



Angelica Kauffman's Irish sitters and collectors: Dorothea and Robert Hellen

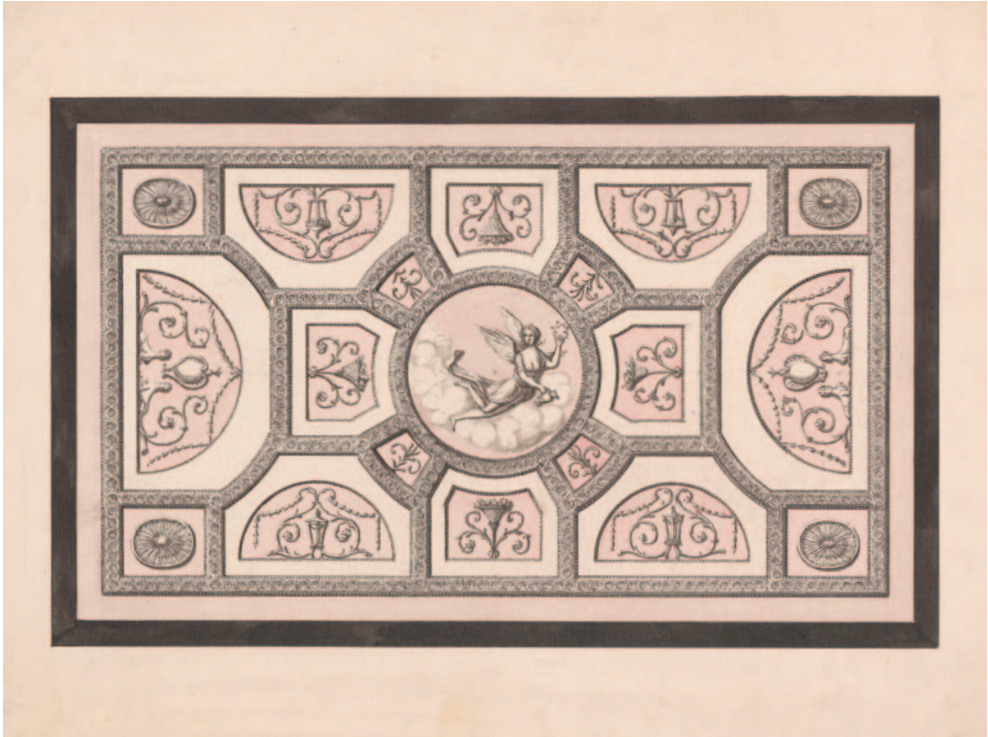
TOBY BARNARD

ANGELICA KAUFFMAN WAS PROBABLY THE BEST-KNOWN AND MOST SUCCESSFUL FEMALE painter during the eighteenth century. Born in what is now Switzerland, she lived in England between 1766 and 1781, whence she visited Ireland in 1772. Details of the latter trip are sparse, but what little is known about her patrons there raises questions about collecting works of art in eighteenth-century Ireland that go beyond the reasons for Kauffman's popularity.

Kauffman, promoted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, was elected as one of only two women founder-members of the Royal Academy (Plate 1). As well as being in demand as a portraitist, her images had a strong decorative appeal, and this led to their being engraved and so dispersed more widely and cheaply.¹ Moreover, her designs lent themselves readily to being incorporated into interior decoration, for painted ceilings and walls, and even the embellishment of pieces of furniture (Plates 2, 3). The style would be much imitated, causing many inferior works (including some in Ireland) to be attributed to her.² Even in her own lifetime she was not universally admired. Some contemporaries, perhaps jealous of her fame, derided her weak grasp of anatomy (especially male) and accused her of debasing taste through excessive sentimentality.³

Kauffman portrayed several connected with Ireland in the early 1770s. The most notable was the incumbent lord lieutenant, George, Viscount Townshend, whom she painted with several of his family (Plate 4). Other sitters included the owner of Rathfarnham Castle, Henry Loftus, 1st Earl of Ely, with his wife and a black servant, and the Tisdalls (Plates 5, 6).⁴ These families were interconnected through politics, the legal profession and their elevated status in Irish Protestant society. What had prompted Kauffman to seek commissions in Ireland is not obvious. The explanation that is usually accepted is the one which she herself proffered. After she had left England and Ireland, she told her brother-in-law that she had been invited to Ireland by the lord lieutenant – Townshend – himself.⁵ This bold claim is of a piece with Kauffman's very considerable

*1 – Angelica Kauffman (1741-1807), SELF-PORTRAIT
1784, oil on canvas, 65 x 51 cm (detail) (courtesy Neue Pinakothek, Munich)*



Angelica Kauffman

2, 3 – Ceiling designs

(courtesy Morgan Library & Museum, New York)

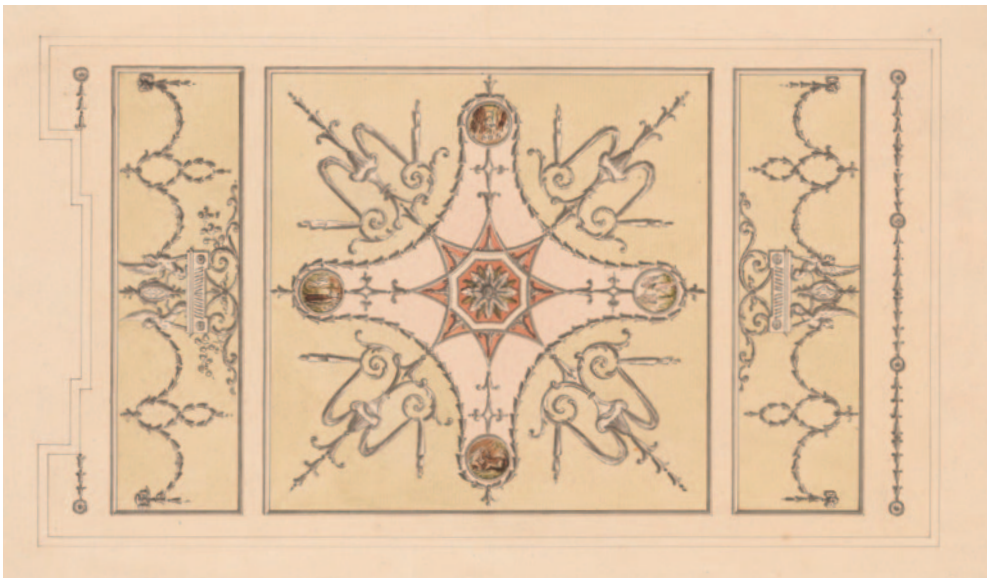
opposite

4 – VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND OF RAYNHAM, WITH HIS CHILDREN

?1772, oil on canvas (further details or whereabouts of painting unknown)

5 – LORD LOFTUS OF ELY, AND HIS FAMILY

1771, oil on canvas, 243 x 287 cm (© National Gallery of Ireland)







skill in self-advertisement and in stressing her social successes.⁶ As yet, no independent contemporary corroboration of the story that she came at Townshend's behest has come to light. Indeed, there is a strange and surprising absence of any casual mention of her while in Ireland. In 1772, the fast-living Townshend was recently widowed and might be thought to have graver and more urgent matters on his mind than arranging to be memorialized by the celebrated Kauffman.

Be that as it may, Kauffman, once in Dublin, may well have been taken up by grandees associated with the viceregal court, such as the Loftuses and Tisdalls (as also the Damers and Dawsons), and showered with commissions. Accounts of this Irish patronage network, insofar as they exist, hardly mention a couple in it who were Kauffman's most conspicuous patrons in Ireland. These were Robert Hellen and his wife, Dorothea. The Hellens were painted by Kauffman, albeit in more modest formats than the Loftuses, Tisdalls or Townshends. Robert Hellen was dressed in van Dyck garb – a formula favoured by Kauffman (Plates 7, 8).⁷ The couple were subsequently drawn by Kauffman (Plates 9, 10). Even more strikingly, it is known that the Hellens in their Dublin house had amassed a large collection of original works by Kauffman. They were dispersed in two public auctions in 1794, immediately after Robert Hellen's death.

