



An unknown ‘creator’ of picturesque Ireland: the Irish sketches and notes of Luttrell Wynne, the ‘Gentleman of Oxford’

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THE QUESTION OF THE IRISH ‘PICTURESQUE’ HAS RECENTLY RECEIVED SIGNIFICANT critical attention, and several works have highlighted the importance of print collections in the creation and shaping of this idea,¹ and show how the perception of landscape may complete, and often overtake, the study of manners in Irish travels.² This paper introduces a further chapter and a new actor to this process – a Cornish gentleman, Luttrell Wynne. His 1774 Irish tour, recorded by a sketchbook and a series of four notebooks containing observations and some further smaller sketches, reveals Wynne’s hitherto unrecognised role in the history of travels and travel illustrations of Ireland. The close examination of itinerary, illustrations and text enables the analysis of Wynne’s evolving image of Ireland and of how Wynne can be situated in relation to the picturesque movement that developed in the second half of the eighteenth century and was consolidated in the works of William Gilpin. The study of the ‘afterlife’ of these illustrations, and their modification from sketch to print, will allow an insight into the use and re-use of travel illustrations, as well as that of the status of Ireland as a travel destination, shortly before the ‘boom’ of Irish travel that began in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

The famous English landscape painter Paul Sandby and his brother Thomas published *The Virtuosi’s Museum*, a collection of high-quality prints of Great Britain and Ireland in 1778, initially in regular instalments and then in book format.³ Some of the engravings were based on Paul Sandby’s own paintings and drawings, but others used views by various artists, usually original, previously unpublished material, from which to produce the prints. This collection began a new era of print collections that focussed on

1 – *Ross Castle on the Lake of Killarney in Ireland, original attributed to the ‘Gentleman of Oxford’* (*THE VIRTUOSI’S MUSEUM*, I, plate XXXVI) (detail)

the British Isles as a whole while reinforcing the idea of Ireland as a possible destination for pleasure travel. A few years earlier, Francis Grose had published his *Antiquities of England and Wales* (1772-76), followed by another volume on Scotland, another milestone publication. But the difference between the Sandbys and Grose is not only the addition of Ireland to the destinations, itself a key moment: 'The books of views differed from the books of antiquities in one important respect: they omitted any detailed analysis of Irish history and they also made no attempt to classify the antiquities, buildings and towns they depicted chronologically.'⁴ Earlier books of views had concentrated on illustrations of towns, houses of noblemen or, in those such as Grose's, antiquities. But the emerging idea of picturesque had already inspired a number of visitors and productions in other genres.⁵ In the work of the Sandby brothers, ruins, castles and natural landscapes are the most prominent features in the images. The brothers, highly respected landscape painters themselves, hoped to fulfil the most recent aesthetic expectations for their costly business venture. While the entire collection has received less critical attention than it might deserve, this paper will concentrate only on some of its Irish illustrations and their original artists. Only one illustration (St John's Bridge, Limerick) was indicated as drawn by Paul Sandby himself (Plate 2). There is absolutely no proof that either of the Sandby brothers ever travelled around Ireland. Also, why would one of the most respected landscape painters of his time have only made one illustration of an entire country, and that a partial view of a city? This attribution is more likely to be either an error or Sandby re-sketched a previously existing illustration of Limerick. Among the other artists in *The Virtuosi's Museum*, the large majority, and almost all illustrations of the middle and the south of Ireland, were attributed to three names, 'The Honourable Mr. Dawson', 'Viscount Carlow' and 'A Gentleman of Oxford'.⁶ The first two are well known, and are, in fact, the same person, John Dawson, who became Viscount Carlow and later Lord Portarlington, and is better known for his role as a patron of the arts in Ireland.⁷ John Dawson's two soubriquets are explained by the fact that the illustrations in question are likely to have come from two different tours, and that Dawson obtained the title of Viscount Carlow between the two, in 1776.

Of the identity of the second person, the 'Gentleman of Oxford', *The Virtuosi's Museum* contains no indication, and to our knowledge no scholarly work has managed to provide any information regarding his person so far.⁸ A series of sketchbooks and notebooks, including a sketchbook and four illustrated notebooks related to a journey to Ireland in 1774, was held until recently by the Cornwall Records Office in Truro in the collections of the influential Pendarves family.⁹ Most of them are signed 'L. Wynne', some are unsigned, but no other name appears. L. Wynne is, we can assume with a fair degree of certainty, Luttrell Wynne, a relative of the Pendarves. A handwritten remark on the inside of the cover of the Irish sketchbook indicates that some of the images were 'published by P. Sandby'. After comparing the images in the sketchbook with the Irish images in *The Virtuosi's Museum*, it is clear that these sketches are some, but not all, of the illustrations that were published under the name of the 'Gentleman of Oxford'.



