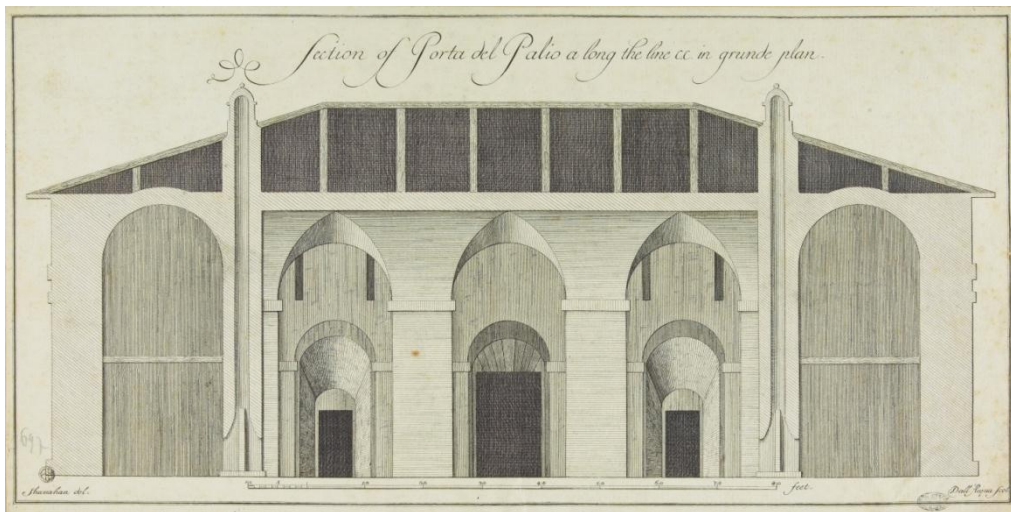


Figure 3.28

Cristoro Dall'Acqua after Michael Shanahan, *Section of Porta Palio*, c.1772, Castello Sforza, Milan. Print.

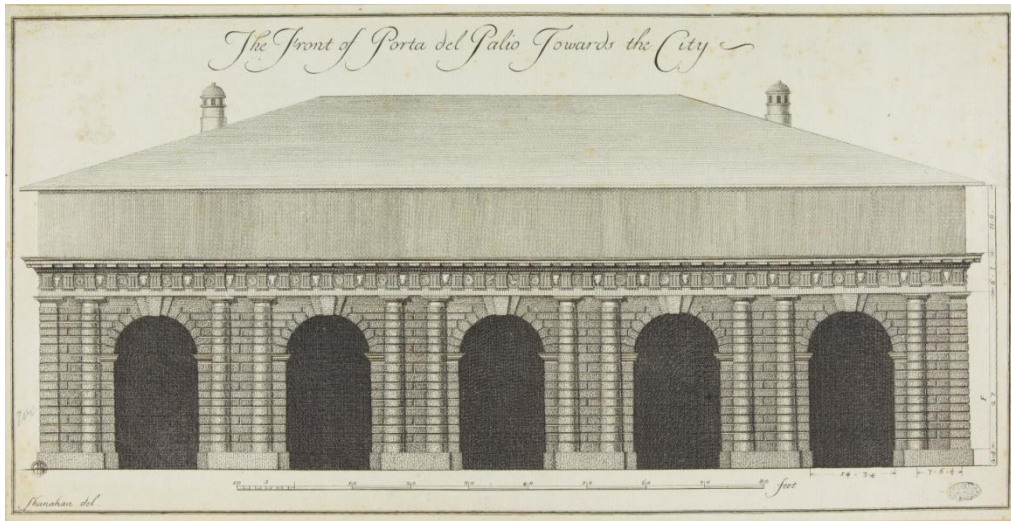


Figure 3.29

Cristoro Dall'Acqua after Michael Shanahan, *Section of Porta Palio*, c.1772, Castello Sforza, Milan. Print.

