



*1 – Kilbixy church with motte and bailey, viewed from the north  
(all photos by the author unless otherwise stated)*

# A new Wyatt church in Ireland

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ON 4TH NOVEMBER 1802, CATHERINE MALONE WROTE FROM THE FAMILY HOME, Baronstown in county Westmeath, to her brother Edmond, the Shakespearean scholar, who was living in Queen Anne Street in London. The Malones were an ancient Irish family, an offshoot of the O'Connors, kings of Connaught, and at one time were the largest landowners in Westmeath. The branch which had acquired Baronstown was an eminent legal family. At one point, four brothers and their father were all practising at the Bar at the same time. Several also served as members of the Irish parliament.<sup>1</sup> In her letter Catherine described a clearly very successful entertainment that had just taken place in Kilbixy church, which lay at the entrance of the avenue to their house. She tells Edmond that they had a band consisting of two violins, two violoncellos, a double bass and a fortepiano, as well as singers and a chorus, and there was 'computed to be near three hundred people' in the audience.<sup>2</sup> This is one of the first documented references to the eighteenth-century church at Kilbixy. Slightly earlier, on 4th December 1800, there is a letter from Catherine to Edmond telling him that the church had just been dedicated by the Bishop of Meath, and wishing that he had been present.<sup>3</sup>

The church (Plate 3) stands on a rise of ground just within the walls of the Baronstown estate, which had been acquired by the Malone family some time before 1673.<sup>4</sup> It is a hall-and-tower church of five bays, with a half-bay-projecting chancel (Plate 4). The nave windows have pointed arches with hood moulds and wooden Y-tracery. The chancel window at the west end (since the church is not oriented) was more elaborate, with three lights with subarches and originally a quatrefoiled roundel at the top. Flanking the east window and the entrance tower at the liturgical west end are shallow niches, again with hood moulds and delicate blind tracery. Above them are sunk quatrefoils. The tower, dramatically tall in proportion to the rest of the church, also has niches and quatrefoils to the north and south on the lowest stage. At the next level there are roundels with blind rose tracery on three sides, surmounted by windows like those of the nave. The top of the tower has a frieze of elegant blind arcading beneath a strongly projecting cornice, and, above



2 – *Original interior of Kilbixy Church looking towards the chancel, with reading desk and pulpit flanking the arch (courtesy Watson Mills)*

that, flat-topped crenellation with pinnacles set diagonally at the corners. The nave is similarly crenellated with pinnacles crowning the buttresses. The materials are of very high-quality ashlar using two different stones, that of the buttresses much bluer and, like the plinth, tooled with a reeded finish.

The interior has sadly suffered grievously from the collapse of the roof in 1960. Lack of funds prevented restoration, and only the two bays before the chancel were reroofed, leaving the other three open to the sky and now planted as a courtyard garden. Originally there was a shallow plaster quadripartite rib vault with foliage bosses and corbels. Two tiers of stalls were ranged under the windows facing one another, and a magnificent pulpit and reading desk stood on either side of the chancel arch (Plate 2). This arrangement was not unusual for Georgian rural churches. It was chosen not to reflect a cathedral choir or college chapel, but to provide an unimpeded view of the altar from every part of the church.<sup>5</sup> The position of pulpit and reading desk looks forward to the regulations of the Commissioners' Churches of the early nineteenth century, although this practice had already had the support of George Herbert ('that prayer and preaching might have equal honour and estimation'), and had been followed by some English eighteenth-century churches.<sup>6</sup>

