

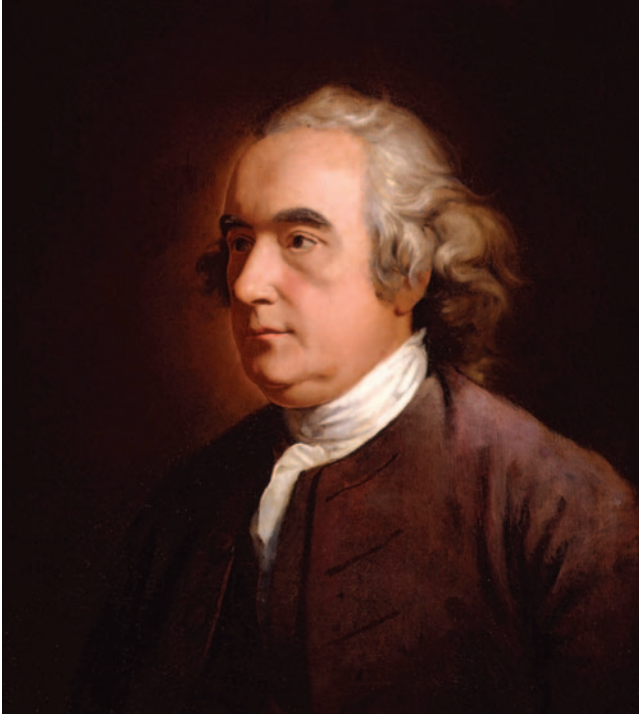


Bathing in porphyry on the banks of the River Liffey: Lord Charlemont's missed opportunity

RUTH MUSIELAK

JAMES CAULFEILD, 4TH VISCOUNT CAULFEILD, LATER CREATED 1ST EARL OF CHARLEMONT (1728-1799) (Plate 1), returned to London from his lengthy Grand Tour of Europe and the Near East very shortly before 17th May 1755.¹ While in London, Charlemont had been influenced by an Irish doctor whose revolutionary political views he found as admirable as his medical advice. Charles Lucas (1713-1771) was exiled from Ireland in 1749 over a controversial political campaign in which he had accused Dublin City authorities and certain city officials of corruption (Plate 2).² Between 1749 and 1754 he had studied in Paris, Rheims and Leyden to qualify as a physician and set up a practice in London. Lucas, a lifelong sufferer from gout, was experienced in managing chronic and painful conditions, publishing a lengthy treatise on spas and their efficacy.³ In this treatise, an English bathing establishment at Harwich and a French one at Aix-le-Chapelle, Savoy [now Aachen, in Germany] were the only two contemporary spas that met with his approval. Although Lucas found the warm baths and heated vapour treatments available at the latter admirable, he deplored the social *mêlée* experienced at the baths, 'a shameful Gothic state, crowded with both sexes promiscuously', where clients were herded into queues while 'exposed to the public view of the profane vulgar'.⁴ Such practices would not have pleased the famously reticent Charlemont, who had been plagued by a recurring rheumatic complaint for many years. His political career had been hindered by his need to resort to a daily bathing regime, later reduced to a weekly event, many details of which remain unknown. This article will explore some bathing opportunities available to Charlemont after his return from Italy, when he was under the care of Lucas in England. It will also examine his later bathing practices, either at his Marino demesne in suburban Dublin, where Lucas established a residence nearby, or alternatives available in Dublin.

1 – *Circle of William Cuming, JAMES CAULFEILD, 1ST EARL OF CHARLEMONT (1728-1799)*
early nineteenth-century posthumous portrait, oil on canvas, 127 x 103 cm (courtesy Royal Irish Academy)



2 – Thomas Hickey,
CHARLES LUCAS, M.D.
 c.1770, oil on canvas, 75 x 62 cm
 (courtesy Royal College of
 Physicians of Ireland)

This writer's interest in the elusive topic of eighteenth-century bathing practice developed originally through doctoral research concerning Charlemont's water management at Marino, published in a catalogue accompanying an exhibition at the Casino in 2014.⁵ Further research within this topic casts new light on an entrepreneurial endeavour on the Dublin quays.

In London, in the early months of 1756, Charlemont suffered further attacks of the rheumatic disorder which had first disabled him in Rome four years earlier. He later described himself as an 'an absolute cripple' during the period 1756 to 1758, when he had been obliged to suffer 'an excruciating course of pains and physicians'.⁶ By May 1756, Charlemont had advised John Parker, his agent in Rome, that he was on the road to recovery.⁷ Nevertheless, Dr Constantine Barber, one of several doctors attending Charlemont, informed Thomas Adderley, Charlemont's stepfather, that his charge remained indisposed and was receiving treatment at Aix-la-Chapelle.⁸ Adderley, in Dublin, anxiously awaiting Charlemont's signature authorising the final purchase of lands at Marino, was fearful that bad weather might delay his stepson's return to London. In a postscript to a letter to Charlemont at Aix, Adderley included his 'respects to the *three doctors*' (author's italics).⁹ Despite their attentions, two months later, Mrs Delany (1700-1788) relayed news that Charlemont had returned to London in very poor health.¹⁰ Mary Delany and her husband Patrick Delany (1686-1768), the Dean of Down, appear likely to have had some hand in Dr Barber's attempts to care for the young viscount. Members of the Barber family had

a longstanding relationship with Patrick Delany and his Delville property, which lay in the neighbourhood of Marino.¹¹ (Charlemont's gift of ten pineapples sent from Marino in 1758 to the Delany family in county Down, while he remained unwell in England, may have represented gratitude for their concern during this extended period of ill-health.)¹² By December 1756, Dr Constantine Barber, perhaps unwilling to work with Lucas, appeared eager to be quit of his charge and return to Ireland in order to resume his Irish practice.¹³

When Charlemont suffered a further rheumatic episode in 1758, Lucas sent him to the Harwich baths in Essex, where the portrait painter Allan Ramsay (1713-1784) saw him and reported that he was 'perfectly recovered'.¹⁴ Lucas had praised the bathing establishment at Harwich in his treatise for its 'convenience and elegance [which might] serve as a pattern for the rest of the kingdom'.¹⁵ Describing at length the 'elegance and utility' of the baths contrived by the 'ingenious' Griffith Davies, a Collector of Customs at Harwich, he also illustrated his treatise with engravings from Davies' drawings (Plate 3). The baths, at the shore, were situated several feet lower than the high-water mark, where a 'curious machine' drew up sea water at each high tide, transferring it to an underground reservoir through an aqueduct. The reservoir was equipped with a sluice and pipe with a double valve at the coastal end for drainage. The 'neat building' contained dressing rooms, with complete privacy and 'all necessary conveniences' for both sexes. In connecting private bathrooms the sea water was fed, 'spring-like', into the base of each individual bath, allowing any 'filthiness' to overflow for disposal. Lucas greatly admired a machine comprising a copper cistern and leather piping which permitted a 'power-shower' action, throwing water from a height of eight or ten feet, to any part of the body, delivered with the desired degree of force. Lucas admitted however, that although plans were underway for a furnace to provide heated water for baths and dressing rooms, his preferred option of warm sea-water bathing was not yet available at these baths in 1756. The hydrological design of these baths, as well as its careful attention to bathers' sensibilities, would later be closely replicated by an entrepreneur and sometime associate of Dr Lucas, in a Liffey-side location in Dublin.

