



*1 – Davis Dukart, Castletown, Carrick-on-Suir, Co Kilkenny (begun c.1766)
(courtesy Country Life)*

‘Dropped into this Kingdom from the clouds’: The Irish career of Davis Dukart, architect and engineer, 1761-81

JOHN LOGAN

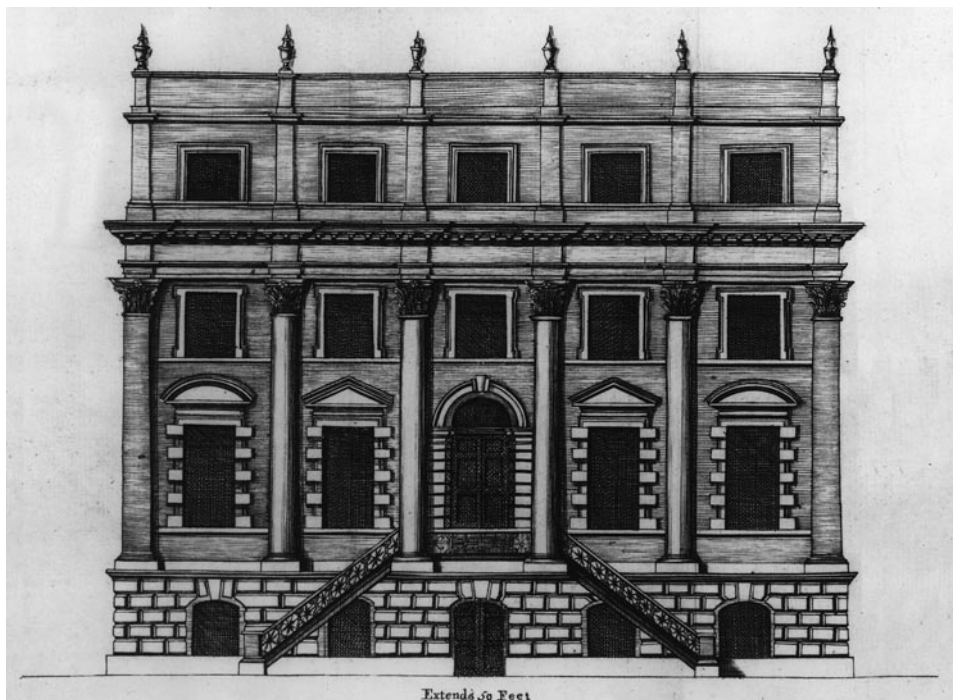
DAVIS DUKART OCCUPIES A SIGNIFICANT, THOUGH PARTIALLY OBSCURED SPACE in the history of architecture and engineering in Ireland.¹ Some of the interest in Dukart arises from the mystique attendant on his overseas origins, the scarcity of information on his life and practice, and, not least, the high quality of his work, completed mostly in the 1760s. What is now known of Dukart owes much to two pioneering 1967 articles by Desmond FitzGerald, Knight of Glin.² He proposed a basic chronology, a seminal set of attributions and an assessment of Dukart’s achievement, particularly as an architect of country houses in a distinctive, late Palladian manner. Subsequent studies have added detail and proposed further attributions (and de-attributions), but the general chronology of Dukart’s career and FitzGerald’s assessment of his significance remains largely unaltered.³ The purpose of this paper is to bring all that material together and to add some more to deal in turn with Dukart’s public buildings, private architectural commissions and his engineering work.

Even amongst his contemporaries, there was speculation as to Dukart’s origins. When giving evidence in 1767 before an Irish parliamentary committee, Dukart revealed that his homeland was a place ‘adjacent to the Alps’, hillier than any part of Europe, traversed by canals, and ‘often visited by the English nobility and gentry’.⁴ Soon after, a member of the committee, William Brownlow, described Dukart as a ‘Piedmontese’, that region then being part of the principality of Savoy, stretching northwards from Nice and centred on its capital, Turin.⁵ Dukart may have revealed nothing more, for Brownlow – attentive and well informed – then alluded to the air of mystery that surrounded Dukart: ‘He dropped into this Kingdom from

the clouds, no one knows how, or what brought him to it.’⁶ Three years after Dukart’s appearance at the committee, ‘La Verite’, the pseudonymous author of a rant against foreign engineers in the *Freeman’s Journal*, seemed better informed. He related that ‘D – s D – t Esq’, a builder and engineer, and a ‘gentleman adventurer’, had been captured on a French privateer during the ‘late war’ – most likely the Seven Years War (1756-63) – and been brought ashore and imprisoned in the west of Ireland.⁷ If La Verite may be believed, Dukart’s incarceration was not without its comforts: ‘During his confinement he employed himself drawing portraits and little landscapes (being bred a painter) and by selling them to hawkers, procured for himself a comfortable subsistence.’⁸

The earliest known project involving Dukart dates from the later years of the war. In 1761 he was in Cork, where the Corporation, recently empowered to erect a reservoir, paid him £25 to survey the River Lee and to design a scheme to bring water to the city.⁹ In November that year he was in discussion with William Colles, the Kilkenny stone merchant, who was keen to have his water pipes used for the project.¹⁰ When the Corporation was given additional powers in 1762 to establish a water company, progress seemed likely.¹¹ Six years would pass, however, before the reservoir was built or pipes were laid. Whether the work was executed in accordance with Dukart’s plan – as has been suggested – or not, is unknown, but it was a local iron-founder, Nicholas Fitton, who got the contract.¹² By then, much would have happened to sour Dukart’s relations with Cork Corporation.

Dukart had arrived in Cork at a significant period in its history. An expanding mercantile economy was reflected in the physical expansion of the city. Its amenities were steadily improved, some through private initiative, and others – such as the city reservoir – as public works. All reflected well on the city’s Corporation, and it was the need to provide a prestigious residence for the Mayor and a grand space for the enactment of civic ceremonial that led in 1761 to the decision to build a Mayoralty House. News of the project excited interest, not least among local architects, one of whom, John Morrison, presented a plan to the public through the pages of *The Dublin Magazine* in September 1764 (Plate 2).¹³ The chosen design should reveal grandeur and economy, he suggested, something that he had aimed for in his own composition, but he would leave it to those who were ‘impartial and judicious’ to decide whether he had succeeded. The project should raise a spirit of emulation in his fellow countrymen, among whom, he expected, ‘a proper design will be found, adequate to the spirit and dignity’ of the city.¹⁴ Dukart may not have been a compatriot of Morrison but he felt able to submit a design to the Corporation in February 1765. When it was rejected as too expensive, he set to making revisions. On 6th May 1765, having convinced the Corporation that he could now build a mayoralty house for no more than £2,000, Dukart was awarded the commission. His fee was set at 5% of the total, though it was agreed that in appropriate circumstances



2 – John Morrison’s proposed elevation for the Mayoralty House, Cork, in *THE DUBLIN MAGAZINE* (1764) (courtesy National Library of Ireland)

he might be awarded a gratuity.¹⁵

The foundation stone of the Mayoralty House had been laid nearly a year before, on 17th June 1764, at Hammond’s Marsh, land not long reclaimed from the River Lee.¹⁶ There Dukart felt confident of securing the building’s foundations without recourse to the traditional timber piling.¹⁷ The constricted corner plot dictated what appears at first as a tall rectangular block of three stories atop a low basement. Its seven-bay entrance-front faced north over a narrow piazza; a shorter façade of four bays was hemmed in on the south-west by a tree-lined lane skirting the north channel of the Lee, while the back jostled with the buildings of its recently urbanised neighbourhood.¹⁸ A plan, reconstructed from the 1872 ordnance survey, reveals the house as two contiguous blocks, the larger holding the entrance hall, grand staircase, lobbies and reception rooms; the smaller, the mayor’s private apartments (Plate 4).

The Corporation put day-to-day direction of the building in the hands of Charles Sweeny, master carpenter, and Edward Flaherty, master mason.¹⁹ Payments for materials and wages, as approved by the Corporation, would be disbursed through aldermen acting as overseers. By the end of 1765 most of the money had

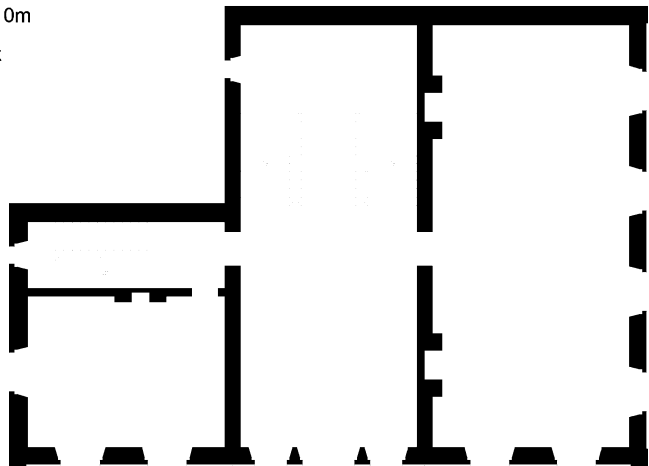


Mayoralty House, Cork (begun 1764)

3 – Entrance front and north-west elevation (courtesy Cork Public Museum)

4 – First-floor plan (Diarmuid O'Sullivan, 2007)

10m
30ft



been spent, and in January 1766 the Corporation was forced to borrow an additional £1,000.²⁰ The upper floors were finished in November 1766 and roofing started.²¹ By 23rd May 1767 expenditure had crept to £2,822 0s 1d, and with payments for timber and ironmongery due, the overseers were again forced to seek extra funds. A week later they met to consider allegations that as a result of Dukart's lengthy absences from the city, the masons and carpenters had been left idle and money wasted.²² Given the substantial overrun of costs, it was easy for the aldermen to conclude that Dukart had submitted an artificially low tender so as to win the commission.²³ As a consequence, and notwithstanding the original agreement that Dukart might be paid a gratuity, the Corporation decided that he was no longer entitled to any additional 'recompense' and posted a notice to that effect at the Exchange.²⁴

Stung by what he now regarded as a repudiation of his contract, Dukart responded with his own notice in the *Cork Evening Post*.²⁵ He argued that, when tendering, he had made it clear that it was impossible to prepare precise estimates where the artificers would be paid by the day and not by the actual work done. Had the management of the project been left to him the building might have been finished 'plain and neat' for the agreed £2,000, or perhaps for an additional 20%, which, he insisted, was as near as he could be expected to calculate. Instead, the workmen had been chosen by the Corporation, and since he considered them inferior and had objected to their appointment, he did not consider himself liable for the consequent waste of money. To the charge that his directions to the overseers had been ambiguous, he replied that they were as clear as might be expected 'from any engineer in Europe'.²⁶ The fabric of the building was complete by August 1767.²⁷ Marble chimney pieces were ordered as craftsmen finished the carpentry and the exterior stucco.²⁸ In January 1768 Patrick Osborne was engaged to decorate the stairway, lobby and drawing room, a commission that continued until November 1769.²⁹ The overseers were authorised to have a 'proper' entrance and portico fitted at a cost of £11 7s 6d.³⁰ It was a temporary arrangement, however, and five years later, long after Dukart had departed the city, the house was given its diminutive Doric frontispiece at the cost of £68 8s 2d. The terse entry in the minute book 'pursuant to a plan and estimate before the council' was silent on how much, if anything, the design owed to Dukart.³¹ Neither was the verdict of the aldermen on their new Mayoralty House recorded. Notwithstanding the recriminations that marked the end of Dukart's dealings with the Corporation, civic pride alone would hardly have allowed them to concur with the assessment of 'Incertus', another of the *Freeman's Journal* patriot correspondents, that 'our French architect' had given them 'a large monument of his insipid, uncouth taste in the art of designing'.³² Twenty years later Daniel Beaufort would be no more generous: 'The Mansion House built by Mr Ducart, a very heavy ill contrived one – with strange windows' (Plate 3).³³

Dukart's ability to step over an ambitious local like Morrison had been

demonstrated even more spectacularly when he was awarded the contract for a new Custom House in Limerick. Such a project had been much talked of, as the ruinous condition of the Custom House and Collector's residence on Merchants' Quay in the city's English Town appeared increasingly out of place in a vibrant and prosperous port.³⁴ A rebuilding on the old site had been proposed, but following an inspection on their behalf by William Brownlow in June 1757, the commissioners of the revenue were prepared to commit to a new building 'in the most substantial and commodious manner' downriver from the English Town and on the edge of South Prior's Land, an estate being developed by the city's Member of Parliament, Edmund Sexton Pery.³⁵ The commissioners directed their architect, Edward Smyth, to prepare a plan and elevation, and in December 1763, on the recommendation of Pery, the project was put in the hands of Edward Uzuld, the city's most prominent builder.³⁶ Almost a year would pass before Uzuld's bills of quantity were passed to the commissioners. At their meeting on 22nd December 1764 they approved Uzuld's estimate of £3,073 17s 5d and set his fee at £5 per cent, 'the usual rate to undertakers', and directed that work should commence the following spring.³⁷ Within the month, however, and without recording a reason for their decision, the commissioners authorised Robert Waller, who, as surveyor general for Connaught, was one of their senior office-holders, to invite Dukart to submit a proposal to superintend the project.³⁸ His scheme was accepted, and at their meeting on 9th February 1765 the commissioners agreed that Dukart should be offered the contract on the same terms as had been offered to Uzuld. They ordered that Smyth's plan and elevation, together with a schedule of prices for building materials in Limerick, should be sent to Dukart in Cork for his perusal.³⁹