Who were the Hellens? The family had apparently arrived in Dublin from Whitehaven in Cumberland earlier in the eighteenth century. Robert Hellen was duly entered at Trinity College Dublin in 1742, and then equipped himself for a legal career by attending the London Inns of Court. He emerged as a promising young lawyer in the

Angelica Kauffman

7 – *PORTRAIT OF GEORGE ROBERT
HELLEN*

*n.d., oil on canvas
(© National Gallery of Ireland)*

8 – *DOROTHEA HELLEN*

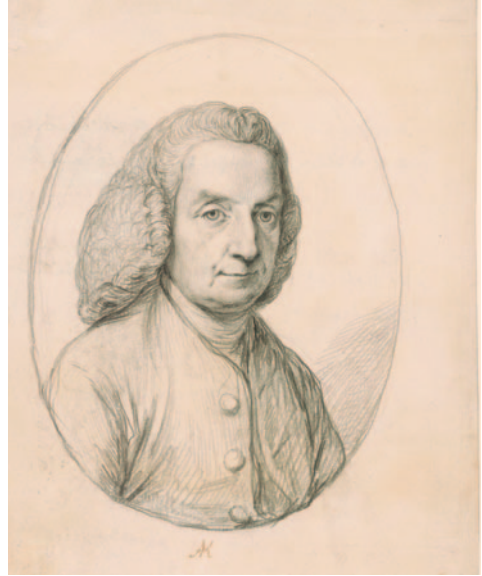
*n.d., oil on canvas
(© National Gallery of Ireland)*

opposite

6 – *PHILIP TISDALL AND FAMILY*

*c.1772, oil on canvas
(formerly collection of Desmond
Guinness, sold early 1990s, present
whereabouts unknown)*





1760s, when he acted for Loftus of Ely in a protracted inheritance dispute.⁸ Loftus's gratitude to Hellen took the form not just of handsome fees, but finding him a seat in the Irish House of Commons. Hellen's abilities were becoming more widely known, as is shown by his being granted a pension by the government for unspecified services. Prestigious and profitable preferment soon followed: appointment as legal counsel to the newly constituted excise board (at an annual salary of £1,000), then solicitor general (1777) and by 1785, a judge in the Court of Common Pleas.⁹ Despite this prominence, Hellen's personality remains hidden, other than bland remarks on his conduct as a judge. In 1772 the satirical *Baratariana* had noted him as 'a youth of fair fame and gentle endowments'.¹⁰

One scrap of conjecture may be relevant. In 1757, *Letters from an Armenian in Ireland* was published in London. This book followed a well-tried formula which had been used recently by Montesquieu and George Lyttleton. Observations on the institutions, customs and manners of Ireland were offered by an author, who purported to be a visiting Armenian. The *Letters* were published anonymously, and the identity of the author has never been resolved conclusively. However, Robert Hellen remains the favoured candidate.¹¹ If he was the 'Armenian', then a capacity for incisive observation was certainly demonstrated. It would also confirm the wide-ranging cultural interests of Hellen.

Hitherto, the judge and his wife, Dorothea, have hardly been noticed as sitters for Kauffman. They married in 1761.¹² Dorothea belonged to the Daniel family from county Dublin, who possibly had links to the Church of Ireland or office-holding, but her background is otherwise blank. In importance as patrons the Hellens have been overshadowed by their peers and social superiors – a neglect which obscures their role as ardent collectors. Unlike Townshend, Loftus or Tisdall, they did not limit themselves to the first likenesses in oils. There is the second pair of Kauffman portraits, almost certainly made after Kauffman returned to London but before she quit England in 1781 (Plates 9, 10). Further

*Angelica Kauffman**11 – SELF-PORTRAIT*

?1771/72, graphite on paper
 (courtesy Yale Center for British Art,
 New Haven)

opposite

9 – DOROTHEA HELLEN

n.d., black chalk on paper

10 – ROBERT HELLEN

n.d., black chalk on paper

(9, 10 – courtesy Morgan Library
 & Museum, New York)



hints at the intimacy between Kauffman and the Hellens is a self-portrait by Kauffman which is inscribed on the reverse as having been executed at the Hellens' Dublin house, Mespil Bank (Plate 11).¹³ Startling, too, as evidence for the Hellens' enthusiasm for Kauffman's works is the collection which was sold in 1794. Following Judge Hellen's death, two sales were staged by a leading Dublin auctioneer, James Vallance. Copies of the printed catalogues have survived, and from these it is possible to assess something of the collections that the Hellens had formed.¹⁴

Before turning in greater detail to what they had acquired, a word about the location of this treasure trove. Robert Hellen at the time of his death was living at Mespil Bank, a substantial, externally plain house near Donnybrook in the then bosky Dublin suburbs. Dorothea Hellen seems to have continued there until she died in 1806.¹⁵ The house, regarded as desirable because of its situation, had previously been occupied by the prominent physician, Sir Edward Barry. The Hellens may have taken it over only after Barry died in 1776.¹⁶ Alas, little of the interior organisation and look of the house can be reconstructed, except for the exuberant plasterwork of some ceilings. The most notable were rescued before Mespil Bank was demolished, and survive now in Áras and Uachtaráin (Plates 12-15).¹⁷ Internally, then, it was a residence of some splendour, but how it was arranged by the Hellens and how it may have been modified to display their extensive collections can only be surmised.



13-15 – Angelica Kauffman, plaster work ‘air’, ‘earth’, ‘fire’, ‘water’
originally in Mespil Bank, and now in Áras an Uachtaráin

(from C.P. Curran, *DUBLIN DECORATIVE PLASTERWORK OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES* (London, 1967))

SO, WHAT OF THOSE COLLECTIONS? THE TWO AUCTION CATALOGUES DEALT ONLY WITH the paintings, drawings, engravings and printed books. Household furnishings and utensils were not included, presumably retained by the widow and maybe shared later among her four daughters. A separate collection of antique and modern gems and engraved stones was consigned for sale to a specialist seal-engraver in Dublin. That Hellen had been an enthusiast for such artefacts is implied by his subscribing to the deluxe edition of the two-volume catalogue of James Tassie’s much-admired modern replicas of ancient gems.¹⁸ He had also possessed an ancient gold ornament, found near Ballinrobe county Mayo, and perhaps acquired by him when on circuit. It has left no further trace.¹⁹ Dorothea Hellen retained an intaglio portrait of her husband carved in sardonyx by Edward Burch, engraver to George III and the Duke of York.²⁰

The works of art listed in the printed catalogue included easel paintings, for which the experienced auctioneer provided perhaps optimistic attributions and hyperbolic descriptions. However, when it comes to the lengthy entries for both the printed books and the named engravings, including Kauffman's, the detail inspires greater confidence in their accuracy. The cache of works by Kauffman in the grander auction numbers eighteen. The seventeen original drawings were divided into three categories: drawings which were subsequently engraved; others which were never engraved; and those already well-known through having been reproduced by gravure. This precision may suggest that the auctioneer, in making the catalogue, had access to a listing prepared by Hellen himself. Vallance, although experienced as a seller and cataloguer of printed books, is unlikely to have been familiar with the minutiae of Kauffman's output.²¹ In the auction devoted largely to the printed books, over eighty individual prints by Kauffman were enumerated. Other living artists admired for their decorative facility such as Giovanni Battista Cipriani, Francesco Bartolozzi and Joshua Reynolds were also well represented, but Kauffman was the most popular with the Hellens.

Two questions obviously arise: how was the collection made, and for what reasons? If it was distinctive in the generous representation of Kauffman, it was more conventional in its other aspects, characteristic of the taste of the time in which northern artists were preferred to southern ones, and the English before the Irish.²² Indeed, the holdings of Irish painters are meagre. Two Jonathan Fishers – drawings of Spa – are itemised.²³ Flower and fruit pieces by Lewis (probably Charles rather than John) and two landscapes by either Richard or Robert Carver, and two smaller ones by the same hand, were listed; also some, of animals and birds, by Martin Ferdinand Quadall, a Moravian briefly in Dublin during 1779, are itemised.²⁴

Attributions of the other paintings may have been more hopeful than accurate. There were acknowledged copies of Titian's *Venus* by Williams; a Vernet 'Shipwreck' rendered by Woodburn; Correggio's 'Holy Family' in Parma, also copied by Williams.²⁵ The collection contained three portraits by van Dyck, one judged (whether by Vallance or Hellen himself) 'very fine'. There was a Cuypp 'Cattle piece', an 'original sketch' of Rubens' 'great picture' *The Last Judgement* in Antwerp, originals and copies (after Correggio) by Andries Lens, whose 'style of painting is much admired; he resides in Antwerp', small works by Paul Brill, Giulio Romano and Salvator Rosa, and a Paolo Veronese 'The Death of Adonis'. A Nicholas Poussin was described as 'a beautiful landscape'.

