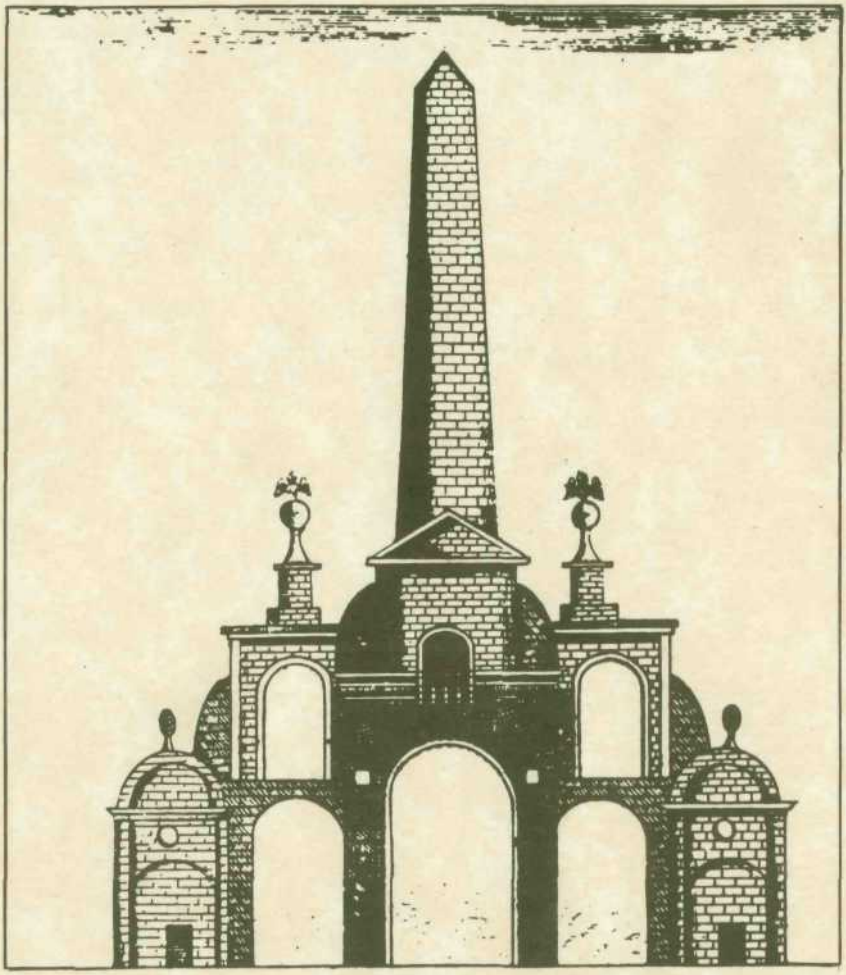

Bulletin of the
IRISH GEORGIAN SOCIETY

VOLUME XXXVI

1994

BULLETIN OF THE

IRISH GEORGIAN SOCIETY 1994

VOLUME XXXVI

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THE MAIN GUARD, CLONMEL. THE REDISCOVERY OF A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY COURT HOUSE.

by Margaret Quinlan

The Main Guard stands in a prominent position in the centre of Clonmel, facing along the length of the main street and closing the vista as one approaches under the reconstructed west gate of the old walled town (Plate 1). To the south, along Sarsfield Street, the ground falls sharply to the quayside of the river Suir. Little was known of the building until recently, namely that it dated from 1674/5, had once been arcaded, and was converted to shops in the nineteenth century. Its original features were thought not to have survived apart from elements of the facades. However, an investigative study carried out in 1990 revealed that substantial parts of the seventeenth century building have survived, concealed within the later fabric.[1]

The Main Guard, as it came to be known, was commissioned as a court house for the palatinate by James Butler, 12th earl and 1st duke of Ormond, born in 1610 into one of the most powerful dynasties in the country.[2] The family had been granted the manor of Carrick by Edward 2nd in 1315, an earldom in November 1328, and, within seven days, the 'regalities and liberties of the County of Tipperary', later to be called the palatinate.[1] James was one of the Butlers of Kilcash, which was situated between Clonmel and Carrick and was later to give its name to the great eighteenth century lament 'Cad a dheanfaimid feasta gan adhmad…'.[4] James Butler's grandfather, Walter, 11th earl, was jailed by the king in a dispute over inheritance and deprived of his ancient palatinate rights. In 1619, Walter's son, Viscount Thurles, was drowned on a voyage to London to face charges of having garrisoned Kilkenny upon which the king ordered his son, James, the nine-year old heir, to be taken into the household of George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth and reared a royal ward of court and a protestant, unlike all others in his immediate family.[5]

James, 12th earl, was appointed viceroy in 1641, negotiated with the confederates, fought Cromwell and withdrew to exile in France with Charles 2nd. At the Restoration, he was plied with honours, made a duke in 1661, created viceroy for the second time, and most importantly in this context, had restored to him the palatinate rights of the County Tipperary. He was to be made viceroy for the third time in his long life between 1677 and 1685.

Historians credit Ormond with the grandeur of eighteenth-century Dublin.

Becket speaks of '...the taste and care with which he had supervised the early stages...' of the city's expansion.[6] Foster, though thinking of Ormond 'as curiously colourless', credits him with contributing the idea of a city whose buildings face onto the river and with 'ideas of grandeur... not only in streets, squares and immense public buildings but in a style of architecture' that transformed the capital.[7] Craig paints a picture of a realist, a most humane and cultured man, and a European. When he stepped on to the sands of Dublin Bay in July 1662, 'the Renaissance... had arrived in Ireland... and the Middle Ages were, at last, at an end'. He speaks of him 'as the presiding genius of the age' and as 'a unique figure in modern Irish history'.[8]

In spite of the appearance of wealth, Ormond was in constant financial difficulty and burdened by debts throughout his life. His own personal tastes were simple but he maintained his extended family almost on the old clan system and ran his households as courts. His wife, who managed the finances, complained 'We are forced into the expense of keeping a great table, not possible to be avoided, having daily the resort of all strangers and ambassadors and all the nobility besides'.[9] In terms of land, he and his wife directly controlled an estimated 85,000 statute acres, the running of which was a considerable task and involved a 'middle management' team of seventy-five people.[10] Ormond's chief agent was his half-brother George Mathew of Thomastown, who worked with the duchess to manage the estate and who had an office in Clonmel.

Before being replaced as viceroy in February 1669, Ormond had written that 'if I were to-morrow out of the government, I would if I could go to Ireland'." He may have needed time to devote to his own affairs but, in the event, he was obliged to remain in London for political and financial reasons. Although many letters were written with references to coming home, it was not until 27th June 1674 that the duke and duchess set sail for Waterford. It may have been at this time, before they returned to London in April 1675, that the Main Guard, as it is now known, was commissioned as the court house of the palatinate of County Tipperary.

Negotiations had begun with the corporation of Clonmel the previous year. A letter dated 22nd November 1673 concerning the building was written by the duke of Ormond to Sir William Davys.

> I send you enclosed the copy of a letter written by the Mayor of Clonmell in behalf of the Corporation desiring that the Courts of the Regalities of Tiperary may be kept there... I remember that you & I formerly had some discourse about the repairing the Towne House & prison there but do not find that any thing has been yet done...

The architect of the Main Guard is unknown and no early drawings are known to exist. Traditionally, it has been attributed to Wren, or said to be 'built after a design by Sir Christopher Wren.'[17] Craig is of the opinion that it is 'probably by Robinson"[8] while Loeber seems to feel that it probably is not, on grounds of 'its provincial style'.[19] It seems to me quite likely that Robinson had no connection with the building. There is a tendency to link Robinson with Ormond because one was surveyor-general and the other lord lieutenant. However, Ormond did not serve continuously. He was in office from 1662 to 1669 and again from 1677 to 1685. He was not in office in 1671 when Robinson succeeded Captain John Paine as surveyor-general. He spent the years from April 1669 to July 1674 in England without once returning to Ireland. Robinson is mentioned in a letter from George Mathew to Ormond on 25th September 1677, the year in which Ormond resumed office as Lord Lieutenant, and this may be the earliest connection between the two men.[2"] This was also the year in which Robinson travelled abroad and it may well have been the start of his professional involvement with Ormond.

Circumstantial evidence points to Captain James Archer as a more likely contender. He built a bridge in Carrick for Ormond in 1668 and in 1669 Ormond ordered improvements to his house in Clonmel and added that Captain Archer may be 'the fittest man to contrive the thing and oversee the work.'[21] Little is known about his activities between 1673 and 1677 when he became involved in plans for improvements at Rincurran (later Charles Fort) at Kinsale on Ormond's recommendation in order to assist Robinson. He had also worked in France and Jersey.

Both the duchess of Ormond and George Mathew, agent and half-brother to the duke, were involved in extensive building at the time - she at Kilkenny castle and Dunmore, and Mathew at Thomastown. She also took an interest in the running of the palatinate, forwarding the scale of fees from the English palatinate courts to George Mathew in May 1672 and encouraging him '...to form and regulate that of Tipperary, which as it is now, occasions a great charge unto my Lord far above the profits of it'."- Maybe the new building in 1675 came about partly as a result of the the suggested re-organisation and fee regulation. Knowledge of classical architecture was beginning to develop in Ireland and pattern books were becoming available. French and Flemish-influenced ranges were being built at Trinity College in the 1670's. Nothing is known of the builder or craftsmen employed at the Main Guard with the exception of well-carved initials, I. L. or J. L. on a roof truss. Perhaps there may be a connection with a James Letgeredge, joiner, employed 25 miles away at Lismore Castle in 1663.[23]

The Main Guard, as we know it today, is very different to the building which

was designed and built by persons unknown in the 1670's. The principal facade consists of five bays, three stories over street level, with a slated roof and octagonal turret topped by a lead cupola and a weather vane (Plate 1). At street level, there are attractive 19th century shopfronts to a spirit-grocery and a public house. The upper part of the facade is of coursed yellow sandstone with a classical cornice of blue limestone and a central floating pediment of sandstone with limestone sloping eaves. The pediment contains a large central clockface. The cornice is advanced about 3" at the pediment and again at both ends of the facade, as if for a central breakfront and a pilaster at either end. The wall under the cornice, however, does not change plane. The floating pediment and its relationship with the central three bays has been the subject of critical comment and is the reason for the general reluctance to attribute the design to Sir William Robinson. The slated roof is hipped to the north but meets the gable of the adjoining building to the south as a straight pitch. The windows are vertical sliding timber sashes with moulded stucco architraves. Some of the cills are moulded, similar, though not identical, to those at Kilmacurragh, County Wicklow, and at the Royal Hospital Kilmainham, and appear to be of limestone. Some are in short sections, butt-jointed together, and some seem to be made up to a bull-nosed section in mortar. The architraves and cills are painted. The north elevation, to Mitchell Street is rendered in roughcast, with patent reveals to windows and entrance door. These two facades are the only elevations visible from the street and they give a deceptively simple impression of the complicated assembly of buildings which lies behind.

The Main Guard is a large and very complex structure, measuring 10,000 square feet in area (Plate 2). It has been extensively altered over the centuries by addition, sub-division, and colonisation of, or by, adjoining buildings. It now consists of three distinct blocks, each clearly separately built, and connecting with each other in a labyrinthine fashion. The first of these is the front block, facing west, the facades of which have already been described. The second is an L-shaped return block to the rear extending eastward. The third comprises portions of a square block to the south-east of the return. The plan outline changes from level to level and floor levels change almost from room to room, particularly in the lower stories. There are seventy internal spaces in all, many of which have no natural light.

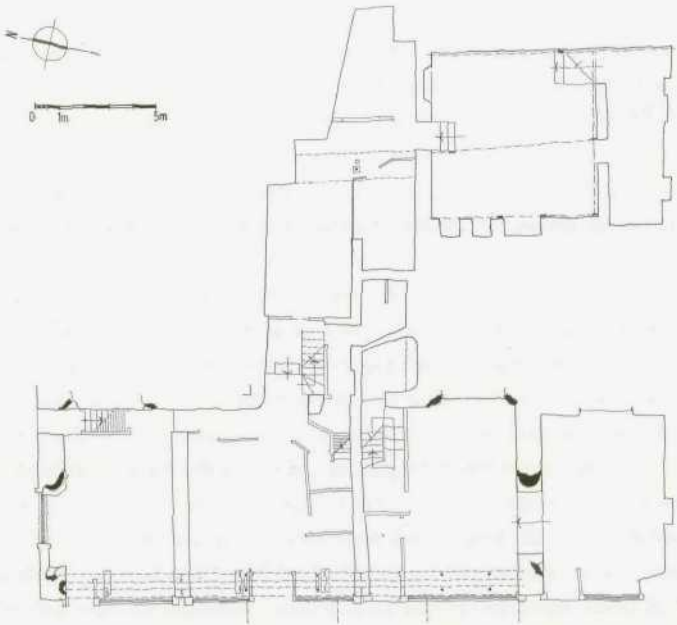
The front block is the remains of the much-altered original building and is the principal focus of this account. It is five stories high although only three are apparent from the exterior. It is divided vertically into three sections; that to the north and the central now interconnect at some levels, while the third section, to

the south, is accessible only from the street. One report on the building stated that the internal dividing walls and one of the staircases might be original.[24] Each section has its own staircase from ground floor to attic. All turned balusters are of nineteenth century type. The living accommodation on the first floor has high ceilings with decorative cornices and centrepieces, and some fine joinery to window and door surrounds. The bedrooms on the second floor have lower ceilings, plainer joinery and no decorative plasterwork. The attic floor is contained within the roofspace. The turret is timber built, houses the obsolete mechanism for the recently motorised clock and has a continuous timber seat running under the round-headed windows. The plastered domed and ribbed ceiling has one surviving rosette, similar to those in the first floor ceilings.

References to the original or to the altered building are few and far between and scant documentation has emerged to date. The date of the building is established by two carved stone panels built into the front wall bearing the arms of the town and of the duke of Ormond and the date 1675. A description of the site in a lease dated 9th October 1674 signed by George Mathew concludes '...except what part shall be made use of for the new Courthouse.'[25] A decade later in 1684, an Ormond inventory refers to the following items 'velvet cushions, 6 coarse cushions, One velvet carpett hanging downe, One greene carpett 'as 'Belonging to the Court house' from which it may be concluded that the building was by then furnished and in use. On 21st March 1689, James II was received there by the Corporation at the start of his Irish military campaign following the accession of William and Mary to the throne. Ironically, proclaiming James II as new king in Dublin on 1685 had been one of Ormond's last acts as viceroy. The loyalty of his heir and grandson, the second duke, to the Jacobite cause against George I led to the passing of an act for extinguishing the palatinate in 1716. The palatinate courts were suppressed, all the records were transferred to Dublin and 'henceforward until 1802 the assizes and sessions were held, and the local hospitalities dispensed in the 'Tholsel' as it came to be known.'[26] The infamous trial of Father Nicholas Sheehy took place in 1766 in the criminal court said to be at the rear of the present building and demolished in 1810. The rules for the practice of duelling and points of honour were settled at Clonmel Summer Assizes in 1777 and prescribed for general adoption throughout Ireland. There are references in the corporation records to repairs to the cupola in 1774 costing £35.4.0 and repairs to the town clock were mentioned in 1786 and 1794.

Clonmel's new court house by Sir Richard Morrison was completed circa 1802 and all court functions moved there. *Pigot's commercial directory* of 1820 states that the 1675 court house or tholsel was then '... devoted to the use of the

1. Main Guard, Clonmel. West elevation from O'Connell Street.

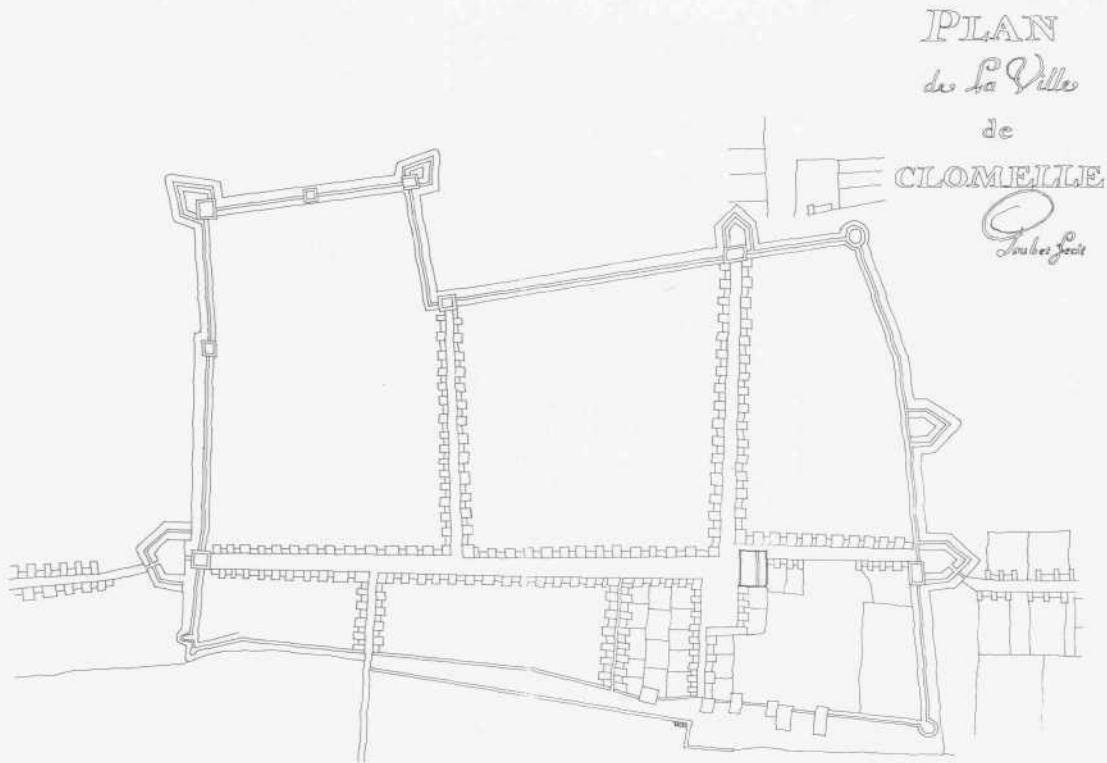


2. Main Guard, Clonmel. Present ground floor plan.

soldiery, possesses a good clock and is known by the name of the Main Guard' and *Lewis's topographical dictionary* of 1837 reported that the ground floor had some years since been converted into shops. In the course of the *Corporate inquiry into municipal corporations* in 1833, a witness, David Malcomson testified that the tholsel had been converted into three shops in or about the year 1810.

In the course of this nineteenth century conversion, the building was radically altered. The alterations make sense in the light of a report in December 1808 'The high ground rent for houses in Clonmel is very extraordinary - from 70 to 100 guineas per acre' and also that it '.. .has more internal commerce than any town in Ireland.'[27] The Napoleonic wars between 1793 and 1815 increased the demand for agricultural produce from Ireland and a great expansion followed. Clonmel, at the upper limit of the Suir navigation, became the milling centre for the county with the corn being sent down river to Waterford for export. The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of extraordinary expansion with much building activity. The streets were paved, two additional bridges were built, one at either end of the town. Bianconi began his coach service, and public lighting was provided in 1824 by a local gasworks. The Main Guard occupied the prime commercial site in the town at a time when trade was booming. Demolition for redevelopment was the common fate of such outmoded buildings. Fortunately in this case, it was adapted, albeit drastically and in a way which destroyed its structural integrity but which preserved the evidence of the original. There is nothing to indicate that the building has undergone serious alterations since then. In 1884, Leveret and Fry occupied the southern section for a time; Cooney's grocery and licensed premises occupied the northern and central section and continued to do so for another hundred years until 1984 when the entire building was acquired by the corporation of Clonmel.

The most important of the historical references are those which shed light on the appearance of the original building. The fullest documented description of the building extant is to be found in a tour book of 1780 - 'the market house, the only uniform building I saw in the whole town, is indeed neatly built, mostly of marble in the best taste; but lessens the passage of the main street'.[28] Marble was a generalised term often used at that time to describe ashlar masonry. A stylised 1690 town map by Goubet shows the building protruding into Mitchell Street, then apparently twice its present width, thereby lessening the passage (Plate 3). Another reference in a publication dated 1804, is significant as it establishes that the building was still in sound condition, six years before it was drastically altered - 'The market house is strong and well-built.'[29]

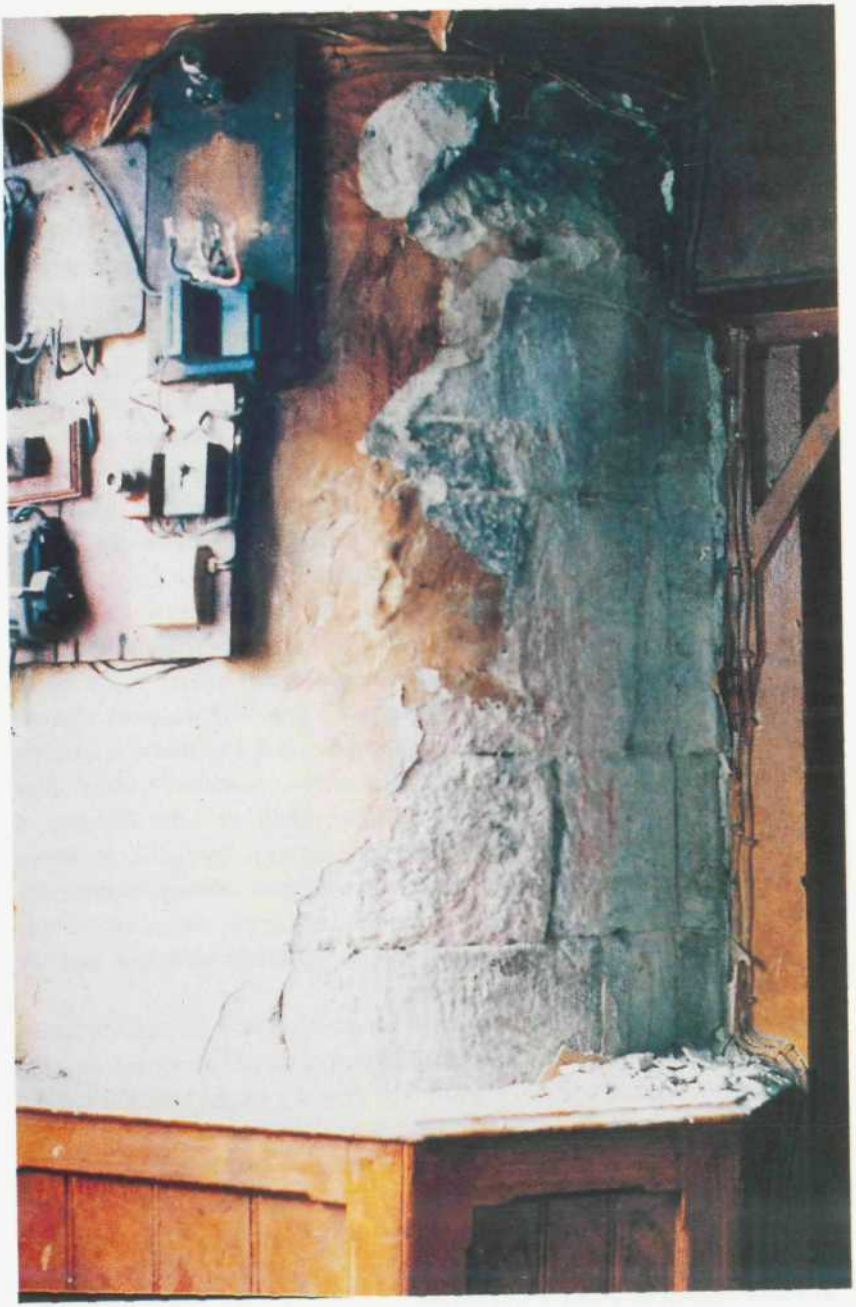


3. Map of Clonmel by Goubet dated 1690 showing the Main Guard at the principal intersection in the town. There is no longer a square in front of the building. NLI MS 2742.
Reproduced by permission of the trustees of the National Library of Ireland.

