



Sir Gustavus Hume (1677-1731): courtly connections and architectural connoisseurship in the early eighteenth century

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I know no Body in this Town whom I could employ capable of drawing fair designs of this nature but one person ... his name is Castle, he is at present employd in building a house for Sir Gustavus Humes [*sic*] near Enniskillen, but I hope will find more and constant encouragement...

— Edward Lovett Pearce, 7th March 1728¹

AS THE PATRON CREDITED WITH BRINGING THE GERMAN ARCHITECT RICHARD CASTLE to Ireland, Sir Gustavus Hume is one of the most significant figures in Irish eighteenth-century architectural history. Yet surprisingly little is known about this Ulster-Scotsman, who heretofore has been largely brushed over as something of an obscure country squire whose chief claim to fame was his patronage of Castle. He is neither the subject of a biographical account nor architectural history.² So, who was ‘Sir Gustavus Humes’, and how did a provincial baronet, seemingly ensconced in the wilds of Enniskillen, first come in contact with Richard Castle?

Far from the retirement of county Fermanagh, this article brings to light an intriguing portrait of a well-travelled and cosmopolitan courtier, which places Hume at the heart of the inner circle surrounding King George I, in direct contact with the distinguished dignitaries of European courts, and in the hub of London’s most fashionable enclaves. Plotting the course of Hume’s travels from St James’ Palace to Herrenhausen, Spa to Cambray, and the exclusive estates of London’s Mayfair to Dublin’s Henrietta Street, it threads together a web of influential connections which he established on both sides of

1 – Castle Hume estate map, 1768, showing the house c.1729

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the Irish Sea, and in so doing attempts to draw out the possible implications on his early patronage of Richard Castle.³

A cadet branch of the ancient Scots family the Humes of North Berwick (Barons of Polwarth, later Earls of Marchmont), the Humes of Castle Hume had come over to Ireland during the reign of James I. There, through astute marital alliances and services to the crown, they became the largest and most influential landowners in county Fermanagh.⁴ As loyal Protestants, Sir John Hume (Gustavus's father) and his elder sons played a pivotal role in the defence of Enniskillen during the Glorious Revolution of 1689, raising troops and garrisoning the castle, and they remained steadfast supporters of the Whig faction and Protestant succession thereafter. Although they forged deep connections in the north of Ireland with such prominent families as the Hamiltons, Caldwelles and Gores, the Fermanagh Humes retained close bonds with their Scottish kin. These family ties, which were cemented through marriage and legacies, and maintained through close and regular correspondence, would prove instrumental in Hume's bid for advancement.⁵

Having succeeded his father as 3rd Baronet in 1695,⁶ the newly dubbed Sir Gustavus made an illustrious marriage two years later to Lady Alice Moore, eldest daughter of the 3rd Earl of Drogheda. A 'frugal good managing lady said to have a great deal of money of her own',⁷ their union appears to have been a happy and felicitous one, though of the eight children Lady Alice bore, only Mary (b.1717), Sir Gustavus's heiress, and Alice (b.1719) reached maturity.⁸ The couple removed to London in 1701,⁹ and though they returned frequently to Ireland, where several of their children were born, and made regular trips to Bath and the Continent, they lived largely in the British capital until about 1729. There they seem to have moved in tight family circles, and their names are conspicuously absent from the expatriate Irish set who clustered around the Percivals and Southwells.¹⁰

Sir Gustavus was closely involved in the affairs of his wife's London-based relatives, however, intervening in the dire financial straits of the notorious reprobate, Henry Moore, 4th Earl of Drogheda, whose drink-fuelled gambling and extravagant lifestyle led to the decimation of the family fortune,¹¹ while he also engaged in more fruitful familial concerns over property investments.¹² Chief amongst Hume's London contacts were his Scottish kin, in particular his cousin, the poet Lady Grisell Baillie (*née* Hume), who had moved to London in about 1714 when her husband took up a position at the Treasury. Something of a socialite, Lady Grisell immersed herself in the delights of the London season, attending 'Balls, masquerades, parties by the water and such the like'.¹³ Some quaint lines of verse, found among the family papers, which Sir Gustavus's second son John had penned for his aunt 'when he was a child of seven or eight at most', attests to the intimacy between these relations.¹⁴

Lady Grisell's brother, Alexander Hume, Lord Polwarth (later 2nd Earl of Marchmont), an eminent diplomat and plenipotentiary to the Court of Denmark from 1716 to 1721, was also a close confidant of Hume's. Their surviving correspondence demonstrates the importance of Sir Gustavus's Scottish connections, regularly relaying

family affairs and news of our friends in Scotland to his ‘Dear Cousin’,¹⁵ while the political commentary threaded throughout speaks of an attuned understanding of the highest affairs of state.¹⁶ In June 1714, the Hanoverian Secretary of State, Monsieur Jean Robethon wrote to Lord Polwarth from Hanover:

We’ve been here 5 or 6 days [with] Sir Gustavus Hume Your Graces relation, man of wit, and of merit. I am very sorry he came in the sad circumstances of the death of Madame l’Electrice, which forces our Princes to be held in retirement. But he will [return] tomorrow, on which day they will begin to show up, wanting to leave the next day to go to drink the Pymont waters. And that same day, Sir Gustavus resumes the path of Aachen.¹⁷

Hume joined a multitude of British grandees who travelled to the German court at Herrenhausen in these years to pay their respects to the future monarch, George Louis. His cousin had visited two years previously, pledging his support to the Electress Sophia, while Hume also followed in the footsteps of such architectural enthusiasts as Sir Andrew Fountaine, who had visited in 1701, and Sir John Vanbrugh who travelled to Hanover as part of a special envoy in 1706.¹⁸ A petition addressed to George I survives in Sir Gustavus’s hand (written in French, as George Louis had little or no English), which appears to date from this visit. Within this standard appeal for royal patronage Hume lays out his credentials as a privy councillor of Ireland, stressing his own and his family’s enduring support of the Protestant cause and loyalty to the future monarch, and his efforts in travelling to ‘Hannover and Piremount’ to put forward his case in person; only in closing does he get to the crux of the matter – a vacant place in the ‘Commission des Robes’.¹⁹

