

*1 – Andrew Caldwell by Robert Woodburn (fl.1792-1803)
(photo: National Gallery of Ireland)*

An Irish artist goes to Bath: letters from John Warren to Andrew Caldwell, 1776-1784

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THE STUDY OF THE ARTISTIC LIFE OF BATH IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH century has received a boost from the presence in the town of such important figures as Thomas Gainsborough (1727-88) and Joseph Wright of Derby (1734-97), although they were but two participants in a thriving artistic and social centre. In that period, Bath provided a range of artistic and quasi-artistic activities, from portrait-painting to auctions, print shops and exhibitions, which were part of the round of amusements available to entertain visitors.¹ Those visitors included large numbers of Irish men, women and families; an Irish artist could hope to receive some patronage from that quarter, should he decide to seek professional opportunities in Bath. Some correspondence sent from Bath by a young Irish portraitist, John Warren (fl.1764-88), who did just that, has recently come to light. The letters contain some interesting evaluations by a contemporary of the work of artists active or recently active in Bath, amongst them Gainsborough and Wright, and of art collections in the Bath area. This introduction to the letters, which are transcribed in an Appendix, identifies the protagonists and describes the context in which they must be seen. They are referred to in this introduction by date, given between brackets.²

The letters were sent between 1776 and 1784 by Warren to his mentor Andrew Caldwell MP (1732-1808) in Dublin (Plate 1). They show that he went to Bath with the latter's encouragement and bearing letters of introduction from him and, apparently, from other Irish sympathisers too. Warren is quite clear in his comments as to the importance of such introductions, which seem to have been equally useful with British and Irish patrons. Warren was similarly aware of the prestigious and powerful role played by Caldwell in the promotion of the fine arts in Ireland. Indeed, the letters are all the more interesting for their allusions to Caldwell's knowledge and position.

Warren is recorded as a portraitist in 'crayons' (i.e. pastels) who exhibited twenty-five works at the Society of Artists in Ireland between 1769 and 1777.³ He

trained at the schools of the Royal Dublin Society (RDS), entering in 1764 (suggesting a date of birth around 1750) and winning a premium for portraiture in 1770. The majority of his exhibits were portraits described as ‘drawings’ or ‘in crayons’, although he also submitted a *Magdalen* and a *Flora* in 1771 and a *Good Samaritan* in 1772. His last four portraits known to have been exhibited in Dublin were sent from Bath in 1777, in which year he sent for the only time to the Royal Academy in London a mount containing four unnamed portraits in crayons.

That Warren should have been a pastellist is unsurprising since the medium was taught in the Dublin Society’s schools, probably by Jacob Ennis during the period of Warren’s attendance. Pastel-drawing was much prized in eighteenth-century Ireland, being practiced by such artists as Hugh Douglas Hamilton, Thomas Hickey, whom Warren knew in Bath, and Robert Healy.⁴ Pastel was also a popular medium amongst Bath artists such as William Hoare and Ozias Humphrey. The Irish portraitist Rupert Barber, who worked in pastel, was recommended by his teacher Arthur Pond, another pastellist, to begin his career in Bath rather than to travel, so great was the experience and advantage to be gained from working there. The technique was appropriate for a young artist of limited means. A pastel drawing could be completed fairly quickly, making it especially suitable for drawing children, and it was cheaper to produce than an oil painting, requiring less investment in studio space and materials. Moreover, the pastel drawing was easier to produce, the standard bust format not allowing for the inclusion of hands and often not demanding attention to pose or background. The resulting images were commonly framed and glazed with plate glass to protect them and to add to their attractiveness as objects.⁵

Andrew Caldwell trained as a lawyer but practised little, being able, after his father’s death in 1776, to live off his estate; he was also the agent for the Earl of Bessborough’s Irish estates. Thus he was able to devote himself to the encouragement of the arts in Ireland and to his intellectual interests, such as literary and natural history. A biographer noted his ‘literary and studious disposition, conjoined with his taste for the fine arts, always occupied every leisure hour, as he patronised liberally all those who excelled in any of the various branches of art’. Moreover, his ‘urbanity, variety of knowledge and cultivated taste, endeared him to the circle in which he moved’.⁶ Caldwell’s principal interest, however, seems to have been in architecture. He was one of a small but influential group concerned with the architectural improvement of Dublin, and served on the Dublin Wide Streets Commission.⁷ This was not a sinecure, but a position which allowed an active intervention in the town planning and architectural development of Dublin. Caldwell was a member of the Irish Parliament, sitting for Knocktopher, Co Kilkenny, in 1776-83, and Downpatrick, Co Down, in 1783-90.

Caldwell was also an art collector, owning paintings, prints and drawings, although the attributions and subject matter of the works he is known to have possessed suggest his collection was largely conventional. His artistic interests led him to serve on the committee of the Dublin Society, which administered the then only art school in Ireland, where Warren had trained.⁸ Caldwell is unusual for a man of his status and interests in that although he is reported to have visited collections of paintings in the Netherlands and Düsseldorf, he never made a grand tour of Italy to see at first hand the cradle of the architectural and artistic traditions he promoted. This is an unexpected lacuna in his career.⁹ Given his interests and status, it is not surprising to find Caldwell acting as the protector of a young Irish artist on a visit to Bath where he had gone with two complementary aims: to establish himself professionally and to learn from others. Nor is it surprising to find Warren giving him his flattering thanks as a ‘Guardian of Taste and genius’ (23 November 1776).

Ready access to Bristol by sea meant that Bath was more easily accessible than London to Irish visitors. In 1769 a traveller noted that the voyage from Bristol to Ireland was frequently made by those ‘who are not apprehensive of danger from the sea. And this is generally taken, I believe, by the quality and gentry from Ireland that visit Bath’.¹⁰ Bath was a popular destination for Irish visitors throughout the eighteenth century, and there is much evidence available which charts their integration into the life of the city. For example, in 1763 Samuel Derrick (1724–69), ‘a little Irishman’, became master of ceremonies, the role once played by Beau Nash, through the influence of the ‘Irish lobby’; in 1784 Hazard’s Public Reading Room and Library provided its subscribers with copies of thirty-five London and provincial papers, including those of Dublin and Belfast. In 1761 a visitor remarked on the ‘quantity of Irishmen here’, and another in 1795 called Bath ‘a little Dublin to an Irishman’.¹¹

There were numerous artistic connections between Bath and Dublin which predate Warren’s sojourn (although it is not clear if he was aware of them), as well as many contemporary and later ones. For example, the miniaturist Samuel Collins fled from his debts in Bath to Dublin in 1762, where he worked until his death in 1768.¹² Earlier, Rupert Barber had probably worked in Bath before returning to Ireland by 1743, whilst later we find Sampson Roch of Waterford in Bath between 1792 and 1821, sandwiching two long periods in Ireland.¹³ There were also many close links between the musical and theatrical worlds of Bath and Dublin. For example, the castrato Venanzio Rauzzini and the violinist Franx Lamotte were employed in Dublin for the 1778 season, following a season in Bath.¹⁴ An edition of Christopher Anstey’s well-known work of satire, the *New Bath Guide* (1766) was printed, possibly pirated, in Dublin in the year of its publication, indicating some market for its contents. R.B. Sheridan’s *The Rivals* is set in Bath, and was first pro-

duced in 1775, the year before Warren's arrival. It takes for granted the presence of the Irish there. Caldwell was a visitor to Bath, although the dates of those visits are not certain.¹⁵

In Bath there was a number of patrons who were Irish or who had Irish connections, and through whose patronage and support Warren expected to establish himself, aided by the letters of introduction with which Caldwell and others had equipped him. There was a generally good market in Bath for art, and a particular taste for pastel drawings – Warren's speciality. The progressive withdrawal from professional dominance of William Hoare left open new opportunities. Warren may have been aware of the possibility of study in art collections in the Bath area, and of observation of artistic rivals. It would also have been easier to send works to London and to visit London exhibitions from Bath (25 March 1777). This was an opportunity curtailed and then denied in Dublin owing to the schism within the Society of Artists in Ireland, and the consequent hiatus in its exhibitions between 1776 and 1779. Moreover, as the example of Gainsborough showed, a period in Bath could be useful preparation for an attempt to penetrate the London art world.