The Hellens' gallery was eclectic. In common with most of their contemporaries, copies so far from being scorned were valued. As with the numerous engravings, they diffused celebrated images in princely and distant galleries and brought them into more modest surroundings.²⁶ In Ireland, earlier in the eighteenth century, it was admitted that 'furnishing' paintings were in demand to enliven interiors.²⁷ Some of the Hellens' works may have fallen into this category. At the opposite pole was the educational and moral impact attributed to appropriate paintings. If historical and narrative subjects were felt most likely to carry such powerful charges, it was an appeal that Angelica Kauffman proved especially adept in creating. Kauffman (and others) depicted personifications of heroism, virtue, sacrifice and loyalty, and of sensibilities such as conjugal and maternal love worth imitating. That the exemplars were mostly classical, mythological, pagan or

fictive, rather than biblical, seldom caused misgivings. However, for the printed or painted images to work their welcome effects, they needed to be seen, studied and understood. If shelved in chests and cabinets or consigned to portfolios, the chances of their making their intended impact were reduced.²⁸ When used to ornament rooms by pasting them onto the walls (notably at Castletown), they dwindled into trendy decoration – an arresting alternative to stained paper, boiseries or stucco. While it is not revealed how the Hellens stored and displayed the pictures, at least they had not degraded their prints by sticking them to the walls.²⁹

THE HELLENS' COLLECTIONS RAISE WIDER QUESTIONS ABOUT THE FORMATION AND nature of such endeavours in eighteenth-century Ireland. Their example is unusual and illuminating in the clear linkages – at least through the two surviving catalogues – between printed books, engraved imagery and paintings. Too often, perhaps, the collecting of books is treated separately from that of paintings, sculpture, antiquities and curiosities. In some instances, bibliophiles confined their acquisitions to manuscripts and printed books, but in other cases, the volumes were integral to a larger assemblage.³⁰ Such seems to have been the situation with Hellen, as with his better-known contemporary, James, 1st Earl of Charlemont. Motives for making costly collections are readily (too readily) ascribed to a wish to enhance social and cultural credit; the owner thereby paraded a discriminating fancy. Equally subjective impulses such as curiosity and pleasure are more rarely allowed as factors despite shrewd dealers encouraging those sentiments.³¹ Some volumes in the Hellens' library afforded information, whether on botany, horticulture, fossils, mining, recent events at home and abroad, or the environs of Lille. Most, however, lacked any obvious utility. A few were singled out for their elegant bindings. There were about a score of incunabula.

Wide-ranging curiosity rather than frivolity lay behind the Hellens' collecting. A penchant for early drama and poetry – shared with Charlemont and English enthusiasts – appears in the strong representation of Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights, as also in a bust of Ben Jonson. But unlike the ardent bibliophiles, Hellen contented himself with accessible and mostly recent editions.³² Interests outside the common run are revealed by grammars not just of classical languages, French, Italian, German and Spanish, but also Persian and 'the Bengal language'.³³ Oriental interests were indicated by Hellen's ownership of a two-volume illustrated work, *Asiatick Researches*, published at Calcutta in 1788 and available through the East India Company's London office, and a companion *Asiatick Miscellany*.³⁴ Idiosyncratic is a group of thirty-five publications on Byzantium, almost all with Paris imprints of the mid- and later seventeenth century. These were noticed for their fine bindings.³⁵ The judge's enthusiasm for engraved precious and semi-precious stones is complemented by standard works on ancient and modern gems: Spilsbury, Boyle, Baron von Stosch, Tassie and Thomas Worlidge's *Drawings from antique gems* (1768).³⁶ He apparently kept abreast with the latest discoveries and aesthetic theories through Winkelmann's *Histoire de l'Art d'Antiquité* in a three-volume Leipzig edition, Wood's accounts of Palmyra and Baalbek, Chandler on Ionian antiquities, and Stuart on those of Athens.³⁷ He had a nine-volume issue of *Antiquities of Herculanum*,

said to be embellished with first impressions of the plates, and Sir William Hamilton's volumes on Vesuvius and other volcanoes, Etruscan, Greek and Roman antiquities, and his 'Italian school of painting', with forty 'elegant plates', again first impressions.³⁸ Hamilton's brother had thought that only two in Ireland – Pery and Charlemont – possessed 'the volcanick work'.³⁹ Remembering how Kauffman portrayed Hellen in van Dyck rig and the three van Dycks owned by Hellen, it is noteworthy that he owned a copy of an Antwerp publication of van Dyck's 'portraits of illustrious persons'.⁴⁰

Hellen's ability to range over otherwise inaccessible originals from the comfort of his library was assisted by numerous, often lavishly illustrated volumes. He possessed two sets of Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, one of which had been printed on Walpole's own press at Strawberry Hill.⁴¹ More cosmopolitan were Vasari's *Lives*, treatises on the paintings of Leonardo da Vinci and Raphael and others in Bologna, and Ludovico Dolce's *Aretino: a dialogue on painting* in both a Florentine edition in French and Italian of 1755, and a translated 1770 English version. For Guercino, he could turn to a collection of 'eighty-five' engravings recently published by Bartolozzi.⁴² Indicative of his passion for prints were Crozat's 1729 *Recueil d'Étampes après les plus beaux tableaux qui sont en France*, with 167 plates in the two volumes; the cabinet of M. Poullain (1781) with 120 illustrations; Choiseul's cabinet (150 plates); and 'Galerie du Palais Royal' of 1786.⁴³ Most compendious of all was the five-volume set on Italian masters, with 500 'fine engravings from all the capital paintings in Italy, Spain and France'.⁴⁴ Thereby an alluring visual world was opened to the Dubliner.

The library reflected some contemporary intellectual preoccupations. It contained thirty-nine volumes of Diderot's and D'Alembert's *Encyclopaedia* in a Geneva edition of 1778, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Gibbon, Francis Hutcheson's *Moral Philosophy* of 1747, Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, works on electricity, chemistry and, by Linnaeus, on plant taxonomy.⁴⁵ Oddly, though, Burke's essay on 'the sublime and beautiful' is not listed. Both the judge and his wife subscribed for copies of Charlotte Brooke's *Reliques of Irish Poetry*, published in 1789. Robert Hellen was among those thanked by Brooke for encouraging her project.⁴⁶

When compared with other eighteenth-century libraries for which detailed listings survive, the Hellens' is light on theology or, indeed, recent novels in English. Surprising too is the absence of law books. The judge had been subscribing to new legal collections shortly before he died.⁴⁷ The works which had underpinned his long professional career may have been bequeathed to an unknown recipient who would use them. Alternatively, Vallance, a seasoned trader, did not want to clutter the auction with more humdrum books. It could be, too, that Hellen's widow or her daughters retained some titles.

The physical relationship of the printed volumes, including the albums of engravings, with the framed and glazed pictures presumably displayed on the walls is unknown. There is an understandable temptation to see the library of books and the collection of art as distinct. But this was not necessarily the case. Relatively few of Hellen's volumes were notable for their exceptional typography and bindings. But the numerous gatherings of engravings offered the same visual pleasures as those visible on the walls. Remarks about two other collections in Dublin at this time suggest how the Hellens' may have been kept and used. In 1750, Mary Delany visited the town-house of Bishop William

Barnard of Derry. The bishop was said to have original paintings by over two hundred artists, the majority of them Dutch and Flemish. In addition, there was a library ‘well-furnished with portfolios of fine drawings and prints’, in which the bishop and his wife ‘seem pleased to entertain their friends’. The sociable dimension of sharing with the select is evident.⁴⁸ The Barnards’ son, also an Irish bishop (first of Killaloe and then Limerick) treasured his paintings. How many of them had been inherited from his parents is unrecorded. The younger Bishop Barnard – friendly with Joshua Reynolds, chaplain to the London Royal Academy, and accounted ‘a gay, sprightly, polite & ready man’ – attended carefully to the paintings’ disposition when he moved into a new residence in Henrietta Street around 1800. He hoped that the hanging would cause a *coup d’oeil* on first entering the room, consciously or unconsciously echoing the approach of the influential late seventeenth-century connoisseur, Roger de Piles.⁴⁹

Lord Charlemont showed the rarities in his Dublin mansion to gratify a guest from England in 1775. The visitor noted a passage with statuary which led to the detached library. The latter was oblong, measuring 45ft by 30 or 35, and top-lit. It contained an estimated 5,000 volumes from which Charlemont picked choice items for his guest to admire. At the end of the library were two smaller rooms. One was a study, the other ‘for the enjoyment of a friend’. There were kept the antique gems, medals and smaller curiosities, including a portrait of Queen Elizabeth carved in sardonyx. Also in this sanctum were an antique mosaic table, and fine drawings and paintings. To see these treasures was clearly something of a privilege. Even more so perhaps was to be shown the contents of the cabinet specially designed by Chambers to house the medals, coins and gems.⁵⁰ Neither Hellen’s house nor his collections matched Charlemont’s magnificence. Nevertheless, the Hellens were likely to take pride in showing the discriminating what they possessed, and to have contrived suitable settings.

