

The visual worlds of the Edgeworth family: private sketches and literary illustrations

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I 1865, FRANCES EDGEWORTH, THE WIDOW OF RICHARD LOVELL EDGEWORTH OF Edgeworthstown, county Longford, died at (what was for that time) the formidable age of ninety-five. She survived her husband, who had married four times and fathered twenty-two children, by forty-eight years.¹ In her will she mentioned that she had become the 'residuary legatee' of her stepdaughter, the author Maria Edgeworth, which had made her the owner of the family's 'books, prints and drawings'. These she bequeathed to three of her surviving children, Michael Pakenham, Harriet and Lucy Jane.²

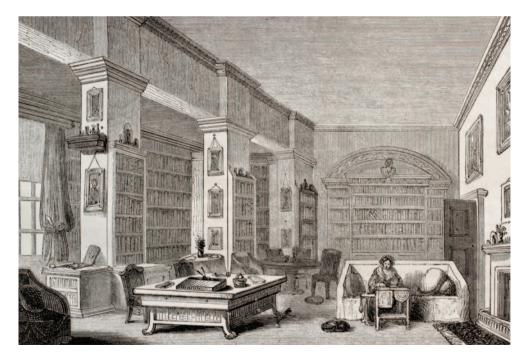
It is not widely known that, besides writing, drawing was an artistic outlet in the Edgeworth family.³ In the era prior to photography, drawing was a skill taught to many children of gentry and clergy families. Not surprisingly, some families produced several talented amateur artists. The topic of this paper is a hitherto unknown album in a private collection of drawings by members of the Edgeworth family. Its main focus is how these drawings shed new light on life at and around Edgeworthstown House (Plate 2),⁴ and illustrate unique details of daily life of the children, servants, villagers and estate workers.

Compared with sketches of street vendors and workers in Irish cities, drawings of the working classes in and around Irish country houses are rare.⁵ As will be shown, Richard Lovell and Maria wrote about their fear that servants would unduly influence and ruin children's characters, and that it would be best to keep children away from uneducated servants. However, in daily practice, the multi-layered social structure of the Edgeworth household appeared to have drawn few barriers between upstairs and downstairs, and between servants in the home, servants outdoors, and people in the village. Thus, it is all the more remarkable that several members of the Edgeworth family made drawings of servants and other workers, most likely those around the estate. Family members also drew each other and, importantly, prepared illustrations for Maria's stories that focused on children of a similar class.⁶



2 – Frances Edgeworth, GARDEN FRONT OF EDGEWORTHSTOWN HOUSE, COUNTY LONGFORD, (courtesy Irish Architectural Archive)

3 – Library of Edgeworthstown House, with probably Maria Edgeworth sitting at her desk from S.C. Hall, A BOOK of MEMORIES (London, n.d.) 116



EDGEWORTHSTOWN HOUSE AND ESTATE

The EDGEWORTHSTOWN ESTATE, WHEN INHERITED BY RICHARD LOVELL IN 1770, WAS modest in size, amounting to 3,255 acres, some of it bog, mostly situated in flat countryside.⁷ The main house and its demesne adjoined the village. The house, dating mostly from the early eighteenth century, had small wainscoted and rather gloomy rooms. With only a modest family fortune, Richard Lovell adopted the wise course of not demolishing the house and building a grander one. Instead, from 1782 onwards, he renovated the house over many years, increasing the size of the windows on the east front, inserting a bow projection on the west front, replacing what must have been a gigantic staircase so that it no longer occupied half of the house, and enlarging the library. An inveterate inventor, he supplied the house with several ingenious and labour-saving mechanical devices such as a hot-air heating system, and leather straps ensuring that doors shut without banging.⁸ Casey and Rowan compared Richard Lovell's 'clever contrivances' at Edgeworthstown House with Thomas Jefferson's inventions at Monticello in Virginia.⁹ Richard Lovell also slowly revamped the formal garden into a 'naturalistic' park, planting trees and creating flowerbeds.¹⁰

Under the educational leadership of Richard Lovell, the household, with its two live-in aunts¹¹ and large number of children of all ages, became a beehive of creative activities, centred on the library, which served as a sitting room, (shown in an engraving, probably with Maria sitting at her small desk) (Plates 1, 3).¹² In 1824, the Rev Richard Butler, vicar of Trim, county Meath, and Richard Lovell's son-in-law, wrote that 'Edgeworthstown [is] the pleasantest house I know, for everybody does in it just what he likes', and the library was where writing and science were taught to the children.¹³ A later inhabitant of Edgeworthstown in 1864 recollected that there was never a drawing room in the house, but that family and individual activities, including drawing, took place in the library: 'The family room was the library, where all the family members read and worked together round the long centre table, with Maria's little desk-table in the corner.'¹⁴ This was where adults supervised and taught the children and where Maria recited her latest fiction. Remarkably, from the mid-1780s until Richard Lovell's death in 1817, none of the children went to a school, but instead were educated at home by various family members, without the assistance of a tutor, drawing master or governess.¹⁵ This meant that their early training in drawing was also taught by family members.

THE EDGEWORTHS AND THE ROLE OF SERVANTS IN FACT AND FICTION

ROUND 1782, RICHARD LOVELL, AFTER DISMISSING THE MIDDLEMAN, OR MANAGER, who had run the estate for decades, took over this task himself. This meant that he had direct contact with his workers and with his tenants, who twice a year gathered on the lawn in front of the house to pay their rent. He also eliminated feudal

obligations such as tenants' duty work and granted them de facto tenants' rights.¹⁶ He recognised that tenant grievances lay at the root of agrarian unrest, and that rather than the common practice of landlord absenteeism, a prerequisite to preventing trouble was for the owner to reside on his estate.¹⁷

Edgeworthstown House and its demesne, unlike many other Irish demesnes, was not blocked off from the nearby village and estate lands by a high stone wall separating the family from the outside world.¹⁸ Significantly, in this respect, after the outbreak of the 1798 rebellion, while the village was spoiled, the house was not attacked by the insurgents.¹⁹ Similarly, it was left undisturbed during the activities of an agrarian agitation group called the Thrashers in 1807, in all probability due to the positive relationship Richard Lovell cultivated with his tenants and workers.²⁰ These must have included kitchen help, house-cleaning staff, stable-yard help, dairy workers and gardeners, virtually all of whom remain anonymous. In addition to tenants and farm workers, there were also 'a great number of labourers and workmen' employed in Richard Lovell's 'buildings and improvements'.²¹

Richard Lovell passed on to his children his engagement with the working classes, and also inculcated in them a sense of responsibility. One of the first writing assignments formulated for Maria, who was only fourteen years old when she came from England to reside permanently at Edgeworthstown House, was to write 'an enquiry into the causes of poverty in Ireland', no doubt a way for her to learn about her new country. A year later, her father made her read Adam Smith's The Wealth of Nations (London, 1776) and write a paper on it.²² Subsequently, however, many of her more ambitious tales and novels mostly focused on her own class, and her fiction about the working classes alternated between expressions of disdain, fondness, their assumed cunningness and a sense of danger.²³ Nevertheless, she maintained an interest in them (see, for example, Ennui, London, 1809), and peasants feature in her early comic dramas, although they were characterised as 'lazy and quarrelsome'.²⁴ Foremost among the servants in Maria's fiction is Thady Quirk, the narrator of Castle Rackrent (London, 1800), who is said to have been modelled on the Edgeworth estate steward John Langan, 'whose accent, phrases, and gestures both Maria and her father could mimic perfectly'.25 Thady, however, turns out to be an unreliable employee, who actually promotes the takeover by his son of the ancestral Rackrent estate. Thady combines cunningness and a great sense of humour, and represents a nottoo-reliable type of servant. Further, Maria's Popular Tales, written between 1799 and 1803 (London, 1804, 3 vols), primarily contained stories about tradespeople.²⁶

