Building empires: architecture, politics and the Board of Works 1760-1860

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THE HISTORY OF THE IRISH BOARD OF WORKS CAN PERHAPS BE TRACED BACK AS far as the Norman invasion. It is not proposed to attempt that task here, but rather to examine the development of public works architecture after 1600, with particular emphasis on the period from 1760 to 1860 and the various legislative changes that occurred during that time. This legislation provided the context for the major building programmes of the Victorian and Edwardian eras, and remained in place after the foundation of the new state.[1]

The start date of 1760 marks the mid-point in a period of major reorganisation that saw, *inter alia*, the abolition of the Office of Surveyor General, the sideways move (effectively a demotion) of its incumbent Thomas Eyre (1708-1772) to the post of Chief Engineer of the Ordnance, and the establishment of a board of works to take over some of his duties. The concluding date of 1860, as well as being a neat century ahead, marks a period of change both in personnel and in duties within the Board of Public Works following the retirement of Jacob Owen (1778-1870), arguably the major figure of nineteenth-century public works architecture in Ireland.

There have been a number of significant publications in recent years on eighteenth-century developments. These have been notably (in order of publication) Murray Fraser's 'Public building and colonial policy in Dublin, 1760-1800' (in *Architectural History*, 1985)[2] and two works by Edward McParland: 'The surveyor general in Ireland in the eighteenth century' (in *Architectural History*, 1995)[3] and *Public Architecture in Ireland 1680-1760* (Yale 2001). While in terms of dates McParland and Fraser might appear to dovetail, it should be noted that Fraser's areas of discussion were the civic improvements of the Wide Streets Commissioners and the building of the Custom House by the Revenue Board, rather than the opera-

1 – Edward Smyth (attrib.), Francis Johnston (before 1812)

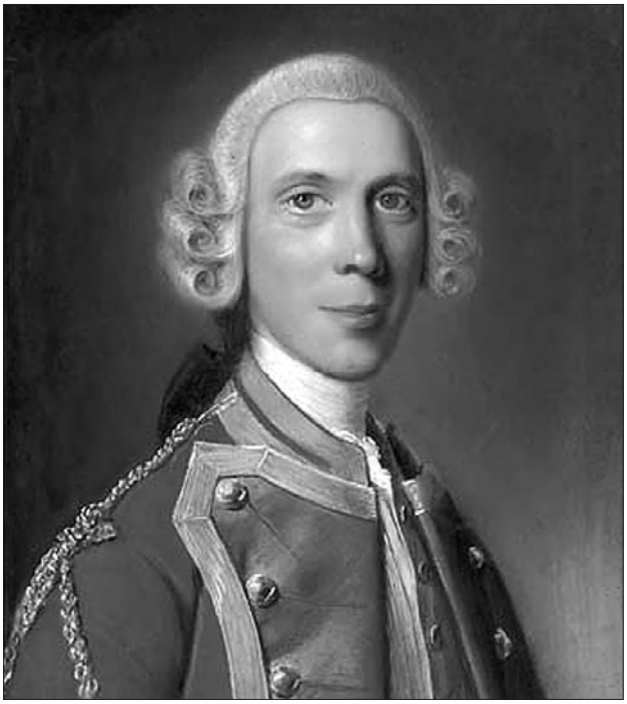
Modern bronze bust cast from a plaster original. Johnston (1760-1829), who was Architect and Inspector of Civil Buildings from 1805 to 1826, employed Smyth on the Chapel Royal at Dublin Castle. (collection RIAI)

tions of the public works departments of central government – the area given greatest scope in the two McParland publications. It should also be noted that James Gandon (1742-1823) (the subject of an earlier monograph by McParland),[4] who designed not just the Custom House, but the Four Courts, the King's Inns, and extensions to the Parliament House, never held office under the Board of Works.

SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Early in the seventeenth century an important reorganisation of Irish public works took place. This was the granting of a royal patent in 1613 to Sir Josias Bodley, creating him Director-General and Overseer of the Fortifications and Buildings in Ireland. This was an amalgamation of Bodley's former office, Superintendent of the Castles, with that of the Supervision of the Royal Works.[5] Royal works, in the Irish context, concerned royal or vice-regal residences, primarily Dublin Castle, and could be described as the civil as opposed to the military side of public works. The amalgamation was completed with the death of the last clerk of the Royal Works in 1625. The title of the office changed twice before it was finally settled, in 1670, as Surveyor General of the Fortifications and Buildings, William Robinson (*c*.1642-1712) (architect of the Royal Hospital Kilmainham) being the first to occupy the post, which was held by patent.[6] Up until 1700, royal palaces and other public buildings remained the responsibility of the king's government, to be built, maintained and paid for without reference to Parliament. Following the defeat of the Jacobite forces in 1691, a decision was taken to accommodate soldiers in barracks around the country, in readiness for any revolt.[7] This saw the passing of an Act in the Irish parliament in 1697 (9 Wm III c.4, I.), granting £25,000 (raised from tobacco duties) for the building of barracks, and, in 1700-01, the creation by Parliament of two bodies with responsibility for barracks. These were the Trustees of Barracks, a property-holding body, and the Overseers of Barracks (commonly known as the Barrack Board), responsible for the erection and maintenance of barracks. This pioneering scheme, which for long had no English equivalent, was a parliamentary innovation, and as such was within the jurisdiction of the (Irish) House of Commons, who voted the funds. The most obvious choice of architect for these works was the Surveyor General. Robinson's immediate successors, Thomas Burgh (1700-30) and Edward Lovett Pearce (1731-33), are perhaps the best-known holders of the post, both being associated with the development of classical architecture in Ireland. Burgh's major building in Dublin was the Royal (now Collins) Barracks (1703-25), while Pearce's masterly Parliament House (begun 1728) was of European significance.[8]

Pearce's successors, the last three surveyors general, are less well known:



2 – Anon., pastel of Captain Thomas Eyre (1750)

After a military career in Georgia and South Carolina, Eyre retired with the rank of captain while serving as an engineer on Rattan – an island off Honduras – in 1752. He returned to Ireland to take up the post of Surveyor and Engineer General. (courtesy Christie's)

Arthur Dobbs (1734-44), Arthur Jones Nevill (1744-52) and Thomas Eyre (1752-62). All the surveyors general held parliamentary seats at some time in their careers, though this was not a prerequisite for the job. As McParland notes in his most recent work, there has been a tendency to regard these three as sinecurists rather than as professional architects or engineers. In reassessing their roles, he elevates Nevill (*c*.1712-1771) and Eyre to the professions while apparently leaving Dobbs (1689-1765) as a placeman, though he also notes, ambiguously, 'in the absence of evidence to the contrary ... it is reasonable to attribute to individual surveyors general the works, in the castle and elsewhere, for which their estimates and payments to them are recorded'.[9] It seems that the strongest professional case can be made for Eyre, who, as he states, had a background in military engineering in the American colonies (Plate 2).[10] He also had a notable architectural pedigree: his grandfather, Colonel John Eyre, was the builder of Eyrecourt Castle in east Galway, one of the earliest classical houses in Ireland.

While the Barrack Board was responsible to Parliament, the Surveyor General was not, being an officer under the crown. This caused difficulties and friction, and indeed had led to Nevill's departure and his expulsion from the Commons.[11] Robinson had been jailed in 1703 and declared unfit for any public office over alleged misrepresentation in his capacity as Deputy Receiver-General. In

3 – Detail of the patent issued to the Barrack Board in 1759

The vignette and arms are those of King George II.
(courtesy National Archives)

1709 a Commons committee enquiring into the state of the Parliament House found that he had also received money for maintenance that had not been carried out.[12] After various unsuccessful attempts to bring the Surveyor General under official control, in 1759 a new Barrack Board, in the form of a body of salaried commissioners, was established, which was to have responsibilities of some kind for all government building in Ireland (Plate 3);[13] that is, in addition to retaining the responsibility for building and maintaining barracks, the Board assumed responsibility for supervising costs and for the execution of Ordnance and public buildings. There were seven commissioners: Henry Loftus, Henry Lyons, John Magill, Carleton Whitelocke, Henry Sandford, Thomas Adderley and Robert Cunninghame. All but Whitelocke were members of Parliament. The new Board got off to a quick start, publishing in 1760 a comprehensive schedule of dilapidations for every barrack in the country, co-authored by Lyons, Magill, Adderley and Whitelocke.[14] Magill (1703-1775) was the rising man. According to an anonymous tract of the time, which dubbed him 'Buttermilk Jack', Magill was a former journeyman car-

penter and sometime theatrical clown turned valuer and surveyor, the son of a carpenter and a buttermilk vendor in Dublin's Clarendon Market.[15] He had previously served as Dobbs's deputy and, if the tract is to believed, had worked for Pearce on the Parliament House before that. In 1747, two years after his election as an MP for the borough of Rathcormack (allegedly bought for £500), he had been a member of a committee that reported on the state of the Parliament House. In business, he was associated with the Gardiner estate, owning a sandpit on Sackville Street and some of the 'footlots' – parcels of reclaimed land – in the North Strand area where he lived.[16] The sandpit must have been particularly lucrative: it appears as a gap on the otherwise built-up street on Roque's map (1756) and was not developed until after 1769.

There was not, however, universal agreement about the new Board's terms of reference. The Master of the Ordnance, the Earl of Kildare, wishing to keep fortifications under the control of his department, had these removed from the Barrack Board's limited supervisory remit in 1761. With the formal suppression of the Office of Surveyor General in 1762,[17] the transformation of the Barrack Board was complete, the Earl of Halifax, the Lord Lieutenant, conferring on the Barrack Board the powers of a board of works.[18] By this was meant that to the administrative function of the Barrack Board had been added the executive function of constructing and maintaining buildings. This solved the problem of dual departmental administration between the old Barrack Board and the Surveyor General's office, the new Board being able to direct its own works. The initial operational relationship between the administrative and executive sides of the Barrack Board is unclear, though details emerge in later documents of the arrangements made after the passing of further legislation in the 1790s.

In his chronicle of change, McParland sets the date for the legal termination of Eyre's appointment as Surveyor General as a king's letter of 11 August 1762, coming into effect with the revocation of his patent on 9 May 1763, the year in which, he states, the English architect Henry Keene (1726-1776) 'first appears as architect to the (Barrack) Board'.[19] Keene and his associate John Sanderson had drawn the (working) plans and elevations for the West Front of Trinity College, Dublin (built 1752-59), which had been designed by the London merchant and amateur architect Theodore Jacobsen.[20] It is clear from a number of sources, however, that Eyre was doomed once Halifax, the new lord lieutenant, arrived in Dublin in early October 1761, over eighteen months before the revocation of the patent. According to Howard Colvin, citing a contemporary source, 'in 1761 Keene was taken to Ireland [by Halifax] and ... in the following year was "appointed by him Architect of the Kingdom of Ireland for His Majesty's Works there" '.[21] On the face of it, Keene, who later designed a church for Halifax on his Sussex estates, was the

Lord Lieutenant's protégé. No doubt Keene was happy to be regarded as such, but, as we shall see, Keene's nomination may have come from a different quarter entirely.

From Eyre's own letters of 25 December 1761 and 12 January 1762 (to the Chief Secretary, William Gerard Hamilton, and Speaker Ponsonby respectively), it is clear that his removal from the post of Surveyor General was discussed at a meeting he attended in Dublin Castle on 20 December, at which he sought compensation for loss of office. While his surveyor-general patent was not revoked for some time, his new patent, in the subordinate role of Chief Engineer of the Ordnance, ran from 1 January 1762, and it would appear that from this date he was effectively out of office. This is confirmed by his account book, which shows that he received no funds for works in the calendar year 1762.[22] When Eyre was eventually granted a pension in 1764 (for £200 rather than the £300-plus sought), the explanatory statement in the Commons Journal stated that his post had been suppressed in 1761.[23] Among the perquisites he lost was his dwelling house and office in the Lower Castle Yard, which he had built only a few years earlier, in 1756 (Plate 5). This was handed over to the Ordnance. Eyre claimed to have paid £900 of the £1,612 construction cost himself.[24]

A notice in the Dublin press on 24 April 1762, which announced the reconstitution of the Barrack Board as a board of works, referred to the appointment of three officers to it: Magill as comptroller (as well as being a commissioner), Henry Mitchell as treasurer, and Henry Keene as architect.[25] Keene was described as 'a gentleman of the greatest ability in that science'. Six days later a report was submitted to the Board on the project for which Keene had been specifically brought to Ireland – and which has hitherto been unattributed to him – the complete rebuilding of Palatine Square at the Royal Barracks in Dublin. The document was co-authored by Magill and Keene. This project had originated with a condition report from the Barrack Board, compiled in December 1759 and presented to the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Bedford, on 11 January 1760: 'We have also viewed the buildings of the Palatine Square, on which no late repair has been made; and are of the opinion that the front walls [presumably those facing the quadrangle] of that entire building are in so ruinous a state, that they must necessarily be rebuilt.' [26] Eyre had intended to carry out remedial works on the three ranges of the square, to follow modernisation work carried out on the other two principal squares, Horse Square and Royal Square in 1758-59 (Plate 4).[27]

However, a number of alleged defects had been identified in the Barrack Board's report, including the provision of inadequately sized roof timbers in Horse Square and problems with wall loading in the centre block of Royal Square. The Board had asked three independent contractors, described as 'experienced master builders', to carry out an assessment. They were critical of some building elements.

4 – Thomas Burgh, centre block of Horse Square (begun 1703), Royal (Collins) Barracks, Dublin

The original walling material – calp limestone rubble with limestone quoins – is clearly visible, as are the granite window dressings introduced in Thomas Eyre's reconstruction of 1758-59.

5 – Thomas Eyre, Surveyor General's house and office, Lower Castle Yard, Dublin Castle (1756)

Detail of the entrance archway, with coat of arms of the Royal Irish Artillery. Eyre lost the house to the Ordnance Department in 1762, and the arms were presumably affixed at a subsequent date. The Royal Irish Artillery was founded in 1755, and survived as an independent unit until 1801.
(photo Mariga Guinness (before demolition in the 1960s); courtesy Irish Architectural Archive (IAA))

In Royal Square the front wall had an outward deflection above the top of the arcade. The two contractors who signed their reports (dated 21 December 1759), George Stewart and Robert Mack, concluded that the lean was an old one, rather than the result of a recent increase in the superincumbent load on the wall. However, they added that 'the burthen [is now] too great to be trusted on walls in that condition'. This new load was accounted for by the provision of a new cornice, granite reveals and flagged floors in the galleries over the arcade. The third contractor declined to sign on the grounds, it was stated, that he was not familiar with the construction of stonework.[28] Indeed, as the other two had to swear their evidence (before Lyons, Whitelock and Magill), one can see how he was cautious. As Eyre's work had not caused the deflection, it would seem that this was all an irrelevance. However, the covering report of the Barrack Board, signed by all but one of its members (Sandford), claimed that the walls 'from their present warped state, are probably insufficient to bear the great additional weight laid on them in the late repair'. In other words, the building was at risk of collapse. There were further inconsistencies. While the contractors considered the (new) sashes and glazing to be 'good of the kind', the covering report said that the exact opposite. The report said that there was insufficient bond in the wall, but as no new materials had been introduced into the wall proper (the cornice sat on top of it), there was nothing to bond.

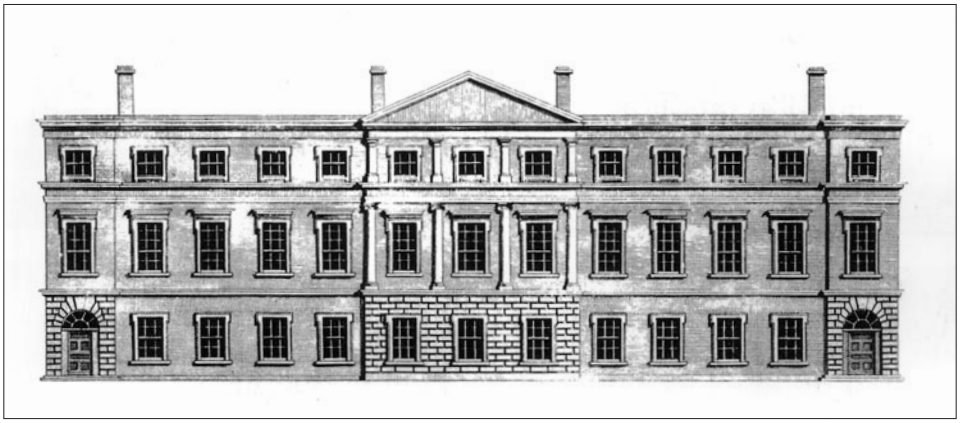
Reading between the lines, it appears that the inquiry was stage-managed by Magill in order to undermine public confidence in Eyre's abilities, though the Surveyor General was not named personally. Magill had been down this road before and had played his part in Nevill's downfall, voting for his expulsion from the Commons in 1753. Eyre, however, was determined to expose the whole exercise as a charade, and, unusually for a public servant, was prepared to go into print to do so.

His rebuttal, published very quickly, ran to sixteen octavo pages, considerably longer than the original report, which he answered section by section.[29] The technical details, which are well argued, need not detain us here. While the Barrack Board had consulted three tradesmen, Eyre arranged for no fewer than thirteen (bricklayers, stonecutters and carpenters) to look over the buildings on his behalf. Each group pronounced them sound. All signed their names. Eyre denounced Stewart and Mack, the two supposed 'most experienced master builders', as charlatans whom he had declined to employ. Stewart, he alleged, was a 'mere carpenter' who, while working under Dobbs, had been 'discharged for fraudulent practice'. Mack, 'an obscure journeyman stonecutter', had been dismissed by 'His Majesty's Works in Scotland for misbehaviour'. He claimed each had contradicted the other in their findings (though this is not clear from the report which was jointly signed). He identifies the contractor who declined to sign the report as John Sproule, but says he did so out of a sense of injustice rather than for the reasons stated. Eyre also

attacked the Board directly, accusing them of misrepresentation, unfair process and ignorance: 'Most of the Gentlemen who signed the Report of the Commissioners gave little or no attendance at the time that the said survey or inspection were made.' The most serious misrepresentation, in Eyre's view, was the use of the word 'present' to describe the warped state of the wall, implying that the warp was recent, while the 'master builders' had said it was an old settlement. He concluded that if a genuine independent report were to find any defects in the Dublin Barracks, he and the tradesmen responsible would ensure that they were made good without charge to the public purse.

Notwithstanding his published remarks, Eyre proceeded to work on as before, and on 23 April 1760 proposed a four-month building programme for remedial works to Palatine Square.[30] Unsurprisingly, this did not get the go-ahead. A week earlier, the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Bedford, had returned to England, leaving Ireland in the charge of the lords justices. The whole episode had been played out in the concluding months of his stay in Dublin. Significantly, Bedford did not have him sacked, and as Parliament could not remove him he was effectively safe until the next lord lieutenant was due in the autumn of 1761. Eyre had served Bedford well, doubling the size of his private apartments at Dublin Castle while he was in England in 1758-59 (Plate 6).[31] A volume of drawings of Irish fortifications, prepared by Eyre in 1754-55, had found a place in Bedford's private library at Woburn.[32] In early 1761, perhaps in an attempt to safeguard his position, Eyre bought himself a seat in Parliament. The breakdown in the relationship between Eyre and the barrack commissioners may well have precipitated Kildare's removal of the Ordnance buildings from their remit at this time. Eyre now busied himself erecting a tower (to be named in honour of Bedford) atop the centre block in the Upper Yard of Dublin Castle, built between 1750 and 1754. Originally conceived as part of Nevill's design for the building, the tower was completed in time for Halifax's arrival, the last fitment – the clock – being inaugurated on the day he was sworn in, 6 October 1761 (Plate 7). The tower and clock thus represented both the pinnacle and the conclusion of Eyre's career as Surveyor General. His time had indeed run out.

In his new architect Keene, Magill had a kindred spirit, for Keene's father too had been a carpenter[33] (while Eyre's had been a landed member of Parliament). In April 1762, Magill and Keene drew up a joint report, reviewing the situation at the Royal Barracks. They claimed that Palatine Square was 'originally an insufficient building [sic] ... incapable of effectual repair' and recommended a rebuild.[34] This was largely a reiteration of the opinion given by the Barrack Board in February 1760. It seems likely that the report had been penned personally by Magill, and what we had now was the added professional endorsement of Keene.

