



*1 – Dominick and Peter Madden, Cathedral of St Jarlath, Tuam (1827-36):
view of west front (photo K. Mulligan)*

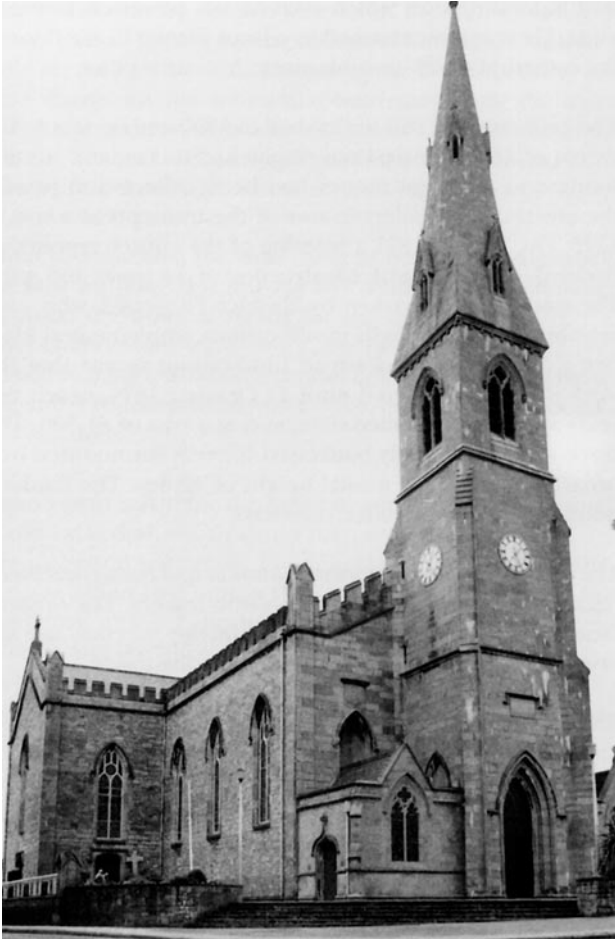
Unfulfilled mediocrity: the hapless career of Dominick Madden in the west of Ireland

PATRICIA McCARTHY and KEVIN V MULLIGAN

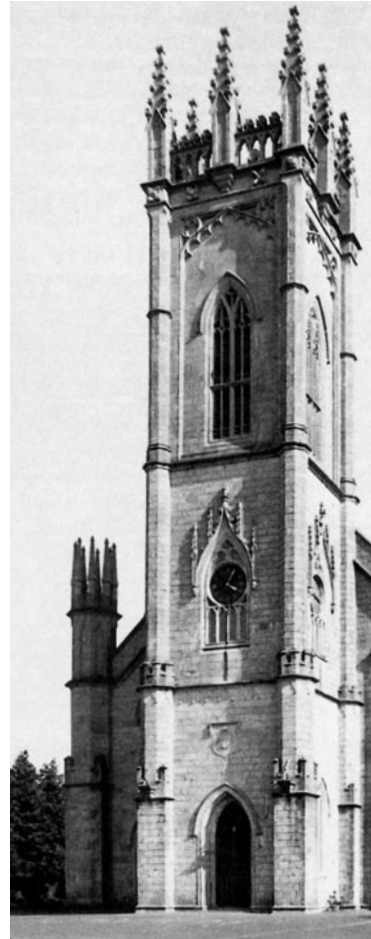
Did your Lordship reflect, as you of late approached St Peter's – the design of Michael Angelo, although the work of many artists – that if their reverences, then, acted towards Michael Angelo, as your Lordship and Mr Loftus did in regard to your Architect, by telling the world that they conceived the smallest remuneration sufficient for his trouble, what would the world have then thought of such conduct.

— Peter Madden to Rev Dr Kelly concerning the building of Tuam Cathedral¹

THIS RATHER PRETENTIOUS ANALOGY INTRODUCES THE LITANY OF BITTER RECRIMINATIONS that followed Dominick Madden's dismissal as architect of Tuam Cathedral in 1829, and his replacement by another. The beginnings of Dominick Madden's cathedral-building career seem to have been full of promise: the foundation stone for Tuam was laid on 3rd April 1827, and for Ballina, only weeks later, in May; a year later work on the foundations for Ennis Cathedral was begun (Plates 1-4). But, despite all of this, a rosy future in church-building was not to be. Following a disagreement – apparently over the design for the east end – Madden was dismissed from his position as architect at Tuam, and, based on one account, is understood to have left Ireland for South America.² Given that the three major commissions of his career were being built at the time, it would seem a rather strange departure. However, the fact that references to him disappear from available sources at the same time – and given the support he had from the most prominent of the Galway Tribes, the Kirwans and the Blakes – suggests there may be some truth to it. Both of these families were part of what Melvin describes as 'an intricate web of family and marriage connections, linking land, commerce and law over several centuries, and extending from Connaught to the West Indies'.³ However, Madden



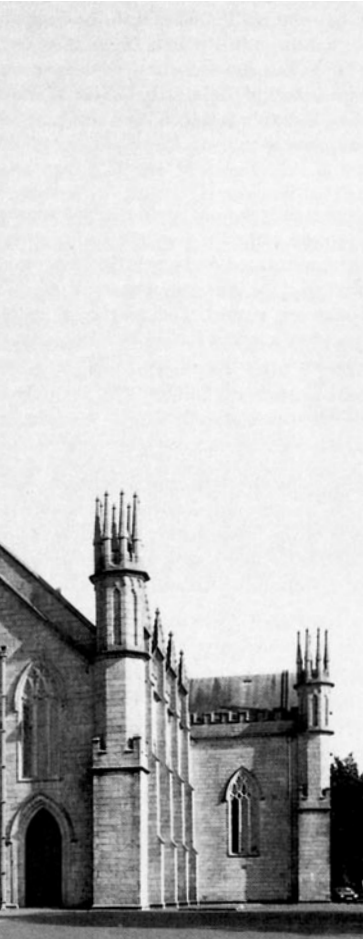
*Dominick and Peter Madden,
2 – Cathedral of St Muiredach, Ballina, county Mayo (1827-56): view of west front
3 – Cathedral of St Jarlath, Tuam, county Galway (1827-36): view of west front*



does resurface in Galway in 1832, where he remained until his death.⁴

Whether he travelled abroad or not, Madden's name has not been associated with any building activity after this, an indication perhaps that he had naturally reached the end of his career and had already begun to rely on the talents of a young assistant. At Tuam, a decision was made to continue the work without an architect, and a model of the cathedral by Thomas Murphy, constructed to Madden's specifications, was used as a guide.⁵ The architect's assistant, in a strongly worded pamphlet published in January 1830, documented the problems encountered at Tuam while defending Madden and criticising his dismissal.⁶ It gave one side of the story in great detail and with much vitriol. The response, published in a local newspaper shortly afterwards, was curt and dismissive.⁷

The assistant, who also refers to himself in the pamphlet as the architect's



*Dominick and Peter Madden,
4 – Cathedral of SS Peter and Paul, Ennis, county Clare (1828-74); view of west front
(photos Cormac Simms; courtesy Peter Galloway)*



‘friend’, was Peter Madden, who, it can be established, was, in fact, the architect’s nephew.⁸ The pamphlet, dated 2nd January 1830, is addressed to the Archbishop of Tuam, Dr Oliver Kelly (1814-1834), the instigator and driving force behind the building of the cathedral. It concerns a number of points of contention between ‘the managers of the cathedral funds and the architect’, which had led Peter previously to put forward a case for a public enquiry to investigate whether Dominick Madden was ‘deserving of the treatment from them’. This claim had been strongly rejected by Fr Martin Loftus, the secretary of the building committee, who was apparently acting on behalf of Dr Kelly. Very angry at the ‘unmerited injury, to a friend’, Peter laid out his stall. Much of his ire is directed at Loftus, who had made ‘paltry insinuations’, and who ‘is evidently the instrument, by which the assault has been made, who fired off the pellets of others making, and who has become the mouthpiece of



*Cathedral of St Jarlath,
Tuam (1827-36)*

5 – East window

*6 – Detail of carved head at
east end, signed:
‘W. Murray Fect.’
(photo K. Mulligan)*

*opposite
8 – Cathedral of SS Peter
and Paul, Ennis, county
Clare: interior view towards
east end
(photo K. Mulligan)*

*7 – James Gillespie Graham,
Cathedral of St Andrew,
Glasgow (1814-17):
west front
(photo Ian Britton)*





those who bite without daring to bark’.

According to Peter Madden, his ‘friend’ had not by then received any of the agreed fee of ‘five per cent on the expenditure, including all expences [*sic*], ex measurer’s fees’.⁹ He makes the point that the architect had had much expense ‘by both his own and my attendance for more than the space of two years’. He states that in the three years prior to his being appointed architect, Madden had produced three sets of designs – one as early as 1824, and, later, two more which were submitted to the building committee to be judged along with other candidates’ designs. The committee ‘which was then composed of the substantial portion of the community, were unanimous in declaring in favour of Mr. Madden’, but chose the elevations from one design and the plan from another, leaving the architect with ‘no small trouble of forming a fourth design’, which was approved, and Peter claims it was according to this design that ‘the constructure, as it now appears, was erected’. A ‘very voluminous and elaborate specification’ followed, then a series of working drawings, and a set of finished drawings for the priest who would be seeking subscriptions abroad. Added to these was the set of drawings to be hung in ‘your Lordship’s study’, a drawing sent to the archbishop at Ballinasloe, and another sent to him at his Dublin hotel. Peter makes it clear that he understands that the archbishop is central to the architect’s dismissal when he declares that, though the archbishop denies it, the drawings were all received by him according to the testimony of those who delivered them.

According to the report on the building of Tuam Cathedral dated January 1830, it seems that the lack of an architect was keenly felt, and so, sometime during 1829, and presumably soon after Madden had departed, the committee found the need to employ ‘a competent superintendent of the work, who has been recommended by Mr. Bernard Mullins, one of the first architects of the kingdom’.¹⁰ It was further decided that all plans were to be submitted to Mullins before being executed.¹¹ It is not clear who this ‘superintendent of the work’ refers to, but it was probably Marcus (also known as Mark) Murray, whose son William executed the stonework (Plate 6).¹² Peter Madden describes both men as ‘architects of Babel, who now have the presumption to conduct the business’, and refers them to Madden’s detailed specification (mentioned above) ‘as containing more instruction than they can receive from their worthy consociate Murray, or from a few hours hearing of Mr. Mullen’s smattering Technicals’.¹³

The circumstances surrounding Madden’s dismissal are not clear. Peter accuses the archbishop of dismissing or dissolving the original building committee and placing his own cronies, ‘who could have no such pretensions on the throne of public taste’, on the new one. He blames the archbishop for giving the new committee unlimited control over the building, which led to repeated demands for changes that Madden vehemently opposed, ‘as the design would have been entirely mutilat-

ed'. In addition, Peter was of the opinion that there were some dirty tricks involved, instigated by Loftus. He drew attention to two drawings by Madden, one for the east window and another for a window in the transept. It seems that Marcus Murray (or his son William), encouraged by Loftus ('his Rev. foster father'), submitted his own design for the east window, which 'was exhibited secretly, as being superior to any design the Architect could produce', but was subsequently proven to be 'an uncouth and imperfect sketch' of an 'excellent' church window recently executed in Glasgow – a reference to St Andrew's Cathedral (Plate 7).¹⁴ Both of Madden's window designs were adopted, but Peter accused Loftus of 'repeatedly' giving credit for the transept window design to Murray (Plate 5).¹⁵ When asked to explain his reasons for dismissing Madden, Loftus (described variously as 'your Lordship's minion' and 'prime minister'), according to Peter, explained 'that the head and front of his offending was, that his attendance lead to expense and that some trifling omissions existed in some minute parts of the work'. It appears that despite a resolution of the original committee that they 'reserved to themselves the power of discontinuing [Madden]', no member of it received notice of the architect's dismissal.

Peter Madden attempts to dignify his motives for 'shewing forth' by deferring to his 'professional pride'. The parting shot in the pamphlet is aimed at Marcus Murray: 'that this creature has at last found in Tuam, what he long sought for, namely, a soothing minister to his vicious propensities is ... too true: this feeling of sorrow I entertain not for myself or friend, but for others...' The response to Peter Madden's stream of invective came from his *bête noire* Loftus, who added a postscript to the cathedral's report for the year ending 10th January 1830, which is worth quoting at length:

Since making the above report the committee have been put in possession of a small tract in shape of a pamphlet, written by or for a young aspirant to architectural or perhaps literary fame. We much admire the flippancy of his first essay, as well as his total want of candor [*sic*]. We notice one instance in particular, of which he cannot plead ignorance. It is not true that Mr. O'Madden, the architect, has never been paid a penny on account of his services. The committee have his receipt for £70, paid on 15th May last, as per annexed accounts. He has also been tendered, in addition to the above sum, the balance of his account amounting to £122 3s.¹⁶ which is in full of his agreement, and ample remuneration for his troubles. The Committee have already in dispensing with the services of a permanent architect, received the public thanks of the subscribers ... In further justification of their conduct ... they confidently refer to the state of their funds, and the called for changes that have been made for the permanent existence of the building.¹⁷

With these well-chosen words, full of condescension, Loftus dismissed the pam-



9 – Cathedral of St Jarlath, Tuam, county Galway
interior view towards east end (photo K. Mulligan)



*10 – Cathedral of St Jarlath
interior view towards west end (photo K. Mulligan)*

phlet and the manner in which it was written. But he seems to have had sufficient proof about payments to Madden, and is quite clear that the architect was paid in full 'for his troubles', and that the people of Tuam were delighted with the savings achieved by not having to pay 'a permanent architect'. It would be interesting to know if the 'called-for changes' that were required to ensure the stability of the building might throw light on why Madden was removed from his position. Were these changes the 'trifling omissions ... in some minute parts of the work' as Peter Madden puts it? Was the dismissal based on personal antipathies between the Maddens and the Murrays? It is evident that, subsequently, Loftus wanted to write Dominick Madden out of the building history of the cathedral. In a committee report of December 1837, having stated that all the decorative work of the cathedral 'has been designed and executed by natives of this province', he unfairly credits Marcus Murray, rather than Madden, with the plans.¹⁸

It is not certain how much of the finished work at Tuam (Plates 1, 9, 10) may be seen as entirely the work of Dominick Madden or of his nephew, who probably deserves a good deal of the credit.¹⁹ Without drawings it is difficult to establish how far the original scheme was subject to changes by Bernard Mullins, especially as the Maddens departed in the early years of the construction. Mullins was an engineer and may have been employed to remedy the structural problems implied in the exchange between Madden and Loftus, but he was also an experienced designer whose work on churches includes the fine example of St Brendan's Catholic church in Birr.²⁰

Architectural history has made some amends by giving Dominick Madden credit for three of the most important modern religious foundations in the west of Ireland. In recent times he has been written into the history of Irish church architecture, briefly and justly, by Craig and Williams, but completely ignored by others such as de Breffny and Rowan.²¹ However we may assess the competence of his designs as an architect, Dominick Madden may be seen in the history of Irish church architecture of the early nineteenth century as something of a trendsetter. With the emergence of Catholicism from the shadows in the late eighteenth century, and on the eve of Catholic Emancipation in 1829, a number of important modern cathedrals were established.²² Most famous amongst these, and the earliest, was the Metropolitan Church or Pro-Cathedral in Dublin, begun in 1816 in the dominant Classical style then favoured for urban churches. The usual explanation for this preference of Classical over Gothic refers to the tastes acquired by Irish Catholics educated abroad and the usefulness of the style in confirming the country's links with Catholic Europe.²³ This may be apparent in the background to the design of the Dublin cathedral, but as a universal explanation it is overstated and does not account for the changes in taste evident at Tuam and elsewhere.²⁴

The reasons for the revival of the Gothic style in Irish church architecture in

the nineteenth century are not always immediately apparent. Aesthetic reasons alone cannot be discounted. Many of these early nineteenth-century foundations developed because of a growing confidence amongst a wealthier society who could at that time afford, politically and economically, to build grandly. The decision to employ Gothic may have been simply based on a perception that busier Gothic façades better represented the wealth lavished on the construction than that of an austere Classical façade.²⁵ The symbolic and edifying role of the new cathedral at Tuam was evidently an underlying consideration: in addition to expressing the obvious merits of such a grand project in providing employment in difficult times, Loftus affirms that ‘the circumstances of its introducing a taste for architecture into the county, shows the utility of prosecuting the undertaking in its present expensive style...’²⁶ Even Peter Madden confirms that a question of taste was relevant in the design – both in his concern about alterations that would ‘mutilate’ the original design, and his belief that new building committee members ‘could have no pretensions on the throne of public taste’.

