

Hugh Douglas Hamilton, Paul Sandby, the Gaussens and Hamilton (Victoria)

TOBY BARNARD

HE REDISCOVERY, SALE AND SUBSEQUENT PUBLICATION OF HUGH DOUGLAS HAMILTON'S album of 'The Cries of Dublin, 1760' enlarged knowledge and appreciation of Hamilton's talents.¹ Even more importantly, the range of activities and characters delineated in the sixty-six drawings brought vividly to life the mid-eighteenth-century capital, and especially its humbler inhabitants. The implications of the unique visual evidence have been thoroughly explored from numerous angles. Moreover, the collection has been supplemented by the finding, publication and analysis of four further, related drawings.² Yet, despite the close scrutiny that the sketches have received, puzzles remain. In particular, the purpose behind Hamilton's compositions and their early fate can only be conjectured. It is the second matter that this essay considers in the hope that it may suggest more about Hamilton's initial intentions and about the nature of the art market and collecting during that period. The album was consigned for sale by auction in Australia in 2002 by descendants of the Gaussen family, as the entry in the sale catalogue stated. The volume itself contains the engraved bookplate of S.R. Gaussen (Plate 1).³

The Gaussens were a family rich from banking in the city of London and continental Europe. They acquired the Hertfordshire estate of Brookmans Park in 1786. Samuel Robert Gaussen inherited the property from his father in 1788 and died in 1812, to be succeeded by his eldest son, also Samuel Robert, who in his turn died in 1818.⁴ It has been assumed that the elder Samuel Robert had his bookplate stuck into the volume of 'Cries', but this assumption is not certain; it could have been his heir. Gaussens continued at Brookmans Park until fire destroyed much of the mansion and many of its contents in 1891. However, some prized possessions were saved. In 1923 the estate was sold, partly for development and for a golf course, and the Gaussens emigrated to Australia.⁵ Only after the Second World War were their rescued effects removed from storage and shipped to the state of Victoria. Among them, it can be assumed, was the bound and modestly sized Hamilton volume: readily portable, it could have been saved by a servant from the fire. (The family had been sailing on the North Sea at the time.)

^{1 –} Gaussen book plate (private collection)

If it was an agreeable object in its smart binding worthy of a place in the library at Brookmans, the album was not an obvious desideratum for the Gaussens. Perhaps significantly, the gold-tooled cover is not embellished with a title; only inside is the title-page drawn by Hamilton himself. The Gaussens, thanks to their financial interests and their recent ancestry, had wide-ranging connections not only with London banking, but in the textile trades and in Germany and Switzerland where close kin still lived. But, from what can be reconstructed, they had no strong links with Ireland, either familial or commercial. So this gallery of Dublin traders looks a rather adventitious acquisition.

Also among the booty saved from Brookmans in 1891 was a collection of land-scapes, mainly in gouache, by Paul Sandby. These eventually found their way to Gringegalgona, the Gaussens' new home, and in 1971 were bought by the nearby Hamilton Gallery in Victoria. The group (of twenty-one) is miscellaneous in subject. There are imaginary and idealised Italian scenes, English places, including the Bayswater turnpike, Shrewsbury and Ludlow, and three Irish views – Dromana in county Waterford, Ross Castle near Killarney, and the Falls of Poulaphuca (Plates 2-4).

Two paintings supplied the originals that were engraved and included in Sandby's topographical compendium, *The Virtuosi's Museum*, which was published in parts between 1778 and 1781.8 The prospects were then reissued in 1781 as a single volume.⁹ 'The Falls of Poulaphuca', also an illustration in *The Virtuosi's Museum*, may have been a later version painted specially by Sandby for a London auction in 1801 (Plate 4).¹⁰

Other than an admiration for Sandby's skills, it is hard to discern a principle underlying the Gaussens' choices of the prospects. Instead of personal liking or association with the places, opportunism may explain the selection. The one exception is a large gouache of a corner of Warwick Castle (again this had been painted specially for the 1801 auction; the first version is dated 1775). Gaussen represented the borough of Warwick in parliament. 12