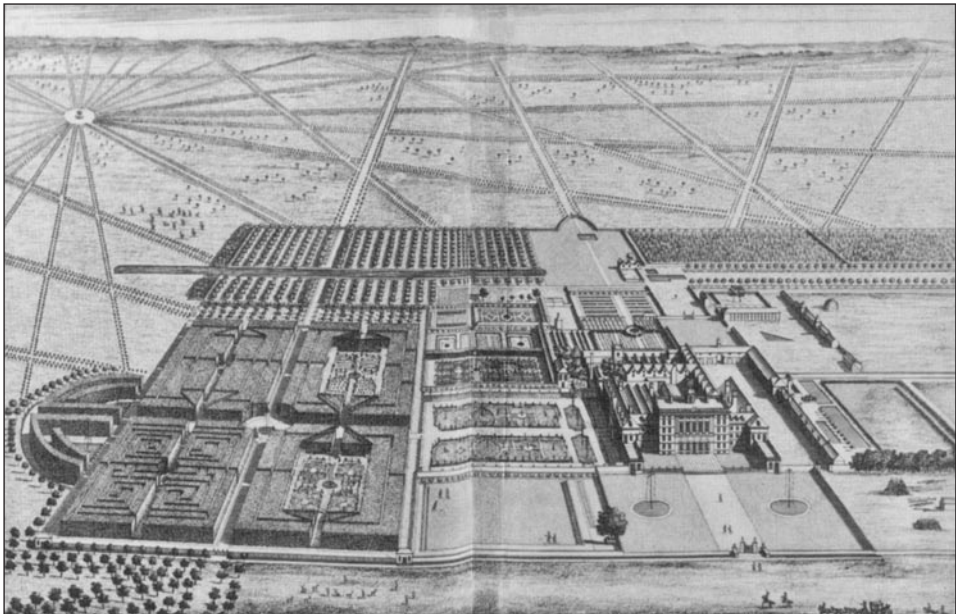
It is evident that Warren had other reasons for journeying via Bristol, not least for the opportunity (not actually taken because of the after-effects of sea-sickness (14 March 1776)) of visiting King's Weston, near Bristol, the seat of Edward Southwell, the 20th Lord Clifford, who had valuable estates in Ireland. He, it seems, like many of his contemporaries, opened his house to interested visitors.¹⁶ Warren may have had some prior connection with the Southwell family, and his acquaintance with some Bath residents certainly predates his arrival. One of his first duties there was to frame and deliver a painting to a Mr Campbell by whom he was then engaged to produce a picture, presumably a pastel drawing, thanks to the letter of recommendation the artist bore from a Mrs Rowley (14 March 1776), who was probably a member of the Rowley family of New Grange, where Caldwell had an estate. The success of this led him to receive a number of other commissions. Mr Campbell was Samuel Campbell (who died in 1792 in Bath) of Mount Campbell, Co Leitrim, whose daughter Sophia was married to Lord Clifford of King's Weston.

Warren's first recorded address in Bath was in Hetling Court near the Cross Bath, although that was in 1778, two years after his arrival. His residence there coincided with that of the portrait painter Robert Edge Pine (1720/30-88). The Cross Bath area was favoured by artists for its proximity to the principal sources of entertainment and activity in Bath, the Pump Room, the Cross and Hot Baths, the Lower Assembly Rooms and the Abbey. Therefore, these artists were well located for the convenient calls of their patrons; there were direct routes taken across the town by carriages and sedan chairs from the Baths to the Circus, and New or Upper Assembly Rooms which would have passed close by.¹⁷ By 1783, Warren had moved

the short distance to 12 Westgate Buildings where he was still resident in 1788, having in 1784 married a Miss Dorset, also of Westgate Buildings.¹⁸

In his letters, Warren refers to such well-known houses as Fonthill, ‘a Monstrous House built by Mr Beckford’ (i.e. the Palladian house Fonthill ‘Splendens’, built by the merchant Alderman William Beckford in c.1755 and largely demolished in 1807, and not its gothic replacement, Fonthill Abbey), Longleat and Stourton (i.e. Henry Hoare’s house and garden of classical allusions, Stourhead), and sights such as Stonehenge (25 March 1777), although he had not visited them all personally. He certainly did visit other houses, making notes about houses and art collections in Bath, recording his observations about Badminton (Plate 2), and giving a long description of the house, park (which he compared with Carton and Castletown in Ireland), and some of the collection of paintings at Corsham Court (17 June 1776). That collection had been built up by Sir Paul Methuen (1672-1757), whose cousin and godson Paul Methuen (1723-95) removed part of the collection from London to Corsham between 1768 and 1772. There it quickly became a magnet to visitors, the Methuens giving access to the collections quite freely.¹⁹ At Corsham, Warren’s attention was caught by two large works, then attributed to Rubens, *Abigail and David* (now in Detroit) and *Wolf and Fox Hunt* (still at Corsham), of which he gave an enthusiastic description. He was already

2 – View of Badminton from Kip and Knyff’s *Britannia Illustrata*
(courtesy Conway Library, Courtauld Institute, London)





3 – *The Picture Gallery at Corsham Court showing works seen by Warren, including The Baptism of Christ by Reni (left), Hunting Scene by Rubens and Snyders (above the chimney piece) and The Betrayal of Christ by van Dyck (right of chimney)*

familiar with the latter having seen a print after it. He mentioned works by Rembrandt (which he also knew from a print), Claude, Cortona's *Tancred and Erminia*, Guido Reni's *Baptism of Christ*, and Van Dyck's *Betrayal of Christ*. Some of the Old Master works had been installed as an integral part of the fairly recent redesign of the house interior by Lancelot Brown (Plate 3).²⁰

Warren's statements show that he knew such works not only through prints, but also, as in the case of Claude, through examples, possibly authentic, in collections in Ireland such as that of Lord Moira (17 June 1776). He and Caldwell certainly seem to have been familiar with a wide variety of works, although those mentioned specifically were part of the conventional taste of the day. Warren did not, however, show a great interest in the portraits there, although he was uncomplimentary about some early works by Reynolds.²¹ Warren wished for a recommendation to Methuen, possibly with the hope of a commission, but perhaps only to make copies from some of his paintings (23 November 1776), as Gainsborough had done.²² Warren also knew collections of art in Bath, chief amongst which was that of

the Hon Charles Hamilton, a son of the 6th Earl of Abercorn (25 March 1777), in which Thomas Lawrence, who arrived in Bath in 1780, studied. Bath was also a centre of art-dealing in the later eighteenth century. Pre-sale exhibitions of local collections or of works brought to Bath for the purpose were popular entertainments.²³

Warren's references to prints (e.g. 22 July 1776, 2 April 1784) deserve further elucidation. The demand for prints in Bath had been partly filled until his death in 1766 by Thomas Worlidge, the copyist and imitator of Rembrandt, who was a seasonal artistic visitor. Examination of displays in printshop windows was as common in Bath as elsewhere, and was yet another means by which leisure time and artistic interests could be combined. Warren was used to studying prints before leaving Dublin, and would have copied from prints as part of his RDS training. Print-making was a well-developed activity in Dublin, and there was a substantial trade in prints between London and Dublin. Warren seems to have been in contact with the London-based engraver Benzech, and also knew the work of Vivares and Le Bas too (23 November 1776, 25 March 1777). He referred to prints for Caldwell's information and interest, and played a role as an intermediary supplying prints to Caldwell and, probably, others. At an unknown date, Caldwell inherited a large collection of prints from Alexander Mangin, agent to the Chelsea pensioners in Ireland, about which nothing else is known.²⁴ Warren also mentions the prints collected by Sir William Robinson for his brother Richard, Primate of Ireland, and the first Lord Rokeby of Armagh (25 March 1777). His prints were part of his founding donation to Armagh Public Library, where they may still be found.²⁵ The sale catalogue of Caldwell's library includes a number of books of prints after Rembrandt, Rubens and others, but it is impossible to know when these were acquired and whether Warren could have known them.