It has long been known from the inscription over his sarcophagus that Kilbixy church was paid for by Edmond Malone's elder brother, Richard Malone, Lord Sunderlin, who had inherited the Baronstown estate from his uncle Anthony Malone, but the date and the architect have not hitherto been established. Fortunately, the Bishop of Meath, Thomas Lewis O'Beirne, who dedicated the church and was therefore in a position to know it well, made notes on his diocese in 1818.<sup>7</sup> These were based on information gleaned from a questionnaire sent out to all the parishes of his diocese when he was appointed bishop in 1798. O'Beirne was much involved with rebuilding churches and glebe houses, helped, it seems, by a considerable increase in funding. He also pressed for roads to remote and inaccessible churches.<sup>8</sup> He was clearly an energetic and benevolent bishop, even if his original appointment through the Duke of Portland may have been a political one.<sup>9</sup> His concern after the Act of Union over the representation of Irish bishops in the English parliament would, one imagines, have made him sympathetic with the Malones.<sup>10</sup> Another common interest, especially with Edmond Malone, may have been the theatre; O'Beirne had written, in collaboration with the Duchess of Devonshire, a comedy for Drury Lane. He must have known the Malones well as it was he who wrote the epitaph for Edmond's tomb. In O'Beirne's notes on the diocese he wrote:

In an arrangement agreed on between the late bishop and the late Sir Pigot Piers, a grant was made by the trustees of the First Fruits for building a church in this parish, and Lord Sunderlin having advanced upwards of £3000 in addition to that grant, a church of Gothic architecture has been erected on a plan of Wyatt's and finished both outside and inside in the handsomest manner; with an organ and everything necessary for the moral decent celebration of divine service.

James Wyatt is the most likely member of the Wyatt clan to have furnished this design. He was the most eminent architect of the dynasty, and, as such, Lewis O'Beirne would not have felt the need to give his Christian name. He was, moreover, the only one of the family known to have come over to Ireland, where he had extensive connections and was, of course, involved in several country houses, notably Castle Coole in county Fermanagh.<sup>11</sup>

The late bishop to whom Lewis O'Beirne refers was Henry Maxwell, whom he replaced in 1798. This, therefore, gives us a *terminus ante quem* for Kilbixy, and also indicates a possible precedent for the employment of Wyatt in ecclesiastical circles. Bishop Henry Maxwell had obtained a set of designs from Wyatt in 1773 for his country house, Ardbraccan, outside Navan. Wyatt had also worked for Archbishop Richard Robinson in 1773 when he designed Canterbury Quad in Christ Church, Oxford.<sup>12</sup> The date of Kilbixy is confirmed by *The Third Report of His*



3 – Kilbixy church, county Westmeath, 1793-1798, here attributed to James Wyatt

4 – Kilbixy church chancel from the south-west (photo T.S. Moore)



*Majesty's Commissioners on Ecclesiastical Revenue and Patronage in Ireland, 9 May 1836.*<sup>13</sup> The Commissioners describe Kilbixy as 'One church capable of accommodating 300 persons rebuilt in the year 1798 at the cost of 10000L, Brit; whereof £830l 15s 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. by way of gift was granted by the late board of the First Fruits and the remainder was contributed by the late Lord Sunderlin' – not quite as much in the end as the £3,000 Lewis O'Beirne had suggested.<sup>14</sup> Another piece of supporting evidence for 1798 as a completion date is the carving of 1799 at the base of the left-hand jamb of the doorway. It has more the appearance of graffiti than an official inscription, but at least gives us another *terminus ante quem*, and it is given emphasis by appearing on a single piece of the same blue-grey stone as the buttresses.

The present church at Kilbixy replaced an important medieval church dedicated to St Bigseach, a virgin saint of the early church who gave her name, Cill Bhigsigh, to the town which grew up there.<sup>15</sup> It seems, however, that there was a considerable time lapse, during which the church was largely ruined and unused. Nothing now remains of Kilbixy town apart from the marks of foundations visible from aerial photography.

According to Sir Henry Piers' *Chorographical Description of the County of Westmeath*, written in 1682, Kilbixy was an 'old town of great note' with twelve burgesses who wore scarlet gowns, and a port on Lough Iron, a market and cross which were traditionally believed to have been later transferred to Mullingar. In Piers's time the church still remained, as well as ruins and an old square castle called the Burgage castle, with forty acres attached to it.<sup>16</sup> That has now gone, although there is still an area called the Burgage land, and a motte and bailey castle still survives to the north (Plate 1) as well as the ruins of a possible leper house just below the church. Piers also notes that 'In this town stands the remains of an ancient and well-built church, the mother of many churches and chapels about it, which had at the west end a very well built high tower or steeple.'<sup>17</sup>