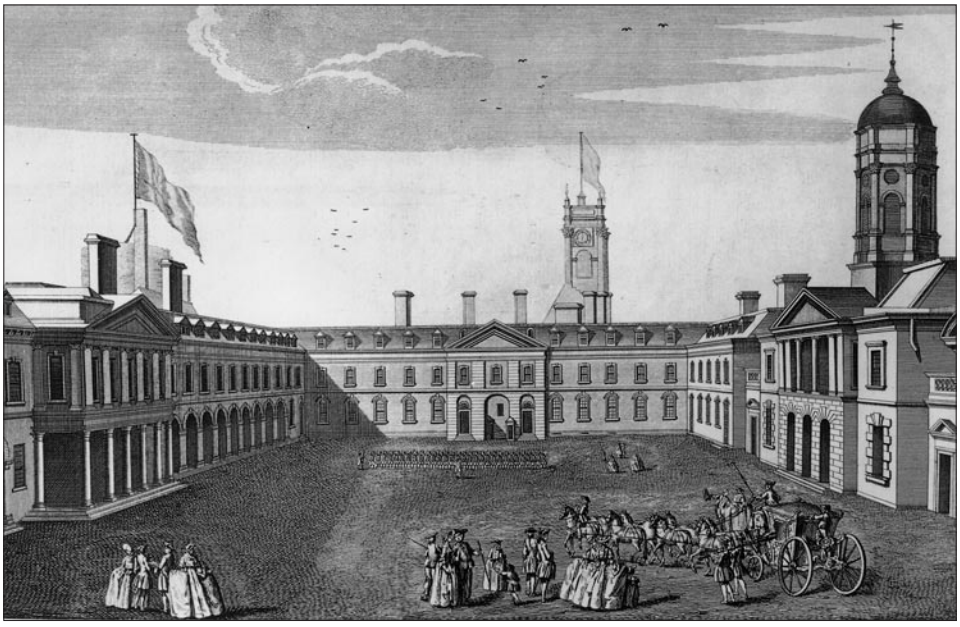


6 – Thomas Eyre, State Apartments, Dublin Castle: elevation to the garden (1758-59)

Engraving by John Lodge, 1779, from a drawing by Robert Pool and John Cash, in their Views of the Most Remarkable Public Buildings, Monuments and other Edifices in the City of Dublin (1780). The left-hand doorway was never built, as a slightly earlier (1753) octagonal tower by Eyre stood in front of the new façade at this point. An original drawing for this elevation, signed by Eyre's deputy Joseph Jarratt, survives in the Irish Architectural Archive. The garden front was replaced by a replica in 1964-68.

7 – Joseph Tudor, A Prospect of the Upper Castle Court, from the Council Chamber, Dublin, 1753, engraved by Parr

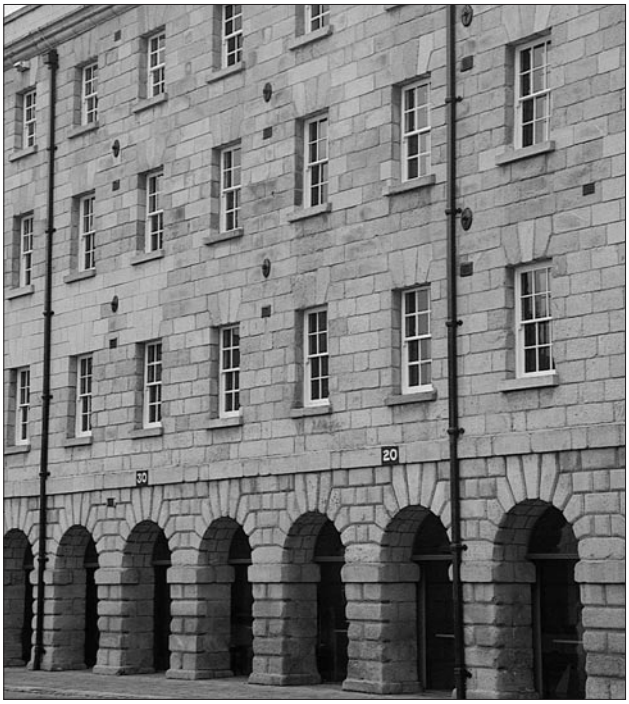
The construction of the Bedford Tower (seen on the right) was not completed by Thomas Eyre until 1761. The building it crowns was begun by Arthur Jones Nevill in 1750. Tudor, who was employed as a scene painter at the Castle, clearly had access to the project drawings.



8 – Henry Keene, Palatine Square, Royal Barracks, Dublin (1766-71)

West elevation of the east range, with carriage entrance. The coursed granite walling is very different from Burgh's calp rubble in Horse Square (see Plate 4).

However, the project remained stalled for three years, during most of which Keene probably remained in England. It was only after his former clerk, Euclid Alfray, returned to his service in 1765 that progress was made.[35] In February 1766 the Barrack Board recorded its frustration with Keene, with whom it had difficulty in getting over to attend meetings, such consultations being considered vital for the preparation of comprehensive reports on all the barracks. After a lot of effort he came for one day in December 1765, and disappeared again. Matters were eventually advanced and, in respect of Palatine Square, an estimate of £32,000 was made and a cost benefit analysis carried out.[36] In addition to the rebuilding, the quadrangle was to be closed by a new, fourth range to the east (Plate 8). Tenders were invited in August 1766.[37] Alfray remained in Dublin into 1767, and presumably handed over the project to Keene's successor, Christopher Myers.[38] The project was complete by 1771.[39] The detailing of the granite ashlar facing of the internal elevations and most of the east block (a contrast to the calp limestone elevations of Burgh's buildings) owes much to Keene's earlier work at Trinity College, Dublin, specifically the plain south elevation of the south wing of Parliament Square, facing the Provost's garden (Plates 9, 10). The ground floor of the river front of Palatine Square is faced with limestone blocks and voussoirs and granite dressings, very similar to those of the north elevation at Trinity, facing College Street (Plates 11, 12).[40]



9 – Henry Keene, Palatine Square, Royal Barracks, Dublin (1766-71)

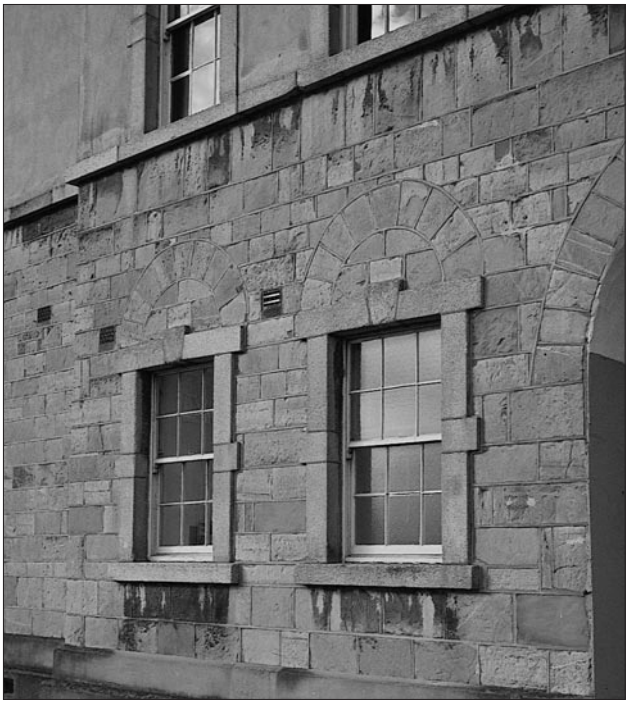
Rebuilt west range, east elevation, detail. The arcade is constructed of granite like the walling above it. While the arcade resembles Burgh's earlier arcade in plan-form, it is unclear what materials he used.

10 – Theodore Jacobsen, Henry Keene and John Sanderson, West Front of Trinity College, Dublin (1752-59)

Detail of the coursed granite walling and parapet of the south elevation of the southern return wing. Compare with the walling in Plate 9.

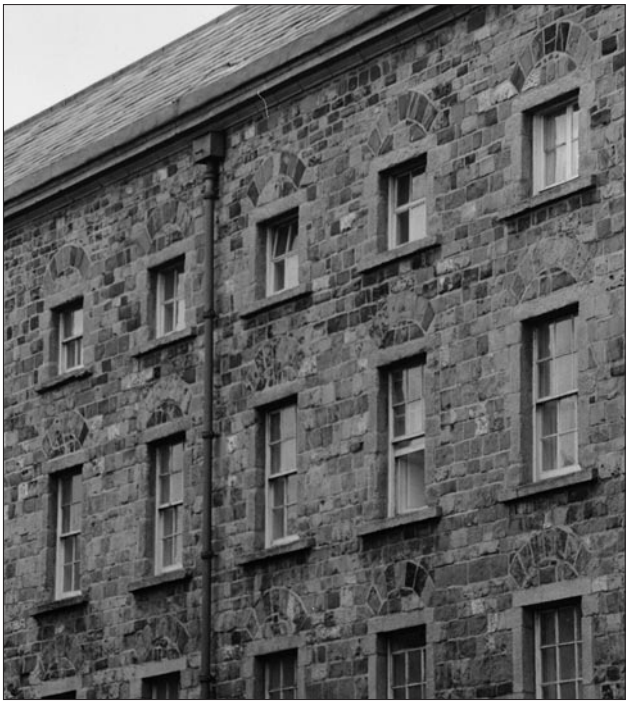
11 – Palatine Square, Royal Barracks, Dublin (1766-71)

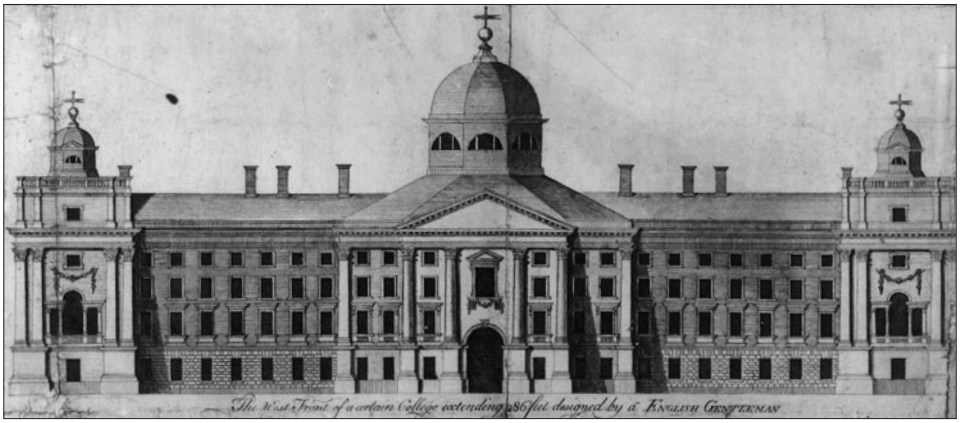
Detail of the squared limestone walling of the south elevation of the south wing (facing the Small Square and the River Liffey). The upper floors of this elevation were constructed from much rougher calp rubble which remained visible until plastered over c.1989. This façade was presumably faced with limestone to tie in with the earlier Burgh buildings facing the river.



12 – West Front of Trinity College, Dublin (1752-59)

Limestone detail of the north elevation of the northern return wing. Compare the walling and voussoirs with those at the barracks in Plate 11.





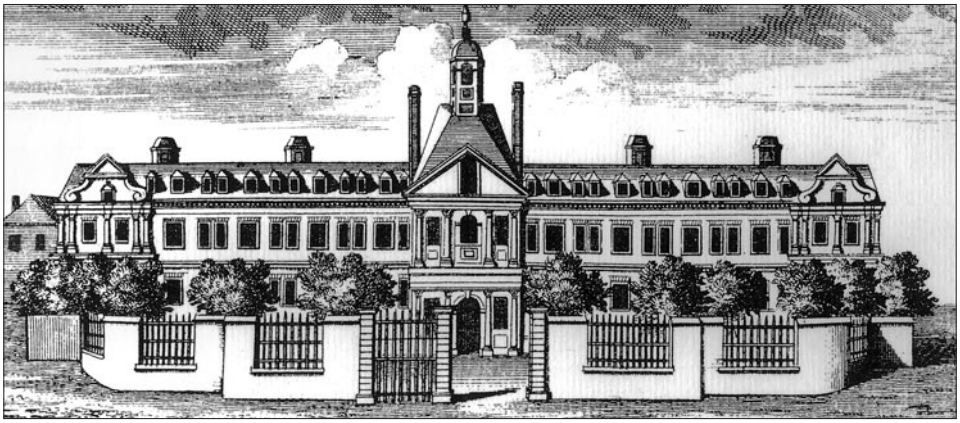
13 – Theodore Jacobsen, Henry Keene and John Sanderson, new West Front of Trinity College, Dublin, as proposed in 1757

Engraved from a drawing by John Aheron, architect. The north pavilion had been modified in execution after 1752. It also had the only one of the three domes to be completed, though it was subsequently taken down. (courtesy Trinity College, Dublin)

Of great interest is the fact that Magill had received an honorary doctorate of laws from the college in the spring of 1760.[41] In seeking an explanation for this singular honour, normally reserved for aristocrats or for the holders of high office, we may find the background to the whole Eyre/Keene debacle.

The rebuilding of the West Front of Trinity College in the 1750s was effectively a public works project, since it was entirely paid for by Parliament and, indeed, was referred to in contemporary account books as Parliament Buildings (Plate 13). The square around which they were ranged was known as Parliament Square. The development was to be the architectural swansong of the octogenarian Richard Baldwin, Provost since 1717. The three ranges which were built consisted of relatively plain north and south wings and a west wing (the West Front proper), with an ornate façade and end pavilions. There was to have been a fourth side, adjoining Richard Castle's campanile, but this was never built.[42] The West Front proper replaced an ornate classical range dating from the seventeenth century (Plate 14). However, while the old building had been begun with a bequest left by Sir Hierome Alexander in 1670,[43] by the 1750s the college was pleading poverty and seeking public funds for its replacement. In this they were spectacularly successful, obtaining a total of £45,000 between 1751 and 1757.[44] As this money, though nominally granted by the king, came from revenue surpluses which the Irish parliament would otherwise lose to Britain, the arrangement suited everybody.[45]

The overseer of the project was to be Hugh Darley (a stonecutter and architect), appointed by the college board on 13 July 1752, who was to 'examine all



14 – Old West Front (Sir Hierome Alexander's Building), Trinity College, Dublin

Engraving from Charles Brooking's Map of Dublin (1728). The northern half of the façade was built in the 1670s from the designs of Thomas Lucas. The remainder, including the centrepiece, was constructed between 1684 and 1699, apparently under the superintendence of Sir William Robinson.

bills'.[46] As noted, the new buildings were designed by the London amateur Theodore Jacobsen, while the plans and elevations were prepared by Keene and John Sanderson (who were paid £74 by Parliament).[47] However, it seems that the familiar figure of John Magill also played a part. The name 'Mr Magill' is inscribed on the cover of an early folio of project accounts (for 1752-53) in the college muniments.[48] If Magill was checking the accounts, was it for the college or for Parliament? The latter seems more likely since the college had plenty of expertise without him; in addition to Darley as overseer (project manager), both Richard King and William Purfield were employed as measurers.

More significantly, we should ask what happened in February 1755 to cause a rethink in the design of the West Front, prompted by the representations of an unidentified 'gentleman'. The college board delegated Darley to seek the advice of Jacobsen as the original designer. A letter was sent through one John Keene asking what alterations might receive Jacobsen's 'consent and approbation'. An urgent reply was sought to avoid holding up the works. The 'gentleman', Darley wrote, 'has lately taken a tour of Europe and is allowed to have made very judicious observations in the Architectonic way.'[49] What he desired was no less that the deletion of the proposed domes from the centrepiece and end pavilions, on the basis that such features are 'no where to be met in Italy in such buildings', and the narrowing of the breakfront by two bays. Darley concluded: 'All these particulars I must beg you will answer in the most explicit manner in your power for you know that we Irish are somewhat thick headed...'

At this time the north range was largely complete and its pavilion had been erected to just below cornice level. Changes to the design had already being carried out in a most unorthodox way – by demolition. As Darley's letter was been written, a newly erected engaged temple front in the centre of the north range was being taken down. Much of the cut-stone work to the pavilion too had been lately dismantled for a new window arrangement.[50] As Darley's letter indicates, the college board was divided on at least some of the additional changes. However, the opinions of the 'gentleman' did not take effect until after much further unproductive work was done. Thus, the dome and vane on the north pavilion were allowed to proceed, but were ultimately dismantled in November 1757. The breakfront, only begun after the old Robinson centrepiece was demolished in April 1755, was not narrowed, but the substructure for the central dome was constructed, with a vast brick octagon rising through the upper floor levels, before being cut down in late 1758.[51] It may thus be implied that instructions were given by the board in 1757 to eliminate the subsidiary pavilion domes only. Whoever the gentleman was, he clearly had the support of some members of the college board, and they in turn must have been happy that the changes and reconstructions would not be hampered by parliamentary scrutiny. The college was obliged to go to it periodically for each tranche of funding. By early 1755 only £15,000 had been voted towards the project; a further £20,000 would be sought by the end of the year. While it would be tempting to blame (or credit) Magill for the redesign, there is no evidence that he took a tour of Europe. Yet he was involved. An examination of the building accounts reveals that Magill had supplied and been paid for all the sheet lead (a total of sixteen tons) for the north range, corner pavilion and dome.[52] This had been imported by him from Wales, and delivered to the site for fixing by the plumbing contractor William Murphy. Just two tons of lead were needed for the pavilion dome. However, one can calculate from the only known depiction of the domed elevation [53] that at least 136 tons of lead would have been needed for the centre dome. The omission of the domes would therefore constitute a major loss of profit to the supplier. It seems unlikely that Magill's aesthetic sense would have overruled his pocket.

A more likely suspect is Francis Andrews (1718-1774), Trinity's rising star. While he was not appointed to the college board until 1753, it has been suggested that his influence as a senior fellow 'was probably important in obtaining from parliament the grants for the rebuilding of Front [Parliament] Square'.[54] A native of Derry, he was a practising lawyer, aspiring politician, half-hearted academic, and ardent Italophile. However, there is only anecdotal evidence that Andrews had visited Italy at this time, his well-documented grand tour took place in 1766-67.[55] If the 'gentleman' did indeed exist, he clearly carried some weight, even though Darley allowed in his letter that Jacobsen might reasonably refuse to change the design. It

seems probable that he did refuse, as perhaps he was meant to. However, the progressive element in the college board clearly revisited the issue more than two years later, and prevailed in having the changes made. Back in 1755 the conservative element would have weighed up another factor besides the aesthetic one – how to placate Magill. The progressives must have subsequently come to some arrangement with him. That Andrews was at the head of this faction may be implied by the fact that within weeks of his installation as Provost on 28 October 1758 (a month after Baldwin's death) the brick octagon had been demolished. According to one source, by this time Andrews and Magill were friends (Plate 15).

It is worth noting that the funds drawn down by the college greatly exceeded the actual cost of building the three ranges of the West Front. By late 1758, when the project was virtually complete, just under £28,000 had been expended but over £43,000 had been transferred from the exchequer to the college account. Andrews had his eye on the surplus: far removed from the archetypal clergyman provost, he was planning to build himself an elegant new house, after a design by Palladio, on the corner of Grafton Street (Plate 16). He had also successfully lobbied for a large increase in salary. Like his predecessor, Provost Baldwin, he paid obeisance to the Whigs. He had befriended both the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Bedford, and the Chief Secretary, Richard Rigby, to whom the college awarded a timely honorary doctorate in 1758.

As the imbalance in the accounts must have been evident long before 1758, one suspects that Magill had been brought on board at an early stage and that he helped ensure that the college kept the surplus after the figures were disclosed to Parliament in 1759. This enabled Andrews to proceed with the house, plans being

15 – Theodore Jacobsen, Henry Keene and John Sanderson, West Front of Trinity College, Dublin (1752-59)

Mid-19th-century photograph showing the West Front as completed in 1759 (courtesy Chandler Collection, IAA)

16 – John Smyth (possibly in collaboration with Henry Keene), Provost's House, Trinity College, Dublin (begun 1759)

Detail of first-floor façade. Built for Provost Francis Andrews. The ground floor was extended with the doubling in size of the north pavilion by Provost Hely Hutchinson in 1775 under the superintendence of Christopher Myers.

obtained by June of that year.[56] No separate accounts were published for it, or even isolated in the building records, the whole being thrown in with the costs for the West Front. According to another Trinity fellow, Dr Patrick Duigenan, writing in 1777, the house cost £11,000 to erect.[57] Given the extent to which the college board had indulged itself in its building projects, without any recourse to its estates or investments, an honorary doctorate for Magill must have seemed cheap at the price. Whether the Provost and fellows considered him to be their intellectual equal – the man whose noble acquiescence had saved them from architectural solecism – or simply as someone to be bought off, is another matter. Perhaps significantly, the award of the degree is not recorded in the usual place in the college register. One suspects that Andrews did not have the full support of his board on this occasion. The timing too is interesting since it seems that only the external shell of the Provost's House had been designed by early 1760, when the degree was awarded. It may be that Andrews, with the money in the bank, wanted a free hand with the (sumptuous) interior, and that the honorary degree was a message that no further

assistance was needed, thank you. Whatever the case, events were about to unfold which would terminate the friendship between the two men.

The catalyst for this was not the publication of the Barrack Board report, nor indeed Eyre's response, but the death in March 1760 of the Dublin-born actress Peg Woffington (Plate 17). Woffington had many talents and a flock of male followers. She also left a volume of memoirs, published within a short time of her demise. The mention therein of a thinly disguised 'Frank Anderson' prompted the author of *Butter-milk Jack* into print, for Magill too, he alleged, had been one of her admirers, having known her since her youth, both being employed by the impresaria Madame Violante (Woffington as a child star, Magill as a comic turn). The overall tone of the biography is of a man who rose from poor but honest origins, to government employment and a seat in parliament through unscrupulous means. There are allegations of sharp business practice in paying contractors and preparing accounts, but little of a specific nature apart from a reference to a court case, which seems to have followed the Eyre affair. (Magill lost the action.) One gets the impression that the author is playing a balancing act, that his anonymity is dependant on not giving too much away. Much of the text is ridiculous, but as befits successful satire, there is a ring of truth in it, even in the allegations of degeneracy.