There is a tradition that S.R. Gaussen had the Sandbys from Antonio di Poggi, an Italian-born artist, print-seller and print-publisher and art dealer in London.¹³ In 1794, for example, Poggi was entrusted on a commission basis (asking for 13%) with selling Sir Joshua Reynolds' collection of old master drawings. This transaction, on behalf of Reynolds' niece, Lady Inchiquin, went awry when Poggi prevaricated about paying over the proceeds.¹⁴ Evidently his financial embarrassments worsened: in 1798 he confided that he wanted to dispose of his shop and stock-in-trade, 'being altogether unfit for business of that kind'. 15 Poggi, when in business, was a near neighbour of Sandby, and Sandby too, by the end of the century, was in financial straits.¹⁶ Earlier, in 1783, Christie's had organised an auction on Poggi's behalf. The bulk of the sale consisted of old master drawings, in which Poggi was a knowledgeable dealer. On offer, too, were over 120 'original views of different places, in England, Scotland and Ireland, made on the spot' by Sandby. These may well have been the originals on which the illustrations in The select views, which Sandby had recently issued, were based.¹⁷ In 1794 Poggi exhibited watercolours by Sandby in his New Bond Street rooms. Priced between two/ three guineas and twenty-six [guineas], it was reported that they were 'admired, but do not sell'. 18 The following year, he boasted of stocking 'the largest extant collection of



2 – Paul Sandby (1731-1809), Dromana, The Seat of Lord Grandison, on The River Blackwater, County Waterford

1801, gouache and wash (Hamilton Gallery Collection, Victoria)
(illus 2-4 purchased with the assistance of a special grant from the Government of Victoria, 1971; photos: Madi Whyte)

paintings by that great artist Paul Sandby, R.A.' In 1796 he published an engraving after a Sandby painting of a landscape.¹⁹

But Poggi confessed that he faced ruin.²⁰ In 1801 much of his stock was auctioned in London. A series of sales, crammed with old master drawings and prints, included works by Sandby, some of which later belonged to Gaussen.²¹ Poggi was reputed to have obligations to Gaussen, perhaps being advised or funded in the speculations which were his undoing. It seems plausible to speculate – but it is no more than speculation – that Gaussen accepted goods, including paintings, in at least part-payment of Poggi's debt.

Soon Poggi skipped over to Paris, with which he was already familiar, leaving his wife, whose fortune he had dissipated, to fend for herself by teaching.²² By 1819 Poggi was said to be living 'comfortably' in Vienna. In 1810, Prince Nikolaus Esterhazy, a voracious collector, acquired much of Poggi's collection and removed it to Austria. In return, Poggi was paid an annual stipend to oversee the Esterhazy gallery. (The bulk of Esterhazy's acquisitions were bought in 1870 for the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest.) ²³ Poggi either returned to Paris or had retained a base there, because the remnants of his collection was auctioned in Paris in 1836.²⁴



3 – Paul Sandby (1731-1809), ROSS CASTLE, LAKE OF KILLARNEY n.d., gouache and watercolour (Hamilton Gallery Collection, Victoria)

opposite 4 — Paul Sandby (1731-1809), The Falls of Poulaphuca on the River Liffey n.d., gouache and watercolour (Hamilton Gallery Collection, Victoria)

Gaussen may have bought Poggi's Sandbys to help him out or, alternatively, at bargain prices, or maybe through private treaty after the disappointing auction.²⁵ A contemporary noted that 'the sale ... went off very ill'.²⁶ In a time of revolution, dispossession and protracted warfare, the market was surfeited with plunder and discards. Furthermore, collectors and patrons were fickle: back in the 1770s, the brilliance of Hamilton's star dimmed in London, outshone by that of Daniel Gardner;²⁷ by the end of the 1790s, Sandby was struggling.