Presumably, therefore, the medieval church was oriented. It seems clear, however, that the church was not being used in Piers's day as he mentions earlier, in his description of Temple Cross church, a couple of miles away, that 'this place supplieth the defect of our mother church Kilbixy'. In Bishop Dopping's Visitation Book of 1682-85, the church of Kilbixy is described as ruined, with no curate.<sup>18</sup> In 1745 there is a letter from H. Tuite to Henry Maule, Bishop of Meath, saying that Prime Sergeant Malone offered £100 if Kilbixy, rather than one of its neighbouring churches, was rebuilt, and that he would also enclose the churchyard with a wall at his own expense. He goes on to say that the old church is at the end of Malone's avenue and is the burial place of his family, 'which to be sure is his chief motive for contributing so handsomely to that church'.<sup>19</sup> Three days later the Bishop wrote to William Smythe of Barbavilla enclosing Tuite's letter, and pointed out that it was Sir John Piers who named the curates and that he had reason to believe that he

would never consent to the proposal. Tuite had added a note at the end of his letter saying that with his contribution of thirty guineas and a contribution from Mr Smythe in addition to Malone's offer, 'a very decent church might very easily be finished this summer with proper care'. That could only have been achieved, though, if Sir John Piers had been prevailed upon to agree to the new church despite the competition with Anthony Malone that Bishop Maule implies. The memory of the rivalry was still potent enough in the 1940s for John Betjeman to refer to it in his poem *Sir John Piers*:

I'll build a mighty wall against the rain...  
 And from the North, lest you, Malone, should spy me  
 You, Sunderlin of Baronstown, the Peer,  
 I'll fill your eye with all the stone that's by me  
 And live four-square protected in my fear.<sup>20</sup>

If, as seems likely, Sir John held up proceedings for several years, Anthony Malone would not have been in such a strong position financially to honour his original offer. There is a series of letters from Anthony Malone to Nathaniel Clements from 1756 to 1760, worrying about a debt owed to him which precluded him from making any investments, and the series ends with a letter suggesting that he might have to sell his Roscommon estate.<sup>21</sup> His career was also unstable at this period; he had been removed from the position of Prime Sergeant in 1754 for opposing the claim of the Crown to dispose of unappropriated revenue, and then, in 1760, removed from the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, to which he had been appointed in 1757.<sup>22</sup> Such reverses of fortune might have prevented his financing large building operations. It is likely, therefore, that the proposal to rebuild the church lapsed until Lord Sunderlin took up responsibility in the 1790s.

After 1760 Anthony Malone returned to the Bar, and, as a famously successful advocate, would have been able to restore his fortune.<sup>23</sup> By 1764 there is a record of activity in the vicinity of Kilbixy Church. On 15th September 1764 Malone paid William Cox 'for 7 short days and 18 long days labour at Church wall'.<sup>24</sup> One would not expect a wall to be built unless there were a church. Possibly, though, the wall was built initially to protect the Malone tombs, as well as anticipating an enclosure for the church they intended sooner or later to build there. Twenty-nine years later, however, we have clear evidence of the start of work on the present church. In *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* for 8th October 1793, there is a report from Mullingar.<sup>25</sup> 'A few days ago the labourers in throwing up a fosse round the new church at Kilbixy, now building by the Right Hon Lord Sunderlin discovered a subterraneous passage...' <sup>26</sup>