A different dimension to this confidence, and the growing preference for Gothic in Catholic cathedrals may also consciously point to a connection with the prevalence of the style for the Established Church: if the Catholic Church was beginning to appropriate the Gothic style, then to some extent it was appropriating it because it already possessed an air of officialdom. Setting aside the dominant preference for the later Perpendicular style in all of these foundations, there is a strong possibility that the choice of style was somehow part of an attempt to connect these modern foundations with the ancient church, as symbols of confidence and triumphalism for the re-emergence of the ‘old faith’.²⁷ At Tuam, rather than force a stylistic distinction with the Church of Ireland cathedral, the use of Gothic was perhaps a conscious effort to assert itself as the rightful heir to the ancient see.²⁸ The same issue did not necessarily apply in Ballina or Ennis (Plates 2, 4), but Gothic was still ambitiously employed. At Ballina, the cathedral’s builder, Dr McHale, claimed that he determined to ‘rear a cathedral that might contribute to the majesty and splendour of religion in the town ... and that should also serve as a model and incite the clergy to undertake the building of like edifices’.²⁹

Dominick Madden was joined by Thomas Cobden (d.1842) and Thomas Duff (d.1848) in changing this direction towards more overtly Gothic structures in towns with their designs for Catholic cathedrals in the late 1820s, establishing a trend that culminated in the 1840s in the church designs of A.W.N. Pugin (1812-1852) and those of his Irish disciple, J.J. McCarthy (1817-1882).³⁰ Cobden’s Carlow Cathedral (1829-33) and Duff’s Newry Cathedral (1826) confirmed the preponderance of Perpendicular Gothic as the approved ecclesiastical style for the first half of the nineteenth century that began with Francis Johnston’s Chapel Royal (1807-14).³¹ Madden’s Tuam Cathedral, with its pasta-like decoration (Plate 5), is less stylistical-

ly definite, and conveniently defined by Galloway as a form of ‘west coast Gothic’, but in fact the relationship with St Andrew’s Catholic Cathedral in Glasgow (Plate 7) indicates that Madden had looked as far as Duff, perhaps further, for inspiration. (Duff’s debt to King’s College, Cambridge, reflects the standard influence.)³² Excluding Cobden’s cathedral at Carlow, although it is more discreetly sited on a side street, Craig argues that none of the buildings by Madden or Duff ‘rises to the architectural dignity later expected of a cathedral’, but recognises that ‘they were all respectable buildings in the eclectic and not very exacting Gothic which prevailed before Pugin came to terrorise everyone’.³³ There is little real innovation in any of Madden’s designs, cruciform plans, with a distinctive shallow chancel at Tuam which is almost imperceptible at Ennis, suggesting a reluctance to progress from the traditional T-plan chapel. The elevations are squat, not helped by a low and poorly emphasised plinth, with a forestanding square tower at the west end. Broach spires were later added to Ennis and Ballina (Plates 2, 4). Tuam is more overtly expressive, with a great deal of expensive carved stonework. The tower, especially, is tricked out with all manner of ornament, often clashing and overscaled, and finished with stiff, crocketed pinnacles, continued along the nave buttresses and grouped on each of the corners of the building (Plate 1). A harsh critique will see Madden’s buildings as poorly composed with awkward massing and uncouth features, but as early foundations they are important and ambitious achievements that deserve to be accepted in any reading of the history of Irish church-building in the nineteenth century before ‘the inexorable juggernaut of Pugin and McCarthy’.³⁴ So, it seems that with the three west of Ireland cathedrals Dominick Madden’s reputation (and also that of his nephew) can rest secure.

On 1st April 1837 Peter Madden wrote to Martin J. Blake to inform him of his uncle’s death.³⁵ Dominick Madden had died in the house he shared with his nephew on Merchant’s Road. He had evidently been sick for some time, and was perhaps aged and infirm.³⁶ His dismissal from Tuam in 1829 may have coincided with the natural end of his architectural career, a career at times full of potential but consistent in its encounters with failure and disappointment.³⁷ Just as he had recovered from his ignominy with the Board of Works, the Ballyfin affair does not appear to have impacted greatly on his reputation, although, on present evidence, it does seem that he was confined to Connaught for the remainder of his life.³⁸

The pattern has a resonance for Peter Madden’s career. It is difficult to gauge the effect his open attack on the cathedral patrons might have had on his prospects as an aspiring architect. Having so publicly aired their grievances amongst the rather small world of Catholic landowners in Galway, most of whom were on the



Brook Lodge, Athenry, county Galway

11 – Entrance front in ruins, 2006. The house was designed in 1775 by William Leeson, and Dominick Madden made proposals for its Gothicisation in 1828. (photo K. Mulligan)

12 – Proposal by Dominick Madden for the Gothicisation of the west elevation, June 1829 (courtesy National Archives)

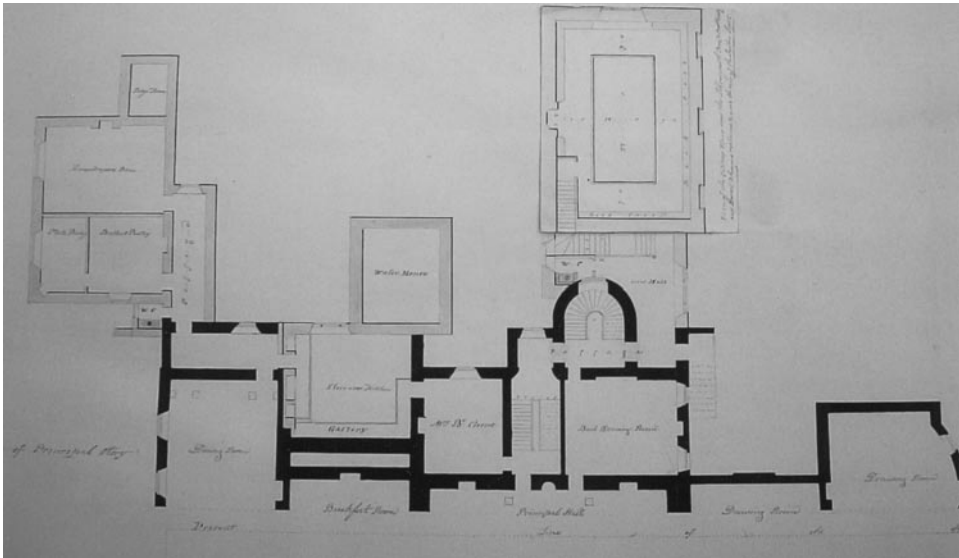


original building committee of the cathedral, one wonders if he had shot himself in the foot. Difficulty in assessing this is encountered in a dearth of evidence for the younger Madden's later career other than material for very competent alterations and additions to Brooklodge (Plate 11) for the MP Martin J. Blake between 1836 and 1837. (He was ultimately disappointed by this non-committal client.)³⁹

In the 1830s he shared his address at Merchant's Road, Galway, with his uncle. However, by 1848 he had moved to Dublin. Peter Madden seems to have spent the remainder of his life at Kingstown, where he died on 15th March 1877. In his will he left to his wife, Jane, substantial property in Kingstown and in Galway city.⁴⁰ Although he continued to describe himself as architect, there are no known buildings by Madden in Dublin or elsewhere. They must have existed, however.

Now better known for his failures than his successes, how should Dominick Madden's ability as an architect be assessed? Even to be remembered solely as the architect of three important ecclesiastical commissions in the early nineteenth century seems disproportionate to his talent. There is, in the material available to us, a distinct unevenness in the quality of his work, varying from a reasonable degree of competence to being, at times, well below mediocrity. Such criticism must be directed largely to his draughting skills (Plate 12), as so few of his designs or executed works survive to allow his originality as an architect to be properly measured.

The unevenness in Madden's work is most evident at Mount Bellew where none of the designs for Christopher Dillon Bellew is particularly inspiring; the elevations are at times clumsy and awkward, and remarkable only for their blandness. This is particularly apparent where Madden's simple scheme for a library and gallery extension are compared with Richard Morrison's undated design for a similar proposal (Plates 13, 14).⁴¹ The care taken in Madden's drawings for bridges and glasshouses is markedly better and reflects some competence.⁴² The evidence for his involvement at Mount Bellew may at first suggest that Madden was readily employed by patrons who could be assured of his ability to execute humdrum work that involved relatively minor additions and alterations, especially when the skills of architects like Richard Morrison and Francis Johnston were, by 1820, more difficult to obtain so far west of Dublin.⁴³ In reality, many patrons were often slow to commit to architectural schemes, not because their faith in an architect wavered, but more generally because their ideas and circumstances changed, especially when budgets failed to match ambition. It seems that all of these factors were at play at Mount Bellew. The only project which we can be sure was completed – the chapel – was a small building that took the greater part of five years (Plate 32). Madden's design is

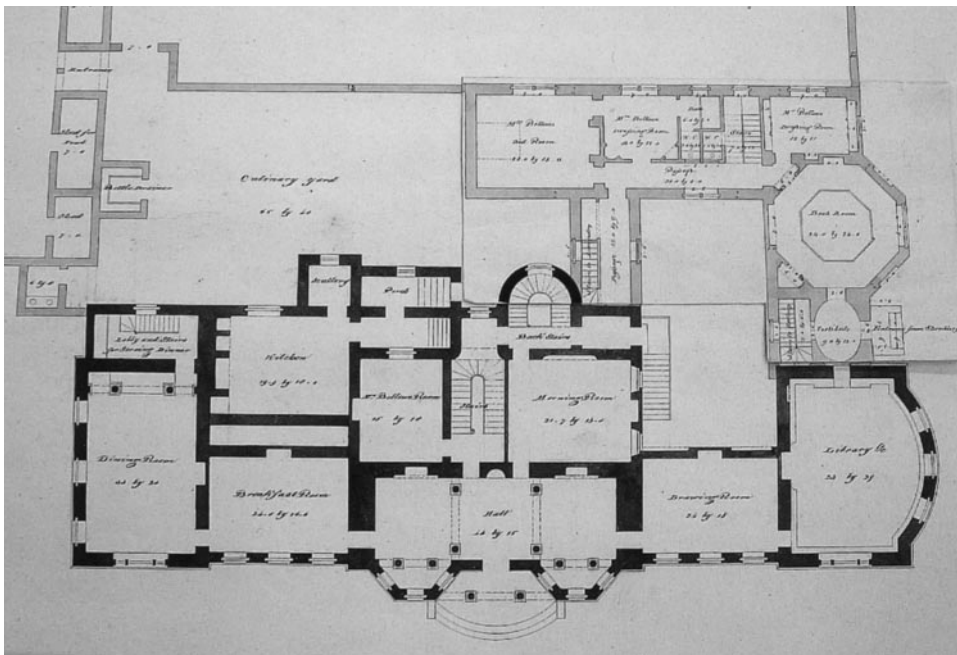


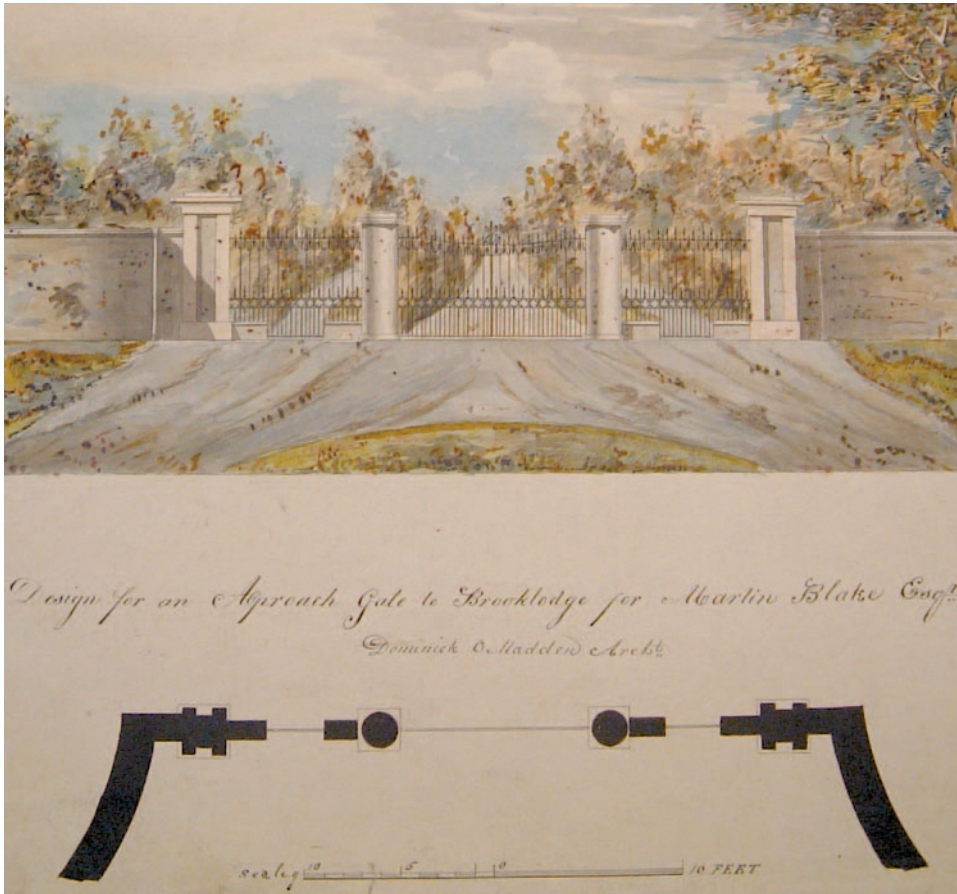
Mount Bellew, county Galway

13 – Dominick Madden's proposal for a library and gallery, 1819

14 – Richard Morrison's proposal for an octagonal 'book room' over the 'justice room', c.1817

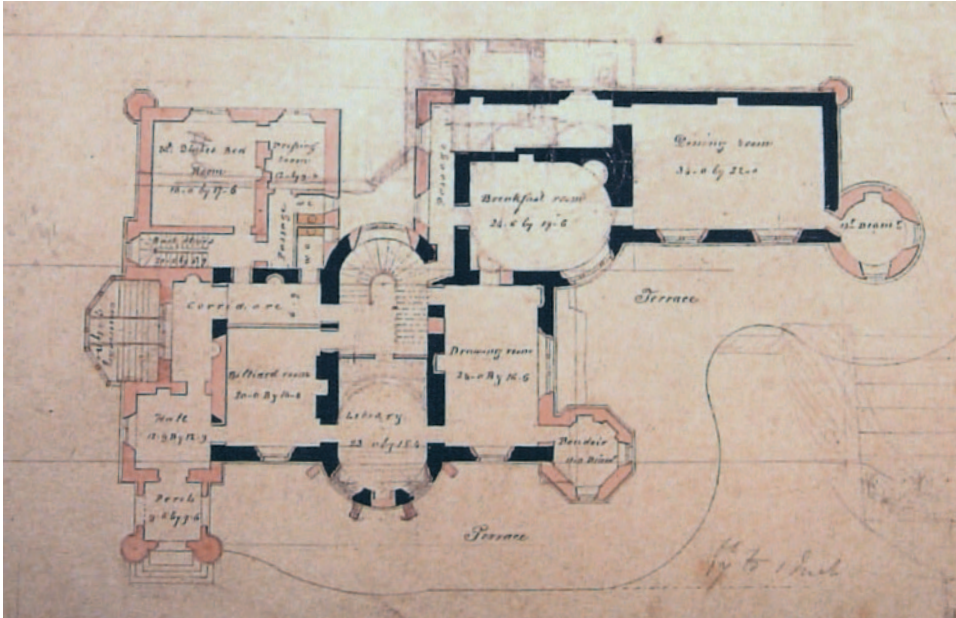
(courtesy National Library of Ireland)





undistinguished and offers no augury of grander things to come at Tuam.

