‘The Cries of Dublin’ revisited: four new drawings by Hugh Douglas Hamilton

WILLIAM LAFFAN

‘A MISTY WORLD CLARIFIED’

Writing in 2003, Anne Crookshank and the Knight of Glin – scholars not given to hyperbole – characterised Hugh Douglas Hamilton’s album of drawings *The Cries of Dublin*, as ‘one of the most fascinating works of art to have survived from Georgian Ireland’ and described the album’s rediscovery (in Australia the previous year) as among the ‘most sensational events in the historiography of Irish art in recent decades’.[1] The 2003 book dedicated to the *Cries*, published by Churchill House Press for the Irish Georgian Society, included contributions from Toby Barnard, Joseph McDonnell, Brendan Rooney, Sean Shesgreen and the present author. Its stated aim was to explore the drawings from ‘socio-historical, bibliographical, iconological and stylistic viewpoints’.[2] The sheer breadth of the subject matter demanded this multidisciplinary approach, and Crookshank and Glin predicted that the drawings would ‘provide material for students of costume, foodstuffs, transport, and social history generally for many years to come’.[3] This has proved to be the case in the sixteen years since the *Cries* was finally published; indeed no other eighteenth-century visual source has been as widely and profitably exploited, with Hamilton’s drawings having been cited in some fifty academic publications, some of which are summarised below.

This scholarly attention offers a partial correction to a historiographical deficit regarding the use of visual material which was identified by Kevin O’Neill in 1993: ‘Historians of Ireland have been reluctant to incorporate visual evidence into their documentary catalogue.’[4] Brian Kennedy and Raymond Gillespie made the same point the following year: ‘In Ireland, historians still regard visual images as sideshows to the main task of interpreting written documents from the past.’[5] It is certainly the case that one can scan volume after volume of the otherwise exemplary journal *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*

All drawings in this article are by Hugh Douglas Hamilton (1740-1808)

1 – A Young Woman leading an Emaciated Horse, c. 1760 (private collection)

2 – A Woman accompanied by a Child and Dog driving a Laden Horse, c. 1760 (private collection)

with little risk of being distracted by an illustration. Of course, it is not without reason that historians have been wary of the veracity of many views of eighteenth-century Ireland, though they are used to dealing with equally partial written sources. Edward McParland, for example, notes the 'insidious process of idealisation' at work in James Malton's views of Dublin.[6] By contrast, with a few exceptions, Hamilton's *Cries* seem to present themselves as largely 'unmediated and direct responses by the young artist to what he saw as he walked the city streets' in 1760 and their seeming verisimilitude has no doubt enhanced the evidentiary quotient placed on them by historians in a variety of fields.[7] Among the first historians to recognise the importance of integrating visual sources into Irish historical research and writing was Toby Barnard.[8] In the foreword to his *Making the Grand Figure: lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (2003), now recognised as a classic of Irish historiography, he uses the specific example of Hamilton's *Cries* to evoke vividly how, if interpreted with caution and nuance, the visual can amplify the documentary historical record: 'On examining [the *Cries*] at Christie's in London, I was astonished by the visual confirmation of much that I had surmised from written fragments. Immediately a misty world was clarified.'[9] In this instance, at least, a picture can be worth a thousand words.

'THE VARIETY AND VIBRANCY OF 18TH-CENTURY DUBLIN'

Naturally, the discovery of so many drawings in a style and of subject matter that could never have been predicted radically changed the perception of the young Hugh Douglas Hamilton as an artist.[10] There was just time for Crookshank and Glin to include brief mention of the *Cries* ('the most lively and brilliantly observed drawings of Dublin life in existence') in their *Ireland's Painters* (2002), whose endpapers they graced.[11] In 2008 the album was included in the monographic show at the National Gallery of Ireland, *Hugh Douglas Hamilton (1740-1808) A Life in Pictures*, the exhibition's curator, Anne Hodge, noting how they allowed insight into 'another aspect of his early career' and 'allow[ed] us to imagine the variety and vibrancy of 18th-century Dublin'.[12] Meanwhile, Sean Shesgreen, who pioneered research on the subject and who contributed to the 2003 volume, explored further the position of Hamilton's work within the iconography of city cries more generally.[13] Given the wealth of artefacts, used or traded, that are shown in the *Cries* it is not surprising that the album has been much scrutinised by historians of material culture. It was included in the major exhibition *Ireland: Crossroads of Art and Design, 1690-1840* at the Art Institute of Chicago and has been used as evidence in studies of clothing, earthenware pottery, hearses, and the vernacular use of straw, hay and rushes.[14] The drawings have also been invaluable for the study of Irish print culture,[15] food,[16] and music and musical instruments.[17]