IN BUILDING A COLLECTION, THERE WERE OBVIOUS DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ACQUIRING ‘OLD masters’ and the work of the living (like Kauffman). So far as older canvases were concerned, it would have been possible for the Hellens to buy some of the paintings in Dublin. Auctions, both of imported goods and of the property of the newly dead, were held intermittently, and a few specialist print and picture dealers were emerging.⁵¹ Unidentified agents and acquaintances both within and outside Ireland may have been used by the Hellens.⁵² Friends and relations who travelled further afield could be commissioned to look out for pictures and other artefacts. Despite such opportunities, the stronger likelihood is that most items were bought by them during trips to England, and possibly to continental Europe. A dearth of biographical detail for the Hellens frustrates firm conclusions. Clearly, Robert Hellen, when studying for the bar, had come to know London. But how often after the 1740s he returned, and how much further afield he travelled, remain hidden. The later pair of drawings of the Hellens made by Kauffman must have been executed in London in the later 1770s, probably in her studio. (One from Ireland known to have been painted in Kauffman’s London studio in 1775 is the wife of John Foster.)⁵³ For Robert Hellen, only one continental trip is documented: in 1774 he is noted at Spa (in the Austrian Netherlands, now Belgium), in company with Philip Tisdall,

16 – Giuseppe Angelini
(1742-1811)

PREM ALIT PRUDENTIA

1789, terracotta, 70 x 32 x 27 cm
(Accademia Nazionale di San Luca,
Rome)

*Another statue by Angelini was
reckoned the most valuable item in
the Hellens' collection.*



his legal colleague and another patron of Kauffman.⁵⁴ Tisdall was accompanied by his wife, but Hellen appears to have been alone. Possibly this visit also afforded Hellen an opportunity to see Lens's work at Antwerp and to purchase other Flemish and Dutch pictures.⁵⁵ How many more foreign jaunts there may have been, and to what destinations, can only be conjectured.

The puzzle over the sources of the Hellens' acquisitions is deepened by the lot which the auctioneer singled out for special attention in 1794 – not a canvas, but a statue of a vestal virgin being offered a rose by Cupid and rejecting profane love by Giuseppe Angelini, a living Roman sculptor (Plate 16).⁵⁶ Vallance stressed that it had cost two hundred guineas. It is improbable to envisage Hellen, suffering now from invalidism, trekking to Rome.⁵⁷ A broker either in Italy or London presumably managed this costly purchase.

Returning to the array of Kauffman's works: it could be that the Hellens became aware of her talents during her stay in Dublin. But a couple of hints suggest that her work had attracted them earlier, soon after she had settled in London. A published reminiscence of the art scene of the period, compiled by one familiar with it, claimed that Hellen, together with the son of Samuel ('Premium') Madden, had invited Kauffman to Ireland. They had done so in a bid to improve instruction and design through the already established Dublin Society drawing school. Hellen and Madden intended that she would supply drawings and sketches which aspiring Irish artists could then copy.⁵⁸ This claim is not repeated elsewhere. However, it is well known that several attempts were made to add to the resources available to novice artists under the tutelage of the Dublin Society's school.



Funds were allocated to acquire exemplary works for study.⁵⁹ Telling against the suggestion is the fact that Hellen, rather surprisingly, was not a member of the Dublin Society. Nevertheless, the story cannot be discounted, and would explain why the Hellens had accumulated so large a cache of Kauffman's drawings and engravings. Were they intended as a donation which in the event, and for unknown reasons, was never made? Maybe the Dublin Society, riven with factions, disappointed Hellen's hopes.⁶⁰

There is a second hint that Hellen may not have waited until Kauffman came to Ireland to develop a liking for her pictures. Among Kauffman's many engraved prints, one, of Cupid binding Aglaia (corresponding with lot 62 in the auction catalogue), was published in London by William Wynne Ryland in 1774. On the print, the original was stated to be in Hellen's possession (Plate 17).⁶¹ Two years later, Ryland dedicated a second Kauffman engraving, 'Lady in Turkish dress', to Hellen. This suggests that Hellen owned the original drawing on which the print was based (Plate 18).⁶² It also implies that Ryland in London was familiar with Hellen, presumably as a valued customer and connoisseur.⁶³

Given the size and scope of the Hellens' collections, it is surely plausible to assume that they knew the London art world, with its dealers and rising stars, and perhaps also some of its international ramifications. It is improbable, but not impossible, to imagine Kauffman landing at Dublin encumbered with portmanteaux full of impressions of her engravings or, indeed, of the original drawings on which they were based. Later, in the 1780s, examples of her work were occasionally advertised in Dublin sales.⁶⁴

A couple of other details must be added. There have survived a miniature of the

18 – William Wynne Ryland,
after Angelica Kauffman
'LADY IN TURKISH DRESS'
1776, engraving
(private collection)

opposite

17 – Thomas Burke,
after Angelica Kauffman
AGLAIA BOUND BY CUPID
1774, engraving
(private collection)



judge, resplendent in his robes, and a small pastel copy of the earlier Kauffman portrait of Hellen in van Dyck garb (now in the National Gallery of Ireland). The former is inscribed with the name of 'Dolly Hellen' (Plate 19).⁶⁵ This raises a possibility that his wife or even a daughter (one of the four was also named Dorothea) was an amateur artist: a not uncommon activity of leisured ladies. It could be that the version of the somewhat lugubrious-looking Hellen had also been copied from the Kauffman original by Hellen's spouse or a devoted relation (Plate 20).

Already mentioned is the possibility that the young Hellen had written *Letters of an Armenian*. The book includes brief reflections on the current state of music, painting and sculpture, praising Handel, Roubiliac and Hogarth. More idiosyncratic are digressions to deplore the contemporary taste for elaborately decorated ceilings. The 'Armenian' complains about the awkwardness of trying to look up 'to gratify my host in examining his expenses over my head'. Ornament, it is argued, should be useful. If statues are ranged around a room, they should be part of a scheme for lighting.⁶⁶ If Hellen did compose the book, given his later occupancy of a house notable for its sumptuous plasterwork ceilings and his own battery of statuary (figures of Niobe's daughter, Venus arising from the sea, the Venus de Milo, 'the boxers' and a dancing faun are catalogued), these criticisms read ironically. Moreover, there is a contrast between the robust rococo of the ceilings at Mespil Bank and the etiolated neo-classicism of Kauffman's androgynous figures. Buxom, half-naked representations of the elements and the seasons, presided over by Jupiter, looked down on the Hellenes as they enjoyed their own recent purchases.



19 – Miniature portrait of Robert Hellen by ‘Dotty Hellen’
(Rhode Island Historical Society)



20 – Miniature portrait of Robert Hellen, copy of an Angelica Kauffman portrait
(Rhode Island Historical Society)

THE HELLENS, IN MAKING THEIR COLLECTIONS, WERE HELPED BY AN INCREASED SUPPLY in Ireland. As early as 1741-43, prints imported into Ireland were valued (in order that customs duties could be exacted) at £791.⁶⁷ Despite the growing trade, the number of specialist book-sellers greatly outstripped the few dealers who traded in prints and paintings. Earlier in the eighteenth century those who described themselves simply as merchants, such as George Felster and Caspar Erck, handled works of art alongside other imported commodities. Felster also arranged auctions, valued paintings and prints, and worked as an ‘upholder’, essentially an interior decorator. Tellingly, Felster and his widow, Agnes, who continued the business in the 1740s, stocked ‘old’ hock, Moselle wines and claret, hinting at lines of supply extending through the Low Countries into Germany and France. Presumably the paintings travelled along the same routes. In 1737 Felster purveyed, in addition to ‘original pictures and prints’, cabinet work, furniture, china, Havana and Spanish snuff, and sword blades. Later in 1755 Agnes Felster revealed further trade connections with suppliers of Welsh slate from Caernarvonshire.⁶⁸ The ability to combine the supply of paintings and engravings with other desirable and rarefied home-furnishings is seen too in Erck’s avocation as a ship’s broker.⁶⁹ Further confirmation comes from an announcement that some paintings about to be sold in Dublin in 1786 had been shipped into Ireland from France thirty years earlier by Alderman Francis Booker.⁷⁰ He had bought them, along with furniture inlaid with tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl, at the auction of Cardinal Fleury’s effects. Booker belonged to a dynasty of prominent Dublin traders who specialized in making ornamental and architectural looking-glasses. The Bookers also supplied fashionable furnishings acquired in London and, it seems, in Paris. These decorative objects included paintings. A suspicion is inevitable that some of the offerings were comparable to those decried in Paris as ‘cheap daubings, so incorrigibly bad as to be prejudicial to the progress in the art of painting’.⁷¹

Auctioneers continued to include paintings and prints promiscuously in their sales of house contents. Not themselves schooled in the vocabulary of connoisseurship, they usually gave only cryptic descriptions: a 'capital collection of pictures' or a 'large collection of paintings by the best masters, scarce and valuable prints, &c'. Only slightly more informative was a notice of a collection 'by some of the best Italian, Flemish, French and other masters'.⁷² Unusually, an auction in Kilkenny of the former Dean of Ossory, Thomas Pack's goods, was advertised as including 'Piazzetti's [Piazzetta] Characteristic Heads', as well as valuable books and prints.⁷³ Paintings continued to be imported speculatively to see if they would find buyers in Ireland. In 1786 some of the offerings at an auction were acknowledged to be 'consigned from abroad to an eminent merchant of this city [Dublin]'.⁷⁴ Sometimes play was made with the status of the previous owner, as with Hellen's erstwhile companion, Philip Tisdall, whose 'remaining genuine pictures by the most eminent Italian and other masters' were sold in 1784.⁷⁵ Similarly, another auction of works was not only touted as 'a genuine and valuable collection', but had been 'judiciously collected' by Sir Gustavus Hume, 'remarkable in his choice of pictures'.⁷⁶ As Hume had died in 1731, memories must have faded, but his was still a name to conjure with. His known travels all lay north of the Alps. He had brought the architect Richard Castle to Ireland.⁷⁷

Works of art with a particularly alluring provenance were to be sold in the exhibition room in Dublin's William Street in 1778. The 'genuine collection' was advertised as having been Joseph [Consul] Smith's. Given that the bulk of Smith's original collection had recently been bought on behalf of King George III, it was reasonable to describe Smith as 'a gentleman ... remarkable for his taste and knowledge'. Included in this Dublin sale were views of Venice by Antonio Visentini and Canaletto. It was implied that they too had been owned by Smith, but there is ambiguity in the phrasing.⁷⁸ Also noteworthy is the fact that pictures acquired after the royal purchase or not sold to him were offered for sale in London in 1776.⁷⁹ There must be a presumption that what was unsold then was sent to Dublin in hope of finding a fresh market. Events such as these might give the Hellens opportunities to add to their collection.