The complexity of contacts with servants on the Edgeworth estate is clear from Richard Lovell and Maria's *Practical Education* (London, 1798, 2 vols), which was 'the most important work on general pedagogy to appear in Britain between the end of the seventeenth and the late nineteenth centuries'.²⁷ In its chapter on servants, they advise that children should be kept separate from servants because servants could be a source of possible perversion of children's characters with their 'power to excite other tastes with premature and factitious enthusiasm'.²⁸ Besides, children could learn wrong things from the

servants by imitating their words and actions. If necessary, servants with a bad influence on children in the 'Big House' had to be fired: 'What is the loss of service of a good groom, or a good butler, compared with the danger of spoiling a child?' Father and daughter concluded that 'the worst thing in the world is to "leave children with the servants".'²⁹ At the same time, however, they expressed that servants should only be permitted to manage children 'till their own education has been radically reformed'.³⁰ Until then, children had to learn from adults who could be trusted, which, in the Edgeworth household, meant older members of the family. Father and daughter maintained that servants who lived seven to twenty-four years in the house seemed to be 'content' with 'this separation from children of the family'.³¹ The reality in the Edgeworth household, however, may have been different. Richard Lovell and Maria pointed out that in the smaller households, the presence of the 'mistress of the family' may prevent 'much of the evil'.³² These more relaxed social controls are confirmed by drawings in albums A and B (see below), showing the Edgeworth children in the company of servants and estate workers.³³

Despite Richard Lovell and Maria's reservations about contact between young family members and the servants, they wrote caringly about them: 'They are not a separate cast in society, doomed to ignorance, or degraded by inherent vice; they are capable, they are desirous of instruction' and needed to be treated 'with the utmost tenderness'.³⁴ Richard Lovell encouraged his tenants to improve their cabins by adding chimneys and windows and installing better roofs and floors. He also built 'decent' houses for them, and must have rebuilt houses in the village after the disaster of 1798.³⁵ Significantly, father and daughter advised that the same principles of education could be applied to both children and servants, and had to start early in life.³⁶ Only at the end of Richard Lovell's life (he died in 1817) did he develop plans for an elementary school in the village, presumably for children from the estate, which was put into effect in about 1819 by his son Lovell, and financially supported by Maria. The final work written by Richard Lovell was *School Lessons* (Dublin, 1817), in two parts, which contains an instructional text for boys (such as about building and health), fables and 'heathen' mythology.³⁷

The Edgeworth family's interest in the welfare of its servants and tenants is confirmed by the account of Mary Banim, who visited the estate prior to 1891 and who wrote that 'the tenants and humbler neighbours' still told 'with affection and gratitude of the devotion of the Edgeworth family to the interests of the entire community'.³⁸ When Catherine Billamore, the 'faithful' English housekeeper and 'more a friend than a servant' for thirty-three years, died in 1820, she was buried in the family vault and a tablet in her memory placed in the church wall.³⁹

The pedagogic skills developed by the older generations of Edgeworths rested on careful observation of the succession of young children in the household and on taking notes about important and 'trivial' child behaviours, such as curiosity, and what children said when engaged in learning.⁴⁰ Not surprisingly, such observations were also key to the drawings made by family members. In addition, correspondence indicates that members of the family, including Maria, were interested in theoretical aspects of drawing,

including 'an ingenious scheme to draw the human figure by circles and segments', developed by Lady Charleville of Charleville Forest, county Offaly, prior to 1809.⁴¹ However, none of the surviving drawings shows evidence that this technique was routinely used.

THE EDGEWORTH ALBUMS

OST OF THE SURVIVING EDGEWORTH DRAWINGS ARE IN TWO BOUND ALBUMS, ONE in a private collection, which is the focus of the present paper (Album A),⁴² and the other in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Album B).⁴³ The rarity of both albums lies not just in their survival, but also in the fact that they constitute an uncommon record of the less well known artistic and largely private sides of the Edgeworth family, and are a very good example of drawings by Irish amateur artists.⁴⁴

The two albums are unique in that few collections of drawings by several members of other Irish families are known to have survived. They are also special because they differ from scrapbooks in that they do not contain poetry or other written or printed materials. In contrast to the Edgeworth albums, other known collections of drawings by amateur Irish artists of the period have apparently all been done by a single artist rather than by a group of family members. The amateur artist Harriet Lefanu drew her female household help in 1804.⁴⁵ Another important set of lively drawings of Irish gentry is by Caroline Hamilton (née Tighe, 1777-1861).⁴⁶

With the exception of the preliminary watercolours for the illustrations of Maria's books of fiction (see below), members of the Edgeworth family only sketched for private purposes and did so on pieces of paper of varying sizes. They are not known to have publicly exhibited their work; instead, drawing remained a flourishing family activity, with sketches sometimes being shared as presents among family members and friends.⁴⁷ Many drawings were neither signed nor dated, nor did they identify the individuals depicted. A further complication is that family members sometimes made copies of drawings but then attached the initials of the original artist.⁴⁸ While part of the story of the drawings is necessarily one of attribution, several sets of initials recur among them.

THE EDGEWORTH ARTISTS

R ICHARD LOVELL'S DRAWINGS REFLECT HIS ENTHUSIASM FOR TECHNOLOGY, LAND SURveying and improvements, and his concerns as an amateur architect to improve both his own mansion and village, and the infirmary, probably at Longford town.⁴⁹ Maria's drawings are only known from a few humoristic sketches, and neither she nor her father produced drawings of family members or members of the working classes.⁵⁰ Instead, the signed drawings in Album A are mostly by women in the Edgeworth household: Frances (Richard's fourth wife, 1769-1865) and members of the younger generation (Table 1), some of whom taught the younger children to draw. Frances became the principal drawing instructor in the Edgeworth family. As a young girl she must have shown an inclination for art, and received drawing instruction from at least six teachers: first at Mrs Terson's School in Portarlington, county Laois; later from Nicholas Pocock in Bristol, Wales, and a certain Miss Simmonds. She studied art under Mr Bowring of Gloucester, England, Francis Robert West of Dublin, and Mr Raymond Deshouillères of London, from whom she learned crayon painting.⁵¹ After her death, a eulogy mentioned that she also painted.⁵² At her father's parsonage at Collon, county Louth, 'The walls of the sitting-rooms in the vicarage were hung with her paintings in oils and in crayons, both figures and landscapes, all admirable. She designed the vignette for her father's wonderful map of Ireland', which refers to the cartouche for Beaufort's map of Ireland of 1792 (see below).⁵³ The eulogy further stated that,

After her marriage she made in crayons two beautiful copies of large water-colour views of Tivoli, brought from Italy by Mrs. Ruxton, and in oils, a head of St. Peter from a Guido at Colonel Fox's of Foxhall [county Longford], and wherever she went she made sketches of the scenery, or remarkable figures or scenes that she met with.⁵⁴