His efforts bore fruit. In June 1715 Sir Gustavus Hume secured a much-sought-after position at court, serving the newly crowned monarch as a Groom of the Royal Bedchamber.²⁰ This enviable post within the King’s household, usually reserved for high ranking officials and military men, gave this Irishman, of no particularly great rank or fortune, direct access to the inner court circle of George I, and the royal patronage and influence which went with it.²¹ Hume’s letters reveal the close contact he enjoyed with George I, particularly after 1717, when a dispute with the Prince of Wales forced the King out of his habitual seclusion.²² Writing to his cousin Lord Polwarth, he noted how the King then dined in public every day, ‘with as much company as his table will hold’. Here, Hume enjoyed a place amongst the ‘fifteen guests, invited daily ... foreign ambassadors ... peers and other persons of distinction’.²³ Although the King employed German servants about his person (and, for that matter, patronised German artists and musicians), Hume’s duties at court admitted him into the inner sanctum of the monarch’s private closet,²⁴ and placed him on close terms with the first minsters of the German Chancery (the Hanoverian ministry in London) and George I’s closest advisors, Monsieur Robethon, Baron von Bernstorff and Count von Bothmer. He actively courted the favour of these high-ranking officials, presenting them with gifts of ‘two dozen bottles of Muscat’ and assurances of

his loyalty and ‘most humble service’.²⁵

Throughout his years of service, Hume attended George I at his various royal residences, where he developed an intimate acquaintance with the King’s temperament, remarking on one occasion that ‘the freer the conversation [was] the more to the King’s mind ... Thus I was put in mind of Hannover and Pirmont [*sic*]’.²⁶ Later he noted the ‘ease and quietness’ enjoyed by the King and his courtiers on a hunting expedition at Hampton Court.²⁷ Far from a retired country squire, we find that Hume was a sophisticated and well-travelled courtier, who could hold his own in the grandest courts of Europe. He could converse fairly fluently in French, unlike some of his British colleagues who required a translator to communicate with their king, and in all likelihood had at least a smattering of German.²⁸

Indeed, Hume was a regular visitor to Germany, forming part of the King’s retinue during his official visits to Hanover in the summer recesses of 1716 and 1717. There, his close attendance on the young Prince Frederick earned him the favour of the future queen, Caroline of Ansbach, noting on his return from one such visit that ‘though His Highness [the Prince] said but little to me ... the Princess sent for me in private, and asked me a thousand questions of her little Fredrick’.²⁹ In fact, Hume appears to have been well acquainted with, if not always approving of, the Prince of Wales’ conduct, remarking on ‘his prudent administration and obliging behaviour’, but also his tenacity – ‘whenever (after mature deliberation) he resolves upon a thing tis vain to talk him of any alteration’.³⁰ During the dispute between prince and king, Hume wrote to Lord Polwarth of his despair of a reconciliation, ‘unless a certain person be prevailed on to reflect on his being both a son and a subject’.³¹

So how did this Ulster-Scotsman of no great power or consequence secure such a position at court? Beattie notes that the Grooms of the Bed-chamber all came from good families, while the majority of other grooms appointed in early years of George I’s reign were Scots, of a decided military colouring. Although Hume was the head of the local militia regiment at Enniskillen, he cannot be considered a soldier per se.³² Rather, it would appear, he obtained this distinguished position through the agency of his cousin Alexander, Lord Polwarth. A prominent Whig supporter who was instrumental in securing Hanoverian succession, Polwarth had gained royal favour, and the ear of the German ministry, for his role in quashing the 1715 Jacobite rebellion of the Scottish Highlanders, and seems to have been particularly influential in this regard.³³ Acknowledging his services, Sir Gustavus wrote from Hanover on 28th July 1716: ‘I am so full of the sense of all my dear Lord Polwarth’s favours that I cannot mention anything else till first I have returned you ten thousand thanks for them.’³⁴

AS WELL AS HIS OFFICIAL VISITS TO GERMANY, HUME MADE SEVERAL ARDUOUS JOURNEYS to popular spa resorts across Europe in the early years of Hanoverian rule in an effort to improve his health, which had been ‘badly of late’.³⁵ He visited

both Pyrmont and Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) in German in 1714, and again in 1723 with his wife and son; Bath, which he pronounced ‘a most hellish hole’, in 1716,³⁶ and Spa in Belgium, where the waters unfortunately did little to relieve the ‘tormenting pain’ and ‘violence of the cholick’ in his stomach.³⁷ These were no easy undertakings and would have required both large sums of money (which was not always easy to access) and a good deal of intrepidity. Roads, which improved somewhat as the century (and demands of grand tourists?) progressed, were very bad, particularly in northern Germany between Hesse and Hanover.³⁸ Travelling by water was often the easier (if slower) option – as Richard Castle experienced when journeying from Hamburg to Amsterdam³⁹ – while accommodation was scarce, and it was said that ‘a man may travel many days and not find a bed to lie upon’.⁴⁰