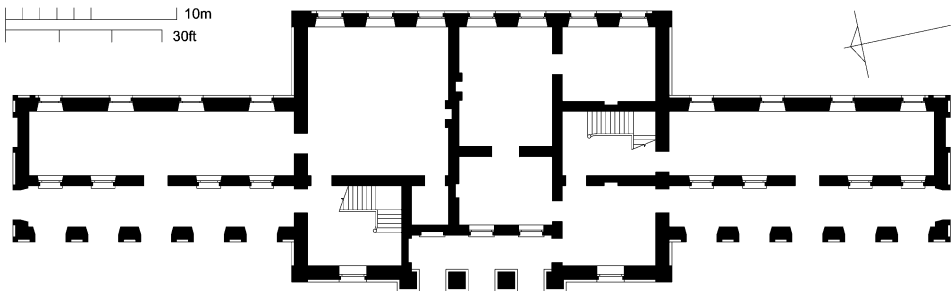
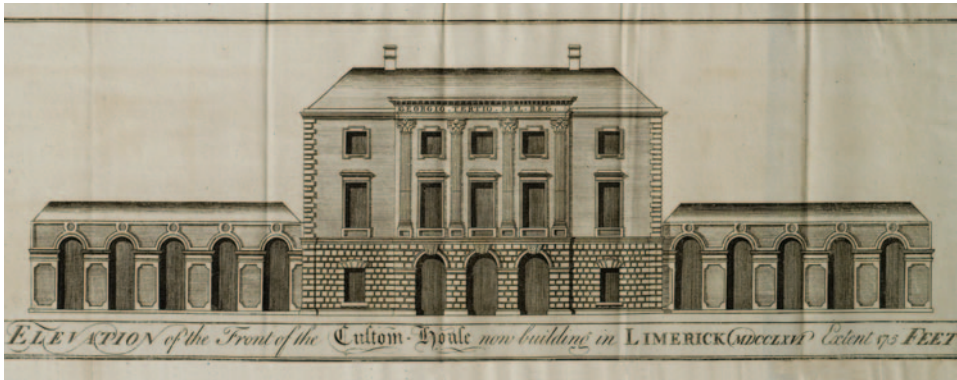
In getting the contract to build the Custom House, Dukart had displaced an established and well-regarded local builder; over the next two months his role would mutate further, and he would become the building's architect. At a meeting of the commissioners in early April 1765 Pery presented a plan for the Custom House by Dukart that varied, he suggested, 'in a few particulars' from Smyth's original design.⁴⁰ The commissioners agreed to the proposed changes, but in less than three weeks Pery would submit a new plan by Dukart for a building whose materials and embellishment, but especially the disposition of arcaded-wings to a central block, would differ radically from what had been approved.⁴¹ Dukart's design, the commissioners decided, was excessively ornamented for such a building. It would require extraordinary expense and provide a dangerous precedent: other cities 'of equal trade' would expect the same. They were especially opposed to Dukart's proposal for arcaded 'porticos' to the wings. The officials had to be able to look freely onto the adjacent quay, and they believed that the proposed arcade would hamper that. Furthermore, open arcades would encourage the traders to leave their goods lying there. The expense would be needless; a portico to the central block should be suffi-

cient embellishment.⁴²

From a position of apparent intransigence, the commissioners began to yield, softened, perhaps, by Pery's offer of the free use of a nearby limestone quarry.⁴³ They agreed that the proposed wings might be faced with hewn stone and built in the same style as the ground floor of the central block, but they insisted that save for quoins, window sills and entablature in stone, the rest of the building should be in brick, as specified in the original design.⁴⁴ Far from being chastened, Dukart kept to his plan, and when he met the commissioners with Pery at the end of April he proposed that all the external walls should be faced with stone. He argued that the additional cost of stone instead of brick would amount to only £212 1s 6d, while stone arcades to each of the side wings would add only £120.⁴⁵ Pery had brought a petition from the Limerick merchants to the meeting. They appeared to be fully behind Dukart's plan for arcades, pleading that they were needed 'to preserve their goods from the weather'. Faced with the arguments of architect and merchants, and the formidable presence of Pery, the commissioners retreated and informed the Collector of Custom at Limerick that work should proceed there in accordance with Dukart's plan and elevation (Plate 6).⁴⁶

On 16th June 1765 the Mayor of Limerick laid the foundation stone.⁴⁷ Previously unbuilt on, the ground was part of the unfinished Mardyke and still without some of the walls and banking needed to complete a new customs' quay. Away from the river, the site was well below the level of the street leading to the New Bridge and into the English Town. Levels were taken and retaken, and much filling took place before Dukart was satisfied that the building's plinth, if not its vaulted basement, would be above the level of high tide.⁴⁸ Work continued briskly during the late spring of 1766. The first storey was almost complete when, at dusk, on 25th June, an 'insolent' mob, its motivation far from clear, broke into the site. Having chased off the watchman, the mob tore down the builder's crane, damaged a number of cut stones and tossed the recently laid courses.⁴⁹ A substantial reward was offered to whoever might lead the authorities to the instigators, and thereafter the site was guarded by soldiers from the garrison.⁵⁰

Less easily dealt with was the manoeuvring of the ground landlord, Richard Vincent, who now sought to interest the commissioners in taking additional ground abutting their plot. The commissioners believed this would be an unnecessary purchase until it became clear that without it they would not have proper access from the street.⁵¹ Vincent had also let plots to speculators who hoped to benefit by building close to the Custom House. Among them was Robert Waller, the official who had acted as emissary from the commissioners to Dukart. He now enlisted Dukart in his scheme to build between the south wing of the Custom House and the street.⁵² As a result, the Custom House appeared to be in danger of losing its 'principal light', and relations between Dukart and the commissioners worsened when it



Custom House, Limerick (begun 1764)

5 – ELEVATION OF THE FRONT OF THE CUSTOM HOUSE, NOW BUILDING IN LIMERICK, 1767
in John Ferrar, *AN HISTORY OF THE CITY OF LIMERICK* (1767) (courtesy Glucksman Library, University of Limerick)

6 – Ground-floor plan (Livia Hurley, 2007)

7 – Engraving by J. Duff after a drawing by Neville Bath
in John Ferrar, *THE HISTORY OF LIMERICK* (1787) (courtesy Glucksman Library, University of Limerick)

emerged that he had altered the original location of the Custom House to facilitate Waller's scheme.⁵³ Just as they had been forced to take additional land from Vincent, the commissioners now had to purchase ground from Waller in order to secure their site.⁵⁴ The less-than-scrupulous activities of landlord, office-holder and architect had served to lessen the utility and attractiveness of what had initially been an open riverside site.

Every few months the commissioners routinely authorised payments to cover the cost of wages and materials.⁵⁵ A demand for additional funds in April 1767, just two years after Dukart had first presented his plan, prompted the commissioners to inquire as to when the Custom House might be completed and what might be its final cost.⁵⁶ Dukart informed them that he expected work to continue until the autumn of the following year, but that an accurate forecast of remaining expenditure would prove difficult.⁵⁷ By then, £6,511 15s 2½d had been expended – almost twice what had been agreed – and it was becoming clear to all concerned that much more would be needed.⁵⁸ With a growing sense of unease the commissioners now sought economies, and at their November meeting they directed that the inside of the Custom House should be finished 'in a plain, neat and substantial manner', without decoration or ornament.⁵⁹ While admitting that he had far exceeded the sum agreed, Dukart now requested more funds to complete essential works: the Collector's private apartments had yet to be fitted out; a specially fashioned brass valve was needed to keep the spring tidewater from the basement; a brew-house with proper utensils had to be set up, and a range of necessary houses built in the yard. Chimney pieces too were needed, and when Dukart inquired as to how much he might spend he was warned that only those in the Collector's eating room and parlour should be in marble; the rest had to be in plain stone.⁶⁰

When engaged on the Cork Mayoralty House, Dukart had to leave day-to-day direction to master craftsmen, an arrangement imposed by the Corporation and one that, he claimed, led to idleness and work of poor quality. In Limerick he was able to appoint a deputy, initially a Captain Conley, until he was replaced sometime in late 1766 by Christopher Colles, the twenty-six-year-old nephew of the Kilkenny stone merchant who had tried to interest Dukart in purchasing his water pipes in 1761.⁶¹ Direction of the labourers and artisans was put in the hands of William Byrum, an experienced builder appointed on Pery's recommendation at an annual salary of £40.⁶² This appeared to be a better arrangement, but Dukart's infrequent visits to Limerick and the delegation of heavy responsibilities to an inexperienced deputy may have rendered a complicated project more difficult.⁶³ Walter St Lawrence, who had been contracted to cut 'the capitals and other ornament', argued with Colles, and their disagreement led to a suit against Dukart in early 1767.⁶⁴ The commissioners informed Dukart that he should employ an attorney and they would reimburse the cost if the case was decided in Dukart's favour.⁶⁵ The outcome of the

dispute was not recorded, but its architectural consequence was captured when the Corinthian pilasters, depicted in an engraving of 1767, appeared without capitals in an engraving of 1787 (Plates 5, 7). The 1787 engravings also reveal that the inscription *GEORGIO TERTIO FEL REG* – a formulary for the phrase ‘George III of Happy Reign’ – proposed for the frontispiece frieze, remained unexecuted. In early summer 1769, with most of the fabric complete, Dukart reported that other parts of the stonework remained unfinished as the masons, though paid as agreed, had refused to do any more work.⁶⁶ The commissioners directed that if they persisted in their refusal they should be brought to court. The men submitted that the fault was not theirs but Dukart’s, who, having set them ‘prophiles’, made alterations that obliged them ‘to reform their work into other dimensions’.⁶⁷ They would finish only if properly compensated.⁶⁸ Again, if the case proceeded, its outcome went unrecorded, but the unfinished spandrels of the arcade arches suggest that it was no more satisfactory than before. The stages followed by the masons, from lightly incised marking out, through partially cut circles to finished rustication, provides a vivid record of the carving process, but also an enduring comment on the project’s mismanagement (Plate 8).

By late June 1769, Dukart was keen to conclude his dealings with the commissioners, and when he submitted his bill they requested details of what had been paid ‘on account of the building’ and how much had been paid for his superinten-

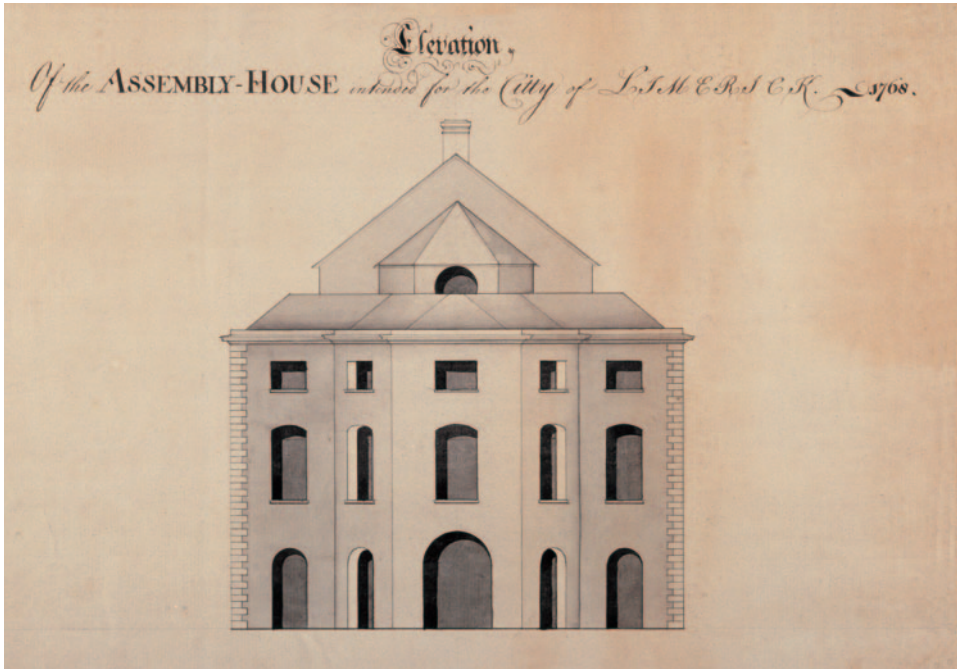
8 – *Custom House, Limerick: unfinished carving on arcade spandrel (south wing) (2007)*



dence.⁶⁹ An audit revealed that total expenditure stood at £10,159 13s 3d, of which he had received £439 19s 7³/₄d.⁷⁰ He submitted that he was due more because he had used part of his fee to purchase materials. The commissioners then sent him an itemised account and asked him to indicate what he had paid for.⁷¹ Three weeks later they had not heard from him, and in a rare display of impatience they demanded a full report by 4th September.⁷² Dukart's response went unrecorded. Neither is there a note of when his direction of the Custom House formally ceased, but it was most likely between then and the end of December 1769 when Colles casually remarked to his cousin that 'Dukart and his schemes are quite laid aside'.⁷³

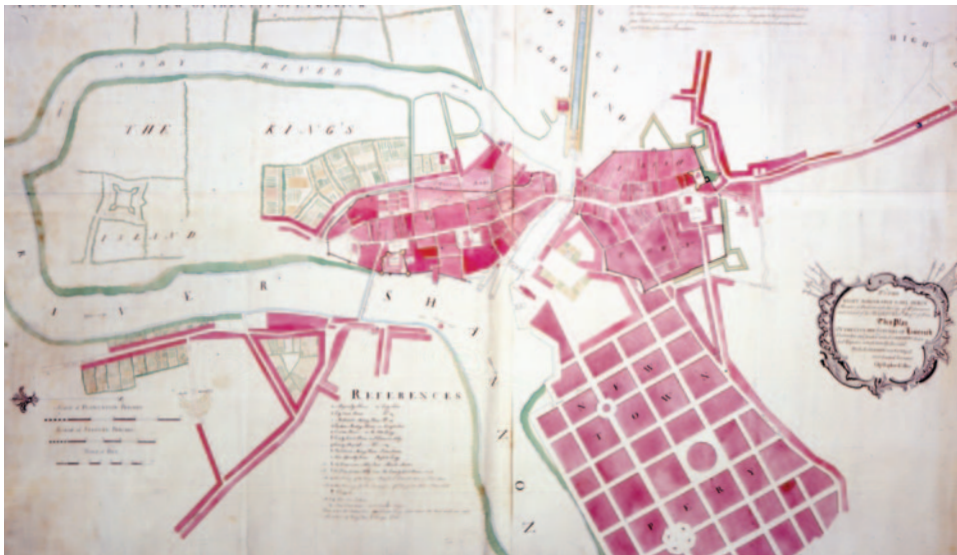
Just over a year before, when a competition was announced for the design of an Assembly House to stand at the end of the Mardyke, a short distance from the Custom House, Dukart appeared well positioned to give Limerick another noteworthy building.⁷⁴ From the middle of August 1768 and into September, the promoters – a loosely bound group of local notables – advertised for subscribers. They also announced that a plan and elevation had been received from Dukart.⁷⁵ Edward Uzuld, whom Dukart had displaced as builder of the Custom House, had submitted an elevation, though it was noted that he had yet to forward a plan.⁷⁶ All would be available for public inspection (and presumably to encourage potential investors) on the occasion of the upcoming winter assizes.⁷⁷ When Uzuld died at his house in the English Town on 10th September, it might have seemed that the way was clear for Dukart.⁷⁸ However, when the subscribers met on 30th September to appoint a committee of five to oversee the work, they agreed that it should be to a plan submitted by William Deane Hoare, vicar choral and sub-dean of St Mary's Cathedral and, critically perhaps, one of twenty founding shareholders in the project.⁷⁹ An elevation of 1768 survives, but without a signature its authorship – whether by Dukart, Uzuld or Hoare – cannot be established, nor is there anything to show if it was the building as realised and that opened to the public on 11th September 1770 (Plate 9).⁸⁰