One of the revelatory aspects of *The Cries of Dublin* is its seemingly realistic and at the same time sensitive depiction of Dublin's poor, so largely excluded from art of the period.[18] The album formed the centrepiece to an exhibition at the National Gallery of Ireland in 2002, *Alive, Alive O! Street Life, 1760-1900*, and features in the film *Georgian Beginnings* on show at the tenement museum, 14 Henrietta Street, Dublin. The *Cries* has

also been used as evidence in discussion of many aspects of Dublin civic life in studies by John Montague, Colm Lennon, Diarmuid Ó Gráda, David Dickson, and Davis and Mary Coakley.[19] In his magisterial survey of the city Dickson notes the uniqueness of Hamilton's ambition: 'The intimate and remarkably sympathetic portrayal of a variety of street traders and domestic servants, waifs and scavengers suggests a bustling outdoor world completely familiar to the young draughtsman and a world that no other artist sought to capture.'[20]

A SHOE BOY

An example illustrates the diversity of historical contexts in which Hamilton's drawings have been explored and the richness of the material that they can offer the historian. A single drawing, 'A Shoe Boy at Custom House Gate' (Plate 3), has been discussed by scholars in fields as diverse as Dublin's urban planning and retail development, and the histories of Irish wallpaper, crime and brewing. The one area in which Hamilton's *Cries* is noticeably reticent is in the depiction of Dublin's streetscape and its domestic and public buildings. With just two exceptions, his attention was firmly focused on the characters who inhabited the streets rather the splendid backdrop that was soon to be Malton's subject. Nevertheless, John Montague has elegantly combined the evidence of 'A Shoe Boy' with maps by Hamilton's more senior collaborator John Rocque and those of the Wide Streets Commissioners to explore the hitherto unnoticed shopping arcades (or *piazzas*) behind Essex Street.[21] In his book on Irish wallpaper, David Skinner built on Montague's insight to show how Hamilton's drawing illustrated almost exactly the view from the front door of the shop of the leading 'paper stainer' Catherine McCormick 'just a year before the widow took possession of her new premises'.[22]

3 – A Shoeboy at Custom House Gate
from The Cries of Dublin, 1760 (private collection)

Details of McCormick's life survive in large part because she gave evidence at the sensational trial in 1743 of Richard Annesley for the abduction of his nephew James ('Jemmy'), events which inspired Robert Louis Stevenson's novel *Kidnapped*. Despite his (supposedly) noble birth, Jemmy as a child had been reduced to working as a shoeblack on the streets of Dublin and this same drawing showing such a figure with the accouterments of his trade is used to illustrated this humble profession in Roger

Ekirch's vivid account of the Annesley trial.[23] Meanwhile, in his biography of Arthur Guinness, Patrick Guinness uses the drawing again not for its architectural, or indeed shoeblacking, interest but for its portrayal of a hogshead of beer on a dray turning into the old Custom House.[24] The *Cries* are dated the year after Guinness founded his famous brewery and his descendant describes Hamilton's drawing as 'a scene from Arthur's life' – a snapshot of Georgian Dublin.[25]

'EVEN IF THEY ARE ONLY PICTURES'