Specialist galèristes were slow to appear. Those selling prints and maps seem to have been the first to have opened showrooms in the smarter Dublin shopping streets. The supply of engravings and mezzotints was more abundant than of 'old masters', being constantly replenished with new and topical publications, as well as the recirculation and growing appreciation of the old. Some specialists, such as Michael Ford, were themselves active painters.⁸⁰ By 1768, Richard Bushell in Dame Street tempted customers with the boast that he went abroad every year and purchased on advantageous terms 'such productions of art and genius as may be favourably received'.⁸¹ Here was a convenient source at which the Hellens might have inspected and bought prints. Bushell was patronised, for example, by Richard Jackson, an official at Dublin Castle and landowner near Coleraine. In 1774 Jackson bought six books of prints, cheap enough at six pence halfpenny for each.⁸² There was a murkier side to the emerging trade. In 1755 a report in a London newspaper disclosed that 'print shops' in Dublin had been raided on the lord mayor's orders. The vigilantes 'tore in pieces all the indecent, obscene figures'. On the evidence of the Hellen auction catalogues, topical, scurrilous and scatological publications found no place in their

- 58 *Books of Prints, Coins, Medals, Antiq. &c.*
- 792 Baron de Stoch, *Pierres antiques gravees, avec le figures de Picart, grand papier, et belles epreuves*, Amst. 1724
- 793 *Antiquities of Herculanæum*, 9 vol. *first impressions of the plates, elegantly bound in Russia*, 1755, &c.
- 794 Sir William Hamilton's *Etruscan, Greek and Roman Antiquities, on the Ancient Vases found at Herculanæum and Pompeii, coloured from the Originals*, 2 vol. in 1, *superbly bound in Turkey*, Nap. 1766
- 795 Sir William Hamilton's *Italian School of Painting*, XL. *elegant plates, first impressions, large paper*, 1773
- 796 Vandyke's *Portraits of Illustrious Persons, first impressions, bound in Russia*, Ant.
- 797 *Recueil d'Estampes d'apres les plus beaux Tableaux qui sont en France*, par Crozat, 2 tom. *carte grand continent 167 planches, belles epreuves*, Paris 1729
- 798 *Cabinet of M. Poulain, on 120 plates, fine impressions*, i. 1781
- 799 *Cabinet of Choiseul, on upwards of 100 plates, very fine impressions*,
- 800 *Gallerie du Palais Royal, a fine copy, eleg. bound in Turkey*, ib. 1786
- 801 *Works of the Italian Masters, 5 vol. containing 500 fine engravings, from all the Capital Paintings in Italy, Spain, and France, on imperial paper*, 802

Single P.

S U B J E C T S.

- 211 *Cercs*,
- 212 *Pomona*,
- 213 *Flora*,
- 214 *The Birth of Shakespeare*,
- 215 *Shakespeare's Tomb*,
- 216 *Phammetichus in Love with Rhodope*,
- 217 *Rhodope in Love with Æsop*,
- 218 *Nymphs after Bathing*,
- 219 *Bacchanalians*,
- 220 *Venus attired by the Graces*,
- 221 *The Shepherds of the Alps*,
- 222 *Religion*,
- 223 *Telemachus and Mentor in the Island of Calypso*,
- 224 *Island of Calypso*,
- 225 *Rural Sports*,
- 226 *Caledon and Amelia*,
- 227 *A Lady in a Turkish Dress*,
- 228 *Achilles lamenting the Death of Patroclus*,
- 229 *Eloisa*,
- 230 *Maria*,
- 231 *Telemachus and Penelope*,
- 232 *Nymphs binding Cupid*,
- 233 *Juno borrowing the Cestus from Venus*,
- 234 *Lady Grey and Edward the 4th*,
- 235 *Queen Eleanor sucking the Poisonous Wound of Edward the 1st*,
- 236 *Nymphs wounding Cupid*,
- 237 *The God of the Gardens*,
- 238 *The Judgment of Paris*,
- 239 *Telemachus at the Court of Sparta*,
- 240 *Venus presenting Helen to Paris*,
- 241 *The Flight of Helen and Paris*,
- 242 *Venus going to Paphos*,
- 243 *Perfectione*,
- 244 *A Nymph*,
- 245 *A Circasian Lady*,

collection (Plate 21). Probably the Hellens would have been numbered among the 'honest, sober, well-bred people' who applauded the seizures.⁸³ The clandestine traders are unlikely to have been among the few named in the published directories as printsellers.

Local sources cannot be discounted in the making of the Hellens' collection. Between 1765 and 1780 members of the Society of Artists in Ireland staged exhibitions in Dublin, an initiative that Hellen backed even if he patronised so few of the painters.⁸⁴ Print-dealers and booksellers took subscriptions in Ireland for works being published elsewhere.⁸⁵ Miscellaneous cargoes easily included unframed and rolled-up canvases as well as unbound engravings. Speculative consignments, if they may have contained paintings unsold or unwanted in other places, also supplied desirable works. Then, too, the regular dispersals of the effects of the recently deceased, the financially straitened or merely fickle, yielded now unidentifiable purchases. In 1775 an English visitor from London attended a Dublin auction extending over four days in which paintings and prints (of low value) were included. He bought one which he resold a few days later. He also

	PAINTERS.	ENGRAVERS.
rints, &c.	A. Kauffman	Bartolozzi
	do.	do.
	do.	do.
	do.	do.
pe,	do.	do.
	do.	do.
	do.	do.
	do.	do.
	do.	do.
and of Ca-	do.	do.
	do.	do.
	do.	do.
	do.	do.
	do.	Ryland
atrocles,	do.	do.
	do.	do.
	do.	do.
	do.	do.
	do.	do.
enus,	do.	do.
	do.	do.
out of the	do.	do.
	do.	do.
	do.	do.
	do.	do.
	do.	do.
	do.	do.
	do.	do.
	do.	do.
	do.	Picot
	do.	do.

21 – Judge Robert Hellen, auction catalogue (1794) list of books of prints, and list of engravings by Angelica Kauffman

conferred with Vallance, the auctioneer and bookseller.⁸⁶

The evolving trade in fine and applied art was one small, specialised element in the increasingly complex business of satisfying and stimulating Irish consumers' wants. Perhaps disproportionate attention has been paid to the few from Ireland (as well as from Britain) who reached Italy, and what they then acquired there. More common were trips – shorter, easier and cheaper – to Paris, other parts of France, the Low Countries, the Rhineland and the environs of Hanover.⁸⁷ Periodically they were disrupted by warfare, but alternative routes and destinations were readily found. Judge Hellen's one documented visit to Spa has been mentioned, together with the possibility that he may have explored more of Flanders and northern France. The importance of Paris as a centre where paintings, engravings and books were to be had, along with other desirable populuxe objects, was celebrated by the mid-eighteenth century.⁸⁸

Travellers who came to Ireland during the eighteenth century were not seeking rare works of art. They were intent on assessing achievements and potential; backwardness was more often remarked than cultural precociousness. The tendency to belittle Ireland was especially pronounced when it came to its galleries of paintings. Typical were the remarks of the architect, James Gandon. When in Ireland during the 1780s, he encountered only four collections of any consequence, all owned by peers.⁸⁹ Such a restricted view no doubt reflected the limited number of houses to which the curious might be admitted, perhaps by a housekeeper or butler in the absence of the proprietor. For this reason, smaller and lesser-known houses in Dublin might be overlooked, as seems to have been the fate of the Hellens at Mespil Bank. A young Irishman from the provinces, with a talent for drawing, noted in 1789 being shown a full-length portrait of King Henry VIII belonging to a 'Mr Stewart' (probably George Stewart, the surgeon-general) in Henry Street in Dublin. Other paintings in the same house included a portrait of Pope Leo X, 'an ascension' and a moonlight scene. Nearby, a Mr Cave of Paradise Street owned a small collection of 'very pretty paintings', some said to be by Cave's sister, together with eighteenth-century portrait miniatures.⁹⁰

Another visitor from England in the 1770s, Richard

Twiss, notorious for denigrating most Hibernian ways, mentioned the collections of four peers (including Loftus of Ely) and one titled woman (Lady St George). Twiss explained ‘these are all the collections I saw or could hear of in Dublin’, or outside.⁹¹ Then, unexpectedly, he added, ‘excepting a few pictures of Mrs Angelica Kauffman’. That was all; he did not elaborate on this statement. It does however raise the possibility that he may have been told of the Hellens’ collection, or even been shown it.⁹² In the mid-1770s there was no other known hoard of Kauffman’s works in Ireland. It is tantalising to imagine the egregious Twiss viewing the Hellens’ prizes.

