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LANDSCAPE HISTORY AND MANAGEMENT OF THE PHOENIX PARK 1800-1880

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LANDSCAPE HISTORY AND MANAGEMENT OF THE PHOENIX PARK 1800-1880

VOLUME I OF TWO VOLUMES

TEXT

JOHN A. McCULLEN B.Ag.Sc.(Hort.) M.Sc.(Landscape Design, Ecology and Maintenance) London University, M.I.L.I.

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Ph.D.

UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN, TRINITY COLLEGE
Department of the History of Art

July 2006

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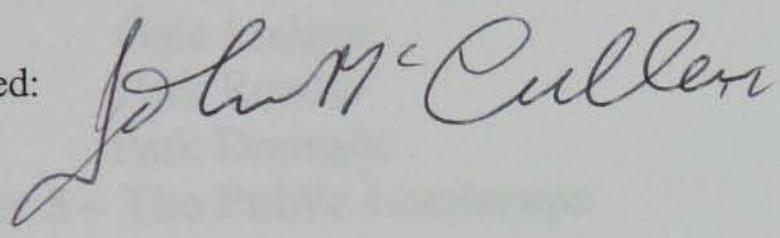
Signed: 

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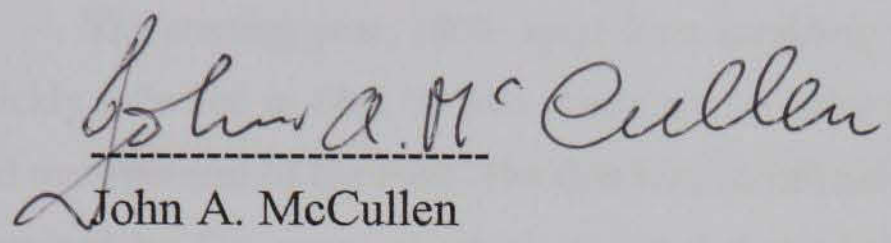

John A. McCullen

SUMMARY

This thesis examines the landscape history and management of the Phoenix Park between 1800 and 1880. Even though the formation of Ireland's only royal Park (Phoenix Park) commenced in 1662 on the instructions of Charles II and subsequently created by the Duke of Ormonde, its present landscape and infrastructural evolution is inherited from designs and managerial decisions (including expenditure) which were taken from 1800 to 1880.

The starting year, 1800, apart from heralding the familiar Act of Union, was quickly followed in 1801 by two events whose influence impacted on the appearance and management of the Park. The first was an official inspection of the Phoenix Park (required by Government) which revealed that much of it was neglected, and the second, was a series of instructions from Lord Lieutenant Hardwicke to the commissioners of the Board of Works (at the time responsible for managing all areas of the Park) which aimed at accountability and control of expenditure, and improving the integrity of subordinate officers.

The public areas (as distinct from its 'private' and institutional areas) of the Phoenix Park in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries owed their landscape formation and beauty more to landforms and distant views than to internal designed landscapes. Few landscape works were undertaken in the public areas of the Park from 1800 to 1830. However, from 1832 to 1851 unprecedented expenditure was incurred by Woods & Forests, which resulted in major landscape and infrastructural changes and improvements. Valuable insight is afforded into the wide ranging architectural and management skills of Decimus Burton (commissioned by Woods & Forests), and the role of Jacob Owen, the Board of Works Architect, is clarified in relation to drawings and specifications produced by him for gate lodges and other buildings in the Park. Burton's successful removal of the high stone walls around the official residences and their demesnes, and the creation of sunken fences in their stead, is perhaps the most significant and daring landscape innovation in the Phoenix Park during the period 1832–1851.

In 1840 the North Promenade ground was developed in the Park as a public facility, thus making it one of the earliest amenities of this type available to the public. More than two decades later it was turned into the 'People's Flower Gardens' and was noted for its novel experimentation with floral displays. The drainage of the

Park in 1847 by Josiah Parkes was a major infrastructural development and success, the influence of which impacted positively on the drainage works generally.

In contrast to the public areas of the Park, the landscapes of the official demesnes belonging to the lord lieutenant, chief rsecretary and under-secretary evolved more evenly from the beginning of the study period in 1800. Decimus Burton's and Ninian Niven's role in the landscape development of the viceregal demesne is clarified as is Richard Turner's (the famous ironfounder) and Ninian Niven's collaboration on glasshouse construction in the chief secretary's demesne. All three demesnes, particularly the under-secretary's, offer a valuable insight into the workings and evolution of the walled garden.

The management structure and line of authority for the Phoenix Park at the beginning of the 1800s was a somewhat paradoxical and complex arrangement, which was rationalised in 1833 by Woods & Forests. From 1800 to 1880 five government departments or their agencies managed either the public areas, the private demesnes and / other Park institutions of the Phoenix Park or both. These departments or their agencies (Board of Works, revamped Board of Works [1831], Woods & Forests, the Quit Rent Office [QRO], the Board of Public Works[GB] and the Board of Public Works [Irl.]), and the personnel involved are examined.

Financial stringency was maintained in relation to the public areas of the Park throughout the period from 1800 to 1880, which contrasted sharply with the expenditure on the viceregal lodge and demesne. However, considerable funding was made available for the landscape and infrastructural development of the public areas of the Park during Woods & Forests tenure from 1829 to 1851. A major bias in public spending on London's royal parks vis-a-vis the Phoenix Park was revealed in 1861.

During the eighteeth century there is a strong military pressure on the Park which is reflected not only by the number of military institutions and fortifications erected but also by the intensive use of the Park for military reviews, manoeuvres, encampments, and artillery practice. The military's influence wanes in the nineteenth century but is replaced to a lesser degree by a police presence in a more discreet and mutually beneficial way in the 1830s and 1840s through the erection in the Park of a number of police stations and police training facilities. From 1842 Park management began to discriminate against non-recreational activities taking place in the Park, and from 1860 to the end of the study period there is definitive move towards facilitating recreational activities.

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My thanks must go firstly to my employers, the Office of Public Works (OPW), who allowed me the time to complete the thesis whilst still maintaining an active role as chief park superintendent. A number of former OPW personnel, Noel Lynch, Director of National Parks & Monuments Service, and two former chairmen of the OPW – Pascal Scanlon and John O'Mahony, were most enthusiastic about the project when it was first mooted. My professional colleague, Margaret Gormley, Park Superintendent, Phoenix Park and OPW head office staff of the Heritage Services and Personnel departments ensured minimum disruptions during my writing up period. I am particularly grateful to the late Brian Hayden (architect) who first alerted me to the possibility that a cache of Decimus Burton archival material may have existed in the Hume Street offices of the OPW and to Liam Stewart (OPW) who assisted me in my search. I am also grateful to Gerry Gallagher, David Wall, Dessie Derham, Mary Murphy of the Property Management section of the OPW and her staff, Conleth Manning, and members of the Phoenix Park staff at the White Fields Office, especially Raychel Coyle and the late Kevin Watters. I am also indebted to Valerie Ingram, OPW librarian and her staff who helped me with many enquiries. My thanks must also go to Julie Cummins, the librarian at Farmleigh and to Vivienne Igoe.

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Since a large volume of Phoenix Park archival material is housed in the National Archives I am particularly grateful to have been allowed access to it whilst it was still being catalogued. I am indebted to the Director of the National Archives, Dr. David Craig, and his courteous and untiring staff for permission to photograph architectural drawings and old plans and maps of the Phoenix Park. In particular I wish to thank Catriona Crowe, Gregory O'Connor, Aedeen Ireland and Rena Lohan.

Since the thesis relies heavily on visual material the assistance of National Library staff has been most helpful and in particular I would like to thank Joanna Finnegan, Elizabeth Kirwan, Eugene Hogan and Donal O'Luanaigh. Brona Kelly was also most helpful in referencing a number of photographs in the various collections as was David Davison in dating photographs from the Fr. Browne Collection. Likewise the National Gallery of Ireland and their staff must be thanked for supplying a number of drawings and prints. David Griffin and his staff at the Irish Architectural Archive have been most helpful not only with their archival material but also in commenting on and drawing attention to relevant material among their collections. I would also like to acknowledge the help of Siobhan Fitzpatrick of the Royal Irish Academy, the R.I.A.C. library, The Gilbert Library staff at Pearse Street and in particular Dr. Mary Clarke, Dublin City archivist. The Librarian of the Institution of Engineers, the Royal Dublin Society library staff and Brendan Pender of the Irish Railway Record Society at Heuston Station, Dublin, were also most helpful.

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INTRODUCTION

The Phoenix Park, totalling 1,752 acres, is one of Europe's largest enclosed deerparks. Before 1680 it extended to more than 2,000 acres and encompassed lands on both sides of the River Liffey including those of the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham. With the completion of the Royal Hospital in 1684 the Park lands were confined to an area north of the river and it is these lands which occupy our attention during this study with the exception of some observations in chapter one on the outline history of the Phoenix Park to 1800.

This research into nineteenth-century landscape history and management examines the evolution of the Phoenix Park's landscape, development and management from 1800 to 1880 which, given the Park's more than three centuries of history, forms a topic in its own right. It also covers a relatively calm and prosperous period in the Park's history from the Act of Union to the opening of St. Stephen's Green Park in 1880 to the public. It was during this period from 1800-1880 that the present-day landscape of the Phoenix Park was developed (though little has changed since 1850). This period gives valuable insight into the landscape formation and management of what is now designated as a National Historic Park.

This thesis deals with the landscape evolution and landscape management of Ireland's only royal park (which has been accessible to

the public since the 1730s) and attempts to address these under topics such as the original formation and management of the Phoenix Park and (in outline) the dominating influences of the eighteenth century. It also examines the official bodies that managed the Park and their management structures, how the Park was financed, how its infrastructure was developed and how its landscapes - both public and private - evolved.

Outstanding architects like Francis Johnston, Jacob Owen, E.T. Owen, Sir Robert Smirke, sculptors John Henry Foley, John Hogan, Terence Farrell, J.R. Kirk, and famous horticulturist and landscape architect Ninian Niven are represented during the period of study as well as a number of men of extraordinary administrative and technical abilities like Thomas Drummond, under-secretary for Ireland 1830-1835, Lord Duncannon, chief commissioner of Woods & Forests on two occasions during the 1830s and the 1840s, John Burke, chief clerk of the Quit Rent Office (QRO) and later superintendent of the Park and William Spalding Wilkie, bailiff of the Phoenix Park from 1834-1860 and park superintendent form 1860-1870.

However, the greatest contribution was made by the renowned architect Decimus Burton (1800-1881). He was engaged by the Commissioners of Woods & Forests as their professional adviser and superintending officer for the Phoenix Park for most of the 1830s and 1840s.

The landscape development and management of the Phoenix Park during the period coincided with the general Victorian development of the municipal park in an effort to improve the well-being and physical environment of its citizens. Since J.C. Loudon was one of the most influential voices moulding public opinion regarding the provision of public open space we will be exploring what his influence, if any, had on the landscape evolution of the Phoenix Park.

Other questions examined relate to what impact was exerted on landscape decisions by high-ranking government officials who resided within the Park, and what visual impact their 'private landscapes' or official demesnes exerted overall on the Park's appearance.

The choice of this topic in the first instance comes from my interest as a landscape professional in charge of the development and management of the Phoenix Park and other historic landscapes i.e. the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham, St. Stephen's Green Park, Iveagh Gardens, and The National War Memorial Gardens, all in Dublin, and Heywood Gardens in Laois, etc. Landscape and garden history is a relatively new field of study with the first survey of the subject (*History of Gardening in Ireland* by Keith Lambe and Paddy Bowe) was published in 1995. Two other seminal works on Irish gardening and landscape history - *Lost Demesnes* by Edward Malins & The Knight of Glin (1976) and *Irish Gardens and Demesnes from 1830* by Edward Malins & Patrick

Bowe (1980) – are the only other publications covering the history of designed landscapes in Ireland.

Secondly, no comphrehensive study of the landscape development and management of the Phoenix Park has been undertaken to date. An unpublished thesis for an M.Phil. degree in landscape architecture (University of Edinburgh 1981) was undertaken by John Rearden. However this thesis focused on the need to revitalise the Park to meet the challenge of an expanding metropolis. It draws mainly on secondary sources with little reference to primary or archival sources.

No detailed history of the Phoenix Park has been written to date except for a number of short booklets by J.W. O'Beirne (1912&1934) Pand Kenneth McGowan (1966). A popular History and Guide to the Phoenix Park by Brendan Nolan entitled *Phoenix Park A History and Guidebook* was published in December 2005. The first account of the Phoenix Park appears in Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh's *History of The City of Dublin* (1818). D'Alton's *History of the County of Dublin* (1838) adds further to the stock of information.

Litton Falkiner in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (1901) deals with the historical formation of the Park which takes us to the 1830's. F. Erlington Ball's *A History of County Dublin* (6 vols. 1902-1920) details the formation of the Park and its early history but acknowledges his reliance on Falkiner. Dillon Cosgrave in his *North*

Dublin City and Environs has an interesting discourse on the origins of the name of the Park along with other information, and the origin of the name is again discussed by Weston St. John Joyce in *Neighbourhood of Dublin* (1912 & 1939).

With the exception of Falkiner noted above, and more recently Dana Arnold's article in the *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society* (vol.xxxvii, 1995) on Decimus Burton's work in the Phoenix Park between the years 1832-1849, no serious archival research has been undertaken on the history and management of the Park. In 2005 *The Buildings of Ireland Dublin* by Christine Casey was published which comprehensively covers the buildings of the Phoenix Park.

The main documentary sources used in this research have been archival material from the National Archives and the Public Record Office at Kew. Both of these sources have proved to be rich in original material for the study of the Phoenix Park and appear to have previously escaped the attention of scholars. This thesis relies heavily on material drawn from large volumes of unsorted archives at the National Archives, which in itself proved a gargantuan task. A trawl through the Board of Works minute books and letter books (many of which are not indexed also proved a mammoth task) but yielded valuable information previously unknown. In addition the study of annual reports of the Board of Works and select parliamentary papers also proved rewarding.

Allied to this material as shown in vol.2 of this thesis are more than 330 illustrations. These consist of maps, architectural drawings, paintings (oil on canvas and watercolours), line drawings, sketches, book plates, photographs and a drawing from curtain fabric. The illustrative material is drawn from a wide range of sources, many of which come from unsorted OPW manuscripts in the National Archives and with others from the Larcom Papers in the National Library of Ireland. Many of the National Archive drawings which form part of the unsorted manuscript collection show fascinating designs by Jacob Owen, E.T. Owen and Decimus Burton particularly in relation to proposals for lodges and various other Park buildings including Burton's school and adjoining school residence. Others still were sourced from private collections.