In addition to these Continental sojourns, Hume and his family frequently made the fraught passage across the Irish Sea, retaining his ties with and interests in his native country. In May 1715, just prior to his official appointment to the King’s household, Hume had been sent to Dublin as one of the ‘stewards appointed to celebrate His Majesties [*sic*] birthday’.⁴¹ Correspondence from this period between Hume and Jean Robethon offers further evidence of Sir Gustavus’s close connection to the Royal Court, and specifically the German Chancery, but at the same time serves to delineate the duality of Hume’s existence – his efforts to forge a bridge between his Irish interests and British influence. We learn of Hume’s role in establishing a militia force in county Fermanagh during the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, while his letters contained regular reports on the military position of those loyal to the King in Ireland, and their great need for arms and ammunition to support his cause.⁴² Concern over the King’s safety, and efforts to be of service to his closest advisors, are interspersed with remarks on his personal affairs – the birth of his son George Louis, who was a godson of the King, and the state of his wife’s health – while this savvy placeman also took the opportunity to promote his countrymen’s interests, commenting on political appointments, and putting forward his friends for promotion.⁴³

Indeed, we have seen that it was his credentials as an Irish privy councillor (1714-15) and as a Member of Parliament for Fermanagh County (1713-31) which Hume drew on in his original petition for royal patronage,⁴⁴ and though his position at court meant he was largely absent, he did attend parliament on occasion. He was present in Dublin in 1724 when the council sat to consider the ‘Drapier affair’,⁴⁵ and though he was still listed as an absentee in 1729, he did attend parliament more often after George I’s death in 1727.⁴⁶ A keen, if not always successful financial speculator, Hume was one of sixty-three subscribers to a national loan to the government in 1716, and again in 1729, while as sheriff of county Fermanagh from 1701 he also kept abreast of county affairs.⁴⁷ He was particularly active in the promotion of the burgeoning linen industry, introducing Irish producers and products to his influential acquaintance at court, and, we shall see, was much concerned with related improvements in inland navigation.⁴⁸

BUT WHAT OF ARCHITECTURE? IN LONDON, HUME AND HIS FAMILY RESIDED IN THE most fashionable districts of the newly developed West End. Here, in these elite enclaves, Hume lived alongside some of the most influential placemen and arbiters of culture and taste in Hanoverian Britain, while his first-hand experience of the burgeoning built environment is also likely to have influenced his thinking upon the subject of domestic architecture. He was listed as a prospective tenant of the Burlington Estate in the early 1720s, though he does not appear to have taken up residence there. Rather, he leased No. 4 Kensington Terrace from 1721 to 1724, drawn here, no doubt, by its proximity to the palace at Kensington, where the court was periodically in residence. His residency here coincided with building works at the palace, in particular the King's suite of state apartments which was undergoing refurbishment by the celebrated architect, William Kent.⁴⁹ What is more, in 1727, following the death of George I, Hume took a house on the newly developed Grosvenor Estate, in the heart of London's vanguard of domestic development.

Hume and his family occupied a newly built house at No. 51 Brook Street from 1727 to 1729. Now incorporated into Claridge's Hotel, the house, like much of the street, was of a relatively standardised design, yet crucially was located at one of the best addresses in town. Here Hume was significantly positioned not only in close proximity to such high-ranking inhabitants as his brother-in-law, the Hon Capel Moore, and the prominent Irish peer, Viscount Mountjoy, next door to the eminent Hanoverian courtier Augustus Schutz, and the Marquess of Hartington, but also in a hotbed of architectural activity. As well as several well-known building tradesmen, Brook Street was home to two of the leading architects of the day, Colen Campbell and Edward Shepherd, who lived and worked on the range of houses opposite Hume in the 1720s (Plate 2). We know that Richard Castle was in England in 1725, when he subscribed to Campbell's third volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, while his subsequent architectural works show his awareness of contemporary British practice. It is surely in this context, in the burgeoning architectural culture of London's West End, that Richard Castle first came in contact with his future Irish patron, Sir Gustavus Hume.

And yet, apart from his patronage of Richard Castle (and subsequent recommendations to his circle of acquaintance), there is little evidence of Hume's interest in this area. Certainly Hume was placed in the thick of the cultural milieu at court and lived in one of the most fashionable newly developed streets in Mayfair, yet no direct connections to any of the architecturally minded circles or practitioners active in London at this time have been discovered, nor is he listed amongst the subscribers to any of the major architectural publications of the day.⁵⁰ He did, however, patronise the Ulster-Scotch mathematician and surveyor William Starrat during this period, evidently acting as the subscription agent for Starrat's scientific volume, *The doctrine of projectiles demonstrated and applyd to all the most useful problems in practical gunnery* (c.1730). An advertisement in *Pue's Occurrences*, following Hume's death in 1731 noted: 'Whereas a considerable number of Rt Hon. And Hon. Lords & Gentlemen subscribed for Wm Starrat's Bk



2 – Colen Campbell and Edward Shepherd, Nos 76, 74 and 72 Brook Street, London (left to right), mid-1720s (photo: the author)

of Gunnery, on a paper presented them by the late Rt Hon Sir Gustavus Hume Bart. Which paper is by his death lost or mislaid...’ The list of subscribers to this volume is a veritable roll-call of Edward Lovett Pearce’s and Richard Castle’s early patrons, and includes the architects themselves.⁵¹ In light of this, it is worth considering that although George I (and, by extension, the Royal Court) was not known for his architectural patronage, he was keenly interested in scientific exploration, specifically military and hydraulic engineering.