After his return from Harwich, Charlemont decided to move more permanently to Ireland. He was obliged to manage for his first year at Marino without the immediate attendance of 'the excellent doctor Lucas' – to whose 'tender care and effectual abilities' he attributed his restoration to health – until George III was persuaded to revoke his exile in 1760.¹⁶ The immediate proximity of Charlemont's suburban demesne to the waters of Dublin Bay were not suitable for the 'daily salt baths' which Lucas had prescribed. The water at Fairview or Clontarf was shallow, tidal and muddy, and, quite possibly, fouled with waste. One cannot imagine Charlemont wading through these polluted waters in order to immerse himself. For his own part, Lucas did not recommend swimming; he preferred the regulated water temperature which an indoor institution like the Harwich baths could provide, where privacy and elegant surroundings could be assured.

By September 1759, Charlemont was established at the Marino demesne, where the

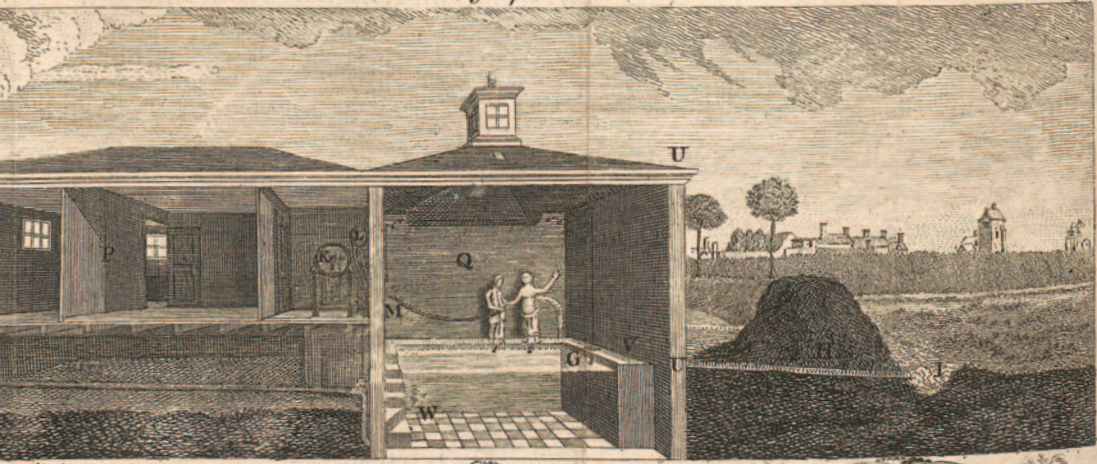


3 – ‘A Perspective Section of the Reservoir and Sea Water Baths at Harwich in the County of Essex’
engraving from Charles Lucas, *ESSAY ON WATERS* (1756) (© British Library Board, 7470.ee.22)

prolific correspondent Mrs Delany found him ‘perfectly recovered’.¹⁷ After eleven years of travel and study, Charlemont’s main objective was the achievement of his political aspirations. Unfortunately, his poor health derailed the glory of his intended political debut. To his mortification, he discovered that he suffered from a nervous affliction like advanced stage fright, rendering him incapable of public speech. Fortunately, pursuing the production of architectural novelties and the ornamentation of his newly acquired demesne at Marino, two miles north of Dublin city centre, provided him with a focus of interest. Charlemont considered that the introduction of influential architecture to Ireland could justify his eleven years of travel and study in Europe and the Near East.¹⁸ The production of improving projects offered a way of exerting a cultural and even an educational influence over his Dublin social milieu.

While Charlemont encouraged Lucas to return from exile in England for personal and medical reasons, Lucas was equally eager to resume his political role in Dublin. By the end of 1760, Lucas exerted sufficient effort on his own behalf that the ‘outlawry’ was

erBaths at HARWICH in the County of E S S E X .



Section, in most profound Respect, is Inscribed,
Miss Talbot

rescinded by petitioning the newly crowned George III.¹⁹ With further backing from Charlemont and a substantial loan in order to pay off his London debts, Lucas arranged to move to Dublin.²⁰ He arrived in Ireland on 15th March 1761, promptly had his outlawry dismissed and the Freedom of the City restored. Soon re-elected to the City Council, he was once more immersed in political activism.²¹ Although details of his medical advice to Charlemont from 1761 to the time of his death in 1771 are scarce, Lucas remained in close contact. In 1762 he leased a nearby property for £60 sterling per annum, a substantial house set in seven acres of meadow, standing no more than a few hundred yards from the western boundary of the Marino demesne, on Ellis's (or Allinson's) Lane (Plate 4).²² The house had been built and its flower gardens laid out between 1748 and 1754 by Joseph Dioderici, reputedly a former butler to property magnate Luke Gardiner (c.1690-1755).²³ The property was later described as 'a new house, on rising ground', which contained, in its grounds, 'all necessaries for the kitchen as well as for pleasure ... including two fish-ponds, well stocked with trout', and 'choice fields ... with running water in them'.²⁴ When Lucas's interest in the house, together with its goods and chattels, was put up for sale in 1771, the advertisement for the auction noted that:



4 – John Rocque (c.1705-1762) 'Survey of the City, Harbour, Bay and Environs of Dublin ... with improvements and addition to the year 1773 by Mr Bernard Scalé', (detail) Ellis's Lane and Marino (courtesy Trinity College Dublin)

opposite

5 – Ordnance Survey of Dublin (1867) Clontarf (detail), Philipsburgh Avenue to Marino House (courtesy Trinity College Dublin)

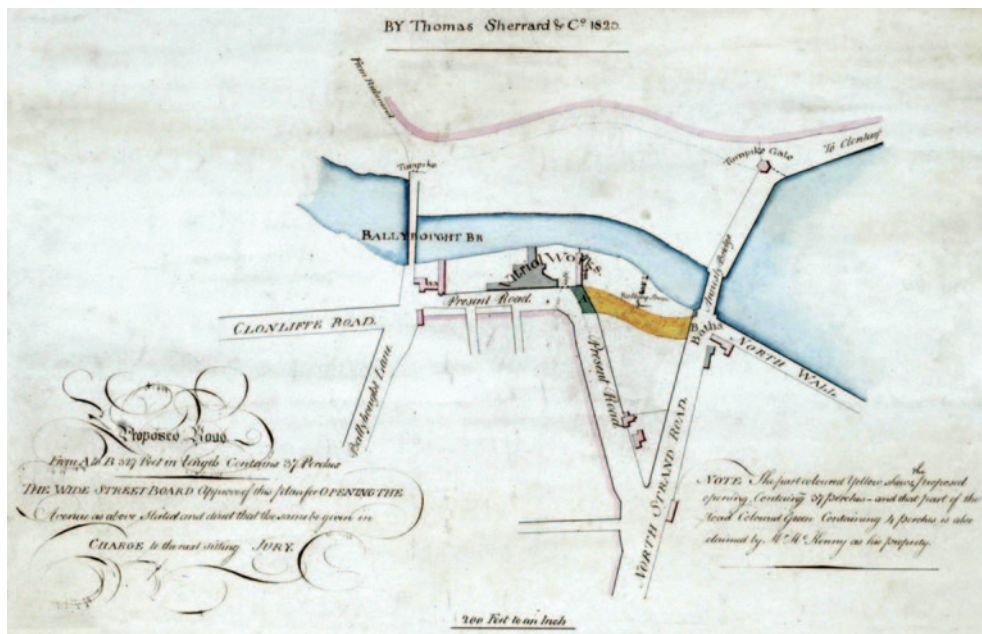
For Situation, Contingent to the City (being but one mile distant), and the Elegance of the Improvements, made by the Doctor, at the expence of some Thousands of Pounds, there is not a country retreat in the Vicinity of Dublin, better circumstanced for a Family of Fortune.²⁵