Elsewhere in the town, residents could attend lectures on artistic subjects, such as those on perspective offered in 1777 by Thomas Malton junior. Twenty years later, the artist and drawing master Christopher Pack (1750-1840) gave a successful series of lectures on the theory and practice of fine art. These may have been repeated as the lectures 'designed for the instruction of ladies and gentlemen in the art of drawing and painting' that Pack gave in Dublin in 1802. Pack had spent some time in Reynolds' studio, and later, on his recommendation, went to Dublin during the artistically enlightened vice-royalty of the Duke of Rutland, where he painted portraits between 1787 and c.1796. He was in Bath c.1797, but back in Dublin again between 1802 and 1821.²⁶

Warren expressed various opinions on the personal and artistic qualities of some of his fellow artists, some of which are gossipy but others of which are illuminating. For example, he stated that Gainsborough's reasons for quitting Bath were the result of his being 'uncommonly rude & incivil to artists ... haughty to his

employers, which with his proud prices caus'd him to settle in London' (23 November 1776). In fact, it seems much more likely that Gainsborough's departure from Bath in 1774 was planned to coincide with the expiry of the lease of his house in Abbey Street.²⁷ Warren was negative too about Hoare, but gave more balanced judgements of other painters. Despite that, Warren was evidently worried about the lack of friendly relations between artists in Bath, finding them less 'familiar, easy and friendly' than his 'Brethren in Dublin'. Indeed, Warren feared the consequences of that atmosphere, presumably born of competition, for 'the Interest of our little Republick' (23 November 1776), and even found his fellow Irishman Hickey 'somewhat formal' (25 March 1777). Warren's enthusiastic and excited references to Wright indicate some prior knowledge of his work, doubtlessly obtained through prints, although he was clearly surprised to find Wright still in Bath. Amongst the artists Warren mentions, Wright emerges as the one for whom he seems to have had the strongest liking.

During the time that Warren is known to have been in Bath, many artists were active there, although the demand for their services by about 1780 was not what it had been fifteen or so years before. Ten artists resident in Bath were listed by Phillip Thicknesse in his *New Prose Bath Guide for the Year 1778*. These include Thomas Beach, Thomas Hickey, Robert Edge Pine and Warren who, interestingly, is listed as a painter in oil and pastel. In addition to resident artists, there was an influx of transient artists during the season from October to April, as well as drawing masters.²⁸ By 1779, it has been claimed, sixteen artists and nine miniaturists were competing for patronage in Bath.²⁹

Given the competition they faced, artists in Bath may have been more than usually reliant on personal recommendation as a source of patronage, hence Warren's 'Hint' that Caldwell might recommend him to Lord Bessborough (25 March 1777). Another method of bringing their attributes to public notice, in the absence of any formal, local means of exhibiting their work either collectively or independently, was to make available a display of paintings in a room set aside for the purpose, but adjacent to the studio, for the inspection of potential patrons and the curious. Visiting artists' 'picture rooms', as they became known, grew into a fashionable activity in Bath. Picture rooms were certainly maintained by Gainsborough, Hoare, Wright, Pine and Beach, and also, it would seem, by the Irishman Thomas Hickey.³⁰ The latter's 'Room' was mentioned by Warren (25 March 1777) in a context which can only mean a 'picture room'.

An attempt was made in 1778 to consolidate the collective status of artists in Bath when a small group of them established a public exhibition of their work. This may have been in response to Phillip Thicknesse's proposal that in a public room, Bath artists should 'put up a Specimen of their genius, we think that would be a fair

Way, and the only fair Way of advertising the Public'.³¹

This had been the case earlier when artists had taken to displaying examples of their work in the Pump Room, until, that is, the town corporation banned the practice on the grounds that nailing up pictures was damaging the walls.³² The success of London exhibitions from 1760 onwards would also have been an influence, not least because of the number of Bath-resident artists, including Warren, who were exhibiting at the Society of Artists, the Free Society, and the Royal Academy. Having participated already in exhibitions in Dublin, Warren may have been convinced of the advantage to be gained therefrom, and was evidently confident that his work would stand scrutiny when judged against that of his rivals.

According to advertisements in the press, Warren was the secretary of the organising committee. Neither the names nor numbers of participants are known, although Thomas Beach, Robert Edge Pine, and the local artist, Ackland, are mentioned in a brief notice in the *Bath Chronicle* for 30 April 1778. This seems to have been a one-off experiment, and was not repeated until 1807 when a purpose-built gallery was newly available, whereas the earlier show had taken place in Beach's house at 2 Westgate Buildings. They seem to have been a large premises, since Horace Wapole records attending a musical performance there in 1781 with about fifty other people.³³ Although the exhibition seems to have passed unrecorded in detail, it is an interesting indication that, despite Warren's comments about the lack of fraternal feeling between Bath artists, there was sufficient unity to embark, at least once, on such a collective enterprise. It is also evidence that Warren had successfully integrated himself into the artistic world in Bath.

Warren's letters throw new light on the relations of artists in Bath around 1780, an interesting period when the town's artistic zenith had just passed. He relates gossip and anecdotes, but is clearly mature and knowledgeable enough to advance judgements of both Old Master and contemporary artists. Comparatively little comes to light about his own artistic endeavours, other than implicitly, and it is greatly to be regretted that no examples of his own work have yet been traced.

Letters of John Warren from Bath 1776-84

Spelling, contractions and capitalisation are given literally, but paragraphing and punctuation within square brackets have been sparingly introduced for clarity. Footnotes have been added to elucidate comments in the letters.

1

Dr Sir

Bath

March 14 1776

...Upon Arriving at Bristol I found my Head so discomposed by the violent working of the Vessel in the tempestuous Weather we had encountered...for that reason I defer'd seeing King's Weston till a more apt Opportunity[.]³⁴ Upon arriving at Bath I felt myself a stranger & wanderer & you may easily conceive that I was not at all inclin'd to be pleas'd in those circumstances: I was first rous'd by reading on the Door of a House the following words, viz: Mr Wright from Derby; which so magically operated on my Faculties working as they were, that I again fancy'd I could recollect myself a painter as my love for the profession instantly impell'd me to introduce myself with an Effrontery often ascrib'd to our Country[.] I saw Mr Wright who is a handsome genteel Man behav'd very civil & shew'd me all the pictures which he had by him, he is about four Months settled here after being two years in Italy: you might perhaps expect an exact Account and opinion of the Gentlemans merit but when you consider the situation I was in at the time & that I have seen his Works and you will I hope excuse me being so particular: I shall at some future time endeavour to be as satisfactory as possible; I must however do him the justice to remark that he has given me a very Mean opinion of the pictures I have seen which from similarity of Effects might be admitted to a comparison with his Works, he is exceedingly rich in his Colouring just as natural in his effects & in finishing his Work unites so happily both Accuracy and Masterly coldness as justly entitles him to the Name of a great Painter his Drawing is firm & his forms consistent with a taste form'd by a study of the Antique; I shall only add that I yesterday saw a print from one of the pictures which he show'd me which sufficiently convinc'd me of the little Justice generally done on those Occasions.

Mr Garvey (Plate 4)³⁵ I find a very sensible friendly fellow, & I can assure you that he has great Merit, he seems to me to be very knowing in Effect, as he principally attends to it in all his Pictures, he has now in his House 5 or 6 which might be hung up anywhere[.] I shall after some time endeavour to give you an Idea of the Merit and manners of Bath artists, but will beg of you when I am particular not to suffer any other person to know my opinion as I have often observ'd great Danger and inconvenience from a Candid Declaration of Sentiments, & must Add that there is no profession so abundant in Rancor & mean Jealousy as that to which I belong: with Regard to my Situation at present I must acquaint you that the Recommendations you were so good to procure me are likely to be of the most important service to Me, I sent Mr Campbell his Picture as soon as I procur'd a Frame and waited on him with Mrs Rowley's Letter the Day following³⁶ He & Mrs Campbell are exceedingly pleas'd with it as it is known of every body I must thank



4 – Edmund Garvey, View of Bath (photo: Paul Mellon Centre, London)

you and Mrs Rowley most heartily for your Recommendations have most materialy serv'd me[.] I have just finish'd a picture of Mr Campbell which is so much approv'd of that I have 4 or five sitters on that Account[.] I have every assurance of service from Mr and Mrs Campbell which I must gratefully acknowledge seem most cordially [illegible word] my interest[.] Please to present my Gratitude & [illegible word] to Mr and Mrs Rowley & Family. I said every [illegible word] to Mr Campbell from Miss Rowley & gave him much pleasure from the pleasing Description of his GrandChildren. Miss Blackwood has promis'd to serve me considerably & from the friendly advice she honour'd me with I am convinced of her good Nature and intentions. I happened by meeting with a Friend on ship board into a quiet Decent House facing the Cross Bath Pump Room & must observe that Miss Dorset³⁷ who keeps it is a friendly good natured creature as ever breathd. My situation is the more agreeable for enjoying the company of Dr Andrew fellow of Trinity College a sensible good man as well inclined to entertain as to inform[.] There are also many other genteel agreeable people in this House & if you have a mind to serve any Friend visiting Bath you will effectually do so by recommending him thereto.