James Wyatt furnished a considerable number of designs for Irish patrons, but as far as we know only came to Ireland once, in 1785 for the completion of Slane Castle.<sup>27</sup> He furnished drawings in 1772 for Major General Cunninghame's house, Mount Kennedy, county Wicklow, although the building was not undertaken for another ten years.<sup>28</sup> He furnished drawings for Abbey Leix in the same year;<sup>29</sup> for Slane from 1773 to 1775;<sup>30</sup> for Ardraccan House in 1773;<sup>31</sup> for Curraghmore, county Waterford, between 1778 and 1780;<sup>32</sup> for Westport in 1781,<sup>33</sup> and for Castle Coole between 1789 and 1790.<sup>34</sup> Since the Kilbixy foundations were apparently being dug in 1793, the work cannot have been overseen by Wyatt as he is not known to have returned to Ireland after his work at Slane. He must merely have sent drawings which are not known to have survived. There are extremely careful drawings for the mouldings of Lee Priory in Kent between 1785 and 1790,<sup>35</sup> for doorways and windows at Ashridge Park in Hertfordshire from 1806 onwards,<sup>36</sup> and for Mount Kennedy, as well as minute instructions on the Mount Kennedy drawings to a John Doyle, and a note to Mr Gilliard to give 'molds' to Doyle.<sup>37</sup> So Wyatt was capable even at a distance of controlling the details of his designs. Unfortunately, we have no idea who oversaw the work at Kilbixy.

We do not know how Lord Sunderlin arrived at the choice of Wyatt as his architect. It could have been through a knowledge of Slane. William Burton-Conyngham, who had inherited Slane from his uncle, had a brother, Francis-Pierpoint, who, in the course of his Grand Tour, had sailed down the coast of Asia Minor with Lord Charlemont, where they discovered the remains of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.<sup>38</sup> Lord Charlemont was a close friend and frequent correspondent of Lord Sunderlin's brother, Edmond Malone.<sup>39</sup> It is also possible that Henry Maxwell suggested Wyatt.<sup>40</sup> There is, however, a more straightforward connection. Edmond Malone and James Wyatt both lived in Queen Anne Street (now Foley Street), London. Edmond, from 1779, lived at No. 55,<sup>41</sup> and Wyatt, after 1783, at No. 42 in the house that he had built.<sup>42</sup> It seems inconceivable that they would not have known one another since both knew Horace Walpole well.<sup>43</sup>

Kilbixy is the only church and one of only two Gothic Revival buildings by Wyatt in Ireland. The other is Slane Castle, where the picturesque silhouette above the Boyne is due to Wyatt,<sup>44</sup> but the medieval details are more tentative than those of Kilbixy. The magnificent decoration of the Round Room is probably by Hopper.<sup>45</sup> It certainly looks much too dense for Wyatt, who always, whether working in a classical or Gothic idiom, has a restraint, delicacy and elegance that is not present in Slane. In England he had already turned to Gothic at Lee Priory between 1785 and 1790, and, interestingly, this seems to have been inspired by drawings of the monastery of Batalha which William Burton Conyngham had visited in 1783, not long before Wyatt's arrival at Slane.<sup>46</sup>

Probably Wyatt's most famous Gothic building is Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire





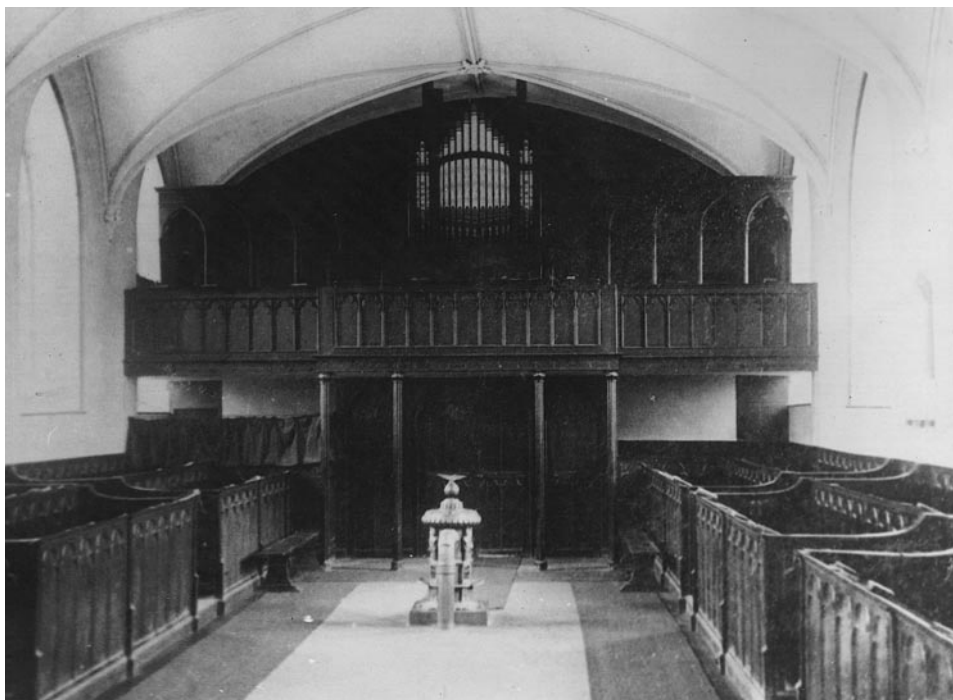
5 – *The surviving fragment of Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire, 1796-1812*