Even allowing for auctioneer's hyperbole, the country retreat occupied by Lucas and his family was an attractive residence, with views towards Marino House as well as Dublin Bay and mountains. Charlemont's continuing improvements at the upper end of the demesne included the completion of the Casino exterior, the erection of a large Gothic temple, and after 1763, the creation of a large ornamental lake situated close to both buildings.²⁶ Marino's primary water source was a stream that ran along the northern border of Charlemont's property and which first fed the ponds that watered the walled kitchen garden, then supplied the lake.²⁷ While it may be conceivable that Charlemont bathed in his

could have provided heated vapour baths such as those at the ‘genuine Constantinople bagnio’ that Charlemont had experienced in Turkey. Although initially alarmed by his treatment at the bagnio, Charlemont was left with a feeling of ‘never [having] experienced anything more agreeable or refreshing’.³⁰ If any public establishment in Dublin could have provided a similar experience in tolerable surroundings, Charlemont might have been expected to avail of the opportunity. According to a later account, Charlemont had, by the early 1780s, reduced his bathing to a weekly occurrence, and used to visit architect James Gandon (1743-1823) and his family at their home on Mecklenburgh Street on Saturdays during the Parliamentary season. From the Gandon residence, he attended the ‘sea-water baths’, conveniently situated on an embankment of the Tolka river, near the Ballybough Bridge, before proceeding to Marino.³¹ A surveyor’s plan of 1823 shows a building clearly labelled ‘Baths’, which may be the same as one indicated on the same site as early as 1760 (Plate 6).³² Although the date these baths were first established is not known, by 1775 the building named the ‘Bathing House’ and its adjoining ‘rood of ground’ was leased to Richard Kenny.³³ Charlemont’s route from the baths to Marino would have crossed the Tolka by the Ballybough Bridge. After 1797 the Annesley Bridge provided a more direct route, and the baths then became known as the Annesley Baths. Another bathing establishment, situated on the north quay of the Liffey, about whose construction and decoration much more is known, is discussed below.

Charlemont felt fit enough by 1764 to resume his seat in Parliament, crediting ‘the

6 – *Wide Streets Commissioners map of Clonliffe Road and Old Turnpike House at Ballybough Bridge, 1823 (courtesy Dublin City Library and Archive, WSC, Map 311)*



recovery of the use of his limbs' to the care and bathing regime prescribed by Lucas.³⁴ Charlemont's medical condition now under control, Lucas and his wife were able to travel to Bristol Hot Wells, a fashionable spa in Gloucestershire, searching for treatment for their own medical problems.³⁵ Lucas's wife, Penelope Catherwood, died at the Hot Wells spa in August 1765, and he returned to Ireland to re-engage with his political duties.³⁶ Months later, an appeal made on Lucas's behalf by members of the Commons to Dublin Council for an annual stipend of £365 was firmly rejected, suggesting that Lucas may have lost Charlemont's financial support.³⁷ Nevertheless, by the late 1760s, Lucas leased a further property in Henry Street, where he was reported as living at the time of his death in 1771.³⁸ The doctor retained his interest in the Ballybough property, where it seems likely that he enjoyed residence outside Parliamentary sessions. The move may have suited a change in circumstances for both men, since, in 1768, Lucas had married his third wife, Elizabeth Hely, and, in the same year, Charlemont married Mary Hickman, relieving the doctor from a duty of close attention to the Earl's health. Lucas's own health problems were more easily managed from a town residence, and allowed him more conveniently to maintain his prolific journalistic output, pamphlet publication and political activities, as well as a Dublin medical practice. Little is known of the latter, although he is known to have advised Margaret Humphrey, of Dublin Castle, in 1769, to visit a German spa to relieve her medical condition.³⁹

Lucas's combative attitude toward the opinion of other physicians brought him into conflict with the Irish medical fraternity. In the 1760s, Irish doctor John Rutty (1697-1775) and Lucas had been involved in a bitter pamphlet war over the relative merits of Irish and European mineral waters.⁴⁰ Lucas's stout belief in the advantages of immersive treatment under controlled circumstances over either sea-bathing or drinking the waters persuaded him, in the months before his death, to involve himself in the administrative creation and regulatory plans for a proposed new public baths in Dublin. In this venture, Lucas appeared to have gained the support of several committees of physicians and surgeons, suggesting that Lucas had finally realised a measure of acceptance by Dublin's medical establishment.⁴¹ The proposed public bathing establishment was situated on Bachelor's Walk and operated from 1771 to the early 1780s. It was forced out of existence when the Wide Streets Commissioners required the demolition of part of Bachelor's Walk in order to provide space for development at the base of Sackville Street. An examination into the design of these baths can usefully contribute to our scant knowledge of eighteenth-century public bathing facilities in Georgian Dublin.

DR ACHMET AND THE DUBLIN (ROYAL) BATHS

IN HIS 1756 TREATISE, LUCAS RECOMMENDED THAT 'BATHS OR WATER HOSPITALS' SHOULD be established in major cities, open to the poor, and offering 'light, simple diet, clean beds, baths of all kinds and water simple and variously medicated of different degrees



7 – Copy of an engraving, ‘Dr Achmet in the Character of the Sultan’

(courtesy Royal College of Physicians of Ireland)

of heat and cold’.⁴² In the last years of his life, Charles Lucas became involved in promoting a bathing establishment in Dublin which would provide similar benefits to those he had praised at Harwich in the 1750s. The man who carried forward the project after his mentor’s death was an intriguing individual who called himself Dr Achmet Borumborad (spelled variously). Reports which claimed to identify this man as an Irishman named Patrick Joyce, who successfully impersonated a Turk for some years, appear to have originated solely from the pen of Sir Jonah Barrington (1760-1834), and while subsequent commentators and historians agree on the raconteur’s unreliability, most have been content to repeat his fabrications.⁴³ The Irishman supposedly named Patrick Joyce has never been identified, and Barrington’s amusing anecdotes about the bath-owner remain unverified. Admittedly, ‘Dr’ Achmet, whose name has been noted in the records of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland,

was not identified as a qualified doctor. It appears that he appropriated the exotic name Achmet Borumborad, often conveniently shortened to ‘Dr Achmet’, and indulged, following some unverified period of residence in Turkey, in wearing oriental attire as an everyday habit. The wearing of oriental dress was an affectation widely adopted in the eighteenth century, one to which many Grand Tourist portraits can attest. Portrait painter Jean-Étienne Liotard (1702-1789) painted many such period portraits, including, in 1738, that of Irish cleric, traveller and writer, Richard Pococke (1704-1765). Liotard himself, after his own stay in Constantinople, elected to continue wearing oriental dress for the rest of his life. An engraving captioned ‘Dr Achmet in the Character of the Sultan’, shows the man as he appeared in a fundraising performance in 1780 (Plate 7). Achmet had agreed to assume the title role for a single performance at the Crow Street theatre for the specific aim of raising funds for his baths.⁴⁴

Achmet possessed influential friends across the social scale in Dublin; a useful acquaintance, Francis Andrews (c.1718-1774), provost of Trinity College Dublin, introduced him to Thomas Robinson, the British Ambassador to Spain.⁴⁵ Andrews explained: ‘Dr. Achmet is a tall handsome Irish man and he wears the Turban and a Turkish habit, because he thinks they become him and draw the attention of the Publick.’⁴⁶ Despite this

eccentric sartorial habit, no disrespect or mistrust of Achmet was expressed in contemporary records of his business affairs or in his correspondence. Early subscription list for his baths demonstrated Achmet's financial support from viceroys Townshend and Harcourt, their wives and members of 'the Nobility and the Gentry, who have so generously contributed', as he noted.⁴⁷ Amusing as they may be, Barrington's anecdotes do not warrant regard as a source of historical veracity. In his judicial career Barrington suffered the unique sanction of being removed from the bench by royal decree as a result of proven misappropriations of court funds between 1805 and 1810.⁴⁸ Bankrupt, he was forced to live abroad for much of his life in order to escape creditors and other victims of his dubious business practices.