It seems clear that while the general purpose in writing 'the adventures of

17 – John Lewis (fl.1737-69), Peg Woffington, oil on canvas

Woffington (c.1718-60), the daughter of a Dublin bricklayer, was a child star with Madame Violante's company in the city before making her name on the London stage. Her admirers included John Magill MP, first comptroller of the works at the Barrack Board, and Francis Andrews, the Provost of Trinity College.
(courtesy Royal Dublin Society)

Buttermilk Jack', as Magill was tagged, was to damage his public standing, there was another, more focused agenda. This was not to help Eyre, whose plight is not mentioned, but to undermine the relationship between Andrews and Magill. The biography alludes to a specific incident of which the writer purported to have inside knowledge. This concerned an evening on which Andrews asked Magill to accompany him on a social call to Woffington's lodgings. Andrews allegedly made a fuss of thanking Woffington for having secured the provostship for him. Her stony silence, however, nonplussed him, and, somewhat embarrassed, he stepped backwards only to fall over a chair. With a bleeding head wound he made his excuses and left. Magill stayed on, made an impression, and spent the night in madame's bed. In a quickly issued second edition of *Butter-milk Jack*, the author gleefully reported that Magill had accused Andrews of having written the pamphlet and had terminated their friendship. The accomplished style and the many literary quotations and epigrams in *Butter-milk Jack* does suggest a well-educated author, but it is hard to see how Andrews might have benefited from its publication. Perhaps there was an honest man in Trinity, outraged at the Provost's money-grubbing antics. The honorary degree may have been a step too far, and perhaps, for Magill, something best forgotten.

As for Andrews, he completed his palace where he lived the life of a wealthy bachelor (provosts had to be unmarried), attended by two of his relatives, a Mr and Mrs Gamble, and a retinue of servants.[58] In 1768 he presided over the installation of his old friend, the Duke of Bedford, as Vice Chancellor of the university. Yet his critics still breathed, and in 1772 one of them felt compelled to resurrect the old scandal in an anonymous tract, alleging that 'it was well known [that Andrews had] lived in the closest intimacy with Mrs Woffington ... at this hour the chief ornaments of the Provost's house [are] the portraits of that celebrated courtezan in various characters and attitudes.' [59] The author of this 'letter' was reputedly Hercules Langrishe, a patriot politician appointed to the Barrack Board in 1766.

This episode is of interest in our story because its publication coincided with another stroke by Andrews. In June 1772 he successfully lobbied the Lord Lieutenant, the notoriously corrupt Viscount Townshend, to appoint another of his Gamble relatives to the Barrack Board at a salary of £400 a year.[60] This followed the retirement of Magill and three other commissioners. One can see how Langrishe would have resented the foisting of so obvious a placeman on him and his colleagues. Yet, as always with Andrews, there was an attractive woman in the background. Townshend and Andrews were both admirers of the latest young beauty, Dolly Monroe, a niece of Lady Loftus. Langrishe had in some way been involved too, though, seeing as he was married, this may just have been just a family connection. Lady Loftus's husband had been a colleague on the Barrack Board. The col-

lege register, that most terse of tomes, contains the surprising transcript of a codicil to Andrews' will leaving instructions for Dolly to receive 'coloured prints (a fitter ornament for her dressing room than my library) as a mark of respect and Regard for her many amiable Qualities'.[61] McParland has suggested that these were the pictures of Woffington, but this seems too crass even for Andrews.[62] For the Provost's supporters, the slight was not that he was one of Peg's admirers – that was admitted (albeit in an aesthetic sense) – but that he should have depended on her influence for his appointment.[63] What Dubliners may have also found particularly humorous were the Provost's poetic musings about her, referred to in *Butter-milk Jack*, and the risqué verses he had allegedly ghost-written for Peg, to present to an earlier viceroy, the Duke of Dorset. Probably not generally known was that not only was Andrews a trustee of Woffington's will, but so also were three other prominent Dublin lawyers, among them Eyre Trench, the first cousin of the Surveyor General, and Edmond Sexton Pery, a future speaker of the Irish Commons.[64] All were members of the Middle Temple. However, Dolly's prints were to be the least of Trinity's worries. It was discovered that Andrews had leased some of the Provost's estates to his Gamble relatives, effectively alienating the properties. While the transactions seem to have been ill-conceived rather than fraudulent, Andrews' successor, Provost Hely Hutchinson, a trained lawyer, determined on court action. This too was ill-conceived. The college ultimately lost and was forced to settle, with huge legal costs.

Whatever the precise nature of Magill's connection with Trinity, he was undoubtedly involved with the college at the time that the West Front was being built from Henry Keene's working drawings. Keene, it will be remembered, was paid for these by the Irish parliament. Therefore, I would suggest, Magill would have been familiar with Keene's abilities long before Halifax's appointment as Lord Lieutenant, and was also in a position to further advance his career in securing a government appointment for him. Indeed, Magill would have been familiar also with the abilities of the carpenter George Stewart (an old contact from the Dobbs era), who, having earned almost £6,000 from the Trinity job, was invited by him to comment on Eyre's work at the Barracks. The fact that Keene would be an absentee would also suit Magill's purposes at the Barrack Board, as it would leave more power and authority in his hands as comptroller of the works. Eyre's challenge to the commissioners' authority had to be met. In persuading Halifax not only to remove him, but to install their own man in his place, they had the perfect solution.

Before we dispose of Magill, mention might be made of the maintenance arrangements for the largest Dublin public building not under the control of the Board of Works. That was the Royal Hospital Kilmainham, which had its own architect, or 'overseer', paid by the governors. In the early years, the post used to go to the Surveyor General anyway, Robinson being followed by Burgh, Pearce, Dobbs

18 – Anon., Deputy Master's House, Royal Hospital, Kilmainham (1762/63)

The hospital governors appointed John Magill, 'a proper person of integrity and experience in architecture' to superintend the erection of the house, designed by another, unknown, hand. The contractors included Magill's old friend, the carpenter George Stewart. The house, constructed on the site of a seventeenth-century flanker, was originally L-shaped; the two bays to the right were added from the designs of Sir John Trail in 1797.

and Nevill. However, Nevill was retained by the hospital for some years after he lost office as Surveyor General in 1752, despite rather aggressive petitions by Eyre in 1756 and 1758. After the second petition, they decided to do without an architect altogether,[65] and it was not until April 1762 that the matter was reviewed. In a clear statement that Eyre was out of favour and that there was a new power in the land, the hospital governors entrusted the execution of their new Deputy Master's House to Magill – 'a proper person of integrity and experience in architecture' – even though plans had apparently been drawn up by another hand, an architect who is mysteriously not named in the minute books (Plate 18).[66]

To return to the administrative chronology, Eyre continued to work as Chief Engineer of the Ordnance until the spring of 1766, when a new patent was granted to Henry Mark Mason. He continued to sit in Parliament up until the time of his death in 1772, actually expiring in the chamber.[67] Magill left Parliament in 1768 and the Barrack Board in 1772.

The various arrangements under which the Barrack Board operated were formalised by the Civil List Act passed in the Irish parliament in 1793 (33 Geo. III c.34, I.), which decreed that all public buildings erected solely at the public expense

were to be placed under the control of 'his majesty's board of works'.[68] It was probably from this period that the Barrack Board became known collectively as the Barrack Board and Board of Works. It was one board, the Board of Works being a sub-committee. The Act was presented to the (Irish) House of Commons on 18 June 1793 as a 'Bill for the better regulation of that branch of the public expenditure, which relates to the erection and repair of Public Buildings'.[69] The Act is important in providing the legislation under which the Irish Board of Works, in its various guises, was to erect buildings for the duration of the period under study. Section XXI of the Act was as follows:

> And be it enacted and declared, that all public buildings or works or any kind whatsoever, carried out solely at the public expence [sic], shall be hereafter in the execution of the same, under the sole management, inspection, and controul [sic] of his majesty's board of works and to provide for the due and faithful execution of the work, the lord lieutenant as soon as conveniently may be after the passing of this act, shall appoint by warrant, an architect or inspector of civil buildings, (he being bona fide an architect or builder), who shall superintend the execution of all public works, under the direction of the commissioners of the board of works, and who is hereby declared, and shall be incapable of sitting or voting in parliament.

Two further sections of the Act, XXII and XXIII, are also important. Under section XXII, works ordered by the Lord Lieutenant with an estimated value under £100 could be contracted for by the 'commissioners of the board of works' without further consultation. Works with a higher value required the Lord Lieutenant's approval prior to the placing of a contract. Section XXIII refers to inspections of the works, the issuing of architect's certificates, and payment thereon.

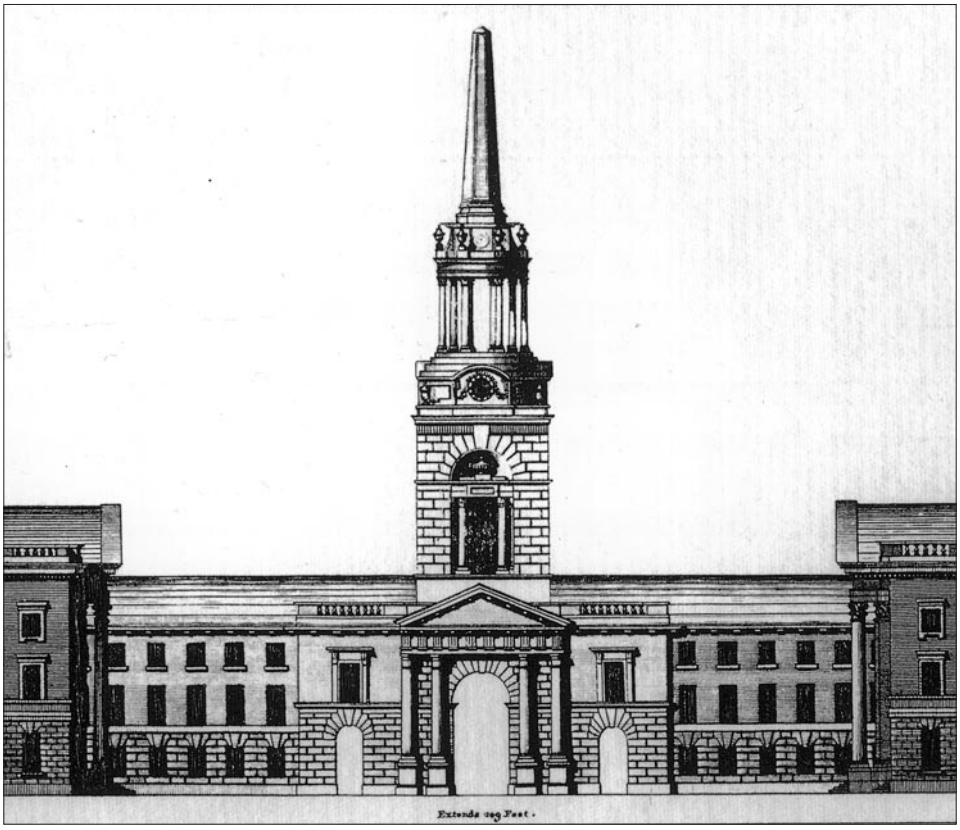
From 1762 the Barrack Board had two effective architectural posts on the establishment. One, the 'architect to the Board', was apparently the senior official, chiefly responsible for barracks; the other held the title of 'clerk and inspector of civil buildings in Dublin', amended to 'architect and inspector...' in 1788.[70] Henry Keene, first holder of the architect post, was succeeded by Christopher Myers (*c*.1725-1789) from 1767 to 1776, by Christopher and Graham Myers from 1777 to 1783, and by William Gibson from 1784 to 1793. Graham Myers, who had moved to the barrack inspectorate, returned to the post of architect in 1793, holding it until 1801 (jointly with John Gibson from 1799). The first clerk and inspector was Joseph Jarratt, from 1763 to 1774. His appointment ensured continuity on the civil side as he had previously served as Eyre's deputy (from 1753). Jarratt was followed by Thomas Cooley (1740-1784), from 1775 to 1784, and by Thomas Penrose (1740-1792), from 1785 to 1792.[71] It was during Penrose's term of office that rank

of clerk was amended to architect. Vincent Waldré (*c*.1742-1814), who was appointed on Penrose's death in 1792, continued in office under the terms of the 1793 Act. Italian by birth, Waldré (originally called Valdrati) was a protégé of the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquess of Buckingham, who had brought him to Ireland in 1787.[72] The sequence of architects at the Royal Hospital Kilmainham only partly overlaps with the appointments of architects and inspectors of civil buildings. Cooley advised the hospital from 1774 up until his death ten years later, but he was followed by Robert Parke rather than by Penrose. Parke was, in turn, succeeded by Sir John Trail, architect of the nearby Kilmainham Gaol, who died in 1801.

It is noticeable that while the Board of Works had never been, and, indeed, would never be a branch of its English equivalent, three of the above architects were English-born: Keene, Myers and Cooley. This was a period in which prominent English architects began to be employed by private clients also, though it should be noted that both Myers and Cooley had settled in Ireland before their official appointments. Myers, originally a joiner from Whitehaven in Cumbria, was employed by the Earl of Antrim at Glenarm from 1754, but later moved to Dublin. According to one source, his Barrack Board appointment in 1767 was due to the influence of John Hely Hutchinson MP.[73] After Hely Hutchinson became Provost of Trinity College in 1774, he appointed him college architect at £150 a year (four times the pay of a junior fellow), even though the only work allegedly carried out by him in his first two years was to extend the Provost's House at a cost of £300.[74] Cooley, as is well known, arrived in Dublin to carry out his competition-winning design of 1768 for the Royal Exchange (now City Hall). Symptomatic of the turn to London for big names was the proposal in 1773 by the (Irish) Revenue Commissioners for a new Dublin custom house on the downstream side of the Anglesea Street/Moore Street axis. With their petition to the Lord Lieutenant, they enclosed draft layout plans by Myers, but proposed that 'Sir William Chambers or some other eminent architect' should be approached for a definitive design for an 'elegant but simple building'.[75] In the event, it was Chambers' pupil James Gandon whom they employed, and who arrived in Dublin in early 1781.

In 1775 Chambers was brought in to finish Parliament Square in Trinity College, though initially by erecting a theatre (examination hall) and a chapel to terminate the south and north ranges, rather than by constructing a fourth, east, range. A fourth range was designed but was never built (Plate 19).[76] Myers was to justify his retainer by superintending the erection of the theatre (begun 1777), while the chapel (begun after 1787) was carried out by his son Graham.

By the end of 1794, the awkwardly titled Barrack Board and Board of Works was complaining that its workload had been greatly increased by the 1793 legislation. It would appear that it was the regulations drawn up under the Act which pro-



19 – Sir William Chambers, intended chapel and public theatre, Trinity College, Dublin

Drawn by Robert Pool and John Cash, and engraved by John Lodge, for their VIEWS OF DUBLIN *(1780). The central block, with its Doric temple front, is derived from the base of the then existing bell tower of Richard Castle. While Chambers' design remained unexecuted, Castle's tower was taken down in the 1790s.*

vided for the Board of Works component to function as a sub-committee, consisting of three members of the full nine-member Barrack Board and Board of Works. The three members comprised a first commissioner (paid a salary of £200) and two other commissioners (each paid £100). The complaints were outlined in two memorials which were sent to the Lord Lieutenant on 11 December 1794. One was a petition from five members of the Barrack Board and Board of Works; the other, a covering letter with some dissenting comments, was from one of the petitioners, James Cuffe (1748-1821).[77]

Cuffe, a member of the Barrack Board and Board of Works since 1772, had been created Superintendent General of Barracks in 1776. The three-member Board of Works had complained that since a quorum of three was required, they were

unable to perform their other Barrack Board duties, or indeed to leave the office. The memorial asked for a total of five Barrack Board members to be appointed to the Board of Works so that the 'business of both Departments might be carried on with due attention and advantage...' It is not clear if their request was granted before a further, major change occurred in 1799.

Cuffe, who was also MP for county Mayo (since 1768) and a rising political star, was promoted to head the Barrack Board in 1796 at a salary of £600. He was elevated to the peerage as Baron Tyrawley in 1797. Since 1777 it had been the practice for the Commander in Chief (of the army in Ireland) to sit as an unpaid member of the Board.[78] After the outbreak of insurrection in Ireland in May 1798, the Marquess Cornwallis was appointed both Lord Lieutenant and Commander in Chief, effectively a military governor. Cornwallis, who had been Master General of the (British) Ordnance since 1795, took a seat on the Barrack Board, where Tyrawley was the senior permanent member. After the suppression of the insurrection, Cornwallis undertook a number of political changes, one of which, in 1799, was to appoint Tyrawley to take direct charge of the barracks. This was effected by an Act of Parliament (39 Geo. III c.26, I.), passed on 7 May 1799, which was supposed to solve the problem of travel, complained of in 1794. From July 1799 the Commander in Chief and another ex officio member, the Quartermaster General, ceased to sit on the Board. The Act was purportedly based on a section of the letters patent of 1759, though this assertion was to be challenged almost twenty years later.[79] While the Act indicated that the vesting of powers in a single commissioner (or commissioners) appointed by the Lord Lieutenant might be a temporary expediency, Tyrawley's authority became a permanent arrangement. It would appear that from this date the Barrack Board ceased to have anything to do with barracks, though its title remained Barrack Board and Board of Works. Under section III of the Act, all the commissioners were to exercise powers as a Board of Works, but with respect to civil buildings only.[80] Tyrawley functioned as both Commissioner for Barracks and as chairman of the board, on which he sat when his presence was required for a quorum. This solved the problem of inspecting buildings around the country. That function was now reserved for Tyrawley as barrack commissioner. The other commissioners had no need to travel since all the civil buildings were located in Dublin. This concentrated power put Tyrawley in a stronger position than any public works officer since the abolition of the post of Surveyor General of Fortifications and Buildings almost forty years earlier. The *Gentleman's and Citizen's Almanack* for 1800 shows the Barrack Board and Board of Works divided into two branches, military and civil, sharing an office in Merrion Street. However, only under the civil branch is a board of commissioners listed, with Tyrawley at its head. The commander in chief had ceased to be a member of the Board.[81] In the mil-

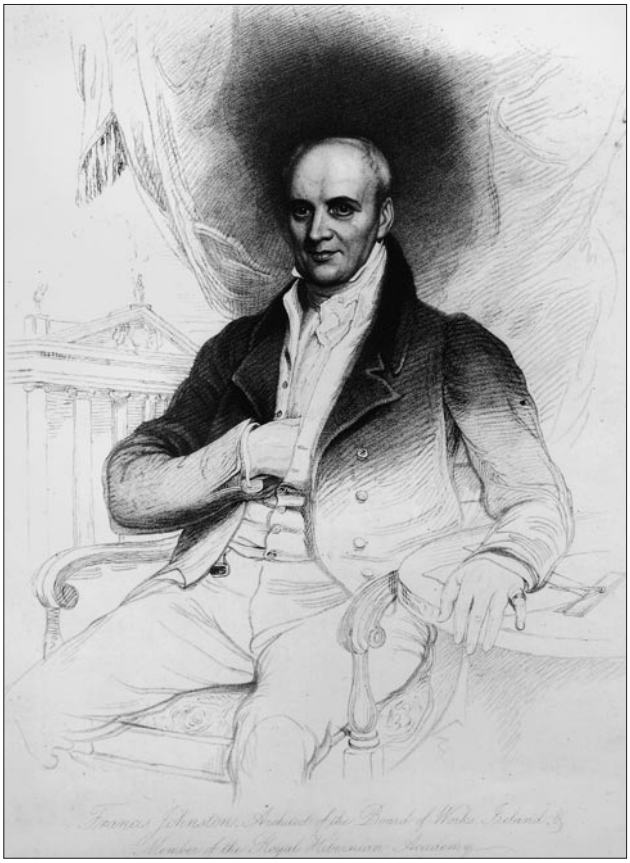
itary branch, Tyrawley is listed as Barrack Master General, with Lieutenant Colonel Quin John Freeman as his deputy.

EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

On 1 January 1801 the Act of Union came into effect, the final chapter of Cornwallis's political reorganisation. With the uniting of the parliaments of Britain and Ireland, changes were made in the organisation of the military establishment. The Irish Board of Ordnance was abolished. The duties of the Chief Engineer, or director, of the Ordnance Department were now to be taken over by the commanding Royal Engineer for Ireland, appointed by the British Board of Ordnance.[82] The Barrack Board and Board of Works, however, remained independent of the Royal Engineers. On 25 May 1801, Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, landed, and was sworn in as Lord Lieutenant. Hardwicke (assisted by his Chief Secretary Henry Abbott) determined to proceed beyond Cornwallis's reforms, and decreed, on 31 December, that the military and civil divisions were to be formally separated. The Military Branch became the Barrack Department, under Tyrawley and still with no board. Tyrawley held the title of Chief Commissioner of Barracks and Deputy Barrack Master General. The Civil Branch was to be known as the Board of Works, a civil body which was sometimes referred to as the Civil Buildings Commissioners. No new patent was issued, the Commissioners somewhat confusingly retaining their old patent as the Barrack Board and Board of Works. While the existing board members were retained, there was a reorganisation of staff. The first meeting of the new civil board took place, with Tyrawley in the chair, on 12 January 1802. Immediately, they requested separate accommodation, away from the Barrack Department.[83] However, new premises were not obtained until 1806.[84]

Hardwicke drew up regulations (based on the 1793 Act) for the operation of the new civil board. Among these regulations was the stipulation (taken from the Act) that any estimate over £100 required the Lord Lieutenant's written authority before works could be contracted for.[85] Hardwicke immediately removed from office the Architect and Inspector of Civil Buildings, Vincent Waldré, transferring him to the barrack inspectorate. Waldré did, however, retain the independent post of architect to the Royal Hospital, which he had held since the death of Trail in the previous year. In place of Waldré at the Board of Works, Hardwicke appointed Robert Woodgate, who had originally come to Ireland as carpenter (*plus ça change*) to Sir John Soane. Woodgate and the measurer John Behan were sworn into office at the 12 January meeting.

