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BOOKS AND BUILDERS
A Bibliographical Approach to Irish Eighteenth-Century Architecture.

Volume 1
BOOKS AND BUILDERS

A bibliographical approach to Irish eighteenth-century architecture.

Volume I.

Vol. II - Illustrations.

By Christine Casey

Submitted to Trinity College Dublin,
(Department of the History of Art)
In candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

October 1991.
SUMMARY

This study is an attempt to construct the bibliographical dimension of Irish eighteenth-century architectural history. Irish newspapers of the period have been combed for publication notices and subscription proposals and a representative cross-section of contemporary book catalogues has been sifted for architectural titles. The combination of these methods serves to give a general picture of the literature being collected by Irish library owners and that which was being sold by the book trade.

Another avenue of approach has been the analysis of Irish manuscript materials which display a clear reliance upon published architectural works. Several curious manuscript volumes compiled in Ireland during the course of the eighteenth century vividly illustrate the usage of architectural books and prints both by amateurs and professional architects. The bookish nature of these documents demonstrates more clearly than built architecture, the assimilation of published proto-types into Irish eighteenth-century design.

Having established the type of literature which was published in Ireland and that which was in general circulation, it was then requisite to consider the individuals who bought, sold, wrote, read or perused architectural publications. Irish library owners, the booksellers of Dublin and a handful of Irish architects and authors serve to humanise an otherwise exclusively bookish history. Given the preliminary state of Irish biographical studies, lengthy research was necessary to determine the identity and position of many lesser figures in the contemporary building world who were associated in a variety of ways with architectural literature.

Perhaps the most useful contribution of this study to the architectural history of the period and to Irish eighteenth-century studies in general, is the new information which it provides on contemporary patrons, lesser known architects, builders and critics. This information adds significantly to our understanding of contemporary architecture.

This study contributes to Irish eighteenth-century historical bibliography firstly by constructing a bibliography of the architectural literature which was published in Ireland during the period and where possible establishing a current location for each recorded title.
information is encapsulated in Appendix 1. Secondly it presents a survey of the architectural titles which were prevalent in Irish eighteenth-century libraries. This information is based upon a broad survey of contemporary book catalogues, which is classified and documented in Appendix 2.

The first and most striking feature of the Irish literature is its overwhelmingly utilitarian and technical bent. The majority of titles listed in Appendix 1 are pamphlets written by architects, engineers or politicians in support of or in opposition to canal, road or bridge building projects. A second prominent characteristic of the Irish literature is its precocity. Many of the projects considered in this study both published and unpublished, were quite remarkable ventures for their date.
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise or for a degree at any other university, and that it is entirely my own work. I agree that the Library may lend or copy the thesis upon request.

Christine Casey.
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Plates 79, 80. RIBA

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ABBREVIATIONS

BL - British Library.
IAA - Irish Architectural Archive.
NA - National Archives.
NLI - National Library of Ireland.
PRONI - Public Record Office of Northern Ireland.
RDS - Royal Dublin Society.
RIA - Royal Irish Academy.
RIBA - Royal Institute of British Architects.
TCD - Trinity College Dublin.
UCD - University College Dublin.

Journals.

Appendix II.
Throughout the text and particularly in chapter 2 references are made to book catalogues listed in Appendix II. Abbreviated titles are composed of the date followed by the name of the library owner or bookseller.
INTRODUCTION

The following study is an attempt to construct the bibliographical dimension of Irish eighteenth-century architectural history. So much work is still required to provide a thorough factual history of Irish Georgian architecture that its attendant literature has understandably received little analysis. To date, what research has been carried out in this area has approached the literature as documentary evidence for the study of built architecture or of the work of individual architects. This therefore is the first study to focus exclusively upon architectural literature in Ireland, its circulation, readership and influence upon Irish designers.

Books, pamphlets and essays played a very significant role in the patronage, design and construction of Irish Georgian buildings. The work which has been published on the subject to date firmly establishes that designs from popular architectural books were imitated by amateur architects and builders in Ireland. While the question of imitation will be considered to some extent, this study is not a formalist exercise and does not aim to provide a survey of Irish derivatives from published architectural designs.

Rather, it endeavours to broaden and deepen the existing perspective of Irish eighteenth-century architecture by illuminating the literary background to contemporary building activity. Perhaps the most useful contribution of this study to the architectural history of the period and to Irish eighteenth-century studies in general, is the new information which it provides on contemporary patrons, lesser known architects, builders and critics. In the absence of an Irish dictionary of national biography, lengthy research was necessary to establish the identity and position of many figures in the contemporary building world. This information adds significantly to our understanding of contemporary architecture.

The work occupies a similar position in the context of Irish historical bibliography. The task of bibliographers, like that of Irish architectural historians, has been to construct as broad and as comprehensive a view as possible of books and readers in eighteenth-
century Ireland. The Dublin book trade has been thoroughly documented in the recent definitive study by Mary Pollard, *Dublin's trade in books 1550-1800*. Oxford, 1989. However the composition of Irish eighteenth-century libraries has not yet received sustained analysis and not surprisingly therefore the place of specialist literature such as architectural books and ephemera has not been attended to.

This study contributes to Irish eighteenth-century historical bibliography firstly by constructing a bibliography of the architectural literature which was published in Ireland during the period and where possible establishing a current location for each recorded title. This information is encapsulated in Appendix 1. Secondly it presents a survey of the architectural titles which were prevalent in Irish eighteenth-century libraries. This information is based upon a broad survey of contemporary book catalogues, which is classified and documented in Appendix 2. Both appendices will hopefully prove useful reference tools to scholars of Irish architectural history and historical bibliography. As a cross-section of contemporary trade lists and the catalogues of private libraries, Appendix 2 may be also of use to historians in other specialist areas.

While the subject of architectural literature has hitherto not been addressed in Ireland, it has received thorough analysis with respect to eighteenth-century England and America. It is important therefore to define the scope of this study in the context of contemporary international scholarship. The principal and definitive work on the subject was published in 1990. *British architectural books and writers 1556-1785* by Eileen Harris assisted by Nicholas Savage, offers a comprehensive description and analysis of all architectural books published in Britain during the period. Its emphasis is bibliographical, concentrating upon the publishing history of each work, and providing thorough collations and editions. Newspaper material and a fastidious record of variant editions form the basis of this seminal work.

In the United States, scholars have preferred to examine the circulation and influence of publications in the American colonies. Useful work has been carried out by two architectural bibliographers. Helen Park's *A list of architectural books available in America before the Revolution* (1973) and Janice G. Schimmelmann's *Architectural treatises and building handbooks available in American libraries and bookstores through 1800* (1986) establish those architectural titles which were current in America throughout the eighteenth-century. Both
authors based their findings upon extensive surveys of contemporary book catalogues. They have been widely used by architectural historians in tracing the published sources for American colonial architecture.

Given the modest scale of Irish eighteenth-century society by comparison to Britain and America, the scope of this study is correspondingly wider. In an effort to obtain a large view of circulation and readership in Ireland, a variety of research methods has been employed. Both the aforementioned American and English approaches are here combined. Irish newspapers of the period have been combed for publication notices and subscription proposals and a representative cross-section of contemporary book catalogues has been sifted for architectural titles. The combination of these methods serves to give a general picture of the literature being collected by Irish library owners and that which was being sold by the book trade. It will become clear that these were not necessarily one and the same thing.

Another avenue of approach has been the analysis of Irish manuscript materials which display a clear reliance upon published architectural works. A number of curious manuscript volumes compiled in Ireland during the course of the eighteenth century vividly illustrate the usage of architectural books and prints both by amateurs and professional architects. The bookish nature of these documents demonstrates more clearly than built architecture, the assimilation of published proto-types into Irish eighteenth-century design.

The character of this study thus differs considerably from recent publications in England and America. Rather than observing strictly defined bibliographical parameters, it has cast the net wide and drawn together a medley of bibliographical, historical and art-historical material pertaining to architectural literature in Ireland. The objective has been to present as full a picture as possible of books and builders in Georgian Ireland.

The time-scale chosen for this study was dictated by the availability of source material. The decision to begin at 1700 and not to include the seventeenth-century was based upon the absence of sufficient catalogues to provide an adequate cross-section and on a dearth of newspaper documentation. Advertisements for architectural books on sale in Dublin begin to appear only in the 1720s. The reason for concluding at 1780 owes more to an embarrassment of riches than to paucity of material. Architectural publishing in England and Europe underwent an unprecedented boom during the 1780s which continued
pace into the nineteenth century. The taste for picturesque effects which emerged at this time rapidly extended to encompass every architectural idiom, and with it came more and more diverse publications. The scale and fragmented character of late eighteenth-century eclecticism thus defies analysis in any general sense; simultaneously the number of private libraries rapidly multiplied, the book-trade grew infinitely more shrewd, and sophisticated and increased opportunity for foreign travel diminished the impact of published plates. In the face of these prodigious developments it was decided to focus attention upon the period before 1780.

An obstacle encountered in carrying out this study was the dearth of architectural books in Irish libraries. Eighteenth-century institutional libraries were not strong in this area and the many private Irish libraries documented by contemporary book catalogues have long since been dispersed. Given the paucity of such material in Ireland, research abroad was necessary in order to determine the content and the character of the literature current in eighteenth-century Ireland. Much of the groundwork for this thesis was accomplished in the United States, in libraries rich in architectural material. Here the task of abstracting titles and advertisements was supplemented by extensive bibliographic research in order both to decipher the laconic listings of eighteenth-century catalogues and to determine the actual content of the books which were in circulation in Ireland.

This research was carried out at the Centre for Studies in Landscape Architecture at Dumbarton Oaks, the Library of Congress, the Folger Library, the library of the Henry Francis Du Pont Winterthur Museum, the Huntington Library and the Avery Architectural Library of Columbia University. In England research was carried out at the British Library and the library of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

The principal difficulty faced throughout the course of this study has undoubtedly been a dearth of relevant source material. To isolate the literary dimension of an already fragmentary history has been an arduous task. If the result is as much a miscellany as a comprehensive view of architectural books and readers in eighteenth-century Ireland, it is hoped that nonetheless it communicates something of the spirit and coherence of the whole.
CHAPTER ONE

THE SALE AND PUBLICATION OF ARCHITECTURAL LITERATURE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY IRELAND.

The logical place in which to begin a study of books and their circulation in eighteenth-century Ireland is among the stock of contemporary booksellers. This chapter is an attempt to reconstruct the architectural holdings of the Dublin trade before 1780, to assess their scale and character, and to identify the most significant traders in the genre. Discussion will aim to paint a broad picture of what was available to architects, tradesmen and connoisseurs in Dublin over the course of the century. More detailed analysis of the few native productions in the field is reserved for the later stages of this study. Here attention will focus only upon the publication and sale of these works as part of a general view of the Dublin book-trade and its marketing of architectural books.

At the outset it should be emphasised that architecture constitutes a tiny percentage of the thousands of titles sold and published in Dublin during the period. In terms of original publications this is not very surprising, given the reliance of contemporary Irish architecture upon both foreign architectural models and imported talent. However, the paltry number of English architectural books reprinted in Ireland is a more significant fact. During the eighteenth century the bulk and pace of Ireland’s prolific publishing output was largely due to its extensive reprinting of English publications. Despite the angry accusations of the English book trade, the Dublin reprint industry was technically not a pirate enterprise in that the copyright act of 1709 had made no mention of Ireland: therefore, Irish publishers were legally entitled to produce Dublin imprints of English titles. Only after 1800 when full copyright laws were introduced did the reprint trade cease. A subsequent decrease of

eighty per cent in the Irish publishing output neatly illustrates the extent of second-hand production during the previous century. That Dublin publishers chose to reprint so little architectural material was apparently due largely to the great expense of copper-plate engraving and reproduction necessary in illustrated works of this nature. Yet, the amount of architectural material sold in eighteenth-century Dublin, though much more than that actually produced there, is similarly small in comparison to the proportion of historical, religious, political and literary publications. It must therefore be presumed that since the readership for this kind of literature was small, the architectural titles sold by the Dublin trade were carefully and deliberately chosen, for their relevance to the requirements of an Irish audience.

In the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, architectural material was usually to be found amongst the stock of dealers in mathematical and measuring materials. However, other important outlets for material of architectural interest were Dublin printsellers and stationers who stocked architectural books and prints together with maps, copy-books, engraved portraits, books of perspective and plates illustrating military campaigns. As early as 1721 the sale stock of Edwin Sadlier included an extensive collection of English architectural engravings, among them prints of Chelsea Hospital, the Royal Exchange, Blenheim, Shobdon Court, and Queen's College Library, Oxford together with prints of palaces, churches and gardens throughout France and Italy.

By the middle of the century a specialist business in map-making and print-selling had been established in Dublin by the Anglo-French cartographer John Rocque. Best known in Ireland for his great map of Dublin of 1756 and for his extensive surveys of country estates, Rocque's work combined accomplished cartographical standards with elegant presentation. Between 1754 and 1760 Rocque carried on an engraving and print-selling business from his house opposite the bagnio-slip on

2 1721 Edward.
Bachelors walk' where up to five engravers were employed in producing maps and views. His stock comprised 'a great variety of maps, plans, views, sieges, battles etc.' and included both original productions and many imported prints. Among these in 1756 were plans of Paris, Rome and Berlin, a plan of Exeter 'with views of its most remarkable buildings and edifices', views and plans of the celebrated gardens at Richmond and Claremount and plans of the fortifications at Plymouth, Montpellier and Metz. Rocque's wares were clearly aimed at a wealthy clientele. At once objects of historical, geographical and artistic merit, these plans and views satisfied a wide variety of practical and leisured interests. Framed and hung in townhouse hallways, mounted on canvas and rollers in library closets or pored over alongside newspaper reports of military campaigns, these were eloquent graphic representations of contemporary allegiances, status and wealth.

Dealers in mathematical and measuring materials considered architectural literature primarily as an extension of applied mathematics. In like fashion the syllabus of professional tutors in Dublin throughout the early Georgian period included instruction in architecture and the use of geometrical instruments as a standard application of mathematical principles. Samuel Fuller, the publisher of Ireland's first architectural book, Batty Langley's Builder's vademecum in 1729, was a mathematical enthusiast. Fuller was the city's main stockist of building-related literature during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and is therefore a figure of major significance in the development of a Dublin market for architectural books. A printer, bookseller and mathematical practitioner during the 1720s and 1730s 'at the Globe & Scales in Meath Street', Fuller specialised in the publication and sale of astronomical and mathematical books. His publishing output included an edition of Keil's Trigonometry in 1726.

1 The Dublin Journal, 10 January 1756.
2 The Dublin Courant 11 February 1752. Publication notice for A description of Westminster Bridge, 'N.B. The plan, printed on a fine paper, may be had without the description; by those who chuse to frame and set it up in halls etc.'.
3 See eg. advertisements by John Hepburn tutor, The Dublin Courant, 25 July 1721; 'a lover of the mathematics', The Dublin Weekly Journal, 3 June 1749; and of William Beck 'geographer and architect', The Public Gazetteer, 4 April 1761.
Hawney's *Complete measurer* in 1730, and Ward's *Young Mathematician* in 1731, together with *A Mathematical Miscellany* (1730) and *A Practical Astronomy* (1732) compiled 'from the best authors'.

A catalogue of mathematical books for sale by Fuller in 1726 comprised substantial selections in arithmetic, merchants' accounts, mensuration, chronology, gauging, trigonometry, navigation, astronomy, surveying, dialling, architecture, mechanicks, perspective and fluxions. Here the architectural section of Fuller's Meath Street shop was summarised in a list of eight popular architectural authors. This is the earliest Irish trade list devoted to the subject. The writers listed by Fuller were a mixed gathering, comprising two sixteenth-century Italian architects, two seventeenth-century French theorists and four English authors of measuring and building compendiums. Neither titles nor imprints were included in Fuller's list, so it is difficult to determine the particular texts and editions which lined his book-shelves. However with the help of a few useful circumstantial props some measure of reconstruction is possible. Among these are the character of Fuller's overall output and the evidence of contemporary book catalogues.

The Italian theorists available at Fuller's shop were Andrea Palladio and Vincenzo Scamozzi. While it is possible that Giacomo Leoni's sumptuous edition was that on offer in Meath Street, Fuller's stock was generally small-scale and cheaply priced and it is more likely that the Palladio available to Dublin tradesmen in 1726 was Godfrey Richard's cheap abridged version which was first published in London in 1663. Scamozzi was also probably known at second hand. An English translation of a Dutch abridgement was published in London by William Fisher in 1669 in tandem with John Brown's *Description and Use of an Ordinary Joynt-Rule*. The volume was entitled the *Mirror of Architecture* and later editions were enlarged by the addition of Wotton's *Elements* and by William Leybourn's *Architectonice, Or A Compendium of the Art of Building*. As Fuller's list of authors also includes John Brown and William Leybourn it seems likely that the

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1 A four-page advertisement bound at the back of Keil (John). *The elements of plain and spherical trigonometry*. Dublin, 1726. Entitled 'Mathematical books, sold by Samuel Fuller, at the Globe in Meath-Street'. NLI.
composite character of the *Mirror of Architecture* allowed Fuller to boost the image of his architectural stock.

Other English authors listed in Fuller's catalogue were Richard Neve and William Halfpenny. Neve was best known for a compendium of the building arts entitled *The City and Countrey Purchaser and Builder's Dictionary* first published in 1703 and again in 1726, the year of Samuel Fuller's stock-list. From a modern perspective William Halfpenny is undoubtedly the most familiar of Fuller's repertoire. Whereas Leybourn, Neve and Brown were surveyors and mathematicians during the late seventeenth century, Halfpenny had a considerable architectural practice during the first half of the eighteenth century and was even more successful as a writer of cheap architectural manuals for the building trade. His best known early work *Practical Architecture* of 1724 was most likely the volume on offer at Samuel Fuller's shop.

The French theorists sold by Fuller were almost certainly the popular English translations published during the previous decades. Without a doubt Fuller's copies of 'Evelin' were John Evelyn's translation of Roland Freart de Chambray's popular treatise on the orders entitled *A Parallell Of The Antient Architecture With The Modern*. 'Le Clerk', the other Frenchman listed by Fuller after Freart, was Sebastien Le Clerc, the author of a treatise on decorative architecture which was translated into English and published as *A Treatise of Architecture* in 1723.

These architectural books which Samuel Fuller was selling in 1726 were the self-same sources which informed Irish publications in the genre during the ensuing decades. This will become clearer in looking closely at the Irish architectural books of the period. However we may anticipate by noting here that John Aheron's *A General Treatise of Architecture* of 1754 incorporated substantial extracts from Evelyn's edition of Freart de Chambray, from Sebastien Le Clerc's treatise of architecture and from editions of Palladio, Scamozzi and Sir Henry Wotton. Aheron also used large sections from Ward's *Young Mathematician* which had been reprinted by Fuller in 1731. A second Dublin publication, James Hoey's *The Builders Guide or the Carpenters Plain and Exact Rule*, which had reached its twelfth edition by 1758, drew extensively upon William Leybourn and Richard Neve.
Mathematical instruments were also sold at the Globe and Scales. Known to the trade as 'the scribbling quaker', Fuller's mathematical specialisation was formerly considered as merely an effective sales pitch. That many of his productions were cheap duodecimo editions is beyond dispute, though this was not uncommon in any genre during the period. It now seems clear that Fuller was one of a coterie of mathematicians and astronomers who promoted themselves and their mathematical interests during the first quarter of the eighteenth-century. The earliest evidence of Fuller's mathematical activities is an advertisement in Knapp's Almanack of 1721, in which he offered tuition to 'sober young gentlemen' in arithmetick, geometry, mensuration, gauging, trigonometry, surveying and dialling. The publication in which this advertisement appears throws light on Fuller's wider scientific acquaintance. An Almanac; or diary, astronomical, meteorological & astrological was an annual production by John Knapp, a Cork watch and clock-maker. A successor to Whalley the great almanac maker of Swift's generation, little is known of John Knapp, or of his presumably North-European origins. Certainly Knapp had close professional links with Fuller who acted as the Dublin depositary for answers to Knapp's mathematical enigmas and paradoxes. Meath Street itself where Fuller had his shop seems to have attracted tradesmen of scientific bent and one of Fuller's close neighbours William Hildrith, a maker of clocks and weather-glasses had served his apprenticeship in Cork with John Knapp.

The mathematical paradoxes and enigmas in Knapp's almanacs often included 'mechanick' questions which had some relevance to contemporary building practice. For example one problem presented a floor to be laid of twenty-four feet square with enough available boards but only four pieces of remaining timber to make the joists each sixteen feet long. Knapp demanded the method by which he might 'lay those four joysts that the boards may cover them fit for use'. It was no doubt precisely this application of mathematical and measuring skills with

2Knapp (John). An almanack or diary astronomical, meteorological & astrological. Dublin, 1721. 41.
the problems of practical day-to-day workmanship which brought about Samuel Fuller’s entry into the architectural sphere,

Fuller’s first exclusively architectural publication was an edition of Batty Langley’s The Builder’s Chest-Book: Or A Complete Key To The Five Orders of Columns In Architecture which he produced in 1729 with the somewhat altered title The Builder’s Vade-Mecum. A reprint of the first London edition of 1727, the Dublin copy was identical both in illustration and content.¹ In a preliminary notice of forthcoming publications, Fuller introduced Langley to his clientele as the ‘author of the Practical Geometry’, a further indication that the mathematical curiosity of his readership was the basis for his promotion of a more specifically architectural literature. The Vade-mecum was a cheap duo-decimo volume and contained the two themes which characterise all of Langley’s publications throughout his long and prolific career, geometry and the orders. Knapp and Fuller clearly had much in common with an author who was to name his sons Euclid and Archimedes! ² Designed as a pocket-volume for ‘gentlemen...masons, carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, plasterers, painters’ Langley’s text is arranged as a dialogue between a master and apprentice in a series of nine lectures which demonstrated the basic principles and mode of constructing the five orders. Fuller was evidently an astute businessman and the apparent success of his first Langley edition stimulated a second printing of the Vade-mecum in 1735.

Just one year after the publication of its second edition Fuller had at his shop 460 copies of the Vade-mecum in sheets without cuts and 30 bound volumes.³ Given that the standard Dublin press run during the period was 500 and less frequently 750,⁴ it must be presumed either that Fuller sold a paltry ten volumes of his second edition or as seems more likely that the press run had been larger than average in response to public demand for a reprint. Samuel Fuller died in 1736 and though his publishing and bookselling business seems to have

been inherited by several of his children, by mid-century it had passed to Isaac Jackson.¹ Though Jackson continued to specialise in mathematical and measuring books, he does not appear to have been as active as Fuller in producing new publications or in selling architectural books. His achievements however include editions of William Hawney’s *Compleat Measurer* which were published at the Globe, Meath Street in 1740 and 1767. In 1770 Jackson was still selling copies of Langley’s *Vade-mecum*, perhaps the selfsame sheets which were listed in the inventory of Fuller’s effects made upon his death in 1736.²

Given that architecture constituted such a small part of Dublin publishing during the eighteenth century, it is worth considering the size of those editions which were produced in the genre. Samuel Fuller’s stock of Langley’s *Vade-Mecum* was presumably an edition upwards of 600 copies. However such information is rare and difficult to come by. Subscription lists are useful as a rough guide to print-runs, but it is impossible to determine with any certainty the additional number of copies printed for public sale. That said, the standard figures of 500 for an average Dublin print-run and 700 for larger editions seem to hold firm for architectural books and related pamphlets. In 1735, the year of Fuller’s second Langley edition, Dublin Corporation directed the city stationer to print off 500 copies of the two schemes for the Dublin pipe-water supply by Richard Castle and Gabriel Stokes.³ Twenty years later 600 copies were printed of George Semple’s scheme for opening an avenue from the Castle to Essex Bridge. Semple’s *Treatise on Building in Water* had a larger print-run of 700 copies.⁴

The cost of books, pamphlets and prints varied considerably according to the various contemporary modes of presentation. The former were available in three principal states; in loose sheets, sewed in blue or marbled paper or bound in calf and lettered. Prints and maps

¹Notes of the will of Samuel Fuller, an eighteenth-century Dublin printer’ in *The Irish booklover*. xvii.no.2 (March-April,1929). 48.

² An advertisement bound at the back of Fuller (Samuel). *A mathematical miscellany*. Dublin, 1770, entitled ‘Books lately published by Jackson & Son’. NLI.


⁴ A printed post-script to Semple’s treatise in the volume of *A treatise on building in water* at the Royal Institute of Engineers of Ireland.
were also sold loose as sheets, mounted in frames or affixed to canvas and rollers. Binding and lettering considerably increased the price of books. For instance John Payne's *Twelve Designs of Country Houses* was available for 4s 4d in marbled paper or at 5s 5d bound and lettered.\(^1\) Charles Over's *Ornamental Architecture* similarly cost one shilling more (7s 7d) with a binding than without (6s 6d).\(^2\) For larger books the difference in price was naturally more considerable. In 1758 for example, the bookseller, James Rudd offered William Paine's folio *The Builders Companion and Workmens General Assistant* at 13s sewed in paper and 16s 3d bound.\(^3\) In some cases, where illustrations were not essential to the text, books were available without plates and the prints were sold separately. James Hoey's *Builders Guide or the Carpenters Plain and Exact Rule* cost 1s 2d without plates and 1s 7d with the addition of two designs for Chinese garden furniture.\(^4\) The Ewings' reprint of Charles Labelye's *A Description of Westminster Bridge* was sold without plates at 2s 2d, while the illustration of Labelye's bridge in 'three plates neatly pasted together' cost over half the price of the text.\(^5\)

The price of prints and maps followed a similar pattern, and in 1760 one could buy Nevill's map of Wicklow in loose sheets for 11s or mounted with canvas on rollers for 14s 1d.\(^6\) Such practice was not however peculiar to Ireland but rather was standard procedure throughout Britain during the eighteenth century.

Apart from mathematical specialists and print-sellers, architectural literature was marketed and published in the city by a very limited number of dealers. James Kelburn, a contemporary of Isaac Jackson was among the few Dublin booksellers to produce anything of an architectural nature. The volume in question was published by Kelburn at George's Lane in 1752 and claims the distinction of being the smallest architectural book produced in Ireland during the period.

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4. Advertisement bound at the back of, *Hoey (James). Every young man's companion or youth's new general director*. Dublin, 1765. NLI.
A reprint of Batty Langley's *The Workman's Golden Rule for Drawing and Working The Five Orders*, the book measures a mere 10 cm in height and thus undoubtedly merits the description of a builder's pocket-book. It was illustrated with simple line engravings which were copied from the London edition of 1750 by Dublin engraver Andrew Millar, a former specialist in mezzo-tint, whose wayward lifestyle had brought a decline in his graphic skills by the 1750s. The book was apparently Kelburn's sole exercise in an architectural genre.

The most significant figure for the sale of architectural books in eighteenth-century Dublin was not one of the major dealers, but rather what has been described as an 'irregular', one of the very large number of booksellers operating in Dublin whose businesses lasted only between one and seven years.\(^1\) This was James Rudd, a bookseller at the Apollo in Dame Street from 1755 to 1758. It seems no mere coincidence that the best stockist of architectural books in the city was also the son of one of Dublin's leading builders.

In November of 1755 James Rudd bookseller, 'son of Benjamin Rudd, carpenter having served his apprenticeship to Messrs George and Alexander Ewing' announced the opening of his shop at the Apollo in Dame Street.\(^2\) Just over four years later, in December of 1758, Rudd's elder brother Christopher made public his brother's demise and called upon creditors to attend at the Dame Street premises.\(^3\) In the space of four years James Rudd advertised more architectural titles than any other single Dublin bookseller during the course of the century. Rudd's background no doubt played a significant role in his penchant for architectural material and it seems fair to assume, given his close connections with the building trade, that the titles which he chose to stock were in popular demand.

His father, Benjamin Rudd was one of Dublin's most successful building contractors. A self-made man, Rudd came to Dublin from Cumberland in 1711, probably still in his early teens, and by 1722 had received the freedom of the city.\(^4\) A presbyterian, Rudd married Sarah

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1 Phillips (James W.). 'A bibliographical enquiry into printing and bookselling in Dublin from 1670 to 1800'. Phd thesis TCD. 1952. 201.
4 Rudd (Mary Amelia). *Records of the Rudd family*. Bristol, 1920. 202
Smith and had seven children, six sons and one daughter. James Rudd was the second son followed by his brother Stephen, who carried on the family building business after his father’s death in 1756. Benjamin Rudd’s career was at its height during the 1740s when he erected numerous houses throughout the city. These include four extant and remarkably well preserved houses, nos 15 and 16 Molesworth Street built by Rudd c1740, and nos 42 and 43 Saint Stephen’s Green erected in 1745-46. By the time of his death in 1756 Rudd owned a substantial amount of newly developed property in the heart of the city, with houses in Clarendon Street, Grafton Street, Frederick Street, Henry Street, Molesworth Street and Bachelor’s Walk. Given such an extensive family building practice, it seems unlikely that the young James Rudd could have grown to maturity without some knowledge of the building arts, whatever his literary or commercial pretensions might have been. That the announcement of his newly-acquired profession refers to Benjamin Rudd’s business, betrays a clear pride of pedigree and perhaps even a specific appeal for patronage to the building trades.

The books on sale at James Rudd’s shop were modern titles published between 1751 and 1758 by the London printseller and publisher, Robert Sayer, with whom Rudd clearly had a close business relationship. In contrast to the cheap octavos and duodecimo measurers of Samuel Fuller which had retailed between two and four shillings each, Rudd offered larger and more substantial volumes extensively illustrated with copper-plate engravings. Of seven titles by the Halfpennys, Robert Morris, Thomas Chippendale, William Pain and Charles Over, three were folio volumes, one a quarto and three were octavos. Prices reflected the increase in quality with the cheapest octavo, Charles Over’s Ornamental Architecture selling at seven shillings threepence bound. Three titles by Robert Morris ranged between nine and fourteen shillings, and the three folio volumes from sixteen shillings for William Pain’s The Builder’s Companion and Workman’s General Assistant to a grand two pounds, five shillings.

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1 The Dublin Journal 28 Mar 1758
3 The Dublin Journal, 2 May 1758.
and sixpence for Thomas Chippendale’s *The Gentleman and Cabinetmaker’s Director*.

Of all the titles stocked by Rudd, that with the most general practical appeal was probably *The Builder’s Companion and Workman’s General Assistant* by the architect-joiner William Pain, first published in London by Sayer in 1758. Evidently James Rudd agreed to take part in Sayer’s edition.1 The book is a small folio volume illustrated by seventy-seven copper-plates and covers a wide range of contemporary building practice from laying of foundations to the tracing and centering of arches, the framing of floors and roofs, the construction of staircases and the proportional rules for the five orders. This is then followed by a repertoire of designs for doors, windows, chimneypieces, altarpieces etc. Apart from a smattering of Gothick ornament at the end of the volume, the designs are a standard manifestation of mid-eighteenth-century Palladian classicism. In its attention to such detail as rusticated surrounds, fluted keystones, foliated console brackets or ornamental tread-ends, Pain’s book would have had much practical day-to-day value for Dublin workmen, in particular for those still in the process of learning their craft.

*The Modern Builder’s Assistant* (1757) by William and John Halfpenny, Robert Morris and Timothy Lightoler was, next to Chippendale, Rudd’s most expensive title. At one pound two shillings and ninepence this was a costly investment and one which had not the immediate practical appeal of Pain. Instead it was rather a mish-mash volume put together by Robert Sayer and combining Palladio’s account of the orders with a compendium of designs for houses, offices, pavillons etc by Halfpenny et al, the latter it seems unused remainders from earlier projects.2

The cheaper books sold by Rudd featured designs for garden buildings. Robert Morris’ *Architectural Remembrancer* (1751) and *Architecture Improved* (1755) were essentially the same publication

1*The Dublin Journal*, 26 Sep. 1758. ‘Just published by James Rudd at the Apollo in Dame Street in one volume folio, The Builders Companion and Workman’s General Assistant.’

under different titles, both containing 'a collection of new and useful designs of ornamental buildings and decorations for parks, gardens, woods etc.' Morris was much influenced by Inigo Jones and William Kent and his garden buildings are microcosms of mid-century Palladianism. The cheapest item on offer at the Apollo was also the most fashionable. Charles Over's *Ornamental Architecture in the Gothic, Chinese and Modern Taste* (1758), similarly comprised a series of designs for 'gardens, parks, forests, woods, canals etc'. Over emphasised that many of his designs might 'be executed with the roots of trees'. A copy of Over's book now in the National Library of Ireland originally belonged to the Duke of Leinster's library at Carton. The creation of the Chinese bedroom at Carton in 1759 and the presence there also of Chinese Chippendale are a tangible result of the stylistic dissemination then being promoted by James Rudd and his like. Interestingly, a plate from Over's book depicting a Chinese garden chair, was later appropriated by James Hoey in order to embellish his 1765 edition of the *The Builders Guide*.

Chinese Chippendale of the type seen at Carton was included in the second 1755 edition of *The Gentleman and Cabinetmaker's Director* the most expensive book in Rudd's repertoire. In 1753 when Chippendale was establishing a subscription network for his book, John Smith one of Dublin's leading booksellers agreed to act as a subscription agent, though in the event no Irish list was forthcoming and Smith simply stocked the book at his shop on the Blind-Quay.\(^1\) The survey of Irish libraries shows the work in a number of private collections, among them those of Bishop Richard Pococke and of John Putland, a prominent patron of the arts in eighteenth-century Dublin.\(^2\)

One certainty illustrated by Rudd's short career is that Dublin booksellers clearly had business relationships with their counterparts in London. Evidence of association with the London trade was good publicity in Dublin and booksellers were eager to demonstrate their English connections. One newly established Dublin bookseller William Colles announced in the press that he had 'fixed a regular correspondence in London where he had recently been for that

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\(^1\) Gilbert (Christopher). 'The subscribers to Chippendale's Director; A preliminary analysis' in *Furniture History*, X, (1974), 41-52.

\(^2\) 1766 Pococke. 1763 Putland.
purpose.' In Rudd’s case the books procured in London from Robert Sayer were all up-to-date recently published works. However there is some evidence to suggest that Irish booksellers may also have bought out-dated remainder copies from the London market.

The marketing of William Jones’ The Gentlemens Or Builders Companion is a case in point. The book was published in London by the author in 1736 and received a second edition in 1739. In the latter year it went on sale at the shop of the prominent Dublin bookseller Robert Owen in Skinner Row. It is therefore extremely surprising to find in September 1758, twenty years after publication and twelve years after Robert Owen’s death, that a second Dublin bookseller William Sleator had ‘lately imported from London’ the self same book. Two possible explanations immediately present themselves. Either that Sleator had bought Owen’s old stock and that the ‘imported’ label was merely a sales ploy, or that Sleator was in fact buying old stock from a London dealer. Either proposition would suggest that this particular batch of Jones’ book had not had great success. The absence of sufficient demand in Dublin of the 1730s seems quite probable, though the off-loading of old Palladian copy-books on to an expanded Dublin market of the 1750s seems equally likely.

William Jones was best known during his lifetime as the designer of the rotunda in Ranelagh Gardens of 1742. The Gentlemens Or Builders Companion was his only personal venture into print, although the carpenter James Smith had already published some of his designs in 1736 in his Specimens of Ancient Carpentry. Stylistically Jones’ book was greatly indebted to William Kent’s The Designs of Inigo Jones of 1727. Its extended title is self-explanatory, ‘containing a variety of designs for doors, gateways, peers, pavilions, temples, chimney-pieces, slab-tables, pierglasses...tabernacle frames, ceiling pieces, etc.’ Considered as a landmark in the history of eighteenth-century furniture design, after Gaetano Brunetti’s Ornaments of 1736, it was

2 Pue’s Occurences, 16 Oct. 1739.
3 The Public Gazeteer, 23 Sep. 1759.
the first English publication to include designs for rococo furniture. The architectural features display the gamut of Jonesian Palladianism in a succession of rusticated niches, piers and doorcases, blocked surrounds, pulvinated friezes, massive graded keystones and a variety of octagonal, square and circular garden pavilions. It is a vocabulary which has much in common with Irish architectural practice of the 1740s.

Two copies of Jones’ book to survive into the twentieth century came from Irish private collections. The copy now at the Royal Institute of British Architects, originally belonged to one of Richard Castle’s foremost Irish patrons, Gustavus Handcock an MP for Westmeath, for whom Castle built Waterston House near Athlone in 1749. More significantly however a second copy was sold with the contents of Dromoland, County Clare in 1962. Dromoland, the eighteenth-century seat of Sir Edward O’Brien, was John Aheron’s pied-a-terre during the compilation of his architectural treatise in the early 1740s. Not surprisingly therefore several of the plates in the Irish treatise were derived from designs by William Jones.

In general, the architectural content of contemporary book-shops seems to have comprised the aggregate of remainders from the auctions of private libraries or conglomerate collections imported from abroad. While a limited number of titles appear in multiples among the later eighteenth-century trade catalogues, the incidence of single copies and diverse foreign imprints is far greater. From the evidence of these catalogues the architectural section of an eighteenth-century Dublin book-store appears to have been a magpie’s nest of old and new material where a sixteenth-century Vitruvius, or a De Rossi folio of Roman palazzi, might rub shoulders with a cheap Batty Langley or a William Halfpenny duodecimo. There is no evidence to suggest for instance that any Dublin bookseller imported multiple copies of expensive folios by Colen Campbell, William Kent and Isaac Ware. Almost invariably such books appear singly, or at best in couples of

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1 Ex info Jane Fenlon. Catalogue of furniture, pictures, objects of art and vertu, to be sold at Dromoland Castle, on 3rd & 8th December, 1962 by James Adam & Sons. A copy of the catalogue is with Mrs G. Weir, Dromoland, Co. Clare.
different editions. Like Jones's Companion, another rare exception is a 
Ewing trade catalogue of 1776 which oddly offered two copies of a book 
then almost thirty years old, James Gibbs' A Short Description Of The 
Radcliffe Library of 1747. The only concerted effort at marketing a 
large-scale English architectural book encountered in Dublin before 
1780, was John Smith's promotion of Robert Wood's Ruins of 
Palmyra in 1754, an exception which may be explained by the fact that 
Wood had been born in Ireland and was much admired by Lord 
Charlemont and his circle.

On the face of it, therefore, it would seem that buyers could 
choose from the pot-luck offerings of the Dublin trade or go elsewhere. 
Many chose the latter course and a great number of private book 
collections were accumulated abroad. The architect George Semple was 
among those obliged to look further afield in search of specialised 
architectural literature. Eager to obtain information on modern bridge 
building, in preparation for his rebuilding of Essex Bridge, Semple 
travelled to London where he 'procured about £40 worth of books, 
plans, etc which I ordered to be sent after me, and returned home 
within the compass of fourteen days'. However some Dublin 
booksellers were able and willing to procure specialised foreign books 
for their clients. For instance, in July of 1776 Peter Hoey advertised 'a 
regular correspondence in Paris and London' through which he 
undertook to furnish gentlemen with such books as cannot be 
procured in this city, for which purpose he will receive commissions, 
and pledges himself to execute them with the greatest expedition, and 
on the most moderate terms'. Hoey was not alone in this practice and 
having exhausted the material purchased in London, George Semple 
was obliged to call upon the services of George Ewing in procuring the 
requisite French texts from Paris.

Semple's quest for architectural books and his deliverance at the 
hands of the Ewings is by now well-known. Indeed the Ewings were 
the only firm amongst the city's publishing establishment, which 
appears to have been truly sympathetic to architectural publications.

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1 1776 Ewing
3 Semple(George). A treatise on building in water. Dublin, 1776. 4-5.
4 The Hibernian Journal, 29 July 1776.
While the Ewings were certainly not specialists after the fashion of Samuel Fuller, they were clearly well disposed to books expounding the practical and technical aspects of building activity. In 1752 the firm produced a timely reprint of Charles Labelye’s *A Description of Westminster Bridge* by way of comment on the impending rebuilding of Essex Bridge. During the 1760s they published Charles Vallancey’s, *A Treatise on Inland Navigation* (1763) and *A Practical Treatise of Stonecutting* (1766), and in 1757 they were the sole commercial outlet for the Rev. John Payne’s *Twelve Designs of Country Houses*.

Essex Bridge was completed in 1754 and five years later James Rudd’s short-lived business came to a close. During the ensuing five years few of the city’s other regular dealers promoted anything of an architectural nature. By the mid 1760s however a second Dublin bookseller had ventured into the market for architectural books. Instead of simply importing the works of English publishers, James Williams with evident gusto and aplomb reprinted two editions of Batty and Thomas Langley’s *Builder’s Jewel* (1766 & 1768) and one of Francis Price’s *The British Carpenter* (1768). Later, in 1776, Williams produced three further volumes directed to the Dublin building trade, though these were not illustrated, being largely concerned with technical aspects of building construction. Two of these were reprints of Antoine Joseph Loriot’s *A Practical Essay On A Cement And Artificial Stone* of 1774 while the third was a reprint of James Anderson’s *A Practical Treatise on Chimneys, containing full directions for preventing or removing smoke in houses*, which was first published in Edinburgh in the previous year.

Both of the Langley and Price volumes produced by Williams were old titles, the first editions dating to 1741 and 1735 respectively, though as lucid practical syntheses of traditional building techniques they had sustained interest for craftsmen throughout the Georgian period. *The Builder’s Jewel* first published by the London publisher Richard Ware was undoubtedly the most successful copy-book of the century, running to at least eighteen editions by 1808. Much of this success was due to the price of the volume, which in Dublin in 1766

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retailed at a mere five shillings and fivepence, almost two shillings cheaper than James Rudd's least expensive title in the previous decade, and exactly the same price as Payne's little *Twelve Designs of Country Houses* of 1757. The key to this remarkably competitive price was the economic manner in which Williams and Ware before him had had the book engraved.¹

In his first edition of the book Richard Ware, conscious of the expense in printing one hundred small engravings from plate size, instructed his copy engraver to work four page-size images on each copper plate, thus quartering the number of coppers required and reducing the size and cost of the volume. James Williams in an even more vigorous economy drive further reduced the number of coppers required from twenty-five to seventeen by having sixteen plates engraved with page-sized images and one with four. Further evidence of Williams's aplomb is seen in a reissue of his first ('the eleventh') Dublin edition with the imprint 'London; Printed for Christopher Wren'.² A sophisticated and literate man, James Williams was in fact particularly concerned with the quality of printing in Ireland. In 1775 his version of Archbishop Secker's works was directed to 'all persons willing to encourage the printing of books in Ireland better than London edition' ². The title page of *The Laughing Philosopher* of 1778, commissioned by Williams from the Dublin artist William Esdall is considered as one of the finest rococo page designs produced in eighteenth-century Ireland. The plates in Williams' 1768 edition of Francis Price's *British Carpenter*, like those of the two *Builders Jewel* editions, are unsigned. In its quarto format and simple line illustrations the Dublin printing of Price closely followed the English edition. Like the Langley reprinting it was a neat and utilitarian job.

In content the two books which James Williams chose to reprint were far more the type of thing one would expect in an Irish builder's yard than the fancier titles sold by James Rudd. *The Builders Jewel or Youth's Instructor and Workman's Remembrancer* was the classic do-it-yourself guide to the construction and detailing of the


² Philipps (James W.). 'A bibliographical inquiry into printing and bookselling in Dublin from 1670 to 1800' TCD, Phd thesis, 1952, 401
orders 'familiar to the meanest capacity' and 'without regard to the module or diameter'. Whereas Langley's early Builder's vade-mecum also addressed the orders, it was illustrated by a mere handful of plates illustrating simple profiles and measurements. The hundred plates which accompanied the later publication were full of detailed classical ornament. Francis Price's book, as we shall see in relation to James Hoey, was a complete synthesis of early eighteenth-century carpentry practice with detailed illustrated directions on the construction of stairs, roof-trusses, flooring etc. Williams was clearly an astute business man. He might well have had little or no interest in architecture or building but he clearly recognised among the Dublin building community a market for cheap extensively illustrated architectural material. It is probable that his business acumen had more effect on the face of the city than all the apparently genuine enthusiasm of his predecessor James Rudd.

None of the architectural books produced by Fuller, Rudd or Williams were in any sense original publications. All were straightforward reprints from London editions. The only original architectural title produced and printed by an Irish bookseller and printer was The Carpenters Plain and Exact Rule, which was first published in 1730 by Dublin's leading catholic bookseller, James Hoey. However while Hoey's guide did not derive solely from one English publication, it was a highly eclectic concoction put together from an assortment of English measurers' and building guides. A more sophisticated eclecticism was offered to the Dublin public in a number of engineering books published during the 1760s by Charles Vallancey. A Treatise on Inland Navigation (1763) was a compilation drawn from continental engineering sources, and A Practical Treatise of Stonecutting (1766) was a direct translation from an earlier eighteenth-century French text.

None of Dublin's other leading publishers followed the example of Fuller, Rudd and Williams. George Faulkner, as we have seen carried little of an architectural nature although he acted as a subscription agent for John Aheron's treatise and for several other abortive architectural schemes during the course of the century. In 1754, the year in which Aheron's book was published, Faulkner himself contemplated producing a Vitruvius Hibernicus, though nothing came of the idea. Nevertheless this is important as the sole
instance of an Irish publisher's involvement in the conception and compilation of an ambitious architectural book. The project which emerged in the Summer of 1754 was apparently prompted by the advice and encouragement of the Earl of Chesterfield, who in 1752 repeatedly encouraged Faulkner to produce an original work of specifically Irish flavour. One possibility suggested by Chesterfield was a 'Typographia Hibernica' in which Faulkner might draw together a representative miscellany of Irish literary talent.1

Two years later Faulkner published his plan 'to print by subscription Vitruvius Hibernicus or the Irish Architect containing the plans, elevations and sections of the most regular and elegant buildings both public and private in the kingdom of Ireland'.2 In size and format the volume was to follow Colen Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus with 'large folio plates, engraven on copper by the best hands, and drawn either from the buildings themselves, or the original designs of the architect'. This was clearly to be an aristocratic work and Faulkner appealed for his support exclusively to 'the nobility and gentry'.

The lengthy account of the project which appeared in the Dublin Journal emphasised both the practical quality of the work and its 'patriotic' value in enabling Ireland 'to vie with other nations' instead of lying 'in obscurity and oblivion'. Patriotic sentiments were not uncommon in Irish publications of the 1750s and Faulkner, a loyal son of Dublin, clearly conceived the book primarily as an expression of national pride.3 If 'other countries of much less consequence, endeavouring to appear learned, polite and well-bred in literature, arts and sciences and good manners [could] publish and disperse their curiosities, in nature and art...... why should not the people of Ireland do the same, who have more beauties and curiosities in nature to shew, and to boast of, than any other country in the known world ?' Yet however conscious of Ireland's natural beauty, Faulkner was wise

1 BL. MS Eg 201, 11.
2 The Dublin Journal, 17 Aug 1754.
enough to know that an expensive collection of views could never hope to command the requisite patronage, whereas the illustration of town and country houses and its attendant social prestige would guarantee a substantial subscription. In the event no subscription proposals ever reached the public and the project appears to have been shelved at an early date.

Faulkner it seems was not prepared to provide financial backing for the scheme. Instead, by banging a patriotic drum, he appealed to the altruism of his fellow-countrymen, 'nobility, gentry and architects' to 'furnish' him with 'plans of their own and other houses, with the different fronts, prospects, elevations and ichnography of them'. In addition 'cities, towns, corporations, boroughs or parishes' were requested to send plans of 'useful, publick and ornamental buildings and churches'. Not until a sufficient number of drawings had been accumulated and 'proper encouragement' received would subscription proposals be advertised. Faulkner was taking absolutely no chances and his closing statement that no plans or letters would be received 'unless...franked or post-paid' no doubt sealed the fate of the venture. Such parsimony stands in stark contrast to the idealistic tones in Faulkner's description of the proposed work and one might perhaps be excused in construing an opportunistic motive. It is certainly worth bearing in mind that in May of 1754, just three months before the appearance of Faulkner's proposal, John Aheron had succeeded in publishing Ireland's first large-scale architectural book.¹ That Aheron managed to secure two-hundred predominantly Irish subscriptions cannot have failed to impress as shrewd a businessman as George Faulkner.

Interestingly, Faulkner's very frequently published list of books for sale are devoid of architectural interest, while George Grierson the King's printer, appears never to have publicly advertised foreign architectural books. In 1769 one Dublin bookseller attempted to raise support for a volume of Dutch architectural prints and in the following year Peter Wilson imported multiple copies of Batty Langley's *The

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¹ Pues Occurences, 30 April 1754.
City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs. Other publishers and booksellers were less motivated and apart from the occasional advertisement for a handful of English titles, the architectural record of the Dublin trade is deeply disappointing.

In considering the activity of the Dublin trade in architectural book sales, it is not surprising that the few original architectural books produced by Irish authors were private publishing ventures. Undoubtedly the reluctance of Irish booksellers to publish works of an architectural nature made it necessary for native authors to publish their own works. John Aheron's A General Treatise of Architecture (1754) was produced upon the strength of a hard-won subscription network built up by Aheron over fourteen years. Philip Levi Hodgson's book on timber measure was initially financed by public subscription and was only taken on by the book trade once it had proven popularity. George Semple's A Treatise on Building in Water of 1776 was published at Semple's own expense and was immediately offered at low rates to the Dublin trade. The following section traces the efforts of these authors in establishing subscription networks and achieving the publication of their books.

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The rusticated doorcase of Tailor's Hall erected in 1770 derives from a plate in this volume.

2 The Dublin Journal, 30 Sep. 1758.

3 Post-script to Semple's A treatise on building in water in the copy at the Royal Institute of Engineers of Ireland.
2. Irish subscription networks to architectural books.

The reluctance of Irish book-sellers to import or print illustrated architectural books extended to their activities as subscription agents. Publishing by subscription was commonplace in Britain and Ireland throughout the eighteenth century and in England over forty architectural books were produced in this fashion before 1780. In Dublin, only two English architectural publications were actively supported by the local book trade. These were Robert Wood's *The Ruins of Palmyra* of 1753, and George Richardson's *A Book of Ceilings Composed In The Style of the Antique Grotesque* of 1776. Otherwise Irish booksellers appear to have been unwilling to take chances on illustrated architectural books. For instance, of thirty-eight recorded book subscriptions by George Faulkner, often in multiples of up to twenty-five, only one subscription appears to an architectural book and this was to John Aheron's *Treatise of Architecture* (1754), the only major Irish architectural treatise of the period. Similarly the Limerick bookseller, William Farrar's sixteen recorded subscriptions include no architectural books. A corresponding dearth of subscriptions to architectural books has been noted in the subscription records of collectors who owned many such items. The lethargy of the Irish book-trade may have been the cause of this, or alternatively English architectural writers and publishers may not have extended their subscription networks to Ireland.

In January of 1754 Robert Wood's *The Ruins of Palmyra* (1753) went on sale at the shop of John Smith on the Blind Quay. Evidently Smith had acted as a subscription agent for Wood, as the newspaper advertisement informed subscribers that their books were now ready for

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1 Ex. Info. Dr. Eileen Harris.
delivery. Unfortunately, Robert Wood chose not to print a list of the contributors to his volume and his Irish subscribers therefore remain anonymous. Certainly Lord Charlemont's antiquarian circle must have figured prominently in it and the book appears in a substantial number of contemporary Irish libraries, including those of Lord Charlemont, the Marquis of Downshire, Thomas Wogan-Browne, John Putland and Samuel Card. Smith's support of Wood's project was perhaps as much a pragmatic business decision, as a gesture to his antiquarian clientele. Wood was born in Ireland, at Trim in County Meath, and Smith may well have anticipated commercial success from such illustrious home-grown talent. That said, Smith appears to have had genuine artistic interests as he also acted as an Irish agent for Thomas Chippendale's *Director* published in the previous year.1

George Richardson's volume of ceiling designs was accompanied by a subscription list which included many prominent names from the Irish architectural and building establishment. The book was published in a series of eight numbers, the last of which was produced in June of 1776. No Irish subscription proposals have been recorded, but in 1776 books were being sold by a Mr Robin at no.115 St. Stephen's Green.2 During the twenty years which had elapsed since John Smith's promotion of Robert Wood, Dublin's architectural horizons had broadened quite dramatically. The activities of the Wide Streets Commissioners and the Royal Exchange competition of 1769 had stimulated a more sophisticated and cosmopolitan architectural idiom. The establishment of the Dublin Society's drawing school encouraged improvements in architectural presentation, and public criticism of contemporary architecture fuelled greater popular interest in the subject. Thus the Irish contingent in George Richardson's list is interesting but not altogether surprising or enlightening. Thomas Cooley, Henry Darley and Graham Myers were well established on the Dublin building scene while subscribers such as William Burton, the Duke of Leinster and the Earl of Clanbrassil all had ample purses and genteel architectural interests.

Far more intriguing is the miscellany of Irish subscriptions to earlier eighteenth-century architectural books. Works such as Colen

Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones*, James Gibbs's *A Book of Architecture* and Robert Castell's *Villas of the Ancients* appear not to have had organised Irish subscription networks, and yet their subscription lists include a number of well-known Irish figures. Presumably these subscriptions were made through private networks, advanced by Irishmen living in London. Hugh Howard of Shelton Abbey in County Wicklow was one such correspondent. Howard's own subscription receipt to Isaac Ware's *Palladio* survives among the Wicklow papers, and his letters refer to other subscriptions made on behalf of Irish correspondents (PLATE 1).¹

However, on the whole, these random Irish subscriptions to English architectural books came from wealthy absentee landowners or prominent figures from Anglo-Irish public life who had regular business in London. Thus the Earl of Egmont's subscription to Gibbs, Kent and Campbell, or the Earl of Arran's to Kent, Campbell and Castell have little direct relevance to Irish architectural activity during the period. That said, other subscriptions are clearly very significant for the study of architectural patronage in Ireland; for instance, it is worthy of note that Luke Gardiner and Thomas Carter both subscribed to Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones*; that Richard Tighe and Thomas Milles, Bishop of Waterford subscribed to *Vitruvius Britannicus*; and that James Hamilton, Viscount Limerick appears in the subscription list to Robert Castell's *Villas of the Ancients*. All of these men lived in Ireland and were active architectural patrons. Of particular significance to this study is the subscription record of Gerald de Courcy, Baron of Kingsale, who was one of the few Irish patrons to commission designs from John Aheron. Courcy-Mont, Kingsale's house in County Cork, was included in Aheron's treatise. Interestingly, De Courcy subscribed to Castell's *Villas of the Ancients*, to Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, to Sebastien le Clerc's *Treatise of Architecture*, to John Stevens's *The History of Ancient Abbeys and Collegiate Churches* (1722) and to John Dart's *Westmonasterium*. For the later period noteworthy Irish subscribers are Lord Charlemont and Richard Robinson, Archbishop of Armagh. The latter for example subscribed to John Crunden's *Convenient and Ornamental Architecture* (1767) and to Gandon and

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¹ NLI. MS 8390 includes the subscription receipt. The relevant Howard letters are among an unsorted collection of Wicklow papers in NLI Packing Case 227.
Woolfe's supplement to *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1767). Conspicuous by their absence from English architectural subscriptions were the architects Sir Edward Lovett Pearce, Francis Bindon, George Semple and Michael Wills. Evidently the practise of subscribing to large illustrated folios was in itself primarily a wealthy amateur's pursuit.

Subscription publishing was well established in Dublin by the mid-eighteenth-century. The task of securing an audience for a publication was however a tricky and painstaking business, even indeed for the most distinguished of authors. The saga of Pope's subscription campaign for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* during the first quarter of the century clearly demonstrates the difficulties of finding and sustaining both public and private patronage. Such scenes as that of Jonathan Swift soliciting subscriptions for Pope in the ante-chamber at Westminster, vividly evoke the type of personal involvement which made subscription networks possible. In Ireland while intimacy of scale must have aided authors in assembling lists of potential subscribers, the notoriously extravagant lifestyle maintained in Dublin and the provinces apparently militated against investment in more sedate pursuits. In 1758 George Faulkner complained that Dublin was 'the poorest place in the world for subscriptions to books' and that it was 'much easier to get an hundred dinners, with as many dozen bottles of claret, than a single guinea for the best author.' The Earl of Chesterfield received similar laments from Faulkner who assured him that in Ireland 'more bottles are bought in one week than books in one year'.

Yet if the Irish subscription trade did not meet with George Faulkner's high expectations, throughout the century a great many books were published in Dublin by this method. The number and cost of subscriptions naturally varied according to the size and quality of the volume in question and lists could range from one-hundred to fifteen-hundred subscribers. George Grierson's edition of Pope's *Miscellany* in 1736 drew fifteen-hundred subscriptions, while George Faulkner's multi-volumed *Universal History* of the 1740s had a list of seven-

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2 Ibid, 8.
hundred. Architectural books had not such widespread appeal and depended upon smaller numbers, the Rev. Payne having two-hundred and eighty-two subscribers and John Aheron two-hundred. Yet if small in relation to the support for popular mainstream literature, this assemblage of patronage was a considerable achievement. Payne and Aheron were not alone in their architectural ambitions and a number of unsuccessful subscription ventures during the course of the century serve to highlight their achievement.

The earliest effort at producing an Irish architectural book began in January of 1734. In the second week of the new year proposals were published in the Dublin Journal for publishing by subscription 'Designs of Country-Houses, and other buildings, from one hundred to a thousand pounds in expence' The book was to be a quarto, illustrated with thirty copper-plates and costing ten shillings and ten pence, half of which was to be paid in advance of publication. Though not an expensive pattern-book of the Gibbs-Kent mould, this was nevertheless eight shillings dearer than Fuller and Hoey's builders' guides. If an equivalent might be sought in Dublin of the 1730s, the closest in size and quality would be William Jones' The Gentlemens Or Builders Companion which, though accompanied by twice as many plates, was similarly an illustrated quarto with a retail price of twelve shillings.

The author of the proposed work was one Ralph Hansard, an elusive figure who appears to have left no other public record of his architectural pursuits. Hansard will be further considered in chapter five. Hansard was not a common name in eighteenth-century Ireland and it seems likely that our author was a descendant of Sir Richard Hansard, the grantee of the Jacobean plantation at Lifford in County Donegal. In 1734 no less than three family members had the christian name of Ralph. The most senior of the three was the Rev. Ralph Hansard who had been ordained in 1692 and in 1700 was appointed rector to the parishes of Kiltogher, Kiltubrid and Fenagh in County Leitrim. The second Rev. Ralph Hansard was the nephew of the first.

2 The Dublin Journal, 12 January 1733/34.
3 Anon. ' The Hansard Family ' in The Dublin Builder, xxxciii, 886 &887 (15 Nov &15 Dec 1896).
Born in Lifford in 1683 he took a B.A at Trinity College in 1704 and an M.A in 1707 in which year he was ordained in Saint Patrick's Cathedral by Archbishop William King. He ended his days as rector of Baltinglass County Wicklow in 1749. The third Rev. Ralph Hansard was the son of the former and rector of Castledermot, County Kildare where he died in May 1759. His date of birth is not known, however presuming a date in the years following his father's ordination, it seems likely that in 1734 Ralph Hansard junior was in his mid to early twenties and perhaps not yet ordained. As the author of this projected treatise had no clerical title, the youngest Ralph Hansard seems the likeliest candidate.

In his advertisement Hansard maintained that his proposals were published 'at the desire and by the advice of several of the quality and gentry of this kingdom'. It is a claim which is substantiated by the fact that the Dublin Society acted as a subscription agent for the book. George Grierson the King's printer in Ireland also lent his name to the project which is the only instance of his involvement with an architectural publication. Hansard's clerical connections no doubt procured the third subscription depository 'at the library near Saint Sepulchres' i.e. Marsh's Library, while family loyalty no doubt secured the fourth, 'John Hansard in Big-Butter Lane'. With the price fixed at ten-shillings and ten-pence, four hundred subscriptions were required. In the event, and despite his influential support, it seems that Hansard was overly ambitious in presuming such a wide response. A year after the publication of the initial proposals a notice was placed in the press 'to acquaint the publick 'that tho' the number...proposed as encouragment to the work, is not near compleat, the author nevertheless intends to publish it as soon as he can get the plates engraven some of which are already done'. Subscribers were asked to come to George Grierson's to acquaint Hansard with 'what numbers they have got'. The project apparently went no further.

Ralph Hansard's ill-fated copy-book is significant not only as the first Irish effort in the architectural sphere but also in relation to the Rev. John Payne's Twelve Designs of Country Houses of 1757 which may perhaps owe something to the earlier unrealised project.

1 Anon. 'The Hansard Family' in The Dublin Builder, xxxviii, 886 & 887 (15 Dec 1896).
2 Grierson was printer to the Incorporated Society for the promotion of English protestant schools in Ireland.
3 The Dublin Journal, 15 Feb 1734
Payne would have moved in similar circles to Ralph Hansard, and the considerations of economy and practicality attendant upon a modest clerical station no doubt exercised Hansard as much as they did Payne. That said, there were clearly major differences between the two projects. Whereas Hansard’s volume was to be a quarto illustrated by thirty copper-plates, Payne’s was a thin octavo with twenty-four illustrations. The prices of respective volumes clearly reflected the difference in quality, Payne’s book selling to subscribers at a modest three shillings, less than one third the cost of Hansard’s. In the preface or ‘advertisement’ to his book Payne referred to ‘four or five years having passed between finishing the M.S. and the publication’. Subscription proposals were not advertised until the Autumn of 1756 the year before publication and so it seems likely that a private subscription network had been built up in advance of public notification.\textsuperscript{1} Payne had apparently more patience than Hansard or at least success. Not surprisingly clergymen made up almost fifteen percent of the subscription, while titled subscribers numbered less than four percent. Most of Payne’s support appears to have come from the gentry and professional classes and subscribers included leading Dublin Society members such as John Putland, Bartholomew Mosse, Francis Bindon and Arthur Jones Nevill. The cheap price of the book is reflected in quite a substantial number of multiple subscriptions. Robert Clayton Bishop of Clogher for instance paid for twelve copies, Henry Maxwell Bishop of Meath took ten and Lady Tullamore in grandiose style subscribed for forty.