A large number of hitherto unknown architectural drawings are by Decimus Burton and have been sourced from a number of institutions both in Ireland and England. This is the first time that a serious attempt has been made to assemble these in one body of work which relate to the Phoenix Park.

A number of unknown maps of the Phoenix Park from a number of institutions both in Ireland and England (including the Royal Archives at Windsor) have also been studied. Other maps of the Phoenix Park have been assembled from various offices and the OPW library. Only two of these have been previously printed in official reports. Many of the

photographs are drawn from various collections such as Lawrence, Valentine and Father Browne.

Documentary research of the Phoenix Park has been supported by personal knowledge gained from the landscape development and management of the Park for over twenty years and further augmented by numerous visits to London's royal parks, and the study of Decimus Burton's numerous English commissions.

Because of the broad nature of this thesis the method of presentation divides the material into eight chapters which covers the early history of the Park (in outline only), Park management, finance, Park infrastructure, the public landscape, the landscape of private demesnes, the landscape impact and evolution of institutional demesnes within the Park and the conclusions which are reached. These chapters are supported in parallel by a comprehensive volume of illustrations noted above which are reproduced in their entirety in colour or as details to support particular arguments.

This study provides new information on a range of themes relating to the landscape development and management of the Phoenix Park under the various headings outlined above. New light is shed on the landscape development of the various demesnes – both private and institutional – within the Park including those responsible for the designs and their implementation as well as the modus operandi of funding, developing and

managing the Park. Clarification of the various government agencies which managed both the public and private areas of the Park from 1800 to 1880 is also provided.

To provide for the first time, and to interpret, the documentary and graphic evidence for this story, has been the aim of this study.

CHAPTER 1 - History of the Phoenix Park to *c.*1800

The Phoenix Park has been described as 'the greatest and most abiding monument of that extraordinary revival period and extension of the Irish capital which followed the Restoration, and which in the space of a few years transformed Dublin from a mediaeval city into a modern metropolis'.[1] It was the first of a number of public schemes of 'unexampled grandeur' undertaken since the Restoration in 1660 with the expressed intention of keeping up 'the splendour of government' which James, Duke of Ormonde, the recently appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland had initiated.[2] At 1,752 acres it remains larger than London's Hyde Park, Regent's Park, Kensington Gardens, St. James's Park and Green Park, Greenwich and Battersea Parks all put together[3] and is more than twice the size of New York's Central Park. Its survival through the centuries to the present day, in spite of its proximity to the city and the many threats posed to it (which will be discussed in the following chapters) can only be considered a modern day planning miracle. The Phoenix Park still remains one of Europe's largest enclosed parks in a capital city.

This introductory chapter to the Park's history briefly explores (as context for what follows) the derivation of the Park's name, and its original purpose, formation and infrastructural development to 1800. It

also examines, though in a cursory way, its landscape development and management up to that time.

The first record of the name Phoenix occurs in 1619 in the *Calendar of State Papers*, which refers to 'His Majesty's house at Kilmaynham called the Phoenix'.[4] Sir Edward Fisher had taken a lease of nearly four hundred acres of the Kilmainham demesne on the north side of the river Liffey in 1611 and built a Jacobean mansion on high ground on the site where the Magazine Fort now stands.[5] [H9] The site chosen commanded unrivalled views in the neighbourhood to the Dublin hills and along the Liffey valley. Most local historians and place-name authorities agree that the word 'Phoenix' as applied to the park is a corruption of *fionn-uisce* [feenisk], which means clear or limpid water. Dr.Joyce, the Irish place-names authority believed that it was the name of a perfectly transparent spring well near the Phoenix column, which was erected in 1747 (we will return to this monument later).[6] Others believe it may have been a spring located in the environs of Phoenix House: a stream of clear water still runs below the site on which the house was originally built and at least one and possibly two wells are located within its former precincts.[7]

A resolution for forming a royal deer park on the Kilmainham lands was first mooted *c.*1600 during the reign of Elizabeth 1 (1558-1603) but nothing appears to have happened.[8] Again in 1623 a king's

letter directed, but to no avail, that William Moore should be employed about his Majesty's park, which was to be enclosed near Dublin for the breeding of deer and the maintenance of game.[9] More than forty years later the Phoenix Park is mentioned officially in a King's letter, dated 1st December 1662.[10] A few months earlier, the Duke of Ormonde, the new lord lieutenant of Ireland (who is credited with the formation of the Phoenix deer park along with King Charles II) had arrived in Ireland and commenced work on the construction of the Phoenix Park.[11]

Leonard Cantor[12] has documented the history of the English deer parks in which he notes their decline from 1600 onwards but adds that this process was halted when Charles II and his court returned to England in 1660. They set about restoring royal and noble parks having being influenced by their exile in France. Thus commenced the era of great formal landscapes which were characterised by extensive avenues and broad expanses of grass and water.

The initial size of the Park was estimated to have been a little more than 1000 acres made up primarily of the Kilmainham (already crown property) and Newtowne lands (which totalled about 467 acres), together with 441 acres purchased from the Chapelizod lands of Sir Maurice Eustace, lord chancellor of Ireland.[13] Girdler's map of 1655-56 shows these lands together with the important houses of the area. (Fig.1.01) In May, 1663, a further King's letter authorised additional land purchases.

Fig.1.01

Like a modern day property speculator Ormonde made further acquisitions from Eustace (about another 150 acres) and a number of other surrounding landowners mainly in the Castleknock, Grangegorman, Ashtown, Oxmantown and Kilmainham areas adjacent to the original core of the Park. However it has not been possible to find the acreages of all the individual land holdings which amounted to over 2000 acres (the original size of the Park). In 1669, after the majority of land purchases had been made, the total cost was more than £31,000. But even this amount was not the full story, since the total cost ultimately exceeded £40,000.[14]

Since the original purpose of these lands was the creation of a deer park it was necessary that they should be enclosed and stocked with deer and effect was given to this by royal authorisation of May 1663.[15]

The boundary wall, which enclosed the Park lands on both sides of the river, followed the exact land boundaries of the properties purchased. On the north side the line of the wall followed the old Castleknock road and crossed the Liffey around the environs of Heuston railway station. From this point the wall ran southwards along the present Military road, turning westwards near Bow-bridge, then along Kilmainham lane and northwards to Islandbridge.[16] (Fig.1.02) The boundary wall in the Kilmainham area is clearly shown on Taylor's survey of 1671[17] (Fig.1.03) [a portion of the wall still survives between Heuston railway

Fig.1.02

Fig.1.03

station and the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham]. (Figs.1.04 & 1.04a) A Park, map which shows the original line of the boundary wall in its entirety, has not been located but the wall shown in Fig.1.02 is a close approximation to the original line. It is known from Falkiner's seminal article on the Phoenix Park that the original mural boundary ran along the river Liffey from Chapelizod to Islandbridge but its proximity to the riverbanks is open to conjecture. The Kings House at Chapelizod with its grounds lay within the Phoenix Park lands when first acquired by Ormonde. However these were excluded from the Park by Sir John Temple's wall and were in turn excluded from the grant of land made to him as part of his remuneration for constructing the wall.[18] (Fig.1.05b)

Figs.1.04 & 1.04a

Fig.1.02

Fig.1.05b

The mammoth task of building the Park wall fell to William Dodson who was already involved in government building. The wall, five and three-fifths statute miles long, was poorly constructed and in November 1664 the Duke of Ormonde was informed that a mile length of it had to be pulled down.[19] This was hardly surprising since subsequent investigation revealed that it was a dry wall without mortar. In spite of this, Dodson successfully negotiated £100 annually for the repair of the newly erected wall for a period of seven years.

What Dodson's wall looked like is open to conjecture but judging by William Wheaton's survey in March 1665 it must have been visually disturbing. This showed that almost 2,400 yards ranged in heights from

foundation level to four and a half feet and the parts that had fallen were filled with furze and thorns.[20] The use of poor quality stone by Dodson and his craftsmen was inexcusable since there were ample supplies of very good stone in several quarries in and near the park. This stone, referred to as calp, was a muddy limestone underlying the Dublin area, and ideal for building walls. It had a number of major advantages, having been formed in shallow beds of about three to twelve inches in thickness. It was removed from quarries in orthogonal blocks and it broke easily into walling stones with the mason's hammer.[21] Neither was the employment of unskilled craftsmen any excuse, since Dodson demonstrated his knowledge of good building practices and the employment of skilled craftsmen by building a new bridge at Chapelizod. This was found to be sufficiently well built for a little less than £200 and is still in use.[22]

However in 1667 an enquiry found that the workmanship on the Park wall had been so badly executed that two thirds of the wall would have to be taken down and rebuilt, which was due as much to the poor quality of the stone as to the incompetence of the workmen. Slightly in excess of £6,000 had been spent on the wall and the partial rebuilding which had been undertaken before the end of December 1668 was considered 'good'. Whether Dodson undertook this work is not clear but an opinion expressed at the time considered him lucky to escape without

punishment.[23]

In 1671, the year Dodson died,[24] a substantial realignment of the Park walls was proposed for either side of the main Parkgate entrance. This resulted in several small parcels of land amounting to six acres, being excluded from the Park and is clearly documented in Taylor's excellent survey[25] at that time. (Fig.1.03) Almost a decade later in 1680, when the construction of the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham [J11-13] commenced (another of Ormonde's grand schemes), the lands south of the river were alienated from the Park and the opportunity was taken to erect a new boundary wall on part of the northern side of the river.[26] Fortuitously this helped to reduce the loss of Park deer, which had been caused by the Chapelizod road running through the Park (though this would no longer be the case) and by Dodson's ill constructed boundary wall.

Fig.1.03

The new wall of stone and lime, eight feet high and a little more than one and a half statute miles (527 perches) long, which extended from the Parkgate street entrance to Chapelizod, was constructed by Sir John Temple at a total cost of almost £100 and specified to be built within a year. (Figs.1.05 to 1.05b) Temple had successfully negotiated a fee of £200 along with all the lands excluded by the newly built wall, which formerly belonged to the Crown[27] and by June 1682 Ormonde was informed that building of the Park wall was nearly complete.[28] Temple

Figs.1.05, 1.05a & 1.05b.

held the office of Solicitor-General, and as well as holding land interests in the neighbourhood of the Park, he was also the owner of Palmerston village. Falkiner considered it 'curious' that 'a public servant of high distinction' such as Temple would enter into such an arrangement with the government of the day.[29]

In 1786 the Wide Street Commissioners had resolved to widen the Circular Road and with the erection of a new infirmary in the Park this section of road became known as Infirmary road.[30] (Fig.1.05b) Then *c.*1790 part of Temple's wall from Parkgate street to the Islandbridge entrance was rebuilt to incorporate the Wide Street Commissioners' plans to widen the road from Barrack street to Islandbridge and to realign the Park wall. This realignment from Barrack Street to Islandbridge of *c.*1790 necessitated the removal of a number of houses between the then existing irregular boundary wall of the Park and the road, which are well illustrated in Francis Place's drawing of 1698 and maps of the period.[31] (Fig.1.05b)

Fig.1.05b

Fig.1.05b

However there is considerable evidence for ongoing rebuilding and repair of the Park wall taking place, especially in the first decade of the 18th century when the Surveyor-general, Thomas Burgh, was actively involved in Park improvements.[32] Further works to the wall are noted with repayments to Luke Gardiner in 1743-1745 in his capacity as one of the Keepers of the Phoenix Park.[33]

Turning to gate lodges, it appears that several were built by Dodson at the same time as the Park walls, one of which was erected in 1666 near Kilmainham Jail at a cost of approximately seventy-five pounds. This possibly makes it the earliest record for a park gate lodge in Ireland (that is assuming it was a gate lodge in the first instance). As late as October 1716 Robert Molesworth writing as if gate lodges were something of a novelty recommended building a gate lodge at his Breckenstown demesne, near Swords, County Dublin 'as tis done in places of 40 times greater resort all about London and Hampton Court'.[34] From 1740 onwards illustrations of gate lodges appeared in architectural pattern books for follies and lodges.

The earliest cartographic evidence for a Park gate lodge is shown on Charles Brooking's map of 1728 (Fig.1.06) at the Parkgate Street entrance which appears again in Rocques' map of 1756. Four years later in Rocques '*Survey of County Dublin*' other lodges are shown at Castleknock, Knockmaroon and Chapelizod and these are repeated again with two additional lodges at Islandbridge and Blackhorse Lane shown on Sherrard's map of 1772[35] and Asser's map of 1775[36] (Fig.1.07) Illustrations exist for the Parkgate Street and Islandbridge gate lodges at the close of the eighteenth century which indicate that they were not only spacious but also of a handsome character unlike those of the nineteenth century.[37] (Figs.1.08, 1.08a & 1.06a) Lodge size caused much concern as

Fig.1.06

Fig.1.07

Figs.1.08, 1.08a &1.06a

a social topic and is a subject which will be discussed in chapter four. However, what these other lodges looked like is open to conjecture but judging by Burton's description in chapter 4 they were of 'a mean character'.