In 1907, William Burke described the early appearance of the Main Guard but offered no documentary support for his description 'Five semi-circular arches supported by massive cylindrical columns formed the west front, and two of a similar character, the north.'[10] He goes on to wax lyrical 'When the sun was high, and the arcade afforded strong contrasts of light and shadow with groups of lazzaroni lying about, faint memories of Venice were doubtless recalled to the classical tourist.' Burke published his history in 1907 but he was born in 1864. As a young person growing up in the town, he certainly could have been in contact with people old enough to remember how the building might have been prior to 1810. Burke's description was not entirely accurate and his lack of precision may well have been the result of a verbal description.

Investigative work as part of the 1990 study was carried out in a way which would disclose the maximum amount of information with the minimum disturbance to the fabric. The initial hypothesis for investigation was Burke's account of 1907 'Five semi-circular arches supported by massive cylindrical columns formed the west front, and two of a similar character, the north.' Opening up was carried out in specific areas where it was thought that an original feature would have existed, or in parts of the building where there was a shape or a feature that could not be readily explained. Five principal elements provoked particular enquiry; the rendered patching between and around the window openings; the relationship between the heads of top floor windows and the limestone frieze under the cornice; the profile of the roof; a section of wall at the rear of the building which reduces in thickness and incorporates a vertical series of brick trimmed window openings; the taper or reduction in the thickness of internal dividing walls at their junction with the front wall. The initial hypothesis - the mental picture of the building that was formed from existing documentary sources - was based on the account from Burke given earlier 'Five semi-circular arches supported by massive cylindrical columns formed the west front, and two of a similar character, the north'.

On the first visit to the Main Guard, the shape of an internal window reveal drew the attention and a patch of plaster was removed to reveal coursed sandstone with fine, close joints (Plate 4). The masonry was part circular in plan, forming more than a quadrant before it met the window frame. The radius was approximately 18" with a 2" offset where it engaged with the abutment in a well-formed arris. The courses visible were 8", 11.5", 3" and 6" respectively. Another of 6" in height projected from the rest with a scotia moulding at its lower edge above which another projection appeared to have been hacked off. The 3" course had a less smooth face and it was established later that this was a hacked-off



4. Main Guard, Clonmel. Original masonry where plaster was removed from a window reveal.

5. Main Guard, Clonmel. Segments of two relieving arches interrupted by insertion of present first floor windows.

impost moulding. This discovery was made on the north or side elevation of the building and immediately suggested a form which might answer Burke's description of the 'five semi-circular arches on the front and two similar on the north'. The north wall was thought to be unaltered in its length as, from street level, the cornice could be seen to turn both corners. The face of the half-round column was almost exactly at mid-point on the north wall between the inner faces of the rear wall and the corner pier to the front. This implied that, if the masonry uncovered had formed a pier to one of a pair of arches, then the arches could not have been symmetrical in the north wall. The geometry would have permitted two small arches between the column uncovered and the front wall, the crowns of which would have been accommodated under first floor level.

Masonry similar to that found on the first visit was later uncovered at the south end of the building. Part of the rear wall was framed between a pair of curved reveals and removal of a small amount of plaster revealed a pair of engaged columns with a wall between. The distance between them at their nearest points was 8' 9". Near ceiling level, a damaged moulding was uncovered as before and the scotia detail repeated. The pair of columns aligned with a small yard at the rear to which there was no access. This discovery led to some optimism about the extent of remnants within the building. It also provided very valuable information - a bay width was established as was the fact that the moulded detail at the capital was repeated.

Attention now turned to the front wall. The presence of cement rendered patches around the window openings required an explanation. The other pressing question was how the wall over the shop frontages was supported. A floor board was lifted in a window recess at first floor level in the south section. Underneath lay two large timber beams which looked like floor beams with some housings measuring 6" x 4" cut out, and now unused. Significantly, the housings occurred in the inner face of the outer beam where they could never have been used for the support of floor timbers. They had, therefore, been moved. The beams were very long and very large - 24' long by 13"-14" square. Why would one move such massive floor timbers unless, of course, one were altering the floors? A new picture of the building was beginning to emerge - one where the front wall was supported on a pair of timber beams that seemed to be a later insertion. What if there had been only one floor in the original building over an arcade that was considerably taller than anticipated?

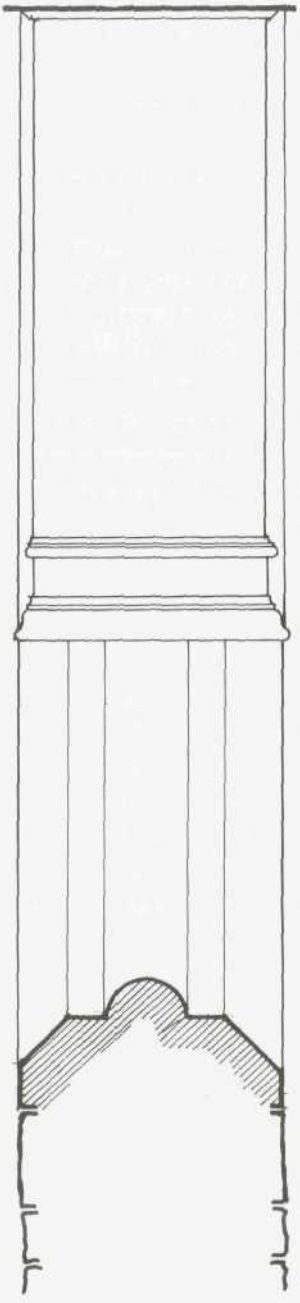
This would explain the much-altered window openings, the relationship of the top floor windows to the cornice and the presence of floor beams in the front wall. It would mean that the building had been altered very radically indeed. If,

therefore, traces of the arcade survived, they would be found in the front and side walls at existing first floor level. As plaster was removed from the first floor wall directly above the first column uncovered, the line of part of a relieving arch came into view, forming about one-third of a semi-circle and interrupted by a first floor window. Moving on to the north-west corner and southward along the front wall, the same feature was revealed. The segments were in all cases broken by the window openings (Plate 5). In one area opened, the springing stone had survived. No trace of the relieving arches appeared on the external wall. Once it was established that the arches were regular, no more plaster was removed. One bay remains untouched.

The significance of these arch segments lay in the fact that they established the general form of the arcade. The centres of the springings were evidence that the five bays were regular and occupied the entire length of the front wall. The bay width, or span of the arch, and its semi-circular form, dictated that the crown would have been well above the existing first floor level and that there was sufficient height over the arcade for only one main floor in the original building. Generally, the arcade was set out to a spacing of 12' 0". This dimension applies to the centres of the springing of the relieving arches and also to the space between the arrises on the abutments at the engaged columns. The dimension of the frontage between side walls is 60' 0" (at ground floor level) which is five times the spacing. The one exception is at Cols. 5 - 6 at the rear where the relevant dimension is estimated to be 4" - 5" less. In the opinion of the writer, the arch in this position was inserted under an existing segmental arch into an older wall which was incorporated into the new building.

While the form of the front arcade was established, the detail of the original arches was still lacking. However, two dressed stones were found in rubble in the floor of a cupboard recess at the north end of the rear wall of the building in the mirror position of those at the south end – one half-round in section, 12" diameter by 10.5" on its longest edge; the other a chamfered stone with three dressed faces, with mortar still adhering to the bed. These were the first evidence of voussoirs from a dressed stone arch. If these had survived, so also might the pair of columns under. Opening up to the wall under revealed a pair of columns to match those at the southern end of the rear wall. The arch in this position rehabilitated Burke's account to some degree, which spoke of two arches on the north. While it is in the east wall, it is at the north end of the building. It was subsequently discovered during alterations in the adjoining property that the arch is almost completely intact on that side.

The wall at first floor level directly over the pair of columns at the south end



6. Main Guard, Clonmel. Typical section through crown of arch showing column in elevation.

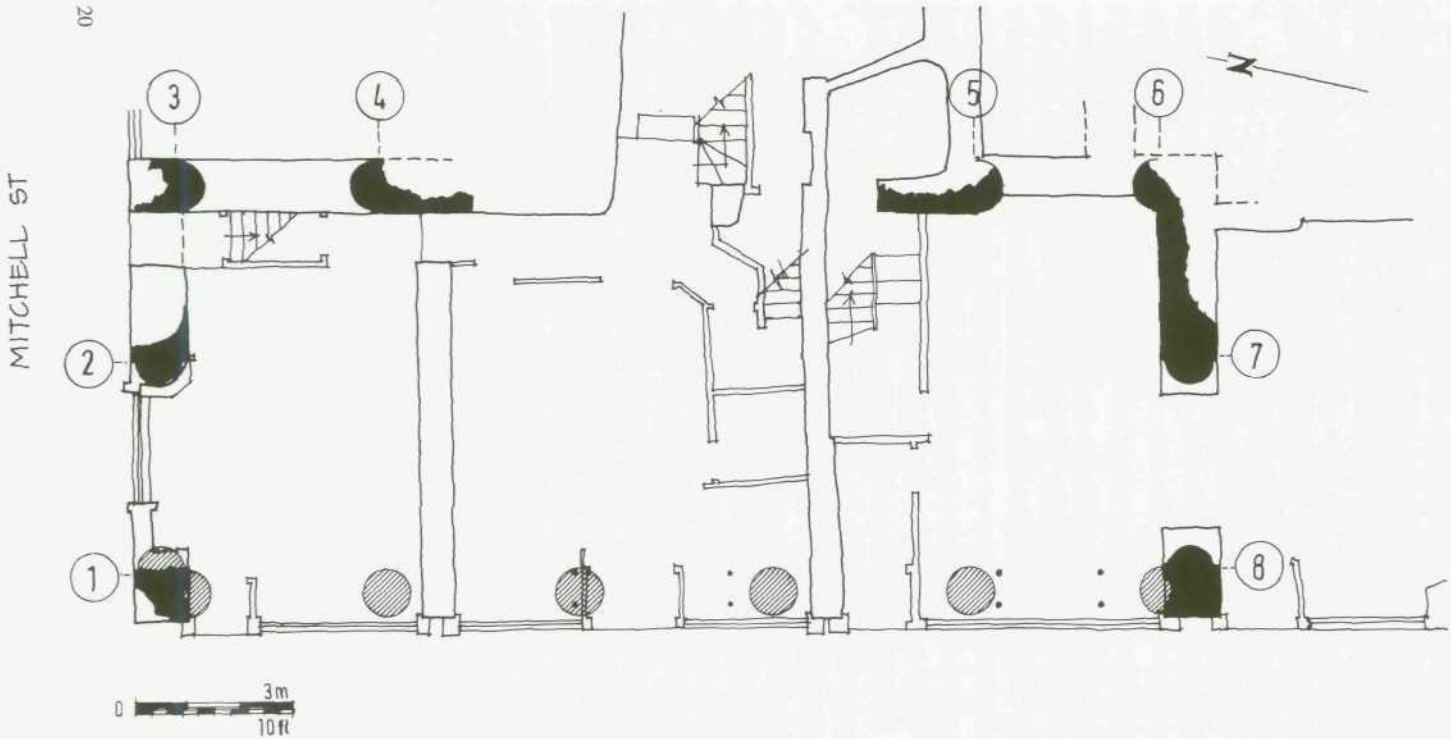
of the rear wall was then investigated and behind a partition, the crown of a dressed stone semi-circular arch was revealed, almost fully intact, 2' 6" above floor level. The arch was formed of chamfered stones on either side of a central half-round roll moulding. This arch and the columns beneath provided a practically complete assembly of one bay. The relieving arch in this case was segmental and approximately 40" over the dressed arch.

There is evidence for all of the engaged columns on the rear and side walls. None of them has been fully uncovered and many appear damaged by various alterations. The most intact uncovered is Column 3 from which a drawing (Plate 6) has been made. The upper moulding had actually sheared but was held in place in the wall thickness. On the break line, an dog-iron was to be seen, engaged in a slot in the top stone of the capital. Nothing remains of any columns along the front facade. However with the emergence of the arcade evidence, it became clear that the dividing walls were built when the arcade was removed and the building converted to shops, and that salvaged stone has been used to build them (Plate 2). For 5' to 6' closest to the front wall, the stones in the internal dividing walls are finely punched with dressed margins. It is possible that one is seeing here the straight back of stones from the demolished columns.

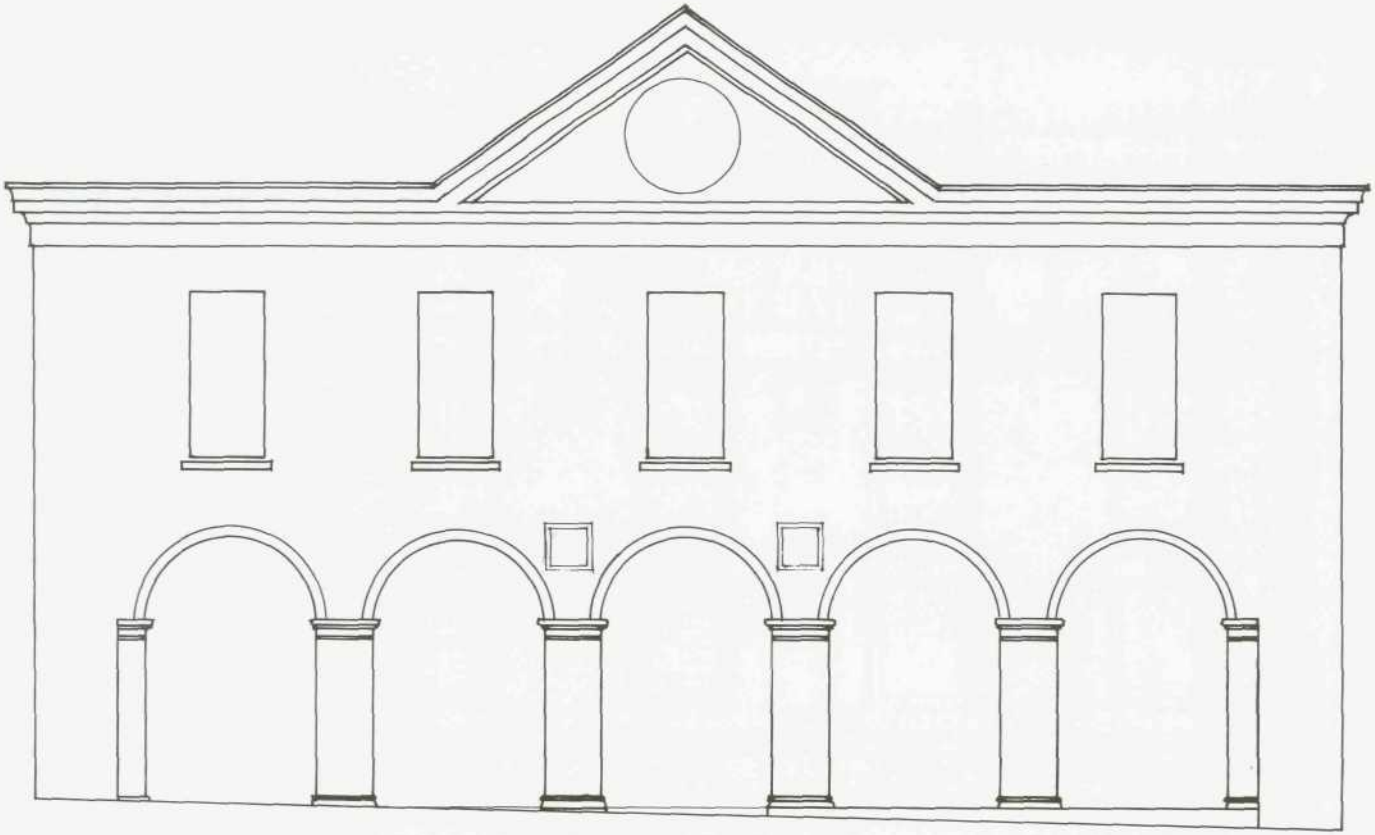
To summarise what is known of the arcade - all relieving arches survive in whole or in part except at Column 12 (Plate 7). Complete arches survive, almost fully intact, at Cols. 3-4 and at Cols. 5-6. No opening has been carried over Cols. 7-8. However, settlement cracks showing in the plaster over the present lintel would indicate that the arch may have survived in part. The evidence for arches in the front similar to the dressed stone arches in the rear wall lies in the fact that some chamfered voussoirs are to be found in the infill over the inserted beams. One, bearing a mason's mark, has also been located in one of the internal dividing walls close to the front wall. The strongest evidence of all is to be found by looking up through the gap between the pair of timber beams supporting the front wall and two feet or so above the beams can be seen a half-round roll moulding which may be still in-situ or close to its original position.

If, as it seems, there was only one main floor over the arcade, it is reasonable to assume that it would have been the principal chamber - the courtroom - and all other accommodation would have been ancillary to it. There was an extensive property belonging to Ormond, probably somewhere to the rear, from which the administrative functions of the palatinate had been run before the new court house was built so the ancillary accommodation already existed."

The main floor may well have consisted of one large chamber perhaps with a lobby or antechamber to separate official and public access. Originally, there

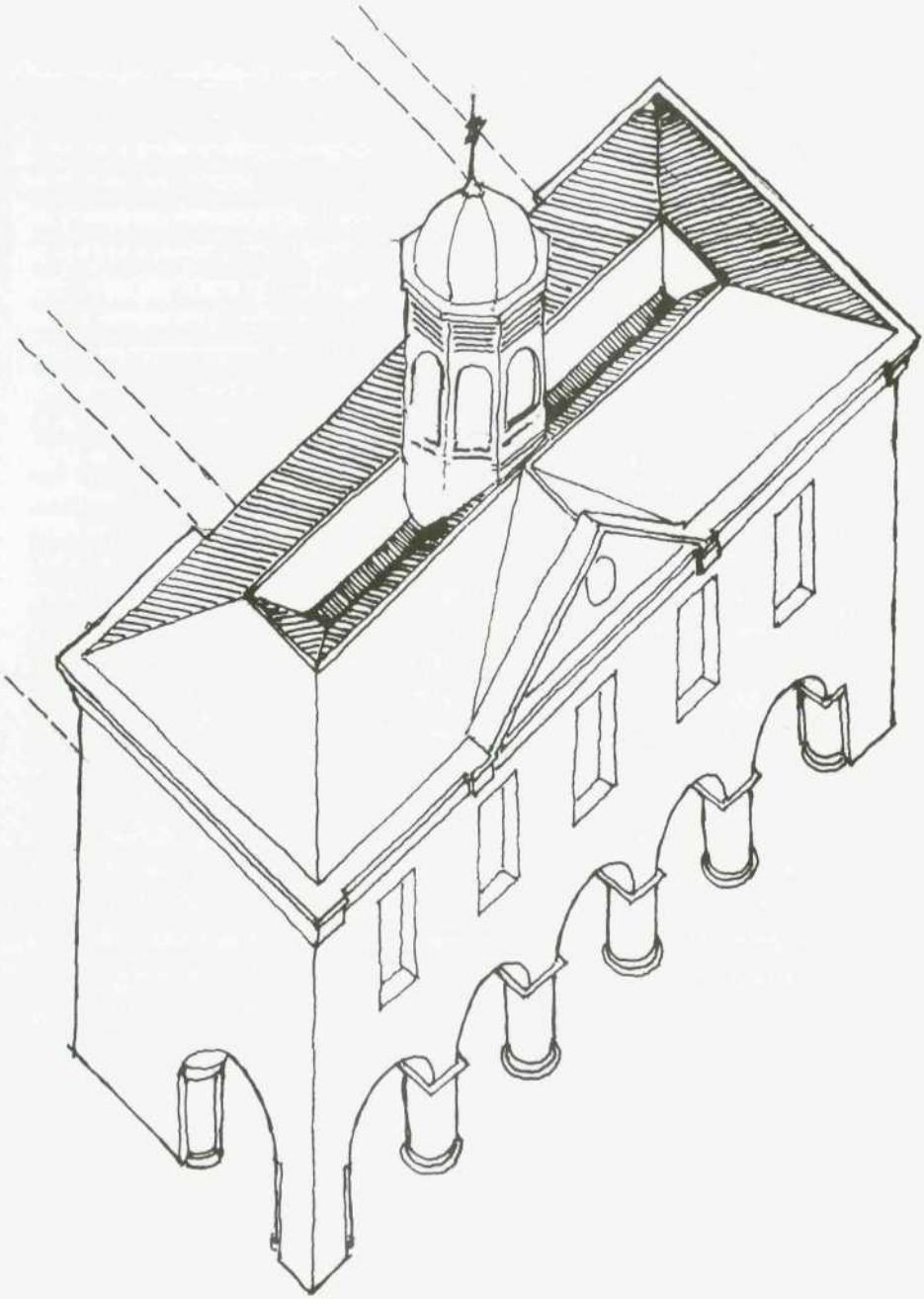


7. Main Guard. Clonmel. Ground floor plan of the front block showing *surviving* original fabric (black) with positions of original columns on the principal facade (hatched).



8. Main Guard, Clonmel. Elevation of conjectural front wall.

9. Main Guard, Clonmel. Elevation of existing front wall.



10. Main Guard, Clonmel. Conjectural form of original front block with the position of the return shown dotted.

were five windows in the upper level front facade (Plate 8). It has not yet been established if there were windows over any of the other arches. When the two new floors were inserted, the existing window openings were extended upward to the cornice and downward through the relieving arches, to form two rows of windows (Plate 9). The panels between are mainly of brick and, generally, not bonded to the main wall. From examination of the reveals it would appear that the original windows were probably 4' 0" x 8' 0" high, and similar to those in the Royal Hospital and in the 'Great New Building on piers and arches 'at Dublin Castle built in 1687.[32] There is a 3" course in the front wall which runs the length of the front facade between the crown of the arch and the original cill level, which may well be the remaining part of a string course. The original floor level of the upper chamber was probably a maximum of 6' 0" over the present first floor level. A 4" ledge was uncovered in the front wall, the original height of which was between 5' 3" and 5' 10" over floor level. In the present structure, this has been built up in brick stud to ceiling level to give a flush face. The floor beams spanned front to back and in the wall over Col. 11, an infilled floor beam socket is visible.

The re-used beams supporting the front wall are of softwood, probably Baltic pine, which had begun to come into the country at that stage.[33] The condition of Irish woods was deteriorating during the seventeenth century due to extensive cutting for fuel for ironworks and tanneries and export for pipe staves and shipbuilding. There was a vast smelting works in Youghal and the woods around Clonmel were being depleted by a Cromwellian settler in the town, Richard Hamerton, who made his fortune by exporting pipe staves.[14] Under the circumstances, oak beams 14" square and over 25' long may have been unobtainable in the area.[35] It is an early example of softwood use outside Dublin, and probably depended on the town being on a river navigable from a seaport. Clonmel was at the upper limit of navigation on the Suir from Waterford. In this case, the port may have been Duncannon on the Waterford estuary, through which Ormond imported materials for use in Kilkenny.