*opposite, top 6 – Windows of Fonthill Abbey*



*bottom left 7 – Window of Kilbixy church  
bottom right 8 – Niche and sunk quatrefoil beside the tower of Kilbixy church.  
All the niches are decorated with this delicate blind tracery*





9 – *Original interior of Kilbixy church showing the organ loft*  
*(courtesy Watson Mills)*

(Plate 5), designed for William Beckford, and almost contemporary with Kilbixy church. Engravings of the lost tower of Fonthill show pinnacles set at angles, as at Kilbixy, and the surviving fragments of Fonthill have almost exactly the same hood mouldings around the windows, made up of two fillets with a hollow between them (Plates 6, 7). The drawings for Lee Priory show the same profile for its hood mouldings.<sup>47</sup> There are also drawings for niches at Lee with lines at the back which correspond to the blind tracery in the Kilbixy niches, as well as quatrefoil decoration like that at Kilbixy (Plate 8). The dome of the staircase of Sheffield Park (c.1776), is supported by triple shafts with slim, stiff-leaf capitals, which are very close to the supports of the organ loft of Kilbixy (Plate 9).<sup>48</sup> Among the Mount Kennedy drawings there is one of the battlements of a castle which appear to have flat slabs on top of the crenellations, the form that the Kilbixy crenellations take (Plate 10). This is an extremely unusual feature; elsewhere at this date they are almost always pitched.

It is sad that we have so little left of Fonthill and nothing of Lee Priory with which to compare Kilbixy, but there are also similarities with Wyatt's classical buildings – his fondness for alcoves with very delicate decoration, for instance, circular motifs, blind arcading, and even Y-tracery. The alcove at the top of the stairs at

Mount Kennedy has an elegance that looks forward to Kilbixy's alcoves, even though the vocabulary is different. Circles are obvious shapes for ceilings, but Wyatt also uses them on the walls of Mount Kennedy's façade, as he does on the tower of Kilbixy. He also has Y-tracery in the round-arched windows in a drawing of the Mount Kennedy porter's lodge.<sup>49</sup>

The choice of Gothic for the church could have been that of the architect or the patron. Kilbixy is not the earliest Gothic Revival church in Ireland; Hillsborough, county Down, preceded it by twenty years.<sup>50</sup> It is, however, Wyatt's first completely Gothic design for a church. He had restored, remodelled and added to other churches before this, but his own earlier church designs are either classical like Kentish Town Chapel,<sup>51</sup> or a hybrid classical and Gothic building like the church at Amlwch in Anglesey, which is probably based on a design of his of about 1790.<sup>52</sup>

The history of Kilbixy and the surviving medieval ruins could have suggested Gothic as the appropriate style, but when Lord Sunderlin came to erect a mausoleum the style chosen was neo-classical and very much in the spirit of another contemporary Wyatt building in Ireland, Castle Coole. Both Castle Coole and the mausoleum are magnificently severe; both have fluted Doric columns without bases, set *in antis*, in the pavilions at the ends of the Castle Coole façade, and flanking the doorway of the mausoleum.