Apart from gate lodges, two other categories of 'lodges' existed in the eighteenth century, those of the ranger and keepers of the Park (who usually delegated their responsibilities and were titled) and their subordinates (a deputy ranger, bailiff and two Park keepers) who were responsible for managing the Park on a day-to-day basis. The difference in these positions will be discussed in greater detail below. The bailiff's lodge (which was subsequently acquired in 1774, enlarged, and eventually became the chief secretary's lodge) was a modest four-roomed house with a 'potato patch' and grazing for six beasts. Park keepers' lodges shown on late 18th century maps also had grounds attached (presumably for similar uses). One of these lodges subsequently became the private secretary's lodge located within the viceregal demesne and the other, located between Chesterfield Avenue and the Star Fort, was strategically located along with the bailiff's lodge and the deputy ranger's lodge. (Figs.1.07 & 1.09) The latter lodge is shown by Dukes in 1795 as a substantial two-storied building with out-houses and large walled enclosure attached, overlooking what became the Zoo lake. The plate is inscribed as 'A Lodge in the Phoenix Park in 1795' in *Ball's History of*

Figs.1.07 & 1.09

County Dublin part iv (p.185) and now be identified as the deputy ranger's lodge. (Fig.1.10)

Fig.1.10

The final category of lodge housed not only the park ranger and the keepers but eventually became the viceregal residence and those of the chief and under-secretaries as well. At the time of the Park's formation which commenced in 1662, there were four major residences within the Park. One of these, The Phoenix House was already crown property since 1618 and the other three, The King's House at Chapelizod, Newtown(e) lodge and Ashtown castle were all acquired as part of the Park's land purchases. (Fig.1.01) The Phoenix House which was described by Sir William Petty in his survey as a very stately house and in good repair, became the viceregal residence, with the Duke of Ormonde the last viceroy to occupy it as a residence until about 1665. However the house, gardens, and stables continued to be occupied by the lord lieutenant's staff and used for many decades. In 1734 it was demolished to make way for the Magazine Fort on the Duke of Dorset's instructions.[38]

Fig.1.01

We have already noted that the location of the King's House was within the boundary of the Park at Chapelizod when it was purchased along with the lands of Chapelizod, and that it was excluded when Sir John Temple constructed the new boundary from Chapelizod to Parkgate Street. The King's House at Chapelizod was used as a viceregal residence (being more spacious than the Phoenix House) for nearly a century from

the time it was acquired by the Crown in 1663 with Ormonde as its first viceregal occupant. The grounds and gardens were exceptionally well maintained and brought to a high degree of perfection by the Duchess of Ormonde and were laid out in the Dutch style which should have pleased King William III when he resided there after the battle of the Boyne in 1690 (thus giving the appellation of the King's House to the viceregal residence). In the beginning of the eighteenth century the King's gardens were renowned. In *c.*1715 the king's gardener, John Johnson, ran into trouble when he opened his own fruit shop, which gave rise to the suspicion that the produce came from the garden of the King's garden in Chapelizod.[39] This garden remained in the Park and was eventually incorporated into the Park's land by Decimus Burton, as will be seen in chapter seven. In 1714 during the Earl of Shrewsbury's viceroyalty a pigeon house was erected and other improvements undertaken. [40]

The third residence acquired at the time the Park was formed was Newtowne lodge which stood on the lands of Newtowne, where Nathaniel Clements reputedly built his Rangers' lodge, which subsequently was acquired as a viceregal residence. The final residence acquired by the Government in 1664 along with the lands of Ashtown was Ashtown castle, which eventually became the residence of the ranger of the Park and in time the under-secretary's. Later, these buildings will be described after the following discussion on Park management.

PARK MANAGEMENT

The management of the Phoenix Park almost since its formation in 1662 was entrusted to a ranger and his department.[41] Important managerial functions such as security and protection of game rested with the ranger's department, as we will see later, whereas routine maintenance and building works were executed in the seventeenth century by the Royal Works, and subsequently by the Surveyor General's Department and Barrack Board in the eighteenth century, which later became the 'Irish' Board of Works and the Barrack Board.[42] In June 1829, the responsibility for managing the Park was placed under His Majesty's Woods, Forests, Land Revenues & co. (here after referred to as Woods & Forests)[43] although the Board of Public Works Ireland, which was reconstituted from the 'Irish' Board of Works in 1831,[44] continued to manage the Park on an agency basis for Woods & Forests until mid-summer 1834.[45] This latter body continued to manage the Park until August 1851 when it was transferred to Her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings (Great Britain).[46] In January 1860 the management of the Park changed yet again, this time to the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, from which the modern day Office of Public Works descends, and who remained responsible for Park management until July 1996.[47] (appendix A)

Individual responsibility for the management of royal parks was

embodied in the position of ranger, who was usually a titled person, and delegated his management responsibilities to that of a deputy ranger. Both positions were usually salaried, though that of deputy was sometimes remunerated by allowances, and the occupation of a free lodge. Rangers were appointed by letters patent during pleasure, and deputy rangers were usually appointed by rangers, but there were exceptions.[48]

In practice the duties of the ranger of a royal park in 1833 were wholly executed by the deputy ranger, which included the management of the deer, game, grazing, as well as the appointment of all subordinate officers. Included in this latter category were park keepers and gate keepers, whose salaries were paid out of grazing rents. This source of funding also financed the provision of sustenance for the deer and for grassland management in various royal parks. Any other expenses incurred under the authority of the ranger or his deputy were funded by Woods & Forests.[49] The patents under which rangers and their deputies held their appointments differed from park to park. Whereas all the patents had some rights of grazing, and in some cases the rangers even took 'the profits of the surplus herbage' for themselves, the arrangements relating to healthy, mature, standing, windblown or decayed trees differed from royal park to royal park. In Hampton Court and Greenwich Parks the rangers took all 'windfall' trees for themselves, whereas in Bushy

Park the rangers were only allowed to take the tops of 'windfall' trees. Before 1830 some rangers even claimed and exercised the power of cutting trees in royal parks. However, after 1830, this power was removed and placed exclusively under the control of of Woods and Forests.[50]

From the 1660s the ranger's department in the Phoenix Park consisted of three keepers, one of whom also held the superior title of ranger of the Phoenix Park. There was also a park bailiff, whose role in Park management will be discussed in detail later. The keepers were men of high position, and consequently they delegated their responsibilities to full time subordinate officers known as deputy or under keepers. There were four of these deputy or under keepers, one of whom was assigned to the ranger, one to each of the other two keepers, and one to the bailiff, who was known as the deputy or under bailiff.[51]

The offices of ranger and keepers of the Park were created by Charles II and held by letters patent, under the Great Seal of Ireland, which obliged the holders

> faithfully and diligently to discharge and execute the office and trust of Keeper, and either in person or by some trusty servant, constantly to walk the round of the Park.

The first ranger of the Phoenix Park was Marcus Trevor, Viscount Dungannon, who as Master of His Majesty's Game and Parks in Ireland since August 1661, was eminently qualified to hold the Park title.

(appendices B & C) The grant of both these positions passed from one ranger to the next. Until 1761, the ranger also held the office of keeper of 'Newtowne Walke' in the Park.[52] This keepership entitled the holder to an annual salary of fifty pounds and the use of Newtowne Lodge, with outhouses and an adjoining walled in area or the fees derived from it. The holder also enjoyed grazing rights in the Park for twelve horses, twenty cows and one bull plus furze for firing.[53] He had authority to appoint underkeepers 'for whose honesty and care he shall be answerable' and to dismiss them if they proved unsatisfactory.

Sir Henry Brouncker succeeded as Ranger of the Phoenix Park in November 1672 on the death of Dungannon,[54] and thereafter the position continued to be occupied by notables until its abolition by Woods & Forests in May 1840.[55]

The principal duty of the ranger and keepers of the Park was to preserve the game, which was greatly assisted by the division of the Park into geographical areas known as 'Walks' or keeperships. These were patrolled by the ranger and keepers or more likely by the bailiff and underkeepers, as mentioned above. About the time of Dungannon's appointment in 1668, six years after the formation of the Park, Sir William Flower was appointed Keeper of Ashtown Walk and assigned Ashtown Castle as a residence. Colonel Edward Cooke was nominated to Kilmainham Walk, but whether a lodge was provided for him or not is

uncertain. Separate patents covered each Walk, entitling the holders to certain rights and privileges. Consequently with the abolition of the Kilmainham Walk as a result of building the Royal Hospital in 1680, the Castleknock Walk was created, which entitled the holder to

> Castleknock Lodge and all houses, edifices, privileges, fees, perquisites, salaries and other allowances and advantages to the same....[56]

It is unclear where the boundaries of the various walks were, but they were obviously centered around the keeper's residence. However it is uncertain whether a keeper's lodge existed for the Kilmainham Walk. The creation of the new Castleknock walk would have resulted in redrawing the boundaries. To what degree they related to the Park districts (of which there were four) and Park divisions shown in Figs.5.04 & 7.14 is uncertain.

Figs.5.04 & 7.14

In the first decade of the Park's formation there was a proposal to create a position of Lieutenant of the Park and Master of the Game, whose residence would be the King's House at Chapelizod. He would also become Keeper of the adjoining lands to be called Kingsborough Lodge and Walk. At the same time Newtowne, Ashtown and Kilmainham Walks with accompanying residences would be known respectively as Dungannon's Walk and Lodge, Flower's Walk and Lodge and Cooke's

Walk and Lodge. The proposal was never implemented and Dungannon remained as ranger until his death in 1672.[57] It will be seen from the appendix that patent holders of ranger and keepers of the Phoenix Park changed at reasonable intervals, usually on the death of the holders, or in some instances on the surrender of patents for mortgage purposes.[58] However in 1761 a fundamental change occurred when Lord George Sackville, who was already keeper of Ashtown Walk, had his patent withdrawn and a new one issued granting greater authority to manage the Park as its keeper / ranger.[59] This fundamental change coincided with the death of Nathaniel Clements, builder of the viceregal lodge, who was the last person to hold the positions of ranger and keeper of Newtowne as separate offices from 1751 to 1761. To facilitate this rationalisation, Nathaniel's son, Robert, surrendered his patent for which he was duly compensated. This effectively eliminated the Newtowne keepership, and merged the rangership of the Phoenix Park with that of the Ashtown keepership. The position was further consolidated (with the under-secretary now residing in the Park) in 1785 when Sackville Hamilton became keeper/ranger as well as under-secretary for Ireland, thus establishing a link between these two posts, which remained until 1840.[60] In 1786, the Gardiners, who were the keepers of Castleknock Walk and Lodge, also surrendered their patent in lieu of pension rights, which effectively reduced the number of offices to just one position, that of

keeper / ranger of the Phoenix Park.[61] Because the terms keeper and ranger were used interchangeably from 1761, this office will be referred to as that of keeper/ranger. The office, which was governed by patent, entitled the holder to an annual salary of twenty-six pounds and six shillings, clear of all fees and deductions and charged to the Civil List.[62] The appointment also entitled the holder to a number of other benefits, such as the use of Ashtown Lodge and

> all the Houses, Edifices, Buildings, Gardens, Meadows, Grounds, Firing, Grazing, and appurtenances to the said Lodge together with all fees, perquisites, salaries and other allowances and advantages thereunto belonging[63]

Edward Cooke, who succeeded Hamilton in October 1796, was empowered by the terms of his patent

> to name and appoint any sufficient underkeeper (for whose honesty and care He shall be answerable also to remove such underkeeper at His will and pleasure and to put another in his Place and stead from Time to Time, who is to walk the Rounds of the said Park to preserve the Game from Theft and Spoil, and all other powers to Use and Exercise in the said Park as fully as any other Keeper of the said Park useth or exerciseth therein...[64]

The role of underkeepers in Park management will be explained when the reorganisation undertaken by Woods & Forests from 1832 onwards will be discussed in chapter two.

We now turn our attention to the roles of bailiff and under-bailiff in the management structure. (appendix D) It is unclear when this position was first created, but was most likely with the formation of the Park. We know that the bailiff had been paid an annual salary of nine pounds from 1715 onwards.[65] The appointment of bailiff was by warrant from the lord lieutenant, a position which was held by successive chief secretaries since the appointment of Sir Robert Peel on the 15 October 1817,[66] a precedent which was created by a former chief secretary, Sir John Blacquiere, when he controversially obtained the appointment in December 1774. The bailiff's duties, which were delegated to the under bailiff, obliged him

> to enter into, take care of, and inspect all and every (of) His Majesty's messuages, lands and woods within His Majesty's said Park, and to take account of defects, decays, wastes, spoils, and encroachments that shall or may be committed or permitted within His Majesty's said Park, and from time to time give us a just and true account thereof in writing....[67]

In addition, he had to prepare routine estimates of works to be carried out under his direction, which included cutting drains, making sunken fences and trenching ground for tree planting. The bailiff's annual salary was a meagre nine pounds, which was clear of deductions, but he also had a living allowance and a 'four roomed cottage in the Phoenix Park, a potato patch and grazing for a half a dozen beasts'.[68] (Fig.1.12)

Fig.1.12

However, with Blacquiere's appointment the position became somewhat more prestigious with a grazing allocation in the Park for eighteen cows, six horses and twenty sheep, and almost thirty-five acres of land around his lodge in the Park. His warrant of appointment also allowed him to appoint a deputy or deputies to undertake his duties.[69] By comparison the under or deputy bailiff, whose appointment was by bailiff warrant, received an annual salary of fifty-five pounds, two shillings and two pence, lodging and firing.[70] In practice the under bailiff undertook the bailiff's duties and responsibilities, which effectively made him the active manager of the Park. The role of the bailiff will be pursued in the discussion on the reorganisation of Park management by Woods & Forests from 1832 onwards, and that of the under bailiff from 1800 to 1830. The post of bailiff survived into the twentieth century.

THE ARCHITECTURAL LANDSCAPE TO 1800

Considerable changes took place to the Park's architectural landscape up until 1760, and during the following twenty-five years two clearly defined uses emerged: one which provided residences for those involved in the Park's administration and the other for military purposes.

On the administrative side, apart from the residential requirements of the gatekeepers and underkeepers, the ranger and keepers of the Park walks required substantial residences in keeping with their official roles both in Park administration and other official duties. It has already been

noted that there was a ranger and two keepers of Walks in the Phoenix Park which initially included Newtowne, Ashtown and Kilmainham Walks, with Newtowne Lodge serving the ranger of the Park (who was also the keeper of Newtowne Walk).

This is an appropriate time to refer to the reference map and index of the Phoenix Park (to *c.*1880) which is at the beginning of volume two. For the remainder of chapter one buildings in the Park will be referenced using the coordinates of the reference map.

In 1751 Nathaniel Clements was appointed ranger of the Park and keeper of the Newtowne Walk and built a new residence, according to some on the site of the earlier Newtowne house. Clement's house was a plain brick building with offices projecting on either side and connected by circular sweeps. (Figs.1.11&1.11a)) However it was the gardens and grounds that were considered to be the chief attraction. There is some confusion as to the exact location of the original Newtowne Lodge, since Ball puts its location near the present Parkgate street entrance to the Park and stated it to be in 'unpleasant proximity' to the gallows for executions within the county.[71] However Falkiner located it on the site of Clement's Rangers' Lodge (now Aras an Uachtarain)[72] [D9] which seems a possibility although Decimus Burton when relocating the Phoenix monument [D7, E7] in 1843 stated that 'no objection can be raised against the removal of this Pillar on the score of it marking the site of the

Figs.1.11 & 1.11a

Mansion which formerly existed under designation, for this site was south east of the present Phoenix'.[73] The location was obviously not on the site of the viceregal lodge or Burton would not have made the above reference. In 1782 the government purchased Clement's lodge for use as a viceregal residence for future lord lieutenants.