There is some evidence for a central return which may have contained the main stairs. The building is strongly symmetrical, with a central pediment, so on that evidence alone, one would expect a central return (Plate 10). The surviving cornice returns along the north section of the rear wall to a point roughly symmetrical (Col. 4) with the position of a wall at the rear (Col. 5) which may have been the south wall of the return. The thickness of the rear wall reduces at this point as happens when an external wall became internal. This wall seems contemporary with the rear wall and was once almost the same height. An angled vertical panel with inset window openings now fills the place where the walls

were bonded. The end of a roof beam may also be seen protruding through the thinner portion of the rear wall.

One would expect to find a stone vaulted basement under a substantial seventeenth century building, the ground floor of which is open to the elements.[6] The floor at ground floor level in the Main Guard is a lightweight timber structure which re-uses timbers salvaged from elsewhere. There are many indications that the basement is not original and that it was excavated when the building was being converted to shops in the early nineteenth century.

The roof is now a mansard or gambrel roof, hipped only on the north side. It was originally hipped on both and one of the hip timbers is still in position at the south-west end. Roof timbers are of pine. There are six trusses, two of which form part of the partitions, dividing the roof into seven bays. In terms of type, the roof belongs to the butt-purlin family. The purlins are joined to the principals by a mortice and tenon joint. The joints are numbered with incised roman numerals. Most of the purlins and all but one of the principal rafters are probably original.

Although investigative opening up would be necessary before being certain, it seems that the M-shaped roof with an internal valley is the most likely original profile. Internal valley gutters leak, valley timbers decay, and covering over the cause solves the problem. The Town Hall in Amersham, built in 1682, a building of similar size and comparable in type - one storey over arcade, with a classical cornice and small turret - has such a roof. In the case of the Main Guard, the ridge would have been lower than at present and finished level with the pediment.

An assembly of turret, cupola, weathervane and clock would have been quite in keeping with the original building. Drawings by Brooking, Dinely and Place all show combinations of the features on seventeenth century buildings in Dublin and Kilkenny, and examples abound in England.[37] The existing cupola is right for the period and could well be the original, or an exact replica. Dublin's tholsel and Trinity's former west front, built in the late seventeenth century had similar cupolas to that on the Main Guard. The present turret is not original. The trusses have been altered by the cutting through of the roof collars to accommodate four of the eight vertical posts. However, it is highly likely that it replaced an earlier, though probably smaller and lower, structure. Turrets served the practical purpose of providing access to the roof as well as providing sufficient distance over the ceiling of the main chamber underneath to house clock weights and a pendulum. If a clock existed, so did the turret. Ireland's first public clock was provided on the tower of St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin in 1560.[38] In Galway, a town clock was provided in 1637.[39] It would have been surprising if Clonmel had not been provided with a clock on such a prominent and important building.

There is a reference to 'keeping the towne clocke' in a document dated 24th September 1703.[40] The present clock mechanism is housed in the turret but the clock has been fitted with an electric movement and the main spindle has been removed.

The Main Guard is a very early example in Ireland of the use of a classical cornice, especially on a public building, albeit unorthodox in some of its detail. The cornice and pediment are of blue limestone built in three courses, and advanced forward 3" under the pediment and at either end of the facade, as if there were a breakfront and a pilaster at either end. The cornice, which has a course of plain limestone ashlar beneath it, returns along the north wall and then runs for a distance along the rear wall before terminating in a return. A cornice on the south wall would not have survived the building of the adjoining property. The cornice departs from classical models in the omission of the small cyma reversa above the corona and the running together of the ovolo and cavetto to form a cyma reversa. The plain ashlar course is the equivalent of the frieze and there is no architrave. The floating pediment is not an unusual feature for the time. The great house at Stowe (1680) and the College of Matrons at Salisbury (1687) both had pediments over three central bays which were not advanced. Closer to Clonmel, one could name a number - Swiftsheath, Co. Kilkenny, Waterford exchange, Charleville market house and Bindon's old Ennis courthouse –all pedimented without a breakfront.[41]

The form of the Main Guard - that of a large space which served as council chamber, administrative offices and courtroom over an open arcaded ground floor - was one common throughout Europe since the thirteenth century. Such buildings were usually sited at the end of a wide marketplace, initially at least, isolated from the ordinary buildings of the town. While there are many English buildings of this type surviving from the period immediately following the Restoration, there are no surviving Irish examples. Even accounts of Irish examples are rare. Dinely's much-quoted comment in 1683 'advanced upon pillars which are yet so disproportioned and dwarfish' is all that exists to describe Naas courthouse. An account of Galway tholsel, a six-bay building begun in 1639 but not completed until nearly eighty years later, is given in J. Hardiman's, *The history of the town and county of Galway*. There were exchanges built in Limerick, Cork and Waterford in the early eighteenth century. Waterford is probably the closest in type and certainly in location. It was begun in 1715 and is described in Smith's *History of the city and county of Waterford.* Of course, the larger buildings are also relevant, - the Royal Hospital (1680) and the 'Great New Building' at Dublin castle (1687).

The Main Guard was built at a time of great change and this is reflected in the transitional character of the building. Craig calls this time - the last third of the seventeenth century - one of the antechambers of history. 'In architecture it is… a period of anticipations and retrogressions, bewilderingly intermixed'.[42] The Main Guard stands at this crossroads between the Middle Ages and the dawning of modern times. It was built by one of the most progressive and influential men of the age, who was to the forefront in matters of style and taste, but to serve a regime that was purely mediaeval - a feudal structure all of whose counterparts had been, by that time, effectively eliminated. To an uncanny degree, the building matches its genesis.

In its 'anticipations', it is designed for its position in the town's streetscape, it possesses order and symmetry and, importantly in terms of typecasting, it possesses a fine classical cornice. While the assembly of the cornice is slightly unorthodox, each of its components is of perfect pedigree. To some degree, it heralds a new technology. Iron cramps are used to bind the voussoirs where weight and mass would have served before. It is a very early example of the use of softwood in the Irish provinces. Its 'retrogressions' are to be found in the arcade, whose massive columns and arch mouldings have stronger links to the arcades of Jerpoint or Boyle than to any pattern book. The proportion of the impost moulding is roughly correct, but the detail of the upper moulding seems to be either a guess or a compromise. It is almost as if the masons were given a detail of the cornice but relying on their own resources for the arcade, looked to the familiar - examples of Irish arcades from the abbeys and the friaries.[43] Much of the immense value of the Main Guard lies in these transitional qualities, incorporating the new classicism but with strong backward glances at the mediaeval. It is also probably the earliest surviving civic building in the country, and one of the earliest classical buildings, predating the Royal Hospital.

Over 300 years old, the Main Guard is at an advanced stage of dilapidation. This condition has been caused more by the radical intervention of the early nineteenth century than by the process of ageing. Its walls have been undermined to provide a basement. All continuity was removed from the front wall by removing its column supports, cutting through the arches, and extending the window openings up and down. This action converted a formerly substantial wall into a set of four free-standing piers supported on timber beams. The ties between front and rear walls were taken out at the same time with the removal of the floor beams and the truss tie-beams. It is remarkable that it survived the actions that were taken, and continues to stand in spite of them.

The future of the building is now secure. In order to ensure its survival,

Clonmel corporation had acquired the property from two private owners with the aim of securing investment under the Urban Renewal Scheme. But because of the importance of the remains discovered, it has been handed over to the Office of Public Works. Further investigations, including archaeological excavation, are now in progress as the first part in an extensive programme of conservation and restoration.

1 Margaret Quinlan, The Main Guard, Clonmel. University College Dublin MUBC thesis, 1990.
2 The name Main Guard came to be used in the nineteenth century, probably when the building was used partly as a barrack.
3 C.A. Empey, 'The Norman period 1185-1500', in W.Nolan (Ed.) *Tipperary history and society* (Dublin 1985).
4 Sean O Tuama and Thomas Kinsella, *An Duanaire 1600-1900: poems of the dispossessed* (Portlaoise 1981), 328.
5 Lord Dunboyne, *Butler family history* (Kilkenny 1972), 14.
6 J.C. Becket, *The making of modem Ireland 1603 -1923* (London 1966), 135.
7 R.F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1660 – 1972* (London 1988) 93, 186.
8 Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660 – 1860* (Dublin 1980) 3, 29-37.
9 J.C. Becket, op. cit. note 6, 103.
10 C.A. Empey, op. cit. note 3,.
11 J.C. Becket, *The cavalier duke* (Belfast 1990), 102.
12 Transcript from the papers of Dr. Jane Fenlon.
13 Empey, op. cit., Note 3.
14 Herbert Wood. *A guide to the records deposited in the public records office of Ireland* (Dublin 1919) 261.
15 C.A. Empey, op. cit. Note 3. The palatinate court '...until its final suppression remained unique in the world of common law in exercising its full medieval prerogatives undiminished by parliamentary legislation which had reduced the English and Welsh franchises to mere shadows of their former glory.' The final suppression came in 1716 when James, second duke, supported the Jacobite claim to the throne.
16 Maurice Craig, op. cit, note 8, 13.
17 Samuel Lewis. *Topographical dictionary of Ireland.* (London 1837), i,370.
18 Maurice Craig, *The architecture of Ireland.* (London 1982), 202.
19 RolfLoeber, *A biographical dictionary of architects in Ireland 1600 - 1720.* (London 1981), 96.
20 William P. Burke, *History of Clonmel.* (Clonmel 1907),494.
21 Rolf Loeber, op. cit. note 19, 16.
22 William Burke, op. cit. note 20, 442.
23 Rolf Loeber, op.cit. note 19, 68.
24 A consultant's report was prepared for Clonmel Corporation in 1982 by S. O. Pluinchead O'Ceallachain who kindly agreed to make his drawings available for the initial study.
25 Carte Ms CXVIII no. 305-307. Transcript from the papers of Dr Jane Fenlon.
26 William Burke, op. cit. note 20,168.
27 ibid., 203.
28 Philip Luckombe, *A tour through Ireland.* (1780), 130.
29 *The post chaise companion* (Dublin 1804).
30 Burke op.cit note 20,167.
31 NLI MS 2553, II. Room nomenclature in an inventory of 1673 which predated the new court house makes clear that the Ormond property in Clonmel was used by officials of the palatinate. Some modern published references link the apartments listed in the 1684 inventory to the court house. However, many inventories were carried out including one in 1673 which lists apartments almost identical to those listed in 1684, but before the court house was built. The inventories clearly referred to a separate property.
[Maurice Craig and the Knight of Glin, *Ireland observed* (Cork 1970), 32 and Elizabeth Shee and S. J. Watson, *Clonmel an architectural guide* (Dublin 1975), 35].
32 Rolf Loeber, 'Irish country houses and castles of the late Caroline period; an unremembered past recaptured...', *Irish Georgian Society Bulletin,* nos 1 & 2 (Jan-June 1973)13.
33 Rolf Loeber, op. cit. note 19, 90.
34 William Burke op. cit. note 20, 318n "he shewed the Proclamation of the 9th January 1660, prohibiting the destruction of woods, to Richard Hamerton".
35 Beams in the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham are of oak and of similar length.
36 However, vaulting was not always used. In the Dublin tholsel in 1749, 'the flags were sinking due to the timber and joists underneath giving way' *Calendar of ancient records of Dublin,* ix, 293.

37 Charles Brooking, *A map of **the** city and suburbs of Dubin* (London 1728).
38 Victor Jackson, *St. Patrick's cathedral* (Dublin 1984).
39 James Mitchell, 'The tholsel at Galway' *Journal **of the** Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* xxxv (1976), 77.
40 A declaration demanding civil rights for Catholics drafted by Sir Theobald Butler from the chancery rolls of the Palatinate of Tipperary (destroyed in P.R.O.) reprinted in Burke's *History of Clonmel.*
41 Swiftsheath, now much altered, was built in 1657, by Godwin Swift who was attorney-general in the palatinate of Tipperary.
42 Maurice Craig, op. cit, note 18,137.
43 Material uncovered in recent investigations supports this theory.

'HER GRACE'S CLOSET'. PAINTINGS IN THE DUCHESS OF ORMOND'S CLOSET AT KILKENNY CASTLE.

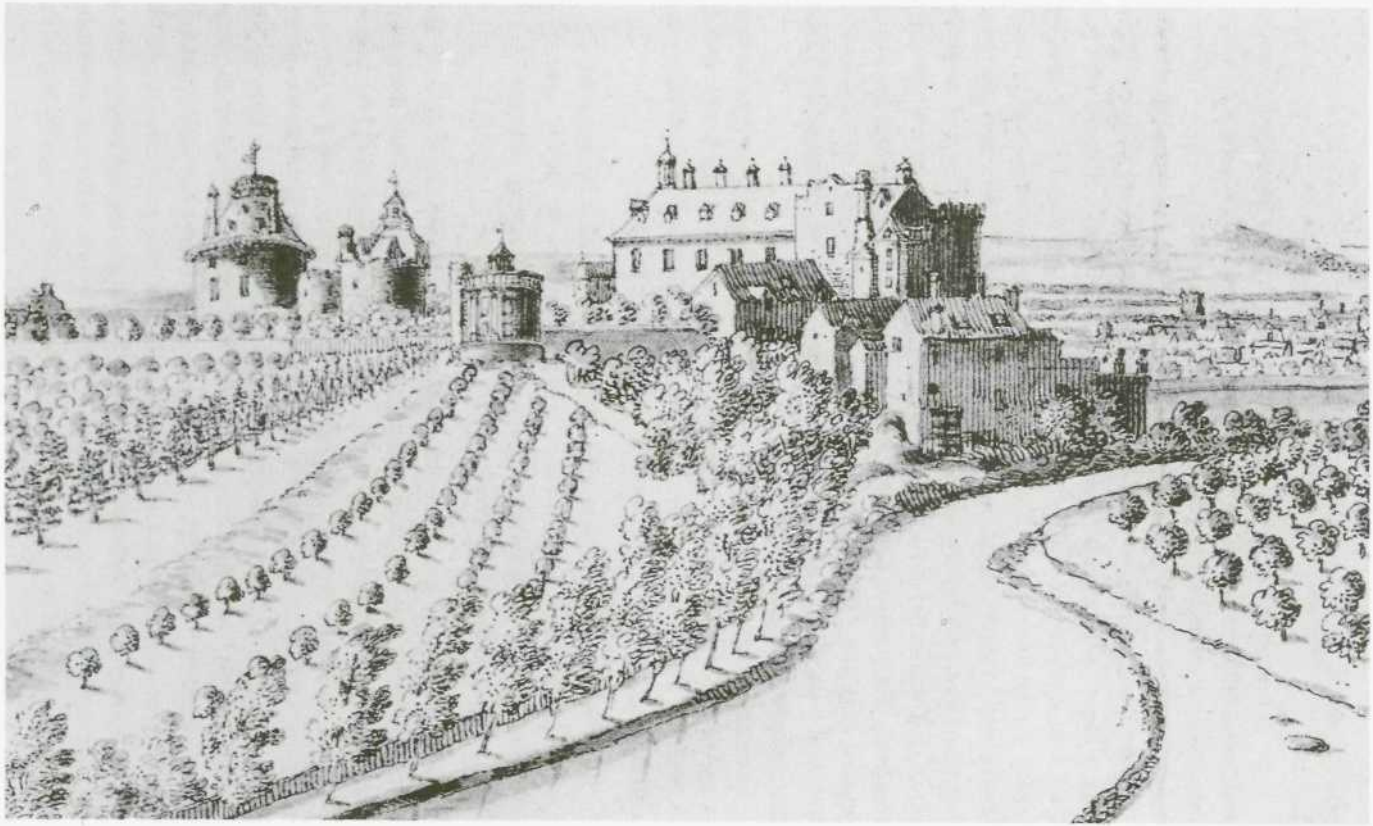
by Jane Fenlon

'...a beautiful octagonal closet, has been the finest I ever saw...'

Wm. Chetwood 1748.'

This is how the duchess's closet at Kilkenny castle, apparently one of the most famous and elaborate of its type in these islands was described in the middle of the eighteenth century. Kilkenny castle, seat of the powerful Butler family, created dukes of Ormond after the restoration of Charles II in 1661, housed the largest collection of paintings in Ireland in the seventeenth century (Plate 11).[2] Details of that picture collection and of the sumptuous interiors where it was displayed are contained in a series of inventories taken at properties belonging to the dukes of Ormond during the period 1675-1717. Most of the pictures in this collection seem to have been acquired for James Butler, first duke of Ormond (1610-1688) and his wife Elizabeth Preston, Baroness Dingwall (c.1615-1684) between the years 1660 and 1684. The picture collection was distributed among their various residences in both Ireland and England. Their grandson James Butler, second duke of Ormond (1665-1745), inherited the properties in 1688. The picture collection remained virtually intact for another thirty years until the final inventory in the series was taken in 1717. This collection of inventories provides detailed information about the contents of and the picture hanging arrangements in the duchess's closet at Kilkenny during the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth century.

The duchess's closet at Kilkenny, octagonal in shape, was situated in the northwest tower at the castle (Plate 12). It had been lavishly refurbished and redecorated for Elizabeth Preston first duchess of Ormond sometime before 1675, when the earliest inventory in the series was taken there[3] (Plate 13). The duke and duchess had recently returned to Ireland from London, where they had been living for the previous five years. Obviously they wished to take stock of their various properties on their return. Nine years later in 1684, following the death of the duchess, another full inventory of the castle was taken. These two early inventories provide the most detailed information regarding the number and types of painting in the Ormond collection. Further inventories followed in 1700, 1705



11. Francis Place (1647-1728), *Kilkenny castle and city, Co. Kilkenny from Wind Gap Hill* (detail). (1698/9). **Ink** and wash on paper. Reproduced by permission of the National Gallery of Ireland.

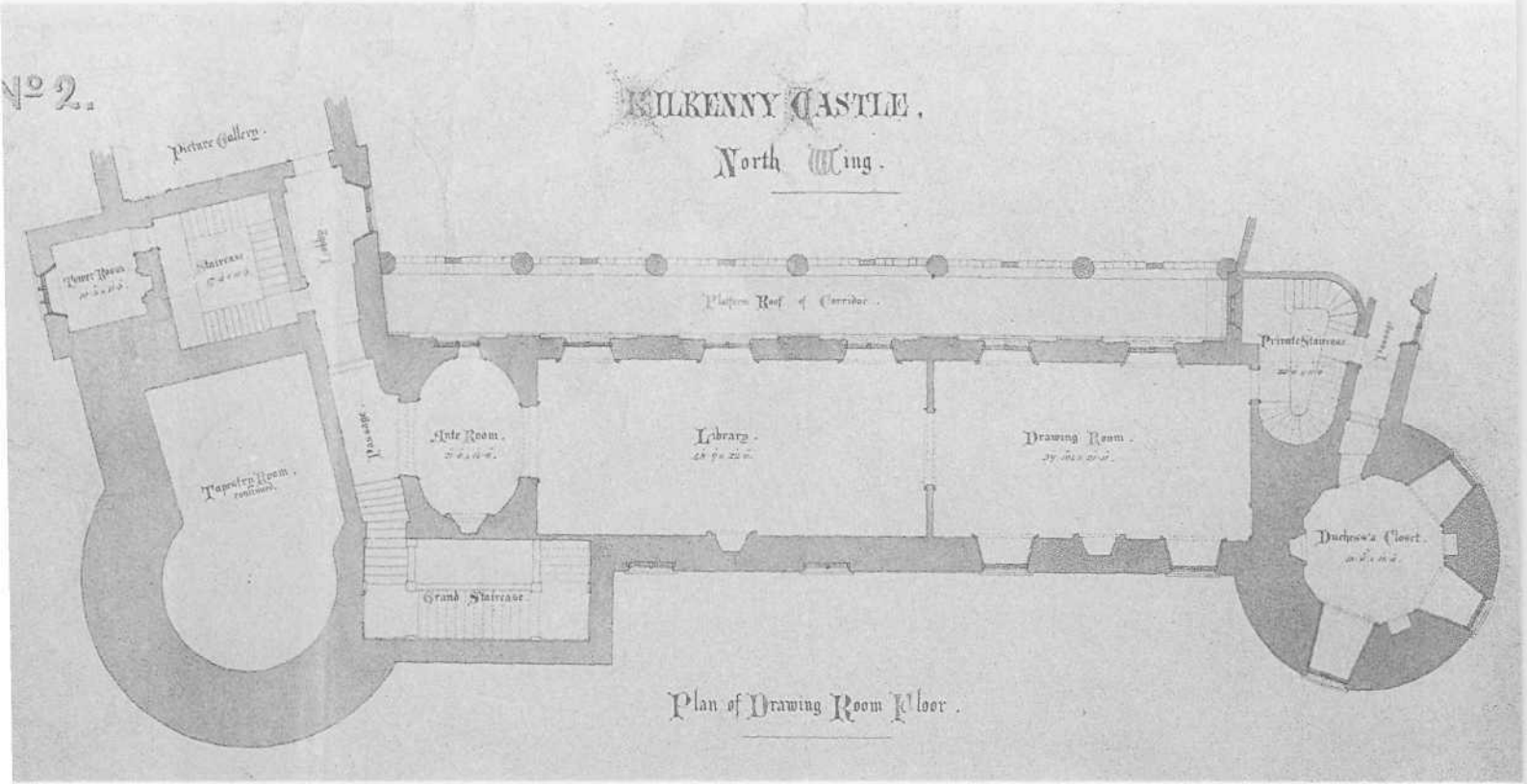
and 1717 during the time of Mary Somerset, (1665-1733) second duchess of Ormond.

In the seventeenth century the term closet might have been applied to any small room but here it is used for that particular room associated with a state bedchamber. Various inventories list several rooms of this type which were used as dressing rooms or small private rooms by both the first and second duchess of Ormond, their husbands and other family members, such as lady Gowran.[4] While some of these rooms were for private use only, the duchess's closet formed part of the state apartment at Kilkenny castle.[5] This particular closet was created for display. As the final room in a sequence, the duchess's closet situated as it was beyond the 'Alcove' (state bedchamber) was by definition also the most exclusive. Here, only family, intimate friends and those of highest rank would be admitted. It was in the duchess's closet that many small portraits and paintings were hung. This fashion for closets filled with small pictures became popular in England from the 1620's onwards. The 'cabinet of rarities' of Charles I at Whitehall Palace was famous for its collection of seventy three of the king's finest smaller pictures and miniatures."

From the inventories it would seem that the overall hanging scheme devised for the picture collection at Kilkenny castle does not conform to any known documented convention of the time. One such scheme is suggested by the contemporary writer, William Salmon in 1675 when he says:

> Let the Hall be adorned with Shepherds, Peasants, Milk-maids, Flocks of sheep and the like, ...Let the Staircase be set off with admirable monuments or buildings, either new or ruinous, to be seen and observed at a view passing up.[7]

This arrangement was not followed at Kilkenny, however a definite and coherent hanging plan was adhered to. At its broadest this plan had three main elements. The first, consisted of clusters of paintings hanging up to five deep on the walls, staircases, passages and entries along the route leading to the state apartment. Secondly, portraits were mainly concentrated in just four rooms, the gallery, the supping room, the dressing room and the duchess's closet ('Her Graces's closet'). These four rooms also contained almost two thirds of the entire picture collection. Thirdly, the remainder of the main rooms were furnished with three or occasionally four pictures arranged in the conventional triad of the period with a 'chimney piece' and two 'over doors'. The picture hanging arrangement at Kilkenny castle formed an integral part of the decoration of the state apartment and of the route leading to those rooms which would be seen by important



12. *Plan of drawing room floor, Kilkenny castle, north wing.*
Reproduced by permission of the Irish Architectural Archive.
Nineteenth-century survey drawing showing the the duchess's closet in the north west tower.
The octagonal shape and deep window recesses of the closet can be clearly seen.