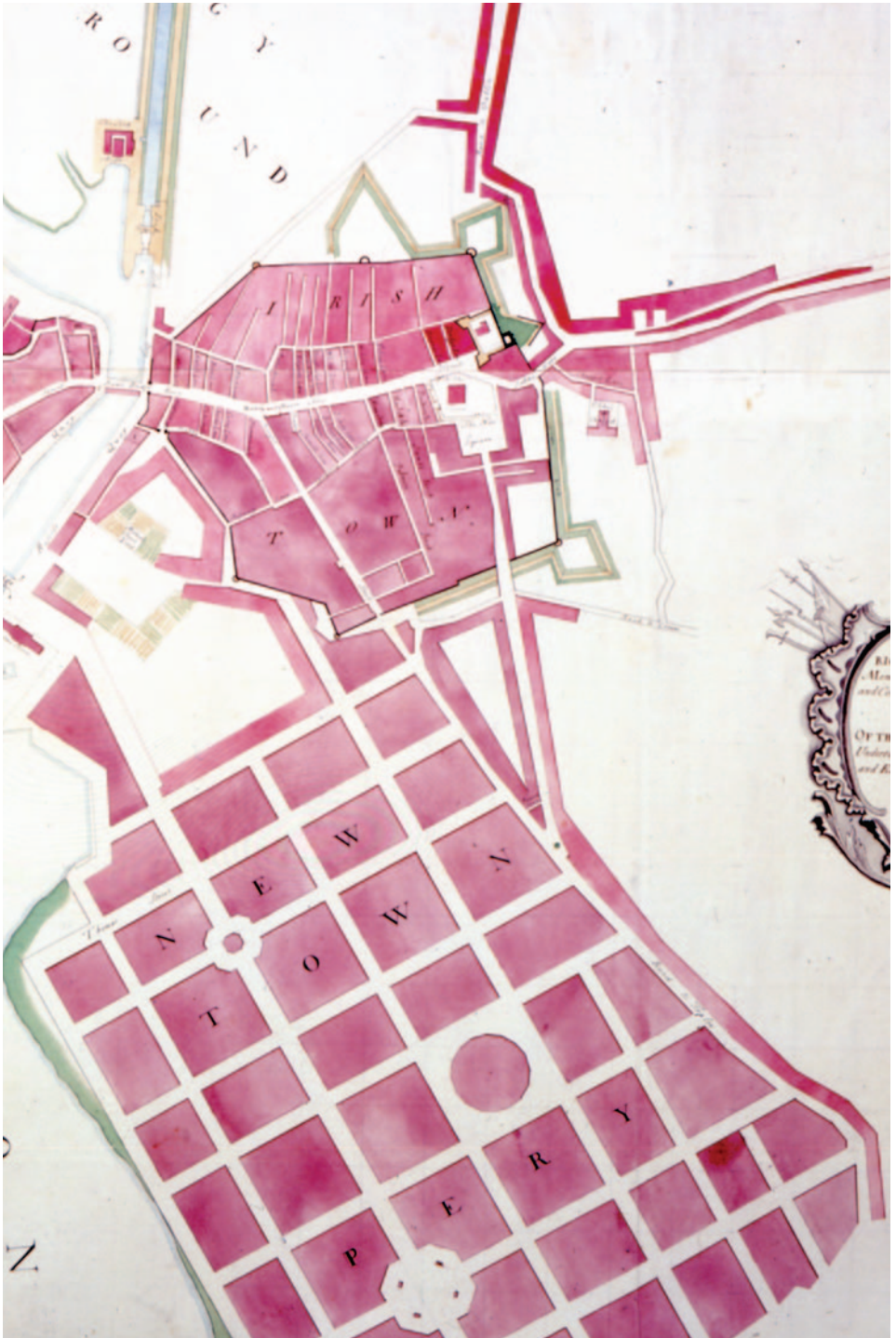
Dukart had been given his greatest opportunity to make an impression on Limerick's fabric when Pery employed him in 1765 to draw up a plan setting out the plots at South Prior's Land that he hoped to develop as New Town Pery.⁸¹ The plan was consolidated between 1767 and 1769 by the marking out of the intervening streets.⁸² During the 1770s, development was confined mostly to plots on the edge of the Irish Town, but from the early 1780s, when Pery was able to attract a growing number of well-established city merchants as tenants for larger plots to the south and closer to the river, it seemed that his hopes for an extensive and profitable New Town might be realised. Pery's dream had found its earliest and most eloquent expression in 1769 in a map commissioned by Earl Percy, the newly arrived commander of the city's garrison (Plate 10).⁸³ It recorded the New Town's mostly rectangular plots and streets, framed on the north by the River Shannon and on the south by the road west from the Irish Town. By taking its central axis – what would later



9 – ELEVATION OF THE ASSEMBLY-HOUSE INTENDED FOR THE CITY OF LIMERICK 1768
pen and watercolour on paper, 26 x 37 cm (courtesy Knight of Glin)

10 – Christopher Colles, LIMERICK CITY AND SUBURBS, 1769 (detail opposite showing New Town Pery)
ink and watercolour on paper, 104 x 141 cm (courtesy British Library)





become George's Street – from the line of the Shannon rather than from the New Bridge and the Custom House, the plan skilfully maximised the number of rectangular building plots that could be carved out of Pery's estate. The monotony that might spring from the imposition of such a grid was avoided by the generous provision for open spaces on which the visual success of the baroque city traditionally depended. The smallest of these, an octagon created by scooping out the corners of four contiguous blocks where they met on the main axis, had as its focal point the octagonal church that Pery started building in 1767.⁸⁴ Further along the axis a larger octagon provided a grand public space, punctuated by four pedestal-like blocks. Most spectacular of all was the space set aside for a large square with a sixteen-sided plot at its centre. Just how much the plan – fairly described by Christopher Colles, who mapped it, as 'extensive and elegant' – owed to Dukart's determination to infuse a routine survey with a distinctive sensibility, or to the requirements set out by Pery, must remain a matter for conjecture.

Like other contemporary essays in urban planning, New Town Pery was the consequence of the convergence of a number of factors: the constraints imposed by the physical terrain and existing patterns of property ownership, the opportunities thrown up by favourable cycles of trade, and, most critically, the fortuitous circumstances that brought patron and architect together. Within those limits, seigniorial ambition and architectural intelligence combined to produce a plan that, even with some key elements unrealised, would be unsurpassed in any Irish provincial city of the eighteenth century.

IN CONTRAST WITH HIS PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN LIMERICK AND CORK, DUKART'S PRIVATE domestic works are poorly documented. If an archive with material for a detailed history of any of them exists, it has yet to reveal its secret. The scraps of information that are available point to Dukart's involvement in just six projects that range from routine renovation and rebuilding to the design of grandly conceived houses.

Dukart was not long engaged on the Cork Mayoralty House when he accepted what may have been his first major private commission, the building of a country seat for Abraham Devonsher at Kilshannig, about fifteen miles north of Cork city (Plates 11, 12).⁸⁵ Since the end of the seventeenth century, the Devonshers had been active in the city's mercantile and civic life and in accumulating properties, which included a farm at Kilshannig.⁸⁶ When Joseph Wight visited in 1754 he was struck by the air of improvement fostered by Abraham's father, Jonas – a garden brimming with fruit and flowers, handsome avenues, well-kept hedges and ditches, all making a 'great show' in harmony with countryside and village. It provided a memorable

lesson on the rewards of virtue: 'hence we can see what money and industry can do, for the above farm was but coarse and hungry land by nature several years ago'.⁸⁷ When Jonas Devonsher died in April 1756 it was Abraham's presence at meetings in mourning dress that revealed a worldly vanity to his fellow Quakers.⁸⁸ More alarmingly, by recently offering himself as a parliamentary candidate, he had 'very openly and plainly manifested that he is gone from us, and is not one of faith and judgment with us'.⁸⁹ Devonsher had set his sights on a seat for Rathcormac, the borough which included Kilshannig. He was returned, it was said, 'by constantly residing and entertaining and drinking with the people'.⁹⁰ Thus, political calculation and familial feeling may be discerned in his choice of Kilshannig for his country refuge.

It is not known when Devonsher engaged Dukart to design Kilshannig, but the date 1766 cast on each of the drain hoppers suggests that work might have been underway in 1764 or early 1765.⁹¹ Presented with a generous, open, hilltop site, free of the constrictions that hampered him in Cork and Limerick, Dukart was free to deploy arcaded wings, domed pavilions, office ranges, yards and forecourt in an ensemble that quadrupled the area occupied by the *corps de logis*.⁹² Skilled stucco-dores, fluent in the language of the European baroque, were called on to turn the ceilings of saloon, library and dining room into a mythical world inhabited by Bacchus, Apollo and Diana. If Devonsher created a mood remote from that of Sunday meeting and city counting house, he may have been alluding to that legacy with medallions enclosing circumspect low-relief portraits.⁹³ Thus housed, he seemed to retreat. In 1773 the chief secretary noted that he was then living 'a recluse life with a harlot', and amongst erstwhile allies his reluctance to attend Parliament proved an irritant.⁹⁴ He lost his parliamentary seat in 1776 following the purchase of Rathcormack borough by William Hull, and that year also saw him making provision from his estate for the support of his wife Mary.⁹⁵ He died at his lodgings on Cork's Grand Parade on 22nd April 1783.⁹⁶

Abraham Devonsher – to echo Professor Dickson's phrase – was one of the 'new men', those whose families had amassed fortunes in trade or as soldiers, and established themselves in the early eighteenth century in grand houses near Cork city.⁹⁷ Robert Rogers was another. His grandfather had represented Cork in the parliaments of William III and had purchased the Lota estate overlooking the harbour at Glanmire, about four miles east of the city.⁹⁸ The younger Robert inherited Lota in 1741, and by then it must have acquired some of the features that by 1750 made it, in Charles Smith's words, 'a pleasant seat adorned with plantations'.⁹⁹

Rogers continued making improvements, and, most likely in the mid-1760s, embarked on the substantial works on which he employed Dukart.¹⁰⁰ The extent of Dukart's intervention, whether a complete rebuilding or a renovation, is indistinct, but a comment from the builder and architect Michael Shanahan some years later provides useful clues.





I never had any dealings whatever with him [Dukart], nor was I ever concern'd where he was employed, but at a Mr Rogers in Lota near Cork – the front of whose house he stuccoed, which totally came off the winter following, the fault of which he attempted fixing upon me, not having my part of the building finished in time, the spring following he stuccoed it a second time, the fate of which Mr Trant [Dunkettle] who lives within a quarter of a mile of Mr Rogers can inform your lordship, also at whose door the fault lay.(101)

One possible interpretation of this is that Dukart was just one of a number of craftsmen engaged by Rogers and that he was responsible only for the stucco work – ‘whose house he stuccoed’ – while others, including Shanahan, worked on the rest of the building, ‘not having my part of the building finished in time’. Another interpretation is that while the overall design of the project lay with Dukart, various builders and craftsmen such as Shanahan were employed for specific tasks. That was



*Kilshannig, Rathcormac, county Cork
(begun c.1764)*

11 – Entrance or south front

(restoration of arcaded wings, pavilions and domes in progress, 2007)

12 – North front (photos Dara McGrath, 2007)

(restoration of arcaded wings, pavilions and domes in progress, 2007)



*13 – Lota, Glanmire, Cork (begun c.1764), porch and balcony
(photo Dara McGrath, 2007)*



14 – Lota, Glanmire, Cork (begun c.1764)

Detail of first-floor oval window with curved glazing bars (1967) (courtesy Irish Architectural Archive)

how Daniel Beaufort understood it: ‘the house is by Dukart’, he noted, following a visit in 1788.¹⁰² By then, Lota had the power to lure visitors on their jaunts out from the city. Arthur Young had found it ‘in the highest perfection’ in 1778, and when William Watmough came in 1785 he was struck by the square central block and the cut-stone wings: ‘the architecture thereof is neat and simple and appears so light, that it does honour to the architect’.¹⁰³ Beaufort too was taken by much of what he saw – the innovative porch of banded, Doric columns supporting a balcony and the grand reception rooms (whose rich stucco work closely resembles that by Osborne at the Mayoralty House) – but he was less impressed by what he characterised as a general heaviness of design (Plates 13, 14). He also noticed how the plaster continued to give trouble.¹⁰⁴ Dukart’s Lota is the house recorded in a series of watercolours by William Osborne Hamilton in 1772 (Plates 15, 16).¹⁰⁵ It was still intact in the 1830s when, prior to a series of additions that included a pediment and bay windows, its exterior was sketched by Henry Hill (Plate 17).¹⁰⁶

Dukart had probably finished at Lota and Kilshannig when he undertook the design of Castletown near Carrick-on-Suir for Michael Cox, Archbishop of Cashel (Plates 18-20).¹⁰⁷ It was certainly underway in September 1768 when Dukart was



known to have gone south, where ‘he had the direction of a palace’.¹⁰⁸ As with the works then progressing in Limerick and Cork, day-to-day supervision was in the hands of a resident builder. At Castletown this was John Nowlan, who was present on 19th August 1774 when a final payment for interior stucco work was made to Patrick Osborne, the stuccodore who had worked alongside Dukart in Cork.¹⁰⁹ Nowlan’s own bill of £1,000, ‘on account of my attendance at the new building at Castletown’, was settled in full by Cox on 4th December 1774.¹¹⁰

Cox had been promoted from Ossory as Archbishop of Cashel in January 1754. He was in his mid-seventies when he set about building Castletown, and for someone of his age it might have seemed a wasteful vanity or, at best, a belated protest against the constrictions of his official residence – Edward Lovett Pearce’s palace of 1728 – in his cathedral city of Cashel. In truth, the construction of Castletown was an important element in his dynastic calculations, and it can hardly have been coincidental that it was initiated around the time of the marriage of his only son and heir, Richard.¹¹¹ Castletown was part of the Cox estate, and the house was conceived as a family seat and not as a primatial palace; its south front would carry the arms of Cox, impaling those of O’Brien of Thomond, the family of Richard’s mother Anne.¹¹² Cox continued to think in dynastic terms for the remainder of his long life. In 1777, spurred on by the conferring of a barony on a fellow archbishop, Richard Robinson of Armagh, he informed Lord Lieutenant Buckingham that he considered himself as entitled to a temporal peerage.¹¹³ For someone who harboured that ambition for his family, possession of a grand house was essential. The palace at Cashel was available to Cox and his family only as long as he held office, and in such circumstances he had to establish his own seat, as would Robinson with Rokeby in county Louth.¹¹⁴

Contemporaries may have wondered about possible sources for the design of Castletown. It was almost certainly the barely concealed object of the disparaging comment in La Verite’s lampoon on Dukart in the *Freeman’s Journal*: ‘And soon after, picking from the tattered remains of an old edition of Paladio, in the original Language, a Palace for a R[ight]t R[ever]nd P[ri]mate, he was immediately proclaimed all over the west, an Architect.’¹¹⁵ The suggestion that Dukart was a plagiarist who otherwise would have been incapable of producing a work of merit seemed

opposite 15 – William Osborne Hamilton, *A VIEW OF LOTA, THE SEAT OF ROBERT ROGERS ESQ 1772*
pen and wash drawing, 22 x 39 cm (detail) (courtesy William Laffan)

16 – William Osborne Hamilton, *LOTA, c.1772*, present location of work unknown
(detail) (courtesy Irish Architectural Archive)

17 – Henry Hill, *LOTA NEAR CORK, THE SEAT OF GREEN ESQR*
c.1830, sketchbook ink and wash drawing, 13 x 20 cm (detail) (courtesy Cork Public Museum)



*18, 19 – Castletown, Carrick-on-Suir (begun c.1766),
garden front; garden front, arcaded wing, pavilion, dome and cupola (1917) (courtesy Country Life)*