She provided him drawings of the ceilings of King's College, Cambridge, to be copied for the church at Collon.⁵⁵ She was also well known for her flower paintings, mostly made between 1799 and 1805, which are preserved at the Henry E. Huntington Library in Santa Marino, California. Given that she married Richard Lovell in 1798, these drawings must represent mostly plants around Edgeworthstown House (a greenhouse adjoined her bedroom and dressing room), while several others were drawn during her travels in Ireland.⁵⁶ That she became more than an amateur artist can be judged from the quality of

m. Anna Maria Elers	m. Honora Sneyd	m. Elizabeth Sneyd	m. Frances Beaufort
(1743-1773)	(1751-1780)	(1753-1797)	(1769-1865)
<i>Maria</i> (1768-1849) Emmeline (1770-1847) and 3 other children	Lovell (1775-1842) and 1 other child	<i>Charlotte</i> (1783-1807) <i>Honora</i> (1791-1858) <i>William</i> (1794-1829) and 6 other children	Francis Maria (1799-1848) Harriet (1801-1889) (m. Rev Richard Butler) Sophia (1803-1837) Lucy Jane (1805-1897) Michael Pakenham (1812-1881) and 1 other child

Richard Lovell Edgeworth (1744-1817) (m. = married)

Table 1 – Abbreviated family tree of the Edgeworth family. (It refers only to members of the family mentioned in the text. Those who drew or made land surveys are shown in italics.) from Marilyn Butler, MARIA EDGEWORTH, A LITERARY BIOGRAPHY (London, 1972) 489

her drawings, one of which was the design for a medal for the Navan Farming Society in 1803.⁵⁷ Frances also drew out her husband's engineering sketches. She was a dedicated wife and a great friend to Maria; she wrote *A Memoir of Maria Edgeworth* (London, 1867, 3 vols), but did not illustrate it with drawings of family members. She must have been hardy, because at the age of 73 she travelled with her younger sisters Louisa and Harriet and several other family members to the Killarney region.⁵⁸ Among the female members of the Edgeworth family, she had the longest life.

After her marriage to Richard Lovell in 1798, Frances was faced with the task of bringing-up and teaching the nine young children of Richard Lovell's third wife, Elizabeth Sneyd, who had died the preceding year, and who then ranged in age from four to seventeen. She encouraged several of them to draw, including Charlotte, Honora, and probably the youngest son, William (1794-1829), who later became a surveyor, and constructed the intricate ceiling of the church of Frances's father, the Rev Daniel Augustus Beaufort at Collon.⁵⁹ Frances's stepdaughter Honora is only known from a few drawings of children in Albums A and B, and a single drawing of haymaking, presumably on the Edgeworth estate.⁶⁰ One of her sketches in Album B shows four children playing the game of blind man's buff, while another shows six children playing with a railroad cart, as seen from the window of Dalkey Lodge, county Dublin, in 1817.⁶¹

Charlotte, second to Frances, was the most accomplished artist in the family. Her initial upbringing was largely under the care of Emmeline (1770-1847), Maria's sister, both daughters of Richard Lovell's first wife.⁶² When aged three or four, Charlotte was able to recite the prologue by the character Oberon in a farce composed and acted at Edgeworthstown House.⁶³ She had exceptional technical skills and anticipated James Watt's use of a separate condenser for the steam engine.⁶⁴ A portrait of Charlotte as a child showed her with a charming profile and long, curly hair.65 At age sixteen, the Swiss visitor Marc-Auguste Pictet described her as 'jolie, fraiche comme la rose' but shy;66 while Sydney Smith characterised her in 1803 as 'very handsome and engaging'.⁶⁷ She became a close friend of her stepmother Frances. In an undated letter, Charlotte thanked Frances by writing, 'You taught me how to draw and you taught me how to love.'68 Charlotte, together with several members of the family, including Maria, travelled in England, France and Scotland from October 1802 to April 1803, where she made several drawings.⁶⁹ Some of her sketches eventually found a place in the back of the London edition of Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth (1820).⁷⁰ She also drew sketches on her Irish journeys, such as the schoolhouse near Pakenham Hall (now Tullynally), county Westmeath.⁷¹ After a lingering illness of tuberculosis that caused frequent vicissitudes in her health, she died at the young age of twenty-four on 7th April 1807, leaving the family badly shaken.⁷² Several of her letters from the Continent have been printed among the Edgeworth correspondence, and show that she was an intelligent observer with a great sense of humour.73 She also wrote poetry, and aside from three drawings which posthumously appeared in the Magasin Pittoresque (Paris, 1850), her artistic work does not appear to have been published in periodicals in Ireland or England.74

In addition to her stepchildren, Frances taught her own children to draw, and drawings by Lucy Jane (1805-1897), Michael Pakenham, usually known as Pakenham (1812-1881), and Harriet (1810-1889) feature in Album A.⁷⁵ Lucy made several sketches of Edgeworthstown House, including Maria's bedroom.⁷⁶ Pakenham was instructed by his sister Harriet in botanical illustration, a topic that his mother also favoured, He lived much of his adult life in India and became famous as a botanist, botanical artist and a photographer.⁷⁷

The collection in Album A can be divided into five categories, the first four of which are the focus of the present paper. One set of drawings shows members of the Edgeworth household. A second set depicts travellers, servants and estate workers working, eating and dancing. A third grouping consists of illustrations for Maria's children's tales, and a fourth concerns the imaginary worlds of putti and centaurs. In addition, the album contains miscellaneous drawings of animals, heads, and a few other subjects, which are not discussed here.⁷⁸ Since many of the drawings discussed below are not signed, the following attributions are necessarily tentative and may need to be re-examined at a later point in time.

DRAWINGS IN EDGEWORTH ALBUM A

RANCES'S ARTISTIC TALENT WAS PARTICULARLY EVIDENT IN THE DRAWINGS OF HER children. For example, Plate 4 shows an unsigned drawing of four of her daughters – Sophia, Frances (Fanny), Lucy and Harriet, with Sophia pointing to a book in her hands. A similar drawing by Frances of her sons, Pakenham and Francis, signed and dated 1817, is known from Album B. A scene of a family dinner party was most likely drawn by Harriet, who had married the Rev Richard Butler in 1826 (Plate 5). The Butler family came yearly to Edgeworthstown House, and did so, with two exceptions, for thirtyfive years. Sitting at the table are probably Maria Edgeworth (on the far right of the front row), known for her small stature, and the Rev Butler or perhaps Rev Beaufort (second right in the back row).

Album A contains several other anonymous sketches of family members or visitors, who were probably too familiar to the family to require identification. For example, one sketch shows a frontal portrait of one of the daughters, possibly Charlotte. Another drawing shows an unidentified reader with glasses, leaning forward while seated in a low chair. A young man's face, possibly drawn by Frances, is another example of a striking portrait in the collection of drawings. The heads in dozens of drawings in Album A remain unidentified.⁸² Unfortunately, no sketches of Edgeworth children in the act of drawing are known.