13. Attributed to David Des Granges (1611-c. 1671), *Lady Elizabeth Preston, duchess of Ormond with her son Thomas Butler, Lord Ossory*. c. 1638. Oil on canvas. Reproduced by permission of the Office of Public Works.

14. R. Gibbs. *Castle of Kilkenny* (1810). Watercolour. Private collection.
The west front and entrance gate of Kilkenny castle prior to the extensive rebuilding programme of the 1830's.
The north west tower can be clearly seen to the left of the gateway; the centra! pair of windows are those of the duchess's closet. Also of note is the projecting line of the original house to the right of the tower. Additional space for hanging pictures in the hallways leading to the duchess's closet would have been on the first floor in this area

visitors. Given the hierarchical nature of etiquette followed at that time, the more important the visitor the more likely they were to progress along the sequence of state rooms, allowing them to see the full extent of the picture collection.

The importance of the duchess's closet is given emphasis by the fact that even the approaches to this small room were extravagantly hung with paintings. From the 'Alcove' (state bedchamber) an enclosed staircase led to a lobby or landing with two doors, one leading into the closet the other out onto 'the Terrace'. From the 1675 inventory we learn that 'on the staircase from the alcove to her Grace's closet on both sides,' a relatively small space, there were thirty three paintings hanging on walls and over doors (Plate 14). These paintings were mainly landscapes, fruit and flower pieces, sometimes hanging five deep, arranged on each side of the closet door as described below:

over the doore into the closett
a large narrow landskipp,
of each side two square small ones
under them two large narrow landskipps
under them two large landskipps
under them two small landskipps
in carved guilt frames

Five subject pictures were also hanging in this area at this time and they are also briefly described as follows:

A long narrow peece of Heathen sacrifice
(described in 1684 as 'a Sacrifice to Jupiter')
A picture of the masquerade in small figures
A large picture of Europe [Rape of Europa?]
A small figure peece
A small night peece

Later inventories taken after 1675 show changes to this hanging arrangement. For instance 'A large picture of Venus and Adonis 'seems to have taken the place of the 'picture of Europe, 'and in the last inventory of all, taken in 1717 'A piece of King Ahasuerus 'is described hanging on the right hand wall of the staircase. No references are made as to who might have painted these pictures.

During the period when Elizabeth Preston was duchess, the closet was refurbished, hung with paintings and richly furnished. The wall hangings were of blue silk with fringes. An elaborate couch-bed with a gilt carved headboard, pommells and feet, 'a silver table with two carved stands silvered over', two

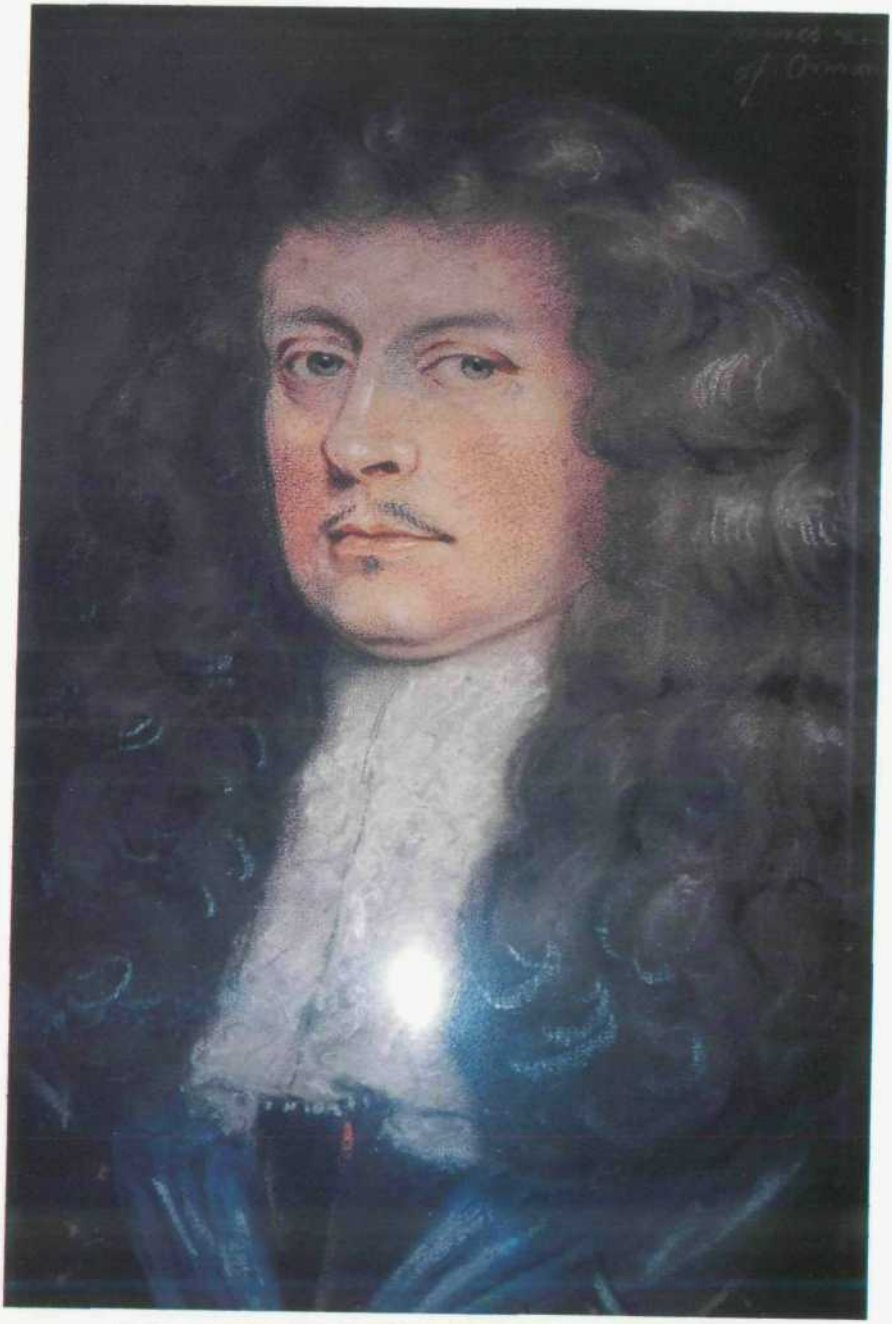
japanned cabinets, white Indian damask window curtains, carved chairs and matching gilded squab frames constituted some of the contents of this room.[8] From annotations found in the margins of inventory books it seems that some of the blue silk soft furnishings of the closet had previously been used to decorate the first duchess's closet at Clarendon House in London while the family had been living there.[9] Blue china was abundantly arranged in the fashion of the day. It was piled under and on top of the japanned cabinets, stacked up along the chimney piece and overmantel, standing grouped in the corners of the room, on the silver table and displayed on small pedestals around the walls.[10] A glass cupboard, some small crystal and tortoiseshell hanging shelves also feature in the inventories of this room. However there is no information to tell us where or exactly when the paintings for the cabinet might have been acquired.

Inside the closet and its attendant small inner room referred to as 'a little closett within the closett' in 1674 there were fifty five pictures increasing to seventy two in 1684, and perhaps up to seventy four pictures by 1705 during the second duchess's time." After that date the collection appears to have remained static until the final inventory was taken in 1717.[12] Considering the relatively modest dimensions of the closet, the presence of another smaller closet within it, a feature called the alcove, windows, two fireplaces and the lavish furnishings, it is difficult to envisage how so many paintings could have been accommodated. Some hints as to how this was managed are contained in various inventories, where there are references to half pillars and panels. A series of eight half pillars and pillars ranged around the room with small pictures hanging on them, are described in the following terms: [13]

> on the halfe pillar of the right hand to that window The
> pillar next the Alcove The picture of Queen Ann Bullen and
> James Earle of Ormond in small pannells
> On the pillar of the left hand to that window
> Two pictures of the Pointses in small panells…[14]

These half pillars or pillars are described on each side of the two doors, the chimney and one of the windows.[15] At first this arrangement of pillars seemed to suggest an architectural feature in the manner of a series of half columns or pilasters, similar to those fixed wooden pilasters with small pictures hanging on them, depicted in the background of *The great picture of Lady Anne Clifford* of c.1646 attributed to Jan van Belcamp (Plate 15).[16] But the inventories taken after 1684 contain no mention of pillars but rather puzzling references to 'upon the eight pedestals nineteen pictures in small gilt frames'. This would seem to

15. Jan van Belcamp (fl. 1625-1651). *The great picture of Lady Anne Clifford,* (1646). Oil on canvas. Reproduced by permission of the Abbot Hall Gallery, Kendal. Cumbria. Small pictures in carved and gilded frames can be seen in the background hanging on plain pilasters.



16. Simon Digby, Bishop of Elphin (fl. 1668-1730), *James Butler first duke ofOrmond.* Pastel in an original carved and gilded frame. Private collection.

indicate a less permanent type of arrangement and may have been a series of free standing pedestals similar to the type illustrated in an original drawing for the engraved title-page of a suite of designs by André Charles Boulle of c. 1685.[17]

Moveable architectural pieces were extensively used for display in the late seventeenth century.[18] For instance an item described as a carved gilt 'neech to hold a china jar', was brought from London in 1684 and stored in the wardrobe in Kilkenny castle. Also listed in the same wardrobe were two large gilt pedestals and five black pedestals, 'one of them without feet' suggesting a free standing item. In addition to hanging pictures on pillars, the window recesses were also used for this purpose.[19] The northwest tower where the closet was situated has windows set into the thickness of the medieval walls, which are over ten foot deep and these recesses would have provided some of the necessary space. This suggested arrangement is borne out by descriptions of paintings hanging 'in the window [on the left hand]' etc…[20] References in the inventories to 'the little closet within the closet', which also contained paintings, can only mean that it was situated in one of these window recesses probably the middle one. Pictures are also described as hanging on doors and over doors. From this it would seem that most available wall and door space within the inner and outer duchess's closet was used for the display of pictures.

The 1675 inventory lists thirty four subject pictures (including landscapes), ten named portraits and eleven 'figure pieces', a total of fifty five pictures hanging in the duchess's closet. Sixteen of these pictures were hanging in the little closet within. As the descriptions of pictures in the various inventories are often quite brief it is not always easy to distinguish the subject matter. The named portraits are as follows:

'My Lord Duke of Ormond's Picture in a rich guilt frame'
'My Lady Duchess of Ormond's Picture in a rich guilt frame'
[1717 identified as by 'Gascar']
'The Duchess of Richmond's picture in a rich guilt frame'
[described as the elder duchess in 1684]
'The picture of Queen Ann Bullen [Anna Bullen in 1684]
James Earl of Ormond in small panells'
'Two pictures of the Pointses in small panells'
[Poyntzs, relatives of the 1st duke's mother,
identified in 1684 as Mr John and Sir Nicholas].
'My Lord Duke of Ormond and Thomas Earl of Ormond
two small pictures'.[21]
'A small picture of the King' [Charles II]

The figure pieces were broadly described as follows:

'Two small figure peeces in pannells'
[identified in 1684 as Nicholas Poyntz and Erasmus]
'Two small figure peeces in pannells'
'An old head' [1684 Sir Thomas More]
'Two small figure peeces in pannells'
'Two figure peeces, one of a Lady and another of an old man'
'A figure peece in water colours containing fower figures'

Nine years later in 1684 when the next inventory was taken after the death of the first duchess it is possible to ascertain that three named portraits and a small oil painting of two figures had been added and a number of pictures removed. After this date the small portraits in the duchess's closet are no longer described separately in inventories but referred to as 'upon 8 pedistals 19 pictures in square guilt frames'. Portraits known to have been added and pictures were taken away during the interval between the first two inventories:

The portraits added between 1675 and 1684 were:

'A large piece of the first Lady Arran,'
[probably moved from the Alcove or state bedroom,
where a portrait of this sitter was hanging in 1675]
'The Earle of Arran's picture'
[1717... in a small gilt frame by Smith]
and 'the Countess of Longford' [1717 by the same]
'Two figures in a small wrought frame oyle colours'

Pictures removed between 1675 and 1684 were:

'My Lord Duke of Ormond's Picture in a rich guilt frame'
'3 small figure pieces in watercolours in the little closet within'.

During the period after 1688 when Mary Somerset was duchess of Ormond no additional portraits seem to have been added to the collection in the duchess's closet but a number of subject pictures were removed and some landscapes added in their place.[22] The many subject pictures in the closet can be divided into various categories such as religious pieces, flower pieces, landscapes and others. Of particular interest at this early date is the reference to eight watercolours including two of flowers, two described as having seven figures and four figures respectively and another four small pictures in the same medium. It is more likely however that these pictures would have been executed in pastel, as this was often

described as watercolour at the time. For example the pastel portrait of the first duke of Ormond by Digby, is described in the 1717 inventory as 'The Old Duke of Ormond in Water colours by Bishop Digby' (Plate 16).[23] Further small snippets of information can be gleaned when inventories are compared such as 'A Dutch picture of a Boors house with five figures' was the picture hanging over the door of the inner closet. A 'Death's Head' and 'a picture of Sofanisboe', which may be a painting by the Italian woman artist Sofonisba Anguissola are also mentioned. There were several religious pictures, including one of 'a Magdalen' in the closet and also numbers of landscapes, a night piece and some flower and fruit pieces. Even though few changes were made to the picture collection, the decoration of the closet was refurbished for the second duchess. Blue silk hangings were exchanged for crimson and white damask fringed with silk and silver green silk and velvet for the soft furnishings of the couch bed and squab cushions.

The final inventory of the accumulated picture collection and other property of the first and second dukes of Ormond taken in 1717, provides additional information in the form of valuations and artist's names. In this inventory the portrait of the first duchess of Ormond is attributed to Gascar (Henri Gascars 1635-1701), those of the earl of Arran and the countess of Longford, Mary Chichester are attributed to Smith (possibly Caspar Smitz fl.1662-c.1689) and the small portraits of the duke of Ormond and the earl of Ossory are attributed to bishop Digby (fl. 1668-1720). The 'nineteen small pictures in small gilt frames' on the pedestals are valued at £57, a large sum, which would suggest that some were miniatures in expensive frames. The most highly valued painting was that of the duchess of Richmond in a large gilt frame at £6, with the pastels by Bishop Digby valued at £3 each. All fourteen pictures in 'the little closet within' were valued at a total of £4.[24]

With regard to the hanging scheme in these two small rooms no clear pattern is discernible, although a few observations can be made. Pictures of varying sizes were arranged in an organised fashion in groups up to three deep and three across. Sometimes a small picture formed the centre piece of such an arrangement and was flanked by two larger paintings. On other occasions large portraits like those of the duchess of Richmond and the first Lady Arran, are described as being surrounded 'hung about' by four square and five small landscapes respectively. Architectural landscapes were deemed suitable to be hung over both fireplaces in the closet, as in:

> A landskip of a building over the chimney and
> A large landskipp of fountain worke over the chimney

Perspective pieces, a type of picture which was prized for its ingenuity during the seventeenth century, were here placed over both doors. It was usual in these kind of arrangements that the top of the highest picture in the group would be at the same level as that of the overdoor, thus supplying a certain symmetry. As already described above many of the pictures on the pedestals or half pillars were portraits in square gilt frames, often described as on panel and sometimes grouped in twos or threes. Other types of small pictures were also to be found hanging on these features, for example:

> on the pillar next that by the chimney
> A small flower pott peece
> under it a figures peece in watercolours containing fower figures
> under that a small landskip...

Sometimes landscapes seem to have been used in a random fashion, just to add balance to an arrangement, as in:

> The picture of Our Lady in a rich guilt frame with two pictures
> on each side, one Death's Head, the other a landskipp.

Religious pictures do not seem to have been grouped together in any particular way. Paintings described as history pieces usually occupied an important position in Kilkenny castle; there was one hanging over the chimney in the drawing room of the state apartment in 1675. This convention seems to have been followed in the closet where 'a history piece with four figures' is described hanging over the head of the couch bed. Another picture of this type was hanging over the window in the inner closet, while the remaining paintings in this room, (except the overdoor) were grouped on the side walls. The only unifying feature about the pictures in the inner closet would seem to be that all of them were small, framed in black, while most of those in the outer closet are described as having rich 'guilt' or gilt frames. From this large collection of pictures in the duchess' closet just one has been traced to date, the pastel portrait of the first duke of Ormond in its original elaborately carved and gilded frame.[25]

The duchess's closet at Kilkenny castle was without doubt the most outstanding example of its kind to be found in all of the Ormond properties. At their great London house, Ormond House in St. James's Square, although 'her Graces closett' had a painted ceiling and overmantel by Dankerts (either Johan or Hendrik Danckerts, 1613-C.1686 and c.1625-c.1680) and overdoors by Wyck, (probably Thomas Wyck c. 1616-1677) it contained just sixteen paintings.[2"] These were a mixture of portraits of powerful connections, such as 'the Late Duchess of

York,'[27] religious pieces and 'a piece after Holpin', Erasmus (probably a copy after Holbein's portrait of this sitter). Nor was it furnished in quite the same splendour. Later in 1714 during the second duchess's time, an inventory was taken of the Ormond villa at Richmond where a description of her Grace's closet describes what is essentially a private closet rather than an apartment for display. It also demonstrates the great transformation in taste within a period of forty years. At Richmond, a comfortable private room is described containing a velvet couch with two black and yellow cushions, a mirror, a japanned corner cabinet, 'a small olive scritore 'and various other items. The pictures in this closet are briefly described as follows:

> seven paintings [unnamed], 38 cutts [prints], 1 cutt paper and 1 collection of insects[28]

There is no comparison to the duchess's closet at Kilkenny to be found in Ireland of the period and indeed relatively few in England. Perhaps the closest contemporary example would be the green closet (the principal closet) at Ham House near London, then residence of the duke and duchess of Lauderdale.[2'] This family's properties are particularly suitable for comparative purposes with those of the Ormonds because of their similar social standing. Lauderdale held the equivalent viceregal appointment as secretary of state and high commissioner of Scotland. The Maitland family seat was at Thirlestane castle and there were viceregal apartments at Holyrood House in Edinburgh, also, after Lauderdale's marriage in 1672, to the wealthy Elizabeth Murray, countess of Dysart, Ham House was enlarged and redecorated.

At Ham House the green closet was lavishly decorated and had a painted ceiling.[30] There were fifty three pictures listed hanging there in an inventory taken in 1679. Many of these were small portraits and miniatures, with a number of small Dutch pictures by artists such as Adriaen Brouwer (1605/6-38). The collection of pictures in this closet would seem to have been similar in content and number to that in the duchess's closet at Kilkenny castle at approximately the same date. Although it should be pointed out that the small Dutch pictures in the closet at Ham House were valued at a much higher sum than those at Kilkenny. Whether this should be taken as an indicator of quality or not is difficult to say.[31]

This examination of 'Her Grace's closet' with its precious contents and its collection of pictures, provides some indication of the importance of the Ormonds, particularly the first duke and duchess, as patrons of the arts in Ireland and England. However in contrast to their attitudes to their buildings and their sculpture as demonstrated by many comments and instructions in their various

letters, it is not so easy to ascertain how the ducal pair or members of the family actually evaluated the paintings in their possession.[32] Also, it cannot be ascertained as yet, how many of the paintings in the Ormond collections were of the first order in terms of quality. It is plain to see the importance they attached to their ancestral portraits, as indicated by the naming of the various earls of Ormond and members of the Poyntz family in the earlier inventories of the duchess's closet. By contrast no artist's or painter's name is given. Whereas a document called 'The Estimate of Pictures' which was drawn up for Ham House in 1683, lists more than half the names of the artists for the pictures in the green closet.[33] It is only when the pictures were being valued for sale by the forfeited estate commissioners in 1717 that artist's names are attached to some of the paintings in the closet. Whereas, in all of the extensive correspondence between the first duchess of Ormond and her various relatives and staff, no mention is made of the pictures in her closet. In fact only one person we know to have been a painter of pictures, Robert Trotter (fl. 1672-1686), is ever mentioned by the first duchess in her letters.[34] Even then we are given no details about his work or in precisely what capacity he was employed at Kilkenny castle. Did he paint landscapes for use as over doors, was he a copyist or was he engaged to work on fashionable interior decorations such as marbling and graining effects for doors and panelling?[35] We simply do not know.

Such a paucity of expressed opinion by this family regarding the paintings in their possession suggests something of a lack of appreciation about the finer points of that art. It also seem to confirm that in keeping with the lavish decoration of the duchess's closet, the pictures hanging there should be seen as an integral part of such a scheme; the true purpose of which was to impress important visitors admitted to that room, the innermost interior of an elaborate and hierarchical suite of state rooms.

Acknowledgements: I would like to thank Catherine Marshall and Professor Anne Crookshank for their helpful comments on this text.

1 *A tour through Ireland by two English gentlemen* (1748) 179. The name of the author of this work is given as Wm. R. Chetwood, as an annotation in the catalogue of books of the National Library of Ireland.

2 Spelling of the name Ormond. The original title was earl of Ormond, although the dukedom was spelt Ormonde. However, the first duke always signed documents Ormond and is referred to as Ormond. The spelling Ormonde does not come into common usage until the eighteenth century. I have used the spelling Ormond throughout this article.

3 National Library of Ireland (NLI). MS 2527, f.34.

4 NLI. MS 2521, f. 6. 'My lady Gowran's closet.' Lady Gowran was the wife of John Butler the first duke's younger son.

5 T. Jane Fenlon, 'The Ormonde inventories 1675-1717, A state apartment at Kilkenny Castle' in Agnes Bernelle (Ed.), *Decantations* A tribute in honour of Maurice Craig (Dublin, 1992), 33-37.

6 See Oliver Millar, *The Queen's pictures* (London 1984), 67-68 and Ronald Lightbown, 'Charles I and European princely collecting' in Arthur MacGregor (Ed.) *The late king's goods* (London and Oxford 1989), 70.

7 Quoted in Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-century interior decoration in England, France and Holland* (New Haven & London 1983), 254.

8 NLI. MS 2527, f.34.

9 NLI. MS 2521, f.60. '...hanging in ye inner...of my Lady Duchess closett was the furniture of the closett at Clarendon House'.

10 NLI. MS 2527, f.34. In 1675 six pedestals for china were recorded. In 1684 NLI. MS 2554 this had changed to '1 silver and 4 small pedestals guilt for china'.

11 There were also two needlework pictures hanging in the closet in 1675 but these have not been included in the total.

12 No inventories have been found for Kilkenny castle between the dates of 1705 and 1717.

13 In the first two inventories taken in 1674, and 1684 these features are described as both half pillars and pillars. After 1684 reference is only made to eight pedestals.

14 NLI. MS 2527, f.58

15 It is not clear how many windows were in the closet, although eight curtains and four brass curtain rods are described, it seems that at least one window was in the inner closet. It should also be noted that this tower was extensively remodelled in the nineteenth-century rebuilding of the castle.