It was not long since the Gaussens had set themselves up as landed gentry by buying the Brookmans Park property in 1786, while retaining fashionable London residences. Back in 1779, a business associate familiar with the family had observed 'Sam [Gaussen] is an awkward cub, but sticks close to business'. Sticking close brought ample returns, including service as high sheriff of Hertfordshire in 1789-90 and a seat in parliament between 1795 and 1802 as member for the town of Warwick. Sam Gaussen's status justified fitting out Brookmans in appropriate style. Humphry Repton (1752-1818) was summoned to redesign the park. Now, the Sandbys were framed to hang on walls and 'The Cries of Dublin' was smartly bound. Yet a suspicion lingers that these elegant accoutrements had been acquired as a job lot or lots. A few Gaussens are recorded in Ireland around this time, notably in Newry, but there is no indication of their being closely related

to the Brookmans Park Gaussens or to explain the latter's enthusiasm for Irish views. The kinsfolk with whom they kept closely in touch were those still in Geneva, whence the English branch had migrated earlier in the eighteenth century.³¹

The evidence seems plausible, if not conclusive, that the Sandbys (or some of them) had been in Poggi's paws, but how had the 'Cries' come into Gaussen's hands? Might it have been from the same source – another item in Poggi's stock? When Poggi's assets were liquidated in 1801, two auctions were conducted. The first was rather bizarrely advertised as 'containing a great number of middling and many hundred bad items'.32 It is impossible to tell what was consigned to these categories. An idea has been floated that Hamilton hoped, while still living in Dublin, shortly after the drawings were made, or while they were being made, that they might be engraved and published as a volume.³³ Notwithstanding an unexplained connection between Hamilton and John Rocque, who was issuing engraved maps in fine detail of Dublin, it was unrealistic in 1761 to suppose that Ireland was ready for a collection of engravings based on Hamilton's sketches as neither the technology nor the market yet existed. When, late in the decade, another Dubliner, Jonathan Fisher, prepared and published views of Killarney, the set of six was produced in London.³⁴ In addition, Fisher's focus – and that of his successors and imitators - was on the picturesque, romantic and dramatic; spectacular landscapes and buildings, usually ruined, were the subjects. Occasional carefully posed figures, horses and cows might be added to the prospects, not the scruffy and the humble whom Hamilton portrayed





5 – Hugh Douglas Hamilton (1740-1808), GEORGE III 1769, coloured chalk and body colour, 28.5 x 23 cm (Royal Collection Trust)

with sympathetic verisimilitude. London, Paris and other large European cities contained enough potential buyers to make it realistic to publish 'Cries', but these productions were relatively compact and cheap, not running to anything approaching Hamilton's sixty-six portrayals. In Ireland, a readership, and, more crucially, buyers for a Dublin equivalent had still to develop. As it did so, encouraged by entrepreneurial publishers and booksellers, a conventional topographical approach was adopted, not the sometimes disturbing realism of Hamilton.

If Hamilton was exploring seriously the possibilities of a publication from 1761 (or earlier), London, not Dublin, was the better bet. Jonathan Fisher, when his collections were issued, had them engraved and printed in London.³⁵ As well as the factor of technical expertise, the vexed matter of copyright was involved. Notoriously, the British Copyright Act of 1710 did not apply to Ireland; nor did a more recent statute of 1735 – the so-called 'Hogarth Act' – which protected designers.³⁶ As a result, authors wanting to profit from their work flocked to London where they were legally entitled to remuneration. The likelihood must be that Hamilton, who removed from Dublin to London early in the 1760s, took with him the clutch of sketches, possibly already roughly bound and with the boisterous title page that he had inserted.³⁷

Hopes of marketing his idiosyncratic wares there could have been encouraged by the example of Sandby. In 1760 Sandby had published 'Cries of London' – an updating of Marcellus Laroon's earlier compilation. Sandby's parade of figures ran to a mere dozen. During the 1770s Sandby applied his considerable talents to exploiting the growing taste