This writer prefers to assume that Dr Achmet was a genuine entrepreneur, whose origins, habits of dress and nominative appropriation matter little, and to examine his achievements. Over the course of the summer 1771, Achmet's proposals for public baths were examined by members of a committee from the College of Physicians.⁴⁹ In 1771 a building on the Bachelor's Walk was presented for the approval of more than fifty doctors and professors of surgery, among whom was Dr John Rutty, a rival of Dr Lucas on the topic of spa waters. Achmet convinced them of his credentials for managing such a bathing establishment. In August 1771 the committee certified that:

[they had] viewed Mr Achmet's Baths on the Batchelor's-Quay [*sic*] and that they appear to us very methodically constructed, that the house is elegantly and completely furnished, and the whole well calculated for Public Utility. And as we have observed, this useful Undertaking has been attended with great expence, we judge the Founder justly intitled to all Public encouragement.⁵⁰

While the committee referred to 'Mr' Achmet rather than 'Dr Achmet', there is no indication of disapproval of the man or his venture. In the light of his earlier lengthy disagreement with Lucas concerning 'the mineral composition of Bath Waters', it is significant that John Rutty readily accepted the scheme promoted by Lucas.⁵¹ Rutty raised no doubts concerning the venture, or with Achmet or Lucas's part in it. Shortly after Lucas's death, Achmet published a whole section of *An essay on waters*, by Lucas, and included his own proposals for the establishment of an 'elegant and commodious baths in the City of Dublin', which would contain 'all the various kinds of baths both simple or medicated, cold, temperate, tepid or warm, with stoves and vapour baths, pumps or water brushes, with convenient chambers'.⁵² The pamphlet described his experience in treating disorders since 1769, and noted those occasions on which Achmet had been able to offer Lucas advice.⁵³ At the following meeting, chaired by Lucas, the committee drew up 'Regulations and Rates for the Baths'.⁵⁴ Achmet followed up the physicians' suggestion that he should draw on 'public encouragement' by applying for funds from Parliament on four occasions between 1773 and 1781.⁵⁵ In 1773 he was granted £393 for construction costs, and, in 1775, a further £500 for work he had undertaken to expand 'his original plan' by making the baths 'of more general Use, and to extend [their] Benefits to the



8 – John Rocque, *AN EXACT SURVEY OF THE CITY AND SUBURBS OF DUBLIN, 1756: north-east sheet (detail), Sackville Street to Bachelor's Walk* (courtesy Trinity College Dublin)

quay-side Bachelor's Walk. The Dublin city map which John Rocque published in 1756 shows a detailed representation of the individual lots and yards on 'Batchelors [*sic*] Walk' at that date (Plate 8).⁶⁰ The Commissioners held hearings from 1782 to discuss compulsory purchase and financial compensation for owners whose property lay in the path of destruction. Records of these hearings provide clues concerning the construction and ornamentation of the Dublin Baths.⁶¹ The premises of stone mason Simon Vierpyl (c.1725-1810), who had settled in Dublin by 1758 from Rome at Lord Charlemont's request, and those of his next-door neighbour to the west, Dr Achmet, were the most valuable of those in Bachelor's Walk, and determining the compensation due to them took considerable time.⁶² Vierpyl had first acquired a lease to the house, no. 41 Bachelor's Walk, and an adjoining stoneyard, as early as the late 1760s.⁶³ He later leased part of these premises to 'Dr Achmet Borumbaded [*sic*], Doctor of Physick', including a house and an adjacent piece of ground on the east side which had been part of his stoneyard, which 'continued in front to the quay'.⁶⁴ Between 1770 and 1780 Achmet developed and later remodelled the Dublin Baths in order to satisfy a perceived change in clientele.

Vierpyl's expertise as a craftsman and his known connection with Charlemont's

poorer Class of people'.⁵⁶ In 1777 Achmet repeated his claim that he had spent more than £4,000 on the baths, of which he owed tradesmen 'upwards of £2,000', and was granted a further £500. In 1779 he made no claim, but in 1781 a final payment of £1,100 was awarded.⁵⁷ Regrettably, the tide of Dublin's architectural development was set to sweep away all traces of his venture.

A desire by Dublin planners to create 'a wide and convenient way, street or passage from Essex Bridge to the Castle of Dublin passage', expressed as early as 1757, did not lead to many immediate changes to Dublin's architecture.⁵⁸ The active agency of John Beresford and Luke Gardiner, newly appointed to the Wide Streets Commission in 1782, spurred plans for Drogheda Street to be widened to the width of Sackville Street Mall and extended southwards to the River Liffey, where a new bridge would be constructed.⁵⁹ Such plans required the demolition of a number of premises south of Abbey Street, and slicing through the eastern section of the

improvements at Marino and Rutland Square gave his testimony weight when giving evidence on Achmet's behalf. He bore witness to the several very expensive alterations made by 'the bath's proprietor' over the previous ten years. An initial extraction of tons of earth had been required, which had lowered the ground level of the premises by seven or ten feet. Large timber piles, 'supported by Quarry stones', were then driven to form a foundation strong enough to support the 'Great Cold Bath'. Within this subterranean space, a great reservoir was installed with the pumping equipment required to draw water from the River Liffey. Lucas's advice was followed closely in the design and layout of the technical equipment in the basement. The reduced level of the ground allowed the equipment to function similarly to that of Harwich Baths, as described in Lucas's treatise.⁶⁵ Water was drawn up from the Liffey at high tide, with waste probably discharged at low tide by way of the five underground wells, sinks and extensive guttering which carried water from the baths. Liffey water, not known for its purity, and brackish rather than salty, presented a further difficulty, of which there is no record of a solution. However, Achmet assured clients that the water in the communal cold bath was fully exchanged every twelve hours and the baths thoroughly scrubbed out 'with brushes'.⁶⁶ Experimental canal designer Davies Duckart (d.c.1780), was among the earliest subscribers to the Dublin Baths.⁶⁷ It is intriguing to conjecture that this innovative engineer may have assisted Achmet in the hydraulic design for the baths, which, according to Achmet, were managed by a 'new invented apparatus, considered as a methodical system'.⁶⁸ Gustavus Hume, a prominent surgeon in Dublin and a client of the baths since 1775, where he had a 'frequent professional attendance', supported Achmet's claim that the main expenditure at the baths had been invested in technology and metalwork invisible from its exterior.⁶⁹