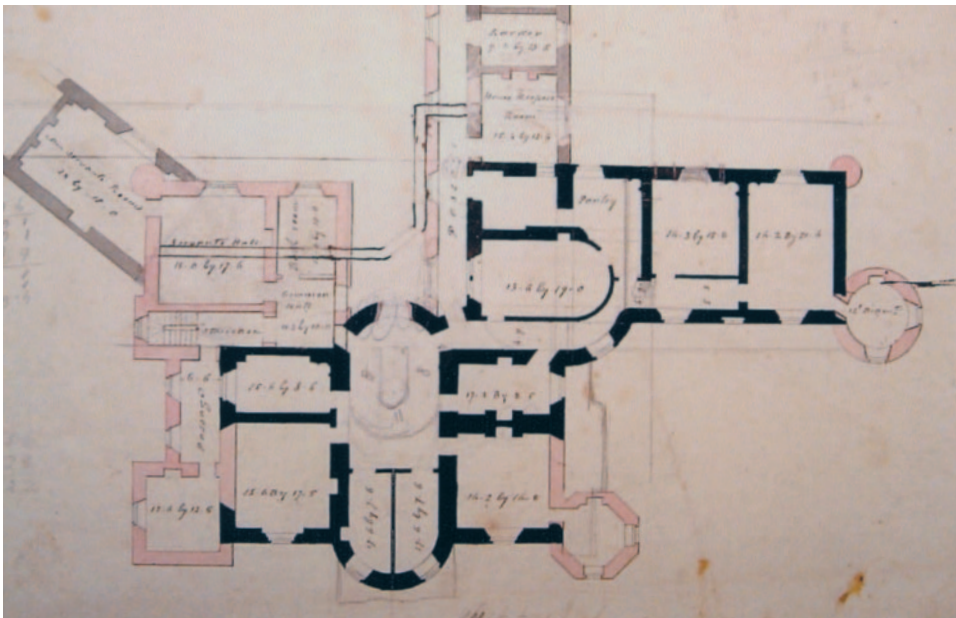
Another of Madden's patrons, Martin J. Blake, who, having bought Brooklodge in 1813, spent much of the following two decades considering schemes for remodelling this neo-Classical villa designed by William Leeson for Christopher French in 1775. The earliest of these was a proposal by Madden dated between 1828 and 1829 for a picturesque castle that retained the house at the core. The drawings, like the details of Tuam Cathedral, are better viewed from a distance (Plates 12, 15-17). Madden's proposal proved abortive, and in the meantime Blake seems to have decided to remain Classical, content with building a 'Grecian conservatory' designed by William Brady, a little-known Galway architect. Peter Madden's schemes of 1836 and 1837 for the same house were largely confined to encasing the two-storey block in a modest Tudor Gothic mantle (Plates 18-22). The design is carefully and competently detailed in a manner that suggests his attendance at drawing school (Plate 23). Some works were started under Peter Madden, but disagree-

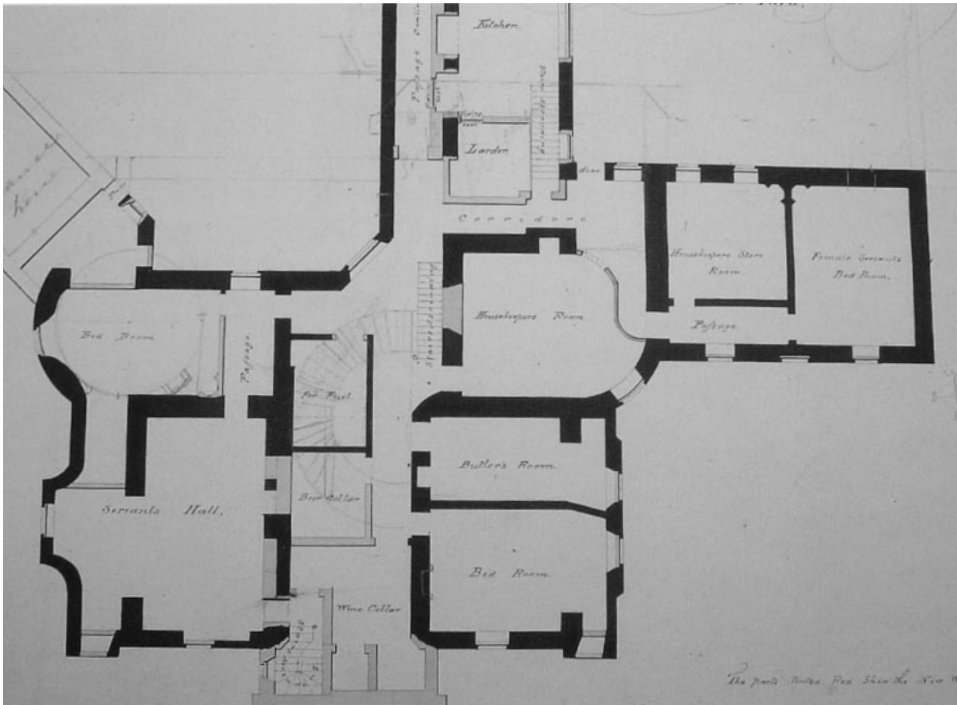
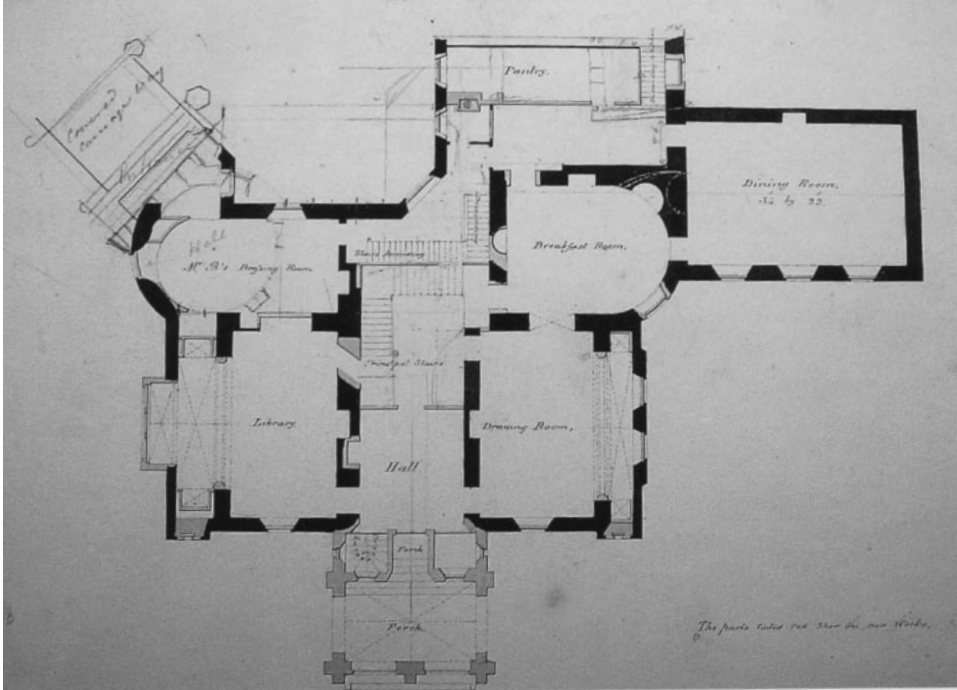


Brook Lodge, Athenry

16, 17 – Ground-floor and basement plans showing proposed alterations and additions by Dominick Madden, c.1826-29 (courtesy National Archives)

opposite 15 – Design for an ‘approach gate’ by Dominick Madden, c.1826-29



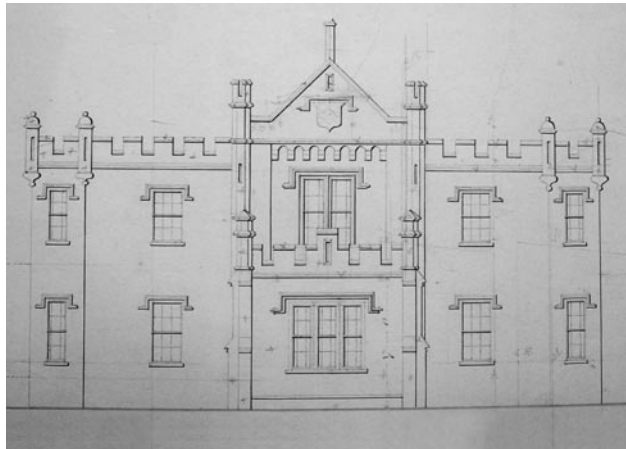
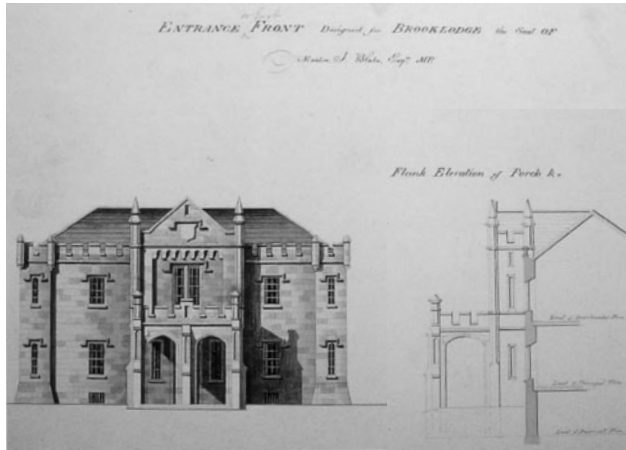


Brook Lodge, Athenry

opposite

18 – Ground-floor plan showing proposed alterations and additions by Peter Madden, 1836

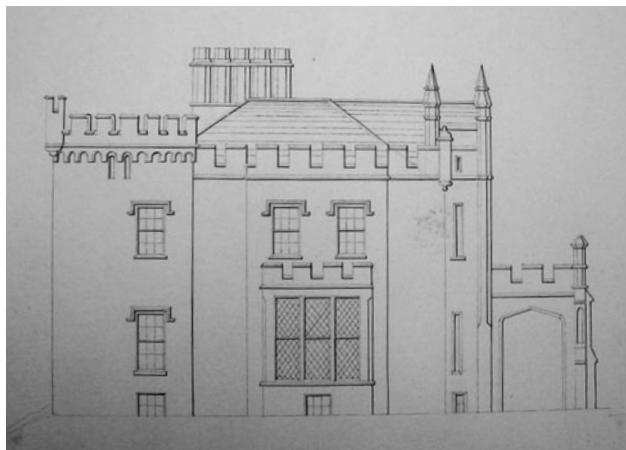
19 – Basement plan showing proposed alterations and additions by Peter Madden, c.1836



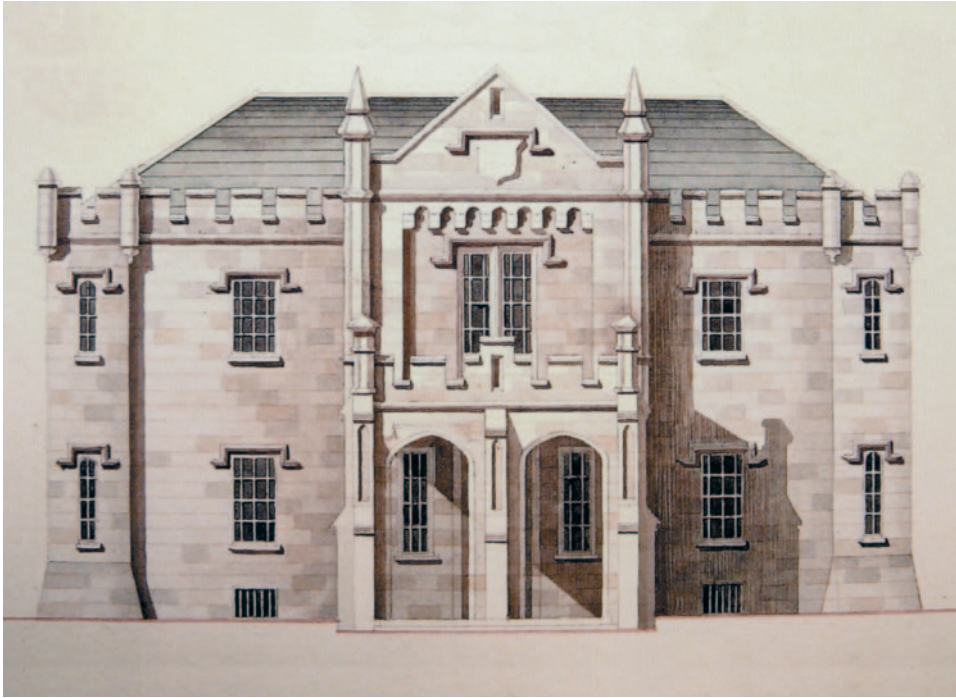
20 – South elevation and section showing proposed remodelling by Peter Madden, 1836

21 – Revised south elevation proposed by Peter Madden, c.1838

22 – West elevation proposed by Peter Madden, c.1838



(all courtesy National Archives)



23 – Brook Lodge, Athenry: detail of Peter Madden's proposed south elevation, 1836
(courtesy National Archives)

ment over terms seems to have ended his association with Blake, and unfortunately our knowledge of his career ends as abruptly as it commences, leaving much to be learned.