2 – OLD CASTLE AND JOHN'S BRIDGE AT LIMERICK, original attributed to Paul Sandby
(*THE VIRTUOSI'S MUSEUM, II, plate XC*)

Luttrell Wynne was born either in 1738 (according to his epitaph) or in 1739/40 (calculating from the age given in the Oxford university register),¹⁰ and died in 1814. He obtained his somewhat unusual first name from the family of his mother – the Luttrell family that played an important role in the early periods of English colonisation in Ireland. He is often referred to as ‘Reverend Wynne’, due to his position as absentee rector of St Erme, near Truro. The *Alumni Oxonienses* and several other documents indicate that he became a doctor of civil law in 1771. As the Irish tour took place in 1774, it seems perfectly plausible that a recent doctor of civil law would be referred to as the ‘Gentleman of Oxford’. Why his real name was not used in *The Virtuosi's Museum* is unclear; a possible explanation would be that the denomination ‘Gentleman of Oxford’ had a more fashionable ring to it for the print collection than ‘Reverend Wynne’ would have had.

Some other subscriptions, lease documents, mortgages, and Luttrell Wynne's will and death certificate also survive. The most important set of documents is the series of sketchbooks and notebooks previously held by the Cornwall Records Office and now in a private collection.¹¹ These document Wynne's travels: a continental tour around 1769/70, several English tours (1770, 1771, 1773, 1779), at least three Welsh tours (1770, 1771, 1773), the Irish tour (1774), a trip to Portugal (unknown date, probably after Ireland), and several other albums with views of Devon and Cornwall, starting from 1771. The

notebooks usually contain mostly brief comments but, in the case of the Irish notebooks,¹² also a number of pencil illustrations (see the list of original Wynne illustrations of Ireland in the Appendix), and provide a day-to-day account of the trip that started on 6th August 1774. Following the sequence of illustrations in the sketchbook and the order of the places described, it can be confirmed without any doubt that the sketchbook and the notebooks relate to the same trip and that they are by the same hand.

At the same time, other views by Luttrell Wynne from the same trip survive elsewhere. The *Catalogue of Irish Topographic Prints and Original Drawings* lists a series of illustrations by 'S. Wynne', and more illustrations appear under the name 'Rev. Dr. Wynne'.¹³ The collection of sketches listed under the name 'S. Wynne' is identifiable;¹⁴ these represent other illustrations from the same trip as those in the Cornwall collection. The sketching hand is very likely to be identical, and the illustrations of the sketchbook in Cornwall and those held in Dublin together cover the itinerary of the trip described in the notebooks. The 'S.' Wynne inscribed in this set of illustrations appears to be a misreading either of Luttrell's original 'L. Wynne' or that of the abbreviation 'Dr'. The letter 'S' is obviously from a different hand than the signatures in the sketchbooks.¹⁵

The illustrations in the National Library of Ireland (NLI) are on loose sheets and are about half the size of those in the Cornwall sketchbook. The Elmes-Hewson catalogue mentions that some of the 'S. Wynne' illustrations were republished in Francis Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland*, an early milestone of Irish antiquarianism.¹⁶ The same information features in *The Dictionary of Irish Artists*, which mentions a 'Rev. Dr. Wynne', amateur draughtsman, about whom nothing is known.¹⁷ While this information is accurate, the catalogues do not mention that an earlier collection also contains printed reproductions of some of these images – namely, the above-mentioned *Virtuosi's Museum* – under the name 'Gentleman of Oxford'. It remains unclear at this point how the various illustrations made their way into Sandby's print collection and to Grose's *Antiquities*, and how the Irish illustrations came to be split between Dublin and Truro.¹⁸ The NLI also contains items under the name 'Reverend Dr. Wynne', in what is known as the Grose collection,¹⁹ a preparatory phase in the creation of Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland*. A similar preparatory item, also with copies of some Wynne drawings, is held in the Royal Irish Academy.²⁰ Both collections contain hand-drawn copies made from originals in both the Cornwall sketchbook and the other NLI Wynne drawings, and are definitely not identical to the engraved versions of *The Virtuosi's Museum*. From the NLI's Grose collection, the prints of Adare (two illustrations), Carrigogunnell, Dunbrody, Glendalough, Holy Cross Abbey and Trim Castle are definitely based on originals by Luttrell Wynne. On the contrary, nos 28 (*Church at Knock*), 88 (*Donaghadee*), 96 (*Church and Steeple of Swords*) and 110 (*Slanes College*) cannot be paired with any known drawing from the Cornwall collection or from the NLI sketches. The attribution is made even more uncertain by the fact that the Knock illustration is dated 1790, while that of Slane's College is dated 1791; we have no knowledge of a second tour by Luttrell Wynne in Ireland at those dates. All this would suggest that these four illustrations were drawn by a different hand or are from

a different, so far unknown trip.

In the notebooks, the text is written on the right hand side with ink, with pencil sketches, corrections and additional remarks appearing on the left. It is mostly a day-by-day account of the trip, probably re-read and added to at some later date as there are pencilled additions in the text. There are no indications as to a possible addressee; Wynne seems to be writing primarily for himself and the text is too unstructured to have been intended for publication or circulation, even in manuscript form. He may have planned to rewrite these remarks later, but he never seems to have published anything drawn from his extensive travels.