Over the following months, more than a dozen tradesmen and craftsmen were called upon to provide precise accounts of the materials, date and cost of the original construction and of alterations to the baths. Their testimonies present a picture of the variety of trades required to create a bathing establishment. John Wilson, who superintended much of the structural work underpinning the baths, claimed that it would take two years to replicate 'such a system of Bath and buildings' as those present on Bachelor's Walk.⁷⁰ The massive timber piles, to which Vierpyl referred, had required extensive 'Prop' work to support the upper part of the house. Twenty-one vaulted tunnels and arches of brick and masonry supported the building. Within the subterranean space, a set cooper had fitted 'the Large Reservoir, a large Cistern & the Curb for the Metal Boiler', the latter a large and essential item required to heat large volumes of water.⁷¹ An 'Engine for Raising Water' was installed by Thomas Bennett, a 'Brazier & Engineer', while Matilda Pearce, a pump-borer, described the 'sundry Pumps, and Pipes' supplied and installed in Dr Achmet's baths 'since the commencement of the Baths to this day'.⁷² An iron pan round the 'Cold Bath', and an iron door were of wrought iron, while, in 1773, whitesmiths supplied 'Ironwork for the Pendulum to work the double Pumps'.⁷³ Mrs Colles's brass foundry business had supplied goods between 1776 and 1780, and her foundry foreman, John Rowland, was able to recognise and accurately value these items at the baths, since 'he

made most of them'.⁷⁴ The Commissioners demanded that each tradesman's account was supported by a senior practitioner of his trade, and their scrutiny reveals further details of the interior decoration through several craft workers' testimonies.

The first floor was designed and furnished to a high standard. The walls of the reception rooms and Achmet's personal accommodation were painted and papered, and decorated with stucco-work, verified by measurer Thomas Gorman.⁷⁵ The stucco, by the plasterer Robert West, who asserted that 'the most part of the Work' had been executed by himself, pronounced that his bill of £154 10 9½d represented fair value.⁷⁶ West, a speculative builder, is known for his earlier stucco-work on a number of Dublin houses, including elaborate work executed at no. 20 Lower Dominick Street, where he lived between 1758 and 1760.⁷⁷ At a later hearing, West attempted to claim further payment for work he completed for Achmet.⁷⁸ It is particularly interesting to discover that West was still practising as a stuccadore in the 1770s, since he was not previously known to have produced work later than 1765, and it is unfortunate that no example of his later work survives.⁷⁹ According to his testimony, West was assisted in the execution of this work, leaving open the possibility that his brother John was also employed. James Wilder painted the first floor and was paid £105 19s 9½d some time before 1774, while James Daniel, a paper-hanger, papered Dr Achmet's rooms on several occasions between 1774 and 1781. Mark Laidman, Vierpyl's assistant, described fitting a purple marble bath, purchased for the exorbitant sum of £53 6s 2d, which 'could not be removed without 'breaking it in several pieces and would not be worth a guinea if removed'.⁸⁰ Achmet proudly described this porphyry marble bath as 'three times the size of any heretofore made'.⁸¹ The luxurious item, clearly reserved for the most distinguished visitors, was provided with attached apartments, 'lighted with wax', available at one guinea per visit or six guineas for a week's use. The precise location of the Bremen flagging and the 'six Portland Stone Corbells', mentioned by Laidman, has not been determined, although it is probable that they decorated the reception rooms. As a final embellishment, trees, probably visible from the windows, were planted in the bathing establishment's yard.⁸²

Achmet assiduously courted any client who might have influence as part of his efforts to supplement takings at the baths and to provide funds for construction. One such client was the provost of Trinity College, Francis Andrews, who set up an arrangement for Achmet to trade in fancy fabrics with the British ambassador to Spain, Thomas Robinson, 2nd Baron Grantham (1738-1786).⁸³ After Andrews' death, Achmet managed to maintain this occasional trade in poplins and tabinets until Grantham was recalled in 1780, sweetening the business exchange with presents of foodstuffs from Ireland.⁸⁴ Always eager to bolster his status with Grantham, Achmet forwarded a note sent to him by Viscount George Townshend (1724-1807) at the end of his tenure as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1772, referring to the royal patent which he had been instrumental in securing for Achmet.⁸⁵ Thereafter, Achmet addressed his correspondence to Grantham as written from the 'Royal Baths', Dublin. Despite this permit, Achmet referred to the 'Poor Baths', when appealing for charitable contributions, while, by 1782, he was content to

accept the more neutral usage of ‘Dublin Baths’ from the Wide Streets Commissioners.⁸⁶ In 1776 Achmet boasted to Grantham that his bathing establishment had attracted financial support not only ‘through the bounty of Parliament’, who honoured [him] with £500 in this last session’, but also ‘through the Patronage of some of the first Ladys in this Kingdom’.⁸⁷ That year, a committee of titled ladies, headed by the Duchess of Leinster and including the Countess of Charlemont and the wives of Luke Gardiner and John Beresford, had organised a ball which raised £400 towards the debts that Achmet had accumulated through his provision of ‘an Institution that affords relief, Health & cleanliness to all ranks and degrees of People’.⁸⁸ Despite this encouragement, and that of the medical ‘Faculty’ who pronounced his baths ‘as happily executed for elegance and convenience as any in Europe’, Achmet could not garner enough custom from the social arbiters of Dublin to support and improve the concern.⁸⁹ He therefore commenced a comprehensive refurbishment of the baths in 1777, aiming to serve ‘the Poor only, during our summer months’, a season when many of the elite had departed to their country houses. Above the elegant rooms of the first floor, the upper three floors were adapted to cater for simpler bathing and accommodation needs, with the provision of individual bathrooms and dressing rooms equipped with beds.⁹⁰ Patrick Shallaway, a bath attendant of ten years’ standing at the Dublin Baths, testified that in the refurbishment of these floors, all the original ‘tubs’, except two, were replaced by ‘a new set erected in their place on a better principle’.⁹¹ In the winter season of 1780, Achmet appeared, ‘for the benefit of the Poor Baths’, in the title role at a special performance of *The Sultan*, a play, with songs, then playing at the Theatre Royal on Crow Street (Plate 7).⁹² Tickets for the event were issued by Achmet at the ‘Royal Baths, Bachelor’s Walk’.

In 1783 the Commissioners presented a binding agreement to Achmet, as the proprietor of the Dublin Baths, with ‘the sum of £3,515 16s 6d’ as full compensation for the compulsory purchase, provided he agreed to continue to reside at the premises until 7th April 1786 without further payment of rent, at which time he was to surrender the property to the Commissioners.⁹³ He agreed, and between November 1784 and September 1785, collected several payments.⁹⁴ It appears that the baths may have continued to operate throughout the lengthy period of this review, since, in a surprising request of late 1785, Achmet was ‘desired to take care of them [the baths] for the use of the Commissioners’.⁹⁵ The quality of the decoration evidently persuaded the Wide Streets Commissioners to make use of the facility themselves, and to compensate the proprietor appropriately for his efforts and expense.