Though not a professional soldier, Hume too was clearly interested in military matters, in arms and munitions, and in water engineering and navigation. In 1727, when still resident in London, he was one of the commissioners of an act brought before the Irish parliament ‘to encourage the draining and improvement of Bogs, and unprofitable low ground, and for easing and Dispatching the inland Carriage and Conveyance of Goods’ – essentially an act to make several rivers and bogs navigable.⁵² An estate map of Castle Hume from 1768, which rather sketchily illustrates the classical-style house designed by Castle c.1729, shows a significant amount of marsh and bog ground throughout the estate, while the house and surrounding gardens (complete with ‘Fish Pond’), stood at the edge of a long peninsula, which projected out into the waters of Lough Erne (Plate 1).⁵³

This begs the question: was Richard Castle brought to Castle Hume for his architectural talent alone, or could it have been his expertise in water engineering and navigation that initially recommended him to Sir Gustavus Hume? Bear in mind that Castle's only surviving published tracts are concerned with these matters rather than with architecture, and it is was innovative exemplars in hydraulic engineering, not in building, which he remarked upon from his travels in Britain.⁵⁴ Indeed, in this period the now distinct roles of architect, military and civil engineer were inextricably linked. From William Robinson to Thomas Burgh, and indeed to Pearce himself, the position of Surveyor General of Ireland, the chief architectural office in the land, was held by a military engineer, while in Britain the influence and patronage of Board of the Ordnance, and its military directors, infiltrated civil architecture at all levels, both at the Board of Works and in private practice. Moreover, it was the aforementioned act which ultimately led to the navigation works on the Newry canal, which Pearce and, subsequently, Castle directed. We must wonder then, was Hume the initial link between Castle and Pearce?

Pearce, who was a captain in the army in his own right, as well as nephew (and son-in-law) to the high-ranking officer, General Thomas Pearce, was certainly acquainted with Hume, however loosely. As well as serving as members of the Irish House of Commons from 1727, Pearce and Hume enjoyed mutual links through the Creightons of Crum in county Fermanagh, patrons of Pearce, who intermarried with the Humes, and through General Owen Wynne, commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in Ireland and Sir Gustavus's close confidant.⁵⁵ Wynne, presumably at Hume's recommendation, was among the earliest patrons of Richard Castle in Ireland,⁵⁶ and in May 1731 Hume described Wynne's country seat at Hazelwood, county Sligo, as almost completely finished (Plate 3).⁵⁷

A FEW YEARS EARLIER, FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF KING GEORGE I AND HIS SUBSEQUENT release from court duties, Sir Gustavus Hume and his family had returned to Ireland. Some time around 1728 he had engaged Richard Castle to rebuild his ancestral seat at Castle Hume. Once considered 'a fine estate with one of the most beautiful and best houses in Ireland',⁵⁸ Castle's original building was probably constructed on the site of the older fortified dwelling, along the shores of Lough Erne, but was accidentally destroyed by fire soon after completion.⁵⁹ Building recommenced the following year, by which time we find Richard Castle described as 'of Castle Hume' in a deed of August 6th 1729.⁶⁰ By 1731 the substantial stone-fronted mansion house was described as 'lately rebuilt' and 'now almost finished'.⁶¹ The house itself no longer survives – and only some outbuildings remain (Plates 4-6) – being a casualty of the later battle over the Hume inheritance, but what is remarkable about the timing of this commission is not only that it is the earliest documented instance of Castle's work in Ireland, but that construction took place at the same time as Castle was employed in the most high profile building project of the period – at Pearce's new Parliament House in Dublin.⁶²



3 – Richard Castle, Hazelwood House, county Sligo, c.1731 (photo: Marcus Lynam)

4 – Richard Castle, dovecote, Castle Hume, county Fermanagh, c.1729

5, 6 – Richard Castle, stable block, Castle Hume, c.1729

(photos: Robert O'Byrne, © www.theirishaesthete.com)





7 – Sir Edward Lovett Pearce, Nos 12 and 11 Henrietta Street, Dublin (left to right), c.1730
(photo: Marcus Lynam)

opposite 8 – Sir Edward Lovett Pearce, designs for Nos 11 and 12 Henrietta Street, Dublin, c.1729
(Elton Hall Collection, © Victoria & Albert Museum, London)

What is perhaps even more remarkable is that at the very same time as Richard Castle was engaged in both of these projects, his patron took a newly built town house in Dublin's most exclusive residential enclave, Henrietta Street, and what is more, a house which can now confidently be assigned to Sir Edward Lovett Pearce (Plates 7, 8). In addition to the signed drawings relating to this and the adjoining house, preserved in the Elton Hall Collection, articles of agreement made between Luke Gardiner and William Graham on 23rd February 1729 have come to light,⁶³ which more firmly underscore Pearce's involvement in the building, as well as the design of the pair of houses adjoining the Primate's residence at Nos 11 and 12 Henrietta Street.⁶⁴ Therein, Pearce is not only named as one of the building contractors employed to rate and value the newly built property, a common practice for the architect or contractor involved, but at the same time this document identifies the initial occupant of No. 12 as 'Sir Gustavus Hume, Bart.'⁶⁵

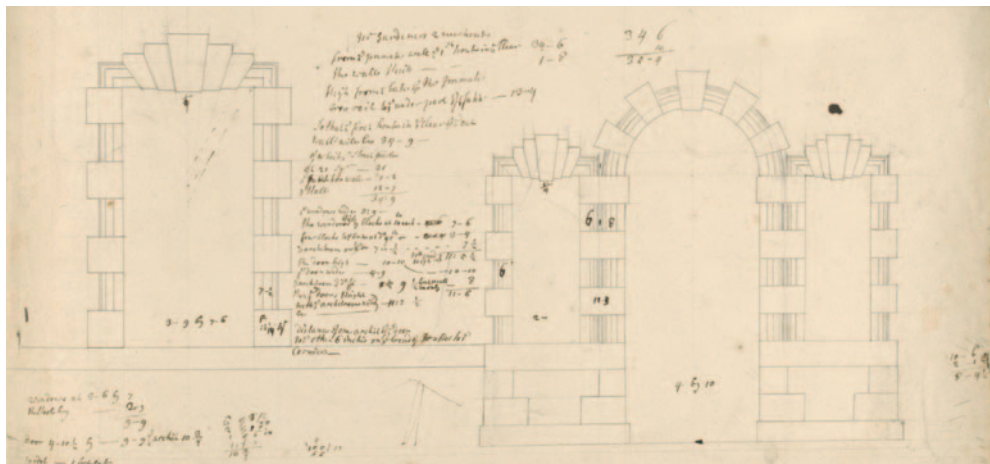
The extent of Hume's involvement in the building of this house is unclear. A comprehensive trawl of archival material has failed to yield the original lease or agreement between Hume and Gardiner, which, if discovered might delineate the precise nature of