Ashtown Castle [C6] became the residence of the keeper of the Ashtown Walk from early in the Park's history. The lands initially included as well as the castle two thatched cottages and an orchard in the possession of John Connell (an ancestor of the famous liberator Daniel O'Connell and a friend and agent of the Duke of Ormonde) at the time of purchase.[74] About 1760 the tower of the castle was incorporated into a new house that became known as Ashtown Lodge. (Fig.1.13) As noted above, a fundamental change occurred in 1761 when Lord George Sackville, who was already keeper of Ashtown Walk, had his patent withdrawn and a new one issued granting greater authority to manage the Park as its keeper / ranger.[75] This fundamental change coincided with the death of Nathaniel Clements, builder of the viceregal lodge, who was the last person to hold the positions of ranger and keeper of Newtowne as separate offices from 1751 to 1761. The importance of the post of ranger was enhanced when it became linked, from 1785 to 1840, with that of under-secretary for Ireland. Sackville Hamilton was the first under-secretary to hold the posts simultaneously.[76]

Fig.1.13

The abolition of the Kilmainham Walk (it is not clear whether the Keeper of this Walk had a residence provided, but as noted above Dodson had built a lodge near Kilmainham Jail in 1666) with the building of the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham in 1680 led to the creation of the Castleknock Walk. In 1728 Luke Gardiner was appointed to the Keepership of the Castleknock walk and built a private residence on sixteen acres near the Castleknock Gate, known as Mountjoy House. [C2, C3] It later became Mountjoy barracks (*c.*1780) and as a cavalry barracks provided a mounted escort to the lord lieutenant and in 1825 became the Ordnance Survey headquarters, thus maintaining its military connection.[77]

Fig.1.14

(Fig.1.14) In 1786, the Gardiners, who were the keepers of Castleknock Walk and Lodge, also surrendered their patent in lieu of pension rights, which effectively reduced the number of offices to just one position, that of keeper/ranger of the Phoenix Park.[78]

It has already been noted that Clements' lodge was acquired for use as a viceregal lodge in 1782. In the same year the government

Fig.1.12a

acquired the bailiff's lodge, [E5, E6] (Fig.1.12a) then occupied by Sir John Blacquire who had not only been Park bailiff but also chief secretary. The bailiff's lodge would in future be used by successive Park bailiffs and chief secretaries, since both became amalgamated into the one position.[79] Thus, at the close of the nineteenth century it can be seen that the three leading government officials (lord lieutenant, chief

secretary and under-secretary) were residing in three of the principal lodges in the Park and also holding the post of ranger/keeper in the case of the under-secretary, and that of Park bailiff in the case of the chief secretary.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MILITARY INSTITUTIONS AND INSTALLATIONS

The military use of the Park during the 18th century, will now be discussed. This application not only dominated the landscape with military fortifications and institutions but also allowed the Park to be used for military reviews, manoeuvres, encampments, and artillery practices. The first major intrusion was the partial construction of earthen embankments of the Star Fort [sometimes referred to as Wharton's Fortification] [F10-11, G9-11, H10-11] (Fig.1.15). Commenced in 1710 by the Earl of Wharton during his lord lieutenancy, it occupied an astounding twenty-seven acres located between Chesterfield Avenue and the Khyber road on high ground opposite the Magazine Fort. However it was abruptly stopped in 1711 due to anticipated cost overruns and site unsuitability.[80] The only reminder of this fortification at present is the citadel pond (from which it derived its name) located near Chesterfield Avenue, opposite Dublin Zoo. This landscape will be revisited again in chapter five.

Fig.1.15

It has already been noted that the Phoenix House was demolished

in 1734 to make way for the building of the Magazine Fort [H9] on the Duke of Dorset's instructions.[81] The location, on St. Thomas's Hill, commanded one of the best views and vantage points within the Park, and whilst it offered 'a retreat from disturbance' it was still within easy reach of Dublin Castle and the Royal Barracks (now the National Museum of Ireland and formerly Collins Barracks).[82] The Magazine Fort sits relatively unobtrusively in the Park's landscape as noted in Dukes's drawings of 1795. (Figs.1.16 & 1.16a) However, Francis Johnston's additions in 1801, which form a triangle of brick buildings with tall chimneys in front of the original drawbridge entrance, makes the Fort more prominent. The undulating landscape on the north-eastern side of the Magazine Fort most likely resulted from the excavated material generated during its construction, thus adding to the attractiveness of the Park, not only visually, but also for military manoeuvres.

Figs.1.16 & 1.16a

Another major vantage point overlooking the city was occupied by the Salute Battery. [H12] This consisted of twelve pieces of cannon (twelve pounders) for firing on ceremonial occasions rather than for defensive purposes. They were erected on a stone emplacement which further added to its imposing position.[83] (Fig.1.17) The land (now known as the Wellington Fields) and its immediate environs was under the control of the Board of Ordnance and was willingly relinquished for the erection of the Wellington Testimonial [H12] when the Salute Battery

Fig.1.17

became disused in the early decades of the nineteenth century.[84] The construction of the partially moated stone 'façade' like structure dates to *c.*1710.[85] (Figs.1.17a & 1.17b)

Figs.1.17a &1.17b

In 1766 permission was granted for the building of the Royal Hibernian Military School [H5] in the Phoenix Park near Chapelizod which would be an ornament to the Park. (Fig.1.18) The initial grant was for building of the school on three acres adjacent to the King's garden in the Phoenix Park near Chapelizod. Soon afterwards the site was deemed unsuitable and the school was built on a site a little further into the Park on high ground commanding excellent views of the Liffey valley, the Dublin hills and Wicklow mountains.[86] The school received its royal charter in 1769 for maintaining, educating, and apprenticing the orphans and children of deceased soldiers and those on foreign service.[87] A school chapel [G5] to the designs of Thomas Cooley was added in 1771 (Figs.1.19 & 1.19a) and it is has been suggested that he may also have designed the school which was built between 1766-70. The Chapel, located several hundred yards north of the school and separated by a walled garden (which has a semicircular wall nearest the chapel end) is directly aligned on its central n-s axis.[88] (Fig.1.20) A little over a decade after the school opened, a thriving nursery connected with it producing forest trees, fruit trees, flowering shrubs and evergreens is recorded for sale.[89]

Fig.1.18

Figs.1.19 & 1.19a

Fig.1.20

Nearly two decades after the erection of the Royal Hibernian Military School another important military institution, the Royal Infirmary or Soldier's Hospital [G13, H13-14] was erected 1786-88 to the designs of James Gandon, with William Gibson (architect to the commissioners and overseers of the barracks [1784-1792]) the executant architect.[90] (Figs.1.21 & 1.21a) The plot of ground, consisting of 'a few acres' which formerly belonged to the Park, contains the platform on which the Infirmary is erected. It slopes 'rapidly to a valley, through which runs a lively stream, with a neat gravel walk along its margin…'.[91] It has been described as delightfully situated on high ground and commanding extensive and uninterrupted prospects over the Park. The Infirmary faces the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham across the river Liffey and also forms an important architectural feature from the Grand Avenue of the Park.

Figs.1.21 & 1.21a

The majority of the Park's military institutions, especially the Royal Hibernian Military School and the Royal Infirmary, erected in the eighteenth century, occupied the best vantage points and added visually to the Park's landscape and beyond. But other military installations, particularly the Magazine Fort, though visually unobtrusive, generated considerable traffic because of its role as a distribution center for powder and munitions to the rest of the Dublin barracks. Many of the 'roads' shown on Park maps [92] for the latter half of the eighteenth century were

probably no more than 'dirt tracks' generated by Park traffic, particularly those associated with military activity. (Fig.1.22) This traffic, coupled with other debilitating activities caused by poor drainage, grazing animals and horses, undoubtedly took its toll on the Park's road system which caused chief secretary Eden to exclaim in 1781 that 'the roads and surface of this Park continue in a dammed state'.[93]

Fig.1.22

Other activities to impact on the Park's roads and parkland were the military reviews, manoeuvres, artillery practices and encampments. Numerous reports and records indicate the scale of these activities, which were often reviewed by the lord lieutenant of the day (some of the mock battles lasted almost eleven hours). In July 1774 regiments of horse, artillery and foot were reviewed by the lord lieutenant and full-scale military action ensued, which lasted for two days. The attractiveness of the Park was that it offered 'a variety of water, wood, hill, and dale on the scene of action, affording a display of every possible situation an army could fall into ...'[94] In June 1775 the Dublin garrision consisting of six regiments of foot and one of horse performed military manoeuvres which encompassed almost the entire Park.[95] (Fig.1.09) The large plain between the Magazine Fort and the Royal Hibernian Military School [H7-8] features on a number of eighteenth century Park maps as an area for artillery practice and making encampments.[96] In July 1776 the Earl of Drogheda (master general of the ordnance) reviewed the Royal Irish

Fig.1.09

Regiment of Artillery in the Phoenix Park. The regiment performed a variety of firings and 'evolutions' with cannon and small arms, together with howitzer and mortar practice.[97]

SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LANDSCAPE DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT

The landscape design and development of the Phoenix Park during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries poses some interesting questions. This section examines to what extent landscape development took place then and where the design inspiration came from. It has already been established that the Park was assembled from a series of adjoining properties ranging in size from almost 470 acres for the Phoenix and Newtowne lands to much smaller areas of land. In the Civil Survey of 1650 the Phoenix and Newtowne lands were described as arable, meadow and pasture. Of the 537 acres of parkland that comprised the parishes of Chapelizod and Ashtown 440 acres were arable, sixty-one acres were pasture, twenty-two acres were meadow and only seven acres were described as 'shrub wood'. More than a decade later when the Phoenix Park lands were being assembled little would have changed in terms of land use. An obvious feature of the survey was the scarcity of woodland or even scrub. During the viceroyalty of the Earl of Clarendon (1685-87) the viceroy's wife corresponded with John Evelyn (the famous author of *Silva* and friend of King Charles II) lamenting her coming to a country which he had not cultivated and deploring the deficiency of trees

and shrubs.[98]

Very little documentary or cartographic evidence appears to exist for any large scale designed landscape works for the public areas of the Park during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries except for a small area of formal landscape which encompassed the Phoenix Column [D7, E7] and the formation of Chesterfield Avenue, both of which will be discussed later. Evidence from eighteenth century Park maps (Figs.1.02 & 1.09) shows a well-defined pastoral landscape of field boundaries (embankments and drainage ditches) over a large area of the Park which survived into the first half of the nineteenth century when they were levelled by Burton's workmen as will be seen in chapter five. There is virtually no evidence of earthworks associated with designed landscapes in the public areas of the Park except those associated with the construction of the Star Fort, a number of small hillocks most likely as a result of excavation works arising from the construction of the Magazine Fort and the small mounds associated with the planting on either side of Chesterfield Road. Asser's map of c.1775 (Fig.1.07) shows a large earthen mound in the White Field's district [A4, B4] but General Irwine's map (Fig.1.09) of the Phoenix Park showing the plan of military manoeuvres for June 1775 does not show this feature. Giving the importance of the latter map for strategic military manoeuvres, its accuracy is more assured than the Asser map.

Figs.1.02 & 1.09

Fig.1.07

Fig.1.09

The public areas of seventeenth and eighteenth century Phoenix Park owed their landscape formation and beauty more to natural landforms and distant views than to any designed landscapes, with the exception of the Wilderness in the center of the Park, a number of strategically located woodlands and the planting of groups of trees on either side of Chesterfield Road. The greater part of the Park has a level or gently sloping topography with a south-easterly aspect. Its elevation ranges from approximately 185 ft. O.D. at the Castleknock /Ashtown area to the one hundred foot contour which coincides with the top edge of the steep-sided River Liffey valley and its local tributary valleys. In contrast the narrow strip of Parkland which runs along the southern edge of the Park from Knockmaroon to Islandbridge has a series of narrow valleys which incise the plain of the Park, have short steep-sided slopes and narrow valley bottoms with elevations dropping from one hundred foot to forty foot or less.[99] These steep-sided valleys, the largest of which correspond to important water channels which drain the Park to the River Liffey, are clearly illustrated in Fig.1.09.

Fig.1.09

In 1731 Mrs. Pendarves (later Mrs. Delany) described the Park's large extent, its fine turf, agreeable prospects and delightful wood, in the midst of which was a ring where the beaux and belles of society promenaded. Mrs. Delany never saw a spot of ground more to her taste and considered it 'far beyond St. James or Hyde Park'.[100] This praise was

echoed again more than 130 years later when the natural beauty of the Park was lauded:

> For extent and natural beauty it [the Phoenix Park] stands unequalled in the British Empire. ….. Who can ….survey the glorious panorama which surrounds it, where the Divine Artist had painted in varied and indelible hues a landscape of imperishable beauty, and moulded forms of grandeur and sublimity which no human hand can imitate.[101]

The formal woodland feature with its central ring described by Mrs. Delany above was known as a 'wilderness' or grove and typified the designed woody area as part of seventeenth - and early eighteenth century gardens and parks. There were a number of variations in the type of wilderness which could be created depending on whether one used forests and great woods of tall trees, groves opened in compartments, or just open groves or groves of middle height with tall hedges. Wildernesses of fruit trees, woods of evergreens and coppice woods could also be created.[102] These groves ('wildernesses') were laid out in geometrical formation and were dissected with straight paths, which usually converged on a central open circular area known as a rond (or ring), and the paths were usually aligned on some landscape feature such as urns or statues.[103]

Given Mrs. Delany's effusive praise of the Phoenix Park Wilderness in 1731, it would appear that some degree of landscape

maturity was reached at this stage, indicating its creation in the early decades of the eighteenth century. Thomas Wright's drawing some fifteen years later (*c*.1746), showing the Phoenix Column in the center of the ring surrounded by semi-mature woodland, bears this out. (Figs.1.23 & 1.23a) The Phoenix Park Wilderness is somewhat unique in its geometrical pattern which is of a rectangular format as opposed to the more usual triangular formation as will be seen later in chapter six. However one description of a wilderness (though obviously on a much grander scale) which matched the geometry of that of the Phoenix Park was located at Thomastown Castle, County Tipperary.[104]

Fig.1.23 & 1.23a

Who the driving force for the creation of the Park's Wilderness was, and where the inspiration came from, are two areas of interest on which no light has been shed to date. However, it is tempting to speculate that James Butler, 2nd Duke of Ormonde, lord lieutenant from 1710 to 1713, in keeping with family tradition and following in the footsteps of the 1st Duke (the Park's creator), may have been responsible for improving the designed landscape commencing with the Wilderness. Because of its unique geometrical layout the inspiration for the Phoenix Park Wilderness could possibly be that of Greenwich Park, another royal park. (Figs.1.24 & 1.24a)

Figs.1.24 &1.24a

In the early 1660s Greenwich Park was laid out in the French style to the designs of Andre le Notre at the request of Charles II. The coppices

in the east and west wildernesses - the present-day Deer Park and Ranger's Field – were laid out by Sir William Boreman, keeper of the palace and park.[105] The similarity between the Phoenix Park Wilderness and that of Greenwich Park is one of geometry – both show, as mentioned above, rectangular patterns compared to the more common triangular geometry. These are the only three Parks where this form of wilderness geometry is known to the author. It should also be noted that the geometrical layout of the woodland adjacent to Mountjoy House (latterly the Barrack demesne and the Ordnance Survey Office) suggests another though smaller wilderness at this location.