The structure of the four Irish notebooks is somewhat unusual. The first contains the trip from Oxford to Dublin via England and Wales, his impressions of Dublin, and, with a jump in time, the return trip from Dublin to England. Notebooks 2 to 4 describe his tour within Ireland that started in Dublin on 18th August 1774. Wynne leaves Dublin, in the direction of Queen's County, in the company of the Honourable Mr Dawson, later Viscount Carlow, whose illustrations also appear in *The Virtuosi's Museum*. How Dawson and Wynne came to know each other remains a question. They might have met during earlier travels (both of them travel on the Continent around 1769), but it seems more likely that they met in London or Oxford. A possible meeting place could have been the house of Paul Sandby, where people interested in the idea of picturesque beauty regularly gathered from the early 1770s.²²

Comparing the illustrations which bear Dawson's name in the print collection²³ with the itinerary described in Wynne's notebooks strongly indicates that Wynne and Dawson travelled together for most of the trip, and possibly for its entire length. Thus, a high percentage of the Irish illustrations in *The Virtuosi's Museum* is, in fact, the result of this one, joint trip – a fact so far entirely unknown to scholarship. This Irish tour by Dawson and Wynne during the late summer and early autumn of 1774 is a significant moment in the history of travel illustrations of Ireland, and generally in the history of Irish travels. If we put the prints based on Dawson next to those of Wynne (both at the NLI and from the Cornwall collection), we can see that they not only travel together, but at least on some occasions they seem to be sketching the same spots. In some instances, the only difference between the images seems to be a slight difference in the angle, resulting from their respective position and the distance between them while they were drawing. Thus, the illustrations of the seven churches of Glendalough (one image by Wynne both in the Cornwall collection and in the NLI, and a picture drawn by Dawson engraved in *The Virtuosi's Museum*) show a close resemblance (Plates 3, 4). Even more spectacular is the image of Enniscorthy by Dawson in the print collection and the sketch of 'Inniscorthy' by Wynne (Cornwall); the distance between the viewing positions seems to be only a couple of feet (Plates 5, 6). Another, similar case is the bridge of Carrick-Beg. When the original artist indicated is the 'Gentleman of Oxford', the angle remains identical between the sketch and the engraved version, as it can be seen, for example, on the engraving of Ross Castle (Plates 1, 7, 8). While we know of other cases of parties travelling together



3 – Luttrell Wynne, *RUINS OF THE SEVEN CHURCHES, GLENDALOCH* (private collection)
4 – *THE SEVEN CHURCHES IN THE COUNTY OF WICKLOW*, original attributed to John Dawson
(*THE VIRTUOSI'S MUSEUM, I, plate III*)





5 – *Luttrell Wynne, INNISCORTHY IN THE COUNTY OF WEXFORD* (private collection)
6 – *ENNISCORTHY IN THE COUNTY OF WEXFORD*, original attributed to John Dawson
(*THE VIRTUOSI'S MUSEUM, I, plate XII*)





7 – *Luttrell Wynne, ROSS CASTLE ON THE LAKE OF KILLARNEY (private collection)*

8 – *ROSS CASTLE ON THE LAKE OF KILLARNEY IN IRELAND, original attributed to the 'Gentleman of Oxford' (THE VIRTUOSI'S MUSEUM, I, plate XXXVI)*



with the intention of sketching, this case of a sequence of very similar, ‘twin’ travel illustrations is very interesting.²⁴ Luttrell Wynne’s (the Gentleman of Oxford’s) Irish sketchbook contains thirty-one pencil and wash illustrations of Ireland and two of Shropshire (one of which Sandby also published).²⁵ A further ten illustrations by Luttrell Wynne can be found in his four small notebooks, either on the left-hand side pages or on loose sheets included in the notebooks. Some of these latter sketches are rather vague, used maybe as a reminder for later (such as the illustration of the structure of the walls of Drogheda); others are small, but very elaborate images (*Parliament building in Dublin; The Boyne monument; Luttrellstown*). Another eighteen pencil and watercolour illustrations by Luttrell Wynne exist in the National Library of Ireland. This complete total of fifty-seven illustrations represents one of the important bodies of travel illustrations of Ireland at the time, particularly by an ‘amateur’ artist. Unfortunately, we have no information at this point about Dawson’s original illustrations of this same trip. We don’t know how many illustrations he created, exactly in which format, and whether some of them were left unpublished. Thus, we are so far not in a position to judge whether Sandby systematically preferred to create engravings based on sketches by the ‘Honourable’ Mr. Dawson, whenever available, to those by the unnamed ‘Gentleman of Oxford’, or whether he made his choice based on some other criteria.²⁶