20 – *Castletown, Carrick-on-Suir (begun c.1766),
entrance front (1917) (courtesy Country Life)*

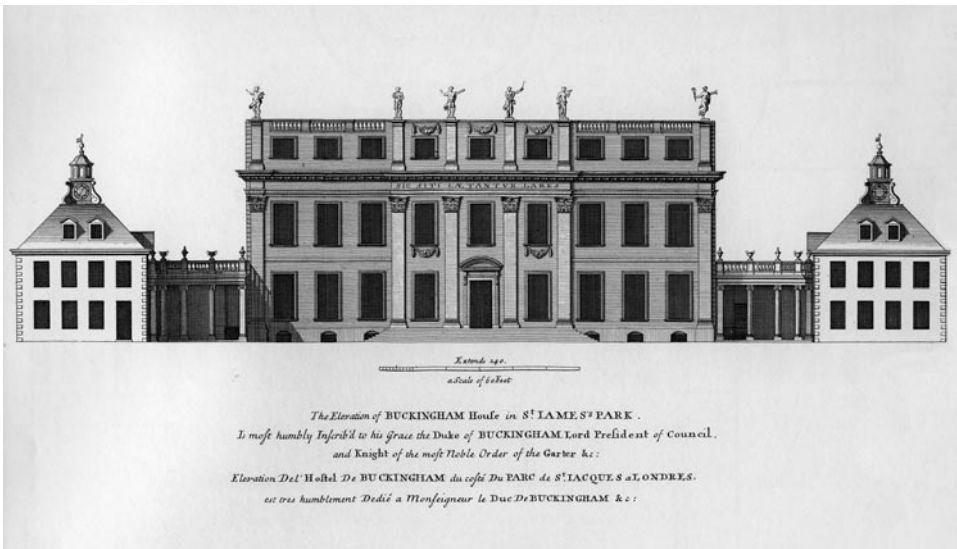
to leave little room for the argument that a close reading of Palladio and other theorists might be a useful, if not essential, part of an architectural education. FitzGerald may have got closer to identifying a source for Castletown when he suggested in 1967 that its entrance front might have been influenced by William Winde's design of 1703 for Buckingham House in London.¹¹⁶ Each house rose through four storeys and had a frontispiece of four Corinthian pilasters, a balustraded roof parapet and a Corinthian entablature separating the main floors from the attic story. Except for the use of seven bays at Castletown and nine at Buckingham House, contemporaries might have found the similarity all but complete (Plates 21, 22).¹¹⁷

Dukart took on more modest projects. One such was rebuilding a house 'in Co Cork for Mrs Wallis (now Mrs Mercer)'.¹¹⁸ No more detail of her identity was recorded, but most likely she was Ann, daughter of Emanuel Pigott, MP for Cork city from 1735 to 1760, and his wife Lucy Rogers, a cousin of Dukart's patron at Lota.¹¹⁹ In December 1763 Ann married Barachias Wallis of Ballycrenane in the parish of Kilcredan near Cloyne.¹²⁰ Wallis died in January 1765, and just over a year later she married Captain Richard Mercer of the Royal Irish Dragoons.¹²¹ If Ann Pigott was the patron in question, Dukart would have worked for her at



21 – Castletown, Carrick-on-Suir (begun c.1766), entrance front (1917) (courtesy Country Life)

22 – William Winde, Buckingham House, London (begun 1702): entrance front
in Colen Campbell, *VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS, OR THE BRITISH ARCHITECT*, 3 vols (London 1717) I, pl.44



Ballycrenane during the brief period of her widowhood, January 1765 to March 1766. In 1837 Samuel Lewis noted the ‘fine’ ruins of Ballycrenane, and summarised its history: built by the Carews in the early fifteenth century, destroyed in 1641, restored and occupied by the Wallis family until 1798, when, following bombardment from a boat in Ballycotton Bay, it was abandoned.¹²² In 1885 the ruin was reduced to a single story, and by 1991, showing signs of ‘much alteration and repair’, had become ‘fragmentary and ivy clad’.¹²³ At Castle Mary, just eight miles west of Ballycrenane, Dukart designed ‘a difficult roof’ for Richard Longfield.¹²⁴ Longfield sat in Parliament successively for Baltimore, Charleville, Clonakilty and Cork, a representative career that stretched from 1761 to 1796, when he became the first Baron Longueville.¹²⁵ Dukart’s fee was eight guineas for what must have been a small job, but he would remain unpaid, unsurprising, perhaps, given his patron’s poor luck at gambling and his unrestrained spending on political advancement.¹²⁶

Another rebuilding project came Dukart’s way at Brockley Park near Stradbally, Queen’s County in 1768. His patron there was Robert Waller’s cousin, Robert Jocelyn.¹²⁷ Jocelyn had represented Old Leighlin in Parliament from 1745 to 1756 when he succeeded his father as 2nd Viscount. He was appointed Auditor General of Ireland in 1750, and would hold that office until his death in 1797.¹²⁸ Jocelyn took



Brockley Park, Stradbally

23 – Engraving after William Pars, 1785

(detail) in Thomas Milton, *A SELECTION OF SELECT VIEWS FROM THE DIFFERENT SEATS OF THE NOBILITY AND GENTRY IN THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND* (London 1793) xix
(courtesy Glucksman Library, University of Limerick)

24 – Entrance front, demolished 1944

(courtesy Irish Architectural Archive)





25 – Brockley Park,
Stradbally: staircase with
supporting columns, frieze
and cornice (demolished 1944)

26 – Lota, Glanmire:
staircase with supporting
columns, frieze and cornice
(c.1965)

(courtesy Irish Architectural
Archive)





*27 – Castletown, Carrick-on-Suir: arcaded wings and cupolas (1917)
(courtesy Country Life)*

possession of his father's house at Donnybrook, county Dublin in 1749, and thereafter divided his time between it and Brockley Park.¹²⁹ On the morning of 12th December 1767, Brockley was 'entirely consumed'.¹³⁰ Thomas Milton wrote in 1793 that a new house was 'built' on the site of the old under the 'inspection' of Dukart.¹³¹ Milton also provided an illustration and a brief description – seven rooms on the first floor, a chapel with four stained-glass windows, portico in front (Plate 23).¹³² Brockley may have been altered again in the nineteenth century, and photographs taken sometime before its demolition in 1944 (as well as Milton's print) record little that might link the design of its exterior directly to the builder of Castletown or Kilshannig (Plate 24). However, internal decoration, resembling, in part, that at Lota, suggests that this may have been less a complete project, as Milton seemed to be implying, than a prudent rebuilding (Plates 25, 26).

The study of Dukart's known surviving buildings has resulted in a growing consensus on their essential characteristics. The process got underway in 1913 when Thomas Ulick Sadlier, in his seminal essay on Castletown, wrote that its arcaded wings and cupolas were typical of Dukart's style (Plate 27).¹³³ In 1967, citing the recurring use of 'straight-edged quoining and heavy semi-circular basement windows', FitzGerald brought the analysis a stage further.¹³⁴ This was built on by Maurice Craig when, in his 1982 study of the Limerick Custom House, he picked out a frontispiece of fluted pilasters, arcaded wings, panelled piers, arches ornamented by a tangent circle above, concave weatherings to window cornices, and window architraves broken upwards (Plate 28).¹³⁵ To these he added Dukart's use of domed pavilions to terminate an arcade and the deployment of wings in an inward-turning L-plan to partially enclose a yard (as at Castletown) or to fully enclose it with a curtain wall (as at Kilshannig) (Plates 29, 30).¹³⁶ Not surprisingly, when a building of the 1760s or 1770s of unknown authorship carries a number of such features, it can prompt suggestions of a Dukart connection.

These attributions include the five houses – Coole Abbey, just five-and-a-half miles from Kilshannig, Little Island House on Cork Harbour, Castle Hyde near Fermoy, Dunsandle near Athenry, and Woodroffe near Clonmel – proposed by FitzGerald in 1967.¹³⁷ Dr Craig had suggested that Dukart might have had a part in designing the arcaded wings and pavilions at Florencecourt, county Fermanagh, but having allowed himself 'second thoughts' decided that a more obvious source was John Wood's Buckland in Berkshire.¹³⁸ In 1972 Edward McParland wrote that the palace at Armagh, usually attributed to Cooley, was started by Dukart.¹³⁹ The presence of a bridge in the demesne at Lissan, county Derry, long accepted as by Dukart, led Alistair Rowan in 1979 to speculate that the associated garden works and even the nearby house might also be by him.¹⁴⁰ In 1993 Brian de Breffney wondered whether the use of 'Mediterranean' features at Castlecour near Ballymahon, county Longford, revealed it to be one of Dukart's first Irish essays.¹⁴¹ A rumour that



28 – Custom House Limerick (begun 1764): ‘frontispiece of fluted pilasters, arcaded wings, panelled piers, arches ornamented by a tangent circle above, concave weatherings to window cornices, and window architraves broken upwards’ (2007)



29 – Castletown, Carrick-on-Suir: use of domed pavilion and the deployment of wings in an inward-turning L-plan to partially enclose a yard (courtesy Country Life)

30 – Kilshannig, Rathcormac: use of domed pavilion, the deployment of wings in an inward-turning L-plan, and a curtain wall to enclose a yard (photo Dara McGrath, 2007)





31 – Coole Park, Castlelyons: entrance front

32 – Kilshannig, Rathcormac: north front

(photos Dara McGrath, 2007)



Dukart had a part in the building of Crosshaven House, county Cork, has been recorded, as have the presence of ‘Dukartian features’ at Ballyowen, near Cashel.¹⁴²

Of all these cases, Coole Abbey carries the strongest visual evidence of Dukart’s hand. FitzGerald showed how its entrance break-front is a scaled-down version of the back of Kilshannig (Plates 31, 32).¹⁴³ Its window architraves, broken upwards over the openings (as at Limerick, Cork and Castletown); the use of Chinese fretwork carving (as at Limerick and Kilshannig); frontispiece coigns where the stretcher alternates with paired headers (as at Limerick, Cork and Castletown), chamfered (as at Kilshannig) and camber-headed basement windows with keystone and vousoirs (as at Limerick and Cork), all crisply carved, speak the language of Dukart.¹⁴⁴ At Coole, decoration appears to have been confined mostly to the crowded entrance front, while the simple wall arcade on one of the farmyard wings – evoking the round-headed windows in the outbuildings at Kilshannig – went unmatched on the other. It was as if the architect’s ambition outpaced his patron’s means. In contrast with Castletown and Kilshannig, Coole was much less the villa of a grandee than the home of a gentleman farmer – in this case, Henry Peard.¹⁴⁵ Notwithstanding the compelling cues in its fabric, Coole’s designer, like those of the other possibilities, must for now remain anonymous, a point emphasised by FitzGerald when he cautioned against the temptations of undocumented attribution.¹⁴⁶

DUKART WAS NURTURING A SUCCESSFUL ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE IN MUNSTER when, in early 1766, he travelled north to work on the Boyne navigation. Thereafter his ties to Munster loosened and he would return only to consult with patrons and to give directions to deputies and overseers. The works at Limerick, Cork, Kilshannig and Castletown would move towards completion, and following his work at Brockley Park in 1768, Dukart seems not to have taken on any new architectural projects. He was at a turning point in his career, and increasingly he directed his skills towards engineering, particularly where they could be applied to schemes of inland navigation and, later, to coal mining.

Work had started on the River Boyne in 1748 under the Commissioners of Inland Navigation, with the goal of making it navigable from Drogheda, westward, to Slane and Navan. During the 1750s the stretch between Drogheda and Slane was cleared of shoals and rocks, and its banks strengthened. Where the river was hazardous it was bypassed with short lateral canals and locks, mostly to a plan by Thomas Omer, recently appointed as engineer to the Navigation Board. The erection of David Jebb’s spectacular corn mill at Slane rendered the completion of an effective waterway all the more pressing, a responsibility entrusted in December 1765 to local commissioners.¹⁴⁷ In April 1766 the commissioners stepped around Omer, and

invited Dukart to survey the river and to propose how the work should proceed.¹⁴⁸ Impressed by his report, and notwithstanding the objections of a slighted Omer (whose initial plan, as revised by Christopher Myers, continued to guide the scheme), they agreed that Dukart should be retained as engineer.¹⁴⁹ He was granted an annual salary of £100, but with the appointment of Hamilton Bury as his resident deputy, it was clear that Dukart would spend very little time at Slane. Nonetheless, Dukart remained in the employment of the Boyne commissioners until the end of 1771.¹⁵⁰

The terms of Dukart's employment at Slane left him free to take on other projects. One was in Dundalk, where, through the patronage of its Member of Parliament, Robert Waller (for whom he had worked in Limerick), and James Fortescue, a Boyne commissioner and MP for county Louth, he was engaged in 1767 to draw up plans and estimates for proposed harbour improvements.¹⁵¹ Of the £5,397 6s 4d requested, Parliament granted £2,000, which was expended during the spring of 1768.¹⁵²

A greater challenge lay in taking the extension of the Tyrone Canal from its basin at Coalisland to the coal pits at Drumglass. The project would be the final stage of an ambitious scheme to link the Tyrone coal fields to the Irish Sea at Newry, thereby opening the prospect of the easy transport of coal to Dublin. Work had started in 1731 under Edward Lovett Pearce, and by March 1742 boats were able to travel between Lough Neagh and the sea at Newry. By the late 1740s they could make their way on from Lough Neagh, through five miles of the River Blackwater, and then through a newly built canal to Coalisland.¹⁵³ Westward from Coalisland the engineers faced a formidable task. Though the distance was but three miles, a canal would have to ascend 150 feet through undulating hills, a project that would require the use of several locks and abundant supplies of water to feed them. It seemed easier to build a road, and to that end Parliament had granted £4,000 in 1753.¹⁵⁴ In January 1760 Thomas Omer was instructed to design a navigation that would take seagoing vessels all the way to the mines, using, where possible, the River Torrent. If he succeeded in that, it would be possible to ship coal all the way from Drumglass to Dublin without the delays and expense occasioned by unloading and loading at Coalisland and again at Newry. Christopher Myers, appointed as Omer's successor in June 1762, had proceeded initially on that basis, but he soon came to the conclusion that the Torrent, fast-flowing and hazardous in winter but contracting to a trickle in summer, could not be successfully adapted to take ships. Neither was there any possibility of sufficient water to supply the very large locks that a ship canal would need. The most practicable course, he believed, would be the construction of a canal for small boats.¹⁵⁵