Brian Kennedy and Raymond Gillespie, who, as quoted above, lamented the lack of interest in visual evidence among Ireland's historians noted that even when the visual is introduced into discussion it is sometimes done so in a decidedly superficial way: 'Illustrations are often incorporated into historical works only at the insistence of publishers, or at best to make large bodies of text more attractive visually. Images are rarely treated as evidence in themselves.'[26] It must be acknowledged that this has been the case with the *Cries* too, and that their reproduction has sometimes served illustrative rather than analytical purposes – to 'give a flavour'. At the same time, while most of the scholars listed above have been scrupulous in evaluating the evidentiary worth of Hamilton's drawings, on occasion there is the danger of the *Cries* (especially given the paucity of comparative visual material) being treated almost as if they are photographs or technical drawings, accurately describing every detail of the objects, vehicles and clothing they portray. It is worth repeating that this is not the case, and several 'inaccuracies of detail' were noted in the commentary which accompanied the 2003 publication.[27] These can be due either to error, simplification or artistic licence: 'the drawings are generally truthful reflections of what Hamilton saw as he sketched, but, as with all artists, he could not resist the temptation occasionally, to improve on nature.'[28] Indeed, though the explosion of scholarship that it has engendered is to be welcomed, in ways it misunderstands the nature of Hamilton's project to see the album mainly as a repository of source material for future, literal-minded historians. Although it should not discourage the attempt, there *are* difficulties in interpreting visual material; quite simply there are many other factors at play in artistic creation than the merely documentary.

4 – Hard Ware
from The Cries of Dublin, 1760 (private collection)

To take one example, 'Hard Ware' (Plate 4) is included in Barnard's *Grand Figure* to illustrate how 'small items of haberdashery were hawked through Dublin ... allowing those of modest means, such as domestic servants, to acquire both decorative and useful objects', and by the present author in the Chicago catalogue to show 'how sometimes more than just the bare necessities of life were available to – or could at least be coveted by – the humble'.[29] There seems though to be more going on in this drawing than first meets the eye. Chapmen, vendors of feminine luxuries, were seen at the time as seductive figures of flirtation, and, as suggested in 2003, the very prominently placed, and distinctly phallic, bollard is certainly suggestive – as may be the title – of a 'sex and shopping' motif more typical of contemporary fancy painting.[30] Whether this is a deliberate visual joke or an unintentional Freudian slip, it would certainly be a category error to use this drawing as evidence in the study of Georgian Dublin's street furniture, where images by Malton and, say, Joseph Tudor may offer a more accurate picture. McParland, having acknowledged the artificial nature of Malton's images nevertheless concludes that there is much to be gleaned from his views but that as 'with every other historical source, we cannot approach Malton's views naïvely, even if they are only pictures'.[31] A similar caution is advisable in treating Hamilton's seemingly less mediated imagery.

FOUR MORE DRAWINGS

GIVEN THE INTEREST THAT HAMILTON'S *CRIES* HAS GENERATED AND THE FRUITFUL AND diverse scholarship it have inspired, it is pleasing that four more drawings by Hamilton closely related to his *Cries* project have recently been identified in an Irish private collection. Two sheets (Plates 1, 2) show heavy-laden and rather scrawny horses being led or driven. These relate to drawings in the *Cries* such as 'Bullrudderie Cakes'.[32] By analogy with one of the drawings in the album, 'Raggs [*sic*] or Old Cloaths', it would seem that one of the horses transports secondhand apparel, possibly for recycling in the busy paper-making trade; the other, emaciated, indeed half-lame, seems to carry cabbages in creel baskets of a type similar to those shown in 'A Fisher's Boy' and 'Apples and Pears'.[33]

The other newly identified sheets (Plates 5, 6) comprise a pair of compositionally related drawings showing figures in simple two-wheel carriages passing through a toll gate in the act of paying for access to the newly improved road. The English system of turnpikes was introduced to Ireland in 1729, and at its peak covered some 1,300 miles of road. An act of parliament 'authorised a group of local individuals to form a trust to charge traffic units specified tolls for the use of the road and to use the collected toll money to maintain and improve it'.[34] The 1760s, when Hamilton likely made these sketches, saw six acts of parliament authorising turnpike roads, including Dublin's Circular Road and in places as far away as Kanturk, county Cork, and Listowel, county Kerry. The network was not universally popular, with the *Freeman's Journal* in October 1763 lamenting the fact that 'the traveller ... cannot be said to receive value for the excessive tolls, payable on all parts of these roads, while they are universally found in a worse condition, than they have been known within the memory of man, before turnpikes were instituted.'[35] These drawings

seem to be the earliest visual record of the Irish turnpike system in operation.