The Dean of Ossory desired me to pay his respects to Mr Trench³⁸ as I told him that I meant, through you Sr to beg my own complt to him and his Lady, if I can procure the [illegible word] I shall be glad to do the picture mentioned and beg he may transmit me the sizes. I yesterday Morning was indulg'd by Mrs Campbell

with some natural curiosities collected by her in which she shews great Taste and Ingenuity. I may by [illegible word] that her House is a confirmation of it as it is exceeding elegant the Glasses of the Dining Room are designed by Adams & are beautifully executed. There is a [illegible word] in the same room, to support a Chandalier which from the Model & the execution is beyond any piece of furniture I have yet seen...

— & am with every respect Yours most sincerely [signed] J Warren.

.....
2

Bath

Dear Sir

June 17 1776

I hoped to have given you some Pleasure by an Account of the exhibition but my Friend the Dean of Ossory adviz'd me to suspend my curiosity as he thought my leaving Bath at present wou'd be rather mal apropos so have still that pleasure for the Indulgence of my Imagination. The Methuen Collection which you must well know from Report is highly worth the Attention of all lovers of painting, though I must at the same time observe that some of the pictures are not of sufficient consequence to be admitted into the Company of the Performances that support the Character of the Collections & leads one to conclude rather that the collector wanted true Taste or Judgement, or that her preferr'd filling his Gallery before the true distinctions of discernment. The House though exceedingly pleasant within has no promising Appearances being a very old fashion'd Building & of a disagreeable colour: resembling the Description I have heard of Lord Bective's³⁹ on which Account I am inform'd he has lately been obliged to paint it: however this Habitation unites both convenience and pleasantness from the good light within & the agreeable proportions of each Room. The front view looks on a Circular court in the Centre of which there is a green plot roun which winds the approach for carriages which is shaded by evergreens &c to conceal the Wall & out offices[.] By the way I forgot to observe the spaces left at each side for three statues & as many urns, so heavy and ill executed that I can only give you the number & perhaps I have mistaken even in that. The Gate is a very Handsome one & perhaps contributes from its Grandeur to impress one with no favorable idea of the House, which wants every appearance of Grecian Taste, but this Entrance has an exceeding good Effect from the front Windows[.] To the right of the Street from which you enter & exactly opposite the Gate just mention'd is an [illegible word] similar to the appearance of the Duke of Leinster's from the Town of Maynooth.⁴⁰ When I add that Corsham in which Mr Methuen's House stands is a pretty neat Town and that the country around is most delightful I think I must content myself with the Descriptions but wish I cd transmit you a little sketch which wd say more than any hasty remarks I cd make wd

enable me, but in future will endeavour to be as particular as possible in these matters.

The Gallery [Plate 3] is one of the most pleasant rooms I ever was in & from every person allowing it to be so you may conclude it is of the most regular proportions. You enter it at the centre of one End & have five fine large Windows on your right Hand from which you see a most Delightful Demesne like that from the back of CastleTown House only that here there is a handsome Piece of water with divers kind of Fowl &c. But to the Pictures which I believe I need not inform you made me in some measure inattentive to all other Objects of Curiosity. The End opposite the entrance mention'd is adorn'd by a most capable Work of Rubens representing Abigail bringing the new Bread to David.⁴¹ This Picture though to ever so great an admirer of the Italian school amply satisfys every wish, I really felt a Trance of Joy upon its Sight & for the first time indulgd myself in a total suspension of every other Wish but its contemplation[.] It is as fresh & beautiful I want to say as just from the Easel, but as colour can be conceiv'd & the Landscape equally delightful, I shall sum up what I can say of this Picture that notwithstanding the great lightness of the Room its Beauty dazzles your eyes & gave me a pleasure equal to that of enjoying the most beautiful prospect with every advantage of Season and Weather.

I shall only attempt to describe the pleasure I felt as I propose going there very soon and shall after then endeavour to acquit myself to your satisfaction in an exact description of a few of the good Pictures & if I can't get sketches to help the faint Attempts of my pen shall refer you to prints after what I have said. I need here only observe that most other works are quite eclips'd[.] There is a very good picture of Cortona's⁴² hangs near that I mention'd at one side and one of Cignani⁴³ at the other which from their heavyness of Colour you can scarce persuade yourself to dwell upon notwithstanding which I assure you they have every claim to the attention; if for the reputation of those Masters, they were more luckily dispos'd. A beautiful sun set of Claud furnishes the Entertainment at the end of the Room it is about half as large as Ld Moyra's⁴⁴ but its size is infinitely greater in value & gave me that just Idea of Merit of Lorrain, which no others of his Name sake ever cou'd. My next Captivation was the Picture over the Chimney which is in the centre facing the Window[.] It is about the Size of the other Rubens a good deal larger both Ways than a whole length cloath. The subject is Rubens, Wife & attendants hunting wolv's and foxes.⁴⁵ I had a print of it which Capt Jn Delaney sent me it is a good one & I wish you wd get it[.] The animals are painted by Snyders Except the Horse which Rubens is on which they say is his own Work[.] It is the finest Horse I ever saw & may say the same of the Picture perhaps without doing it sufficient justice. Beyond this hangs the betraying of Christ by Vandyck⁴⁶ it is rather larger than life. It is very finely compos'd & colour'd but has neither the force nor the clearness of his Master[.] The light [struck through] illumination in the Picture is from a torch

which as well as serves to give a great Breadth of Effect, as to Mellowness & warmth which in it are very remarkable. The Companion to this is mark'd in the Catalogue for a Guido, the subject is the Baptism of Christ⁴⁷ & though you may trace the Graces for which Guido was eminent yet it is a poor dry ill colour'd performance & indeed was it an original, the two last mention'd works wd be great Disparagement to [edge damaged, word missing]. The next Picture worth Attention is a very large capital half length by Rembrant⁴⁸ of which I have seen a print & indeed have seen all the pictures I have mention'd engrav'd & shall whenever opportunity may serve endeavour to procure them[.] When I add to these mentioned two small Landscapes by Rosa I shall have enumerated all the capital works in the Gallery though I am certain many others are rank'd as such but some in my opinion without the least pretensions & may add that some others without the least offence to truth are extreme bad. There are 4 portraits two containing small whole lengths by Sr Joshua⁴⁹ that are quite opposite to his present Reputation but they have been some years painted & am certain was he to see them at present their Pallid complexions wd call up the Blushes they so greatly stand in want of. There are two or three portrait heads by Van Dyck, a Hound by Snyders⁵⁰ very large & very fine about half a Dozen other pictures in the different Appartments which are worthy of a Collection & I believe no others intituled to capital Reputation, at least from their subjects, for when one's Attention is attracted by the great Efforts of the Art we must often overlook the play things of the Profession if I may so express myself though in other circumstances they may give as great satisfaction...

If you can devise any Recommendation to Mr Methuen I shall be very happy as I cannot find any Lady sufficiently acquainted with him, & amongst your numerous acquaintance such might occur & I know I have every Reason from my knowledge of your good Nature, & Expression of your Friendship to expect all the Services which your leisure may allow me...