Depending on the haphazard and often dismissive comments by visitors, the presence of paintings and other works of art in eighteenth-century Ireland may have been considerably underestimated. The works owned by the elder Luke Gardiner and hung in his Henrietta Street Dublin house are known only through a post-mortem inventory.⁹³ The collections of Philip Tisdall and Gustavus Rochfort received public exposure when auctioned. Even then, without detailed catalogues, their size and quality cannot be gauged. The terse mention of sixteen pictures in the drawing room at Lord Abercorn’s Barons Court (county Tyrone) in 1782 can be balanced against thirty-nine black-framed prints in the ‘Audience Room’ and a further thirty-six in the steward’s room and the thirty-seven unframed prints with which the housemaid’s bed chamber was lumbered.⁹⁴ Much art was secluded in private closets or stored in cabinets and presses, and shared only with intimates, as the Barnards had with Mary Delany. This seems to have been the practice of the Hellens until death and the consequent dispersal revealed what had been amassed. In 1794 the sudden release of so many graphic works may have glutted the Irish market. Certainly one contemporary thought it wiser to try to sell in England. Vallance included in later sales works by Kauffman which had belonged to Hellen. They may have been unsold in the original auction, but such was the repute for Hellen’s taste that his earlier ownership was worth advertising.⁹⁵ The Kauffman portraits of the judge and his wife would reappear at a Dublin exhibition in 1861, by then owned by the eminent Dublin furniture-maker Strahan.⁹⁶

Whereas the publishing of detailed catalogues of books to be auctioned in Ireland became common in the second half of the eighteenth century, similar treatment of paintings remained exceptional. Were it not for the survival of copies of the two printed Hellen catalogues (each in a unique version), the richness of their collection would be unsuspected. The relative abundance of printed listings of individual libraries has allowed the preponderance of collectors among professionals and officials rather than the peerage and landed gentry to be seen.⁹⁷ Without similar catalogues of pictures, it has been assumed that it was peers who led the way in making impressive collections of art and setting the fashion for particular artists, such indeed as Kauffman. With a Charlemont or a Leeson their acquisitions are documented and, to some degree, survive to be identified.⁹⁸ In comparison, hitherto unnoticed collections such as that of the Hellens are harder to reconstruct and assess. Nevertheless, as with the ownership of substantial libraries, so with collections of pictures, urban and urbane professionals – clerics, office-holders, physicians, lawyers, bankers, overseas traders and even brewers – may have set the fashions and indulged them most adventurously.⁹⁹

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ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

BM	British Museum
IA&DS	<i>Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies – The Journal of the Irish Georgian Society</i>
NAI	National Archives of Ireland
NLI	National Library of Ireland
NLS	National Library of Scotland
PRONI	Public Record Office of N. Ireland

- ¹ D. Alexander, 'Kauffman and the print market in eighteenth-century England', in W. Wassing Roworth (ed.), *Angelica Kauffman: a continental artist in Georgian England* (London, 1992) 141-78.
- ² C. Casey, *Buildings of Ireland: Dublin* (New Haven and London, 2005) 543.
- ³ K. Garlick and A.D. Macintyre (eds, vols I-VI), K. Cave (vols VII-XVI) and E. Newby (index), *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, 17 vols (New Haven and London, 1978-98) I, 100.
- ⁴ P. McEvansoneya, 'The black figure in Angelica Kauffman's Ely group portrait', *History Ireland*, XX, 2, 2012, 26-28.
- ⁵ G.C. Zucchi, *Memorie storiche di Maria Angelica Kauffmann Zucchi riguardanti l'arte della pittura da lei professata*, Schriften des Vorarlberger Landesmuseum (Bregenz, 1999) 108-11. Zucchi's account remained unpublished until 1999, but was summarised in print in G.G. de Rossi, *Vita di Angelica Kauffmann pittrice* (Firenze, 1810) 47-48, and then elaborated by F.A. Gerard, *Angelica Kauffman, A Biography* (London, 1893) 136-45, and repeated by Lady Victoria Manners and G.C. Williamson, *Angelica Kauffman, RA: her life and works* (London, 1924) 38-39.
- ⁶ A. Vickery, 'Branding Angelica Kauffman: reputation management in late eighteenth-century England', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 43, 2020, 3-24.
- ⁷ See, for example, portraits of Lord Berwick

and Benjamin West illustrated in Roworth (ed.), *Angelica Kauffman*, 75, 101; also, B. Baumgärtel (ed.), *Angelica Kauffman* (Munich, 2020) 124-25, 127.

- ⁸ The dispute is summarised in A.P.W. Malcomson, 'A house divided? The Loftus family, earls and marquesses of Ely, c.1600- c.1900', in D. Dickson and C. Ó Gráda (eds), *Refiguring Ireland: essays in honour of L.M. Cullen* (Dublin, 2003) 194-99.
- ⁹ G.D. Burtchaell and T.U. Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses* (Dublin, 1935) 387; T. Bartlett, 'Viscount Townshend and the Irish revenue board, 1767-1773', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 79, sect C6, 1979, 167; E.M. Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament*, 6 vols (Belfast, 2002) V, 390-91.
- ¹⁰ *Baratariana* (Dublin, 1772) 172; *Charles Abbot's tour through Ireland & North Wales in 1792*, ed. C.J. Woods (Dublin, 2017) 21-23; J.H. Gebbie, *An Introduction to the Abercorn Letters* (Omagh, 1972) 179, 180.
- ¹¹ T.M.M., 'Anonymous Irish books', *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, xii, 1867, 531.
- ¹² F.E. Ball, *The Judges in Ireland*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1926) II, 218-19.
- ¹³ A. Kauffmann [sic], self-portrait, Yale Center for British Art, B.1977.14.5552; A. Rosenthal, *Angelica Kauffman: art and sensibility* (New Haven and London, 2006) 236.
- ¹⁴ *Catalogue of books, prints, and drawings, being the collection of the late honourable Judge Hellen ... 10th day of February, 1794* ([Dublin, 1794]); *A catalogue of pictures, drawings, prints framed and glazed, statues, china ... being the property of the late Honourable Judge Hellen* (Dublin, 1794).
- ¹⁵ NAI, T.1455, Transcript of probate of will of Dorothea Hellen, 1806 (I am grateful to Cora McDonagh for a copy of this document); 'Testamentary records from Lettice Evoryna O'Hanlon of Orior', *Irish Genealogist*, 2, part 2, 1947, 143.
- ¹⁶ Before that, Hellen's address was Great Cuffe Street in the city, although this may possibly have been only his office. *Constitution Club, 1771* (Dublin, 1771) 7; *Constitution Club, 1774* (Dublin, 1774) 7; *Wilson's Dublin Directory, for the year 1766* (Dublin, 1766) 28.
- ¹⁷ C.P. Curran, *Dublin Decorative Plasterwork of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London, 1967) 43-50, plates 56-65; *The Georgian Society Records of domestic architect-*