In contrast to John Aheron’s subscription list which included a high percentage of craftsmen, Payne does not seem to have solicited support from the building trade. The surveyor-general Arthur Jones Nevill and the master-builder Henry Darley are the only two subscribers from the contemporary Irish building scene. This is presumably a reflection of Payne’s amateur status and of his appeal to gentlemen-builders. His disclaimer of professional architectural skill and avoidance of monetary building estimates, if inconsequential to amateur designers, was unlikely to command much respect amongst the building trade.\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Pues Occurences}, 28 Sep 1756.

\textsuperscript{2} ‘But after these cautions and directions it is foreseen that such a work as this will be thought imperfect without an estimate or calculation of cost annexed to each plan. to obviate which objection, it is humbly desired that such objector would be pleased to
Ralph Hansard had not been as cavalier in his attention to economics and 'Designs for country houses', had it materialised, would have included estimates for materials and labour rates in Dublin, thus presumably widening its appeal to include builders and craftsmen. Yet clearly a comprehensive approach was not the key to success and Hansard clearly over-reached in expecting four-hundred subscribers. Payne with his more narrow appeal to an audience of improving landlords and gentlemen-builders successfully achieved his aim.

In contrast to the mere fifty-six guineas obtained for the Rev. Payne's volume, the subscription to John Aheron's *A General Treatise of Architecture* amounted to a grand six-hundred guineas. At a cost of three guineas to subscribers Aheron's profusely illustrated folio treatise ranked in scope at least with the productions of Gibbs and Ware in England. While Payne's project took five years from the completion of his manuscript, Aheron's grandiose project began in 1741 and was not published until 1754. The history of Aheron's successive manuscripts will be described elsewhere.\(^1\) From a subscription perspective it is sufficient to know that in 1745, having presented a first manuscript treatise to the Dublin Society, Aheron had begun soliciting subscriptions with a view to publication.\(^2\) Seven years later, after the completion of a second manuscript treatise, Aheron was in London endeavouring to extend his subscription network, and in 1753 the year before publication a final public subscription was opened in Dublin.\(^3\)

The most original aspect of Aheron's publication campaign was the use of his two remarkable manuscripts in contrast to the usual practice of providing specimen text and designs.\(^4\) Written and drawn in pen and ink to simulate printed characters and copper-plate engravings, Aheron's profusely illustrated folio volumes probably attracted subscriptions as much for their eccentricity as for their architectural

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1 Chapter 3.
2 *The Dublin Courant*, 18 May 1745
3 *General Advertiser*, 16 Mar 1752. & *Pues Occurences*, 24 Nov 1753.
4 BM Kings MS 282 & Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Dept of Prints, Harris Brisbane-Dick Fund 25.47.
content. Aheron was clearly aware of this fact, and in his appeal to London subscribers he described the manuscript (then to be seen in a city grocer's shop) as 'such a piece of curiosity, that the like is not to be seen in the best libraries or collections'. As a result of Aheron's English sojourn the subscription list which accompanied the published treatise in 1754 included a number of prominent English patrons who had either lands in Ireland or other Irish connections of a political or ancestral nature. Foremost among these were Lord Burlington, the Earl of Chesterfield, Thomas Southwell, and Charles Butler, Earl of Arran.

The great differences in scope and scale in the Aheron and Payne publications is further reflected in the make-up of their respective subscription lists. Understandably Aheron marshalled only ten percent of his support from the clergy in contrast to the Rev. Payne's fifteen percent. On the other hand while less than four percent of Payne's patronage derived from the nobility, thirty-four per cent of Aheron's list were titled subscribers. Yet undoubtedly the most dramatic difference between the two lists is in the proportion of craftsmen. Whereas Payne's subscribers included no identifiable masons, carpenters or bricklayers, twenty-seven per cent of Aheron's subscriptions came from the building trade. Benjamin Rudd and Benjamin Pemberton were two successful Dublin builders, whose status nowadays is somewhat belied by the modest titles of 'carpenter' and 'bricklayer'. John Haughton 'carver' was the extremely accomplished sculptor who worked at the Dublin Parliament House, while William Bibby 'carver and gilder' was a leading maker of mirrors and furniture. As the first architectural book produced by an Irish author for an Irish audience, Aheron's subscription list provided the first opportunity for established Irish craftsmen to make themselves known to an exclusive native clientele. In contrast to the public press advertisements which many builders and tradesmen could afford to employ, Aheron's list had more of the spirit of an exclusive trade directory.

An Aheron-Payne subscription contrast yields further fruit in terms of common subscribers to both publications. That a mere ten individuals subscribed to both publications is startling enough to merit analysis. These were after all the only wholly original architectural books to be published in Ireland before 1760. Clearly the great difference in the scope and scale of respective works will have had much to do with such

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1 General Advertiser, 16 Mar, 1752.
a dramatic divergence in patronage. However it may also be seen to emphasise the hit-and-miss character of subscription campaigns. Certainly the common denominator from the two Irish lists identifies a coterie of architectural enthusiasts. The ten joint subscribers were: the surveyor-general Arthur Jones Nevill; the son of the former surveyor-general Thomas Burgh; the amateur architect Francis Bindon; associates of Bindon and architectural aficionados Francis Sadlier and Richard Trench; members (later) of the Wide Streets Commission Arthur Hill (also commissioner of revenue) and Anthony Foster (chief baron of the Exchequer); the Rev. Kane Perceval a leading member of the Dublin Society and John Putland, treasurer of the Dublin Society and the owner of Dublin's largest private collection of architectural books. All were men well acquainted with contemporary building activity and actively involved in either private or public architectural patronage.

In assembling almost five hundred Irish subscribers for two architectural books, Aheron and Payne had accomplished a considerable task. A third and final ill-fated venture in the wake of the latter's success serves to emphasise further their achievement. In January of 1760 the Cork architect John Morrison father of Sir Richard Morrison, published subscription proposals for a new architectural book.¹ The Practical Builders Architect and Workman's Assistant was to consist of two quarto volumes at a cost of two guineas to subscribers. Despite the similarity of title to William Pain's The Builder's Companion and Workman's General Assistant sold by James Rudd during the 1750s, Morrison's proposed volume was quite different in content to Pain's builder's compendium. Instead of the latter's step-by-step guide to carpenters and masons with details of decorative work, Morrison assumed a broader more Vitruvian approach. The projected work would comprise five distinct sections; firstly a survey of historic architecture 'taken from the masters of all nations', secondly advice on the choice of situation, thirdly an account of preparatory building work, fourthly information on building materials and finally a series of 'regular designs for plans, elevations, sections etc for all kind of buildings'. The latter included 'charter schools, parsonage houses, edifices for small and large estates...proportioned pursuant to the Grecian and Roman orders of architecture...in which are interspersed some private and public buildings designed and erected by the author'.

¹ The Dublin Journal, 26 Feb, 1760.
That so little is known of John Morrison's career renders this unrealised exposition of his work all the more tantalising. Unlike John Aheron, however, Morrison appears to have spent more time in designing real buildings rather than paper architecture, and subscribers to his proposed volumes were treated only to a 'specimen' of the book, which was to be seen at George Faulkner's. The only graphic survival of a Morrison design is an engraved elevation of the Mayoralty House (PLATE 2) at Cork executed in 1764.¹ The proposed design was evidently modelled upon George Dance's London Mansion House of 1735 and demonstrates the same baroque-Palladianism seen in the productions of John Aheron. However this was a decade after the publication of Aheron's treatise and only five years before the Royal Exchange competition and its neo-classical progeny. Both in his stylistic idiom and in the conception of his proposed volumes, Morrison was swimming against the tide. Though James Williams could still successfully market the cheaper copy-books of Batty Langley and Francis Price amongst the Dublin trades, subscribers to expensive architectural pattern-books no doubt looked for something more original. From the mid 1750s fashionable architectural literature had donned a neo-classical mantle whether of antiquarian bent such as the works of Robert Wood, or the more academic productions of William Chambers. While authors such as John Cruden and Thomas Rawlins continued to produce old-style compendiums of building designs, the future lay in a more specialised literature.

Morrison cannot be blamed for his old-fashioned approach; he was after all a provincial architect and Irish architecture of the mid-eighteenth century was stylistically conservative. What is more to the point is the reaction of prospective subscribers upon viewing Morrison's sample designs at George Faulkner's shop. For whatever reasons his sample designs did not have the desired effect and the repetition of publication proposals in Dublin from January to March of 1760 was to no avail.² In October of 1760 Morrison attempted to entice 300 subscribers in

¹ The Dublin Magazine, Sep, 1764. 501-503. 'An essay on the convenience, strength and beauty, which should be connected in all private and public buildings. By John Morrison, architect. With a design for a new mayoralty house in the city of Cork'.
²The Dublin Journal 15 March, 1760.
the Cork area but the project appears to have gone no further\textsuperscript{1}. If unfulfilled, Morrison’s desire to produce an architectural book assumes further significance in the light of his son’s achievement. Richard Morrison’s \textit{Useful and Ornamental Designs in Architecture} of 1793 lies outside the bounds of this survey. However any consideration of its impetus and objectives would be incomplete without reference to its thwarted ancestor.

A third Irish author who managed to assemble several hundred subscribers chiefly from the Dublin building trade was Philip Levi Hodgson, a Dublin measurer, who in 1758 produced a prospectus for the first accurate measurer’s guide, tailored to contemporary Irish practice and materials. In September of 1758 Hodgson published subscription proposals for his book which was designed to ‘shew at sight the content of any piece of timber, plank etc. used in architect. or naval work, together with the number of superficial feet of different thickness contained in a ton solid, set forth in the most practical and easy manner’.\textsuperscript{2} It was to be an octavo volume and at three shillings to subscribers, would cost the same as \textit{Twelve Designs of Country Houses}, though without illustrations.

No first edition is now known, but the second edition is dated 1763 and is entitled \textit{A New Set of Tables of Solid and Superficial Measure In The Most Familiar Method. Shewing at Sight, the Content of any Piece of Timber, Plank or Board etc. used in Architect or Naval work}. In 1765 Hodgson returned thanks to his Dublin clientele ‘for the kind reception and approbation his book of measuring has met with from the publick these seven years past.’\textsuperscript{3} Presumably therefore the book was first published soon after Hodgson’s subscription proposals of 1758. The second edition followed in 1763 due to ‘the kind of reception ... met with from the publick, join’d to the demand which still continues for it’. The two hundred and seventy subscribers to Hodgson’s second edition certainly demonstrate the volume’s popularity among the building trades, as do the eight successive editions published after 1763. Hodgson appears to have been quite a sharp operator as the sole retail outlets for the volume, throughout its successive editions were his own office on Cork-Hill and that of his father, Daniel Hodgson on George’s Street.

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Cork Evening Post.} 9 Oct, 1760.
\textsuperscript{2} \textit{The Dublin Journal}, 30 Sep. 1758.
\textsuperscript{3} \textit{The Dublin Journal}, 9 Feb. 1765.
Although it includes many familiar figures from the Dublin building trade, unfortunately the 1763 list does not name the occupation of Hodgson's subscribers. However the 1779 subscription list is fully comprehensive and reads almost as a role call of the contemporary Irish building industry.

The account of architectural publication in eighteenth-century Ireland would be incomplete without some consideration of the fine engraving necessary for illustrated works of this nature. An essential prerequisite to the publication of architectural subjects was the availability of good architectural draughtsmen and expert line-engravers, accustomed to plan representation. For the greater part of the period under question, Ireland possessed neither of these requirements. Given an undeveloped native architectural tradition, accomplished draughtsmen were few and far between, and while Ireland produced many fine graphic artists during the course of the eighteenth century, these were almost invariably drawn to London and to the other popular techniques of etching and mezzotint. Thus from the early-eighteenth-century Irish publishers had been obliged to import prints and book illustrations from London and Europe.

In 1761 the Dublin Society established a draughting school specifically devoted to architectural drawing. Until then, what little architectural illustration was produced in Ireland, was largely executed by an assortment of amateurs, surveyors and masters. These were then submitted to a rigorous and perplexing mode of presentation, rather than the direct representation of architectural drawing. Similarly, Irish publishers were largely employed in the description of figurative subjects and were therefore also used to a pictorial idiom. Thus architectural illustration in Ireland before 1750 was generally sole amateurish in character, an image at a time of modest advancements and of ambitious sociocultural schemes, however, it provides an essential part of the story of architectural publishing in Georgian Ireland.

The absence of notable and architectural draughtsmen in Ireland during the eighteenth century is clearly demonstrated by Sir Edward Lovett's Palladian scheme, known of 1738, in which he...

No account of architectural publication in eighteenth-century Ireland would be complete without some consideration of the line engraving necessary for illustrated works of this nature. An essential prerequisite to the publication of architectural subjects was the availability of good architectural draughtsmen and expert line-engravers, accustomed to planar representation. For the greater part of the period under question, Ireland possessed neither of these requirements. Given an undeveloped native architectural tradition, accomplished draughtsmen were few and far between, and while Ireland produced many fine graphic artists during the course of the eighteenth century, these were almost invariably drawn to London and to the more popular techniques of etching and mezzo-tint.¹ Thus from the early eighteenth century Irish publishers had been obliged to import prints and book illustrations from London and Europe.

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The absence of accomplished architectural draughtsmen in Ireland during the early eighteenth century is clearly demonstrated by Sir Edward Lovett Pearce’s famous memo of 1728, in which he

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recommended Richard Castle as 'the one person' in Dublin who was 'capable of drawing fair designs'. The pedestrian drawings of Thomas Burgh's clerk, Michael Wills, lend support to Pearce's observation; and throughout the first half of the century there appears to have been little expert drawing other than that from Richard Castle's office. Castle's own drawings and in particular the figures to 'An essay on inland navigation', demonstrate his thorough command of architectural illustration.

It is tempting to attribute to Castle, the drawing of his own building in Trinity College, the printing house which was engraved c.1745 as the printer's device for the Dublin University Press. The vignette, which depicts the building in elevation, first appeared on the University Horace of 1745. (PLATE 3) Despite its diminutive scale, it was unquestionably the most accomplished print of an architectural nature produced in Dublin before 1750. There can be no doubt that had Castle succeeded in publishing the navigation treatise, it too would have been of high quality. However, with the exception of his pipe-water essay Castle, surprisingly, did not venture into print. Presumably the demands of a busy practice were responsible for this. Certainly it seems more than coincidence that those who invested their energies in architectural publishing were either under-employed native architects, amateurs, antiquarians or print-makers.

Given the dearth of technical expertise in Ireland, it is not surprising that the first illustrations of Irish architectural subjects were produced in London rather than in Dublin. In 1728 the London engraver and printseller, John Bowles, published A Map of the City and Suburbs of Dublin by the Dublin carpenter and surveyor, Charles Brooking. The map was accompanied by twenty elevations and birds-eye views of prominent buildings and monuments throughout the city, arranged in vertical registers on each side of the city plan. While the elevations of St Werburgh's and St Ann's are admittedly grossly out of scale, most of the views give a reasonably accurate idea of the building in question, and there can be no doubt that Brooking was striving to achieve a consciously architectural mode of presentation. (PLATE 4) His model was undoubtedly Bowles's own series of prints depicting views and

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elevations of buildings in London, and in particular Several Prospects of the Most Noted Publick Buildings in and about the City of London with a Short Historical Account relating to the same which was published in 1724. The most convincing views in Brooking's map are those of the royal statues at College Green and Essex Bridge, a testament to the tenacity of perspectival and figurative representation in early Georgian architectural illustration.

Over a decade after the publication of Brooking's map, engravings of Irish subjects were still being solicited from abroad. The Whole Works of Sir James Ware by Walter Harris, which was published by John Exshaw of Cork Hill contained plates commissioned in Paris from a French architectural engraver. However, as in the case of Bowles's map, the drawings for Ware's book were made by an Irish draughtsman. Jonas Blaymire, a Dublin surveyor and measurer was engaged to make drawings of all the Irish cathedrals. Blaymire's drawings, if somewhat naive, nevertheless attempted to render the mass and structure of the buildings under scrutiny rather than simply offering the more traditional picturesque views. No figures appear in the prints and the cathedrals are depicted at relatively close quarters filling the greater part of each plate. Surviving correspondence between Harris and Blaymire, during the latter's work on the drawings, clearly demonstrates the pioneering nature of such architectural illustration in Ireland. Writing from Clonfert, Blaymire informed Harris that

This affair has made a prodigious noise in the whole country and has spread as I am credibly informed through most of Connaught, some reporting that I was the popes legate and was taking account of churches in order that they should be repaired which notion heaped an abundance of blessings upon me; but on the other hand it was reported that I was employed by the Bishop of Meath to view them in order that they might be pulled down, to build a large parish church which

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1 Strickland (Walter). A dictionary of Irish artists. Dublin 1913. 1. 68.
2 The whole works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland revised and improved by Walter Harris. Dublin, 1739.
notion if it had prevailed would have been fatal to me.¹

In June of 1740 subscribers to The Whole Works of Sir James Ware were summoned to John Exshaw’s book-shop on Cork Hill where ‘the seven perspective views of cathedrals….wanting to compleat the first volume’ had recently arrived from Paris and were ready for insertion in ‘their proper places’.² Unaware of Exshaw’s remarkable solicitude, Strickland tentatively included ‘G Dheulland’ the engraver of the plates among the ranks of Irish artists. It now seems clear however that this was Guillaume d’Heulland (d.1770) a Parisian engraver who specialised in topographical and architectural engraving.³

Exshaw’s brother Charles (fl 1747-1771), himself a painter and engraver and a pupil of Francis Bindon, studied in Rome and Paris during the 1740s and it is tempting, if purely speculative, to attribute the Parisian link to Bindon’s cosmopolitan circle.⁴ A safer and more valuable exercise is to compare d’Heulland’s plates with those in the same book executed by Irish engravers. The simple fact that Exshaw commissioned plates both at home and abroad is puzzling and one might expect to find that the extra expense and bother of applying to Paris was due to a desire for greater excellence. If this was the case then Exshaw was perhaps disappointed, as the seven plates by d’Heulland though certainly more slick than those by Dempsey and Haydon are fairly commonplace.

A comparison of the engraving technique of d’Heulland with that of Dempsey, the most prolific of the two Irish engravers employed on the project, demonstrates the greater technical sophistication of the former and the more vivacious naivete of the latter. Dempsey’s plate of Limerick Cathedral for instance exhibits awkward wedges of shadow at the angles of the building and an ungainly band of unexploited white ground above the roof of the church (PLATE 5). Similarly the walls of the building are rendered in a pattern of unrelieved vertical lines, demonstrating a very limited grasp of the great variety of techniques

¹ The whole works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland revised and improved by Walter Harris. . Dublin, 1739. MS. copy interleaved with MS. notes, letters etc. p7. TCD. Dept. of Manuscripts.
² The Dublin Journal, 14 June 1740.
possible in copper-plate line engraving of the period. D'Heulland achieves a more substantial effect by engraving the entire surface with finely incised lines. A further sign of the Frenchman's professionalism is the greater variety of cutting skills evident in his plates. Cashel cathedral for instance displays an effective juxtaposition of vertical and horizontal lining, while in others are manifest both short cutting, dotting and cross-hatching (PLATE 6). In tone also d'Heulland's prints have overall a more even-textured appearance. Dempsey on the other hand aimed for starker black and white contrast, in a naive though not unsuccessful quest for dramatic effect. However the fashionable rococo cartouches and low-key tones of the French prints were presumably more attuned to contemporary taste.

The plates which Exshaw commissioned for Harris's book, however uneven in quality, represent a remarkably ambitious step in Irish publishing. John Exshaw was clearly an exception among Dublin publishers, who, as we have seen, tended to avoid either printing or selling illustrated architectural material. Indeed, perhaps one of the principal factors which drew the Dublin trade to mathematical and measuring manuals, as opposed to volumes of architectural plans and elevations, was the relative simplicity of the requisite illustrations. In contrast to the highly-wrought rendition needed for the illustration of buildings, books such as Batty Langley's Builder's Vade-Mecum, essentially a short guide to construction of the orders, required only line drawings and measurement details to demonstrate the various profiles. The plates for Samuel Fuller's Dublin reprint of 1729 were copied directly from the London volume. These simple diagrams cannot have cost a great deal. Though the Langley plates were left unsigned, we know that Fuller elsewhere employed the services of two known Dublin engravers John Gwim and John Brooks.1 During the 1760s James Williams followed Fuller's example by reprinting titles with relatively simple copper-plate illustrations and, as we have seen, economising on the number of copper plates used in his Dublin editions.

Whereas for Fuller and Williams illustrations were simply a means to an end, John Exshaw evidently had an enthusiastic interest in engraving. His reprint of The London and Monthly Chronologer in

1749 was illustrated by a number of specially commissioned plates, among them *A Perspective View of the Illuminations and Fireworks to be exhibited at St Stephen’s Green on ye Thanksgiving Day for ye general peace concluded at Aix la Chapelle 1748*. This view was drawn by the painter Joseph Tudor and engraved by Thomas Chambers, a Dublin engraver. Exshaw was also the publisher of Charles Smith’s histories of Waterford and Cork, which each included a number of topographical and antiquarian views drawn by the well-known amateur, Anthony Chearnley, and engraved by Thomas Chambers. A further project promoted by Exshaw and a significant landmark in Irish architectural illustration is Joseph Ravell’s map of Drogheda of 1749.1

Joseph Ravell, a surveyor and teacher of mathematics in Drogheda, followed the example of Brooking and framed his plan of Drogheda with a deep margin in which he drew elevations of the principal new public buildings and houses in the town. (PLATE 7) As Drogheda was one of the most sophisticated of contemporary Irish towns, Ravell’s thumbnails depict an impressive array of fashionable Palladian architecture. What is more significant in the context of native architectural presentation is that here there is an attempt to go beyond the three-dimensional idiom of Bowles and Brooking in a conscious effort to achieve professional ‘geometrical’ or orthogonal elevations. It is interesting to ponder whether in fact Ravell made his drawings from the actual buildings, or whether he based them upon already existing architectural drawings. The new church of St. Peter at Drogheda, begun only in 1748, is represented as a completed building on Ravell’s map, and it seems likely that in this instance at least, architectural drawings were used either by Ravell or by Daniel Pomarede, the engraver of the map.

Joseph Ravell appears to have been a man of varied talents and an unusually chequered career. The name Ravell suggests that he may well have been connected to the circle of Huguenot land surveyors who exerted such a significant influence in mid-eighteenth-century Ireland. However the earliest records of a Joseph Ravell refer not to a land-surveyor but to a stone-cutter in the town of Carlow who leased several plots of land in 1727 and 1728 and again in 1759 and 1767.2 The Joseph

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1 A Map of the Town and Suburbs of Drogheda drawn from an actual survey by Joseph Ravell. Dublin, 1749. Town Clerk, Drogheda.
Ravell who had established himself as a surveyor and mathematics teacher in Drogheda in 1749, may or may not have been the same man. However, the multifarious activities of Charles Brooking and Jonas Blaymire are a testament to the fluidity of professional boundaries during the period and it is quite possible that an educated journeyman stone-cutter might have turned his hand to more graphic pursuits.

Drogheda during the 1730s and 1740s was a lucrative location for builders and surveyors alike. During the middle decades of the eighteenth century, great numbers of leases expired in the town and consequently many new land surveys were required in negotiating new terms of rental. Obligatory building clauses were frequently inserted in new leases and thus builders and craftsmen were also much in demand. Five years after his publication of the Drogheda map, Ravell was awarded a prize of 30 guineas by the Dublin Society for a surveying instrument of his design, and in the following year he removed from Drogheda to the capital. In 1758 he was appointed general accountant for the inland navigation board and in 1760 clerk to the post-master general, which latter post he held until his death in 1766.

Apart from the map of Drogheda, the only other surviving example of his work is a series of manuscript survey maps of south-east Louth made in 1753. A contrast of the latter with the Drogheda map provides a useful insight into the respective roles of draughtsman and engraver in producing cartographical or architectural prints. The cartouche which frames Ravell’s dedication of the Drogheda map to the Archbishop of Armagh appears in unpublished form on two of the Louth surveys. Here executed in ink and grey wash Ravell’s sketchy, almost clumsy, handling stands in stark contrast to the sharp detail of the cartouche on the published Drogheda plan. It is a divergence which seems to reflect a high degree of responsibility on the part of illustrative engravers when working up plates from manuscript designs.

The practice of framing maps with miniature architectural views was not new. Ravell had in mind Brooking’s map of Dublin or similar

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plans of English and European cities. Others followed suit, though none with the same success. In 1754, Roger Kendrick, Dublin's city surveyor, intended to employ a similar format in his map of the city. However, necessary changes in scale increased the size of Kendrick's map and left 'no room for the ornamental building etc, which he at first proposed to have in the margins'.¹ Prospective subscribers were to be compensated by an appropriate reduction in cost. Whether the higher price of the illustrated map reflected merely the cost of more detailed engraving, or of procuring, or making architectural drawings, is now impossible to determine. Noble & Keegan's map of Kildare by of 1752, followed Ravell's example by including two views of Leixlip and Carton and an elevation of the obelisk at Castletown. (PLATE 8) Significantly, this map was also engraved by Daniel Pomarede.

Daniel Pomarede seems to have been one of the very few Dublin line engravers to specialise in architectural illustration. A Huguenot silversmith and engraver, Pomarede's graphic output also included views of Carton and Castletown and a Plan and Elevation of Essex Bridge.² (PLATE 9) The latter, which was published in 1755, was very consciously styled as a 'geometrical' plan and elevation of Essex Bridge. Probably derived from a Semple drawing, the print had clearly a propagandist aim and was promoted in the press as a demonstration of 'the nature of the foundations and all other parts of said bridge, sufficient to give a thorough satisfaction to the publick'.³ Pomarede's style of engraving was much more sophisticated than that of Exshaw's former associates, Dempsey and Haydon.⁴ The Essex Bridge print is a very accomplished engraving and employs a variety of contrasting cutting skills in order to distinguish the various elements of the design. Of Pomarede's career we know little, though a remarkable advertisement in the Dublin Journal of March 24th 1759 suggests at the very least a wayward and eccentric character. In this, Pomarede sought to disclaim the reports of 'some designing persons' that he was blind and confined in Meath-Street Marshalsea for 'three years past'. On the contrary he begged leave to inform the nobility that his eyesight was as sharp as ever and that in order to prevent further 'envious informations' he

³The Dublin Journal, 22 April 1755.
⁴Haydon is a shadowy figure. No other work signed by him has come to light.
would 'give undoubted security for any plate etc. entrusted to him (being in gaol) to engrave...'.

A second Dublin engraver prepared to execute architectural plates was Philip Simms, who was based first in Dame Street and later in Crown Alley and worked extensively for Dublin publishers between 1725 and 1749. In 1737 a series of model school designs published by the Incorporated Society for the promotion of English protestant schools in Ireland was engraved by Simms. These plans and elevations, dull to begin with, were rendered by Simms in a plain workaday fashion. A little more panache is seen in an architectural view made for George Faulkner's *Universal History* of 1744. The temple at Balbeck depicts a frontal section of the temple cutting away the cella wall to display a tripartite colonnaded interior and accompanied by plans and profiles of the Corinthian capital, architrave, pedestal and base. However, disappointingly, this sophisticated illustration was copied directly from a plate in the London edition of the text by engraver J Mynde.

The most significant contribution to the development of a professional architectural idiom among the city's draughtsmen and engravers came not from an architectural quarter, but rather from the cartographer and engraver John Rocque. Between 1754 and 1760 Rocque carried on an engraving and print-selling business where he employed up to five engravers in producing maps and views. Rocque's influence was two-fold; firstly in the very employment of artists in an emphatically linear idiom and secondly in the uniquely detailed character of his Dublin map which brilliantly captured the fabric of the new city. At a time when many of the country's most gifted artists were being seduced by the glamour and popularity of mezzo-tint engraving, Rocque's topographical and cartographical requirements stimulated the slow, meticulous technique of line-engraving. Of the men who worked on the Irish surveys, the most significant in terms of architectural illustration are Rocque's son-in-law and fellow-surveyor Peter Bernard Scale and the engraver Patrick Halpin, who were later to collaborate on the most sophisticated Irish architectural prints of the century. While Rocque's Dublin maps did not incorporate architectural vignettes as in Brooking or Ravell, his detailed planimetric mode of presentation was arguably more effective in producing a geometrical manner of

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architectural depiction. Only two detailed ground-plans of buildings were given in the Dublin City map, one of the Parliament House and another of Putland House in Great Britain Street, the home of Rocque's patron and architectural afficionado John Putland. However, changes in the penultimate stage of the Dublin map demonstrate an acute architectural observation, for example in the replacement of the Crow Street Music Hall by a newly opened playhouse, or by the insertion of new buildings in Dominick Street and Great Britain Street.

Though neither as successful nor as influential as John Rocque, the career of John Brooks provides an illuminating insight into the state of copper-plate engraving in Dublin at mid-century and its potential for architectural illustration. Brooks was a native of Dublin who before 1730 was professionally practising engraving and etching. Samuel Fuller was an early patron of his work. In 1736, the year in which he received the freedom of the Goldsmiths Corporation, Brooks travelled to London where he remained for five years. During this time he learned the technique of mezzo-tint probably from John Faber and also gathered around him a group of young talented assistants. Upon his return to Dublin in 1741 Brooks established himself at 'Sir Isaac Newton's Head' on Cork Hill as engraver, print-seller and 'mezzo-tinto scraper'. Among his first productions in 1742 was An exact plan of Prague, with the particular dispositions of the French and Austrian armies in the present siege with the retrenchments made by the Marshals de Broglio and de Belleisle for its defence, taken by M de Broglio's engineer. In the following year he published subscription proposals for a mammoth series of one hundred mezzo-tint portraits of well-known Irish figures. The projected scheme was accompanied by a preliminary list of fifty-two subscribers which included the printer George Faulkner and prominent statesmen such as Arthur Dobbs the surveyor general and Thomas Prior. Nevertheless the project seems to have failed and only a third of the proposed prints were executed.

Apparently undaunted by the disappointment of his first subscription venture, Brooks in the following year presented a second
major publication proposal. Now instead of portraits he proposed to 'ingrave in the neatest and most curious manner' views of 'eight country seats situate within thirty miles of ..Dublin', the engravings to be made after 'exact and regular paintings by the best hands'. Persons wishing to have their seat included in the suite were asked to subscribe twenty guineas, for which they would receive one hundred prints of their own seat, or twelve sets of the eight views. Of the proposed suite only three engravings appear to have been published. These were a view of Leixlip subscribed for by William Conolly, A North Prospect of Blessington, subscribed for by Lord Mountjoy and a view of Powerscourt Waterfall. The Leixlip and Blessington prints were taken from paintings by Joseph Tudor, whose own engraved views of Dublin have also significance for this study. Brooks clearly conceived the project in a picturesque mode rather than in an accurate architectural idiom. George Faulkner's support of Brooks's work is particularly noteworthy in the light of his own efforts for a Vitruvius Hibernicus over a decade later. An essential element in Faulkner's later proposal was the availability in Dublin of 'as good as engravers...as any in Paris or London'.

There was perhaps a pointed edge to George Faulkner's praise of Irish graphic artists. Three months previous to Faulkner's proposals for a Vitruvius Hibernicus, John Aheron had finally published A General Treatise of Architecture. The great and tragic irony of Aheron's published treatise was the poor quality of its copper-plate engravings in contrast to Aheron's remarkable preliminary drawings which simulated the appearance of published prints. (PLATES 54, 55) The irony was compounded by Aheron's proud boast to prospective subscribers that his plates had been engraved in London, clearly intended as a guarantee of superior quality. In the event the standard of Aheron's plates was inferior to that of contemporary Dublin engraving. Daniel Pomarede's engraving of Essex Bridge published in 1752 was an infinitely more sophisticated print than the simplistic line-engravings of Aheron's treatise. Aheron succeeded in producing only one sophisticated architectural illustration, namely two elevations of the west front of Trinity College which accompanied an essay by Aheron on the building. Only one copy of this work is known and there is no other record of the

1The Dublin Journal, 6 Aug 1743.
3The Dublin Journal, 17 Aug 1754.
4Pues Occurances, 24 Nov. 1753.
publication. 1 A *General Treatise of Architecture* does not appear to have enhanced Aheron's architectural career, and during the last years of his life drawing for architectural illustrations seems to have been his sole source of income. These were elevations of public buildings in Dublin commissioned by Peter Wilson for *The Dublin Magazine*. 2 Neither the drawings nor the engravings are noteworthy and merely constitute a pathetic swan-song to Aheron's curious career.

While architectural illustrations became increasingly in vogue from mid-century onward, individual prints depicting Irish building were far more rare. One of these is a very perplexing engraving dated 1745 which survives in a scrap-book album now at the Irish Architectural Archive. The volume is presumed to have been compiled by Joseph Jarratt, an architectural clerk in the Board of Works. The print is an intriguing engraving of the Weaver’s Hall in the Coombe, one of the few Dublin buildings which has been firmly attributed to Jarratt. 3

(PLATE 10) An accomplished copper-plate engraving, this depicts a sophisticated elevation of the building and is inscribed with the date 'July Ye 1st 1745'. Presumably it was made for commemorative purposes.

George Faulkner's plan for a *Vitruvius Hibernicus* may be of relevance to an enigmatic print produced, presumably in Dublin, about the middle decade of the century. This is a very striking perspective view of Sackville Street and Gardiner's Mall which has been traditionally attributed to the mid 1750s. (PLATE 11). Together with a title and dedication the print carries a lengthy inscription describing the size and ornament of the Mall, and noting its commencement in 1749 by Luke Gardiner. It is dedicated to the Duke of Dorset, whose second term of office as Lord Lieutenant ran from December 1750 to April 1755. Given the complete state of the Mall as depicted in this view, a date towards the end of this period seems most likely. Again, George Faulkner's proposals for a *Vitruvius Hibernicus* spring to mind,

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1 Trinity College Library, Dept. of Early Printed Books. *Remarks and Observations on a Building carrying on for a Certain College*. 1757?
2 *The Dublin Magazine for the year 1762*. Dublin, 1762.
Dr. Steeves Hospital. p38
Mercer's Hospital. p.104
The Royal Charter School, Clontarf. p160.
Hospital for incurables. p218.
St. Patrick's Hospital. p 303.

3 Sheaff(Nicholas). ' Jarrat and Rococo '. In *Irish Arts Review*, 1. no. 3. 50-51.
particularly as they appeared in the public press in August of 1754. Though somewhat spare and awkward in terms of its architectural draughtsmanship, the broad perspective view with its rococo inscriptions and dramatic cloud-filled sky has a handsome effect. The dedication to the Duke of Dorset is signed by one Oliver Grace of whom very little is known. While it is conceivable that this was Oliver Grace (1704-1781) of Gracefield in the King’s County, who married Mary Dowell of Mantua in County Roscommon, the motive for such a gesture is difficult to imagine. A far more likely candidate is the "Mr. Grace of Fleet Street" who exhibited a series of architectural designs at the Society of Artists during the 1760s and who submitted two designs to the Royal Exchange Competition in 1769. In the opinion of one contemporary critic of the Exchange exhibition, "Mr Grace's Designs [had]... no good grace". ¹

Joseph Tudor from whom Brooks commissioned his view paintings also offers an insight into relations between the Dublin and London print trade at mid-century. A landscape painter based in Dame Street, Tudor also specialised in stage scenery, and in 1753 executed illusionistic architectural decorations for the King’s birthday celebrations at Dublin Castle. About 1750 Tudor produced a set of six views of Dublin, apparently engraved in London and also published there, firstly by the Irish engraver James Mc Ardell and later by Robert Sayer.² Sayer, we have seen, was of particular interest in the Irish context, due to his trade in architectural books with the Dublin bookseller James Rudd during the 1750s. Tudor’s views depict the Parliament House, Trinity College Library, the Custom House, the upper Castle Yard, the City Barracks and a prospect of Dublin from the Phoenix Park. They are amongst the most charming eighteenth-century scenes of the city. If somewhat naive ‘A Prospect of the Upper Castle Court from the Council Chamber, Dublin’ (PLATE 12), architecturally the most sophisticated of the group, attempts to give an accurate image of the Castle buildings. That Tudor had his views engraved in London is symptomatic of the general trend to look beyond Dublin-based craftsmen.

¹Scientifical. An essay on the several designs exhibited for the Royal Exchange. John Murphy; Dublin, 1769.

²Tudor (Joseph). A Prospect of the Parliament House in College Green; A Prospect of the library of Trinity College Dublin; A Prospect of the Custom House and Essex Bridge; A Prospect of the Upper Castle Court from the Council Chamber Dublin; A Prospect of the Barracks of Dublin from St James Churchyard; A Prospect of the City of Dublin from the Magazine Hill in his Majesty’s Phoenix Park.
Essentially all of the Irish engravers working in Dublin during the 1740s and 1750s were graphic artists trained in a figurative mode. Painters and draughtsmen who provided them with drawings, such as Blaymire and Tudor, came from a similar background and so it is hardly surprising that an independent architectural mode of representation did not emerge in Dublin until the latter half of the century. The forebearers of this idiom are without doubt the Huguenot school of land surveyors exemplified by Rocque and Ravell, whose mathematical and scientific bent ensured a more planimetric mode of graphic description. Among the first of the new school of architectural illustration was Bernard Scale, the brother-in-law and pupil of John Rocque who had worked on the Dublin map of 1756 and who published his own maps and views, both in Dublin and London during the 1750s and 1760s. Among Scale's productions are two architectural engravings depicting Trinity College and the Lying-in Hospital. A Plan of Trinity College Dublin was published in 1761 and depicted a plan of the College and its grounds, together with elevations of the west front and of the Provost's House. A Plan of the Lying-in Hospital and New Gardens Dublin was published by Scale & Richards in 1764, and similarly included a plan and elevation of the building (PLATE 13). The design of these prints is rather old-fashioned, with inscribed scrolls and cartouches and ornate borders which look to French seventeenth-century traditions, rather than to the simpler presentation of contemporary neo-classical publications.

The first Irish architectural engravings to manifest a complete assimilation of mainstream European stylistic conventions are a set of five plans and views of the Dublin Parliament House which were published by Scale in 1767. These represent the collaboration of a professional architectural draughtsman and two experienced cartographical engravers. The engravers were Patrick Halpin, an Irish engraver who had also worked on Rocque's Dublin projects, and Peter Mazell a Huguenot who seems to have been based in London. Like James Mc Ardell, Bernard Scale had professional connections with the London market through the publisher and bookseller Robert Sayer.

1 Bensusan-Butt (John) & Mason (Stuart A.) 'P.B. Scale surveyor in Ireland and gentleman of Essex'. In Proceedings of the Huguenot Society, xxiv, no.6, (1988)
Roland Omer, the draughtsman of the venture may well have known Joseph Ravell, as he too worked as a surveyor for the Inland Navigation Board of which his father Thomas Omer was chief engineer. The suite comprised a perspective view of the Parliament House, a geometrical elevation, a section of the House of Lords, a section of the House of Commons and a plan of the building. Throughout, Omer's impeccable draughtsmanship is matched by highly accomplished engraving skills and the result is undoubtedly the finest instance of architectural illustration in eighteenth-century Ireland.

By 1767 when Omer produced his drawings of the Parliament House, the standard of native architectural drawing had improved dramatically since the lean years of the early eighteenth-century. This was largely due to the efforts and expertise of Thomas Ivory, who in 1761 was appointed head of the Dublin Society's newly established school of architectural drawing. Ivory's spectacular drawings for the Blue Coat School of 1776 demonstrate the superb graphic skills which he strove to cultivate in the drawing school. The Dublin Society's architectural interests had evidently undergone quite a metamorphosis since the 1740s when, as we shall see, the promotion of small-scale domestic design had been their principal concern. These altered sights are clearly reflected in the subject matter of the drawing school's first architectural competition, which requested designs for a grandiose house of 120 feet in length. Like Richard Castle before him, Ivory appears to have had little interest in publishing his drawings, with the sole exception of a view of the Casino at Marino which he published in 1775. Despite the fact that there were by then first-class engravers working in Dublin, Ivory chose to follow the well-worn path of procuring his plates from a London engraver, in this instance, Edward Rooker.

The first extensive series of Irish architectural engravings did not appear until 1780 when Robert Pool and John Cash produced their Views of the Most Remarkable Public Buildings, Monuments and Other Edifices in the City of Dublin. A preface to the volume neatly encapsulates the history of architectural engraving in eighteenth-century Ireland, emphasising its limited scope and praising the isolated productions of Omer, Mazell, Halpin and Ivory. Pool and Cash were evidently well aware of past efforts in the field and explained to their

readers that although a folio format was desirable they had decided for practical reasons to produce a quarto volume. This decision was prompted by a lack of 'sufficient encouragement to complete' a folio volume, and the example of 'a former unsuccessful attempt of that nature, tho' conducted by a gentleman whose abilities were fully equal to the task'. Pool and Cash claimed to have tailored their volume 'to the encouragement which we were likely to receive'. Whether the 'former unsuccessful attempt' was John Brooks's series of prints, or George Faulkner's Vitruvius Hibernicus, is unclear though the latter seems the more likely candidate.

The views published by Pool and Cash justified their criticisms of earlier Irish engraving in the genre. With the exception of Omer and Ivory, earlier architectural views had been 'incorrectly taken and poorly engraved'. Pool and Cash achieved much improved standards both in the accuracy of their drawings and the standard of their engravings. However their apology for a quarto format indicates that they themselves recognised the essential flaw in their production. That said, the Views of the Most Remarkable Public Buildings, Monuments and Other Edifices in the City of Dublin heralds a new and infinitely more sophisticated chapter in Irish architectural illustration.
CHAPTER TWO

ARCHITECTURAL LIBRARIES

IN

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY IRELAND

In chapter one, the evidence of contemporary advertisements, publication notices and imprints demonstrate that the type of books prompted by the Dublin trade during the eighteenth century were generally cheaper builders' copy-books and measuring manuals. What follows is an examination of private Irish libraries during the period in order to determine the scope and character of their architectural holdings. The discussion is based upon a list of action seven-historic architectural books which has been grouped beneath a survey of contemporary book catalogues. The survey is a broad sampling of eighteenth-century catalogues rather than an exhaustive view of the subject. However, a considerable number of printed action catalogues and manuscript library catalogues have been drawn upon in an attempt to construct as full a picture as possible of contemporary holdings. For comparative purposes a more cursory survey of Irish trade catalogues has also been carried out, with interesting results. Attention will focus upon a number of issues: firstly the manner in which private architectural libraries were assembled; secondly and most importantly, the general composition of Irish architectural libraries across the nation.
'... all my leisure time was employed in the booksellers shops and particularly in search of such books as you have mentioned to me. Many of them were not to be found in our Hibernian coast. When Saint Patrick banished poisonous animals, the Saint in his fury probably cursed books into the bargain. He certainly wished ignorance might succeed him, and I am sorry to tell you that scarce a gentleman in Ireland goes farther in literature than Urban's *English Magazine* or Faulkner's *Irish Journal*.'

The Earl of Orrery to the Rev. Mr Birch. 26th May 1747.1

In chapter one, the evidence of contemporary advertisements, publication notices and imprints demonstrated that the type of books promoted by the Dublin trade during the eighteenth century were generally cheaper builders' copy-books and measuring manuals. What follows is an examination of private Irish libraries during the period, in order to determine the scope and character of their architectural holdings. The discussion is based upon a list of almost seven-hundred architectural books which has been gleaned from a survey of contemporary book catalogues.2 The survey is a broad sampling of eighteenth-century catalogues rather than an exhaustive view of the subject. However a considerable number of printed auction catalogues and manuscript library catalogues have been drawn upon in an effort to construct as full a picture as possible of contemporary holdings. For comparative purposes a more cursory survey of Irish trade catalogues has also been carried out, with interesting results. Attention will focus upon a number of issues: firstly the manner in which private architectural libraries were assembled; secondly and more importantly the general composition of Irish architectural libraries during the course

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2 Appendix 2.
of the eighteenth century; and thirdly a closer look at Irish book collectors and their architectural collections.

If in 1755 one was to walk from the book-shops of James Rudd or Isaac Jackson to the house of Samuel Card on Abbey-Street, the very different content of a private architectural library to that of a bookseller’s commercial stock would soon become apparent. Card was a successful city lawyer who owned a substantial library of architectural books, which though larger than most, was fairly representative of contemporary Irish collections. Probably the most striking contrast between the books on the shop shelves and those in Card’s house, was quite simply their scale. In contrast to Jackson’s cheap octavos and dodecimos and to James Rudd’s quartos and small folios, Samuel Card’s books were for the most part large and elegant folio volumes. A second marked distinction was the fact that over half of Card’s collection were French and Italian imprints in contrast to the exclusively English literature marketed by Rudd and Jackson. Thirdly, while Card’s library included three titles by Batty Langley and one by Francis Price the English books in his collection were predominantly expensive pattern books by William Kent, Isaac Ware et al. Also noteworthy is the fact that not one of the architectural titles published in Dublin before 1755 appeared in the catalogue of Samuel Card’s library. All of these distinctions are characteristic of the very considerable difference between commercially marketed architectural material and the type of literature being bought by well-to-do Irish collectors.

In considering the Dublin book trade, it was noted that the architectural stock of a city bookshop was predominantly comprised of remainders from auctions of private libraries or conglomerate collections imported from abroad. Thus frequent browsing among Dublin bookshops was one way of building up an architectural collection. This was clearly a long and laborious method and one which was unlikely to have been practised by any but the most inveterate bibliophiles. Rather, the most significant factor in the assemblage of eighteenth-century architectural collections was the buying of books by Irish visitors to London and to Europe. The library of the Dublin surgeon Dr Edward Worth created during the first quarter of the eighteenth-century was assembled in precisely this fashion, from book auctions in England, Holland, Ireland and Germany.1 Inscriptions on

contemporary sale catalogues demonstrate that Worth was well known to London book auctioneers. Given the limitations of the Dublin trade doubtless many other Irish book-buyers had accounts with London booksellers.

Certainly the trials and tribulations of book-collecting in Ireland were lamented by a variety of individuals. Cost it seems also played an important role in the assemblage of Irish libraries, in that books were then, as now, much cheaper abroad than in Ireland. For the young Pole Cosby studying at Leyden university in 1723 a favourite recreation was 'going from one booksellers shop to another' where he professed to have laid out all the money I could in books ...I bought as many while I was at Leyden as cost me 8,000 guilders...£80 Irish and if I had been to buy the same books in Dublin they would have cost me at the very least £120'.

Naturally, foreign travel was an expensive and periodic pursuit and for enthusiastic readers confined to the Irish provinces for the greater part of the year or even for that matter in Dublin, a second common method of procuring books from abroad was through friends or family members. Books were among a series of commodities which were in constant demand from travellers to England and from Irish correspondents living in London. These intermediaries spent considerable time and energy in acquiring and dispatching books, pictures and a variety of luxury items for their relatives and friends. Commissions were either shipped to Ireland at the expense of the applicant or foisted upon the first unfortunate traveller to announce his imminent departure for Ireland. In April of 1759, for instance, Lady Caroline Fox informed the Countess of Kildare that the books bought for her by Mrs Dunoyer would be sent ' by Mr Agar who goes next week ' Evidently hospitality was not bought lightly in eighteenth-century Anglo-Irish society

Hugh Howard of Shelton Abbey in County Wicklow, left Ireland for Europe in 1697, in order to train there as a painter. Having studied at Rome with Carlo Maratta, he returned to live and work in London. Throughout the first three decades of the eighteenth century, Howard received incessant book commissions from family and friends in

Ireland. Foremost among these were his brothers William and Robert Howard and Dr. Claudius Gilbert of Trinity College. Howard's correspondence survives and offers a valuable insight into the way in which Irish libraries were assembled. Requests were made for specific texts which appeared in London advertisements. In July of 1731 for instance, Robert Howard sought Stephen Switzer's *A General System of Hydrostaticks and Hydraulics*, which 'hath been often advertised ... price 1s 10d'. In the following November Hugh Howard duly dispatched Switzer's book together with a French treatise on the subject and ten pounds of chocolate for his brother's wife.

Turning to consider the architectural content of these libraries, it is important to emphasise at the outset its very limited scale in comparison to subjects such as history, law, literature etc. Architecture invariably constitutes a fractional percentage of seventeenth and eighteenth-century libraries. For example, although Archbishop William King's collection of almost seventy architectural titles is among the largest encountered in this survey it constitutes less than 2% of his entire library. The architectural holdings of Samuel Card and John Putland, also among the richest collections encountered in this survey, amounted to less than 2% of their entire libraries. A comparison of the total number of titles in each library in the survey, with the number of architectural books found therein, quickly demonstrates the very limited circulation of architectural literature in Georgian Ireland. Architecture was then, as it remains today, a minority interest subscribed to by a coterie of enthusiasts and merely flirted with by society at large. Throughout the seventeenth century two-thirds of all large libraries comprised legal and theological literature while in the eighteenth century history, politics, philosophy and literature predominated. A recent analysis of the Conolly library at Castletown House provides a useful cross-section of a late eighteenth-century library with history and memoirs comprising 28%, poetry and plays 14%, travel and novels 18%, philosophy and politics 15% and belles lettres 6%. Typically, architecture constitutes an unspecified proportion of the 13% 'miscellaneous' category. A little over half of the titles recorded for this study derive from collections which were rich in architectural material

1 Appendix 2.
while roughly forty-five percent derive from libraries with fewer than twenty architectural volumes.

What then were the books which occupied the leisure of Samuel Card and his contemporaries? Predictably the most common text to emerge from the catalogue survey is Vitruvius' *De Architectura*. As the oldest surviving text on antique architecture, Vitruvius, however much adapted, remained the most revered of classical architectural treatises. By far the most popular version of Vitruvius in Ireland was the French translation of Claude Perrault whose several editions from 1673 onward appear in ten collections. That a French Vitruvius should be the most common edition in Ireland is consistent with a common acquaintance with the French language, and a conscious identification with French art and architecture, which emerges more clearly from an overall view of the available literature.

No wagers would be taken on the next in line to Vitruvius in an eighteenth-century library anywhere in north-western Europe. Ireland is no exception, and the second most common text to emerge from the catalogues is Palladio's *Quattro Libri* in a variety of editions. The most coveted edition in eighteenth-century Ireland was Giacomo Leoni's English translation. Oddly enough in view of the popularity of a French Vitruvius, Le Muet's and Fréart de Chambray's translations of Palladio do not appear in any of the listings. In all, the survey turns up forty copies of Palladio, of which twelve are Leoni editions. Whether or not a valid gauge of Irish adherence to Burlingtonian dogma, Leoni's sumptuous Baroque-tainted work overwhelms in popularity Isaac Ware's far more faithful edition to which there are three catalogue references.

The third most frequently encountered author in the Irish survey was Vignola. As in the case of Vitruvius, Ireland imbibed the lessons of Vignola through the medium of French. The popularity of Palladio's *Quattro Libri* in seventeenth and eighteenth-century England was matched in France by enthusiasm for Vignola's *Regola Delli Cinque Ordini d'Architettura*. Simpler and more intelligible than Palladio, Vignola's concise text was illustrated by clear, carefully executed copper-plates which contrasted favorably with the wood-cuts of Serlio or Palladio. The most common variant of Vignola among the Irish eighteenth-century collections was not an edition of the *Regola Delli Cinque Ordini d'Architettura*, but rather a late seventeenth-century academic account of Vignola's system, by the academician Charles
Augustin D'aviler (1653-1701). D'aviler's text, which accounts for over two-thirds of the recorded Vignola literature in eighteenth-century Ireland, was accompanied by a life of Vignola with plates and descriptions of buildings by both Vignola and Michelangelo, together with a dictionary of architectural terminology. Reissued fifteen times between 1691 and 1800, D'aviler was the standard work on the orders for architects in eighteenth-century France.

The fifth most frequent title to emerge from the catalogue survey was a book which was also available at Samuel Fuller's shop during the 1720s: Roland Fréart de Chambray's Parallèle de l'Architecture antique et de la moderne and its English translation by John Evelyn. The volume addressed one of the major concerns of seventeenth and eighteenth-century architectural theory, namely the divergence of standard authorities on the construction and ornamentation of the classical orders. Vitruvius, Vignola, Palladio, Serlio and numerous other writers on the subject provided an infinite number of personal glosses which greatly absorbed architects and theorists from the Renaissance onward. By the eighteenth century the subject had assumed significance for a wider circle of enthusiasts, eager to discern the superior qualities of Palladian architecture. While fractional modular distinctions in the entasis of an Ionic column could hardly have interested any but the most devoted enthusiasts and practitioners, the presence or absence of modillions in the Corinthian entablature might well have commanded the attention of a prospective client, particularly when such work was commonly paid for on a measurement basis; the more surface detail, the greater the cost. On a more general level it is easy to appreciate the confusion of genuinely interested laymen eager to grasp the central tenets of classical architectural taste and faced with such a plethora of conflicting sources.

The Parallèle which was first published in Paris in 1650 was essentially a comparison and contrast of the orders as represented by a variety of acknowledged authorities, demonstrating discrepancies in detail and proportion, and comparing these accounts with existing examples from Roman antiquity. Though Fréart's inexactitude was to be ridiculed by later French academicians, his approach was an innovative model which both reflected and greatly appealed to the hair-splitting rationale of the period. In England and apparently also in Ireland Fréart played an important role as an early populariser of Palladian taste - an
achievement made possible by John Evelyn’s translation of the Parallèle in 1664 and its later London editions of 1680, 1707 and 1722.

A more likely front-runner than Fréart de Chambray is Scamozzi whose L’Idea Della Architettura Universale appears in a variety of editions in nineteen Irish catalogues. These comprise an assortment of Italian and Dutch editions, copies of a French translation by D’aviler and also William Fischer’s English abridgement of the text. Colen Campbell’s Vitruvius Britannicus follows Fréart in the Irish survey with a total of seventeen recorded titles. There is no surprise in this result as Vitruvius Britannicus was the most celebrated of early Georgian architectural books and greatly influential in the development of the Palladian style. If there is any curiosity it is only that one might expect more references to it.

If Palladio, Vignola, Vitruvius and Fréart formed the backbone of the Irish architectural library throughout the eighteenth century, they were joined upon shelves and in closets by a diverse assembly of architectural, antiquarian, engineering and travel literature. As the list of titles unfolds in descending order of popularity and the margins between reference totals draw closer, it becomes increasingly difficult to discuss a hierarchy of literature in any meaningful way beyond offering a brief list of popular authors. The most significant authorities to emerge from the survey after Scamozzi and Campbell were James Gibbs, William Kent, Robert Wood and Sebastien Le Clerc. Among the most popular English pattern-books of the early eighteenth century, William Kent’s The Designs of Inigo Jones (1727) and James Gibbs’s A Book of Architecture (1728) not surprisingly were standard texts in Irish architectural libraries. Sebastien Le Clerc and Robert Wood are somewhat less likely arbiters of Irish eighteenth-century taste.

Best known as an engraver and geometrician Sebastien Le Clerc was a compiler rather than an original writer. The Traité d’Architecture first published in Paris in 1714 is, not surprisingly, an eclectic work, drawing upon Fréart, Perrault and D’aviler to produce a manual of architecture aimed at a student audience. In its capacity as a general compendium of the art set out in a series of concise remarks and observations it constituted a handy synthesis of contemporary theory and practise for both the lay reader and for the aspirant architect or craftsman. Recognising its general appeal and marketability Ephraim Chambers produced an English edition within a decade of initial publication. As we have seen Le Clerc was one of the authors on sale at
Samuel Fuller's shop in 1726. Of the eleven recorded Irish copies of Le Clerc, six were English and five were French editions.

Whereas Le Clerc was evidently popular in Ireland by virtue of his lucid step-by-step approach to decorative architecture, Robert Wood's revolutionary publications were calculated to appeal to a sophisticated audience of antiquarians and connoisseurs. Lord Charlemont was an enthusiastic supporter of Robert Wood's work and it seems likely that Charlemont's Dublin circle were responsible for the introduction and promotion of his books in Dublin. Wood's *Ruins of Palmyra* was one of the very few large-scale English architectural books promoted by a Dublin bookseller. Throughout the first quarter of 1754 John Smith, who had acted as a subscription agent for the book, advertised *The Ruins of Palmyra* at his shop on the Blind Quay. The survey of Irish book catalogues turned up twelve copies of the text and nine of Wood's later production *The Ruins of Balbeck*.

Other noteworthy titles which recur in Irish eighteenth-century catalogues are Blondel's *Cours d'Architecture* and Félibien's *Principes d'Architecture*, both in a variety of editions. Desgodetz's *Les Edifices Antiques de Rome* also had considerable appeal as did Ferrerio's *Palazzi di Roma* and Rubens's *Palazzi di Genoa*. English neo-classical publications are not as common as might be expected. While it should be noted that in the survey early catalogues outweigh later eighteenth-century listings by 8%, this does account for the greater disparity between Palladian and Greek-Revival publications. The scale and sumptuous quality of later eighteenth-century publications is perhaps a more pertinent factor in the equation. That said, several later titles recur, among them Chandler's *Ionian Antiquities*, Thomas Major's *Ruins of Paestum* and Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*. Interestingly the Abbe Laugier's neo-classical manifesto is conspicuous by its absence. It is found only in one Irish collection, that of the architectural connoisseur and critic Andrew Caldwell.

Certain oddities in the evidence provided by the catalogue survey cannot be overlooked. It is difficult for instance to ignore the fact that although John Aheron published his *General Treatise of Architecture* in Dublin in 1754 with a list of two hundred subscribers, a mere seven references emerge from the catalogue survey in contrast to twenty-three instances of Robert Wood's *Palmyra* and *Baalbek*. Admittedly many of Aheron's supporters may not in fact have owned substantial saleable
libraries and the subscription to unusual native publications might stem from a variety of motives ranging from patriotism to peer pressure. That said, the statistic should stand as a guard to over-zealous interpretation of bibliographic evidence. It is also important to note that very often books were removed from private collections before the public sale and that these were usually the best books. Also books from other collections were often surreptitiously added and passed off as part of a given library. However it is extremely encouraging that of the popular texts to emerge from the Irish catalogue survey, seven had a direct influence upon John Aheron's treatise. Palladio, Fréart, Scamozzi, Campbell, Gibbs, Le Clerc and Kent were consciously drawn upon by Aheron, both in the theoretical section of the treatise and in the designs of the final three books.

The sale catalogues of contemporary Dublin booksellers provide an interesting contrast to those of private library owners. A general survey of eighteenth-century trade listings demonstrates the quite different concerns of the book trade to those of collectors. The most popular author to emerge from a list of almost two hundred books in contemporary Dublin bookshops was Batty Langley. As we have seen, The Builder's Jewel and The Builder's Vade-Mecum were economically produced duodecimos and octavos, directed primarily to working men. They were also among the few English copy-books to be published in Dublin. Of the twenty one Langley volumes recorded in the survey, ten were copies of the Builder's Jewel and four were copies of the Vade-Mecum. By contrast only six copies of Vitruvius and single copies of Vignola and Scamozzi were found among the trade listings. Palladio and modern English authors fared better with eight copies of Palladio, six of James Gibbs and six of John Evelyn's translation of Fréart de Chambray. Given that this more limited survey produced less than a quarter of the number of books encountered in the private library survey, it is interesting that it turns up an equal number of copies of the Rev. Payne's Twelve Designs Of Country Houses, of William Salmon's Palladio Londonensis and of Francis Price's treatise on carpentry. One interesting title which turns up in three trade catalogues and which does not appear in the survey of private libraries is Gaetano Brunetti's Sixty Different Sorts of Ornaments ... very useful to painters, sculptors, stone-carvers, wood-carvers, silversmiths etc. Published in 1736, Brunetti's book is acknowledged as one of England's earliest books of rococo ornament. A rocaille cartouche from one of Brunetti's plates occurs on a
Dublin silver coffee-pot of 1737 now at the Ashmolean Museum. It is clear therefore that the book trade were less interested in classical architectural theory and more concerned to stock books of practical value to builders, craftsmen and architects.

Given the limitations and difficulties of interpreting book catalogues as a gauge of contemporary taste, it is nevertheless worth comparing the findings of this survey with those of American bibliographers. Extensive surveys of American eighteenth-century book catalogues have been carried out by Helen Park and Janice Schimmelmann. From an Irish perspective, the most interesting result of their findings is the almost exclusively English and Palladian character of the architectural books encountered both in colonial libraries and in the holdings of the book trade. This information serves to emphasise the catholic and European taste of Irish collectors. It is a contrast which reflects the persistence of European and baroque influence in Irish eighteenth-century architecture, and the emphatically English spirit of American colonial architecture.

Having thus established the popularity of certain architectural books in eighteenth-century Ireland, it is worth looking somewhat more closely at the statistics provided by the catalogue survey. In particular it is important to consider the evolution of architectural libraries over the course of the eighteenth century as their content alters considerably as the century progresses. One of the most marked developments over the eighty year period is a decline in the number of French and north European imprints as the century progresses, and an increase in the volume of English architectural books. Since London was, by mid-century, the most prolific producer of architectural literature, and the nearest cosmopolitan centre to Ireland, such figures are not surprising. Similarly a higher incidence of sixteenth and seventeenth-century imprints in the early eighteenth-century collections reflects the demise of European renaissance culture during the course of the eighteenth century. Italian imprints are a more complex matter, and most interestingly Irish collections display a gradual increase in the number of Roman and Venetian books which total an impressive 13% of the imprints recorded after 1770, a trend inspired no doubt by the rigorous antiquarianism of the later eighteenth century.

Alterations in the proportion of books relating to architecture, building, fortification and travel similarly reflect a marked shift in emphasis over the course of the century. Predictably the volume of literature on fortification declines as the century progresses, from 15% of titles before 1740, to 3% of those recorded after 1770. Conversely pattern books and architectural treatises increase in number from 60% of titles in 1740, to 70% after 1770. Volumes of tourist interest and practical building-related material are more problematic, in that neither follow a distinct linear course. More travel-related literature is encountered before 1740 and after 1770 than during the middle years of the century, while most building-interest material is found between 1740 and 1770.

From the broader perspective of Irish architectural history the collectors and owners of architectural books in eighteenth-century Ireland are of very considerable interest. Clearly one of the first pre-requisites for architectural bibliophiles was a substantial income. The book-catalogues of catholic priests and circulating libraries of the late eighteenth-century understandably include little or no material of an architectural genre. Research into the profession and social class of book-collectors generally in eighteenth-century Ireland demonstrates that, as in Britain and the Continent, the largest groups of library owners were the higher ranks of the clergy, the gentry and titled classes, members of the government and the legal profession. Irish owners of architectural books conform to similar groupings. Of the libraries included in this survey approximately 22% belonged to clergymen, 16% to titled owners, 28% to the gentry, and 30% to the politicians and professional classes. Broadly speaking the volume of books owned by respective groups conformed to a similar proportional pattern, with the clergy owning somewhat less than their quota and titled collectors somewhat more.