— Yours most Respectfully, [signed] J Warren

3

22 July 1776

Dear Sir

...On hearing through my Father that Roberts⁵¹ was come to Bristol I went there to find him so emaciated that he shocked me severely but have great pleasure in acquainting you that he has already rec'd great benefit[.] His colour from the most frightful cadaverous is become as fresh & good as his complexion was us'd to admit of, he has a good Appetite and his Cough Spitting & [illegible word] are considerably abated[.] He mended so fast that Dr Woodward omitted blistering him according to his first intentions; so that with proper care & caution we may have every

hope & am certain this acct will give you great pleasure as you know his Merit & I assure you the more I see the greater value I set on his abilities & although there are some Artists here that claim Reputation from their Excellence in particular parts of their profession yet considering the several branches of Landscape painting in one point of view, I think Roberts far exceeds any that I have yet seen. I have examined Mr Taylor's⁵² pictures & from the impression I receiv'd from one which Mr Benezech⁵³ is engraving I had high Expectations, however it was by far the best of his Works; the subject is a sun set the principal Object a Building somewhat like the Stile of Pannini but better colour'd the Architecture exceedingly well executed the Effect both for Warmth & truth of light & shade as well as anything I have seen, the trees in this picture are his best, but are too massy and Feathery in their appearance somewhat like Radmakers who is censurable in that Respect, but much better than Mr Taylor[.] His Grounds approaching near the Base of the picture are mean & ill-form'd & when from their vicinity to the eye they should have some Appearance of Vegetation the pencil of the artist seems destitute of the execution necessary for they seem like so many naked Banks carv'd and colour'd green, having nothing but their relief to give them any character; his herbage &c are all exceedingly mean putting me in mind of those silly sprigs I have often observ'd decorating Ladies Aprons & Handkerchiefs, his Rocks, Stones & other similar enrichments equally pittyful, his Water extremely bad; however from the exceeding warmth and general good Effect of this Picture one might allow him great Merit but when you are led through his Apartments you will in general observe an attempt at grandeur in his Compositions but they fail in Simplicity and Unity; broad in his Effects, but his Shadow all of one dirty, cold, sooty hue[.] When he aims at warmth he runs into purple & from the colour of his shadows which I just mentioned you must conclude he wants Harmony; it seems very inconsistent that notwithstanding an enchanting Glow in the picture which I allude to he is in general exceeding cold insipid & dirty in his Colourings; his Figures all ill invented worse drawn & heavily executed, in a word they are very bad in every Respect[.] His stile seems to be a mixture between Patel, Wilson & Pannini but must observe that there is no vizable reason for comparing his manner to Claud's as you & I have been taught to believe as he has neither colour or form to Countenance the Remark. Garvey is far before him both for truth, colour & Effect his Aerial perspective remarkably good & his Effects natural and Simple[.] He paints Water mighty well, & also rocks, his trees are well in Effect but rather rude and unfinish'd, he is (however some of his Pictures may contradict this opinion) in general rather negligent in his execution his foregrounds often too heavy in Colour, which makes his works often look l[ike] old Pictures: his figures in their general Ideas & [edge damaged, word missing] of colour are well enough but nevertheless consis[tent] with his Notions of subserviency they might be less negligent[.]

He has certainly a deal of merit & his faults may be call'd those of a Genius , some of his pictures well claim that Reputation which his merit has obtain'd: though Nature is his principle Object of Imitation, yet his Manner of execution is a good deal like Orizonti but warmer vastly in his colour...⁵⁴

— Yours most sincerely [signed] J Warren

4

Nov. 23 1776

Dr Sir

...I saw Mr Champion's House⁵⁵ & was much please'd with the dining Room, &c, but as Mr Hamilton has probably given you a description of the general Design shan[t] trouble you with anything further on that Head. There is a Copy from the picture of Corregio's that was lately brought from Italy, by a Mr Hamilton[.]⁵⁶ I recollect seeing one with Mr Hellar this is a better, but I don't much like it, the colouring is tender but descends to sickly, grace degenerates to affectation as there is a most exaggerated use of the Serpentine form in the Body of the Venus fiercely contrasted by the twist of the Head the whole forming a System directly opposite to Simplicity[.] The Drawing too is but very indifferent this is entre nous as Mr Hamilton has a very high opinion of it & Artists may mistake in their opinions from being prejudic'd in favour of certain manners & Ideas which they often lay down as scales to direct their Judgement.

I lately saw the Duke of Beaufort's House at Badmington 15 miles from Bath[.] [Plate 4] His park is reckon'd very fine from its extent & being well wooded & planted but wants variety from being very flat & in a flat country neither is there water enough to reconcile us to that inconvenience in the situation[.] His Grace has some pictures of merit particularly an Allegory⁵⁷ large as life by S Rosa [Plate 5]; the meaning of it I cou'd not well make out, but seem'd to me a general satire on the european powers one of which I well remember was characteriz'd by a black pig whose red snout pointed out of the picture[.] That in particular was remarkable well & the whole exceeding clever[.] Four Evangelists heads by Guido⁵⁸ seem'd from the distance they hung to have great merit, two very good landscapes (with out frames & in a position sufficiently deserving neglect) by Swanevelt you are a judge of his compositions from his prints &c which you have seen but in these there is a great warmth of colour & breadth of light and shade, two or three small pictures by Maratt &c & a portrait or two by Vandyck & Lely are all that I recollected worth notice.

When I went there the Duchess was using her dressing Room which prevent-ed me seeing a Drawing by Raphael of part of his Transfiguration as large as life, it bears a great Reputation[.] I shall give you my remarks when I see it, as you may



5 – *Salvator Rosa (1615-73), Allegory of Fortune*
(*J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu*)

easily suppose the prospect of such a chef d'oeuvre will keep my curiosity much awake.

Mr Wright is just come to Bath he has been in London & at Derby since last season, he has but two Candle light subjects left, having dispos'd of all his other pictures within these four months, these two which he values at 100 Guineas each he means to keep by him as he intends quitting that Stile of painting, & also means to decline portraits after this Year, finding it both confining & disagreeable to him; he had much applause last Exhibition for two pictures, one, an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, the other a Display of fire works at Rome [Plate 6],⁵⁹ you have perhaps heard remarks on them, but for my part I have never yet seen such strength of effect and Colour with judgement not often met with, they were both Night Scenes, were exceeding highly finish'd yet nothing dry or harsh & the Effects of Objects so much pressed to the manner of executing them that although he has a facile pencil you cannot trace a Manner in his Works as he (contrary to the Method of some painters) makes his pencil entirely subservient to the effect of the object which he means to represent, which certainly contributes much to that deception which shou'd be the business of painting to aim at[.]

With regard to execution, I have remark'd three different effects of it, some have a quick, lively & engaging pencil, perhaps little other Merit to recommend

6 – *Joseph Wright, The Annual Girandola at the Castle of St Angelo, Rome*
(Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool)



their works, the second sort have the same degree of Judgement without any of the graces of execution & are therefore not likely to have any share of the regard often liberally bestow'd on the first class, whose expertness to the undiscerning eye compensates for intrinsic merit which must depend on other principles[.] While Mr Wright who shall stand as my exemplification of the last class must meet with general Approbation, an artist of the first mentioned class may be said to be govern'd by his hand while the head actuates the pencil of the last.

I must do my Brethren in Dublin the Justice to observe that they are much more familiar, easy & friendly, have not that Reserve and Formality here met with which is so inconsistent with the Interest of our little Republick[.]

Mr Wright is a mild pleasing man & seems to have more candor & good Nature than any of the Great Men of Bath, you made an exception in favour of Gainsborough in your last, but from what I can learn he was least entitled to it, as he was uncommonly rude & uncivil to artists in general, & was even haughty to his employers, which with his proud prices caus'd him to settle in London; I imagine it must have been Mr Hoare you meant as I hear it wd be more applicable, though he also is reckon'd stiff and reserv'd. I am sorry you give so bad an acc't of Taste and encouragement in Ireland however I trust though the flame is weak the fire is not totally extinguish'd. I must call upon you & exhort you as your situation and character constitute you one of the Guardians of Taste and genius, to contribute your assistance to the support of the Fine Arts you are well convinc'd of what consequence to their perfection & their existence is the countenance of men of Learning taste and fortune, & when from attention to other Matters their protection is diverted the example soon spreads & is of dangerous consequence especially where poverty prevents encouragement from being more general. You ask my opinion of a subscription propos'd by Mr Taylor, but did not mention its amount, nor have I been able to get any information as Mr Benezech who is employ'd to engrave some of the prints, professes ignorance of any such measure & seem'd surpris'd; I can vouch for his abilities for I think he is one of the best of our engravers, he is sometimes a little dry in his trees & too equal in his strength which prevents objects from keeping their proper places this I have not often observ'd, however his manner partakes of Vivares his master and Le Bas. He studied many years in France, he excells his Master in Figures, as he does the other in Landscape & is in my opinion an excellent Artist no man need etch better. How far the wish to have prints well engrav'd containing ideas form'd on the Works of Claud &c therefore not original, consequently not new, join'd to the expense must determine you. All I wd offer is that a Work that may not answer the expectations form'd generally disgusts us & may injure the future endeavours of Genius; I wd not be thus explicit with any other than you Sr, but your friendship demands my utmost candor, especially when you desire

my sentiments. I cd not learn any thing of Mr Grosser but suppose he has made himself known by this Time.