Wynne himself uses on several occasions in his notes a crucial word for the understanding of this travel – ‘picturesque’. While the traditionally acknowledged founding moment of the ‘picturesque movement’ (or the ‘picturesque moment’ as Martin Price dubs it)²⁷ is the publication of William Gilpin’s travel on the Wye in 1782,²⁸ the word itself has a longer tradition, usefully summarised by Malcolm Andrews.²⁹ The word ‘picturesque’, of Italian/French origin, existed in the English language from the early eighteenth century, with a definition of ‘fit to be made into an image’.³⁰ But rather quickly the word loses its contours and becomes a sort of meaningless, all-purpose word that is used not only for the context of landscapes or views; anything striking or even remotely interesting is described as ‘picturesque’. From the late 1760s, Gilpin’s various works, and in particular his popular and influential *Essay upon Prints* (1768), offer a reinterpretation of the concept.³¹ In this essay, Gilpin returns to the original meaning of the word, defining the picturesque as ‘the kind of beauty that is agreeable in a picture’, but also adds two layers to its meaning; first, a distinction between a potentiality and its realisation, what *could* become a picture and what *has* become a picture. Gilpin’s works started the fashion of travelling and sketching throughout the British Isles, a fashion that was memorably compared by Malcolm Andrews to big-game hunting.³² Secondly, as Gilpin’s title indicates, the experience of sketching what is worthy of being made into the picture needs a further step in order to be complete: the elusive moment, this ‘trophy’, should be shared with the public, and, through the means of printing, with a large public. The final step in the evolution of the word and of the notion is the elaborate picturesque whose techniques were presented by Gilpin in his *Observation on the River Wye* and in his *Three Essays*,³³ while authors such as Uvedale Price later offered a more theoretical approach.³⁴

Wynne and Dawson are, undoubtedly, picturesque travellers, in more than one sense. The proportion of illustration to text in Wynne's notebooks already indicates the priority of the picture over the written word. In the text itself, related vocabulary includes the word 'picturesque' itself and other similar or related expressions such as 'striking', 'handsome', 'pleasant', 'beauty/beautiful', 'view' and 'perspective'. An almost total absence of topics of a political and economic nature indicates that their principal motivation was finding and sketching points of beauty. But where should their tour be placed within the history of the picturesque? In his notebooks, Wynne uses the word 'picturesque' for all sorts of purposes, often without any precision or further detail; often it is a synonym of 'beautiful', 'striking', and a large variety of similar terms. But the 'picturesque' is present on several other levels. It is possible that their trip was equally inspired by Jonathan Fisher's very recent *A Picturesque Tour of Killarney*, a work whose very ambition was 'to lead the curious to points of view, where the sublime and beautiful are most picturesquely combined'.³⁵ The two gentlemen travel around Ireland not only to see, but most of all to sketch, and their transformation from spectators to amateur artists is significant. The description Wynne gives of Limerick suggests the thought processes that lay behind a landscape 'becoming a picture'. Limerick was 'large and populous but very dirty and ill-built except towards the river, where there are several handsome houses, fine quays, a good bridge over the new canal and two custom houses of a good stile [*sic*] of architecture' with 'the castle and parts of the town near the old bridge form[ing] a picturesque view'.³⁶ This view was not only 'fit to be made into a picture', it did become a picture when Wynne started to sketch it. Wynne's picturesque is, thus, both perception and action. Finally, there are – admittedly rare – moments when the picturesque is used as a complex category: a limited number of particular spots inspired more elaborate thoughts on the nature of beauty. The most interesting of these more theoretical discussions is an opposition between the picturesque aspect of England and that of Ireland that occurs in the notebooks. While discussing Adare, county Limerick, Wynne noted:

The situation of these [ruins] near the river Maig and the trees around them give them a picturesque appearance but they have nothing venerable or grand in themselves – neither indeed is any abbey in Ireland to be mentioned with most of those in England which are so jolly an object of curiosity.³⁷

His opinion on Adare's ruins contrasted with his opening thoughts on Killarney:

The Lake of Killarney is justly esteemed the chief curiosity of this and perhaps either of the three kingdoms. It is a singular instance of an object more than equal to the warmest expectations that can be raised in its favour. For no traveller was ever known to leave this spot disappointed.³⁸

Thus it appears that, for Wynne, Ireland cannot equal England for ruins but exceeded England for natural beauty. At the same time, we should not forget that Killarney, unlike Adare, was both well established as a tourist destination and for the appreciation of

picturesque landscape by the 1770s.³⁹

After a couple of days spent visiting the sights of Dublin, the trip's itinerary leads Wynne and Dawson first to Dawson's Grove, one of the homes of the Dawson family, passing by the round tower of Kildare, which they sketch. The only short dissertation of an historical and archaeological nature appears during this part of the trip, regarding the possible function of needle towers.⁴⁰ After touching and sketching Shean Castle, Dunamase and Kilkenny, the two continue towards Cashel, one of the highlights of the trip: 'The Rock of Cashel is a striking object at a considerable distance – on a nearer view it exhibits one of the largest and most beautiful piece of [added in pencil: gothic] ruins I ever saw.'⁴¹ Cashel is also one of the few locations where Wynne's opinions in relation to topics other than picturesque beauty are recorded: 'As this place swarms with Papists this default [the lack of a Protestant church] becomes more notorious and more severely felt by those few Protestants that reside there.'⁴² They continue to Limerick,⁴³ then to Carrigounnell, which made 'a very romantic appearance',⁴⁴ and then Adare. Reaching Killarney, the lakes received 'unbounded admiration'. Ross Castle (of which several illustrations were reproduced, after Wynne, in *The Virtuosi's Museum*) was 'venerable', with the view from this castle being both 'very beautiful' and, on the other side, 'very fine and picturesque'.⁴⁵ This double adjective can be considered as a step towards a more sophisticated approach of the picturesque – something that can be spotted in several Irish travelogues from the same period.⁴⁶