Overlaps in style, subject matter and artistic personality (admittedly something more difficult to pinpoint) make a compelling case for the attribution to Hamilton at about or – allowing for the slightly less advanced graphic technique – maybe a little before 1760, the date of the *Cries*. Similarities are clearly apparent in the rough-hewn (at times even clumsy) but nevertheless very effective modelling of the figures, the extreme economy of marks deployed in the delineation of the faces (which still, in several instances, achieve the same level of deft characteristation), and the simple but telling use of wash to create pools of shadow in which the figures stand. A comparison between the horses in one of the toll-gate images and in 'New Milk Sold in the Streets' would seem to copper fasten the attribution.[36] More generally the four new drawings are, like the *Cries*, 'powerfully marked by a consistency of aesthetic' in which 'the very lack of technical sophistication is what gives them their power and sense of verisimilitude'.[37] It must be acknowledged that the new drawings lack the raw bravura strength of the best of the *Cries* – 'Brogues', for example, or his depiction of a turnip porter – but it has been noted that there is a spectrum of proficiency (and presumably a variety of dates) within the album, with sheets ranging from the 'noticeably tentative' to 'drawings of great verve and confidence'.[38] That said, the foreshortening of the horse in Plate 2 seems very deliberate (an artist looking for an easier pictorial solution would have angled it along the picture plane) and it is much more successfully rendered than in 'Oyster Carrs [*sic*] at Ormond Market Gate'.[39] This rather recalls John O'Keeffe's account of how Hamilton, his former classmate, 'was remarkable for choosing the most foreshortened view, consequently the most difficult'.[40] That said, as with some of the first drawings in the main album sequence, here we can still see the young artist learning the tricks of his trade.

Hamilton's *Cries* does not represent an orthodox set of city cries and there is something of an 'odd mix of material in the album', with the drawings of hearses, say, not fitting into the traditional iconography, and the two drawings of Cork subject matter clearly breaking with the Dublin focus of the title.[41] Nor is there a consistency of medium, with occasional sheets executed in red chalk interspersed with the wash drawings. There are also several series of inscriptions in the album, some of which contradict each other. All of these factors support the idea that the album was put together retrospectively and then given a catch-all title on the frontispiece. If it is a somewhat random assemblage rather than a deliberately conceived whole, it is not surprising that other related drawings existed that did not make it into the album, and these four additional drawings suggest that Hamilton's engagement with the demotic subject matter of his *Cries* was not a one-off aberration on his journey to becoming a successful society portraitist – and aspiring history painter – in London and Rome.[42] Certainly it is pleasing that the sixty-six drawn sheets in the album which have attracted so much scholarly interest since they were published in 2003 can now be supplemented by these four new drawings to round off the unique picture of the Georgian capital offered by Hamilton in his ever-fascinating *Cries of Dublin*.

---

5 – Two Men paying a Toll at a Toll Gate, c. 1760

6 – A Man and a Woman paying a Toll at a Toll Gate, c. 1760 (all: private collection)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

With thanks to Charles Duggan, David Fleming, Ruth Kenny, Finola O'Kane, Colin Rafferty, Brendan Rooney and Philip Turner.

———

ENDNOTES

1 Anne Crookshank and Desmond FitzGerald, Knight of Glin, 'Preface', in William Laffan (ed.), *The Cries of Dublin Drawn from the Life by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, 1760* (Dublin, 2003) 9.

2 William Laffan, 'Behind the Gorgeous Mask: Hugh Douglas Hamilton's "Cries of Dublin" Rediscovered', in Laffan, *The Cries of Dublin*, 23.

3 Crookshank and Glin, 'Preface', 9.

4 Kevin O'Neill, 'Looking at the Pictures - art and artfulness in colonial Ireland', in Adele M. Dalsimer and Nancy Netzer (eds), *Visualising Ireland: national identity and the pictorial tradition* (Boston and London, 1993) 55. There is extensive literature on the subject more generally; see, for example, Ludmilla Jordanova, *The Look of the Past: visual and material evidence in historical practice* (Cambridge, 2012); Katy Layton-Jones, 'Visual Quotations: referencing visual sources as historical evidence', *Visual Resources*, vol. 24, issue 2, 2008, 189-99; Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: an introduction to researching with visual material* (London, 2001).