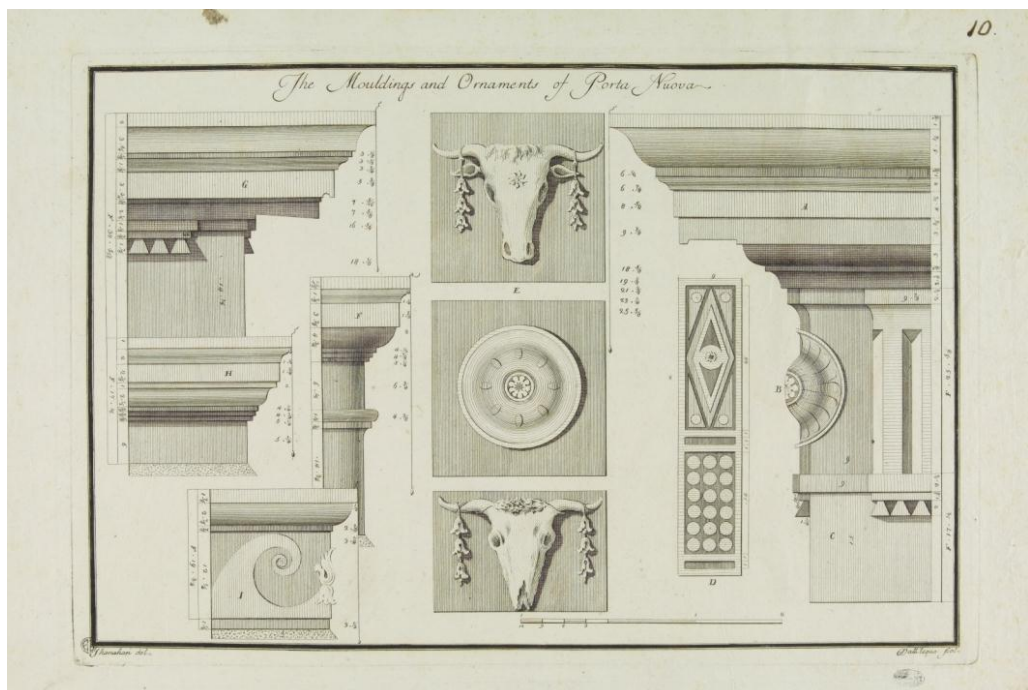


Figure 3.30

Cristoro Dall'Acqua after Michael Shanahan, *Ornaments of Porta Nuova*, Verona, c.1772, Castello Sforza, Milan. Print.



Figures 3.31a and b

Ornament detail of Porta Nuova, 1535-40, Verona. Author's photographs.



Figure 3.32

Detail of ornament of Lion's Gate at Downhill, Castlerock. Author's photograph.



Figure 3.33

Lion's Gate at Downhill, Castlerock. Author's photograph.



Figure 3.34

Mussenden Temple at Downhill, Castlerock. Author's photograph.



Figure 3.35

Temple of the Winds, Mount Stewart House, Newtownards. Courtesy of the National Trust collection.



Figure 3.36

*Interior of the Temple of the Winds, Mount Stewart House, Newtownards.
Courtesy of the National Trust collection.*