this transaction, the individuals involved, or even the phase of building in which Hume became involved. The circumstances are, nevertheless, compelling. That this cosmopolitan courtier, only just returned to his native country after a long residency in the British capital, was one of the earliest residents of Henrietta Street is clearly of significance.⁶⁶ Hume's association with Richard Castle, moreover, renders his early residency here, in a house designed by Edward Lovett Pearce, and at the precise time as Pearce and Castle were collaborating elsewhere, of the first importance. If not conclusive evidence, these circumstances certainly raise questions over of Richard Castle's involvement in the initial development of Henrietta Street, not to mention Hume's role as the link between these two architects.

At Henrietta Street, Hume immersed himself in the political and associational culture of the city, forming part of the same close-knit networks as many of his eminent neighbours.⁶⁷ Yet his health, which had long been a burden, was in sharp decline, and he had little time to enjoy the fruits of his homecoming. In May 1731 Hume wrote to his cousin Lord Polwarth from his Dublin residence:

My ailments this last winter hath pulled me down severely and though I do not labour under those accursed pains that so long tormented me yet I am seldom without some degree of them. I wish I could accompany Mr Bailie and his family to Spa where possibly I might [receive] some benefit but I am grown so susceptible of cold that such an undertaking would be too hazardous ... I am not even well enough to set out on a journey to Castlehume.⁶⁸

He did, in fact, make the journey home to Castle Hume, but died there on the 12th October 1731, 'when he was 54 years old wanting 2 days'. He was 'buried in his father's grave nine days after in a very solemn manner, suitable to his rank and fortune, in a church built by Sir John'.⁶⁹ However, it was at Hume's Henrietta Street house that the last drama of his life played out.



On 18th August 1729, probably about the time he had returned from London to Dublin, Hume had made an amended and unperfected will. Therein, in addition to his real estate which he had settled upon his eldest daughter Mary in trust for her male heirs, he devised unto his ‘loving and beloved wife Lady Alice the best coach, all the plate and all manner of household furniture’, leaving the remainder of his personal estate to his younger daughter, Alice.⁷⁰ Although Hume had previously made General Wynne aware of its existence, in the aftermath of his sudden death in 1731 the whereabouts of this valuable document was unknown.⁷¹ A search of Hume’s residence promptly ensued, where upon the orders of Owen Wynne one Richard Moore, an upholder of Capel Street, Dublin testified that he:

was searching in the Escritoire of the said Sir Gustavus Hume which stood in his dressing room in his house in the City of Dublin for some of his papers of accounts, [when] he in one of the drawers of the said Escritoire found the writing here unto annexed importing the will of the said deceased.⁷²

The discovery of Hume’s will at his Dublin house in 1731, which was proven the following year, making his eldest daughter, Mary Hume, the heiress of a great fortune,⁷³ set in motion a chain of events which would ultimately lead to one of greatest legal battles of the century, and the ultimate loss of Castle Hume.⁷⁴

HERETOFORE AN OBSCURE AND LITTLE REGARDED COUNTRY SQUIRE, SIR GUSTAVUS Hume has emerged as a well-travelled and cosmopolitan courtier, whose sophisticated tastes and highly influential connections were of pivotal importance to the development of Palladian architecture in Ireland. This intriguing portrait, which places Hume in the inner circle surrounding George I, living in the hub of London’s burgeoning architectural development, strongly suggests that this is the context for further examination of Richard Castle’s emergence in Britain.

Far from the wilds of county Fermanagh, we have seen how Hume’s travels throughout the Continent, and Germany in particular, brought him into direct contact with the distinguished dignitaries of European courts. In London, Hume was on intimate terms with the first ministers of the German Chancery and King George I’s closest advisors, but also enjoyed cordial relations with the future Queen Caroline, whereas his close alliance with his Scottish kin, the Earls of Marchmont, brought this Irishman into the first circles of society. Although there is surprisingly little evidence of his interest in architecture, it is significant that Hume chose to live in the nerve centre of architectural activity in fashionable Brook Street during the early years of its development, alongside influential residents and leading architects alike.

At once both sophisticated courtier and country squire, Hume successfully negotiated these dual arenas, retaining deep ties to his native country and countrymen, whose (heavily vested) interests he was keen to promote among his influential networks in

London. Throughout his service to George I, we have seen how Hume maintained a keen interest in Irish affairs, especially in matters of military security and civil engineering, and the latter, in particular, underscores the possibility that it was his skills in navigation and hydraulics which originally brought Richard Castle to Hume's notice.

Finally, although there has been some speculation that Hume was the link between Castle and Edward Lovett Pearce, the web of connections established between these individuals serve to strengthen this probability and, in the absence of hard documentary evidence, helps flesh out the circumstances of their early collaboration. The discovery of Hume's early residency at Henrietta Street, in a house designed by Pearce, and its concurrence with building works at Castle Hume and Parliament House is surely not coincidental, suggesting, on the one hand, a reassessment of Castle's involvement at Henrietta Street, while at the same time highlighting the importance of Hume as a patron and cultural broker in bridging the gap between the British and Irish contexts and bringing Richard Castle across the sea to Dublin.