In 1747 the Phoenix Column was erected (Figs.1.23 & 1.23a) in the ring of the Wilderness at the behest of Lord Chesterfield[106] during his short reign as lord lieutenant of Ireland 1745-6.[107] Who the designer of this thirty foot high fluted Corinthian column of Portland stone with Phoenix aloft and inscribed pedestal was, is not known but Isaac Ware is a strong contender. The latter was Chesterfield's architect for his London home at Mayfair built in 1748-49 and was possibly the architect responsible for St. Patrick's Hall in Dublin Castle in 1747.[108]

Figs.1.23 & 1.23a

Falkiner credits Chesterfield with the formation of the main road through the Park, thus greatly facilitating the citizens of Dublin. Another source credits him with throwing open the Park to all the citizens even though we have noted above that the Ring around the Phoenix Column

was already frequented in 1731 by the nobility of Dublin. It may have been that only the nobility and gentry were allowed access the Park until Chesterfield's time. By way of contrast Hyde Park was opened to the public in 1637 and a large enclosure called the Ring provided a circular drive were courtiers and their families drove around daily.[109] In the 1750's only the carriages of persons of distinction were admitted to the Phoenix Park in the fawning season on orders signed by the Park bailiff.[110]

It is highly unlikely that during Chesterfield's short tenure as lord lieutenant that the main road through the Park was formed by him or that any large scale planting of trees was undertaken. However it is quite possible that he initiated a number of landscape projects which were completed shortly after his departure, thus associating him with these in the public's mind. It is also likely that Chesterfield Road was reformed and planted with 'dragoons' of elms on either side (Fig. 1.09) rather than a whole new road being constructed. [111]

Fig.1.09

How much tree planting was undertaken as a result of Chesterfield's landscape initiative is uncertain. Later cartographic evidence for the year 1775 (Figs.1.07 & 1.09) though somewhat contradictory[112] would indicate that either very little planting took place in the public areas of the Park or that it did not survive. Sherrard's map of the Park [1772] (Fig.1.15) shows an abysmally small area of woodland in

Figs.1.07 &1.09

Fig.1.15

the public areas of the Park which amounted to *c.* five per cent.[113] Indeed tree establishment would have been difficult, given the amount of deer and various other livestock in the Park, the inadequate drainage, and possible lack of maintenance as will be seen in chapter 4. The task of undertaking these landscape improvements would have fallen on the Ranger of the Park and his department as would other such functions as drainage, repair of roads, management of the deer herd and other grazing animals, woodland management and park security.

Cartographic evidence (Figs.1.07 & 5.03) in the closing decades of the eighteenth century indicates that the earlier formality of the Wilderness had disintegrated primarily due to the expansion of the private demesnes of government officials who were by then occupying the viceregal lodge, chief secretary's and under-secretary's lodges. Other factors may have been the lack of woodland management, judging by Dukes's drawing of 1795 (Fig.1.23a) which shows a rather dense woodland surrounding the Phoenix Column, and the fact that this landscape formality was no longer fashionable.

Figs.1.07 & 5.03

Fig.1.23a

In 1782 James Donnell put forward landscape plans for the improvement of the Phoenix Park. Donnell had worked for Lady Masserene at Leixlip,[114] at Strokestown House for Maurice Mahon, and at Castlerea, the seat of the Sandford family[115] in County Roscommon. These included new roads, extensive tree planting, a bridge across the

pond near the Dublin Gate and an observatory tower. Whether any of these works were undertaken is uncertain but unlikely since there is no subsequent evidence to support it, although Donnell worked in the Park for William Eden, secretary to Lord Carlisle, the Lord Lieutenant.[116] These works included draining the south side of the Fifteen Acres, levelling all the small ditches about it and making several plantations including those at Chapelizod and the Ring.[117] Donnell's proposal to remove some of Chesterfield's clumps of trees to 'abolish regularity'[118] is somewhat puzzling, since there is little cartographic evidence showing clumps of trees except for the formality of planting on either side of the main avenue.

However the public areas of the Park, even with their limited designed landscapes, cannot be divorced or isolated from the various lodges and institutions within the Park. The landscapes attached to these 'private' demesnes added considerably to the overall visual beauty of the Park, since these were well developed, as will be seen later in chapter six.

Park management seems to have waxed and waned up to 1800. The Park appears to have been well tended down to the accession of George the II in 1727 especially in terms of drainage and road repairs.[119] However in May 1752, it became necessary to introduce a set of rules and regulations regarding the management of the Park. These were signed by the chief secretary, Sackville.[120] There were nineteen rules which

primarily applied to grazing entitlements in the Park, maintaining deer herd numbers, duties of the under-keepers vis-à-vis caring for the trees and woodlands and reporting on wall breaches etc. Other regulations focused on prohibiting the sale of liquor or ale within the Park, prohibiting grooms or servants to exercise horses, and the use of nets, dogs or guns in the Park. Hunting or hawking would only be permitted with written permissions. Strict accounting of profits were to be kept by the ranger, and if any remained after the payment of allowances and repair of roads, it was to be spent on improvements to the Park.[121]

PARK DECLINE

However, by 1781 things had deteriorated to such an extent that, whiskey was being sold from between two and three hundred tents in the Park to the detriment of the trees and grassland and the destruction of the cows, sheep and deer.[122] A little over 50 years later, as will be seen in later chapters, Woods & Forests introduced a new set of rules and regulations to safeguard the Park's landscape, primarily as a result of grazing and poor drainage.

Thus we see in this introductory chapter the managerial and landscape development of the Park that has taken place up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. This sets the scene which allows us to explore the development of the Phoenix Park in the next seven chapters.

CHAPTER 2 – Park Management from *c.*1800-1880.

In this chapter the various components and elements contained in the management and development of the Phoenix Park are examined. What was it that made the management of the Park such a difficult task, which prompted official enquiries, and necessitated so many changes in government departments, or their agents, that managed the Park? This chapter examines the managerial relationship between the Ranger and his department, and the various government departments, which were involved in Park management from 1800 to 1880. Particular attention will be paid to the interaction and integration between the Ranger's department and the 'new' Board of Public Works (Irl), established in 1831, and the Office of Woods and Forests, who were responsible fr the management of the Park from 1829 until 1851, as we will see below. We will subsequently pursue the role of the bailiff in our discussion on the reorganization of Park management by Woods & Forests from 1832 onwards, and that of the under-bailiff from 1800 to 1830.

In July 1801 a government memorandum[1] was prepared, which detailed the number of Park officers, this being part of a more detailed report on the state of the Park at the time. Under-secretary Edward Cooke emerged as the only patent officer of the Park, and as keeper / ranger, both the management of the Park and all Park appointments were under him, but were subject to the orders of the lord lieutenant. There was also a

park bailiff. The memorandum stated that all the deputy keepers and gatekeepers were like 'common servants removable at pleasure they having no written appointments'. At the time there were three deputy keepers, a Major Sandys who was Cooke's 'particular' deputy with an annual salary of twenty-six pounds, Baynham who had been appointed twenty years previously at an annual salary of twenty-seven pounds and Law who was appointed seven or eight years previously by Hamilton at an annual salary of twenty-six pounds. There was also a vacancy for a deputy keeper with a salary of fifty pounds which, it was anticipated, would go to Law's son who was reputed to be a good sportsman and understood deer management. The four positions of deputy keepers probably reflected the four divisions of the Park into Walks, as we have seen in chapter one. Six gatekeepers were listed, who were mostly widows, and they received salaries ranging from fifty pounds for the person 'keeping' the main entrance gate (Parkgate Street), and from ten to fifteen pounds for keeping each of the remaining Park gates. All officers from the keeper/ranger to the gatekeepers enjoyed some grazing rights, the amounts varying according to their position. The number of officers remained unchanged until 1833, when Park management was restructured as part of the reorganisation undertaken by the Office of Woods and Forests (hereafter referred to as Woods & Forests) at that time.

The management structures and line of authority at the beginning of

the 1800's were a somewhat paradoxical and complex arrangement whereby the under secretary was keeper/ranger of the Park, and his immediate superior in the Government's administration, the chief secretary, was the Park bailiff, both of whom were appointed by the lord lieutenant, - a unique example of a reversal of subordinate roles! See page fifty-three and also appendix D.

The structure was further complicated by the fact that the three highest government officials, the lord lieutenant, the chief secretary and the under-secretary all resided in the Park, many of whom as a result of their political fortunes, had relatively short tenures in office. A further complexity existed since the commissioners of the Board of Works, who as we will see later, were in charge of Park improvements (for both public and private areas), reported to the lord lieutenant. Hardly surprising then that almost two decades earlier, in 1781, a chief secretary complained that owing to the number of 'co-existing potentates of the Park it was difficult to fix responsibility on anyone and what was everyone's business was nobody's business, and the due care of the place was scandalously neglected'.[2]

Not surprisingly roles and responsibilities became blurred and muddled as leading government officials, who resided in the Park, donned the mantle of ranger, keeper and bailiff, which in the case of bailiff was further complicated by the delegation of his duties and

responsibilities to a deputy or under-bailiff. The situation was further confused when some of these same government officials became the reporting authority for the commissioners of the Board of Works, which will be examined later.

However, in spite of some attempts at landscape improvement during the first three decades of the nineteenth century,[3] one had to wait for Woods & Forests with the relevant expertise in estate management, landscape design and development, and considerable capital investment before an appreciable landscape impact could be made. It seems somewhat surprising and extravagant that five departments or their agencies, as we have noted above, were involved in the management of the Park between 1800 and 1880.

In 1800 the responsibility for improvements in the Phoenix Park (public areas) and its official residences (private areas), was under a department known as the Barrack Board and the Board of Works. This Department consisted of seven commissioners, one of whom was in sole charge of the Barrack Board since 1799. This Board was primarily responsible for the repair and erection of new barracks, and the welfare of troops and became financially independent in 1802. The other part of the Department, which was known as the civil branch (Board of Works) was responsible for the upkeep of Dublin Castle, the law courts, several government and ecclesiastical buildings and official apartments scattered

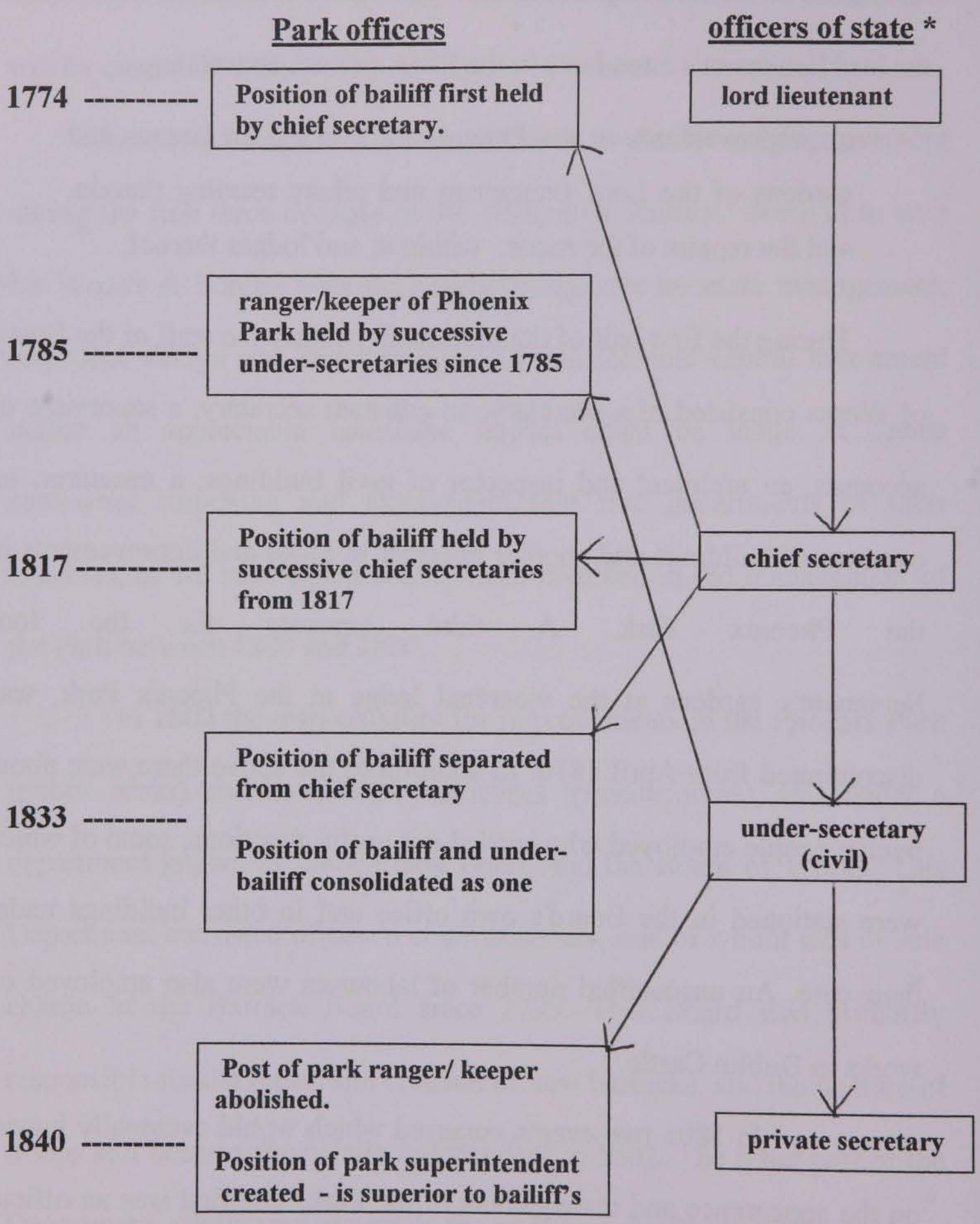
throughout Dublin. They were responsible for all new buildings, and other works which were committed to them as well as the official residences of the lord lieutenant, chief and under-secretaries, and some of the lord lieutenant's attendants in the Phoenix Park as well as

> ... improvements in the Phoenix Park in the Demesnes and gardens of the Lord Lieutenant and others residing therein, and the repairs of the roads within it, and lodges thereof, ...[4]

During the first half of the nineteenth century the staff of the Board of Works consisted of a secretary, an assistant secretary, a supervisor of accounts, an architect and inspector of civil buildings, a measurer, an overseer of buildings and another overseer of roads and improvements in the Phoenix Park. A third overseer for the lord lieutenant's gardens at the viceregal lodge in the Phoenix Park, was discontinued from April 1810. In addition to the above there were about twelve people employed who carried out useful functions, some of which were stationed in the Board's own office and in other buildings under their care. An unspecified number of labourers were also employed on works in Dublin Castle.[5]

In 1801 two events occurred which would eventually impact on the appearance and management of the Park. The first was an official inspection of the Phoenix Park required by government, as mentioned above. This revealed that much of the Park was neglected. To improve

Relationship between officers of state, rangers/keepers & bailiffs of the Phoenix Park



*All resided in official residences and demesnes in the Phoenix Park. Downward arrows (black) shows descending order of official authority. Other arrows (coloured) show interconnectedness between Park posts and government officials. Compilation & layout by the author.

the situation it was decided to create an establishment of horses and carts with attendants based at Chapelizod, so that a gradual system of improvement could be achieved in the Park. Heretofore hired horses, carts and attendants were used and considered expensive.[6]

The second event occurred in December 1801 when chief secretary Charles Abbot transmitted a series of instructions[7] from Lord Lieutenant Hardwicke to the commissioners of the Board of Works indicating how their business should be conducted in future. The instructions were sensible and aimed at accountability, authorisation and control of expenditure, and improving the integrity of subordinate officers. The commissioners were instructed to meet once weekly at a fixed time, that a minimum of three was required to form a board, and that an attendance list was to be forwarded to the lord lieutenant. In addition the architect and inspector of civil buildings had to submit all items of expenditure greater than five pounds to the board and all items in excess of one hundred pounds had to be submitted to the lord lieutenant for approval. The commissioners were also required to submit estimates for Parliament and keep accurate accounts of all transactions. No fees were to be received by subordinate officers and the architect and overseer of buildings was issued with a strict code of instructions to closely supervise the conduct of all workmen and tradesmen and to ensure that they

attended work regularly and performed their duties with diligence. Initially the commissioners complied with the instructions but a decade later a commission of inquiry found reason to complain. Money was spent without authorisation, and the Board's architect, and inspector of civil buildings at the time, Francis Johnston, had seriously miscalculated the cost of several schemes. Johnston cited the rising costs of materials, lack of accuracy in framing estimates and 'unforeseen casualties' as reasons for over expenditure.