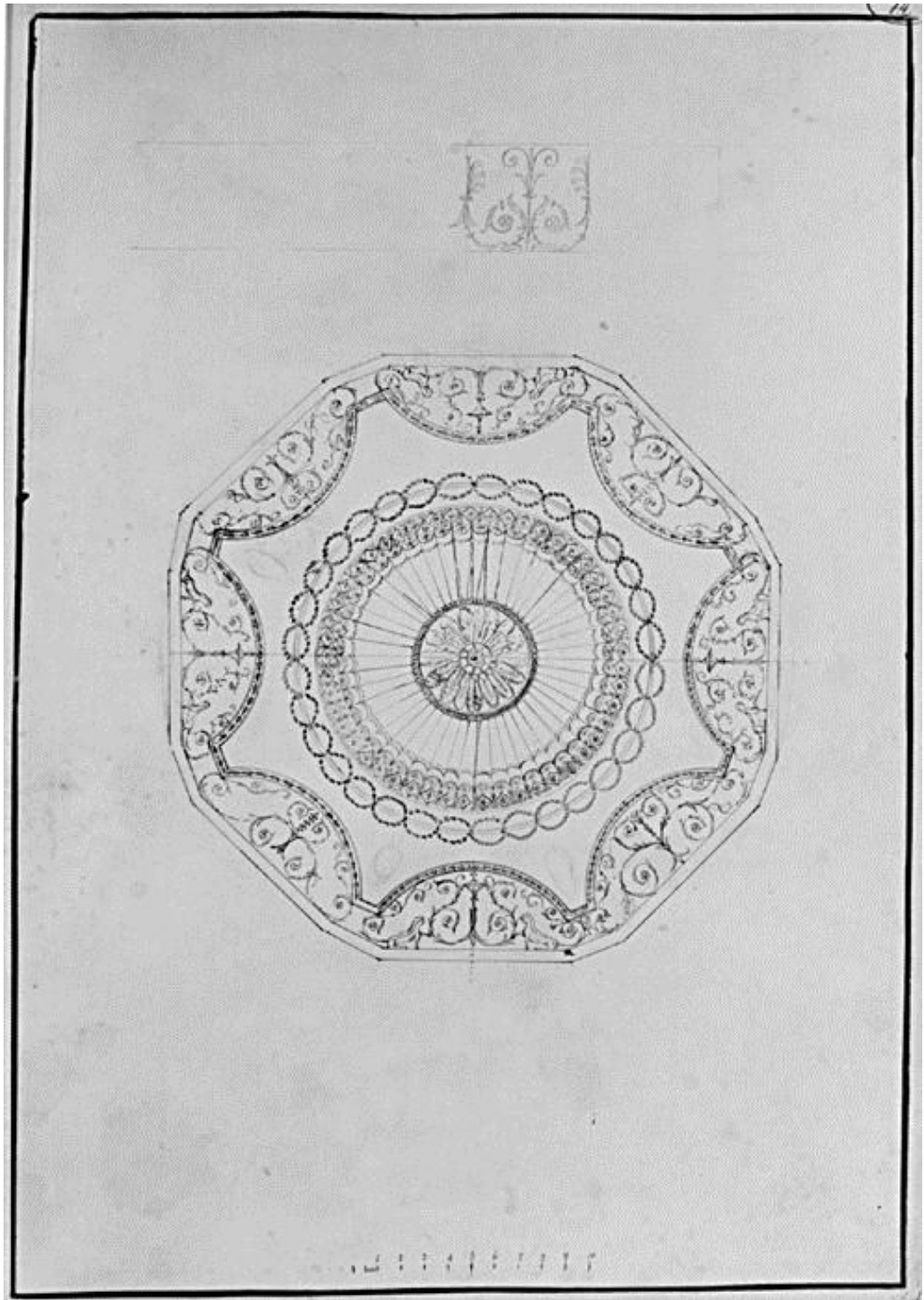


Figure 3.37

James Wyatt, *Design for the drawing room ceiling of Hagley Park, Staffordshire, for Assheton Curzon, c.1771*, Metropolitan Museum, New York. Drawing.