No further information on the Dublin Baths is available, although its demolition had certainly occurred by 1794 when construction commenced on the Gandon-designed Carlisle Bridge.⁹⁶ Achmet’s neighbour, the stonemason Simon Vierpyl, surrendered to the Commissioners possession of both his house and his interest in the baths premises in 1784, and by July 1785 agreed that all but £1,000 of his £2,734 compensation payment could remain in the hands of the Wide Streets Commissioners for their bridge-building project.⁹⁷ He was able to collect regular sums in interest on that loan for several years. It

is notable that the compensation granted to Achmet for the leased premises of the baths was considerably greater than that granted to Vierpyl for his interest in both plots of ground on Bachelor's Walk, whereas many householders on Bachelor's Walk were recompensed with a few pounds only.⁹⁸

Although Achmet strove to make his baths attractive to all classes of bather, public funds were available to him mainly as a provider of public baths for the poor. To create an establishment worthy of Lucas's explicit intentions, funds were required to supplement takings but subscriptions declined after initial enthusiasm. Exporting fine fabrics to Spain appeared an opportunity to raise funds but it proved a temporary measure. Hoping for future patronage within Dublin, Achmet was delighted to relay to Grantham a rumour he had directly from Lord Charlemont, in 1780, that Grantham might be appointed the next Viceroy of Ireland.⁹⁹ Charlemont presumably knew that Achmet was in correspondence with Grantham, and wished the ambassador to be acquainted with the Dublin rumour. However, Grantham had already been recalled from Spain by this date, and the Earl of Carlisle, rather than Grantham, succeeded Buckinghamshire as Viceroy. Moreover, Achmet freely admitted that the sole purpose of Charlemont's visit to the baths had been to impart this rumour, dashing any hope that Charlemont might be proved to have been a frequenter of the Liffey-side baths. Why Charlemont preferred a bathing establishment on the banks of the Tolka to an establishment which had achieved a royal patent in 1772 remains open to conjecture. Achmet's porphyry bath, so reminiscent, one might have thought, of Classical Rome, was apparently an insufficient lure. It is possible that the Ballybough baths were made available to Charlemont on his regular Saturday visits in a private capacity, whereas the Dublin Baths were bound by their public function to remain open to all.

The precise whereabouts of Charlemont's bathing, whether conducted within or nearby his Marino demesne, remains uncertain. In this re-examination of bathing provision in Georgian Dublin, this writer concludes that 'Dr' Achmet Borumborad was an enthusiastic and well-intentioned man, who maintained his imposture with remarkable aplomb for many years and through adroit dealings within Dublin society. The tide of development at the end of the eighteenth century swept away his Dublin Baths, but in the decade or so during which they survived, the ideals envisioned by Charles Lucas on behalf of the Dublin poor made a brief appearance, brought to a degree of fruition by an energetic but sadly misrepresented entrepreneur.

ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

Achmet, <i>Report</i>	Achmet Borumborad, <i>A Report of the Cases relieved and cured in the Baths appropriated for the Reception of the Poor</i> (Dublin, 1777)
Delany Correspondence	Lady Llanover (ed.), <i>The autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany</i> , 6 vols (London, 1861)
HMC, Charlemont	R.M. Gilbert (ed.) <i>The Manuscripts and Correspondence of James 1st Earl of Charlemont</i> , Historic Manuscripts Commission, <i>12th Report</i> , Appendix 10, and <i>13th Report</i> , Appendix 8, 2 vols (London, 1891-94)
Lucas, <i>Essay on waters</i>	Charles Lucas, <i>An essay on waters, in three parts, treating I. Of simple waters, II. Of cold, medicated waters, III. Of natural baths</i> (London, 1756)
Lucas MSS	Bedfordshire and Luton Archives and Record Service, Wrest Park, Lucas Manuscripts
RD	Registry of Deeds, Henrietta Street, Dublin
RIA, Charlemont MSS	Charlemont Manuscripts, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin
WSC, Minute Book	Dublin City Archives, Minute Books of the Wide Streets Commissioners, 50 vols, 1781-83

- ¹ HMC, Charlemont, I.
- ² Jacqueline Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists: Dublin civic politics and Irish Protestant patriotism, 1600-1844* (Oxford, 1997), 83-85; *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, 19 vols (Dublin, 1902), IX, 463-65, Appendix V.
- ³ Lucas, *Essay on waters*.
- ⁴ *ibid.*, 345. Aix-la-Chapelle, or Aken (now Aachen), was a spa town on the Belgian-German border.
- ⁵ Ruth Musielak, *Charlemont's Marino: portrait of a landscape* (OPW, Dublin, 2014).
- ⁶ HMC, Charlemont, I, Lord Charlemont's memoirs of his political life, 1755-1783, 9.
- ⁷ HMC, Charlemont, I, Correspondence 1745-1783 John Parker to Charlemont, 22nd May 1756. Charlemont's illness was also known in northern Ireland, HMC, Charlemont, I, Samuel Blacker to Charlemont, 3rd April 1756.
- ⁸ *ibid.*, Adderley to Charlemont, 21st October 1756, 228. Adderley noted correspondence from Dr Barber dated 3rd and 7th October.
- ⁹ Royal Irish Academy, Charlemont MS 12.R.9, letter 60, contains a postscript not included in published correspondence.
- ¹⁰ Delany Correspondence, III, 12th December 1756. Dean Patrick Delany (1686-1768) and Mary Delany (1700-1788), lived at Delville, near Glasnevin, county Dublin, two miles west of Charlemont's Marino demesne, although in 1756 they were resident in England.
- ¹¹ A.C. Elias (ed.), *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington*, 3 vols (University of Georgia Press, Athens and London, 1997) II, 391-93. Enamel painter and portraitist Rupert Barber (c.1719-c.1767), younger brother of Dr Constantine Barber (c.1714-1783), married Bridget Wilson, niece of Dean Patrick Delany. Mary Delany enjoyed a close relationship with the painter's household.
- ¹² Delany Correspondence, III, Mount Panther, 9th September 1758.
- ¹³ J.D.H. Widdess, *History of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland, 1654-1963* (Edinburgh, 1963) 242. Dr Constatine Barbor, or Barber, was elected president of the college in 1754, 1764 and 1769.
- ¹⁴ HMC, Charlemont, I, Correspondence 1745-1783, Parker to Charlemont, 4th October 1758. Abbé

Grant's news was then contradicted by one freeman who had heard that Charlemont found no improvement at Harwich.