From the start there were irregularities. There was friction between the two



20 – Thomas Clement Thompson RHA, Francis Johnston (1823)

Drawing, engraved by Henry Meyer, and inscribed 'member of the Royal Hibernian Academy and Architect of the Board of Works Ireland'. Johnston was Architect and Inspector of Civil Buildings from 1805 to 1826. In the background is his General Post Office, Dublin (1814-18) (courtesy IAA)

opposite, top

21 – Francis Johnston, Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle (1807-14)

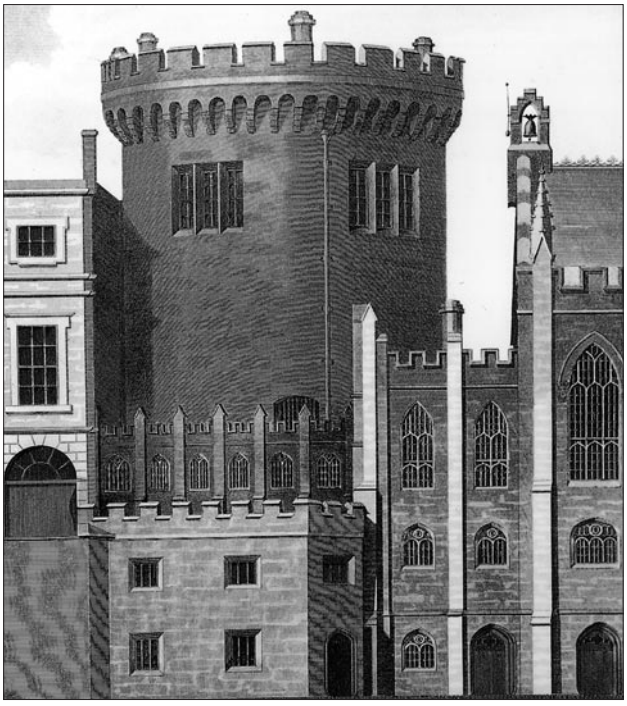
Interior, photographed c.1898. The chapel was sumptuously decorated with decorative plasterwork by George Stapleton, incorporating heads modelled by Edward and John Smyth, and wood carvings (including the capitals and gallery fronts) by Richard Stewart. The viceroy's pew, with its bow front, is in the left-hand gallery. (courtesy IAA)

officers, Woodgate attempting within months to have Behan dismissed.[86] Woodgate paid little attention to the regulations, obtaining retrospective sanction directly from the Lord Lieutenant to pay the contractors employed in enlarging the Vice-Regal Lodge.[87] The architectural genius of the age, James Gandon, who, as has been stated, was never an officer of the Board of Works, also fell foul of the new regime. In late 1801 he had been asked by the Chief Secretary to produce plans for a new Chapel Royal at Dublin Castle, but was reluctant to cut across Waldré. Being reassured that new arrangements were about to be made with regard to the Board of Works (Waldré was to be replaced), he produced seven different designs, some after Woodgate's appointment. However, despite obtaining approval, he withdrew from the project, professing himself 'ready to explain many particulars to Mr Woodgate [the jumped-up carpenter] for better understanding of my Ideas in Order to make my Design more perfect, presuming that in some future establishment I may not be undeserving of notice'.[88] The lack of accountability may have stemmed in part from the refusal of General Freeman (who in 1803 succeeded Tyrawley both as Chief

right

22 – W. Flavelle, south view of the Record Tower, Dublin Castle, engraved by James Basire, 1813

This view, printed to accompany a report on the Public Records of Ireland, shows the following works by Francis Johnston: the Chapel Royal; the two-storey State Paper Office; and the reconstructed thirteenth-century Wardrobe or Record Tower. To the left is one bay of Thomas Eyre's garden front to the State Apartments (1758-59) (see also plate 6), linked at second-floor level by the private corridor to the Viceroy's pew in the chapel. (from the Parliamentary Papers, H.C. 1812-13 [351.] xv. 547; courtesy IAA)



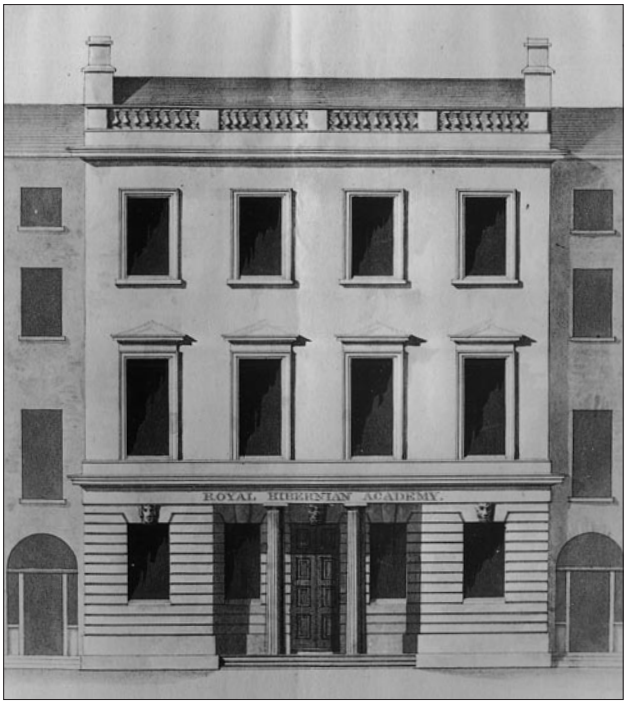
Commissioner of Barracks and as chairman of the Board of Works) to involve himself with civil buildings until offered a similar £600 stipend in 1806.

A new patent was issued to the Board of Works (archaically termed the Commissioners and Overseers of Barracks and Public Works in Ireland) on 19 June 1810, the term being at the monarch's pleasure.[89] However, in 1811 it was the Board's turn to come under parliamentary scrutiny as part of an examination into the running of all government departments, begun as far back as 1780.[90] This was published in 1812. Irregularities were found in the Board's operations.[91] It transpired that lords lieutenant ordered work directly from the architect, and that the costs were paid out of supplementary budgets. Woodgate, who had died in 1805, was singled out for attack. His successor, Francis Johnston (1760-1829) (Plates 1, 20), was queried about his inability to erect buildings in accordance with his estimates, specifically the huge cost overrun on the new Chapel Royal at Dublin Castle (from £9,533 to £42,350) since construction had begun in 1807. He successfully argued about increases in the cost of materials and other misfortunes, and emerged from the inquiry unscathed (Plates 21, 22) – this despite such irregularities as the substitution of cut-stone elevations for stucco without approval. The select committee, however, was not impressed by the performance of the Board, whose seven members (paid a total of £3,000 per annum) had little to do but pass Johnston's accounts. It recommended that the Board be abolished, and that in future the works should to be carried out directly by the architect, reporting to the government. The chairman would retain his barrack position. It was suggested, however, that in the event of a future amalgamation of the military and civil departments, a new board of commissioners might be appointed. It should be noted that Johnston's importance was not just that he was Architect and Inspector of Civil Buildings for the Board of Works, but that he advised the Irish government in examining plans for courthouses and gaols all over the country, although they were erected by the Grand Juries.[92] He had also succeeded Waldré as architect to the RHK in late 1804, some months after he first began advising the governors on building matters. Johnston was also architect for the Richmond Asylum in Dublin, begun in 1810 (Plate 23). He was subsequently appointed architect to the Commissioners for the Erection of Lunatic Asylums, established under an Act of 1817 (57 Geo. III c.106).

In 1817 legislation was passed providing for the termination of the Board of Works, among other bodies and sinecures, with provision for the Lord Lieutenant or the Treasury to appoint an officer or officers to undertake 'all duties connected with the superintendence of the public buildings'.[93] This should have paved the way for Johnston (or a successor) to take over the running of the civil department directly, as the select committee had recommended.[94] Johnston might not have been over-enthusiastic about assuming additional administrative duties; by 1821 he was proposing

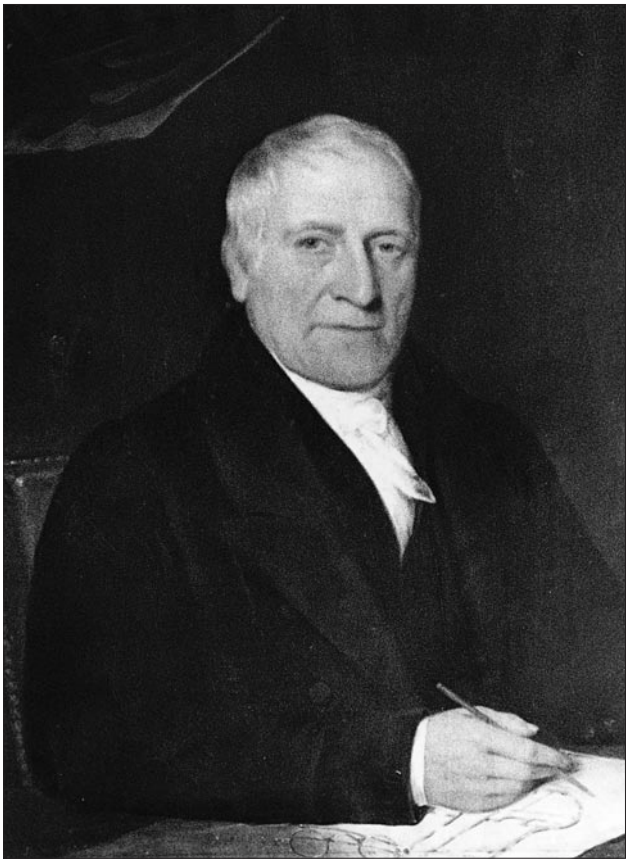
23 – Francis Johnston, Richmond Asylum, Dublin (1810-15), with corner pavilion by William Murray (1836)

The first of Johnston's asylum designs, it had a hollow square plan, probably based on the layout of Robert Reid's Morningside Asylum, Edinburgh, published in 1807. The front range is seen here in 1995, a year after the demolition of the other three sides.



24 – Francis Johnston, Royal Hibernian Academy, Lower Abbey Street, Dublin (1824)

Johnston not only designed the academy but paid for its construction,. donating £14,000. The building was burnt out during the Easter Rising of 1916; only the upper part of the façade survives. (RIAI Murray Collection, IAA)



25 – Martin Cregan PRHA (attrib.), William Murray, oil on canvas

This is possibly the portrait exhibited by Cregan at the RHA in 1844. Murray (1789-1849) was Architect and Inspector of C ivil Buildings from 1822 to 1832, initially (until 1826) in a joint capacity with his cousin and master Francis Johnston. (collection Royal Hibernian Academy, on loan to RIAI)

to retire altogether.[95] He was one of the promoters of the new Royal Hibernian Academy, granted a charter of incorporation in that year. He was eventually to donate £14,000 to it for the construction of a new building on Abbey Street (Plate 24). In the event, Johnston did not leave the public service, but arranged for his cousin and long-time assistant, William Murray (1789-1849) (Plate 25), to be appointed joint Architect and Inspector of Civil Buildings with him in 1822. None of the commissioners, however, was dismissed, provision being made only for their posts to be left vacant 'upon the Termination of the present existing Interests'. They were not in a hurry to go, so a further Act had to be passed in 1824 providing for their pensions.[96] This Act also had an important amendment stipulating that as each commissioner retired, his post was to be abolished rather than simply left vacant. As only a few members availed of this provision the Act had no immediate effect. However, the Act was significant in that it provided the legal mechanism whereby the building functions of the old Board were eventually transferred in 1832 to new Commissioners of Public Works. The relevant Section I of the 1824 Act stated:

> after the Offices of the said Commissioners [the old Board of Works] shall become vacant, it shall and may be lawful for the Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland for the time being in concurrence with the Lord High Treasurer, or the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury for the time being, to make such Arrangement as shall provide for the sufficient Execution of All Duties connected with the Superintendence of the Public Buildings under the charge of the said Board of Works.

It is noteworthy also that the 1824 Act deleted the reference to the appointment of one or more officers, leaving the simple term 'Arrangement as shall provide'.

In the meantime, military buildings continued to be controlled by the Barrack Department. In 1821, however, an Act (1 & 2 Geo. IV c.69) was passed transferring title to buildings in England occupied by the Ordnance Department under the Crown to their board of principal officers. This was followed by a further Act in 1822 (3 Geo. IV c.108) which transferred title to all barracks in Great Britain and Ireland to the Ordnance officers. The consequence of this was that the 'Board of Ordnance ... became the sole authority for the construction and maintenance of barracks in the United Kingdom'.[97] By 1824 the Barrack Department in Ireland had been placed under the control of the 'principal officers of His Majesty's Ordnance';[98] by 1825 it had ceased to be listed as a separate department.[99] To anticipate, the Board of Ordnance continued to be responsible for barracks throughout the kingdom until 1855, when it was abolished and its building functions ceded to the Royal Engineers.

It may seem extraordinary that the (civil) Board of Works, condemned to oblivion in 1812, should survive for almost another twenty years. Whatever about the salaries of the commissioners, politically its operations were seldom contentious. In the context of public works generally in Ireland, the maintenance of public buildings in Dublin gave little employment and was of little interest to politicians. It was the construction of such things as roads, bridges, canals, piers, harbours and railways that exercised the minds of the parliamentary select committee that sat during the late 1820s.[100] In 1830, at the conclusion of these deliberations, the Knight of Kerry, Vice Treasurer for Ireland, recommended to Wellington, the Prime Minister, that new public works legislation should include the following clauses: 'All works for which public money has been advanced ... be vested in a body of commissioners to be appointed by the Treasury for their custody and maintenance, for which are to be excepted all schools, colleges, churches and glebe houses' and 'Also [that] all public buildings, and all expenditure thereon ... be conducted by said commissioners and accounts passed by them.' [101] In the event these duties were added after the enactment of the legislation of 1831.

THE ACT OF 1831

One of the aims of the legislation was to reduce the number and expense of the various boards and commissioners then in operation, the savings on salaries being estimated at £1,300. However because there was a famine in 1831, the greatest urgency in passing the Public Works Act (1 & 2 Wm IV c.33) was to make available the £500,000 voted by Parliament for loans and grants.[102] It was envisaged when the bill was being debated in the House that additional duties would be assigned to the new Commissioners of Public Works after its enactment. On 30 June 1831, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Rt Hon Edward Stanley, told the house that 'it was intended to do away with the Board of Works' among other boards; on 31 August 1831, Thomas Spring Rice MP, Secretary of the Treasury, stated that the new Commissioners would, *inter alia*, 'discharge ... the duties of the Board of Works'.[103] These duties, it would appear, could be assigned by order of the Lord Lieutenant or by Treasury Minute without amending legislation, or indeed, any specific reference in the Act. Section C of the Act, while essentially conferring on the Treasury the authority to reduce the functions of the Commissioners, referred also to 'Powers or Authorities created by or arising out of any former Act or Acts, and herein-after transferred and vested in the commissioners to be appointed by virtue of this Act'. The existing Board of Works (referred to frequently at this time as the Dublin Board of Works) was on the list of bodies whose duties were to be entrusted to the new Commissioners of Public Works at an early date, presumably in accordance with the provisions of the 1824 Act.

The Public Works Act (1 & 2 Wm IV c.33) was passed on 15 October 1831. The new Board met for the first time two-and-a-half weeks later, on 2 November. Almost immediately steps were taken to transfer to the Commissioners the executive functions of the old Board, which was to be closed down. The old Board attempted to frustrate the move by querying its legality. In response, the Irish administration sought the opinion of a king's counsel, Richard W. Greene, who reported, *inter alia*, 'I cannot discover any Act of Parliament creating, or defining the duration of the Board of Works; nor am I aware of any objection to its being superseded by an order of the Lord Lieutenant.' [104]

No further challenge appears to have been forthcoming. On 19 January 1832, the Under-Secretary for Ireland, Sir William Gosset, wrote to the 'Commissioners for the promotion and extension of Public Works' as follows:

> I have the Lord Lieutenant's command to state for your information that Letters Patent bearing the date the 4th day of January 1832 have passed the great seal revoking the Patent whereby Lieutenant General Quin John

> Freeman, Richard French and Robert Gregory Esqrs. were appointed Commissioners of Barracks etc. in Ireland.
>
> Directions have accordingly been given to the late Commissioners of Barracks etc. to transfer to you all Plans, Books, Documents, and other papers which may be in their possession and His Excellency desires that you will be pleased to cause proper measures to be adopted for receiving the same in your department and taking charge thereof as well as for entering on the execution of the duties as heretofore performed by the said Commissioners of Barracks and Board of Works in this country.[105]

On 12 March, the secretary of the new Board wrote to Gosset asking that the Lord Lieutenant revoke the instructions given in '1801 to the late Board of Works in Dublin, with a view to ... making such alterations by degrees in the system of its management as may appear expedient'. This was agreed to, Gosset replying to the Board on 16 March that the Lord Lieutenant had authorised it to proceed under such regulations as seemed most advantageous for that 'part of the service entrusted' to them (i.e. public buildings). He added:

> After some experience in the mode of conducting this branch His Excellency has desired me to say he will be glad to have submitted to him such general regulations as you may recommend for adoption.[106]

While no copy of these new regulations has come to light, it appears that they were not as immutable as those enforced by Hardwicke, and that the terms of the delegation of authority to the Commissioners could be changed from time to time. It is undoubtedly true that the role of the Board was greatly expanded as the nineteenth century progressed. It is also true that this was done without significant amendments to the 1831 Act. This is because these duties could be assigned in three different ways, as the Crichton Committee reported in 1878:[107]

1. By other legislation.
2. By Treasury Minute.
3. By order of the Lord Lieutenant.

Thus it seems that the building function of the old Board of Works was successfully transferred *intra vires* to the new Commissioners. However, it is significant that the Crichton Committee did not spell out how the Commissioners acquired their power to build, while an abstract of legislation pertaining to the Board of Public Works, published in the early 1900s, also failed to address the issue, including only Acts passed since 1831.

It seems that with the passage of time the issue was forgotten about. There it

might have rested were it not for a legal challenge in the early 1990s to the Commissioners' powers to build and manage property, mounted by a group opposed to the construction of an interpretative centre at Mullaghmore, county Clare. The matter eventually came before Mr Justice Costello in the High Court.[108] In his judgement of 12 February 1993 he found in favour of the applicants. He also found that the Commissioners were not exempt from planning permission. In his decision on 'the right to build', Justice Costello placed particular importance on the 1831 Act and subsequent legislation, and the absence therein of any reference to general building powers. He cited two pieces of pre-1831 legislation in his judgement, the 1793 Act (33 Geo. III c.34, I.) and the 1817 Act (57 Geo. III c.62).[109] The first he considered was 'not relevant, the powers therein conferred were not transferred to Commissioners established under the 1831 Act, and they were of a very limited nature'. With regard to the second, he considered that 'it terminated the Commissioners of the Board of Works, enabled the Lord Lieutenant to appoint an officer to act as superintendent of public buildings under the charge of the Board of Works, but the powers under the Act (which were of a very restricted nature) were not transferred to the Commissioners under the 1831 Act'. The judgement does not mention the 1824 Act at all (the Act designed to remedy the deficiencies of the 1817 Act and give effect to the transfer of powers), so that its status remains unclear, and possibly untested. The perceived 'right to build' loophole was rectified in the State Authorities Amendment Act (1993), enacted on 18 February 1993.

While the 1832 correspondence, cited above, refers to 'Commissioners of Public Works', the title 'The Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland' was not given a statutory basis until 1839 when it was enshrined in section 10 of 2 & 3 Vict. c. 50. Official letterheads from an early date carried the title Office of Public Works, but this was seldom used, the organisation being almost universally known during the period under study as the Board of Works, just like its predecessor, or as the Board of Public Works.[110] The abbreviated term OPW, which can be found at the head of some mid-nineteenth-century semi-official correspondence in the Larcom Papers, has not been encountered in any official (i.e. registered) papers.[111] The Commissioners were constituted a corporation for the purposes of holding land in 1869,[112] and a corporation for loan purposes in 1892.[113] The duties of the new Board were as follows:

1. The management of a fund of £550,000 for loans and grants for public works.
2. The collection and repayment of advances made out of the consolidated Fund under the earlier Acts.
3. Inland Navigation.

4. The fisheries of Ireland (formerly under the control of the Commissioners of Irish Fisheries).
5. Maintenance of certain roads and bridges (under 6 Geo. IV c.101) and the construction and maintenance of post roads.
6. Care of public buildings in Dublin.
7. The administration, maintenance and operation of the Royal Harbours of Dunmore East and Kingstown.