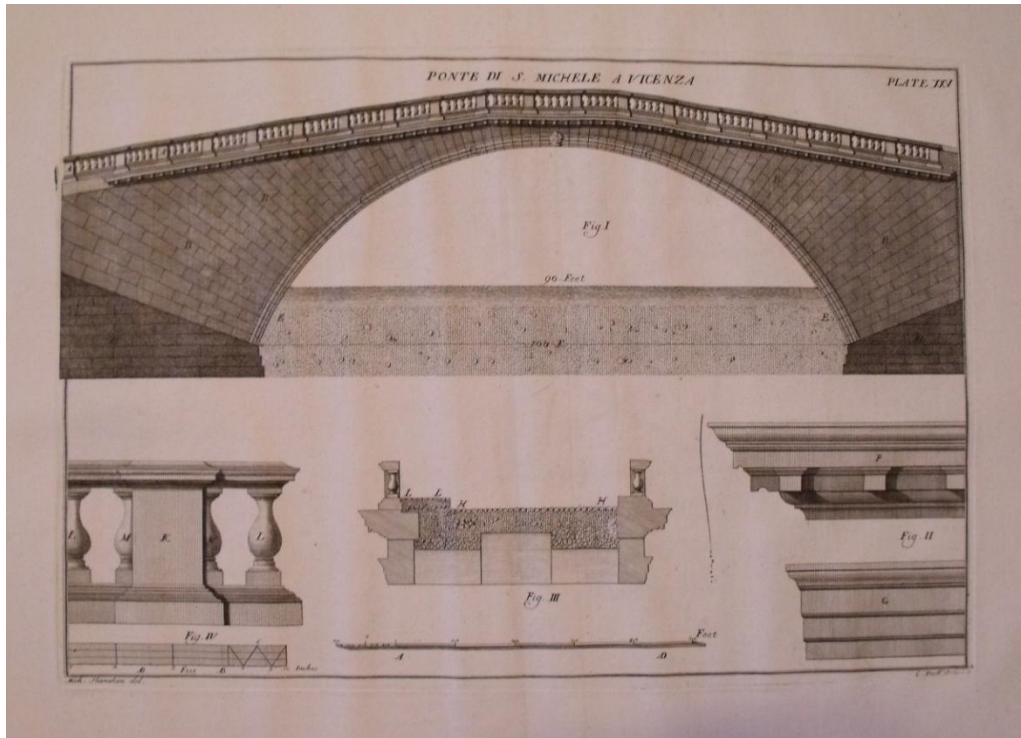


Figure 3.38

Cristoro Dall'Acqua after Michael Shanahan, *Ponte San Michele, Vicenza*, c.1772, Ickworth House, Suffolk. Print.

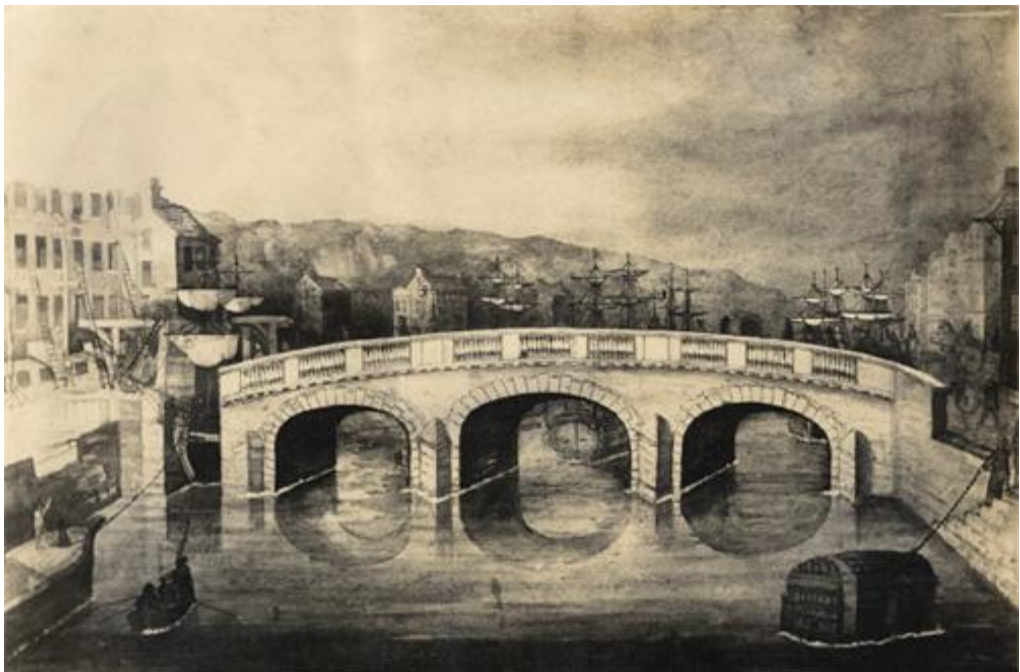


Figure 3.39

Unknown, *St Patrick's Bridge, Cork*, 1786. Print.