- ¹⁵ Lucas, *Essay on waters*, 87-89.
- ¹⁶ HMC, Charlemont, I, Correspondence 1745-1783, Lucas in London to Charlemont in Dublin, 22nd November 1759. Lucas enquired after Charlemont's health.
- ¹⁷ Delany Correspondence, III, 566, Delville, 22nd September 1759.
- ¹⁸ HMC, Charlemont, I, Memoirs, 1755-1783
- ¹⁹ HMC, Charlemont, I, Correspondence 1745-1783, Lucas, London, to Charlemont, Dublin, 23rd December 1760.
- ²⁰ *ibid.*, Lucas, London, to Charlemont, Dublin, 10th and 12th February 1761. Between 1760 and February 1761, Lucas discovered that the outlawry and disenfranchisement were invalid since they had been incorrectly conducted.
- ²¹ Seán J. Murphy, *A Forgotten Patriot: Charles Lucas, 1713-1771* (3rd ed., Bray, Co Wicklow, 2015), <http://tinyurl.com/lucaspatriotdoctor>, 64. The Court of King's Bench dismissed his outlawry and the Freedom of the City was restored on 21st May 1761; *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 25th April-9th May 1761.
- ²² RD, vol. 220, 11th November 1762, no. 144314, a lease between Joseph Dioderici and Dr Charles Lucas for a term of sixty years and three lives, including that of Lucas's wife, Penelope Catherwood Lucas, and his brother-in-law or nephew, Samuel Heatley, 130-32.
- ²³ RD, vol. 133, 15th June 1748, no. 89156, Joseph Dioderici leased more than thirty-six acres of fields or meadows, which included the 'Jewes field', the three lives including that of his wife, Frances, *née* Elrington, and his only son, Henry. RD, vol 169, no. 113508, by July 1754, when Dioderici re-leased the property, he noted the house and garden he had created. James Wren, 'From Ballybough to Scurlogue's Bridge', *Dublin Historical Record*, vol. 37, no. 1, 1983, 16.
- ²⁴ Francis Elrington Ball, 'Southern Fingal: The Parish of Clonturk', pt. 6, *A History of the County Dublin: the people, parishes and antiquities from the earliest times to the close of the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1920), 178. Ball incorrectly identified as Lucas's residence a larger property on Allinson's Lane, RD, vol. 313, lease no. 209028, 372. The property, later known as Croyden Park, directly adjoined the western boundary of the Marino demesne.
- ²⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, IX, no. 53, 28th-31st December 1771.
- ²⁶ Musielak, *Charlemont's Marino*, for a fuller discussion on the development of Charlemont's landscaped designs at Marino, with their available views.
- ²⁷ *ibid.*, 69-70.
- ²⁸ RD, vol. 133, 15th June 1748, no. 89156, William Phillips to Joseph Dioderici; vol. 169, no. 113508, July 1754, Joseph Dioderici to William Fleming.
- ²⁹ RD, vol. 249, lease no. 163369, Robert Browne to Charles Lucas, 18th May 1766, was a small strip of less than two acres, also situated on Allinson's Lane. Lucas paid £27 to lease this property from the widow of its previous tenant. It may be conjectured that it was intended for his eldest son, Henry Lucas. Wren, 'From Ballybough to Scurlogue's Bridge', *op. cit.*, 19.
- ³⁰ W.B. Stanford and E.J. Finopoulos (eds), *The travels of Lord Charlemont in Greece & Turkey, 1749, with drawings by Richard Dalton* (London, 1984) 230-31.
- ³¹ James Gandon (jr), and T.J. Mulvany, *The Life of James Gandon, Esq.* (Hodges and Smith, Dublin, 1846) 53, n.80. James Gandon moved to Dublin in 1780, and to Mecklenburgh Street in 1782, close to the site of his first commission in Dublin, the Custom House. John W de Courcy, *The Liffey in Dublin* (1996) 8.
- ³² Dublin City Archives, Wide Streets Commissioners' Maps, maps 257 and 311, a proposed plan for

- 'opening the avenue' between Clonliffe Road and the North Wall, drawn up by surveyors Thomas Sherrard & Co, 1823. A handwritten note records, 'one rood of ground ... claimed by Mr John McKenny'. John Rocque (c.1709-1762), *An Actual Survey of the County of Dublin* (1760).
- ³³ RD, vol. 342, no. 230183, Cooper to Kenney, 17th December 1781, by the terms of the Will of Thomas Coote (d.1771), proved 3rd April 1775, his executor James Cooper set 'all that Bathing House at Ballybough Bridge with one rood of ground adjoining same' to one Richard Kenney, a labourer, leased at £12 10s per annum, 314-15. Although leases for the site can be traced back to the 1750s, this lease contains the earliest reference to a Bathing House.
- ³⁴ HMC, Charlemont, I, Memoirs, 1755-1783, 36-37. James Caulfield, 4th Viscount Charlemont was created 1st Earl of Charlemont in 1763.
- ³⁵ Murphy, *A Forgotten Patriot*, 68.
- ³⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 13th August 1765.
- ³⁷ *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, XI, appendix, 17th January 1766, 472.
- ³⁸ RD, vol. 286, no. 189456, 7th June 1769; RD, vol. 286, no. 189557, 5th April 1771, 451-52 and vol. 291, no. 189458, 5th April 1771, 43. The three memorials were registered in January 1772, after Lucas's death, apparently in an attempt to regularise the lease arrangements for a property in Henry Street. *Wilson's Directory* (1768), lists Lucas as a resident of Henry Street, 84.
- ³⁹ James Kelly, 'Drinking the Waters: Balneotherapeutic Medicine in Ireland, 1660-1850', *Studia Hibernica*, 35, 2008-2009, 126.
- ⁴⁰ Kelly, 'Drinking The Waters', for an account of the Rutty's and Lucas's dispute, 125.
- ⁴¹ *Freeman's Journal*, notices from 18th April to 19th August 1771 report on committee meetings of physicians and surgeons on Dublin Bath's plans.
- ⁴² Lucas, *Essay on waters*, I, 231-32, quoted in Murphy, *A Forgotten Patriot*, 55-56.
- ⁴³ Jonah Barrington, *Personal sketches of his own time*, two vols (Dublin, 1827, and many later editions). The Achmet story is repeated, *inter alia*, in the *Irish Times*, 23rd March 1929; John W. de Courcy, *The Liffey in Dublin* (Dublin, 1996), 41; Roy Porter, *Health for Sale: quackery in England, 1650-1850* (Manchester, 1989); and Kelly 'Drinking the Waters', 134.
- ⁴⁴ *Hibernian Journal*, or *Chronicle of Liberty*, X, no. 16, 4th-6th February 1780.
- ⁴⁵ Thomas Robinson, 2nd Baron Grantham (1738-1786), British Ambassador to Spain, 1771-79; Francis Andrews, provost of Trinity College Dublin, 1758-74.
- ⁴⁶ Lucas MSS, L30/14/7/16, 16th July 1773, Andrews, Dublin, to Grantham, Madrid.
- ⁴⁷ Achmet, *Report*. The pamphlet contains subscription lists 1771-1776, accounts 1771-1776, and indexed testimonials from 138 clients, 1774-1776.
- ⁴⁸ James Quinn, 'Sir Jonah Barrington', in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography, from the earliest times up to the year 2002*, 9 vols (Cambridge University Press and Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 2009) I, 308-09.
- ⁴⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 18th, 25th and 30th April, 11th May, 31st August 1771.
- ⁵⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 25th-28th December 1771.
- ⁵¹ John Rutty, *A methodical synopsis of mineral waters* (London, 1757); Charles Lucas, *An analysis of Dr Rutty's methodical synopsis of mineral waters* (London, 1757); John Rutty, *The argument of sulphur or no sulphur in waters discussed* (London, 1762); Charles Lucas, *A cursory examination of the methodical synopsis of mineral waters, etc* (Dublin, 1763).
- ⁵² Charles Lucas, M.D. *The theory and uses of baths, being an extract from the Essay on waters, with marginal notes, by Dr. Achmet* (Dublin, 1772), 89.
- ⁵³ *ibid.*, 73, 74, 81-83. On one occasion, Achmet advised that salt water could be created by adding rock salt to fresh water.