By 1835, £400,000 of the loan fund had been spent; under the Public Works (Ire.) Act, 1836 (6 & 7 Wm IV c.108), the Treasury was given authority to issue an additional £100,000 for public works in Ireland. Under the Grand Jury (Ire.) Act, 1837 (7 Wm IV c.2), the Board of Works was given all the powers of the county surveyors with regard to the repair and maintenance of county roads. Under a further Public Works Act, of 1839 (2 & 3 Vict. c. 50), the Board was given the powers, *inter alia*, to purchase sites for courthouses. The Board's limited functions with regards to fisheries were extended by considerable powers and responsibilities in 1842 under 5 & 6 Vict. c.106.[114]

The new Irish Board of Works had a strong engineering bias among its top management for the first sixty-five years of its existence. The decision to have an engineer at its head was first indicated in a letter written by Stanley, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, to his nominee for the post, Colonel John Fox Burgoyne, in April 1831. Burgoyne had been the officer in command of the Royal Engineers at Portsmouth since 1828. The nomination ran counter to the trend in Britain, where a successor to the Office of Works (an amalgamation with the Office of Woods) was being planned with three non-professional commissioners.[115] It has been suggested that the appointment of Royal Engineers to the Irish public service from this time was intended to provide a broadly acceptable type of professional administrator, unencumbered by associations with local politics and the Irish Ascendancy.[116] Burgoyne, who was illegitimate, had been brought up by Stanley's grandfather, the 12th Earl of Derby, in deference to a family connection.

The new Board consisted of three commissioners, rather than five as originally envisaged by Stanley. All three – Burgoyne, Brook Taylor Ottley and John Radcliff – were appointed in advance of the legislation being passed. Ottley had been a member of the Military Accounts Board, while Radcliff, a retired Royal Engineer, had lately been a director-general of Inland Navigation and a commissioner for Maintaining Roads and Bridges. Both had been based in Dublin.

Building matters were entrusted at an early date to John Radcliff, and handled by him up to the time of his retirement in 1865. Radcliff was born *c*.1799, and had a brief and apparently undistinguished military career, serving as a second lieu-

26 – John Killaly, Tullamore Gaol, county Offaly (1826-30)

Front elevation, with gate-lock entrance. A rare architectural design by Killaly, engineer to the Grand Canal Company. The builders were the celebrated canal contractors Henry, Mullins and McMahon. The gaol was built on a radial plan, derived from Limerick prison (designed by the James Pain, 1818-21), though Limerick is classical rather than Gothic. The iron railings, with their Roman fasces, may be by the ironmaster Richard Turner. (photo Davison & Associates)

tenant in the Royal Engineers between 1822 and 1825.[117] He also found time to study law, being called to the Irish Bar in 1824.

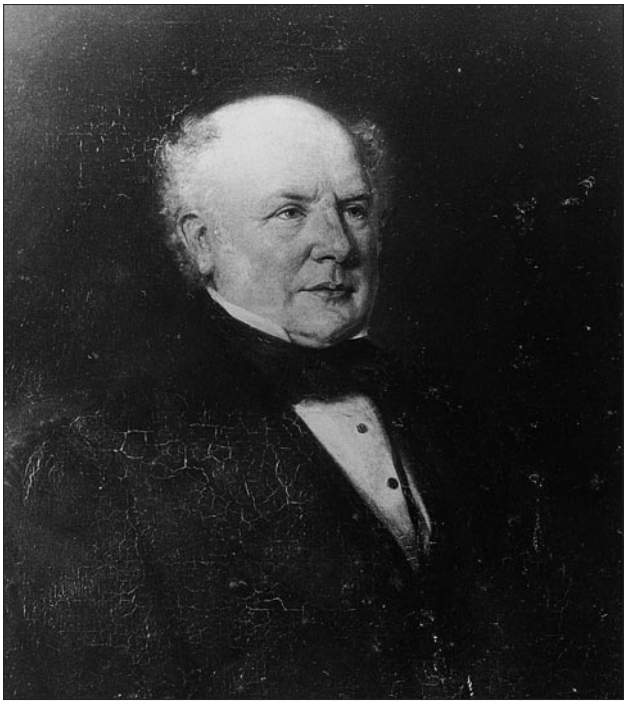
On the professional side, the key posts in 1831 were expected to be those of engineer and architect. William Murray, architect to the old Board of Works, continued to maintain the Dublin buildings and hoped to be confirmed in office. John Killaly (b.1766), one of the two (chief) engineers employed by the Directors-General of Inland Navigation, was appointed to the engineering post.[118] Killaly had made his name as a canal engineer, serving on the staff of the Grand Canal Company between 1794 and 1810, when he resigned to take up his post with the Directors-General.[119] Killaly had also dabbled in architecture, designing at least one major building, Tullamore Gaol, begun in 1826 (Plate 26).[120]

Initially the Commissioners of Public Works left Murray and his staff of overseers and tradesmen in place. Burgoyne was not happy with his practice of employing contractors on schedules of rates, considering a system of tendering for

contracts (as at the Ordnance) to be preferable. The delay in carrying out reforms may have been partly for legal reasons, partly because the Commissioners wanted to familiarise themselves with their duties. In their letter of 12 March 1832 to Sir William Gosset, the Under-Secretary for Ireland, asking for the revocation of instructions to the old Board, the Commissioners complained of the old arrangements. The Dublin Board of Works, they claimed, had met infrequently and had entrusted its authority to 'subordinates'. They now wished to bring its operations under proper control. While this remark was clearly aimed at Murray, it seemed likely there would be an orderly transition to any new system. When Killaly died suddenly on 6 April, the Board determined on another strategy – to amalgamate posts of architect and engineer and to bring in an outsider to do the job. Murray, sensing that his post was about to be abolished, wrote to Gosset seeking a retirement allowance.[121]

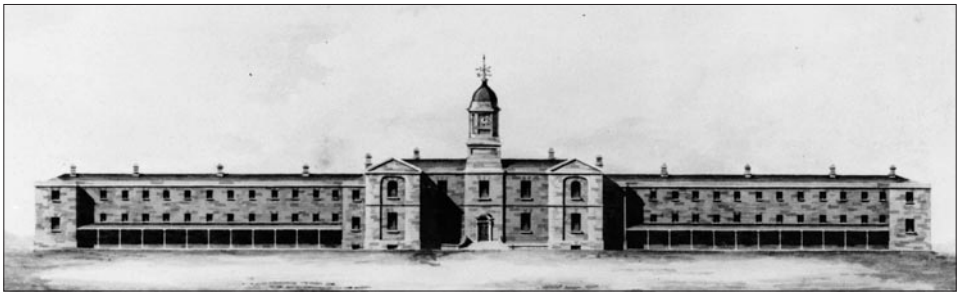
THE REGIME OF JACOB OWEN

The outsider was Jacob Owen (1778-1870) (Plate 27), Burgoyne's clerk of works at Portsmouth and an engineer by training. Indeed, his qualifications were essentially similar to Killaly's – early experience on canal construction and an acquired knowl-



27 – Anon., Jacob Owen, oil on canvas

Owen (1778-1870) was appointed Architect and Engineer to the Board of Public Works in 1832 and retired in 1856. He was described by a contemporary as 'short (about 5'3") burly and balding with a florid complexion'. Owen was vice-president of the RIAI from 1849 to 1867.. (painting's whereabouts unknown; photo RIAI collection; copy photo IAA)



28 – Francis Johnston and William Murray, typical second-class (60-100 bed) district asylum

Front elevation, drawn by Murray in 1835 for presentation to the (Royal) Institute of British Architects. The seven second-class asylums were opened in the following years: Armagh (1825), Belfast (1829), Derry (1829), Carlow (1831), Maryborough (Portlaoise) (1833), Waterford (1835) and Clonmel (1835). (British Architectural Library)

29 – Francis Johnston and William Murray, typical first-class (150 bed) district asylum

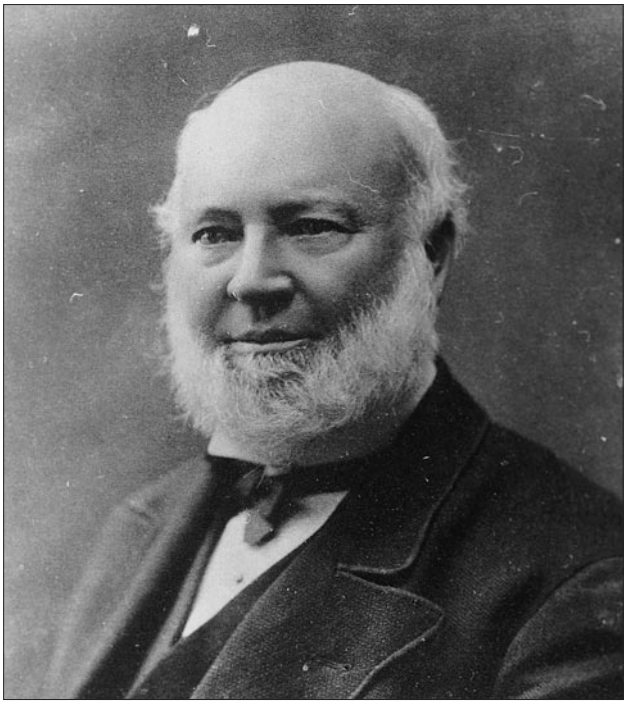
Front elevation, drawn by Murray as part of the presentation set in 1835. Just two asylums of this type were built: Connaught (Ballinasloe) and Limerick (opened in 1826 and 1833 respectively). (British Architectural Library)

edge of building design. As with Killaly, age was not considered to be an impediment: Owen was approaching his 54th birthday; Murray was eleven years younger. On 26 April, the Board wrote to Gosset informing him that Murray would have no place in the new arrangements.[122] On 9 May it presented its recommendation, to be forwarded to the Treasury, that in appointing a successor to Killaly, it would unite the 'two situations of engineer and architect ... by the appointment of Jacob Owen Esq'.[123] Owen was recommended on the basis of Burgoyne's personal knowledge of his 'abilities and integrity'. Murray was granted a pension and retained his other official posts of architect to the Commissioners for the Erection of Lunatic Asylums (Plates 28, 29),[124] and architect to the board of the Royal Hospital Kilmainham, but it was to be only a matter of time before the Board of Works took over these duties too. He lost responsibility for the asylums in 1835, and the Royal Hospital in 1842.[125] He also lost his consultancy role with respect to the design of prisons.

Owen, appointed the Board's architect and engineer on 23 May 1832, proba-

bly reported directly to Radcliff (who was in charge of matters relating to the erection and maintenance of buildings) rather than to Burgoyne, though it was the chairman, as accounting officer, who had to report in turn to the Treasury. Owen was responsible for the technical side of building matters, while Radcliff was in overall charge of the administrative side, liaising with consultants and client departments.

As has been noted, Owen was to become a major figure in Irish public works architecture, founding a dynasty that was to dominate the new Board of Public Works for almost the first sixty years of its existence. It is probably easiest to trace the legislative development of the department between 1832 and 1860 with reference to him, since he was the cause, directly or indirectly, of most of it. This was partly because while the Board of Works looked after only a limited number of buildings during its early years, Owen looked after the buildings of other departments in a private capacity until compelled by the Treasury to desist in 1846.[126] While James Pennethorne, his opposite number in the English Office of Works, had been similarly instructed in 1845,[127] it was the crisis of the potato famine and the consequent reorganisation of public works [128] that led the Treasury to demand that Owen give full time to his official duties. While other examples of free enterprise (real or alleged) became a cause for concern, and ultimately had to be legislated for, Owen successfully avoided dismissal, and eventually retired (at the age of 77), only



30 – James Higgins Owen

J.H. Owen (1822-91) succeeded his father as architect to the Board of Public Works in 1856 and died in office in 1891, just as he was about to retire.
(photo RIAI; copy photo IAA)

when he could be sure his son would succeed him.

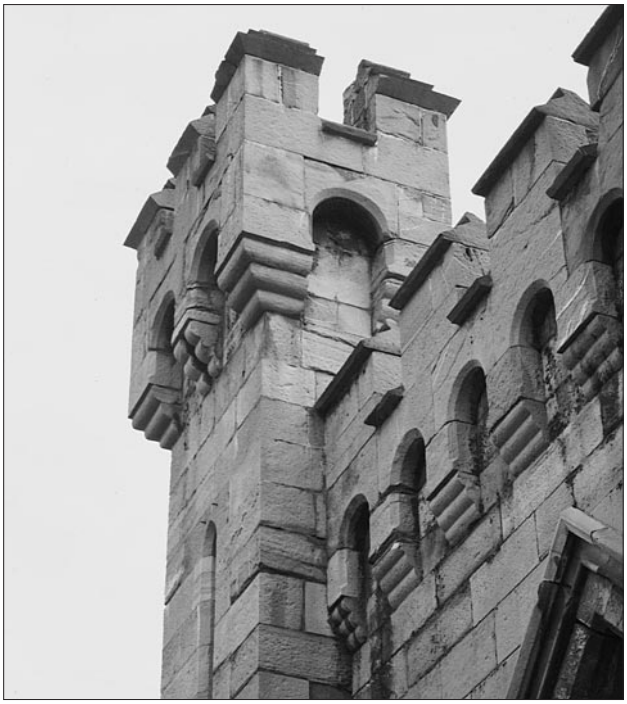
He was born on 28 July 1778 in Llanfihangel, Montgomeryshire, north Wales, the son of Jacob Owen, civil engineer, and his wife Margaret Ellis.[129] After being educated at Monmouth, he was apprenticed to William Underhill of Tipton, Staffordshire, a canal engineer, whose daughter Mary he married in 1798. They had seventeen children, thirteen of whom survived childhood. He next seems to have worked in London, possibly for the surveyor Thomas Bush, whose military connections may have assisted Owen in his next move.[130] He joined the Royal Engineers Department of the Board of Ordnance in July 1805, and was promoted to a full clerk of works in the following year.[131] Most of his career in the Ordnance was spent in Portsmouth, where he served latterly under Burgoyne. There he was assisted in his official duties by his brother John, and in private practice by his son Thomas Ellis Owen, who had trained as an architect in London. Thomas became a member of Portsmouth corporation in 1831, and served as mayor in 1847-48 and again in 1862. He was instrumental in the development of Southsea as a watering place, designing terraces and villas.

Some of Jacob's other sons remained in England, including Jeremiah, who became a metallurgist to the Admiralty and Store Receiver at Woolwich dockyard, and Joseph Butterworth, who was the rector of St Jude's, Chelsea. Other sons joined their father in the Board of Works, where critics perceived a dynasty in the making: William Henshaw Owen (b.1813) was the Board's engineer in Limerick; Henry (b.1815) was his father's pupil and assistant before becoming surveyor for Queen's County in 1841; while James Higgins Owen (b.1822) (Plate 30), who was made a clerk of works in 1849, succeeded his father as architect to the Board in 1856. I have stated elsewhere that Enoch Trevor Owen, who joined the board in 1860 as a drawing clerk, but who subsequently served as assistant architect under James (between 1863 and his death in 1881), was another son.[132] However, he is not listed in the family tree, and it is unclear if indeed he was related. He may be the same as the Enoch Trevor Owen (son of Richard and Mary Owen), christened in the Shropshire town of Wem in 1835.[133] One of Jacob Owen's pupils, [Sir] Charles Lanyon, who received a county surveyorship in 1835, married his daughter Elizabeth Helen in 1837. The Board's senior clerk of works, Frederick Villiers Clarendon (1820-1904), married Owen's granddaughter Margaret Jane Slacke in 1853.

Most of Owen's public commissions were in Dublin, where he erected extensions and new buildings at the Four Courts (1833-40), and extended James Gandon and Henry Aaron Baker's record buildings at the King's Inns (1849-50). This was the second of two matching wings, the earlier having been constructed for the Benchers under the superintendence of Frederick Darley in 1847. Owen's earliest work at Dublin Castle was a block of castellated stables (1833) (Plate 32). He sub-

31 – Jacob Owen, Dublin Metropolitan Police Barrack, Dublin Castle (1838)

Built as an extension to Thomas Eyre's house (1756), which was itself demolished in the early 1960s

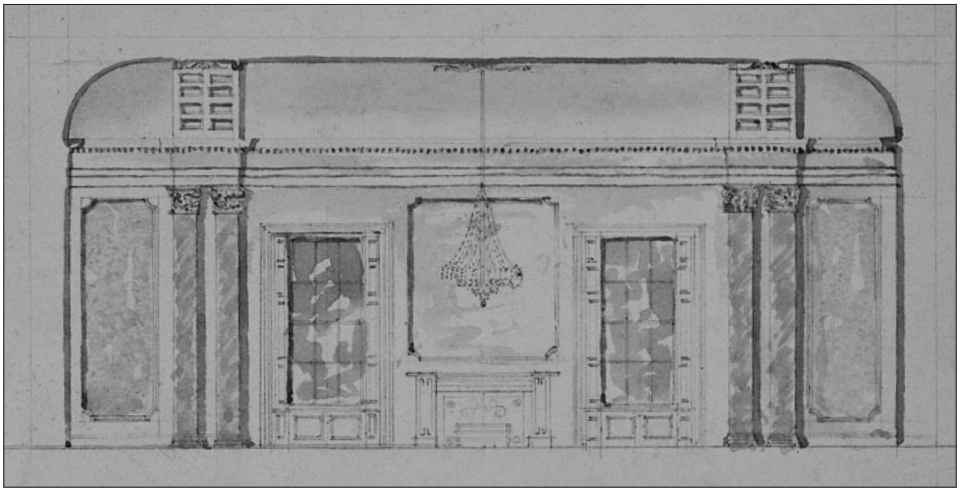


32 – Jacob Owen, stable block, Dublin Castle (1833-4)

Detail of the crenellated break-front. One of Owen's earliest commissions in Ireland, it was designed in the castellated Gothic style to reflect the architecture of Francis Johnston's Chapel Royal and terrace wall, which it faces. The stable block (now known as the Coach House) was built on a site previously earmarked by Johnston's successor, William Murray, for a screen wall. The Coach House also served this function, blocking the view of unsightly buildings behind the Castle Garden.

sequently remodelled a number of buildings there, including the State Apartments (1838-49), and extended the Chief Secretary's Office (1840-41). Among the new buildings he constructed at the castle were the Cavalry Guard House (1837) and Riding School (both demolished in the 1960s), and the neighbouring constabulary barrack of the Dublin Metropolitan Police (1838). The latter was an extension to Thomas Eyre's house of 1756, and, while mostly stucco-faced, took its floor and window levels from it. Its brick flank wall is a replica of Eyre's work (Plate 31).

The Phoenix Park was another focus for major public works programmes during the Owen era, though its management was spilt between London-based and Irish departments. A reorganisation of English departments had seen the establishment of the Office of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Public Buildings in February 1832.[134] At the instigation of the Under-Secretary for Ireland, Sir William Gosset, who was ex-officio ranger of the park, one of its commissioners, the Irish peer Viscount Duncannon, arranged for the appointment of the London architect Decimus Burton to carry out a condition survey.[135] Burton had been employed by the old department in 1827 to design the lodges for Hyde Park.[136] Gosset's initiative eventually resulted in a major redesign of the public areas of Phoenix Park, including replanting, the realignment of the main avenue, and the construction of new gate lodges and a bailiff's house, most of the work being completed by 1842. Burton was already familiar with the park, having been asked by Dublin Zoological Society to design its gardens in 1830.[137] With the reorganisation of the Office of Woods and Forests in 1851, the Phoenix Park was vested in the Commissioners of H.M. Works and Public Buildings (Great Britain), under 14 & 15 Vict. c.42. After nine years of management by them, the park was vested in the (Irish) Board of Works in 1860, under 23 & 24 Vict. c.42. While the English departments controlled the public areas of the park, the enclosed demesnes around the official residences, and the residences themselves, remained under the care of the Board of Works. The architectural works carried out by Jacob Owen at the Vice-Regal Lodge included the east wing (1843, executed 1849) (Plates 33, 34); west wing (1854), and the coach houses (*c*.1842). In the mid-1840s he rebuilt the Chief Secretary's House (now the United States ambassador's residence) and its gateway, and the Under-Secretary's House (later the Papal Nunciature), largely demolished in 1986. The largest complex constructed under Owen's supervision in the park was the Central Police Training Depot (now the headquarters of An Garda Siochána), designed in 1840 and built between 1841 and 1843 by Messrs Carolin. Owen had many business dealings with the Carolin brothers, and in a curious piece of free enterprise had proposed with them to develop villas on a twelve-acre site in the north-western corner of the park in 1840.[138] This had arisen from a recommendation from Burton to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests in 1837. The offer was