10 – Crenellation of Kilbixy church showing the crowning flat slabs





*11 – Malone Mausoleum doorway flanked by footless Doric columns in antis, viewed from the east (photo T.S. Moore)*



12 – Rear of Malone Mausoleum with Malone coat of arms (photo T.S. Moore)

13 – Darnley Mausoleum, Cobham Park, 1782-1786 (photo T.S. Moore)



The mausoleum stands rather menacingly, but splendidly, close to the south-east of the tower and entrance to the church, clearly proclaiming the patronage of the Malones. It is a square building topped by a pyramid on a stepped base of a type derived ultimately from the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus (Plates 11, 12). The door tapers slightly at the top and is crowned with the inscription MORS JANUA VIT[A]E. At the rear of the monument is the Malone coat of arms, surmounted by a coronet. It has a Greek cross plan with a central groin vault and barrel-vaulted recesses. One recess contains the door, and, the other three, sarcophagi for Richard Malone, Lord Sunderlin, Anthony Malone and Edmond Malone. Above each sarcophagus were epitaphs; Richard's and Edmond's are still there but Anthony's has gone.

No documents associated with the mausoleum have survived, but an attribution to Wyatt seems reasonable, partly because of stylistic similarity to Castle Coole, partly because of links with other mausolea designed by Wyatt, and partly because there is no reason to suppose the Malones would employ another architect. Wyatt designed the Dawson Mausoleum at Dartrey, county Monaghan, between about 1770 and 1772, the Brocklesby Mausoleum, Lincolnshire, from 1787 to 1792, and the Darnley Mausoleum in Cobham Park, Kent, from 1782 to 1786. All are on rising ground in commanding positions, and each is the cynosure of the landscape it embellishes. The Malone Mausoleum is admittedly not so isolated nor is it in quite so dominating a position, but it does suggest that it might also be part of a designed landscape.

The Malone Mausoleum is smaller and much more severe than the Darnley example (Plate 13). It uses the baseless Greek Doric order rather than Roman Doric, but both have fluted columns *in antis*, both have strongly projecting cornices and, most importantly, are surmounted by pyramids on stepped bases. The Darnley Mausoleum is almost certainly a good deal earlier than the one in Kilbixy,<sup>53</sup> but it is just possible that there was a connection between the Darnleys and the Malones. The Earls of Darnley owned a considerable acreage of land in Westmeath, not all that far from the Baronstown estate.<sup>54</sup> There is also a letter of 16th January 1789 from an unknown writer in Brussels to Catherine Malone at Edmond's house in Queen Anne Street, making rather arch references to Cobham Park and its 'proprietor'.<sup>55</sup>

It is difficult to date the Malone Mausoleum precisely. It could perhaps have been planned along with the church, but we have no hard evidence. Dynastic pride, either at his elevation to the peerage in 1785 or the new patent of 1797 allowing the title to go to Edmond, may have inspired Richard to plan such a monument. The epitaph over Richard's sarcophagus says that he built 'this tomb for his ancestors and dedicated it to his brother'.<sup>56</sup> The death of Edmond on 25th May 1812 could, therefore, have inspired the mausoleum, or if it had only just been completed the death could have provided the dedication. The particular wording of the epitaph

makes the latter more probable. If Wyatt was the architect, the mausoleum must have been designed before 1813 when he died in a coach accident.<sup>57</sup> Lord Sunderlin himself died on 14th April 1816, which, in light of the inscription, means that it must certainly have been finished by then. There would have been a shortage of funds after Lord Sunderlin's death as his sisters were involved in a lengthy lawsuit over the inheritance of the estate.

Baronstown House was destroyed by fire at the end of the nineteenth century,<sup>58</sup> and the estate was divided up by the Land Commission, but the church house mentioned in the epitaph as provided by Lord Sunderlin lies across the road from the church and has Wyatt windows, so it seems possible that this too may have been built to a design provided by the architect of the church.<sup>59</sup> It was probably built between 1799, when mentioned in Lewis O'Beirne's list of glebe houses built or purchased since 1799, and 1815, when it was purchased from Lord Sunderlin by the Board of the First Fruits.<sup>60</sup> The estate, even as it is today, shows strong indications that this was a carefully designed landscape. The concern for the landscape may account for the church not being oriented.