Wynne and Dawson then continued towards Bantry and Kinsale. The image Wynne sketched of the cataract on the Bantry river was used for its print in *The Virtuosi's Museum*. In 1824, Denis Sullivan's *Picturesque Tour Through Ireland*,⁴⁷ a typical example of a nineteenth-century picturesque travel book, reproduced the same print, with minor variations. The sketching spot and the angle are identical in all three, but not all details are. *The Virtuosi's* version contains, on the left-hand side, a tree that cannot be found in the original sketch (Plates 9, 10). It might have been added to create a natural frame to the image – a well-known 'picturesque' addition, also employed by Jonathan Fisher. A similar tree appears, somewhat modified, on Sullivan's image too (Plate 11). The most plausible explanation is that Sullivan used Sandby's engraving for his own work, though he claimed that his images are all original and were made on the spot.⁴⁸ Thus, through the mediation of Sandby's *Virtuosi's Museum*, Wynne indirectly inspired nineteenth-century picturesque travellers or authors of travel albums.

Kinsale Bay inspired another of Wynne's very rare remarks of a political or economic nature: 'The Bay is a very fine one. It might have all the advantage of commerce particularly to the west Indies if the cruel policy of the mother country did not restrain them in this respect.'⁴⁹ Despite his comments on Cashel that it was 'swarming with Papists', Wynne seems to consider that Ireland's improvement is desirable (particularly as this also entails the progress of local Protestants), even to the point of criticising England's policy towards Ireland. Wynne was travelling with John Dawson, a member of the Anglo-Irish elite who may have had little sympathy for Irish Catholics but still wished



9 – *Luttrell Wynne, CATARACT OF A RIVER NEAR BANTRY* (private collection)

10 – *CATARACT OF THE BANTRY RIVER IN IRELAND*, original attributed to the 'Gentleman of Oxford'
(*THE VIRTUOSI'S MUSEUM*, II, plate LX)



to see the country's economic development advanced. The trip continued to Cork, and then onwards to Lismore, Waterford, Clonmel and Carrick-Beg. On the way back to Dublin, they visited Powerscourt, 'one of the greatest curiosities of this country',⁵⁰ not only according to Wynne, but also to the many other travellers who sketched it. Another obvious stop was Glendalough; a sketch by Wynne exists in both the Cornwell collection and in the NLI, but it was Dawson's image that was engraved in the print collection (Plates 3, 4). The last traditional stop is the Boyne obelisk (destroyed in 1923), visited along with Trim Castle on the short second trip. *The Virtuosi's Museum* reproduces Dawson's sketch of this monument. The only illustration by Wynne of the obelisk is a small but elaborate sketch that can be found in the notebook. As mentioned above, the first notebook contains both the start and the end of the trip; Wynne departed from Ireland during the last days of October, and arrived at Holyhead on 1st November 1774.

Wynne's Irish sketches provide a further point of interest for the history of image-making in the eighteenth century. As both the original images and their engraved versions exist, it is possible to study the modifications made from drawing to printed image. In *The Virtuosi's Museum*, the modifications by the engravers run along two main lines, reflecting contemporary aesthetic expectations towards a printed image to make the images wilder and more striking, and to humanise them. The first tendency results in

11 – WATER FALL NEAR BANTRY in Denis Sullivan, *Picturesque Tour of Ireland* (1824), plate XVIII





12 – Luttrell Wynne, *DUNBRODY ABBEY* (private collection)

13 – *DUNBRODY ABBEY IN THE COUNTY OF WEXFORD*, original attributed to the ‘Gentleman of Oxford’
(*THE VIRTUOSI’S MUSEUM*, I, plate XLI)



some features of the landscape being emphasised and made more spectacular in the engravings when compared to the original sketch. Thus the mountains around Killarney and Glendalough are made higher, steeper and more dramatic, while the Bantry cataract becomes considerably steeper in the engraving, and the rocks in the water, larger. As for the humanising modifications, it is interesting to compare Wynne's Irish sketches to those he made in other countries. Many of the latter feature tourists in the landscape, with people bathing at the English seaside, walking in the French Alps and visiting Killarney. The English, French and Portuguese albums show local people as well, but very few of them dot the Welsh and Irish albums. Wales and Ireland were, as often in contemporary imagination, strongly defined here by their natural features and very little by the inhabitants; even when a city is portrayed, the cityscape is often mostly or entirely devoid of human presence.

In the engravings of *The Virtuosi's Museum*, the landscape is regularly humanised by the addition of figures, a process in line with contemporary aesthetic ideas.⁵¹ Thus, in one of the two images of Ross Castle, the empty boat in Wynne's sketch has a boatman in the print version, while on the other a human figure is added on the road (Plates 1, 7, 8).⁵² But the most spectacular case is definitely Dunbrody Abbey. While the original represented the ruin and the trees around it, without human presence, in the print a shepherd, another two figures (probably wife and child), and several sheep are added. (Plates 12, 13). This humanisation always has an ethnographic element with the additional figures representing Irish folk, slowly humanising the Irish landscape. These folk figures are forerunners of the representations of Irish popular figures in the nineteenth century, and *The Virtuosi's Museum* has to be considered in this regard as a milestone in the creation of this aspect of Irish tourism.