I shou'd be glad if you will call at Mr Cuthbertson's on Ormond Quay near the Bridge where you will see a picture which will inform you concerning my improvement[.] I was rather too much hurried with it, but hope nevertheless you may approve of it, & am desirous of your opinion, as I believe I shall exhibit it if any opportunity offers in Dublin; together with some others I shall order. I drew two of Lord Clonmore's children for Mrs Forward their Grandmother[.]⁶⁰ They were in general much lik'd, yet they have not hitherto done me any Service, indeed Bath has been very thin, neither have I put up any thing in the pump Room as there are seldom any works of credit shown there; so have been prevented by some artists who look on it in a mean light therefore think it will be better to exhibit in London the ensuing Spring but hope you will favor me with your advice; I stedfastly purpose to see the Capital about that time & give you this early notice that you may recollect how I may serve you & as I know you will be able to recommend me strongly. I shou'd be glad to know if Mrs Rowley rec'd a picture which I committed to the care of Captn Cuthbertson, it was meant as a Token of my gratitude & if better wd have done more justice to my sentiments, as I have the highest regard for that family. Mr and Mrs Campbell are well. He call'd on me some days since with Lady Clifford who was pleas'd to approve my works...

I am much obliged by your kind intentions through Mr Hamilton;⁶¹ if I might by his influence copy two or three of the Methuen Collection & make a few Drawings I shou'd think myself exceeding happy, & shou'd have great improvement as well as advantage[.] I intend whenever I see a good Picture & can compass it to have a Drawing of it & may in future etch a little when they will prove agreeable objects to exercise the needle. I shall beg you to keep this in View as you may in your large connections find many Methods of procuring me such an introduction & I know to one of your Disposition the pushing a young Man forward to the World will compensate for the trouble such an Attention may be liable to...

I hear Hamilton⁶² is gone to Ireland, pray how does he go on[?] I dare say he will meet with much encouragement. Strange that a man of so little comparative Merit as Gardiner shd beat him out of the field which nevertheless is as I am told literally the case. Gardiner is not without taste & Genius but is a bad Draughtsman & clumsy in his execution neither of which can be apply'd to Hamilton who gives such a truth both of form & colour as makes his works far superior.

Is West⁶³ firmly established in his Employment [?] As long as he desires it he has my good wishes but when he quits it which I know he intends it will be attended with circumstances with which I hope you will do me the favour to acquaint me as I fancy from the Tryal I made I might succeed in the Election. [I] shoud study to do

Justice to the employment & it wd serve me much in my profession & enable me to be of service to my Family...

— Yr obligd Humbl Servt [signed] J Warren

I have a Friend who has some very good casts from Antique Gems which wd serve as excellent models for Chiaro Oscuro please to tell Mr French so, & that I am much at his Service in that Way.

5

Bath

Dear Sir

March 25 1777

...I could no longer postpone the Duty of my Acknowledgement, especially when I had the opportunity of Mr Leigh's return...I sent Mr Leigh the prints some time since fearing from the uncertainty he seem'd to be in at that time, he might through hurry forget to acquaint me of his departure. He did me the favor to call on me yesterday to pay me for [illegible word], they cost 6 shg's I shall pay my respects to him before his Departure & doubt not that the prints will answer your expectations.

Hickey⁶⁴ is come to settle here spite of the many painters which abound in this City & are more establish'd in reputation. Some of them have a great superiority of Merit & most of them as far as a Head, equal to him. I think him very much improv'd but his flesh is still weak has a limy appearance & is coarsely & ill executed. There is one whole length in his Room that except in the above mention'd particulars is exceeding well, it is dispos'd with taste the drawing good & the general Effect & Drapery mighty well, the likenesses he has done for to make himself known here are well spoken of. I hope for his sake that the general opinion may correspond with that of his friends. He call'd on me once, I have vizited him twice but as he seems somewhat formal I shall be cautious as perhaps when I become acquainted with the Reasons for the ceremony used by my Bretheren here I shall adopt it myself though at present it is both disagreeable and unaccountable to me. Mr Taylor upon my mentioning your wishes has promis'd to furnish you with the first impressions & thinks that two of the Prints will be out in about a month. They are small ovals, about 12 inches broad & are copy'd as I think from the best of his Works. The subject of that which I prefer is a river which winds through a deep Glyn between two high & cultivated, or rather wooded mountains, the sky in the picture is exceeding well the Mountains natural in their colour & finely as well as simply form'd. However I must say that the Beauty of this piece can not well be represented in a print but am satisfied the Engraver will do his part. The other consists of a high Land & wood on the foreground, with a distant view of a champagne Country. It is a pretty picture enough but contains nothing either interesting or original, but may take a tolerable print. The first two that he put [illegible word] were as

I imagine to feel the pulse of the publick & to make a beginning but as you may be assur'd that any future publications will be by Binzech & I think will be pretty high in their prices.

Sir Wm Robinson⁶⁵ our Primates Brother has lately sat to me. He is much pleas'd with my portrait of him & in general seems to approve my works exceedingly. His friendly disposition & universal good character make me conceive great hopes from his services. He has a large collection of prints which he intends for the primate, together with some pretty pictures which he has allow'd me any liberty with. Sr Wm is at present in London on Business occasion'd by his brother Sr Thos Death, but the primate & he are expected together in a week or fortnight.

The Exhibition opens about the 24 of April, I shall send a few pictures & intend as soon as convenience will allow me to follow them & indulge my curiosity which at present is at a very high pitch, when I expect to have ample matter to set my pen in Motion and I shall give you accounts concerning everything that attracts my notice & which I think may afford you entertainment, but Appropos. General Gisbourne who is here bathing told me he had heard you were coming to England on a vizit to Lord Bessborough.⁶⁶ If you are so resolv'd I hope you will let me know the time as it wd be the highest gratification to me to meet you in London. I need not hint to you the consequence of a recommendation from you to that Nobleman & have had such experience of your goodness that I doubt it not, if to be compass'd with propriety. If you requested his Lordship to sit to me for you it might serve me much & his portrait which I shou'd endeavour to exert myself might not be unacceptable to you. If I was so happy to have a Man of his consequence to paint & shd succeed it wd be an introduction of the utmost importance. I hope Sr you will excuse me for this freedom & trouble, I mean it but as a Hint & submit its propriety to your better Judgement, only I shall beg leave to observe to you, that I am long of opinion that there are many helps requisite to support a young man besides Merit, to enable him to surmount the prejudice & ignorance that every young artist is tormented with, & which the Countenance of the great can only dissipate, the truth of this I have known thoroughly prov'd in most professions. I hoped to give you some account of the pictures belonging to a Mr Porter here & a Mr Hamilton,⁶⁷ but have not been able to obtain admission hitherto. I have some promises of that satisfaction the ensuing Easter Week, I will then inform you about them they being by all I can learn the only two collections worth seeing in Bath, exclusive of what I have already mention'd. It may here be not amiss to observe to you what generally attracts the curiosity of strangers upon arriving in this city, as you may probably vizit Bath when you see England next, though I doubt not your information on this Head is already better than I can afford you. I have before been as particular as my opportunity at Mr Methuen's wou'd permit me, it is undoubtedly more worth seeing

than any thing in the neighbourhood of Bath. It is about ten miles from hence on the Chippenham Road which is one Way to London. The Duke of Beaufort's is next in vicinity the House & about sixteen miles & half from Bath on the Chester Road. These are properly excursions by themselves as they dont lead immediately to any other place worth attention, that I can hear. The first generally passes away a morning with great pleasure & sets you down here by Dinner time, the other takes up the Whole Day...The next is a little Tour taking up the space of three or four Days in which your curiosity is first employ'd at the seat of Lord Weymouth, call'd Long Leet about 13 miles from hence. It is a large old House & but indifferently kept up, affording a striking contrast to the great Beauty & order of Stourton, the summer residence of Mr Hoare the Banker, about 24 miles from Bath, in the county of Wilts, remarkable for its Beauty of Situation, the Elegance of its improvements & the exact order in which it is preserv'd, there are also some very good pictures. You then proceed to Hindon & so on to Salisbury Stone Henge &c about two miles from thence is Lord Radnors House where some of Claud's best Works are preserv'd. There is also in the neighbourhood a Monstrous House built by Mr Beckford, together with the Seat of Sr Wm Young, & the Duke of Queensbury's, all as I am inform'd containing something worthy of notice.⁶⁸ I am sorry I cannot be more particular, having never made that journey, I have not become able in my Finances to make it consistent with my convenience although my desire is much heighten'd by remarking that nobody returns from this little Tour with the least Tincture of Disappointment. Though I have a few similar Hints I shall reserve them...