6 – Hugh Douglas Hamilton (1740-1808), PRINCE WILLIAM, DUKE OF CLARENCE 1769, coloured chalk and watercolour, 28.5 x 23 cm (Royal Collection Trust)



for the antique, picturesque and romantic, while appealing too to proto-imperialism by concentrating on sights and sites in the British Isles and Ireland. The result was *The Virtuosi's Museum* (Plate 7). Ireland was included, but for the Irish prospects Sandby depended on others – principally the well-born and accomplished John Dawson, successively Viscount Carlow and Earl of Portarlington – to supply sketches executed on the spot.³⁸ Others were provided by a 'gentleman of Oxford', recently identified as Revd Luttrell Wynne.³⁹ Their itineraries and preferences skewed what in Ireland was portrayed.⁴⁰ Sandby's ignorance is shown by the muddles he made in the accompanying text, with Trim and its ancient castle at first identified as the chief town of county Antrim.⁴¹ Two of Sandby's worked-up versions of the originals, one by Dawson and one by the Oxonian, were among the group later owned by Gaussen.⁴²

Meanwhile, by the 1780s, interest within Ireland in exploring, exploiting and depicting its terrain was quickening. Some of the impulses were unashamedly mercenary; others, patriotic, intellectual and aesthetic. Even in this more promising atmosphere, if projects to describe Ireland accurately proliferated, they were hard to bring to an illustrated and published conclusion.⁴³ Those that were – Sandby's, Fisher's, Malton's and Grose's – celebrated acknowledged achievements, beauties and curiosities, not the obscure and humble, let alone outcasts and the oppressed.⁴⁴ Even then, a London-based artist familiar with Ireland complained in 1794 about a publishing project based on fifty views of county Wicklow when 'the more romantic' parts of Ireland, the County of Roscommon & the Lakes [of Killarney] have not been sufficiently noticed'.⁴⁵ The last



7 – CASTLE OF DUNAMAU IN THE QUEEN COUNTY
(Dunamase, Co Laois), sketched by John Dawson, painted by Paul Sandby,
engraving from The Virtuosi's Museum (1778-81) (courtesy Royal Academy, London)

two decades of the eighteenth century were hardly more propitious for realising any dream that Hamilton might have harboured of publishing his 'Cries'. In any case, his career had taken alternative (and rewarding) turns. Earlier, when he first arrived in the London in the 1760s, there might have been parallels with his senior, Sandby, in that both had delineated 'Cries'. Thereafter, their courses diverged completely. Sandby, well-known and respected in London, patronised by the royal family and heading a successful drawing school, reverted to landscapes. Hamilton's activities in London brought rapid acclaim as a face painter, initially in pastel and then watercolour. Indeed, in 1769 he had drawn King George III and his children (Plates 5, 6).

After his removal to Rome around 1780 and then on his permanent return to Dublin in 1792, he remained in high repute and demand as a portraitist.⁴⁶ But no longer was it the obscure encountered in the city streets on whom he fixed his gaze. Instead he transfixed the well-to-do members of the social elite. In the interim, what had happened to the collection of 'Cries'? It is unlikely, although not impossible, that Hamilton took the 'Cries' with him to Rome and later back to Dublin. More probable, however, is the idea that he entrusted it to the safe-keeping of an acquaintance in London before he left, or even that he left it with or sold it to a dealer, like Poggi. It is not known whether or not Hamilton had become acquainted with Sandby during his years in London. Their circles

might be expected to overlap given that the gregarious Sandby, notwithstanding his blunder over Antrim, gathered around him several of the cultivated Irish. Indeed, it was Sandby who urged James Gandon to undertake Irish commissions.⁴⁷ Later it was remembered that Sandby's convivial at-homes were attended 'by almost every artist of eminence of that day', among whom Hamilton could be numbered.⁴⁸ Alas, it is far-fetched to imagine Hamilton leaving his 'Cries' with Sandby in the hope that the latter might elicit interest in publishing it or a sale. All that we know is that it came into Gaussen's possession, as did some of Sandby's paintings.