Predictably women do not figure prominently among the architectural afficionados of Georgian Ireland. Of the library owners considered, a mere two were women. The pattern of subscriptions to Irish architectural books confirms a very marginal female interest in the subject. Of the subscribers to John Aheron's *A General Treatise of Architecture* of 1754 only 2% were women, while the Rev. Payne did somewhat better in gleaning 7% of his support from female subscribers.

2 1800 Walcott, 1809 Fitzgerald. The Countess of Bath bequeathed her husband's collection to Dublin University.
Intriguingly a far greater number of Irish women subscribed to the first systematic account of Irish architectural antiquities, Thomas Wright's *Louthiana* first published in London in 1748. Wright's subscription list contained a remarkable 24% of female subscriptions, many from leading Irish landed families. The author's popularity as a ladies' tutor apparently accounts for his unusually large feminine following.1

The libraries in this survey which best document the interests of early eighteenth-century collectors are those of Dr Claudius Gilbert provost of Trinity, Dr Edward Worth of Dr Steevens' Hospital and the Archbishop of Dublin Dr William King.2 Claudius Gilbert was professor of divinity at Trinity College and the owner of a mammoth library of 13,000 volumes which was inherited by the university library in 1735. Edward Worth was a book collector and the surgeon at Dr Steeven's Hospital, who amassed a large collection of over 4,000 volumes which he bequeathed to the hospital. Historically and in the context of this study, William King is the most significant of the three principal early collectors. Bishop of Derry during the siege of 1689, and Archbishop of Dublin for the greater part of Swift's term as dean, King was one of the most formidable characters in early eighteenth-century Ireland. His library of over 6000 volumes was sold after his death and found its way through Archbishop Theophilus Bolton to the newly established diocesan library at Cashel in County Tipperary. King was interested in architecture after a practical utilitarian fashion and particularly in fortification.

His library founded during the 1670s, is a collection which reflects the polymathic breadth of the seventeenth-century virtuoso.3 A prominent member of the Dublin Physico-Historical society founded by William Molyneux in 1683, King delivered a series papers to the members during the 1660s with emphasis on hydraulics and horticulture.4 One paper described various methods of raising water by hydraulic engines, a subject which by the early eighteenth century had assumed central significance for the development of engineering activity

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1Ex. Info. Dr. Eileen Harris.
2 c1730 King, 1733 Worth, 1743 Gilbert.
3 A fourteen vol manuscript catalogue of King's library made c. 1730 survives at Cashel Diocesan Library. I am most grateful to James O'Toole for an abstract of King's architectural books taken from this catalogue. 4,000 volumes have been identified as still being at Cashel, see *Catalogue of the Cashel Diocesan Library*, Boston 1977.
in Ireland. For King and other members of the society mathematics constituted a core discipline upon which all other scientific enquiry was based. The surviving book catalogues of four founder members reflect the strongly mathematical character of the classical seventeenth-century curriculum. Architecture found a place in this system not as the modern curriculum dictates, with painting and the fine arts, but alongside arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy and mechanics.

The most striking aspect of King's architectural library is that almost one-third of it comprised books on fortification: an impressive total of twenty-one texts, representing the gamut of fortification literature from antiquity to the late seventeenth century. As a branch of the natural sciences, inextricably linked to architecture, mathematics and classical history, the presence of some such literature in a gentleman's library was not unusual. The study of fortification was for many drawing students simply a more relevant extension of applied mathematics than architectural design. In the activities of the Dublin Physico-Historical Society practical studies of ballistics and projectiles took precedence over matters purely architectural. It is in this respect that King and his contemporaries differ most from their spiritual descendants in the Dublin Society of the 1740s. Whereas the latter aided and encouraged authors and architects in producing practical country-house designs, the architectural activity of the Dublin Physico-Historical Society was entirely absorbed with military fortification.

The bulk of King's books were modern seventeenth-century works, with four sixteenth-century Italian texts, and two volumes of the standard Roman classics Frontinus, Vegetius and Polyaeus. Of the Italians two were key works in the development of modern fortification, Nicolo Tartaglia's *Nuova Scientia* of 1537, the first major treatise on ballistics, and Bonaiuto Lorini's *Delle Fortificazioni*, the first text to use scaled plans and elevations instead of old-fashioned perspective views of fortifications. The third Italian text Galasso Alghisi's *Delle Fortificazioni* published in Venice in 1570, concentrated on abstract mathematical planning of fortifications and is considered one of the most beautifully printed treatises of military architecture. Pietro Sardi's *Corona Imperiale dell'Architettura Militare* of 1618, weighted as it is with Greek and Roman military history, might have appealed to King from a purely literary point of view.

1695 Foley, 1702 Huntington, 1721 Plunkett, 1730 King.
The seventeenth-century 'schools' of fortification represented in King's library treated military architecture more as a branch of mathematical science than of classical literature or tactical science. If French fortification procedures were undoubtedly the most prestigious during the later seventeenth century, King had nevertheless stolidly catholic taste and his collection of modern treatises contained four Dutch, four French, two German, one Italian and two British authors. He thus acquainted himself with the low-lying ramparts and wet ditches of Van Coehoorn, Marolois, Freitag and Stevin, and the bastioned enceintes and complex foreworks of De Ville, Tacquet and De Fer. While King clearly read Latin, Greek, French and Italian, his copies of Dutch authors were Latin and French translations, as were his German texts. What is perhaps most surprising about King's collection is that it includes nothing on the work of Europe's foremost contemporary military engineer Sebastien Le Prestre Vauban. Though Vauban himself was wary of published 'systems', a small book by Le Chevalier de Cambray entitled Maniere de Fortifier de M de Vauban was published at Amsterdam in 1689. Two years later the same text appeared in English entitled The New Method of Fortification as practised by M de Vauban published by Abel Swan in London. It is odd that King with his clear interest in the subject should have possessed neither of these books, or at least that they are not listed in his collection. However it draws attention to the fact that the latest dated imprint in his collection of fortification literature was a Dutch Polyaeenus Stratagematum of 1690. Plunged into the realities of administering post-siege Derry, it would seem that King perhaps traded his absorption with military strategies for more particular political and religious manoeuvres.

While William King's collection demonstrates the mathematical basis of architectural enquiry in the early eighteenth century, its particular emphasis on fortification was not typical of contemporary architectural libraries. For instance no work on fortification appears in the library catalogue of Nicholas Hawksmoor, while Christopher Wren's sale catalogue lists only a copy of Vauban and a collection of drawings of fortifications.¹ King's Irish contemporary Peter Plunkett, Earl of Fingall owned two standard texts and a manuscript treatise, while his fellow bishops Samuel Foley and Robert Huntington collected nothing at all in

the genre.\textsuperscript{1} Of other early eighteenth-century Irish libraries, that of Claudius Gilbert contained three standard fortification texts, while Charles Willoughby's collection included two titles.\textsuperscript{2} Next to King's collection, the highest number of books on fortification recorded in an Irish library of the period is four and these were in the library of Samuel Molyneux, the son of Surveyor-General William Molyneux.\textsuperscript{3}

Here it is worth noting the existence of a remarkable manuscript treatise on fortification now in the collection of the Irish Architectural Archive. This impressive folio volume, copiously illustrated with superb ink and watercolour drawings, was compiled in 1701 for the Duke of Ormonde. (\textbf{PLATE 16}) Its author was Jacques Wibault, a French military engineer who had entered the English military service in the last decade of the seventeenth century. The manuscript, which is thought to have been compiled in London was evidently intended to ease Wibault's entry into the Irish establishment, a move which he achieved in 1703. While the volume's continental pedigree sets it outside the parameters of this study, it is a document which vividly evokes contemporary enthusiasm for illustrated architectural treatises. The sheer quality of the illustrations to the text also render this an object of great aesthetic value. Thorough research and analysis is required to establish its historical significance.\textsuperscript{4}

As already noted the proportion of books on fortification in Irish collections actually decreases as the century progresses, from 15\% of titles before 1740 to a mere 3\% of titles recorded after 1770. By the late eighteenth century five titles is the largest collection encountered in the genre and professional usage appears to account for interest in the subject. The libraries of Surveyor-General Arthur Dobbs and of the military engineer General Charles Vallancey stand out from their contemporaries in this respect, as does the collection of Thomas Wogan Browne whose family were distinguished for their European military service.\textsuperscript{5} Predictably the most popular single author in Ireland during the eighteenth century was Vauban in his various editions, followed by the German-born mathematician John Muller, professor of fortification

\textsuperscript{1}1695 Foley, 1702 Huntington, 1721 Plunkett.
\textsuperscript{2}1743 Gilbert, c.1720 Willoughby.
\textsuperscript{3}Loeber (Rolf). \textit{A biographical dictionary of architects in Ireland 1600-1720}, London 1981, 77.
\textsuperscript{4}I am grateful to Tom Philipps for making available to me his preliminary research on the Wibault manuscript.
\textsuperscript{5}c.1760 Dobbs, 1812 Browne, 1813 Vallancey.
at the Woolich Military Academy, who was hailed by Boswell as 'the scholastic father of all great engineers'.

While the Browne collection is unusual in comprising early Italian titles like those of William King's library, the literature on fortification recorded in Ireland after 1740 was predominantly modern and English in character.

The most interesting Irish architectural libraries of the mid-eighteenth century were those of Samuel Card and his contemporary John Putland, both newcomers to the field of Irish architectural history. Undoubtedly one of the most impressive collections of architectural books in mid-eighteenth-century Dublin was the library of John Putland (1709-1773), a hitherto neglected character who appears to have cut quite a significant figure in Dublin of the 1740s and 1750s. Apart from his many official positions in the life of the city, Putland was a keen book collector whose library numbered close on 4,000 volumes. His administrative activity included tenure as treasurer and governor of Dr Steevens' hospital, as a committee member of the Hibernian Society and as deputy grand master of the Dublin grand masonic lodge together with many years service as treasurer of the Dublin Society. More intriguing is Putland's encouragement and patronage of the cartographer John Rocque. The first edition of Rocque's great map of Dublin city in 1756 was dedicated to Putland, and as we have already seen besides the Parliament House the only architectural ground-plan to appear on the Dublin map was that of Putland's house in Great Britain Street.

From George Faulkner's obituary notice it appears that the Putland family wealth derived from extensive estates in Munster and Leinster. Faulkner maintained that during his lifetime John Putland could 'travel from Dublin to Corke, about 124 Irish miles, more than 150 English and breakfast, dine, sup and lodge upon different parts of his own estate in that very long journey, to and fro, for several days in succession without setting up at any other place'. Presumably these lands had been acquired after the Williamite confiscations by John's

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2 c.1763 Putland.
6 The Dublin Journal, 4 Dec 1773.
father Thomas Putland, a prominent Dublin banker who died in 1722. Apart from his evident encouragement of Rocque, and Faulkner's praise of his willing 'advice and support to the ingenious artist', we know little of John Putland's activities as a patron. Certainly the Dublin Society recognised Putland's knowledge of architectural matters as his name recurs on committees appointed to examine technical and artistic projects. However the only documented instance of Putland's personal involvement with a Dublin building project is the Smock Alley theatre of 1735 in which he was a financial investor. The architect and builder of the theatre was Michael Wills whose translation of Vitruvius of 1770 will be discussed in the final chapter of this study. A prolonged legal wrangle over the theatre building project involved testimonies from all of the major parties. Wills acted as an expert witness for the investors against the theatre management and there can be little doubt that he and John Putland were well acquainted. Like Wills, Putland is a figure of central importance to this study and yet one whose elusive shadowy figure constantly defies hard and fast analysis. The record of his library is however a more tangible quantity and provides a firm point of reference for discussion of the Irish architectural library at mid-century.

A second newcomer to the architectural coterie of eighteenth-century Dublin is Samuel Card, a city lawyer who like Putland owned an impressive collection of architectural books. The son of a Dublin merchant Card entered the middle temple in 1723 and was admitted to the King's Inns in Dublin at Easter of 1732. Besides his professional income Card owned lands in Tipperary, in Queen's County and in Dublin city. He lived with his wife Sarah in a house which he built on Henry Street. His will compiled in 1752, and proved in the Summer of 1755, directed that his library be sold by the executors excepting those books which Sarah Card should 'call upon her word .. I at any time gave her during my life'. A further clause stipulated that 'the chimneypieces and their ornaments' in Card's home were not to be considered as

1An elegy on the much lamented death of Thomas Putland Esq ; one of the bankers of the city of Dublin, who departed this life in March 1721. 286. 1755 Card 1721 (copy in BL)
3PRONI D562/1137.
41755 Card
7Nat.Archives. T1520.
movable furniture but to remain 'with the house'. Here it seems was a man who thought and cared about buildings.

The libraries of Samuel Card and John Putland have much in common. Both contained a smattering of standard classics with a representative cross-section of fashionable mid-eighteenth-century English architectural literature. Both were wealthy men in a small, gregarious and rapidly expanding city. Their houses on Henry Street and Great Britain Street were less than half a mile apart. Further it seems most likely that Samuel Card too was acquainted with the architect Michael Wills. Though their specific connection eludes identification, it appears that Card's wife was related to Wills. Sarah Card was the daughter of James Wills of Clarendon Street and presumably therefore a forebearer of the 'Miss Wills, Clarendon Street' who in 1782 was the proud proprietor of Michael Wills' Vitruvius manuscript.¹

What then was the character of the Card and Putland collections? To begin with, both libraries stand in stark contrast to that of Archbishop King by virtue of their much higher proportion of English eighteenth-century architectural books. Both contained many of the popular texts highlighted by the catalogue survey; Leoni's Palladio, William Kent, Sebastien Le Clerc, Colen Campbell and Robert Wood. While expensive folios predominated in both collections, each also contained a larger than average cross-section of contemporary English building manuals by Batty Langley, William Halfpenny and Francis Price. Card and Putland appear to have been men with a genuinely practical interest in building rather than an exclusively vicarious enthusiasm for architectural design. There are however significant differences between the two collections. Putland, it seems, was prepared both to support native architectural publications and to buy books which were available in Dublin. His library included a subscription copy of John Aheron's A General Treatise of Architecture and of the Rev. John Payne's Twelve Designs of Country Houses. He also owned a copy of William Jones's The Gentlemens or Builders Companion which, as we have seen, had been marketed by one Dublin bookseller in 1739, and by another in 1759. Samuel Card's collection contained no Irish imprints, and no titles which were on general sale in Dublin during the period.

Evidently Samuel Card's architectural enthusiasm lay beyond Irish soil, as his library was distinguished by a tidy collection of volumes illustrating the famous palaces and public buildings of Europe. This was

¹Nat. Archives. Thrift abstract 1653. Will of James Wills proved 30 July 1731.
the classic collection of a returned grand tourist: Ferrerio's *Palazzi di Roma*, Rubens's *Palazzi di Genova*, Carlevaris's *Le Fabriche, e Vedute di Venetia*, Jean Marot's suites of engravings depicting Paris, Versailles and Les Invalides, De Rossi's *Studio d'Architettura Civile* and Vingboons's *Architecture, Peinture et Sculpture de la Maison de Ville de Amsterdam*. While grand tour literature appears to have been quite common in Irish eighteenth-century collections, Card's eight folio volumes were considerably more than the average holdings in this rather expensive genre. In stark contrast to Samuel Card, John Putland had only one title of a tourist nature, namely John Wood's *An Essay Towards A Description of the City of Bath*. Of the many volumes associated with the Grand Tour Ferrerio's *Palazzi di Roma* was the most frequently encountered title in the Irish catalogue survey with nine recorded copies.

Another collection which throws light on the character of mid-eighteenth-century libraries is that of Richard Pococke, Bishop of Meath and antiquarian author. Pococke was a cultured man with pronounced architectural interests who lived in Ireland from his appointment as precentor of Lismore Cathedral in 1725 to his death on visitation at Tullamore in 1765. His pioneering travelogues of Greece and the Near East together with his architectural restoration work in Ireland, render his collection of particular interest to architectural historians. Pococke's books, sold the year after his death at his house in Henrietta Street, display the broad aesthetic interests of the amateur antiquarian, dilettante and traveller. The architectural material is almost all of eighteenth-century date with the exception of a 1570 Serlio and Carlo Cesare Osio's *L'Architettura Civile* of 1661. It is therefore essentially a modern library which clearly betrays Pococke's extensive and enthusiastic curiosity for all branches of the visual arts from gardening to numismatics, to antiquities, painting and architecture. Standard architectural classics such as Vignola, Alberti and Palladio are joined by William Stukeley's antiquarian works, Francis Price on Salisbury Cathedral, Chippendale's furniture designs, Edmund Burke on the sublime and the beautiful and Philip Miller's *Gardener's Dictionary* (1732). However, Pococke's more serious architectural bent is evidenced by the presence of works such as Ottavio Revesi Bruti's *New and Accurate Method of Delineating All the Parts of Architecture* (1737), Jean Mariette's *Architecture Francoise* (1727) and Sebastien Le Clerc's *A Treatise of Architecture* (1723).
From an architectural perspective perhaps the most interesting of all the mid-eighteenth-century libraries is that of the painter and amateur architect Francis Bindon. It is a quite remarkable fact that only three of the twenty-six architectural titles recorded in the sale catalogue of Bindon’s library, were English imprints. The remainder were a mixture of European seventeenth and eighteenth century editions, the majority of which were Parisian imprints. All of the standard French authorities are represented, Felibien, Fontenelle, du Cerceau, Perrault. However Bindon’s serious architectural interests are more clearly reflected in the lesser-known titles in his collection; a treatise on stereotomy by Desargues, the designs of Antoine Le Pautre and two editions of D’Aviler’s *Cours d’Architecture*. Oddly, the French character of Bindon’s collection is not reflected in his architectural oeuvre, which betrays a clear reliance upon English Palladian publications.¹

Of the later eighteenth-century collectors considered in this survey the most significant figure is James Caulfeild 1st Earl of Charlemont. Clearly no newcomer to the ranks of familiar connoisseurs, Charlemont’s activities as a patron of Sir William Chambers and of Piranesi are thoroughly documented.² His library was the great collection of eighteenth-century Ireland, and its influence upon contemporary Irish artists and antiquaries must have been considerable.³ Certainly the records of several other Irish libraries of the period mirror Charlemont’s collection in both style and content. Of these the finest were the libraries of William Burton-Conyngham and of Thomas Wogan Browne.⁴ Heir to the Conyngham estates at Slane and a patron of Wyatt, Gandon and Johnston, William Burton-Conyngham was one of Ireland’s leading antiquarians of the late eighteenth century. Thomas Wogan Browne of Castle Browne in County Kildare, like Conyngham, was a member of the Royal Irish Academy but more of an amateur architect than an antiquarian. Together the collections of the

¹Fitzgerald (Desmond, Knight of Glin). ‘Francis Bindon (1690-1765), his life and works’. In Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society, x, nos 2,3 (Apr-Sep, 1967).
⁴1865 Charlemont
⁵1810 Burton-Conyngham, 1812 Browne.
three men document the fresh concerns of architectural enthusiasts in the neo-classical period.

The libraries of Burton, Charlemont and Browne differ from those of Putland and Card in several important respects. While such standard authors as Campbell, Leoni, Le Clerc and Gibbs were common to both generations, the later eighteenth-century libraries are clearly distinguished by their much higher proportion of foreign and in particular Italian imprints. Whereas eighteenth-century English titles had accounted for 58% of the titles in the Card and Putland collections, only 34% of the books belonging to Charlemont, Burton and Browne were London publications. Italian imprints constituted 12% of the earlier libraries whereas in the later eighteenth-century collections 34% of titles were published in Italy. While modern Italian authors such as Marchese Bernardo Galiani, Francesco Ruggieri and Ottavio Scamozzi were included in the libraries of Charlemont et al., Italian imprints were for the most part sixteenth and seventeenth-century editions of classic architectural texts.

The most striking feature of these later eighteenth-century libraries is the multiplicity of editions found within them. A very real sense of connoisseurship is registered by the catalogues of Charlemont, Burton and Browne. In particular, their combined Vitruvian holdings suggest an acute scholarly interest in the classical text. Charlemont's library contained no less than six editions of the treatise from Daniel Barbaro's edition and commentary of 1556, to William Newton's English translation of 1771. All three men owned copies of Galiani's Neapolitan edition of 1758. Wogan-Browne and Burton-Conyngham each owned four editions, and among the latter's collection was a copy of Cesariano's famed Como edition of 1521. Similarly all three men owned multiple editions of Palladio's Quattro Libri, and both Charlemont and Browne had variants of Scamozzi's Idea della Architettura.

Oddly, however, despite their antiquarian interests neither Burton nor Browne appear to have owned copies of later eighteenth-century texts on Greek and Roman architecture. Predictably, Charlemont's library included all of the most up-to-date antiquarian works from Wood's Palmyra and Balbec to Chambers, Major, Le Roy and Stuart and Revett. These large and sumptuously illustrated folios were among the most expensive architectural books of the period and although Burton and Browne were wealthy collectors, thrift might well
have determined a certain restraint in their purchasing. Burton-Conyngham certainly did not buy all of the books he desired to read, but rather borrowed quite frequently from friends. Charles Vallancey learned to his cost the disadvantages of such generosity when upon Burton’s death he was unable to retrieve a coveted book from his collection. However in considering the absence of such volumes in otherwise rich collections, the common practice of removing choice books from collections prior to public auction, should be borne in mind.

Such then were several kinds of architectural libraries to be found in Ireland during the course of the eighteenth-century. These were of course libraries rich in architectural material and while they reflect the interests of Irish eighteenth-century readers, clearly they cannot be described as typical Irish collections. It should be reiterated that over half of the titles recorded for this study derive from collections rich in architectural material, while roughly forty-five percent derive from libraries with fewer than twenty architectural volumes. It is interesting if predictable that those libraries with few architectural books feature the more popular titles, while the larger collections included more unusual titles and editions. For instance, those libraries which contained less than five architectural books favoured standard classics such as Vitruvius, Palladio and Colen Campbell’s *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

Many Irish book collections contained no material of an architectural nature, for good reason. George Faulkner complained constantly to the Earl of Chesterfield that his countrymen were far more interested in the consumption of alcohol than in reading. One later Irish book-collector maintained that a ‘collection of books is generally in Ireland the least costly article in the household. The contents of the cellar [being] ... more attended to ...’ In 1792, on a visit to the Earl of Portarlington at Emo Court, George Hardinge enthused of his host ‘His library and books of drawings prints maps architecture are perfect of their kind. NB this in Ireland is a phenomena as in the best house of the

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1 ‘General Vallancey’s Green Book’ In *The Irish Builder*, xxviii, 640(15 August 1886)228.
2 1820 Anon, written prologue.
Island you can scarce find a common book for amusement - learning is out of the case'.

Naturally many individuals who owned architectural books may well not have read even a fraction of their collection and a survey of this nature must be qualified by the consideration that books were by the mid-eighteenth century a particularly fashionable form of furniture. In a letter to the Dublin publisher George Faulkner, the earl of Chesterfield voiced a healthy if cynical view of books being 'considered genteel ornaments', urging that his friend 'print and sell a great number of books whether they are read or not' and further to resign himself to the fact that 'if people bought no more books than they intended to read and no more swords than they intended to use, the five worst trades Europe would be a bookseller's and a sword-cutler's'. In November of 1745 George Faulkner and George Grierson indulged in a charming piece of public satire proclaiming 'that as reading is by no means the necessary consequence of buying books, persons even of the first rank might encourage trade without the least danger to themselves, many valuable libraries having formerly been purchased by persons of rank, infinitely above looking into them'.

Clearly one of the most difficult tasks in a study of this nature is to establish tangible links between popular texts and contemporary architectural sensibility. Though personal correspondence from the period contains many fleeting allusions to books, reading and to architecture, understandably the subject of architectural books is rarely chanced upon. Thus to seek for links between collectors and their architectural books is a long and ultimately an unrewarding task. That said, the little which has been gleaned in this respect serves to flesh out the picture provided by the catalogue survey. Archbishop William King, for instance, has left a brief but most interesting account of his architectural reading. It is a record which suggests that despite his impressive architectural collection, King was essentially interested in the utilitarian aspects of building and not in the finer points of architectural theory and design.

In a series of letters to Lord Molesworth concerning the building of Saint Werburgh's Church King admitted to having 'once looked into

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1Mc Parland (Edward). 'Emo Court, Co, Leix - 1' in Country Life (23 May 1974).
2BL. MS. EG.201 no.11. Chesterfield to Faulkner, Bath 11 Nov 1752.
a book of architecture and found it most taken up in describing the several orders of pillars and the outside of the work'. It was, he maintained, as much to his thought, 'as if a man from whom a poem or other work was expected shou'd spend his chief care in the binding of it'. In this frank admission of architectural naivete, King might have been referring to any one of over ten architectural books in his collection which dealt specifically with the orders, from Vignola and Scamozzi to William Halfpenny and Batty Langley. For King the two principal concerns in a building were 'conveniency and pleasing the eye' and the latter it seems was an intuitive response, perhaps simply to neatness, rather than a conscious weighing of architectural qualities. Thus, despite his impressive collection of architectural books, King appears to have had little interest in the stylistic aspects of the subject.

However if William King had little use for the treatises of Vignola or Scamozzi on his library shelves, the books on fortification in his collection had apparently direct relevance to his utilitarian tastes. In Ireland during the last quarter of the seventeenth century the bitter religious and social divisions which ensured a perpetual state of political and military tension, lent special relevance and urgency to the subject of the country's defences. While the Dublin Philosophical Society's initial interest in ballistics and fortification originally stemmed from enthusiastic mathematical and mechanical inquiry, by the 1680s increasing royalist and republican tensions constituted a far more pressing and pragmatic motivation. In 1684 the founder of the Society, mathematician and natural philosopher William Molyneux, was abruptly propelled from a speculative and scholastic milieu into the front lines of contemporary European military engineering. Appointed as joint Surveyor-General with William Robinson, Molyneux was dispatched on a secret mission to observe and analyse the state of defences in Germany, France and the Netherlands. Clearly the fictional bastions and ravelins of the Restoration drawing school had assumed in Ireland an altogether new and dynamic significance.

The impression of a particular concern with fortification conveyed by William King's library catalogue is corroborated by a direct allusion

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to the subject in King's autobiography. Fearful of James II's governmental reforms, King expressed concern about the manner in which 'the liberty of the people could be defended' and offered his observations upon the state of Ireland's defences.

For among other works I had read through books treating of the fortification of towns, and was well enough versed in what belonged to that subject as far as could be learned from books; but all the fortifications of Ireland I found through the long peace completely neglected, so that through the whole way I did not find one canon prepared; few were of the kind for use and most of them unsuitable and without the needful apparatus, with carriages no doubt and some other things, but no provision of gunpowder or explosive balls, nor were there armouries, and if there were they were empty of arms, or if any, they were unsuitable and very little fitted for use.

Fréart de Chambray's Parallèle provides another rare instance of a connection between Irish book collectors and architectural books. It is an historical cameo which involves no lesser persons than Lord Burlington, Jonathan Swift and Francis Bindon. The evidence in question is neither biographical nor historical but rather bibliographical, and therefore typically laconic. It is in fact no more than the record of an inscription on a book from Swift's library. The volume in question was a 1702 Parisian edition of Freart's Parallèle inscribed by the Earl of Burlington and also by Swift. Burlington's inscription was the earlier of the two, made on June 27th 1726 upon his gift of the book to 'Dr Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's Dublin; in order to constitute him the Director of Architecture in Ireland, especially upon my own estate in that kingdom'. The sale catalogue of Swift's collection listed no architectural books, however Freart's absence therein is explained by the

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1, King (Sir Charles Simeon), ed. A great Archbishop of Dublin William King DD 1650-1729. London, 1906, includes a translation of King's 'Quaedam vitae meae insignoria'.

second inscription on the Fréart volume, which recorded Swift's gift of
the volume to his 'ingenious and worthy friend Francis Bindon Esq'
thereby 'delegating him director of architecture in all of Europe'.

One wonders what if anything Swift might have taken from
Burlington's volume. Sadly this is impossible to tell. A proposed article
by Swift for Sheridan's *Intelligencer* entitled 'Building and praise of
Pearce' would doubtless have been a major source for the architectural
history of the period, unfortunately however this did not materialise.1

Certainly Swift appears to have been knowledgable on the subject. Sir
Edward Lovett Pearce's gift of books to him in 1730 confirms a friendly
relationship between the two men, while the comments of William
King and Theophilus Bolton demonstrate that Swift was considered by
his Irish contemporaries as someone well-versed in architecture.2 Yet
whatever the extent of Swift's architectural enthusiasms, the
grandiosity of tone evident in both his own and Burlington's
dedications, suggests that the architectural campaign envisaged for
Ireland was more a dilettante's fantasy than a real crusade.

Books and prints relating to travel and the grand tour seem to
have drawn more contemporary comment than exclusively
architectural texts. The type of folios seen in the library of Samuel Card
were clearly prestigious volumes and were much in demand among
eighteenth-century collectors. Two of the books in Card's library
depicting *Les Invalides* and *Versailles* were part of the famous collection
known as the *Cabinet du Roi*; a series of twenty two volumes begun in
1667 at the instigation of Colbert.3 The scheme was designed to represent
selected royal buildings, tapestries, works of art, scientific achievements
and events of military significance. These would be assembled annually
in mixed volumes and eventually classified by subject. Colbert specified

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1 Ex. info. Dr. Edward Mc Parland.
2 An inscription by Pearce on a volume of Coelius is recorded in the library sale catalogue
of Philip Robinson (part 1), sold by Sotheby's of London on 23rd June 1988.
3 Jammes(Andre). 'Louis XIV, sa bibliotheque et le Cabinet du Roi' in *The Library*, 5th
series, xx, 1,(March 1965).
that the plates should be big and grand, bound in expensive morocco ornamented with gilded toothing and the royal coat of arms - at once excellent propaganda and collectors' items. The prints were assembled in a bewildering variety of combinations from the 1670s onward.

In 1731 Thomas Green, a Dublin bookseller advertised eleven of the set for sale at his Fishamble Street ware-room. Individual volumes were found quite frequently among Irish eighteenth-century collections. Evidently Robert Howard was interested in acquiring one or more of the Cabinet as in 1726 he wrote to his brother Hugh, in London, inquiring if he might know anything of the collection. Given the confusion of modern bibliographers in defining the series, Hugh Howard's ad-lib description was quite impressive. 'The French King's cabinet consists of about twenty or twenty-one volumes. Woodman sold a set to Lord Oxford which was not entirely perfect for 200 guineas which was exorbitant enough. tho some volumes of them are scarce they may be found in Paris much cheaper by anyone who understands them.'

Writing from County Cork to the Countess of Sandwich at Paris in 1735, Lord Orrery splendidly evokes the wistful perusal of such prints on long evenings in an Irish country estate. 'They talk to me of leases in Kerry and I languish after the Champs Elises de Paris. They shew me plans of potatoe gardens and I am roving in thought amidst the groves of Versailles.' In the absence of documentary records, such links between prints, books and contemporary architectural sensibility are difficult to develop or sustain. They are offered merely by way of embroidery upon the statistical evidence established by the catalogue survey. Though random and brief in nature, they offer at least some impression of the spirit in which these volumes were perused and read.

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2 Countess of Cork & Orrery, ed. The Orrery papers. London, 1903. 1, 142.
CHAPTER THREE

JOHN AHERON'S

A GENERAL TREATISE OF ARCHITECTURE
1. **AHERON AT DROMOLAND.**

John Aheron's *General Treatise of Architecture* of 1754 was the most ambitious architectural publication to emerge from Ireland in the eighteenth century. Though by no means a great book, this eccentric hybrid of European and British theory and design illuminates both the eclecticism and the idiosyncracy of Irish architecture during the early Georgian period. It is a volume which reflects the range of architectural publications available in Ireland during the early eighteenth-century, and the manner in which printed sources influenced native design. Aheron, a man driven by an obsessive ambition, is one of the most intriguing characters of this study. The treatise which is now a very rare volume, survives also in two manuscript versions, the first copy at the British Library and the second at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.¹ These laborious hand-written folios are the most striking evidence of Aheron's eccentricity. Remarkable feats of draughtsmanship, both volumes are meticulously executed in pen and ink to simulate the copper plates and printed characters of a published work. The impetus for this remarkable project and the stimulus of John Aheron's architectural ambition can be attributed to Sir Edward O' Brien Bt. of Dromoland in County Clare, whose patronage and support were clearly acknowledged by his protégé in the initial manuscript treatise.² While Aheron's career remains for the large part surrounded in mystery, the development of Dromoland during the early 1740s

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² BL. MS Kings 282. 'My undertaking to write this treatise is greatly owing to Sir Edward O' Brien Baronet being the chief Person, who gave rise to my ambition and desire for the study of architecture...'.

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undoubtedly holds the key to the shaping of his peculiar architectural sensibility. Of Edward O’Brien and his interests we know more than we do of Aheron. Born in 1705 the son of Sir Lucius O’Brien and his wife Catherine, Edward succeeded to his grandfather’s baronetcy in 1717 at the age of twelve. During his minority the management of the Dromoland estate was supervised by the widowed Catherine O’Brien who carried out improvements to the existing house c. 1720 aided by the surveyor-general Thomas Burgh. Family correspondence of 1718-1719 contains several references to the purchase of mathematical instruments in Dublin and London for the use of the young Sir Edward, whose proper education was a subject of keen interest to his mother and extended family. Privately tutored in his early teens and enrolled at Oxford at seventeen, there can be little doubt that the heir apparent received a thorough grounding in the liberal arts. Strong family connections in France ensured the requisite acquaintance with its language and culture, and the development of Dromoland during the subsequent decades betrays a very conscious affinity to late seventeenth-century French models.

However if amateur design and building activity were O’Brien’s principal preoccupation during the 1740s, his most enduring passion was equestrian in nature. An avid hunting and racing enthusiast from his early teens, two portraits in youth and middle-age respectively, depict him first with whip and hound, and later astride his favorite mare. One of the most memorable aspects of the Dromoland painting collection was a series of hunting and riding scenes which he commissioned. The village of Newmarket adjacent to the demesne was appropriately named, and between his succession to the baronetcy in 1717 and his death in 1765 O’Brien managed to squander much of his inheritance in gambling pursuits. It is fitting therefore that the most significant building to survive from the eighteenth-century estate, and also a key building in Aheron’s development, is the elegant Palladian stable-block of 1736.

The principal evidence for O’Brien’s improvement of the estate is a volume of drawings of architectural and landscape garden designs


2NLI. MS 18,812. 'An illustrated catalogue of the pictures, plate and other works of art at Dromoland, August 1894 by Sir Lucius O’Brien' which describes the portraits.
formerly at Dromoland Castle.\textsuperscript{1} Now accessible only in photographic form, the Dromoland album comprises fifty-six sheets, eight of which have both recto and verso designs. These depict a variety of building and garden designs, and range chronologically from the 1720s to the 1760s. As we know that John Aheron compiled his initial manuscript at Dromoland between 1740 and 1745, the drawings executed before or during these years are our object of concern.\textsuperscript{2} Of these, four distinct categories can be distinguished. They comprise six anonymous drawings of the early eighteenth-century landscape garden, six drawings of chimneypieces and decorative joinery work by a Thomas Gilbert, four miscellaneous anonymous items, and forty designs which can be attributed to John Aheron.\textsuperscript{3}

The criteria for the Aheron attributions are similarly four-fold. Primary evidence is clearly a signed drawing, though here this occurs in only one instance. Secondly, though perhaps equally reliable in the case of Aheron, is his idiosyncratic graphic style. As in the two manuscript treatises, the Dromoland album contains pen and ink drawings which are executed in an impressive hatched technique which simulates the dense burin-incised lines of copper-plate engraving. Where accompanied by an inscription, this too emulates the precise characters of the printed word. The recurrence of a design in the manuscript or published treatises is similarly considered a valid reason for its inclusion in Aheron’s œuvre. Finally, a number of less highly finished drawings which are clearly the models for the engraved-style designs, provide a fourth basis for attribution.

It is perhaps best to begin on the least sound territory, namely the fourth category of drawings executed in less painstaking fashion than Aheron’s most characteristic productions. The attribution of these drawings to Aheron rests upon their relationship to several of the highly wrought designs and to the single signed drawing in the album. ‘The East Front of the Stable Offices of Dromoland facing towards the

\textsuperscript{1}The original album is now in an English private collection. NLI MS 2791 is a bound volume of photographic copies. A second unbound photographic copy of the album is at the Irish Architectural Archive. Tabulation here follows the bound National Library volume.

\textsuperscript{2}The Dublin Courant. 18 May 1745.

\textsuperscript{3}To Gilbert may be attributed nos. 11, 12, 12v(left), 13, 14, 16; to Aheron nos. 1-9, 12v(right), 13v, 14v, 15, 17, 18, 19, 22-26, 29-33, 37v, 38, 39, 40-43, 48, 49, 51-55.
Gardens, drawn in the Year of our Lord God Anno Domini 1740 by John Aheron' (no. 24) represents the stable elevation in Aheron's 'engraved' technique (PLATE 17). Number 37v in the album represents three additional elevations of stables together with a ground-plan, unsigned but rendered in Aheron's unmistakable idiom and numbered as if to indicate separate plates in a published volume (PLATE 18). What might be considered the models or working sketches for these would-be plates are found on sheets 15 and 54(PLATE 19). Though different in certain decorative features and in minor planning aspects of the stable block, these modifications seem to reflect alterations in the design rather than suggesting a different hand from the 'engraved' versions. In scale, proportion and general aspect they are all very much of a piece. A similar correspondence exists between another finished and numbered 'plate' depicting an old-fashioned scrolled and pinnacled triumphal arch ( no. 43 ), and a sheet of six less highly wrought garden buildings (no.52)(PLATE 20) which in turn relate to measured 'direction' drawings for arches and obelisks and gateways (nos. 1,2,3).

The use of distinctive calligraphic conventions and the incidence of very odd spellings in these preliminary drawings enable us to add another seventeen to their number, mostly designs for garden layouts and for Dromoland House.1 Many of these employ a flamboyant stylised flourish as a full stop and an elegant forked dot over the i, while all are characterised by a curious archaic and Frenchified spelling (PLATE 21). As Aheron's prefatory tribute to O'Brien had referred to Sir Edward's 'own designs' at Dromoland, the possibility that Aheron simply worked up his patrons drawings could not be ruled out. However, even if O'Brien was involved in the design , assuming on his behalf a respectable standard of literacy in both English and French, it is highly unlikely that any of this group of drawings are his. It is far more plausible that such aberrations as the 'niew' garden, the 'vorder' 'walek', the 'meashur' or the door 'haed' were the confused constructions of a talented local lad who may well have begun life as an Irish speaker. More amusing are the frequent forays into French which occur throughout the inscriptions. A 'Dessein' for Dromoland House, the 'Par Terre' or 'Remarques' together with an ubiquitous and wildly inaccurate use of the trema (Advenuë, Advenüe, Jöymb(jamb), contăyns, böddy, cyphe:r ! ) present an endearing image of enthusiastic and unabashed rustic pretension.

1 'Preliminary' drawings are nos. 1-9, 15, 17, 19, 30, 31, 33, 39, 40, 41, 48, 49, 55.
Two designs from this large group of drawings are even more firmly attributable to Aheron since they recur in somewhat modified form, in his manuscript treatise. These are no 31, plans of the principal and chamber floors at Dromoland House (PLATE 22), and no. 53 (PLATE 23), a design for the domed Doric temple or gazebo still standing at Dromoland, which recur respectively in the first and second manuscript treatises. In fact very few of the Dromoland designs found their way into the published book and the Aheron drawings identified on these grounds include only two more sheets. No. 23 consists of two brick piers similar to examples in the published treatise (PLATE 24). No.29 depicting the east front of Dromoland House, appears in the final British Library manuscript as plate 42 (PLATE 25). Both of these drawings also conform to the final group of designs in Aheron's reconstructed Dromoland oeuvre.

Sixteen of the forty drawings given to Aheron can be identified simply upon the basis of their meticulous graphic style.1 This number includes the above-mentioned piers and house elevation, the signed drawing of the stable court, the unsigned plate-like designs for the stables discussed earlier and the retardataire triumphal arch. A second design for the east front of Dromoland House, though barely legible in its second-hand photo-copied state, may also be included in this group (no 51). Discussed in more detail below, this is of particular interest in being dated 1741 and described as 'desig'nd' by Sir Edward O'Brien. The remainder represent a number of designs for chimneypieces and overmantles, wainscoted interior elevations, garden building designs, four alternative proposals for arcaded stable stalls, part of a house facade, a classical baluster and a plinth. (PLATES 26, 27) Aheron's emulation of copper-plate engraving is a truly remarkable if bemusing achievement. Each drawing comprises hundreds if not thousands of narrowly spaced, impeccably ruled lines drawn in horizontal, vertical and diagonal configurations in order to distinguish light and shade, and to highlight the separate features of each design. The time spent in making only one of these must have been very considerable. One can only begin to imagine the effort expended in completing the two manuscript treatises. Aheron would no doubt have been pleased to know that one of these was later acquired by George III, an astute connoisseur of graphic and

12v,13v,14v,18,22,24,25,26,29,32,37v,38,43,51,55.
topographical art. However if Aheron's penmanship is unquestionably spectacular, the source and impetus of this curious art are even more intriguing.

As we shall see Aheron had not been out of the country or even indeed to Dublin before 1745; it follows therefore that he must have learned his technique in a provincial context. While calligraphy and draughtsmanship were widely taught, the idiosyncacy of Aheron's idiom and its clear basis in copper-plate engraving suggest either that here was a man trained in engraving techniques or that this was a draughtsman emulating published engravings. If one considers that Charles Brooking's map of Dublin of 1728 represents the peak of architectural engraving in Ireland before mid-century, the former proposition seems improbable (PLATE 4). On the other hand Aheron himself claims to have been a student of architectural literature from an early age. It seems therefore very likely that his simulated engraving style had its origin in a youthful imitation of printed plates. One of the Dromoland designs in particular supports such a conclusion. This is the drawing of the two brick piers (PLATE 24), the larger of which is perhaps the finest example of Aheron's technique in the entire album. In both design and rendition this is copied directly from Plate 61 of William Kent's Designs of Inigo Jones 1728. (PLATE 28) Kent's volume was among the architectural books in Edward O'Brien's library, as was Vitruvius Britannicus and William Jones's The Gentlemens or Builders Companion.

Given this substantial body of Aheron drawings in the Dromoland album, what do their content and stylistic conventions contribute to our knowledge of their author? In terms of architectural style perhaps the most useful place to begin is the signed drawing of the stable offices (PLATE 17). A paraphrase almost of Palladio's Villa Sarraceno at Finale, this is a simple elevation with a central rusticated and pedimented loggia, statue niches relieving long bare walls, cupolas to the lateral ranges behind and flanking carriage arches with curtain

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1 Harris (Eileen) assisted by Savage (Nicholas). British architectural books and writers 1556-1785. Cambridge; New York, 1990. 104.

2 Dublin Courant, 18 May 1745.

walls, piers and ball finials. Significantly, this, the most authentically Palladian item in Aheron's entire oeuvre was a survey drawing of an existing building. One of the stable archways still stands at Dromoland and in its pediment is an inscription reflective of O'Brien's equestrian enthusiasm, 'In Equis Patrum Virrus, 1736'. Aheron's drawing which is dated 1740, was thus executed four years after the stable buildings were built. The specific use of the verb to 'draw' in the accompanying inscription, was clearly the result of a deliberate choice and not of casual grammar. In the Dromoland House elevation which Aheron ascribes to O'Brien, he takes care to use the term 'design'd'. In the manuscript treatises he employs either 'invt et delin' or 'design'd and drawn', while in the published plates engraved by him he uses 'invt & sculp'. Clearly the niceties of contemporary autograph conventions were known to and understood by Aheron. If therefore the stable design is a misleading clue to the nature of his stylistic bent, what then might be said to represent Aheron's true architectural idiom?

'The Section for Ye Hal & SalIon Designeth for ye House of Dromolan' (no. 42) (PLATE 29) is perhaps a better example of Aheron's hybrid style. What is most striking here is the remarkable dichotomy of spirit between the two-storied, galleried hall and the other interiors. The saloon, with its panelled wainscoting, lugged door surrounds, and Ionic pilaster order would not be out of place in any Irish or English country house of the period. If the round-topped panels of the upper storey are perhaps a bit retarda
dataire for up-to-date Palladian taste, the chimney-piece with its lugged surround and overmantle is classic textbook design. An 'engraved' Aheron version of the saloon section (no.12v) demonstrates even more forcibly, its close relationship to the published models of Isaac Ware, William Kent et al. The hall on the other hand demonstrates an allegiance to quite different models. Thoroughly French in spirit, the design is in fact derived from a published source, Sebastien Le Clerc's Traité d'Architecture of 1714, which received its first English translation in 1723 and which, as we have seen, was on sale in Dublin in 1726. Aheron's arcade with its horizontal channelling and weaponry cartouches is copied from plate 122 of the 1723 edition (PLATE 30), while the gallery elevation is based upon plate 170 (PLATE 31). This early reliance on Le Clerc's plates serves to confirm the significance of his book in Aheron's development,

a fact further demonstrated by wholesale plagiarism of the French author in the several versions of the treatise.

A pivotal position between late Baroque and Palladian models is further demonstrated by the remaining drawings for the remodelling of Dromoland House. Three distinct designs exist for the east front of the building: numbers 29, 30 and 51 in the Dromoland album (PLATES 25, 32, 33). All three propose a nine-bay two-storey facade with a giant pedimented order to the central three bays. The character is a curious blend of seventeenth-century classicism with up-to-date Palladianism. While on the one hand a long regular block with a low balustraded roof and a dominant central portico has much in common with Colen Campbell, the vigorous all-over rustication and giant Corinthian order are more reminiscent of John Webb at Greenwich. Both models were readily available for consultation in Vitruvius Britannicus. An album of designs for estate and garden buildings compiled at Birr Castle during the 1740s by a young local draughtsman, Samuel Chearnley, similarly quotes Webb at Greenwich. Other old-fashioned features in the Dromoland House designs include panelled chimneys, round and segmental-headed windows, and lugged sill aprons. More fundamentally conservative is the fenestration pattern which eschews the piano nobile and attic storey of contemporary Palladian design, retaining instead the characteristic seventeenth-century division into floors of equal height. More ham-fisted than conservative are the advanced window breaks which further serve to distinguish the design from fashionable models. Interestingly, two of the drawings are executed in Aheron’s ‘engraved’ idiom while the third belongs to the large group of preliminary designs. The latter which employs a pilaster order to the centrepiece, carved swags to the sill aprons and curvilinear panelling to the plinth, is clearly the most retardataire of the three. A comparison of the first drawing for the stable offices with the final version of the same demonstrates a similar fondness for ornament in the earlier design (PLATES 19, 18) and suggests a distinct if gradual assimilation of more fashionable stylistic conventions. The most authentically Palladian of the three elevations for Dromoland House is that inscribed as ‘design’d by Sir Edward O’ Brien Baronet, 1741’ (PLATE 33). Though very similar

2 Birr Castle, Muniments Room (Collection of the Earl of Rosse). ‘Miscelanea Structura Curiosa’ 1745-6. Design no.70 in the album is copied directly from the above-mentioned plate in Vitruvius Britannicus.
to the second 'engraved' design, this house rests on a basement and employs a free-standing portico as opposed to an engaged order. The resulting perron and steps lends to the facade a much more contemporary spirit as do the statues added to the centre and ends of the parapet.

The remaining designs are more diverse both in style and subject. A further borrowing from Le Clerc is evident for example in the domed gazebo (PLATE 23) while the other garden pavilions are more akin to English models. The most surprising aspect of the collection in terms of style are three drawings for the stable stalls (no.32, no.38, no.55) (PLATES 26, 27). Evidently O'Brien aimed to lavish as much care in housing his horses as in accommodating his family. Each stall elevation comprises an eight-bay colonnaded arcade, complete with pedestals and full entablature. Two have elaborate slatted and panelled stall doors while one remains unfinished. The former, a Corinthian and Ionic arcade respectively, are relatively sober classical exercises, with engaged columns, moulded impost courses and salient entablature blocks over each shaft. The keystones which in both cases have fluted and scrolled profiles strike a more vigorous baroque note. Still somewhat restrained in the Corinthian arcade, these become emphatic plastic features in the Ionic version. The unfinished design is, however, the least orthodox of the three. Here instead of an arcade and engaged order is a slim Ionic colonnade carried on tall pedestals supporting an arcade of diminuitive round arches carved from deep panelled spandrels. Pendulous finials to the apex of each arch and big foliated brackets supporting the salient entablature blocks complete a design which might have been more at home in a Sardinian or Piedmontese palace complex than in a stable range in County Clare.

Far more puzzling than the stylistic variety of the drawings is the question of their purpose. While it seems clear that some were intended for a publication of sorts, and that others are models for these, there remains a group of 'direction' drawings which call into question Aheron's role in the building activity at Dromoland during the 1740s. Of the forty drawings attributed to Aheron, seventeen conform to this directional type. Essentially these are detailed drawings of buildings and gardens inscribed with a numerical and alphabetical key to explain the various parts and measurements of the plan or structure. The first drawing in the album 'Direction for ye Triumphal Arch' represents an

1 Nos. 1-9, 17, 19, 31, 39-41, 48-49.
elevation and profile of the arch together with profiles and precise measurements of the mouldings and masonry blocks. Nothing is left to chance and each member receives its full title, even including the 'roof'. Many of these designs are for the gardens and from an architectural point of view the most interesting are three drawings of Dromoland House (no.39, no. 40, no.41)(PLATES 21, 34, 35). These appear to be formalised working drawings for the Corinthian centrepiece of the principal facade. A drawing for the general 'Distribution' and 'Proportion of Ye Stonworck for this Frontispice' provides measurements for all of the ashlar and rusticated masonry blocks, while the other drawings contain scaled sections, plans and profiles of the entablature and base, and of the doors and windows. The degree of information manifest here poses the question as to whether Aheron was involved in an executive capacity on the building project.

Clare in the 1740s was not possessed of a developed modern architectural tradition. Dromoland was therefore an oasis of sophistication in an essentially vernacular late medieval environment. Who then was really responsible for this ambitious house and garden? If we are to accept the evidence of Aheron's initial laudatory preface, then Edward O' Brien would seem to have played a principal role in actually designing the buildings and other improvements on the estate.1 Aheron himself is a second major contender, while a third possibility is Thomas Gilbert, the author of a group of six designs for chimneypieces and decorative joinery work in the Dromoland Album. Two designs for chimneypieces and overmantles are signed by Gilbert and the remainder are attributed upon the basis of their stylistic and script affinities (no11)(PLATE 36). Sketchily but more speedily and assuredly drawn than Aheron's preliminary efforts, these designs reflect an acquaintance with contemporary English building practice. They are however much less ponderous and Italianate in spirit than the designs of Kent et al. There is here a more conservative decorative quality. The gadrooning of the hearth surround in one signed drawing and the insertion of a mirror between the lintel and overmantle in another design are features which are not found in up-to-date Palladian architecture, but which were included in more conservative compilations such as William Salmon's Palladio Londonensis a book which as we shall see had a direct

1 BL. Kings MS 282. '...by the execution of his own designs the whole face of nature is so happily changed within the compass of a few years, that it may be an object of surprise to any judicious person who compares it now to what it has been ten years ago when in its native rudeness and simplicity..'.
influence upon Aheron's treatise. Gilbert's identity remains in doubt. Colvin lists a Thomas Gilbert born in 1706, a member of the Dorsetshire mason-builder family who operated a successful stone-quarrying business from the Isle of Portland and who had supplied most of the Portland stone for Saint Paul's. In Ireland a Thomas Gilbert is recorded as a stonemason on the Dublin Parliament House in 1739. 1

While Gilbert's identity and his role at Dromoland remains unclear, it is tempting to attribute to him an executive function on the building project. The directional drawings for Dromoland House demonstrate a thorough understanding of masonry construction and it is plausible that Aheron was here making tidy formalised presentations of existing drawings, perhaps of Gilbert's instructional designs. Given the rarity of eighteenth-century working drawings, there is little context in which to place the Dromoland designs. That said, it seems likely that the laborious didactic quality of these examples might be the exception rather than the rule. It is worth noting in this context that Aheron's section of the hall and salon at Dromoland differs from his plan of the house and seems to have been drawn for presentation purposes rather than for practical use in the construction of the building. A further tell-tale clue to Aheron's objective is the division of the frontispiece drawing into four sections labelled Pl1, Pl 2, Pl 3 and Pl 1V. (PLATE 34) Though the drawings are not plate-shaped, it seems unlikely that such tabulation can have been intended for anything other than a proposed volume of designs and this drawing may well represent the embryo of Aheron's Meisterwerk.

If in fact these designs represent a preliminary plan for Aheron's book, then clearly much rethinking of the volume's structure went on from a very early stage. Further evidence of this is seen in the group of highly finished Aheron designs. Here the neatly centred numbering of designs on seven of the sheets comprises an incomplete sequence of one to sixteen, which conceivably represents a second preliminary ordering of the proposed treatise. 2 Certainly the format suggested by the numbering of both the directional and the highly wrought drawings is quite different from either the manuscript or published volumes, all of which separate house designs from garden buildings and other decorative features. The preliminary sequence evident in the Dromoland album respects no such division, combining a plan and

1 Ex. info. Dr Edward McParland.
2 1(43), 5(43), 6(14v), 7(13v), 8(12v), 11(13v), 12-15(37v).
section for Dromoland house with chimneypieces, stables and a garden temple. It is perhaps possible that the initial concept of Aheron's project was simply a monograph depicting the new buildings and improvements at Dromoland. O'Brien perhaps conceived a volume similar in scope to, and very probably inspired by, *The Plans, Elevations & Sections; Chimneypieces and Ceilings of Houghton in Norfolk* which was published by Isaac Ware in 1735. Ware's book was the first monograph ever to be published on a British country house and remained the only one of its type until the appearance of Matthew Brettingham's *The Plans, Elevations and Sections of Holkham in Norfolk* in 1761. If indeed Ware was the initial model for Aheron's work, there is then a satisfying continuity in the similarity of scope between the final published treatise and Ware's *Complete Body of Architecture* of 1756.

2. THE MANUSCRIPT TREATISES.

Those drawings in the Dromoland album which simulate the technique of copper-plate engraving are but an inkling of what Aheron was to accomplish in his two manuscript treatises. Each of these is a large folio volume executed entirely in pen and ink to simulate the printed characters and copper plates of a published book. (PLATE 37) They are undoubtedly among the most eccentric productions in the history of European draughtsmanship. While fair copies of manuscript books and maps were produced for monarchs and wealthy aristocrats during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and were prized for their craftsmanship, John Aheron appears to have been unique in his peculiar zeal to rival copper-plate engraving.¹ Not suprisingly, the execution of the two manuscripts took over a decade to complete. Aheron's purpose in pursuing this remarkable project was to achieve the publication of his treatise. In this he was clearly successful and there can be little doubt that the impact of these spectacular manuscripts upon prospective subscribers was of crucial importance to the book which finally appeared in Dublin in 1754.

¹In the Irish context a good example of a fair copy in an architectural genre, is Jacques Wibault's 'Traite de l'Architecture Militaire' executed in 1701 for the Duke of Ormond. Map making offers more numerous examples. Collection of the Irish Architectural Archive.
Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of Aheron's manuscript treatises is the very fact that there are two in existence. The enormous degree of effort which is clearly evident in Aheron's painstaking graphic technique prompts the question as to why there are two such elaborately hand-crafted treatises and not simply one? Aheron hints at his reason for producing two volumes in public subscription proposals of 1753. In an apology to subscribers who had already long since contributed to the project, Aheron explained that the delay in publishing his book was due to the compilation of a second 'vastly superior' treatise.² This he hoped would reward the patience of his former contributors and stimulate increased support for the publication. Thus despite the fact that both volumes are inscribed with a completion date of 1751, it is clear that one preceded the other and that the second was considered by its author to be a more accomplished work.

Before analysing the composition of Aheron's manuscripts, it is first necessary to determine their chronology in more distinct terms. The Dromoland Album has firmly established that Aheron was employed by Sir Edward O'Brien as early as 1740, when he produced drawings of the Dromoland stable buildings. The second chronological sign-post in the development of Aheron's career is a Dublin newspaper report of May 1745, which provides the earliest reference to his projected treatise of architecture. This is worth quoting in full both for its description of the manuscript and for its vivid evocation of Aheron's entree to society in the capital. An account of proceedings at a meeting of the Dublin Society, the article recounted that

'Mr John Aheron of the County of Clare laid before the society, a treatise of architecture in folio, all written with his own hand in so fine a Roman character, that everyone who saw it could not believe but that it was print; and all the designs, cuts and plans of buildings which are near 200 and well executed are so exquisitely done with the pen, that they cannot be distinguished or outdone by copper plates. This is such piece of curiosity, that the like is not to be seen

²Pues Occurrences, 24 Nov 1753.
in the best library's or collections, and
shews a good taste
and genius for architecture, though the
author was never out
of the kingdom, nor in Dublin till this
time. This laborious work took
four years in the composure and
writing; and we hear he proposes
to have it printed, when he can get a
sufficient number of
subscribers.¹

It is clear therefore that Aheron compiled his first manuscript
between 1740 and 1744 in the provincial context of Dromoland in
County Clare. Presumably the inscribed completion date of 1751 was
added following later alterations to the manuscript. Several tell-tale
items included in the London manuscript (hereafter referred to as Kings
282) clearly identify it as the initial version. These are a palace design
signed and dated 1743, two designs for Dromoland House close to those
in the Dromoland album, and a lengthy preface acknowledging
Aheron's indebtedness to Sir Edward O'Brien. The Dromoland designs
do not appear in the Metropolitan version and the tribute to O'Brien
was pasted over by Aheron following an apparent breach between the
two men.

The preface to Kings 282 offers the first clear documentation of
Aheron's architectural training and of his motives in composing a
treatise of architecture. In it Aheron relates the Vasari-like tale of a
precocious youth being recognised and promoted by elders 'well skilled
in the art of building', 'the approbation and persuasion of whom'
induced him to write the treatise. He records also his anticipation of 'a
favourable reception and encouragement from the lovers of art and true
patriots of this kingdom', and his motive in writing as being 'chiefly for
the benefit and improvement of young beginners'. We may presume
therefore that by the time he embarked upon the treatise in 1740,
Aheron himself was no longer of the latter category. Exactly what age he
was at this time is impossible to determine, however several factors
suggest that he had by then considerable acquaintance with the building
trade. In the tribute to O'Brien at the end of the Kings' 282 preface, a
contrast of Dromoland in its newly developed form to the 'native
rudeness and simplicity' of 'ten years ago', strongly suggests that Aheron
was present throughout this decade of transformation. Further

¹The Dublin Courant. 18 May 1745.
introductory remarks directed to the 'vast number of gentlemen who greatly suffer ...the ignorance of ...unskilful pretenders to architecture', similarly point to an acquaintance with the realities of building activity.

All of this introductory comment therefore confirms the scenario suggested by the drawings in the Dromoland album. Aheron it seems came to Dromoland as a young man, probably in the mid 1730s and perhaps as an apprentice to a carpenter or craftsman involved in O'Brien's ambitious new building project. Clearly his skills as a draughtsman were quickly recognised and he was encouraged in his study of architectural books. The youthful imitation of printed plates as seen in the Dromoland drawings was therefore the impetus for the treatise. However while, as we have seen, several numbered drawings in the Dromoland album seem to represent a preliminary plan for Aheron's book, they bear little relation to the content of the first manuscript treatise. If therefore Aheron had begun to toy with the idea of a book during the 1730s, his conception of the project appears to have taken on a new and quite definite form by 1740. While the preliminary plan evident in the Dromoland album would suggest a volume devoted to designs for domestic, specifically country-house architecture, and perhaps concerned exclusively with Dromoland House, the content of Kings 282 reflects an infinitely more ambitious scheme.

Though different in several significant respects to the later Metropolitan manuscript and to the published treatise, Kings 282 contains all of the basic elements of Aheron's completed book. It is a blueprint which was successively refined and reduced to produce the final printed version. In it, the young copyist of engravings has become the presumptive spokesman for the entire European classical architectural tradition. Fired by his enthusiasm for architectural books Aheron, in this his first manuscript, proposes to condense the existing thinking on the subject, to subjoin to it a selection of his own architectural designs and thereby to produce a comprehensive manual for the student and enthusiast.

It is important to emphasise the novelty and the presumption of Aheron's design. Apart from traditional Renaissance sources such as Palladio and Scamozzi, there existed in 1740 no encyclopedic, general treatise of architecture in the English language. An attempt to produce such a work had been initiated in 1730 by Thomas Rowland, a former clerk of works at Windsor. Significantly Rowland's book was also entitled *A General Treatise of Architecture*. This was to comprise 'seven
books, containing all that is necessary to be known in building with several new designs of houses etc’. In the event Rowland managed to publish only three of the projected books covering a general introduction to mathematics and a garbled discussion of academic theory relying heavily upon Perrault’s Vitruvius.1 While the type-setting of Aheron’s book resembles that of Rowland’s treatise and there are similarities in the mathematical sections, it is otherwise quite different and clearly far more comprehensive in character.

Thus with the exception of Aheron’s book, no encyclopedic general treatise was published until Isaac Ware’s mammoth Compleat Body of architecture of 1756. In Ireland by this date, all that had been published in the architectural sphere was Samuel Fuller’s Dublin edition of Batty Langley’s Builder’s Vade-Mecum and James Hoey’s eclectic measuring manual The Builder’s Guide, both of which were cheap duo-decimos with minimal illustration. As seen in chapter one, an attempt to produce a book of country-house designs was made by Ralph Hansard, in Dublin during 1737, but this was unsuccessful due to insufficient demand. Aheron however seems to have been undaunted both by the absence of precedent, and by the apparent lack of support for such ventures in Ireland. The mood communicated by his initial manuscript is one of unabashed confidence and optimism.