It was left to Dukart to bring Myers's plan to realisation. Instead of a conventional canal where boats were moved from one level to another via locks, he proposed a single-level canal, taken across valleys by aqueduct and stanchioned

embankment, and through hilly terrain by tunnel. When the canal reached Coalisland, cargo would be taken from the boats and lowered 150 feet down a shaft to an underground canal that linked up with the basin.¹⁵⁶ The audaciousness of the proposal was sufficient to draw criticism, not least from Omer whose scheme it would supplant, but Dukart's eloquent advocacy before a parliamentary committee in November 1767 gained him support where it counted.¹⁵⁷ Thus encouraged, he proposed an even longer underground canal, perhaps a mile in all, so that four faulty locks on the old canal below Coalisland could be bypassed. Again, with the backing of the local commissioners, he was able to get parliamentary approval.¹⁵⁸ Most critically he had the support of James Fortescue, now a member of the key committee on public works. Together they travelled to England in October 1768 to view the acclaimed aqueduct and underground channel built by James Brindley for the Duke of Bridgewater.¹⁵⁹

An underground canal would be costly to build and operate. Having asked in February 1768 for £26,802 to get the works started, the local commissioners were given but £5,000, and it became obvious that additional grants would be infrequent and no more generous. Consequently, Dukart was forced to revert to the original canal scheme, but he quickly learned, as had Myers before him, that there would never be a sufficient supply of water for four busy locks. He decided to dispense with locks entirely and use instead a ramp or inclined plane on which containers of coal, having been lifted from the boats, would be eased from one level down to the next. The first plane, close to the mines at Farlough, would cover a drop of fifty feet; another at Drumreagh, sixty feet; and the third, at Gorthaskea, fifty-five feet. A final fifteen-foot plane would bring cargo down to the basin at Coalisland.¹⁶⁰

In June 1771 Dukart announced that the course of the canal had been marked out and that he was looking for contractors.¹⁶¹ By the autumn of 1773 most of the work had been completed, and the local commissioners sought an assessment of Dukart's proposal for inclined planes from John Smeaton, the pre-eminent English civil engineer. Smeaton repeated what others had often said: the terrain and water supply was such that any canal project would be fundamentally flawed, 'the circumstances attending it are such that I never could have recommended a canal of any kind'.¹⁶² He advised that the canal should be replaced by a wooden railway. If that was not possible and the inclined planes had to be retained, they should be rendered more efficient.¹⁶³ Dukart proceeded on that basis, but when a parliamentary committee reviewed the operation of the canal in 1787 it found that only a few trial boats had ever made the journey from Coalisland to the mines.¹⁶⁴ The channel had dried up and the inclined planes had begun their long decay (Plates 33, 34). Almost as soon as it had been completed, what had become known locally as Dukart's Canal was 'entirely laid aside' and replaced by a railroad for horse-drawn wagons (Plate 35).¹⁶⁵

The three-arched aqueduct near Newmills is the most enduring manifestation

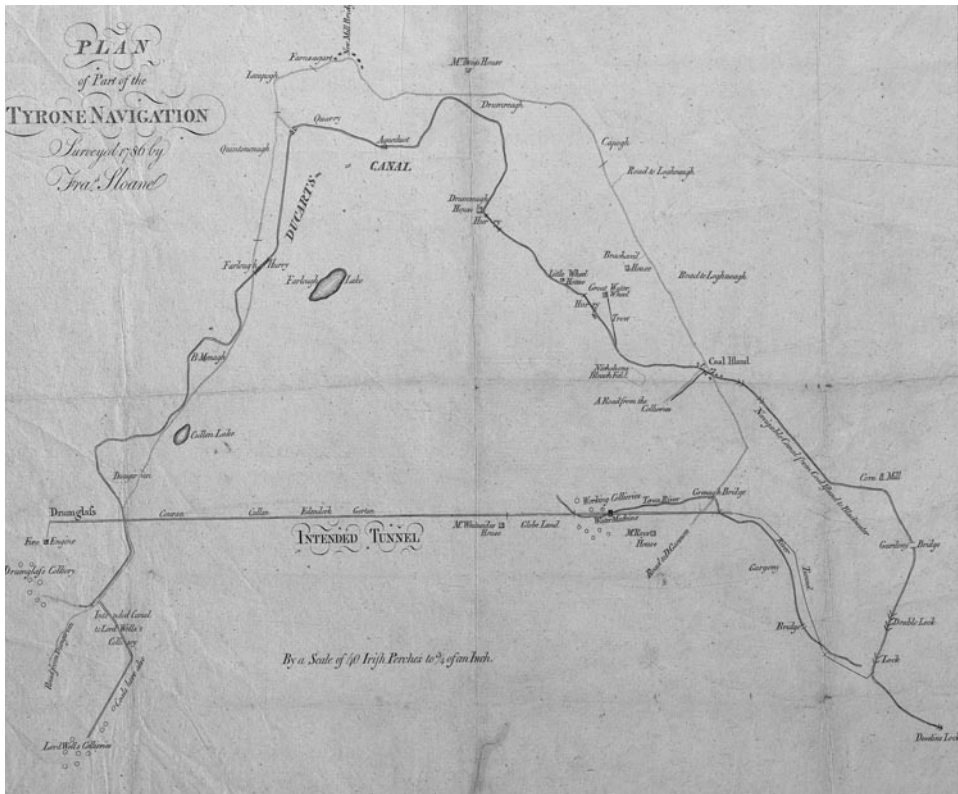
*Tyrone Navigation, Dry
Hurry, Drumreagh Etra
(begun c.1772)*

33 – North-east face

*34 – Detail of south-west
face, voussoirs and roof
(1967)*

*(courtesy the Controller of Her
Majesty's Stationary Office)*





of Dukart's canal engineering skill (Plate 37). An aqueduct had been proposed by Myers in 1767 as part of his plan to take the Coalisland canal westward over the River Torrent to the mines. Dukart became responsible for its design and execution, and it was completed in 1768.¹⁶⁶ Several of the motifs used on his private and public buildings – rusticated keystones, strongly articulated quoins, centred roundels, all sharply and precisely cut – were deployed (Plate 36). Dukart was justifiably proud when, at a parliamentary committee, he announced the completion of the aqueduct ‘so happily situated’, but he may have overstated its potential when he suggested that it could be used as the starting point for a grand canal southwards, ‘without one single lock’, through the drumlins of Monaghan and Fermanagh to the Erne.¹⁶⁷ The Newmills aqueduct may have provided the inspiration for a bridge commissioned by John Staples for his demesne – a ‘secluded recess of mountainous territory’ – at Lissan near Cookstown.¹⁶⁸ The three-arched bridge carries a woodland path, protected by wooden balustrades *à la chinoiserie*, across a tumbling stream (Plate 38). Although differing in scale, both aqueduct and bridge provided conspicuous demonstrations of Dukart's bridge-building skill, and it might have found further expression when Augustus Hervey, Bishop of Derry, commissioned him to design a bridge



*Tyrone Navigation aqueduct
over Torrent river, Newmills
(1768)*

36 – North-west face (1967)

*37 – Detail of south-east face
(1967)*

*(courtesy the Controller of Her
Majesty's Stationary Office)*

opposite

*35 – PLAN OF PART OF THE
TYRONE NAVIGATION, SURVEYED
1786 BY FRANS. SLOANE
(courtesy Royal Irish Academy
[Misc. Maps, vol. I, C 32 I C])*





38 – *Lissan Demesne, Cookstown: the bridge, c.1900*
 (courtesy Trustees of Lissan Estate)

over the Foyle.¹⁶⁹ By February 1769 Dukart had prepared two sets of drawings, one for a stone bridge that might be built for £32,000, and another for a simpler wooden structure.¹⁷⁰ In April he went to Derry to present his plans to the Corporation.¹⁷¹ The Corporation adopted his proposals and used them in an application for finance to the Irish Society, the body responsible since the Ulster plantation for the economic development of the city and county.¹⁷² Support was not forthcoming, and when a bridge was eventually built in Derry in 1790 it was not to Dukart's design.

Dukart seemed likely to land another canal project in early 1768 when the merchants of Strabane proposed to their landlord, the Earl of Abercorn, that a canal northwards from the town to the River Foyle would enable it to become a port comparable to Derry.¹⁷³ They suggested that a plan by Dukart might be used to support a petition to Parliament for funds.¹⁷⁴ Abercorn found the project attractive, not least because of the short distance – two miles – over easy terrain, and he consulted his uncle, William Brownlow, MP for Armagh, about possible engineers.¹⁷⁵ Brownlow believed that Dukart was the most capable of those then practicing in Ireland. His performance before the parliamentary committee the previous November had been impressive; he was an excellent draughtsman and surveyor, 'indefatigable in any-

thing he undertakes'. Should Abercorn decide to go ahead, Dukart's proximity at Coalisland would lessen the cost of employing him. Notwithstanding his endorsement of Dukart, Brownlow advised Abercorn that a man trained in England under Smeaton or Brindley would be better, however: 'The opinion of one of their journeymen would be more attended to than the greatest master in this country.'¹⁷⁶

Dukart knew that Brownlow was advising Abercorn on the choice of engineer, and he set out his terms to him directly.¹⁷⁷ He would conduct a preliminary survey: the easier the work, the less need to be there and the lower his costs. If the project did not progress, thirty guineas would cover his costs. Should it proceed, however, it would be necessary to employ a deputy at about £100 a year. As to his own fee, he would leave that decision to Brownlow and to Edmund Sexton Pery.¹⁷⁸ Brownlow was irked by Dukart's presumptuousness. He thought that £100 a year for a deputy excessive, particularly if, as Dukart had suggested, he would be merely an 'observer of workmen'.¹⁷⁹ Chastened somewhat, Dukart agreed that if the ground proved trouble-free, an overseer who could work on his own might be got for £40, in which case his own fee would be £150 a year and as much again on completion.¹⁸⁰ However, if the work proved complicated, his fee would have to be £200, and all on the assumption that he would continue working on the Drumglass Canal. He would be at least as good as Brindley or Smeaton, neither of whom, he claimed, would attend such a project for more than one month in twelve.¹⁸¹ While Dukart haggled with Brownlow, those behind the initial proposal began to consider how it might be extended to provide for a canal westwards to Castlefinn and south to Omagh. Such a project would involve other landowners, in which case Abercorn would be less inclined to take a leading role.¹⁸² Pending the outcome of those deliberations, Brownlow and Abercorn suspended negotiations with Dukart.¹⁸³

Left to himself, Abercorn might have proceeded with the short canal from Strabane to the Foyle, but once a more elaborate scheme led by 'other gentlemen' was mooted, he could only bide his time. When the scheme was resuscitated in January 1774 he let it be known that he would subscribe up to £12,000, provided that it would be no more than one third of the total.¹⁸⁴ In February Dukart was sent for by the town clerk of Strabane to make a survey and to prepare a report for consideration by the gentlemen of Tyrone and Fermanagh at the next assizes.¹⁸⁵ Abercorn's agent, James Hamilton, was present when Dukart presented his scheme, and it struck him that the gentlemen 'did not seem to enter warmly into it'.¹⁸⁶ Hamilton may have been understating the negative reception of a proposal dear to him, but Abercorn was under no illusion as to how his fellow proprietors felt. He believed that Dukart's proposals were so outlandish and extravagant that they killed any enthusiasm that might have been there: 'But the part Dukart has taken, could only tend to make them laugh and to defeat the project entirely: whilst he thought he was merely giving a specimen of his genius and imagination.'¹⁸⁷ Dukart had suffered

a stinging public humiliation, but against a background increasingly sceptical of the utility of such schemes and greater parliamentary scrutiny, it would be wrong to conclude that it was his misjudged comments alone that brought the project to a halt.¹⁸⁸

Dukart had gone north to work as a canal engineer, but like Christopher Myers before him, had been tempted to turn his skills there to mining. In the late 1760s he borrowed heavily and expended £1,250 on a 55% share in the Tyrone Mining Company, an association dominated until then by John Staples of Lissan and James Caulfeild of Drumrea.¹⁸⁹ As well as being the majority shareholder, Dukart now assumed the role of resident manager, and for the next eleven years, from his home at Drumrea at the centre of the Tyrone coal field, mining would provide the principal concern of his professional life.

Initially, there was much to do, not least establishing firm control of a coal field where opportunistic short-term mining by locals had been tolerated in the past. Dukart placed notices in newspapers warning that anyone who had hitherto been mining at Drumglass should desist 'at their peril'.¹⁹⁰ In June 1771 he had to forcibly close an illicit pit.¹⁹¹ Another challenge was to restore public confidence in the collieries whose output had often suffered adulteration by middlemen and carriers.¹⁹² Financial control too was improved. In December 1770 he announced that he would no longer arrange for the collection of trifling sums about the country, and that all new orders would have to be accompanied by cash.¹⁹³ Much of his energy was directed at finding good workmen. Most were manual labourers, by the nature of their work prone to illness and injury and often in short supply. In March 1772 he hoped to recruit forty or fifty skilled miners, and in 1775 he was looking for another thirty.¹⁹⁴ Effective day-to-day management required the skills of an underground overseer, a land steward 'well acquainted with setting and keeping labourers at work', and a chief groom for a stable of forty horses.¹⁹⁵ A carpenter was employed to make and repair coal wagons and build houses for employees.¹⁹⁶ Honest clerks were essential, but were neither easily found nor kept. In 1771 the chief clerk left, taking the account books with him.¹⁹⁷ When Dukart went to Dublin and left a new clerk in charge, he found him no more reliable; he and his assistant were negligent and their drunkenness soon spread down the ranks to the miners.¹⁹⁸

Dukart came to coal mining at a time of technological innovation. The power of pit horse and collier was being amplified as never before through the use of water power and, increasingly, steam. In November 1769 Dukart informed a Commons committee that he was sinking a shaft over two hundred feet deep to accommodate a pump and a steam engine that would cost £500.¹⁹⁹ By October 1771 the shaft had been completed, and turning his mind to what machines might be installed, books in German and Dutch on mechanics were borrowed from the Dublin Society.²⁰⁰ Lack of funds thwarted his ambition, however. He was unable to purchase the engine and when the newly sunk pits flooded, they had to be abandoned. Under Dukart the

Tyrone coal field never moved beyond using the simplest technologies. Shovel, rope and pick set a low limit on output, and that was pushed lower still when flooding confined mining to the driest part of the year. When Arthur Young visited – most likely echoing Dukart’s own opinion – he noted the ‘utter deficiency of capital’ there.²⁰¹ Without investment in new machinery, output and profits would remain low.²⁰² A half-century later, Richard Griffith praised the coal itself – ‘fully equal to the second quality of coal in England’ – and while he admired the detail in Dukart’s working notes, still being consulted at the colliery, he was tempted to conclude that the poor performance of the mine was ‘owing to a want of system and foresight in the management’.²⁰³ It might be unfair if that criticism were extended to Dukart. Observers were yet without the means to make an accurate assessment of the field’s potential, and carried along by the enthusiasm of mine-owners and political interests, tended to be optimistic regarding the value of the Tyrone coal. Ultimately, its relatively poor quality deposited in shallow seams ensured that at no stage would it compete successfully against the rich products of British coalfields.²⁰⁴

Throughout the 1770s Dukart remained anchored at Drumrea in a manner that contrasted with his incessant travelling between one job and another in the 1760s. His old energy had been evident as he angled to land the Strabane canal project in 1774, but when he was approached the following year by Sir James Caldwell of Castle Caldwell, near Belleek, to design a navigation from the Erne to the Atlantic, he told him that he now found engineering disagreeable and that he no longer put his name to plans or estimates.²⁰⁵ He came from a country where mathematics and natural philosophy were esteemed by those of the highest rank, but he found it otherwise in Ireland.²⁰⁶ His gripe notwithstanding, Caldwell was able to entice Dukart to Fermanagh, but the visit proved fruitless: ‘He was not half an hour upon the ground, took no survey of it, guessed the levels, made no enquiry or experiment into the stratum that was to be worked through and in short did nothing, but for very obvious reasons wished that the application might be laid aside.’²⁰⁷ Dukart might have endured the rancour that marked the final stages of his work in Limerick and Cork, but the intractable problems thrown up by the Drumglass Canal and the public rejection of his proposals for the Strabane navigation may have weakened his spirit. He ventured occasionally to Dublin on colliery business and to meet friends, among them William Colvill, merchant, astute man-about-town, and, since 1777, MP for Newtown Limavady.²⁰⁸ When Dukart made a will in 1768 he had appointed Colville an executor, and he turned to him again in November 1780 when he added a codicil.²⁰⁹ By then he may have been in decline, but if so, the first that most people knew of it was when a notice in the *Belfast Newsletter*, dated 3rd February 1781, announced that mining would continue at Drumglass, notwithstanding the recent death of Mr Dukart.²¹⁰

DUKART WAS FORTUNATE TO ARRIVE IN IRELAND AT A TIME WHEN UNPRECEDENTED amounts were being spent on public and private projects. From an unpromising beginning when he appears to have survived by selling pictures to peddlers, he moved up to surveying and drawing plans and then to take charge of significant building projects. His skill as a designer resulted in houses at Kilshannig and Castletown that were pre-eminent at their time in their respective counties, and he gave Limerick its first almost-modern building. But even as he completed these, the tide of fashion was on the turn: his work began to appear conservative, even archaic, and it is reasonable to ask if he would have been a serious contender against those such as Cooley and Ivory, who won the major commissions of the 1770s. Nonetheless, at his peak in the mid-1760s, Dukart showed that he could outpace his professional competitors – Morrison in Cork, Uzuld and Smyth in Limerick, and Omer at the Boyne.