Figure 3.40

Michael Shanahan (attributed to), *Chimney-piece*, Knight of Glin archive, National University of Ireland, Maynooth. Marble.



Figure 3.41

Michael Shanahan (attributed to), *Chimney-piece*, Knight of Glin archive, National University of Ireland, Maynooth. Marble.



Figure 4.1

Jean-Baptiste van Loo, *John, Lord Hervey holding his purse of office as Lord Privy Seal*, 1741, Ickworth House, Suffolk. Oil on canvas, 182.9 x 137.2cms.



Figure 4.2

Gaspard Dughet, *A classical landscape*, Ickworth House, Suffolk.
Oil on canvas, 72.4 x 96.5cms.



Figure 4.3

Johann Zoffany, *George, 2nd earl of Bristol*, c.1766, Ickworth House, Suffolk.
Oil on canvas, 124.5 x 99.0cms.



Figure 4.4

Johann Zoffany, *Frederick Hervey, bishop of Derry*, c.1766, Ickworth House, Suffolk. Oil on canvas, 73.7 x 61.0cms.



Figure 4.5

Saloon of Audley End House, Essex. English Heritage.



Figure 4.6

William Hoare, *Lord John Augustus Hervey presented by his father Frederick Hervey, bishop of Derry, to William Pitt, Lord Chatham*, 1771, Ickworth House, Suffolk. Oil on canvas, 167.6 x 233.7cms.



Figure 4.7

Benjamin West, *The death of General Wolfe*, 1779, Ickworth House, Suffolk. Oil on canvas, 152.5 x 216.0cms.



Figure 4.8

Pompeo Batoni, *Portrait of The Rt. Rev. The Hon. Frederick Augustus Hervey, bishop of Derry and 4th earl of Bristol*, 1778, Private collection.

Oil on canvas, 137 x 101cms.



Figure 4.9

Thomas Watson after Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Thomas Newton, Dean of St Pauls and Bishop of Bristol*, 1775, National Portrait Gallery, London. Print, 45.5 x 33.0cms.



Figure 4.10

Anton von Maron, *Elizabeth Hervey, 4th countess of Bristol*, 1778-9, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien. Oil on canvas, 76.0 x 59.5cms.



Figure 4.11

Antonio di Bittio, *Elizabeth, countess of Bristol with her daughter Louisa*, 1773, Ickworth House, Suffolk. Oil on canvas, 126.4 x 101.9cms.



Figure 4.12

Antonio di Bittio, *Elizabeth, countess of Bristol with her family*, c.1773, Private collection. Author's photograph at the Witt Library, London.



Figure 4.13

Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun, *Self-portrait*, 1791, Ickworth House, Suffolk.
Oil on canvas, 99.0 x 81.0cms.



Figure 4.14

Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun, *Frederick Hervey, bishop of Derry and earl of Bristol*, 1790, Ickworth House, Suffolk. Oil on canvas, 100.3 x 74.9cms.



Figure 4.15

Hugh Douglas Hamilton, *Frederick Hervey, bishop of Derry and earl of Bristol seated on the Pincian Hill overlooking Rome*, 1790, Ickworth House, Suffolk.
Pastel on paper, 82 x 101cms.



Figure 4.16

Hugh Douglas Hamilton, *Frederick Hervey, bishop of Derry and 4th earl of Bristol, 1730-1803, with his granddaughter Lady Caroline Crichton, 1779-1856, in the gardens of the Villa Borghese, Rome, c.1790*, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.

Oil on canvas, 223.5 x 199cms.