Servants, villagers and estate workers

By far the largest number of drawings in Album A are depictions of servants, villagers and



4 – Frances and Richard Lovell Edgeworth's children – left to right: Sophia, Frances (Fanny), Lucy and Harriet, attributed to Frances Edgeworth (f.9a)

5 – A family dinner party, attributed to Harriet Edgeworth (f.57)



estate workers, most of whom, presumably, lived and worked on the Edgeworth estate; a few drawings, judging from baggage carried, show travellers. Together they show that the artists in the family had a keen interest in the labouring classes. Adult men and women usually, but not always, wore shoes; the men often wore a wide-brimmed hat, while several of the women had bonnets. Children and adolescents were often barefoot and in rags. A blue cape was still in fashion for older women, while low-cut dresses were common among younger women.

The drawings indicate that Frances and Charlotte were the principal recorders of the lives of members of the labouring classes. Charlotte was adept in representing physical movement as, for example, in her depiction of men and women dancing, probably an Irish jig (Plate 6).⁸³ In general, her drawings show figures sketched from close up, without background or landscape. Several show labourers at work, such as a gardener (Plate 9). Others show travellers, and mothers with an infant or a child, one of which, possibly a servant, is shown holding a milk pail in one arm and a child in the other.⁸⁴

Many of Charlotte's unsigned and attributed sketches were executed in grey wash, sometimes with colour added. Some notable examples are a man with blue trousers standing and holding the bridle of his horse (Plate 7), women washing laundry in a river or pool, two drawings of a woman with a child on her arm, a woman feeding chickens, and three men standing upright but cleverly projected on a sloping plane (Plate 8). A drawing from another collection by Charlotte shows a market scene, possibly in Edgeworthstown.⁸⁵ A few drawings show travelling merchants, including a thermometer-maker by Charlotte (Plate 14), which is known from both albums A and B; in the latter it is dated 1802 and signed 'C.E.', while the former is the more finished drawing. Another drawing shows a caped woman holding a wicker basket, presumably selling eggs. A few other drawings feature carts – one a block-wheeled cart very heavily loaded, with a woman behind the horse holding a child, and another child sitting on the rim. More dramatic is the figure of



6 – Men and women dancing, probably 'an Irish jig', by Charlotte Edgeworth (f.29)



7 – A man with blue trousers holding the bridle of his horse, attributed to Charlotte Edgeworth (f.29a)

8 – Three standing men, attributed to Charlotte Edgeworth (f.43e)

opposite

9 – Gardener (f.19b)

10 – A poor boy carrying a woven basket on his back, attributed to Frances Edgeworth (f.39b)

11 – A sitting elderly woman in a traditional blue Irish cape, attributed to Charlotte Edgeworth (f.69a)



THE VISUAL WORLDS OF THE EDGEWORTH FAMILY



a hooded beggar woman, drawn at Farnham, county Cavan, in 1806, by Charlotte Edgeworth; the image is similar to another figure of a hooded woman smoking a thin pipe.

One of Charlotte's colourful images shows three well-dressed children, possibly of the Edgeworth family, talking with a poor elderly woman with a straw hat, with one of the children holding the woman's hand. Another depicts a sitting elderly woman in a traditional blue Irish cape (Plate 11). Yet another mixed-class image represents two of the Edgeworth children in the stable where a horse is eating his meal from a woman's apron. Equally impressive is a group of five working-class adults, one of whom is a woman sitting and talking (Plate 12).

Frances's technique, which employed short strokes, was more detailed than Charlotte's. Good examples include drawings of two women gleaning (Plate 13); a poor boy carrying a woven basket on his back (Plate 10); a woman with a bucket on one arm and a child in the other; a woman carrying a child, and four adults and a young man gathered around a plate of potatoes, with one woman standing in a dynamic stance with a cup in hand (Plate 15). Invariably, drawings of travellers, servants, villagers and estate



12 – A group of five working-class adults, one of whom is a woman sitting and talking, attributed to Charlotte Edgeworth (f.73)
13 – Two women gleaning, attributed to Frances Edgeworth (f.35a)
14 – A thermometer maker, by Charlotte Edgeworth (f.53a)





THE VISUAL WORLDS OF THE EDGEWORTH FAMILY



15 – Four adults and a young man gathered around a plate of potatoes, attributed to Frances Edgeworth (f.71a)

workers provide glimpses of their daily life outdoors; none of the drawings shows them in the interior of the Edgeworth mansion or the interior of the workers' cottages or houses. Although their clothing often is ragged, they appear physically robust, without apparent illnesses, injuries or deformities.

Book illustrations

Most of the first editions of Maria's books were published without illustrations, including novels, such as *Castle Rackrent*. This reflects publishers' practice at the time, letting novels speak for themselves without illustrations. Publishers made later editions more attractive to potential purchasers by the inclusion of images highlighting key events in stories, and this applied to *Castle Rackrent* (see below). In contrast to books for adults, there was a stronger tradition in England and Ireland of illustrating children's books. In early nineteenth-century Ireland, most of the illustrations of children's books were rather crude woodcuts. This was the case with the large range of children's books published under the auspices of the educational Kildare Place Society.⁸⁶ Maria's illustrated books of children's fiction differed in several ways: she almost solely published in London; she and



Original drawing for Maria Edgeworth's The Parent's Assistant; or, Stories For Children (London, 1800, 2nd edn.)

16 – Illustration by Charlotte Edgeworth for the story 'The Little Merchants' (fig. 65b)

opposite

17 – Illustration by Frances Edgeworth of three children blowing bubbles (f.65a).

her publisher engaged a copper-plate engraver rather than a wood engraver; and she employed family members to create the illustrations. A close collaboration developed between Frances and her stepdaughter Charlotte to provide illustrations for Maria's books, but this was cut short by Charlotte's death in 1807.

The first of Maria's books to receive illustrations was *The Parent's Assistant; or, Stories for Children* (originally published in 1796). Encouraged by the London publisher Joseph Johnson that a new, more expensive edition with illustrations would sell well as gifts, the third edition, published in six volumes in 1800, became a project of both family and friends. Its inception, however, dated to between 1796 and 1798, when the recently widowed Richard Lovell visited the Beaufort household and was shown some sketches drawn by Frances Beaufort to illustrate the book, which Richard Lovell freely criticised. Frances was evidently undeterred; she married him in 1798 and continued to work on drawings for the book.⁸⁷ The volumes were also embellished with illustrations done by

THE VISUAL WORLDS OF THE EDGEWORTH FAMILY



Charlotte (signing as 'C.E.'), and a friend of Maria's, Caroline Pakenham (signing as 'C.P.'), daughter of the second Lord Longford of Pakenham Hall, county Westmeath.⁸⁸ Charlotte's drawings must have been done around age sixteen or seventeen, and show her precocious artistic talents.

Not all of the published illustrations include the name of the engraver, but three are by J. Neagle (1765-1822), who worked in London, primarily for the book trade, and who may have been of Irish descent, and others are by 'Angus' (William Angus, c.1753-1821), who was a pupil of William Walker and made his name through the series *Seats of the Nobility and Gentry*.⁸⁹ Most of Neagle's work was also for the book trade, and he engraved some of the finest portraits in the European Magazine.⁹⁰

Album A contains several preliminary and some more finished drawings as illustrations for Maria's stories. One of the original drawings, illustrating the story 'The Little Merchants', which is set in Naples, depicts three boys and a girl at a picnic (Plate 16).