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ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

BL	British Library
HMC, <i>MSS Polwarth</i>	Henry Paton (ed.), <i>Historical Manuscripts Commission report on the manuscripts of Lord Polwarth preserved at Mertoun House Berwickshire</i> , 2 vols (Historical Manuscripts Commission, London, 1911)
NAS	National Archives of Scotland
NLI	National Library of Ireland
PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland

- ¹ NLI, D20,209, Note on designs for Houses of Parliament, Dublin, by E.L. Pearce, 7th March 1727-28.
- ² No detailed biographical accounts of Gustavus Hume are found in any of the major modern or historic dictionaries or compendiums. John Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England* (Scott, Webster & Geary, London, 1841) 608, and Charles Mosley (ed.), *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage, 107th edition*, 3 vols (Burke's Peerage (Genealogical Books), Wilmington, 2003) 1,323, contain only the briefest entries. John Lodge, *The*

- Peerage of Ireland*, 4 vols (J. Leathley, Dublin, 1754) II, 113, gives insufficient detail, some of which requires revision. Edith Mary Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament 1692-1800: commons, constituencies and statutes*, 6 vols (Ulster Historical Foundation, Belfast, 2002) IV, 450-51, gives an abbreviated account of Hume's Irish career as an MP. Illuminating attempts have been made to consider Richard Castle's early career in Ireland, yet Hume's involvement has not been dealt with in any sustained way. For architectural discourse on Castle's early career, see Thomas Ulick Sadler, 'Richard Castle, architect', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. 11, 1911, 241-45; The Knight of Glin, 'Richard Castle, architect, his biography and works', *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, vol. 7, no. 1, Jan-Mar 1964, 32-38; David Griffin, 'Richard Castle's Egyptian Hall at Powerscourt, Co. Wicklow', *Georgian Group Journal*, V, 1995, 119-24; Edward McParland, *Public Architecture in Ireland, 1680-1760* (YUP, New Haven and London, 2001) 184-86; Christine Casey, *Dublin: the city within the Grand and Royal Canals and the Circular Road with the Phoenix Park* (YUP, New Haven and London, 2005), 498-503; Loreto Calderon and Konrad Dechant, 'New Light on Hugh Montgomerie, Richard Castle and No. 85 St Stephen's Green', Christine Casey (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century Dublin Town House: form, function and finance* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2010) 174-96.
- ³ The subject of this article has previously been considered in Melanie Hayes, 'Anglo-Irish architectural exchange in the early eighteenth century: patrons, practitioners and pieds-à-terre', PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2015.
- ⁴ PRONI, Introduction to the Ely papers, p.11; *Earl of Belmore, Parliamentary Memoirs of Fermanagh and Tyrone, from 1613 to 1885* (Alex. Thom & Co, Dublin, 1887) 16.
- ⁵ NAS, GD158/418, *passim*.
- ⁶ John Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History*, 608. Gustavus was the third son; his two elder brothers died before their father in service to their country.
- ⁷ NAS, GD158/1394, letter of 15th January 1731/2, John Trotter to the Earl of Marchmont; George E. Cokayne, *Complete Baronetage*, 5 vols (W. Pollard & Co, Exeter, 1900) II, 443.
- ⁸ Lodge, *The Peerage of Ireland*, II, 113, lists only three sons and three daughters; Mervyn Archdall's revised edition (1789) 112, includes John Hume, second son, but no date of birth or death.
- ⁹ NAS, GD158/1136, letter of 27th January 1701, Dorothy Hume (relict of the rev. George Hume, Tully), Dublin, to Marchmont.
- ¹⁰ R.A. Roberts (ed.), *Historical Manuscripts Commission: manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont, diary of Viscount Percival*, 3 vols, 1730-47 (HMC, London, 1920) I, *passim*. The Hon Capel Moore, Sir Gustavus's brother-in-law, was a close acquaintance of the Percivals and a regular visitor to their house at Pall Mall.
- ¹¹ R. Sedgwick (ed.), 'Henry Moore 4th earl of Drogheda', *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1715-1754*, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org> (accessed September 2015); Royal Irish Academy, Caldwell Collection, 12 R39/130, 16th January 1724, W.[illiam] Willock, London [to Andrew Caldwell].
- ¹² Corporation of London Records Office, COL/CCS/CO/13/002. Deed between Hon. Robert Moore of St. Martin in the Fields, Esq., Hon. Henry Moore of St. Martin in the Fields, D.D. and the Hon. Sir Gustavus Hume of Kensington, Middx. Bart., concerning ground at Great Paternoster Row in Spitalfields, 18 Jun. 1723.
- ¹³ Grizel Baillie, *The House hold book of Lady Grisell Baillie 1692-1733* (University Press for the Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1911) xxix.
- ¹⁴ NAS, GD158/503, letter from John Hume to Lady Grisell Baillie, which included 'verses by Mr. John Hume second son of Sir Gustavus Hume on his elder brother Moore's birthday'. Endorsed on

the verso by Lady Grisell.