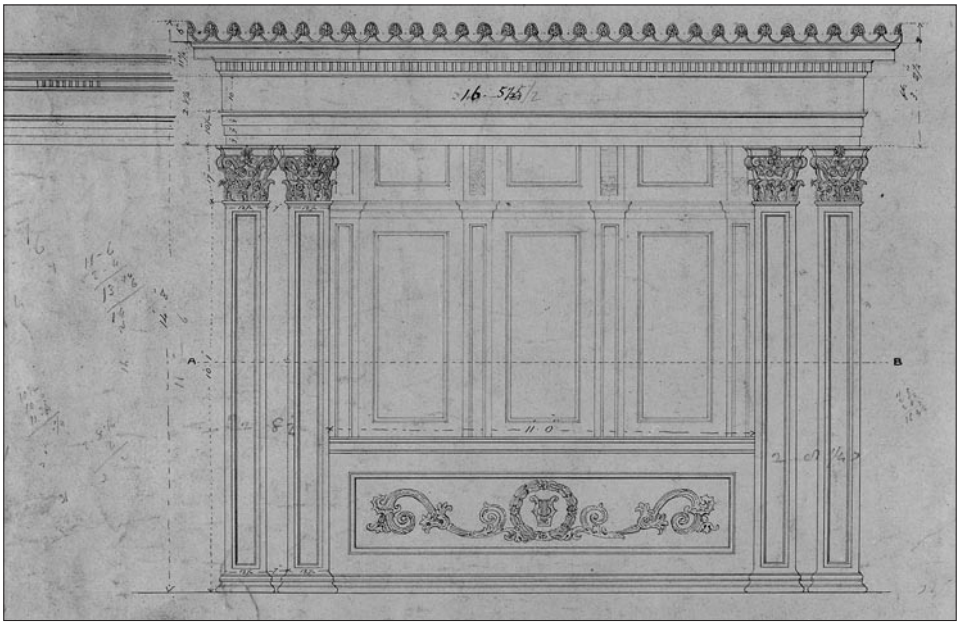


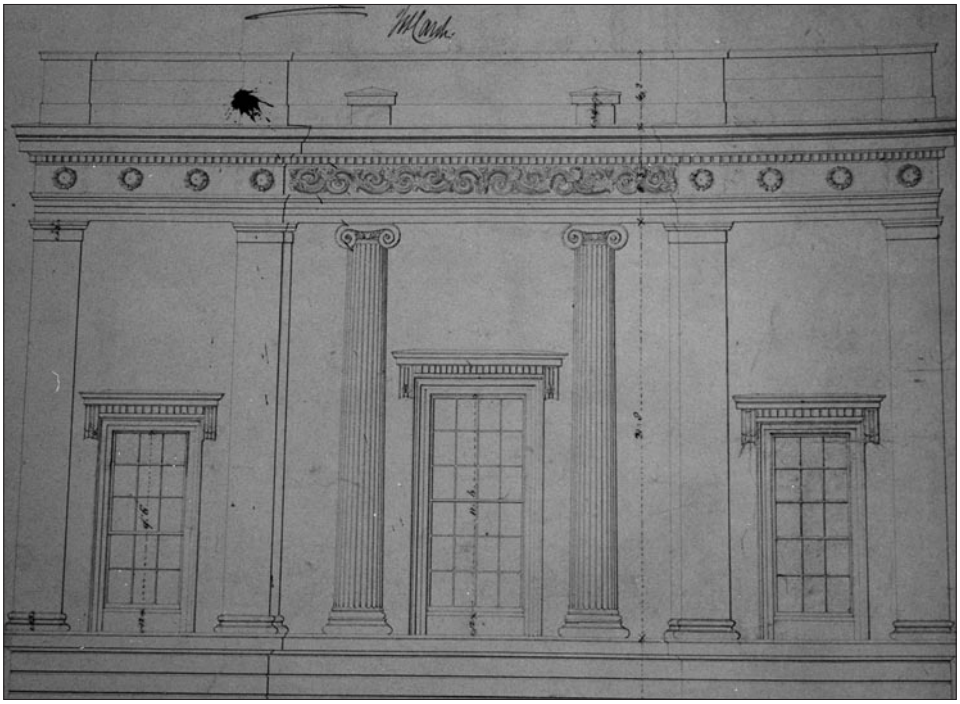
33 – Jacob Owen, Vice-Regal Lodge (now Áras an Uachtaráin), Phoenix Park: alterations (c.1843)

This design for the proposed dining room, with its coved ceiling and double pilasters, was a remodelling of Robert Woodgate's ballroom of 1802. It was not proceeded with. Instead the ballroom was retained, but upgraded, and a new interconnecting dining room (completed by 1849) erected in a pavilion extension. (courtesy National Archives)

34 – Jacob Owen, Vice-Regal Lodge: alterations (c.1846)

Detail of proposed orchestra front for the upgraded ballroom (paper watermarked 1846). The Greek-revival surround includes papier maché capitals and other decorative components by Frederick Bielefeld of London. The front panel was removed in a remodelling in the early 1950s. (courtesy National Archives)





35 – Jacob Owen, Four Courts, Dublin: extension (1835-42)

Detail of north elevation of Solicitors' Building; contract drawing signed by Messrs Carolin, 1837. The design had been prepared two years earlier, in 1835. The building was completed in 1840, but not fully fitted up until 1842. These windows lit the double-storey height Solicitors' Hall, burnt out in 1922. The façade survives as the north gable of the Law Library, but the openings have been blocked up. (courtesy National Archives)

accepted but was not proceeded with. In June 1838 a pseudonymous letter sent from Belfast to the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Mulgrave, had alleged that Owen and the Carolins, 'brother conservatives and orangemen', had corruptly conspired to defraud the public by using recycled and inferior materials in the construction of the Solicitors' Building at the Four Courts (actually financed by the Benchers rather than the State) (Plate 35).[139] This project had followed the erection of an adjacent block of courts and Law Library, contracted to Henry, Mullins and McMahon in 1835 (Plate 36). Owen successfully denied the allegations, pointing out that he had never expressed political views in Ireland, that members of his family supported the Whigs, and that he feared 'of all, my greatest sin is that of being an Englishman'.

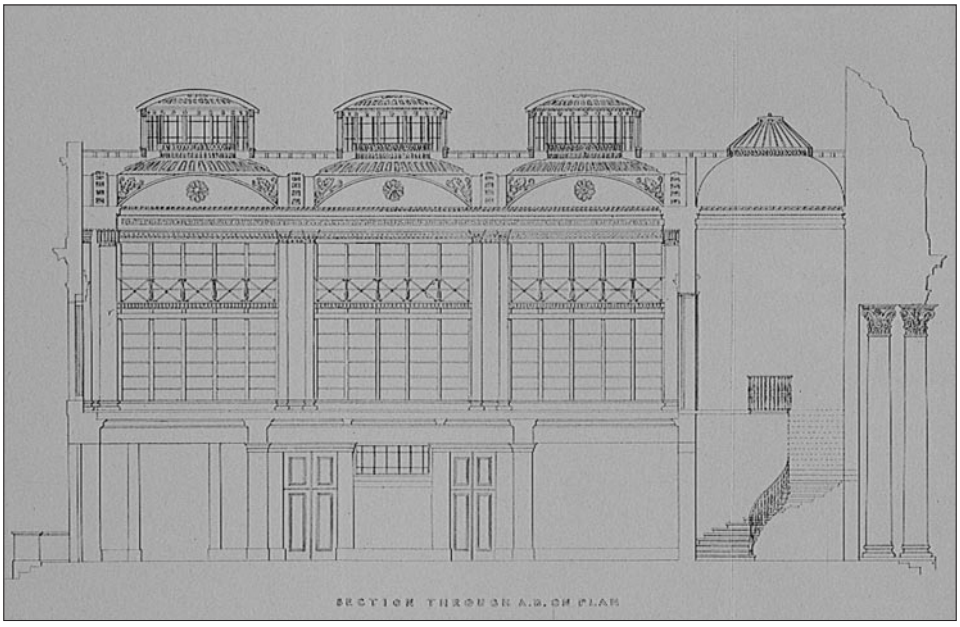
Within months, however, it was not Owen, but another English architect who was to cause a stir in Irish architectural circles. This was George Wilkinson, appointed architect for all 130 workhouses to be built under the provisions of 1 & 2 Vict. c.56, the Act designed to extend the provisions of the English Poor Law to

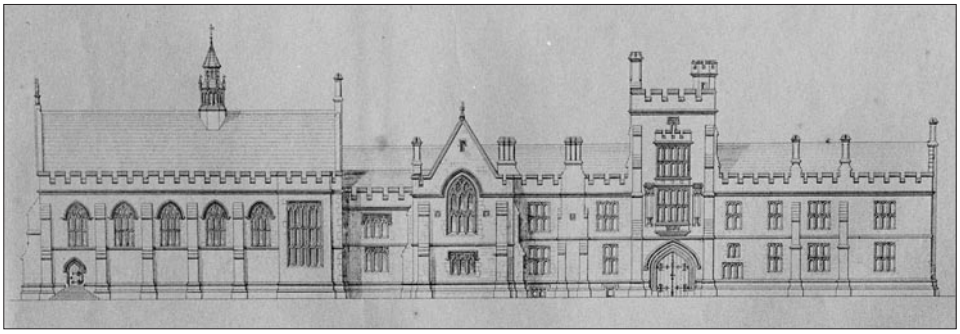
Ireland. The Board of Works was not to be involved, due to a legal technicality, but this was not generally known.[140] In England each Poor Law union had been able to select its own architect. The Irish architectural profession was incensed when it found out, and invited Owen to a meeting in February 1839 to discuss the implications of Wilkinson's appointment. However, Owen, who could easily have been in Wilkinson's position himself, declined, and urged a conciliatory approach to the Irish Poor Law Commissioners. While they failed to dislodge Wilkinson, they agreed to found a professional body, which survives as the Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland.[141] However, Wilkinson's achievement in organising construction of all the workhouses, many in remote locations, within the space of five years or so must have impressed his professional colleagues, who elected him to the council of the Institute in 1843. In 1851 he and Owen were appointed vice-presidents.

Consolation prizes for the Irish profession came in the shape of commissions in the mid-1840s for three Queen's Colleges (Plates 37-39) and nine new or extended district lunatic asylums, erected under the auspices of the Board of Works, all to be designed in the Gothic style (Plates 41-43).[142] A further asylum for criminal

36 – Jacob Owen, Four Courts, Dublin: extension (1835-42)

The Law Library extension, which also included new Nisi Prius, Rolls and Admiralty Courts, was carried out in 1835-38. The top-lit library was perhaps inspired by Sir John Soane's Stock Office at the Bank of England (1792). The library, converted to other purposes after 1901, was destroyed by fire in 1922 and demolished. (from the 4TH ANNUAL REPORT ON PUBLIC WORKS, IRELAND (Parliamentary Papers, H.C. 1836 [314.] xxvi. 491)



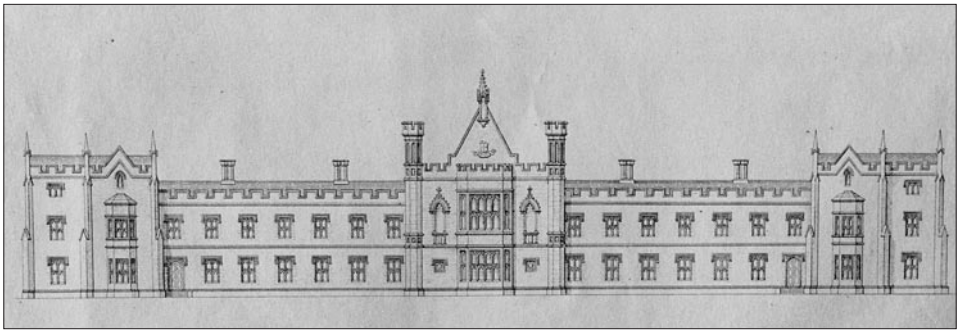


37 – Sir Thomas Deane, Queen's (now University) College, Cork (1845-49): north elevation, 1848

Deane recruited Benjamin Woodward, who was later to be his partner, to assist with the project. The main building elements – aula maxima, library and tower – were arranged on this elevation to form a picturesque composition. This and the following three plates are taken from the 16TH ANNUAL REPORT ON PUBLIC WORKS, IRELAND (Parliamentary Papers, H.C. 1847-48 [983.] xxxvii. 213). The lantern over the aula was omitted in execution.

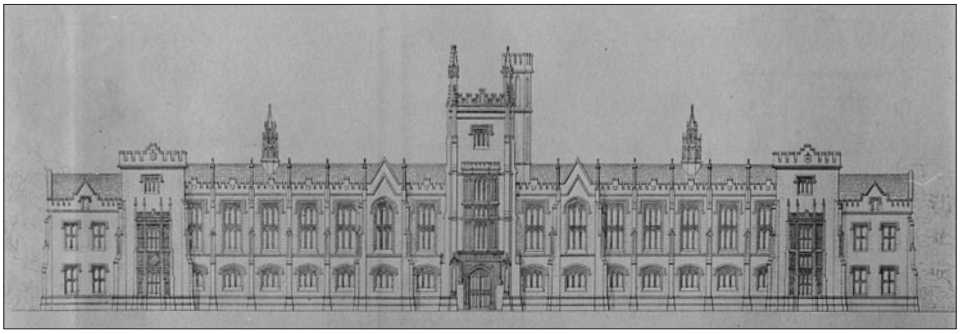
38 – John B. Keane, Queen's College, Galway (1845-51): west elevation, 1848

Galway was the only college with a completely enclosed quadrangle. This elevation shows the residences of the president and vice-president, with the aula maxima in the centre. The main entrance, on the east side, was beneath a tower modelled on Wren's Tom Tower at Christ Church, Oxford. Architectural supervision was taken over by the Board of Works after Keane was imprisoned for debt.



lunatics, in Dundrum, county Dublin (built 1847-50), was entrusted to Owen directly.[143] The Board hoped to award a further commission, for major extensions to St Patrick's College, Maynooth,[144] to an Irish Roman Catholic architect, but unbeknownst to them the primate Dr Crolly had agreed with the government to appoint A.W.N. Pugin, the leading Gothic revivalist in Britain (Plate 40).[145]

Owen was also concerned with monitoring the construction of the new government prisons on the separate system, including Belfast (designed by Charles Lanyon, 1842-46) and Mountjoy (offered to Owen, but designed by Sir Joshua Jebb, 1847-50). Lanyon had come to a private arrangement with his brother-in-law, Thomas Ellis Owen of Portsmouth, to assist him with Belfast.[146] Jacob Owen had

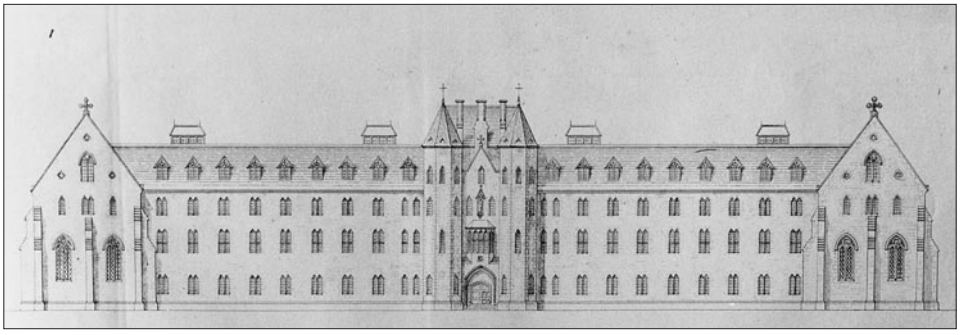


39 – Charles Lanyon, Queen's College, Belfast (1845-49): front (west) elevation, 1848

Belfast was built of diapered brickwork with stone dressings. The project was delayed due to high tenders, the design having to be simplified in execution. The double-height windows across the front of the building originally lit the examination hall, museum and library. Lanyon's clerk of works on the project, William Henry Lynn, became his partner in 1854.

40 – A.W.N. Pugin, St Patrick's College, Maynooth (1845-51): east elevation, 1848.

This is a scaled-down design, produced after Pugin returned to the project in May 1846. He had resigned the previous January after his original plans had been rejected as too costly. The two end pavilions were to house the dining hall (on the left) and the chapel. The latter was not proceeded with, and it was not until 1875 that a chapel was begun, though to a different design by J.J. McCarthy.



later engaged Thomas to draw up plans for Maynooth after Pugin resigned due to cost constraints. However, he neglected to tell his superiors, who were annoyed when he subsequently presented them with the bill.[147] The plans were by now useless, since Pugin had been persuaded to return by the college staff. One suspects a similar domestic arrangement was planned for Mountjoy; after the Maynooth debacle Jacob Owen suddenly announced he was too busy to provide drawings for the prison.

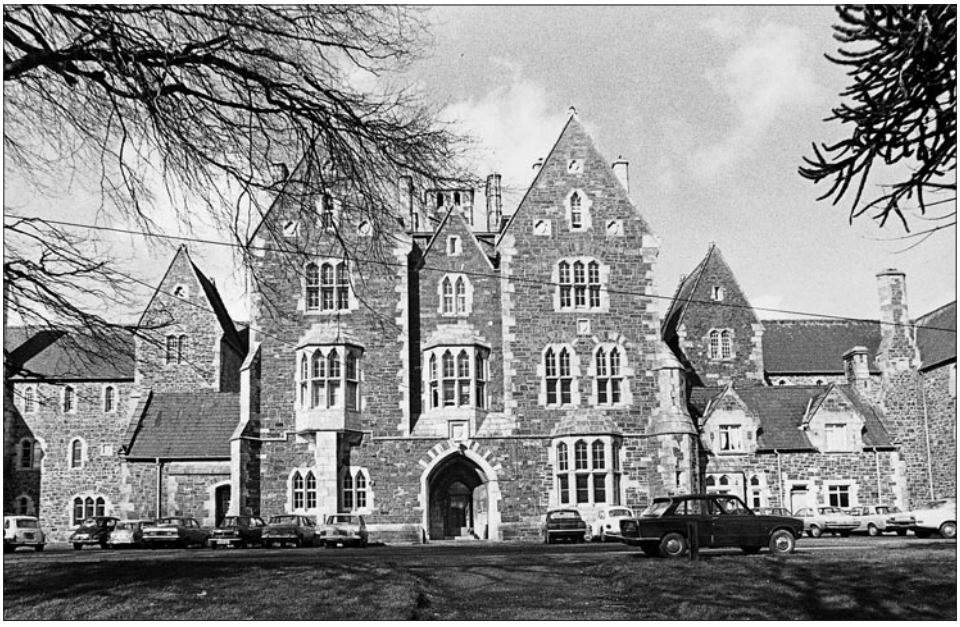
Owen also carried out private commissions, including work for other departments such as the Dublin Metropolitan Police and the Board of National Education (for whom he adopted Tyrone House in Dublin and designed the adjacent training college and model schools (1834-42)) (Plate 44). Owen continued to work for the

41 – Sir Thomas Deane, Killarney District Lunatic Asylum (1847-52)

As at the Cork college, Deane was assisted by his future partner, Benjamin Woodward. The hospital was originally designed for 220 patients but was subsequently extended several times. The Board of Works obliged each of the asylum architects to design in the Gothic style, though one, Sligo (by William Deane Butler), was Elizabethan. (photo Richard Haughton)

42 – Sir Thomas Deane, Killarney District Lunatic Asylum: entrance front

Like the Cork college, the design was heavily influenced by Pugin, though the style here is Early English Gothic rather than Perpendicular. The central window over the entrance arch may be compared to that at Maynooth. Note the contrast between the main walling material and the stone dressings. The central administrative block, seen here, contained the apartments of the medical superintendent, the matron and a board room. As with the other asylums, this block separated the male and female wings. (photo Richard Haughton)



43 – William Atkins, Cork District (Eglinton) Asylum, Cork (1846-53)

The asylum was built on a steep site at Shanakiel, with three main blocks in echelon plan, overlooking the River Lee. (The photograph shows the main entrance in the central block.) In 1875 they were connected together by a pair of linking sections also designed by Atkins, making it the longest building in Ireland (over 1,000 ft). The style, like Killarney, is Early English Gothic, but Cork was a much bigger hospital, being originally designed for 500 patients. By 1904 the establishment had risen to 1,286 beds.

44 – Jacob Owen, Central Model Schools, Dublin, Infant School (1838)

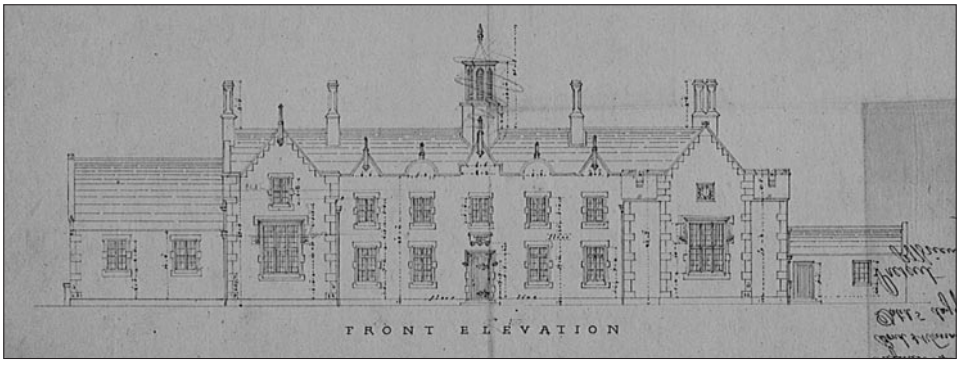
Engraving c.1850; the tower was subsequently remodelled. The Infant School was the centrepiece of Owen's campus design. It was flanked by Male and Female Schools (1836, now demolished) and, to the front, the eighteenth-century Tyrone House and its matching replica, the Male Training School (1838). (illustration from P. McCann and F.A. Young, SAMUEL WILDERSPIN AND THE INFANT SCHOOL MOVEMENT (London & Canberra, 1982)).