18 – A boy eating a cake with a dog watching him (f.67a) Original drawing for Maria Edgeworth's THE PARENT'S ASSISTANT; or, STORIES FOR CHILDREN (London, 1800, 2nd edn)

Although the drawing is not signed, the published engraving shows that it was from Charlotte's hand.⁹¹ Another original illustration for this volume, of three children blowing bubbles, is by Frances (Plate 17).⁹² Frances may have also prepared two drawings of two girls, each playing with a dog and a cat, with children's toys at their feet.⁹³ A drawing of a boy eating a cake with a dog watching him was supposed to become an illustration for Maria's story 'Waste not, want not', but it was not published (Plate 18). Maria's text accompanying this drawing reads:

Hal came out of Mr. Millar's, the confectioner's shop, with a hatful of cakes in his hand. Mr. Millar's dog was sitting on the flags before the door, and he looked up with a wistful, begging eye at Hal, who was eating a queen cake. Hal, who was wasteful even in his good-nature, threw a whole queen cake to the dog, who swallowed it for a single mouthful. "There goes twopence in the form of a queen cake", said Mr. Gresham.

One other book by Maria was illustrated by members of her family – *Moral Tales for Young People*, first published in London in 1801 in five volumes. Her father wrote the preface, while the five illustrations were by Charlotte and Frances and were engraved by Neagle; in 1800, Maria wrote approvingly about the four engravings for frontispieces for these books, 'beautifully engraved by Neagle'.⁹⁴ Two drawings in Album A are associated with illustrations for stories in this volume: six children in a wood was signed 'C.E.' (Charlotte), and an accident with a carriage in an Italian town was endorsed 'F.E. des', 'C.E. del', which indicates that Frances made the design and Charlotte finished the drawing. This was for the story 'The Forester' in *Moral Tales*, where the text reads 'When Forester snatched at his bridle, [the horse] ... reared, then plunged; and Archibald Mackenzie was fairly lodged in the scavenger's cart.' However, the illustration was not included in the published version of the book. Frances also prepared a 'sketch' for the story of 'The Good French Governess',⁹⁵ but this was not published either.⁹⁶

The origins of drawings for Maria's novel *Castle Rackrent*, which she wrote in an English-Irish vernacular idiom, remain enigmatic.⁹⁷ Honora made a sketch (in Album B) of 'Thady McQuirck & little Sir Condy', but it does not appear to have been used as an illustration.⁹⁸ A Sotheby's sale on 16th December 2010 (lot 105) contained drawings for *Castle Rackrent* with an Edgeworth provenance, allegedly by several of Maria's younger siblings, but they do not correspond to the drawing style of any of the known members of the Edgeworth circle. It is plausible that they were from the hand of John Sneyd, rector of Elfort, Staffordshire, England, and, through Richard Lovell's marriages to both Honora and Elizabeth Sneyd, related to Maria. When Maria made a trip to England in 1818 he showed her his drawings for *Castle Rackrent*, and he then prepared a separate set of them for her as a present.⁹⁹ A second series of drawings for the novel (now in the Bodleian Library) equally do not fit with the drawing styles of members of the Edgeworth family.¹⁰⁰ Eventually, an illustrated edition of *Castle Rackrent* was published in 1848, with drawings by W. Harvey and engraved by H. Robinson.¹⁰¹

In summary, Frances and Charlotte were the principal illustrators of Maria's stories for children.¹⁰² However, after Charlotte's death in 1807, later reprints of Maria's literary works were illustrated by outsiders. None of the published or unpublished illustrations indicate clearly an Irish setting.

Putti and centaurs

A final group of drawings, ascribed to Frances, represents the imaginary world of putti of apparent classical origin in a secular, non-religious world, often engaged in fruitful labours. Frances's earliest documented pictorial essay with putti is her design of the cartouche for her father's map of Ireland (1792). It shows several of them underneath a tree with implements for trade and agriculture, with a ship and a church under repair as backdrop, and far in the distant the typical Irish emblems of a round tower and a ruin, and a tree trunk sprouting new life. Album A has several other drawings of putti, which, although not signed, are probably from Frances's hand. A set of nine putti show whimsical variants drawn on six-sided pieces of paper (Plate 19). Another six large line drawings depict putti at agricultural work in the fields, engaging in ploughing, sowing, harvesting and threshing. Finally, two drawings show centaurs, one a female breastfeeding a young centaur. These sketches and the drawings of the putti show an imaginary world that complemented the realistic drawings of the Edgeworth household and estate workers.



19 – A set of nine putti, attributed to Frances Edgeworth (f.17)

CONCLUSION

The EDGEWORTH ALBUM A IS A TESTIMONIAL TO ONE OF THE MOST CREATIVE FAMILIES in Ireland. It establishes Frances and Charlotte as two of the earliest and foremost artists to sketch the day-to-day, mostly outdoor activities of the rural working classes around Edgeworthstown House at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. In addition, the illustrations by members of the Edgeworth family, particularly those by Frances and Charlotte for Maria's children's books, are among the earliest by women artists in Irish print-culture history. Other drawings by them in Album B at the Bodleian Library further strengthen these conclusions.

Drawings provide a window for all of us to appreciate the world as seen by the artist. At the same time, drawing techniques reflect the development and taste of the outside world as mediated by teachers and by examples in prints or in paintings. The Edgeworth children were taught to read, write and draw by adults and adolescents in the family. This educational programme was more inward-looking than that of the allied Beaufort family, where the education of children, aided by governesses and drawing masters, was more open to outside influences in drawing techniques.

The drawings by members of the Edgeworth family and their in-laws, the Beaufort family, also shed light on contemporary gender-suitable subjects and their potential for later employability, especially for male members. Gender as a determinant for drawing subjects was well expressed by Maria in her *Early Lessons* (London, 1801, 10 vols). Among the fictional children in these stories, Lucy drew flowers from prints and nature, Laura sketched peasants and their children, who 'were pulling acorns from the boughs', while Henry made a map of the estate.¹⁰³ In reality, these gender-related subject distinctions reflected real life, with Richard Lovell and William as adults making land surveys and maps, while Frances and Charlotte mainly drew people and flowers; however, William, along with Frances, became known for his botanical drawings. Landscape drawings were less gender-specific and were produced more by members of the Beaufort family (Frances, William and Francis Beaufort).

For women, drawing was a pastime and was not considered by Richard Lovell or Maria as a suitable pursuit for a profession. In their chapter on 'Female Accomplishments' in *Practical Education*, they devoted two dozen pages to women's drawings. They attempted to address the difference between mediocre and excellent drawings, making a distinction between 'comparative' and 'positive excellence', with the latter being reserved for 'one in a hundred', and the others being relegated to being 'charming', 'admirable' and 'astonishing' to friends and relatives. Among the Edgeworth criteria for the usefulness of women's pursuit of drawing were 'a taste for industry, the habit of application ... a greater variety of employments', and the escape from 'ennui'.¹⁰⁴ Not mentioned is the fact that drawing was also an enjoyable pursuit, and that, in time, the drawings became a unique record of the world of the Edgeworth family, of travellers, and of the working classes.

The drawings are important in at least one other respect. Children's education in the Edgeworth household occupied a pioneering role in the history of pedagogy. In Mitzie Myers's words, the writings of father and daughter on children's learning examine the 'probing on how we learn to invent, what counts as experiments, how we know what we know and whom we can believe, and, climactically, how to think about our own thinking, study our own minds, and determine what makes us happy and creative'.¹⁰⁵ Much of this was achieved through their scholarly *The Parent's Assistant* and their narratives of fiction and stories for children. The visual aspects of this learning, however, are clearly represented in the drawings by members of the Edgeworth family. Other than the published drawings for Maria's fiction, however, the bulk of the Edgeworth drawings remained entirely private.