5 Raymond Gillespie and Brian P. Kennedy (eds), *Ireland, Art into History* (Dublin, 1994) 7.

6 Edward McParland, 'Malton's Views of Dublin: too good to be true?', in Gillespie and Kennedy, *Ireland, Art into History*, 23.

7 Laffan, 'Behind the Gorgeous Mask', 23.

8 See, for example, the section 'Pictorial Sources', in Toby Barnard, *A Guide to Sources for the History of Material Culture in Ireland, 1500-2000* (Dublin, 2005) 94-95 and figs 7a-c for Hamilton's *Cries*.

9 Toby Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven and London, 2004) viii.

10 Laffan, 'Behind the Gorgeous Mask', 12.

11 Anne Crookshank and the Knight of Glin, *Ireland's Painters 1600-1950* (New Haven and London, 2002) 105.

12 Anne Hodge (ed.), *Hugh Douglas Hamilton 1740-1808: a life in pictures*, exhibition catalogue, National Gallery of Ireland (Dublin, 2008) 12, 13. Reviews of the exhibition also featured the *Cries*: Eamonn O'Flaherty, 'Hugh Douglas Hamilton (1740-1808)', *History Ireland*, March-April 2009, 340, and William Laffan, 'Affections Quickened', *Apollo*, CLXIX, 562, February 2009, 74. The most up-to-date brief biography of Hamilton is by Ruth Kenny in Nicola Figgis (ed.), *Art and Architecture of Ireland, Volume 2, Painting, 1600-1900* (Dublin, New Haven and London, 2014) 280-82.

13 Sean Shesgreen, 'The Cries of London from the Renaissance to the Nineteenth Century: a short history', in Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond, Jeroen Salman (eds), *Not Dead Things: the dissemination of popular print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500-1820* (Leiden, 2013) 117-52. Another essay in this volume, Melissa Calaresu, 'Costumes and Customs in Print: Travel, Ethnography, and the Representation of Street-Sellers in Early Modern Italy', 181, notes how Hamilton's *Cries of Dublin* has 'recently been integrated' into the pan-European tradition of the depiction of the cries of individual cities. See, too, more generally, Sean Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast: the urban poor in the Cries of London* (Manchester, 2002).

14 William Laffan, 'Colonial Ireland: Artistic Crossroads', in William Laffan and Christopher Monkhouse (eds), *Ireland, Crossroads of Art and Design, 1690-1840* (Chicago, 2015) 21; Claudia Kinmonth, *Irish Rural Interiors in Art* (New Haven and London, 2006) 100, 101, 105, 124 (clothes), and see in particular the foreword to this book by Toby Barnard; Barnard, *A Guide to Sources*, caption to plate 7 (pottery); Lisa Marie Griffith and Ciarán Wallace (eds), *Grave Matters: death and dying in Dublin, 1500-Present* (Dublin, 2016) 25, 32, 135, pls 2 and 3, and Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, 267 (hearses); see also *ibid*., pls 33-34, 60-62, 73, 75, 77. Anne O'Dowd, 'Green Rushes Under Your Feet: spreading rushes in folklore and history', *Béaloideas, The Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society*, 79, 2011, 82-112; Anne O'Dowd, *The Last Straw: the uses of straw, hay and rushes in Irish folk tradition* (Dublin, 2015).

15 Máire Kennedy, '"Politicks, Coffee and News": the Dublin book trade in the eighteenth century', *Dublin Historical Record*, vol. 58, no. 1, Spring 2005, 76-85; Toby Barnard, 'Print Culture,

1700-1800', in Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield (eds), *The Oxford History of the Irish Book Vol. III: the Irish book in English 1550-1800* (Oxford, 2006) figs 1-2; Toby Barnard, 'What did Irish People Read in the Eighteenth-Century', *History Ireland*, vol. 25, no. 6, Nov-Dec 2017, 22-25.

16 Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire, 'The History of Seafood in Irish Cuisine and Culture', *History Studies*, vol. 5, 61-76; Bruce Kraig and Colleen Taylor (eds), *Street Food Around the World: an encyclopaedia of food and culture* (Santa Barbara, Denver, Oxford, 2013) 193; Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire, 'Public Dining in Dublin: the history and evolution of gastronomy and commercial dining 1700-1900', *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, vol. 25, issue 2, 2012, 227-46.