- ⁵⁴ *ibid.*, 21st August 1771, 94.
- ⁵⁵ George Grierson (ed.), *The journals of the House of Commons of the kingdom of Ireland* [4th series], IX, 1797; Abraham Bradley (ed.), *The journals of the House of Commons of the kingdom of Ireland* [2nd series], XVIII, 1778, and Abraham Bradley and Abraham Bradley King (eds), *The journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland* [3rd series], XX, 1782. Multiple entries record the progress of Achmet's petitions.
- ⁵⁶ Grierson, *Journals of the House of Commons*, IX, 9th November 1773, 187, and 16th November 1775, 204.
- ⁵⁷ *ibid.*, 14th November 1777, 351, and XX, November 1781, 177.
- ⁵⁸ Edward McParland, 'The Wide Streets Commissioners: their importance for Dublin architecture in the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century', *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, XV, no. 1, 1-32. An Act of Parliament was passed in 1757, amended in 1759, 33 Geo II, ch. 15, which appointed a board of twenty-two Commissioners, including Thomas Adderley, for the purpose of creating an impressive approach to Dublin Castle.
- ⁵⁹ An Act of Parliament, 21 and 22 Geo III, ch. 17, in 1781-82, widened the remit of the Wide Streets Commissioners.
- ⁶⁰ John Rocque, *An exact survey of the city and suburbs of Dublin* (1756).
- ⁶¹ WSC, Minute Book IV.
- ⁶² Ruth Devine, 'Simon Vierpyl', in McGuire and Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, IX, 664-65. Vierpyl married Frances Dickson at St Andrew's church, Dublin, on 26th December 1758. In Dublin Vierpyl first acted as Charlemont's project supervisor and stone mason for the Casino at Marino, and later as a property speculator.
- ⁶³ WSC, Minute Book IV, a lease of 1st August 1778 'from Benjamin Ball to Simon Vierpyle' was presented, 24th September 1782, 158. WSC, Minute Book IV, 9th October 1782, Richard Dowling testified that he had 'signed over to Vierpyl his interest in' those premises later occupied by Achmet, 'in 1768 or 1769', 174. RD, vol. 288, no. 184712, 5th February 1771, represents the earliest dated lease between Vierpyl and George Taylor for the premises later leased to Achmet, 11.
- ⁶⁴ RD, vol. 308, no. 206632, 26th February 1773, Simon Vierpyl, statuary, to Achmet Borumbadad, Doctor of Physick and Proprietor of the Dublin Baths on Bachelors Quay, 472-73.
- ⁶⁵ Lucas, *An Essay on waters*, 87-89.
- ⁶⁶ Achmet, *Report*, 85.
- ⁶⁷ John Logan, 'Dropped into this Kingdom from the clouds': the Irish career of Davis Dukart, architect and engineer, 1761-81', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, X (2007), 35-89; Davies Duckart (various spellings) was the first engineer working in England or Ireland to employ inclined planes (rather than locks), as he did on the Tyrone canal; Achmet, *Report*, 72.
- ⁶⁸ Achmet, *Report*, 85.
- ⁶⁹ WSC, Minute Book IV, 2nd October 1782, 168-69. Gustavus Hume (1730-1812), a Dublin surgeon, who, reputedly, brought architect Richard Castle to Ireland.
- ⁷⁰ *ibid.*, 6th December 1782, 225.
- ⁷¹ *ibid.*, 16th October 1782, 188.
- ⁷² *ibid.*, 23rd October 1782, 189.
- ⁷³ *ibid.*, 198.
- ⁷⁴ *ibid.*
- ⁷⁵ *ibid.*, 6th December 1782, 226.
- ⁷⁶ *ibid.*, 227.
- ⁷⁷ Richard Ireland, 'Peculiar Plaster: recent conservation of Irish eighteenth-century modelled plaster',

- in Christine Casey and Conor Lucey (eds), *Decorative Plasterwork in Ireland and Europe: ornament and the Early Modern interior* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2012), 190-91.
- ⁷⁸ WSC, Minute Book V, 20th June 1783, 50.
- ⁷⁹ Daniel Beaumont, 'Robert West', in McGuire and Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, IX, 857. West was a stuccodore and Dublin property developer, probably born in Dublin between 1720 and 1730. He should not be confused with Robert West (d.1770), an artist and draughtsman, who was master of the Dublin Society's Drawing School between 1757 and 1763.
- ⁸⁰ WSC, Minute book IV, 6th December 1782, 228. Achmet, *Report*, notes that the New Marble Bath, and adjoining apartments would be available shortly.
- ⁸¹ Achmet, *Report*, 88.
- ⁸² WSC, Minute Book IV, 7th February 1783. Observation by Patrick Shallaway, long-time bath attendant at the Dublin Baths, 248.
- ⁸³ Thomas Robinson, 2nd Baron Grantham (1738-1786), British Ambassador to Spain, 1771-79. Francis Andrews (c.1718-74), provost of Trinity College Dublin, 1758-74.
- ⁸⁴ Lucas MSS, L30/14/2/20, Achmet, Royal Baths, Dublin, to Grantham, Madrid, 31st May 1780.
- ⁸⁵ *ibid.*, L30/14/2/12b. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, George Townshend, to Achmet, Dublin, 22nd October 1772; an enclosure in L30/14/2/12a, Achmet to Grantham, 17th January 1777.
- ⁸⁶ Public Records Office, London, Calendar of Home Office Papers of the reign of George III, 1760-1775, 2nd October 1722, item 1483, 556-57.
- ⁸⁷ Lucas MSS, L30/14/2/6, Achmet to Grantham, 26th February 1776.
- ⁸⁸ Achmet, *Report*, listed the Duchess of Leinster, the Countesses of Charlemont, Belvedere, Ely and Ross, Lady Araminta Monk, Lady Elizabeth Clements, Mrs Beresford, Mrs Gardiner, Mrs LaTouche and Mrs Richardson, as 'Patronesses of the Ball' held at Dublin Castle, which he hoped would become an annual event. In 1776 Achmet hoped for funds to adapt the baths to a more inclusive concern, 78.
- ⁸⁹ Lucas MSS, L30/14/2/12a, Dr Achmet, Royal Baths, Dublin, to Grantham, Madrid, 17th January 1777.
- ⁹⁰ WSC, Minute Book IV, 7th February 1783, 237.
- ⁹¹ WSC, Minute Book IV, 9th October 1782, 171-72. Patrick Shallaway later became proprietor of his own bathing concern.
- ⁹² *Hibernian Journal*, or *Chronicle of Liberty*, X, no. 16, February 1780, 4-6. The single benefit performance was held on 18th February 1780.
- ⁹³ WSC, Minute Book V, 26th March 1784, 98; RD, vol. 354, Borumbadad to Wide Streets Commissioners, no. 240576, 14th April 1784, 552.
- ⁹⁴ WSC, Minute Book VI, 16th September 1785, 179.
- ⁹⁵ *ibid.*, 3th October 1785, 187.
- ⁹⁶ <http://two.archiseek.com/2010/1880-oconnell-bridge-dublin>.
- ⁹⁷ WSC, Minute Book V, 21st May 1784, 131-32; RD, vol. 361, Vierpyl to Wide Streets Commissioners, 6th May 1784, no. 241534.116.
- ⁹⁸ RD, vol. 361, no. 241518, 11th June 1784, following the release of his house to the Wide Streets Commissioners, Simon Vierpyl leased a house at no. 1 Bachelor's Walk, 103. RD, vol. 354, no. 240589, 18th February 1782, Patrick Shallaway, described as a dealer, also leased premises on Bachelor's Walk, 552.
- ⁹⁹ Lucas MSS, L30/14/2/20, Achmet, Royal Baths, Dublin, to Grantham, Madrid, 31st May 1780.