In the composition of his treatise, Aheron chose to follow the long-established model of sub-division into a number of distinct books. Kings 282 comprises five such units followed by a ‘Builders’ Dictionary’ and accompanied by 160 illustrative ‘plates’. The first book is an introduction to basic arithmetic, practical geometry and measuring practice. The second contains a general discourse on architecture together with advice and information on practical building construction. The third book is an account of the classical orders on the comparative method, contrasting the profiles and proportions dictated by the leading theorists and practitioners. In books four and five, theory is replaced by designs for buildings and architectural details. Book four consists of designs for doors, windows, gateways and garden buildings, and book five contains plans, elevations and sections for public and private buildings together with designs for a large and very grandiose palace.

While the notion of assembling all of this diverse material was undoubtedly novel, and particularly so in the provincial Irish context of

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1Harris (Eileen) assisted by Savage(Nicholas). British architectural books and writers 1556-1785. Cambridge, 1990. 397-8.
County Clare, the actual content of Aheron's treatise is highly eclectic and reflects the particular range of sources available to him at Dromoland. However, though blatant plagiarism was commonplace in architectural publishing of the period, Aheron does not attempt to conceal his eclecticism but rather underscores his indebtedness to 'several of the most celebrated architects'. In book five of the manuscript he describes his role in books one to three, as being 'chiefly a collector of other mens works' and in the preface is pleased to acknowledge a wide range of sources among them 'Vitruvius, Palladio, Scamozzi, Serlio, Vignole, Barbaro, Cataneo, Alberti, Viola, Inigo Jones, Perrault, Le Clerc'. From this we are given to understand that here is an author steeped in the classical tradition and conversant with such variant Vitruvian texts as those of Danielle Barbaro and Viola Zanini. There is in this admission more than a hint of bravado, as is demonstrated by a closer reading of Aheron's text. While Aheron clearly understood the principles of classical architecture as outlined by all of the foregoing authorities, he appears to have amassed this knowledge not from the original Latin and Italian sources but rather at second hand from a more limited number of English texts. Interestingly, most of the texts which inform the first three theoretical books of Kings 282, were on sale in Dublin from the 1720s and thus it is not inconceivable that Aheron might have begun his architectural education without the privilege of an aristocratic library.

What then were these texts and how are they reflected in Aheron's treatise? In book one of the manuscript Aheron relies largely on a popular mathematical compendium which he openly refers to and quotes from in his text. This was John Ward's The Young Mathematician's Guide (being a plain and easie introduction to the mathematicks in five parts) first published in London but reprinted in 1731 by the Dublin bookseller Samuel Fuller. In the manuscript, though it differs somewhat in format and wording, Aheron imparts the same basic arithmetical and geometrical information provided by Ward's standard text-book. For log tables and square roots Aheron recommended a second standard classic, John Taylor's Thesaurium Mathematicae (or the treasury of mathematicks) which was also available at Samuel Fuller's Meath-Street premises.

The general compendium of architecture which forms book two of the manuscript similarly depends closely upon existing publications. Here there are three principal sources; Sebastien Le Clerc, Vincenzo
Scamozzi, and William Salmon. The book is divided into twelve sub-
sections, seven of which derive from Le Clerc, two from Scamozzi and
three from Salmon. Le Clerc's *Treatise of Architecture*, as we have seen,
was on sale at Samuel Fuller's book-shop in 1726. While Scamozzi was
known in a number of seventeenth-century variants, Aheron appears to
have drawn upon the English edition by William Fischer which was
published in William Leybourn's *The Mirror of Architecture* of 1669,
and which was also included in Samuel Fuller's stock. William
Salmon's *Palladio Londinensis* (*The London art of building*) was the
most recent text used by Aheron, first published in London in 1734.
There is no record of its being marketed in Dublin, though booksellers
may well have carried some copies without advertising them.

In the introduction to book two Aheron indulges in a panegyric
of Sebastien Le Clerc which betrays more than anything else in the
treatise, his youthful infatuation with architectural books. The lavish
claim that Le Clerc was 'universally allowed by all impartial judges to
have brought greater lustre to architecture than any one man that ever
wrote on this subject' tells us more of Aheron and the breadth of his
reading than it does of European architectural literature. While Le Clerc
was the first writer published in English to deal systematically with the
decorative part of architecture, much of his treatise was greatly indebted
to the *Cours d'Architecture* of Charles Augustin d'Aviler published in
1691 and the staple diet of young French academicians for several
decades. D'Aviler's text was not unknown in eighteenth-century
Ireland; remarkably three editions were included in the sale of Francis
Bindon's library in 1768. Clearly however Aheron did not know it,
either because it was simply not available to him, or as seems likely he
did not understand French.

Le Clerc was therefore the principal channel through which
Aheron imbibed the traditions of French academic classicism. Le Clerc's
treatise is very clearly acknowledged as the 'chief help in compiling this
piece', and rightly so, as Aheron reproduces word for word much of the
text of the English edition. Similarly, Aheron's illustrations to book two
resemble in both scale and execution those of Le Clerc and follow the

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1768 Bindon

Salmon and Le Clerc were not among the authors listed in the twentieth-century sale of
contents at Dromoland. Dromoland, Co. Clare. Catalogue of furniture, pictures, objects of
art and vertu, to be sold at Dromoland Castle, on 3rd & 8th December, 1962 by James
Adam & sons. 64. 69.
latter in juxtaposing simple line-drawing with more highly wrought linear rendering. His account of the classical orders and its accompanying plates are very closely based upon that of Le Clerc, although significantly the proportions are not identical. Throughout Kings 282 and its successors Aheron constantly modified the proportions and details of his designs. The incessant yet minute alteration of drawings from successive manuscripts to the published book is suggestive of a long and restless quest for a more individual architectural idiom.

While conceivably Le Clerc's general definitions for the orders and various architectural features might have passed undetected by Aheron's Irish clientele, the critical descriptions of the royal chapel at Versailles and of the Place Vendome, which Aheron repeats verbatim, would certainly have raised an eyebrow or two. However, clearly it was not Aheron's intention to masquerade as an original theorist but rather to serve as an honest broker or interpreter of the multifarious European classical tradition. He thus had no qualms in joining to Le Clerc's rules for the orders and decorative features, 'a small compendium in ye ground rules of architecture' from Fisher's *Mirror of architecture* which in turn derived from Sir Henry Wotton's *Elements of Architecture*. This borrowing is also openly acknowledged by Aheron, as is the final part of book two dealing with stairs, general carpentry, measuring and prices of labour and materials, all of which derives from William Salmon's *Palladio Londonensis*.

The third book of Kings 282 accounts for the lengthy list of classical authors which, as we have seen, was proudly acknowledged by Aheron in his preface. For 'Vitruvius, Palladio, Scamozzi, Serlio, Vignole, Barbaro, Cataneo, Alberti, Viola' we should read simply Fréart de Chambray's *Parallèle de l'Architecture antique et de la moderne*, or more specifically John Evelyn's English edition *A Parallell Of the Antient Architecture with the Modern* which first appeared in London in 1664 and which was being sold by the Dublin bookseller, Samuel Fuller in 1726. As outlined in chapter two, Freart's comparative account of the classical orders based upon the writings of Vitruvius, Palladio, Scamozzi, Serlio etc, was popular in eighteenth-century Ireland. Aheron clearly recognised the appeal of Freart's lucid, orderly exposition and condensed Evelyn's English text to form book three of his treatise. Aheron does however alter Freart's illustrious line-up somewhat by omitting Bullant and de l'Orme and contrasting instead the orders of
Sebastien Le Clerc with those of Claude Perrault. The former he was familiar with through his careful study of Le Clerc for book two, and the latter he derived from John James translation of Perrault *A Treatise of the Five Orders of Columns in Architecture* published in London in 1708. Though Freart was not cited in the preface to the treatise with its lengthy list of classical authorities, Aheron openly acknowledges his source in the text of book three.

Fréart de Chambray claimed for his *Parallèle* the distinction of providing everyman with 'the liberty of pleasing his own fancy' by presenting the gamut of classical architectural authorities. Aheron undoubtedly felt himself liberated by this pluralism and to his synthesis of the French comparative model, he added a new account of the orders 'never before known or practised by any author that has hitherto wrote on this subject'. This newly invented proportion was based upon the concept of optical adjustment which was central to French academic discourse of the late seventeenth century.1 Theorists were divided into two schools of thought. Writers such as Fréart and Francois Blondel believed that corrective measures in the proportioning of the orders were admissible in counteracting the effects of perspective and foreshortening in the viewing of building. Vitruvius had advocated the practice and most leading Renaissance architects had followed suit. Scamozzi provided an exception to the rule in making no allowance for the diminution of the orders to correct visual shortcomings and in the later seventeenth century Claude Perrault favoured a purist classical idiom without the use of optical adjustments.

Aheron not only follows the traditional acceptance of optical adjustments, but makes it the foundation of his proportional system. His stated objective in inventing a new rule, is to produce 'a proportion that checks the deception or false information we have from our opticks, when looking at objects placed at various distances, either in elevation or extension'. Scamozzi is singled out for censure, in particular for his use of super-imposed orders with identically proportioned pedestals for each order 'so that as the orders become more delicate as to the height of their different ranks, the bases of his pedestals decrease in height'. This, Aheron claims 'deserves reprehension' as 'when one order is placed over another, a great part of the pedestal of the upper order must be hid from the eyes of the spectators who pass by, by the projection of the

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cornice of the lower storey; which might have been partly remedied by increasing the height of the base above.

A more universal practise similarly criticised is 'the custome of both the ancient and modern architects, who allow but half the diameter of each column to the base thereof; so that instead of increasing the base according to the height of its order, they diminish it 'which in his opinion was 'both absurd and inconvenient'. Aheron, whose ideas appear to derive from Wotton's Elements thus clearly had no understanding of the structural logic underlying classical architecture and conceived of the orders solely as a decorative skin to be altered at will. Employing the standard measurement of modules and minutes he delivers a series of proportions for the orders which juggles the traditional ratios, adds to their overall height and allows for the diminuition of super-imposed columns by adding to the height of their respective bases. Why Aheron was so absorbed by the problems of superimposed orders is mystifying. He surely had little opportunity to address the issue in provincial Irish building practice and one can only assume that it was his self-help, bookish introduction to architecture which drew him into the hair-splitting academic rationale of French classicism. The naivete of his newly invented proportion appears eventually to have dawned upon Aheron and there is no mention of it in the published treatise.

In the final two books of Kings 282 Aheron devoted himself to providing designs for a variety of buildings and their details. Book four consists of designs for doors, arches, chimneypieces and pavilions, all by Aheron 'excepting a few doors and windows ... taken from Inigo Jones'. It will be recalled that the Dromoland album contained a virtuoso drawing of two brick piers based directly upon plate 61 of William Kent's Designs of Inigo Jones (1728). (PLATES 24, 28) The rendering of that drawing, in its remarkable reliance upon the engraved plate clearly demonstrated the origins of Aheron's idiosyncratic graphic style. Here in book four of Kings 282 Kent is again Aheron's source of inspiration. Plate 13 depicts three arched gate entrances, two of which derive from plate 59 of Kent, while three doorcases in plate 1 depend upon plate 57. The remaining eighteen plates in book four present a variety of designs for doors, windows, chimneypieces, arches and temples. Many of these are loosely based upon Kent's plates while others are strongly reminiscent of William Jones's The Gentlemens or Builders Companion. Compendiums of this nature were however by 1740 a
standard element in English architectural books and Aheron was no
doubt familiar with the repertoire of classical decorative detail to be
found in James Gibbs, William Salmon, Batty Langley etc.

In the introduction to book five Aheron alludes to the fact that he
was in his first three books 'chiefly a collector of other mens works'.
The comment is introduced to emphasise that book four and 'especially'
book five are largely original work. The latter is described as 'a great
variety of plans and elevations for publick and private buildings,
together with a few sections, the last of which is a magnificent palace'.
Despite Aheron's claims, the book is still highly eclectic. The palace
which claims twenty-seven of the book's seventy-five plates derives
from the first volume of the Designs of Inigo Jones in which William
Kent illustrated Webb's schemes for Whitehall Palace which were then
accepted as Jones's designs. The grandeur of Webb's conception and the
vigour of Kent's drawings were powerfully evoked in the plates of Cole,
Huylsburgh and Foudrinier and these clearly were Aheron's youthful
training ground. The finest drawings in Kings 282 relate closely to Kent's
Whitehall plates and there can be little doubt that his virtuoso style was
directly inspired by them. (PLATES 38, 39) A similarity in the scale of
some drawings might even suggest that Aheron perhaps initially traced
directly from his Jonesian models.¹

A second source of inspiration for book five of Aheron's
manuscript is Colen Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus (1715-21) whose
illustrations of late Baroque English architecture exerted a significant
influence upon Aheron's style. The employment of giant orders,
vigorously rusticated facades, monumentally scaled round-headed
windows and large square attic windows seen throughout Aheron's
designs reflects the provincial Baroque vocabulary of late seventeenth-
century English country house architecture. In some instances particular
models are discernible such as plate 32 of Kings 282 which is a
paraphrase of Webb's Gunnersbury House as depicted in plate 18 in
volume two of Vitruvius Britannicus attributed to Jones, or plate 30
which derives from Vanbrugh's Eastbury, (plate 17 vol 3) in Campbell
(PLATES 40, 41, 42, 43). Generally though, Aheron appears to have
consciously avoided direct cribs and while his Baroque-cum-Palladian
mode was clearly influenced by other published sources such as James
Gibb's Book of Architecture 1728, it is a debt implicit in his stylistic
vocabulary rather than in the literal translation of particular plates.

¹BL. MS Kings 282, book 5, plates 52, 54, 55, 58.
Though Aheron claims to include designs for 'publick' buildings, apart from the palace scheme book five is entirely devoted to domestic architecture and principally to country-house designs. Most of these are grandiose plans for very extensive buildings. A mere seven designs out of forty-eight depict houses under eighty feet in length, while most average between one hundred and fifty and two hundred feet. Symmetrical centralised planning, rooms of cubic proportions and a preference for tall central halls often of octagonal plan all speak the language of contemporary Palladianism. Chiswick and Wanstead were clearly dominant images in Aheron's mind and their shadow is reflected in different guises throughout his designs. In amalgamating the vocabulary of Palladianism with that of the English Baroque Aheron effects a peculiar hybrid style that is original only in its excessive employment of oculi, thermal windows and pineapple finials. It is an eccentric provincial synthesis which clearly stems from the bookish ferment of Aheron's untutored architectural sensibility.

In his descriptive captions to book five it becomes even more evident that Aheron is an acolyte grappling with new and imperfectly understood conventions. The distinction between French and English rustication is a case in point. In his description of plates 13, 23, 28, 35, 37 and 47 of book five, Aheron refers to the masonry in respective designs as being rusticated 'after the French' or 'after the English' manner. Here confusion reigns, as he offers no verbal definition of his terms and no clear distinction is discernible from the plates. Plate 23 for instance, described as French rustication, is identical to the 'English rusticks' of plate 35, both being vigorous Italianate rusticated basements. On the other hand the characteristically French horizontal chanelling in plate 28 is described by Aheron as 'English' rustication. The origin of this confusion may lie in the captions to the plates of Vitruvius Britannicus, which contain a number of laconic references to rustication. Campbell distinguishes between the chaines of French rusticated masonry as seen for instance at Hopeton, and the more standard chamfered interlocking rustication of English building practice. Aheron appears to have construed a completely confused interpretation of the distinction, which he naively flaunts for his readers in his manuscript. This was omitted from the second manuscript and from the published treatise.

The uneven preliminary character of Aheron's first manuscript is nowhere more clearly seen than in its actual physical composition. The book is a leather-bound folio volume composed of a variety of paper
types and sizes. Nothing other than scissors-and-paste compilation can account for certain differences in the scale and execution of plates throughout the volume. In book four, for instance, the designs for piers and gateways in plates 10, 15 and 16, are drawn to a much larger scale than any of the other items in the book and appear to have been cut down to fit into the volume's folio format. Similarly, while most of the plates in the manuscript are finished in Aheron's meticulous 'engraved' idiom, seven of the drawings in book five are more cursory in execution and are rendered in a simple hatched style. Of these, plates 14, 17 and 18 were certainly amendments to Aheron's original scheme, as their descriptive captions are pasted additions to the table of contents. The latter has in fact eleven such pasted pentimenti and the text beneath these additions offers some indication of Aheron's changing programme for his book. The most significant omissions from the completed manuscript were four house designs by Inigo Jones and Lord Burlington, a design for Dromoland by Sir Edward O'Brien and a plan, elevation and section for a large church. The latter item explains the offer of designs for 'publick buildings' in Aheron's introductory remarks.

These large scale designs, hastily executed plans and pasted pentimenti are tangible evidence of Aheron's long and laborious task. However the most striking illustration of the volume's gradual and piecemeal composition is a group of eleven plates which are interspersed throughout book five, each of which appears to have been a presentation drawing in its own right. Aheron used seven different types of paper in the making of his manuscript and though no demonstrable pattern or sequence emerges from this evidence, it is worth noting that most of these presentation-style drawings are executed on Villerdy paper. They are also large, mostly fold-out plates each meticulously crafted and framed by a deep black border. Of the eleven drawings, two are for houses and nine are part of the palace scheme. The first house design is modest by Aheron's standards, a seven-bay three-storey building with a frontage of seventy-one feet. The second is a most curious object, both in design and presentation. 'The ground plan and elevation of a house extending 325 feet designed and drawn by J. Aheron' is an enormous nineteen-bay three-storey bulding with advanced wings, a central pedimented temple front over a loggia and three roof lanterns, with something of the air of a European

1BL. MS Kings 282, book 5, Plates 12, 43, 53, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67.
governmental palace (PLATE 44). Aheron provides the principal elevation 'from an evening view', below it a plan of the building, and below this a second miniature elevation of the front 'by a small scale taken from a morning view'. This odd presentation is unique in Aheron's work and has all the air of a youthful virtuoso exercise.

The formal black-bordered plates for the palace project are undoubtedly the finest drawings ever produced by Aheron. Despite his reliance upon Kent and Jones, these are not straightforward copies of the Whitehall scheme. However here content is less significant and the primary interest of these drawings lies in Aheron's remarkable graphic style which does not simply emulate copper-plate engraving but consciously rivals it. There is here a freshness and vigour which Aheron was never again to accomplish.

In considering Aheron's manuscript as a whole and in the context of contemporary architectural publications, what is perhaps most striking is the dearth of designs for specific buildings. Given that he had not been to Dublin before 1745, this is not surprising. Whereas Colen Campbell, James Gibbs and Isaac Ware illustrated designs either for existing buildings or for tangible building projects, Aheron's designs were very largely impractical paper schemes which had little hope of ever being built. Kings 282 contains a mere three plates depicting tangible building projects. Plates 40, 41 and 42 of book five illustrate designs for two Irish houses. The latter are the plan and elevation for Dromoland House discussed in connection with the Dromoland album, while the former is entitled 'A new design for the front of Stradbally-hall in the Queens County belonging to Poole Cosby Esq.' (PLATE 45) As we have seen, the Dromoland designs appear to have been largely shaped by Sir Edward O'Brien; the Stradbally drawing is therefore the first independent design which we can firmly attribute to John Aheron.

As seen in chapter two, Pole Cosby was among those Irish travellers to the Continent whose leisure was spent in the bookshops of European cities. Cosby was a cultured individual and a dilettante of sorts. His surviving autobiography portrays a lively mind and a man very much absorbed by elegant physical appearance.\(^1\) Descriptions of sumptuous personal attire are among the most memorable reminiscences narrated in the manuscript. James Latham's painting of Cosby with his daughter Sarah is among the finest Irish portraits of the

A large painting of c.1740 depicts a bird’s-eye view of the Stradbally demesne which was an extensive formal garden interspersed with ornamental classical buildings, not unlike Sir Edward O’Brien’s developments at Dromoland. Stradbally Hall as represented in this painting was a tall three-storey house with advanced centre and ends, a balustrade screening the roof and a pediment over the projecting centrepiece. (PLATE 46) The entrance front had sash windows throughout the main block, a simple pedimented doorcase and Venetian windows on the ground and first floor of the advanced end bays. This may well have been built to John Aheron’s design, as the elevation included in Kings 282. differs only in detail. Aheron’s drawing has thermal windows above the superimposed serlian motifs in the end bays and a busier centrepiece with a heavily rusticated doorcase surmounted by a roundheaded window and an oculus. A second building which may also have been associated with John Aheron is Ougheval Church which was built by Pole Cosby about a mile from Stradbally Hall. (PLATE 47) This is a curious structure, yet one whose spartan Palladian idiom is strongly reminiscent of Aheron’s published designs.

With the exception of the Dromoland and Stradbally designs, there is a distinct aura of unreality about Aheron’s treatise. The gigantic scale of his house designs with their grandiose plans and elaborate classical vocabulary stands in stark contrast to the reality of building activity in Ireland during the 1740s. Russborough and Powerscourt as the most ambitious building projects of the decade fall far below Aheron’s notion of a country-house both in scale and grandeur. Indeed the only Irish house of the period which would have approached Aheron’s grandiose conceptions was Summerhill in County Meath built in the previous decade and undoubtedly the most ambitious country house ever built in Ireland. There can be little doubt that Kent’s plates of Whitehall Palace had much to do with the shaping of Aheron’s fantasy projects. Yet however amusing and entertaining to dilettantes and connoisseurs, such castles in the air were clearly not in sympathy with the utilitarian ethos of the Dublin Society. It is therefore worth speculating on the reaction of Aheron’s audience to the manuscript laid before them in May of 1745.

The account of Aheron’s manuscript, contained in the report of the Society’s proceedings, confines itself solely to a physical description.

1 Crookshank(Anne) & The Knight of Glin. The painters of Ireland. London, 1979. pl. 25. 2 Ibid. pl. 38.
of the manuscript. The content of the 'cuts and plans of buildings' is entirely ignored, and all emphasis is placed upon their execution, 'so exquisitely done with the pen, that they cannot be distinguished or outdone by copper plates'. While Aheron was accredited with 'a good taste and genius for architecture', his book appears to have been acclaimed for its graphic quality rather than for the value of its architectural content. Even the confused description of Aheron's drawings as 'cuts', demonstrates the spirit in which the manuscript was received. While Aheron must have been gratified by the appreciation of his virtuoso talents, the altered scope of his second manuscript suggests that he was also strongly affected by the practical architectural concerns of the Dublin Society. The broader and more modern character of the second treatise suggests that at some point Aheron benefited from a thorough-going practical criticism of his initial manuscript. The meeting of the Dublin Society on the 18th May 1745 was a likely venue for such analysis, particularly as it was also the date for concluding the Society's sole architectural competition of the decade. It may indeed be no mere coincidence that Aheron should have presented his treatise on this auspicious occasion.

The competition for designs of 'houses from two to eight rooms on a floor' is a significant event in Irish eighteenth-century architectural history. At a meeting held on the 9th May 1745 the committee appointed to award the premium declined to choose a winner from the six candidates 'it being difficult to determine the preference without a strict examination and the assistance of good architects'. Interestingly, the book collector John Putland was a member of the building committee. As a result of this impasse, a committee of eight members was appointed to meet on the following Saturday and 'to call to their assistance any architects no way concern'd in the plans exhibitted'. At the next general Society meeting on May 18th the committee reported that 'having the assistance of Mr Castles, they agreed that the plans of Mr George Ensor were preferable to those of the rest of the candidates'. John Aheron witnessed this verdict and very probably had an opportunity to examine the submitted plans. He may well have discussed both the competition designs and his own manuscript with George Ensor, Michael Wills and the other competitors, who conceivably were present for the announcement of the premium as they had been at the initial meeting.

1The Dublin Courant. 18 May 1745.
2Royal Dublin Society Library. Dublin Society Minute books (xerox copies) , 9 may 1745.
on the 9th May. The contrast between Wills' surviving plans for the competition and the house designs in Kings 282, speaks for itself.\(^1\) Wills' reticent Palladian designs with their lucid compact plans and 'oeconomick' considerations are a far cry from Aheron's late baroque extravaganzas. Judging from the Society's description of Ensor's plans, the other submissions were probably of a similar practical character.

The differences between the first and second manuscript treatises strongly suggest that Aheron paid more than casual attention to the competition of 1745 and to the Dublin Society's notion of a practical economic approach to building. Indeed at this juncture it is again worth addressing the question as to why the author of such a mammoth work should have embarked on a second manuscript? Aheron's own description in 1753 of the second 'superior' version of the treatise plainly suggests that the first manuscript was considered to be in some way deficient.\(^2\) Aheron's Dublin audience had, it seems, more exacting standards than their counterparts in County Clare. It is difficult to tell whether the changes in Aheron's scheme were prompted simply by a zealous response to criticism or by a lack of sufficient financial support for publication. Either way the lesson was a sobering one and the Metropolitan manuscript is far more down-to-earth in its scope than Kings 282. The volume is inscribed with the completion date 1751 and assuming that it demanded as much time as the first manuscript, we may conjecture that Aheron began to work on it in the year following his introduction to the Dublin Society.

The preface to the Metropolitan volume heralds the new developments in Aheron's scheme by admonishing Palladio and Inigo Jones for providing 'beautiful and magnificent designs...useful to men of superior fortunes only' and for 'the neglect of leaving small plans of houses suitable to gentlemen of small fortunes and farmers'. Aheron now proposes to remedy this situation by providing such designs, together with 'a method to guard gentlemen of small as large fortunes from being hurt by either the imposition or ignorance of unskilful pretenders to architecture'. The table of contents for book five departs significantly from Kings 282 in offering 'plans and elevations for farms and glebe houses from £50 to £1000 expence together with manufactories, charter schools and country churches...with a calculation

\(^{1}\)RIBA drawings collection. Michael Wills, 'Designs for private buildings of two, three, four five and six rooms on a floor and one of eight rooms. Dublin 9th May 1745.
\(^{2}\)Pues Occurances, 24 Nov. 1753.
of the expence and the measurement of all the artificers works...annexed to each edifice.' The table of estimated costs for each design went so far as to offer prices for three alternative methods of finishing the buildings; common lime and sand plaster, plaster of paris and wainscot. While the first four books of the treatise remained intact, William Salmon's building instructions in book two were extended in the second version by a lengthy account of 'a method for making a sheath for a flat roof for a dwelling house, or other building communicated to the Dublin Society by a member'.

Reduction in the scale of designs and changes in the overall format of the treatise similarly reflect Aheron's altered sights. The palace for instance was reduced by 100 feet in length from the project in Kings 282, and was separated from the other designs to constitute a new sixth book. Whereas in Kings 282 a mere seven designs were given for small houses, here almost fifty designs were less than 100 feet in length. Larger houses were not abandoned however as book five had now 88 plates in contrast to 75 in Kings 282, a third of which had been palace designs. Aheron thus managed to retain the bulk of his grandiose projects while tempering their effect by the addition of more practical schemes. Some of the grander house designs were reduced in scale and decoration was simplified. For instance, the splendid rusticated portico of Vanbrugh's Eastbury in plate 30 Kings 282 is here toned down to a more bland ashlar design.

The most obvious and significant of the changes evident in the second manuscript was clearly the provision of practical designs for public buildings. Aheron's design for a linen manufactory is remarkably the first instance of an industrial building type to appear in an architectural book. (PLATE 48) As demonstrated in chapter four, the designs for charter schools clearly reflect the real requirements of such institutions, and thus imply Aheron's acquaintance with the activities of the Society for the promotion of English Protestant schools in Ireland. Of the seven church designs three are for very modest country churches and four for a large city church in a continental baroque idiom. Combined with fifty designs for middle-sized houses and thirty for grandiose mansions, it is certainly a varied assemblage. However it is one which, unlike the London manuscript, clearly reflects the pattern of building activity in contemporary Ireland. The style of Aheron's designs

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1 Harris (Eileen) assisted by Savage (Nicholas). *British architectural books and writers 1556-1785*. Cambridge; New York, 1990. 105.
similarly relate to Irish buildings of the period. Here the baroque character evident in the London manuscript is tempered by a more spartan Palladian idiom. The ubiquitous colossal order of Kings 282 is displaced by oculi, Venetian and Diocletian windows.

The identifiable designs in the Metropolitan manuscript deserve particular attention. It should be noted that neither the Dromoland nor the Stradbally designs appear in the second treatise, though the latter was to reappear in the published version. In contrast to the two plates of Dromoland and Stradbally in Kings 282, the New York manuscript contains seven drawings depicting designs for three Irish buildings. Plate 21 of book five displays 'the plan and elevation of a house extending 64 feet in length and 44 in breadth...design'd for Balligue in the County of Kerry, belonging to James Crosbie Esqr'. (PLATE 49) Plate 22 depicts 'the plan and elevation of a house extending 58 feet in length and 43 in breadth...designed for Courcy-Mont in the County of Cork belonging to the Rt. Hon. Lord de Courcy, Baron of Kinsale'. (PLATE 50) Five drawings, numbers 37-40, are devoted to the third Irish design for 'Rockforrest in the County of Cork, belonging to James Cotter esqr'. (PLATE 51). The latter, at 74 X 55 feet, though somewhat bigger than the former designs, was by no means grand in scale and the modest character of the three houses clearly reflects the only type of patronage which Aheron can have hoped for in Ireland during the 1740s.

The men who commissioned these designs from Aheron were not prominent figures in contemporary Irish politics or society. Neither is there any apparent connection between them other than the geographical proximity of their estates, two in County Cork and one in Kerry. All were men of modest fortunes and unspectacular careers. There is however an element of the picturesque in their histories which in a certain sense helps elaborate the curious pattern of Aheron's career. Cotter was the son and sole heir of the famous James Cotter, a vociferous supporter of James II, who was executed in 1720 on a reputedly bogus murder charge.¹ The young James was educated as a protestant in order to preserve the family's County Cork estates. His marriage in September of 1746 may well have been the occasion for procuring house designs from Aheron. How he came to know Aheron is a more difficult question. One possibility is that he was friendly with Pole Cosby, as both

¹NLI. MS 711. A volume of records transcribed from original papers formerly at Rockforrest, Co. Cork.
men also had their portraits painted by James Latham around this time.¹

A second and equally tenuous link between Cotter and Aheron is the possibility of a family connection. In the early eighteenth-century a branch of the Cork Cotters had intermarried with the family of Aherne who were carpenters and masons in the Middleton area.²

James Crosbie's history is coloured not by family tragedy but by a scandal of theft and intrigue.³ The family seat of Ballyheigue in north County Kerry was situated on an inlet famed as the site of shipwrecks. In October of 1730 a Danish East Indiaman ran aground a mile from the shore carrying twelve chests of silver bullion worth £20,000. James' father Thomas Crosbie led a vigorous rescue operation which saved the crew and retrieved the bullion, though resulting in Crosbie's death from exposure several weeks later. A subsequent unsuccessful claim for salvage by his executors unleashed a chain of outrageous events which resulted in the murder of two Danish seamen, and the theft and disappearance of the bullion. The silver was never recovered though it was generally considered at the time to have found its way into the Crosbie coffers. When in 1758 Richard Pococke visited Ballyheigue, James Crosbie was living there with his mother Lady Margaret Crosbie who had witnessed the entire shipwreck drama. Pococke recorded that Crosbie had 'begun a large design for a house...over the north side of the bay'.⁴ Though written some seven years after the completion of Aheron's manuscript, this may refer to Aheron's Ballyheigue design.

The third of Aheron's patrons during the later 1740s was Gerald de Courcy, Lord Baron Kinsale. The de Courcys were a Norman family who had settled at Old Head near Kinsale. Gerald de Courcy became the 24th Lord Kir~ale in 1720 and died with no male issue in 1759. Pococke had visited Old Head in the previous year and found de Courcy 'melancholy' and the family seat 'an indifferent house'.⁵ As we have already seen, Gerald de Courcy appears to have been quite an enthusiast for architectural books and, at a time when very few Irish collectors subscribed to English architectural publications, his book subscriptions included Castell's Villas of the Ancients, Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus, Sebastien le Clerc's Treatise of Architecture, John

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² NLI. MS 711.
³ The Irish Builder ,xxxvii, 848-852(15 June 1895)
⁵ Ibid. lxiv, part II, (1959) 47.
Stevens's *The History of Ancient Abbeys and Collegiate churches* (1722) and John Dart's *Westmonasterium*. Despite this evidently keen interest in architecture, the house which Aheron designed for De Courcy was a relatively modest building.

In his description of 1759 Pococke may well have been referring to the building designed by Aheron for Lord Kingsale, though as the house has long since gone it is impossible to determine whether or not Aheron's design was actually executed. Ballyheigue and Rockforrest, though still standing were greatly altered since the eighteenth century. Ballyheigue is now the picturesque ruin of an early nineteenth-century castellated mansion, and Rockforrest is but a shadow of its former self.

Having considered the changes in content evident in the two manuscript treatises it is worth briefly considering the differences in the style and format of the respective volumes. It is very clear that the manuscript now in the British Library is the earlier copy. While it is more conglomerate in character with abrupt changes in both the scale and execution of individual plates, the New York copy is a relatively uniform production displaying a similar style of execution throughout. The pasted *pentimenti* and the insertion of large fold-out plates in the London volume contrast with a neat and orderly format in the Metropolitan manuscript. A sense of certainty and of overall pattern manifest in the latter is absent in the scissors-and-paste aspect of the London volume. While it is not difficult to understand Aheron's preference for the second homogeneous copy as a more suitable marketable sample for prospective subscribers, the earlier volume has infinitely greater appeal. Quite apart from the curiosity of the changes and pasted additions, the London volume boasts some of Aheron's finest virtuoso drawings. The general impression derived from a comparison of the two manuscripts is one of depreciation both in spirit and in technique.

It is not surprising that a sense of youthful and disorderly enthusiasm in the first draft should have given way to tidy yet unexciting workmanship in the second. After all, Aheron completed the Metropolitan volume eleven years after he had begun the first. A decade of painstaking labour must have curbed considerably his initial graphic and architectural zeal. Having completed the second manuscript with its more modest sights, Aheron's next task was to publish his book.
2. A GENERAL TREATISE OF ARCHITECTURE

Nothing is known of John Aheron's activities between April 1751 when he completed the Metropolitan manuscript and March 1752 when he first published subscription proposals for the treatise. Surprisingly these proposals did not appear in an Irish newspaper but rather in London's *General Advertiser*. They are worth quoting in full for the vivid picture they portray of Aheron and his curious wares.

Now publishing by subscription
A LARGE TREATISE OF ARCHITECTURE in folio, at three guineas to subscribers, one half to be paid at the time of subscribing, and the other half at the delivery: the price to be raised to four guineas for non-subscribers.

Proposals may be seen at Mr. Haliday's, grocer, over-against the Red-Lion, Charing-Cross; where subscriptions are taken in by the author John Aheron, who will shew the manuscript copy to subscribers, at any time from eleven o'clock in the morning to one in the afternoon, and from three to seven, which is a large folio, near three inches thick, wrote in a Roman letter, counted by the best judges that saw it, to be such a piece of curiosity, that the like is not to be seen in the best libraries or collections: The drawings which are near 300 cuts, are done in so extraordinary a manner with common pen and ink, that they cannot be distinguished from or outdone by copper-plates: 'tis excessive copious of useful rules, remarks and observations, fully illustrated with 160 cuts: it also abounds with so great a variety of designs for buildings from 100 l expence to 100,000 l that a man in any station, from the poor farmer to the prince, can hardly fail of a design there suitable for his circumstances, with a calculation of the artificers works, and an estimate of the expence of each edifice, finished three different ways, viz. first, with common mortar; secondly;

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1Evidently the term 'cut' is employed by Aheron to indicate drawing/figure/plate.
plaster of paris; thirdly wainscot, according to the prices of work and materials in the London Palladio.

The subscription will be closed the first of May next, at which time the author expects to have his work fit for the press, having already 130 of his plates engraved.¹

Aheron appears to have moved to London either before he completed the second manuscript treatise in 1751, or shortly after its completion, as the plates for the treatise, virtually complete in 1752, were made by a London engraver.² Aheron's motive in going to London was apparently two-fold; to gain fresh financial support for publishing his book and to have the plates engraved. In the preface to the treatise which finally appeared in 1754, Aheron claimed to have tested the waters by first presenting his manuscript to Lord Burlington for his consideration. It was, we are told, Burlington's 'thorough perusal and candid approbation' which prompted him to publish the work. While it is highly unlikely that he would have admired Aheron's odd provincial idiom, Burlington cannot have failed to be impressed by the remarkable manuscript treatise and it was this which presumably prompted his subscription to Aheron's book. His death in 1753 provided the opportunity for Aheron to use his name in the preface of the treatise.³

Whether or not Lord Burlington lent his personal support to the treatise, it is clear that Aheron had decided to launch his second subscription campaign in England rather than in Ireland. In this he was moderately successful as the subscription list to the treatise includes prominent Irish landlords living in London, such as the Earl of Egmont and the Earl of Arran, and also several significant figures from English society and public life, among them the Duke of Devonshire, the Marquis of Tweedale and Sir Thomas and Edward Southwell. However as in Dublin in 1745, the requisite number of subscribers was evidently not forthcoming and the treatise did not appear as promised in the Summer of 1752. Eighteen months later Aheron was back in Dublin soliciting further subscriptions.⁴ It was now over eight years since he had presented his first manuscript to the Dublin Society and Aheron

¹ General Advertiser, 16 March 1752.
² Pues Occurences, 24 Nov. 1753. This refers to the 'plates which were engrav'd in London'.
⁴ Pues Occurences, 24 Nov. 1753.
therefore clearly owed his Irish subscribers some explanation of the delay in publication. Unlike the London proposals which introduced the treatise to the English public, the Dublin advertisement offered readers a potted history of Aheron’s project. An embarrassing hiatus of eight years was politely disguised as 'some time ago' and the delay was attributed to Aheron’s efforts in compiling 'a second treatise, vastly superior to the first' made in order to render the book 'still more worthy the names of his subscribers'.

These proposals were published in November of 1753 when the treatise was said to be then 'in the press'. Subscriptions were to be deposited at 'Mr Mellaghlin’s in Loughboy' where Aheron, his manuscript and the copper-plates were to be seen. Loughboy was the market area of the city north of the river Liffey. Four Dublin booksellers including George Faulkner and John Smith also acted as subscription agents, as did the printer John Butler of Cork Hill. In May of 1754 A General Treatise of Architecture was finally published.1 (PLATE 52) Books were ready for collection at Mellaghlin’s in Loughboy and rather surprisingly, having kept his audience waiting for nine years, Aheron urged subscribers to 'send for their books as soon as it may suit their conveniency' as the author was 'obliged in a few days to go into the country to see some buildings executed'. There is no record of the size of the edition but two printings were made with plates differently disposed in each.2 Given that Aheron had two hundred subscribers, it seems likely that he would have printed at least five-hundred copies of the treatise.

A General Treatise of Architecture was not a straightforward copy from the second manuscript treatise. Although the text of the treatise remained largely unaltered, there was one very significant change in the format of Aheron’s published book, namely the omission of book six with its twenty-three palace designs. Further pruning reduced the number of designs in book five from ninety-eight in the Metropolitan manuscript to eighty-five in the printed version. In one of the two printings three additional figures, not described in the table of contents, were squashed on to a final page. Ironically the grandiose palace which had consumed so much of Aheron's time and energy over the previous

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1 Pues Occurences, 30 April 1754.
fourteen years, and which had been the subject of his finest drawings, was now relegated to a mere three plates or at best four in those copies with the additional page. Clearly the decision to jettison book six and reduce the size of book five was prompted by economy and the high costs of copper-plate engraving. Despite Aheron's obvious attachment to his palatial schemes, by 1753 he presumably realised their irrelevance to contemporary architectural practice. While the palace had become progressively smaller and more tame in character over the course of the previous decade, it was still the natural choice when drastic editing became necessary. If in fact Burlington did offer advice on Aheron's treatise, the palace designs would surely have received his censure.

Apart from this major alteration in the book's format, the printed treatise is also characterised by the same type of minute yet incessant modification already noted in Aheron's alteration of Le Clerc's proportions. A comparison of the Metropolitan manuscript and the published treatise demonstrates complex alterations in the sequence, dimensions and ornamentation of designs in book five. Examples abound and confusion reigns; plate 10 in the manuscript is plate 4 in the book, plate 19 becomes plate 24; plate 154 in the manuscript or plate 53 in the book, is 104 feet wide in the former and only 90 feet in the latter. This incessant juggling and alteration of designs, in particular designs for specific buildings, strongly suggests that Aheron was indulging in paper schemes and not thinking in terms of real buildings. Curiously his design for Courcy-Mont appears in slightly modified form as plate 23 of book five in the published treatise where it is described as an anonyoumous 'plan and elevation of a house extending 60 feet in length and 45 in breadth'(PLATE 53). Lord Kingsale's name appears in the subscription list to the book, and there is no reason to suppose an estrangement between the two men. It is also unlikely that De Courcy would have objected to having his house named in the treatise and it seems more likely that Aheron's designs were not executed, thus warranting an anonyoumous label. The differences between the Metropolitan drawing and the published design are absolutely characteristic of Aheron's modifications throughout the printed book. To begin with the dimensions have been altered from a house of 57ft x 44ft in the manuscript to one of 60ft x 45ft in the book. The plans are similar but not identical; both have a large entrance hall and stairhall behind with reception rooms on each side, but the published version replaces closet-space with a service-stair. The facade similarly underwent
capricious modifications and the second design omits the first-floor stringcourse, the corner quoins and the statue niche above the door, adding architraves and sill aprons to the ground-floor windows and architraves to the first floor.

Aheron's elevation for Ballyheigue seen in the Metropolitan manuscript also appears in a new guise in the published treatise, though this was more radically altered than the Courcy-Mont design. Plate 47 of book five is essentially a combination of Aheron's Ballyheigue elevation with an entirely new bow-ended plan. (PLATE 54) Again, although James Crosbie appears among Aheron's subscribers, there is no mention of his house in the treatise and it is worth considering that perhaps the house commented upon by Richard Pococke was by another architect. All of this calls into question the extent, if any, of Aheron's architectural practice in Ireland. The only Irish buildings named and illustrated in the treatise are Stradbally Hall, which conforms exactly to Aheron's design in Kings 282, and Rockforest in County Cork which departs somewhat from the designs in the Metropolitan manuscript (PLATES 55, 56). Again the scale is marginally different, the plan is altered to provide for two staircases instead of one, and the facade and stairhall are modified in their details.

The quirkiness of Aheron's modifications to his manuscript designs is also evident in the stylistic character of the treatise as a whole. Here, in its published state, Aheron's awkward provincial idiom is seen at its most capricious. As demonstrated by the evolution of the palace designs and the reduction in the scale of domestic designs in the second manuscript, Aheron gradually began to assimilate the canons of Palladianism. However, one is not convinced by this conversion and despite his use of Palladian vocabulary, it is clear that in spirit Aheron remained loyal to a more pompous late baroque muse. His designs have a peculiar composite character combining elements from late seventeenth-century France, from the English baroque, and from mid-eighteenth-century Palladianism. The memory of Dromoland clearly never left Aheron, and repeatedly throughout the treatise he employs a large central entrance hall with a grandiose stairhall behind. Similarly giant porticoes, perrons, balustraded eaves and horizontal channelling recur throughout the designs.

The eccentric hybrid character of Aheron's style is perhaps nowhere better seen than in plate 72 of book five, the elevation of a large country house which ultimately derives from Vanburgh's
Not content with the impressive scale of Vanbrugh's design, Aheron enlarged the Eastbury plan by adding an extra bay to each end of the main block and by widening the corner turrets to give more substantial pavilion-type blocks. Vanbrugh's flight of steps leading to the portico was replaced by a perron and throughout the facade the fenestration was given a Palladian gloss. Serlian motifs, oculi and thermal windows were substituted for the more reticent square and round-headed windows of Vanbrugh's design. As in the design for Stradbally Hall, Aheron superimposes two serlian motifs and a thermal window in the end bays. It is a design which very clearly demonstrates the awkward provincial character of Aheron's architectural vision.

The evolution of this design from Kings 282 to the printed treatise perfectly illustrates Aheron's unsuccessful quest to marry baroque and Palladian models. In his initial design Aheron retained the vigorous horizontal chanelling of Vanbrugh's portico and central block but dropped this in the Metropolitan manuscript and the printed treatise to give a more tame ashlar portico, presumably tailored for contemporary palladian taste. Also in the printed treatise, the pyramidal roofs and cupolas of the corner turrets are replaced by more sedate balustrades with ball finials.

The progressive simplification of the Eastbury portico reflects a general trend in Aheron's designs and broadly speaking the printed plates are more reticent in character than the drawings in the manuscript treatises. As we have seen, the palace designs were simplified and greatly reduced in scale and the designs for a large church in the printed version are far more English in character than the baroque church depicted in the Metropolitan manuscript. Yet despite this sobering influence in the later stages of his project, when compared to the plates of contemporary English pattern books, Aheron's designs appear decidedly wayward. In contrast to Aheron's eccentric progeny, the designs of William Kent, Isaac Ware and Robert Morris are models of reticence and classical propriety.

In his Dublin subscription proposals of 1753 Aheron took care to state that the copper-plates for the treatise had been engraved in London. Presumably this information was intended to impress prospective customers. The plates which Aheron refers to were engraved by one J. Booth, whose career is without documentary record. This is not surprising as his work was poor, and the plates to Aheron's treatise are a
great disappointment in the wake of his meticulously crafted manuscripts. Not all of the plates however were engraved by Booth; Aheron himself engraved twenty of the plates for books four and five; and many of the plates of the orders in books two and three were left unsigned. While some of Aheron's own plates were a marked improvement on Booth's productions, overall the variety of cutting skills evident throughout the book is minimal. In some cases even quite an elegant design is made to appear like a child's cardboard cut-out due to the simplicity of the engraving. A high incidence of simple line drawings interspersed amongst the more detailed prints leaves no doubt that at the eleventh hour economy and speed of production were uppermost in Aheron's mind.

The ill-effects produced by poorly-crafted copper-plates were compounded by an apparently hasty and careless printing. Oddly, Aheron's printer, John Butler of Cork Hill, appears to have had no difficulty in producing a neat and attractive typography for the text of the treatise yet the printing of the plates was a complete fiasco. Though Butler was an experienced printer, clearly Aheron's treatise was his first attempt at a large-scale illustrated book. It appears also to have been his last. In the several copies of the treatise examined for this study, many of the plates are badly spotted or smudged with ink and others are even crookedly impressed on to the pages. There is a pathetic irony in the dramatic decline in quality from Aheron's remarkable drawings in a bogus engraved style to the real, but very mediocre, copper-plate engravings of the published treatise.

No records are forthcoming of contemporary reactions to Aheron's treatise and similarly there is no record of his architectural activity during the period. One possible indication of the book's success was the attempt by George Faulkner in August of 1754 to launch a Vitruvius Hibernicus. As we have seen, Faulkner acted as a subscription agent for Aheron's book, and was undoubtedly well informed of its sales throughout the city. The proposed Vitruvius Hibernicus was Faulkner's sole personal venture into the architectural sphere and, astute businessman that he was, it is unlikely that he would have considered such a project without some encouragement. The success of Aheron's treatise may well have stimulated his interest in producing an architectural book.

1The Dublin Journal, 17 Aug 1754.
A second indication that Aheron received some measure of acclaim for his treatise is a statement praising his ability, which appeared several years later in *An Essay on The Antient and Modern State of Ireland* of 1759. Though published anonymously the essay is now thought to have been written by the poet, dramatist and propagandist, Henry Brooke. Brooke's essay was prompted by negative criticism of Ireland made by some young newly returned grand tourists. Incensed by what he viewed as ignorant and ill-considered comparisons between Ireland and Europe, Brooke set out to write an apology for the 'letters, laws and civility' of the Irish people. The essay was dedicated to Brooke's close friend, Matthew Mc Namara, a lawyer from County Limerick, and there is a marked admiration for the south-west of Ireland evident throughout the text. County Clare was singled out for special praise and Brooke expressed surprise that such 'a number of fine genius's have, in this age, appeared on a scene so remote in situation ... and so little incident to any kind of popular encouragment'.

Architecture was one of the subjects discussed by Brooke to demonstrate the progress of modern Irish society. Here, as elsewhere, he was at pains to emphasise the folly of constantly seeking to emulate other countries and to import foreign architects and craftsmen. 'In the case of building, and in truth, in many others; we are (from our inherent hospitality) apt to set too high a value on foreigners: of whom some have appeared to be nothing more than forward prating, superficial pretenders. It is not the being a native of this country, that giveth real merit, judgment or taste; but a brain well adapted to calculation, and nice proportions; profound study; various readings; close application, and strict observation'. The Irishman chosen by Brooke to illustrate his argument was John Aheron, whom he maintained was 'if not superior, at least equal to any foreign architect that ever appeared amongst us'.

Fear and resentment towards the influx of foreign architects into Ireland, as voiced in Henry Brooke's essay, was a common sentiment among the native architectural profession throughout the eighteenth century. John Aheron suffered from this self-same bug-bear. The only document of his career for the remainder of the 1750s suggests that he was a man dissapointed in his professional ambitions and embittered by the preferment of foreign architects for all of the major public commissions of the mid-eighteenth century. The item in question is in

1Brooke(Henry)]. *An essay on the ancient and modern state of Ireland*. Dublin, 1759. 77.
physical terms quite a curious object. Now framed as an ornamental print, it consists of a large folio sheet printed with two copper-plate engravings of designs for Trinity College Dublin, flanked on each side by a vertical half-sheet column of printed text. (PLATE 58) What its original published format was is very difficult to determine. Given this large folio format it is unlikely that it was part of a bound volume and more probably it was intended for publication as a broadside or perhaps for insertion in a newspaper. Certainly Aheron's motive in writing the piece was careerist and propagandist.

The columns of text are now set in incorrect sequence and that on the right of the engravings carries the title of Aheron's essay Remarks and Observations on the Building Carrying on for a Certain College. Essentially this is a lengthy criticism of the west front of the building, accompanied by Aheron's proposal to take over responsibility for the design and complete it in a far more grandiose manner, for a fraction of the estimated cost. In it Aheron echoes Henry Brooke's sentiments in accusing the College authorities of supposing 'that no native of this kingdom, can equal a foreigner in point of taste or judgment'. Aheron relates a tale of stubborn perseverance as he made repeated attempts to have his proposals considered by the board of governors. He began by making representations through 'a worthy and judicious friend ... to a gentleman of rank in the college ... said to have no small share of judgment in building'. When this failed, he proceeded to present a memorial 'to the most dignified in station among that body' who advised him 'to shew the memorial and design ...to as many as we could get access to'. His subsequent lobbying was however unsuccessful and he lamented being deprived of the honour of addressing them in their collective capacity. Resigned to failure through official channels Aheron decided to resort to the public for support, emphasising the 'large sums of public money' which had been voted by parliament for the building. Presumably his hope was to exert pressure on the university authorities through parliamentary initiative.

Not surprisingly, Aheron's remarks and observations demonstrate the stylistic character and the theoretical principles already seen in his treatise. Vitruvius, Palladio, Scamozzi and Le Clerc were drawn upon in order to demonstrate the solecisms of Jacobsen's building. Aheron objected to a wide range of features in Jacobsen's design. His first contention and one which was echoed by other

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1 Trinity College Library. Early Printed Books.
commentators was that there were too many stories and too many windows in the building. The pavilions he singles out for extended criticism, maintaining that the pilasters projected too far forward, appeared lumpish and heavy and involved much unnecessary expense. He also disapproved of having single pilasters on one elevation and paired on the other, and quoted Vitruvius and Le Clerc to prove that pilasters should not taper. He further objected to the use of a Corinthian cornice at the centre and ends of the building and a plain cornice in between. The central arch he felt was too big in relation to the surrounding windows, and rustication he maintained should be applied in the projecting bays of an edifice and not in the recessed ranges, as was the case in Jacobsen's design.

The engraving depicted the west front of the college as designed by Jacobsen and an alternative elevation proposed by Aheron. In the latter all of the features criticised in the essay were altered in accordance with Aheron's strictures. Thus Jacobsen's four storey elevation was reduced to three, the pilasters were given a flatter projection and did not taper, a modillion cornice was continued throughout the building, the central arch was reduced in size and rustication was focused upon the projecting parts of the building. Further alterations were the addition of an attic storey to the central block, the heightening of the cupolas above the centre and ends of the building and the replacement of the attic windows in the pavilions by thermal windows. While the latter was certainly a common Palladian motif, in spirit Aheron's design harks back to seventeenth-century models. Jacobsen's simple Burlingtonian cupola above the central block is replaced by a retardataire tempietto not unlike Richard Castle's belltower in front square of c.1740, while the grandiose round-headed windows of the piano nobile look to Blenheim rather than to Wanstead and its progeny. The balustrades and urns to the attic storey, and the vermiculated rustication of the entrance arch, recall Jones' designs for Whitehall. Indeed Aheron's facade might as soon be a palace as an educational institution. Composed three years after the publication of his treatise with its dedication to Burlington, this design clearly demonstrates that despite a mild flirtation with Palladianism, Aheron remained loyal to the lessons of his youth.

An inscription on a piece of paper pasted into the Metropolitan manuscript offers the only other record of Aheron's activity during the 1750s. This is short and rather poignant. 'Bought this book from the author in Dublin 17th March 1758 for which I paid him 12(?) guineas'.
Though the exact payment for the manuscript is difficult to decipher, the very fact that Aheron parted with this volume which had consumed almost a decade of his life, suggests that he was in straightened financial circumstances. If twelve guineas was indeed the price paid, the story is then even more pathetic, as four years previously the published treatise was being sold to non-subscribers for four guineas per volume. The only recorded professional work by Aheron between his Trinity College proposals and his death in 1761 was a series of rather mediocre drawings of Dublin buildings made for the *Dublin Magazine* c. 1760.\(^1\)(PLATE 59) However his death on the 7th of January 1761 occurred not in Ireland but in London, at his lodgings in the cheap artists’ quarter of the city in Long Acre.\(^2\) Though the *Dublin Journal* noted his death, no obituary has been found. It was an ignominious end to a quite remarkable career.

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\(^1\) *The Dublin Magazine for the year 1762*. Dublin, 1762.

In the first chapter of this study attention was focused upon several abortive attempts to produce architectural books in eighteenth-century Ireland. Unfortunately no visual records survive for the schemes of Ralph Hannon and George Faulkner, which are documented only by subscription proposals. Quite the contrary is the case for Samuel Cheesley and Michael Wills who are the subjects of the following chapter. Cheesley and Wills were both produced architectural manuscripts which were evidently intended for publication. Like Abern’s project, each of these remarkable volumes was quite precocious for its date. While they are by no means as eccentric in presentation as Abern’s manuscripts, both the Cheesley and Wills manuscripts are of a style which was clearly informed by contemporary architectural publications. Indeed the Jacobean character of these documents demonstrates perhaps more clearly than contemporary built architecture, the influence of architectural books in eighteenth-century design.

3. Architectural shop signs: an early Georgian
manuscript of garden buildings

Miscellaneous Architectural Collections is a manuscript volume of designs for garden decorations and small domestic buildings which is apparently based upon contemporary architectural publications. The volume was made no single work solely devoted to garden buildings had yet been published in England. The manuscript was executed in a provincial Irish town by a young draughtsman and his architect.

*Architectural drawings on the leading paper in the possession of the present owner of New Castle, the property of the Earl of Antrim. Originals are copies or engravings are available at the Irish Architectural Archive.
In the first chapter of this study attention was focused upon several abortive attempts to produce architectural books in eighteenth-century Ireland. Unfortunately no visual records survive for the schemes of Ralph Hansard and George Faulkner, which are documented only by subscription proposals. Quite the contrary is the case for Samuel Chearnley and Michael Wills who are the subjects of the following chapter. Chearnley and Wills were contemporaries of John Aheron, who both produced architectural manuscripts which were evidently intended for publication. Like Aheron's project, each of these remarkable volumes was quite precocious for its date. While they are by no means as eccentric in presentation as Aheron's manuscripts, both the Chearnley and Wills volumes are executed in a graphic style which was clearly informed by contemporary architectural publications. Indeed the bookish character of these documents demonstrates perhaps more clearly than contemporary built architecture, the influence of architectural books on Irish eighteenth-century design.

1. 'Miscelanea structura curiosa': an early Georgian compendium of garden buildings.

Miscelanea Structura Curiosa is a manuscript volume of designs for garden structures and small domestic buildings which is consciously based upon contemporary architectural publications. In 1745 when the volume was made, no single work solely devoted to garden buildings had yet been published in England. The manuscript was compiled in a provincial Irish town by a young draughtsman and his aristocratic

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1. *Miscelanea structura curiosa* is a bound manuscript volume among the muniments at Birr Castle, the property of the Earl of Rosse. Photographic copies of the designs are available at the Irish Architectural Archive.
patron in the winter and spring of 1745-46. The draughtsman was Samuel Chearnley and his patron Sir Lawrence Parsons of Birr Castle. It is a work which therefore has much in common with John Aheron's General Treatise of Architecture and yet one which is delightfully original in its own eccentric way. However it seems no mere coincidence that such a project was conceived in the same year that John Aheron publicly exhibited his first manuscript treatise, and it is possible that its authors had in fact seen that remarkable architectural volume. Aheron's subscription list includes the name of Sir Lawrence Parsons. As seen in chapter three, Aheron appears to have secured a substantial number of his Irish subscribers soon after the presentation of his first manuscript treatise to the Dublin Society in May of 1745. If Parsons was among the early subscribers to the book it seems not unreasonable to assume that his acquaintance with Aheron's manuscript had some influence upon the Birr volume begun in October of the same year.

The Miscelanea like Aheron's treatise is a poorly documented work. Of Chearnley little is known beyond the fact that he was a brother of the amateur architect-painter Anthony Chearnley of Springfield in County Waterford and that he became the protégé of Sir Lawrence Parsons. His early death at Birr in 1746, a mere twenty-nine years of age, lends to the Miscelanea a poignancy which is accentuated by the charming youthful quality of Chearnley's designs. Parsons is a less shadowy figure, though the records of his life are few. The second son of Sir William Parsons, Baronet, he was born in 1708, was educated by a Mr Roberts of Birr, then Parsonstown, and entered Trinity College at the age of sixteen. He married firstly Mary Sprigg in 1731, and secondly Ann Harman in 1742, having one and two sons by respective marriages. He died at Birr in 1756. As a young man Parsons was dispatched upon the grand tour by his father and he sustained an active interest in architecture throughout his career. The most significant landmark in his architectural patronage was the re-development of Parsonstown during the 1740s and his collaboration with Samuel Chearnley in 1745-46. He succeeded his father in 1741 and the subsequent re-development


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of the town centre resulted in the creation of a new central square and thoroughfare which in 1747 were named Cumberland Street and Duke Square in honour of the Duke of Cumberland, the victor of Culloden.

The focus of the new town plan was the monument to Cumberland in the centre of Duke Square. This was a Doric column set upon a vaulted rockwork base and surmounted by a statue of Cumberland in Imperial Roman garb. A drawing in Miscelanea Structura Curiosa depicts a similar monument. (PLATE 60) The conception of rockery, column and statue is the one clear link between the Miscelanea and the actual physical development of Birr during the 1740s, the castle gardens having been thoroughly reconstructed by Parsons' successors in the late eighteenth century.¹ The statue of Cumberland was provided by the London sculptor John Cheere, who specialised in the mass-produced painted lead statuary then much in vogue for the adornment of the English landscape garden. Cheere was intimately acquainted with the design of several major eighteenth-century English gardens, among them Stourhead and Vauxhall. Surviving correspondence at Birr Castle indicates that Parsons acquired, or at least aimed to acquire, further ornamental casts for his demesne from the Cheere repertoire.

The Miscelanea was bound and interleaved only in the nineteenth-century, though Chearnley’s title page, dated signatures and numerical ordering of the drawings, make clear that it was a purposefully conceived book of building designs. The title page which is signed and dated October 24th 1745 carries the sub-title 'A collection of different designs, inventions and edifices as ruins, grottoes, surprizes, cascades, fountains, bridges, & pyramids, obelisks & columns, terminations for vistows, temples, triumphal arches, chimneyms, monuments, sections of halls & gallerys together with plans and elevations'. (PLATE 61) Though in some cases Chearnley's inscriptions have been either cut off or rendered illegible by the nineteenth-century binding process, from those remaining it would seem that the drawings were executed between October 1745 and May 1746. The last thirteen designs in the volume are unnumbered and undated though they are clearly in Chearnley's hand and very obviously related to the

¹ Dublin Courant, 22 Nov. 1746. It began building in November 1746. 'They write from Birr that the first stone of the pillar, raising there by subscription, in memory of the happy suppression of the late unnatural rebellion was laid on Thursday last, on which occasion Sir Lawrence Parsons gave a splendid entertainment'. The Cumberland monument was apparently based upon Chearnley’s design.
Miscelanea project, being a mixture of garden structures, small domestic buildings and antiquarian drawings. The preceding pages are numbered from one to seventy, sixty-seven of which bear drawings and three of which are blank numbered leaves. Fifty-two are designs for garden structures, while fifteen are projects for larger domestic and public buildings.

The conception of a volume devoted to building designs and modelled upon contemporary pattern-books is the principal common denominator between the Birr manuscript and Aheron's treatise. In both style and content the works are in fact markedly dissimilar. Unlike John Aheron's laborious manuscript folios with their dense theoretical and mathematical forewords, Samuel Chearnley presents us with an unabashed parade of architectural fantasies. There is here a naivety and sense of humour which is entirely absent from Aheron's dogged achievement. Chearnley is closest to Aheron in the final section of the Miscelanea in the designs for houses and public buildings. Here the combination of designs for farmhouses, a charter-school and for grander country houses is strongly reminiscent of Aheron and of contemporary English publications. However the Miscelanea's peculiar emphasis on garden buildings is quite new. Despite the proliferation of garden architecture during the early Georgian period, in 1745 there existed no single publication solely devoted to designs of garden buildings. Surprising as it may seem, the first publications concerned exclusively with this branch of design do not appear until the 1750s. While the Birr manuscript was not published, it seems likely that this was the intention, or at least the reverie, of its authors. However the very notion of a volume devoted to garden building designs was in 1745 a wholly novel concept and all the more remarkable for its appearance in the provincial Irish context of eighteenth-century Birr.