If it is accepted that Wyatt was involved here through his neighbour Edmond Malone, the landscape and setting could easily have been described to him in London, and the extraordinarily picturesque harmony of these buildings and their surroundings shows how sensitively Wyatt could design for the *genius loci*, as he had done with his mausolea and with Fonthill and Castle Coole.

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#### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Grand Juries of the County of Westmeath*, 2 vols (Ledestown 1853) II, 172-77; *Dictionary of National Biography*, 60 vols (Oxford 2004) XXXVI, 351-53

<sup>2</sup> Westmeath County Library, Mullingar, MS P/M/D2.



- <sup>3</sup> Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Malone 37 (29, 147).
- <sup>4</sup> *Burke's Landed Gentry of Ireland* (London 1904).
- <sup>5</sup> Alan Acheson, *A History of the Church of Ireland 1691-1991* (Dublin 1997) 94.
- <sup>6</sup> M.H. Port, *Six Hundred New Churches* (Reading 2006) 99, 295: n.75.
- <sup>7</sup> Representative Church Body, Dublin, MS 157.
- <sup>8</sup> Anthony Malcolmson, *Archbishop Charles Agar* (Dublin 2002) 278-90.
- <sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, 475.
- <sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, 559-62.
- <sup>11</sup> Armagh County Museum, letter from Francis Johnston to J.N. Brewer, 29th February 1820.
- <sup>12</sup> A.P.W. Malcolmson, *Primate Richard Robinson 1709-94* (Belfast 2003) 45.
- <sup>13</sup> Published parliamentary paper (Dublin 1836).
- <sup>14</sup> The Board of the First Fruits was established in 1711. It spent the proportion of the clergy's first year's stipend that had, before the Reformation, been paid to the Pope to buy back inappropriate tithes from lay owners. Any surplus was used to build churches and glebe houses. Gradually this became its primary function. I am very grateful to Ann Martha Rowan for giving me this definition.
- <sup>15</sup> Elizabeth Hickey, 'Some Notes on Kilbixy, Tristernagh and Templecross, and the family of Piers who lived in the Abbey of Tristernagh in Westmeath', *Riocht na Midhe*, V11, 4, 1981.
- <sup>16</sup> *Chorographical Description of the County of Westmeath*, reprinted facsimile by Meath Archaeological and Historical Society, 1981, 76.
- <sup>17</sup> *ibid.*, 77.
- <sup>18</sup> 'Bishop Dopping's Visitation Book', transcribed by C.C. Ellison, *Riocht na Midhe*, V, 1-4, 1971-74.
- <sup>19</sup> National Library of Ireland, MS 41,589/18. I am extremely grateful to Toby Barnard for bringing this correspondence to my attention.
- <sup>20</sup> John Betjeman, *Collected Poems* (London 1958; 1979) 61. Reproduced by permission of John Murray (Publishers).
- <sup>21</sup> Trinity College, Dublin, MS 1741-3.
- <sup>22</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXXVI, 351-53.
- <sup>23</sup> *Grand Juries of the County of Westmeath*, II, 172-77.
- <sup>24</sup> Westmeath County Library, Mullingar, Rent Book from Baronstown Estate, P/M/D1.
- <sup>25</sup> I am much indebted to Watson Mills for bringing this report to my attention.
- <sup>26</sup> There is, however, one other contradictory piece of evidence. Daniel Augustus Beaufort's Map of the Diocese of Meath of 1st January 1797 shows neither a standing nor a ruined church at Kilbixy. This might be due to the fact that he started collecting material for his map in 1785 and later failed to check its accuracy. This suggestion is supported by the fact that Kilbixy church does not appear at all on his reprinted map of 1816.
- <sup>27</sup> Mark Odium, 'Slane Castle, Co. Meath', *Country Life*, 17th July 1980, 201; 24th July 1980, 278-80; 31st July 1980, 382
- <sup>28</sup> John Cornforth, 'Mount Kennedy, Co. Wicklow', *Country Life*, 28th October 1965, 1128-31; 11th November 1965, 1258-59.
- <sup>29</sup> John Cornforth, 'Abbey Leix, co. Leix, Ireland', *Country Life*, 26th September 1991, 90-93.
- <sup>30</sup> Odium, 'Slane Castle'.
- <sup>31</sup> C.C. Ellison in *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, Jan-March 1975.
- <sup>32</sup> Mark Girouard, 'Curraghmore, Co. Waterford', *Country Life*, 14th February 1963, 311; 21st