Where does the trip of Luttrell Wynne (and, of course, of John Dawson) fit into the history of travels to Ireland? They are far from being the first visitors to most of the spots they visited, but few texts before this date are illustrated so lavishly. More importantly, they are undoubtedly both early participants and forerunners of the picturesque travel movement. They are among the first sketching travellers that are neither professional artists nor on some sort of survey. Both of them are travelling, as far as we know, for the sake of travel and especially for the pleasure of seeking and sketching those spots worthy of being put into images. The fact that they are travelling and sketching together is not unique, but still noteworthy, particularly this early in the picturesque movement. While other picturesque travellers tour Wales or the Scottish Highlands, Wynne and Dawson helped to put Ireland on the list of picturesque destinations, and, as the example of Sullivan's Bantry cataract image indicated, these travellers could even unwittingly be influenced by Wynne and Dawson through the medium of Sandby's print collection.

APPENDIX: LIST OF LUTTRELL WYNNE'S IRISH ILLUSTRATIONS

I – IRISH NOTEBOOKS

(private collection; previously Cornwall Records Office, Truro)

- Notebook 1, loose sheet before p.23 – *Front of the Parliament Houses, Dublin*, 15.5 x 9.5 cm
 Notebook 2, opposite p.11 – untitled, tent structure at a garden gathering, 4 x 4 cm
 Notebook 2, loose sheet at the back – *The Upper lake of Killarney from Mangerton*, 15.5 x 9.5 cm
 Notebook 2, loose sheet at the back – *The Lwr Lake ? w Glen Rock beyond ?* [illegible], folded sheet, 19 x 15.5 cm
 Notebook 3, opposite p.12 – *Display table with book cases at the Archbp of Cashel*, 5.5 x 5.5 cm
 Notebook 3, opposite p.21 – *Dr Tyrone's cellar*, 5 x 3 cm
 Notebook 3, loose sheet before p.45 – *Townhouse in Thurlis*, 15.5 x 9.5 cm
 Notebook 4, opposite p. 9 – *Walls of Drogheda*, 8.5 x 4.5 cm
 Notebook 4, opposite p.15 – *Monument of Boyne*, 10.5 x 15.7 cm
 Notebook 4, loose sheet before p.27 – *Luttrellstown*, 14.8 x 9.7 cm

II – SKETCHBOOK

‘Views taken in Ireland etc. Many of which are published by Mr Sandby in the Virtuosi’s Museum’

The album is 32x22cm in size, the sheets are 31.5x21.5cm, all the images are full page. Titles are as they are written in the album. (private collection; previously Cornwall Records Office, Truro)

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| 1. <i>Dublin – Phoenix Park, the Royal Hospital etc.</i> | 17. <i>View of the Lake of Killarney from Mucrass</i> |
| 2. <i>Bridgenorth, Shropshire</i> | 18. <i>Ross Castle on the Lake of Killarney</i> |
| 3. <i>Bildwas Abbey, Shropshire</i> | 19. <i>Cataract of a river near Bantry</i> |
| 4. <i>Fall of the Liffy at Pollyfosco near Rusborough</i> | 20. <i>The fort at Kinsale from General _____'s [illegible] summerhouse</i> |
| 5. <i>Kildare Abbey</i> | 21. [untitled landscape – probably Kinsale] |
| 6. <i>The Castle at Kilkenny</i> | 22. <i>Carrick-Beg</i> |
| 7. <i>St. John's Bridge, Kilkenny, Cathedral and Needle Tower</i> | 23. <i>The passage over Waterford Harbour at Ballyhack</i> |
| 8. <i>The Cathedral and Rock of Cashel</i> | 24. <i>Dunbroady Abbey upon the Ross river</i> |
| 9. <i>The Archbishop's Palace at Cashel</i> | 25. <i>Dunbroady Abbey</i> |
| 10. <i>Abbey at Addair</i> | 26. <i>Inniscorthy in the County of Wexford</i> |
| 11. <i>Addair Castle, once belonged to the Earl of Desmond</i> | 27. <i>Ruins of the seven churches, county of Wexford [sic], Glendaloch</i> |
| 12. <i>O'Sullivan's cascade, Killarney</i> | 28. <i>Cascade at Powerscourt</i> |
| 13. <i>Dunlow Castle, Killarney</i> | 29. <i>View of Drogheda from the banks of the Boyne – Ball's Grove</i> |
| 14. <i>Cascade at the up end of the upper Lake of Killarney</i> | 30. <i>Lord Belvidere's</i> |
| 15. <i>Part of the Lake of Killarney</i> | 31. [loose sheet at the back of the sketchbook – untitled, Trim Castle] |
| 16. <i>Eagle's Nest, Killarney – here is the famous echo</i> | |

III – EIGHTEEN SKETCHES OF IRISH SCENERY

pencil and watercolour (National Library of Ireland, TX1994). Described by Elmes-Hewson, *Catalogue of Irish Topographical Prints and Original Drawings*, 143-44, attributed here to ‘S. Wynne’.