16 Oliver Millar remarks on the practice of hanging miniatures on the walls of cabinets in his essay 'Portraiture in the country house' in Gervase Jackson-Stops (Ed.), *The treasure houses of Britain* (New Haven and London 1985), 37.

17 Illustrated as 'Parisian mural decoration' c. 1685 in Peter Thornton *Authentic decor. The domestic interior 1620-1920* (New York 1993), 55, where it will be noticed that several different types of pedestals are depicted in this drawing. Of particular interest are the four large free standing examples with urns on them. The original drawing for the title page of *Nouveaux desseins de meubles et ouvrages de bronze et de marqueterie. Inventé et gravés par André Charles Boulle.* is in the Kupferstichkabinett und Sammlung der Leichnungen, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

18 Ibid., illustrations 87, 89, pages 74, 75. See also series of paintings of interiors by David Teniers the Younger illustrated in Zirka Zaremba Filipczak. *Picturing art in Antwerp 1550-1700* (Princeton, 1987) figs. 65,66.

19 NLI. MS 2554, f.73.

20 NLI. MS 2527, f.56.

21 From 1684 onwards the portrait in this position is identified as *The earl of Ossory.* It is worth noting that some of the hanging in the closet was rearranged in the interval between the two inventories, probably to accommodate the additional portraits.

22 It is not possible to be more accurate than this, because after the 1685 inventory was taken, pictures are often described together as '5 small pictures on the left hand' or '12 pictures with black frames' and the 19 small pictures on the pedestals are no longer described separately, making it virtually impossible to readily identify over thirty of the paintings in the closet. From the evidence it would appear that no major additions were made to the picture collection in the closet after the death of the first duchess in 1684.

23 Public Record Office Kew (PRO) f (8). forfeited estate commissioners 1/876 This portrait executed in pastel, still in its original frame has a firm provenance and is in a private collection in Ireland. Both this drawing and the portrait of Ossory are also described in the 1705 inventory as being 'done in crayons'.

24 PRO. f. (8), (9). FEC 1/876

25 See footnote 23 above.

26 NLI. MS 2522, f.95 'An Inventory of his grace the Duke of Ormond's goods at his house in St. James's Square London Taken in June 1685'. This was how it was furnished when the 1 st duchess died.

27 Anne Hyde (1637-71), first wife of James II

28 NLI. MS 2525, f.49.

29 Although there was a lavishly decorated queen's closet (also called the alcove closet), adjoining the queen's bedchamber at Ham, the green closet contained pictures of the quantity and quality associated with a principal closet.

30 Peter Thornton and Maurice Tomlin, *The furnishing and decoration of Ham House* (London 1980), 127-132.

31 A copy of a painting by Brouwer at Ham House was valued at £60, while all 14 small pictures remaining in the inner closet at Kilkenny were only valued at £4 the lot. Whether this was due to lack of knowledge on the part of the valuer at Ham or deliberate marking down by the valuer at Kilkenny or a bit of both is not clear

32 *Ormonde MSS. Historic Manuscripts Commission.* new series. vol 5, 94. There is only one known instance where a member of the family writes about painting with any kind of discernment and that was Thomas Butler. earl of Ossory (1634-80). In a letter to his father from London in May 1679, he writes about purchasing a painting *The history of King Solomon* and adds that 'they say it is touched by Van Dyke'.

33 Thornton etc., footnote 30 above. 37-38. The inventories taken of the green closet at Ham House in 1677 and 1679 only refer to the numbers of pictures and type of frame, no other details are given until the estimate referred to above. See also Alastair Laing and Nino Strachey, 'The duke and duchess of Lauderdale's pictures at Ham House', *Apollo* (May 1994) 3-9. This article gives the date of the picture estimate as 1683 rather than 1679 given by Thornton *et al*. It also points to some misinterpretation of the hanging of pictures at Ham House by Thornton et al.

34 There was a correspondence between Mr Clarke the first duke's agent and the duchess regarding family portraits being painted by the artist Sir Peter Lely, in the early 1660's. However only Mr Clarke's letters have been found, no trace of the duchess's response has yet been traced.

35 Trotter is known to have worked painting landscapes in Cumbria. Blake Tyson, 'Two 17th century artists in Cumbria', *Quarto,* Abbot Hall Art Gallery, Kendal, Cumbria, Quarterley Bulletin. XXVII. No. 2 (July 1989), 20-24. He may also be the Mr Trotter who was paid £3 for marbling three chimney pieces in 1685 for an unidentified Dutch merchant living in Dublin. Rolf Loeber, *A biographical dictionary of architects in Ireland* (London 1981). 109.

EVIDENCE FOR THE COLLECTING AND DISPLAY OF PAINTINGS IN MID-EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY IRELAND.

by John Coleman

Eighteenth-century portrait commissions are best understood in the context of a knowledge of the patrons, their art collections and their houses, the locations in which the pictures were hung. Recent research on the Irish patrons of Sir Joshua Reynolds has provided evidence for the hanging arrangements of portraits in eighteenth-century Irish interiors.[1]

In the mid eighteenth century the duke and duchess of Leinster commissioned portraits from Sir Joshua Reynolds and his rival Allan Ramsay. There is interesting evidence for how these pictures were arranged in the newly built Leinster House in Dublin. Their son-in-law, the earl of Bellamont, also commissioned portraits of his wife and himself from Reynolds, and may have been influenced by the hanging arrangments in Leinster House when planning the commission and the hanging of these paintings in the saloon of Bellamont Forest, County Cavan. Both pairs of Reynolds portraits commissioned by the duke of Leinster and the earl of Bellamont appear to have been conceived as an integral part of the decorative scheme for the rooms in which they hung.

James Fitzgerald, 1st duke of Leinster and his wife Emily had their portraits painted on numerous occasions. They sat to the leading portrait painters of the day, at home and abroad, including Francis Cotes, Arthur Devis, Jean Etienne Liotard, Allan Ramsay, Hugh Douglas Hamilton, and Martin Archer Shee.[2] Portraits were commissioned to hang in the couple's several houses, Carton, Co. Kildare, their principal Irish country seat, Leinster House in Dublin, and also in the homes of their relatives in Ireland and in England.[1] In the early 1760's both the duke and duchess of Leinster sat for their portraits to Allan Ramsay. These portraits were commissioned to hang in Holland House, the London home of the duchess's sister Caroline, Lady Holland. Lady Caroline planned to decorate the gallery in Holland House in Kensington with portraits of family members by Reynolds and Ramsay.

The duke of Leinster sat for his portrait to Ramsay in 1762 and it appears that before the portrait was complete, Emily had decided that she wanted a copy to hang in her dressing room at Leinster House in Dublin (Plate 17).[4] The duchess sent her husband detailed instructions on the type of frame she required and the decorative setting in which she intended that the picture would hang.[5] Emily wrote to her husband, then in London, on 17th December 1762

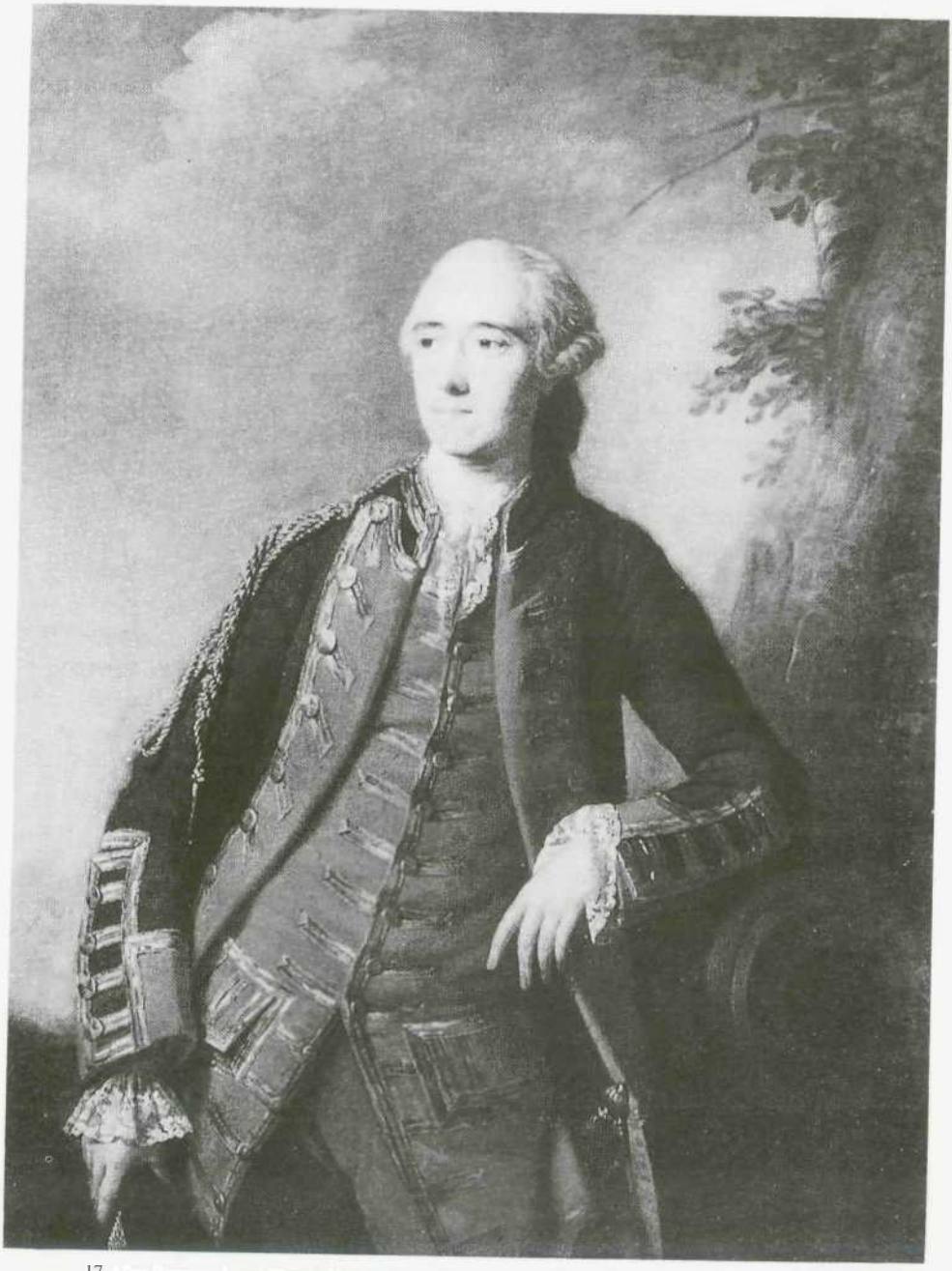
> The picture must have a very handsome French frame; I don't like that Carlo Marat frame for a portrait. Let it be bespoken after some handsome frame at Richmond House, not the light sort; there is one of Cardinal Fleuri I shou'd like if not too dear. It shall hang in my new mohair dressing room here, upon the hangings, not to be made up as part of the chimney, for a lady's room that is not pretty. Besides, I like the blue hanging shou'd appear a little behind my fine china which is to stand on the white marble mantlepiece, then your picture above, and I think it will be very complete.[6]

In relation to the choice of frame, there is, at Goodwood, the West Sussex home of the duke of Richmond, a fine portrait of Cardinal Fleury by Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659-1743), in an elaborate rococo frame. This is surely the picture and the frame referred to by Emily which was then at Richmond House (Plate 18). However, it is not clear if a frame of the type preferred by Emily was in fact purchased.[7] Ramsay's portrait of the duke shows him against a very generalised landscape setting, leaning on a canon, a suitable reference to his military positions, and wearing a uniform of blue with red lining and a red waist coat trimmed with gold braid (Plate 17). Old photographs of Carton demonstrate that its frame has been changed several times during the past century.

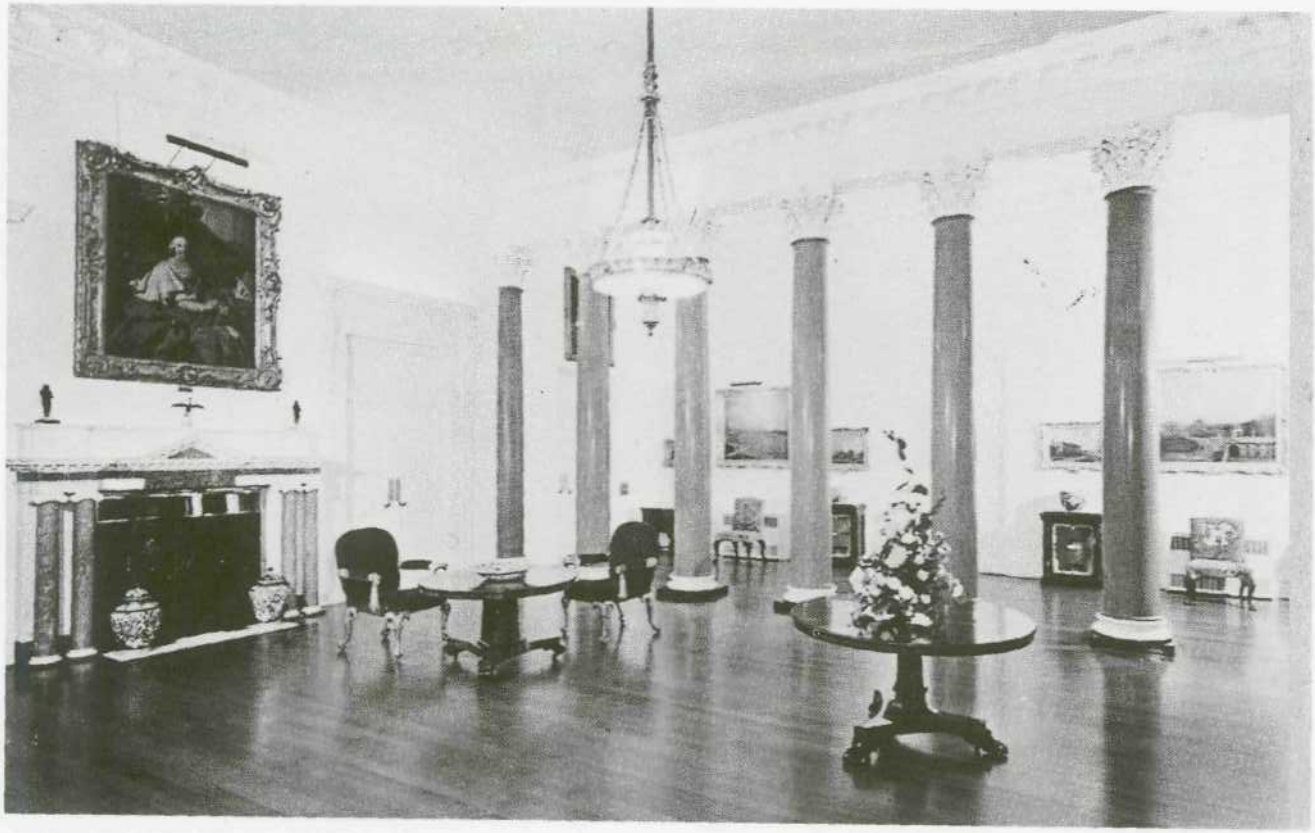
While Emily preferred the use of a separately made frame, for the Ramsay portrait of her husband to hang in her dressing room, she was evidently familiar with having the frame made up as part of the wall decorations. There is evidence to suggest that a pair of pendant portraits of the duke and duchess painted in 1753 by Sir Joshua Reynolds were hung in this manner in Leinster House. These portraits may have been made up as part of a specially designed decorative scheme in one of the larger reception rooms in Leinster House.

James and Emily Fitzgerald sat to Sir Joshua Reynolds for a pair of three-quarter length portraits in 1753 (Plates 19 & 20).* There is some indication that Reynolds's 1753 portraits had not come to Ireland as late as 1755, three years after they were painted.[1'] However it is likely that the portraits arrived in Ireland sometime in the late 1750s and remained here until at least the mid 1770s.[10]

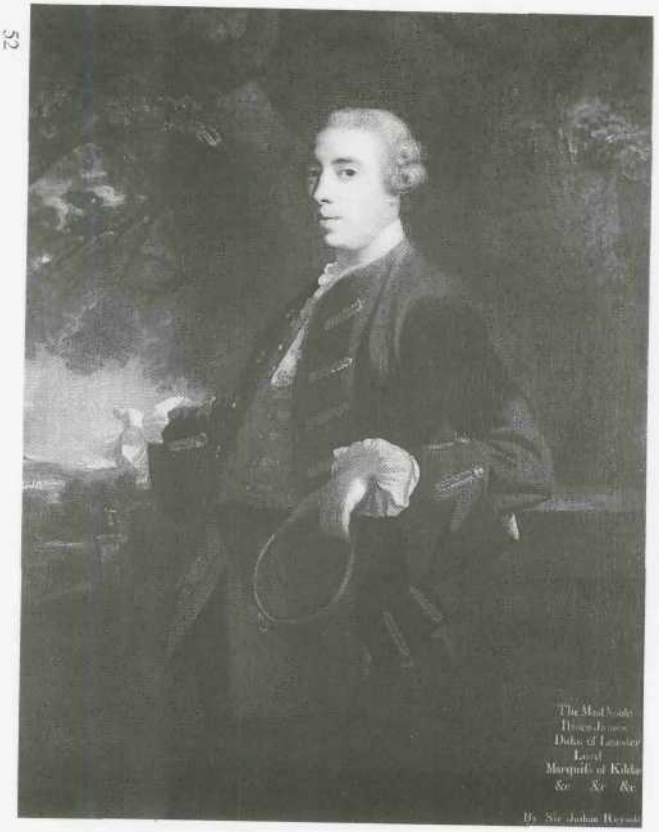
The duke had commenced the building of Leinster House in 1745 and it is likely that he had his new town house in mind as a setting for the portraits which he commissioned from Reynolds in the early 1750s. It was a more accessible location than Carton, and it was there that the duke undoubtedly conducted much of his public business. Leinster House, with its elaborate series of reception rooms on two floors, was eminently well suited to the display of public images of the duke and his wife. The stucco overmantles in the dining room, now the



17. Allan Ramsay, *James Fitzgerald, marquess of Kildare*. 1762. Oil on canvas. Carton House, Co. Kildare
Reproduced by permission of Lee and Mary Mallaghin.

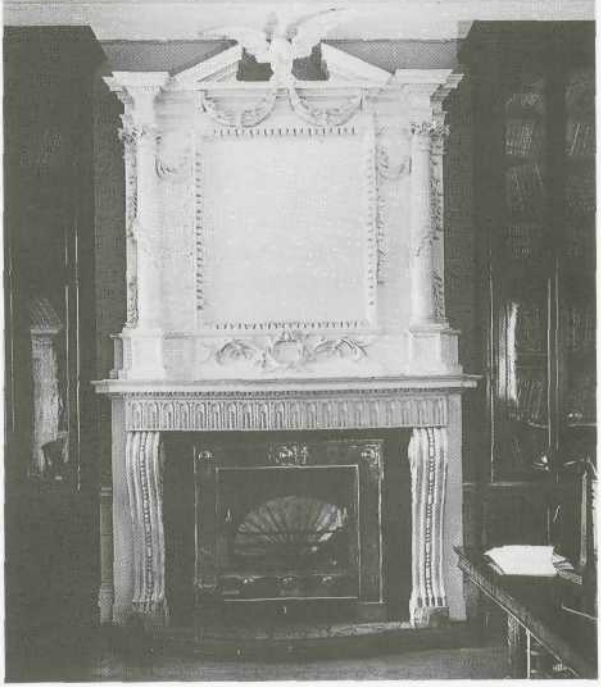


18. *Goodwood House, Chichester, Sussex* – front hall, including portrait of *Cardinal Fleury* by Hyacinthe Rigaud, in a 'Rococo' frame. Photograph, author. This is the picture, seen by Emily, duchess of Leinster in Richmond House, the frame of which she wished to have copied for Ramsay's portrait of her husband to hang in her dressing room at Leinster House in Dublin.



19. Sir Joshua Reynolds, *James Fitzgerald, 1st duke of Leinster*. 1753-4.
Oil on canvas. 49 x 38.5 ins. Private collection, England.
Reproduced by permission of the Courtauld Institute of Art.

20. Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Emily, duchess of Leinster*. 1753-4.
Oil on canvas. 49 x 38.5 ins. Private Collection, England.
Reproduced by permission of the Courtauld Institute of Art.



21. Leinster House, Dublin – ground floor, former supper room (now library). Photograph. Reproduced by permission of the Irish Architectural Archive. This shows one of the pair of overmantles probably made in the late 1750s to hold the Reynolds portraits of the duke **and** duchess of Leinster.

22. Leinster House. Dublin (formerly Kildare House) - ground floor, former supper room (now library) Photograph by John Kennedy, October 1993. This shows the pair of overmantles probably made in the late 1750s to hold the Reynolds portraits of the duke and duchess of Leinster.

library, would have made ideal positions in which to prominently display the portraits by Joshua Reynolds.

Recent research by David Griffin suggests that work on the decoration of the interiors at Leinster House continued after the death of the architect Richard Castle in 1751.[11] Griffin has published a series of drawings attributed to Isaac Ware, some of which relate to executed schemes for several rooms in the house, mainly the grand reception rooms on the first floor. Some of these designs include elaborate overmantles which were clearly intended as settings for paintings.

The largest reception room on the ground floor in Leinster House was designated a supper room in the eighteenth-century.[12] The room runs the full depth of the house along its north side with a bow projecting from its north wall. The long south wall of this room includes, equi-distant from a centrally placed door, a pair of chimney pieces with elaborate overmantles, framed by columns and supporting broken pediments (Plates 21 & 22). David Griffin has indicated that in the original plans for the house the space occupied by this room was designed as three separate rooms and that during recent refurbishment the traces of dividing walls were revealed. Griffin is of the view that the larger room was probably created in the late 1750's or early 1760's, including the installation of the pair of overmantles. The latter, located as they are in the most important space on the ground floor of the house would have provided a perfect setting for the pair of portraits of the duke and his wife which had recently been commissioned from Reynolds. The portraits are of dimensions which would have allowed them to have been placed in the framing overmantles, perhaps being held in place by the use of a decorative gold slip.[13]

As noted earlier, in the context of the Ramsay portrait of the duke, Emily in her letter to her husband revealed that she was familiar with the idea of having a portrait 'made up as part of the chimney'. The present frame on the portrait of the duke was made in 1803, so that it may have arrived in the collection in England, where it remains, without a frame for the very good reason that its original frame remained as part of the decorative scheme of the room in Leinster House.[14] It seems reasonable to conclude that this pair of overmantles were probably constructed specifically to hold the Reynolds portraits.

This type of frame made up as part of the wall decoration was used frequently by Robert Adam in England during the 1760's and 1770's and was not unusual in eighteenth-century Ireland.[15] The portrait of Lady Louisa Conolly, sister of Emily duchess of Leinster, painted by Reynolds in 1775, used to hang in a specially designed cartouche at one end of the gallery at Castletown with the portrait of her husband Tom Conolly by Anton Raphael Mengs, painted in Rome

during his Grand Tour in 1758, at the other end."[1] It is known that the decorative scheme for this room was in progress in the early 1770's and the Reynolds portrait of Lady Louisa must have been commissioned to complete the room. Other examples of such framing arrangements in Ireland include the 1772 designs of Robert Adam for Headford House, County Meath, which include interiors with pictures in plaster cartouches.[17] A similar scheme is also to be seen in the arrangements of the Veraets in Russborough and an extensive series of landscapes by George Barret there.[18]

Emily Fitzgerald's son-in-law the earl of Bellamont was evidently influenced by the hanging arrangements in Leinster house when he chose to commission his portrait and that of his new wife from Sir Joshua Reynolds, and to hang them together with other family pictures in a specially designed scheme in the saloon of Bellamont Forest, his seat in County Cavan.