- ¹⁵ See HMC, *MSS Polwarth*, I, vi; NAS, GD158/2507, letter of 24th June 1723, Polwarth, Cambray, to Hume.
- ¹⁶ *ibid.*, vols I, II, *passim*.
- ¹⁷ J. Murray (ed.), *A selection from the papers of the earls of Marchmont, in the possession of the Right Hon. Sir George Henry Rose*, 2 vols (London, 1831) II. This text has been translated from a letter transcribed in French by Rose.
- ¹⁸ See Barbara Arciszewska, *The Hanoverian Court and the Triumph of Palladio: the Palladian revival in Hanover and England c.1700* (DiG, Warsaw, 2002) 291, for a discussion of British travellers to Hanover and the dissemination of Palladian architecture.
- ¹⁹ BL, Add MS 61639, Ff 43-44b, Petition to George I, signed Gust. Hume.
- ²⁰ J.C. Sainty and R.O. Bucholz, *Officials of the Royal Household 1660-1837* (Institute of Historical Research, UL, London, 1997). HMC, *MSS Polwarth*, I, 47, letter of 28th July 1716, Hume, Hanover, to Lord Polwarth.
- ²¹ See John M. Beattie, 'The court of George I and English politics, 1717-1720', *The English Historical Review*, vol. 81, no. 318, 1966, 26-37; John M. Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I* (Cambridge University Press, 1967).
- ²² HMC, *MSS Polwarth*, I, 176, letter of 7th February 1717, Hume to Polwarth notes that 'The King locks himself up as formerly and is never seen but at night in the drawing-room.' According to Beattie, 'The court of George I and English politics', 27, in the first two years of the King's reign 'he took advantage of very few of the innumerable rights and courtesies to which he was entitled'.
- ²³ HMC, *MSS Polwarth*, I, 320. Letter of 5th August 1717, Hume to Polwarth.
- ²⁴ *ibid.*, 256-57, letter of 31st May 1717, Hume to Polwarth. The German-born composer Handel was a royal favourite, famously composing *Water Music* at George I's request for the great Thames River Pageant in July 1717, while Beattie, 'The English court in the reign of George I', 121-23, notes the King's tendency to employ those of German birth.
- ²⁵ BL, Stowe MS 228, Hanover Papers, VII, f122, letter of 24th September 1715, Gustavus Hume, Dublin, to Jean Robethon.
- ²⁶ HMC, *MSS Polwarth*, I, 320, letter of 5th August 1717, Hume to Polwarth.
- ²⁷ *ibid.*, 378, letter of 25th October 1717, Hume to Polwarth; see also *ibid.*, 256, letter of 31st May 1717, Hume to Polwarth, wherein Hume notes that the King 'grows fat from want of exercise but enjoys perfect good health'.
- ²⁸ Beattie, 'The English court in the reign of George I', 240.
- ²⁹ HMC, *MSS Polwarth*, I, 112, letter of 19th October 1716, Hume, London, to Polwarth. It would appear that 'Little Fredrick' had been in Germany with the King without his mother, who was pregnant, as Hume wrote to Polwarth from Hanover on 28th July 1716 that the 'little Prince ask'd vary particularly for you'. See also *ibid.*, 47.
- ³⁰ *ibid.*, 112, letter of 19th October 1716, Hume, London, to Polwarth.
- ³¹ Murray (ed.), *A selection from the papers of the earls of Marchmont*, II, 85, letter of 24th December 1717, Hume, London, to Polwarth.
- ³² See William Copeland Trimble, *The History of Enniskillen*, 3 vols (Enniskillen, 1919) III, 688-90, for Hume's role in forming a local militia for Enniskillen in 1708.
- ³³ HMC, *MSS Polwarth*, I, 112, notes that Alexander Hume travelled to Hanover in 1709, where 'he became acquainted with the Elector ... and warmly espoused the cause of his succession'. In 1712 Lord Polwarth again travelled to Hanover, and maintained contact with Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, writing to her from Edinburgh on 6th January 1714 pledging to

- support her and her decedent's interests.
- ³⁴ HMC, MSS Polwarth, I, 47, letter of 28th July 1716, Hume, Hanover, to Polwarth.
- ³⁵ NAS, GD158/1279, letter of 2nd June 1723.
- ³⁶ HMC, MSS Polwarth, I, 112, letter of 30th November 1716, Hume, Bath, to Polwarth.
- ³⁷ NAS, GD158/1279, letter of 5th August 1723.
- ³⁸ Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (Routledge, London, 1985) 38, 45-46.
- ³⁹ NLI, MS 2737, 'An essay on artificial navigation by Richard Castle written in connection with the construction of the Newry canal' (illustrated), c.1730, '2nd proposition' (no page numbers).
- ⁴⁰ Black, *The British and the Grand Tour*, 38.
- ⁴¹ BL, Add MS 61639, f161f, letter of 17th May 1715, Gustavus Hume, Dublin, to J. Robethon.
- ⁴² BL, Stowe MS 228, Hanover Papers, VII, f121, letter of 24th September 1715, Gustavus Hume, Dublin, to J. Robethon; f142, letter of 8th October 1715, Gustavus Hume, Dublin, to J. Robethon, notes 'What I have writ with relation to our affairs in this kingdom I hope by your care will be speedily laid before his majesty...'
- ⁴³ *ibid.*
- ⁴⁴ Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament*, I, 450-51; Cokayne, *Complete Baronetage*, II, 443.
- ⁴⁵ *Delphi Complete Works of Jonathan Swift* (digital ed., Delphi Classics, London, 2013), appendix vi, 'Proclamation against the Drapier,' given at the council chamber Dublin, 27th October 1724.
- ⁴⁶ Thomas Prior's *A List of the Absentees of Ireland* (Dublin, 1729) listed Hume as one of the 2nd class of absentees, i.e., 'Those who live generally abroad and visit Ireland, now and then, for a month or two'. At this time Hume still paid rates at his Brook Street home in London, but also visited the Dublin parliament on occasion where he voted for a number of bills, including an act for the 'draining and improvement of bogs'.
- ⁴⁷ Charles McGrath, 'Parliament people and other possibilities', *Eighteenth-century Ireland*, vol. 17, 2002, 157.
- ⁴⁸ *Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal*, Saturday, 23rd November 1728, issue VII.
- ⁴⁹ Hermione Hobhouse, *Survey of London XLII: Kensington Square to Earl's Court* (London County Council, 1986), 99-116; Adam Bowett, 'George I's furniture at Kensington Palace' *Apollo*, CLXII, 525, New Series, 2005, 37-47.
- ⁵⁰ See Hayes, 'Anglo-Irish architectural exchange', 63.
- ⁵¹ *Pue's Occurrences*, Saturday 31st March to Tuesday 3rd April 1733. Subscribers to William Starrat's *The doctrine of projectiles demonstrated and apply'd to all the most useful problems in practical gunnery* (Dublin, 1733) included Henry Brooke; William Conolly; Lord Bishop of Clogher; Mr Castle, Lord Duncannon; Nathaniel Clements; Abraham Creighton; William Graham, Esq.; Sir Ralph Gore; Arthur Dobbs; Right Hon. Sir Gustavus Hume Bart.; Robert French; Arthur Hill; Earl of Kildare; Lord Mountjoy (x6); Thomas Lill; Lords Molesworth (x2); Hercules Rowley; Hon. General Pierce [*sic*]; Sir Edward Lovett Pierce [*sic*], Surveyor and engineer gen. x2; Viscount Tyrone; Right Hon. Gen. Wynne x 2; Richard Wingfield. For Starrat's role as mathematician and surveyor, as well as poet in the Scots language, see Hayes, 'Anglo-Irish architectural exchange', 63-65.
- ⁵² *Acts and statutes made in a Parliament begun at Dublin, the twenty-eighth day of November, Anno Dom. 1727* (Dublin, 1729/1730) 32.
- ⁵³ PRONI, D496, Estate map, complete with legend, which lists at No. 1 'House Gardens Fishpond etc' measuring 3 acres: 1 rood: 6 perches.
- ⁵⁴ NLI, MS 2737, 'An essay on artificial navigation by Richard Castle, op. cit.; Richard Castle, *An Essay Toward Supplying the City of Dublin with Water* (Dublin, 1735).
- ⁵⁵ V&A, London, E2124.110-1992, Elton Hall Collection. Among Pearce's papers in this collection is