Johnston had been appointed the Board of Works architect and inspector of civil buildings in October 1805 in place of his predecessors Vincent Waldre and Robert Woodgate, the former appointed in 1792 and the latter in 1802. (appendix E) After a decade in the position, Waldre was appointed inspector general of barracks, when the military and civil boards were separated, when the civil board became the Board of Works.[8] Johnston enjoyed an annual salary of £400, the same as the commissioners, along with an annual allowance of eighty pounds for clerks and four pounds for stationary for personal use. He also had an allowance for coals and stationary for official use and an additional clerk and messenger, which cost almost £130-11-0 for the year ending the 5 January 1811. When appointed Johnston enjoyed the use of a furnished house in Foster Place and standing for a carriage in the Lower Castle yard but subsequently lost these privileges (for which he received no

compensation).[9]

Johnston delegated that portion of his duties which dealt with the superintendence of improvements in the Phoenix Park and in the gardens and demesnes of the lord lieutenant and other official residents of the Park, to the overseer of roads and improvements in the Phoenix Park.[10] It is unclear when this post was established but it was referred to in Hardwicke's instructions in December 1801 and was probably created after Abbot's inspection of the Park in that year to cater for the proposed landscape improvements. The overseer of roads and improvements of the Park at the time of the 1811 inquiry was Charles Slow, who appears to have retained his position until 1832. He enjoyed an annual salary of one £150 and had the privilege of 'keeping of a horse' free of expenses. Slow's salary, charged on the Board of Work's establishment, was later increased to £200 per annum.[11] Otherwise very little is known of his background but he must have had obvious skills in estate management and landscape matters.

The overseer's duties included the supervision of construction and maintenance of fences and enclosures, the repair of roads, trenching and the preparation of ground for trees, their planting and maintenance, the construction of drains and the maintenance of existing ones. He was also responsible 'for gravelling the roads in the respective demesnes of the Lord Lieutenant and the three Secretaries, and keeping the walks therein

in order' and made weekly returns for the number of labourers under his superintendence and how they were employed. Initially the returns were examined by the under secretary and then passed to the architect for his approval, who in turn issued the relevant amounts of money to the overseer for the payment of labourers. The overseer also examined the propriety of and estimated the 'expense of all requisitions for seeds, plants, trees, tools, manure & co.' that were required for the 'Vice Regal gardens or demesnes, and those of the Secretaries, and for other such matters connected therewith as are referred to him'.

Under cross examination at the 1811 inquiry Slow indicated that a considerable amount of tree planting had taken place in the Park and in the viceregal demesne, that a 'great deal' of drainage had been executed and several new roads made. However, the scale of these operations, as we will see later were miniscule relative to the size of the Park. He admitted that some of the existing roads were 'in very bad order' because of the deployment of park horses in the previous three or four years, in drawing manure to the official demesnes in the Park and on landscape works in the lord lieutenant's demesne. Slow also admitted that horses had to be hired to do work which the Park horses should have done, but that this happened only rarely. Slow denied that they were ever used for the private use of individuals who were not attached to the lord lieutenant's demesne. He admitted that he occasionally received presents

'for extra trouble', gratuities 'to a small amount' from nurserymen from whom he had purchased trees for public use, and the facility to purchase seed for his own private use at lower prices than paid by others. Slow claimed that, as a result of the above, he was 'not influenced thereby to pass bills containing improper charges'. He was unaware of the serious consequence of receiving fees because of the failure of the Board of Works to draw his attention to the relevant regulation issued by Lord Lieutenant Hardwicke in 1801, whereby a subordinate officer who accepted fees or gifts could be instantly dismissed.[12]

What could have been much more serious for Slow was Johnston's admission that some of the overseers' returns were fraudulent, where more money was drawn down than was paid to workmen.[13] However this appeared to have been a genuine error and not of any consequence for Slow, even though he was the head overseer.[14] In any event the main concern of the inquiry was the over expenditure on public buildings rather than any infringements incurred by Slow.[15]

What must have been a worrying aspect for the inquiry was that over half the expenditure on all public buildings under the control of the Board of Works in the first decade of the nineteenth century was on official residences in the Phoenix Park which were occupied by the leading officers of state and brought about, as admitted by one of the commissioners examined, because 'orders from the lord lieutenant and

the chief secretary are considered as peremptory, the Board conceiving it had no control over them'.[16]

Somewhat surprisingly the 1811 commission of inquiry recommended the abolition of the Board along with some of its administrative staff and the transfer of the buildings and property under their control to an architect and overseers who would report directly to the lord lieutenant or chief secretary.[17] Not surprisingly the recommendations were not adopted, since most of the over expenditure had been incurred by the demands of the above office holders. The Board continued to 1831 when it was reconstituted as the Board of Public Works (Irl).

However, before we examine the role of the reconstituted Board of Works (Irl) and Woods & Forests in Park management, we will examine another but complementary portfolio held by Slow - that of under bailiff of the Phoenix Park. In this capacity he was on the Park establishment,[18] but as overseer of roads and Park improvements was also, as noted above, on the Board of Works establishment. Inevitably Slow's duties overlapped, which left him well informed and consequently reduced the margin of error in professional misunderstanding.

In April 1833 the commissioners of Woods & Forests wrote to the ranger/keeper of the Park, Sir William Gosset, and suggested the consolidation of the posts of bailiff and under-bailiff and requested that

the matter be brought before the lord lieutenant for approval. Woods & Forests considered that the nominal appointment of chief secretary as bailiff was inefficient and an unnecessary addition to the Park's establishment. They also suggested that the duties heretofore performed by the under bailiff should in future be undertaken by the bailiff under the immediate direction of the ranger/keeper of the Park. In addition he would have powers to dismiss or appoint the bailiff so he could have 'efficient control over all the officers of the Park'.[19]

In May 1832, William Spalding Wilkie was appointed under bailiff of Phoenix Park, and that of bailiff in Feb. 1834 with an annual salary of eighty pounds,[20] this latter appointment being ratified by the Treasury, as part of a restructured establishment also in the same month. The post of bailiff embodied not only the post of under bailiff but also the former position of superintendent of works, this latter position been previously held by Slow as overseer of roads and Park improvements.[21] No longer was the position of park bailiff automatically tied to the post of chief secretary as noted above. Wilkie was accommodated in a newly constructed lodge in the north-eastern corner of the Park between the Ashtown Gate, and the Castleknock Gate, had a spacious garden for his own use, as well as grazing rights in the Park for four cows, and two horses.[22] We will discuss this small 'private' demesne, which is called The White Fields, in chapter six.

Wilkie had served as head gardener to under-secretaries Gregory and Gosset at their demesne in the Phoenix Park for about sixteen years, before his appointments as under-bailiff and bailiff. He came highly recommended from Woburn Abbey, home of the Dukes of Bedford, where he had assisted in the production of *Hortus Gramineus Woburnensis,* which contained numerous specimens of dried grasses.[23] When he died at his White Fields' residence in the Phoenix Park in February 1870 at seventy-six years of age, Wilkie had served as under-bailiff and bailiff for thirty-eight years,[24] thus spanning the entire management period of the Park under Woods & Forests, the Board of Works (GB) and ten years of management under the Board of Works (Irl) from 1860 to 1870. Wilkie was not only a man of great managerial ability but also had a well developed artistic talent in landscape design and was described as a 'highly respectable man in his profession'. He tried to alleviate the 'burdens of the poor', and made several representations to government, which resulted in wage increases for Park workers, into whom he tried to 'inculcate habits of sobriety and thriftiness'.[25] Wilkie's duties as park bailiff centred on enforcing

> '…an observance by the Park Servants, of such Orders and Regulations as the Lord Lieutenant and other local authorities might, from time to time, prescribe for the preservation of the Deer, and the repression of nuisances within the Park ; the general superintendent and control of it being exercised by

the Under Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant…'– the latter as ranger / keeper of the Park.[26]

The bailiff's duties became more onerous with Treasury approval for a new establishment of Park officers and servants in February 1834. The administrative burden on Wilkie was further increased in May of the same year when park grazing for members of the public was introduced.[27]

In Autumn 1834 the Board of Public Works (Irl) relinquished their responsibility for the maintenance of the public areas of the Park at the request of Woods & Forests which further increased the park bailiff's workload. The cost of Park maintenance undertaken by the Board of Public Works (Irl) amounted to approximately £2000 a year and had consisted primarily of repairs to Park lodges, the boundary wall, internal fences, the management of ornamental plantations and the extensive walks and carriage drives throughout the Park.

Thus the bailiff assumed responsibility for all works to be executed, all estimates of cost, hire and supervision of all workmen, and an account of their daily earnings.[28] This will be discussed further in chapter three on Finance. He was not, however responsible for the maintenance of the official residences and demesnes in the Park, which were still the responsibility of the Board of Works (Irl).[29]

Understandably the bailiff sought a salary increase (in September 1837), being fully aware of his predecessor's (Charles Slow) earnings of

fifty pounds as under bailiff of the Park and a further £200 as overseer of roads and Park improvements. Woods & Forests, in support of Wilkie's claim to the Treasury in February 1838, expressed themselves as being entirely satisfied with his performance. They were also informed that Wilkie employed a clerk, and kept a horse for Park inspections, all at his own expense for which they recommended an annual allowance of thirty pounds, and the immediate payment of a gratuity of one hundred pounds for past services. Woods & Forests also recommended an annual salary of £150 rising to £170 per annum after ten years.[30] Within days of the submission the Treasury agreed to the proposals but reduced his former grazing privilege from four cows and two horses to a cow and a horse, the latter for use on Park inspections. The reduction in the bailiff's grazing privileges were entirely consistent with Woods & Forests's desire to minimise what they considered to be a former abuse of privilege.[31]

Since Woods & Forests managed the Phoenix Park from 1829 to 1851, it is important to have some knowledge of its origins, functions, structures and personnel. Woods & Forests were represented in Ireland by the Quit Rent Office (abbreviated to QRO), and a brief history of its structure and personnel will be helpful. Woods and Forests is the abbreviated title of a body more properly known from 1810 to 1832 as the Office of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues, and from 1832 to 1851 as the Office of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings

(their lengthier names indicating the unification of offices which took place in 1810 and 1832 respectively).[32] (appendix A).

In Ireland the management of the Irish Land Revenues was entrusted to the Commissioners of Excise who managed their business under the auspices of the Excise Board, and who were based at the QRO in Dublin. In July 1827 the management of Irish Land Revenues was transferred to the Department of Irish Land Revenues of Woods and Forests in London. This resulted in considerable staff reductions, more of which were made in 1830.[33]

The QRO in Dublin was retained under the new arrangement (with a staff of three, consisting of the clerk of the Quit Rents and two junior clerks) and functioned as the Dublin branch of the Department of the Irish Land Revenues and it was this office, that handled all the Phoenix Park's administration during the active management of the Park by Woods & Forests, which continued under the resurrected Board of Works (GB) until December 1859. Thus we see an almost unprecedented rationalisation of responsibilities, and staff among various departments and offices associated with the administration and management of Crown lands during the first three decades of the nineteenth century.[34]

The clerk of the QRO in Dublin was John Burke who was highly commended in an official report for his 'unwearied zeal and arduous labours' and regarded as a 'highly meritorious officer' by his immediate

superior, James Weale, principal clerk in the London office of the Irish Land Revenues, since its transfer to Woods & Forests in 1827.[35]

We will now briefly examine the modus operandi of Woods and Forests, and some of their key personnel who made such an impact on the management and development of the Park. (Appendix F) Woods & Forests was managed by a board of three commissioners, a chief commissioner and two junior ones, who were sometimes referred to as the first, second, and third commissioner. The chief commissioner had overall responsibility, while one of the junior commissioners was in charge of Works and Buildings and the other in charge of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues, though all were equally responsible to the Treasury for their decisions.

The chief commissioner's powers were the same as those of the other commissioners, but he had special control and authority because of his position in government and parliamentary responsibilities. He was also in the privileged position 'to take the pleasure of the King upon all matters in which his Majesty's wishes are usually consulted'.[36] The significance of this will be better understood when we discuss the ongoing development of the Park later on. The chief commissioner had the assistance of a private secretary, who acted as a communication link between the three commissioners as well as being board clerk.[37] Trenham Walshman Philipps was appointed private secretary in 1827 and

held his position under successive chief commissioners, the last of which, the Earl of Lincoln, appointed in 1841, described Philipps as a

> …Gentleman who [has], in addition to his position as Clerk to the Board, more than thirty years' experience in the business of the department and seventeen years of confidential intercourse with successive Chief Commissioners.