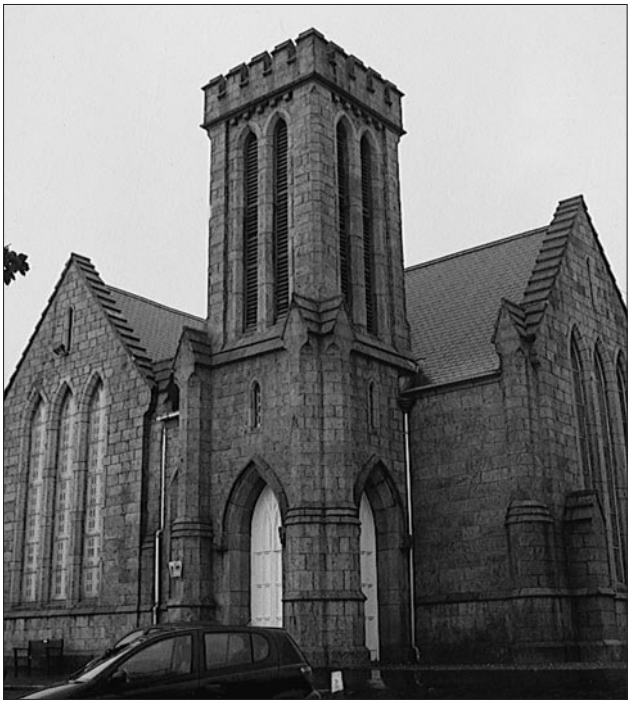
45 – Frederick Darley, Belfast District Model School, Falls Road, Belfast (1855-57)

This was a unique quadrangular design, ranged around a courtyard. Built at the considerable cost of £16,000, it was constructed of brick, with elaborate Jacobean stone dressings and a cupola. The segmental doorcase is classical. The building was burnt out by incendiaries in 1922 and was subsequently demolished. (Lawrence Collection, NLI)

46 – Frederick Darley, Limerick District Model School (1853-55)

West elevation; contract drawing. This was one of sixteen district model schools by Darley, the first, at Newry, being opened in 1849, the last, at Newtownards, in 1862. Most were variations on this Jacobean design and were built during his tenure as architect to the Commissioners of National Education (1846-57). Many were designed with roof ventilators, often, as here, subsequently omitted from the contract. The building survives, reconstructed after a fire in the early 1980s. (courtesy National Archives)





47 – Jacob Owen, St Patrick's Church of Ireland, Dalkey, county Dublin (1839-43)

A competition-winning design of 1839, this is Owen's only known Irish church. Constructed in granite from the neighbouring quarry, the stonework is more sparely detailed than that of the Dublin Castle stableblock, built of calp limestone.

Board of National Education, until the Treasury Minute of August 1846 obliged him to give up private practice (in return for an increase in allowances). He recommended his son James Higgins Owen (then employed on famine relief works) to succeed him, but the education commissioners had other ideas, and appointed the Dublin architect Frederick Darley.[148] Darley's main duties were to be the design of a series of district and minor model schools around the provinces (sixteen or so were completed between 1849 and 1862) (Plates 45, 46), together with a number of model farms. Apart from model schools (which were completely funded by the government), the national education board was not responsible for the erection of school buildings, only for giving grants. It is likely, however, that Darley had some role in the formulation of standard designs for national schools, though very few of these seem to have been built during his term in office.

Owen's private work seems to have come mostly from public authorities, though he did design one church, St Patrick's in Dalkey, county Dublin, which won an architectural competition in 1839 and was built between 1840 and 1843 (Plate 47).[149] Owen's retirement from the public service in 1856 coincided with an impending expansion of the Board of Works' architectural activities, with countrywide building programmes for the police, coastguard, post office and education department. Owen could have retired earlier (he was by now 77), but seems to have held

48 – Frederick Villiers Clarendon, Royal Irish Academy library (1851-54)

The library (now the Meeting Room) was one of two rooms added by Clarendon, the other being the museum (now the Reading Room).

opposite

49 – Frederick Villiers Clarendon, Museum of Natural History, Dublin (1856-57)

This 19th-century view shows the present suspended glass ceiling, which concealed Clarendon's original open-work roof, with its arch-braced trusses. The classical exterior was built of granite with Portland stone dressings, harmonising with the adjacent Leinster House. The upper levels of the interior, however, are of trabeated timber-and-iron construction, with cantilevered galleries in the style of those at the Royal Irish Academy. The elevation was later copied for the National Gallery of Ireland opposite it (Charles Lanyon, in succession to Francis Fowke, 1858-64). (from C.E. O'Riordan, THE NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM (Dublin, 1983)).

on so that he could guarantee succession to his son James, employed as a clerk of works (effectively assistant architect). James was not in fact next in line for promotion, as he was junior to the other clerk of works, Frederick Villiers Clarendon, a graduate of Trinity College who had started as a drawing clerk. Clarendon's penchant seemed more towards engineering, and he had served as secretary to the Institution of Civil Engineers in Ireland from 1847 to 1853. He had little architectural experience (other than maintenance) until he was taken up in 1851 by the chairman of the Board of Works, Richard Griffith, and one of its commissioners, T.A. Larcom.[150] Clarendon was entrusted with the design of a new library and museum (built 1853-54) at the rear of the Royal Irish Academy's newly acquired building on Dawson Street. It is not clear why Griffith chose to bypass Jacob Owen (whose

seems to have no involvement with the job),[151] though internal politics in the RIA cannot be ruled out. Griffith, a distinguished soldier, mining engineer and geologist, had been a member of the academy since 1819, Owen since 1838, and Clarendon since 1848.[152] Clarendon's RIA interiors (Plate 48), one inspired by the Great Booking Hall at Euston Station, the other by the Museum of Economic Geology in Piccadilly, were successful on both engineering and architectural terms, and led to a further commission from Griffith – the Museum of Natural History on Leinster Lawn (1856-57) (Plate 49). He also designed the curved colonnade linking it to Leinster House, as well as the Agricultural Hall of the Royal Dublin Society (1858) on the Kildare Street side. This was later dismantled and moved to Ballsbridge in the 1880s. In July 1853 Clarendon married Jacob Owen's grand-daughter Margaret Jane

Slacke. Although joining the family might have seemed to an outsider to be a good career move, Clarendon's seniority to James Owen was somewhat eroded in 1854 by the recommendations of a Treasury enquiry. This regraded their jobs so that Clarendon no longer had the title First Clerk of Works. This change effectively paved the way for James to succeed his father two years later, in May 1856. By retiring when he did, at a critical time in the Board's development, Owen could be certain that his son (who had been understudying him for some time) would succeed him.

Owen's brusque manner, family favouritism and dominance of Irish public works architecture brought him enemies. While there were several allegations of impropriety, none was proven, though it was conceded privately by Commissioner Larcom that conflicts of interest had arisen in his examination of his own pupils as candidates for county surveyorships.[153] He remained busy in his retirement, noting in his diary: 'The day is not long enough for what I find necessary to do, now that I am supposed to do nothing.' [154] He was an investor in his son's developments in Southsea, where he moved from Dublin in 1867 with his second wife Elizabeth Donnet Fry. He was a founder, with his son James, of the Irish Civil Service Building Society in 1864. He was an early fellow and vice-president (1849-67) of the Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland. He died of cancer of the liver at Toll End, Tipton, Staffordshire, on 29 October 1870, and was buried in Mount Jerome cemetery, Dublin. Elizabeth had predeceased him by six months. He left a considerable estate, valued at over £20,000. Towards the end of his life, he set out some personal views in a diary entry entitled 'How to Prosper in Business'. Even nepotism, it appears, had a philosophical basis: [155]

> In the first place make up your mind to accomplish whatever you undertake. Decide upon your particular Employment; Persevere on it; all difficulties are overcome by dilligence & assiduity; Be not afraid to work with your own hands, and dilligently too; 'A Cat in gloves catches no mice'. He who remains in the mill grinds, not he who goes & comes. Attend to your business & never trust it to another. A pot that belongs to many is ill-stirred and worse boiled. Be frugal – That which will not make a pot will make a pot lid.

LEGISLATIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES 1856-60

Owen's retirement in 1856 was precipitated by a forecast increase in workload as a result of a Treasury directive. Under its terms, 'the various buildings connected with the Customs, Post-Office, Inland Revenue, national education, and other departments' were to be transferred for future maintenance to the charge of the Board of Works, the expense to be provided for in the annual estimates from 31 March

1857.[156] These newly assigned buildings included coastguard stations. To this list was added, in January 1857, the maintenance of the offices and police stations of the Dublin Metropolitan Police.[157] Owen had managed to hold on to these (following police representations) as the last vestige of his private practice. The Treasury Minutes of 26 July and 17 November 1856,[158] which transferred to the charge of the Board of Works these additional buildings, effectively transformed the Board from an essentially metropolitan institution into one with countrywide responsibilities. In recommending, in 1854, that the Board of Works should take over the architectural duties of the Commissioners of National Education, the Monck Commission had asserted that it had a large staff already employed in duties of an analogous nature all over the country.[159] This was patently untrue. There was no rural infrastructure, since hitherto, apart from what it maintained on an agency basis, the Board had only two buildings outside Dublin in its care. For the year 1857-58 a total of 559 buildings would be in its charge, of which only sixty-two were in Dublin.[160]

Clarendon does not seem to have raised any formal objection when James Owen was appointed to succeed his father. Moves to create a national structure, with a clerk of works in each province, were developed. In the spring of 1857 Clarendon and James Owen's successor as clerk of works, Charles Doyly Astley, had their titles changed to Surveyors of Buildings. Subordinate to them were two clerks of works, James Bermingham Martin Morris, transferred from the Commissioners of National Education on 1 April when Darley's Architects Department there was closed down. A third clerk of works, John Stirling, had been transferred from the site of Charles Lanyon's Belfast public offices (Plate 50). In 1858 Griffith obtained Treasury approval to appoint a fourth clerk of works to take charge of the Leinster district and to do occasional work in the drawing office.[161] The successful candidate was Frederick Franklin, formerly clerk of works to the Poor Law Commissioners. What was more significant about this competition, however, was the candidate who was placed fifth, Enoch Trevor Owen, then in architectural practice in the English midlands. The Board had written to the Treasury recommending the other 'satisfactory candidates' for other government positions, but received a negative response. In January 1859 Clarendon became rightly concerned about his own position and appealed to Griffith to write to the Treasury to obtain an increase in salary for him, citing his extra duties under the expansion. Clarendon referred to his successful projects for Griffith, the drawings for which, it now transpired, he had carried out in his own time, saving the Treasury 'upwards of £230'. He also claimed to have been passed over on Jacob Owen's retirement, though he did not criticise the Owens directly. Despite some sympathy within the Treasury, Clarendon received nothing, and while he remained on at the Board of Works, supervising the clerks of works, he never designed another building for them.

In November 1859 the Board's first drawing clerk, James Bell, retired to take up a county surveyorship. The Board proposed to fill the vacancy with one of the unsuccessful candidates from the 1858 clerk of works competition, but declined to tell the Treasury who he was until it got its approval. This was forthcoming and it was revealed that the 'gentleman ... peculiarly qualified for the appointment' was none other than Enoch Trevor Owen. He took up his post in January 1860. He was not to remain first drawing clerk for long; by 1863 had risen to the new post of assistant architect (to James Owen) and chief draughtsman. The two Owens were to run the architects department for almost another twenty years, bringing public architecture in the form of national schools, police and coastguard stations and other building types to the furthest corners of Ireland.

There is a certain symmetry in that the Dublin Barrack debacle of January 1760, that led to Eyre's dismissal in favour of Keene and the reorganisation of the Board of Works under Magill, should be followed exactly a hundred years later by another appointment controversy coinciding with further major administrative changes. While the practice of architecture may have changed in a century, human nature had not.

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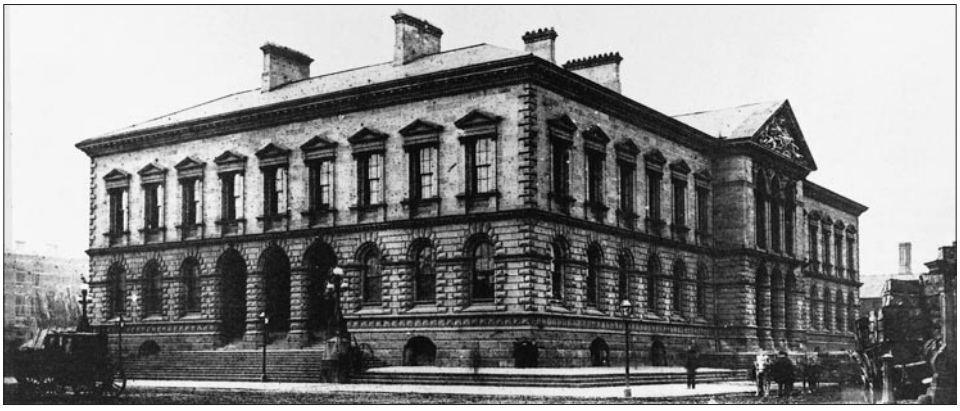
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to Ann-Martha Rowan; to David Griffin and staff, Irish Architectural Archive; Aideen Ireland, National Archives; Felicity O'Mahony; Manuscript Library; Trinity College, Dublin.

50 – Charles Lanyon, Belfast Custom House (1854-57)

Although named the Custom House, this building was effectively the Belfast public offices, housing several other government departments and a post office. The latter was originally entered via the steps, seen here in this 19th-century view, later removed. Although the commission was awarded to Lanyon, his partner W.H. Lynn is thought to have played a major role in the design. (Lawrence Collection, NLI)



ENDNOTES

[1] For a discussion of these programmes and the architectural developments and personalities of that era, see F. O'Dwyer, 'The Architecture of the Board of Public Works 1831-1923' in C. O'Connor and J. O'Regan, *Public Works: The Architecture of the Office of Public Works 1831-1987* (Dublin 1987) 10-34.

[2] *Architectural History*, xxviii (1985) 102-23.

[3] *Architectural History*, xxxviii (1995) 91-101.

[4] E.McParland, *James Gandon, Vitruvius Hibernicus* (London 1985).

[5] R. Loeber, *A Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Ireland 1600-1720* (London 1981) 23.

[6] *ibid*., 116-17. Robinson was in office from 1672 to 1700. He held a joint patent for the Surveyor Generalship with William Molyneux from 1684 to 1688.

[7] C.M. Watson, *History of the Corps of Royal Engineers*, 3 vols (Chatham 1915) iii, 134.

[8] E. McParland, 'The surveyor general in Ireland in the eighteenth century', *Architectural History*, xxxviii (1995) 91.

[9] E. McParland, *Public Architecture in Ireland 1680-1760* (New Haven and London 2001) 104.

[10] Eyre's early career is currently being researched by Kenneth Severens, who is cited in *Public Architecture*, 13: 'Thomas Eyre started his military career in America as a cadet in General Oglethorpe's regiment and, having served as sub-engineer in Georgia and South Carolina, retired as captain from Edward Trelawny's regiment (when serving as engineer at Rattan, an island off Honduras) two weeks before his appointment as surveyor general in 1752.'

[11] Opinions are divided as to whether Nevill was a victim or a villain. He was caught in a power struggle between two of the lords justices, Speaker Boyle, who represented the Irish patriot interest, and Primate Stone (a protégé of the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Dorset), who sided with the Crown. See E.M. Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament 1692-1800*, 6 vols (Belfast 2002) iv, 510-12. McParland, citing unpublished research by Arthur Gibney, has written that Nevill 'almost certainly benefited improperly from contracts he entered into for barrack buildings', McParland, 'The surveyor general', 99. Dorset had signalled that Parliament should not seek the removal of Nevill as this would infringe the royal prerogative, but when it became clear that 'far from being dismissed, Nevill was allowed to sell his post for a reputed £3,000-£4,000, parliament was incensed and moved to expel him [from the Commons]'; McParland, *Public Architecture*, 136. While it is not proven that Eyre paid such a sum to Nevill, he succeeded him on 31 August 1752.

[12] Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament*, vi, 169.

[13] National Archives, Dublin, Board of Works, 1/1/11. Letters patent of 18 May 1759.

[14] *Observations made by the Commissioners on their views of the several Barracks throughout the Kingdom of Ireland, with estimates for repairs etc...* (Dublin 1760).

[15] Anon, *The History of a Pickle-Herring or, the adventures of Butter-milk Jack* (1760). A scabrous account of Magill's career, it was presumably printed in Dublin, though the title page of the National Library of Ireland (NLI) copy (a 3rd edition) says: 'London printed: Dublin reprinted for the Worshipful Fraternity of News-Hawkers'. Magill was reputedly employed part-time as a pickle-herring (stage buffoon) with Madame Violante's company in Dublin. This pamphlet was noted by Maurice Craig (*Dublin 1660-1860* (London 1952) 169-70) but does not seem to have received any recent scrutiny.

[16] *The Georgian Society Records of Eighteenth-Century Domestic Architecture and Decoration*

in Ireland, 5 vols (Dublin 1909-13) iii, 90-91; Registry of Deeds, Dublin, 192/367/128009 and 221/217/147229. He served with Charles Gardiner and other proprietors on the committee that managed the Lots.

[17] See R. Lascelles, *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae*, 2 vols (London *c*.1827) i, 106-7; 113-15 and the papers of the last Surveyor General, Thomas Eyre, in the Irish Architectural Archive (IAA), Dublin.

[18] Sleater's *Public Gazetteer*, 24-27, April 1762. I owe this reference to David O'Connor.

[19] McParland, 'The surveyor general', 96.

[20] E. McParland, 'Trinity College, Dublin – II', *Country Life*, clix, no. 4115 (13 May 1976) 1,242-45.

[21] H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, (New Haven and London 1995, 3rd ed.) 571.

[22] IAA, Dublin, 86/149, Private letter book and account book of Thomas Eyre. Eyre was still looking for compensation in 1763. He received further funds that year to pay off outstanding accounts, but had to wait until 1771 for reimbursement of the balance of moneys he was owed.

[23] *Journal of the House of Commons (JH of C)*, viii, pt. 1, xxxi. After representations to Lord Lieutenant Townshend in 1769, Eyre's pension was increased to £400, the sum he had originally computed he had lost when he left office; see Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament*, iv, 127-28.

[24] IAA, private letter book of Thomas Eyre: Eyre to W.G. Hamilton, 25 December 1761. Funds to build the house may have come from Eyre's sale around that time of his financial interest in a development at the corner of Grafton Street and (South) King Street; Registry of Deeds, Dublin, 160/382/107932 and 176/495/119687. The house survived until the 1960s when it was demolished to make way for an office block for the Revenue Commissioners.

[25] *Sleater's Public Gazetteer*, 24-27 April 1762. Magill's post of 'comptroller' was effectively that of chief executive. He is listed in the directories from 1764 as 'comptroller of the works'.

[26] *JH of C*, vi, ccxc.

[27] *JH of C*, vi, cx. Although £14,789 worth of urgent repairs to the barracks had been identified in October 1755, only £628 had been spent from the Barrack Master's limited allowance by April 1758. A parliamentary committee report of that date stated that 'the barrack generally [is] in a ruinous condition'.

[28] *JH of C*, vi, ccxc. The granite reveals, which narrowed the openings, had presumably been inserted to allow the installation of new rebated sash boxes in place of original flush box frames or casements. Royal Square was demolished in the 1890s.

[29] Thomas Eyre, *A Reply to the Report of the Commissioners and others upon Condition of the Dublin Barracks* (Dublin 1760).

[30] IAA, Dublin, private letter book of Thomas Eyre: Eyre to the Earl of Rothes, 23 April 1760. The short time frame he envisaged for the works suggests that he was proposing repairs and modifications rather than any serious rebuilding.

[31] J.B. Maguire, 'Dublin Castle: three centuries of development', in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 115 (1985) 13-39. For Eyre's other work at Dublin Castle, see McParland, *Public Architecture*, 200.

[32] *Second Report on Historic Manuscripts* (London 1871), 3. Bedford MSS, 'Report upon the condition of the fortifications of Ireland, with plans annexed, surveyed by Thomas Eyre 1754-55'.

[33] T. Mowl, 'Henry Keene', in R. Brown (ed.), *The Architectural Outsiders* (London 1985) 82-97.

[34] *JH of C*, viii, pt. 1, lxxx.

[35] Alfray left Keene's employ in 1761 to work as overseer for the Board of Ordnance on the construction of the powder magazines at Purfleet. However, he was dismissed in 1765; see P. Guillery and P. Patison, 'The Powder Magazines at Purfleet', *Georgian Group Journal*, vi (1996) 37-52. I owe this reference to David Griffin. Alfray appeared on Keene's behalf at a meeting of the Barrack Board in Dublin in late 1765, *JH of C*, viii, pt. 1, lxxx.

[36] *JH of C*, viii, pt 2, ccccxlvii. The cost benefit analysis favourably compared the estimate with the annualised cost of providing billets in the city.

[37] *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 9-12 August 1766. I owe this reference to Dr Christine Casey. See also Sir John Gilbert, followed by Lady Gilbert (eds), *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, 19 vols (Dublin 1889-1944), xi (1904) 373-74.

[38] Alfray's 1767 plans of Dublin Castle are illustrated in McParland, *Public Architecture*, pls 126, 128. See also F. O'Dwyer, 'The Ballroom at Dublin Castle: the origins of St. Patrick's Hall', in A. Bernelle (ed.), *Decantations: a tribute to Maurice Craig* (Dublin 1992) 150, and 'Making Connections', 8. Myers is credited with the design of Palatine Square in Mairead Dunlevy, *Dublin Barracks: a brief history of Collins Barracks, Dublin* (Dublin 2002), apparently on the basis that he was appointed Barrack Board architect in 1767. While he undoubtedly completed the project, it is clear from the tender notice that full plans had been prepared by 1766.

[39] *JH of C*, viii, pt. 2, ccccxlvii. Compare the footprint of Palatine Square on Rocque's Map of 1756 with that on Scalé's revision of 1773.

[40] The river front of the south range was faced in limestone (presumably to match its neighbours in the Little Square), but with cut-stone at ground level. The arcades have similar ground plans on the 1756 and 1773 maps, but one suspects that the Burgh arcades were built of limestone rather than the present granite.

[41] James H. Todd, *A Catalogue of Graduates who have proceeded to Degrees in the University of Dublin* (Dublin and London 1869) 366; George Dames Burtchaell and Thomas Ulick Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, (Dublin (1935) 2nd ed.) 546.