Although utterly destroyed, Dalgan Park (Plates 24-31) in Shrulce, county Mayo offers some redemption of Dominick Madden's architectural abilities, or at the very least a lesson that so much of the success of any building will depend greatly on the qualities of the craftsmen employed in finishing it. John Pamer's vitriolic letter (discussed in Part I) confirms Dominick Madden's involvement at Dalgan for Martin Kirwan.⁴⁴ Externally, a low nine-bay house (Plate 24) with a principal front of two storeys of equal height, its massing transformed dramatically and deftly on the garden front to three storeys (Plate 25).⁴⁵ The side elevations, also two-storey, were of three bays and a little more interesting. The ground-floor windows were set in relieving arches with Wyatt windows to the centre bays, and on one side handsomely bowed in the spirit of Richard Morrison.⁴⁶ However, indications that the handling was at times a little uncouth begins to develop with two stranded pilasters in a giant Ionic order framing the three central bays on the entrance front. As though survivors from a massive *porte cochère* that has been pulled down, they are, without



Dalgan Park, Shrile, county Mayo, designed by Dominick Madden for Martin Kirwan, c.1817-23

24 – Entrance front, c.1920 (copy photo James Carney; courtesy Columban Fathers)

25 – Garden front, c.1920 (courtesy Columban Fathers)



a correct architrave, difficult to read in any meaningful way architecturally, and hence clumsy.⁴⁷ The redemption comes with the interiors, arranged as a series of grand, well-finished spaces, though some architectural solecisms do surface.

The entrance hall (Plate 28) was a square space with a handkerchief dome enriched with stucco, and recessed Ionic columns at each end. The spirit of the design accords closely with Richard Morrison's work at Castlegar (and also the entrance hall of St Cleran's), combining aspects of the entrance hall and stair hall in this Galway house built for Ross Mahon in 1801.⁴⁸ The plaster details of the ceiling at Dalgan, in particular the fan detail in the corner of the ceiling and the enrichment of the soffit, corresponds quite closely to James Talbot's work on the staircase ceiling at Castlegar. However the handling of the columns so as to support the cornice directly without an architrave is not carried off with the same success as in the entrance hall in Castlegar; and the meanness of the architrave on the upper stair hall at Dalgan (Plate 31) shows that the same miscalculations are evident here.

There is little that could be said, however, against the refinement of the plasterwork. At Dalgan the frieze in the staircase lantern has the same lacy quality as the plasterwork panels in the stair hall of Kilpeacon, county Limerick, another Morrison villa. The principal reception rooms at Dalgan (Plates 29, 30) were large rectangular spaces, ordinary but with a great deal of embellishment. The shutter joinery in the drawing room had roundels filled with a key pattern that indicates the quality of finish throughout the building. Perhaps what is being demonstrated in this building is the extent to which high craftsmanship could compensate for poor architectural ability in nineteenth-century building practices.

The decision to choose Dominick Madden as architect was not always based on the merits of his abilities to design. As a native of the west of Ireland, and apparently as a Roman Catholic, he clearly benefited from the support of closely united and related prominent Catholic families, especially in Galway. As supporters, his wayward past was either concealed from them, sufficiently explained to them, or simply ignored by them. The value of assessing the career of Dominick Madden so comprehensively in this research lies not in exposing his misdemeanours or to challenge his ability as an architect – an ability that was so well grounded in mediocrity – but of seeing together, and in some detail, a stratum of architecture and patronage in the nineteenth century that is barely known, even if, at times, seemingly well understood. In this context, a rare and invaluable insight into the life of an ordinary architect and a curious personality may seem worth recalling.



Dalgan Park

26 – Stables by Dominick Madden, c.1920 (courtesy Columban Fathers)

27 – Surviving capital on the site of the house, now commemorating the Columban Fathers' first foundation here, 1918-41 (photo K. Mulligan)







Dalغان Park, Shrúle, c.1920

*31 – Dalغان Park: stair hall, c.1920 (copy photo James Carney; courtesy Columban Fathers)
opposite 28, 29, 30 – entrance hall and interiors, c.1920 (courtesy Columban Fathers)*

APPENDIX

PRELIMINARY LIST OF BUILDINGS ASSOCIATED WITH
DOMINICK AND PETER MADDEN (in chronological order)*KILCOLGAN CASTLE, county Galway (c.1810-15)*

‘Mr Dominick Madden’ is named in the household account book of Christopher St George.⁴⁹ In March 1815 payments were made to ‘John Kennedy, stonecutter’ and ‘James Carty, slater’ for £19 16s 8d and £3 14s 1d respectively, ‘as per Mr Madden’s measurement’. The following month a payment of £6 16s 6d was made to ‘Mr Domck Madden Architect, Little whipmaker for brooms etc’. How much of that amount went to Madden is not clear, but it was a small payment and the only one made to him over this period. In December a payment of £26 11s 7d was made to Richard Fahy, an architect who is known to have provided plans for farm buildings at Rahasane in 1812-13 (see note 75). The information probably indicates that Madden, acting as measurer, provided the measurements during the previous year, 1814, while Fahy was the architect at the castle.⁵⁰

DALGAN PARK, county Mayo (c.1817-23)

John Pamer, in his revealing letter to Christopher Bellew, confirms Madden’s role when he refers to ‘Mr Kirwan’s of Dalgan where he was Architect’.⁵¹ Many of Madden’s letters after 1817 were written to Christopher Dillon Bellew from Dalgan Park; they cease after October 1822. The only indication as to the extent of works being carried out by Madden other than an involvement spanning at least five years is found in Madden’s mention of a workman in 1820 erecting the handrails of the front and back stairs (Plate 31).⁵² A photograph of the stable buildings at Dalgan (Plate 26) also confirms the hand of Madden in a design almost identical with his earliest known scheme for Mount Bellew (illustrated in volume VIII, p.94, pl.7).⁵³ The house was built for Martin Kirwan, who, with the Castle Hackett branch, were another of Galway’s tribes, both branches having purchased Burke estates. The Dalgan estate lay just inside the Mayo border near Headford, and was bought in 1771 from the Clanricard Burkes.⁵⁴ At this time the family resided at Ballyturin, near Gort, county Galway, and, until Dalgan was built, at Turin Castle and Brookhill, both in county Mayo. In 1814 Dalgan is given as their seat, but it is unclear whether this represented an existing residence altered or replaced by the house associated with Madden.

There were outstanding issues between the architect and patron. A judgement

from the Court of Exchequer appears to have been granted in Dominick Madden's favour against Martin Kirwan in 1825.⁵⁵ The house (Plate 24), which has since been demolished, was a large rectangular block, two storeys to the front and three to the rear, with a narrow bowed projection to the east.⁵⁶ The windows are set in relieving arches with a wider tripartite window in the bow and treated like an overdoor, with a patera under the arch which was all very Morrisonian in manner. Samuel Lewis, in his description of Shrule, describes the house as 'the residence of Patrick Kirwan, Esq., a spacious mansion of hewn limestone, in the Grecian style, with a noble hall supported on lofty Corinthian columns and lighted by a finely proportioned dome'.⁵⁷ The description appears to confuse the entrance hall and stair hall, two particularly fine spaces, both with Ionic rather than Corinthian columns. The entrance hall (Plate 28) was a square space with a tented dome, while the staircase (Plate 31) was lighted by an oval lantern.⁵⁸ A description of the house by the architect W.H. Byrne in 1911 shows the ground floor as consisting of two large halls, a ballroom and six other rooms. The first floor had twelve bedrooms, with a further five located in the attic storey.⁵⁹ While the handling of the architecture at times lacked finesse, the quality of the internal finishes appears to have been particularly good, especially in the detail of the plasterwork. The principal elevation of nine bays was made distinctive by the pilasters with Ionic capitals framing the central three bays, which, with the absence of an entablature, appears pasted onto the façade. A single capital from the house (Plate 27) now serves to commemorate the site of the building as the first foundation and seminary of the Society of St Columban, which was based here between 1918 and 1941.

MOUNT BELLEW HOUSE AND DEMESNE, county Galway (c.1817 onwards).

In the autumn of 1818 Madden acknowledged the receipt of a little over £173 in fees from Christopher Dillon Bellew, indicating that he had been employed there since at least 1817.⁶⁰ Mount Bellew House (see volume VIII, p.90, pl.2), was a late eighteenth-century three-storey house of cubic proportions with canted bays, which was extensively enlarged by Richard Morrison c.1805 for Christopher Dillon Bellew. The works involved the reordering of the ground floor, a new entrance, and a new staircase in a bowed projection to the rear. In October 1805 Pat Howard, stonemason, was paid 'from Christopher. D. Bellew Esqr. from the hand of Captain Morrison the sum of eleven pounds seven shillings & six pence on acct. of stonecutting work'. The works measured at this time included 'two moulded panels and four pateras (two of 18 inch diameters and two of 16 inch diameters)', 'bonds and starts of doorcase', and eight panelled pilasters for the windows of the bow, 'new hall door steps, landing, pedestal & ashlar [including] two sunk pateras on face of pedestals'. These works were followed by the creation of a new dining room and



32 – Mount Bellew church, county Galway: Dominick Madden's proposal for a cast-iron canopy over the Bellew family's private entrance, c.1820
(courtesy National Library of Ireland)

drawing room in single-storey wings with straight three-bay links. The wings were given pedimented fronts and Wyatt windows, and the side elevation of the drawing room was bowed. The details of Howard's work for these additions were specified in 1808, and included stonework for a 'circular plinth' and cornice to the drawing room bow; 298 feet of 'pediment cornice' to the fronts, carved stone for the Wyatt windows including 'pannelled pilasters' and the 'punched arch stones over'; 'two stones prepared for Ionic capitals' were for the portico.⁶¹

Only one design by Morrison survives amongst the Mount Bellew papers⁶² and concerns later additions to the house, including an octagonal 'Justice Room' with a 'Book Room' overhead, along with an elevation of stables and outhouses to the north. The drawing appears to be in the hand of Morrison's assistant Owen Fahy, which would suggest that the drawing dates from before 1817.⁶³ There are also related unsigned and undated sketch plans extending the house in the same manner, where the octagonal space is labelled a 'picture room' rather than 'book room'.⁶⁴ The difficulty is whether these designs were produced before or after Madden's numerous schemes, which propose a very different and altogether much less competent arrangement. Madden's scheme (Plate 13) proposed a rectangular library with a gallery overhead (see also volume VIII, pp.98-99, pls 13-15).



33 – *Design for a gate lodge: detail of a drawing attributed to Dominick Madden, probably for Brook Lodge, c.1828 (courtesy National Archives)*

34 – *Castle Hackett, county Galway: gate lodge attributed to Dominick Madden (photo K. Mulligan)*



There is a possibility that Morrison's drawing was actually later, as the scheme for the stables follows closely, with minor alterations, Madden's design of 1827 (volume VIII, p.98, pl.12)⁶⁵ which is inscribed 'plan [elevation] of new stable offices with sheds at the rear for Mount Bellew'. If so, it would indicate that Michael Bellew had called in the services of Morrison, less happy to indulge in the talents of Madden as his father had been. Mount Bellew House was demolished sometime after its sale around 1938.

Madden also seems to have been involved in the demesne, although the landscape gardener Hely Dutton was working here.⁶⁶ Designs for two bridges are amongst the papers as well as numerous designs for glasshouses – each very substantial, competent and perhaps partially executed. The destruction of buildings at Mount Bellew means the extent of Madden's involvement in this aspect of the demesne remains as yet unclear.

MOUNT BELLEW CHURCH, county Galway (c.1817-22)

This is the only building designed by Madden for Bellew that we can be sure was erected. Extensive correspondence between Dominick Madden and Christopher Dillon Bellew over the course of its construction survives.⁶⁷ These include a drawing which shows a simple hall and tower, the design for the tower corresponding exactly to the present building. The surviving west window on the tower – a plain pointed arch with Y-tracery – is shown repeated throughout the nave. The letters indicate that the ironwork frames for the windows was executed by the well-known Dublin firm of Lowe. These were later removed when the body of the church was rebuilt on a larger scale with transepts at the end of the nineteenth century. Sketches include ideas for elaborate vaulting on the nave and an ornate Gothic porch in cast iron (Plate 32), proposed as the private entrance for the Bellew family. The church was opened on Christmas Day in 1822.⁶⁸

MOUNT BELLEW, county Galway (c.1825)

Possible Dower house, lodge and stables. Madden continued to be engaged after Christopher Dillon Bellew's death in 1825 by his widow Olivia and son Michael. A proposal exists as an 'Estimate of works contained in a new house proposed to be built by M. Bellew Esq. at Mount Bellew according to plans and specifications 10 Sept. 1825'.⁶⁹ The details indicate a sizeable house with a basement. Two Wyatt windows are also specified. Initially there seems to have been difficulty in commencing the building as, on 14th September, Madden wrote from Colesgrove to Mrs Bellew expressing his regret that her son had given up 'the idea of building', and suggests the reasons are due to expense when he offers 'when next I have the plea-

sure of meeting you [to] go into the documents with you ... to shew you what it possibly could be executed for. I am certain that your wish is to have everything of this kind done in a permanent and workmanlike manner.' He goes on to add, 'the materials I have bespoke at Galway is not the least inconvenience as I have places to send them to'. It seems, however, that the house, a dower house for Mrs Bellew, was eventually built, and survives today as the Holy Rosary Convent in Mount Bellew village (Plate 35). The house has tripartite windows as specified by Madden, together with a good limestone doorcase and a cast-iron porch, not unlike that proposed for Mount Bellew church (Plate 32). The interior also has good plasterwork. A further clue to its purpose may be found in another drawing signed by Madden amongst these items which shows a transverse section of a bow-fronted house, inscribed as 'a house designed for Mrs Olivia Bellew referred to in a codicil added to my will this 31st day of Dec. 1825', and signed Christopher Dillon Bellew. According to local tradition, Mrs. Bellew never occupied it.

Another scheme, signed and dated 3rd August 1826, shows a simple design for a 'Porter's Lodge for the Hon Mrs. Bellew'. The plan and elevation shows a one-roomed house, its front with an open pediment and a wide quarry-glazed window in a square-headed recess beneath, very similar to the unsigned and undated scheme associated with Brook Lodge (Plates 33, 34). There is no trace of such a building associated with the former dower house.⁷⁰

BALLYFIN, county Laois (1820-22)

Dominick Madden was commissioned sometime in 1820 to remodel an incomplete eighteenth-century house which Sir Charles Coote had purchased from William Wellesley-Pole. Work progressed through 1821 and 1822, but ultimately Madden

*35 – Holy Rosary Convent,
Mount Bellew, county
Galway: built as a dower
house for the Mount Bellew
estate and here attributed to
Dominick Madden, c.1825
(photo K. Mulligan)*



was dismissed and replaced by Richard Morrison who demolished Madden's completed wing and designed an entirely new building. Madden's correspondence with Christopher Dillon Bellew provides some background to his involvement, and ultimately his dismissal, while the extent of his work there is known from his surviving bill. No drawings by Madden survive, but there is some indication for his intention in sketches and correspondence from Richard Morrison to Sir Charles H. Coote. The survival of the idea of a library and rotunda in Morrison's design indicates that Coote was strongly influenced by nearby Emo Court. The involvement of Dominick Madden at Ballyfin is set out in Part I of this article in volume VIII.