In 1773-4 Reynolds painted portraits of Sir Charles Coote, earl of Bellamont (1738-1800) now in the National Gallery of Ireland (Plate 23) and the pendant portrait of his wife, now at Luton Hoo (Plate 24).[19] The earl of Bellamont was an Irish peer with exceptionally grandiose notions of his own importance whose inflated self esteem is remarkably well reflected in Reynolds's greatest 'swagger' portrait.[20] The portrait combines Reynolds's ability to capture character with his desire to render images in the grand style. The earl's unassuming wife is modestly depicted by the artist in a pendant portrait which was designed to hang along side that of her husband.

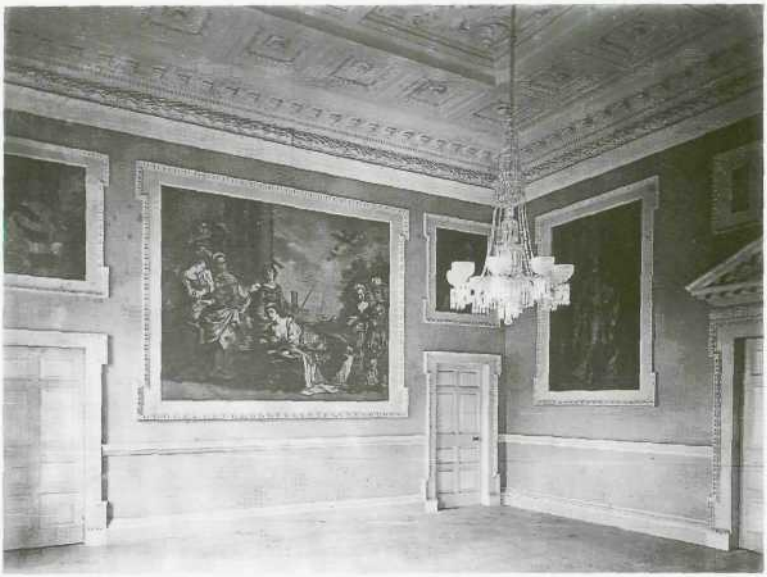
On the 20th August 1774 the earl of Bellamont married Emily Mary (1751-1818) daughter of the 1 st duke of Leinster at the family seat Carton, County Kildare. The portraits were commissioned to celebrate this union and the earl's portrait was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1774 as 'portrait of a nobleman in the robes of the Order of the Bath'.

The portraits of the earl and countess of Bellamont appear to have been intended to hang in one of the grand reception rooms at Bellamont Forest.[21] Bellamont Forest was described in 1801, the year following the earl's death, when both portraits were still in situ

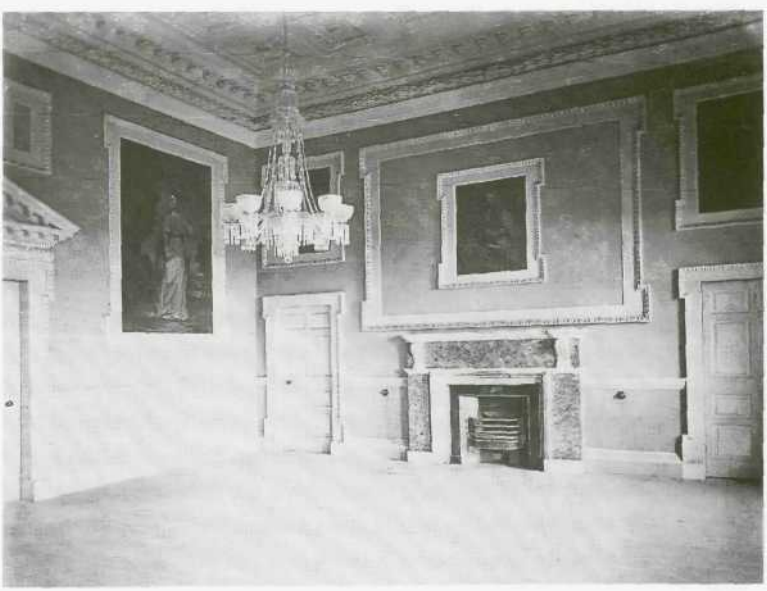
> immediately opposite the hall door is the saloon of the like dimensions as the hall: the walls of this very beautiful apartment are adorned with some excellent portraits, and a full length picture of the late earl, in his robes of the Order of the Bath, and a corresponding one of the countess of Bellamont, both painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds. The likenesses are extremely well preserved, and the painting esteemed very good; and in this apartment is one of the best

23. Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Sir Charles Coote, earl of Bellamont.*
Oil canvas. 96.4 x 63.7 ins.
Reproduced by permission of the National Gallery of Ireland.

24. Sir Joshua Reynolds *Emily, countess of Bellamont.* Oil canvas. 92.9 x 57 ins.
The Werner Collection, Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire.
Reproduced by permission of the trustees of the Luton Hoo Foundation.



25. Interior of saloon, Bellamont Forest, including full length portrait of the earl of Bellamont by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Photograph. Album, 'Views of Bellamont Forest", National **Library** of Ireland. Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Ireland. This photograph was taken before the sale of the portraits of the earl and countess of Bellamont in 1875 and shows the full length portrait of the earl hanging in its specially made plaster cartouche.



26. Interior of saloon. Bellamont Forest, including the full length portrait of the countess of Bellamont by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Photograph from Album, 'Views of Bellamont Forest'. National Library of Ireland. Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Ireland. This photograph was taken before the sale of the portraits of the earl and countess of Bellamont in 1875 and shows the full length portrait of the countess hanging in its specially made plaster cartouche.

> historical pictures, which Ireland can produce, the subject being the suoside [sic] of Dido, full length, supposed to have been executed by Raphael.[22]

In the National Library of Ireland there is an album of photographs of the interior and exterior of Bellamont Forest, which bears an inscription indicating that it was presented by Richard Coote to his neighbour Lady Dartry in 1870.[23] One of the photographs of the interior shows the saloon with both the *Death of Dido,* in fact a copy after Guercino, and Reynolds's portrait of the earl in situ (Plate 25).[24] This photograph was taken prior to the sale of both pictures in 1875.[25] The album also includes a view of the other end of the saloon where Reynolds's portrait of the countess of Bellamont hung (Plate 26).

From the photographs we can see that in the saloon there are five other portraits which probably predate those of the earl and countess and most likely depict ancestors of the earl. In the photograph which includes the earl's portrait there are two others over the doors. Both are three-quarter length. That on the left shows a man in peers robes, possibly Charles Coote's uncle, also earl of Bellamont, and that on the right, partly obscured by a light fitting, shows a gentleman wearing a velvet coat who might well be the earl's father. This accords with their style as portraits of the 1740's or 50's. In the photograph of the other end of the room there are three portraits, besides that of the countess. Those over the doors are too dark to be distinguished but that over the mantel shows a man in a fullbottomed official-looking wig and carrying a scroll and this may represent the earl's grandfather Thomas Coote (d. 1741), a lord justice of the Kings Bench and the builder of Bellamont Forest.

All pictures in the room are framed by plaster cartouches which remain as part of the decorative scheme of the room. The cartouches at Bellamont Forest must have been made shortly after 1774 when the Reynolds portraits were painted.[26] Certainly the arrangement in the 1870's photograph looks as one would imagine the room was at the time of the written description in 1801. If the earl already owned the other pictures in the room, he probably had such a hanging arrangement in mind when he commissioned the portraits from Reynolds and the planning of the scheme for the room must have helped to dictate the scale of the works to be commissioned. In his portrait the earl looks to the right while the countess is depicted looking to the left, so that when hanging in the saloon at Bellamont Forest they looked at each other across the doorway, an arrangment which must have been planned by patron and painter.

The thirteen paintings exhibited by Reynolds at the Royal Academy in 1774 included his portrait of the earl of Bellamont and a second painting

commissioned by another member of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy, Luke Gardiner of Dublin. This was Reynolds's magnificent triple portrait, commissioned in the summer of 1773 and representing Elizabeth Montgomery (1751-83), Luke Gardiner's wife, and her two sisters, now in the Tate Gallery. Although it is not clear where this picture was hung, the most likely location was in the large theatre which Luke Gardiner built in his house in Dublin's Phoenix Park, where it may have hung opposite a large history piece which he commissioned in Rome from Gavin Hamilton.[27] There is more information on the hanging of pictures in his father's house in Henrietta Street.

The elder Luke Gardiner (d.1755) was a self made man, banker, property developer, MP and holder of several important public offices.[28] A schedule to a deed in the Gardiner papers in the National Library of Ireland includes an inventory of goods at 10 Henrietta Street 'which did belong to the late Luke Gardiner Esqr taken and valued by Joseph Ellis and J Kirchoffer Novr 9th 1772'.[29] The inventory includes 35 pictures, most of which were probably oil paintings. The majority of these are landscapes, including one view of Powerscourt waterfall.[30] It also included 'flower pieces', 'sea pieces', one 'Dutch Massacre', one 'Dutch Market', a 'large History piece', a conversation piece, three 'family pieces' and two 'large pictures of the Cartoons'. Portraits included two 'whole lengths' and one three-quarter length of ladies, two 'whole lengths' of George I and the Duke of Bolton, one of 'Lord Stafford and his secretary' and two of 'King William and Mary'.[31]

The inventory gives a room by room account of the pictures and other furnishings in the house. The principal reception rooms contained the vast majority of the pictures. The 'Breakfast Parlour' contained eight pictures (including three Landscapes and three 'Family Pieces'); the 'Street Parlour', ten (including, the Barret landscape, portraits of 'William and Mary', a 'large History piece' and a 'Conversation piece'); the 'Gilt Parlour', three; the 'Blue Drawing Room', three (two full lengths of ladies and one three-quarter length); the 'Anti-Chamber', three; the 'Ball Room', five - including - 'the Cartoons', full lengths of 'George I' and 'the Duke of Bolton' and 'Lord Stafford and his secretary'.[32] There is little information about the hanging arrangements except that we are told that the three landscapes in the 'Breakfast Parlour' and two 'Sea Pieces' in the 'Street Parlour' were 'over the doors'.[33] Many pictures were described as being in gilt frames. The interior of the house has been much altered since the Gardiners lived there, although some rooms remain intact. The large room on the first floor with a Venetian window overlooking the street was probably the 'ball room'. The small room overlooking the garden on the ground floor may have been the

'breakfast parlour'. 'The Cartoons' presumably refer to a copy of those by Raphael, now in the Victoria & Albert Museum, are given a valuation far in excess of any other pictures in the collection at £50.[34] The other pictures are given valuations much less than the price a contemporary artist would have charged to paint such pictures, with the three female portraits given a total value of £21.

Because paintings on canvas are mobile, it is difficult to reconstruct the hanging arrangements of over two hundred years ago. However it is abundantly clear from the available evidence that portraits played a particularly important role in formal reception rooms of town and country houses in eighteenth-century Ireland, emphasising wealth, dignity and social status of sitters.

1 This article is based on material drawn from the author's thesis 'Images of assurance or masks of uncertainty: Joshua Reynolds and the Anglo-Irish Ascendency, 1746-1789', University of Dublin, M. Litt. 1993. Also derived from the above John Coleman, "Sir Joshua Reynolds and Richard Robinson, archbishop of Armagh", *Irish Arts Review Yearbook 1995*, 131-6.

2 Between 1754 and 1779 Sir Joshua Reynolds painted one portrait of the 1st duke of Leinster, three different portraits of his wife Emily and one portrait of their son the 2nd duke. Many of the portraits of the 1st duke and duchess of Leinster are illustrated in Stella Tillyard, *Aristocrats: Caroline, Emily, Louisa and Sarah Lennox 1740-1832 (*London, 1994).

3 The Fitzgeralds maintained several Irish country residences, a town house in Dublin and generally also had a London house. The 19th earl had a town house in Dame Street, Dublin until 1716 when he moved to the south side of Suffolk Street. James Fitzgerald maintained the Suffolk Street house until 1745 when he commenced the building of Leinster House, known as Kildare House until the creation of the dukedom in 1766 (The Marquess of Kildare, *The earls of Kildare and their ancestors* ("Dublin, 1858), 273).

4 There is a half-length portrait of the Marquess by Allan Ramsay at Goodwood, which may be the version painted for Holland House (M.M. Reece, *Goodwood's oak: The life and times of the third duke of Richmond, Lennox and Aubigny* ("London, 1987), 43). The duke of Leinster's first sitting in Ramsay's studio was on 18th May 1762 *(The correspondence of Emily, duchess of Leinster* (Dublin, 1949-53), i, 132-3.

5 Brian Fitzgerald, *Emily, duchess of Leinster, 1731-1814: A study of her life and times* (London and New York, 1949), 107.

6 Fitzgerald 1949, 111.

7 Allan Ramsay's portrait of the earl now hangs in an early nineteenth-century frame.

8 Algernon Graves and William Vine Cronin, *A history of the works of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (London, 1898-1901), ii, 551. Lady Emily's family connection in England were amongst Reynolds leading patrons. Commodore Augustus Kepple, one of Reynolds earliest and most important patrons, was her first cousin.

9 It is known from the date of the James McArdell engravings that the portraits were completed by 1753. However, Reynolds's pocketbooks suggest that the portrait of Emily was still in Reynolds's studio in 1755 (William Cotton, *Sir Joshua Reynolds and his works* (London, 1856).)

10 The portraits are now in a private collection in England. The pictures came into that collection after a member of the family married a daughter of the duke and duchess of Leinster in 1789. According to a typed catalogue of the private collection where the pictures remain, the portrait of the duke arrived in the collection in 1803, but that of the duchess was not given to the family until 1832, the year before her second husband William Ogilvie died and many years after Emily's death in 1814.

11 David J. Griffin, 'Leinster House and Isaac Ware', in Agnes Bernelle (Ed), *Decantations: A tribute in honour of Maurice Craig* (Dublin, 1992), 60-70.

12 It is now the library of the houses of the Oireachtas (the Irish parliament).

13 According to the records in the Witt Library the portrait of the duke measures 49.5" in height by 38.5" in width while that of the duchess measures 50" x 38.5". The typed catalogue of the private collection in which the portraits remain records that the portrait of the duke measures 49" x 38.5". According to this catalogue, family account books record that a payment of £13.4.0. was made to one MacLoughlin for a frame for the portrait of the duke in 1803 and in the same year one Parsons was paid £5.5.0. for having the picture "done up". This work on the picture may have involved restretching or relining and so could have affected the size of the picture. Portraits in the eighteenth century were generally made in a small number of standard sizes (Ellis Waterhouse, *Reynolds* (London, 1973), 39). The so-called 'half-length' measured 50 x 40 inches. However, records of the dimensions of portraits by Reynolds show that the size often varies and they can be an inch or so shorter either in height or width. The frames in the overmantles, which the author measured, are 49" high by 43" wide. The

differences between the recent recorded measurements of the pictures and the measurements of the frames may be due in part to imprecise measurements of the pictures and to repairs to the pictures over their life times.

14 See note 10 above on the provenance of the present frame.

15 Examples in England include the interiors of Robert Adam particularly and also those of John Carr of York. Examples of this type of work by Adam include Kedleston, Osterly and Harewood (See Geoffrey Beard, *The works of Robert Adam* (London, 1978). *Mrs Hall as Euphrosyne* by Reynolds in the music room at Harewood is framed in this manner (Nicolas Penny, 'Reynolds and picture frames', *The Burlington Magazine* CXXVIII (1004) (Nov. 1986), 810-825.

16 A.M. Keller, 'The long gallery of Castletown House', *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, xxii (1979), 1-53. Both decorative arrangements are illustrated in the article by A.M. Keller. Graves and Cronin, *A history of the works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, London, 1898-1901, i, 190. Lady Louisa Conolly sat for a three-quarter length, the original of which is in the Fogg Museum, Harvard University, USA and a late-nineteenth century copy of which hangs in the cartouche designed for the original in the Long Gallery at Castletown House, Co. Kildare, from which the original was sold in 1898.

17 John Harris, *Headford House and Robert Adam: Drawings from the collection of Mr. and Mrs Paul Mellon* (London, 1973). Although the rooms as executed were not faithful to the designs, a variation of the plaster cartouches remains.

18 Brian Fitzgerald, 'Russborough, Co. Wicklow', *Country Life* xxc (Jan. 1937), 94-9, 120-126.

19 Two payments of 150 guineas for portraits of 'Lord and Lady Bellamont' are recorded in Reynolds's ledger dated 2 February 1778 (M. Cormack, 'The ledgers of Sir Joshua Reynolds', *Walpole Society* XLII (1968-70), 147).

20 Andrew Wilton, *The swagger portrait: grand manner portraiture in Britain from Van Dyck to Augustus John 1630-1930*, Tate Gallery Exhibition Catalogue (London, 1992).

21 Bellamont Forest was completed in 1729 for his grandfather, Thomas Coote. to the designs of Sir Edward Lovett Pearce (David Griffin, 'Ireland's Palladian gem', *Irish Arts Review*, iii (4), 24-28).

22 This description is from Sir Charles Coote, *Statistical survey of the county of Cavan1801*, Royal Dublin Society (Dublin, 1802). I am grateful to Prof. Anne Crookshank for drawing my attention to the series of statistical surveys.

23 National Library of Ireland, R.22380, Belllamont Forest Album. I am grateful to David Griffin for drawing the existence of this album to my attention.

24 Curiously the Old Masters fitted into plaster frames at Ribston Hall in Yorkshire, designed by John Carr c. 1770, includes a copy of Guercino's *Death of Dido* by the German artist Franciszek Smugliewicz (See Gervase Jackson-Stops (Ed.), *The treasure houses of Britain: five hundred years of private patronage and art collecting* (London and New Haven, 1985), 17).

25 Both Reynolds portraits remained at Bellamont Forest until they were sold at Christies on 3 July 1875, the portrait of the earl being purchased by the National Gallery of Ireland. The portraits of the earl and countess and *The death of Dido*, 51-53 respectively in the catalogue, were the only items in the sale from Bellamont Forest. *The death of Dido* was purchased by the neighbouring Lord Dartry of Dawsons Grove in County Monaghan whose seat faced Bellamont Forest across the lakes. It was resold to a later owner of Bellamont Forest at the Dartry sale in 1937 and now hangs in the plaster cartouche designed for it originally.

26 David Griffin agrees that the cartouches were probably created c. 1775 as part of a redecoration scheme for the house which had then recently been damaged by a fire.

27 The house which his father built in the Phoenix Park was sold to the Government in 1788 and is now the Ordinance Survey (M. Craig, *Dublin 1660-1880* (Dublin 1980), 94, 98 and 331). The room was built as a theatre and its architecture is remarkably similar to the House of Lords in the Dublin Parliament building.

28 He was surveyor general of the customs, a privy councillor and deputy vice-treasurer of Ireland.

29 National Library of Ireland PC11 (6). The Gardiner papers in the National Library are unsorted and I am grateful to Dr Edward McParland for kindly giving me a copy of his transcript of this document. The deed referred to was an agreement between the younger Luke Gardiner and his uncle Sackville Gardiner whereby Luke would gain possession of heirlooms inherited by Sackville, from the elder Luke Gardiner, for a consideration.

30 George Barret painted several views of Powerscourt Waterfall. Barret was in London from 1762 and a *View of the waterfall at Powerscourt* was exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1764 (W. Strickland *A dictionary of Irish artists*, Dublin, 1913, Vol. 2, p. 30). There is one version of *A view of Powerscourt waterfall*, by George Barret, 100 x 127, in the National Gallery of Ireland, purchased at Christies in 1880.

31 It is unlikely that the conversation piece listed in the inventory is that known as *The Leslie conversation piece*, now owned by the earl of Belmore at Castle Coole, which includes Sackville Gardiner, son of the elder Luke Gardiner and uncle of the younger Luke, and William, brother of the younger Luke. It is illustrated in colour with a full description of the sitters and provenance in *The Georgian Society Records* (Dublin, 1909-1913)., iv, 3.

32 *Lord Strafford and his secretary* must have been a version of the Van Dyck portrait of Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford and his secretary, Sir Philip Manwaring, of which there is a copy in the drawing room at Castletown.

33 Some of the Barret landscapes at Russborough were used over doors (see Brian Fitzgerald, 'Russborough, County Wicklow, *Country Life* xxc (Jan.1937), 94-9, 120-126.

34 There are large oil copies of Raphael's cartoons at Knole in Kent, which might be similar to those owned by Luke Gardiner.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE FRENCH ROCOCO PRINT IN IRELAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

by Joseph McDonnell

In March 1734, a notice appeared in the *Mercure de France* announcing the publication of a suite of nearly fifty engravings from the designs of Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier (1695-1750). These were to be had from the Widow Cheneau at her shop *aux deux Pilliers d'or, rue S. Jacques, Paris.*[1]

The notice began by ignoring the contemporary vogue for the *fêtes galantes* and the airy grotesques of Watteau and instead, appealed to the 'bizarre' taste of the 17th century Italian engraver, Stephen della Bella (1610-64).

> *Il paroit une suite d'Estampes en large, dans le goût d'Etienne la Belle, qui doivent piquer la curiosité du Public et de Curieux du meilleur goût. Ce sont des Fontaines, des Cascades, de Ruines, des Rocailles, et Coquillages, des morceaux d'Architecture qui font des effets bizarres, singuliers et pittoresques, par leurs formes piquantes et extraordinaires dont souvent aucune partie ne répond à l'autre, sans que le sujet en paroisse moins riche et moins agréable...*

These were the first truly rococo engravings in which cascades, fountains, ruins, *rocaille*, shells and architecture were depicted in a picturesque manner. These the *Mercure* explained as 'forms of which no part corresponds to any other'. The artist and critic C.N. Cochin (1715-90) summed it up when he concluded that Meissonnier had invented contrasts, that is to say he had banished symmetry - thus the style was known to contemporaries as *le genre pittoresque?*

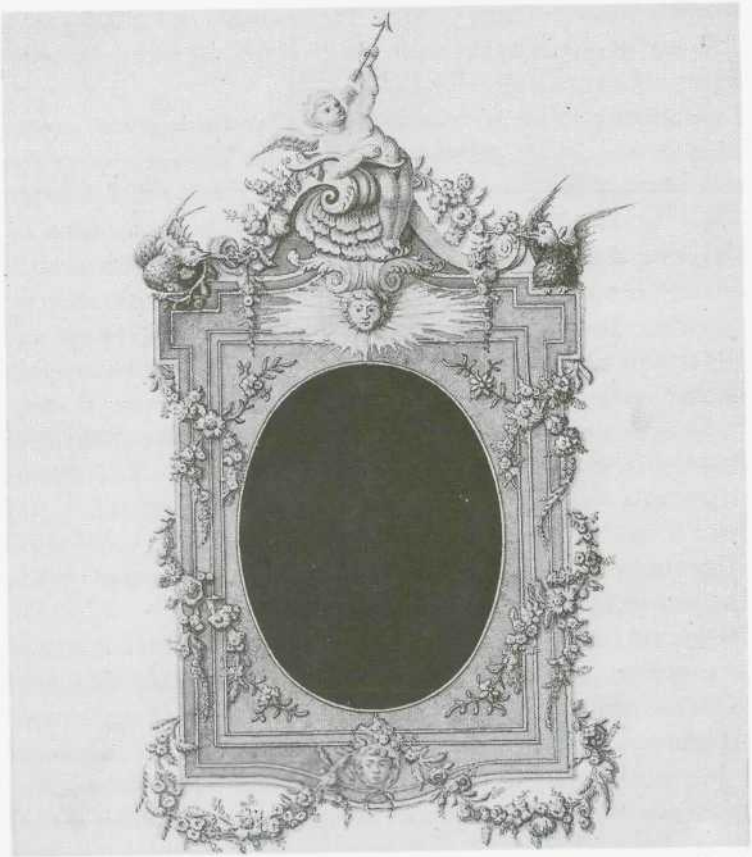
In the final section of the notice in the *Mercure* there is reference to interior decoration in the form of ceiling designs. *Il y a aussi des especes de plafonds avec figures et animaux, groupez avec intelligence, dont les bordures sont extrément ingénieuses et variées. Le cartouche qui sert de Frontispice, porte ce Titre: Livre d'Ornemens, inventez et dessinez par J.O. Moissonier* [sic], *Architecte, Dessinateur de la Chambre et Cabinet du Roy...*

Turning to the fourth plate of Meissonier's *Livre d'ornemens* [Series D] we find a ceiling design showing Apollo driving his chariot and four horses across the sky within a border of vigorous S and C scrolls (Plate 27).' It has escaped notice that Meissonnier copied this motif from Giuseppe Chiari's (1654-1727)

27. *Apollo driving his chariot* from J.A. Meissonnier, *Livre d'Ornemens.* Paris c. 1734. Photograph, author.