The expertise acquired by Philipps was formally recognised by his appointment as official secretary to the chief commissioner in 1845 and as secretary to the new Board of Works (GB) in 1851.[38]

The secretary of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues in 1831 was Alexander Milne. He had been one of the joint secretaries to the Commissioners of Woods, Forests & Land Revenue in 1811, and their sole secretary from 1822. As secretary he was fully conversant with all the business of the Office and not surprisingly, he was appointed third commissioner in August 1834, and commissioner in charge of Woods & Forests in June 1839 on the death of Sir B.C. Stephenson. Another change, which resulted from Stephenson's death was the appointment of Charles Alexander Gore who was Lord Duncannon's own acting private secretary.[39]

We will now briefly look at Lord Duncannon's career, particularly in relation to Woods & Forests. In February 1831, John William Ponsonby (Lord Duncannon, and from 1844 fourth Earl of Bessborough),

was appointed chief commissioner of Woods and Forests by the Prime Minister, Lord Grey.[40] Duncannon held this position until August 1834 when he was transferred to the Home Office, a posting he held until December of that year, when Sir Robert Peel became Prime Minister. However Duncannon was reappointed again to Woods & Forests in April 1835 when his brother-in-law, Lord Melbourne, resumed the premiership. Duncannon was held in wide esteem 'for his high principle, easy manners, management of men, good sense, accurate information and industry'. His tenure as first commissioner of Woods & Forests was most successful and saw him in an active role in his official capacity in various planning and landscape improvements in London, which included the new houses of parliament, and St. James's and Hyde Parks, the improvement of which were started in 1823 and had been just completed at the time of the inquiry.[41]

On Milne's promotion the post of Secretary to Woods & Forests was abolished as its duties were considered 'too great for one man', and were divided among the second and third commissioners, the heads of the various departments and the chief commissioner's private secretary.[42]

Duncannon had an obvious flair for urban renewal and landscape development which probably influenced his decision to chair a select committee, which had been set up in March 1833 'to inquire into the Management of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues of the Crown...'.

Such an appointment was somewhat unusual in having a chief commissioner lead an investigation into his own department. However, presumably for reasons of diplomacy and fairness to the inquiry, Duncannon only drew their attention to areas, which he deemed would be most productive. One such area he suggested was that of management of royal parks, where he considered 'that the attention of the committee might, with great advantage be directed to the Royal Parks; to the local establishments appointed for their management; to the expenses incurred in keeping them up...'. [43]

This suggested that there were areas of management of royal parks that concerned him, especially local appointments and the expense incurred in their upkeep. Duncannon was also instrumental in furthering the proposal for uniting Woods & Forests with that of the Office of Works (GB), primarily to reduce costs, poor design and address the lack of control of attached architects. In relation to the latter, Duncannon proposed a fundamental change in that large projects should be opened to

> '...professional architects of eminence and experience who will be paid the usual commission, and who are responsible, not merely for the designs, quality of materials and execution of workmanship, but are also to make out the bills and be immediately responsible for all measurements and to discharge generally all the duties of supervision and control which usually devolve upon architects in their private

employment and according to the course adopted in the Department of Woods ...' [44]

We will see the significance of this attitude later when Decimus Burton was employed in the Phoenix Park. It is obvious from the examination of personnel employed in both the QRO in Dublin and Woods & Forests in London, that they were an extraordinary group of talented people both in terms of administration and experience in landscape and design matters. Because of their continuity of service and experience in the organisation, one might say that they were of one mind in terms of what had to be accomplished.

Before we discuss the roles of the Board of Works (GB) in Park management from August 1851 to December 1859 and that of the Board of Public Works (Irl) from January 1860 onwards, let us revert to 1832, and examine the role of the local establishment under the ranger/keeper of the Park, and what became the effective merging and reorganisation of local staff into Woods & Forests.

As we have already noted the appointment of ranger/keeper of the Phoenix Park was by letters patent under the Great Seal of Ireland, and was an additional perk to the post of successive under-secretaries for Ireland, just as the post of bailiff of the Phoenix Park was a perk for successive chief secretaries for Ireland until its consolidation as a full time professional post by Woods & Forests in May 1833 with the

appointment of Wilkie as park bailiff. William Gregory had held the position of under-secretary and keeper/ranger of the Park from November 1812 until December 1830, which gave him the distinction of the longest serving keeper/ranger of the Park. Gregory's tenure was not noted for any dramatic Park improvements, but his own demesne surrounding Ashtown Lodge in the Park was reputed to be neat and well wooded.[45] Gregory's successor was Sir William Gosset, who was appointed under secretary for Ireland on 1 January 1831, shortly before Duncannon was appointed chief commissioner of Woods & Forests in February of the same year.[46] Gosset was a successful soldier, diplomat and politician[47] and adapted to his new positions with skill and enthusiasm. He had the capacity to resist major reorganisation by Woods & Forests but chose not to, and, as we will see later, cooperated fully to unravel mysteries of expenditure and accountability for Park projects undertaken by the Board of Works (Irl) on behalf of Woods & Forests until mid-Summer 1834. Gosset was succeeded by Thomas Drummond, the highly principled Scottish under secretary for Ireland, as keeper/ranger of the Park in 1835, and continued until his untimely death in May 1840.[48] Drummond not only co-operated with the many developments and organisational changes introduced by Woods & Forests, but also involved himself, in social issues such as the employment of unemployed craftsmen, improved pay for Park employees and compensation in lieu of Park lodges.[49] On Drummond's demise, the

opportunity was grasped to separate the office of keeper / ranger from that of under-secretary for Ireland. Not only was Drummond the last person to hold the offices jointly, but also the last person to hold the office of keeper/ranger of the Phoenix Park before its abolition. Thus we have another severing of the official ties between the officers of state residing in the Park and their direct role in Park management, although as residents of the various official lodges and demesnes they still had an input into Park management and development. One of the few justifications of the unification of the post of keeper / ranger of the Park to the office of under-secretary for Ireland, mentioned earlier, had been that the under-secretary's residence, Ashtown Lodge and demesne, was situated within the Park, and hence allowed continual observation of the state of the Park.

From May 1840, the 'entire and undivided control and responsibility' for the management of the public areas of the Phoenix Park, as well as the revenues arising from it were vested in Woods & Forests. However, this arrangement did not interfere in any way with the official residences and demesnes of the lord lieutenant, chief secretary or under-secretary, which were still to be maintained by the Board of Works (Irl).[50] In July 1840, Wilkie, the park bailiff was informed by Woods & Forests, that future directions and guidance would issue from them through Burke, the clerk of the QRO, and that all Wilkie's

communications should also be transmitted through the same office. In December of the same year Burke's position was further consolidated when he was entrusted 'with the general superintendence of the Phoenix Park and all matters connected therewith', and the due enforcement of all regulations, which related to the Park. For these extra duties Burke received an additional thirty-five pounds for the annual maintenance of a horse for use in Park inspections.[51] Burke was however in receipt of £600 per annum as clerk of the QRO since April 1838, a position he held under patent since 1817.[52] He continued as park superintendent until December 1859, retiring only days before the newly created Board of Public Works (Irl) took over the management of the Park.[53] Following Burke's retirement, Wilkie succeeded as park superintendent,[54] a position he retained until his death in 1870, thereby bringing a wealth of administrative and professional experience, and much needed professional continuity to the new management of the Park, the Board of Public Works (Irl).

Now let us examine the reorganisation of some government departments, which impacted on the management of the Park from 1830 onwards. This period covers the employment of Decimus Burton, the famous landscape architect who undertook what can be considered the most extensive landscape management and development programme ever undertaken in the Phoenix Park.[55] We will return to Burton's involvement,

and method of appointment later. In 1828 Lord Lowther, who was Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests from 1828 to 1830, requested information on

> …the extent, the income; pasturage; number and names of lodges; whether any grounds are attached to the office of Lord Lieutenant; what extent of ground is attached to the Lord Lieutenant and his secretary.[56]

This information was most likely sought for use by a select committee set up in 1828 to enquire into the operations of the English Office of Works, and whose recommendations may have influenced the 1829 legislation for the management of all Crown Lands by the Office of Woods & Forests, and ultimately laid the foundation for the amalgamation of Woods & Forests with the English Office of Works in 1832.[57] Coincidentally in 1829 the Duke of Wellington ordered an enquiry into the Irish Board of Works but since legislation was enacted in June of that year for the management of all Crown lands, it is unlikely that the Duke's enquiry had any bearing on the decision for the future management of the Phoenix Park by Woods & Forests. Moreover the Board of Works was under almost continuous investigation by various committees from the time that the Earl of Hardwicke (lord lieutenant, 1801-1806) conducted an investigation into its civil expenditure, as we have seen above, which resulted in the issue of expenditure guidelines.[58]

When the 1828 select committee began its work there appears to have been some confusion about who was responsible for the management of the Park. However it soon became clear that the Phoenix Park was also included in Woods & Forests' remit when in September 1830, Lord Lowther (the chief commissioner of Woods & Forests) received

> …information that the officers of Government in Ireland have committed an act of interference with the powers of our Department there, which we cannot consistently without duty suffer to pass unnoticed, the Phoenix Park near Dublin is a Royal Park over which we consider our jurisdiction to be the same as that which we exercise over the Royal Parks in England, we are informed that a portion of this park has been granted for a menagerie to the London Zoological Society and this has been done without any reference to our Department ..... I am not aware of any authority to lease to Strangers a portion of a Royal Park except it be through this Department under sanction of the Treasury.[59]

This was duly explained by the fact that the lord lieutenant had consented to let the newly formed Zoological Society of Ireland have a keeper's house and a 'small piece' of ground annexed to it as long as he remained lord lieutenant, this limited tenure being acceptable to the Society members.[60] We will return to this matter in our discussion on the Zoological Gardens in chapter seven. Suffice it to say that such perceived interference clearly showed where the authority for Park management lay

in 1830. However, some confusion about who was in charge of the Park appears to have persisted until September 1832, when it was mooted that the Park should be managed under the same regulations as those governing Hampton Court and Bushy Park gardens. There was no confusion, however, as far as Woods & Forests were concerned,[61] whose authority for management was clearly spelled out to the governors of the Royal Hibernian Military School in May 1833. This was in response to the proposed Park improvements, which would affect the governors, who were duly informed

> ...that the exclusive Management of the Phoenix Park, in common with all the Royal Forests, Parks, and Land Possessions of the Crown, was invested in this Board by the Act Geo:1V.cap: 68, and is now subject to the Regulations and Provisions of that Act.[62]

At this time also, in May 1833, the Board of Public Works (Irl) were requested to superintend works in the Park at the request of Woods & Forests since the latter had no professional or technical staff in Ireland to undertake such works.

However, their accountability in executing some of Burton's initial recommendations on Park improvements, which we discuss below, convinced Woods & Forests that this was not such a good idea. The Board of PublicWorks (Irl) was instructed to keep separate accounts of expenditure on Park works until their completion, and to transmit them to

Woods & Forests. These arrangements were reaffirmed in January 1834, when Woods & Forests made a number of recommendations to the Lords of the Treasury regarding Park management. Included among these were the continued professional superintendence and responsibility of works in the open areas of the Park under the Board of Public Works (Irl). The commissioners in recommending such a course of action were mindful however of the potential problems, and cautioned that

> ...It will however be expedient to guard against any unpleasant collision of co-ordinate authorities, by a distinct definition of the duties to be performed by each of them. [63]

A memorandum was issued to Gosset, stating, among other things, that in future all orders were to be issued by the keeper / ranger of the Park, and 'only by him in future', and when duly sanctioned by the Woods & Forests. This was an obvious response to earlier confusion, which they hoped would be avoided in future.

However, the above arrangement remained only until mid summer 1834, as we have seen above, from which time the management of the public parts of the Park were undertaken by Woods & Forests.[64] This rearrangement was probably due not only to the difficulty experienced by Woods & Forests in extracting from the Board of Public Works (Irl) accounts for improvement works undertaken the previous year, but also because of a possible desire to have a direct management approach.

In June 1834 Gosset was informed by Woods & Forests that in the course of that year all the ordinary services of the Park would be placed under the immediate superintendence of the bailiff, but that the arrangement regarding the official residences and demesnes with the Board of Works would continue as before. Meanwhile, Wilkie, the Park bailiff had been dispatched to London the previous month to be 'instructed' in park management with the obvious intention of devolving more responsibility onto him, and lessening the dependency of Woods & Forests on the Board of Public Works (Irl). In November of the same year preparation of estimates and expenditure associated with the special Park improvements were also added to his portfolio.[65] In July 1834 Gosset communicated privately with Weale, and confided

> ...that Wilkie, with a little of my aid, will be able to manage the works of the Park very creditably: but I think that it very desirable that Mr. Decimus Burton should come over, not only for the purpose of reconsidering some of the suggested improvements, but also for marking out on the ground the lines of the new roads, plantations &co., which appears to be highly necessary; for, on applying those plans to the ground, objections presented themselves which had not before been perceived.[66]

Gosset's confidence in Wilkie clearly grew as the latter proved his managerial skills, and in particular with the additional responsibilities.