These successes owed much to Dukart's energy and to his technical skill, but they were also the fruit of his ability to cultivate important patrons. One such was Robert Waller who was acting for the revenue commissioners when Dukart was brought in over Uzuld in Limerick. Edmund Sexton Pery was another powerful patron, and it seems likely that it was his intervention that resulted in Dukart replacing Edward Smyth as the architect of the Custom House. Pery wanted a building that would embellish his constituency and provide an anchor for his own development of New Town Pery, and he had no scruple in seeing all others pushed aside in favour of an untested stranger and collaborating with him until they got the grand building they both wanted. Dukart did well from his association with those who mattered. His patrons in the decade from 1765 to 1775 – Members of Parliament such as Brownlow, Devonsher, Fortescue, Longfield, Staples and Waller; the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishop of Derry; Jocelyn, an auditor general, and Pery, a future speaker of the House of Commons – reveal the exclusive and concentrated nature of patronage in eighteenth-century Ireland, as well as Dukart's skill in landing lucrative commissions.

Dukart's successes animated the envious, the most irksome being those who disparaged him from behind a pseudonym in the *Freeman's Journal*. While some used his foreign origins against him, he could turn that to his advantage, especially in those cultivated circles where knowledge of European ways was valued. Others would have wondered about his political beliefs – and given the manner of his arrival in Ireland, they might have had reason to do so – but he gave due attention to the business of fitting-in. When an edition of Sir John Temple's uncompromisingly protestant history of the Irish Rebellion was being prepared for publication in Cork in 1766, he subscribed, alongside his patrons Robert Rogers and Abraham Devonsher.²¹ If his fluent, articulate letters in a clear, confident hand and a number of well-argued memoranda to parliamentary committees provide an appropriate

measure, he had adapted well to local modes of expression.²¹²

When his enemies found an opportunity to attack, he did what others in similar circumstances might have done and looked for a scapegoat: the Cork aldermen who forced incompetent workmen on him; the stonemason and masons in Limerick who had difficulty following his instructions; the supervisors at Drumglass who took to the drink. Frequently, however, the fault lay with Dukart himself. He was cavalier in his attitude towards other people's money, he took liberties when interpreting the terms of contracts, and when he wanted to alter the details of a design halfway through execution, it was for his subordinates to deal with the consequences. He acted as if his ambition should not be constrained by practicalities. Thus, in 1767, when the building projects at Limerick, Cork and Castletown were each at a critical stage, he felt able to take a different professional path and seek challenging engineering commissions at Slane, Dundalk, Derry, Strabane, Coalisland and Drumglass. Dukart may have overstretched himself, and from the successes of the mid-1760s he had descended by 1774 to a point where shrewd patrons such as Abercorn and Caldwell would come to the conclusion that his involvement in a project would be a liability. It was a dispiriting end to a decade of considerable achievement.

Dukart's professional successes serve to accentuate the extent to which almost everything else about him remains uncharted. In the absence of private letters, diary or portrait, there is a danger that his surviving works will be forced to speak more loudly than they should. His life, as he lived it away from the public space, can be observed only on the odd occasion and then but briefly, as when he made a pathetic plea for the return of a parcel of shirts (plain and ruffled), handkerchiefs, stockings and pillow cases, lost of a winter's evening on the road home from Dungannon.²¹³ More mysterious still is a laconic report of his acquittal at the 1775 spring assizes in Omagh of a charge of murdering one Charles Coningham, and the return instead of a verdict of manslaughter in self-defence.²¹⁴ After Dukart's death, his business partners John Staples and James Caulfeild disposed of his property at Drumree and settled his debts.²¹⁵ His principal creditor, a Dublin attorney Richardson Williams, had acquired Dukart's interest in the Drumglass mines, which, for a consideration of £400, he gave over to Caulfeild and Staples.²¹⁶ Bequests, totalling £1,446 15s 0d, had been made to friends in Italy and France, but there was no one in Ireland, or any relative or family member, to whom Dukart felt a similar obligation.²¹⁷

APPENDIX: THE WILL OF DAVIS DUKART

Dukart made a will on 24th June 1768 and subsequently added three codicils, the last of which was written on 30th November 1780, a few months before his death. It was proven on 29th March 1786 and administration was granted to Richardson Williams on 27th April 1787. None of these documents appears to have survived. The little that is known of the contents of the will of 1768 may be gleaned from a deed registered on 24th February 1789 which noted that Dukart had appointed James Fortescue, John Townsend and William Colville as his executors in 1768. (RD, 404/166/267540). Rather more is known of the contents of the final codicil from notes taken from it by Thomas Burtchill Sadlier sometime before the destruction of the records of the Prerogative Court at the Four Courts in June 1922. Sadlier's notes are preserved in NLI MS GO 424, 237-8 and are printed here in full:

Davis Duckart.(Davis de Arcort) Employed as Engineer for the Newry Canal & the Tyrone and Boyne Navigation. Richd. Longfield owes me 6 Guineas for designing a difficult roof for Castle Mary; rebuilt house in Co Cork for Mrs Wallis (now Mrs Mercer) & Kilshannig, Co Cork, for Abraham Devonsher. Mentions his friends Jas. Fortescue of Ravensdale Park, John Townsend of Castle Townsend & the E. of Bristol, Bishop of Derry. Will in form of letter written to Wm Colvill, whom he appoints Executor. Property at Drumrea, Co Tyrone.

30 Nov. 1780. pr 29 Mar. 1786.

Sadlier gave a slightly different summary in *The Georgian Society, Records of Eighteenth-Century Domestic Architecture and Decoration in Ireland*, V (Dublin 1913) 72, where the additional information, not included in NLI MS GO 424, may be found: 'There are also legacies to friends in France and Italy, but none apparently to relatives.' The significance of the 1780 codicil is that it is the only document that links Dukart directly to his work at Castle Mary, Kilshannig and Ballycrenane. It also refers to three acquaintances, James Fortescue, Augustus Hervey and John Townsend as his friends, though it is unclear whether this might indicate more than a mutually beneficial business relationship. Dukart appears to have had most dealings with Fortescue, who had an interest in many of the projects on which he found employment. Hervey shared Dukart's interest in building and coal mining, but appears to have had no dealings with him apart from proposing him to design a bridge for Derry. Perhaps a friendship had been forged in Cloyne, prior to Hervey's transfer to Derry in 1768. Even less is known of John Townsend's relationship with Dukart. He was in his early twenties and recently appointed Surveyor of the Revenue for Baltimore when Dukart first enters the record in Cork, and it may have been there, when both were beginning to make their way in the world, that they first met.

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ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

<i>BN</i>	<i>Belfast Newsletter</i>
<i>Council Book</i>	Richard Caulfield (ed.), <i>The Council Book of the Corporation of the City of Cork</i> (Guilford 1876)
<i>CJI</i>	<i>Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland</i> (Grierson edition)
<i>FJ</i>	<i>Freeman's Journal</i>
<i>HIP</i>	Edith Mary Johnston-Liik, <i>History of the Irish Parliament</i> , 6 vols (Belfast 2002)
IAA	Irish Architectural Archive
NLI	National Library of Ireland
PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland
<i>Remembrancer</i>	Francis H. Tuckey, <i>The County and City of Cork Remembrancer</i> (Cork 1838)
RD	Registry of Deeds, Dublin
TNA	National Archives, London

- ¹ Contemporaries gave various forms to his name, including Dukart, Duckart, Ducart, Ducarte, Du Cart and Duchart, a mix that reflected attempts to find an appropriate Anglicisation of the Romanic 'Davis de Arcot' recorded in a codicil to his will (NLI, MS GO 424, 237-8). Modern scholars are divided between using Ducart and Duckart, but the form Davis Dukart, used consistently by him in autograph letters and accounts (PRONI, D/623/A/38/100, D/623/38/94, D/2798/2/1, DIO 4/13/5/4, T/2519/12/11) is adhered to here.
- ² The Knight of Glin, 'A Baroque Palladian in Ireland: the Architecture of Davis Duckart-I', *Country Life*, CXLII, 28th September 1967, 735-39; 'The Last Palladian in Ireland: the Architecture of Davis Duckart-II', *Country Life*, CXLII, 5th October 1967, 798-802.
- ³ Ron Cox, 'Ducart, Davis' in A.W. Skempton (ed.), *A Biographical Dictionary of Civil Engineers in Great Britain and Ireland, I, 1500-1830* (London 2002) 191-92; Maurice Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland from the Earliest Times to 1880* (London and Dublin 1982) 195-96; Anne Crookshank, 'The Visual Arts, 1740-1850' in T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan [eds], *A New History of Ireland* (Oxford 1986) 500, 503, 508, 512, 534; Brian de Breffney and Rosemary ffolliott, *The Houses of Ireland* (London 1975); Judith Hill, 'Davis Duckart and Christopher Colles: Architects Associated with the Custom House at Limerick', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, II (1999) 119-45; Edward McParland, 'Ducart, Davis', *The Dictionary of Art* (London 1996) 9, 341; Frederick O'Dwyer, 'Making connections in Georgian Ireland', *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, XXXVIII, 1996-97; Ann Martha Rowan, 'Davis Ducart', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 60 vols (Oxford 2004) XVII, 29-30; IAA, *Biographical Index of Irish Architects*, electronic database compiled by Ann Martha Rowan.
- ⁴ *CJI*, VIII, 17th November 1767.
- ⁵ PRONI, Abercorn Papers, D/623/A/38/82, William Brownlow to Abercorn, 8th August 1768.
- ⁶ *ibid.*
- ⁷ *FJ*, 2nd June 1770.
- ⁸ *ibid.* For contemporary reports on the capture of privateers off the south and west coast of Ireland, see *Universal Advertiser*, 23rd June 1759, 10th July 1759, for which references I am grateful to Dr D. Fleming.
- ⁹ *Council Book*, 751-52. Dukart may also have worked on a scheme to improve the Munster Blackwater navigation around this time. Such a role was alluded to by John Roach, an engineer, who claimed to have worked under Dukart at Youghal but without indicating when that was; see PRONI, Hervey-Bruce Papers D/2798/2/75; John Roach to Bann Navigation Committee, 20th November 1784: 'For the inspection of the committee appointed for the improvement of the navigation of the river Bann, by John Roche who superintended a work of the same kind, under Mr Ducart, at the river at Youghal to the satisfaction of the committee concerned.' The Blackwater project was most likely to have been sometime before the mid-1760s when the focus of Dukart's work shifted from Cork to Tyrone. Parliament voted funds to aid the Blackwater navigation in 1755, 1759 and 1761; *CJI*, VIII, 637.
- ¹⁰ National Archives, Dublin, Prim Papers, M.87/77, William Colles to Davis Dukart, 2nd November 1761.
- ¹¹ *Council Book*, 765.
- ¹² *Council Book*, 827; Cox, 'Ducart, Davis', 191.
- ¹³ *The Dublin Magazine*, 1764, 501-03.
- ¹⁴ Despite Morrison's professed patriotism, he was able to find the inspiration for his design in

- George Dance's London Mansion House of 1739; see Edward McParland, *Public Architecture in Ireland 1680-1760* (New Haven and London 2001) 7.
- ¹⁵ *Council Book*, 816.
- ¹⁶ *Remembrancer*, 149.
- ¹⁷ *ibid.*
- ¹⁸ The Mayoralty House finds its first cartographic expression in the 1771 revision of John Rocque's Cork city map of 1759, and somewhat more clearly in Joseph Connor's map of 1774.
- ¹⁹ *Remembrancer*, 149.
- ²⁰ *Council Book*, 815.
- ²¹ *ibid.*, 812.
- ²² *Remembrancer*, 149.
- ²³ *Council Book*, 816
- ²⁴ *Cork Evening Post*, 13th July 1767.
- ²⁵ *ibid.*
- ²⁶ *ibid.*; *Remembrancer*, 149.
- ²⁷ *Remembrancer*, 149; *Council Book*, 821.
- ²⁸ *Remembrancer*, 150; *Council Book*, 826, 833, 845.
- ²⁹ *Council Book*, 819, 823, 836, 839, 842, 843. Osborne was paid £60 13s 3d in October 1768, and £82.1s.0¹/₂d in November 1769, *ibid.*, 833, 845.
- ³⁰ *Council Book*, 826, 837.
- ³¹ *Council Book*, 883.
- ³² *FJ*, 4th February 1773. See also, *Sleater's Public Gazetteer*, 4th November 1769.
- ³³ Trinity College, Dublin, MS 4030, 'Journal of the Reverend D.A. Beaufort', 8th September 1788. Beaufort also provided rough sketches of the windows.
- ³⁴ TNA, Cust 1/32/131-34, 6th October 1741; Cust 1/58/87, 16th July 1756.
- ³⁵ TNA, Cust 1/60/89, /91, 15th June 1757.
- ³⁶ PRONI, T/3087/1/30, John Ponsonby to Edmund Sexton Pery, 27th August 1761; T/3087/1/29, Lord Newport to Edmund Sexton Pery, 27th August 1761; TNA, Cust 1/79/82-3, 24th November 1763; Cust 1/80/43, 28th January 1764. Among Uzuld's works were the New Bridge (1761) and the Lock Mills (1762). For Uzuld's business transactions with Pery see RD, 239/527/16219, 239/528/162913, 239/529/162914.
- ³⁷ TNA, Cust 1/84/126, 22nd December 1764.
- ³⁸ TNA, Cust 1/85/54, 9th February 1765. For Waller see, *HIP*, VI, 483-84.
- ³⁹ TNA, Cust 1/85/54, 9th February 1765.
- ⁴⁰ TNA, Cust 1/86/10, 4th April 1765.
- ⁴¹ TNA, Cust 1/86/45, 24th April 1765.
- ⁴² *ibid.*
- ⁴³ *ibid.*
- ⁴⁴ *ibid.*
- ⁴⁵ TNA, Cust 1/86/44, 19th May 1765.
- ⁴⁵ *ibid.*
- ⁴⁷ John Ferrar, *An History of the City of Limerick* (Limerick 1767) 69. Ferrar gives 9th June 1765 as the date when building commenced.
- ⁴⁸ TNA, Cust 1/88/7, 6th September 1765.
- ⁴⁹ TNA, Cust 1/92/140, 13th July 1766.