The table of contents given on the title page was not fully realised and it seems that for some reason in the Spring of 1746 the original prospectus was altered somewhat to include more projects for large buildings. While the promise of 'ruins, grottoes, surprizes, cascades, fountains, bridges, obelisks and columns, terminations for vistows, temples, triumphal arches' was fulfilled, the chimneypieces, monuments and sections of halls and galleries are absent. Chearnley's more vaguely proffered item of 'plans and elevations' which completed the title page prospectus perhaps described an embryonic plan to include
more ambitious building projects. This too would explain the variety of large-scale domestic and public buildings among the unnumbered drawings. In terms of the book's overall format it seems significant that the three blank leaves, nos. 53, 54 and 55, come between the designs for garden structures and those for domestic buildings, the exact point in the sequence where the chimneypieces, monuments etc should have occurred. Instead, the designs resume at page 56 with projects for Palladian farmhouses. That three of the triumphal arch designs, the final designs for garden buildings, are unfinished ink outline drawings suggests that Chearnley was perhaps running short of time and was forced to take stock of his overall scheme. It is evident therefore that Miscelanea Structura Curiosa was conceived primarily as a book of designs for garden buildings which were executed between October 1745 and March 1746 and which were supplemented in April and May of 1746 by a mixture of domestic and public buildings.

Most of the the drawings in the album are self-consciously inscribed 'Samuel Chearnley Int et Delint'. However, five of the projects are ascribed to Sir Lawrence Parsons and were simply translated by Chearnley into a formal drawing-board style. The formal dedication of several designs to Parsons further supports the conclusion that the Miscelanea was a joint venture. The designs attributed to Parsons (nos.39, 43, 59 62, 69) are part of the numbered Miscelanea plates, while those with Chearnley's dedications to Parsons are among the unnumbered drawings at the end of the volume. Though the temples are reasonably plausible garden buildings (a pedimented archway and cupola and an Ionic peripteral cubic block), the houses are somewhat more frivolous. No.62 with its portico and statue niches and rusticated basement is far removed from the Rev. Payne's modest proposals in Twelve Designs of Country Houses published in Dublin over a decade later, and indeed from the simple houses being built by gentlemen-farmers in Ireland during the period. (PLATE 62) Similarly the use of spiral staircases in Parsons' largest house plan is more in keeping with the villas of the sixteenth-century Veneto than with eighteenth-century Irish domestic requirements.

One very striking aspect of presentation in the Miscelanea is that there is no attempt to integrate the buildings into landscape garden settings: these are designs of self-contained
architectural structures rather than elements in a larger organic whole. In this respect the drawings look to the architectural folio rather than to the published plans and views of landscape gardens which were popular throughout the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Indeed the impression conveyed by many of the drawings is that they owe more to the influence of two-dimensional representation than they do either to observation or to empirically based invention. While we know that Lawrence Parsons travelled to Britain and the continent there is no evidence of foreign travel for Samuel Chearnley, and it is much more likely that his idiosyncratic eclectic style was formed from the books and prints available to him in Parsons's library. Unfortunately the library at Birr Castle was destroyed by fire in 1921 and no inventory survives. The Chearnley manuscript escaped by being stored with the family papers in the castle muniments room. The unabashed eclecticism of the designs, together with the records of other Irish eighteenth-century libraries, allows in some measure the reconstruction of Chearnley's sources.

Of the books popular in Ireland during the eighteenth century a number have special relevance for the Miscelanea, among them James Gibbs' Book of Architecture of 1728 and William Kent's Designs of Inigo Jones of 1727, together with the standard text-books of William Halfpenny and Batty Langley. Popular antiquarian literature which had no impact whatsoever on John Aheron has importance for the Miscelanea. Our survey of library holdings allows us to say that illustrated books of antiquarian interest were immensely fashionable among eighteenth-century Irish readers, more so in fact than architectural material, and that the Greek and Roman antiquities of Kennet, Potter, Godwyn and Castell figure prominently in the catalogue listings. British antiquities were represented by the publications of Dart, Dugdale and William Stukeley. Of the gardening literature prevalent in Ireland the publications of the de Caus, Philip Miller, Stephen Switzer, Félibien, Le Blond and Batty Langley were the most common, supplemented by a plethora of maps and views of major British and European gardens. Despite the laconic descriptions of all too many print collections, some of the identifiable popular engravings to be found included contemporary plans and views of the gardens at Stowe, Windsor, Claremount, Weybridge, Kensington and Wilton. Foremost among continental prints were the gardens and fountains of Falda and the multifarious views of Jean Marot and Sebastien Le Clerc, including
the latter's *Labyrinthe de Versailles* which was known in Britain through John Bowles' *Versailles Illustrated* of 1726. Close scrutiny of the 'Miscelanea' reveals that its authors very definitely knew several of these popular texts, while the unique character of their project suggests an acquaintance with the gamut of contemporary architectural publications.

This extensive range of architectural and gardening publications offered plentiful models for ornamental garden buildings from Isaac de Caus' architectural ensembles of gateways, gazebos, grottoes and triumphal arches and Fontana's obelisks and funerary catafalques, to the more sober Palladian vocabulary of Campbell, Gibbs and Kent. In general the English publications illustrated a modest number of garden structures interspersed among the designs of country houses. The gardening manuals and treatises of Miller, Switzer et al were primarily concerned with garden layout and design and not in garden buildings, though Batty Langley's *New Principles of Gardening* (1728) includes six characteristically derivative plates of trellis work, arbours and ruins for the termination of walks. The same author's *Gothic Architecture* of 1747 introduced the Gothick umbrella as a garden structure, and also contained designs for Gothick pavilions and temples. However the largest and most comprehensive collection of garden architecture to appear in a British book prior to 1745 is that found in James Gibbs' *Book of Architecture* of 1728. In contrast to the random inclusion of garden building designs in the work of Campbell and Kent, Gibbs with his orderly systematic format allocates twenty plates to garden structures. These include a wide variety of pavilions, seats for the ends of walks, obelisks and monumental columns. Though the *Miscelanea Structura Curiosa* contains no direct Gibbs quotations it is clear from its architectural vocabulary that the *Book of Architecture* was well known to Parsons and Chearnley. The precocity of Chearnley's project in the provincial context of Birr is nevertheless quite remarkable.

The stylistic character of the *Miscelanea* wavers between Burlingtonian Palladianism and a more European baroque idiom. The over-riding influence is clearly that of contemporary English Palladianism, in particular the manner of Colen Campbell and William Kent, though enlivened somewhat by the late baroque classicism of Le Clerc and Marot. Palladian vocabulary is employed throughout; rusticated masonry, perrons, tabernacle door and window surrounds,
Venetian motifs and cupolas incessantly juggled around to give a variety of novel inventions. Drawing no. 40, a small square garden temple with its channelled rustication, composite order and Venetian window is a typical Chearnley fusion of Campbell and Gibbs. (PLATE 63) Direct borrowings from *Vitruvius Britannicus* are also in evidence, particularly in the last two drawings of the Miscelanea which represent the plan and elevation of a five-bay three-storey house with an ambitious classical facade, the plan ascribed to Parsons and the elevation to Chearnley. Chearnley's elevation is lifted straight from plate 90 of Campbell's second volume 'the elevation of one of the double pavilions of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich to the river'. (PLATES 64, 65) Chearnley has simply bisected Webb's design, omitted the central ground-floor window and made various alterations in the sculptural embellishments. Such direct cribs are however rare, and in general the Miscelanea demonstrates a more imaginative and interpretative eclecticism.

In copying the Greenwich pavilion Chearnley believed himself to be drawing from a design by Inigo Jones which had been merely executed by Webb. In fact Jonesian designs seem to have held particular appeal for Chearnley, whose overall style is greatly indebted to the 'neo-Jones' revival promoted by *Vitruvius Britannicus* and by the Jones publications of Kent, Ware and Vardy. Plate 20 of *Vitruvius Britannicus* volume two is a case in point. Campbell's inscription 'the elevation of a new design of my own invention in the style of Inigo Jones' is unmistakably the source for Chearnley's titles to designs 58 and 61 of the 'Miscelanea', 'the elevation of a farmer's house in the style of Inigo Jones' and 'a house in the style of Inigo Jones'. It is also significant in this respect that Chearnley's plate 15 'a caskade' employs two Palladian fountain niches adapted from those in Campbell's elevation of William Benson's Wilberry House, Britain's first essay in the Jonesian revival. (PLATES 66, 67) Throughout the Miscelanea Chearnley uses variants of the vocabulary employed in the published Whitehall schemes. A further direct link to Campbell is Chearnley's 'Elevation of a house in the theatrical style'(no.64) which approximates both in title and style to plate 90, volume two of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The design of a city house(no.61) follows the *Palazzo Valmarana*, idiom also much used by Campbell, while the smaller Palladian houses of the Miscelanea relate more closely to the villas of Robert Morris and more specifically to Badeslade and Rocque's illustration of Marble Hill.
However given this clear dependance upon English Palladian models the Miscelanea is most endearing for its inventive re-juggling of contemporary architectural forms. The obelisks, pyramids and pavilions of Hawksmoor, Vanbrugh and Archer, the bridges, cupolas and domes of Palladio and Gibbs, the arches, arcades and temples of contemporary French and English landscape ornament, are dismembered and re-assembled to give a diverse repertoire of garden structures. Parson's temple design (no.43) might be a fusion of several Gibbs steeple, while an unnumbered design for a domed Palladian villa blends the plans and elevations of Chiswick and Mereworth with the detailing of James Gibbs. A column fountain (no.22) recalls both Gibbs and de Caus' Hortus Palatinus while a three-bay arcaded 'termination' (34) has affinities to the grotto of Apollo at Versailles and the bowling green pavilion at Wilton. The sculpted figure groups and the weaponry of Chearnley's arches have clear parallels in the Arcs de Triomphe of the Grand Marot. In the bridges and obelisks the stacking of otherwise ordinary elements often results in an oriental pagoda-like effect.

The designs range from quiet simple structures to humourous fantastic inventions. Though the drawings are similar in many respects to the garden designs of Talman, Kent et al, there is here a retardataire preoccupation with horror and surprise, which harks back to earlier continental models. Design no. 6 for instance, depicts a cave-like grotto with the recommendation that 'this properly might be intended at ye extremity of an extensive improvement where after the stranger had seen a variety of delightful objects he is at last brought to a frightful wilderness proper for this horrible place which entering with terror through many windings - is at length surpriz'd in a delightful banqueting room...'. (PLATE 68) Though Chearnley may well have known John Serle's account of Pope's grotto published in 1745, the emphasis here is quite different to Serle's absorption with the adornment of the cave. Further evidence of Chearnley's tongue-in-cheek horror is seen in the design for a hermitage (no.4) - a tall rusticated exedra crowned by a row of grinning and grimacing masks, framing the caricature-like figure of a penitent monk.

The group of 'surprises' and water inventions with their combination of rockery and curious animal sculptures demonstrate a similar divergence from English models which were generally more sober and erudite in mood. Here Chearnley indulges in a series of
charming and humourous arrangements of animals and jets d’eaux which find their closest affinity in the famous Labyrinthe de Versailles whose repertoire of animal fountains based on Aesop’s fables must have been known to Chearnley through the engravings of Sebastien Le Clerc1. Design no.16, a ‘caskade’ represents a rockwork arch and retaining wall, the arch riddled with tiny serpents spewing water jets in a pattern of gothic tracery, frowned upon by a mask keystone, and attended by three comical sentry-like alligators. (PLATE 69) The same sense of humour manifested in the fountain designs is carried throughout the volume in Chearnley’s ubiquitous use of the grimacing mask keystone, even in his most accomplished designs. However given Chearnley’s clear sense of fun, there is too a naivete to the designs which cannot be wholly attributed to wit. The absence of precise measurements in many of the designs, and Chearnley’s repeated abdication of responsibility for these to ‘the workman’s fancy’ seems to confirm a lack of interest in the reality of building practice and a complete absorption in the pleasures of architectural invention.

The theatricality evident in the grotto and fountain designs is particularly manifest in Chearnley’s projects for triumphal arches, whose markedly two-dimensional character is suggestive of timber and canvas stage constructions rather than actual buildings, not unlike the triumphal arches then to be seen in London’s Vauxhall Gardens which Parsons is sure to have visited.2 On the other hand there is too a relationship in decorative terms at least to the grandiose triumphal arches of Le Grand Marot. Two conflicting inscriptions complicate the issue; while design no. 48 carries the recommendation that the arch’s battle scenes should be sculpted, no.51 for another arch has the disconcerting ‘note’ that ‘were the entrance...darkened, it would pass for a temple’! Whether Chearnley is referring solely to the shading of the drawing or to the alteration of a projected two or three-dimensional structure, the remark demonstrates the experimental character of garden building design which enabled its protagonists to overstep the boundaries of traditional architectural genres.

The ambiguity of Chearnley’s temple-cum-triumphal arch design serves to highlight the refreshingly light-hearted character of the Birr manuscript. Unlike John Aheron’s laborious manuscripts with their

dense forewords, Samuel Chearnley presents us with a procession of architectural fantasies. And fantasies they apparently remained, as Sir Lawrence Parsons would it seems have been hard pressed to construct even a fraction of Chearnley's designs. Parsons correspondence with the sculptor John Cheere gives the impression of a man in search of cut-price grandeur. Cheere was moved to explain that he had given 'the lowest price ...possible' for the Cumberland monument and to assure Parsons that four times the money would be paid in England 'for figures in publick places'.

Chearnley, however unfettered by practical considerations in his designs, on several occasions paid lip-service to economic restraint. Design no. 63 for instance 'a house in the style of Inigo Jones' carries the thrifty inscription that 'the elevation is calculated to be perform'd in the cheapest man[ner] which by an ingenious mason could be managed so as the rusticks sh'd seem as if done by a stone cutter, ye pillrs likewise, ye window cases, balustrade, urns and cornice executed, ye capitals also'. Design no. 68 did likewise, entitled 'the plan and elevation of a line of building in a high style void of any architect or hewn stone whatsoever'. A lack of liberal funds for the embellishment of the Parsonstown estate may imply that the Miscelanea Structura Curiosa was merely a light-hearted exercise. On the other hand it may suggest that this was indeed intended as a project for publication. A third possibility is that its attention to small-scale buildings and garden ornament provided Parsons with the only design genre which he could hope to realise in bricks and mortar.

The title Miscelanea Structura Curiosa poses its own questions. Was this simply a sufficiently vague classical label to disguise an incomplete programme? A self-conscious attempt to align the volume with contemporary scholarly publications? Or an appropriate umbrella term to cover a new genre in architectural illustration? A glance at the British publishing output of the early eighteenth century indicates that the miscellany was a popular format for literary and scientific works. The Miscellanea Curiosa of astrologer Edmund Halley, published 1723-27, was a three-volume work of discourses delivered by Halley to the Royal Society. Significantly perhaps for the Birr manuscript, volume three of Halley's miscellany was a collection of 'curious travels, voyages, antiquities and natural histories of countries' and included several
plates of ancient sites including an early view of the ruins at Palmyra. Closer chronologically to Chearnley and Parsons was Miscellanea Curiosa Mathematica; the Literary Correspondance of Some Eminent Mathematicians in Great Britain and Ireland of 1745.

However of a number of related titles from the period, the only certain model for the Parsons-Chearnley title is William Stukeley's Itinerarium Curiosum of 1724. The Stukeley link is established by one of the unnumbered antiquarian drawings bound at the back of the Miscelanea. Samuel Chearnley's 'Holbech Cross, Lincolnshire' is an unmistakeable copy of an engraving published by Stukeley in 1722. (PLATES 70,71) A collection of loose-leaf drawings among the Rosse papers, unsigned though clearly attributable to Samuel Chearnley and Lawrence Parsons, display a similar interest in antiquarian subjects. These include ink and wash drawings of dolmens, standing stones and medieval buildings throughout the British isles. One of these depicting the shrine of Saint Hugh in Lincoln Cathedral, like the Holbech Cross drawing, comes directly from William Stukeley. A founder father of eighteenth-century English antiquarianism, William Stukeley combined a scholarly interest in Roman and medieval antiquities with an equally keen enthusiasm for the modern English landscape garden. The plates of the Itinerarium thus constitute a charming hybrid of architectural, gardening and antiquarian illustration. The scope and style of Stukeley's sketches and observations are mirrored in the illustrated journals of amateurs and travellers throughout the middle decades of the century, most notably in Ireland those of Bishop Pococke and of the astrologer Isaac Butler.

Both the Holbech cross and the Lincoln Cathedral monument bear a clear relation to the eighteenth-century Gothick umbrello and it seems likely that their suitability for small scale garden structures rendered them of special interest to the Parsons-Chearnley project. However such a motive does not apply in the case of the other antiquarian drawings in the collection, and it seems likely that either Parsons or Chearnley or indeed both men had a genuine interest in historic buildings. Given that the Holbech and Lincoln drawings are direct cribs from Stukeley, it is difficult to determine whether Parsons or Chearnley actually visited any of the

1BL. Map Library. K.Top.19.27.d.
2Irish Architectural Archive 69/63/R45, R48, R50-63.
3Stukeley (William). Itinerarium curiosum . London, 1724. Pl 29 'The shrine of St. Hugh the Burgundian bishop of Lincoln in the south isle of the cathedral there behind the choir'.

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churches and antiquities depicted in the sketches. It is possible that these too derive from antiquarian publications. However the sketchy informal drawings for Chepstow Castle, Ramsay Abbey and Minestre Church have an impromptu quality that is more suggestive of first-hand observation than of bookish imitation.

The little we know of Samuel Chearnley's origins suggests that from an early age he was at the very least well acquainted with the antiquarian spirit. The presumption that he was the brother of the amateur painter Anthony Chearnley seems well founded; the latter's father and eldest son were also named Samuel and the signatures of Anthony and of his father bear a marked resemblance to that of Samuel Chearnley in the Miscelanea. Of Samuel Chearnley the elder nothing is known except that in 1734 both he and his son Anthony were living at Burntcourt in County Tipperary. A picture of their home painted by Anthony was later reproduced by Francis Grose in The Antiquities of Ireland. There is nothing remarkable about the fabric of the Chearnley house itself, which was simply a two-storey gabled building with big end chimney-stacks and dormer windows. What was remarkable, and the reason why it came to be illustrated in Grose, was its extraordinary site within the bawn of the large Jacobean mansion of Burntcourt. Grose accompanied his account of the building with an eulogy of Anthony Chearnley's gifts praising him 'for cultivating the art of design, when few pursued it in 1740 in Ireland'. From the perspective of his presumptive sibling at Parsonstown, what is most intriguing about Grose's comments is his allusion to Anthony Chearnley's 'large collection of views from ancient remains'. As Samuel appears to have inherited his brother's interest in design, it seems likely that he also shared in his enthusiasm for antiquities.

One of Chearnley's 'terminations', a tiered and arcaded structure crowned by an obelisk, is particularly noteworthy for its affinity to Richard Castle's Conolly Folly erected at Castletown in County Kildare in the 1740s. This is a rare instance of an Irish building contributing to the eclecticism of native designers. Also close in spirit to the Miscelanea, and in proximity to Birr, is Edward Lovett Pearce's grandiose obelisk-flanked entrance arch to the estate of Lawrence.

1NLI D10, 829-849. Indenture dated 1734 between Samuel Chearnley of Burntcourt in the County of Tipperary and Anthony Chearnley of Burntcourt...
Burtchall(George D.) & Sadlier(Thomas Ulick), Eds. Alumni Dublinenses. Dublin, 1935. 147.
Parsons's cousin John Lloyd at Gloster in County Offaly. Unfortunately the castle gardens at Birr were thoroughly reconstructed by Parsons' successors in the late eighteenth century. Therefore while his designs demonstrate an acquaintance with contemporary Irish garden ornament, how far Chearnley was actively involved as a designer in other Irish gardens remains unclear. The only other documentary evidence for his employment in garden design are two signed drawings for a temple and a gazebo at Oldtown, County Kildare. However, further unsigned but stylistically attributable designs are contained among the Powerscourt papers.

Yet if Chearnley's role in the history of Irish eighteenth-century landscape architecture is difficult to determine, his significance as the author of Miscelanea Structura Curiosa is clear. Whatever its purpose, this manuscript provides us with a rare insight into the nature of eighteenth-century Irish amateur design. The quirky eclecticism manifest throughout the volume clearly illuminates the range of published sources which were being drawn upon by provincial designers during the mid-eighteenth century. And quite apart from its historical value, the Miscelanea, in its light-hearted, youthful simplicity, is a work of enduring charm.

1 Malins (Edward) & the Knight of Glin. Lost demesnes; Irish landscape gardening, 1660-1845. London, 1976, 28. This illustrates the Oldtown designs.
2 Irish Architectural Archive 29/38/R34.

As we have seen, *De Architectura* was the most popular architectural text to emerge from the survey of Irish eighteenth-century libraries. In particular, the multiplicity of editions encountered in the libraries of late eighteenth-century collectors demonstrated a keen scholarly interest in the text. This renewal of enthusiasm for Vitruvius as the sole antique authority on Greek and Roman architecture was prompted by the archaeological character of emergent neo-classical taste. The first English translation of *De Architectura* was published in London in 1771 by William Newton and is an expression of the new archaeological approach to the Roman treatise.

The second subject of this chapter is a remarkable annotated manuscript translation of Vitruvius by the Dublin builder-architect Michael Wills, also made during the 1770s and entirely independently of William Newton's edition. Wills's annotations to the Vitruvian text offer a fascinating insight into contemporary Irish building practice. The manuscript which is now in the Chester Beatty Library is a folio volume prized for its magnificent red-morocco and gold-leaf binding, which is considered among the finest of its kind produced in Dublin during the eighteenth-century. However quite apart from its intrinsic aesthetic value this volume is undoubtedly one of the most enigmatic architectural productions of the period. It raises important questions about the nature of contemporary architectural practice, while also providing further insight into the interpretation of architectural books in eighteenth-century Ireland.

An account of Wills's hitherto undocumented career, forms a necessary prelude to his Vitruvius manuscript. Wills was a man of many parts and his long career spans two thirds of the eighteenth-century. In 1736 he was author of an essay on the water-supply of Dublin City; in 1745 he was one of six contestants in the Dublin Society's competition for model house designs; and in 1752 he published *A

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2 Craig (Maurice) & Fitzgerald (Desmond), eds. *Irish architectural drawings. An exhibition to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Irish Architectural Records Association*. Dublin, 1965. Provides the only published comment on Wills's career.
Proposal for Rebuilding Essex Bridge. Like his Vitruvius manuscript, Wills himself is an enigmatic figure. Despite a relatively high public profile, there is now surprisingly little record of his architectural output. It seems likely that this was far more considerable than we might now suppose. The known facts suggest that Wills was an educated and cultured man who was also thoroughly versed in contemporary building practice. He was the son of a successful carpenter, Isaac Wills, who had worked under the surveyor-general, Thomas Burgh, at the Royal Hospital, Trinity College and St. Werburghs. Wills senior appears also to have worked as an architect and building contractor, providing designs for St. Ann's church in 1720, and building a number of houses in Ann Street, Dawson Street, and Clarendon Street during the ensuing decades. By the time of his death in 1753 Wills senior had accumulated a substantial amount of property between Ann Street and Clarendon Street. The Wills family lived in a house on Clarendon Street. Michael was an only son, having three sisters, Martha, Elinor and Patience. Martha married and became Martha Bowman while her sisters remained spinsters and were maintained by their brother after Isaac Wills's death. Michael Wills appears to have remained a bachelor all of his life.

While the dates of Wills's birth and death are unknown, he seems to have been born around the turn of the century and to have died about 1778. The earliest record of his architectural activity is a signed statement of 1737 in which he maintains that he had ' overseed, conducted and directed the building' of Dr. Steevens' Hospital ' from the foundation of the house in the year 1719'. The hospital, which was designed by Thomas Burgh, began building in 1719 and was completed in 1733. In 1719 Isaac Wills was working for Thomas Burgh at St. Werburgh's and it seems likely that he procured for his son a post in the surveyor-general's office. Certainly by the mid 1720s Michael Wills was working as a draughtsman for Burgh. His surviving drawings from this

1PRONI, D207/20/14. NA, RHK /1/1/4. TCD, mun P2/19-23.
2 O'Dwyer (Frederick). Lost Dublin. Dublin, 1981. 137.
4 Registry of Deeds. 265/266/175059.
5 Personal ledger of Michael Wills containing accounts of the building of Dr. Steeven's Hospital. IAA.81/88.
period show him to have been a competent if a rather dull draughtsman.\textsuperscript{1}

Wills's first officially recorded appointment was as secretary to the board of governors of Dr. Steevens' Hospital, a post which he assumed in March of 1730 \textsuperscript{2} at a salary of £30 per annum with his lodging, coal and candle. This was apparently a job well earned as Wills's labours at the hospital during the previous decade, like those of Thomas Burgh at St. Werburgh's, were bestowed free gratis 'towards promoting that charity'.\textsuperscript{3} The task of secretary clearly involved the entire financial administration of the hospital and in 1735 Wills found himself in the role of fund-raiser for the institution. In January of that year he published a broadside entitled \textit{The Present State of Doctor Steeven's Hospital together with a Scheme to Enlarge the Fund, for the Maintenance and Care of 300 sick persons}. This was essentially an appeal for subscriptions to the hospital, and contained no information pertaining to the building or its construction. Thus by 1735 Michael Wills had considerable all-round experience of architectural activity, from draughtsmanship and overseeing, to financial administration.

Wills's association with Thomas Burgh and with Steevens' hospital were undoubtedly useful credentials in the Dublin of the 1730s. Presumably they were significant in securing his first independent commission as architect of the new Theatre-Royal in Smock-alley. The theatre was begun in May of 1735 and was opened in December of that year. Though the completed building met with universal public approval, it was a difficult project attended by a series of financial and administrative problems. In August of 1735 a scaffold fell down and injured a number of workmen, and on several occasions quantities of timber were stolen from the site.\textsuperscript{4} Wills's original estimate for the building proved insufficient and the theatre authorities were obliged to take on new share-holders to cover the additional costs. However despite these problems the finished theatre can only have added to Wills's reputation as it compared very favourably to Sir Edward Lovett

\textsuperscript{1} IAA. Neg. c7/209. 'Plan for a lock to be built on a sandy foundation designed by Captn Thomas Burgh 1726. Mich Wills delint.' 'Barrack for two troops of horse at Philipstown, built by the Right honbl Richard Lodr Viscount Molesworth. 16th June 1731. Michael Wills delint.'
\textsuperscript{2} IAA.81/88.
\textsuperscript{4} PRONI. D562/1137. Legal proceedings by the subscribers to the Theatre-Royal, Smock-Alley against Lewis Duval, Theatre Manager.
Pearce's Aungier-Street theatre completed two years previously in 1733. Pearce's building had been criticised for its extravagant architectural embellishment and its inconvenient plan. It was generally regarded as a very sumptuous but a very bad theatre with appalling acoustics and visibility. By contrast the Smock-Alley theatre was applauded for its acoustics and for the ample scale of the cavea which accommodated a considerably larger audience than that of Aungier Street. Both theatres have long since been demolished; however a late eighteenth-century engraving illustrates the facade of Wills's building. It was a three-bay two-storey facade expressed with square-headed windows on both levels with vigorous rusticated surrounds. While the illustration is clearly naive, the theatre does not appear to have been a particularly distinguished building, and it seems that Wills was more accomplished in the functional aspects of architectural design than its spatial or decorative articulation.

In the legal documentation of the Smock-Alley project Wills is referred to as a 'carpenter and undertaker' and evidently by this date he was well established as an independent building contractor. During the 1730s as secretary and overseer to Steevens' Hospital he had supervised the work and administered payments for carpentry and stone-cutting to his father Isaac Wills and to prominent stone-cutters such as Moses Darley. By the late 1730s he was thus clearly a well-known figure in the Dublin building trade. It seems in fact that Wills's activities were not confined to the capital and that his reputation extended into the provinces. A drawing and estimate for a house at Drogheda dated 1728 can be attributed to Wills upon the basis of his very distinctive hand with its scrolled capitals and flourished lower-case d.

This is a plan, section and elevation together with a bill of scantling 'for the schoolmaster's house of Drogheda'. As in his designs for Thomas Burgh there is little flair to Wills's graphic style. Indeed the elegance of the house as built is almost belied by the dull rendition of these drawings.

The schoolmaster's house was one of a series of public and private buildings constructed in Drogheda between 1720 and 1760, when the town assumed its distinctive Georgian character. It was built on a corner site on Lawrence Street and stood next to the much grander house of

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3IAA. RP. D. 71. 3. Photographic copy of an original now in a private collection.
Lord Chief Justice Henry Singleton. Like Singleton's house it had a reticent brick facade simply decorated by limestone quoining. The facade had an advanced central bay, sash windows on both levels and a Venetian motif for the door. Though simple in its general effect, the accomplished manner in which the several string-courses and quoins were knitted together, demonstrates a sound grasp of proportion and a deliberate sense of understatement.

The Darley family may well have provided Wills with his introduction to Drogheda society. The Darleys owned quarries at Sheephouse in the vicinity of the town, and were building contractors for several important public buildings there, among them the Mayoralty House, the Custom House and St. Peter's Church begun in 1748. Isaac Wills had worked closely with Henry Darley at Trinity College during the 1720s, and as we have seen Moses Darley executed the cut-stone work at Steevens' Hospital. More solid evidence of a connection between Michael Wills, the Darleys and Drogheda is a private bill passed by Parliament in 1764 entitled ' an act for the relief of the creditors of David Johnson and John Seaton of the City of Dublin, late merchants'.¹ Michael Wills and Henry Darley were two of three trustees appointed to sell off the property of Johnson and Seaton and to use the resulting funds to reimburse their creditors. Among these properties was a house on West Street in Drogheda which was duly leased to Alderman Edward Chesshier.² Why Wills and Darley were appointed executors of the act and exactly what the Drogheda connection was, eludes clarification. However while the evidence is thus clearly circumstantial, taken together with a long-standing Wills-Darley connection and the Wills's drawing for the schoolmaster's house, it seems reasonable to suggest that Wills had some active part in the development of Drogheda during the mid eighteenth century. Few of the impressive array of houses and public buildings erected in Drogheda during the 1730s and 1740s can be attributed to one architect with any degree of certainty. Pearce, Castle and Bindon have been suggested as candidates, but these attributions rest entirely upon stylistic grounds and have no documentary support. Given the reticent and homogeneous character of early Georgian architecture it is not improbable that architects other than the familiar triumvirate were responsible for designing and constructing many

anonymous Irish eighteenth-century buildings, including those at Drogheda.¹ Michael Wills's forgotten oeuvre remains to be unearthed from this assembly.

There is little evidence for Wills's activity during the 1740s though what survives confirms the impression that he was a man of considerable professional reputation. In May of 1745 Wills was one of six contestants for a Dublin Society architecture premium, the only other identifiable candidate being George Ensor. As we have seen in chapter three the competition invited designs for small houses. Wills's designs were dull, both as drawings and as buildings, if typical of contemporary domestic design in Ireland. Thus it again appears that Wills was a man thoroughly versed in building practice and capable of producing plans for standard building types, but by no means an original designer or an accomplished draughtsman.

A surviving letter by Wills written in May of 1745 demonstrates his sound knowledge of contemporary prices, measurements and materials.² This was addressed to Dr. Wood Gibson, professor of oratory and history at Trinity College in response to a query by Gibson concerning estimates for wainscoting the new dining hall. It is an puzzling document in which Wills offers carefully considered and apparently disinterested advice on a prestigious building job which he himself had no professional involvement with. It is clear from the letter that Wills had already discussed the question with Gibson; 'I think you told me the hall = 80 by 40'. Also the phrasing throughout suggests that the two were on familiar terms; 'James [Wills's man-servant] brought me an estimate of the expense for wainscoting your new hall ...the person who makes this estimate mentions neither the thickness nor the sort: of which you must be particularly careful'. It reads as a letter of good advice to a friend or a respected acquaintance, and suggests that Wills may well have moved in a much wider social circle than that of the Dublin building trade alone.

¹ During the course of this study, a number of references have been encountered which provide the names of hitherto unidentified architects and engineers who were working in Ireland during the course of the eighteenth century. For example, Robert Haydon, who received builders' tenders as 'engineer' of Queens Bridge, The Dublin Journal, 31 Aug. 1765: an English engineer named Shaw, who carried out improvements at Castlecor and at other estates throughout Ireland during the 1740s, Egmont Papers, NLI microfilm. P4916; Thomas Keightly, a garden designer from the 1740s to the 1760s, The Dublin Journal, 2 July 1748, 2 Feb. 1767.
² TCD. mun. P/2/(89).
One fact which can be stated with absolute certainty is that Michael Wills was a highly articulate man. This is clearly demonstrated by his various architectural writings which provide a clear insight into Wills’s entire notion of architecture. The essays on the Dublin water-supply and the proposal for rebuilding Essex-Bridge are lucid orderly accounts of his ideas on respective subjects. Central to Wills’s thinking in both instances was a strong sense of frugality and an aversion to extravagant architectural display. Utility rather than formal considerations appears to have been his principal priority. The notion of pulling down and completely rebuilding Essex Bridge 'for the sake of grandure' was anathema to a man who seems to have considered architecture more as effective social engineering than as an artistic activity. There is in Wills’s writing more than a hint of that utopian urbanism found in architectural theory from Alberti to Corbusier. In Wills’s case this utopianism is founded not upon humanistic ideas but rather upon apparently deep-felt Christian principles. The water-supply and bridge essays and later the Vitruvian commentary, all demonstrate a concern for the common good that appears to be a genuine sentiment rather than empty rhetoric. The former for instance contains several references to the provision of water for the poor, and Wills’s charitable sentiments are borne out by his voluntary labours for Steevens’ Hospital during the 1730s. Wills’s modest proposals for the Dublin water system, for Essex Bridge, and also in 1748 for St. Patrick’s Hospital did not however meet with the prevailing taste of the period. Both at St. Patrick’s and at Essex Bridge, his designs were passed over in favour of those by George Semple. A contemporary comparison of the alternative proposals for St. Patrick’s by the hospital authorities clearly illustrates the reticent character of Wills’s design and the more adventurous quality of the building proposed by George Semple. Michael Wills appears to have been more effective as a thinker than a doer, and certainly during the 1740s and 1750s his architectural career was eclipsed by that of his more ambitious contemporary. 

1753, the year in which George Semple began the construction of Essex Bridge, was the year of Isaac Wills’s death. A ledger which had been used by Michael Wills to record the building accounts for Steevens’ Hospital up to 1737 was now unearthed by him in the week of his

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1St. Patrick’s Hospital muniments. ‘Difference between Semple’s and Wills’s plans of the hospital’. Written between November 1748 and 1749 by Dr. John Lyon, Secretary to the board of governors.
father's death and maintained as a record of his personal accounts during the ensuing decades. Presumably it was his now enlarged financial circumstances and the responsibility for his sister's living expenses which prompted Wills to begin this meticulous record of receipts and disbursements. It offers a fascinating insight into the pattern of Wills's daily life. Opening with expenses for the burial of Isaac Wills and the family funeral attire, it proceeds to document every aspect of Wills's life-style from his expenses in coffee-houses and taverns to the cost of book-binding, wig-making, travel to and from building sites, to minutiae such as sundry payments for lemons, gunpowder and wine or ribbons and lace for his three sisters. There is not much in these accounts in the way of professional fees and if, as it seems, this is an accurate record of Wills's activities it appears that his architectural practice was quite limited during the 1750s. However this should be qualified by the fact that Wills appears not to have required a substantial professional income during this period. The principal project mentioned in the accounts was work carried out for Ralph Howard at Shelton Abbey in County Wicklow. This is most interesting in terms of Wills's Vitruvian studies, as the Howards were among the most sophisticated architectural connoisseurs in Ireland.

The question of how and why Ralph Howard came to employ Wills at Shelton Abbey, may come down to a simple fact of family connection. Besides provision for his sisters' expenses, Wills's accounts record numerous payments to and for his cousin the Rev. Holt Truell of Clonmannon in County Wicklow. These range from cash given directly to the Rev. Truell, to payments by Wills for books and domestic necessities for the Truell family. Clonmannon was situated at Rathnew in County Wicklow near Shelton Abbey, and the Truell family were on friendly terms with the Howards. In 1751 Wills's proposal for Essex Bridge referred to a bridge which he had built in that year at Rathnew near Clonmannon. From 1753 onward he made repeated visits both to Clonmannon and to Shelton Abbey and there seems little doubt that the Howard commission, like the bridge at Rathnew, was in some way connected to the Rev. Truell.

By the end of the eighteenth century the Wills manuscript now in the Chester Beatty library, had found its way into the library at

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1IAA 81/88.  
Clonmannon. Two inscriptions on the fly-leaf of the volume neatly explain its early provenance. One of these records its owner as 'Miss Wills, no. 10 Clarendon Street'. By the time of Michael Wills's death c. 1778, only one of his unmarried sisters was still living, Elinor having died before 1771. Presumably Patience Wills inherited her brother's manuscript after his death and kept it with her at the family home in Clarendon Street. A second inscription in a different hand records 'Clonmannon....May 1781' and it seems likely therefore that Patience Wills either gave or bequeathed the manuscript to the Truells, who were her closest living relatives. The later provenance of the volume is difficult to decipher. The neatest proposition to explain its present location is that Alfred Chester Beatty purchased the volume when he bought Clonmannon and made it his home in 1953. However a twentieth-century Swedish auctioneer's label still inside the book poses problems for this interpretation and it is possible that the manuscript was purchased elsewhere by Chester-Beatty both for its binding and for its connection to Clonmannon.

Though undated the Vitruvius manuscript was undoubtedly the work of Wills's later years as its allusions to buildings executed during the 1730s are clearly distantly retrospective. The text of the volume however gives no clear indication when it was begun, though the binding has been attributed to c. 1760. During the 1750s Wills made several payments for book-binding to one Edward Beatty, though none of these are as large as one would expect for a work of this scale and quality. Comparable if somewhat more elaborate tooling on the House of Lords Journals cost £6 per volume, whereas the largest payment recorded in Wills's ledger amounts to less than £3. Happily a terminus ad quem for the volume is provided in the text by a curious masonic-style reference to divine revelation which Wills asserts had occurred 'above 1770 years ago'. As the translation is unfinished and the handwriting deteriorates considerably in the final pages of the manuscript it appears as if ill-health or death prevented Wills from completing it. If Wills's death occurred c. 1778, the manuscript was thus concluded during the mid 1770s.

Wills's motive in executing this work is one of the first questions to arise in examining the manuscript. Presuming that he began it before the appearance of William Newton's translation of 1771 it is very

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1 Registery of Deeds 283/377/184980.
probable that Wills hoped to publish the first English version of *De
Architectura*. The absence of an English edition had long been a source
of chagrin to architects and connoisseurs. Hugh Howard, Ralph
Howard's uncle, had actually corresponded with Sir Thomas Hewett on
the subject. Hewett, under the impression that Sir Henry Wotton had
produced a translation, requested that Howard try to procure a copy for
him in London.\(^1\) Howard duly made inquiries of booksellers and
architects and reported that surprisingly no such work existed.\(^2\) Hewett's
confusion may have stemmed from the fact that a Latin translation of
Wotton's *The Elements of Architecture* was published in Amsterdam
in 1649, in tandem with a Latin Vitruvius. Two attempts to publish an
English translation were made in England during the late seventeenth
and early eighteenth centuries; the first in 1670 by a Latin scholar
Christopher Wase, and the second by Robert Castell whose *Villas of the
Ancients* was conceived as a prelude to an English Vitruvius. Both
schemes were abortive however and until the mid eighteenth century,
the French translation of Claude Perrault remained the most
authoritative modern edition. In 1758 this was improved upon by
Marchese Bernardo Galiani, in a new Italian edition of the text gleaned
from a variety of renaissance and modern translations. Thus in the 1750s
or 1760s when Wills embarked upon his ambitious project he
presumably saw himself in the guise of a pioneer.

Unlike Galiani and Newton, Wills did not set about producing a
catholic version of the treatise based upon a systematic combination of
the existing Vitruvian authorities. Rather, he simply made a literal
translation from one edition of the text. This was a popular version
produced in Amsterdam in 1649 by the publisher Johann De Laet.
Together with Philander's heavily annotated 1544 edition of Vitruvius,
this included the translation into Latin of Sir Henry Wotton's *The
Elements of Architecture*, a short life of Vitruvius by Philander and
Alberti's books on statuary and painting. De Laet's compendium was
quite common in Irish eighteenth-century libraries. Wills followed the

\(^1\) NLI Howard papers (unsorted) PC 227. Letter from Sir Thomas Hewett to Hugh Howard,
31 Jan 1725. 'I want Sir Harry Wotton's Vitruvius with his comments upon it, I think it is
in English: if it falls your way be pleased to buy it for me and place it to my account'.
\(^2\) Ibid. Hewett to Howard 19 Feb 1725, 'I thank you for your trouble of inquiry after
Wooton's Vitruvius in English: for my part I have been in search of it for twenty years,
and never could find there was any such thing, but a gentleman who was here not long
since was positive there was, so that I had a mind to trouble you to enquire as well as
myself.'
text rigidly, even rather inappropriately including the original dedication to Queen Christina of Sweden. This is followed by Wotton's Elements, the life of Vitruvius and the text of The Ten Books of Architecture. As already noted, Wills did not succeed in finishing the translation and in fact only four of the ten books were completed with just the preface of book five. As William Newton's 1771 edition comprised only the first five books of Vitruvius, this coincidence naturally promoted the suspicion that Wills was merely transcribing from the published text. However a close comparison of the Wills and Newton texts demonstrates that this is patently not the case, and it appears that Wills produced his volume entirely independently and presumably without knowledge of Newton's contemporaneous work. In contrast to Newton's scholarly and archaeological edition, Wills's translation is rather old-fashioned and amateurish. Its rigid conformity to De Laet's volume, and at times a somewhat less than fluid prose, distinguish it from Newton's elegant production. However what is most fascinating about the Wills manuscript is not its translation but rather the annotations which were added by Michael Wills to the text.

Since its initial publication during the renaissance, successive editions of the Vitruvian text were accompanied by dense glosses offering additional information on antique architecture or various interpretations of its more difficult passages. Giacomo Philander, a pupil of Serlio, produced his edition in 1544 which remained one of the most acclaimed editions of the text until the late seventeenth century. Michael Wills's annotations follow the basic format of previous commentaries in offering a series of glosses on chosen passages in the text.(PLATE 73). However, instead of the usual scholarly observations on the explicit meaning of the Latin text or illustrative historical material, Michael Wills's annotations are essentially comments upon the relevance of Vitruvius to his own work and to contemporary building activity in general. They thus offer an idiosyncratic Irish gloss on the Roman treatise. Several distinct themes seem to have absorbed Wills while making his commentary. Most prominent of these are the relation of Vitruvian directives to modern building practice, the definition of

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1 A comparison of Wills's and Newton's phrasing demonstrates the more accomplished translation of the published volume. Book 3, Chap. 5.
Newton ' Thus I have in this book described as well as I have been able, the construction of Ionic temples, the proportions of the Doric and Corinthian kind I shall explain in the following book. Wills ' Having gone through the description of Ionic temples as clearly as I could, I shall proceed to give the proportions of the Doric and Corinthian. 

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architectural ability and the value of architectural books to modern builders. It should be emphasised that these are scattered footnotes to the text and do not constitute lengthy discussions of respective subjects. Nonetheless, despite their brevity they provide a rare and fascinating insight into an eighteenth-century architectural sensibility.

Wills did not confine his comments to Vitruvius, and his remarks upon Wotton's Elements testify to his keen understanding of antique and modern classicism. Sir Henry Wotton's The Elements of Architecture first published in London in 1624, remained throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a standard general introduction to the subject for architects and connoisseurs alike. It was essentially a concise distillation of ideas contained in Vitruvius, Palladio, Vignola and De l'Orme. As seen in chapter three above, John Aheron's A General Treatise of Architecture (1754) relied heavily on Wotton's text for its theoretical content. Wills's commentary on Wotton's text reflects a very careful combined reading of both the Elements and De Architectura. His annotations serve to highlight both the amateur character of Wotton's architectural bent and Wills's own practical building interests. While appreciative of Wotton's theoretical observations, Wills values the Elements principally as a speculative and scholarly work. 'Upon the whole this author understands rhetorick and logic much better than Palladio, though he is pleased to tell us of Palladio's logick in page 29. Nevertheless, he has not spent his time merely about stone and timber for he has really collected many useful hints and instructions and made several curious observations such as are not to be found in any other author'.

However Wills was as quick to criticise Wotton as to praise him. He objected for instance to Wotton's dismissal of the Vitruvian concepts Ordinatio and Dispositio. In describing the six fundamental principles of architecture outlined by Vitruvius in book one, Wotton confined his discussion to eurythmy, symmetry, propriety and economy, describing ordination and disposition as merely the sum of the other four. Wotton writes 'In my conceit we may spare him the first two for as far as I can perceive, either by his interpreters or by his own text ... he meaneth nothing by ordination but a well settling of the model or scale of the work ...nor by disposition, more than a neate and full expression of the first idea or designment thereof which perchance do more belong to the artificier than to the censurer'. Wills disagreed with Wotton's distinctions. 'His opinion and explanation of this chapter makes it very
evident that he must have known but little of the scientifical part of architecture which is wholly contained therein. As the scale by which a column is ordered with all its ornaments is called a module so the scale by which the whole design is ordered, is called the ordonnance. The settling of which no more than the disposing of the parts can not be the province of the artificer'.

Wotton was further criticised for his ideas on the proportions of superimposed orders. Whereas Vitruvius directed that superimposed columns should be made one fourth part less than the column below, Wotton believed that superimposed orders should increase rather than decrease in size. Unlike John Aheron, who fully accepted Wotton's logic, Wills strongly objected to this view. 'The author thinks it strange that works should grow slenderer the taller they are. He has allowed that walls must diminish gradually and why not columns, I can not conceive ... therefore that columns in a second storey should be greater than those in the first and columns in the third storey greater again than those in the second can not surely be a fair conclusion. He may as well tell us, that because the top of a fir or pine is smaller than the bottom; therefore the top of the column must be thicker, so that Vitruvius has not forgotten himself nor doth mathematical reasoning contradict natural.'

Wills also points out that Vitruvius's directions for the design of a tympanum are inappropriate in a northern climate where a higher pitch is necessary, according to Wills 'the perpendicular height of the versed sine of the angle of 45 degrees so well known to our workmen'. Several confused interpretations of Vitruvian passages similarly demonstrate the chasm between Rome and eighteenth-century Palladianism. In a footnote to chapter two of book four, Wills finds it inconceivable that the Ionic cornice should not contain modillions. 'Though our master here mentions dentils, yet I am clear of opinion he meaneth modillions, which very naturally represent the end of joists. Large eaves cornices can not be made without them. Palladio is of this opinion, he putting modillions in all his Ionic works'. In discussing the Ionic capital Wills is similarly an advocate of Palladian practice preferring the Scamozzian volutes to the original Greek prototype. 'This capital is since much improved by Scamozzi which all the moderns follow so ingeniously contrived, as to make the four faces exactly alike'.

The practical aspects of building were clearly of as much interest to Wills as the theoretical, and a series of annotations document the differences between Roman methods of construction and Irish
eighteenth-century building practice. In discussing the Vitruvian account of masonry Wills was entirely at a loss to understand the meaning of opus reticulatum; 'What he means by their points conjoined I can not conceive. Bricks are sometimes laid with their points projecting, as under the eaves of low buildings, called cat-toothed eaves. But never throughout a whole wall'. On the other hand Wills clearly had a thorough understanding of eighteenth-century masonry techniques and remarks upon the absence of modern distinctions in the Vitruvian text. Commenting upon rustication, he observes 'These indented works wrought in regular courses are of two kinds one having the indenture terminated in a right angle, called rustic work or chamfered work. The other finished with two right angles called channelled work. Vitruvius not taking notice of this distinction; I suppose the channelled work was not then known'. Similarly in his comments upon building materials Wills remarks upon the different proportion of sand and lime used in the Roman and modern periods, 'a plain indication that the marble of Italy is not so hard as that of Ireland; where four to one is commonly used'.

In contrast to this very subjective and anachronistic reading of Vitruvius, William Newton offered a scholarly archaeological commentary. Drawing upon 'the printed editions of Barbaro, De Laet and Galiani, & ...of sundry manuscripts', Newton was fully conscious of modern misinterpretations of the text. In discussing Doric for instance he cut through the kind of misunderstandings found in the Wills's manuscript. 'Vitruvius directs mutules to be made over the metopes as well as over the triglyphs. This is so contrary to the custom of the moderns, that none of the preceding translators have understood the passage not believing it could possibly have that meaning; but since the remains of Grecian buildings have become known to us, we are no longer doubtful of its being the author's intention'. William Newton had first hand experience of antique architecture having travelled extensively in Italy during the 1760s.¹ Michael Wills was a much older man that Newton, and what we know of his architecture suggests that he worked in a reticent Palladian idiom. Presumably he had not the opportunity of foreign travel, and his architectural taste seems to have remained in a Palladian groove throughout his career. Had he wished, Wills might have drawn upon Robert Wood or James Stuart and

Nicholas Revett in interpreting Vitruvius, but clearly an objective synthesis was not his intention. His commentary was the expression of a very personal architectural sensibility and in many senses the conclusions of a life's work.

Naturally Wills's comments contained direct references to his own works, specifically to his experimentation with designs for small houses during the 1740s and his efforts in designing the theatre at Smock-Alley. In discussing Vitruvius's advice on the shape of dwellings Wills advocated the square plan as an ideal form for small houses admitting as it did 'forty-two variations or different dispositions of the same rooms and one staircase and thirty-nine with two staircases'. Significantly Wills's submission to the Dublin Society back in 1745 carried the subtitle 'Vitruvian designs in the oeconomick style'.\(^4\) Given contemporary praise of the Smock-Alley theatre, Wills's comments upon acoustics are of special interest. In a footnote to the account of Greek theatres in Vitruvius, Wills offers the fruit of his own researches on the subject. 'Here may be seen the necessity of using some ingenuity or contrivance to help the voice and that the musical numbers must be applied. These brazen vessels are long out of use, and nothing thought of in their stead. I have been many years considering the thing and find no way so rational as that of making the theatre itself in a musical proportion taking the length from the front of the middle box to the first scene. The breadth in the clear of the boxes where widest, two thirds of this length and the height from the stage to its ceiling called the sound board, three fourths of the breadth, consequently half the length. It was in this proportion I built the theatre at Smock-Alley Dublin in the year 1735, where the voice is heard most distinctly, and in the proportion also I built the musick-hall in Crow-Street where musick was heard in compleat harmony'.

Wills's notion of the architectural profession was very closely based upon the *huomo universale* outlined in chapter one, book one of Vitruvius. In fact he went to pains to emphasise the breadth of skills requisite in an architect. There is a conscious effort to demonstrate that drawing is not the essence of architecture and that learning was equally if not more significant. Conscious perhaps of his own limitations as a draughtsman and undoubtedly proud of his intellectual and practical building skills, Wills's ideal architect was an abstraction based upon

\(^4\)RIBA drawings collection. Michael Wills, 'Designs for private buildings of two, three, four five and six rooms on a floor and one of eight rooms. Dublin 9th May 1745.
himself. Commenting upon the Greek origin of architectural terminology, Wills maintained that 'gentlemen of learning' were 'the only persons properly qualified to become architects. A little knowledge of the pencil will complete him. The artist who has knowledge of the pencil can not possibly be so easily completed. As our master teacheth in the very beginnings. See book one chapter one. These can not assume the name of architect. ' The point was struck further home in a loose-leaf note inserted in the volume; ' The art of drawing is publickly taught but the science of architecture cannot possibly be so. Gentlemen must take a little pains or we shall never have an architect.'

On the subject of architectural books and their usage by builders Wills is particularly interesting. Despite his obvious admiration for Vitruvius and his respect for classical architectural theory, Wills is refreshingly irreverent of the vast literature on the subject. ' I need now say no more of columns and their adjuncts, about which architects make such a noise in their books, as if the very terms of architraves, frizes, cornices and the like were enough to graduate a master of this art '.

According to Wills the five orders were 'well known to our workmen', however the claims of 'large treatises thereon' were grossly over-stated 'as if the whole business of architecture was comprehended in them '. In northern climates, he pointed out, ' they are used but for very little more than ornament '. Wills appears to have viewed architectural literature as a valuable though not an essential element in contemporary building activity, and his repeated emphasis on practical building experience draws into question the significance of architectural books for the Irish building profession. ' It is enough for treatises of art to give the proportions, the manner of working is left to the tradesmen who learn it by experience.'

One curious fact which emerges from Wills's manuscript is the apparently limited extent of his architectural reading. While he thoroughly understood the basic principles of classicism, Wills appears to have gleaned this knowledge from a limited number of printed sources. Vitruvius and Palladio were clearly his principal authorities. It seems however that Michael Wills was not acquainted with other standard works such as Perrault's Vitruvius or Fréart de Chambray's Parallèle. Had he owned a copy of the French Vitruvius, Wills would have known Perrault's perfectly clear illustration of opus reticulatum. Similarly, had he known Fréart he would then have understood the fine
distinctions in the mouldings of a Vitruvian or a Palladian Ionic entablature.

The illustrations to De Architectura were as diverse in style and content as the successive editions and commentaries upon the text. As none of Vitruvius's original figures survived into the modern period, his directions were freely interpreted by architects from the renaissance onward. The bulk of sixteenth and seventeenth-century editions were however sparsely illustrated with small and often crude wood-cuts. These were books which functioned primarily as scholarly translations and glosses on the text. De Laet's edition contained illustrations but these were small wood-cuts depicting sections of pedestals, bases, capitals etc, and were incorporated within the text. Claude Perrault's edition of 1672 was undoubtedly a turning point in Vitruvian studies, being the first version to accompany the text with large copper-plate engravings. These were spectacular highly wrought plates executed by leading engravers such as Le Clerc and Grignion. While they included orthogonal elevations, plans and sections, these were outnumbered by large and theatrical perspective views. Indeed often plans appeared in miniature on unfurled scrolls suspended in the skies above the building. A century later the illustrations to William Newton's edition reflected the more sober archaeological mood of the period. Here Perrault's dramatic panoramas and grandiose classical schemes were replaced by simple line drawings depicting plans, elevations and sections of the various temple types. Economy was clearly an important consideration in Newton's project and unlike Perrault's extravagantly detailed copper-plate engravings, the London Vitruvius depicted two building types to each plate.

The drawings in Michael Wills's manuscript are much closer in rendition to Newton than to Perrault, though they differ in style and content. They are for the most part simple line drawings depicting plans, elevations and details. Ten pages of the manuscript bear drawings illustrating a fortified city wall, an ideal city plan, a temple in antis, peripteral, prostyle, pseudo-dipteral and hypaethral temples, attic and Ionc bases, an Ionic capital, roof timbers and antique doors with inclined jambs. (PLATE 74) A loose-leaf drawing inserted in the volume appears to be a sketch for the peripteral and in-antis figures. A comparison of Wills's Vitruvian city to those of Perrault and Newton serves to demonstrate Wills's independent approach. Wills's city plan is a perfect circle surrounded by turreted walls and laid out upon a rigid grid-like
system with one large central square and six subsidiary squares. (PLATE 75) Claude Perrault's illustration of the ancient city was a perspective view taken from inside the city walls while William Newton depicted a less regular grid-plan than Wills, with more realistic suburban boundaries. Perrault's monumental plates were inspired by seventeenth-century notions of antique grandeur, William Newton's were based upon new archaeological evidence, while Michael Wills's reconstructions seem to have stemmed largely from a late baroque reading of De Architectora.

Figures one to five on page eighty-six of the manuscript executed in ink and grey wash are the most highly wrought of Wills's illustrations. They depict plans and elevations for a temple in antis, a prostyle and a peripteral temple. (PLATE 76) The former is the most interesting as Wills consciously modelled his reconstruction upon Inigo Jones's St. Paul, Covent Garden. A footnote to the text leaves the reader in no doubt of his intention - 'St. Paul's Covent Garden, designed by Inigo Jones is the nearest example of this'. Though Wills altered Jones's building by omitting its windows and the arches in its antae, this brand of seventeenth-century primitivism clearly satisfied his archaeological standards. Indeed by adding acroteria pedestals, lessening the breadth of the roof and omitting brackets in the eaves, Wills's building is an altogether more tame reading of Vitruvius than Jones's vigorous design. A contrast of the prostyle and in antis figures with those of William Newton demonstrates the limitations of Wills's interpretation. In accordance with antique practice, Newton employs a baseless Doric order with a triglyph frieze and uninterrupted masonry walls to the cella. Wills on the other hand uses a Roman Doric and treats the cella as a modern church with an east window and fenestration to the side walls.

The Wills manuscript naturally offers some insight into the personality of its author. A series of Christian references throughout the volume suggest that Wills was a deeply religious man. It has already been noted that the terminus ad quem for the manuscript was established by a reference to divine revelation. This occurs in a lengthy passage commenting upon the orientation of the altars in temples in which Wills discusses paganism and Christianity and expresses gratitude that revelation 'through the infinite mercy and goodness of him that made it is daily read amongst us'. There is to Wills's piety a distinctly apocalyptic air, and a very conscious religious didacticism. 'They who regard only earthly objects will repent when too late, as will also all the
inconsiderate, which are too many. For their sakes alone, I have been thus prolix’. In some instances these Christian references have a masonic ring, for example in chapter two, book four of Vitruvius, where Wills comments upon the canon of Polycleitus; ‘The human figure is the grand model of all true proportion. It was early discovered to be the most competent, the very sum and perfection of all the works of the great architect of the universe’. In other instances Wills alludes to Ezekiel’s reed and to Solomon’s temple. His ledger accounts for the 1760s and 1770s confirm Wills’s masonic interests, as between 1763 and 1777 he acted as treasurer to the Friendly Brothers of Saint Patrick, a quasi-religious masonic-style institution.

Throughout the manuscript attention to theoretical issues such as ordonance, disposition and harmonic proportions clearly reflects a scholarly and pedantic turn of mind. This approach was not confined to his own work, and Wills apparently applied his own exacting standards to the productions of his contemporaries. A drawing of the Parliament House colonnade, inscribed in Wills’s distinctive hand, suggests that he might well have been as much a crank as a scholar.1\(^{\text{PLATE 77}}\)

The drawing, which represents a plan of the western half of the colonnade, is inscribed with detailed dimensions of the building, noting the breadth of the peristyle, the depth of the masonry, the size of the apertures and the variations in the intercolumniations. It is a puzzling document as it was clearly not a measurer’s estimation of the building and appears to have been made to demonstrate the uncanonical arrangement of the colonnade. An inscription below the drawing concludes ‘The columns being 3 ft 0 in diamr. The spaces between ought to be = 7ft 10 in, which are here = 8ft 6in and 8ft 9in: And the middle space ought to be = 10ft 6in, which is here but = 8ft 6in’. The drawing is undated and so it is unclear whether Wills made this curious survey of the parliament house late in his career or during the early 1730s, when it was under construction. Wills’s loyalties to Thomas Burgh may well have left him ill-disposed towards Pearce whose designs for the building were preferred to those of Burgh.

Thus Michael Wills was in many ways a peculiar figure. In terms of literacy Wills seems to have been fairly typical, in that other contemporary architects such as Richard Castle, George Semple and John Aheron were also perfectly capable of stating their ideas succinctly and clearly. With regard to learning on the other hand Wills seems to have

1Private Collection. Photograph I.A.A. 9/33R49.
been the exception rather than the rule. There is no evidence that Irish architects were versed in classical or modern languages, and George Semple openly admits in *A Treatise on Building in Water* that he could not read the captions to Bélidor's *Architecture Hydraulique*. There is of course the possibility that he had the text translated by a Latin scholar and then simply made his annotations to the English version. His cousin, the Rev. Holt Truell would be the perfect candidate for such an emanuensis. However the use of Latin phrases in some of Wills's footnotes, and the general feeling communicated by the volume as a whole, suggests that it was entirely Wills's own work.

Wills's achievement as an architect is more difficult to decipher. No building known to have been designed by him survives. Even the schoolmaster's house at Drogheda is a problematic attribution, as the designs for it are much closer to Will's drawings after Thomas Burgh, than they are to Wills's original designs of the 1740s.\(^1\) Drumcree House in County Westmeath has been tentatively linked to Wills's album of house designs on the basis of its similar plan, but even this has now gone.\(^2\) The Smock-Alley theatre and Crow-Street music-hall have also been destroyed and the eighteenth-century work at Shelton Abbey is now encased in a nineteenth-century Gothick shell. Whether this dearth of documented buildings reflects a very limited architectural practice is again difficult to determine. Wills's accounts for the 1750s suggest that this was the case, though he might well have had a more extensive practice before his father's death in 1753. Oddly, Michael Wills's name does not appear in Dublin trade directories. Instead he seems to have continued the family business using his father's name. 'Isaac Wills, carpenter' appears in the city directories until 1781 when presumably the death of Patience Wills brought an end to the firm.

One building which deserves consideration as a Wills design is a remarkable little brick-fronted building in the grounds of Clonmannon, which has long baffled scholars. *(PLATE 78)* This is a tiny pavilion-sized house; a three-bay brick facade with a rusticated basement and a

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1. In the Drogheda drawing as in the Philipstown Barracks design, Wills renders the door openings as standard straight-sided apertures. In the Dublin Society designs and the Vitruvius manuscript he employs an awkward and inconsistent convention to depict door jambs.


pilastered *piano nobile* crowned by a pediment with an oval oculus. Inigo Jones is the dominating spirit here, though the building is thought to date to the eighteenth, rather than to the seventeenth century. Given Wills's admiration for St. Paul's, Covent Garden and his close relationship to the Truells at Clonmannon, he seems a very likely candidate for author of this remarkable design. Like Wills's mastery of Latin, the Clonmannon pavilion is exceptional rather than typical of contemporary architectural practice. In a certain sense it is not unlike Wills's commentary on *De architectura*; a deeply personal interpretation of an archaic architectural idiom.