- ture and decoration in eighteenth-century Dublin, 5 vols (Dublin, 1912) I, 12, plates xxxii-vi; J. McDonnell, *Irish Eighteenth-Century Stuccowork and its European Sources* (Dublin, 1991) 13, 25-26, plates 116-25.
- ¹⁸ R.E. Raspe, *A descriptive catalogue of a general collection of ancient and modern gems, cameos as well as intaglios*, 2 vols (London, 1791); *Saunders's News-Letter*, 1st April 1794.
- ¹⁹ R. Ouseley, 'Account of four circular plates of gold found in Ireland', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, VI, 1797, 33.
- ²⁰ E. Burch, *A Catalogue of one hundred proofs from gems* (London, 1795) 13.
- ²¹ A. Crookshank and D. FitzGerald, Knight of Glin, *Ireland's Painters, 1600-1940* (New Haven and London, 2002) 60; M. Kennedy, *French Books in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Oxford, 2001) 116; J. Meredith, 'Letters between friends: Lord Charlemont's library and other matters', *IA&DS*, IV, 2001, 72; M. Pollard, *Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade, 1550-1800* (London, 2000) 578-79.
- ²² Crookshank and Glin, *Ireland's Painters*, pp 57-61.
- ²³ A 'Mr and Mrs Fisher' are recorded at Spa in 1776 and 1777. Fisher was described as 'gentilhomme Anglais', but so were Hellen and Tisdall. There is the odd coincidence of Fisher having a sinecure office in the Stamp Office, where William Daniell, a close relative of Dorothea Hellen, also worked. *Liste des seigneurs et dames venus aux eaux minérales de Spa, l'an 1776; ibid.*, 1777; *Saunders's News-Letter*, 1st April 1794; W.G. Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, 2 vols (Dublin and London, 1913) I, 344; *The Treble Almanack for the year MDC-CXCI* (Dublin, 1791) 70.
- ²⁴ W.P. Carey, *Some memoirs of the patronage and progress of the fine arts in England and Ireland* (London, 1826) 189; Crookshank and Glin, *Ireland's Painters*, 163-4; *Freeman's Journal*, 7th Feb 1782; J. Meredith, 'A "good figure": the story of George Cockburn (1764-1847) as revealed through contemporary letters and papers', *IA&DS*, XI, 2008, 110; Strickland, *Dictionary*, II, 270-71. Pasquin alleged that the Dublin Society bought large quantities of Quadall's productions for the same educational purpose that has been suggested in the proposed donation of Kauffmans. Pasquin, *An Authentic History of the professors of painting ... who have practised in Ireland* (London, 1796) 15; cf. J. Turpin, *A School of Art in Dublin since the Eighteenth Century: a history of the National College of Art and Design* (Dublin, 1995) 58-61.
- ²⁵ Woodburn copies of Vernet are also recorded in the Tottenham collection at Woodbrook. Strickland, *Dictionary*, II, 553.
- ²⁶ R. Ansell, *Complete Gentlemen: educational travel and family strategy, 1650-1750* (Oxford, 2022) 224; S. Avery-Quash and N. Penny, 'The dispersal of the Orléans collection and the British art market', in Avery-Quash and Huemer (eds), *London and the Emergence of a European Art Market* (Los Angeles, 2019) 45-58; D. Bindman, 'The Orléans collection and its impact on British art', in R. Panzanelli and M. Preti-Hamard (eds), *La circulation des oeuvres d'art* (Rennes, 2007) 57-66.
- ²⁷ T.C. Barnard, 'Art, architecture, artefacts and ascendancy', *Bullán: an Irish Studies Journal*, I, no. 2, 1994, 24-25; T. Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven and London, 2004) 174.
- ²⁸ A. Griffith, *The Print before Photography: an introduction to European printmaking, 1550-1820* (London, 2016) 411-26.
- ²⁹ J. Fitzgerald, 'The print room in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1830', *The Quarterly: the journal of the British Association of Paper Historians*, LV, 2005, 25-31; D. Griffin, 'Castletown, Co. Kildare: the contribution of James, first duke of Leinster', *IA&DS*, I, 1998, 137, 140; Griffith, *The Print before Photography*, 415-17. A painting by George Mullins of three members of the Wyse family about 1786 shows them in a room of their Waterford city house. One wall is embellished with unframed and presumably pasted prints – unwise given the direct light from large sash windows. Illustrated in E. McEneaney and R. Ryan (eds), *Waterford Treasures* (Waterford, 2004) 174-75; R. Ryan, 'The Wyses of Waterford', *Irish Arts Review*, 21, no. 1, 2004, 108-11.
- ³⁰ D. McKitterick, *The Invention of Rare Books: private interest and public memory, 1600-1840* (Cambridge, 2018) 65-67.
- ³¹ N. de Marchi and H. J. van Miegrot, 'Transforming the Paris art market 1715-1750', in N. de Marchi and H. J. van Miegrot (eds), *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450-1750* (Turnhout, 2006) 386-88, 395, 400.
- ³² McKitterick, *The Invention of Rare Books*, 206-09.

- ³³ *Catalogue of books, prints, and drawings*, lots 257, 358.
- ³⁴ *ibid.*, lots 242 and 243. By 1791, *Asiatick Researches* was available in a Dublin bookshop. NLI, MS 5905, W, Ouseley, Commonplace book from 1788, s.d. 10th and 21st August 1791.
- ³⁵ *Catalogue of books, prints, and drawings*, lot 278.
- ³⁶ J. Spilsbury, *A collection of fifty prints from antique gems: in the collections of the Right Honourable Earl Percy, the Honourable C. F. Greville, and T. M. Slade, Esquire* (London, [1784?]); P. von Stosch, *Pierres antiques gravées: sur lesquelles les graveurs ont mis leurs noms* (Amsterdam, 1724).
- ³⁷ The published catalogue gives 1741 as the date, which is clearly a misprint, presumably for 1781 when the three-volume translation by Huber was issued in Leipzig. On the significance of Winckelmann's *History*, see A. Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the origins of art history* (New Haven and London, 1994).
- ³⁸ Is this *Le pitture antiche d'Ercolano e contorni*, 8 vols (1757–92)? W. Hamilton, *Observations on Mount Vesuvius, Mount Etna and other volcanos* (London, 1772); P.F. Hugues, Baron d'Hancarville, *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines*, 4 vols (Naples, 1766–67 [1767–76]). *Catalogue of books, prints, and drawings*, lots 404, 793–95.
- ³⁹ Royal Irish Academy (RIA), Caldwell papers, 3/69, F. Hamilton to A. Caldwell, 10th Aug 1777.
- ⁴⁰ *Catalogue of books, prints, and drawings*, lot 796.
- ⁴¹ *ibid.*, lots 198, 225.
- ⁴² *ibid.*, lot 802. Presumably *Eighty-two* [seventy-three] prints, engraved by F. Bartolozzi, &c., from the original drawings of Guercino in the collection of his majesty, 2 vols (London, [1770?]).
- ⁴³ F. Basan, *Collection de cent-vingt estampes, gravées d'après les tableaux & dessins qui composoient le cabinet de M. Poullain, receveur général des domaines du roi, décédé en 1780* (Paris, 1781); F. Basan, *Recueil d'estampes gravées d'après les tableaux du cabinet de Monseigneur le duc de Choiseul* (Paris, 1771). For Crozat, R. Ziskin, *Sheltering Art: collecting and social identity in early eighteenth-century Paris* (University Park, PA, 2013) 69–92, 159–62; on Poullain: L. Whiteley, 'The language of sale catalogues, 1750–1820', in M. Preti-Hamard and P. Sénéchal (eds), *Collections et marchés de l'art en France, 1789–1848* (Rennes, 2005) 40.
- ⁴⁴ *Catalogue of books, prints, and drawings*, lots 797–801.
- ⁴⁵ M. Kennedy, 'The Encyclopédie in eighteenth-century Ireland', *The Book Collector*, 45, 2001, 201–13; Kennedy, *French Books*, 140–41, 187.
- ⁴⁶ C. Brooke, *Reliques of Irish Poetry*, ed. L. Ní Mhangaile (Dublin, 1999) x, xvi.
- ⁴⁷ *Reports of cases argued and adjudged in the Court of King's Bench, in the eleventh and twelfth years of the reign of King George the Second* (Dublin, 1791).
- ⁴⁸ Lady Llanover (ed.), *Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany*, 6 vols (London, 1861–62) II, 625.
- ⁴⁹ R. de Piles, *The Art of Painting* (London, 1706) 75; A. Powell (ed.), *Barnard Letters, 1778–1824* (London, 1928) 101, 127, 129; B. Rizzo (ed.), *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney, IV: the Streatham Years, part II, 1780–1781* (Montreal, 2003) 337; L.E. Troide and S.J. Cooke (eds), *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney, V: 1782–1783* (Montreal, 2012) 355, 375.
- ⁵⁰ NLS, MS 43018, J. Murray, Journal, s.d. 2nd July 1775; T. Barnard, 'From imperial Schatzkammer to the Giant's Causeway: collecting in eighteenth-century Ireland', *IA&DS*, VI, 2003, 153–55; *The Georgian Society Records of domestic architecture*, IV, 31–32; C. O'Connor, 'The Charlemont House medal cabinet', *Irish Arts Review*, I, no. 2, 1984, 23–27. Compare with the elaborate arrangements for Crozat's collection in early eighteenth-century Paris: Ziskin, *Sheltering Art*, 71–80, 85.
- ⁵¹ Kauffmans are listed, for example, in a Dublin sale in 1785; *Saunders's News-Letter*, 17th February 1785.
- ⁵² Barnard, 'Art, architecture, artefacts and ascendancy', 24–25; Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, 174.
- ⁵³ PRONI, D 562/9194–5, Receipts from A. Kauffman, July 1775, 15th April 1776; A.P.W. Malcomson, *John Foster (1740–1828): the politics of improvement and prosperity* (Dublin, 2011), plates 5 and 6.
- ⁵⁴ Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, 311; *Liste des seigneurs et dames venus aux eaux minérales de Spa, l'an 1774*, accessible through Société wallonne d'étude du dix-huitième siècle; R. Bates, 'The petit tour to Spa, 1763–1787', in R.