It is difficult to establish when exactly the heyday of drawing at Edgeworthstown House was, and when it petered out. As mentioned, Charlotte died in 1807. Honora left the house in 1838 to marry Frances's brother, Francis Beaufort. Maria, not a busy sketcher, died nine years later. Frances lived until 1865, but it is not known whether she continued to draw as she aged. In 1873, Dr Macaulay in the *Leisure Hour* (London) described visiting Edgeworthstown House, where he spent some

pleasant hours ... yet it was a melancholy kind of pleasure, the silent and deserted rooms peopling themselves with the shadows of the generation now all but passed away. Maria Edgeworth died in 1850 [*sic*], yet her library or study where she wrote most of the works which have made her name world-famous is just left as she left it. It is a large, low-roofed room, with thick projecting wood pillars and wainscoting, and with cozy recesses. Her writing table and chair, and old family bits of furniture are still there.¹⁰⁶

Fortunate for future generations interested in the vibrancy of life at Edgeworthstown House over numerous decades, many drawings by members of the Edgeworth family testify to this dynamic and extraordinary household.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ See his life in the *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (DIB); D. Clarke, *The Ingenious Mr. Edgeworth* (London, 1965).
- ² Bodleian Library, Oxford (BMS), MS Eng. Misc. c.900.
- ³ But see Anne Crookshank & The Knight of Glin, *The Watercolours of Ireland* (London, 1994) frontispiece, 114.
- ⁴ Another, less-finished watercolour is in Album A, f.55.
- ⁵ H.D. Hamilton, 'The cries of Dublin, dating from 1760' (first published in 2003) represents street vendors in Dublin. In addition, Sampson Toogood Roche (1759-1847) was a deaf-mute watercolour painter

and miniaturist, whose watercolours depict women and men in their daily street activities in Dublin, Waterford and Dungarvan. See William Nolan and T.P. Power (eds), *Waterford: History and Society* (Dublin, 1992) 374 *passim*; B.P. Kennedy and Raymond Gillespie, *Ireland:Art into History* (Dublin, 1994) 46-58; A. Shesgreen, 'Images of the Irish underclass', in William Laffan (ed.), *The Cries of Dublin* (Tralee, 2003) 38-55. See also Maria Spilsbury-Taylor's (1776-1820) drawings of children and servants at Rosanna, county Wicklow, in the collection of the National Gallery of Ireland (N. Figgis (ed.), *Art and Architecture of Ireland Volume II: Painting 1600-1900* (New Haven, 2014), 460).

- ⁶ Unfortunately, the names of the servants and estate workers shown in the Edgeworth drawings are rarely listed in Album A (more often in Album B); for that reason, it is usually impossible to distinguish between servants, villagers, estate workers or tenants. Whereas it is probable that most of the drawings are individuals on the Edgeworth estate, this could not be established beyond any doubt. Maria Edgeworth's letters, especially after her father's death (1817) when she and her stepmother were running the house and farm, mention the names of servants and farm workers (information kindly provided by Valerie Pakenham).
- ⁷ [Anon.], *Return of owners of land ... in Ireland* (Dublin, 1876) 53; William Nolan, 'Estates and large farms in County Longford, 1841-1911', in Martin Morris and Fergus O'Ferrall (eds), *Longford History and Society* (Dublin, 2010) 456, 462.
- ⁸ C.C. Ellison, The Hopeful Traveller: the life and times of Daniel Augustus Beaufort LL.D. 1739-1821 (Kilkenny, 1987) 102.
- ⁹ Christine Casey and Alistair Rowan, North Leinster: Pevsner Architectural Guides (London, 1993) 288.
- ¹⁰ Edward Malins and The Knight of Glin, Lost Demesnes: Irish landscape gardening, 1660-1845 (London, 1976) 101; Marilyn Butler, Maria Edgeworth, A Literary Biography (London, 1972) 81-83; Christina Colvin, 'Maria Edgeworth's bedroom', Country Life, 6th Jan 1977, 47, 49; H.J. Butler and H.E. Butler, The Black Book of Edgeworthstown (London, [1927]) 49; Toby Barnard, A New Anatomy of Ireland: The Irish Protestants, 1649–1770 (New Haven and London, 2004), 16; Public Records Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI), MIC250/1.
- ¹¹ Charlotte Sneyd and Mary Sneyd.
- ¹² Maria Edgeworth, *Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth*, 2 vols (Boston, 1821-22) I, 25.
- ¹³ [Mrs. R. Butler], *A Memoir of the Very Rev. Richard Butler, Dean of Clonmacnois, and Vicar of Trim* (n.l., 1863) 41.
- ¹⁴ Cited in Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 82. On how children were taught to read in this room, see *ibid*.,
 99.

- ¹⁶ *ibid.*, 85; Edgeworth, *Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth*, I, 14-19.
- ¹⁷ Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 115.
- ¹⁸ Clarke, *Mr. Edgeworth*, 108; C.S. Stewart, *Sketches of Society in Great Britain and Ireland*, 2 vols (Philadelphia, 1834) II, 251; *The Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland* (Dublin, 1845) II, 171 (mentions 'low sunk fences'). However, there was a protective wall around the orchard, built by Richard Lovell Edgeworth in about 1775. See Edgeworth, *Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth*, I, 13.
- ¹⁹ Butler, *Edgeworth*, 139; Butler & Butler, *The Black Book*, 179.
- ²⁰ Mrs. Edgeworth, A Memoir of Maria Edgeworth, 3 vols (London, 1867) I, 201.
- ²¹ Edgeworth, *Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth*, I, 23. See also note 6.
- ²² Butler, Maria Edgeworth, 86; Edgeworth, Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth, I, 7; Marilyn Butler, introduction to The Novels and Selected Works of Maria Edgeworth, 12 vols (London, 1999) I, xvi.
- ²³ Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 125; Tom Dunne, 'A gentleman's estate should be a moral school:

¹⁵ *ibid.*, 98.

Edgeworthstown in fact and fiction, 1760-1840', in Raymond Gillespie and Gerard Moran (eds), *Longford: Essays in County History* (Dublin, 1991) 107-08; Julie Nash, *Servants and Paternalism in the Works of Maria Edgeworth and Elizabeth Gaskell* (Aldershot, 2007).