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|---|---|
| 1. <i>Shean Castle, Queen’s Co.</i> | 10. <i>Lismore and the Blackwater</i> |
| 2. <i>Lismore Castle</i> | 11. <i>Holy Cross Abbey, Co. Tipperary</i> |
| 3. <i>Ross Island, from Inishfallen</i> | 12. <i>Dunamais Rock and Castle, Queens Co.</i> |
| 4. <i>Seven Churches, Glendaloch</i> | 13. <i>Carrick na Cunnael, Co. Limerick</i> |
| 5. <i>Abbey Ruins, near Trim</i> | 14. <i>Temple Michael Abbey on the Blackwater</i> |
| 6. <i>Waterford.</i> | 15. <i>Kelly’s Castle on the Blackwater</i> |
| 7. <i>Old Weir Bridge, Killarney</i> | 16. <i>Drumona House and Blackwater</i> |
| 8. <i>Lea Castle, Queen’s Co.</i> | 17. <i>Bantry Bay</i> |
| 9. <i>Limerick Castle and Bridge</i> | 18. <i>View from Cove of Cork Harbour</i> |

[Numbers 1, 8 and 12 indicated here as reprinted in Grose’s *Antiquities of Ireland*.]

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ See Finola O’Kane, *Ireland and the Picturesque: design, landscape painting and tourism, 1700-1840* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2013), Glenn Hooper, *Travel Writing and Ireland, 1760-1860* (Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, 2005), and William H.A. Williams, *Creating Irish Tourism: the first century 1750-1850* (Anthem, London and New York, 2011).
- ² See Hooper, *Travel Writing and Ireland*, 36, on the example of John Bush’s *Hibernia Curiosa*.
- ³ *The Virtuosi’s Museum* (G. Kearsley, London, 1778). According to Peter Harbison, while the title page of the book version bears the date 1778, it might not have been published before all the images were gathered in 1781. A second version, under a different title – *Collection of one hundred and fifty views in England, Scotland and Ireland* – was published by John Boydell in 1781. See Peter Harbison: ‘The Hon. John Dawson (1744-1798): architectural patron and gifted amateur painter’, *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, XIV (Irish Georgian Society, Dublin, 2011) 78-95.
- ⁴ O’Kane, *Ireland and the Picturesque*, 77.
- ⁵ See John Leslie’s poem on Killarney quoted by O’Kane, *ibid*.
- ⁶ Some later (1780-1781) illustrations are by John Nixon. These are of lesser interest to us this time.
- ⁷ Harbison, ‘The Hon. John Dawson’, *op. cit*.
- ⁸ The volume by John Bonehill and Stephen Daniels, *Paul Sandby, Picturing Britain* (Royal Academy of Arts, London, 2009) 187, mentions Dawson/Carlow as sole original artist of the Irish illustrations.
- ⁹ The entire Pendarves collection was auctioned in June 2013, and the Wynne material was bought by

a private collector. The items will be quoted based on their title; when referring to this collection, the term ‘Cornwall collection’ is used throughout.