28. Gilded pine mirror attributed to Francis and John Booker. Malaliide castle. Photograph reproduced by permission of Christies.

29. ***Cupid pointing*** *his arrow* from J.A. Meissonnier, *Livre d'Ornemens,* Paris c. 1734. Photograph, author.



30. Joseph Jarratt. Design for a picture frame. Watercolour & ink. Jarratl Album. Irish Architectural Archive. Reproduced by permission of **the** Irish Architectural Archive.

ceiling fresco in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome (c.1693).[4] Meissonnier's engraving, but without the border, was the source for a frieze on a carved and gilded mirror attributed to the firm of Francis and John Booker, which originally came from Newtownpark House, Blackrock, Co. Dublin and is now in Malahide castle (Plate 28).[5] The Booker firm of looking glass merchants carried on an extensive business established in 1725 at Essex Bridge (now Parliament St.) which lasted until 1772.

We do not know whether the Bookers employed their own craftsmen to carve the frames or sub-contracted them from another workshop. The knight of Glin has suggested that the Bookers may have gone to Dublin's best known carver and gilder, Richard Cranfield (1731-1809).[6] In 1757 Cranfield was paid £20 by William Brownlow of Lurgan for a pier-glass with gilt frame and in 1771 he was paid £18 4s for carving and gilding the four lion-head brackets in the saloon of the Provost's House in Trinity College.[7] The lion masks and husks on the saloon brackets are similar in treatment to those on the urn which surmounts the Newtown Park mirror.

If the intention of the *Mercure* notice of 1734 was to arouse curiosity by stressing the novelty of Meissonnier's prints, the result was an outstanding success. Within a short time Jacques De La Joue (1686-1761), Jean Mondon (fl. 1736-1760) and François Boucher (1703-1770) were supplying an ever growing demand for these new ornament pictures. By 1737 a counterfeit edition of Meissonnier's suite with reversed images, was published in London by John Rocque whose later sojourn in Ireland is discussed below.[8] Rocque's edition almost certainly reached Dublin, as the architect Joseph Jarratt had used a plate - Cupid pointing his arrow upwards - from the *Livre d'ornemens* (D series) as a source for an element in his design for a picture or mirror frame (Plates 29 & 30).' It is fascinating to observe Jarratt attempting to adapt rococo asymmetry and movement to a static Palladian format. However a definite shift in style has occurred if one compares Jarratt's design to the carved parcel-gilt frame (attributed to John Houghton) of the Van Beaver tapestry portrait of George II originally in the Weaver's Hall, Dublin.[10]

This ink and wash drawing of a picture or mirror surround is one of several by Jarratt pasted into an album which is now in the Irish Architectural Archive." These include designs for buildings and interior features such as a compartment ceiling with *rocaille* motifs and several rococo compositions or exercises copied from pattern books such as Delacour's. Also pasted into the album is a large group of French rococo engravings including cartouches by Babel and interiors by Nicolas Pineau (1684-1754) from Jean Mariette's *Architecture Frangoise.* It

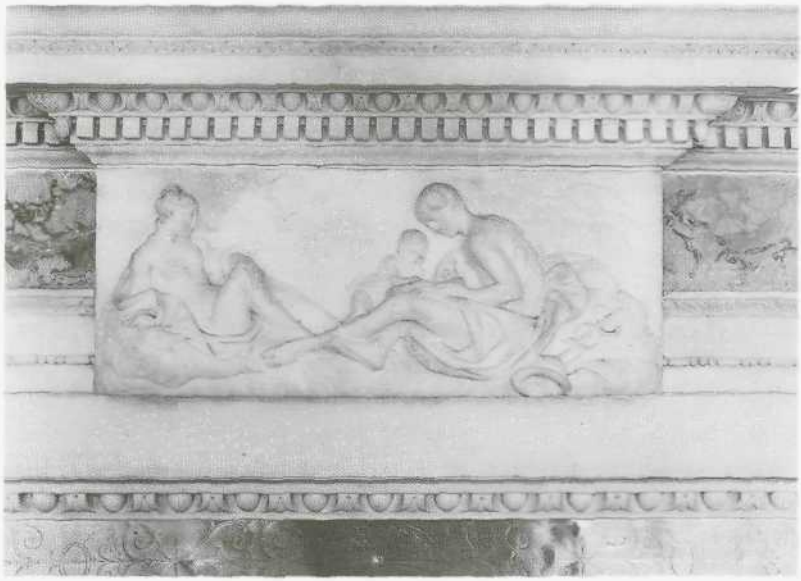
is interesting in this regard that another collection of engravings, which belonged in turn to the Dublin stuccodores Robert West and Michael Stapleton, also contained mostly French or German copies of French prints, including designs for ceilings and *boiseries* by Pineau.[12] Pineau's influence has been detected in England in the rococo *boiserie* at Woburn Abbey and in the spectacular rooms created by Isaac Ware for the earl of Chesterfield in his now destroyed London house.[13]

David Griffin has shown that Ware produced a drawing for a French room in Leinster House in Dublin in the late 1750s for the earl of Kildare (later duke of Leinster).[14] Again Pineau is the source for Ware's design of the *boiseries,* but the scheme was rejected as it probably would have been impossible or too costly to import French carvers.

While there were apparently no rococo *boiseries* carved in Ireland, to my knowledge, during the eighteenth century, there are several examples of stucco wall decorations which owe their designs to Mariette or Briseaux's *L'Artde bdtir des maisons de campagne* (1743). The schemes found on the staircase walls of number 86 St Stephen's Green (Newman House) and Drogheda House which formerly stood in Lower O'Connell Street are the most obvious examples of such borrowing.[15] The same sources inspired a series of five almost identical rooms found in Charlemont House, 34 St Stephen's Green, 86 St Stephen's Green, Dowth Hall, Co. Meath and Dunsandle, Co. Galway.[16]

François Boucher's (1703-1770) prints were popular with the Dublin craftsmen as we know from their impact on the decoration of the saloon ceiling in 20 Lower Dominick Street, Dublin which was built by Robert West the stuccodore in 1758.[17] A marble chimneypiece from Tracton House and now in Dublin Castle has a relief carving of the education of Cupid flanked by Venus and Mercury (Plate 31).[18] This motif is derived from a print engraved by P.F. Basan after a painted overdoor by Boucher (Plate 32).[19] Again Boucher is the source for the carved centre-panels of the two wooden chimneypieces in the saloon of the Provost's House in Trinity College (Plates 33 & 34). Since Richard Cranfield was paid for a good deal of work in the Provost's House, it seems safe to assume that he was responsible for carving the two chimneypieces. The engravings used were from Boucher's, *Livre des arts*; *Troisieme livre de groupes d'enfans* and the *Quatrième livre de groupes d'enfans* (frontispiece) (Plate 35-36, 38-41).[20]

A later carved wooden chimneypiece in the neo-classical style from 53 St Stephen's Green is possibly also by Richard Cranfield (Plate 37).[21] The wide frieze, moreover, is derived from the same source as the carvings of the Provost's House saloon mantelpiece: Boucher's *Livre des arts* (Plates 38-41).[22]



31. Carved tablet on a chimneypiece from Tracton House, now in **Dublin** castle. Reproduced by permission of the Irish Architectural Archive.

32. *L'Amour* ***instrui par*** *Mercure,* engraving after an overdoor by François Boucher. Photograph, author.

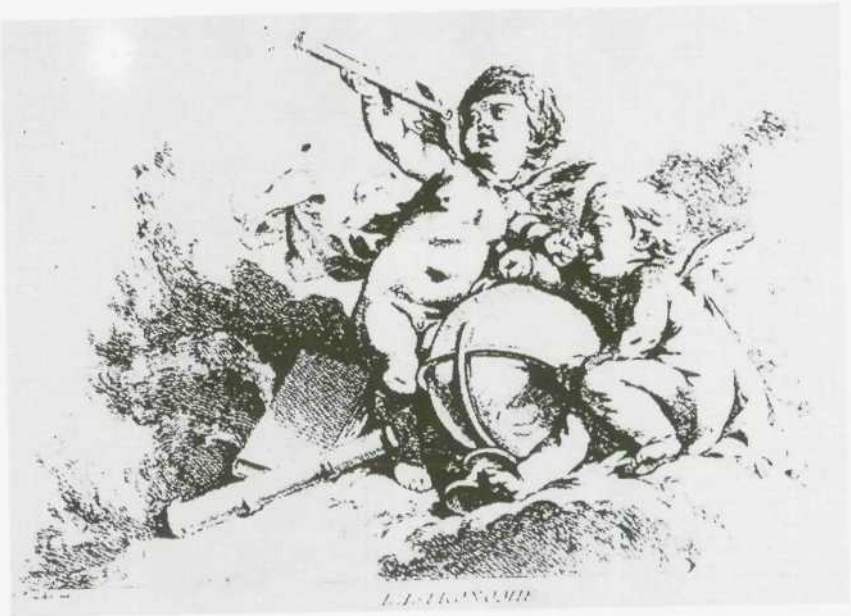
33. Carved tablet from saloon chimneypiece, Provost's House, Trinity College.
Photograph reproduced by permission of the Irish Architectural Archive.

34. Carved tablet from saloon chimneypiece. Provost's House, Trinity College. Dublin.
Photograph reproduced by permission of the Irish Architectural Archive.

35. *Trois Amours*, Engraving by La Rue after François Boucher. Photograph, author.

36. *La Musique*, François Boucher, *Livre des arts*, Paris 1750s. Photograph, author.

37. Carved wooden chimneypiece formerly in 53 St Stephen's Green. Photograph, Johnston brothers.



38. *L'Astronomie*, François Boucher, *Livre des arts*, Paris 1750s. Photograph, author.

39. Title page, François Boucher, *Livre des arts,* Paris 1750s. Photograph, author.

40. *La Peinture*, François Boucher, *Livre des arts,* Paris 1750s. Photograph, author.

41. *La Sculpture*, François Boucher, *Livre Des Arts,* Paris c.1730. Photograph, author.

When John Rocque arrived in Dublin in 1754 to make a map of the city he had, apart from his well established reputation as a cartographer, engraved and published the earliest sets of rococo prints outside France. As well as copying Meissonnier's suite, mentioned earlier, Rocque was responsible for partly engraving and publishing Gaetano Brunetti's *Sixty different sorts of ornament* (1736-7). This was incidentally the source of the earliest known Irish rococo artefact - a silver coffee pot made in Dublin for Alexander McDonnell, the earl of Antrim in 1737.[23]

To assist him in his undertaking Rocque had brought a staff of surveyors and draftsmen to Ireland some of whom like he, were of French origin.[24] Rocque was not slow, however, in recruiting local draftsmen and engravers. In this he was no doubt helped by the Dublin Society's schools as we find that James Manrin, a French artist who taught ornament and landscape drawing at the school, was a subscriber to the large map of Dublin which was published by Rocque in 1756. Patrick Halpin and John Dixon who passed through the Dublin Society's Schools were employed by Rocque to engrave some of his maps. Dixon engraved the map of County Dublin (1760) where his signature appears beneath a large cartouche - taken without acknowledgement from Boucher - which bears the dedication by Rocque to the lord lieutenant, the duke of Bedford.

During his lengthy stay in Ireland Rocque had been commissioned by the earl of Kildare to survey his lands (1755-60). This resulted in the production of eight folio volumes - a milestone in the development of Irish rococo graphic art.The first volume which surveys the Manor of Woodstock (1755) is decorated in a fairly pedestrian fashion, with cartouches plagiarized from French rococo prints such as the cartouches of Babel and de LaJoue. With the survey of the Manor of Athy (1756), a marked change occurs, which I suspect may be due to the intervention of the earl of Kildare. For the first time we are given a sense of location with vignettes of the landscape and scenes such as the surveyor at work with his assistants. These later volumes, whose present whereabouts are largely unknown (accessible only through microfilm) feature magnificent rococo titlepages incorporating local views and landscapes.[25]

A leitmotif throughout the volumes is the presence of the putti at work and play. They can be seen helping the surveyor or engaged in pastoral activities such as scattering seed, flailing and harvesting and cutting turf in the Bog of Allen - a rustic embellishment of Boucher's models.

1 Fiske Kimball. *The creation of the rococo* (London, 1943) 160; Alistair Laing, '*French ornamental engravings and the diffusion of the rococo'*, Henri Zerner (Ed.) *Le stamps et la diffusione della immagini degli stili* (Bologna, 1979); Peter Fuhring, 'The print privilege in eighteenth-century France - II', *Print Quarterly* III 26, 29 n.7.,

2 Kimball. ibid, 154. For discussions of the origins of the rococo since Kimball, see: Hermann Bauer, *Rocaille* (1960); Anthony Blunt. *Some uses and misuses of the terms baroque and rococo as applied to architecture* (London, 1973).

3 *Oeuvre de Juste Aureie Meissonnier* (1969 reprint by Blom Publishers with an introduction by D. Nyberg) folio 7.

4 Illustrated in Ellis Waterhouse, *Roman baroque painting* (London, 1976) Pl.21.

5 *Newtown Park House, Blackrock, Co. Dublin,* Christies' sale 20-22 September 1976. Lot. 52. plate 17.; The Knight of Glin, *Irish Furniture* (Eason, 1978) Irish Heritage Series xvi, plate 31.

6 Knight of Glin, 'A family of looking-glass merchants'. *Country Life,* Jan. 28, 1971.

7 Edward McParland, 'Cherishing a Palladian masterpiece', *Country Life,* clx, no.4138 (21 Oct. 1976) 1106.

8 Michael Snodin (Ed.), *Rococo, art and design in Hogarth's England.* (Catalogue of an exhibition 16 May-30 Sept. 1984), 46, c 17.

9 Irish Architectural Archive, Joseph Jarratt album. *Oeuvre de Juste Aurèle Meissonnier* (1969 reprint) op. cit. folio 8. In the Rocque edition this plate is reversed. It is interesting to note that this same motif- slightly adapted - was used as a design in a silk textile at Tours c.1735-40. Illustrated in Peter Thornton, *Baroque and rococo silks* (London. 1965) Plate 75a.

10 Illustrated in the Knight of Glin. *Irish furniture* (op. cit.) pl. 9.

11 Nicholas Sheaff, 'Jarratt and rococo', *Irish Arts Review,* I, no. 3 (Autumn 1984), 50-51.

12 Irish Architectural Archive, C.P. Curran Collection; See C.P.Curran, *Dublin decorative plasterwork* (London,1967)61,82.

13 Roger White, 'Isaac Ware and Chesterfield House', in (Michael Snodin Ed.)*The rococo in England, A symposium* 1986, 175-192.

14 David Griffin, 'Leinster House and Isaac Ware', in (A. Bernelle Ed.) *Decantations* (Dublin, 1992) 60-70, plate 10.

15 The Georgian Society Records... II, (Dublin,1910) pl. lxxxvi, III, (Dublin, 1911) pls. xxxviii, xlvi.

16 The Georgian Society Records... II. (Dublin,19I0) pl. Ixxxviii. Thomas U. Sadlier & Page L. Dickinson, *Georgian mansions in Ireland* (Dublin. 1915) PI. xlvii.

17 Joseph McDonnell, *Irish eighteenth-century stuccowork and its European sources* (Dublin, 1991) p. 21 no. 8, pls 74, 76.

18 The Georgian Society Records... II. (Dublin,1910) pl.xl.

19 Pierette Jean-Richard, *L 'Oeuvre grave de Frangois Boucher,* (1978) 93, no. 262

20 Joseph McDonnell, op. cit. Catalogue No. 8, note 2, 21-22.

21 G.S.R. II, pl. LXIX, This chimneypiece is now in the possession of Johnston Antiques. Dublin.

22 Pierrette Jean-Richard, op. cit. nos. 1292, 1295, 1298, 1304, 1310.

23 Michael Snodin (Ed.). *Rococo, art and design in Hogarth's England,* op. cit. 38, B11; Christine Casey, 'Gaetano Brunetti, a printed source for eighteenth-century ornament', *GPA Irish Arts Review Yearbook 1988* (1988) 244-245.

24 J.H. Andrews, *Plantation acres,* 1985. Arnold Horner, 'Cartouches & vignettes on the estate maps of John Rocque', *Irish Georgian Society Bulletin,* xiv (1971) 57-76.
Ann Hodge, 'A Study of the rococo decorations on John Rocquc's Irish maps and plans, 1755-1760', National College of Art & Design, B.A. thesis, 1994.

25. National Library of Ireland p.4032.

ADDENDUM

With reference to 'Parliamentary Binder B identified' by Joseph McDonnell, *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* (1992-1993) xxxv, p. 56, note 24. Edward Beatty was stationer to the commissioners of the revenue, not to the wide street commissioners as I suggested. See *Wilson's directory* fDublin, 1770). In 1773 Beatty had moved to no. 1 St Andrew's Street.

A DATABASE OF IRISH ARCHITECTS 1700-1950.

by Ann Martha Rowan

In the past century and a half at least three biographical dictionaries of Irish architects have been projected, of which only one actually reached the stage of publication. This was Rolf Loeber's *A biographical dictionary of architects in Ireland 1600-1720* (John Murray, 1981), which covers a very early period from which relatively few buildings survive and during which very few people who could strictly be described as 'architects' were working in Ireland. An earlier initiative had been that of Christopher Clinton Hoey (circa 1831-1885), a contributor to *The Irish Builder;* in the 1870s Hoey 'had in contemplation the publication of "The Lives of the Irish Architects" but received poor encouragement or assistance', with the result that the project came to nothing.[1] The third was that of the Dublin architect Alfred Jones (1894-1973). Over a period of eighteen years, with quite amazing application, Jones worked his way through a mountain of source material, including *The Builder* and *The Irish Builder,* the journals and year books of the Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland and the Architectural Association of Ireland, the *Transactions of the Institution of Civil Engineers of Ireland,* and Wilson's and Thorn's directories, transcribing information about architects and engineers onto cards and pieces of paper and making photocopies, which he then sorted and placed in named and numbered pocket files. In some cases he produced finished biographical entries, but his original intention to publish was overwhelmed by the magnitude of the task he had set himself.[2]

Jones's files were deposited on loan in the Irish Architectural Archive in 1980 and have proved to be one of the most frequently consulted resources in the Archive. Given the nature of his principal sources, the files are strongest on architects who worked in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. Information on architects who worked in the eighteenth century is scantier and generally taken from secondary sources, while information about the early decades of the nineteenth century comes mainly from directories.

There were several good reasons for transferring the information contained in the Jones files onto a database, the provision of a security backup being perhaps the most obvious. The physical nature of the contents of the files, a mixture of cards,

large sheets and tiny scraps of paper containing much duplicate material, makes consultation difficult, and some of the photocopies have already faded to near invisibility. There is also the frustration of knowing that the files contain an enormous amount of information about buildings but that access to information about a particular building can only be gained if one already knows the name of the architect who designed it. The creation of a database provides the opportunity of incorporating the findings of research which has taken place in the twenty or so years since Jones's death. Chief of the new sources are the files of Dr Edward Mc Parland, which with their emphasis on the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries complement the period covered most fully by Jones, the Penguin *Buildings of Ireland* files and last but not least the Archive's own holdings.

Unlike poor Christopher Hoey's scheme, the database project has not been handicapped by lack of encouragement. Thanks to a grant of $10,000 from the Skaggs Foundation, Oakland, California, a PC was purchased in 1990 with a relational database package called Superbase 4. The remainder of the grant went towards the cost of setting up the database and starting to input data. Recently the hardware has been upgraded with the aid of a grant of £1000 from the School of Irish Studies, and more recently still the Department of the Environment has generously agreed to support the project over the next three years, which will enable inputting to proceed more rapidly.

It would be impossible to be engaged in a project of this kind without using Howard Colvin's *Biographical dictionary of British architects 1600-1840* (John Murray, 1954; 2nd edition, 1978) as a point of reference and source of inspiration. But while Colvin's dictionary limits itself to designers of buildings, the database casts it net more widely and somewhat more randomly, including various people connected with the building trade in Ireland and some engineers such as county and town surveyors. Because it is hoped that the usefulness of the database will lie as much as anything else in its ability to provide information about particular buildings, some of the craftsmen who were responsible for the fabric or 'fixtures' of a building are included, in order that such information should be as comprehensive as possible. Architects who practised and lived in Britain or elsewhere but designed buildings in Ireland are not given full biographical treatment and only their Irish works are included; conversely, brief biographies of Irish-born architects who emigrated are included if possible, but their works in their lands of adoption are not listed in detail.

The database consists of a master file, 'Arch', which contains basic information about the architect in question and is linked by a unique reference number to three other files: the first, 'Life', contains a long text field for the architect's biography; the

second, 'Work', contains all the architect's known works; the third 'Bibliog', contains a list of books and articles on or by the architect. A standard printout consists of a biography of the architect, a list of his or her works in chronological order, and a bibliography arranged alphabetically by author. Architects can be sorted by place of practice and date of activity (to the nearest quarter century), and works can be sorted by date, client and building type as well as by architect and place.

At present inputting is slowly nearing the end of the letter D. There is no plan to publish the database because of the time needed simply to input the data, and because of the advantages of open-endedness. Printouts are available from the Irish Architectural Archive, and queries may be addressed to the Archive. Any information about Irish architects, particularly from primary sources, would always be gratefully received.

1 *Irish Builder*, xxvii. 1 May 1885, 127: T am indebted to Dr Garrett Crookes for this reference and for additional information about Hoey.
2 Information about Alfred Jones was kindly supplied by his grandson, Alfred Jones, who continues the Dublin architectural practice of Jones and Kelly.