- Sweet, G. Verhoeven and S. Goldsmith (eds), *Beyond the Grand Tour: northern metropolises and early modern travel behaviour* (Abingdon, 2017), 127-46; L. Chambers, 'Les confessions au carrefour', in D. Droixhe (ed.), *Spa, carrefour de l'Europe des lumières* (Paris, 2013), 35-66; A. Ponsonby, *Scottish and Irish Diaries from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1927) 148-52; *Catalogue of books, prints, and drawings*, lot 457. Tisdall visited Spa regularly and died there in 1777. Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament*, VI, 405-08; H.F. Morris, 'Extracts from Ramsey's Waterford Chronicle, 1777, cont.', *Irish Genealogist*, V, no. 5, 1978, 627; Zucchi, *Memorie istoriche di Maria Angelica Kauffmann Zucchi*, 110. He has been identified, rather speculatively, with the Philip Tisdale who was in Rome with James Stopford in 1723-24. J. Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701-1800* (New Haven and London, 1997) 944.
- ⁵⁵ Bates, 'The petit tour to Spa', 137-38. Since Hellen owned a guide to Lille, published in 1772, he may have included northern France in his itinerary. *Catalogue of books, prints, and drawings*, lot 457.
- ⁵⁶ E.P. Bowron and J.J. Rishel (eds), *Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 2000) 227-28.
- ⁵⁷ PRONI, MIC 639/3, R. Day to Lord Glandore, 25th May 1793.
- ⁵⁸ Carey, *Some memoirs*, 189. For Carey, see M. Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books, 1550-1800* (Oxford, 1989) 88-89.
- ⁵⁹ Turpin, *A School of Art in Dublin*, 58-61.
- ⁶⁰ T.C. Barnard, 'The Dublin Society and other improving societies, 1731-1785', in J. Kelly and M. J. Powell (eds), *Clubs and Societies in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2010) 53-88; *idem*, "'Wedded to old customs": The Dublin Society, John Wynn Baker and agricultural innovation', in K. Mulligan (ed.), *Auguri: festschrift for Mary Kelleher* (Dublin, 2009) 19-35.
- ⁶¹ British Museum (BM), 2010,7081.2909. D. Alexander, 'Chronological checklist of singly issued English prints after Angelica Kauffman', in Roworth (ed.), *Angelica Kauffman*, 180, no. 17. It was subsequently reissued by others in 1786. BM, 1917,1208.1176, and 1928,0731.57.
- ⁶² An impression of the Ryland print is lot 227 in *Catalogue of books, prints, and drawings*, but no original drawing is listed in either auction.
- ⁶³ BM, 1860,1110.39; Alexander, 'Chronological checklist', 164-66, 168.
- ⁶⁴ *Saunders's News-Letter*, 17th February 1785.
- ⁶⁵ Rhode Island Historical Society, nos 1956.3.6 and 1974.24.1.
- ⁶⁶ *Letters from an Armenian in Ireland*, 114-16.
- ⁶⁷ *A list of commodities imported into Ireland* (Dublin, 1752).
- ⁶⁸ Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, 169-71; *Dublin Journal*, 24th Sept 1737, 28th April 1744; Crookshank and Glin, *Ireland's Painters*, 52; D. FitzGerald, Knight of Glin and J. Peill, *Irish Furniture* (New Haven and London, 2007) 49-50, 274.
- ⁶⁹ Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, 169-71; *The Dublin Directory, for the year 1751*, 11; *The Dublin Directory, for the year 1760*, 15; *The Dublin Directory, for the year 1767*, 26.
- ⁷⁰ *Saunders's News-Letter*, 18th July 1786.
- ⁷¹ D. FitzGerald, Knight of Glin, 'A family of looking-glass merchants', *Country Life*, 28th Jan 1971, 195-99; Glin and Peill, *Irish Furniture*, 140-46, 291; de Marchi and van Miegrot, 'Transforming the Paris art market', 384-85.
- ⁷² *Saunders's News-Letter*, 14th October 1774, 1st April 1786 and 6th May 1789.
- ⁷³ A.K. Longfield, 'Some household auctions advertised in Finn's Leinster Journal in the 1790s', *The Irish Ancestor*, XVII, 1985, 65.
- ⁷⁴ *Saunders's News-Letter*, 1st April 1786.
- ⁷⁵ *ibid.*, 4th July 1783, 5th March 1784.
- ⁷⁶ *ibid.*, 1st April 1786; cf. Crookshank and Glin, *Ireland's Painters*, 78. Hume had died in 1731; his paintings had descended to Gustavus Rochfort, whose financial embarrassments owing to litigation occasioned their later sale.
- ⁷⁷ For Hume, see M. Hayes, 'Sir Gustavus Hume (1677-1731) courtly connections and architectural connoisseurship in the early eighteenth century', *IA&DS*, XIX, 2016, 36-53.
- ⁷⁸ *Saunders's News-Letter*, 17th June 1778.
- ⁷⁹ F. Vivian, *The Consul Smith Collection* (Munich, 1989) 37, 49.
- ⁸⁰ *The Dublin Directory, for the year 1751*, 12; *The Dublin Directory, for the year 1760*, 17; *The Dublin Directory, for the year 1767*, 18, 49; D. FitzGerald, Knight of Glin, and W. Laffan, 'Michael Ford's portrait of Lord Chief Justice Singleton', *IA&DS*, IX, 2006, 266-75; Strickland, *Dictionary*, II, 354.
- ⁸¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 3rd December 1768; Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books*, 67-68.
- ⁸² Trinity College Dublin, MS 9218, R. Jackson,

- account book, s.d. 31st May 1774.
- ⁸³ T. Clayton, *The English Print, 1688-1802* (New Haven and London, 1997) 148.
- ⁸⁴ *Dublin Journal*, 16th July 1765; D. Fleming, R. Kenny and W. Laffan (eds), *Exhibiting Art in Georgian Ireland* (Dublin, 2018).
- ⁸⁵ Clayton, *The English Print*, 82; *Saunders's News-Letter*, 22nd May 1776.
- ⁸⁶ NLS, MS 43018, J. Murray, Journal, s.d. 30th, 31st May 1775, 1st and 2nd June 1775.
- ⁸⁷ Ansell, *Complete Gentlemen*
- ⁸⁸ Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, 131; C. Fairchild, 'The production and marketing of populuxe goods in eighteenth-century Paris', in J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1991) 228-48; de Marchi and van Miegrot, 'Transforming the Paris art market', 383-402; P. Verlet, 'Le commerce des objets d'art et les marchands merciers à Paris au XVIIIe siècle', *Annales Economies Sociétés Civilisations*, I, 1958, 10-29; Ziskin, *Sheltering Art*
- ⁸⁹ J. Gandon and T. J. Mulvany, *The Life of James Gandon, Esq.* (Dublin, 1846) 50.
- ⁹⁰ NLI, MS 5905, pp. 127, 128, 226, W. Ouseley, Commonplace book, from 1788; *The Treble Almanack* (Dublin, 1791) 87.
- ⁹¹ R. Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland in 1775*, ed. R. Finnegan (Dublin, 2008) 12-14.
- ⁹² *ibid.*, p. 14.
- ⁹³ J. Coleman, 'Evidence for the collecting and display of paintings in mid-eighteenth-century Ireland', *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, XXXVI, 1994, 59-60.
- ⁹⁴ PRONI, D 623/D/4/1, Inventory of Barons Court, 1782.
- ⁹⁵ RIA, Caldwell papers, vol. 2, A. Caldwell, codicil to his will, 23rd May 1808; *Saunders's News-Letter*, 18th June 1799 and 13th Jan 1805.
- ⁹⁶ Royal Dublin Society, *Official catalogue of the exhibition of the fine arts and ornamental art 1861* (Dublin [1861]), 45, nos 173, 176. (I am grateful to Cora McDonagh for this reference.)
- ⁹⁷ T. Barnard, *Brought to Book: print in Ireland, 1680-1784* (Dublin, 2017) 346-47; Kennedy, *French Books*, 192-219; Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books*, 215.
- ⁹⁸ S. Benedetti, *The Milltowns: a family reunion* (Dublin, 1997); J. Egerton, 'Lord Charlemont and William Hogarth', in M. McCarthy (ed.), *Lord Charlemont and his Circle: essays in honour of Michael Wynne* (Dublin, 2001) 91-102; W. Laffan and K.V. Mulligan, *Russborough: a great Irish house, its families and collections* (Russborough, 2014) 84-135; J. Loughman, "'One of the finest pieces that Rembrandt ever painted": Charlemont's collecting of Netherlandish paintings', in McCarthy (ed.), *Lord Charlemont*, 103-12.
- ⁹⁹ For example, *A catalogue of a small collection of select capital pictures, the property of John Sweetman* (Dublin, 1798).