- ²⁴ Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 152.
- ²⁵ *ibid.*, 126, 353-54; Edgeworth, *Memoir of Maria Edgeworth*, 47 n2.
- ²⁶ Rolf Loeber, Magda Loeber and Anne M. Burnham, A Guide to Irish Fiction (Dublin, 2006) 414.
- ²⁷ Clarke, Mr. Edgeworth, 163.
- ²⁸ R.L. Edgeworth and Maria Edgeworth, *Practical Education*, 3 vols (London, 1815, 2nd edn.) I, 184.
- ²⁹ Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *Practical Education*, I, 203.
- ³⁰ *ibid.*, 192. In the third edition of this work, father and daughter encouraged the founding of an institution for the training of servants in the education of children. Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *Practical Education* (London, 1815) I, 158.
- ³¹ Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *Practical Education*, I, 206.
- ³² *ibid.*, 205.
- ³³ This conclusion is based on the fact that the Edgeworth children, in contrast to the children of the estate workers, did not wear worn or ragged clothing and did not go barefooted. The separation of servants and children in the home probably was less than perfect since children and servants had their bedrooms in the attics of the house. See Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 82.
- ³⁴ Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *Practical Education*, I, 191.
- ³⁵ Clarke, Mr Edgeworth, 108; J.P. Farrell, History of the County of Longford (Dublin, 1891) 284; Edgeworth, Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth, I, 20; [Anon.], A topographical dictionary of Ireland, 3 vols (Dublin, 1837) I, 595. Drawings by the Rev Daniel August Beaufort are now in Trinity College, Dublin (TCD), MS 5118.
- ³⁶ Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *Practical Education*, 191. See also Dunne, 'A gentleman's estate', 100-06.
- ³⁷ Lovell left his task at the school in 1833, but education continued for some years. By the end of the 1830s, the village of Edgeworthstown could boast of two schools supported by subscription and six private schools serving about 465 children, an unusual concentration of education of young people for rural Ireland. It is not clear how many children attended the Edgeworth school; the document only states that the two subscription schools had a total of seventy-five children. Butler and Butler, *The Black Book*, 218; Edgeworth, *Memoir of Maria Edgeworth*, II, 45; [Anon.], *Topographical Dictionary*, I, 596; Rev J.D. Sirr, *A Memoir of ... Power Le Poer Trench* (Dublin, 1845) 281ff.
- ³⁸ Mary Banim, *Here and there through Ireland* (Dublin, 1891) 321.
- ³⁹ Edgeworth, *Memoir of Maria Edgeworth*, I, 52n; II, 45-46.
- ⁴⁰ Edgeworth, *Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth*, I, 103-04.
- ⁴¹ Finola O'Kane, *Ireland and the Picturesque: design, landscape, painting and tourism, 1700-1840* (New Haven and London, 2013) 178.
- ⁴² Album A was in the possession of Harriet Beaufort at her death in 1865. It carries the inscription: 'This book belonged to Aunt Harriet Beaufort [née Edgeworth] & was at her death [1889] given by W[.] A[.] Beaufort to Harriet Butler Deer[?] 1865'. The album has ninety-two pages, on which the drawings are glued in no apparent order. Volume B, containing similar sketches, is among the Edgeworth family papers deposited in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, MS Engl. Misc. b. 432; microfilm reel 13/24. Other, unbound sketches by members of the Edgeworth family are at the Irish Architectural Archive (IAA), Edgeworthstown material, D.3.
- ⁴³ BMS, MS Engl. Misc. b. 901.
- ⁴⁴ The albums also shed light on several members of the Beaufort family, who were allied to the Edgeworths, and who were equally artistically accomplished. The family's patriarch, the Rev Daniel

Augustus Beaufort, was an antiquarian, map-maker, and amateur architect. Three of his daughters, Frances (later wife of Richard Lovell Edgeworth), Harriet and Louise, made landscape drawings and figure studies. His sons also made drawings: Rev William Louis Beaufort recorded Irish landscapes, while Francis drew Irish antiquities for his sister Louisa, and later became a maritime cartographer and in charge of the huge map collection of the English navy. For Louise Beaufort, see Magda Loeber and Rolf Loeber, 'Louisa Beaufort's Diary of her Travels in South-West Munster and Leinster in 1842 and 1843', in press, *Analecta Hibernica*. A pen sketch of Tullynally and its demesne by Rev William L. Beaufort is at Tullynally, county Westmeath. (I am indebted to Thomas Pakenham for drawing my attention to this drawing.) For Francis Beaufort, see Alfred Friendly, *Beaufort of the Admiralty: The life of Sir Francis Beaufort 1774-1857* (New York, 1977); J.K. Laughton (rev. N.A.M. Rodger), 'Beaufort, Sir Francis (1774–1857)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB) online at www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1857. For amateur artists, see Nicola Figgis (ed.), *Painting 1600-1900: Art and Architecture of Ireland* (New Haven, 2014) 103-106.

- ⁴⁵ Valerie Pakenham, *The Big House in Ireland* (London, [2000]) 110.
- ⁴⁶ See also original drawings of country people, used by Mr and Mrs C.S. Hall in their Ireland, its scenery, character, etc., 3 vols (London, 1841-43). These are now in the National Library of Ireland (NLI). See L.C. Carola (ed.), The Irish: A treasury of art and literature (New York, 1993) 114.
- ⁴⁷ However, several of Charlotte's drawings were used to illustrate Maria Edgeworth's *Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth* (London, 1821, 2nd ed., corrected).
- ⁴⁸ Christina Colvin to Rolf Loeber, letters dated 20th May 1998, and one undated, but received July 1998.
- ⁴⁹ For the latter, see NLI, MS 13,176 (6), dated 31st December, 1801.
- ⁵⁰ Colvin, 'Maria Edgeworth's bedroom', 47. Another drawing by Maria has been published in Christina Colvin (ed.), *Maria Edgeworth, Letters from England, 1813-1844* (Oxford, 1971) 304-05.
- ⁵¹ For a biographical sketch, see Loeber et al, *Guide to Irish Fiction*, 403-04; Crookshank and Glin, *Watercolours*, 114. For her portrait, see Clarke, *Mr. Edgeworth*, opp. 113; IAA, Edgeworthstown material, D.3. She had many other qualities: in 1809 she was characterised by the Irish Solicitor-General Charles Kendal Bushe, then visiting Edgeworthstown House, as 'a perfect scholar, and at the same time a good Mother and housewife'. Quoted in Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 212.
- ⁵² As far as we know, her paintings have not been identified.
- ⁵³ BMS, MS Eng. Misc. c. 900, 5, 7.
- ⁵⁴ *ibid*.
- ⁵⁵ TCD, MS 5118. She also produced a view of Edgeworthstown House in 1816, IAA, Edgeworthstown material, D.3.
- ⁵⁶ Henry E. Huntington Library, MS FB 59. For her published drawings, see Crookshank and Glin, Watercolours, 114, 302; Ellison, Hopeful Traveller, 46; Michael Hurst, Maria Edgeworth and the Public Scene (London, 1969), opp. 33, opp. 64-65. The whereabouts of her paintings is not known.
- ⁵⁷ Ellison, *Hopeful Traveller*, 90.
- ⁵⁸ Loeber & Loeber, 'Louisa Beaufort's Diary of her Travels', in press.
- ⁵⁹ Notably, he prepared the first measured Grand Jury map of county Longford (1813) (NLI, 16H25) and with his father worked on the survey of bogs in county Longford. See Arnold Horner, 'The contribution of Richard Lovell Edgeworth to the reports and maps of the Bogs commissioners of 1809-14', in Morris and O'Ferrall (eds), *Longford History and Society*, 347-78; Ellison, *Hopeful Traveller*, 87; Arnold Horner, *Mapping Meath in the early nineteenth century with an atlas of William Larkin's map of County Meath*, 1812 (Bray, 2007) 31-32.
- ⁶⁰ BMS, MS Eng. Misc. C. 901, f.76-77, 80.

- ⁶¹ *ibid.*, ff. 77, 80. A drawing in Album A of seven children playing blind man's buff could be either by Honora or Frances (f.45).
- 62 Edgeworth, Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth, I, 106.