THE LETTERS OF THOMAS 'BUCK' WHALEY AT CASTLETOWN, COUNTY CARLOW.

by Amy Monahan

Thomas 'Buck' Whaley once owned Castletown, County Carlow, a medieval castle which was turned into a country house in 1786 by Samuel Faulkner, the agent of the Whaley estates for over thirty years.[1] Faulkner lived in and ran a busy office at 84 St Stephen's Green where his clerk Michael Kearney filed the family and business letters in an enormous alphabet desk. When Faulkner was drowned in 1795 bringing gold to Thomas Whaley in the Isle of Man, his house in Dublin was sold and the alphabet desk and its contents were brought down to Castletown. The Faulkner family remained at Castletown for almost a century and by 1874 when the present owner's family bought the estate the letters, legal documents, maps, bills etc. had been relegated to the attics, where they remained undisturbed until the 1950s.

Among this mass of eighteenth-century material are the letters of Thomas Whaley, his father Richard Chapell Whaley, his mother Anne Ward, his brother John Whaley, who became steward of the Turf Club and his step-father John Richardson. Thomas Whaley's letters range from the large copper-plate writing of a nine-year-old boy to his adult letters to Samuel Faulkner, usually interspersed with

accounts of his financial difficulties. Whaley was born on the 15th December 1766. At the age of three his father died and his mother remarried John Richardson. In a short life of only thirty-four years Whaley managed to gamble away his substantial estates in Counties Carlow and Armagh.

The Memoirs of Buck Whaley were published in 1906 by Sir Edward O'Sullivan and these have formed the basis of Whaley's notoriety as the great rake and gambler of late eighteenth-century Dublin.The memoirs were written by Whaley on the Isle of Man, where in exile from his creditors in England and in Ireland, he was building a mansion on soil brought from Ireland. By this time his old friend and agent Samuel Faulkner had drowned in his efforts to bring gold to the Isle of Man and his companion Anne Courtney lay dying. The memoirs were ostensibly written as a caution to other young men against the folly of a gambling career. In them Whaley expressed the hope that his 'simple narrative may persuade the young and inexperienced that a life of dissipation can produce no enjoyment and that tumultuous pleasures afford no real happiness'.

The letters of Buck Whaley preserved among the Faulkner Papers at Castletown provide an interesting contrast to the more romanticised version of Whaley's life found in the Memoirs. That said, they confirm the larger-than-life character of Whaley's remarkable career. Whaley certainly made his famous trip to Jerusalem in 1789 on the basis of a large bet, and during the French Revolution lived in Paris and ran a casino for aristocrats. However while the Memoirs speak of the French Revolution and relate that Whaley and his young son Thomas were present at the execution of the king, they do not evoke the day-to-day tenor of life during these years for Whaley, his companion Anne Courtney and their young family. By contrast, the family letters are largely concerned with Whaley's money problems and his many schemes to make good his losses.

The letters of Whaley's mother Anne Richardson to her son and to Samuel Faulkner communicate something of the family's despair at Thomas's profligate lifestyle. In June of 1784 she wrote to Tom in France from Swanlinbar 'Keep your resolution in respect of play and my anxiety about you will be at an end, except those that a doating mother must always feel when the darling of her heart is at such a distance'. Yet however fond Mrs Richardson was of her elder son she ensured that her younger son John, then about to join the Royal Academy in Caen, should not meet with his brother in France, explaining 'as such a fine man as you would be his undoing'. Much later in April 1790 she wrote to Samuel Faulkner from Somerset having received 'a melancholy letter from poor Tom from Paris, it made me cry, he has laid down a plan that he will adhere to, God grant that he may, if it is a good one.' In a later letter to Faulkner Anne

Richardson remarked 'Why were not all my children daughters?'.

While the *Memoirs* dwell on the more dramatic aspects of Whaley's life in France, a letter written in February 1791 by Faulkner's nephew Robert Cornwall communicates more vividly the character of Buck's remarkable lifestyle. 'There are accounts lately come over which I fear are true, that Whaley a few nights since lost £26,000 at one sitting among a set party made against him at a little private gaming table in St James Street and that he has raised the securities, if so, 1 suppose the next accounts will be of his having put an end to himself and I should not wonder at it. I suppose he had made away with the whole of Singleton's money and left Richardson and me in as well as Connelly, it was luck you got all business settled when you did. I fear I shall smart for what I have done. Since my last I find Mr Whaley has gone to Florence and that he does not intend returning again either to England or to this country, indeed to England he cannot. I see clearly his estate will be attached on all sides as the way he was raising money lately in England was by drafts on houses which would not be acepted, so that, in short, he has been guilty of swindling. He is certainly now in France and has a narrow escape of being arrested at Dover having been pursued all the way there.'

In the following year Cornwall again wrote to Faulkner, 'My dear Uncle, the bird is flown. He carried with him in specie upwards of £5,000 exclusive of £1,000 left in the Chancellor's hands, he has left you only £600. He is the most unfortunate young man I ever knew. I think he will not return again. He did not intend stopping in Carlow. If he had any feelings surely his travelling ought to sting him to the soul'.In May Anne Richardson wrote to Faulkner from Bath to say among other things that 'Tom Whaley has been here near a fortnight past and is in very bad spirits indeed and talks of leaving this for London but what he is to do when he gets there or how exist God knows. My heart bleeds for his situation.'

Whaley later claimed to have got through estates of £400,000 and to have contracted debts of £30,000 and more. Remarkably, in the year before he died after the death of Anne Courtney, he married the Hon. Mary Catherine Lawless, daughter of Lord Cloncurry. Whaley died suddenly on November 2nd 1800 at Knutsford in Cheshire. He had been travelling to Bath to meet with Hugh Faulkner 'to settle his afairs'. His widow remained at Fort Anne on the Isle of Man and raised Whaley's three illegitimate children.

Mrs Amy Monahan is currently preparing for publication an extended account of the Faulkner papers.

1 Faulkner also supervised the estates of Viscount Molesworth and of the countess of Charleville.

A LIST OF THESES SUBMITTED IN FULFILLMENT OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF URBAN AND BUILDING CONSERVATION.

School of Architecture
University College Dublin

by Loughlin Kealy

Accepted Theses

Theses in the area of urban and building conservation have been awarded since 1987, first for the degree of Master of Architectural Science, and since 1988 for the degree of Master of Urban and Building Conservation. Theses marked * below were awarded the degree of Master of Architectural Science

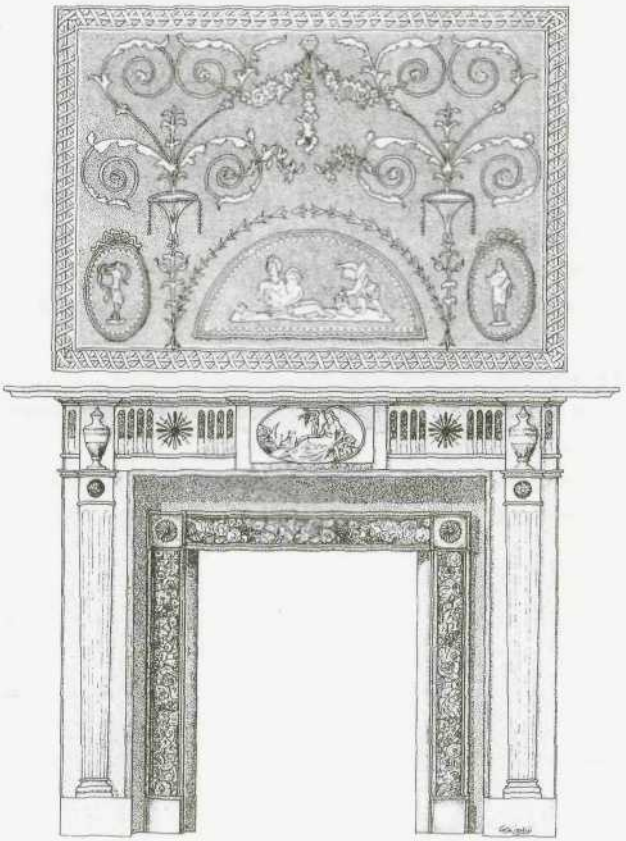
Henrietta Street renewal*: C. Crimmins (1987)
The shirt factories of Derry*: G. Leonard (1987)
The conservation and revitalisation ot the South City Markets*
S. McDonald **(1987)**
The urban recovery*: Robin Mandal (1987)
Dr.Steevens' Hospital: A. Cuffe (1988)
An endangered legacy: Dublin's inner city Church of Ireland churches: P. Hyde (1988)
Stanhope Street convent: U. Scharmberg (1988)
The historic port of Youghal: a conservation study: D. Jago (1991)
Thomas Ivory, architect. 1732-1786: D. O'Connor (1990)
Francis Johnston's architecture: with particular reference to some of his neo-classical houses: E. O'Shea (1991)
A study for the conservation of Marlay House, County Dublin:
P. Kennedy (1991)
Harcourt Terrace: a Regency formally composed terrace: C. Hogan (1990)
The medieval fortified town walls of Ireland: an approach to their conservation: T. St. John Foley (1990)
The Main Guard, Clonmel: M.Quinlan (1990)
Railway station houses of Ireland: a case study: F. Hogan (1990)
The development of Parnell Square: its houses, decoration and fittings:
A. Duggan **(1990)**
The heritage of Portlaoise: M. Deigan (1991)
Ordnance systems: an enquiry into the use of proportional systems for the

ordinancing of buildings with reference to incommensurate examples in Ireland in the 18th Century: N. Sholdice (1991)
Reconciling urban renewal and archaeology: D. Hyde (1992)
The market squares of County Laois: a conservation study: **P.** Bermingham (1992)
Mount Pleasant Square: S. Roundtree (1991)
The historic parks of Dublin: towards a conservation policy: E. P. MacDonald(1992)
St.Catherine's Church, Thomas Street, Dublin 8: J. Gannon (1992)
The conservation of Dublin's covered markets: P. Black (1993)
The Jervis estate, Dublin: O. Belik (1993)
The town of Slane: J. Farrell (1993)
Legislative protection for historic building interiors in Ireland: M. 0'Rourke(1993)
Beresford Place and its conservation: J. Scannell (1993)
The evolution of policy for the conservation of historic monuments in Ireland: R. MacRory (1994)
The county courthouse at Galway by Richard Morrison: F. May (1994)
South William Street: a conservation study: K. Murphy (1994)

April 1995

QUERIES

Pietro Bossi



Conor O'Neill is currently researching inlaid marble chimneypieces dating to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The elegant marble inlay work of this period is largely attributed to Pietro Bossi. Examples of such work have been traced in England and as far away as New York. While the research is at an advanced stage, there are still areas causing difficulties: the lack of documented works by Pietro Bossi, and the fact that he does not appear to have advertised himself in the papers of the day. Conor O'Neill can be contacted through the Irish Georgian Society offices at 74 Merrion Square if you have any information relating to Pietro Bossi, or to the difficulties oultined above.

Megan Aldrich.
Gothic Revival
Phaidon (1994) 240pp.; 236 coloured plates and 44 figures. £34.99 stg.
ISBN 0-7148-2886-6.

This is an ambitious book in format and one's first appreciation is for the generous profusion of its excellent illustrations which encompass the textiles and furnishings of the buildings as well as facades and interiors and sculptured details. There is a noticeable scarcity of plans, which would indicate that the anticipated buyers were not professional architects primarily. There are no footnotes, so architectural and art historians were not to the fore of the mind of the marketing manager either. The book is very carefully constructed nevertheless, and is supplied with an index, a list of further readings and a second of buildings to visit, and a glossary of terms. It suffers from a jacket design that can charitably be described as eccentric, but it is well-printed on heavy stock and is strongly bound. Altogether a lovely book to have and to hold, and reasonably priced.

The ambition is evident also in the scope of the text, nothing less than an overview of the Gothic Revival from its beginnings in the early eighteenth century to the last decades of the nineteenth century. Of course it cannot take everything into account, and those interested primarily in ecclesiastical architecture will be disappointed because the author quite correctly notes that earlier literature on the subject has been weighted towards ecclesiastical and public architecture of the Gothic Revival and she has therefore given preference to domestic architecture. It is gratifying in this connection to see that she has taken into account the works of gifted amateurs like Sir Roger Newdigate at Arbury Hall and Charles Hanbury-Tracy, first Lord Sudeley, at Toddington Manor. There is naturally a preponderance of examples from England, (since that was where the Gothic Revival originated and developed its momentum), but there is a generous attention given to Ireland, a particularly gratifying attention to North America, and a brief look at examples in France, Bavaria and even Russia.

A very useful first chapter is titled 'Gothic Forms and Gothic Sensibilities'. It uses the literature of architectural history as well as that of the Gothic novel, and related paintings, to investigate the shift to Romanticism that the Gothic Revival anticipated and helped to stimulate. The picturesque and the romantic form the themes of the second and third chapters dealing respectively with the villa

> Upon the whole I desire to know what the Corporation of Clonmell will do in relation to the Towne house prison & schools to encourage me to grant their desire of the fairs & keeping the Liberty Courts constantly at that towne.'[12]

Palatinate rights conferred on the earls of Ormond lordships previously held by the king and the right to rule and administer justice in the county with the exception of certain pleas which were reserved to the crown. All royal officials were withdrawn and would henceforth enter only under specific circumstances. As well as courts of justice, court was held in the palatinate, attended by the nobles of the jurisdiction who advised and counselled there rather than at the king's council. It seems that the palatinate rights were not always exercised fully. An account of a visit by Mooney in 1615 mentions the earl's court behind the site of the Main Guard, although no one at that time remembered justice being administered there. On the restoration of the palatinate in 1662, its jurisdiction was expanded to include lands held from ecclesiastical bodies. The court was the judicial and administrative centre of the whole county."

The administration consisted of a court of chancery with a chancellor, a court of pleas of the crown and a court of common pleas with a seneschal and a justice, a sheriff and sheriff's courts, coroners, etc wherein the respective officers had all the authority of similar officers in king's courts.[14] The sessions of the court were generally held in Clonmel and the officers had rooms in Ormond's house in the town. Over the centuries, as the effectiveness of central government declined the court increasingly took on the character of a local parliament and when the new courthouse was built in 1675, the legislation ranged over a wide area extending even to the regulation of wages. The palatinate under the Ormonds maintained a great deal of freedom from religious persecutions throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among those who served as chancellors of the palatinate of Tipperary between 1674 and 1715 were Lord Arran, son of the duke of Ormond and Sir Richard Herbert of Muckross. Godwin Swift of Swiftsheath, uncle and guardian of Jonathan, served as the duke's attorney-general for some years from 1662.

This was no small local court, but the headquarters of an important regime.[15] Ormond's public schemes were undertaken with a complete awareness of purpose - he wrote to his son '.. .that it is of importance to keep up the splendour of government.' [16] It follows that Ormond, even if not directly involved, would have brought this approach to the new palatinate building in Clonmel, albeit on a modest scale, wishing the building to embody the dignity of its public function and to portray the new order and the changing times.

concept and with new abbeys and castles. Pattern books and the democratisation of the style in the suburban and even the row house is treated in Chapter Four. Pugin and the triumph of the movement in the building of new Westminster Palace form the highlight of the book in Chapter Five, and Street and Butterfield and Burges form the subject of the final chapter. There is a thoughtful epilogue on the survival of the style in the current century, including John Taylor's delightful Castle Gyrn and Quinlan Terry's redoing of Pomfret Castle in Regent's Parkin 1991.

Megan Aldrich is no newcomer to this subject and her essay on Rickman in *The Antiquaries Journal* (1985) first introduced scholars to her work. Her book and exhibition *The Craces: royal decorators 1768-1899* (1990), and related articles in *Country Life*, brought her a wider readership, which will be confirmed and expanded by this new book. It is written with the clarity of style, economy and justice of expression and sharp visual observation that we have come to expect. She has the particular virtue of achieving balance between the decorative arts and architecture, and she is as conversant with the literature of the subject as with the artefacts and building of the Gothic Revival. It is no small commendation to remark that the text of this lavishly illustrated book is quite as enlightening as the illustrations.

Michael McCarthy

Anne Crookshank and the knight of Glin.
The watercolours of Ireland.
London, Barrie & Jenkins (1994). 328 pp; 397 illus. £45 stg.
ISBN 0 09 1783690.

The publication in 1979, of *The painters of Ireland,* marked a significant milestone in the history of Irish art. This is reflected in the numbers of students opting to do research in this area and perhaps most tellingly, in the quite amazing escalation in the value of Irish paintings on the Irish market.

Its authors, Anne Crookshank and the knight of Glin, have now begun to flesh out that narrative. *The watercolours of Ireland* consolidates the significant body of information contained in the earlier book and offers a tantalising and exhilirating selection of new material. It is both timely and appropriate to devote a chapter to the work of Irish artists abroad, not just the Grand Tour artists who have been investigated already and about whom there is ongoing research, but the

considerable number of those forced to emigrate to Britain and the New World in the nineteenth century. The discovery of artists such as the convict Richard Browne, in New South Wales, who painted that wonderful lyre bird (p.253), George O'Brien in New Zealand and William Guy Wall in North America opens up a vast range of new possibilities for future scholars and gives a more realistic shape to the narrative of Irish art.

The chapter on the Irish in America and the colonies is the most innovative in the book but Crookshank and Glin's discoveries at home are every bit as challenging. How can painters as good as Mary Battersby and Frances Beaufort have remained unknown and, in Battersby's case, undocumented until now? Strickland had heard of William Grattan and knew his 1818 pamphlet but to my knowledge his paintings have never been published before. His sympathetic portrait of a labourer (p. 137) whets the appetite for more.

The authors begin the book on an apologetic note. 'There is no Irish J.R. Cozens, Girtin or Turner' they point out, but such deference is unnecessary. Francis Danby's fresh yet delicate watercolours are a revelation to those who are only familiar with his large oil paintings. Burton's figure paintings stretch the watercolour medium to limits not surpassed by any of his contemporaries; but most people will not have seen his wonderful still life of maize cobs before. The two lovely landscapes by Thomas Sautell Roberts sharpen the sense of loss that no drawings by his elder brother survive, but the high standard to which Irish artists continued to attain is manifested again in a marvellously understated, Japanesy snow scene by William Leech of 1910.

The question of quality is, of course, a debatable one and by no means the only significant concern for art historians. Work processes and social context have an enormous bearing on quality, and in the great overview of Irish art history much investigation has yet to be done in relation to these.

The same can be said of women's art. It is pleasantly surprising therefore to find that some sixty images in this book are by women. Of course watercolour is a medium traditionally associated with women, nonetheless it is still a new experience to open a book which ends at the outset of the Great War and to find so many quality pieces by them. The story of Mary Battersby suggests that there may be many similar discoveries in the years ahead.

For all its erudition the organisation of the book is confusing. Chapter headings and contents seem to follow a fairly arbitrary and eccentric course. One chapter is entertainingly entitled 'Mostly Primitives and Amateurs' but frustratingly it does not contain anything like a complete account of all the amateurs discussed throughout the book. One particularly interesting group of

these, mainly soldiers by profession, is discussed under 'Romantic Landscape and Topography' and includes Thomas de Rienzi whose enchanting view of the barracks at Fermoy (p. 173) is one of the gems of this publication. There are as many as five different chapters in which a landscape painter of the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries might be found. Thomas Sautell Roberts, J.H. Campbell and J.G. Oben all trained at the Dublin Society Schools but are not discussed in the chapter devoted to the schools, nor is Oben discussed in the chapter on antiquarians although he provided drawings for Grose's Antiquities. Those revolutionary women who introduced Modernism to Ireland are considered in a chapter on 'Watercolour Artists and Lady Artists' while a chapter entitled 'The End of the Academic Tradition' paradoxically deals with Orpen and Keating whose ghosts still preside over academic art in Ireland. This is compensated for, to some extent by the very useful dictionary of artists which is provided at the end of the book although the usual list of illustrations would have been welcome. Some caution is needed with the dictionary, however. The entry for William Guy Wall, for instance, tells us that he was educated at the Dublin Society Schools but the text (p.238) says 'Strickland does not mention that he went to the Schools but he must have been taught in Dublin'.

These are minor quibbles in the face of such a magnificent collection of hitherto unknown pictures. They are more than offset by the superb quality of the reproductions which range over a great variety of images from humourous genre and caricature to charming endpapers; and by the insight which the authors bring to their subject. Who but Crookshank and Glin, eyes accustomed to George Barret's landscapes, would spot that a William Guy Wall painting described as a 'Catskill Mountain Scene' on the American market actually represents the Dargle Valley? It is this kind of connoisseurship which makes other modes of investigation possible.

The painters of Ireland began with the words 'Few people can name a single Irish artist with the possible exception of Jack Yeats'. Thanks to that first book much of that ignorance has been overcome. With *The watercolours of Ireland* the voyage of discovery takes us, in the footsteps of Crookshank and Glin to Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand building the story of Irish art as we go.

Catherine Marshall

Jacqueline O'Brien with Desmond Guinness.
Dublin A Grand Tour.
Weidenfeld & Nicolson. London (1994) 256 pp.; 277 colour plates. £30 stg.
ISBN 0 297 83224 7.

The title of this elegant and luxurious volume is particularly apt. At the outset the authors acknowledge that 'the pristine appearance' of the city as here depicted shows how the city 'might have looked without the trappings of the twentieth century'. Few could fail to be enthralled by the grandeur of the city represented in this beautiful book, though many might be impressed by its stark contrast to the appearance and reality of modern Dublin.

Dublin A Grand Tour offers a panoramic and up-beat view of Dublin's architecture from the middle ages to the Edwardian period. The volume is divided into seven principal sections: early Dublin, the emergence of classicism, early Georgian Dublin, the late Georgian Period, Victorian and Edwardian, two eighteenth-century maps and a useful index of architects, artists and craftsmen by Jacqueline O'Brien. Within these divisions a broad historical outline of the period is sketched, followed by accounts of individual buildings or groups of buildings. Essentially this is a lavishly illustrated catalogue of the city's highlights with a useful consolidation of existing historical research and a generous measure of enthusiastic appreciation.

Beyond its usefulness as a source of historical reference for key buildings in the city, the great glory of this book is its wonderful photography. Jacqueline O'Brien's two-hundred and seventy-seven colour plates renders this the most comprehensive pictorial record of Dublin architecture published to date. While many of the images will be familar, some well-known subjects are captured in a fresh and evocative light, while there is also a wealth of new material. The timber roof of Dunsoghly castle, a seventeenth-century panelled door in the old archbishop's palace of St Sepulchre, the chancel of St Catherine's in Thomas Street, the elegant dining hall of the Kings Inns and the stunning interiors of the Freemasons Hall in Molesworth Street are among the delights to be found here.

In the choice of buildings illustrated there clearly has been a desire to demonstrate the scale and quality of recent conservation activity in the city. Drimnagh castle, St Audoens, the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham, Dublin castle, the Custom House, Trinity College and Newman House all reflect a great growth in awareness and understanding of Ireland's architectural heritage. While many factors have contributed to this development, antecedents of this volume such as Desmond Guinness's *Georgian Dublin* (London, 1979) undoubtedly played a

significant part in emphasising the international quality and importance of Dublin architecture. *Dublin: A Grand Tour* continues and develops this task in glorious technicolour. At £30 sterling it is terrific value for money and an ideal gift for Dubliners and visitors to the city. The standard courtesy gifts of engraved crystal proffered by so many institutions in the city would well be replaced by copies of *Dublin A Grand Tour*.

Christine Casey.

The *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* is an annual publication. All correspondence concerning the *Bulletin* and books for review should be sent to: Dr Christine Casey, Hon. Editor, Irish Georgian Society, 74 Merrion Square, Dublin 2.

Back numbers of the *Bulletin* are available through the Society Office.

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