- ⁵⁰ TNA, Cust 1/92/140, 13th July 1766.
- ⁵¹ TNA, Cust 1/93/157, 30th September 1766; Cust 1/97/116, 26th May 1767.
- ⁵² TNA Cust 1/95/65, 24th January 1767.
- ⁵³ TNA, Cust 1/95/65, 24th January 1767.
- ⁵⁴ TNA, Cust, 1/98/13, 19th June 1767.
- ⁵⁵ TNA, Cust 1/92/37, 3rd June 1766; Cust 1/93/20, 5th August 1766; Cust 1/95/40, 19th December 1766; Cust 1/96/149, 13th April 1767; Cust 1/99/48, 12th September 1767; Cust 1/100/44, 21st November 1767.
- ⁵⁶ TNA, Cust 1/96/122, 4th April 1767.
- ⁵⁷ TNA, Cust 1/96/38, 16th April 1767.
- ⁵⁸ TNA, Cust 1/96/39, 16th April 1767.
- ⁵⁹ TNA, Cust 1/100/44, 21st November 1767.
- ⁶⁰ TNA, Cust 1/101/36, 14th April 1768.
- ⁶¹ Private collection, Colles Papers, William Colles to Hannah James, 27th August 1766. I am grateful to the Knight of Glin for permission to consult transcripts of the Colles Papers.
- ⁶² TNA, Cust 1/86/10, 4th April 1765.
- ⁶³ Private collection, Colles Papers, William Colles to Hannah James, 27th August 1766: 'I have got Kit Colles (whose affairs here were in a desperate way) into an employment under one Mr Dukart, an engineer, in which if he behaves with care I doubt not but he will do very well.'
- ⁶⁴ TNA, Cust 1/95/65, /85, 24th January 1767.
- ⁶⁵ TNA, Cust 1/95/86, 24th January 1767.
- ⁶⁶ TNA, Cust 1/108/140, 22nd July 1769.
- ⁶⁷ TNA, Cust, 1/109/21, 8th August 1769.
- ⁶⁸ *ibid.*
- ⁶⁹ TNA, Cust 1/108/140, 22nd July 1769.
- ⁷⁰ TNA, Cust 1/109/25, 8th August 1769.
- ⁷¹ *ibid.*
- ⁷² TNA, Cust 1/109/84, 30th August 1769.
- ⁷³ Private collection, Colles Papers, Christopher Colles to William Colles, 23rd December 1769; TNA, Cust 1/115/131, 10th December 1770.
- ⁷⁴ *Limerick Chronicle*, 18th August 1768. I am grateful to Jennifer Moore for this reference.
- ⁷⁵ *ibid.*, 18th, 22nd, 25th, 29th August; 1st, 5th September 1768.
- ⁷⁶ *ibid.*
- ⁷⁷ *ibid.*, 18th August 1768.
- ⁷⁸ *ibid.*, 12th September 1768.
- ⁷⁹ *ibid.* Maurice Lenihan, *Limerick: Its History and Antiquities, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military* (London 1866) 358-59. Lenihan based his account of the building of the Assembly Room on the Society's minute book, then in the possession of Stephen Hastings. Its present location is unknown. The wording used by Lenihan – 'it was resolved to take a lease of the plot of ground, as described in a plan presented by the Rev. Dean Hoare, which was approved of, from Charles Smyth, Esq., for the term of 999 years, at the yearly rent of five shillings' – is ambiguous. It could be referring to a map of the plot prepared by Hoare, or, equally, to a design by him. However, John Ferrar, *The History of Limerick* (Limerick 1787) 206-07 also credits Hoare: 'The building which was planned by the Rev. Mr. Deane Hoare, is large and elegant...'
- ⁸⁰ Lenihan, *Limerick*, 358-59, noted that the building – its lower story of brick, those above in

stone – was commenced on 24th October and finished in August 1770. It was demolished in 1839.

- ⁸¹ Dukart's role as the maker of the 1765 plan for New Town Pery is documented in the leases granted by Pery. For examples, see RD, 338/182/226771, Edmund Sexton Pery to Patrick Arthur Arthur, 11th November 1781: 'in front to the New Street is the same as is marked and laid out in a map made by Mr David Duchart'; Glucksman Library, University of Limerick, Pery leases, Edmund Sexton Pery to James Fisher, 31st January 1790: 'assigns all that and those the lot of ground marked number one in the plan of the New Town laid down by David Dukart, in one thousand seven hundred and sixty five'; Edmund Sexton Pery to Launcelot Hill, 26th April 1791: 'assigns all that and those the half plot of ground marked number three in the plan of a Newtown laid down by David Dukart in one thousand and seven hundred and sixty five'.
- ⁸² Ferrar, *The History of Limerick*, 89, states that the plots and streets were marked out in June 1769. But see also Royal Irish Academy, Father White manuscript, MS 24 D 21, 191-92 (a transcription by Maurice Lenihan of the original in the possession of the Diocese of Limerick) which states that the streets and squares of the New Town were laid out in 1767.
- ⁸³ British Library, Add MS 27391 E. The map is undated but was most likely completed sometime between January and September 1769 when Percy was resident in Limerick. Colles hoped to find subscribers for a printed edition of the map (presumably with the permission of Percy), but it is not known if he was able to bring the project to completion; see *Limerick Chronicle*, 7th August 1769. In 1787 John Ferrar obtained permission from Percy (who succeeded his father as 2nd Duke of Northumberland in 1786) to use 'an actual survey in 1769' as the basis for a new map of the city drawn for him by Claude Joseph Sauthier, then resident in Percy's household; see Ferrar, *The History of Limerick*, xviii. A comparison of the Colles and Sauthier maps reveals that they have identical co-ordinates.
- ⁸⁴ Royal Irish Academy, Father White manuscript, MS 24 D 21, 191-92. In March 1768 Pery was given permission to borrow the scaffolding from the Custom House for use at the church building site; see TNA Cust 1/101/110, 5th March 1768.
- ⁸⁵ Rosemary ffollott, 'Devonsher of Co. Cork', *The Irish Ancestor*, 2, 1984, 71-74; Friends' Historical Library, Dublin, 'Registry of Births of Cork Monthly Meeting, to 1859'.
- ⁸⁶ NLI, MS 8630, 'Copy deed of the farm of Kilshanick, dated 30th March 1723, Lord Doneraile and Redmond Barry esq, to Jonas Devonshire, Merchant'.
- ⁸⁷ Friends' Historical Library, Dublin, MS E6D, P3, 'Diary of Joshua Wight'.
- ⁸⁸ Friends' Historical Library, Dublin, MM, VIII, F2, 'Testimonies of Disunity (1745-57)'.
- ⁸⁹ Friends' Historical Library, Dublin, MM, VIII, A5, Cork 5, Minutes Men's three weeks meeting, (1752-56).
- ⁹⁰ Matthew Bodkin, 'Notes on the Irish parliament in 1772', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, C, xlviii, 1942, 145-232, 184-88: 185. A reminder of Devonsher's conviviality survives in a glass whiskey square bearing his name and dated 1761; Rosc, *Irish Glass* (Limerick 1971) 8.
- ⁹¹ *Cork Chronicle*, 14th January 1765, *Cork Journal*, 5th January 1765, and *Cork Evening Journal*, 25th and 28th February 1765, all carry notices from Abraham Devonsher of Kilshannig advertising various properties in Cork. While these suggest that Devonsher was resident at Kilshannig in January 1765, they do not necessarily refer to the house in question.
- ⁹² For a description see Desmond Guinness and William Ryan, *Irish Houses and Castles* (London

- 1971) 77-82.
- ⁹³ Joseph McDonnell, *Irish Eighteenth-Century Stuccowork and its European sources* (Dublin 1991) 19-20, 56-59; Timothy Mowl and Brian Earnshaw, *An Insular Rococco: Architecture, Politics and Society in Ireland and England, 1710-1770* (London 1999) 245-48.
- ⁹⁴ Matthew Bodkin, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, C, xlvi, 1943, 145-232, 182-83, PRONI, Shannon Papers, MIC/465/1, Lord Shannon to James Dennis, 12th November 1775.
- ⁹⁵ *HIP*, IV, 449-50; RD, 195/67/129060.
- ⁹⁶ Friends Historical Library, Dublin, 'Registry of Deaths of Cork Monthly Meeting, to 1859'; *The Hibernian Chronicle*, 28th April 1783.
- ⁹⁷ David Dickson, *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster 1630-1830* (Cork 2005) 79-85.
- ⁹⁸ John Burke and John Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland* (London 1846) 40; Rosemary ffolliott, 'Rogers of Lota and Ashgrove', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, LXXII, 215, 1967, 75-80.
- ⁹⁹ Charles Smith, *The Antient and Present State of the County and City of Cork*, 2 vols (Dublin 1750) I, 364.
- ¹⁰⁰ To date, no documentary evidence that might enable a dating of Dukart's work at Lota has come to light. However, it was most likely to have been sometime before 1767 when Dukart's attention was fixed on various schemes in the North. The use of various features such as the oval windows with curved glazing bars found at the Mayoralty House raises the possibility that both buildings might have been underway during the same period, spring 1765 to spring 1767.
- ¹⁰¹ PRONI, Hervey-Bruce Papers, D/2798/2/51, Mick [Michael] Shanahan to Bishop of Derry, 2nd January 1784.
- ¹⁰² Trinity College, Dublin, MS 4030, 'Journal of the Reverend D.A. Beaufort', 10th September 1788.
- ¹⁰³ Arthur Young, *A Tour in Ireland with General Observations on the Present State of that Kingdom*, II, part ii (Dublin 1780) 65; James H. Watmough, 'Letters of James H. Watmough to his wife, 1785', *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIX, 1905, 31-43: 34.
- ¹⁰⁴ Trinity College, Dublin, MS 4030, 'Journal of the Reverend D.A. Beaufort', 10th September 1788.
- ¹⁰⁵ See Anne Crookshank and the Knight of Glin, *The Watercolours of Ireland: works on paper in pencil, pastel and paint c.1600-1914* (London 1994) 198-99. Two works by Hamilton depicting Lota have been located: the view reproduced here (Plate 15) and a view of the demesne from the house, now in the Richard Wood Collection. Two others, their present location unknown, are recorded in photographs in the IAA. One shows the house and demesne from Blackrock. The other, depicting the demesne with the house in the foreground, provides the most detailed record of the house at this period (Plate 16).
- ¹⁰⁶ Cork Public Museum, 'Henry Hill Notebook', accessions number 1951.93. For an unsigned lithograph of the house of around 1857, when Lota was for sale through the encumbered estates court, see Mary Cecelia Lyons, *Illustrated Incumbered Estates; Ireland, 1850-1905* (Whitegate 1993) 190.
- ¹⁰⁷ For descriptions of the house, see The Georgian Society, *Records of Eighteenth-Century Domestic Architecture and Decoration in Ireland*, 5 vols (Dublin 1909-13) V; [W.H. Wyndham-Quin], 'Castletown, County Kilkenny', *Country Life*, XLIV, 1131, 7th September

- 1918, 190-95, and 1132, 14th September 1918, 214-19; Guinness and Ryan, *Irish Houses and Castles*, 219-23; Seán O'Reilly, *Irish Houses and Gardens from the Archives of 'Country Life'* (London 1998) 46-55.
- ¹⁰⁸ PRONI, Abercorn Papers, D/623/A/38/93, William Brownlow to Earl of Abercorn, 17th September 1768. This is the earliest source to link Dukart directly to the building of Castletown. I am grateful to Livia Hurley for this reference. The earliest printed attribution of Castletown to Dukart is in William Tighe, *Statistical observations relative to the county of Kilkenny* (Dublin 1802) 589: 'Few private houses can shew a more beautiful façade, than the southern front of Mr Coxe's house at Castletown; the architect was Duchart, a Sardinian.' For early references to Castletown as the seat of Cox, see *Cork Journal*, 27th August 1767; *FJ*, 13th February 1768.
- ¹⁰⁹ The Georgian Society, *Records*, V, 79-80; Brian de Breffny, 'Stucco work by Patrick Osborne at Castletown Cox', *Irish Ancestor*, XIII, 1, 1981, 15-17; Seán O'Reilly, 'Patrick Osborne, an Irish Stuccodore', *GPA Irish Arts Review*, 1989-90, 119-27. A photocopy of the manuscript bill is in the IAA, RP.D.71.1.
- ¹¹⁰ IAA, RP.D.71.1. Keogh's payment appears to have been more than twice what Dukart received for his work in Limerick. Byrum, the 'overseer of artisans and labourers' in Limerick, was granted £40 a year on his appointment in April 1765, and received his last payment – £30 for the previous three months – in August 1770.
- ¹¹¹ *FJ*, 25th January 1766.
- ¹¹² For the history of the estate, see de Breffny, 'Stucco Work by Patrick Osborne', 15-17. Cox's first wife, Anne Purcell, died shortly after their marriage in 1712, and in 1744 he married Anne O'Brien, daughter of an MP for Youghal, and granddaughter of the 3rd Earl of Inchiquin. She died in 1746 shortly after the birth of their only child, Richard; James B. Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes* (Enniskillen 1933) 28-29. When Richard married Maria Burton on 21st January 1766, celebrations took place at Cashel Palace; *FJ*, 25th January 1766; for marriage settlement of Maria Burton and Richard Cox see RD, 241/365/159605.
- ¹¹³ NLI, Heron Papers, MSS 13,036/9, Michael Cashel [Cox] to Lord Buckinghamshire, 13th May 1778; A.P.W. Malcomson, *Archbishop Charles Agar: Churchmanship and Politics in Ireland, 1760-1810* (Dublin 2002) 201-02.
- ¹¹⁴ A.P.W. Malcomson, *Primate Robinson 1709-94* (Belfast 2003) 50-51. For life at Castletown, see [Dorothea Herbert], *Retrospections of Dorothea Herbert 1770-1789* (London 1929) 9, 39-40. Following his death, aged ninety, at Castletown on 28th May 1779, Cox was buried in St Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny. His epitaph, and that of Anne, is transcribed and translated in James Graves and John G. Augustus Prim, *The History, Architecture, and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny* (Dublin 1857) 323-35.
- ¹¹⁵ *FJ*, 2nd June 1770.
- ¹¹⁶ Glin, 'The last Palladian in Ireland', 798-802.
- ¹¹⁷ Colen Campbell's view in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1717) 44 was perhaps the most widely circulated of the many contemporary prints of Buckingham House. Others include those by Sutton Nichols (1731), J. Maurer (1746) and John Tinney (1752).
- ¹¹⁸ NLI, MS GO 424, 237-8.
- ¹¹⁹ *HIP*, VI, 66.
- ¹²⁰ Sir Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Ireland*, 9th edition (London 1899). For Pigott-Wallis marriage settlement see RD, 229/178/1499.