HOLLYMOUNT, county Mayo (c.1820)

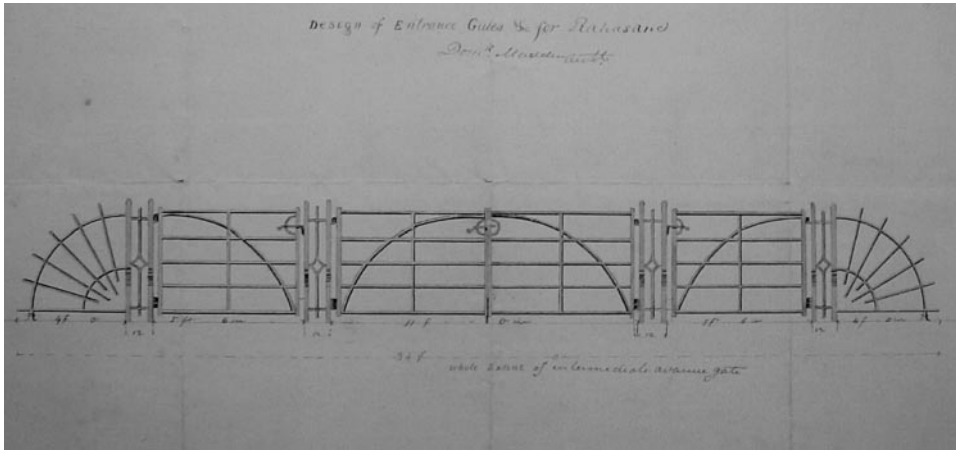
In a letter written to the Hon Mrs Olivia Bellew, Madden refers to 'Mr. Lindsays Hollymount where I am going to make some arrangements to the house that he has just got possession of...' ⁷¹ This was evidently for Thomas-Spenser Lindsey whose father, also Thomas, seems to have acquired the property through the Vesey family. Hollymount was a large eighteenth-century house, two-storey with seven bays and gable-ended. It was refaced in a very severe manner, with giant pilasters and a high parapet, by George Papworth c.1834. It is now a ruin. ⁷²

WESTPORT CUSTOM HOUSE, county Mayo (c.1820)

In a letter from Madden, in Westport, to Mrs Bellew on 1st November 1820, he writes: 'I was very lucky in proceeding to Westport the day I left Mount Bellew otherwise I would be disqualified from sending in my proposals for the revenue buildings.' This appears to refer to Westport Custom House. Madden's involvement with the building of a custom house near the harbour has not been confirmed. ⁷³

RAHASANE, county Galway (c.1826)

There is a design in the Blake papers (Plate 36) by Dominick Madden for iron avenue gates. ⁷⁴ Rahasane was a seat of the ffrench family, a branch of the Monivea Castle family, closely connected with the Blakes. ⁷⁵ They had acquired Rahasane at the end of the seventeenth century. The house has been demolished, but from late nineteenth-century photographs it appears as an early nineteenth-century villa. ⁷⁶ Dominick Madden may not have been substantially involved here as Richard Fahy, the architect associated with Kilcolgan Castle, provided plans for the farm buildings at Rahasane in 1812-13. ⁷⁷ Madden appears to have been a creditor of Robert J. ffrench, the last of the Rahasane family, who was bankrupted after heavily mortgaging his estate, apparently to provide portions for his five sisters. ⁷⁸



36 – Rahasane, county Galway: design for avenue gates by Dominick Madden, c.1825
(courtesy National Archives)

TUAM CATHEDRAL, county Galway (St Jarlath's, 1827)

The principal source for Madden's involvement at Tuam (Plate 1) is the pamphlet published by Peter Madden in 1830.⁷⁹ A response is given to this by Martin Loftus, which also includes a detailed and, to some extent, valuable description of the architecture. In these accounts it is indicated that in the first year the building was raised four feet, and to twenty-three feet the following year. Loftus describes the building in detail, and, in addition to justifying the merits of the building as a means of employment for the poor, he adds that 'the circumstances of its introducing a taste for architecture into the country, shows the utility of prosecuting the undertaking'.

An important source for Tuam was the cathedral of St Andrew's in Glasgow (Plate 7), designed by James Gillespie Graham in 1814.⁸⁰ The relationship can be seen by comparing the east front at Tuam (Plate 5) with the south front of St Andrew's. The treatment of the gable parapet, pierced with quatrefoils to form a kind of trelliswork, and the statuary niche over the apex are virtually identical. This treatment as an open parapet was dramatically repeated on the west gable at Tuam, where it was given a series of miniature pinnacles. Its subsequent removal has greatly diminished the building. The octagonal turrets flanking the gable at St Andrew's are also very similar to Samuel Lewis's 'Octagonal minarets' found on the corners of the west front and transepts at Tuam. The east window at Tuam does not follow the example in the Scottish cathedral and is a meritable work all on its own. Peter Madden's reference to the design as 'excellent' demonstrates his familiarity with the building and its use as a model for details at Tuam.⁸¹

The cathedral was consecrated on 18th August 1836, and an interesting

description comes a month later from a Scottish gentleman, Robert Graham.⁸² He refers to the incomplete cathedral as ‘the handsomest thing of the kind I have yet seen: very spacious and well built and of a good, plain style of gothic architecture’. The comments are interesting given his origins and possible knowledge of the Glasgow cathedral. Going inside where they were practising on the organ, he saw ‘a double row of good columns and one handsome large window of painted glass’ (Plates 9, 10). He adds that the tower had yet to be completed, and tantalisingly states ‘it is intended to be very high, as a plan of the work denotes’ (Plate 1).

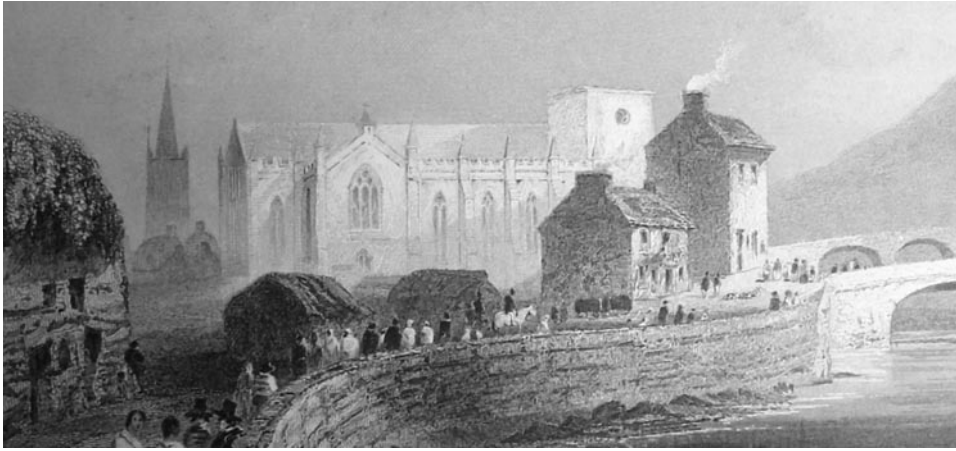
BALLINA CATHEDRAL, county Mayo (St Muiredach’s, 1827)

In 1836 Robert Graham refers to the cathedral in Ballina (Plate 2) as ‘a very handsome new Catholic chapel just built here, not so handsome nor on the scale of Tuam, but still a fine work’.⁸³ The foundation stone for Ballina was laid on Ascension Day, 14th May 1827. The site had been donated by Colonel Francis Knox-Gore and gratefully accepted by Dr John MacHale, Bishop of Maronia and Coadjutor Bishop of Killala. A rather grand and medieval-like procession preceded the laying of the foundation stone, travelling from the old church at Ardnaree to the new site. A contemporary newspaper account gives a list of those who participated, observed by a large gathering:

Four gentlemen with wands; the Architect, Mr. O’Madden, bearing a silver trowel; the Clerk of Works, bearing the plans and specifications; the Contractor in a white dress decorated with blue ribbons; Masons with blue ribbons and white aprons two and two. Twelve gentlemen of the committee with white wands; 24 clergymen two and two.

They were led by the bishops of Elphin (Dr Burke) and Maronia (MacHale) and the Archbishop of Tuam, Oliver Kelly, who officiated at the ceremony.⁸⁴ Reilly names the architect as Peter Madden, saying he was promised a handsome 6% on expenditure.⁸⁵ This reference to Peter, rather than Dominick, is interesting. It possibly highlights the role of the younger Madden in the achievement of the three cathedral commissions. Work on the building progressed very slowly because of resources. The roof was ready for slating at the end of 1829, but the interior was to remain incomplete for another decade; the tower was abandoned at the clock stage (Plate 37). In 1832 MacHale complained that ‘still the cathedral is scarcely fit for the purpose of divine worship. Its walls are naked, its windows are unglazed and the means of our people ... are so exhaustive [*sic*], that they are unable either to adorn the structure or even to complete it.’⁸⁶

In 1834 when MacHale was translated to Tuam, he exchanged one unfinished Madden cathedral for another, though Tuam was nearer completion. Work resumed



37 – W.H. Bartlett, engraving of Ballina, county Mayo, from *SCENERY AND ANTIQUITIES OF IRELAND* (1842), with a view of the unfinished cathedral tower

at Ballina under the Apostolic administrator, later bishop, Thomas Feeny, who, in 1841, placed a contract with Arthur Canning for the ‘groining, plastering, stucco work’. Significantly the specifications were produced by Marcus Murray, and it was claimed that the vaulted ceiling was based on the pre-1847 one in the Church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome.⁸⁷ After further delays, the exterior was brought closer to completion in 1855-56, with a belfry and broach spire in the spirit of J.J. McCarthy designed by Sir John Benson.⁸⁸

Closer to Ennis in scale, and also cruciform in plan, the cathedral at Ballina is more ornate, with a battery of stepped buttresses along the nave bristling with pinnacles. Details such as the lower stages of the tower and the large Decorated east window are comparable with Tuam. The east end is distinctive with its side chapels, and has been elaborated by the addition in 1891 of single-storey gabled sacristies. Internally, it is also more like Tuam, with plaster rib vaults decorated with heavy foliate bosses.

ENNIS CATHEDRAL, county Clare (SS Peter and Paul’s, 1828-41)

This is more modest than its counterparts in Ballina and Tuam, the reason being that it was not to become a cathedral until 1890. It is little more than a big chapel with a tower and spire (Plate 4). A new church to replace an inadequate eighteenth-century structure on Chapel Lane was initiated when a site was offered by Francis Gore in 1828. In a remarkably innovative move for what was first intended as a bigger chapel, a competition was launched with a straightforward remit: ‘The chapel is to be 120 feet in length and 50 feet wide, with two wings, the T to be 100 feet by 60.

The elevation of the building to be in proportion.’⁸⁹ There was no mention of a tower, which might be taken to indicate that the cathedral designation had not yet been envisaged, though at a public meeting held on 23rd April 1828, at which the plans submitted were assessed, the belief that the future cathedral was being considered was clearly expressed. This ambition makes the selection of the designs of Dominick (and most likely also of Peter) an obvious choice. Initial attempts to raise the structure were abortive, principally, it seems, for financial reasons, and building work was not to proceed in earnest until the end of December 1831. Work was disrupted several times, mainly because of a dispute with the Franciscans and, tragically, by the deaths of two workmen on the site in 1837. Early in 1841 the roof was put in place, and although dedicated in 1843, the tower and interior were incomplete, and remained so until completed between 1871 and 1874 to the designs of J.J. McCarthy.⁹⁰

Thomas Lacey, travelling in county Clare in 1859, gives a brief description of the ‘fine new Catholic church of Ennis’ which he observed had been given a prominent position ‘at the entrance of the splendid road which leads to the town of Killaloe’.⁹¹ Describing it as ‘a lofty and substantial cruciform structure in the English-Gothic style’, he confirms that the tower still remained unfinished, rising only to the first stage. Lacey’s is an accurate account of the present structure. He refers to ‘a door in each end of the transepts beneath a fine elliptic Gothic arch, over which is a splendid window in the Perpendicular style, of three lights, the pointed arch of which is enriched with elaborate decorations’. The interior (Plate 8), he says, ‘presents a fine appearance, the nave being divided from the aisles by nice wooden columns of a rich oak colour ... The ceiling of this lofty structure is of rich panelled work, constructed on the principle of the ceilings of the Houses of Parliament’ and used he claims for auditory purposes. The manner in which the diagonal fluted timber ‘columns’ support timber brackets across the nave and aisle bays, nicely pierced with Gothic ornament, suggests a deliberate attempt to imitate ironwork, perhaps even reflecting an awareness of Thomas Rickman’s design for the interior of St George’s, Everton (1812-13), with iron work by John Cragg. The ceiling was later decorated by the church artists Early & Powell.⁹²

BROOK LODGE / KILMOYLAN, county Galway (c.1826-36)

Brook Lodge (Plate 11) was the residence of Martin J. Blake MP (1790-1861), one of the tribes who became established in Galway at the end of the thirteenth century.⁹³ The property adjoins Ballyglunin (also known as Kilmoylan), midway between Tuam and Athenry, which Blake’s ancestor, Martin Blake of Cummer, a Sheriff of the town of Galway in 1648, purchased from Charles Holcraft, a Cromwellian settler, in 1671.⁹⁴ The lands of Brooklodge had been acquired by Christopher French in

1775, who employed the architect William Leeson to design a relatively modest two-storey villa with a central bow on the two principal fronts.⁹⁵

Blake purchased Brook Lodge in 1813 from Thomas Hynes.⁹⁶ He took up residence there, but as he pursued an active political career he seems to have become an infrequent visitor.⁹⁷ In the first ten years of his ownership, the property seems for have been adapted to Blake's horse-breeding interests. In February 1828 he was preparing for an auction of furniture and stock at Brook Lodge, suggesting that extensive works to the house were planned.⁹⁸

By April Dominick Madden had been engaged to recast the house as a picturesque castle.⁹⁹ Two elevations and ground plans survive (Plates 12, 15, 16; see also volume VIII, p.91, pl.5), indicating that the house with its bowed front was to be retained at the centre of a modestly extended asymmetrical building with square, round and polygonal towers. A Gothic mantle was applied with the usual paraphernalia of battlements, blind loops and hoodmouldings. The entrance was to be placed in a single-storey porch projecting from a square tower which was placed over one of the end bays. The original entrance in the bow was to be closed, and dressed up with slender stepped and pinnacled buttresses. The side elevation (Plate 12) was less successful, and gained little with the proposal for a strange polygonal conservatory. In an undated letter to Blake, perhaps relating to these particular drawings, Madden refers to 'the improved plans of your residence', and describes a scheme where 'the suite of rooms and the communications will be very good and will never appear in the least like a house that has been altered or added to...', adding that 'the interior Improvements in all the rooms combines comfort with cheerfulness and good accommodation (Plates 15, 16).¹⁰⁰ In fact, there was little additional space gained by the additions, which, along with the entrance hall and a corridor, included Blake's bedroom and dressing room on the ground floor, and two bedrooms on the first floor.¹⁰¹

By May Blake seems to have abandoned ideas of remodelling along the lines first proposed by Madden, and in the meantime was giving consideration to a 'Grecian conservatory', which its architect, William Brady of Galway, claimed 'would give you much pleasure, combining as it does beauty with utility and novelty with convenience and becoming taste'. He added flatteringly that he believed that it would be the neatest production of the kind as yet introduced into the Connaught [region]...¹⁰² However, early in August, Madden sent a further elevation for Brook Lodge, and continued to seek 'the small trifle' promised for 'the trouble you know I have had by making the original drawings, the maps and all the elevations done for you...'¹⁰³ By the end of 1829 Blake seems to have made a firm decision to postpone the remodelling at this time, and even though the condition of the property was unsuitable for habitation, he unsuccessfully attempted to rent it out.¹⁰⁴

Blake was clearly indecisive in his approach to Brook Lodge. A decade after employing Dominick Madden, admittedly for a poorly devised and presented

scheme, he obtained a much more aesthetically balanced composition from his nephew, having, in the meantime, further employed William Brady. Peter Madden's proposals foundered, ostensibly because of an inability to agree terms.