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CHAPTER FIVE

UTILITARIAN CONCERNS

Three years after the publication of John Almroth's treatise, the Rev.
John Payne published *Treatise on the Use of Country Houses*. It is quite
surprising that the only two essays thus far published in Ireland during
the mid-eighteenth century should be written by men whose opposite
views on the architectural opulence of the country house's treatment was a
prelude...
John Aheron’s grandiose palace designs, Samuel Chearnley’s frivolous grottoes and Michael Wills’s earnest classical transcriptions clearly belonged to a rarified and exclusive environment of designers and connoisseurs. While this milieu was undoubtedly a significant part of the Irish eighteenth-century architectural tradition, it was accompanied by a more pragmatic and utilitarian approach to building.

The members of the Dublin Society, in their evident censure of Aheron’s first treatise, demonstrated the rather different architectural sights of a large section of contemporary Irish society. These were the clergy, the lesser gentry and the gentlemen farmers who played such a significant role in shaping Irish towns and villages during the Georgian period. The practical utilitarian concerns of these men are clearly reflected in a number of Irish architectural publications.

A further demonstration of the practical interests of Irish builders is seen in a series of measuring guides and manuals which were published in Dublin during the course of the eighteenth century. Samuel Fuller’s contribution in this sphere has already been emphasised in chapter one. However while Fuller simply reprinted English measurers for the Dublin market, several titles were published in Dublin which were tailored to Irish requirements. These volumes offer fresh insight into the use of guides and manuals in Irish eighteenth-century building practice.


Three years after the publication of John Aheron’s treatise, the Rev. John Payne published *Twelve Designs of Country Houses*. It is quite remarkable that the only two pattern books published in Ireland during the mid-eighteenth century should represent such opposite poles of the architectural spectrum. Whereas Aheron’s treatise was a profusely
illustrated folio, Payne's book was a modest pamphlet. More essential differences pervaded style and content. The difference in their appeal is borne out by the fact that a mere ten individuals subscribed to both books. While Aheron was undoubtedly an eccentric, Payne was quite the opposite and his simple practical designs clearly responded to a real need in contemporary Irish society. If Aheron sought to inform the taste of architectural aficionados, Payne addressed his volume to the hundreds of lesser gentry, clergy and gentlemen farmers who subscribed to the ideals of economy and practicality enunciated by the Dublin Society. Unlike Aheron's grandiose schemes, Payne's simple unpretentious houses were realistic prototypes for contemporary Irish buildings. The content of Payne's book has already received an exemplary description and analysis by Dr. Maurice Craig. Here it is appropriate to focus instead upon its place in a wider architectural and utilitarian context.

Payne's book was in fact the logical outcome of an interest in small-scale domestic design which had been prevalent in Ireland for over two decades. It reflected a pragmatic utilitarian approach to domestic building which was close in spirit to the ethos of the Dublin Society which latter was undoubtedly influential in cultivating an interest in this type of design. Initially however, the society seems to have had little concern for architecture. Though the services of Sir Edward Lovett Pearce were called upon several times during the early years, his tasks were merely to supervise the construction of model farm implements, and to apply on behalf of the Society for the use of 'a vault or two under the parliament house' in which to store the Society's collection of instruments. During the 1730s the only building-related items mentioned in the proceedings were William Colles's description of his marble quarry at Kilkenny, and the dispatch of a carpenter to Scotland to view a mill there in order to make a copy in Ireland. Such was the very practical character of the society's building interests.

The earliest indication that the members were interested in architectural issues appears in 1734 in the published subscription proposals for Ralph Hansard's projected Designs of Country Houses and Other Buildings from one hundred to a thousand pounds expence. That the Dublin Society acted as a subscription agent for the volume

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3 The Dublin Journal, 12 Jan. 1734
suggests a commitment to the type of design presented to them by Hansard. It is therefore worth considering in more detail the content of his proposed volume. Hansard intended to illustrate his book with thirty copper-plate engravings, presumably depicting the plan and elevation of a building on each plate. Instead of the usual copy-book emphasis on the orders and the decorative aspects of building design, the Dublin book proposed first and foremost designs for entire houses and more specifically 'country' houses. The designs were to be accompanied by estimates 'according to the rates in Dublin: from whence gentlemen may be able to judge of the expense in any part of the country according to the materials they may have and the workmen they employ'. A third section was to provide a table of timber measurement and the fourth and final item comprised 'the most necessary rules and instructions in building, from Vitruvius, Palladio and others, with several articles proper to be inserted in contracts with workmen'. While the compendium of architectural principles was a commonplace of architectural books from the early eighteenth century, the notion of a copy-book devoted primarily to country house design complete with building estimates was at this early date quite original. Had Hansard succeeded in publishing the volume, it would have been the first book in the English language devoted to this building type. It has particular significance therefore as a forerunner of the Rev. Payne's production over twenty years later.

While the Dublin Society actively supported Hansard's subscription campaign, a decade passed before any formal patronage was extended to architectural activity in Ireland. In the event this was stimulated by Dr. Samuel Madden's premiums for the encouragement of painting, sculpture and architecture. Though Madden's scheme was initiated in 1739, architecture was not considered until the Summer of 1744, when Thomas Prior reported that a further premium for 'plans of buildings' had recently been suggested to him.1 Notices were duly published and the contest stimulated a substantial degree of interest. In May of the following year, six contestants presented themselves to the society with their 'plans of building houses from 2 to 8 rooms on a floor'.2 One of these submissions survives and serves to demonstrate

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2Ibid. 9 May 1745.
the high degree of care and attention which was invested in the project. This is an album of sixteen designs by the Dublin builder-architect Michael Wills inscribed with the competition date 9th May 1745. It is entitled 'Designs for private buildings of two, three, four, five, and six rooms on a floor and one of eight rooms'. Executed in a mixture of sepia, pen and wash and framed by quadruple ruled borders, the drawings are interleaved with tinted sheets and bound in a contemporary brown leather binding with marbled boards and gold tooling. Presumably the other candidates made similar presentation albums.

It is most likely that the Rev. Payne's published designs were in some way connected to the Society's initiative of the previous decade. Indeed it is possible that Payne was one of the six contestants in the competition of 1745. George Ensor, the winner of the premium and Michael Wills are the only firmly identifiable candidates. Wills's designs are dull both in content and rendition; his management of circulation is poor and in several designs a profusion of doors converge upon the hall or stairwell. However the quality of Wills's submission is not at issue, and as the sole surviving submission to this important competition, the manuscript has particular relevance to the Rev. Payne's project. There are sixteen formal drawings in the album depicting plans and elevations for eight houses.

Five of the houses are simple buildings of two stories over a basement of varying size and plan. Ranging from three to seven bays in breadth, each has a substantial hipped roof and in all but one, central chimney-stacks. The elevations are very plain with standard sash window openings, an eaves cornice and a simple classical door surround. In the largest designs the first floor windows at the centre of the facade are arranged as a simple unadorned Venetian motif. Wills observes a rectangular or square plan throughout and each house has a central entrance hall and three reception rooms along the garden front. Unlike Aheron, Wills did not indulge in a large entrance or stairhall, and for the most part his stairs are of the simple dog-leg type, and are usually located at one end of the entrance front. The rooms are standard rectangular spaces with centrally placed chimney breasts. Three houses are large and more ostentatious, with pedimented centrepieces

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3RIBA drawings collection. Michael Wills, 'Designs for private buildings of two, three, four five and six rooms on a floor and one of eight rooms'. Dublin 9th May 1745.
to the facades and spinal corridors dividing the plans into two distinct ranges of rooms to the front and rear. The facade of the final design is an Ionic reworking of the entrance front to Richard Castle's Rotunda Hospital.

What then do these drawings tell us about the brief followed by the Dublin Society's contestants? The first and principal factor of note is that seven of Wills's eight designs were intended for country houses, the sole exception being the large Rotunda-like design, which might conceivably have been built as a large Dublin townhouse. Otherwise all of the houses were of two, or at most three, stories and were horizontal rather than vertical in disposition, with a basement and an ample parapeted area. The conventions observed were simple and concise. Specific measurements were provided for each design; dimensions were clearly indicated on each drawing, and the accompanying caption gave particulars of the successive room heights. In *Twelve Designs of Country Houses* Payne observed a similar format.

Although Michael Wills did not succeed in producing first-rate designs, he evidently invested quite an amount of time and effort in his submission. Annotations to Wills's translation of Vitruvius, discussed in the *Plicans* chapter of this study, clearly demonstrate his long and careful consideration of small-scale domestic design.

If the house is to have four rooms on a floor; then beyond all doubt the exact square will be the best proportion. Not only is it the most capacious of all right lined figures but because it admits of ... forty two variations, or different dispositions of the same rooms and one staircase, and thirty nine with two staircases. If the house is to have six rooms on a floor then the length will be the most convenient when it is equal to the breadth and a third of the said breadth. But if more frugality be required; the same roomes may be brought into a breadth and a sixth...  

These formulae appear to have been arrived at through mathematical calculations and formal deliberations with apparently little consideration of site or function. In this respect they provide a stark

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1Chester Beatty Library. Translation of Vitruvius's *De architectura* by Michael Wills c.1770.
contrast to Payne’s utilitarian priorities. However, it would be wrong to suggest that Wills entirely ignored practicalities and certain basic problems of house building were also aired in his Vitruvius annotations.

Wills’s personal deliberations are however of secondary interest to the Dublin Society competition. Of more relevance are a number of drawings which appear to have been added to the manuscript in the wake of the competition. Five of the sheets bearing Wills’s formal presentation designs, have additional drawings on their reverse side. Though these are highly wrought and clearly inscribed with their respective dimensions, they are not accompanied by descriptive captions and apparently were not intended as part of Wills’s formal submission. It seems most likely therefore that they were added by Wills at a later date and they may perhaps reflect upon the outcome of the Dublin Society’s competition. Of the five drawings, two are clearly connected to the formal designs, being a plan resembling that of plate five, and an elevation developed from plate four. The remaining three are more interesting however as they represent townhouses rather than country houses. Each comprises three stories over a basement; one house is of three bays and two are of five bays in breadth. There is one asymmetrical and two symmetrical plans. As in Wills’s formal designs there is no spatial experimentation and the designs observe standard domestic conventions of the mid-eighteenth century. The elevations though derivative of English Palladian models, are wayward in their details. In all three Wills employs a lugged door-surround with a rectangular rusticated fanlight derived from a plate in William Kent’s Designs of Inigo Jones.1 In the smallest design a cornice is curiously suspended above the windows of the piano nobile (PLATE 80).

As we have already seen, the meeting at which the competition was concluded was also the occasion on which John Aheron presented his manuscript treatise to the members of the Society.2 The changes in Aheron’s prospectus stimulated by his contact with the Society have also been noted. The designs for small houses which he added to book five of the treatise resemble those of Wills in their scale and in the absence of ornament to the elevations. However, there the similarity ends as Aheron’s plans were quite different to those of Wills. Instead of adhering rigidly to a rectangular or square plan,

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2The Dublin Courant, 18 May 1745.
Aheron scaled down the common tripartite ground-plan of his larger designs with its recessed or projecting central block. He also persisted in devoting substantial space to the entrance hall and generally placed the stairhall in the centre of the rear or side elevation, rather than on the front of the building as in Wills's designs. Though they compare unfavourably to Payne's designs, Aheron's small houses, for all their faults, have infinitely more architectural character than those of Michael Wills.

The twenty years which elapsed between Ralph Hansard's abortive *Designs of Country Houses and Other Buildings* and John Aheron's *General Treatise of Architecture* witnessed substantial growth in architectural publishing in England. If in 1734 Hansard's volume was novel in its emphasis on country houses, by the 1750s a number of books had appeared exclusively devoted to villas, farms and parsonages. One of the principal figures in promoting the smaller house and its amenities was Robert Morris, whose *Select Architecture* (1735) was significant in popularising the diminutive Palladian villa. Aheron's extravaganzas would have been anathema to Morris, who was vociferous in his objections to the 'redundancy of ornament and dress' in contemporary architecture, 'preferring plainness and utility to gaiety and ornament'. The trend in publishing designs of simple small-scale buildings for country estates was continued during the 1740s and 1750s by William Halfpenny and Daniel Garret.

Garret was the first to produce a book exclusively devoted to farmhouses and their offices. In this he established a precedent for later publications by focusing on the farming practice of a particular geographical area and providing estimates based upon local building costs. Garret's *Designs and Estimates of Farmhouses...for the County of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland and Bishoprick of Durham* appeared in 1747 and was followed in 1750 by William Halfpenny's *Twelve Beautiful Designs for Farmhouses with their proper Offices and Estimates*. The latter was adapted to the midlands and south of England and was directed to gentlemen, builders etc. In the following year a sequel was produced entitled *Six New Designs for Convenient Farmhouses*, which were designs for smaller and simpler houses.

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directed to the western counties of England and to Wales. In 1752 a second part appeared 'adapted more particularly to the Northern Counties in England and all Scotland'. Like John Aheron's treatise, larger publications also began to include designs for smaller buildings. Among the books promoted by James Rudd of Dame Street in 1758 was *The Modern Builder's Assistant*, a composite production of designs by William and Thomas Halfpenny, Robert Morris and Timothy Lightoler, which offered a wide variety of house designs 'either for the reception of the noblemen, gentlemen or tradesmen with large or small families, adapted to the taste of the town or country.'

Daniel Garret's house designs were generally part of a large farmyard complex and were extremely plain in plan and elevation. Here a stringcourse or the vaguest suggestion of a pediment is an architectural event. Cow-sheds, pig-sties, milking-sheds, stables and barns were all included in Garret's schemes and the farmhouse was thus one unit among many. William Halfpenny's smaller farmhouses were similarly devoid of ornament and were often entered from side doors with consequently no special emphasis on the facade. In his more genteel schemes, Halfpenny experimented with a myriad of variegated and unorthodox plans based upon figures such as a Greek cross, an equilateral triangle and a circle. Both these types of design were quite different to the country houses of Michael Wills and John Aheron and they do not appear to have had any significant influence upon the Rev. John Payne.

Despite its formal independence, *Twelve Designs of Country Houses* undoubtedly owes something of its spirit to English pattern-books of the 1740s and 1750s. It was presumably also indebted to the Dublin Society initiatives of the previous decade. Indeed it is not improbable that Payne was acquainted with Ralph Hansard's abortive scheme of 1734. Certainly as amateur architects from a clerical background, the two would have had much in common, and the requirements of a country parsonage were undoubtedly familiar to both of them. However there were differences in their respective designs. Whereas Hansard intended to include 'other buildings' with his country houses, Payne devoted himself exclusively to house designs. What was common to the two was their specific emphasis on designs for 'country houses'. While in some respects Payne's designs resemble those of his English contemporaries, his volume achieves a
unique intermediate position between the humble farmhouses of Garret and Halfpenny, and the villas of Robert Morris et al.

The full title to Payne's book is Twelve Designs of Country Houses of Two, three and four Rooms on a Floor, Proper for Glebes and Small Estates. This could hardly be more explicit. It is a thin octavo of sixteen pages illustrated by twenty-four copper plates. Each design is represented by an elevation and three ground plans depicted on two copper-plate engravings. The plates are neat and competently executed though they carry no engraver's signature. (PLATE 81) A two-page preface or 'advertisement' introduces the work followed by a paragraph commenting upon each individual design. Payne's 'observations on the common errors in building' are interwoven throughout the text. Stylistically the designs waver between late seventeenth-century Burgh-like classicism to a minimal Palladian idiom. (PLATE 82) The plans are much more varied than those of Aheron or Wills, if rather conservative when compared to those of William Halfpenny. Square and rectangular plans are used together with variations of H, U and L-shaped plans. In one design a bow-window appears. Unlike the farmhouses of Garret and Halfpenny with their livestock yards and appendages, these are all free-standing domestic buildings. All are of two stories over a basement with a hipped roof and a dominant central emphasis. Ornament is simple but effectively employed and all in all they are effective little buildings with real architectural presence.

Convenience was undoubtedly Payne's principal priority. In striking contrast to the abstract character of Michael Wills's proportional formulae for plan types, each of the designs in Payne's book highlights a functional requirement of contemporary domestic design. External evidence demonstrates that the points which Payne chose to expound were common concerns for Irish eighteenth-century builders. Smoking chimneys, offensive smells from kitchens and offices, and leaking roofs were among the 'common errors in building' addressed in Payne's observations. The expediency of his advice to prospective builders to avoid either timber cornices and parapets above side-walls is borne out by the absence of these features from Irish houses of the period. Such omissions were formerly thought to reflect ignorance or cost-cutting, but it is now clear that they were deliberately conceived in response to the dampness of the Irish climate.

Smoky chimneys were another frequent problem in Irish houses which exercised the ingenuity of householders, builders and tradesmen
alike. In London in 1715 a book was published on the subject by J. T. Desaguliers, translated from a French treatise by Nicolas Gauger. *Fires Improv'd: Being a New Method of Building Chimneys, So as to prevent their Smoaking*, appears in three of the Irish libraries in this survey, including that of Archbishop King.¹ Builders continued to be vexed by the problem in the later eighteenth century. In 1776 a lease between the builder Stephen Rudd and a Dublin client specified that 'in case the chimney smokes Mr Rudd engaged at his own cost to cure them'.² By this date specialists had appeared on the scene such as Patrick Stafford 'of Townly Hall near Drogheda' who in 1771 publicly advertised 'to cure smoky chimnies. No cure no pay.'³ Payne offered a variety of observations on the subject and maintained that smoking occurred when either the arch was too high, the fireplace was too small, the chimney was too low or the flue was turned around more than one angle of the room. Clearly this subject held particular interest for Irish builders and their clients, and in 1777 James Williams published a reprint of James Anderson's *A Practical Treatise on Chimneys*, which had first appeared in Edinburgh in the previous year.

As a provincial clergyman Payne clearly understood the inconveniences of living in a house of relatively modest proportions. His observations on the location of the kitchen have an experienced ring to them. 'It is impossible to have a kitchen within a small house without being annoyed at certain times by offensive smells arising from thence ...but this mischief is quite prevented by putting the kitchen out of doors'. Thus in design number eight Payne places the kitchen in a single-storey wing abutting the main block. While such practical concerns might now appear as obvious considerations, during the eighteenth century grandeur very often took precedence over utility, particularly in larger houses. According to Lord Orrery in 1736 so long as 'the stable has a beautiful cornish Signor Cassels does not seem to care where it stands'.⁴ For Payne utility clearly took precedence over ornament and architectural fashion. While admitting that dormer windows and corner chimney breasts were now outmoded, he nevertheless used both in his designs for the sake of convenience.

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¹1721 Edward, 1730 King, 1787 Robinson.
²Regisetry of Deeds.304/661/206879.
³The Dublin Journal, 12 March, 1771.
Who then was the Rev. John Payne? In the text of *Twelve Designs of Country Houses* Payne himself reveals that he was neither an architect nor a builder but rather an amateur who had produced his designs for the personal pleasure it afforded him. The book also refers to the only building which can be safely ascribed to Payne, namely the glebe-house at Trim in County Meath which was built c. 1750 for the Rev. Adam Lyndon, and which has been much altered since then.¹ Little else is known of Payne's architectural activities, though his personal life is well documented. He was born in 1700, the son of a Dublin portrait painter, William Payne and his wife Jane nee Standish.² In 1715 he entered Trinity College where he graduated in 1720. In later life he became the incumbent of Castlerickard in County Meath, and in 1771 he died at his residence in Dorset Street, Dublin. Our only other knowledge of Payne's life and interests is a deferential acknowledgment of his knowledge of Irish geology made by the historian and geographer, James Barton in 1755.³

The utilitarianism which expressed itself in small-scale domestic architecture was also seen in early eighteenth-century school design. Whereas the Dublin Society initiated experimentation in the domestic sphere, a number of prototypes for school buildings were commissioned and published by the Incorporated Society for promoting English Protestant schools in Ireland. (PLATE 83) The published proceedings of the Society for the years 1733 to 1737 included four model designs for charter schools.⁴ The plans are unsigned though it seems likely that they were made by the Rev. Payne's predecessor, Ralph Hansard. This attribution is suggested upon the basis of circumstantial evidence. During the 1730s a John Hansard was secretary to the Incorporated Society for promoting English Protestant schools. The first charter school to be founded in Ireland was established at Castledermot, County Kildare in a building rented from Ralph Hansard's father, the Rev. Ralph Hansard.⁵ The Society's accounts for 1737-8 record several payments to

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² IAA. Alfred Jones biographical files.
⁴ An abstract of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society in Dublin, for promoting English Protestant schools in Ireland; from the opening of his majesty's royal charter on the 6th day of February, 1733 to the 25th day of March, 1737. London (reprinted from the Dublin edition) 1737.
⁵ Quane (Michael). 'Castledermot Charter School' in *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*. vol xiii. 9(1961-3).
the Rev. Hansard, one certainly for rent, the others unspecified.¹ In the same year £50 was paid to the Dublin engraver Philip Syms for engraving plans etc' and another £50 to George Grierson for printing the Society's proceedings.

The published designs offered models for four schools capable of accommodating 20, 32, 40 and 60 children respectively. The basic requirements in each building were two schoolrooms and two dormitories for boys and girls, a school-master's room, a kitchen, dairy and larder, a storeroom and an infirmary. All four models, despite their varying sizes, managed to include all of these. The smallest school had a simple rectangular plan, the second was similar with projecting end bays in the rear elevation, while the two larger schools consisted of two schoolroom-dormitory blocks joined by a central service range. Two plans and an elevation were provided for each design. The elevations are extremely plain and in execution might well have produced an effect of spartan elegance. On paper they are uninspiring; simple two-storey facades with gables to advanced end-bays, segmental-headed windows to the principal floors and Diocletian windows in the gables or as a fanlight above the entrance.

Many subscribers to the Incorporated Society were also members of the Dublin Society. The same names appear in the records of both institutions, and there can be little doubt that a spirit of mutual support existed between them. It is interesting therefore that the additions to John Aheron's manuscript treatise made after his introduction to the Dublin Society, included designs for charter schools. Like the Society's own models these were four in number and provided for schools of 20 to 60 pupils.¹(PLATE 84) Aheron provided for the same functional requirements as the Society's designs, and his arrangements of classrooms and dormitories on each side of a central range recall those of the published plans. It is in fact quite likely that Aheron used the published designs as a basis for his own designs. Characteristically these are grander and more imposing than the former's modest vernacular classicism. Three of Aheron's school buildings have an extra storey to the central block, and in the plans greater attention is paid to symmetry and to cubic proportions. However like the Schools Society's architect, Aheron limits himself to simple classical trimmings on the facades.

¹ TCD. MS 5419. Incorporated Society for promoting English protestant schools, account book 1733-78.
There can be little doubt that such modest small-scale design was a very significant aspect of contemporary building activity. Payne evidently responded to the requirements of a considerable section of contemporary Irish society, and is clearly no coincidence that eighteenth-century houses of a medium size, should be such a classic feature of the Irish built environment.
2. **Measuring literature.**

If architects and connoisseurs were frustrated by the limitations of Dublin booksellers, the budgetary concerns of Irish builders and their clientele were well served by the Irish book trade. Measuring and cost analysis were essential elements in eighteenth-century building practice and this is very clearly reflected in a succession of cheap measuring manuals which were published in Dublin throughout the eighteenth century. Payment for work and materials was based upon the declarations of measurers appointed by the client and the building contractor and clearly it was necessary for all craftsmen to have some grasp of measuring procedure.

Initially the responsibility for measuring seems to have been assigned to the architect or clerk of works on a job. Thus at the Royal Hospital Kilmainham, work was approved by Thomas Burgh, at Trinity College during the 1740s by Richard Castle and at Dr. Steeven's Hospital by Michael Wills. More rigorous measuring standards and the appointment of professional measurers were features of later eighteenth-century building practice. The notorious barrack-board scandal of the 1750s appears to have been influential in effecting reforms of traditional practice. The enquiry initiated by Parliament into the building of barracks in Ireland relied heavily upon the evidence provided by three independently commissioned measurers.¹ This identified major irregularities in the employment of building funds, which eventually resulted in the dismissal of Arthur JonesNevill from the post of surveyor-general. Complicity on such a grand scale and in the employment of public funds doubtless prompted far greater caution among builders and clients alike.

Samuel Fuller, Dublin's earliest specialist in mathematical and architectural literature stocked several English measurers as well as publishing reprints from London editions. In 1725 Fuller advertised a number of books 'lately printed at London' including a *Builder's and

¹ Eyre (Thomas). *A reply to the comissioners and others upon the condition of Dublin Barracks*. Dublin, 1760.
Purchaser’s Dictionary. This was very probably Richard Neve’s The City and Countrey Purchaser and Builder’s Dictionary, or the Compleat Builder’s Guide which was first published in 1703. The extended list of mathematical books printed by Fuller in the following year offered readers five popular English authorities in the measuring genre; John Brown, Henry Coggeshall, William Leyburn, Richard Neve and William Hawney. Though Fuller’s list quoted authors and not titles, the latter are not difficult to reconstruct as these were writers of standard measuring manuals, much used by the English building trade.

John Brown was a London instrument maker who in 1661 produced The Description and Use of a Joynt-Rule followed in 1662 by his Description and Use of the Carpenter’s Rule. Seven years later the former was published in tandem with William Fisher’s Mirror of Architecture, and further editions appeared during the 1670s and 1680s. Brown’s instrument was an adaptation of Edmund Gunter’s logarithmic rule first published in Paris in 1624. Henry Coggeshall was the inventor of the carpenter’s slide-rule which he first described in a pamphlet of 1677 entitled Timber measure. The rule achieved rapid popularity and was further expounded in a series of revised and improved editions during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Two years before Samuel Fuller’s list of 1726, John Good a London mathematics teacher published a new edition which might very probably have been the version on sale at Fuller’s Meath-Street shop. Its title offers a neat synopsis of Coggeshall’s usefulness to modern builders. Measuring Made Easy: or the description and use of Coggeshall’s sliding rule, containing instructions for measuring all manner of timber, both by the common way and the true way. With directions for taking the dimensions of trees, and the allowance for bark etc. Performed both by the rule, and by arithmetick. By which may be measured all manner of superficies, as board, glass, plastering, painting, wainscoting, tyleing, paving, land both by the rule and arithmetick.

Like Samuel Fuller, William Leybourn was a mathematician, a printer and a bookseller. He was also however one of the official
surveyors of the city of London, and throughout the second half of the
seventeenth century he published a series of books on mathematics,
astronomy, surveying and measuring. Leybourn's most consciously
architectural work was entitled Architectonice, or the Compendium of
the Art of building, which he contributed to the fourth edition of
Scamozzi's Mirror of Architecture in 1700. This was the same volume
which united William Fisher's abridgment of Scamozzi and John
Brown's description of a joyn joint rule and also a compendium of the art of
building' taken from Sir Henry Wotton's Elements of Architecture
Fuller's fourth author Richard Neve also produced a compendium of
the building arts entitled The City and Countrey Purchaser and Builder's
Dictionary first published in 1703 and again in 1726, the year of Samuel
Fuller's published stock-list. All of these books offered clear and concise
information on the quantification of materials and the measurement of
'most sorts of artificers work'. While 'gentlemen' were included among
their prospective readers, these cheap small-scale works were primarily
directed at the building trades to work-masters and work-men, in the
making of bargains, contracts or computations, relating to any part of
building'. Due to the rampant profiteering of unscrupulous building
contractors during the eighteenth century, craftsmen and labourers were
evidently in greater need of protection and advice in their transactions
than were well-to-do patrons and building clientele.

The fifth popular measurer on sale at Samuel Fuller's was The
Complete Measurer, or the Whole Art of Measuring by William
Hawney which was first published in London in 1717. Fuller clearly
viewed Hawney's book as the most suitable manual for his Dublin
clientele, as in 1730 he published a reprint of the London edition. Its
continued appeal in Ireland is borne out by two further Dublin reprints
(made c.1740 and in 1767) by Fuller's successor, Isaac Jackson and by a
Cork edition of 1768. Hawney's manual provided a detailed account of
decimal arithmetic together with the methods of measuring all
superficies and solids and 'the work of several artificers relating to
building'. Like Batty Langley's Builder's Vade-Mecum reprinted by
Fuller in 1729, Hawney was promoted as being useful 'for all tradesmen
especially carpenters, bricklayers, plasterers, painters, joyners, glasers,
masons etc'.

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1Hawney (William). The complete measurer or the whole art of measuring. Dublin, 1730.
Title-page.
The Irish reprints of Hawney drew attention to the divergence of Irish measurers from standard English practice.

Bricklayers commonly measure their work by the rod square of 16 ft and a half ... the usual way is to moderate the price according to the thickness ... But in Ireland, they measure by a perch of 21 feet in length and one foot in breadth without any regard to thickness in the measure ... But in England commonly brick walls that are measur’d by the rod, are to be reduc’d to a standard thickness viz. of a brick and a half thickness.

Interestingly, in Cork, where measuring practice followed English conventions, an edition of Hawney published by the Company of Booksellers in 1768 made no allusion to the standard Irish measure.¹

While Hawney’s book was clearly popular among the Irish building trade, its three Irish editions pale somewhat in comparison to at least twelve editions of a curious Dublin builders’ manual alternately titled The Carpenter’s Plain and Exact Rule or The Builders Guide. The book was available on the Dublin market until the 1770s and 'the twelfth edition' was published in 1758.² Though only two editions are now known, the book’s long and complex publishing history can be traced through other documentary evidence. First published during the 1730s, the volume was a concoction put together from a variety of existing measurers by the Dublin publisher, James Hoey. It was Hoey’s sole foray into the building sphere and was apparently a very rewarding diversion. Hoey was the most prominent Catholic publisher in Dublin during the eighteenth century, and one of the few city booksellers to operate a circulating library. Unlike Samuel Fuller, he was not a specialist in any particular field and tended rather to produce titles of wide-ranging popular appeal. Profit was evidently Hoey’s principal concern and his range of publications perfectly reflect an astute business-like approach. A

¹Ex. info Arthur Gibney.
²Builder (F.P.). The builder’s guide. Dublin, 1758. Two known copies exist. The copy consulted was that at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The second is in the science collection of the Detroit Public Library.
catalogue of Hoey's stock printed in 1765 offered a selection of cheap light-weight manuals and guides; The Young Gentlemen and Ladies Geography, A Voyage around the World, The Modern Cook, and Rules for Bad Horsemen all of which cost less than a half-crown.1

The earliest recorded edition of Hoey's measuring guide was an imprint of 1738 which was listed in a book catalogue of c. 1769. The Carpenter's Plain and Exact Rule published in Dublin in 1738 was included in the library of the Rev. Dr. Burgh, which was auctioned in Dublin during the 1760s.2 Twelve years later in 1750 an advertisement in another Hoey publication offered The Carpenter's Plain and Exact Rule at 1s 1d per volume.3 A newspaper advertisement of 1751 further promoted the book.4 In 1765 an advertisement described a new edition with an altered title, The Builders Guide or the Carpenter's Plain and Exact Rule, which was accompanied by two copper-plate engravings.5 The latter increased the price from 1s 1d to 1s 7d. Eight years later James Hoey's own printed catalogue again offered The Builder's Guide with its new plates.6 Of the surviving editions, one is undated and the other, which claims to be the twelfth edition, has a Dublin imprint of 1758. (PLATE 85) The undated copy is probably post 1765 as it includes the two illustrative plates. However a bill of labourer's costs included in the text is dated October 1756 and it seems likely therefore that an edition was produced about that time and remainder sheets were simply reissued in the 1765 edition. The last recorded edition was published by Peter Hoey in 1778 and a copy of this survives in the Bradshaw Collection. Thus five separate editions are clearly documented; the Rev. Burgh's copy of 1738, the ghost copy of 1756, the dated edition of 1758, the new illustrated edition advertised in 1765 and Peter Hoey's edition of 1778.

The different phrasing in the titles of the respective Hoey editions suggest a deliberate marketing strategy in the later publications. The editions which appeared before 1758 had the single title The Carpenters

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1 An advertisement entitled 'Books published by James Hoey Senior at the Mercury in Skinner Row', bound at the back of, Hoey (James). Every young man's companion or youth's general director. Dublin, 1765. NLI.
2 1769 Burgh.
3 Weeks (James, Eyre). The gentleman's hour glass or an introduction to chronology. Dublin, 1750.
4 Pues Occurrences, 9 April 1751.
5 In Hoey (James). Every young man's companion or youth's general director. Dublin, 1765. NLI.
6 1773 Hoey.
Plain and Exact Rule 'shewing how to measure all kinds of work belonging to the building, with the wages of journeymen and prices of work'. Rules for choosing materials, estimates of costs and a compendium of building were also included in the title contents. The earliest surviving edition, that of 1758 had not one but two distinct title pages. The first of these was The Builder's Guide of 1758 by a dubious 'F. P. Builder' shewing the qualities, quantities, proportions, rates of value...customs and methods of measuring...the prices ... of workmanship and materials ... with Gunter's line, Coggeshall's description of the sliding rule...'. The second title page also dated 1758 repeats the earlier phrasing The Carpenter's Plain and Exact Rule and includes a synopsis of contents that is but a paraphrase of the F. P. Builder title. In fact all that intervenes between the two titles is a preface, a table of contents and a brief glossary of architectural terminology. It seems likely therefore that the Builders Guide with its odd pseudonym was but a means of presenting an older text in a new guise. Significantly it is the imprint of the second title page which professes itself as the twelfth edition. The second known edition with its two Chinese plates has a single title page which combines the titles of the former two in The Builders Guide or the Carpenter's Plain and Exact Rule. The mysterious F. P. Builder was dispensed with, and authorship was now attributed to Francis Price, the popular English writer of carpentry manuals.

In compiling his builder's guide James Hoey had a wealth of English measurers to draw upon. The titles on offer at Samuel Fuller's in 1726 were but a fraction of the literature then catering to the needs of the building industry. For his title and general prospectus Hoey seems to have followed John Darling's The Carpenter's Rule made easy or the Art of Measuring Superficies and Solids which received several editions during the 1680s, and was reprinted in a modern form in 1727. This contained a treatise of practical gauging by Heber Lands, a subject which Hoey also included in the Dublin volume. Thereafter the similarity to Darling ends and in his text Hoey relied principally upon Richard Neve's The City and Countrey Purchaser and Builders Dictionary or Compleat Builder's Guide a book which was available at Samuel Fuller's shop. Hoey's explanation of technical terms and his compendium of the ground rules of building derive directly from Neve's volume. More amusingly Hoey's sample bricklayers bill paid by 'Mr Robert Rich of Dublin' for 'work done by Benjamin Bennet,
bricklayer, Oct 5th 1756' was simply a transcription of Neve's bill for 'Mr Robert Rich of Rochester' several decades earlier.

Hoey's use of the pseudonym F.P. builder and his eventual attribution of the book to Francis Price naturally suggest that Price was an important source for the Dublin volume. It is not surprising therefore that the preface to *The Builders Guide* derives directly from Francis Price's *British Carpenter or Treatise of Carpentry* first published in London in 1733. However, apart from the preface the Dublin book bears very little relation to Price's treatise. To begin with, Hoey's edition was a slim duo-decimo volume with initially no illustrative plates, while Price's book was a substantial and quite extensively illustrated quarto. Also in contrast to the measuring emphasis of Hoey's manual, Price's book was a thorough practical introduction to carpentry, fully explaining the framing of floors, the construction of roof trusses, stairs, spires etc. Thus Hoey appears to have used Price primarily to cash in upon his reputation among the building trade and to provide a modern face-lift for the twelfth Dublin edition of *The Carpenters Plain and Exact Rule*.

Other sources drawn upon by Hoey were Coggeshall's account of his sliding rule and Sir Henry Wotton's *Elements of Architecture*. Wotton he might well have known through William Leyburn's *Mirrour of Architecture*, and Coggeshall through any one of several editions published since 1677. Hoey's account of the sliding rule differs only grammatically from John Good's version published in 1724. At least one of the two plates which were added to the *Builders Guide* c.1765 was similarly derived from an existing publication. These depicted 'a chinese temple' and 'a plan of a fine Chinese garden chair, in curious diamond paleing and lattice work'. While the source for the temple eludes identification, the Chinese chair was copied from plate six of Charles Over's *Architecture in the Gothic, Chinese and modern taste* which was published in London in 1758 and went on sale at James Rudd's Dame-Street shop in the same year. *(PLATE 86)*

What then does James Hoey's volume tell us of the Dublin building industry during the eighteenth century? Firstly it serves to demonstrate the tenacity of traditional building methods which had been practised in England since the mid seventeenth century. William Leyburn, Richard Neve and John Brown were consolidators of existing traditions rather than harbingers of change. A great many of the builders who became prominent in Dublin during the eighteenth
century had come to Ireland from the English provinces, where they had learned the rudiments of their trade. Benjamin Rudd and Benjamin Pemberton are well-known examples, but there were also many lesser figures who emigrated from England in search of work in the building industry. These men brought with them the self-same building and measuring practices outlined in contemporary measurers. Undoubtedly they passed these traditions on to their successors. However given the largely empirical nature of contemporary building apprenticeship, books on mathematics and measuring were undoubtedly useful supplements to an education which relied principally on visual example and oral direction.1

That said, several aspects of Hoey’s text call into question its real value to contemporary builders. In discussing the measuring of brick-work for example Hoey ignores the divergence of Irish builders from English practice, and simply regurgitates the standard square-rod of 16 feet. Similarly in his sample bricklayer’s bill Hoey repeats the prices quoted in Neve’s book of twenty years earlier and even gives an incorrect total. Given the popularity of Hoey’s volume, it must therefore be presumed that his readers were not in search of precise calculations. Rather, they seem to have merely required general instructions on how to compose a bill and how to discuss details of quantities and payments with prospective clients or employers. As in his Compleat farmer , Compleat grazier, and Modern cook, Hoey provided just the requisite information for a general grasp of the subject. It was an extremely successful marketing strategy.

The lack of precision evident in James Hoey’s measurer was to some extent symptomatic of measuring practice in Ireland at mid-century. Architects and builders with no special experience in the field were employed to assess the work of their professional rivals. At the end of the eighteenth-century, the chaos of earlier measuring practice was recalled by Brian Bolger, a prominent member of a by now thoroughly reformed and disciplined profession.2 At that time there was some men who had assumed the practice of measuring without any knowledge or instruction in that profession to recommend them, save only the sanction of a majority of the corporation of bricklayers, composed chiefly of men who knew little of their own trade and less competent to make rules for the practice of measurers, those self-

2National Archives. 1A/58/129. The papers of Bryan Bolger, measurer.
appointed measurers assisted them and agreed to the rules so framed with the expectation of being employed by them, they have still continued the unfair practice of returning articles that should not be returned and likewise returning articles in a manner that increase the amount of the bill above the just value of the works, which several builders have paid to their loss, not knowing there was an overcharge, nor knowing how they could be redressed'.

In 1760 Thomas Eyre's principal objections to the evidence for irregularities in the Irish barrack buildings was the calibre of the measurers employed to assess the work. A Reply to the Report of the Commissioners and others upon the Condition of Dublin Barracks provides a valuable insight into contemporary measuring practice. In it Eyre maintained that it was then 'and ever hath been the honest and ordinary custom in this kingdom, and thro' England, where it may be required to inspect the works of others, in the way of check and control, or in order to a due estimate and valuation of the same to give notice of such intended inspection to the undertakers, or persons who have executed the said works; that they themselves may attend with a surveyor or measurer on their behalf, that they may have an opportunity to shew, and specify the particulars of the several repairs, additions and alterations that were made, to ascertain and remark upon the quantity or quality of the works, to answer all the occasional questions, either in respect to the original defects in an old building, or to the propriety or degree of repair that such building would admit, or to the nature of the materials and manner of execution, or to remonstrate on any error or mistake that such inspectors might lye under'. Eyre concluded his remarks by dismissing the measurers in question, Robert Mack and George Stewart, as 'an obscure journey-man stone-cutter' and 'a mere carpenter... who... was discharged... by the late surveyor-general for fraudulent practice'.

Two or three years after the publication of Eyre's reply, there appeared the first accurate measurer's guide, tailored to contemporary Irish practice and materials. This was not a fully-fledged measuring guide but rather an extensive list of measuring tables entitled A New Set of Tables of Solid and Superficial Measure (in the most familiar method. Shewing at first sight, the content of any piece of timber, plank or board etc. used in architect or navalwork.) No first edition is now known, but the second edition is dated 1763. Its author was Philip Levi Hodgson, a measurer who had been practising in Dublin since 1756. As
seen, the book was published by Hodgson and was sold only at his own office on Cork-Hill and at the George's Street office of his father, Daniel Hodgson, who had been appointed city measurer by the Guild of Merchants in 1753.

The two hundred and seventy subscribers to Hodgson's second edition certainly demonstrate the volume's popularity among the building trades, as do the eight successive editions published after 1763. In the seventh edition published in 1779 the title was changed to the Complete measurer. Hodgson's first edition had consisted solely of tables for timber measure, however in his second revised version practical examples in carpentry, bricklaying etc. were added 'in order to render it of more general use, and adapt it to the lowest capacity'. Hodgson was clearly aware of the existing literature on the subject and boasted that his tables extended '7 feet longer than Mr Hoppus's London edition, together with every half foot required from 1 to 50 feet in length. Also six inches broader in the breadth, which is practically needful in Long Poland or Dantzinck plank and broad mahogany or marble and gives considerable more ease and dispatch'. Later editions made further amendments and additions to the text, particularly with regard to prices. In the tenth edition of 1801, Hodgson explained that it was 'necessary every seven or eight years to publish the prices of artificers work in building; which also bear their proportion of value according to the stile wherein the work is executed, whether indifferently or in a masterly manner.'

Such concern for accuracy clearly stands in stark contrast to James Hoey's far more flippant production. However the fact that these were the two most popular measurers in Dublin during the course of the eighteenth century provides food for thought. On the face of it, it would seem that they mirrored the quite distinct developments in measuring standards from the early to the late eighteenth century. That said, James Hoey published a new edition of the Builder's Guide as late as 1765, presumably a reflection of continued demand, and as we have seen the book was still on sale in 1773. It is unlikely that Hodgson and Hoey would have appealed to one and the same clientele. A comparison of the two works emphasises the scrupulous attention to Irish measuring practice in Hodgson's book and the lack of it in Hoey's measurer. The difference in the price of respective works reflects this divergence in quality. Hodgson's book was sold at three shillings to subscribers, and four to paying customers, while Hoey's volume with the addition of its
two Chinese plates cost a mere 1s 7d. To a tradesman earning perhaps only three shillings a day this gap was clearly quite considerable. Established builders and craftsmen would have been more drawn to Hodgson's books while Hoey presumably appealed to small-scale contractors and lesser tradesmen.
CHAPTER SIX

PUBLICATIONS AND PUBLIC WORKS

Of all the building-related initiatives, publicized in Ireland between 1700 and 1760 the two projects were cheap-rapport house. They were very
often popular and were at first in themselves predominantly positive in
peace, indeed in the house project and the public printing house, and
their cost was done in the limited at present. Developing house
were viewed at the public architecture and at the house building. The large
cell of technical education to concern of the public or active
architectural literature demonstrates that indirectly more public
interested attention in the practical problems of engineering activity
than as theoretical interest. The work done between military
engineering and the theoretical building, the early eighteenth century
employed such a public. But the advent of regional building which ceased them to
grow in recent by the work of the public architects. After the half of the eighteenth century, the use of the regional building included.

Thomas Bingle, Robert Nugent, and Richard Castle, like David Dunker
later, were very active in regional building engineering projects.

1Sheppard (United, The History of Land, Haines and Son, 1975, 24.
From pamphlets, consequently, are to be learned the progress of every debate; the various state to which the questions have been changed; the artifices and fallacies, which have been used; and the subterfuges, by which reason has been eluded; In such writings may be seen how one truth has led to another, how the mind has been disentangled and hints improved to demonstration. Which pleasure and many others are lost by him, that only reads larger writers, by whom these scattered sentiments are collected, who will see none of the changes of fortune, which every opinion has passed through.

On the origin and importance of small tracts and fugitive pieces.
Samuel Johnston 1774.¹

Of all the building-related material published in Ireland between 1700 and 1780 the vast majority was cheap pamphlet literature. This was very often polemical and careerist, as well as theoretical and practical in nature, ranging in character from spirited empiricism to prosaic theory, and from cold calculation to unabashed subjectivism. Dominant issues were water-supply, inland navigation and bridge-building. The large scale of technical material, in contrast to the paucity of native architectural literature, demonstrates that infinitely more public attention was given to the practical problems of engineering activity than to architectural design. The close links between military engineering and architectural design in the early eighteenth century equipped architects with a technical expertise which enabled them to practise as engineers. It is not surprising therefore that during the first half of the eighteenth century all of the country's leading architects, Thomas Burgh, Edward Lovett Pearce, Richard Castle, like Davis Ducart later were very actively involved in major engineering projects.

Appropriately, this lively discussion of public works reflects the far greater sums of money which were expended on communications and water-supply in Ireland during the eighteenth-century than on public architectural display. A conglomeration of essays, design proposals, reports, letters, apologies and diatribes vividly illustrates both the naivety and the vigour of early engineering practice in Ireland: equally it demonstrates the role of the printed word in the shaping of cities and careers during the period. It is thus a body of material which helps illuminate significant, and yet largely unexplored, aspects of Irish eighteenth-century building activity.

As this literature is so very diverse in character, it will be useful at the outset to define the different types of material under discussion. Official publications form one category; these are reports and surveys which were commissioned by parliamentary or local government committees to determine the best method of procedure in a given project. Upon submission the committee might simply refer the findings to a group of experts or, as in the case of several Dublin projects, order the several reports to be printed and circulated for public consideration of the scheme. A second category of literature consists of the retorts to the official pamphlets, sometimes published by rival participants, or by new contenders for the commission and invariably highly critical in character. A third genre was the descriptive technical essays and treatises produced by architects and engineers.

Polemical literature forms a fourth and very substantial category of material; a plethora of pamphlets by architects, engineers, politicians and apologists for particular building schemes, defending or attacking the application or misapplication of large sums of public money. Charges of negligence and incompetence abound in controversies, which in retrospect, had clearly more to do with the struggles of landed and mercantile interests for dominance in an urban or national context than they had with individual technical issues. The interests of one part of the country over another are thus reflected in squabbling over alternative routes for inland navigation, whilst the several vested interests of the capital battled over the eastward extension of the city during the 1750s and 1760s.

The subject matter of this ephemeral literature is happily a far more unified affair. All of it relates in one way or another to three central concerns, namely the water-supply of Dublin city, bridge building and inland navigation. In contrast to England, where the architectural
and engineering professions were more clearly defined from an early stage, Irish engineering projects throughout the first half of the eighteenth-century employed the various talents of architects, mathematicians, surveyors and builders. The surviving reports, essays and treatises compiled by these men demonstrate that a knowledge of civil engineering was a vital requirement for architects in Ireland during the early Georgian period: they also make patently clear that the ability to communicate specialised technical knowledge in a concise and palatable form was a further pre-requisite for professional aggrandisement. Rhetoric and diplomacy and didactic flair were apparently as essential to eighteenth-century building practice as science and art.

1. WATER SUPPLY.

The water supply of Dublin city was the first Irish engineering project of the eighteenth century to stimulate professional competition and public debate. In 1734 a committee was appointed by the Corporation 'for better supplying the city with pipe water' and an architect and a mathematician were called upon to submit proposals for an improved water supply. The former was Richard Castle, Ireland's leading architectural designer during the 1730s and 1740s, who was then employed as director of the Newry Canal. His opponent was Gabriel Stokes, an established Dublin surveyor and mathematician. Their task was to 'consider of proper methods for effectually providing a sufficiency of pipe water', it being then the common perception that the fund of water in the basin was insufficient to the city's demands.

Stokes and Castle compiled their proposals and submitted them to the pipe-water committee. The committee was evidently undecided on the best method of procedure and postponed judgment by having the city stationer print five-hundred copies of each scheme 'in order that the city might have the leisure not only to make their own observations thereon, but to consult with such gentlemen as are able and ready to assist in promoting and effecting so great an undertaking.' The two pamphlets offer a fascinating insight into the stumbling experimental character of early eighteenth-century engineering. They also illustrate

1 Gilbert (Lady Rosa), ed. Calendar of ancient records of Dublin. viii, Dublin, 1901. 171.
two very distinct methods of conveying specialised knowledge into a public arena.

In phrasing his proposal, Gabriel Stokes followed very literally the instructions of the pipe-water committee. The title *A Scheme for effectually supplying every part of the City of Dublin with Pipe-Water* repeats verbatim the corporation description of the commission: Richard Castle was not to be so precise in his interpretation. The subtitle to Stokes's pamphlet provides a neat synopsis of his approach to the problem, specifying a scheme *without any charge of water engine or any water forcers*, *being by a close adherence only to the natural laws of gravitation and the principles, rules and experiments of hydrostaticks*'.

The commonly-held notion that the city basin was not supplied with sufficient water to sustain the entire town had prompted a proposal to pump water from the Liffey by means of a water engine. Though the corporation records contain no contemporary reference to the scheme, it had apparently considerable support, as both Stokes and Castle were at pains to demonstrate that no extra fund of water was required. In fact Stokes appears to have seen the demonstration of this assertion as his principal task in presenting his proposal.

Mathematical calculations and basic mechanical principles form the core of Stokes's argument. Having established by survey findings and mathematics that the fund of water was sufficient to demand, he proceeds to demonstrate that the real issues in water supply are gravitation and water pressure. The arguments are simply and succinctly stated. Dublin has the natural advantage of a water source in the highest part of the city; water pressure derives not merely from quantity but from the size of the vessel in proportion to the column of water; due to the laws of gravitation the water contained in the mains at the highest and lowest points will be equal. Such basic principles of hydrostatics were already thoroughly treated in publications such as Stephen Switzer's *An Introduction to a General System of Hydrostaticks and Hydraulics Philosophical and Practical* (1729). Stokes therefore was simply providing the pipe-water committee with a synthesis of theory relevant to the Dublin situation. From these premises, he claimed to 'be able without difficulty to send water in pipes to every part of this city'. In practical terms he proposed to reconstruct the three principal mains to carry the water from St. James's Gate to Capel Street, St. Stephen's Green and Lazer's Hill. Throughout, emphasis is placed on minimum expenditure. The construction of three new mains, together with
improvements to the watercourse and basin, would cost in Stokes's estimation £1374 and 14 shillings.

Richard Castle's proposal was quite different in character to Stokes's scheme. An Essay towards supplying the City of Dublin with Water is prefaced by an 'Advertisement' which is as eloquent as Stokes's sub-title in demonstrating its author's interpretation of the problem. Castle stresses that his design is based upon 'plain practical principles' derived from his wide travel experience, and on his knowledge of 'the best works of this kind now subsisting'. Whereas Stokes had placed all emphasis on theoretical demonstration, Castle proudly claimed to have 'most carefully avoided every thing that has the face of mathematicks'. Both men however share several basic premises. Castle concurs with Stokes in dismissing the proposal for a water-engine, in praising the elevated location of the basin, and in asserting that the fund of water at the basin was sufficient to supply the city. Like Stokes he also enters into lengthy calculations to prove the adequacy of the fund. Thereafter the similarity ends and in contrast to Stokes's demonstration of basic scientific principles, Castle proceeds to examine in greater detail the causes of existing water shortage in the city and to consider a variety of possible solutions.

Whereas Stokes couched his proposal in abstract terms, Castle adopted an empirical approach, stressing the particular problems of the Dublin system. In his view, lack of maintenance and wastage were the principal contributory factors to the shortage of water in Dublin. Like Stokes, Castle discusses water pressure but in the specific context of the existing Dublin pipe system. The reason why 'not one drop of water' was to be had in Skinner-Row when the taps were running in New-Gate, was, he maintained, due to the error of taking small pipes directly off the principal mains. His proposed remedy was to follow the London method of erecting cisterns at high points in the city and carrying subsidiary pipes from them alongside the principal mains. He also favoured the introduction of cisterns and ball-cocks into the houses, again upon the London model.

By way of introduction to his own proposal, Castle considers the several methods of water supply then in operation in London, namely the machine at London-Bridge, the New River, York Buildings and Chelsea Water-Works. However having sketched a brief account of each, he follows none in the Dublin proposal. Instead he maintains that by virtue of its elevated site the city basin and watercourse are attended by
all of the advantages of the New River but without the expense. Thus the answer to the Dublin water shortage was to clean up the water-course and basin, close in the open troughs thus preventing wastage, and regulate the pipes around six new principal mains. The cost of this scheme at £4318 and eleven shillings was over three times that of Gabriel Stokes. According to Castle all expenditure would be fully covered by income from the water revenue.

It is worth considering what the public perception of respective schemes might have been. One thousand pamphlets circulated at once throughout the city must certainly have been attended by lively public response. How convincing then would these proposals have seemed to the householder in Capel Street or St. Stephen's Green in 1735? According to Stokes, there was plentiful water, nature assisted its flow and distribution throughout the city, and the only reason that the inhabitants of the northern and eastern quarters were ill-served was the inefficiency of the existing pipes. Castle on the other hand maintained that wastage, neglect and a lack of new technology was responsible.

Stokes's proposal was clearly the more reticent of the two, more a demonstration of its author's scientific expertise than a thorough-going examination of a particular problem: hydrostatics in three easy lessons, aimed primarily to convince the uninitiated that water was in sufficient supply and could be regulated without the use of machines. To the long-suffering householder in Capel Street or St. Stephen's Green the equilibrium of fluids and the dynamics of water pressure may well have appeared vague remedies to a very real problem. After all, hydrostatical principles were not entirely new and presumably had been well understood by Captain Burgh and his contemporaries. There was perhaps more to this affair than would be remedied by merely translating abstract formulae into a bevy of new elm-wood pipes.

For the layman the beauty of Richard Castle's proposal was the tangible nature of the causes and effects which it outlined. Water clogged by vegetation, greedy hucksters and diminishing pressure due to constant and direct interruption were far more easily grasped than hydrostatical paradoxes. Similarly the description of London's water-supply systems provided a real context for the Dublin proposal. Presumably Gabriel Stokes was acquainted with the particular problems of the Dublin supply and with the methods practised in England. Since 1730 Dublin Corporation had been well aware of various 'abuses in the wasting and embezzling of water', while London's water supply was
widely known through prints and written accounts. That Stokes chose to ignore these factors and pursue a theoretical approach is characteristic of the academic exegesis of late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century natural philosophy. It was the standard presentation method of the Dublin Philosophical Society and of Newtonian scientific practice.

As a mathematician and surveyor, Stokes no doubt believed that the clear light of scientific fact was sufficient evidence to convince the pipe-water committee and the city at large, of his superior expertise. He was mistaken. Instead Richard Castle appears to have won the greatest support for his scheme, though in the event this was only partially executed. If Stokes was presumably well aware of the factors which Castle emphasised in his scheme, as director of the Newry Navigation Castle was clearly no stranger to hydrostatical theory. We know that he owned an extensive collection of architectural books which would readily have provided the requisite demonstrations, had he wished to employ them in his proposal. Clearly he deliberately chose to stress his empirical knowledge and to play down the theoretical and mathematical aspects of the subject which were not his strength.

The description and discussion of the various London water-supplies was clearly contrived to impress readers with Castle's travel experience, and no doubt also to appeal to the spirit of emulation which was ever-present in Dublin's attitude to its prestigious neighbour. Presumably, as a foreigner in Ireland, Castle was particularly conscious of such susceptibilities. The parading of the several English schemes only to conclude that the natural Dublin supply offered all of the advantages of the best and most expensive London method was doubtless introduced for effect rather than instruction. Overall the impression conveyed by respective pamphlets is of a sober scientifically-minded surveyor eager to install an effective but inexpensive system, and a sharp sophisticated practitioner as well versed in diplomacy as in modern building practice.

The printed pamphlets together with a map of the existing pipe system drawn by Richard Castle, were laid before the corporation in

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2'To be sold by auction on ...the first day of June 1752, all the household goods of Richard Castle esq deceased...as also his curious and valuable collection of books in architecture fortification and all parts of polite literature...’.
Dublin Journal, 23 May 1752.
April of 1735. Two months later the pipe-water committee reported that they had presented the schemes to Dr. Richard Helsham and Dr. Bryan Robinson, two Dublin experts in natural philosophy, who recommended that further experiments be made ' before the city can safely come to a determined resolution'. In September it was concluded that such experiments had been rendered impossible by the wetness of the Summer season. The committee then acknowledged the wastage of water near the basin and the inefficiency of the existing mains, and recommended remedial action. Curiously however they continued to prevaricate on choosing between respective schemes. However in May of the following year the corporation heard that the 'committee for better supplying the city with pipe water, have (together with Mr Castles) lately viewed the city water course'. Precautions to counter-effect wastage were decided upon and Castle was voted two hundred pounds to carry out the work.

During the year which elapsed between the publication of the pamphlets in April 1735 and Castle's appointment as consultant to the committee, Gabriel Stokes made several further unsuccessful attempts to secure the commission. Though no known copy survives, Stokes apparently published comments on Castle's scheme soon after its initial publication. Fortunately however, his second effort to unseat Castle is extant and offers a most vivid insight into the politics of patronage in Ireland during the early eighteenth century. Fired by anger and spleen, Stokes's second pamphlet is a deliciously satiric piece. In the title of his work, Stokes parodies the advertisement or introduction to Castle's scheme; Observations on a late essay of Mr Richard Castle collected from some remarks made in my travels on his latest and best works now subsisting ......done for the benefit of the publick, by Mr. Gabriel Stokes mathematical instrument-maker and surveyor of lands, wherein is most carefully avoided everything, that has the face of mathematicks..'. In the pamphlet, the chief criticism levelled at Castle is that of gross and deliberate miscalculation, firstly in asessing the number of hogsheads emitting from the basin and secondly in computing the number of houses in the city.

It was perhaps something of a consolation to Stokes that Castle was given such a limited job by the pipe-water committee and that

1 Gilbert (Lady Rosa Mulholland). Calendar of ancient records of Dublin. viii. Dublin, 1901. 182.
2 Ibid. 204.
he was discharged from his post as director of the Newry Canal in the winter of 1736.\(^1\) In Dublin the water supply arrangements continued to deteriorate and it was not until January of 1738 that the committee was empowered 'to send to England or elsewhere to find out and employ a proper person or persons of skill and accustomed to this kind of work for a proper distribution of the pipes and management of the whole'.\(^2\) By no coincidence the same meeting granted twenty guineas to one James Scanlon in compensation for a survey of the city water carried out by him in 1734. Scanlan was described as 'a gentleman that resides in England and now here' and was duly appointed director of the city water. During the course of the following decade Scanlon supervised the laying out of new mains and the installment of water pumping engines at Island-Bridge. Presumably his proposal in 1734 had been the water-engine which was so severely censored by Stokes and Castle.

Scanlon, Stokes and Castle were not however the only contestants for the Dublin pipe-water scheme. A fourth candidate is known to us through a surviving manuscript proposal which was clearly originally intended for publication. Its author was the Dublin architect and builder Michael Wills. The manuscript which is now in the library of Queens University at some stage passed into the collection of the Foster family at Collon.\(^3\) It is a slim calf-bound quarto volume entitled 'A short treatise of the city water; where the method of diffusing this great blessing is clearly laid down in a new, and concise manner. The whole city served at one and the same time..'. Dedicated to the Mayor, sheriffs and commons of Dublin corporation it bears Wills's signature and the date '19th June 1736'. However what is perhaps most intriguing about the manuscript is the fact that it was extensively amended at a later date, certainly after the mid 1740s, as Wills refers to the new pipes laid by Scanlon and to the water-engines at Island-Bridge.

Given that Wills's essay was written after the publication of Stokes's and Castle's pamphlets, it is not surprising that it should contain a synopsis of the arguments found therein. However, like Castle, Wills was an architect and not a theoretician and his proposal similarly adopts an empirical approach. Stokes's laboured scientific principles are swiftly relegated by Wills to the status of common sense 'who will

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1 Journals of the House of Commons of Ireland. 1768. VII, part II, 249.
3 Queens University Library; Special Collections, miscellaneous manuscripts.
dispute with me that water by its own gravity will ... always seek the lowest parts? Or that the current in rivers of the same depth is not ever in proportion to the descent? What need I go about to demonstrate that water confined in pipes will always rise like a fountain? 'Wills accords with Castle in stressing that the inhabitants in the higher part of the town received most of the water and that only an efficient pipe-system could prevent this. As in Castle's scheme he recommended the use of a main and the placing of cisterns at high points in the various neighbourhoods.

Several new elements appeared in Wills's proposal which were alternately Utopian and whimsical. Of the former category was the idea of enclosing a ten-acre site and building a second reservoir as back-up to the existing basin. A more eccentric concept was the plan to erect a series of perpendicular pipes at strategic sites throughout the city from which he would run pairs of pipes 'thus continuing the supply, during the reparation of each other'. The pipes were to be of the same height as the basin floor and by forcing the water upward would, according to Wills, reproduce exactly the same degree of pressure found at basin level. This neat relay plan took no consideration of pressure losses between the basin and the vertical pipes due to friction or usage, and was clearly based on a naive application of hydrostatic principles.

A third issue considered in Wills's essay and ignored by Castle and Stokes was the question of who was to benefit from the city water. Stokes and Castle simply took for granted that they were planning for a paying public, and ignored society outside that milieu. Indeed Castle suggested that the exclusion of poor areas would add to the cost-efficiency of his scheme, emphasising that 'if any of the streets by their not being compleatly built, or inhabited by poor people, shall be thought not worth while to have pipes laid in them, the above charge will be reduc'd in proportion'. Wills on the other hand appears to have had a religious conviction concerning the plight of the poor. This is a trait which recurs in his other writings. His essay on the city water contains several allusions to the provision of water as a noble and Christian enterprise 'particularly when it tends to the advancement of justice, and supplying the wants, not only of the poor; but all the inhabitants of this city'. In presenting his scheme Wills proposes that 'the water shall be equally divided throughout the city; so that everyone may have it in any reasonable proportion, to the most distant parts (without drawing
from another) ; and what abounds (as there will always be overflowings) be given to the poor, that being their just due '.

Wills's text with its later eighteenth-century amendments is a testament to the continued problems of the Dublin water-supply. As the city expanded dramatically to the north, south and east, water shortage became more acute. Though James Scanlon's water engines supplemented the main supply for several decades, water shortage remained a common source of complaint. In retrospect it seems that there was much truth in Richard Castle's contention that wastage was the essential problem of the Dublin system. In 1758 a sub-committee was appointed by the Corporation 'to enquire into the causes of the waste of water in the back course and to consider how it may be prevented'. The findings of this report echoed Castle's essay of 1735, namely that the water shortage was 'owing not to the want of a sufficient quantity of water but to the great waste in the back course'. It concluded that if ' that waste can be prevented and the water saved thereby properly disposed of ' then the system would 'have water sufficient at all times to serve such parts of the city as are now supplied with water and probably some others that now want it'.