17 Susan Wollenberg, 'John Baptist Malchair of Oxford and his Collection of "National Music"', in Rachel Cowgill, Peter Holman (eds), *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914* (Aldershot, 2007) 151; T. Hoagwood, *From Song to Print: romantic pseudo-songs* (New York, 2010) xiv; Barra Boydell, '"Whatever has a Foreign Tone / We like it Better than our Own", Irish Music and Anglo-Irish Identity in the Eighteenth Century', in John O'Flynn and Mark Fitzgerald (eds), *Music and Identity in Ireland and Beyond* (Farnham, 2014) 30-31; Darcy Kuronen, 'Early Musical Instrument Making in Ireland', in Laffan and Monkhouse, *Ireland, Crossroads of Art and Design*, 211.

18 For the *Cries* and the depiction of the poor, see William Laffan and Brendan Rooney, *Thomas Roberts, Landscape and Patronage in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Tralee, 2009) 59-60, 232-33. For Hackball, King of the Beggars (as depicted by Hamilton in the *Cries*) and his relation to the Queen of the Sluts, a Dublin fence involved in a 1721 crime and also an archetype of transgressive femininity, see Seán Donnelly, '"Not so Wicked as to Commit Sacrilege": a theft at Christmas 1721 from the Chapel of St Nicholas Without, Francis Street, Dublin', https://www.scribd.com/document/17636481/Theft-and-Sacrilege-Dublin-Christmas-1721.

19 Colm Lennon, *Dublin Part II, 1610 to 1756*, Irish Historic Towns Atlas (Dublin, 2008) no. 19, 32, illus; Colm Lennon and John Montague, *John Rocque's Dublin: a guide to the Georgian city* (Dublin, 2010) 23; Diarmuid Ó Gráda, *Georgian Dublin: the forces that shaped the city* (Cork, 2015) 9-10, 51, 58-60, 124, 157, 186, 264; David Dickson, *Dublin, The Making of a Capital City* (London, 2014) 188 and pl. 10; Davis and Mary Coakley, *The History and Heritage of St James's Hospital, Dublin* (Dublin, 2018) 25.

20 Dickson, *Dublin*, 188.

21 John Montague, 'A Shopping Arcade in Eighteenth-Century Dublin: John Rocque and the Essex Street "Piazzas"', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, X, 2007, 224-45 and pl. 11.

22 David Skinner, *Wallpaper in Ireland, 1700-1900* (Tralee, 2014) 26, 27, fig. 11.

23 A. Roger Ekirch, *Birthright, the True Story that inspired KIDNAPPED* (New York and London, 2010) 7-8.

24 Patrick Guinness, *Arthur's Round: the life and times of brewing legend Arthur Guinness* (London, 2008) fig. 18.

25 *ibid*., 91.

26 Gillespie and Kennedy, *Ireland, Art into History*, 7.

27 Laffan, 'Behind the Gorgeous Mask', 14 and 18-19.

28 *ibid*., 18.

29 Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, 279; Laffan 'Colonial Ireland', 21.

30 Laffan, *The Cries of Dublin*, 156.

31 McParland, 'Malton's Views of Dublin', 24.

32 Laffan, *The Cries of Dublin*, 162-63, 174-75 and 182-83.

33 *ibid*., 150-51, 132-33, 116-17.

34 David Broderick, *The First Toll-Roads: Ireland's Turnpike Roads, 1729-1858* (Cork, 2002) 2 and *passim*.

35 Quoted *ibid*., 93.

36 Laffan, *The Cries of Dublin*, 64-65.

37 Laffan, 'Behind the Gorgeous Mask', 14.

38 Laffan, *The Cries of Dublin*, 122-23 and 148-49; Laffan, 'Behind the Gorgeous Mask', 14. For a discussion of the 'multiplicity of drawing techniques' evident in the album, see Laffan, 'Behind the Gorgeous Mask', 14.

39 Laffan, *The Cries of Dublin*, 62-63.

40 John O'Keeffe, *The Recollections of John O'Keeffe*, 2 vols (London, 1826) I, 12.

41 Laffan, 'Behind the Gorgeous Mask', 16-17.

42 See further, *ibid*., 17.

———