- ⁶⁴ Butler, The Novels and Selected Works of Maria Edgeworth, I, xviii.
- ⁶⁵ Constance Hill, *Maria Edgeworth and her circle in the days of Buonaparte and Bourbon* (London, 1910) opp. 38.
- ⁶⁶ Butler, Maria Edgeworth, 186.
- ⁶⁷ Christina Colvin, Maria Edgeworth in France and Switzerland (Oxford, 1979) xiv.
- ⁶⁸ Butler, Maria Edgeworth, 179.
- ⁶⁹ Colvin, Maria Edgeworth, Letters from England, xxxix; Edgeworth, Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth, I, pl. 1; sketch of Madame Récamier and Monsieur Laharpe in E. Inglis-Jones, The Great Maria (London, 1959) 65.
- ⁷⁰ Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 277-78, and 278n. These drawings depict 'Le garcon traiteur' (drawn in in France), 'Knave', 'Slave', 'The thief and his witness', 'The Irish dance'.
- ⁷¹ Eliza Pakenham, Tom, Ned and Kitty, an intimate portrait of an Irish family (London, 2007) 124.
- ⁷² Butler, Maria Edgeworth, 100n3, 209; Edgeworth, Memoir of Maria Edgeworth, 201-02.
- ⁷³ Colvin, Maria Edgeworth in France and Switzerland, 18-25, 56-65, 69-74.
- ⁷⁴ NLI, MS 23,445; for the published drawings, see http://www.shutterstock.com (accessed 8.12.14).
- ⁷⁵ He became a famous botanist and administrator in India. See Rob Bohan and Linde Lunney, 'Edgeworth, Michael Pakenham' in the *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (DIB) online at http://dib.cambridge.org.elib.tcd.ie/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a2883. A photograph of him is in the Hunt Library, Pittsburgh, PA.
- ⁷⁶ IAA, Edgeworthstown material presented by Christina Colvin, July 1982, D.5. D.8, D. 14, D.16-17. Lucy also signed as 'L.E.' a drawing of Edgeworthstown House (Album A, f.35b).
- ⁷⁷ Bohan and Lunney, 'Edgeworth, Michael Pakenham' in the *DIB*; Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, 424; Colvin, 'Maria Edgeworth's bedroom', 47.
- ⁷⁸ Including satirical drawings, classical busts, animals, ships (one drawing associated with Captain Francis Beaufort), façade of Edgeworthstown House (probably by Lovell Edgeworth, 1775-1842), copies after engravings (one, f.75, after the Dutch painter Adriaen van Ostade), oriental persons (probably by another hand), ruin and cottage of probably Black Castle, county Meath, and two paper cuttings.
- ⁷⁹ Bohan and Lunney, 'Edgeworth, Michael Pakenham', in the *DIB*.
- ⁸⁰ The drawing is very similar to another family group at Edgeworthstown House, drawn by Harriet Butler in 1837. See Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*, opp. 429.
- ⁸¹ [Butler], Richard Butler, 59.
- ⁸² One portrait (f.49c) is probably of John Foster of Collon, county Louth, first Baron Oriel and Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. He was closely associated with Dr Daniel Augustus Beaufort, who built the church at Collon. Frances also drew copies of portraits of the sons of the Duke of Wellington. See Edgeworth, *Memoir of Maria Edgeworth*, II, 36.
- ⁸³ Also published in *Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth* (London edn, 1820) ii, pl. 5. The sketch is referred to in correspondence by Maria in 1819. See Edgeworth, *Memoir of Maria Edgeworth*, III, 43.
- ⁸⁴ Another sketch by Charlotte showing sheep-shearing, which includes the steward John Langan and Harriet and Sophia as children, was published in Inglis-Jones, *Great Maria*, 128. A copy of this by Louisa Beaufort is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Eng. Misc. e.1468, n.p.
- ⁸⁵ Hurst, Maria Edgeworth and the Public Scene, opp. 64.

⁶³ *ibid.*, I, 44.

- ⁸⁶ Rolf Loeber & Magda Stouthamer-Loeber, 'Fiction available to and written for cottagers and their children', in Bernadette Cunningham and Máire Kennedy (eds), *The Experience of Reading: Irish historical perspectives* (Dublin, 1999) 124-72.
- ⁸⁷ Edgeworth, *Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth*, I, 109; Ellison, *Hopeful Traveller*, 78. Frances had been encouraged by Mrs Margaret Ruxton, Richard Lovell's sister, to make the initial drawings. Frances signed as 'F.A.B.' prior to her marriage to Richard Lovell Edgeworth, and after her marriage to him in 1798 signed as 'F.E'.
- ⁸⁸ We are indebted to Valerie Pakenham for this identification. Caroline later married, in 1808, Henry Hamilton, the son of the Right Hon. Sackville Hamilton. She died in 1854. See Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage* (London, 1878) 757.
- ⁸⁹ F.M. O'Donoghue (rev. Vivienne W. Painting), 'Neagle, James (1765-1822)', *ODNB* online at www. oxforddnb.com/view/article/19816.
- ⁹⁰ Information kindly provided by David Alexander in a letter, 1st July 2014.
- ⁹¹ The engraving was altered, in that a mountain and part of a classical column were added in the background, which suggests that the manuscript drawing constituted an earlier version. In the published, engraved version there is Mount Vesuvius in the background and part of a classical column; signed 'C.E. del, Nagle sculp.'.
- ⁹² The theme was also chosen by Harriet. BMS, MS Eng. Misc. C. 901, f.77; NLI, p.9027, f.165
- ⁹³ It is likely that Frances also provided an illustration to *Mrs. Trimmer's Fabulous Histories* (Dublin, 1800), which is signed 'Beaufort'.
- ⁹⁴ A.J.C. Hare (ed.), *The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth*, 2 vols (London, 1894) I, 72.
- ⁹⁵ BMS, MS Eng. Misc. C.901, f. 150.
- ⁹⁶ An extra-illustrated copy of *Moral Tales for Young People* (London, 1801) in the Henry E. Huntington Library (call number 431128) has small engravings pasted on pages as head and tail pieces, but these were not included in the final publication.
- ⁹⁷ Butler, Maria Edgeworth, 352.
- ⁹⁸ BMS, Ms Eng. Misc. C.901, f. 115.
- ⁹⁹ Colvin, *Letters from England*, 150, 162, 554. See www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/anecdotal/cast00-30.html (accessed 21st June 2014). However, Christina Colvin considered this 'mistaken'. Christina Colvin letter to Rolf Loeber, n.d. received July 1998.
- ¹⁰⁰ BMS, Ms Eng. Misc. C.901, ff. 145, 151.
- ¹⁰¹ Edgeworth, Tales and Novels, 9 vols (London, 1848) IV.
- ¹⁰² Frances also designed the head and tail pieces after a gem for Richard Lovell Edgeworth's and Maria Edgeworth's *Essay on Irish Bulls* (London, 1802).
- ¹⁰³ Maria Edgeworth, *Early Lessons* (London, 1801) 68, 314.
- ¹⁰⁴ Edgeworth and Edgeworth, *Practical Education*, III, 9, 14.
- ¹⁰⁵ M. Myers, 'Aufklärung fűr Kinder? Maria Edgeworth and the genders of knowledge genres; or, "The genius of nonsense" and "The grand Panjandrum himself', *Women's Writing*, 2, no. 2, 1995, 114.
- ¹⁰⁶ Cited in Richard Lovett, Irish pictures drawn with pen and pencil ([London], 1888) 141.