Figure 4.17

Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, *Furietti Centaur*, photographed at Downhill in c.1900.



Figure 4.18

Christopher Hewetson, *Frederick Hervey, 4th earl of Bristol*, c.1778, National Portrait Gallery, London. Marble bust, 64.8cms (height).



Figure 4.19

Giovanni Pierantoni, *Group of William Pitt the Younger as infant Hercules strangling serpents Fox and North*, 1796, Private collection. Marble, 71.1 x 76.2cms.



Figure 4.20

John Flaxman, *Fury of Athamas*, 1790, Ickworth House, Suffolk. Marble.



Figure 4.21

Simone Martini, *Christ discovered in the Temple*, 1342, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. Egg tempera on panel, 49.6 x 35.1cms.



Figure 4.22

Jacob More, *An ideal classical landscape with Cicero and friends*, 1780, Ickworth House, Suffolk. Oil on canvas, 142.2 x 198.1cms.



Figure 4.23

Diana in the stair hall at Downhill, photograph. Courtesy of the National Trust collection.



Figure 5.1

Christian Friedrich Zincke, *Carr, Lord Hervey (1691-1723)*, Ickworth House, Suffolk. Miniature.



Figure 5.2

George, 1st Marquess Townshend, *George William Hervey, 2nd earl of Bristol*, 1751-1758, National Portrait Gallery, London. Sketch.



Figure 5.3

Hubert Gravelot, Francis Hayman and Jean-Étienne Liotard, *The Honourable Mrs Constantine Phipps being led to greet her brother, Captain, the Honourable Augustus Hervey*, 1750, Ickworth House, Suffolk.
Oil on canvas, 99.1 x 124.5cms.



Figure 5.4

Thomas Gainsborough, *Lord John Augustus Hervey*, c.1779-83, Ickworth House, Suffolk. Oil on canvas, 221.0 x 149.9cms.



Figure 5.5

Edmé Bouchardon, *John, Lord Hervey*, 1729, Courtauld Gallery, London. Marble.



Figure 5.6

Hugh Douglas Hamilton, *Mary, countess of Erne, with her daughter Lady Caroline Crichton*, 1789, Private collection. Oil on canvas, 170 x 131cms.



Figure 5.7

Angelica Kauffmann, *Lady Elizabeth Foster*, 1786, Ickworth House, Suffolk.
Oil on canvas, 127.0 x 101.5cms.



Figure 5.8

Ludwig Guttenbrunn, *Tea party at Evian-les-Bains*, 1786,
Private collection. Oil on canvas, 43.2 x 57.8cms



Figure 5.9

Gervase Spencer, *Princess Augusta of Brunswick*, c.1762,
Ickworth House, Suffolk. Miniature.



Figure 5.10

Bad Pyrmont Zweyte Ansicht der Promenade, c.1780. Print.



Figure 5.11

Peter Fabris, *View of Naples (Plate III)*, from Sir William Hamilton's *Campi Phlegraei*, plate 3 (1779).