Although the nature of Brady's involvement is unclear, he appeared to have been a rather unreliable architect for Blake, with many delays and promises to get the job done swiftly. He writes to Blake on 17th August 1831 reminding him that his endorsement for £172 will fall due two days later for 'the works doing by me at Brook Lodge ... this sum is all I shall require until my contracts are finished which I now solemnly promise to have on 1st of November.' In a letter to Martin Blake from John Blake from Ardfry, Oranmore, dated 26th November, it is evident that that promise was not fulfilled. Blake, who begs Martin Blake's pardon for what might be perceived as interference, tells him how he walked over to Brook Lodge (rented by him in the late spring of 1830 and where he says he had enjoyed staying) to find the place left in a disgraceful condition by Brady, with openings made and left open, and the housekeeper so worried about the plate in the house that she and her husband felt obliged to board them up.¹⁰⁵

At the end of October 1836 Peter Madden was clearly involved in preparing proposals (Plates 18-23), and early in November he had gone to Brook Lodge to inspect workmen who appear to have been working on the bedrooms.¹⁰⁶ A month later he was finishing the drawings. Before the end of December he outlined his terms for superintending 'additions and improvements' to Brook Lodge, 'agreeable to the plans &c. prepared by me', and although the extent of the works is not made clear, they were costed at £750 and were to include 'the covered passage at [the] rere and bedrooms ... now being done'.¹⁰⁷ No agreement seems to have been reached, and some days later Madden explained that the specifications 'could not be correctly done until you finally determine on all the arrangements connected with the plans'.¹⁰⁸ Madden's estimate makes it clear that he was proposing three new fronts. The entrance front was more detailed, and hence more expensive, costing £330, while the plainer side elevations, designed 'to harmonize with the style of the entrance front', would cost less at £109.¹⁰⁹

Peter Madden had finalised his scheme early in February and set out his proposal to Blake, with terms for the standard 5% on the estimates 'with a latitude of one hundred and forty pounds inclusive', and having received £2 he requested the balance of £10 for plans.¹¹⁰ Blake replied to Madden a few days later, putting off any payment until an agreement could be reached as he believed the terms of the proposal appeared 'less favourable than those contained in your former offer', suggesting that any misunderstanding on his behalf might be put down to 'the most complicated form in which you have put it'.¹¹¹ Madden's reply was cautious, indicating that he was not pressing for a decision on the terms, explaining that the proposal was of 'the usual form' and that he was compelled by circumstances in seeking pay-



Brook Lodge, Athenry, county Galway:

38, 39 – *Proposals by William Murray for south (October 1837) and north elevations (c.1838)*

(courtesy National Archives)

ment for the plans because ‘my uncle, the only friend from whom I would borrow is, I fear, on his death bed’.¹¹² Blake responded with some sympathy. After stating his view ‘that a call for money is to say the least premature’ and his preference to wait until his return from Parliament before making a decision, he acknowledged ‘the particular position’ Madden had found himself in, and wrote to his cousin John Blake to advance £8 rather than the £10 requested.¹¹³

This seems to have been the end of the matter, as Madden’s scheme was ultimately abandoned; the reason may have been directly related to this disagreement. Another reason may have been Blake’s busy political life, though he does seem to have contemplated returning to the idea a year later when Timothy Murray of Galway wrote to him in March, ostensibly to recommend his friend, John Semple (a Galway architect and builder not to be confused with his better known namesake), but also to recommend ‘one of the best stone cutters in this province’, having been ‘informed you are to erect a portico unto your dwelling house’.¹¹⁴ Perhaps related to this are two elevations for Brook Lodge by William Murray (Plates 38, 39) in a robust nineteenth-century classicism, including a grand portico, to be found amongst Madden’s drawings.¹¹⁵ It is not clear whether the decision to abandon these proposals had been made by March when Peter Madden wrote to Blake to request

his support in canvassing for the position of regional architect to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.¹¹⁶ Peter Madden continued to correspond with Blake, writing in April to inform him of Dominick Madden's death and seeking some assistance in settling his uncle's affairs.¹¹⁷

Two schemes for a symmetrical Tudor-style castle, closely similar, are represented in the surviving drawings (Plates 20, 21).¹¹⁸ The earliest of these is dated to 1836, and includes a finely rendered elevation and section with a set of floor plans (Plates 18-20). The quality of the draughtsmanship indicates a well-developed artistic skill, suggesting some level of formal education (Plate 23). An undated perspective view relates to the same proposal. Essentially the works involved encasing the existing house in ashlar, providing narrow advanced end bays to the front, with battered bases and miniature bartizans – not unlike those in Dominick Madden's scheme. The eaves were to be replaced with a battlemented parapet, and the bowed elements removed. The bow was replaced on the entrance front with an advanced gabled section, framed by polygonal buttresses with pinnacles. The entrance was accommodated in a battlemented *porte cochère*, open also on the front elevation, with two Tudor arches set between stepped buttresses. The Georgian windows were replaced with margin-glazed sashes and placed under hood mouldings. There were few alterations to the plan. The library and drawing room benefited from the provision of an additional bay, creating a narrow end space set within an arched recess, and the apsidal staircase of the old house was to be replaced by a dogleg stairs. A side elevation (Plate 22), the south front, dated to 1837, corresponds to this design and shows the quarry glazed box window proposed for the library.

The second proposal (Plate 21) is also dated 1837 and is represented by a single line drawing of the entrance front. There are a few minor differences. The windows in the salient end bays are wider, the Georgian sashes remain in the principal bays, and the central projection is given cruciform corner buttresses with battlements instead of polygonal ones. The most significant change is where the Tudor arches in the *porte cochère* have been replaced by a tripartite window, and the noticeable difference in the appearance between the two designs is explained by the absence of a hipped roof in the later proposal.

NOTE

Part 1 of this research, 'New light on Ballyfin and the mysterious Dominick Madden', appeared in volume VIII of this journal (2005).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank those who assisted them with their enquiries, especially Mary Gannon of Mayo county Library; Tony Claffey, Galway; Monsignor Joe Quinn, PP, Knock; Gordon St George Mark and Frank Keegan. We are especially grateful to Fr Pat McManus, Dalgan Park, who sourced much valuable material in the archives of the Columban Fathers and gave permission for images to be reproduced. We also wish to express gratitude to the Rev Peter Galloway for permission to reproduce images from his invaluable publication on Irish cathedrals. Once again we thank Aideen Ireland and the staff of the National Archives, together with Joanna Finegan and the staff of the National Library. A special word of thanks is due to Jim Reynolds, Dr Edward McParland and Dr Michael O'Neill.

ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

NA National Archives, Dublin

NLI National Library of Ireland

- ¹ University College Dublin, O'Kelly Pamphlets, Special Collections, ref. no. 34 M8/1: Peter Madden, *Letter to Most Rev Dr Kelly on matters connected with the building of the new RC Cathedral, Tuam* (Dublin January 2 1830).
- ² The reference to Madden's remove to South America is found in a modern source and has not been substantiated. J.J. Waldron, 'History of Tuam Cathedral', *The Herald and Western Advertiser*, Tuam, 16th November 1968, 9.
- ³ P. Melvin, 'The Galway Tribes as Landowners and Gentry', G. Moran and R. Gillespie (eds), *Galway History & Society* (Dublin 1996) 319.
- ⁴ NA, Blake of Ballyglunin Papers, M6936/28/294. Madden's earliest letter is dated 7th November 1832 when he wrote to Blake as a creditor of Robert J. ffrench. At this time he was residing at Merchant's Road, Galway, where he was to remain until his death.
- ⁵ *The Herald and Western Advertiser*, Tuam, 16th November 1968, 9; 3-4. Little is known about Thomas Murphy other than what he reveals in a letter to Martin J. Blake in 1837 when offering his services as an architect: 'there is no person at present in the county can give more satisfaction. I have been employed by several gentlemen in Mayo viz. Mr James Browne for whom I designed and got executed several improvements in Claremount House – for Lord Oranmore at Castlemagarrett – for the late Mr Ormsby at Ballinamore – and the Revd Mr Sirr for whom I built a glebe house church and school house in Claremorris. I have also done business in Tuam having superintended the last improvements made in the Church – and modelled for the new RC Cathedral. I am at present building a House at Moate near this town for Mr Digby and would very willingly attend to any works...' NA, M6936/38/29.
- ⁶ UCD, O'Kelly Pamphlets, Special Collections, 34 M8/1: Madden, *Letter to Most Rev Dr Kelly*.
- ⁷ There are marked parallels in the Tuam saga with that of the Board of Works in 1810, not least the expression of innocence and resentment in equal measure, together with harsh recrimination. See *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, VIII (2005), 92. As Dominick Madden was undoubtedly the power behind Thomas Blake's long list of charges against personnel

attached to the Architect's Office of the Board of Works, it does not seem to be too wide of the mark to suggest that Peter Madden was used by him at Tuam to be the mouthpiece through which he could vent his fury at all concerned. At Tuam, however, we can see that Peter Madden, as assistant to the older Madden, was as much an interested party.

- ⁸ In a letter from Dominick Madden to Martin J. Blake, 21st December 1832, he refers to 'my nephew Peter Madden'. NA, M6936/28/335. He may be the 'P Madden' who attended the Dublin Society's School of Architectural Drawing in 1822; G. Willemsen, *The Dublin Society Drawing Schools 1746-1876* (Dublin 2000) 60, 76. A Peter Madden attended the School of Landscape and Ornament in 1790, and another named as a pupil at the School of Figure Drawing in 1827. See endnote 40.
- ⁹ Here Peter Madden is quoting from the minutes of the meeting at which Dominick Madden was appointed supervising architect at Tuam Cathedral.
- ¹⁰ Bernard Mullins (1772-1851) was an engineer, architect and contractor of Dublin and Birr, county Offaly. He formed a partnership with David Henry and John McMahon in about 1808 to found the well-known firm of building and engineering contractors, Henry Mullins & McMahon, which was dissolved in 1827 when David Henry departed. As an architect he designed St Brendan's Catholic Church in Birr (1817-24) and his own his home near Birr, Ballyeighan House. A.M. Rowan, *Database of Irish Architects* (Irish Architectural Archive), and A.W. Skempton, *Biographical Dictionary of Civil Engineers, Vol. I 1500-1830* (London 2002).
- ¹¹ 'Tuam Catholic Cathedral, Report for the Year ending 10 January 1830', *The Connaught Journal*, 25th January 1830. The authors are especially grateful to Tony Claffey, Galway, for drawing our attention to relevant material from this source.
- ¹² This William Murray is not to be confused with Francis Johnston's nephew. Marcus Murray is described as an architect with addresses at Roscommon and Tuam. Designs for a house at New Forest, county Galway, for James Darcy are signed 'M. Murray, Archt., Tuam Sept. 28, 1835' (Rowan, *Database of Irish Architects*). Scott-Richardson erroneously says two stops at the east end are signed by Marcus Murray (D.Scott-Richardson, *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland*, 2 vols (New York and London 1983) I, 247, n 63). Undated elevations for Brook Lodge (Plates 38, 39), Galway, signed 'Wm. Murray, Builder' are amongst the Blake of Ballyglunin papers. NA, M6932/63. In the published accounts for Tuam Cathedral, Murray was described as foreman with Mathew Cloon, but was paid more than him, and the same as Robert Kearney, who is described as 'clerk and overseer', 'Report for the Year ending 10 January 1830', *The Connaught Journal*, 25th January 1830.
- ¹³ So forceful is the invective it is not clear who the 'they' refers to here. It could refer to Martin Loftus and Thomas Browne, as Secretary and Treasurer respectively, or possibly the foremen.
- ¹⁴ This can be identified as St Andrew's Cathedral, Glasgow (Plate 7) of 1814-16 by James Gillespie Graham which Scott-Richardson has compared with the cathedrals of Tuam and Newry. A clear relationship between the buildings in this case is especially evident when comparing the east end of Tuam Cathedral with the south front of St Andrew's. That Peter Madden refers to the design as 'excellent' demonstrates his familiarity with the building and implies it was used as a model for details at Tuam. The building may have been introduced as a model by the archbishop or the building committee. The designs are discussed further in the Appendix. Scott-Richardson, *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland*, I, 219-20; II, pls 118, 119.
- ¹⁵ *ibid.* Scott-Richardson suggests Madden's model for the windows were based on the ruined Franciscan friary at Claregalway.