[42] McParland, *Public Architecture*, 162.

[43] The northern leg of the west front and the reconstruction of the adjoining north range were begun in 1672, from the designs of Thomas Lucas; see Loeber, *Biographical Dictionary*, 69, and McParland, *Public Architecture*, 143. The matching southern leg and the gatehouse centrepiece, added after 1684, have been attributed by Loeber to Sir William Robinson (Loeber, *Biographical Dictionary*, 96). The centrepiece was complete by 1699 (McParland, *Public Architecture*, 145). See also John William Stubbs, *The History of the University of Dublin from its Foundation to the end of the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin and London 1889) 188-92.

[44] *JH of C*, v, 98, 181, 232; vi. 2.

[45] Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860*, 180.

[46] Trinity College, Dublin (TCD), MUN/V/5/3.

[47] *JH of C*, vi, cclxiii, no. xxxv. See also *Country Life*, xcvii, no. 2,521, 11 May 1945, 81-2.

[48] TCD, MUN/P/2/134(5).

[49] TCD, MUN/P/2/98, Letter from Hugh Darley to John (sic) Keene, 15 February 1755.

[50] TCD, MUN/P/2/100. The alterations may explain why the arches of the Venetian windows are only skin-deep.

[51] TCD, MUN/P/2/104.

[52] TCD, MUN/P/2/99/3.

[53] Engraving of the proposed elevation, reproduced by John Aheron, architect, in a pamphlet criticising it and contrasting it with his own alternative design: *Remarks and Observations on the Building carrying on for a Certain College* (Dublin 1757). Illustrated in McParland, *Public Architecture*, plate 193.

[54] A. Crookshank and D. Webb, *Paintings and Sculptures in Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin 1990) 12.

[55] E. McParland, 'Francis Andrews', in J. Ingamels (ed.), *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701-1800* (New Haven and London 1997) 19-20.

[56] Construction of the Provost's House, under Darley's supervision, commenced a few months after the West Front (Parliament Buildings) was completed in February 1759. John Smyth has traditionally been regarded as the architect of the house on the basis of a payment of £22 15s to 'Smith Architect for a plan of the Provost's House' in June 1759. However, McParland has pointed out that a further payment of £108 6s 8d (the equivalent of £100 sterling) to an unnamed 'Architect' appears in an abstract of expenses dated about 1770. He has suggested that this architect may have been Henry Keene, since a similar sum, paid to a Mr Keen, appears in an amalgamated account (for the house and the West Front), dated 1764. On this basis, he suggests that Keene may have been employed to carry out the interior, construction of which ran on for some years after the shell was completed: E. McParland, 'An academic palazzo in Ireland: the Provost's House, Trinity College, Dublin – I', in *Country Life*, clx, no. 4,137 (14 October 1976) 1034-7. I would suggest that this hypothesis depends very much on when Keene might have been engaged, since Andrews' personal and political allegiances were with the Whigs and the Bedford vice-regal administration (which had given tacit support to Eyre) rather than the lords justices and the patriot element in Parliament. The Chief Secretary, Richard Rigby, arranged to secure a new seat in Parliament for Andrews in early 1761, a move that was challenged by one of the lords justices, Speaker Ponsonby: see R.E. Burns, *Irish Parliamentary Politics in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols (Washington DC 1990) ii, 314.

[57] Patrick Duigenan, *Lachrymae Academicae, or The Present Deplorable State of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin* (Dublin 1777) 162. The author was a disaffected academic and former board member of the college. On the face of it, a perusal of documents relating to the parliamentary grant and its surplus in 1759 (£15,000), would suggest that much of it was used in the building of the Provost's House and the rebuilding of the college dining hall, also undertaken at this time. Duigenan, however, believed that £12,000 of the grant surplus was still unspent in in 1777. This supposition does not preclude that part of the surplus was spent on the Provost's House, since Duigenan makes no allowance for the interest that would have accrued on the unspent monies over twenty years. *Lachrymae Academicae* is an attack on the character and behaviour of Andrews' successor Provost Hely Hutchinson. A lawyer and politician like his predecessor, Hely Hutchinson had all of his ambition and acquisitiveness, but none of his wit or charm. The first married provost, he had dynastic and aristocratic ambitions for his family. Duigenan blamed him rather than Andrews (who was a friend) for not completing the fourth side of Parliament Square and for abandoning plans drawn up for new student rooms (in what is now the Botany Bay area) in 1774. As Hely Hutchinson was only appointed in 1774, this seems unreasonable. If the money was really unspent, one wonders why it had not been drawn down earlier. Much of the money for the next big project, the building of the theatre (examination hall), came from the Erasmus Smith Fund.

[58] Constantia Maxwell, *A History of Trinity College Dublin 1591-1892* (Dublin 1946) 119.

[59] Anon [Henry Grattan, Henry Flood and others], *Baratariana: a select collection of fugitive political pieces published during the administration of Lord Townshend in Ireland* (Dublin 1772) 292-3.

[60] Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament*, iv, 256. William Gamble MP is described as a 'hanger-on' of the Provost.

[61] TCD, MUN/V/5/3.

[62] Frances Gerard, *Some Celebrated Irish Beauties of the Last Century* (London 1895) 283-4. Gerard lists Andrews' pictures of Woffington as three or four portraits (rather than prints) by the London artist Arthur Pond, which she states were sold after his death. For more on portraits of Woffington, see N. Figgis and B. Rooney, *Irish Paintings in the National Gallery of Ireland*, i (Dublin 2001) 346-50.

[63] Francis Hardy, *Memoirs of the Political and Private Life of James Caulfield, Earl of Charlemont*, 2 vols (London (1812) 2nd ed.) i, 147.

[64] Janet Camden Lucey, *Lovely Peggy – The Life and Times of Margaret Woffington* (London 1952), 228-9

[65] Instead, Robert Chapman, the long-serving overseer of the workmen, was left in charge.

[66] National Archives, Dublin, minute books of the Royal Hospital Kilmainham, v, 146-50.

[67] Johnston-Liik, quoting contemporary sources notes that he died on the first occasion of his attendance after the death of his only child, a daughter – 'suddenly taken with an apoplectic fit [he] dropt down dead in his place'; *History of the Irish Parliament*, iv, 128.

[68] The full title of the Act was 'An Act for the Support of the Honour and Dignity of His Majesty's Crown in Ireland, and for granting to His Majesty a Civil List Establishment, under certain Provisions and Regulations'. The only bodies whose building activities did not come under the control of the Act were the Ballast Boards of Dublin, Cork and Belfast, and the Revenue Commissioners, who had authority over works approved by the Lord Lieutenant and costing under £1,000.

[69] *JH of C*, xv, pt.1, 206.

[70] *The Gentleman's and Citizen's Almanack* (Dublin 1788) 70. See also R. Heard, 'Public Works in Ireland 1800-1831' (unpublished M. Litt. dissertation, University of Dublin, 1977) 8.

[71] For some background on Myers, Jarratt and Penrose, see F. O'Dwyer, 'Making Connections in Georgian Ireland', in *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, xxxviii (1996-97) 6-23.

[72] W.G. Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, 2 vols (Dublin and London 1913) ii, 495.

[73] Duigenan, *Lachrymae Academicae*, 162-64.

[74] *ibid*.

[75] J.T. Gilbert, *A History of the City of Dublin*, 3 vols (Dublin 1859) ii, 144.

[76] The unexecuted fourth range, with a new centrepiece, derived in its lower levels from Richard Castle's campanile, was illustrated in Robert Pool and John Cash, *Views of the Most Remarkable Public Buildings, Monuments and other Edifices in the City of Dublin* (Dublin 1780). Chambers had resigned in 1778, feeling that he had little control over what was being erected: 'whatever merit that it has is Mr. Meyers's [sic]'.

[77] National Archives, Dublin, OP 1794/509/26/9.

[78] Robert Beatson, *A political Index to the Histories of Great Britain and Ireland*, 2 vols (London 1788) ii, 228. See also *The Gentleman's and Citizen's Almanack*, (Dublin 1778) 70.

[79] Heard, 'Public Works in Ireland', 91.

[80] *Twelfth report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into Fees ... which are or have been*

lately received in certain Public Offices in Ireland ... Board of Works, report para. ii. House of Commons (H.C.) 1812 (33) v, 191.

[81] *The Gentleman's and Citizen's Almanack* (Dublin 1800) 98.

[82] One of its first tasks, in July 1801, was to carry out a survey of Dublin Castle to differentiate the buildings for which the Ordnance had responsibility. The plan is in the Public Records Office (PRO), Kew, MPH 202, PFF123909. See also Watson, *History of the Corps of Royal Engineers*, iii, 140.

[83] National Archives, Dublin, CSORP 1823/5033.

[84] Heard, 'Public Works in Ireland', 79.

[85] *Papers presented to the House of Commons (in pursuance of orders of 11 June 1804) respecting Instructions from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to the commissioners of Public Works in Ireland*, 3-11, H.C. 1805 (26) vi, 209. See also National Archives, Dublin, OP 1802/118/15.

[86] National Archives, Dublin, Board of Works, 2D/57/34. Woodgate to the Board, 7 May 1802.

[87] The extensions consisted of wings at either end of the building, housing a dining room and drawing room respectively. These did not remain wings for long, further additions to each end being made by Jacob Owen in 1849 and 1854.

[88] Quoted in McParland, *James Gandon*, 106.

[89] *Seventh Report of the select Committee on the public expenditure of the United Kingdom* [relative to Buildings, Civil and Military], H.C. 1810 (370) ii, 523.

[90] Blake Pinnell, 'Something for Nothing – Georgian Sinecures', in *History Today*, xliii, August 1993, 49-54.

[91] *Twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees ... Board of Works*.

[92] Under 50 Geo. III c.103 (1810), *An Act for repealing the several laws relating to Prisons in Ireland...*, plans for new prisons had to be submitted to the Lord Lieutenant for approval.

[93] Public Offices Ireland Act, 57 Geo. III c.62 ('An Act to abolish certain offices and to regulate certain other offices in Ireland').

[94] An offer in 1817 to secure 'a post in Dublin' for the English architect Daniel Robertson may be connected with this Act. See Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 822-3, and F. O'Dwyer, ''Modelled Muscularity': Daniel Robertson's Tudor Manors' in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook 1999*, xv (Dublin 1999) 87-97.

[95] In September 1821, rumours regarding Johnston's departure reached the ears of the architect Richard Morrison, who arranged for Lord Powerscourt and three other grandees to solicit the Dublin Castle administration on his behalf (National Archives, Dublin, OP 523/2). As late as 1825, Alderman Frederick Darley was lobbying on behalf of his son, Frederick Darley junior, who had completed his articles with Johnston in 1822 (National Archives, Dublin, CSORP, 1825, 12,783).

[96] Board of Works Ireland Act, 5 Geo. IV c.23 ('An Act to amend the Act of the fifty-seventh year of his late Majesty's reign, for abolishing certain offices, and for regulating certain other offices in Ireland, so far as relates to the Commissioners of the Board of Works there').

[97] Watson, *History of the Corps of Royal Engineers*, iii, 141. Prior to 1793, barracks in England had been under the control of the Ordnance. According to Watson (p.133), the alternative arrangements inaugurated in England in 1793 were unsatisfactory, a fact recognised by the enactment of the 1822 legislation.

[98] *The Gentleman's and Citizen's Almanack* (Dublin 1824) 220.

[99] *The Gentleman's and Citizen's Almanack* (Dublin 1825) 109.

[100] *Report from the Fourth Select Committee on the Irish Miscellaneous Estimates ... relative to Public Works, H.C. 1829 (342) iv. 127 and Report from the Fifth Select Committee...*, H.C. 1830 (667) vii, 1. See also National Archives, Dublin, OP 1829/984/4.

[101] The [Second] Duke of Wellington (ed.), *Despatches, Correspondence and Memoranda of Field Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington K.G.*, 8 vols (London 1867-78) viii (1878) 109. Maurice Fitzgerald, *Knight of Kerry to Wellington*, 14 July 1830.

[102] A.R.G. Griffiths, *The Irish Board of Works 1831-1878, with particular reference to the famine years*, PhD dissertation 6286 (Cambridge 1968) 34.

[103] Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, 1831, iv, 574 (30 June 1831), and vi, 953 (31 August 1831).

[104] National Archives, Dublin, CSOLB 10.

[105] National Archives, Dublin, CSOLB 11.

[106] *ibid*. See also volume I of the Minutes of the Commissioners of Public Works (2 November 1831 – 23 June 1832), deposited in the National Archives in 1995, but uncatalogued.

[107] *Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Board of Works, Ireland* [Crichton Committee], *Instructions issued to the Committee by Treasury Minute*, 16 November 1877, v, H.C. 1878 [C.2060] xxiii, 1.

[108] The High Court, 1992, no. 331 JR.

[109] Reported in *Irish Current Law Statutes Annotated* (1993), 1-01, 12-01 and 12-02, and in *The Irish Reports* (1994) i, 101-65.

[110] The title of the office was given in the Dublin directories as Board of Public Works up until 1916 when it first appeared as Commissioners of Public Works.

[111] Larcom Papers. These are among the official papers assembled by Sir Thomas Aiskew Larcom during his tenure as Under-Secretary for Ireland, collated by him during his retirement, and presented to the Statistical Society of Ireland. They are now in the National Library of Ireland.

[112] Public Works (Ireland) Act, 1869, 32 & 33 Vict. c.74, s.2.

[113] Public Works Loans Act, 1892, 55 & 56 Vict. c.61, s.8.

[114] R. Lohan, *Guide to the Archives of the Office of Public Works* (Dublin 1994) 4.

[115] J. Mordaunt Crook and M.H. Port, *The History of the King's Works*, 6 vols (London 1973) vi, 181-4. The old office of Works came to an end on 5 April 1832.

[116] Whitworth Porter, *History of the Corps of Royal Engineers*, ii (London 1889) 313. Two of these engineers, Thomas Drummond and the aforementioned T.A. Larcom, served in the office of Under-Secretary for Ireland.

[117] Army lists for these years.

[118] National Archives, Dublin, CSOLB 11.

[119] R. Delany, *The Grand Canal of Ireland* (Newton Abbot 1973) 91 *et passim*, and R. Cox, 'John Killaly' in *A Biographical Dictionary of Civil Engineers in Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 1: 1500-1830* (London 2002) 384-6.

[120] His name appears as 'Engineer – John Killaly Esq.' on a plaque over the entrance to the building. The gaol was designed on a radial plan in the castellated style. See W. Garner, *Tullamore – Architectural Heritage* (Dublin 1980) 13-15.

[121] National Archives, Dublin, OP 1832/367 and CSOLB 12, Gosset to the Board of Works, 14 April 1832.

[122] National Archives, Dublin, Board of Works, 2D/57/37.

[123] *Sums paid to Jacob Owen Esq., Architect to the Board of Works, Ireland..., Contract for his*

Appointment..., H.C. 1842 [323] xxviii, 397. A transcript of the recommendation appears on p.231 of the first Minute Book of the Commissioners of Public Works; National Archives, Dublin, Board of Works, uncatalogued.

[124] For the Johnston Murray district asylums, built for the Commissioners for the Erection of Lunatic Asylums and opened between 1825 and 1835, see F. O'Dwyer, *Irish Hospital Architecture* (Dubin 1997), 10, 49-53. They were built at the following locations: Armagh, Limerick, Belfast, Derry, Carlow, Ballinasloe, Maryborough (Portlaoise), Waterford and Clonmel. Johnston's earlier Richmond Asylum in Dublin had opened in 1815.

[125] National Archives, Dublin, Board of Works, 2D/61/7, and minute books of the Royal Hospital Kilmainham, book 17, 271, 373 and 393. Murray's request for a pension from the hospital was refused.

[126] *Correspondence from July 1846 to Jan. 1847 relating to the Measures adopted for the Relief of Distress in Ireland*..., 9-10. H.C. 1847 (764) i. 1.

[127] Geoffrey Tyack, *Sir James Pennethorne and the making of Victorian London* (Cambridge 1982) 124. Pennethorne's cessation of private practice was apparently achieved by mutual agreement rather than coercion, as in Owen's case.

[128] Under the Public Works (I.) (No.2) Act 1846, 9 & 10 Vict. c.86. This Act abolished the Shannon Commissioners and transferred their functions and duties to the Board of Works.

[129] The earliest biographical note of Jacob Owen, written by his son James Higgins Owen, appeared in part xx of the Architectural Publication Society's *Dictionary of Architecture*, published in 1877. Neither it nor the account in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, xlii, 418, are particularly informative, and both contain inaccuracies. A more authoritative account can be found in Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary*, 716-17. More recently, a short paper, 'Jacob Owen: Founder of an Architectural Dynasty', by Rosemary Dunne and Richard Trist was presented to a seminar entitled '[T.E.]Owen's Southsea – History and Conservation of a Victorian Garden Suburb', held in Portsmouth on 21 May 1994. The seminar papers, edited by Betty Owen, were printed by the Portsmouth Society in 1995. For the origins of the family and other genealogical information, I am grateful to two of Jacob Owen's descendants, John Owen and Richard Trist.

[130] I suggest this on the basis that Owen was apparently living in the City of London when his sons Thomas Ellis and Jeremiah were christened in April 1805 (Parish of St Ann and St Agnes, Gresham Street), and that Owen had a close friendship with the surveyor James White Higgins who was a pupil of Bush. [Sir] Robert Smirke was another pupil of Bush.

[131] PRO, Kew, WO 54/512. Ordnance establishment returns, 1811-14.

[132] F. O'Dwyer, The Board of Public Works, 20.

[133] I owe this reference to Sue Pike who is researching the career of Thomas Ellis Owen (source FamilySearch – international genealogical index).

[134] J.M. Crook and M.H. Port, *The History of the King's Works*, loc. cit.

[135] *Twenty-Second Report of the Commrs. of H.M. Woods, Forests, Land Revenues etc*, 1845, Appendix 10A, 39. H.C. 1845 (617) xxvii, 503. Reprinted with the original maps and new illustrations in J. McCullen and B. Arnold (eds), *Decimus Burton 1800-1881*, exhibition catalogue, Royal Hospital Kilmainham, July 1988.

[136] P. Miller, *Decimus Burton – A Guide to the Exhibition of his Work* (London 1981) 19.

[137] TCD Library, MS. 10608/2/1. Royal Zoological Society of Ireland, rough minute book, 7.

[138] Uncatalogued papers in the National Archives, cited in D. Arnold, 'Decimus Burton's Work in

the Phoenix Park, 1832-49', in *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, xxxvii (1995) 70-72.

[139] National Archives, Dublin, CSORP, 1838/1265.

[140] These difficulties could probably have been overcome by inserting an appropriate section in the enabling Act passed in March 1839 (2 & 3 Vict. c.1), but this was not done.

[141] See F. O'Dwyer, 'The Foundation and Early Years of the RIAI', in J. Graby (ed.) *150 Years of Architecture in Ireland* (Dublin 1989) 9-21.

[142] The colleges were built under the terms of the Queen's Colleges (Ireland) Act, 8 & 9 Vict. c.66. Legislation was needed for only one of the new district asylums, that at Cork (8 & 9 Vict. *c*.107), but the Act also provided for the enlargement of the existing asylums. The architects for the colleges were Charles Lanyon (Belfast), Sir Thomas Deane (Cork), and John B. Keane (Galway). The architects for the new asylums were William Atkins (Cork), John S. Mulvany (Mullingar), Sir Thomas Deane (Killarney), William Deane Butler (Sligo), William Farrell (Omagh), and George Papworth (Kilkenny). The architects for the asylum extensions were Murray and Denny (Richmond, Dublin), John Kempster (Ballinasloe), and Charles Lanyon (Belfast).

[143] Also built under the terms of 8 & 9 Vict. c.107.

[144] Under the terms of the Maynooth College Act, 8 & 9 Vict. c.25.

[145] Pugin had been recommended to Crolly by his great patron the Earl of Shrewsbury, see P.J. Corish, *Maynooth College, 1795-1995* (Dublin 1995) 128, and F. O'Dwyer, 'A.W.N. Pugin and St. Patrick's College, Maynooth', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook 1996*, xii (Dublin 1996) 102-09.

[146] P. Larmour, 'Sir Charles Lanyon', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook 1989-90*, vi (Dublin 1989) 202.

[147] National Archives, Dublin, Board of Works, 2D/60/11.

[148] NLI, Dublin, Commissioners of National Education, minute book, MS. 5518.

[149] *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 25 June 1872; Harry Latham, *St Patrick's Church of Ireland Church and Parish, Dalkey, Co Dublin* (Dublin 1993) 43-5.

[150] PRO Kew, T1/6222/152622. Griffith to Sir Charles Trevelyan, 10 January 1859.

[151] Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, Council Minutes viii and ix, March 1849 – November 1852; December 1852 – July 1856.

[152] Royal Irish Academy, index of members database.

[153] NLI, Dublin, MS. 7753, Larcom Papers, official correspondence on examinations for the constabulary and county surveyorships (1856/57).

[154] Diary of Jacob Owen, private collection, entry for 8 May 1856.

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[156] *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland* [for 1857], H.C. 1857-58 [2412], xxvi, 533.

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[158] PRO Kew, T1/6047A/20529.

[159] *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on National Education in Ireland*. Part I, H.C. 1854 (525) xv, 1; Part II, H.C. 1854 (535) xv, Part II, 1.

[160] PRO Kew, T1/6047A/20800.

[161] PRO Kew, T1/6162A/20514; National Archives, Dublin, OPW 16839/58.

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