In the event the shortage problem was remedied by an entirely new and unanticipated solution - the Grand Canal. In 1763 the pipe-water committee applied to the Commissioners of Inland Navigation to complete the canal works from Ballyfermot to the city basin, and in 1765 Parliament granted £7850 for the purpose. However due to successive problems in constructing the requisite stretch of the canal, water was not provided to the city by this means until 1776. Thus in the 1770s complaints of shortage from householders in Merrion Square and Bolton Street sounded no different from the Capel Street and Stephen's Green lobby of the 1730s. Certainly they had similar effect, and in 1772 a premium was advertised 'for the best plan ... for assisting and extending the pipe-water works of this city '. It seems likely that the amendments to Michael Wills's essay were made at this time. Certainly the proposal for a second reservoir is deemed superfluous in Wills's second analysis, there now being 'a good prospect before us' and 'no danger of want'.

1 Gilbert (Lady Rosa Mulholland). Calendar of ancient records of Dublin. x . Dublin, 1903. 333.
3 Freemans Journal, 14 Jan 1773.
The common denominator in the schemes of Wills, Stokes and Castle is that all were essentially job applications. Each was a formal proposal for an important public works commission. It was a commission of central significance in the urban development of Dublin, and its introduction of theoretical and technical knowledge into the civic arena came far in advance of public architectural criticism and debate. It demonstrates the experimental character of early engineering activity in Ireland and the major role which it played in contemporary architectural practise. Equally it contributes much to our knowledge of Richard Castle and Michael Wills, two very significant figures who stand at the centre and periphery of contemporary architectural activity. Not least it demonstrates that elusive phenomenon so valued by Samuel Johnson; the dynamics of a bourgeoning modern society.

2. INLAND NAVIGATION

In financial terms the Dublin pipe-water supply was a trifling affair when compared to the several inland navigation schemes which were carried out in Ireland during the course of the eighteenth century. For example, in any one year during the 1730s up to £7000 could be spent on a short stretch of the Newry Canal. Between 1730 and 1787 a vast £900,000 of public monies was invested in inland navigation. The inflated scale of this investment was largely due to the efforts of the Irish parliament to wrest control of taxation revenue from the English crown and parliament. The more money that was spent on public works in Ireland, the less surplus revenue was available as royal hereditary income. The granting of additional taxation duties in 1753 resulted in large new surpluses, and the Irish House of Commons persistently voted these funds for public works. Large expenditure and its attendant responsibility naturally stimulated both public and professional ambition, and a body of literature was produced in response to the various Irish navigation projects. The bulk of this material is polemical in character and very often is political and economic rather than technical in its content. However, there is in this array of essays, letters and reports, a corpus of information which has direct relevance to contemporary building activity and casts considerable new light on the politics of patronage in early eighteenth-century Ireland.

Water was early recognised as one of Ireland’s greatest natural resources and designs to create an effective inland waterway system
began to be devised at the end of the seventeenth century. The men responsible for the earliest schemes were military engineers. Clearly a technical knowledge of siege entrenchment and military reconnaissance was an appropriate foundation for the skills of surveying, excavation and mechanical design which were requisite in canal engineering. Francis Nevill, a surveyor and military engineer, produced an inland-navigation design which he presented to parliament in 1703. Nevill’s plan for a canal between Lough Neagh and the sea is the earliest practical proposal for the construction of the Newry navigation. The manuscript survives and is essentially a map of the proposed canal route. However though Nevill was rewarded for his efforts nothing came of the scheme. In the same year plans were presented for an extensive navigation of the river Shannon, and while this too was considered by a parliamentary committee no funds were voted for its construction. A further proposal for a Shannon and Barrow navigation was suggested in 1709.

The first published comment on the subject appeared in an anonymous pamphlet of 1710 ‘from a gentleman in the country to a member of the House of Commons’ entitled Hydrographia Hibernica. This appears to have been written in tandem with the 1709 navigation proposal in an attempt to prompt Parliament into action. The sub-title suggests that private interests had prevented parliamentary support for the scheme: a view of the considerable rivers of Ireland being an abstract of a plain and easie method of making them navigable, with ease and advantage to the publick, and without any hazard of injuring private persons in their mills, wyers, fisheries or other improvements. The author attempts to counter the fears of landowners, and offers a series of economic arguments in favour of navigable canals ‘whose excellency in general terms seems to need very little demonstration, being sufficiently recommended to us from the example and happy experience of other neighbouring countries’.

From a technical point of view, and in the context of later publications on canals and their construction, the pamphlet is most interesting for its description of the actual survey which was presented to Parliament in 1709. That manuscript no longer survives and its author remains anonymous. According to the Hydrographia the

1 PRONI D695/N.
surveyor in question was a private person who had spent the best part of his time for seven years in calculating and attending a publick good. The scheme had demonstrated the 'rise, course, extent and situation' of the rivers Shannon, Barrow, Brosna, Boyne, Blackwater, Rye and Liffey and proposed 'a plain and practicable method of making a navigable communication through the centre of the kingdom by those rivers betwixt the several seaports of Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, Ross, Sligo and Drogheda'. This Utopian vision had evidently been well illustrated, and the distances and heights of the various rivers had been clearly stated on the plans. Also clearly demonstrated was 'a method of raising and securing any assign'd depth of water in the highest canal'. A third figure had illustrated 'a lock or sluice which with the help of a pair of flood-gates...will pass a boat of 20 tons'.

Evidently this proposal was a more fully developed presentation than that offered by Francis Nevill six years previously. The decision to illustrate the basic mechanics of a canal lock demonstrates that this type of information was now considered neccessary to properly explain technical projects to the members of parliament. Still, nothing was done to carry out the scheme and the first legislation for 'easing and despatching the inland carriage and conveyance of goods from one part to another within this kingdom' dates to 1715, prompted by yet another proposal for a Shannon Navigation. This was followed in 1721 and 1729 by further acts appointing bodies of commissioners to supervise projects in the various parts of the country. In practical terms little appears to have been achieved during these years due to a lack of sufficient financial support and of the requisite technical skills. The first major inland navigation project to be launched in Ireland was the Newry Navigation which was begun in 1730. This was the earliest large-scale inland canal to be constructed in the British Isles. It was completed in 1746 at a cost of £52,000.1 Not surprisingly it prompted architects, engineers and politicians to enter into print.

We have already briefly encountered the Newry Canal in the altercation between Gabriel Stokes and Richard Castle, in which Stokes described the setting-up of the scheme as 'a scene of iniquity', and suggested that influence rather than expertise was the criterion for Castle's appointment as director. Castle was in fact the third engineer...

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1 Mc Cutcheon (William A.) *The canals of the north of Ireland*. Dawlish, 1965. chap.II.
be involved in the project. The first was the surveyor-general, Thomas Burgh who in 1729 'at the request of many of the principal nobility, gentry and merchants residing in Dublin' undertook to survey the river of Newry and the Bog of Glynn' in order to return an estimate for the proposed navigation. Burgh had already experience of hydraulic engineering in improving the harbour of Dublin, constructing the Dublin city basin, and in making canals for country-house demesnes. A plan of a sluice dated 1726 designed by Burgh and drawn by his assistant Michael Wills, survives among the drawings of the Ordnance Office. Burgh's survey for the Newry canal was not an official commission, and it is intriguing that he felt moved in August of 1729 to publish a notice of his impending survey in order to dissuade local gentlemen from 'unwarily' encouraging other 'persons' in the task: 'such persons as by their manner of proceeding, appear rather to obstruct than promote the publick good'. Burgh died in 1730 and there are no surviving records of his survey or plan.

The first official director of the canal project was Burgh's successor as surveyor-general, Sir Edward Lovett Pearce. Though the navigation board was appointed in 1730, the first recorded expenditure by Pearce was a mere £434 for the year 1731, followed by £3,760 for 1732. In May of 1732 Pearce presented Parliament with a scheme 'for employing part of the foot forces in making a navigable canal between Lough Neagh and Newry'. It would appear therefore that construction only began in earnest in 1732 and that preparatory work was still in progress in 1730 and 1731. Pearce was succeeded by his protege Richard Castle in May of 1734, by which time presumably a fully formulated plan had been completed.

This fragmentary early history of the Newry Canal is supplemented by an anonymous pamphlet published in 1729, which almost equals in rancour Gabriel Stokes's essay of 1735. Considerations on the Act for Encouraging Inland Navigation in Ireland carried the pseudonym of 'a country gentleman' writing to 'his friend in the House of Commons' and was signed Patriophilus. The author appears to have been an overseer of the abortive Liffey navigation, whose miscarriage

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1 *Dublin Journal*, 2 Aug. 1729
4 *Journal of the House of Commons of Ireland*. viii(1768), pt.2. 249.
was evidently being paraded in 1729 as one of the principal objections to
the Newry Navigation. There is scarce a man, who rides this day along
the banks of the Liffy and sees those ruins of your unfinish'd works
which are so many living monuments of our miscarriage but must
naturally conclude that the thing was in itself chymerical, impractical or
the undertaker unequal to it. Little is known of this unfinished
scheme. It was clearly one of the navigation projects instigated by the
legislation of 1715. The latter authorized work to be carried out on two
navigations involving the River Liffey. The first of these was an
embryonic form of the Grand Canal; a navigation from Dublin to the
River Shannon via the Liffey, Rye and Boyne. The second was a
navigation from Dublin to the Barrow near Carlow via the Liffey. A
body of commissioners or undertakers were appointed by the act to
oversee respective projects. Several references to the scale and ambition
of the project under discussion makes clear that Patriophilus is referring
to the grander of the two schemes. Considerations on the Act for
Encouraging In-land Navigation in Ireland sets itself the task of
unravelling that unexplain'd if not unaccountable miscarriage of the
Liffey navigation. This failure he claims arose not at all from the
nature of the thing nor from any real difficulties essentially or inevitably
attending it but rather from the gross and palpable ignorance, the
unexampl'd inimitable blunders of certain intermeddlers and pretenders
to art at home, who in combination with some intruding mercenaries
from abroad, and aided, first by avarice and corrupt practises...work
themselves into the sole conduct and management of your [parliament]
works.

At the time of writing the author claims to be in ill-health and
no longer active professionally. His interest therefore is merely to refute
charges concerning the Liffey navigation, to clear his own name and to
promote the spread of inland navigation throughout the country. It is
very clear however that the writer is incensed at being replaced in public
favour by new men, and in particular is irked at his exclusion from
participation in the Newry Navigation scheme. Informed by a
member of parliament that his association with the Liffey project had
ruined his chances of involvement in the Newry Navigation the writer
is incredulous, having thought himself now too well known and

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1 An act to encourage the draining and improving of the Bogs and Unprofitable Low
Grounds, and for easing and despatching the Inland Carriage and Conveyance of Goods
from one part to another within this Kingdom.
established to be so easily unhing'd or supplanted'. It is clear from the text that the author was actively involved in disbursing public funds for the Liffey Scheme though if the blunders of others could justifiably be blamed for the project's failure, one wonders in what capacity he was involved. However his advice to the Newry Trustees is very clear, namely that 'whatever sums they may hereafter contract to pay for ... and whatever toll they may think reasonable to allow for maintaining 'em thereafter' they should be certain to 'take good sureties for performance' . The essay concludes with an appeal to Parliament not to continue to 'engage or embarrass the nation in....chymerical ridiculous experiments of artists and enthusiasts' or in 'childish unconcerted guesswork'. Ominously, these charges are remarkably similar to the criticisms levelled at the Newry Canal during the 1730s and 1740s.

The pamphlet was printed in 1729 for the bookseller William Smith who promised a sequel then 'in the press and soon to be published' entitled The Old travels and New Discoveries of a Modern Engineer. This would suggest that Patriophilus was a practising engineer and that the intrigues he refers to are therefore intimately connected with contemporary building activity in Ireland. The substantial length of the Considerations (a considerable seventy-four pages long) and the fact that it was published for a bookseller and not by the author suggests that it was guaranteed considerable public interest. The writer must therefore have been a figure of some rank as there can be little doubt that a Dublin audience in 1729 knew well the identity of Patriophilus.¹

The most significant text associated with the Newry Navigation was Richard Castle's 'An Essay on artificial navigation'.² Like Michael Wills's water supply proposal, this essay never found its way into print although as in the case of the Wills manuscript it was certainly intended for eventual publication. While the latter, if published, would have been a pamphlet of considerable local interest, Richard Castle's essay would have been the first treatise of its kind to be published in the English language and a seminal work for eighteenth-century hydraulic engineering. Instead it remained a manuscript volume, formerly in the library of the Dukes of Leinster at Carton and now in the National

¹In the text the writer confirms the thin disguise of such pseudonyms. 'I believe that most of my readers will easily guess who you are that I particularly address this letter to.'
²NLI. MS 2737.
The essay was submitted by Castle in application for the post of director to the Newry Navigation. In the dedication to the commissioners of the Navigation Board, the essay is offered by Castle as 'some proof of my capacity for such a charge as the conducting and finishing of the Canal of Newry'.

In the conclusion to his essay Castle refers to the brevity of 'the time allow'd by this Honourable Board for laying my thoughts of this matter before them'. It seems likely therefore that the manuscript was compiled in the winter of 1733 between the death of Sir Edward Lovett Pearce, and Castle's appointment as director of the canal in May of 1734. It has already been suggested that Pearce and Sir Gustavus Hume, a prominent member of the Navigation Board and a patron of Castle, were apparently influential in securing Castle's appointment. Certainly the phrasing of Castle's preface was calculated to gain optimum benefit from such support, as he refers to 'the disadvantage of being a stranger in this kingdom and destitute of any other recommendation to your Honours, than what hath arisen from the indulgence of those gentlemen for whom I have conducted some considerable works since my coming'.

Castle entered the scene when presumably plans for the navigation had been determined by his predecessor, and work was certainly already in progress. Therefore his submission to the Navigation Board required no detailed plans for a specific project but rather a general account of canal construction in order to demonstrate his practical knowledge of the subject. 'An Essay on Artificial Navigation' is just that: a broad lucid account of modern canal building, outlining the particular difficulties posed by canal construction and the methods of overcoming them. It is a simple step-by-step account, illustrated by detailed figures and clearly calculated to render the subject intelligible to the layman. Castle divides the essay into six 'propositions': the first of these considers the sources of water for the canal; the second examines the purposes of the navigation; the third discusses appropriate depth and width; the fourth considers potential problems and their solution; the fifth describes the method of taking levels, digging the canal and appropriate locations for locks; the sixth provides a detailed account of the manner of building locks.

Castle illustrated his text with fifteen figures, eight of which are now missing from the manuscript volume. Those that survive range from picturesque bird's-eye views of canals to detailed plans and sections for lock construction, to drawings of the various types of piles employed in different terrains. All demonstrate Castle's skill as a draughtsman. (PLATES 87, 88) The drawings are executed in ink and coloured wash and are attached to sheets of blue paper interleaved between the Villerdy sheets which carry the text. The latter are folio pages set out in two octavo-sized columns framed by red lined borders. It is a format which suggests that Castle was thinking in terms of publication from the outset. Certainly the conclusion to the essay demonstrates that this was his ultimate intention. Here he explains that he had hoped to complete the essay 'with some draughts of locks...in Holland, and particularly one upon the River Seine, near Nogent in France'. However due to the short time available to him in making his submission to the navigation board he hoped to be 'excus'd in deferring...[this] purpose for the present, intending through their indulgence to publish a more ample, and satisfactory account for the benefit of the publick'.

Had Castle succeeded in carrying out this objective, his book would have been the first treatise on canal building in the English language and the earliest publication in any language to approach the subject in this practical and instructive fashion. In 1733 most of the existing literature on inland navigation was Italian, produced by the hydraulic-engineers Castelli, Guglielmini and Michelini. These were large treatises on the nature of rivers and waters in motion which provided detailed information of theoretical and scientific character, and were illustrated by simple line drawings. They were books which would have appealed to academics and zealous engineers rather than to the professional classes or the landed gentry. The fourth volume of Bélidor's Architecture Hydraulique which appeared in 1752 was the first publication to provide detailed practical information on river navigation and canal construction. Belidor's text and illustrations are much more detailed than those of Castle, and were clearly directed at practising engineers rather than the general public.

Castle's approach was thus absolutely novel and particularly relevant to contemporary Ireland where the concept of inland

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navigation was gaining increasing popularity. In it we recognise the same astute pragmatism which was evident in the Dublin pipe-water proposal. Castle clearly recognised that politicians, landowners and businessmen desired intelligible synopses of technical information in order to grasp the basic facts of their ambitious building schemes. The Dublin Society clearly voiced this desire at a meeting in January of 1732 when a committee was ordered 'to draw up a catalogue of all the books of husbandry and mechanic arts in the English, Latin, Greek and French tongues, as also to find out what books in foreign languages give the best account of the husbandry and arts now practised in France, Flanders, Holland, Germany, Poland and Italy as likewise such books as contain the assets, edicts and laws of those several countries relating to the regulations and improvements of their arts and trade'.

The desire to emulate European models is a second aspect of contemporary Irish mentality which Castle cultivates in his 'Essay on Artificial Navigation'. His account of an unrealised plan to subjoin figures of Dutch and French sluices has already been noted, and throughout the essay there are references to canal construction in Holland. In discussing the ideal width for a canal, Castle advocates a breadth sufficient for two boats to pass, which though more expensive is better than a single berth cut. In support of this he cites 'most of the canals I have seen in Holland...[which]...are made in this manner'. In describing the construction of the canal banks again he quotes 'the method by which I have seen them done in Holland...[where]...they raise the outer surface of the banks towards the back drains with sods, and put branches of sally or willow between every third or fourth course which are distant from each other about one or two feet, and let them grow for the first year; afterwards they keep them clipped for three or four years in order to...keep and tie the bank together, to withstand floods'. In explaining the workings of sluices he cites the 'great sluice near the Hooyee Maark', and in describing piling he illustrates 'a machine for driving piles in Holland'.

Castle's references to Holland all concern works which he has 'seen'; at no stage does he claim to have been active in canal construction. While the essay demonstrates a clear grasp of basic mathematical physics and a good understanding of the principles of canal construction, Castle cites no specific projects which he has been involved with. Given the fact that the essay is essentially an application

1 RDS. Minute books of the Royal Dublin Society(xerox copies). 20 January1731/32.
for the Newry job, reference to a past experience in hydraulic engineering would undoubtedly have improved Castle's chances of appointment. That he offers none suggests that in fact he had no previous experience in the field, and that this essay was therefore culled together from his travel experience, his reading on the subject and his acquaintance with the work on the Newry Canal already carried out by Sir Edward Lovett Pearce. Presumably Pearce had already made drawings and detailed instructions and as Pearce's protege and inheritor of his position as Ireland's first architect, it is very likely that Castle had the opportunity to study these. The general impression conveyed by Castle's essay is the same as that communicated by his pipe-water scheme, namely a medley of existing information and personal observation used to best effect.

As we have seen, canal construction was understood by military engineers in Ireland during the opening decades of the eighteenth-century. Given the taste for canals and waterworks in contemporary garden design it seems also likely that the basic mechanics of inland navigation were in common circulation among architects and builders. During the 1730s one writer commenting on lock construction, maintained that 'any common carpenter who had seen one built, could have done as well' himself. Among the designs for the Dromoland demesne executed during the same period is a plan and estimate for the 'Cannal from Dromoland Logh to ye tyde way at Latton'. This provides a map of the canal and a figure depicting a lock explained by a numerical key. (PLATE 89) The difference between this drawing and Richard Castle's figure of a lock is one of sophistication. The Dromoland figure is simple to the point of being naive, whereas Castle's drawing is technically accomplished and far more explicit in its detail of the timber framing and pile construction. Nonetheless it is clear from the Dromoland estimate and description that its author understood the type of detail rendered by Castle. Here detailed specifications ('40 foot of inch and a half planck for the lower flood gate... 40 feet of inch board for the sluices ... two tunn of timber for the case frames and ledges of flood gates') take the place of sophisticated presentation. Castle appears to have created a synthesis of contemporary ideas and practice and shaped them into a lucid and palatable form. None of this detracts from 'An essay on

1 Hydragogus'. A true account of the canal between Lough Neagh and Newry in a letter to a member of parliament in Munster. Dublin, 1738?

2 IAA. Dromoland Album. (photographic copies).
artificial navigation' but rather serves to highlight Castle's ability to respond quickly and effectively to a professional challenge.

The most curious aspect of the essay is its relation to Castle's subsequent record as director of the Newry Navigation. Appointed to the post in May of 1734 he was dismissed less than three years later in December of 1736. Presumably this ignominious conclusion to his career as an hydraulic engineer put an end to Castle's ambition to publish the navigation essay. He was succeeded by the English engineer Thomas Steers who in turn was followed by an Irishman, William Gilbert who finally completed the canal in 1742. The evidence from several independent accounts suggests that mismanagement and lack of technical expertise characterised the initial stages of the project and it appears therefore that Richard Castle for all his elegant description and theory, was either not adequately versed in canal construction or not sufficiently motivated to carry out effectively a real navigation scheme.

The criticism of the canal in Gabriel Stokes's Observations on a late essay of Mr. Richard Castle appears in retrospect to have been founded upon fact and was not simply the outpouring of rancour. Doubtless Stokes's public condemnation of the Newry Navigation and his challenge to the commissioners to examine their director on his scientific knowledge cannot have improved Castle's fortunes. In fact Stokes does not lay the entire blame at Castle's feet, but claims that 'in the very beginning of this work, an illiterate man was employ'd to take the levels, and an ignorant man to take the survey, which works were each of them done by these different men and could not be connected for the proper use ..... a third hand who knew nothing of the matter but embellishment exhibits a senseless, useless, tho' beautiful nothing to the purpose'.

Stokes's comments are echoed in an undated pamphlet published about 1738. This is entitled A True Account of the Canal between Lough-Neagh and Newry, in a Letter to a Member of Parliament in Munster. Its author who used the pseudonym Hydrogogus was apparently a person of some rank and was persuasive enough to convince George Faulkner to publish the essay. The writer takes it upon himself to give a potted history of the Newry Navigation and to explain the reasons 'for the long and continued expences of this work' which he acknowledged had been such a grievance to the provinces of

Munster and Connaught' given its evident value to Ulster and Leinster. Like Stokes, Hydrogogus levels the blame for the delay at 'the first undertakers, who being little acquainted with the business, committed it to underlings as ignorant as themselves'. Satisfied with the efforts of the last director William Gilbert, the writer maintained that 'no body who was employed before Mr. Gilbert understood anything of the matter. They seemed to design it for a shew rather than a canal'. An amusing description is provided of ladies being frequently brought to view, and thus to interrupt the proceedings. In praise of Gilbert the writer concludes that 'he is no talker, nor boaster; but a doer'. Both in this account, and in that of Gabriel Stokes, one is constantly reminded of Patriophilus and his warnings to the navigation board to guard against 'childish unconcerted guess-work' and the 'chymerical ridiculous experiments of artists and enthusiasts'.

An official report on the canal compiled in 1750 confirms the criticisms published in 1735 and 1745. Soon after its completion the canal began to show constructional defects. Winter floods had breached the banks in places where the soil was soggy, and part of the summit level was so narrow that boats were unable to pass one another. We know that the construction of the canal had begun at summit level near Acton, a strategy which was criticised by Stokes as being unduly expensive. It will be recalled that in his essay Castle advocated a broad canal capable of accommodating two boats at one time. He also advocated beginning work at the lower levels 'because if any mistake should have been committed in the levelling, this will correct it'. These are curious contradictions and it must be assumed that by the time Castle took control, work on the summit level had been well advanced by Pearce. Indeed it is possible that public criticism of the initial stages prompted Castle to include these comments in his submission to the Navigation Board.

Upon completion in 1742 the Newry Canal was eighteen miles long, forty feet wide and five to six feet deep with fourteen locks of an average forty-four-feet in length, fifteen feet in width and twelve to thirteen feet in depth. It was the first major inland canal in the British Isles, and is thus rightly considered a major feat of eighteenth-century engineering. Any discussion of these early accounts of canal building in Ireland must be qualified by the consideration that this was an entirely

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new departure in building activity and therefore the real expense and
time-scale for such schemes was quite naturally extremely difficult to
determine. Given the pioneering character of such projects, problems of
poor design, workmanship and overspending were almost inevitable.
Most of the criticisms levelled at the Irish canals hinged upon delay and
expense. In 1730s and 1740s the Newry Navigation might have appeared
as a white elephant to Gabriel Stokes and Hydrogogus, yet by the 1760s
the scheme was recognised to be of considerable economic value to the
country. That said, the overwhelming impression conveyed by the
assembled literature concerning the Newry Canal, is that nepotism,
inexperience and perhaps also misappropriation of funds were
responsible for its faltering start.

Gabriel Stokes's concluding comments on the Newry Canal are
prophetic of canal literature during the 1750s, 1760s and 1770s.

A vast sum of the nation's money has been expended on this work
already and I have not found any body that has approved of its ill-
concerted [plan]. ..many are surprized, that some kind of estimate
and the intended manner of conducting such work as it was a publick
work was not made known to the publick, that perhaps might have
drawn in the aid and assistance of everybody..

No such secrecy attended the navigation projects of the later eighteenth-
century and everybody and anybody with an interest in the subject of
inland navigation seems to have voiced their opinion in the public
arena. A plethora of pamphlet literature appeared from the 1750s
onward. Unlike the early-eighteenth-century pamphlets, much of this
has been comprehensively discussed in secondary source literature.1
However an overview of its style and content is requisite here in order
to develop the picture of public works debate during the period.

Despite the fact that the Tillage Act of 1729 had instituted a board
of commissioners for inland navigation in each of the four provinces,
the Newry Canal was the only inland navigation project completed in
Ireland before 1750. In 1751 legislation was passed to unite the four
groups into one administrative body, entitled the Corporation for
Promoting and Carrying on Inland Navigation in Ireland. During the
1750s three major navigation schemes were begun: in 1755 the Shannon
Navigation, in 1756 the Grand Canal and in 1759 the Barrow and Boyne


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Navigation. As we have seen, the Utopian vision of a country navigable from north to south, and east to west, had been presented to the Irish Parliament as early as 1709. The several canals begun during the 1750s were the tangible expression of this ideal. Contemporaries talked in heroic terms of this 'stupendous' scheme.\(^1\) In 1755 and 1756 two engineers Thomas Omer and William Ockenden were invited to Ireland by the navigation corporation to direct the construction of their most ambitious scheme, the Grand Canal.

In 1755 the pamphlet war began. In contrast to the Newry controversy which focused upon expense and incompetence, the Grand Canal debate comprised two distinct and opposing factions. The central issue at stake was the proposed route of the canal from Dublin to the Shannon. One faction supported a southern line through Kildare, Laois and Offaly, joining the Shannon at Banagher. Their opponents favoured a northern route through Westmeath and Longford meeting the Shannon at Clondra. While landed interests were clearly of major significance in this controversy, there was also an important technical question to be considered in determining the route. This was simply whether or not the canal would run through the Bog of Allen. Advocates of the southern route maintained that this could be achieved, and would shorten the canal by fifteen miles. Supporters of the northern line held that to build in boggy ground would be a foolhardy measure, and could only result in major expense and long delays in construction.

The first statement on the matter came from Thomas Omer who, having completed a report on the proposed canal, published in 1755 a pamphlet entitled *Mr Omer’s Letter to the Public Comptroller of the Inland Navigation*. In this Omer made the case for a southern line, and while admitting to potential difficulties in the Bog of Allen, concluded that these could be overcome. In 1756 two further pamphlets supported Omer’s position. The first of these was *A Description of the Rival Lines for an Inland Navigation from Dublin to the Shannon with some remarks thereon* which emphasised that only fifty locks were required on the southern route due to the flatness of the terrain, in contrast to a formidable total of sixty-nine locks which were required for the northern route. Further support and a more detailed technical analysis was provided by the second pamphlet *Reasons why the Canal for the Inland*.

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\(^1\)Brooke (Henry). *The interests of Ireland considered with respect to inland navigation*. Dublin, 1759. 48.
Navigation from the Shannon to Dublin should be cut thro’ the Bog of Allen, rather than any other part of the kingdom.

In 1756 two pamphlets were produced in direct response to Omer’s letter and to A Description of the Rival Lines. The first of these was entitled Mr Omer’s Letter to the Public Comptroller of the Inland Navigation examined and Observations on the said letter observed upon. The author who chose to remain anonymous was an advocate of the northern line, and vigorously attacked Omer and his proposal, maintaining that he had not taken an adequate topographical survey. The second publication in favour of a northern route is less reliant upon personal criticism of Omer, and more convincing in its discussion of the technical problems attending the southern line. Observations on a Pamphlet lately published intitled a Description of the Rival Lines for Inland Navigation was clearly written by someone with an understanding of hydraulic engineering. The author defends his preference for the northern route by appealing to the advice of theorists.

Soft ground marshes and bogs are, by all writers on inland navigation cautioned against. I don’t mean that they recommend gravel or quarry, but clay and sound ground: because loam and moory grounds are treacherous and give way and you cannot be sure of your level or foundations for your works.

This advice was repeated in a report made on the canal in 1771 by the English engineer John Smeaton who was called in to advise on the completion of the canal which had been begun in 1756, following the southern route. Smeaton’s report was the final statement in a second round of debate about the canal which was prompted by plans for the privatisation of the Navigation Board. In 1771 separate reports had been prepared for the navigation authorities and for Dublin Corporation by the engineers, Charles Vallancey and John Trail. These were followed by a series of published letters from two prominent supporters of the proposed canal company, Redmond Morres and Sir Lucius O’Brien. The new company was constituted in August of 1772 and upon Smeaton’s recommendation the navigation was eventually directed away from the Bog of Allen towards Edenderry in County Offaly.

1Reports of the late John Smeaton, F.R.S. made on various occasions. in the course of his employment as a civil engineer. London, 1812. II, 247-262.
In England canal engineering developed considerably later than it did in Ireland. The pioneering Bridgewater Canal was begun only in the 1760s, and the earliest English pamphlets on the subject date to this period.\(^1\) In contrast to the vast public expenditure on canals in Ireland, English navigation schemes were funded by private enterprise. It is not surprising therefore that Richard Castle's navigation essay should have been the first of its kind in Britain, nor that thirty years later in 1763, the first treatise on inland navigation in the English language was published in Dublin. Its author was General Charles Vallancey, who in the previous year had been appointed engineer in ordinary, in the newly constituted civil branch of the surveyor-general's office.

Vallancey had come to Ireland from England in 1750 and gradually established himself as a cartographer, author and engineer.\(^2\) A French Huguenot, educated at Eton and the Woolwich Military Academy in London, Vallancey had a thorough training in engineering together with impressive linguistic skills. This command of scholastic engineering and of European languages formed the basis for Vallancey's several publications on building and engineering, which were largely derived from continental texts. His much-criticised work as an antiquarian and Gaelic scholar was more original and infinitely more wayward in character.

Vallancey's first work in the sphere of civil engineering was the navigation treatise of 1763, which was entitled *A Treatise on Inland Navigation or the Art of making rivers navigable, of making canals in all sorts of soils, and of constructing locks and sluices*. In this Vallancey drew extensively on the works of Italian and French hydraulic-engineers. It is a debt which he openly acknowledges in the title, specifying that the text was 'extracted from the works of Guglielmini, Michelini, Castellus, Belidor and others'. The latter included John Muller's *A Treatise Containing the Practical Part of Fortification* of 1755 which included a chapter on building bridges, harbours, sluices and aqueducts. This book was one of the few engineering titles to be marketed in Dublin, and went on sale at the shop of John Smith soon after its publication in London.\(^3\)

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\(^3\) *Dublin Journal*, 18 Jan 1755.
Vallancey dedicated the treatise to the Trustees of the Inland Navigation in Ireland and in it acknowledged the encouragement of 'some noblemen and gentlemen' who had 'perus'd' the manuscript and believed that it 'would be of great service to this kingdom.' His declared objective in producing the volume was merely 'the satisfaction of being thought useful'. As Vallancey's financial status was never as ample as he desired, it must be presumed that he sought more than personal satisfaction in producing his essay on inland navigation. A calf-bound quarto volume illustrated by twenty-four copper-plate engravings was an expensive undertaking, and certainly the publishers, George and Alexander Ewing must have anticipated a lively interest in the work. The incessant problems and delays which attended the Grand Canal throughout the 1750s and 1760s and the frequent parliamentary reports on its progress, were surely the real impetus for the treatise. It no doubt aided Vallancey in securing the commission to survey the Grand Canal for the Navigation Board in 1770.

In the treatise Vallancey offers the layman a comprehensive account of ancient and modern canal building illustrated by plates copied largely from Bélidor's *Architecture Hydraulique*. Like Richard Castle he adopts a practical approach dividing his text into eight chapters and dealing separately with shoals, break-waters, sluices, locks and aqueducts with a chapter of general maxims and two on ancient and modern canals. In the latter, the tale of 'Mr. Breckhall' a German engineer in the Russian service, highlighted the experimental character of much modern navigation work and is worth quoting if only to place Richard Castle's engineering career in a broader perspective.

Mr Breckhall, a German Engineer, who had been long in the Russian Service, where he was esteemed as a great genius, had the conducting of this canal, and all the works belonging to it: but it soon appeared, that he knew nothing of hydraulicks, for he traced the canal as injudiciously as it was possible, and laid the foundation of the first sluice with so little skill and precaution that when the gates were shut to stop the water, the whole blew up:

Breckhall to avoid the punishment he justly deserved hastened out of Russia.

Quite apart from its historical content, Vallancey's book is a more academic and derivative production than Richard Castle's essay. If Castle was combining the methods of contemporary engineering
practice and theoretical knowledge with his own travel experience, Vallancey's eclecticism is of a far more bookish character. Though the book was the first English publication on the subject, in the thirty years which had elapsed since Castle's essay a general knowledge of the subject had become widespread, and in 1772 John Smeaton could assure his Irish correspondents that the 'the mechanical part of navigations is tolerably well understood and reduced to method'.

Thus Vallancey's treatise, is an articulate synopsis of contemporary theory and practise rather than a novel statement on the subject.

The texts of Castle and Vallancey together with the pamphlets of Thomas Omer and his contemporaries thus illustrate the beginnings of inland navigation in Ireland. They are a testament to the gradual development of technical expertise in the field. In them, the confidence and vigour of the eighteenth-century pioneering spirit are brought vividly to life.

3. BRIDGE BUILDING

During the 1750s and 1760s bridge-building was a very significant aspect of Irish public building activity. The rebuilding of Essex Bridge between 1752 and 1755 stimulated lively public interest in the subject and Dublin booksellers, ever conscious of topical public issues, imported and published works directly related to the project. Plans to erect a bridge to the east of Essex Bridge, facilitating the eastward extension of the city, were attended by much published comment and debate. Ironically the most comprehensive statement on bridge-building in Ireland was published after the most prolific period of construction had passed. In 1776 George Semples's A Treatise on Building in Water provided a vivid survey of modern bridge-building techniques and their published sources during the preceding decades (PLATE 90).

The partial collapse of Essex Bridge in Dublin in 1751 was a momentous event both in the urban development of the city and in the history of engineering in Ireland. In February of the following year the first publication associated with the rebuilding project went on sale in Dublin. This was not an original composition but rather a reprint of an English work A Description of Westminster Bridge which was first

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1Letters between Redmond Morres Esq. one of the .....and John Smeaton Esq. Engineer F.R.S. in 1771 and 1772. Dublin, 1773.
2The Dublin Courant., 11 Feb. 1752.
published in London in the previous year by Charles Labelye, the Swiss engineer and designer of Westminster Bridge. The Dublin edition was produced by the publishers George and Alexander Ewing who, as we have seen, appear to have had a particular interest in promoting works of a technical nature. Their Labelye essay came complete with a copy of Fourdrinier’s ‘Geometrical elevation of the north front of Westminster Bridge’, which they also offered for sale without the description to ‘those who chuse to frame and set it up in halls etc.’. The publication notice for the work recommended it as ‘very proper to be perused at this time, by all who wish to see Essex-Bridge rebuilt in a beautiful and convenient manner’.

Two months later in April of 1752 a public proposal for rebuilding Essex Bridge was published by the Dublin architect-builder Michael Wills. The title is explanatory of Wills’s modest intentions: A Scheme for enlarging Essex-Bridge; whereby, not only three-fourths of the expence of a new-bridge will be saved: but the Publick shall enjoy the benefit in six months. Together with a plan for a new bridge. The last-named item was introduced merely for rhetorical effect in order to demonstrate the efficiency of his own scheme and the extravagance of a complete rebuilding. Economy appears to have been Wills’s overriding consideration and his fifteen-page pamphlet outlines a plan for an inexpensive five-month building project which would reconstruct one pier and three arches of the old bridge and underpin the remaining piers. Wills’s bristling defence of the charge that he was ‘wanting a jobb’ certainly suggests a careerist motive for the pamphlet. In it Wills claimed to have submitted proposals for repair of the bridge in July of 1751 which were initially accepted by the grand jury but then discarded in favour ‘of others who never had any experience in water-works’.

Wills was adamantly opposed to building a new and enlarged bridge and ‘to the pulling down of Essex-Bridge purely for the sake of grandure’. Whether this stand-point stemmed from spleen or conviction is unclear. Certainly the account of his displacement by Semple has a markedly bitter ring to it. In contrast to George Semple’s dramatic saga of bravery and perseverance recounted in A Treatise on Building in Water, Wills is a voice of caution and frugality, and at times even a prophet of doom. His principal concern in 1751 was the potential destruction, not only of the buildings at each end of the bridge, but also the houses along the quays which he feared might dissolve into ‘a very great chasm’. George Semple’s ambitious bridge with its continuous
masonry foundation constructed inside a timber coffer-dam, must surely have met with grudging admiration from his former adversary.

The bridge which Semple contracted to complete in two years was opened in April of 1755. In that year two further items appeared in the Dublin press which were clearly prompted by public interest in the new bridge and the methods employed in its construction. In January of 1755 the publisher and bookseller John Smith advertised *A Treatise Containing the Practical Part of Fortification* by John Muller, professor of artillery and fortification at Woolwich Military Academy. The final section of Muller's quadripartite work was devoted to 'bridges, harbours, quays, wharfs, sluices and aquaticks'. Two months later in April of 1755 an engraving of the Essex Bridge was published and promoted jointly by the Dublin book trade. The print was executed by the Huguenot engraver Daniel Pomarede and was entitled *A Geometrical Plan and Elevation of Essex Bridge wherein is expressed the nature of the foundations and all the other parts of said bridge sufficient to give a thorough satisfaction to the publick*. (PLATE 9) A copy of the engraving and a description of the bridge appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1755, and in 1776 a detail from the print was included in George Semple's *A Treatise on Building in Water*. (PLATE 91)

By the time it was completed Essex Bridge was widely known through the public press. This explains a very curious engraving which was produced in 1760 to commemorate the building of a bridge over the Dalua at Kanturk in County Cork. The print depicts a plan and elevation of the Dalua bridge together with an account of the numerous inscriptions which were carved upon it. (PLATE 92) Now known only through a photographic copy, the origin and provenance of this engraving is unknown. Though its date is clear from the text, there is no formal imprint and no architect's or engraver's signature. The title is couched in a flamboyant flourished free-hand and reads *Plan and Elevation of the Bridge over the River Daluo between the towns of Kanturk and Littletown in the County of Cork both belonging to the Right Honble Earl of Egmont*. The elevation and plan are rendered in a scale of twenty feet to an inch and conform to the standard orthogonal conventions of the period with some small concession to perspective in

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3 IAA. 41/5g/p1.
the elevation. The style of engraving is not as highly wrought nor as accomplished as Daniel Pomarede's print of Essex Bridge.

The inscriptions are however far more intriguing than the drawing, as these provide some insight into the reason why such a print was produced in the first place.¹ They were carved upon two plaques set into the south-east face of the bridge and upon six free-standing plaques positioned at intervals upon the canopy of the bridge, each above one of the supporting piers. Each flagstone bore one verse of a poem composed for the occasion, full of allusions to the Percival and Burlington estates, to improvements in the vicinity of Kanturk, and to Spenser's association with the area. Amusingly the verses were provided with footnotes in order to explain any poetic ambiguity. The first verse contains three such references.

From my womb at Windmillhill,¹
Great Egmonts order to fulfill,
Was brought, with seven² of my race,
His Lordships Honour³ town to grace.

These inform the reader that Windmillhill was a quarry of good black marble belonging to the Earl of Egmont, that the poet assumed the persona of a plaque upon the bridge, and that the Earl of Egmont was also Lord Viscount Kanturk. Later references alluded to the demesnes of Kanturk Castle, Fermoyle and Bluepool.

The transcriptions from the two plaques on the front of the bridge tell us more about its construction and about the ambitions of its builders. One of these recorded that the bridge was built in 1760 by Richard Purcell of Kanturk and Arthur Bastable of Castlebretridge, Trustees, who in 1757 had erected the Blackwater Bridge at Gortmore. The second stone carried a far more curious proclamation,

The expence of erecting Westminster Bridge in 1750 amounted to three hundred & eighty nine thousand five hundred pounds Lond. Mag for 1751. Of Essex Bridge in Dublin built in 1758 to twenty two thousand five hundred pounds Dublin City Accts. Of this bridge in 1760, to four hundred and (?) pounds six shillings & four pence - County Acct. Sic parvis compenere magnum selebam. Virg.

¹ The photograph shows the engraving to be missing part of the inscription. The remainder was provided by P. O'Keefe, from the notes (1988) of Brendan Devlin, Deputy County Engineer, County Cork.
The quotation from Virgil 'thus I have choosen to compare great things with small' betrays the same spirit of emulation then current in comparisons of Essex and Westminster Bridge. The Kanturk author portrays the London and Dublin bridges as enormously expensive and therefore lesser structures than the modest Dalua bridge. Though the Kanturk calculations do not tally with modern assessments of the cost for the London and Dublin bridges, and the completion date for Essex Bridge is patently wrong, this proud exaltation of the Cork bridge seems the perfect illustration of a rapid and widespread dissemination of ideas and information on bridge-building during the 1750s.

However a second interpretation of the Kanturk engraving suggests that far from reflecting provincial aspirations to emulate cosmopolitan models, it might instead represent the reverse, namely the imposition of an urban sensibility upon a rural and unsophisticated environment. John Percival, the second Earl of Egmont was an enthusiastic amateur architect. Like Burlington, Percival was an absentee landlord who ran his Cork estate through stewards and land-agents. Richard Purcell, the Kanturk Bridge trustee was Egmont’s agent at Kanturk. While Burlington appears to have had little interest in improving his Cork estates1, Percival instigated a considerable amount of building activity in the area. Surviving correspondence between Egmont, William Cooley and Richard Purcell (his agents at Lohort and Kanturk) documents a variety of building projects conceived by Percival and carried out in Cork by local workmen2. The principal builder or stone-cutter in the area was one Joseph Clahesy, who was responsible for Grenane Bridge in 1757 and for a series of ‘arched’ houses on Egmont’s estate. Richard Purcell acted as intermediary between Clahesy and Percival, delivering instructions from London and submitting objections from Cork. Mr Cooley tells me your Lordship gave orders that the arch should be a semi-circle, but Clahesy insists that such an arch will not stand and that it should be much higher, for that the walls will be much more easily distended one from the other under a semi-circular arch, than the other1,3 Given his very active participation

1“I own, my Lord, it gave me a melancholy reflection, when I was told that ... the present nobleman[Burlington] ...never saw this place, or any other part of their wide extended estates in this kingdom. All Europe is informed of this present nobleman’s Taste in architecture...In my opinion,... a fourth part of the money laid out at Chiswick, would have made this one of the finest places in the world.’
2BL Add. 47003 f.124
3 Ibid.
in the architectural affairs of his estate, it is not at all unlikely that Lord Percival had a hand in the design of Kanturk Bridge and in the print produced to commemorate it.

The 1760s in Ireland was a period of prolific bridge-building activity. In October of 1763 torrential floods caused damage to bridges throughout the country. In Dublin, Queen's Bridge was destroyed, and in Kilkenny several bridges on the River Nore were carried away. All were replaced within the decade by a series of handsome Palladian structures. Unlike the Essex Bridge project however this was all accomplished with very little ado and appears to have attracted little public attention. In England, the controversy over Blackfriars Bridge raged from the late 1750s to the end of the 1760s, but also drew little comment in Ireland beyond the delightful bookseller’s satire of October 1759 offering ‘a treatise on the construction of bridges: by I will and I will not architects, near the Black-Fryars at Louvain’.2

There was however one enigmatic volume published in Dublin in 1766 which may well have been produced in connection with contemporary bridge construction. This was Charles Vallancey’s *A Practical Treatise on Stonecutting* which was published by Thomas Ewing in 1766; a book devoted to stereotomy, or the use of geometrical projections to determine the shapes and proportional dimensions of the stone elements in domes, arches, vaults etc. Stereotomy was a complex and sophisticated application of geometrical principles to building practise. It was developed during the mid-seventeenth-century in France, by architects and mathematicians who wished to reduce the art of stone-cutting to methodical and universal principles. The foremost seventeenth-century work on stereotomy was *Pratique du trait de Msr Desargues pour la coup des pierres en l’architecture*, the work of leading mathematician Gerard Desargues which was published by his disciple Abraham de Bosse in 1645. Not surprisingly, this was not a common title in Irish eighteenth-century libraries and appears only in two of the book catalogues in this survey.3 One of these was the trade stock of a French bookseller, Antoine Gerna, and the other was that of the amateur architect Francis Bindon, who owned a substantial number of seventeenth-century French architectural texts.

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2 Public Gazetteer, 29 Sep. 1759.
3 1768 Bindon, 1793 Gerna.
Desargues remained the principal authority on the subject until 1728 when J.B. de la Rue published *Traité de la coupe des pierres, ou par une méthode facile & abrégée, l'on peut aisément se perfectionner en cette science*. De la Rue divided his treatise into five parts, providing detailed instructions on the masonry construction of gates, vaults, trumpet arches, ascending vaults and stairs. A second edition was produced in Paris in 1764. Charles Vallancey's *A Practical Treatise on Stone-cutting* published in Dublin two years later was a faithful translation of the first part of de la Rue's work, devoted to 'plain gates and ... voussures, or gates revealed, splayed and vaulted'. Publication notices were advertised in March of 1765 when Vallancey claimed that the remaining four parts of the treatise were 'ready for the press' and would be published pending 'the success of the first'.

While Vallancey's edition of *The Field Engineer* was openly acknowledged as a translation from Chevalier de Clairac, neither the publication notices nor the text of *A Practical Treatise on Stone-cutting* offer any suggestion that it was merely a translation of a French text and that the plates were copied from De La Rue. The *Dublin Journal* promised 'A new work speedily will be published dedicated to the most noble Marquis of Kildare. Part I of a practical treatise on stone-cutting, shewing the most correct and concise methods of forming the voussoirs of straight and bevilled plain arches, in straight and circular, upright and battering walls; and also the voussoirs of vossures or revealed and splayed gates, the splays vertically vaulted, traced by the square and by the molds, with all the variety of butting or intersecting other vaults that can possibly occur in practise. Illustrated with 26 folio copper-plates. By Charles Vallancey, Engineer.' Similarly, the dedication to the Marquess of Kildare gives no inkling that the work is a second-hand production. Instead Vallancey simply states that the 'defects', 'ignorance' and 'want of method' of contemporary Irish building practice 'induced...[me] to publish the following sheets'.

However, whether or not Vallancey intended to pass the volume off as his own work is not the most interesting query suggested by this treatise. Far more intriguing is the question why a specialised technical subject like stereotomy, was chosen for publication in a city which had such a poor record both in the sale and production of architectural

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2Dublin Journal, 6 April 1765.
literature. One explanation for Vallancey's eclectic publishing career suggests that these books were primarily money-making enterprises.\(^1\) If this was the case, Vallancey must have been extremely disappointed in his stonecutting venture. Presumably the book did not achieve the requisite success as the subsequent four parts were not published. At six-shillings and six-pence, the work, though incomplete, was quite reasonably priced. In the late 1750s the cheapest item advertised at James Rudd's bookshop was Charles Over's *Ornamental Architecture* which had cost seven shillings and six-pence.\(^2\) In his publication notice Vallancey stressed that the price would 'be reduced as low as possible' and that this was a work 'necessary for every stone-cutter, mason, builder, their journeymen and apprentices'. Evidently the Irish building trade did not concur with this opinion.

In retrospect it is easy to see why a book of this nature might not have appealed to contemporary Irish tradesmen. While the use of back vaulting and complex splayed arches was commonplace in seventeenth and eighteenth-century France, it was not a practice found on any significant scale in England or in Ireland where thinner and less plastic masonry construction was the norm. One wonders where in Ireland in 1766 a mason might be asked to produce 'a bevelled gate in a circular battering wall, or round tower, butting or intersecting a vault formed round a newel'. One possible application which might have benefited from Vallancey's complex masonry constructions was contemporary bridge building.

It is perhaps no coincidence that in the same year that Vallancey translated De la Rue's treatise, his design for Queen's Bridge in Dublin was in the process of construction. Two months after Vallancey's initial publication notices, tenders were requested for 'the working, delivering and setting [of] the cornice, balustrades and pedestals of the said bridge'.\(^3\) More pertinent however is the unusual design of Vallancey's arches for Queen's Bridge. An original drawing for the bridge indicates that all the voussoirs were joggled by interlocks cut on the bedding surfaces of the individual stones.\(^4\) Modern maintenance work in Dublin Port encountered a similar type of interlocking masonry in parts of the eighteenth-century harbour walls, and Vallancey may well have been

\(^2\)The Public Gazetteer, 30 Sept. 1758.
\(^3\)Dublin Journal, 31 Aug. 1765.
thinking also of harbour and canal construction in publishing the treatise. A decade later George Semple dismissed such painstaking masonry construction as unnecessary and unduly expensive

I know there have been very eminent gentlemen, who warmly recommend a peculiar method of cutting the stones for the outside of the work after this manner viz. To dovetail all the headers, and to fit the stretchers to fall in between them, and so lock them into one another: but I do not advise you to follow that method, because it will be tedious, troublesome and immensely expensive, and of little or no advantage to the duration of the work.

It is not inconceivable therefore that practical considerations of bridge construction and inland navigation prompted Vallancey's enthusiasm for De la Rue's text. However even if the problems of a real building project were perhaps the impetus for A Practical Treatise on Stone-cutting, Vallancey's prosaic approach nevertheless pervades the text. It departs not one iota from the French treatise, and makes no attempt to relate the text to contemporary Irish building practice. Thus like A Treatise on Inland Navigation it is essentially a dry and academic exercise.

In contrast to Vallancey's scholarly eclecticism, George Semple's A Treatise on Building in Water of 1776, lucid and absolutely without pretension, is a landmark in the history of engineering literature. Though the general theme is the problem of building foundations in water over 10 feet deep and especially in tidal estuaries, the book was first and foremost the story of Semple's efforts in designing and constructing Essex Bridge. The book is a quarto volume illustrated by sixty-three copper plates and divided into two parts. Part one is Semple's account of Essex Bridge, while part two outlines methods of founding piers, quays, tongues etc.

Semple's story of Essex Bridge, though now familiar, never ceases to enthrall. It begins in 1751 with the collapse of the old bridge and the several proposals for rebuilding. Semple's offer to repair the existing bridge within ten days at a cost of one hundred guineas won him the

1 Information provided by Mr G. Daly, Dublin Port Archive.
2 Semple (George). A treatise on building in water. Dublin, 1776. 141.
commission and upon successfully completing the job he was encouraged by Thomas Prior to undertake a complete rebuilding of the bridge. Between the Summer of 1751 and January of 1753 Semple prepared and developed his plans for the new bridge. Charles Labelye's Westminster Bridge, completed in 1750, was an obvious choice for emulation and the superstructure of Essex Bridge was based closely upon it. However in constructing the Dublin bridge Semple was sceptical of the caisson method used by Labelye and by many contemporary bridge-builders. Instead he decided to construct the foundation and piers of the bridge inside dry boarded enclosures or coffer-dams. Semple pursued this method of construction as he knew that the old bridge had failed because of foundation problems. Borings taken at the site in 1751 demonstrated that there was in fact solid rock at less than thirty feet below high water level. Semple decided to remove completely the old foundations and to construct his bridge upon a continuous rock base which ran from bank to bank for the full width of the bridge. The use of a coffer-dam would allow him both to excavate a tabula rasa and then to construct the continuous or 'thorough' foundation across the river-bed.

The problem was that while Semple knew exactly what he wished to achieve, he had no knowledge of how to construct a coffer-dam. In 1751 and 1752 he made two journeys to London in order to consult with leading engineers there and to procure books on bridge-building. Though Charles Labelye advised him against the use of coffer-dams, Semple refused to relinquish the idea and eventually found the information he required in volume four of Bélidor's *Architecture Hydraulique*, just published in 1752 and which was procured for him in Paris by Alexander Ewing. In January of 1753 construction began and Semple's treatise delivers a blow-by-blow account of each problem encountered and its eventual solution. It is an enthralling tale of trial and endeavour from which Semple emerges as an heroic and indefatigable pioneer. Several times during floods he averted failure by brilliant on-the-spot innovations. The story culminates in April of 1755 when after 'two years and eighty days' Essex Bridge was formally opened for public passage.

Part two of *A Treatise on Building in Water* is something of an anti-climax after the dramatic narrative of part one. It is a miscellany in
which Semple draws together the various hydraulic schemes he has considered in the course of his career. These include general advice on the construction of proposed bridges at Londonderry, Waterford and Wexford, and a design for a harbour at the Downs in England. While Semple’s observations on the use of stone and timber in hydraulic work are clearly the result of practical experimentation and experience, his harbour and bridge proposals have less authority and are not convincing. He appears to have recognised this himself as a printed postscript to the first edition appealed for comments or objections from the public. This appeal was suggested by a number of ‘learned and experienced gentlemen’ who had read the text prior to publication and advised Semple ‘to pursue and endeavour to enlarge...[his] ideas particularly relative to the second part’.

In the context of this study the most significant aspect of A Treatise on Building in Water is the insight which it provides on the published sources for eighteenth-century engineering activity. Semple tells us that he owned ‘a fine and valuable collection’ of architectural books, which provided him with ‘numerous elegant designs’ for bridges but offered no practical information on laying foundations in deep and rapid rivers. ‘This deficiency in so many excellent authors greatly amazed’ him, and his initial visit to London in 1751 was made with the express intention ‘of procuring better instructions.’ for bridge construction. In this he was dissatisfied, for although he bought forty pounds worth of architectural books and plans, he found that in them the art of bridge-building was ‘shamefully neglected’. The authors which provided Semple with most information on the subject surprisingly were not modern writers but rather the standard renaissance authorities, Alberti, Palladio, Scamozzi and Serlio. For examples of modern bridge-building he turned to French seventeenth and eighteenth-century texts.

Alberti was the writer who most impressed Semple. His instructions were in Semple’s estimation, ‘the fullest and clearest directions’ he had met with. Three precepts found in Alberti were crucial to the design of Essex Bridge: ‘Find rock if possible’ ‘Make a continued foundation of the whole length of the bridge’ ‘Make the

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1 This post-script was found in the copy of Semple’s treatise at the Royal Institute of Engineers of Ireland.
bridge as broad as the street'. We have seen how Semple insisted upon constructing Essex Bridge on a continuous rock foundation. The third of these Albertian principles relates to Semple's long-term plan for a wide avenue to be opened from Essex Bridge to Dublin Castle. In the treatise he excuses his departure from Alberti's rule in making the bridge wider than the existing street and explains that his purpose in doing this was the hope of opening of a street 'answerable to the breadth of the bridge, which would then be conformable to Alberti's rule'.

If renaissance authors provided Semple with the basic principles of bridge-building, the author who gave him the most direct practical instruction was Charles Foret de Belidor. Having visited London twice and exhausted all the available sources for information on coffer-dams, Semple found that he still had no clear idea of how to construct such an enclosure. Salvation was at hand however in the person of the bookseller Alexander Ewing who procured in Paris a copy of Bélidor's newly published fourth volume of Architecture Hydraulique. In this Semple found an engraving depicting men at work in a coffer-dam. Though he could not read French, the image was enough to demonstrate the logistics of the dam and Semple immediately set about its design 'with the most sanguine hopes of success'.

A second bridge-related text which also clearly documents the use of published sources by eighteenth-century engineers is Thomas Covey's A Scheme for Building a Bridge over the River Suir at ... Waterford. This was a ninety-page pamphlet with one fold-out folio plate, and was published in Waterford in 1770 by public subscription. In it Covey proposes building an extensive bridge across the river on top of a high rubble bank or graving bed. In setting forth his proposal he discusses at length all of the possible models for a bridge across the Suir at Waterford. Like Semple's later account, this discussion demonstrates the way in which architectural books were used by architects and engineers for very particular and pragmatic purposes. Covey's terms of reference are if anything wider than those of Semple. Giacomo Leoni, Batty Langley, Isaac Ware, Charles Labelye and Robert Mylne are all paraded by Covey in introducing his scheme. These are clearly not idle references introduced for effect, as Covey is scrupulous in his examination of the various bridge designs. For instance he observes that Isaac Ware's design

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1 I am most grateful to Mr. Peter O'Keefe for access to a manuscript analysis of bridge-building instructions from Palladio and Alberti made in preparation for O'Keefe(Peter) & Simmington(Tom). Irish stone bridges history and heritage. Dublin, 1991.
for Westminster Bridge in a *Complete Body of Architecture* is quite different in scale to Labelye's bridge as built and can therefore not have been intended for that project.

Essex Bridge was among the potential models discussed in the Waterford proposal. Covey dismissed Semple's bridge as a possible model, since the Suir was so much deeper and wider than the Liffey. A coffer-dam in such circumstances would accordingly 'be attended with innumerable difficulties and incidents'. More significant however is Covey's assertion that the method of founding Essex Bridge seemed to him 'to be the most difficult of any yet described'. As Covey appears to have been thoroughly versed in contemporary bridge-building practise, his assessment of Semple's project was, more likely than not, a fair one. While Semple's account of Essex Bridge is a model description of a good job, evidently it did not provide a model solution for many other bridges in Ireland. Semple advertised his treatise as suitable 'for the perusal and study of the gentleman, the man of science, and the practitioner and particularly interesting to sea-faring men in general'.

The practitioner is clearly not the most prominent member of this assembly, and Semple appears to have directed his book towards a more general audience. His post-script to the book reiterates this; 'Young projectors, masons, stonecutters etc may probably reap singular benefit by them: but I particularly recommend the study of the second part of the book to all sea-faring men in general'. Significantly, the examples with which he illustrates his general rules for building in water are the ornaments of a gentleman's demesne; an obelisk in a canal and a gazebo upon a lake. Throughout the treatise Semple avoids technical jargon and employs a plain conversational style. It is a very accessible piece of writing which, like the publications of Richard Castle and Michael Wills, aimed at providing a lucid comprehensible synthesis of specialised technical knowledge.

It is clear from the post-script to the first edition that Semple intended from the outset to publish an enlarged version of the treatise. In 1780 he produced a second edition with a title astutely adapted to the new political climate engendered by the passing of Free trade. The new title was entirely different to the old and gives little indication of the book's content; *Hibernia's Free Trade or a plan for the general improvement of Ireland, peculiarly adapted to a free trade in three parts*. Essentially the book was a re-issue of *A Treatise on Building*

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1 *Hibernian Journal*, 15 July 1776.
in Water with a new third section proposing an ambitious nation-wide network of turn-pike roads and the development of coastal harbours. In it Semple describes his travels throughout Ireland from the 1730s onward and his observations on the poverty and under-development of the Irish provinces. He then considers the Grand Canal project and concludes that an efficient network of roads would be infinitely cheaper, faster and more successful in improving the Irish countryside. Semple's 'grand road' was to be 'a spacious and elegant turnpike road from the city of Londonderry to that of Cork,... in as direct a line as can conveniently be accomplished'. It was a gigantic and Utopian scheme of similar character to several remarkable designs for the harbour of Dublin made by Semple in 1757.1

In 1776 George Semple was an old man in ill-health. A Treatise on Building in Water was the final achievement of a career which began in the 1730s, and reached its peak with the completion of Essex Bridge in 1755. The book is in many ways a summation of Semple's life's work. It contains much autobiographical detail and provides a valuable insight into the problems and difficulties of architectural practice in eighteenth-century Ireland. While Semple remains deeply interested in public works and modern engineering activity, he is a man whose professional expectations have clearly not been fulfilled. Essex Bridge which should have been the launch of his career was instead its conclusion. Ill-health brought on by his endeavours was essentially the cause of this misfortune. Oddly Semple offers two conflicting accounts of his illness. In Hibernia's Free Trade he attributes it to an arduous journey made in 1755 to survey the proposed routes of the Grand Canal in the hope of securing the controllership of the navigation works. However, though promised success by members of the navigation board, in the event his ambitions were 'shamefully circumvented'. The second explanation occurs in a petition to Parliament submitted in 1761 and attributes the blame for Semple's ill-health to the rigours of constructing Essex Bridge.2 This appeal for financial aid stressed the heroic efforts neccessary to complete the bridge. He submits

1Dublin Port & Docks Board Archive. A series of loose-leaf plans (originally a bound volume) and surveys for the harbour of Dublin made by Semple for the Ballast Board. Clearly it was Semple's design to publish the volume. 'I humbly apprehend that these maps and plans ought to be carefully perused, reduced and laid down in quarto, and the explanatory notes revised and enlarged upon. By some person of good address... in order to transmit the same to posterity'.
2PRONI. D562/7704.
That the frequent meeting of high tides and descending torrents, and the necessity of working at the bottom of his COFFER-DAMS, while surrounded with waters, that impended from an height of above 20 feet, often threatened to defeat the whole undertaking, and that had your petitioner intermitted the said work by day or by night, the successive fillings and emptyings of the said dams must have nearly doubled the time and cost which your petitioner saved to the public, by doubling his attention and application to the said work, and by labouring as it were double and treble tides, ... though he has hitherto barely received single wages. That your petitioner through his earnestness for carrying the said great undertaking into effect hath often continued in the place without rest or relaxation during 24 hours of bitter winter weather, and that by exerting himself beyond his natural power he hath irrecoverably destroyed a healthy constitution: and by colds and fatigues of body and mind, hath brought on such disorders as are likely to disable him during his life from any profitable application to his profession.