- February 1963, 368.
- <sup>33</sup> Mark Girouard, 'Curraghmore, Co. Waterford', *Country Life*, 6th May 1965, 1074-77.
- <sup>34</sup> Alistair Rowan, *Buildings of Ireland, North West Ulster* (London 1979).
- <sup>35</sup> Victoria & Albert Museum, Prints & Drawings, E 1896-1948. Derek Linstrum, 'The Wyatt Family', *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of Royal Institute of British Architects*.
- <sup>36</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>37</sup> National Library of Ireland, AD 3568.
- <sup>38</sup> Maurice Craig, *The Volunteer Earl* (London 1948) 44-70.
- <sup>39</sup> *ibid.*, 208, 211, 212-14, 255.
- <sup>40</sup> See note 31 above.
- <sup>41</sup> James Prior, *Life of Edmond Malone* (London 1860) 45.
- <sup>42</sup> Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840* (New Haven and London 1995) 1110. Antony Dale in *James Wyatt* (Oxford 1936) 26, gives Wyatt's address as No. 69.
- <sup>43</sup> Peter Martin, *Edmond Malone* (Cambridge 1995) 70-72.
- <sup>44</sup> Christine Casey and Alistair Rowan, *Buildings of Ireland, North Leinster* (London 1993).
- <sup>45</sup> Odium, 'Slane Castle'. Alistair Rowan points out ('Georgian Castles in Ireland', *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, VII, 1964) that Wyatt demolished Robinson's building to ground level and even basement level at the front of the house. So although Robinson had introduced Gothic windows to the round tower, the present ones must be Wyatt's.
- <sup>46</sup> Odium, 'Slane Castle'.
- <sup>47</sup> Victoria & Albert Museum, Prints & Drawings, E 1896-1948.
- <sup>48</sup> John Martin Robinson, *The Wyatts: An Architectural Dynasty* (Oxford 1979) 63.
- <sup>49</sup> National Library of Ireland, AD 3568/25.
- <sup>50</sup> Maurice Craig and the Knight of Glin, *Ireland Observed* (Cork 1970) 60.
- <sup>51</sup> Terry Friedman, *The Georgian Group Journal*, VII, 1997, 56-70.
- <sup>52</sup> Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840* (New Haven & London 1995).
- <sup>53</sup> The drawing in the Soane Museum is dated 1782.
- <sup>54</sup> I am very grateful to Roger Bowdler for pointing this out to me.
- <sup>55</sup> Malone MSS, private collection, county Westmeath.
- <sup>56</sup> I am most grateful to Jeannine Addinall for her elegant translation of the epitaph: 'In sacred memory of Richard, Lord Sunderlin. Memorials are here to testify to his life as a truly pious and generous man in religious affairs, open handed also in domestic matters, and no less foreseeing of the public good; Namely, a church built at his expense, as also a church house endowed with a generous sufficiency, the district above it, and a school convenient for the people's needs, as also this tomb for his ancestors and dedicated to his brother. / Gentle and kindly was he whom in death we mourn. He caused suffering to no-one at any time, and gave the greatest help and service to the largest possible number, relying on Christ his saviour. / He died on the 14th April A.D. 1816, aged 78.'
- <sup>57</sup> Dale, *James Wyatt*, 101.
- <sup>58</sup> For a description of the houses on the site, see Casey and Rowan, *Buildings of Ireland, North Leinster*, 346-47.
- <sup>59</sup> Representative Church Body, Dublin, MS 157.
- <sup>60</sup> Deed of Sale, private collection, county Westmeath.