- ¹⁰ *Alumni Oxonienses, The Members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886*, 4 vols (University of Oxford, 1888) IV, 1622.
- ¹¹ The same private collection holds another Wynne album, ‘Two albums of Views of Wales and the Borders, 1770’. The other items are: ‘Views taken in France’ (1769?); ‘Sketchbook of Derbyshire and North Wales’ (s.d.); seven views of Holland and Belgium (same trip as France?); 12 wash and pencil views of Switzerland and Italy (same trip?); Coast of Cornwall or Devon (s.d.); ‘Views taken in different parts of England’ (1779). An unfinished notebook describes an earlier trip, in 1767, from Nice towards Genoa; of this, no illustrations seem to survive. The item we discuss in detail is the Irish sketchbook, described on the inside of the title page as ‘Views taken in Ireland etc. Many of which are published by Mr Sandby in the Virtuosi’s Museum’.
- ¹² Irish Notebook, vols I-IV.
- ¹³ Rosalind Elmes (ed.), (revised and enlarged by Michael Hewson), *Catalogue of Irish Topographical Prints and Original Drawings in the collections of the National Library of Ireland* (Malton Press for the NLI, Dublin, 1975) 143-44.
- ¹⁴ NLI, 1994 TX: Sketches of Irish Scenery. The library catalogue was recently modified and now indicates Luttrell Wynne as author.
- ¹⁵ The database of the Irish Art Research Centre (TRIARC) features a ‘Samuel Wynne’, with illustrations of Donegal made around 1794. In all likelihood, this is another person, but a confusion between the two might also have been the source of the ‘S’ on the NLI items.
- ¹⁶ Elmes, *Catalogue of Irish Topographical Prints and Original Drawings*, 144.
- ¹⁷ Walter Strickland, *Dictionary of Irish Artists*, 2 vols (Maunsel & Company, Dublin and London, 1913) II, 566.
- ¹⁸ Documents belonging to Luttrell Wynne were sold on separate occasions by the family, and we know that some topographical drawings were sold privately in 1958 when Pendarves House was demolished. See the entry for Luttrell Wynne at <http://cornwallartists.org/>, consulted 8th February 2014.
- ¹⁹ NLI, Grose collection, 1976 TX, described in Elmes, *Catalogue of Irish Topographical Prints and Original Drawings*, 132-38.
- ²⁰ Royal Irish Academy, MS 3C29, album with title ‘Drawings Grose Antiquities Ireland’. Information kindly provided by Dr Peter Harbison.
- ²¹ Elmes, *Catalogue of Irish Topographical Prints and Original Drawings*, 133 and 137.
- ²² Bonehill and Daniels, *Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain*, 24.
- ²³ As mentioned above, the illustrations signed ‘Viscount Carlow’ are from a later trip.
- ²⁴ George Holmes and John Harden will, similarly, travel and sketch together in 1797; see William H.A. Williams, *Tourism, Landscape and the Irish Character: British travel writers in pre-Famine Ireland* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2008) 55.
- ²⁵ Bonehill and Daniels, *Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain*, 187, states that all non-Irish illustrations in *The Virtuosi’s Museum* were by Sandby himself. This has to be corrected thus as ‘a very large majority’.
- ²⁶ At the same time, we cannot agree with the statement that can be read on the website cornwallartists.org that ‘Luttrell Wynne was not a skilled draughtsman but was prolific and some of his sketches were used to make engravings where more proficient topographers’ work was not available.’
- ²⁷ Martin Price, ‘The Picturesque Moment’, in Frederick W. Hilles and Harold Bloom (eds), *From Sensibility to Romanticism* (Oxford University Press, 1965) 259-92.
- ²⁸ William Gilpin, *Observations in the River Wye, and several parts of South Wales, etc. relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the summer of the year 1770* (London, 1782). The manuscript of the

- text has circulated during the years preceding its publication.
- ²⁹ Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: landscape aesthetics and tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Scholar, Aldershot, 1989) vii-viii.
- ³⁰ Its first use, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (consulted 14th March 2016), is from Richard Steele's *Tender Husband* (1706, IV, 43), and already shows the move towards the all-purpose word that Andrews indicates as a later development; here, a circumstance is called picturesque.
- ³¹ William Gilpin, *An Essay upon Prints: containing remarks upon the principles of picturesque beauty* (London, 1768).
- ³² Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 67-68.
- ³³ William Gilpin, *Three Essays: on picturesque beauty; on picturesque travel; and on sketching landscape: to which is added a poem, on landscape painting* (London, 1792).
- ³⁴ Uvedale Price, *An Essay on the Picturesque, as compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful* (London, 1796).
- ³⁵ Jonathan Fisher, *A Picturesque Tour of Killarney* (London, 1768), quoted in O'Kane, *Ireland and the Picturesque*, 73 and 204.
- ³⁶ Wynne, *Irish Notebook*, vol III, 24.
- ³⁷ *ibid.*, 26.
- ³⁸ *ibid.*, 29.
- ³⁹ In his essay on picturesque travel, Gilpin uses already the example of Killarney as illustration, *Three Essays*, 43. For a detailed analysis of Killarney as a 'tourist spot', see chapter 7, 'Killarney, A Case Study of Irish Tourist Experience', in Williams, *Creating Irish Tourism*, 129-50.
- ⁴⁰ Wynne, *Irish Sketchbook*, opposite illustration 7 (Kildare).
- ⁴¹ Wynne, *Irish Notebook*, vol II, 21.
- ⁴² *ibid.*, 22.
- ⁴³ The illustration in *The Virtuosi's Museum*, attributed to Sandy, differs in its angle from the sketch by Wynne, thus its original could be a Dawson sketch.
- ⁴⁴ Wynne, *Irish Notebook*, vol II, 24.
- ⁴⁵ Remarks opposite p.32 in vol II.
- ⁴⁶ See Williams, *Creating Irish Tourism*, 82-83.
- ⁴⁷ Denis Sullivan, *Picturesque Tour Through Ireland, Illustrated with Numerous Views of the Most Interesting Scenery* (London, 1824) illustration no. 20.
- ⁴⁸ The Yale Center For British Art database indicates Paul Sandby as source of some of the Sullivan illustrations, <http://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/2032866>, consulted 5th March 2016.
- ⁴⁹ Wynne, *Irish Notebook*, vol III, 7-8.
- ⁵⁰ Wynne, *Irish Notebook*, vol IV, opposite p.6.
- ⁵¹ John Dixon Hunt, *The Figure in the Landscape: poetry, painting and gardening during the eighteenth century* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1976), has shown that gardens or landscapes both real and imagined were complete only if a human figure was added. Williams dubbed this process as 'Putting Paddy in the Picture', *Tourism, Landscape and the Irish Character*, 51-62.
- ⁵² On the contrary, when the same illustration is reproduced for the Grose collection, there is no human figure added on the road, see NLI, 1976TX, 130.