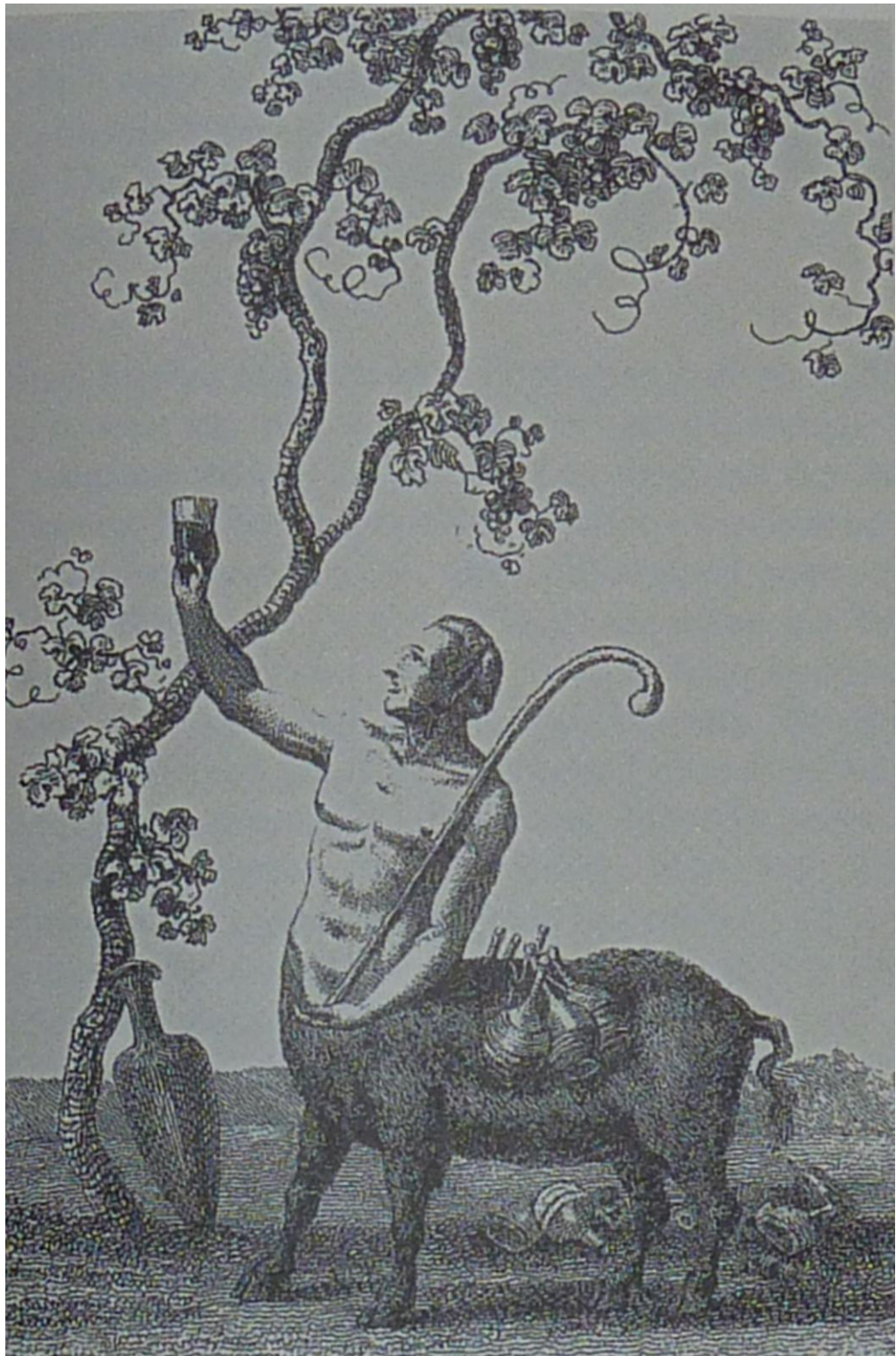


Figure 5.12

Johann Christian Rheinhardt, Caricature of Lord Bristol, bishop of Derry, from Johann Gottfried Seume, *Spaziergang nach Syrakus in Jahre 1802* (1802).



Figure 5.13

Gervase Spencer, *Frederick Augustus Hervey*, c.1750-52, Ickworth House, Suffolk. Watercolour on ivory.



Figure 5.14

Unknown, *The church militant*, 1784, British Museum, London.
Print.



Figure 6.1

Henry Graves, *Geraldine, marchioness of Bristol*, 1870, Ickworth House, Suffolk.
Oil on canvas, 87.6 x 68.6cms.



Figure 6.2

Pompeian Room, Ickworth House, Suffolk: designed by John Diblee Crace, completed in 1879.



Figure 6.3

Reginald Eves, *Theodora, marchioness of Bristol*, 1915, Ickworth House, Suffolk.
Oil on canvas, 148.6 x 92.7cms.