— your oblig'd humble servant [signed] J Warren

6

2 April 1784

Dear Sr

Permit me through favour of Miss Spencer to offer you a picture which in some measure has excellence to make it worth your Acceptance; I believe it is the Work of Battoni.⁶⁹ Miss Lennox has also kindly taken the Charge of some prints, which if they dont much entertain you, at least will shew you that I remember your former kindness[.] They may also perhaps now & then remind you of me though latterly I fear, that friendly interest you have often made known for me is much declined; a Hope for a future renewall of your Notice has often flatter'd me & in some measure soften'd the uneasiness occasion'd by the seeming loss of a friendship I had been so happy to attract very early in Life...

— Am Dr Sr with Gratitude, respect & sincere Affection your obliged Servt
[signed] John Warren.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Dr Edward McParland who generously brought Warren's letters to my attention, and to Sue Sloman, Judy Egerton and Jane Meredith for advice and information. I am extremely grateful for the enthusiastic encouragement and hospitality of the owner of the Caldwell papers.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ M. Holbrook, 'Painters in Bath in the Eighteenth Century', *Apollo* (Bath in the Eighteenth Century Special Number) xcvi (November 1973), 375-84; T. Fawcett, *Bath Entertain'd: Amusements, Recreations & Gambling at the 18th-Century Spa* (Bath 1998).
- ² The letters are amongst the Caldwell papers in a private collection. An account of Caldwell in the context of his Anglo-Irish cultural circle in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, based on these papers, is being prepared by Jane Meredith.
- ³ G. Breeze, *Society of Artists in Ireland: Index of Exhibits 1765-80*, exhibition catalogue (National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, 1985). The brief notice in W.G. Strickland's *Dictionary of Irish Artists* (Dublin 1913) ii, 502, is not entirely accurate.
- ⁴ A. Crookshank and the Knight of Glin, *The Painters of Ireland, c.1660-1920* (London 1978) 69-82.
- ⁵ L. Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London, The Rise of Arthur Pond* (New Haven and London 1983) 67-8, 76-81, 181 note 17.
- ⁶ R. Ryan, *Biographia Hibernica* (London and Dublin 1821) i, 376-7. See also the entry in the *DNB* and the obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxviii, part ii (1808) 661, 747.
- ⁷ E. McParland, 'The Wide Streets Commissioners: their importance for Dublin architecture in the late 18th-early 19th century', *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, xv, no. 1 (Jan-Mar 1972) 1-32.
- ⁸ See the catalogue of the sale of his pictures, framed prints and drawings, 1-2 March 1809; the list of paintings only is reprinted in B. Fredericksen (ed.), *Index of paintings sold in the British Isles during the nineteenth century*, 2, part 1 (Oxford 1990) 53, 1305. There is a manuscript catalogue of Caldwell's drawings among the Caldwell MSS, and a copy of the catalogue of the sale of his books, 3 May 1809, may be found in the Department of Early Printed Books, Trinity College, Dublin, RR.K.82 no. 9. These catalogues may not represent the entirety of Caldwell's various collections. J. Turpin, *A School of Art in Dublin since the Eighteenth Century: A History of the National College of Art and Design* (Dublin 1995) 19, 23, 58.
- ⁹ [Obituary] *Monthly Magazine*, no. 26 (1 September 1808), 193-4.
- ¹⁰ [J. Bush] *Hibernia Curiosa. A Letter from a Gentleman in Dublin to his Friend at Dover in Kent* (London 1769) 2.
- ¹¹ Various sources quoted in T. Fawcett (ed.), *Voices of Eighteenth-Century Bath* (Bath 1995) 53-4, 56, 118, 183, 189; R.B. McDowell, *Ireland in the Age of Imperialism and Revolution 1760-1801* (Oxford 1979) 142-3.
- ¹² D. Foskett, *British Portrait Miniatures* (London 1963) 97.
- ¹³ Lippincott, *Selling Art*, 95; P. Caffrey, 'Sampson Towgood Roch, Miniaturist', *Irish Arts Review*, vol. 3, no.4, winter 1986, 16-7.
- ¹⁴ B. Boydell, *Rotunda Music in eighteenth-century Dublin* (Dublin 1992) 33, 70-1, 112-14.

- ¹⁵ Caldwell was a fashionable visitor to other English spas too.
- ¹⁶ B. Mitchell and H. Penrose (eds), *Letters from Bath 1766-1767 by the Rev. John Penrose* (Gloucester 1983) 194, 3 June 1767. See also T. Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art, Artists, Patrons, and Institutions outside London 1800-1830* (Oxford 1974) 82.
- ¹⁷ S. Sloman, 'Artists' picture rooms in eighteenth-century Bath', *Bath History*, vi (1996) 139.
- ¹⁸ R. Wright, *Index of Bath Artists*, typescript in the Victoria Art Gallery, Bath, sv Warren. This general area was characterised as a poor one by Jane Austen in *Persuasion* (1818): M. Hill, *Bath and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Bath 1989) 38.
- ¹⁹ F.J. Ladd, *Architects at Corsham: A Study in Revival Style Architecture and Landscaping, 1749-1849* (Bradford-on-Avon 1978) 29. The Methuen collection became nationally known at this time, being thrice catalogued and discussed whilst still in London: see F. Simpson, 'The English Connoisseur' and its sources', *Burlington Magazine*, xciii (November 1951) 355-6, and Fawcett, *English Provincial Art*, 82.
- ²⁰ Ladd, *Architects at Corsham*, 28, 49, pl. 42.
- ²¹ T. Borenius, *Catalogue of the Pictures at Corsham Court* (London 1939) nos 205-8. The portraits in the collection by Gainsborough and Hoare (Borenius, nos 177, 178, 184) were painted after Warren's visit.
- ²² At Corsham, Gainsborough copied Van Dyck's *Duke of Richmond*, now lost.
- ²³ Fawcett, *Voices*, 119 and *Bath Entertain'd*, 11.
- ²⁴ [Obituary] *Monthly Magazine*, 194.
- ²⁵ See for example J. Coleman, 'Sir Joshua Reynolds and Richard Robinson, Archbishop of Armagh', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook 1995*, vol. 11 (1994), 131-6.
- ²⁶ Fawcett, *Bath Entertain'd*, 54; Strickland, *Dictionary*, ii, 209-13.
- ²⁷ S. Sloman, 'Gainsborough and 'the lodging-house way'', *Gainsborough's House Society Annual Report 1991/2* (1992) esp. 32-3.
- ²⁸ Cited by G. Breeze, 'Thomas Hickey's stay in Bath', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History*, 128 (1983-4) 87, 89.
- ²⁹ P. Hembry, *The English Spa 1560-1815, A Social History* (London 1990) 153. Having reviewed her sources, it is not clear how these figures were arrived at.
- ³⁰ H. Belsey, 'A visit to the studios of Gainsborough and Hoare', *Burlington Magazine*, cxxix (February 1987), 107-9; Sloman, 'Artists' picture rooms', 132-53.
- ³¹ W.T. Whitley, *Thomas Gainsborough* (London 1915) 91-2, and Fawcett, *Bath Entertain'd*, 37-8, 52, list exhibitions to be found in Bath, such as Old Master paintings, waxworks, transparencies and de Louthembourg's *Eidophusikon*. Thicknesse, *New Prose Bath Guide*, 49, quoted by Sloman, 'Artists' picture rooms', 149.
- ³² Fawcett, *Bath Entertain'd*, 3.
- ³³ Fawcett, *Voices*, 117; Fawcett, *English Provincial Art*, 184-5; Walpole, cited by Sloman, 'Artists' picture rooms', 135.
- ³⁴ King's Weston, near Bristol, built by Vanbrugh in 1710-11 for Sir Edward Southwell, whose grandson Edward (1738-77) succeeded as the 20th Lord Clifford in 1776, having, in August 1765, married Sophia Campbell of Mount Campbell, Co Leitrim. Her father, Samuel Campbell, may have sat to Gainsborough: E. Waterhouse, *Gainsborough*, 2nd ed. (London 1966) 58, no.116 as lost.
- ³⁵ Edmund Garvey (d.1808): see Crookshank and Glin, *Painters of Ireland*, 127.
- ³⁶ Possibly a member of the Rowley family of Maperath and Sylvan Park, Co Meath, and thus a