Already a measure of scepticism has been expressed at any notion that the subject and treatment of the Dublin 'Cries' appealed strongly to Gaussen; connoisseurship is not attributed to him. In 1792, when Gaussen subscribed for an engraving based on a drawing of Gibraltar by Poggi, and published by him, patriotic and martial sentiments were probably uppermost.⁴⁹ A certain sympathy for the poor may be implied by Gaussen's service as a director of the French hospital in London, although atavistic piety may better account for it. In parliament he opposed slavery and aligned with the Whigs.⁵⁰ But none of this amounts to a strong leaning towards a visual documentation of the laborious. Indeed, Gaussen instituted prosecutions of those who poached on his Hertfordshire estate.⁵¹ Neither the elder nor the younger Samuel Robert Gaussen in his will made any specifications about the moveable contents of Brookmans Park. The sole exception were the pearls and diamonds enjoyed by the younger man's wife. 52 As has been argued already, the Sandbys were a mixed bag, in terms of subject and size, so much so that a suspicion recurs that they had been acquired opportunistically (and cheaply) when Poggi's assets were liquidated in 1801. That need not mean that 'Cries' falls into the same category, but the idea cannot be discounted. If so, the early history of the album has parallels with its re-emergence in Australia two hundred years later, where it risked being unregarded and sold cheaply.53

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In preparing this article under the constraints of 2020, I am grateful to Ian Brilley, Hugo Chapman, Rachel Finch, William Laffan and Anthony O'Connor.

ENDNOTES

The following abbreviation is used: *IADS = Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*

- W. Laffan (ed.), The Cries of Dublin, drawn from the Life by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, 1760 (Tralee, 2003).
- W. Laffan, "The Cries of Dublin" revisited: four new drawings by Hugh Douglas Hamilton', *IADS*, XXI (Dublin, 2018) 30-39.

- ³ J. McDonnell, 'The binding of the "Cries of Dublin" in Laffan (ed.), *Cries*, 196.
- ⁴ National Archives, Kew, PROB 11/536/307, will of S.R. Gaussen, proved 21st August 1812; PROB 11/1604/248, will of S.R. Gaussen, 3rd May 1815, proved 19th May 1818.
- P. Kingsford, A Modern History of Brookmans Park, 1700-1950 (North Mymms Historical Society, n.p., 1983) 5, 23.
- McDonnell, 'The binding of the "Cries of Dublin" and 'The rococo frontispiece' in Laffan (ed.), Cries. 194-98.
- Anne Crookshank and the Knight of Glin seem to have been the first to bring them to notice outside Australia in *The Watercolours of Ireland* (London, 1994) 45-46. This is, I hope, an appropriate place to record my gratitude to these two pioneers, who encouraged and helped me greatly, and, while serious, showed that art-his-

- torical research can be fun.
- 8 J. Faigan, *Paul Sandby's Drawings* (Sydney, 1981) 53, 54. The Hamilton Gallery owns a second version of the Sandby view of Dromana, acquired from a different source in 1978.
- 9 P.A. Sandby, A Collection of 150 Select Views (London, 1781).
- Faigan, Paul Sandby's Drawings, 55; G. Gelléri, 'An unknown "creator" of picturesque Ireland: the Irish sketches and notes of Luttrell Wynne, the "Gentleman of Oxford", IADS, XVIII (Dublin, 2015) 60; P. Harbison, 'The Hon. John Dawson (1744-1798): architectural patron and gifted amateur painter', ibid, XIV (Dublin, 2011) 85-86.
- ¹¹ L. Herrmann, *Paul and Thomas Sandby* (London, 1986) 90.
- ¹² Faigan, Paul Sandby's Dawings, 35.
- 13 Hitherto the fullest and most reliable accounts are Z. Gonda, "Noble and generous actions by whomsoever performed": Antonio Cesare Poggi and John Trumbull' in Z. Dobos (ed.), Ex Fumo Lucem: baroque studies in honour of Klara Garas, 2 vols (Budapest, 1999) II, 221-32; C. Murgia, 'Transposed models: the British career of Antonio Cesare Poggi (1744-1836)', Predella, 34, 2014, 173-83; also, T. Barnard, 'Trading in art: Antonio Cesare di Poggi (1744-1836)', Burlington Magazine, vol. 163, no. 1419, June 2021, 513-23; A catalogue of the genuine and valuable collection of ancient and modern drawings, some scarce prints by Mark Antonio, and others; ... the whole collected at the a liberal expence, and the property of Mr. Poggi. (London, 1782); T. Clayton, The English Print 1688-1802 (London and New Haven, 1997) 230, 243, 246, 277; E.G. D'Oench, "Copper into gold": prints by John Raphael Smith 1751-1812 (New Haven and London, 1999) 136, 282, note 44; Faigan, Paul Sandby's Drawings, xi; A. Griffiths, The Print before Photography: an introduction to European printmaking, 1550-1820 (London, 2016) 221.
- A catalogue of the first part of the cabinet of ancient drawings, which belonged to Sir Joshua Reynolds ... which, by order of the executors, will be sold ... by A. C. de Poggi, ... on Monday, May 26, 1794 (London, 1794); 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, 166, 192, 220, 225, 246, 252; II, 290, 366, 490, 492, 494, 497, 498, 516,