- ¹⁶ This additional sum, ‘tendered’ and not shown in the accounts, might represent a concessionary payment in response to the pamphlet so as to end the matter.
- ¹⁷ ‘Tuam Catholic Cathedral, Report for the Year ending 10 January 1830’, *The Connaught Journal*, 25th January 1830.
- ¹⁸ *ibid.* William Murray is credited with the cut stonework, John Davin of Galway with the stucco work, and John Burke of Tuam with the carving. Burke, described as a carpenter, was recommended to Martin Blake in 1836, the canvasser noting that he was ‘anxious to be employed in some work you have in progress now’, and stating that Burke had ‘executed all the handsome work at the Cathedral and ... given satisfaction’. NA, M6936/36/436.
- ¹⁹ Indeed, some sources attribute the design of Ballina Cathedral to Peter alone. J. McGuire, *Steeple and People: The Story of Ballina and its Cathedral* (Ballina 1991) 47, 52; T. Reilly, *Dear Old Ballina* (Ballina 1993) 61-62; J.F. Quinn, *The History of Mayo*, 5 vols (Ballina 2002), V, 209. None of these sources makes a connection with Dominick Madden.
- ²⁰ De Breffny, who illustrates it, describes Mullins’ church as ‘a very creditable effort, built 1817, less bogus than its Established church counterpart’. B. de Breffny, *The Churches and Abbeys of Ireland* (London 1976) 152.
- ²¹ M. Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland from Earliest Times to 1880* (Dublin 1982); J. Williams, *A Companion Guide to the Architecture of Ireland 1837-1921* (Dublin 1994); de Breffny, *The Churches and Abbeys of Ireland*; A. Rowan, ‘Irish Victorian Churches: Denominational Distinctions’, R. Gillespie and B. P. Kennedy, *Ireland: Art into History* (Dublin 1994) 207-30. The most comprehensive consideration of Madden’s cathedrals is found in P. Galloway, *The Cathedrals of Ireland* (1989).
- ²² Rowan makes the observation that Ireland is a country of nineteenth-century churches. The establishment of modern cathedrals coincided with a widespread rebuilding programme, more ad hoc than the contemporary church-building programme of the Board of First Fruits (and after 1833 by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners). In 1848 it was estimated that about 2,000 chapels had been built in thirty years. In 1868 the figure for churches built after 1800 was given as 1,842. The costs for the earliest cathedrals were substantial: Tuam and Newry were the most expensive at £20,000; Carlow had cost £16,000; and by 1846 the cathedral in Armagh had cost £15,000. Rowan, ‘Irish Victorian Churches’, 208. D.J. Keenan, *The Catholic Church in C19 Ireland: A Sociological Study* (Dublin 1983) 115ff.
- ²³ A correspondent writing in the *Dublin Penny Journal* at the time Madden’s cathedrals were underway made these assertions and claimed that Classicism had become the official style of the Catholic Church. Rowan, ‘Irish Victorian Churches’, 220; Galloway, *The Cathedrals of Ireland*, xix.
- ²⁴ E. Mc Parland, ‘Who was “P”?’ , *Architectural Review*, 47, 1975, 71-73. Despite evidence for the apparent distinctions between denominations and particular architectural styles in Ireland, Rowan has shown that in Scotland in the early nineteenth-century Gothic details such as ‘towers, parapets and Gothic windows’ could be perceived as the architectural accoutrements of ‘rank papists’. Rowan, ‘Irish Victorian Churches’, 209.
- ²⁵ The tendency to see the revival of the Gothic style in architecture as something of a phenomenon developed in the late eighteenth century implies that medieval buildings were largely ignored in the post-medieval period. This stance denies that traits of the style were, in fact, constant, best seen in vernacular churches of the two principal faiths – modest Gothic survivals with Y-tracery windows, which confirm Craig’s observation that well before the nineteenth-

- century revival the Irish church was ‘tinged by the belief that the pointed arch is essential to salvation’. Church architecture of the seventeenth century is a largely unexplored area, mainly because of the poor survival of good examples – a combination of the events of 1641 and the impact of the nineteenth-century rebuilding programme. However, the preference had become well established in eighteenth-century buildings of the Church of Ireland. The cruciform plan and 1770s Georgian Gothic detail of St Malachy’s church, Hillsborough, is an obvious early example which Larmour and McBride suggest became widespread on a more modest scale, and more for practical reasons. The enormous state-funded campaign of church-building that combined economic construction and maximum capacity is, they believe, behind a more cost-effective preference for the Gothic style. Understated, unembellished Gothic detail – as evinced in the abundant hall and tower churches of the Board of First Fruits – is certainly more stylistically overt than astylar Classicism, and spiritually apt, so that the consideration of this must have prevailed over designers and patrons. Catholic churches were not built on the same scale, and were perforce more modest structures firmly rooted in the vernacular tradition, so questions of style do not as easily apply. Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland*, 213; P. Larmour and S. McBride, ‘Buildings and Faith: Church Building from Mediaeval to Modern’, R. Gillespie and W.G. Neely, *The Laity and the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000* (Dublin 2002) 304-49.
- ²⁶ ‘Tuam Catholic Cathedral Report for the year ending 10 January 1830’, *The Connaught Journal*, 25th January 1830.
- ²⁷ In highlighting the want of churches in the west of Ireland in a memoir to the Holy See in 1832, John MacHale wrote ‘there are in the diocese of Killala no churches, or almost none. Our churches were taken possession of, or destroyed by the protestants.’ Quinn, *History of Mayo*, V, 208.
- ²⁸ This became evident in the contemporary claim that the cathedral was designed to shame ‘the whole established church’, which ‘with all the tithes and church lands, with all the machinery of its ecclesiastical boards, nay more, with all the private and public influence of its valuable clergy, could not raise such a splendid edifice as this.’ C. Otway, *A Tour in Connaught* (Dublin 1839) 183.
- ²⁹ Galloway, *The Cathedrals of Ireland*, 23, quoting B. O’Reilly, *Life of John McHale, Archbishop of Tuam* (New York 1890). McHale, known as the ‘Lion of St Jarlath’s’ took over the completion of Tuam Cathedral on his appointment to the see in 1834.
- ³⁰ The significance of the growth of this style in the early nineteenth century may be understood from the exaggerated claim that the church of St John the Baptist at Blackrock in county Dublin, begun in 1842 and designed in the Perpendicular style by Patrick Byrne (better known for his Classicism), was one of the first Gothic Catholic churches to be built since the Reformation. P. Raftery, ‘The Last of the Traditionalists; Patrick Byrne, 1763-1864’, *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, VII, 1964, 57.
- ³¹ As with many architects in the early nineteenth century, Madden’s preferences for a particular architectural style are not readily discernible. In fact, as Craig has observed, from the late eighteenth century architects ‘held themselves in readiness to design in classic or in gothic, according to the patron’s preference’, and it is clear that Madden and his contemporaries stretched their capabilities to suit the brief. Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland*, 248. The cathedrals of Cobden and Duff and, in particular, Johnston’s Chapel Royal are treated in Scott-Richardson, *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland*, I, 49ff; 217ff.
- ³² Galloway included Ballina and Ennis cathedrals in his description of Madden’s designs as

- 'simple, inexpensive and almost experimental west-coast Gothic'. Galloway, *The Cathedrals of Ireland*, xx. Scott-Richardson, *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland*, I, 219-20; II, pls 118, 119.
- ³³ Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland*, 257.
- ³⁴ Galloway, *The Cathedrals of Ireland*, xx.
- ³⁵ NA, M6936/38/94. Peter Madden does not expand on the circumstances nor expresses any feelings on the subject other than concern for settling his uncle's affairs. He also states that he has arranged for the removal of his uncle's horses from Blake's land near Castle Hackett (see under Rahasane in appendix). In 1837 an entry for 'Dominick (called also O'Madden) Madden, Merchant's Rd., Town of Galway' appears in the *Index to Prerogative wills for the years 1811-1858*, National Archives. The Grant Book for the years 1831-40 describes Madden as an architect. In many instances Dominick signed his name as O'Madden.
- ³⁶ NA, M6936/38/40. Peter Madden, in seeking £10 for plans he had prepared, wrote to Martin Blake on 10th February 1837: 'I am compelled to be more pressing in asking payment than I otherwise would be, this is partly occasioned by my uncle, the only friend from whom I would borrow, is now I fear, on his death bed...'
- ³⁷ While much has been learned of Madden's life, there still remains a great deal of mystery. Despite the reference in the Board of Works minutes to his attempt to accommodate his wife in the architect's office, there are no further indications in any of the sources that he was ever married or possessed a family. Certainly, in the 1820s Madden strikes a lonely figure in our sources, and does not refer to any family members in his correspondence. One might have expected some family insight when trading compliments with Christopher Dillon Bellew. In one instance, in a letter to Bellew in 1820, he writes about having spent Christmas Day with 'the Mount Dillon family', where he was 'received with great kindness and hospitality and remained until after dinner'. NLI, MS 27,216/1.
- ³⁸ Further research shows that he was working in Galway from at least 1815 when he carried out measurements for work on Kilcolgan Castle, apparently under the architect Richard Fahy. See appendix.
- ³⁹ NA, M6932/63. Despite being disappointed by Blake in February 1837, Madden wrote to him in March to seek his support with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to become a candidate for the position of superintendent of church works for the Connaught region. NA, M6936/38/79. Madden's letter came a few days after William Brady (an architect also involved at Brook Lodge) wrote a similar letter of request to Blake. NA, M6936/38/75.
- ⁴⁰ He is listed in *Thom's Directory* of 1848 as 'Peter Madden, Architect, 5 Connaught Place [Kingstown]' in the list of 'Nobility, Gentry, Merchants and Traders', but does not appear with architects in the 'Trades' section. Before this, in a lease (Registry of Deeds, Dublin, 4/235/118) of 1846 in connection with Islington Avenue, Madden's address is given as Crofton Terrace of Kingstown. In 1852 Peter Madden 'of Connaught Place ... architect' leased a 'dwelling house and ground, coachhouse, stable and out offices' at 4 Connaught Place to John Matthew Pochin (Registry of Deeds, Dublin, 11/180/268). In later editions between 1858 and 1878 he is found either at Connaught Place or at 6 Islington Avenue [also called Islington Place] suggesting that together these represent 'my property in houses in Kingstown' mentioned in his will. NA, 999/575/151, Will of Peter Madden, 1878, Principal Registry, Probate and Matrimonial Division; see also *Calendar of Wills and Administration 1878*. In U.H. de Burgh, *Owners of Land of One Acres and Upwards* (1876), Peter Madden of Dublin is listed as the owner of an acre of ground in Galway town; no Dublin property is listed. Frustratingly, the National

- Archives copy will is incomplete, so, while it mentions his wife Jane, it is not known if they had any children. However, it does refer to a sister, Mary Greaven, resident at Presentation Road, Galway. Given this date for his death he almost certainly cannot be identified with the Peter Madden who attended the Dublin Society Drawing School in 1790. See endnote 8 above.
- ⁴¹ NLI, AD 3569. As Morrison's drawing is not dated it cannot be placed either before or after Madden's involvement. However, it does appear to have been drawn by Morrison's draughtsman, Owen Fahy, whose work for the architect is considered to date before 1817. A.M. Rowan (ed.), *The Architecture of Richard Morrison and William Vitruvius Morrison* (Dublin 1989) 187.
- ⁴² NLI, AD 3569.
- ⁴³ Richard Morrison's practice was geographically more extensive than Johnston's, though both had careers greatly concentrated within the ambit of the capital.
- ⁴⁴ NLI, MS 27,214 (4).
- ⁴⁵ In a valuation of the property in 1941, the dimensions are roughly given in a description of the building as a residence 'of the three-floor and basement manor type', the 'frontage' is given as 108 feet wide, depth 75 feet, and height 62 feet. Archives of the Columban Fathers, Dalgan Park, Navan, Valuation by R.G. Browne & Co, 14th November 1941.
- ⁴⁶ Other features that resonate in Morrison's work are the chamfered window reveals, found also at Ballyfin on the elevation overlooking the kitchen court and unlikely to have derived from Madden's demolished block. The detail can also be found at St Cleran's, county Galway, and at Tullanisk, county Offaly, which has tentatively been offered as a Morrison house. Rowan, *The Architecture of Richard Morrison and William Vitruvius Morrison*, 186.
- ⁴⁷ This might be the hint for a grander proposal never carried to fruition, and it may be worth considering an arrangement of this kind, similar to Joseph Bonomi's porticos for Roseneath, which was proposed for Ballyfin by Morrison, and which in itself may even have been inherited from Madden's own scheme. The design also compares with the portico on the garden front of Emo Court, a house which Madden had in mind when designing Ballyfin. See P. McCarthy and K.V. Mulligan, 'New Light on Ballyfin and the Mysterious Dominick Madden', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, VIII (2005), 113, pl.29.
- ⁴⁸ See illustrations in E. McParland, 'Richard Morrison's Country Houses: The Smaller Villas – I', *Country Life*, CLIII, no. 3961, 24th May 1973, 1462-66; Rowan, *The Architecture of Richard Morrison and William Vitruvius Morrison*.
- ⁴⁹ In a private collection, the account book was recently made available to the authors by its owner, to whom we are most grateful. However, not a great deal can be added to Mary Keegan's discussion, 'Index to Persons in Household Account Book kept by Christopher St. George of Kilcolgan Castle, Oranmore, Co. Galway, 1 Jan. 1810-29 Dec. 1819', *The Irish Genealogist*, 7 (1886-1989) 101-12.
- ⁵⁰ Christopher St George was the builder of Tyrone House. He purchased Kilcolgan Castle in 1788 from the Burke family, and retired there in 1801 after renouncing his life interest in Tyrone House and estates in favour of his son Arthur. See G. St George Mark, 'Tyrone House, Co. Galway', *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, July-December 1976.
- ⁵¹ NLI, MS 27,214 /4.
- ⁵² NLI, MS 27, 216/1.
- ⁵³ A rough sketch of the stables was included in a letter to the Columban authorities from the architect R.M. Butler in 1918, Archives of the Columban Fathers, Dalgan Park, Navan.
- ⁵⁴ Melvin, 'The Galway Tribes as Landowners and Gentry', 346.

- ⁵⁵ NA, Deed Box 3479. This document was salvaged from the Four Courts but is badly damaged and unavailable for inspection.
- ⁵⁶ Initially extremely wealthy, the estates of the Dalgan Kirwans had become debt-ridden, forcing the sale of 13,000 acres in the Incumbered Estates Court in 1853 to relieve debts of almost £140,000. (Maps of the estate of Charles Lionel Kirwan, including Dalgan Demesne, compiled by Joseph J. Byrne and dated 1852, are in the American Library of Congress, G1833.M3B6 1852 vault, Geography and Map Division). It was acquired by the Duke of Bedford in 1853, and passed to his relative Lord de Clifford, whose grandmother was a daughter of the 3rd Earl of Mayo and Archbishop of Tuam. The house was acquired by the Columban Fathers in 1918 as a seminary for their Chinese Missions. The seminary transferred to Dowdstown House, Navan, in 1941, where the name Dalgan Park was retained for the new seminary buildings. The house was demolished afterwards but some of the chimneypieces from the old house may have been reused in the new seminary buildings. (Information from Fr Pat McManus, Dalgan Park.)
- ⁵⁷ S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (London 1837) 555.
- ⁵⁸ The entrance hall is illustrated in the journal of the Columban Fathers, *The Far East*, 15th February 1921, 3.
- ⁵⁹ Archives of the Columban Fathers, Dalgan Park, Navan, letter from W.H. Byrne, Dublin, to the Chinese Missions, Dalgan Park, Mayo, 7th November 1917.
- ⁶⁰ NLI, Bellew of Mount Bellew, MS 27,214. The correspondence between Madden and Bellew is comprehensively dealt with in Part I of this article.
- ⁶¹ NLI, MS 27,188; MS 27,189; MSS 31,994/2.
- ⁶² See plate 12, NLI, AD 3569/20
- ⁶³ Rowan, *The Architecture of Richard Morrison and William Vitruvius Morrison*, 187.
- ⁶⁴ NLI, MS 31,944
- ⁶⁵ NLI, AD 3569/4
- ⁶⁶ Hely Dutton, author of *A Statistical and Agricultural Survey of the county of Galway* (1824), was involved at Mount Bellew for about three years, principally concerned with creating the lake. D. FitzGerald, Knight of Glin and E. Malins, *Lost Demesnes: Irish Landscape Gardening, 1660-1845* (London 1976) 67.
- ⁶⁷ NLI, MS 27,270; MS 27,214; MS 27,216. Some sketches, mostly crude, are found in MS 31,994.
- ⁶⁸ J. Clarke, *Christopher Dillon Bellew and his Galway Estates, 1763-1826* (Dublin 2003) 16. See MSS 31,921/2, 'Regulations for the chapel at Mt. Bellew Bridge'. See also P. Boyle, *St Mary's Church, Mount Bellew 1888-1988* (1988).
- ⁶⁹ NLI, MS 31,994.
- ⁷⁰ NLI, MS 31,994/2; NA, M6932/63. The designs bear close comparison with the principal gate lodge (Plate 34) to Castle Hackett. This was a seat of the Kirwan family. The house appears from photographs to have been an eighteenth-century structure. It was burnt in 1923 and entirely rebuilt in a different manner. Dominick Madden may have been involved here to some degree as he was certainly on familiar terms with the family and appears to have kept horses nearby. NLI, MS 27,214. NA, M6939/20/303; M6932/63/11.
- ⁷¹ NLI, MS 27,214. Dominick Madden, Dalgan Park, to the Hon. Mrs Bellew, 17th May 1820.
- ⁷² D FitzGerald, Knight of Glin, D.J. Griffin and N.K. Robinson, *Vanishing Country Houses of Ireland* (Dublin 1989) 110. See also picture in M Bence-Jones, *A Guide to Irish Country Houses* (London 1988) 154.