- neighbour of Caldwell's.
- ³⁷ Probably the Miss Dorset Warren married in 1784: Wright, *Index of Bath Artists*.
- ³⁸ John Lewis was the Dean of Ossory. Mr Trench is possibly Caldwell's friend and fellow Wide Streets Commissioner, Frederick Trench.
- ³⁹ Headfort, Co Meath.
- ⁴⁰ Carton, Co Kildare.
- ⁴¹ R.A. D'Hulst and M. Vandervren, *The Old Testament*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchardt III (London 1989) 136-8, no. 42, now in the Detroit Institute of Fine Arts.
- ⁴² *Tancred and Erminia*: Borenius, *Catalogue of Pictures*, no. 26. See most recently G. Jackson-Stops (ed.), *The Treasure Houses of Britain* (Washington 1985) 352, no. 279.
- ⁴³ *Madonna and Child*: Borenius, no. 21.
- ⁴⁴ John Rawdon FRS (1720-93), created Baron Rawdon of Moira in 1750 and Earl of Moira in 1762, a founder member of the Royal Irish Academy. Moira and his third wife Lady Elizabeth Hastings were at the hub of the social and intellectual life of Dublin, Moira House becoming a magnet for 'every person of genius and talents': J. Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century* (London 1858) viii, 1-5; Mrs Delaney, *Autobiography and Correspondence*, Lady Llanover (ed.), (London 1861-2) iii, 526, 552 and passim. No Claude is listed in the albeit incomplete records of Moira's collection: see, for example, R. Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland in 1775* (London 1776) 23.
- ⁴⁵ A. Balis, *Rubens Hunting Scenes*, CRLB xviii (London 1986) 105-7, no. 2b. This is the work supposedly admired by the juvenile Thomas Lawrence (K. Garlick, *Sir Thomas Lawrence* (Oxford 1989) 13), although the first printed reference to this merely says a work of Rubens without specifying a subject: D. Williams, *Life and Correspondence of Sir Thomas Lawrence* (London 1831) i, 61-2.
- ⁴⁶ Borenius, *Catalogue of Pictures*, no. 119. See most recently *The Treasure Houses of Britain*, 338-9, no. 264.
- ⁴⁷ D. Pepper, *Guido Reni: a complete catalogue of his works...* (Oxford 1984) 245, under no. 86, one of a number of copies of the original in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
- ⁴⁸ *A man in oriental dress, known as 'The noble Slav'*, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. See most recently, C. Brown et al., *Rembrandt: The Master and his Workshop* (London 1991) 148-9, no. 9.
- ⁴⁹ Borenius, nos. 207, 208.
- ⁵⁰ Borenius, no. 131.
- ⁵¹ Thomas Roberts, 1748-78: see Crookshank and Glin, *Painters of Ireland*, 127-33.
- ⁵² John Taylor (1735-1806): see A. Marks, 'An eighteenth century American landscape painter rediscovered', *American Art Journal*, x, no. 2 (November 1978) 81-96.
- ⁵³ Peter Paul Benazech (1744-?): see Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, G.C. Williamson (ed.), (London 1903-4) i, 116.
- ⁵⁴ Jan van Bloemen (1662-1749), known as Orrizonti, an emulator of Poussin. Compare Warren's description of Taylor's work with that given by Tobias Smollet in *Humphrey Clinker* (1771), cited by Marks, 'An eighteenth century American', 89: 'His trees not only have richness of foliage and warmth of colouring, which delights the view... he is so happy in his perspective, and marking his distances at sea... If there is any taste for ingenuity left in a degenerate man, fast sinking into barbarism, this artist, I apprehend, will make a capital figure, as soon as his works are known.'

- ⁵⁵ Whitley, *Thomas Gainsborough*, 91, notes a 'Mr Champione italien' who had a collection of antique casts and new and old prints in Bath in 1765 and later. However, this may be a reference to another Irishman, the Colonel Champion whose dogs were painted in Bath by Hickey in 1777: Breeze, 'Thomas Hickey', 90.
- ⁵⁶ i.e. Sir William Hamilton. The painting in question, *Venus disarming Cupid* (private collection) is now attributed to Luca Cambiaso, but the fame of this 'Correggio' was well established in England, and it was much copied: see I. Jenkins and K. Sloan, *Vases and Volcanoes, Sir William Hamilton and his collection* (London 1996) 278-80, no. 176. A copy was owned in Bath by Sir William's uncle, the Hon Charles Hamilton (1704-86) of Painshill fame, in whose collection works attributed to Reni, da Volterra, Sacchi and da Cortona were studied and copied by Thomas Lawrence: Williams, *Life and Correspondence*, i, 70-1.
- ⁵⁷ i.e. the Fortuna now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.
- ⁵⁸ Pepper, *Guido Reni*, 241, nos 73-6, now in the Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina.
- ⁵⁹ See J. Egerton, *Wright of Derby* (London, 1990), 172, under no.104. Mrs Egerton has kindly suggested that the two candlelight subjects may be *The Alchemist in search of the philosopher's stone* and *Hermit studying anatomy* (both now in Derby Art Gallery).
- ⁶⁰ Ralph Howard (1724-86), created Lord Clonmore in 1776 and Viscount Wicklow in 1785, well known as a grand tourist and art collector. In 1755 he married Alice Forward, the daughter and heiress of William Forward of Castle Forward, Co Donegal.
- ⁶¹ It is not clear which Hamilton he means.
- ⁶² Hugh Douglas Hamilton (c.1740-1808), Irish portraitist in pastel and oil. See Crookshank and Glin, *Painters of Ireland*, 72-3, 91-5. Warren's comment implies that Hamilton returned to Dublin from London owing to the fashionable success of Daniel Gardner (1750-1805), before setting out for his long sojourn in Rome between 1779 and 1792.
- ⁶³ Francis Robert West (c.1749-1809): see Crookshank and Glin, *Painters of Ireland*, 76. West had succeeded his father as Master of the Figure School in the RDS in 1770.
- ⁶⁴ Thomas Hickey (fl.1756-1816): see Crookshank and Glin, *Painters of Ireland*, 72-3, 88, 90.
- ⁶⁵ Sir William Robinson (d.1785) had just succeeded to his brother Thomas's baronetcy. The Primate, his brother Richard, 1709-94, first Lord Rokeby of Armagh, was a great patron of art and architecture, and public benefactor. His print collection was bequeathed to Armagh Public Library. See e.g. Coleman, 'Sir Joshua Reynolds and Richard Robinson'.
- ⁶⁶ William Ponsonby, 2nd Earl (1704-93), a Trustee of the British Museum and a noted lover of 'Virtu'. His collection of paintings was kept at Pall Mall in London, and his antiquities at his villa by Chambers at Roehampton. In a codicil to his will (Caldwell MSS), Caldwell refers to his 'honoured friend the Earl of Bessborough', presumably the 3rd Earl.
- ⁶⁷ Presumably the Hon Charles Hamilton referred to above.
- ⁶⁸ Longford Castle (Radnor) and Cornbury (Queensbury). Presumably Sir William Young's is Standlynch, later Trafalgar Park, although Young had sold up in 1766: see *Victoria County History, Wiltshire*, ii (Oxford, 1980), 70.
- ⁶⁹ No work attributed to Batoni is listed in Caldwell's collection.