- 583, 610; III, 974-75, 976, 980, 981, 982, 985, 990, 991.
- Garlick and Macintyre (eds), Farington, III, 1095.
- 16 ibid., IV, 1576.
- 17 Getty Provenance Index, Sale catalog Br-A13511.
- J. Bonehill and S. Daniels (eds), *Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain* (London, 2009) 24; Garlick and Macintyre (eds), *Farington*, I, 220.
- ¹⁹ British Museum, prints and drawings; True Briton, 14th May 1795.
- ²⁰ Garlick and Macintyre (eds), Farington, iv, 339, 471, 510.
- Faigan, Paul Sandby's Drawings, xi; Garlick and Macintyre (eds), Farington, IV, 1543-44; F. Lugt, Rèpertoire des ventes publiques, 4 vols (The Hague, 1938-87) I, no. 617; Morning Chronicle, 22nd and 24th April 1801, 16th and 23rd May 1801.
- ²² Cave (ed.), Farington, IX, 3301. For an earlier visit to Paris, in company with the Cosways: T. Sizer (ed.), The Autobiography of John Trumbull, Patriot Artist, 1756-1843 (New Haven, 1953) 112.
- A. Czère, 17th-century Italian drawings in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts (Budapest, 2004)
 7-8; D. Ekserdjian (ed.), Treasures from Budapest (London, 2010) 16-17.
- ²⁴ Barnard, 'Trading in art: Antonio Cesare di Poggi', 522.
- ²⁵ In addition to the Gaussens' cache of Sandby watercolours, they owned drawings and etchings by him. Some (none of Irish subjects) were donated to the Hamilton Gallery by Mrs V. Gaussen in 1991.
- Garlick and Macintyre (eds), Farington, IV, 1551. The auctioneer, Harry Phillips, had, like Poggi, handled some of Reynolds's collection of old masters. His premises was on New Bond Street where Poggi had previously traded.
- ²⁷ P. Evansoneya, 'An Irish artist goes to Bath: letters from John Warren to Andrew Caldwell, 1776-1784', *IADS*, II (Dublin, 1999) 166.
- D. Cubitt, A. Mackley and R.G. Wilson (eds), The Great Tour of John Patteson, 1778-1779 (Norwich, 2003) 243.
- https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/gaussen-samuelrobert-1759-1812 (accessed July 2020). Farington referred cryptically in 1797 to 'Gaussson has £9000 a y[ea]r'. Could this be Samuel Robert? Garlick and Macintyre (eds), Farington, II, 847.