Semple's petition was successful and Parliament granted him a financial stipend. Clearly his appeal was genuine as in November of 1765 he publicly advertised the sale of his architectural library.

George Semple continuing in a declining state of health and despairing of ever being able to carry on his business is determined by auction to dispose of part of his collection of books, consisting of about 100 folio volumes on civil, military and hydraulic architecture.

Ill-health due to protracted building projects appears to have been an occupational hazard of eighteenth-century engineering. Semple is not an isolated case and many contemporary engineers, including Charles Labelye, ruined their constitutions through over-exertion. Whether or not Semple exaggerated his illness is difficult to say, as in 1776, fifteen years after the petition to Parliament, he was still carping.

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1 Dublin Journal, 9 Nov. 1765.
about ill-health and invited speedy comments on his treatise in anticipation of an imminent demise! That said, there is no evidence that George Semple built or designed anything after 1760. *A Treatise on Building in Water* was therefore Semple's swan-song. Sadly this dramatic vindication of a most remarkable building project was the fruit of its author's enforced retirement from professional practice.

Hydraulic engineering was undoubtedly a subject of acute interest in Ireland during the 1770s and Semple's treatise was not the only publication to address the problems of building in water. In January of 1776, six months before the appearance of Semple's treatise, the Dublin publisher and bookseller James Williams promoted a pamphlet of particular relevance to the subject. This was a reprint of Antoine Joseph Loriot's *A Practical Essay on a Cement and Artificial Stone*, which received its first London edition in 1774.1 (PLATE 93) The 'cement or artificial stone' was a Roman cement 'lately rediscovered by Monsieur Loriot, master of mechanics to his most Christian Majesty, for the cheap, easy, expeditious and durable construction of all manner of buildings'. This was an improved type of hydraulic lime and not the Portland cement discovered by James Aspdin in 1824. James Williams urged its necessity 'for all persons concerned in building', and stressed that 'the principal advantage to be derived from the mortar mentioned therein, beside its durability, is its remarkable quality of resisting water, which renders it peculiarly applicable to the lining of fountains, canals, drains and aqueducts of every kind'.2 Evidently the book was very successful as Williams published a second Dublin edition in the same year.

If the technical problems of bridge construction were calculated to appeal to the Dublin building trade, quite different considerations exercised the mercantile interests of the city. This is clearly reflected in a series of pamphlets relating to the proposed building of a bridge eastward of Essex Bridge. The scheme and its attendant literature were part of a larger strategy by landowners and parliamentarians, whose aim was to move the centre of commerce away from the medieval city and into the eastern, southern and northern quarters of the town. The

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1 Harris (Eileen) assisted by Savage (Nicholas). *British architectural books and writers 1556-1785*. Cambridge, 1990.
subject has been thoroughly documented in recent years. Most of the material is economic and political in content rather than technical in nature. The pamphlet war began in 1750 following a parliamentary report of 1749 criticising traffic congestion on Essex Bridge and urging the construction of a new bridge. The Corporation, which was dominated by mercantile interests from the old city, vigorously opposed this motion and there ensued a stream of public commentary on the subject. Successive efforts to have Parliament legislate for a new bridge were defeated and no eastward bridge was erected until after 1780. Throughout, verbiage dominated the proceedings and no formal designs were produced or published. Thus for almost thirty years the city argued over a fictive bridge. In 1752 one pamphleteer sensibly remarked

I have now the happiness to acquaint you ...that this bridge which has been the subject of so much disquiet amongst us here, ... has been built. Don't be startled. I say it has been built, but how, why ... in the imaginations of men ... who are intended in the realizing of this visionary or imaginary bridge, it has no other existence nor any other foundation but in the argue, it therefore cannot last long, it must come to the ground, nay it has already had its downfall.

The fact which emerges most clearly from all of this pamphlet literature is the vital significance of bridges for the development of the city. While this role was most dramatically reflected in the eastward extension of Dublin, it was also very significantly felt in the wide-streets development of the late eighteenth-century. As we have seen, George Semple's design for Essex Bridge was conceived as part of a larger urban plan, with a view to opening a broad avenue from the bridge to Dublin Castle. In 1753 while work was in progress on Essex Bridge, Semple published a map of the proposed street to adjoin the bridge. Presumably this was a particularly limited edition as no known copy survives. Nothing came of the scheme until three years later

2 The state tryal this day laid before ---- of ----between G--- and the Free ------ of Dublin and the condemnation of the new bridge. Dublin, 1752. BL.
3 Semple refers to the 1753 plan in A plan for opening and widening a principal avenue to the Castle . Dublin, 1757.
when Semple again submitted his plan to the Corporation, who then ordered that six-hundred copies be printed and distributed throughout the city.\(^1\) *A Plan for Opening and Widening a Principal Avenue to the Castle* was accordingly published in May of 1757. Its appeal for a grand new thoroughfare as wide as his bridge clearly reflects the ideals of the newly established Wide-Streets-Commissioners and marks the beginning of a radical new phase in the development of the city.

The first conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing study is that architectural publication in Ireland was modest in scale and largely confined to Dublin. Similarly, the architectural content of Irish eighteenth-century libraries was very small in proportion to other genres. The Irish market for books of all kinds was undoubtedly far less developed than its English counterpart, and the highly specialized field of architecture was clearly not a priority among book sellers who found it difficult enough to sustain the more popular genres. The expense of copper-plate engraving was clearly also an important factor in the restraint of the Dublin trade to architectural books. The bibliography which follows in Appendix I offers the first list of architectural and building related titles published in Ireland between 1750 and 1780. Doubtless this will be considerably improved and enlarged by future research. However it provides an initial view of architectural publishing in Dublin, and allows the definition of several distinct characteristics.

The first and most striking feature of the Irish literature is its overwhelmingly utilitarian and technical bent. The majority of short texts in the appendix are pamphlets written by architects, engineers or politicians in support of or in opposition to canal, road or bridge building projects. A clear utilitarian bias is seen in the writings of the Rev. Payne, Michael Volla, George Semple and Thomas Cawley. The outstanding success of Hodges's *Antiquities* in its successive editions is further demonstration of the Irish building trade's pragmatic concerns. Undoubtedly the efforts of the Dublin Society, together with the vast amount of money spent on public works in Ireland, contributed to this publishing trend.

A second feature new characteristic of the Irish literature is its poverty. Many of the pieces considered in this study both published and unpublished, contained inadequate ventures for their date. The ambitious scope of John Millar's treatise was unparalleled in British publishing, while Samuel Cheere's volume of garden building designs, if published immediately after its finishing in 1752, was not issued until 1761. Similarly, Semple's and Castle's

\(^{1}\)Gilbert (Lady Rosa Mulholland), ed.*Calendar of ancient records of Dublin.* X. Dublin, 1903. 190.
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A second prominent characteristic of the Irish literature is its precocity. Many of the projects considered in this study both published and unpublished, were quite remarkable ventures for their date. The ambitious scope of John Aheron's treatise was unprecedented in British publishing, while Samuel Chearnley's volume of garden building designs, if published would have been the first of its kind. Similarly, Richard Castle's unpublished essay on inland navigation was the earliest English treatise on
the subject, while George Semple's *A Treatise on Building in Water* is a landmark in eighteenth-century engineering literature. More poignantly, Michael Wills's *English Vitruvius* was initiated before, and compiled without knowledge of, William Newton’s infinitely more sophisticated production.

This lively and precocious spirit might have borne finer fruit were it not for a third staple element of Irish architectural literature - plagiarism. John Aheron, Samuel Chearnley, Michael Wills and their contemporaries looked to existing publications for their inspiration. Direct cribs from seventeenth-century French publications and English Palladian literature are commonplace in Irish writing and design. An even more thorough-going plagiarism was practised by the Dublin book-trade. Samuel Fuller, James Hoey, and James Williams all produced Dublin imprints of London editions. The designs of Batty Langley, Francis Price and William Halfpenny were thus transmitted at second-hand to the Dublin building trade.

Turning from the books which were published and sold in Ireland to those which were collected by Irish library owners, it becomes clear that there were two distinct *genres* of literature in circulation. Here economic considerations figure prominently, and the cost of large illustrated folio volumes is undoubtedly one of the most pertinent factors in comparing the titles found in private collections to those marketed and published in Ireland. The titles advertised in the public press by the Irish book trade were largely a cheaper class of literature aimed at tradesmen, craftsmen and the professional classes. By contrast the architectural books which lined the library shelves of Samuel Card, John Putland and Lord Charlemont were expensive calf-bound folios and quartos. A second distinction was the higher proportion of foreign imprints in private collections in contrast to the predominantly English literature marketed by the Dublin trade.

The titles which occur most frequently in contemporary Irish book catalogues were the standard architectural classics of the period - Vitruvius, Palladio, Vignola, Fréart de Chambray, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, *The Designs of Inigo Jones*. However, while the circulation of English Palladian literature is to be expected, the popularity in Ireland of the French authors Fréart de Chambray, Sebastien Le Clerc and Augustin Charles D’Aviler, could not have been foreseen. Similarly, the scholarly interest in multiple Vitruvian editions amongst later eighteenth-century Irish collectors, adds to our knowledge of contemporary neo-classical taste.

A comparison of the titles prevalent in Ireland with those current in the American colonies has interesting results. Here the catholic and
European character of Irish architectural libraries stands in stark contrast to the emphatically English literature which was prevalent in the American colonies. This divergence is further demonstrated in the persistence of continental influence in Irish eighteenth-century architecture, and the predominance of English Palladian design in the American colonies.

Having thus established the type of architectural books which were prevalent in eighteenth-century Ireland, it is worth briefly considering the influence of this literature upon contemporary critical writing. From a country which produced the advanced aesthetic theory of Edmund Burke and George Berkeley and the antiquarian itineraries of Richard Pococke, one might expect a sophisticated critical tradition. However with respect to architecture this is patently not the case. Jonathan Swift’s lost essay on Pearce and building is the only serious architectural commentary known to have been planned in Ireland in the early eighteenth century, and what little architectural criticism was published in Dublin before 1760 is amateur in character and retardataire in style.

The most significant architectural criticism to be published in Ireland during the eighteenth century was a series of essays or 'Observations' prompted by the Royal Exchange competition, which appeared in the Freeman’s Journal from December 1768 to February 1769. The author of the 'Observations' has been convincingly identified as Andrew Caldwell, an architectural dilettante and friend of Gandon’s. The surviving sale catalogue of Caldwell’s library records an impressive collection of architectural books, including several neo-classical publications which clearly inform the Observations. Interestingly, Caldwell’s library stands distinct from all others in the survey by virtue of its being the only collection to include Marc Antoine Laugier’s Essai sur l’Architecture.

Caldwell’s arguments were countered by two pamphlets published in the Spring of 1769, which championed the designs of ‘Vitringa’ and Robert Mack respectively. A copy of the former pamphlet has not yet been traced. The second essay was published in February of 1769 with the pseudonym ‘Scientifical’. In contrast to the

1 Aheron (John). Remarks and observations on a building carrying on for a certain college. Morrison (John). ‘An essay on the convenience, strength and beauty which should be connected in all private and public buildings’ in The Dublin Magazine for 1764. Dublin, 1764. 501-503.
3 1809 CALDWELL.
serious architectural criticism found in Caldwell's 'Observations', this was a pamphlet clearly prompted by polemic rather than by aesthetic considerations. The same might be said of the newspaper criticism which attended the Blue-Coat school competition in 1772. Thus despite the sophistication of certain literary and artistic circles, the extent and quality of architectural criticism produced in Ireland before 1780 was negligible.

Although the influence of architectural books and prints upon built architecture lies beyond the parameters of this study, certain pertinent conclusions may be drawn in this respect. There can be little doubt for instance that sophisticated practitioners made good use of illustrated books, particularly in the furniture and stone-cutting industry. Scrap-book albums of published designs were regularly compiled by eighteenth-century craftsmen. In January of 1726 for example, Thomas Greenway, a stone-cutter from Bath, arrived in Dublin armed 'with a great variety of draughts of all kinds' which he offered for selection to his clients.¹ Similarly in July of 1740, William Bibby, a prominent Dublin carver and gilder had lately returned from London with 'a variety of the newest draughts and designs.'²

Designs for door and window surrounds were particularly suited to this kind of dissemination and a cursory survey of Dublin door types establishes the usage of two popular English authors by Dublin masons. William Pain, whose Builder's Companion and Workman's General Assistant received a Dublin edition in 1758, popularised the open-pedimented columnar doorcase which appeared in Dublin streets and squares during the 1770s. The design however does not appear in the 1758 edition of the Builder's Companion but rather in the third edition of 1769. A neat illustration of Batty Langley's influence is seen in the rusticated doorcase which was added to the entrance of Tailors' Hall in 1770. The design which was first used by Langley at Parkshot in Richmond in the 1720s, was reproduced in the City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs in 1745. The Dublin door evidently derives from the 1770 edition of Langley's book which went on sale in that year at Peter Wilson's bookshop.

Generally speaking, the books which have been identified in the course of this survey accord with those which have been identified by architectural historians as exerting influence upon Irish eighteenth-century

¹The Dublin Journal, 26 Dec. 1730.
²The Dublin Weekly Journal, 30 July 1748.
design. The published plates of Colen Campbell, James Gibbs, William Kent and William Pain have already been named as stylistic models for Irish Georgian buildings; the presence of their works in Irish libraries and Dublin bookshops confirms such attributions. With future research the plates of Sebastien Le Clerc, William Jones, Charles Over and Gaetano Brunetti may well join their rank.

An example of the type of album compiled by eighteenth-century craftsmen is seen in a volume in the collection of the Irish Architectural Archive, known as the Jarratt Album. A scrap-book of architectural drawings and engraved plates, this is a more modest variation on the famous Gideon-Saint album at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The designs in the Jarratt Album derive largely from early eighteenth-century suites of engravings depicting designs for interiors and the decorative arts. An unpublished analysis of the volume has identified plates from Jean Mariette's *Architecture Francoise* (1728), decorative iron-work from Jean Tijou's *A New Book of Drawings* (1693) and vases from Christian Wolff's *Nouveau Livre de Vases* (1724).

However, the most significant research into the usage of published plates in Irish decoration and design, has undoubtedly been the work of Joseph Mc Donnell on Irish eighteenth-century plasterwork. In *Irish Eighteenth-Century Stucco and its European Sources* (Dublin, 1991), Mc Donnell demonstrates the direct influence of sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth-century European prints upon stuccodores working in Ireland during the Georgian period. The persistence of French and Italian influence in Irish stucco design is among the most striking results of these findings.

In stylistic terms the most significant fact to emerge from this study of architectural literature is the conservatism of Irish taste throughout the period under question. While Palladian publications were clearly in common currency during the 1730s and 1740s, late seventeenth-century books and prints remained popular throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. Fréart de Chambray, Sebastien Le Clerc and Jean Marot were clearly significant influences upon Irish eighteenth-century sensibilities. Samuel Chearnley's volume of designs and John Aheron's treatise demonstrate the persistence of French influence and the tenacity of

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1 Fitzgerald (Desmond). 'Architectural books and "Palladianism" in Ireland.' In Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society, V, nos 2, 3 (April-Sep. 1962): 9-35. No references to William Adam's plates have emerged in this survey, though as these were issued singly as prints they would more than likely be listed in eighteenth-century catalogues by title rather than by author or remain altogether unidentifiable in composite "parcels" of prints.
English baroque models in Ireland during the 1740s. It is a trend which reflects the conservatism of more active designers such as Davis Ducart.

Having established the type of literature which was published in Ireland and that which was in general circulation, it was then requisite to consider the individuals who bought, sold, wrote, read or perused architectural publications. Irish library owners, the booksellers of Dublin and a handful of Irish architects and authors serve to humanise an otherwise exclusively bookish history. Given the preliminary state of Irish biographical studies, lengthy research was necessary to determine the identity and position of many lesser figures in the contemporary building world who were associated in a variety of ways with architectural literature.

The careers of Dublin booksellers such as James Rudd, Samuel Fuller and James Williams, offer a fresh perspective on the Dublin building trade during the period, while the lives of John Aheron, Samuel Chearnley, the Rev. Payne and Michael Wills illuminate the activities of Irish eighteenth-century designers. Similarly, the abortive architectural publishing ventures of Ralph Hansard, John Morrison and John Brook demonstrate the tardy development of architectural taste in Ireland. Information on the lives of other hitherto unknown figures such as the collectors Samuel Card and John Putland, also adds to our knowledge of Georgian Dublin.

While expanding existing scholarship, the opening of these fresh perspectives strongly emphasises the need for further research into Irish eighteenth-century art history. The location of several eighteenth-century pamphlets which have been identified in the course of this study, but not yet found, would doubtless open new avenues to contemporary architecture. Similarly, the role played by architects such as Michael Wills and George Semple in the contemporary building world is worthy of further examination, while the formal influence of pattern books upon built architecture in eighteenth-century Ireland requires a study in itself. Lesser known figures such as Joseph Jarratt and the enigmatic Oliver Grace equally merit further attention. On a larger scale, a thorough examination of eighteenth-century Dublin engraving is long awaited and would doubtless considerably enrich the architectural history of the period. This initial view of architectural literature in Ireland may offer useful terms of reference for future research in these areas.
APPENDIX 1.

Works pertaining to architecture, building and engineering in Ireland published between 1700 and 1780.¹

Anon.

_Hydrographia Hibernica or a view of the considerable rivers of Ireland ... in a letter from a gentleman in the country to a member of the House of Commons in Dublin..._.

Dublin, 1710.
BL. 8vo. 1-15. *

Perry (Captain John).

_An Answer to Objections Against the making of a Bason, with Reasons for the bettering of the Harbour of Dublin_.

Dublin ; S. Powell, 1721.

Langley (Batty).

_The Builder 's Vade-Mecum : Or A Complete Key To The Five Orders of Columns in Architecture ..._.

Dublin ; Samuel Fuller, 1729.

¹The conventions used to indicate collation and contents are as follows. Preliminaries that are unnumbered and do not fit into numerical sequences are described as leaves, f. or ff. Engraved preliminaries and plates are described as leaves but enumerated in italics. Pages are numbered as they appear and unnumbered pages are placed in square brackets [ ]. Plates are enumerated in sequence as they appear in the volume. An * indicates that the collation and contents have been transcribed from a secondary source. Original spelling and punctuation of titles is provided, however due to the combination of primary and secondary sources in compiling this list, block capitals of eighteenth-century title-pages are substituted by capitalization of initials.
'Patriophilus'.

Considerations on The Act For Encouraging Inland Navigation in Ireland ...

Dublin ; William Smith, 1729.

NLI. [1-3]4-74.

Hawney (William).

The Complete Measurer Or The Whole Art of Measuring.

Dublin ; Samuel Fuller, 1730.

NLI. 8vo. [i] ii-xii ; 1-318 [319-20].

Castle (Richard).

An Essay Towards Supplying The City of Dublin with water.

Dublin ; Sylvester Pepyat, 1735.


Stokes (Gabriel).

A Scheme for Effectually Supplying Every Part of the City of Dublin with Pipe-Water.

Dublin ; Sylvester Pepyat, 1735.

RIA. Haliday Pamphlet. 8vo. [1-2] 3-40.

Stokes (Gabriel).

Observations On a Late Essay of Mr. Richard Castle.

Dublin, 1735.

RIA. Haliday Pamphlet. 1f;[1]2-11.
Wills (Michael).

*The present state of Doctor Steevens's Hospital; together with a scheme to enlarge the fund, for the maintenance and cure of 300 sick persons.*

Dublin, 1735.

National Library of Medicine, Washington D.C. s.sh.fol.*

**Incorporated Society** for the promotion of English protestant schools in Ireland.

*An abstract of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society in Dublin for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland 1733 to March 1737.*

Dublin; George Grierson, 1737.

NLI. 4to.2ff;1-42:4 ff.

Anon.

*The Carpenters' Plain and Exact Rule.*

Dublin; James Hoey, 1738.

No copy known. (see page 182-3)

Everard (Tho.). *Stereometry Or, The ART of Gauging, Made easy by the Help of a Sliding-Rule.*

Dublin; I. Jackson, 1739.

NLI. 12mo. 8ff; 1-208: 1 f; 209-235: 1 f.

*Hydragogus*.  

*A True Account of the Canal between Lough Neagh and Newry in a Letter to a Member of Parliament in Munster.*

Dublin; George Faulkner.[ 1742?]

RIA. Haliday Pamphlet(catalogued as 1720). 8vo.10-34-12

Boyd(Hugh).

245
An Account of the Progress of Ballycastle Harbour together with a representation of the Present State of the Works by HUGH BOYD.
Dublin; George Faulkner, 1743.
CUL. 4to. pl. 14p.*

Anon.
The Great Importance of the Shannon Navigation to the whole kingdom of Ireland.
T. Moore; Dublin, 1746.
RIA Haliday Pamphlet. 8vo. 1f; 5-22.

Anon.
The Secret History and Memoirs of the Barracks of Ireland.
A. Moore; London, 1747.
NLI 8vo.1f; 3-78.

Hawney (William).
The Compleat Measurer.
Dublin; Isaac Jackson, [1747].
BL. [i-ii][iii-xii][xiii-xiv] ; [1]2-318 ; 3ff.*

Anon.
Reasons offered by the citizens and inhabitants of the city of Dublin against building a drawbridge over that part of the River Liffey ... .
Dublin, 1750.
BL. s.sh. fol.*

Lableye (Charles).
A Description of Westminster Bridge.
Dublin; George & Alexander Ewing, 1751. [1752]
BL. 8vo. pp.[i-iv] v-vi, 7-88 : 1 f (dated 1752)*.
'Eugenius'.

A New bridge! A very pretty story.
Dublin, 1751.
BL. s.sh.fol.

Anon.

A Letter to a Commissioner of the Inland Navigation concerning the Tyrone Collieries.
Dublin; R. Main, 1752.
RIA Haliday Pamphlet. 8vo.[1-3]4-23.

Anon.

To the citizens of Dublin, a letter, from a freeman. Occasioned by an extraordinary kind of subscription, begun by the Aldermen, on a very extraordinary account.
Dublin, 1752.
BL. 12mo [1-2]. *

Anon.

The State tryal this day laid before ... of ... between G... and the fre... of Dublin and the condemnation of the new bridge ....
Dublin, 1752.
BL. s.sh. fol.

Langley (Batty).

Dublin; J. Kelburn, 1752.
TCD. 16o.[1-2]3-12:48 ff.

Wills (Michael).
A scheme for enlarging Essex Bridge ... Together with a plan for building a new bridge.

Dublin; Augustus Long, 1752.

RIA. Haliday Pamphlet. 8vo. 2ff; [7] 8-23.

'Publicola'.

The Irish collieries and Canal defended in Answer to a Pamphlet Entitled a Letter to a Commissioner of the Inland Navigation, concerning the Tyrone collieries.

Dublin; George & Alexander Ewing, 1752.

NLI 8vo. [1-3] 4-22.

Anon.

A List of the members of the Hon. House of Commons of Ireland, who voted on the question previous to the expulsion of Arthur Jones Nevill, Esq.: late Engineer and Surveyor General of that Kingdom. London (i.e. Dublin, false imprint); R. Scot, 1753.

BL. 1 Sheet fol.*


Dublin; John Butler, 1754.


Omer (Thomas).

Mr Omer's letter to the Public Comptroller of the Inland Navigation.

Dublin, 1755.

RIA. Haliday Pamphlet. 8vo.[1-3]4-16.

'Philo Senensis'.

The Great Importance of the Shannon Navigation to the Whole Kingdom of Ireland.

248
Anon.

Mr Omer's Letter to the Public Comptroller of the Inland Navigation Examined and The Observations On The Said Letter observed upon.

Dublin ; William Smith , 1755.
NLI 8vo. 1f; 3-13; 15-19.

Cambrensis (Iernus).

A letter to a Member of Parliament concerning the Inland Navigation of Ireland, and the many advantages arising from it.

Dublin , 1755.

Anon.

Reasons why the Canal for the Inland Navigation from the Shannon to Dublin Should be cut thro' the Bog of Allen., rather than any other part of the Kingdom .

Dublin ; W. Sleator , 1756.
NLI 8vo. 3 ff ; 6-12.

Anon.

A Description of the Rival Lines for an Inland Navigation from Dublin to the Shannon with Some Remarks upon them .

Dublin ; William Smith, 1756.

Anon.

Observations on a Pamphlet lately published, intitled, a Description of the Rival Lines for Inland Navigation...

Dublin ; William Smith, 1756.
Price (Francis).

_The Builder’s Guide, Or the Carpenter’s Plain and Exact Rule ..._.

Dublin; James Hoey. (c.1756.)

No copy known. (See page 185, footnote 5)


_Twelve Designs of Country Houses of Two, Three and four rooms on a Floor, proper for Glebes and Small Estates_.

Dublin; George & Alexander Ewing, 1757.


Builder (F.P.).

_The Builder’s guide shewing the Qualities, Quantities, Proportions and Rates of Value of Materials relating to Building ..._.

Dublin; James Hoey Sen. & James Hoey Jun., 1758.

Huntington Library. 12mo. 128pp.*

Brooke (Henry).

_The Interests of Ireland considered, stated and recommended particularly with respect to Inland Navigation_.

Dublin; George Faulkner, 1759.


Eyre (Thomas).

_A Reply to the Report of the Comissioners and Others Upon The Condition of the Dublin Barracks_.

Dublin, 1760.

NLI 8vo. [1-3] 4-16.
Anon.

*Reasons for a New Bridge.*

Dublin, 1761.

RIA. Haliday Pamphlet. 8vo. [1-3]4-16.

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Anon.

*A Description of the main-sewer leading from Kevans-Port to the River Liffey; shewing how a branch came to be made thereto.*

Dublin; S. Powell, 1763.

Cambridge, Bradshaw Coll. 8vo. 8pp.*

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Hodgson (Philip, Levi).

*A New Set Of Tables of Solid and Superficial Measure.* (inscribed 'the Gift of Ph. Levi Hodgson to Trinity College Dublin')

Dublin; Hodgson, 1763.


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Vallancey (Charles).

*A Treatise On Inland Navigation or The Art of making rivers navigable, of making canals in all sorts of soils, and of constructing locks and sluices.* pls. 4to.

Dublin; George & Alexander Ewing, 1763.

NLI 4to. [1-2] 2; [iii] iv-ix[x]; 1-179 : 24 ff.

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Morrison (John).

‘An essay on the convenience, strength and beauty, which should be connected in all private and public buildings. By John Morrison, architect. With a design for a new mayoralty house in the city of Cork’.

*The Dublin Magazine*; Sep, 1764.

Dublin; Peter Wilson, 1764.
Price (Francis).

*The Builder's Guide, Or The Carpenter's Plain and Exact Rule.*

Dublin; James Hoey. (c.1765?)

NLI. TCD. 12mo. 11ff; [1] 2-130 : 2 ff.

Vallancey (Charles).

*A Practical Treatise On Stone-cutting. Part The First.*

Dublin; Thomas Ewing, 1766.


Langley (Batty & Thomas).

*The Builder's Jewel : Or The Youth's Instructor And Workman's Remembrancer.*

Dublin; James Williams, 1766.

Avery. 16o. 1 f; [1-3]4-34[35-36] : 99 ff.

Hawney (William).

*The Complete Measurer ; Or The Whole Art of Measuring.*

Dublin; I. Jackson, 1767.


Hawney (William).

*The Complete Measurer ; Or The Whole Art of Measuring.*

Cork; The Company of Booksellers, 1768.

Langley (Batty & Thomas).

The Builder's Jewel: Or The Youth's Instructor and Workman's Remembrancer.

Dublin; James Williams, 1768.


Price (Francis).

The British Carpenter; Or A Treatise on Carpentry.

Dublin; James Williams, 1768.


Anon.

A List of the Several Plans of the Royal Exchange, Dublin, Delivered to the Trustees For the Inspection of the Public.

Dublin, 1769.

CUL. Bradshaw Coll.

'Scientifical'.

An Essay On The Several Designs Exhibited For The Royal Exchange; Intended to be Erected in the City of Dublin, With particular Remarks thereon..

Dublin; John Murphy, 1769.

Bodleian. 8vo. [1-34]-24.

Whitworth (Robert).

A Plan And Estimate Of The Intended Navigation From Lough Neagh to Belfast, As surveyed By Mr. Robert Whitworth: Together with His Report, concerning the best Method of executing the Work.

Belfast, 1770.
Covey (Thomas).

A Scheme For Building A Bridge over the River Suire at the City of Waterford. plate. Waterford; Esther Crawley, 1770.

NLI. 8vo. 1 f; [1-2]3-35.

'Philolaus'. [Sir Lucius O'Brien].

Two Letters to The Public On The Great Advantages which will arise To this Kingdom in general, And to the City of Dublin in particular, by compleating the Grand Canal.

Dublin; S. Powell, 1770


[Fetherston (Rev. James F.)] ms. note.

A Narrative Of Facts respecting the Tyrone Collieries And Canals. In a Letter to a Member of Parliament.

Dublin, 1771.


Trail (John).

The report of John Trail, Concerning The Practicability and Expence of compleating the Grand Canal from Dublin to Tullamore.

Dublin; Oli., Nelson, 1771.

NLI 8vo. 1 f; [1-5]6-48; 1 f.

Vallancey (Charles).

A report on the Grand Canal or southern line.

Dublin; Timothy Dyton, 1771.

NLI. 4to. 1 f; [1-2]4-66.
Fenn (Joseph).

First Letter to The Dublin Society on the use Of Mathematical Reasoning In Civil, Moral and Political Enquiries.

Dublin; John Lord, 1772.

NLI. 4to. [1-2] 3-52.

Morres (Redmond).

Letters between Redmond Morres Esq., One of the subscribers to the Grand Canal Company and John Smeaton Esq. Engineer and F.R.S. in 1771 and 1772.

Dublin; Oliver Nelson, 1773.

NLI. 4to. [1-34-39.

Hodgson (Philip, Levi).

A Set Of Tables Of Solid and Superficial Measure...

Dublin; T. Ewing, 1774.

Bodleian Library. 2ff;[i]ii-iii,[4]5-207.*

Anderson (James).

A Practical Treatise on Chimneys.

Dublin; James Williams, 1777.

BL. 2ff; [1] 2-79 ; 1 f.*

Semple (George).

A Treatise on Building in Water.

Dublin; J.A. Husband, 1776.

NLI. 4to. 8ff; [1]2: ff;3-4: 1 f;5-18:1 f;19-24:1 f;25-6:2 ff; 27-32:1 f;33-6:4 ff;37-40:1 f;41-48:2 ff;49-50:2 ff;51-54:2 ff;55-62:1 f;63-6:1 f;67-8:4 ff;69-70:2 ff;71-86:1 f;87-94:2 ff;95-6:1 f; 97-8:1 f;99-100:2 ff;101-4:2 ff;105-6:1 f;107-8:1 f;109-114:1 f;115-118:2 ff;119-120:1 f;121-4:1 f;125-6:1 f;127-8:2 ff;129-130:1 f;131-2:1 f;133-6:2 ff;137-38:2 ff;139-140:5 ff;141-2:4 ff; 1430154:1 f; 155-7:2 ff.
Loriot (J.)

A Practical Essay On A Cement And Artificial Stone, justly supposed to be that of the Greeks and Romans, Lately Re-discovered by Monsieur Loriot...

Dublin: James Williams, 1776.


Loriot (J.)

A Practical Essay On A Cement And Artificial Stone, justly supposed to be that of the Greeks and Romans, Lately Re-discovered by Monsieur Loriot...

Dublin: James Williams, 1776.

BL. 8vo. [1-5]6-48.*

J.C.


Dublin, 1778.

NLI. 1f; [1] 2-46.

Price (Francis).

The Builder's Guide, or the Carpenter's Plain and Exact Rule ...

Dublin; Peter Hoey, 1778.

CUL. 12mo. [12] 130: 1 f. *

Semple (George).

Hibernia's Free Trade or a Plan for The General Improvement of Ireland, peculiarly adapted to a free trade.

Dublin; W. Wilson; L. Flin, 1780.


256
Pool(Robert) & Cash(John).

Views of the most remarkable Public Buildings, Monuments and other Edifices in the City of Dublin ....

Dublin; James Williams, 1780.

APPENDIX 2.

The following is a list of those book catalogues used to examine the distribution of architectural books in eighteenth-century Ireland. Part one lists the catalogues of private collections while part two lists trade catalogues. The survey has encompassed a variety of catalogue types; manuscript catalogues of institutional and countryhouse libraries, sale catalogues of private libraries, loose-leaf inventories of boxed books and trade catalogues, which have been examined as a distinct category. Given the frequency of addition to and subtraction from auction lots, a commercial catalogue is clearly not as reliable a source for an historical collection as an inventory of a library taken in situ. The sale catalogues of individual collectors must therefore be interpreted with some caution. However, as the objective of the survey is to chart a movement in taste and connoisseurship, this sampling of contemporary book catalogues is offered as a broad measure of contemporary architectural taste. The list of catalogues used in the survey was compiled from a variety of sources. While attention has been limited to charting architectural titles published before 1780, the catalogue materials utilised range chronologically from the early seventeenth century to the early twentieth century. This requires some justification.

Briefly the idea in using seventeenth-century listings is to provide a context for the eighteenth-century library. These are particularly rare items and comprise less than 5% of the list. The bulk of the catalogues consulted, over 50% of the total, date to between 1700 and 1780. However as many of the collections begun in the 1750s and 1760s were not sold until the last quarter of the century or the opening decades of the nineteenth century, approximately 13% of the total fall between 1780 and 1800 and 24% between 1800 and 1820. Finally a limited number

of later catalogues have been used (approximately 5% of the list) which are seen to reflect the content of eighteenth-century collections. The latter include a late sale catalogue of Lord Charlemont’s collection and the 1904 printed catalogue of the Chief Secretary’s library at Dublin Castle. Clearly this combined record represents only a fraction of eighteenth-century Irish holdings, yet as it does include the libraries of many leading citizens and of popular booksellers, it may be said to represent a reasonably accurate cross-section of the literature which was fashionable in the country during the period.

While almost all of the catalogues listed here include architectural titles, a small number do not. These have been included to illustrate the simple but pertinent fact that many eighteenth-century libraries contained no architectural books whatsoever and to demonstrate the breadth of sources consulted. An alphabetical classification system denotes the relative wealth or dearth of architectural titles in a given catalogue. **R** indicates a particularly rich collection of over and above 20 titles. **A** describes a respectable collection of 11 to 20 volumes, **B** denotes catalogues with 5 to 10 volumes, **C** indicates catalogues with less than five works of architectural interest and **N** denotes catalogues with no architectural material whatsoever. An approximate number for the total of titles in each book collection is provided in parentheses.

The catalogues are listed in chronological order and have abbreviated titles for reference purposes composed of the date followed by the name of the library owner or bookseller. This is followed by the title of the catalogue. Entries conclude with the location of the catalogue consulted, the alphabetical grading system and the number of titles in each catalogue.
CATALOGUE

1666 Usher

Catalogue of Archbishop Usher's library as given to Trinity College Dublin in 1666.

TCD, mun/lib/1/14. C(7,000).

1684/5 Ormonde

'Catalogue of my Lords bookes ... copy of ye catalogue of his grace ye Duke of Ormonde's bookes at his Graces closet in Kilkenny Castle and account taken of them by his Grace's direction 6 January 1684/5'.

NLI, MS 2554 no.5. C(700)

1668 Derry

'Catalogus librorum a Carlo Vaughan S.T.D in usum Ecclasie Derensis dedaorum'

PRONI, D 683/181. N(40)

1695 Foley

A catalogue of books of the Right Reverend ... Dr. Samuel Foley late Lord Bishop of Down and Connor ... the said sale will begin on Monday the 9th of this instant September . Dublin ; Jos. Ray, 1695.

TCD, microfilm 42. N (1,950)
1702 Huntington

A catalogue of the library of ... Dr Huntington...which will be sold on Tuesday the 27th of January 1701/2... by Edward Millington.
London, 1702.

BL, microfilm SC 330(10). C(1,780)

1719 Anon


UCD, Special Collections, 23. j. 1/8. C(1,097)

c.1720 Anon.

'Books brought from the Provost's House unbound'. A list of books with prices(Lord Pembroke's gift?).

TCD, MS 2106/5, 1. C(100)

1720 Bath

Catalogue of the library of the Countess of Bath donated to Trinity College Dublin.

TCD, M5 8 . C(1,300)

c1720? Willoughby
Catalogue of the library of Charles Willoughby M.D. Trinity College Dublin.

TCD, mun / Lib /1/16. B(750)

1721 Plunkett

Catalogue of the library of Peter Plunkett, fourth Earl of Fingall ...to be sold on 22 November 1721... at J.Woodmans shop ... Covent Garden ... London, 1721.

BL, microfilm SC 377(1). A (3,400)

1729 Anon

A catalogue of books to be sold by auction, for the benefit of the poor. The benefactor desires to be conceal'd..The sale will begin on Monday, the 5th of May, ... at Mr Bailli's auction-room in Abby-Street... . Dublin, 1729.

Worth library, TCD, 1991. C(590)

1730 Echlin

A catalogue of a choice collection of valuable books..the library of the judicious Sir Henry Echlin, Knight and Baronet, deceased. Which will begin to be sold by auction ... at Dick's Coffee-House in Skinner-Row, on Wednesday the 28th of this instant January . Dublin : Thomas Thornton, 1729/30.

Worth library, TCD, 1991. C(1,260)

c.1730 King

Abstract from the manuscript catalogue of Archbishop William King's library at Cashel Diocesan Library by James O'Toole.
Cashel Diocesan Library R(6,000)(52).

1732 Knight

A catalogue of a choice collection of valuable books ... the library of the Reverend Doctor Nicholas Knight, deceased. Which will begin to be sold by auction to the highest bidder at Dick's Coffee-House ... on Monday the 24th of this instant January. Dublin : Thomas Thornton, 1732/3.


1733 Worth

Folio manuscript catalogue of the Edward Worth library.

Marsh, MS z.2.1.9 A (4,500)

1737 Huson

A choice collection of books, the library of John Huson, Esq ; counsellor at law, deceased. To be sold by auction at the Parliament House. The sale to begin on Thursday the 24th of this instant November. Dublin : Thomas Thornton, 1737.

NLI, LO. no. 19 , C (700)

1739 Sheridan

A catalogue of books the library of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Sheridan, deceased ; to be sold by auction on Monday the 12th of this instant November, at the Parliament House. Dublin : Thomas Thornton, 1739.

NLI, LO. no.18. C(1,040)

1741 Stone

Manuscript catalogue of the library of George Stone, Bishop of Ferns, 1741.
1743 Copping

A catalogue of curious and valuable books .... being the collection of the Reverend Dean Copping deceas'd which will begin to be sold by auction, at his late dwelling-house in Duke-street, on Monday the 21st of November 1743. Dublin : Kinneir & Martineau, 1743.

TCD, ols 178.s.33. no.1.(xerox of V&A copy) C (2,076)

1743? Gilbert

Manuscript catalogue of the library of Claudius Gilbert, Vice-Provost(1717-1735) and Professor of Divinity(1722-1743) of Trinity College.

TCD,mun/lib /11. R(9,000)

1745 Carew

A catalogue of curious and valuable books ... being the collection of the late Lord Bishop of Derry,(Reynell Carew) which will begin to be sold by auction at his late dwelling-house in Duke-street, on Monday the 21st of November 1743. Dublin : Kinneir & Long, 1745.

TCD, ols 178.s.33. no.1.(xerox of V&A copy) N(1,690).

1745 Swift

A catalogue of books being the library of the late Rev. Dr. Swift, Dean of St Patrick's Dublin. To be sold by auction ... printed for George Faulkner, in Essex-Street, MDCCXLV. Dublin : G. Faulkner, 1745.

TCD, ols 178. s. 33. no. 3.(xerox of V&A copy) N (1,150).
1746 Ridgate

A catalogue of books being the library of the late Philip Ridgate, Esq.; LLD ... to be sold by auction at Dick’s Coffee-House in Skinner-Row... 'on Thursday the 20th of Nov 1746' (the date is a handwritten note).

TCD, ols 178. s. 33. no.4.(xerox of V&A copy) C(980).

1748 Boulter

A catalogue of books being the library of ... Doctor Hugh Boulter, and Doctor John Hoadly, late Archbishops of Armagh, Primates and Metropolitans of all Ireland, to be sold by auction at Dick’s Coffee-House in Skinner-Row, on Monday the ninth day of May... printed by Richard Pue.... MDCC,XLVIII. Dublin : R. Pue, 1748.

TCD, ols 178.s.33. no.6.(xerox of V&A copy) N(950).

1748 Philips

A catalogue of a curious scarce and valuable collection of books belonging to Ambrose Philips Esq. which are to be sold by auction, at Mr Neal’s great musick-hall in Fishamble-Street, on Monday 2d May, 1748.

Dublin : J. Hoey, 1748.

TCD, ols 178. s. 33. no. 5.(xerox of V&A copy) C(340)

c.1750 Annonymous


NLI, LO. no.19. C(1,454).
1755 Card

A catalogue of books; being the library of Samuel Card, Esq; Counsellor at law, deceased; to be sold by auction by William Ross, at the Coffee-House of the ... House of Lords, on Monday the 17th of November. Dublin, A. Reilly, 1755.

NLI, LO. no.17. R(1,800).

1758 LLoyd

A catalogue of books being the library of Doctor Thomas Lloyd, deceased ... to be sold by auction at his late dwelling house in Steven-Street ... on Monday the 5th of March. Dublin; William Ross, 1758.

NLI, LO. no. 16. C(1,430)

1760 Lawson

A catalogue of books being the library of the late Revd. John Lawson, also the collections of the late Revd. John Hastings..and the Revd. Mordaunt Hamilton deceased ...which will begin selling by auction on Mon, April the 28th 1760, at the Golden Ball ... by Laurence Flin, auctioneer. Dublin; William Ross, 1760.

NLI, LO. no.12. C (1,420)

c.1765 Dobbs

NLI, LO. no. 4. C(1,390)

266
Six loose-leaf manuscript lists of books belonging to Arthur Dobbs. One list bears the date 1728 and another was made after Dobbs's death in 1765.

PRONI, D162/84. A (2,300)

1762 Parry

A catalogue of books being the library of Howard Parry, Esq ; deceased. Which will begin to be sold by auction ... on Wednesday, the 20th of January. Dublin ; Robert Bell, 1762.

NLI, LO. no.10. C (700)

C1763 Putland

'Bibliotheca Putlandia sive catalogus Librorum in Bibliotheca Johannis Putland'.

NLI, MSS 4185-4187. R(3,940)

1764 Downes

A catalogue of books being the entire library of the Right Reverend Robert Downes, Lord Bishop of Raphoe, deceas’d. To be sold by auction, at the Coffee-House of the ..House of Lords, on Monday the 23d of January 1764 ... . Dublin ; William Ross, 1764.

NLI, LO no. 9. C(1,340)

1766 Anon

A catalogue of books, belonging to a gentleman going abroad, which will begin selling by auction, on Wednesday the 18th of June ... at Addison’s auction room in Caple Street, the corner of Strand Street. Dublin , 1766.

NLI, LO. no. 4. C(390)

1766 Doyne
A catalogue of books being the library of the late ingenious Philip Doyne, Esq; to be sold by auction, by Michael Duggan, at the coffee-room of the House of Lords, on Thursday the 27th of February.

Dublin: James Vallance, 1766.

NLI, LO. no. 8. C(750)

1766 Pococke

A catalogue of the library of the late Rt Revd. Dr Richard Pococke, Lord Bishop of Meath deceased...which will be sold by auction at his late dwelling-house in Henrietta Street, to begin on Monday the 10th of March. Dublin: L. Flin, 1766.

NLI, LO. no. 7. R(950)

1768? Anon

Manuscript catalogue of an anonymous Irish library.

TCD, MS 2408(q.6.46) C(700)

1768 Bindon

A catalogue of the libraries of Richard Terry, Francis Bindon Esqrs; and part of the library of a late right Revd. and learned prelate; which will be sold by auction...at Stretch's-Theatre in Caple-Street, on Monday the 2d of May. Dublin; Michael Duggan, 1768.
1769? Burgh

A catalogue of books being the libraries of the Rev. Mr Burgh, and an eminent physician deceased, ... which will begin to be sold by auction, on Thursday the 16th of this inst. March, at Vallance and Mc Garry's book auction-room in Shaw's-Court, Dame Street. Dublin ; Vallance & Mc Garry, 1769.

1772 Cox

A catalogue of a valuable library, collected by the late Chancellor Cox, Sir Richard Cox, and the Rev. Sir Michael Cox, Bart. ... which will be sold by auction, on Wednesday the 26th instant (?), at Mr Zachary Morris's great-room, in Boland's Lane Cork. Cork ; William Flynn, 1772.

c.1780 Downshire

'Catalogue of the library at Hillsborough'.(Seat of the Marquis of Downshire).

PRONI, D671/A38/1A. B(1,300 )

c.1780 Bristol

Two loose-leaf inventories of books from the collection of Frederick Hervey, 4th Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry.'Catalogue of the articles contained in Box no. 1'.

PRONI, 1514/1/4/2. N (180 )
1781 Anonymous

'A catalogue of my books taken March the 7th 1781'.

NLI, MS 20,992. N (350)

1787 Robinson

A catalogue of books being the library of the late Christopher Robinson, Esq one of the justices of his Majesties Court of Kings Bench. Will begin to be sold by auction by James Vallance, on Monday the 11th June, at his auction room, in the court lately occupied by the post-office. Dublin; James Vallance, 1787.

NLI, I6551 Dubl, 1787. C(2,746)

1791 Marsh

A catalogue of books being the library of the late Rev. Dr. Marsh, senior fellow of Trinity College, which will begin to be sold by auction, by James Vallance, on Thursday the 15th inst. December, ... at his auction-room, no6, Eustace-Street. Dublin; James Vallance, 1791.

TCD, ols 188.o.13 no.1. N(800)

1792 Daly

A catalogue of the library of the late Right Honourable Denis Daly which will be sold by auction on Tuesday, the first of May, ... by James Vallance, at his auction-room, no.6, Eustace-Street. Dublin; James Vallance, 1792.

NLI, Ir, 018. d. 1. C(1,440)

1793 Ware

A catalogue of the valuable library of the late Right Hon. Dr. Berkeley, Lord Bishop of Cloyne together with the libraries of his son and
A catalogue of books being the libraries of the late Dr Henry Ware and another gentleman...to be sold... by James Vallance ... on Thursday 28 November 1793.no. 6, Eustace-Street. Dublin : J. Vallance, 1793.

UCD, Special Collections. 23. j. 2/2. C(2,540)

1794 Hellen

A catalogue of books, prints and drawings, being the collection of the late Honourable Judge Hellen, which will begin to be sold by auction, by James Vallance, at his auction-room, no. 6 Eustace-Street, on Monday, the 10th day of February .... Dublin ; James Vallance, 1794.

NLI, I6551 Dubl, 1794. B(810)

c.1795 Hone

A catalogue of books, prints ... being the collection of two gentlemen and H. Hone Esq. miniature painter to his Royal H. the Prince of Wales, going to reside in England which will begin to be sold by auction, by James Vallance at his auction-room, no.6, Eustace-Street, on Monday 22nd inst.

UCD, Special Collections 23. j. 2/5. N(2,300)

1796 Baldwin

A catalogue of books being the remaining part of the library of the late Richard Baldwin, Esq ... which will begin to be sold on Thursday the 18th February ... by James Vallance at his auction room, no. 6. Eustace-Street. Dublin ; James Vallance, 1796.

NLI, I6551 Dubl, 1796. no.2. A( 1,190 )

1796 Berkeley

A catalogue of the valuable library of the late Right Rev. Dr Berkeley, Lord Bishop of Cloyne together with the libraries of his son and
grandson, the late Rev. George Berkeley, D.D. prebendary of Canterbury and the late George Monk Berkeley, esq which will be sold by auction, by Leigh and Sotheby ... at their house in York-Street, Covent-Garden, on Monday, June 6, 1796. London : Leigh & Sotheby, 1796.

TCD, 202. r. 28 no13(xerox of BL copy) C(1,546)

1800 Antiquarian

Catalogue of books being the library of an Antiquarian which will begin to be sold by auction, on ..November 21st ... By James Vallance at his sale-room, no.6, Eustace-Street. Dublin ; James Vallance, 1800.

UCD, Special Collections. 23. j. 2/3. N (200)

1800 Londonderry

Undated manuscript catalogue probably c.1800 ; a copy-book in marbled paper covering. Books in the library of Mount Stewart, County Down, seat of the Marquess of Londonderry.

PRONI, D654/ S1/ 2. C(500)

1800 Walcott

A catalogue of the books ... of the late Mrs Walcott which will begin to be sold by auction, by James Vallance, on Thursday July 17th ... at his sale-room, no.6, Eustace Street. Dublin ; James Vallance, 1800.

NLI, I6551 Dublin,1800. no.12. C (180)

1800 Wilson

Catalogue of books being the library of the late Rev. Doctor Wilson, which will begin to be sold by auction, by James Vallance, on Monday,
October 27, ... at his sale-room, no.6, Eustace Street. Dublin ; James Vallance, 1800.

NLI, I6551 Dublin,1800. no.13. C (2,600)

1802 Mangin

Catalogue of scarce and valuable books being the library of the late Alexander Mangin, Esq ; which will be sold by auction by James Vallance, on Monday, December 6th, ... at his sale-room, no.6, Eustace-Street. Dublin ; James Vallance, 1802.

TCD, rr.k.82 no1. A(2,350)

1804 Anon

Catalogue of books to be sold by auction, at no. 84 South Gt Georges Street on Wednesday May 23, 1804 ... the library of a gentleman lately deceased ...( The Rev. Bale) ... C Lewis auctioneer. Dublin , 1804.

TCD, rr.k.82 no.2 C(492)

1805 Browne

Catalogue of scarce and valuable books, being the miscellaneous part of the library of Dr Browne, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Prime Searjant, deceased, which will begin to be sold by auction, by James Vallance, on Monday, November 18th ... . Dublin ; James Vallance, 1805.

TCD, rr. k. 82 no.3 C(2,009)

1806 Erck

A catalogue of books being the libraries of the late Gasper Erck, Esq and another gentleman ; which will begin to be sold by auction by James Vallance, on Thursday, July 10th, ... at ...no.6, Eustace-Street. Dublin ; James Vallance, 1806.
1807 Avonmore

Catalogue of scarce and valuable books being the miscellaneous part of the library of the late Rt. Hon Lord Avonmore, which will begin to be sold by auction, by James Vallance, on Wednesday, February 11th ... at ... no. 6, Eustace Street. Dublin ; James Vallance, 1807.

TCD, rr.k.82 no.5. C(1,890)

1807 Clonmell

Catalogue of scarce and valuable books being the miscellaneous part of the library of the late Right. Hon. the Earl of Clonmell, which will begin to be sold by auction, by James Vallance on Monday, February 29 ... . Dublin ; James Vallance, 1807.

TCD, rr.k.82 no.6. R(3,170)

1808 Preston

Catalogue of scarce and valuable books being the libraries of the late William Preston, Esq, councillor at law and Comissioner of appeals and another gentleman which will begin to be sold by auction by James Vallance on Monday, February 29 ... . Dublin ; James Vallance, 1808.

TCD, rr.k.82 no.7. C(1,210)

1809 Caldwell

Catalogue of books, being the library of the late Andrew Caldwell, Esq, which will begin to be sold by auction, by Thomas Jones ... on Wednesday May the 3, 1809 ... at Mr Caldwell's late house, no12 Cavendish Row. Dublin, 1809.

TCD, rr.k.82 no. 9. R(1,364)
1809 Fitzgerald

Catalogue of a capital collection of miscellaneous books ... being the library of the late Right Honorable Lady Anne Fitzgerald which will be sold by auction by Thomas Jones, at his sale-room, no.6, Eustace-Street. On Thursday, December, 7th 1809. Dublin : T. Jones, 1809.

TCD, q.pp.43 no2. B(1,030).

1810 Burton-Conyngham

Catalogue of an extensive and valuable collection of books ... being the family library of a gentleman of distinction (deceased) ... a profound scholar and antiquary (William Burton-Conyngham) also the northern part of the library of the late Rev. James Johnstone chaplain to his Britannic Majesty’s envoy extraordinary at the Court of Denmark ... will be sold by auction, by Thomas Jones, (bookseller & auctionier) at his late sale-room, no.6, Eustace-Street ... on Monday, April 16th, 1810.

Dublin : T. Jones, 1810.

TCD, q.pp.43 no3. R(4,110)

1811 Anon

Catalogue of a capital collection of miscellaneous books ... the library of a gentleman of distinction gone abroad, which will be sold by auction, by Thomas Jones, at his sale-room, no. 6, on Tuesday, 6th of August, ... .

Dublin ; T. Jones, 1811.

TCD, q.pp.44 no4. B(670)

1811 Beresford

Catalogue of a valuable and excellent collection of miscellaneous books ... the library of John Claudius Beresford, Esq which will be sold by auction, on Thursday, February 28th ... by Thomas Jones at his sale-room, no. 6 Eustace-Street. Dublin ; T. Jones, 1811.
1811 Fortescue

Catalogue of a valuable and excellent collection of miscellaneous books...the library of the late Faithful Fortesque, Esq, which will be sold by auction, on Monday, the 9th of December, ... by Thomas Jones, at his sale-room, no.6, Eustace-Street, Dublin ; T. Jones, 1811.

1811 Egan

A catalogue of the library of the late John Egan Esq which will be sold by auction, on Monday, 2d of July, 1810, ... at no.2, Exchange-Court, ... by William Gibton, auctionier. Dublin, 1811.

1812 Browne

Bibliotheca Browniana. A catalogue of the valuable and extensive library of the late Wogan Browne, Esq of Castle Browne in the county of Kildare...the sale will begin the third day of August, next, at Castle Browne...Thomas Jones, auctionier and bookseller...June .. .Dublin ; T. Jones, 1812.

1812 Bellew

Catalogue of the library at Mountbellew, County Galway c.1812.
The library of the celebrated Richard Kirwan, Esq deceased, LLD,F.R.S.P.R.I.A ...which will be sold by auction on Monday the 12th April 1813 ... by Thomas Jones at his sale room, 6 Eustace-Street ... .
Dublin ; T. Jones, 1813.

TCD, q.pp.45 no.3. N(2,450)

1813 Vallancey

Catalogue of a valuable collection of books ... the library of the late celebrated Irish historian, General Charles Vallancey, which will be sold by auction, on Thursday, the 18th of February, and the following days by Thomas Jones, at his sale-room, no.6, Eustace-Street. Dublin ; T. Jones, 1813.

TCD, q.pp.45 no.1. B(1,420)

1813 Ward

Abstract from the manuscript catalogue (dated July 1813) of the Ward library at Castleward, Co Down by W.G Wheeler, Queen's University of Belfast.

Queen's University, Librarian. B(943)

1813 Williams

Catalogue of prints ... books etc belonging to the late Richard Williams Esq and another gentleman, which will be sold by auction ,by Thomas Jones, at his sale-room, no.6, Eustace-Street, on Thursday,3d of June... .
Dublin ; T. Jones, 1813.

TCD, q.pp.45 no.4 C(480)

1820? Dunbar

Catalogue of the library at Woburn, Co Down.
The catalogue of an unknown Irish book collector's library with a written prologue.

**1839 Crofton**

Catalogue of the library of Lord Crofton at Mote Park.

**1843 Foster**

Catalogue of the valuable and extensive library of the late Ld Viscount Ferrard including the library of the Rt. Hon John Foster, Speaker of the House of Commons ... . Dublin ; Charles Sharpe, 1843.

**1843 Vesci**

Catalogue of an extensive and valuable library to be sold by auction. ... under the will of the late Rt. Hon. Lord Fitzgerald and Vesci ; by Charles Sharpe at his literary sale-room, Angelsea Street on Friday, 25th August . Dublin ; Charles Sharpe, 1843.

**1847 Putland**

Bibliotheca Putlandiana. Catalogue of the extensive and valuable library of George Putland, Esquire deceased ... the entire collection having been formed from 1749 up tp about 1816...which will be sold by auction by
Charles Sharpe, at his literary sale-room, Angelsea-Street. ... on Monday the 19th of July and five following days. Dublin; Charles Sharpe, 1847.

NLI, MS 4188. A (250)

1865 Charlemont

Catalogue of the most important and valuable library of a nobleman of great literary and artistic taste. (Lord Charlemont) ... which will be sold by auction, by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge ... No. 13 ... Wellington Street, Strand W.C on Monday, 10th July. London; Sotheby, 1865.

R.I.A. Strong Room 12. r. 8. R(2,700)

1888 Dartrey

Folio manuscript catalogue of the Earl of Dartrey's library at Dartrey.

NLI, MS 5229 C(1,240)

1904 Chief Sec.

Catalogue of the library of the Chief Secretary's Office. Dublin 1904.

Leinster House library. C (2,400)

TRADE CATALOGUES
1721 Edward

A catalogue of books in all faculties to be dispos'd of at the lowest prices, at Captain Edward's next door to Doctor Smith's upon College Green. Dublin: E Sadlier, 1721.

UCD, Special Collections 23J 1/6. C(1,600)

1721 Sandys

A catalogue of books in most faculties not long since imported from London, being the shop of a late bookseller in Dublin ...to be sold at Dick's Coffee-House in Skinner's Row... the 5th day of October, 1721. Dublin: Edwin Sandys, 1721.

UCD, Special Collections, 23. J. 1/5. C(590)

1726 Smith & Bruce

A catalogue of books, newly arrived from England, Holland, and France. To be sold by Smith and Bruce, booksellers on the Blind-Key Dublin: Smith & Bruce, 1726.

Worth library, TCD, 1991. A(2,300)

1731 Green

Catalogus librorum...nuper ex Anglia, Gallia and Hollandia advectorum. Being a large and curious collection ...which will begin to be sold cheap...at Tho. Green's ware-room at the sign of the seven stars in Fishamble Street ...on Thursday the 21st of October. Dublin: Thomas Green, 1731.

Worth Library, TCD, 1991 A(950)

1758 Gunn

A catalogue of books which will begin to be sold by auction by the bookseller, deced's which will begin selling by auction on Monday.

Worth Library, TCD, 1991 A(750)
A catalogue of books being the shop-stock of Mr Richard Gunn, bookseller, deceas'd which will begin selling by auction on Monday, April the 24th, ... at his late dwelling-house in Caple-Street. Dublin : Laurence Flin, 1758.

NLI, LO.no. 13. C(2,260)

1758 Smith

A catalogue of books being the bound stock of John Smith, bookseller, on the Blind Quay. Which will begin to be sold by auction ... at the Lords Coffee-Room in the Parliament-House. On Thursday the 13th of April. Dublin ; William Ross, 1758.

NLI, LO.no. 14. A(2,870)

1761 Flints

Sale catalogue of books for the years 1761, and 1762...Flin's shop...the Bible in Castle Street. Dublin : L. Flin, 1769.

NLI, I6551 Dubl, 1769. no. 9. A(3,620)

1766 Ross

A catalogue of books being the shop-stock of the late William Ross, bookseller ... which will be sold by auction at his late dwelling-house in Grafton-Street, opposite Duke-Street. Sale to begin on Wednesday 19th of this inst. March 1766. Dublin ; Duggan & Vallance, 1766.

NLI, LO.no6. B(3,690)

1767 Bell

A catalogue of books which will begin to be sold by auction by the sheriffs of the city of Dublin; being the bound stock in trade of Mr Robert Bell, bookseller, at his great theatre in Caple-Street, on Wednesday the 2d of December ... Thomas Armitage, auctioneer. Dublin, 1767.

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1769 Flins

Flin’s sale catalogue for the year 1769 of a valuable and curious collection of books many of them entirely new consisting of near 10,000 vols. ... lately purchased and collected in Dublin with much pains. Dublin: L. Flin, 1769.

NLI, I6551 Dubl, 1769. C(4,000)

1770 Flins

Flin’s sale catalogue for the year 1770 of a valuable and curious collection of books many of them entirely new. consisting of near 10,000 volumes ... lately purchased and collected with much pains. Dublin: L. Flin, 1769.

NLI, I6551 Dublin, 1769. R(4,870)

1773? Hoey

A catalogue of books etc. sold by James Hoey at the Mercury in Skinner Row Dublin. Dublin; James Hoey, 1773?

TCD, ols L-1-523 no15. C(65)

1776 Ewing

A catalogue of the remainder of the bound stock of Thomas Ewing, Bookseller, (quitting business) which will begin to be sold by auction, at his shop in Capel-Street. on Monday, April 15th, .... by Luke White, auctioneer. Dublin; 1776.

TCD, ols 196. n. no4. R(3,442)

1786 Parker

The complete Dublin catalogue of books.. Dublin: John Parker, 1786.
1793 Archer's

Archer's catalogue of books for 1793... the sale begins on Wednesday the 3d of April 1793. Dublin, 1793.

NLI, I 6551 Dubl. 1793 no. 15. (5400)R

1793 Gerna

Catalogue des livres Francois, Italien, &c de Antoine Gerna libraire a Dublin actuellement n. 31, College-Green, a cote de la grande Poste aux Lettres. Dublin, 1793.

NLI, I6551 Dubl.,1793. no.14. C(2130)

1797 Twigg

Richard Twigg's new catalogue of books for 1797. Dublin, 1797.

TCD, ols 202.r.28.no. 7. C(2,780)
1793 Archer's

Archer's catalogue of books for 1793... the sale begins on Wednesday the 3d of April 1793. Dublin, 1793.

NLI, I 6551 Dubl. 1793 no. 15. (5400)R

1793 Gerna

Catalogue des livres Francois, Italien, &c de Antoine Gerna libraire a Dublin actuellement n. 31, College-Green, a cote de la grande Poste aux Lettres. Dublin, 1793.

NLI, I 6551 Dubl, 1793. no.14. C(2130)

1797 Twigg

Richard Twigg's new catalogue of books for 1797. Dublin, 1797.

TCD, ols 202.r.28.no. 7. C(2,780)
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