- ¹²¹ *Cork Journal*, 12th February 1765; *Cork Chronicle or Universal Register*, 31st March 1766. For the Wallis-Mercer marriage settlement see RD, 251/74/160219.
- ¹²² Samuel Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, 2 vols (London 1837) II, 73.
- ¹²³ Timothy Gleeson, 'Some Account of Castles, etc., in the Neighbourhood of Castlemartyr', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, IA, 1892, 179-82; James H. Healy, *The Castles of County Cork* (Cork and Dublin 1988) 98; Denis Power, *Archaeological Inventory of County Cork, volume 2: East and South Cork* (Dublin 1994) 219.
- ¹²⁴ NLI, MS GO 424, 237-8.
- ¹²⁵ *HIP*, V, 117.
- ¹²⁶ Matthew Bodkin, 'Notes on the Irish parliament in 1772', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, C, xlviii, 1942, 145-232: 182-83. Beaufort's reaction to the house on his visit in 1788 suggests that Dukart probably did no more than the roof: 'The house is very old and very low and bad.' Trinity College, Dublin, MS 4030, 'Journal of the Reverend D.A. Beaufort', 12th September 1788.
- ¹²⁷ *HIP*, IV, 490-91.
- ¹²⁸ *ibid.*
- ¹²⁹ *ibid.*
- ¹³⁰ *FJ*, 15th December 1767.
- ¹³¹ Thomas Milton, *A Selection of Select Views from the Different Seats of the Nobility and Gentry in the Kingdom of Ireland* (London 1793) xix: 'The present house was built in the year 1768 under the inspection of Dukart, a gentleman of Italy, who practiced architecture in this country, on the site of a former house that was burnt down.' This is the earliest reference to Dukart at Brockley. See also *Anthologia Hibernica*, IV, September 1794, 185, and William Wilson, *Post-Chaise Companion* (Dublin 1784) 210.
- ¹³² *HIP*, IV, 49, states, without source, that the Donnybrook house was designed by Dukart with ceiling work by the Francini brothers.
- ¹³³ The Georgian Society, *Records*, V, 73.
- ¹³⁴ Glin, 'A Baroque Palladian', 735-39: 738.
- ¹³⁵ Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland*, 192.
- ¹³⁶ *ibid.*, 195.
- ¹³⁷ Glin, 'The last Palladian in Ireland', 798-802.
- ¹³⁸ Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland*, 195-96.
- ¹³⁹ E. McParland, 'James Gandon and the Royal Exchange Competition, 1768-69', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, CII, 1972, 58-72: 68.
- ¹⁴⁰ Alistair Rowan, *The Buildings of Ireland: North West Ulster – The Counties of Londonderry, Fermanagh and Tyrone* (Harmondsworth 1979) 299, 362.
- ¹⁴¹ de Breffny and ffolliott, *The Houses of Ireland* (London 1973) 142.
- ¹⁴² O'Dwyer, 'Making Connections in Georgian Ireland', 22 (endnote 20).
- ¹⁴³ Glin, 'The last Palladian in Ireland', 801.
- ¹⁴⁴ Noting that some Dukartian motifs were often present in the repertoire of other architects, Maurice Craig commented: 'Some of these, notably [architraves of the upper windows broken upwards over the openings] have been used by other architects, for example Cassels, but together they say Ducart and only Ducart'. Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland*, 192.
- ¹⁴⁵ Peard family tree kindly supplied to the author by Mr F.W. Peard.
- ¹⁴⁶ Glin, 'The last Palladian in Ireland', 801.

- ¹⁴⁷ NLI, Townley Hall Papers, MSS 14,917-25.
- ¹⁴⁸ PRONI, Coddington Papers, T/2519/12/11, 'Resolutions of the commissioners appointed for carrying on the Boyne Navigation'. I am grateful to Livia Hurley for bringing this source to my attention.
- ¹⁴⁹ PRONI, Coddington Papers, T/2519/12/11.
- ¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*
- ¹⁵¹ *CJI*, VIII, 14th November 1767, 184.
- ¹⁵² *CJI*, VIII, 16th November 1767, clxxiii; *CJI*, VIII, 25th November 1767, 201-02. Dukart does not appear to have been directly involved in 1771 when Parliament was again petitioned for funds to complete the Dundalk harbour works; see *CJI*, 21st November 1771, 438.
- ¹⁵³ *A Letter to the Commissioner of the Inland Navigation Concerning the Tyrone Collieries* (Dublin 1752); 'Publicola', *The Irish Collieries and Canal Defended* (Dublin 1753).
- ¹⁵⁴ *CJI*, IX, 94, 2nd November 1753.
- ¹⁵⁵ *CJI*, VIII, part 2, clxxxi, 17th November 1767.
- ¹⁵⁶ *CJI*, VIII, part 2, clxxx, 17th November 1767.
- ¹⁵⁷ PRONI, Castle Stewart Papers, D/1618/15/6/34, 'Relative to Mr Dukart's plan of a navigation from Farlough to Derry, 1767'; *CJI*, VIII, clxxxi, 1767.
- ¹⁵⁸ *CJI*, VIII, appendix, ccxlix, 7th May 1768; *CJI*, VIII, ccviii, 20th November 1769.
- ¹⁵⁹ *FJ*, 17th October 1768; PRONI, Abercorn Papers, D/623/A/38/100, Davis Dukart to William Brownlow, 19th October 1768.
- ¹⁶⁰ *CJI*, XII, appendix, dxxxv-xxxix, 16th April 1787, 'Report from the committee appointed to enquire into the state of the navigation from Lough Neagh to the Collieries in the Count of Tyrone, and of the best methods of working the said Collieries.'
- ¹⁶¹ *FJ*, 21st June 1771
- ¹⁶² John Smeaton, 'Mr. Smeaton's opinion on Mr Jessop's report on the Tyrone Canal', *Reports of the late John Smeaton*, 2 vols (1812) II, 278-79.
- ¹⁶³ *ibid.*
- ¹⁶⁴ *CJI*, XII, appendix, dxxxv-xxxix, 16th April 1787.
- ¹⁶⁵ William Chapman, *Observations on the Various Systems of Canal Navigation* (1797) 5-7. See also M.B. Mullins 'An historical sketch of engineering in Ireland', *Transactions of the Institution of Civil Engineers of Ireland*, VI, 1836, 28.
- ¹⁶⁶ 'An elevation of the navigable bridge on the new Tyrone navigation, designed and executed by David Dukart, engineer in the year 1768, under the inspection of Thomas Penrose', George Breeze, *Society of Artists in Ireland: index of exhibits, 1765-90* (Dublin 1985) 21.
- ¹⁶⁷ *CJI*, VIII, cccxi, 18th November 1769.
- ¹⁶⁸ For a description of the house and demesne, see Jeremy Musson, 'Lissan House, Co. Tyrone', *County Life*, 12th March 1998. The earliest documented attribution of the bridge to Dukart is in G. Vaughan Sampson, *Statistical Survey of the County of Londonderry* (Dublin 1802) 411: 'Among persons of the first order I may class Mr. Staples of Lissan ... The river is managed so as to form a beautiful sheet of water, surrounded by stately trees, and a smooth green margin. The water afterwards tumbles over an abstraction, there is beside it a neat bridge, built by the famous Ducart.'
- ¹⁶⁹ PRONI, Hervey-Bruce Papers, D/2798/2/10, Davis Dukart to Bishop of Derry, 13th February 1769.
- ¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*: 'I have made such a progress in my designs of a bridge for the city of Londonderry that I

- can with certainty assure your lordship a stone bridge executed in the best manner will not exceed the sum of £32000 – I am also drawing the plan of a wooden bridge but how much this will cost I cannot ascertain as yet. This much I beg you will do me the favour to believe that I shall do my best in both & when all the papers relative to them are ready, I shall have no objection to their being perused and examined by people of taste and knowledge.’
- ¹⁷¹ PRONI, ‘Corporation of L’Derry Minute Book from 1765 to 1780’, LA 79/2A/8B, 83, 13th April 1769.
- ¹⁷² *ibid.*, 2nd May 1769, 84.
- ¹⁷³ PRONI, Abercorn Papers, D/623/A/38/186, James Hamilton to Abercorn.
- ¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*
- ¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*, D/623/A/19/40, Abercorn to William Brownlow, 31st July 1768.
- ¹⁷⁶ *ibid.*
- ¹⁷⁷ *ibid.*, D/623/A/38/94, Dukart to William Brownlow, 20th August 1768.
- ¹⁷⁸ *ibid.* Dukart’s suggestion to Brownlow that Pery might have a part in deciding his fee suggests that he had learned that Pery and Brownlow had discussed the canal project and the role that Dukart might play in it.
- ¹⁷⁹ *ibid.*, D/623/A/38/93, Brownlow to Abercorn, 27th September 1768.
- ¹⁸⁰ *ibid.*, D/623/A/38/100, Dukart to Brownlow, 19th October 1768.
- ¹⁸¹ *ibid.*
- ¹⁸² *ibid.*, D623/A/19/52, Abercorn to Hamilton, 6th November 1768.
- ¹⁸³ *ibid.*
- ¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*, D/623/A/21/73, Abercorn to John Hamilton, 18th January 1774.
- ¹⁸⁵ *ibid.*, D/623/A/42/10, James Hamilton to Abercorn, 25th February 1774.
- ¹⁸⁶ *ibid.*, D/623/A/42/14, James Hamilton to Abercorn, 25th March 1774.
- ¹⁸⁷ *ibid.*, D/623/A/21/86, Abercorn to Hamilton, 7th April 1774.
- ¹⁸⁸ Eoin Magennis, ‘Coal, Corn and Canals: The Disposal of Parliamentary Moneys 1695-1772’ in David Hayton (ed), *The Irish Parliament in the Eighteenth Century: The Long Apprenticeship* (Edinburgh 2001) 71-86.
- ¹⁸⁹ *CJI*, VIII, cccviii, 20th November 1769. On 1st November 1753 the Archbishop of Armagh gave a thirty-one-year lease on the mining rights of Drumglass, with provision for the following shares in the royalties or profits: Archbishop of Armagh, eight-fortieths; Archbishop of Tuam, nine-fortieths; Arthur Hill, five-fortieths; James Caulfeild, nine-fortieths; Thomas Staples, nine-fortieths. The purchase of the shares of the archbishops of Armagh and Tuam, and Arthur Hill gave Dukart a 55% share in the company; see RD, 404/166/267540.
- ¹⁹⁰ *BN*, 29th September 1769.
- ¹⁹¹ *FJ*, 25th June 1771.
- ¹⁹² *BN*, 23rd October 1769.
- ¹⁹³ *ibid.*, 11th December 1770.
- ¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*, 22nd September 1775.
- ¹⁹⁵ *ibid.*, 24th March 1772.
- ¹⁹⁶ *ibid.*, 22nd September 1775.
- ¹⁹⁷ PRONI, Armagh Registry Papers, DIO 4/13/5/2.
- ¹⁹⁸ Richard Griffith, *Geological and Mining Surveys of the Coal Districts of the Counties of Tyrone and Antrim in Ireland* (Dublin 1829) 35.
- ¹⁹⁹ *CJI*, VIII, cccviii, 20th November 1769.

- ²⁰⁰ *BN*, 8th October 1771; *Proceedings of the Dublin Society*, 30th May 1771, 18th March 1773.
- ²⁰¹ Young, *A Tour in Ireland*, II, part ii, 91.
- ²⁰² For colliery output during the period 1770-78, see PRONI, Armagh Registry Papers, DIO 4/13/5/2.
- ²⁰³ Griffith, *Geological and Mining Surveys*, 41.
- ²⁰⁴ A. Fowler and J.A. Robbie, *Geology of the County Tyrone around Dungannon* (Belfast 1961).
- ²⁰⁵ John Rylands University Library, Bagshawe of Ford Papers, B 3/16/82, Davis Dukart to Sir James Caldwell, 25th July 1775. I am grateful to Toby Barnard for bringing this and the following sources in the Bagshawe Papers to my attention.
- ²⁰⁶ *ibid.*
- ²⁰⁷ *ibid.*, B 3/20/13, Sir James Caldwell to Mr Archdall, 29th January 1776; see also Davis Ducart to Sir James Caldwell, 24th October 1775, B3/16/83. Dukart was introduced to Caldwell by James Fortescue in 1770; see *ibid.*, B 3/10/5, 995-7, James Fortescue to Sir James Caldwell, 16th August 1770.
- ²⁰⁸ PRONI, Armagh Registry Papers, DIO 4/13/5/2.
- ²⁰⁹ RD, 404/166/267540; NLI, MS GO 424, 237-8.
- ²¹⁰ *BN*, 6th February 1781.
- ²¹¹ John Temple, *The History of the General Rebellion in Ireland*, 7th ed. (Cork 1766), subscribers list at front.
- ²¹² PRONI, D/623/A/38/100, D/623/38/94, D/2798/2/1, DIO 4/13/5/4, T/2519/12/11; 'To the right honourable and honourable the committee of the honourable house of Commons: the report of Davis Dukart, Superintendent of the Canal to the Tyrone Collieries', 16th November 1769 in *CJI*, 1769, cccxi
- ²¹³ *BN*, 7th December 1773.
- ²¹⁴ *Londonderry Journal*, 14th April 1775. I am grateful to Dr W. Roulston for this reference.
- ²¹⁵ NLI, MS GO 424, 237-8. Dukart's properties most likely included the two parcels of land totalling 14½ acres at Brackaville recorded in a map 'Coal Island being part of the Estate of Thomas Christy Esqr lying in the County of Tyrone by James Anderson', 18th April 1780, (private collection, county Tyrone). In 1766 Dukart leased 'the rock field', a two-acre property at Glasheen, near Cork, from Thomas Roberts; see RD, 228/572/152525.
- ²¹⁶ RD, 404/166/267540.
- ²¹⁷ The Georgian Society, *Records*, V, 72; NLI, MS GO 424, 237-8.

ILLUSTRATIONS

The following photographic credits arrived too late to be included in the captions:

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