- ³⁰ S. Flood and T. Williamson (eds), *Humphrey Repton in Hertfordshire* (Hatfield, 2018) 232-33.
- Oubitt, Mackley and Wilson (eds), The Great Tour of John Patteson, 23, 147, 171.
- ³² Barnard, 'Trading in art: Antonio Cesare di Poggi', 521-22.
- ³³ Laffan (ed.), Cries, 17; C. Lennon and J. Montague, John Rocque's Dublin: a guide to the Georgian city (Dublin, 2010).
- D. Fleming, R. Kenny and W. Laffan (eds), Exhibiting Art in Georgian Ireland (Dublin, 2008) 16-17, 228-29; F. O'Kane, Ireland and the Picturesque: design, landscape painting and tourism, 1700-1840 (London and New Haven, 2013) 85-96.
- 35 P. Harbison, William Burton Conyngham and his Irish Circle of Antiquarian Artists (London and New Haven, 2012) 92.
- ³⁶ Clayton, *The English Print*, 85-9; Garlick and Macintyre (eds), *Farington*, IV, 1415.
- 37 McDonnell, 'The binding of the "Cries of Dublin" and 'The rococo frontispiece', 194-98
- On Dawson, Harbison, 'The Hon. John Dawson (1744-1798)', 78-95; Harbison, William Burton Conyngham, 88-91; W. Laffan (ed.), Painting Ireland: topographical views from Glin Castle (Tralee, 2006) 78; E. McParland, James Gandon: Vitruvius Hibernicus (London, 1985) 98.
- ³⁹ Gelléri, 'An unknown "creator" of picturesque Ireland', 44-63.
- ⁴⁰ For example, P. Sandby, *The Virtuosi's Museum* (London, 1778-81), plates lx, lxiii, lxiv.
- 41 ibid., plates xxix and xxxviii. But see also Gelléri, 'An unknown" creator" of picturesque Ireland', 46; Harbison, 'The Hon. John Dawson', 94, note 39.
- 42 Sandby, The Virtuosi's Museum, plates xv and xxxvi.
- ⁴³ Harbison, William Burton Conyngham, 9-14.
- F. Grose, *The Antiquities of Ireland* (ed. E. Ledwich), 2 vols (London, 1794-46); J. Malton, *A Picturesque and Descriptive View of the City of Dublin...* (London, 1799).
- ⁴⁵ Garlick and Macintyre (eds), Farington, I, 277.
- ⁴⁶ F. Cullen, 'Hamilton, Hugh Douglas', in J. McGuire and J. Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, 9 vols (Cambridge, 2009) IV, 395-96; Fleming, Kenny and Laffan (eds), *Exhibiting Art in Georgian Ireland*, 138-39, 231; Garlick and Macintyre (eds), *Farington*, VI, 2257; A. Hodge (ed.), *Hugh Douglas Hamilton: a life in pictures* (Dublin, 2009); R. Kenny, 'Hamilton,

- Hugh Douglas' in N. Figgis (ed.), *Painting*, 1600-1900 (Dublin, New Haven and London, 2014) 280-82; W.G. Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, 2 vols (Dublin and London, 1913) I, 427-45.
- 47 McParland, James Gandon: Vitruvius Hibernicus, 41.
- ⁴⁸ J. Gandon and T.J. Mulvaney, *The Life of James Gandon* (Dublin, 1846) 39-40.
- ⁴⁹ Relation historique de l'importante sortie, executee par la garnison de Gibraltar (London, 1792) 10.
- https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/gaussen-samuelrobert-1759-1812 (accessed July 2020).
- ⁵¹ Kingsford, A Modern History of Brookmans Park, 13-14.
- Will of S.R. Gaussen, proved 21st August 1812, TNA, PROB 11/536/307; will of S.R. Gaussen, 3rd May 1815, proved 19th May 1818, *ibid.*, PROB 11/1604/248; cf. M. Pointon, 'Women and their jewels', in J. Batchelor and C. Kaplan (eds), *Women and Material Culture*, 1660-1830 (Basingstoke, 2007) 11-30.
- The account in R. O'Byrne, The Last Knight: a tribute to Desmond Fitzgerald, 29th Knight of Glin (Dublin, 2013) 54, is incomplete and, while not inaccurate, could be supplemented; cf. T. Barnard, Making the Grand Figure: lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770 (London and New Haven, 2004) viii.