- ⁷³ An undated document in the OPW archives (NA, OPW/5HC/4/776) refers to a map or ground plan of the Custom House but could not be found at its shelf location. Minutes associated with Wespport Custom House are also in the NA, but date from the later nineteenth century.
- ⁷⁴ The design is identical to a larger unsigned drawing (although with Madden's distinctive pink border) to be found amongst the Mount Bellew Papers. NLI MS 31,994. It is inscribed with pencil: 'Turner 4 Stephen's North – Iron gates, palisading &c'.
- ⁷⁵ Melvin, 'The Galway Tribes', 355-56; B. Clesham, *Report on the Blake of Ballyglunin Papers in NUI Galway*, LE7.
- ⁷⁶ For a photograph see Glin, Griffin and Robinson, *Vanishing Country House of Ireland*, 79.
- ⁷⁷ B. Clesham, *Report on the Blake of Ballyglunin Papers in NUI Galway*: LE7/110/1822: 'Account of Robert J ffrench with Richard Fahy, architect, 1812-13, which shows the cost of estimates and plans for office and farm building to be built at Rahasane. Note in Richard Fahy's handwriting that this copy of the account was made in 1822. Includes a copy of Robert ffrench's (father of Robert J ffrench) outstanding account from Dec 1807.'
- ⁷⁸ Melvin, 'The Galway Tribes', 339-40; 367, note 110. The circumstances for the debt are unknown and it is very unclear to what extent Madden was owed money. Some of Madden's account, 'exclusive of the bonds', was settled in 1832. He wrote in the same year to Martin J. Blake as 'the person I am to apply to for the settlement of the bonds and the interest on them'. NA, M6936/28/321, Dominick Madden to Martin J. Blake (27 Nov. 1832). The issue clearly rumbled on for some time. In an account book for Rahasane, the disbursements for 1834 refer to costs for an affidavit for 'testimony in O'Madden business', and on the opposite page, in a note under the heading 'Miscellaneous', it shows 'paid O'Madden £12'. NA, M6933/29, Misc. account book, Rahasane (27 Aug. 1833 – 16 Jan. 1841). In a letter from Peter Madden to Martin J. Blake announcing the death of his uncle, he concludes with an interesting statement: 'I am given to understand that the expence of administering to my uncle's will shall be very heavy upon me, it has occurred to me that considering the position you stand in with regard to Rahasane you might think of making me an offer for the bonds, or at least give me advice as to how to proceed, as I have a great deal of communicating with lawyers on the subject...' NA, Blake Papers M6936/38/94. The matter remained outstanding in December 1837 when Peter Madden, in a more exasperated tone, writes again to Blake complaining that 'years have passed since there has been a movement' on the sale of property to satisfy creditor's demands, and claims the receiver is content 'to leave the unfortunate after creditors a prey to lawyers and such like'. His despair at the administrative delays and waste of funds leads him to deliver a veiled warning: 'my intention was on learning so much of the affairs to publish by advertisement calling some of the creditors together and also to memorial the chancellor which I have deferred until I have tried whether I be so fortunate as to succeed in calling your attention to the subject. NA, M6936/38/471. See also NA, M6936/35/1-48, 'The discharge of the debt Frances French spinster to the charge of M J Blake Esq. a creditor and defendant'.
- ⁷⁹ UCD, O'Kelly Pamphlets, Special Collections, 34 M8/1, *Letter to Most Rev Dr Kelly*. Complementing this source is material from *The Connaught Journal*, 7th May 1827, which includes an account of the laying of the foundation stone which took place on 30th April. Other items appeared in the same source for 25th October 1827, 3rd December 1827, 25th January 1830. The last item includes receipts and expenditure for the end of January 1830, with a postscript response from Martin Loftus to Peter Madden's pamphlet. A more recent and valuable history of the cathedral was written by John Waldron in *The Herald and Western Advertiser*, 16th

- November 1968. J. Cunningham, *St Jarlath's College, Tuam, 1800-2000* (Tuam 1999) 40, in a statement claiming that 'Madden resigned after it was decided to reduce the scale of the apse to save money...', refers to two sources: 'Tuam Presbytery, typed notes on the construction of the Cathedral' and Monsignor E.A. D'Alton, *History of the Archdiocese of Tuam*, I (1928) 357-60. The diocesan archives at Tuam are difficult to access, and unfortunately several attempts to access them have proved unsuccessful. However, we are grateful to Monsignor Joe Quinn of Knock, county Mayo, for indicating the limitations of the material available at Tuam.
- ⁸⁰ H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840* (New Haven and London 1995) 420-25.
- ⁸¹ Scott-Richardson, *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland*, I, 219-20; II, pls 118, 119.
- ⁸² NA, M6936/36/296, Letter to Martin J. Blake from John MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam (10 Aug. 1836). H. Heaney (ed.), *A Scottish Whig in Ireland 1835-38: the Irish Journals of Robert Graham of Redgorton* (Dublin 1999) 267.
- ⁸³ *ibid.*, 276.
- ⁸⁴ Reilly, *Dear Old Ballina*, 61; the account is from *The Ballina Impartial*, 8th June 1827.
- ⁸⁵ *ibid.*, 62.
- ⁸⁶ Quinn, *History of Mayo*, V, 208-09.
- ⁸⁷ Galloway, *The Cathedrals of Ireland*, 24.
- ⁸⁸ Benson was ennobled as the architect of the Dublin Exhibition of 1852.
- ⁸⁹ I. Murphy, *The Diocese of Killaloe* (Dublin 1992) 310.
- ⁹⁰ J. Sheehy, in *J.J. McCarthy and the Gothic Revival in Ireland* (Belfast 1977) 60, attributes only the interior works of 1861 to McCarthy. Williams, *A Companion Guide to Architecture of Ireland*, 51, states that the spire was also designed by McCarthy in the 1860s. Galloway, *The Cathedrals of Ireland*, 100-03 gives a detailed account of the later building phase but is mistaken when he states 'the work was undertaken by Maurice Fitzgerald, who, conceivably with some slight modifications, implemented Madden's design'. Madden's intention, or the whereabouts of any of his designs for the church are unknown, but it is unlikely he would have proposed a broach spire at this time.
- ⁹¹ B. O' Dalaigh, *The Strangers Gaze: Travels in county Clare 1534-1950* (Ennis 2004) 270-71.
- ⁹² Williams, *A Companion Guide to Architecture of Ireland*, 51.
- ⁹³ Melvin, 'The Galway Tribes', 319.
- ⁹⁴ *Burke's Irish Family Records* (London 1976) 117.
- ⁹⁵ The eighteenth-century building accounts are amongst the Blake papers. The house had been built in 1776 and extended in 1786. Leeson was paid (£5 13s 9d) for his plan on 26th June 1775; in November he was paid (£9 2s 0d) 'for a 2nd plan for a house'. The accounts are very detailed, and other payments to Leeson included £9 2s 0d paid in November 1792 'for to buy two obelisks at Waterford'. Charles Thorp, the well-known Dublin stuccodore, was paid for stuccoing the parlour in 1777, while a Mr Hewet was paid for other stucco work. Leeson was paid in February 1786 'for a plan he is to send me for a large room &c.'; this was followed with a further payment for a plan 'for my intended addition to my house' which French proclaimed was begun on 7th August. Patt Madden received payment for stuccowork for the latter additions. A number of chimneypieces were ordered from Dublin; in particular, a payment to Mr Sheehan for three chimneypieces is recorded in 1788. In October 1794 French wrote, 'paid W. Leeson in full balance of all demands for attending my building etc. etc. to this date'. NA, M6933/57/a, Brook Lodge Building &c. began 26th June 1775-1791.

- ⁹⁶ Hynes had purchased the property from the Frenches in 1808. NA, M6931/129-130; M6933/60/a-b. Martin Blake's uncle, John, of Tuam, had married Olivia Ann, daughter of Christopher French of Brook Lodge in 1803. *Burke's Irish Family Records* (London 1976) 117.
- ⁹⁷ In the account book for the building of Brook Lodge, a note at the back of the book, signed 'M.J. Blake' under the year 1813, reads: 'Nov.15 came to reside at Brook Lodge'. NA, M6933/57/a. In the meantime, the old Blake seat at Ballyglunin appears to have been, in 1829, in the possession of Martin Blake's brother, Henry. NA, M6931/157. By 1846 Martin J. Blake had abandoned Brook Lodge and appears to have reverted to Ballyglunin, where he died, unmarried and intestate, in 1861. NA, M6931/173. In 1862 his books and plate were auctioned at Brook Lodge, and the lease of Brook Lodge was offered for auction at Ballinasloe fair in the same year. NA, M6933/67(a-g). Martin Blake's estate ultimately passed to his nephew, Walter Martin Blake. NA, M6933/4(c) LEC rentals: 'estate of Walter Martin Blake in Galway city and co. including Brooklodge demesne, for sale 17 May 1867'. On his death in 1891, Brook Lodge and Ballyglunin passed to his younger brother, Robert. NA, M6931/189-190. Brook Lodge is now a ruin.
- ⁹⁸ NA, M6939/20/26, Martin French, auctioneer, to Martin Blake (13 Feb 1828); NA, M6939/20/48, recommendation from Lord French of Francis Kelly, auctioneer, March 6 1828; NA, M6939/20/50, Letter from Mack, Williams & Gibton, 39 Stafford St Dublin (7 Mar 1828), setting out terms for conducting auction.
- ⁹⁹ On 16th April 1828 Madden wrote to Blake requesting the 'ten guineas you promised me' for drawings. NA, M6939/20/93.
- ¹⁰⁰ NA, M6936/18/38.
- ¹⁰¹ Of the first-floor provisions Madden wrote: 'the arrangement of the bed Rooms will be also uncommonly comfortable by an alteration in the principal stairs. The south center bed room is lighted over the passage that leads to the new dressing room over the new hall.' M6936/18/38. In the same letter Madden goes on to say that 'the elevations, when finished, will appear extremely handsome from the new lines of approach'. Madden also produced designs for entrance gates. NA, M6932/63/9. At about the same time (25th April 1828/9) Madden had written to Blake to inform him that Hely Dutton, 'the land improver', was at Mount Bellew Bridge, adding that 'if you think of calling on him for the new approach ... I think you might get useful hints from him relative to the riverway when it passes through your Demesne.' NA, M6936/18/40.
- ¹⁰² NA, M6936/22/51 (19 May 1829). A year later Brady wrote to assure Blake he would 'pay the most strict attention to its speedy completion'. NA, M6936/24/61 (17 April 1830).
- ¹⁰³ NA, M6936/22/101-150.
- ¹⁰⁴ NA, M6936/22/151-200. William le Poer Trench wrote to Blake on 4th November 1829: 'By the accounts I received of the state of Brook Lodge, I fear it would not answer me. I should fear to encounter the necessary repairs and the expense of restoring the lower storey, garden and office to domestic purposes, from which I believe your turf establishment induced you to divert them...'
- ¹⁰⁵ NA, M6936/ 23/61; M6936/26/182; /187; /279. An unsigned and undated drawing for Brook Lodge amongst the Madden drawings does not easily fit with either of the schemes proposed by Dominick or Peter, and may be by William Brady. It is of the rear elevation and is inscribed 'West Front Elevation of the house of Ballyglunin Park, the seat of M.J. Blake Esq. M.P.'. It also includes the basement plan. NA, M6932/63/20.

- ¹⁰⁶ NA, M6936/36/383; M6936/36/394; M6936/36/420. Blake appears to have been staying with Blake cousins at 'Menlo' (Menlough Castle) while the works were being carried out.
- ¹⁰⁷ NA, M6936/36/431. The proposal was for the standard rate of 5% on expenditure, limited to the estimated cost but excluding potential travel expenses, with acceptance being conditional on Blake paying 'eleven pounds for the two sets of plans, estimate and specifications which I have made out for him and also for my attendances at Brooklodge up to this date'. Madden added that specification and plans were not fully complete.
- ¹⁰⁸ NA, M6936/36/441. Madden began the letter with the comment, 'the details of the estimate you require are at Brooklodge among the old sketches [Dominick Madden's?]. I will make a fair copy of them the first opportunity...'
- ¹⁰⁹ NA, M6936/38/7.
- ¹¹⁰ NA, M6936/38/5. His need for the money was explained by 'this being the time at which a person of my profession is under heavy expenses travelling &c.' and little doing which would bring him payment. In the proposal, a penalty of 7% was proposed on excess expenditure over this amount, and similarly 7% would be charged 'should a saving be made on said estimates and the one hundred and forty pounds inclusive'. Charges for measuring were included in the fee charged. The proposal was made 'on the understanding that Mr Blake also pays me for the plans, estimates & specifications &c. already done by me, and also that should Mr Blake order ornamental ceilings or expensive stucco plastering – or new chimneypieces or grates, or new ironmongery or painting, such things being dependent on the fancy of Mr Blake are not to be counted on against me in summing up the expenditure'.
- ¹¹¹ NA, M6936/38/29.
- ¹¹² NA, M6936/38/40.
- ¹¹³ NA, M6936/38/46. Enclosed is the letter to John Blake: 'I send you in another cover the rest of our correspondence that you may understand matters, keep all for me and send him eight pounds on my account & asking his acknowledgement for ten pounds...' John Blake was the receiver for the bankrupt Rahasane estate, and in the Rahasane account book, an entry for 23rd February 1837, shows £8 (changed from £10) was paid to Peter Madden.
- ¹¹⁴ NA, M6936/38/ 80.
- ¹¹⁵ NA, M6932/63/21-22. Murray, it will be remembered, was the mason on Tuam Cathedral, son of Marcus Murray. Further to these drawings, an interesting note in pencil is found on the margin of one of Peter Madden's drawings: '10 sketches for W. Murray, 3rd October 1838'. Together these items demonstrate that Blake had not completely abandoned his desire to remodel Book Lodge. NA, M6932/63/13. These items may also relate to another pencil note added to Madden's estimate of January 1837 concerning the preparation of further estimates 'for the interior works, as in my plans for basement &c. the remainder according to Mr. Madden's'. NA, M6936/38/7.
- ¹¹⁶ William Brady had written a similar letter to Blake only a few days before, but neither of them were successful and the post went to Joseph Welland, who later became the sole architect to the Commissioners. NA, M6936/38/79; NA, M6936/38/75.
- ¹¹⁷ By the end of 1837, when writing again about the difficulties concerning his uncle's affairs, a less deferential tone towards Blake may be detected: 'I hope from the high sense of justice ... that you will please pay attention to the following subject which ... requires your prompt interference.' NA, M6936/38/471.
- ¹¹⁸ NA, M6932/63/8; M6932/63/12-15; M6932/63/19.