- a plan and elevation of a hexagonal gazebo to be built on a sunken island at Crown (Crom) Castle, county Fermanagh; NAS, GD158/437, copy will of Sir Gustavus Hume of Ca(stlehu)me, Ireland; containing affidavits, 1731.
- ⁵⁶ See Thomas U. Sadleir, 'Richard Castle, architect', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. 11, 1911, 243; Glin, 'Richard Castle', 32-38. The Wynne Papers in the NLI do not contain any records relating to the building of Hazelwood.
- ⁵⁷ NAS, GD158/1279, letter of 22nd May 1731.
- ⁵⁸ NAS, GD158/1394, op. cit.
- ⁵⁹ PRONI, Introduction to the Ely papers, 'the end of Castle Hume', 18.
- ⁶⁰ Registry of Deeds, 72/12/49464, 6th August 1729, Memorial of Lease and release tripartite, between 'the Right Hon. Sir Gustavus Hume of Castle Hume in the County of Fermanagh Baronet and Richard Castle of Castle Hume in the County of Fermanagh gent of the first part...'
- ⁶¹ NAS, GD158/1394, op. cit.
- ⁶² See McParland, *Public Architecture in Ireland*, 182-96.
- ⁶³ NLI, MS 36,516/1, Gardiner Papers, Articles of agreement between Luke Gardiner Esq. & William Graham, Esq., 23rd February 1729; Anthony Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements: politics, fashion and architecture in mid-eighteenth-century Ireland* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2015) 34, refers to this agreement but does not note Hume's inclusion as the occupant of adjoining house.
- ⁶⁴ The Georgian Society, *Records of eighteenth-century domestic architecture and decoration in Dublin*, 5 vols (Dublin University Press, 1911, reprinted Shannon, 1969) 29. Casey, *Dublin: the city within the Grand and Royal Canals and the Circular Road with the Phoenix Park*, 199; Howard Colvin and Maurice Craig (eds), *Architectural drawings in the library of Elton Hall by Sir John Vanbrugh and Sir Edward Lovett Pearce* (Roxburge Club, Oxford, 1964); Casey, *Dublin*, 198-99.
- ⁶⁵ NLI, MS 36,516/1, Gardiner Papers, op. cit. Graham's new dwelling house was situated 'next adjoining on the North to his Grace the Lord Primate's now dwelling house, and on the South to the House or tenement now in the possession of Sir Gustavus Hume Bart'. Incorrectly listed as Bolton Street.
- ⁶⁶ Middlesex Land Registry, land tax records note that 'Sir Gustavus Humes [*sic*]' paid an annual rent of £60 9s for his house at Brook Street London in 1729.
- ⁶⁷ *A humble proposal for obtaining His Majesty's Royal Charter to incorporate a society for promoting Christian knowledge among the poor natives of the Kingdom of Ireland*, 1730.
- ⁶⁸ NAS, GD158/1279, letter of 22nd May 1731, Hume to Lord Polwarth.
- ⁶⁹ NAS, GD158/1394, op. cit.
- ⁷⁰ NAS, GD158/437, affidavit accompanying the said will, signed Rich. Moore *Jurat coram Nobis* 17 January 1731 Marm. Coghill. A second affidavit of 10th February 1731 concerning Gen. Owen Wynne's testimony is also enclosed.
- ⁷¹ NAS, GD158/1394, op. cit. Trotter noted Sir Gustavus's 'discoursed with Gen. Wynne last summer about amending his former will, and mentioned he had made a new one.'
- ⁷² NAS, GD158/437, affidavit, op. cit.
- ⁷³ NAS GD158/1394, op. cit. Trotter noted: 'My lord he died very rich, leaving a real estate free of debt worth about three thousand pounds ... and the estate chattel etc. to the value of thirty-thousand pounds as some of his [elig.] relations now in the city and my[?] have reckoned up to.'
- ⁷⁴ Josiah Brown, *Reports of cases, upon appeals and writs of error, in the High Court of Parliament: from the year 1701, to the year 1779*, vol. 7 (Dublin, 1784) 320-3.