We return now to the circumstances, which led to the appointment

of Decimus Burton, the famous architect and landscape architect, who was responsible for the special landscape improvements undertaken in the Park from 1832 to 1849. In 1832, Duncannon, the Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests, was requested by the King to lay before him

> ...a particular Survey and report of the present state of the Phoenix Park and of the Buildings, Timber etc. thereon and appurtenances thereto and also a statement of the officers having the superintendence and management, or in possession of any part thereof and of all rights claimed or exercised by individuals therein.[67]

Initially it was not clear why the report was required, and it appears that even the Commissioners themselves were not aware of its precise purpose, although Duncannon, as Chief Commissioner, was almost certainly aware of its purpose. Duncannon, indeed, may have been the originator of the survey proposals, having been influenced by a discussion in the House of Commons on Park improvements in London. In the course of this, dissatisfaction had been expressed that

> ...although considerable loans of money had been expended in the improvement of the Parks of London, for the gratification of the inhabitants of the metropolis, nothing had been done towards the improvement of the Phoenix Park; but on the contrary that it had much deteriorated in condition and ceased to possess the attractions which had formerly rendered it the fashionable resort of the inhabitants of this Capital for air and exercise.[68]

In order to expedite the King's command, Milne, as secretary to Woods & Forests, wrote to Weale as principal clerk of the Irish Land Revenues on 7 August 1832, directing him to communicate with the several officers of the Park regarding the specific information required and also 'to instruct Mr.Brassington to make a Survey thereof, with as little delay as may be'.[69] Duncannon directed that some competent professional should be employed to survey the Park

> ...in order to ascertain the condition of the Lodges, Gates, Boundary Walls, Internal Fences, Drives, Plantations, and Herbage, and in what respects those parts of the Park which are appropriated to the use and recreation of the public might be improved, so as to render the Park more attractive and better suited to those objects than it was then represented to be...[70]

On 23 August 1832 Weale wrote privately to Burton, requesting professional assistance to enable him (Weale) 'to execute some official orders' which he had received from Woods & Forests. Weale informed Burton that the King had commanded Duncannon to prepare a survey and detailed report on the Phoenix Park, as outlined above. Weale explained that the purpose of the exercise was probably 'to propose some ornamental improvement in the scenery of the Park' but that the purpose of the report had not been stated. He confided that he had been endeavouring to find

> ...some discreet professional gentleman here, whose acknowledged judgement and taste would entitle his suggestions to be considered worthy of the Commissioners, in the event of any authority being given for the expenditure of public money on that object.[71]

Weale's request fortuitously coincided with the opportune arrival in Dublin of Burton, whose reputation he had been already familiar with 'in designing and superintending many of the recent improvements in the Parks of London, which have given much and such general satisfaction'.[72] Burton was requested to spend two or three days before he returned to England to view the Park and to take such notes as would enable him to prepare a detailed report and produce designs for such improvements as may be considered desirable. An accurate map of the Park, and a competent person to take levels was put at his disposal to delay him as little as possible. In conclusion Weale cautioned Burton 'not to communicate the contents of this letter, lest it should excite expectations which, you will perceive, may prove to be entirely unfounded'.[73] Burton accepted, but indicated that he had 'a nearly similar application' from Sir William Gosset, the keeper/ranger of the Park, whom he had met the previous day.[74] It appears that Weale acted intuitively, but learning that Gosset had already engaged Burton on a similar exercise, Weale was anxious to formalise his request to Burton, which he did, but not before Duncannon was informed. From this it appears that there was some

confusion in relation to lines of communication regarding the survey of the Park. However, irrespective of who contacted whom, it was necessary to consult the lord lieutenant regarding the proposals. So prior to Burton's departure in August, he was summoned to attend the lord lieutenant to explain the nature of the proposed landscape improvements, to which the latter seemed indifferent.[75]

In early January 1833, Woods & Forests sought Burton's proposals for the improvement of the Park. These were transmitted to them on 31 January 1833 in report form accompanied by explanatory drawings and plans. In turn, the keeper/ranger of the Park, Gosset, received them with instructions to place them before the lord lieutenant, so that his 'sentiments' on the proposals would be conveyed to the Commissioners before seeking authority to carry them into effect.[76] Burton's report[77] recommended the execution of works

> …which he considered essential to the due improvement of the Park, having regard to the circumstances that it is the only Park to which the inhabitants of Dublin have free access for the enjoyment of healthful exercise, and particularly with reference to the dilapidated condition of the unsightly appearance of the Walls, Lodges, and other Structures, the want of convenient Drives, Malls and Walks, the undrained state of the ground and consequent marshy condition of the soil throughout the greater part of the year, and the want of ornamental Plantation in parts of the Park which are capable

of presenting the most beautiful scenery in the general landscape...

He was also struck with the "beauty of the locality" and was convinced of the 'capability of rendering the Park far more attractive and commodious for the Public and eventually more profitable to the Crown ... at a comparatively small outlay'. Burton also observed that in spite of previous planting, draining and other works, the Park still had an air of neglect when compared to the public parks near London or with most of the private parks in England, and that its extent was far greater than that of Hyde Park, with Kensington Gardens, the Green Park, St. James's and Regent's Parks together.[78]

A little more than two months after Burton's report was submitted in January 1833, Gosset informed Woods & Forests that the lord lieutenant had authorised certain works to proceed under the superintendence of the Board of Works. These included the erection of a house for the park bailiff, a new entrance and gatekeeper's lodge at Chapelizod, a new road from the chief secretary's to Knockmaroon, alterations in various other driveways, and some Park drainage. In June 1833 Gosset was informed that £1500 had been provided for these works 'out of the growing Income of the Land Revenues of the Crown' but

when the accounts concerning these developments were furnished in August 1834 they revealed a serious departure from the original instructions resulting in insufficient funds for the erection of the bailiff's house.[79] It was probably this that prompted Duncannon and Gosset to invite Burton to accompany them on a general inspection of the whole Park, which resulted in another comprehensive report to Woods & Forests in September 1834.[80] In his second report Burton took the opportunity to reinforce his earlier proposals relating to the Park's landscape as well as focusing on other detailed improvements, and recommending that priority be given

> ...to those Works the execution of which would give employment to the numerous labourers during the ensuing Winter, and at the same time produce the most general and immediate advantage to the public...

Burton was referring to the levelling and removal of old hedge-rows, ditches, and shooting butts throughout the Park and using this material to fill several pits and hollows in the Park.[81] Wilkie was instructed to prepare estimates for these works for inclusion in the 1835 estimates for the ordinary services of the Park. Meanwhile Burton's report was considered by Woods & Forests who requested plans, specifications and estimates, which were relevant to a number of the recommendations made in the September 1834 report.[82] In seeking Treasury approval for the expenditure of £15,000 on Park improvements as recommended and

estimated by Burton, the Commissioners drew comparisons with the large sums of money spent on 'recent' improvements in London and indicated that

> …the inhabitants of Dublin are justified in the expectation they entertain that the favour and liberality of Government will not be withheld from the desired improvement of the only Park attached to that Capital, and which was originally purchased and formed by his Majesty's Royal predecessor, King Charles the Second, expressly with the view of consulting the taste , and promoting the health and enjoyment of the people…

The Commissioners further reminded the Lords of the Treasury that the money could be 'conveniently' supplied out of the growing land revenues of Ireland over a four or five year period and the amount should not exceed a total sum of £15,000 or £4,000 in any one year. One of the reasons for spreading the improvements over such a period was to benefit the labouring population of Dublin, without interfering with the ordinary rate of wages. In July 1835 Treasury approval was received for the package outlined above and the scene was thus set for one of the most comprehensive landscape development projects ever undertaken in the Phoenix Park.

Before examining the manner in which Burton undertook the superintendence of these works and the operations of the builders, and

workmen involved, we will briefly discuss his appointment and relationship with existing Board of Public Works' (Irl) professionals. We have seen above that Burton's reputation was already well established with Woods & Forests through his work on the royal parks in London. In 1825 Burton provided designs for lodges and gateways for Hyde Park, obtaining the commissions probably on the strength of his association with Nash and on the recommendation of Sir Charles Arbuthnot of Woods and Forests. A year later he provided designs for a zoological garden for the newly founded Zoological Society of London.[83] Probably as a result he established a foothold in the Phoenix Park through his commission from the Royal Dublin Zoological Society for whom he submitted a report and plans in October 1832 for the proposed zoological gardens in the Phoenix Park.[84] Duncannon, a man of taste and artistic appreciation, would have been very much aware of Burton's design capabilities and landscape appreciation.

Jacob Owen was the Board of Public Works (Irl) architect at this time, having been appointed in 1832, to succeed William Johnstone Murray, who was the principal architect with the old Board of Works. Owen had previously assisted the newly appointed chairman to the above Board, Sir John Fox Burgoyne, when the latter had commanded the naval engineering works at Portsmouth. (appendices E & G) Owen's

appointment caused much concern, particularly because of his dual backgrounds in engineering and architecture. This prompted Murray to express his concern by writing to Gosset, as under-secretary and keeper/ranger of the Phoenix Park, stating that he anticipated difficulties for the board as a result of appointing an engineer to do an architect's job.[85]

Irrespective of Owen's professional shortcomings as an architect he produced major designs and drawings for Park buildings during his employment with the Irish Board of Works until his retirement in May 1856. The Board still retained responsibility for the official residences within the Park and later for the erection of a constabulary barracks, which will be discussed later.[86] The Board retained responsibility too for superintending work ordered by Woods & Forests, as previously noted, from 1829 to mid-Summer 1834, as noted above. Some confusion however exists about Owen's designs for a series of plans and drawings for gate lodges and entrances to the Park, and for other lodges and works, which he submitted in March 1834, along with relevant estimates.[87] These were requested for comparison with Burton's works outlined in his report of January 1833. Burton had submitted plans for the proposed new lodge and entrance at Chapelizod with the above report, but these were considered too costly. Owen's proposals were then made

> ...in pursuance of the direction of the late Lord Lieutenant who considered the Design prepared by Mr. Decimus Burton too good, and more expensive that was justified by the situation in which it is to be built.

Burton's proposals were estimated at £605 compared to Owen's, which cost £475. Gosset's opinion was sought as to which design should be selected, but he prudently left it to Woods & Forests to decide on.[88] Owen, obviously exploiting the lord lieutenant's concern regarding costs, produced designs for entrances and gates to Chapelizod, Knockmaroon, Castleknock and the Dublin Gate as well as for other improvements suggested by Burton in his report.[89] One can only speculate that Owen was appealing to the prevailing air of financial stringency in government circles, hoping that his designs would be successful. This did not happen and Burton's superior design skill, landscape ability, and heretofore proven record with Woods & Forests proved successful, as we will see later. However, in spite of this initial anticipated professional rivalry, an excellent working relationship prevailed, even when both their professional paths crossed on other Park projects.

Under Woods & Forests two groups of work activities took place in the Park, one, as we have already seen was the ordinary services of the Park, which included routine maintenance and ground works. These were placed under the park bailiff since June 1834, and the extraordinary

works in the Park were directed by Burton from 1835 to end of March 1849. In March 1835 Gosset expressed his satisfaction with the new arrangements for the ordinary works in the Park but recommended the appointment 'of a very good Foreman of labourers', since the Board of Public Works (Irl.) had withdrawn theirs as agreed from midsummer 1834. Gosset was apprehensive about an Irish appointee and recommended William Tyrell, who was a serving foreman in Hyde Park.[90] However Woods & Forests considered that neither the number of labourers in the Park nor the nature of the ordinary works to be executed warranted the appointment of such an individual but recommended instead that the labourers

> ...be distributed in gangs, and that the most trustworthy and skilful workman in each of them selected to act as Foreman, a sufficient control would be provided to prevent idleness when a gang is employed at day-work, or defective work when set by contract; and such foreman would be adequately remunerated by the allowances of a two pence additional daily wages or a small poundage on the earnings of their respective gangs.

Confronted by this, Gosset disagreed with the Commissioners' viewpoint, and recalled his own experience as a military engineer. He also intimated that he 'relied upon the Phoenix Park receiving some small share of the public money, which had been so liberally bestowed in the

improvement of the more favoured Parks in London'.[91] Gosset may have over reacted, and became impatient since his expectations had been raised by Burton's involvement, and Duncannon's direction 'for the immediate commencement of some of the improvements which had been decided upon' shortly before he left office.[92] However, Woods & Forests did not relent, and it is interesting to examine the reason for this. As stated above, the post of foreman was considered unnecessary by the Commissioners and more importantly they had not sanctioned it, having only learned indirectly that Tyrell had quit his job in the London's royal parks. Tyrell's appointment had already been made by the bailiff of the Phoenix Park, who undertook the relevant enquiries about available and experienced personnel from the superintendent of the London royal parks. The bailiff's decision was fully endorsed by Gosset but opportunely the Commissioners reported that no monies were included in their estimate for his wages. Tyrell tried to retrieve his traveling expenses to Dublin, when he travelled in May to take up the position, but these too were refused. This was an ideal opportunity for Woods & Forests to signal their intentions that employment of personnel required the proper sanction, and that such managerial decisions were the prerogative of the Commissioners.[93] Ironically in December of the same year, on Burton's suggestion, Woods & Forests readily agreed to the appointment of a foreman of labourers, at a weekly wage of fifteen or sixteen shillings,

who would report to the park bailiff. This appointment was made possible by transferring such works as draining and levelling of old hedgerows to the ordinary Park services for inclusion in the annual estimates. These two elements of Park improvement were ideal for handling in this way, which allowed the gradual improvement of grassland whilst preserving funds for the extraordinary works planned for the Park.[94] They were also ideal for the generation of much needed employment among the labouring classes and unemployed trades people, particularly the 'distressed' weavers. Burton had suggested that priority should be given to works 'the execution of which would give much needed employment to numerous labourers the following Winter' and at the same time make an impact on the Park both physically and visually.[95]

In early Spring 1837, Woods & Forests instructed the bailiff to obtain daily fixed contract rates for as many horses, carts, and guides as were necessary for the execution of Park works. The Commissioners also favoured the employment of gangs of labourers for a period not exceeding thirty days at a time, and were of the opinion that, by judicious placing of contracts and the use of task work, all the Park services could be undertaken more efficiently and economically, than by paying daily wages. He was also instructed to enquire if there were contractors willing to undertake contracts for the removal of mud and dirt from roadside and open ditch drains, and levelling ruts, for a period of one year. Contractors

were also sought for six-month terms for watering the drives between the Dublin Gate and the Phoenix column during dry weather in an obvious attempt to appease the officers of State who travelled these roads on a regular basis.[96] The bailiff was also responsible for tree planting and fencing them, with the Park trees supplying the timber for fencing, and other uses, the costs of which were then charged to the extraordinary works undertaken in the Park.[97] This aspect of financial management will be examined in greater detail in the relevant chapter three on Park finance.

In July 1837 there were over one hundred employed, increasing to 168 during August, on levelling Park embankments. However, there was genuine concern that unless expenditure was curtailed on these works, there could be 'an overwhelming influx of labourers and mendicant paupers from other parts of the country', causing problems in labour supply to ordinary employers, and creating problems for the inhabitants of Dublin. The employment of such numbers, apart from relieving stress among the unemployed, allowed a valuable insight into productivity and current wage rates of the time, as well as managerial procedures and levels of diplomacy, which could be considered advanced by modern methods of human resource management.[98] Burton managed all the landscape works undertaken in the Park, as well as advising the Commissioners on personnel and related managerial matters. However,

certain works such as planting (according to Burton's designs) and fencing were undertaken by the bailiff, but the estimates for these were presented either to Burton or to the Commissioners directly for their approval.[99]

Landscape improvements under Burton commenced in earnest in mid August 1835, with the appointment of a clerk of works, James Souter. He was the first in a succession of four clerks of works to assist Burton during his professional engagement in the Park. Souter, who was already employed with the Irish Board of Works on Howth Harbour and the Howth-Dublin Road, undertook the additional duty to superintend Park improvements with the bailiff.[100] A little over three months later Souter sought an additional allowance for superintending Park works, which gave Burton the opportunity to terminate his employment. Obviously Burton was unhappy with Souter, probably because of the demands of his other duties with the Irish Board of Works, and possible lack of expertise in landscape matters. Souter's successor, William Nixon, took up his duty towards the end of November, having been considered by Burton as a 'proper person' for the job. He was paid an annual salary of £150, with an additional twenty pounds for removal expenses from London.[101] Nixon was an excellent choice but sadly was transferred to Scotland, in Spring 1840, to direct a reduced establishment of works after the Scottish Office of Works was abolished in 1839.[102] Nixon was

succeeded by Matthew Fellows as clerk of works in March 1840 and he also relocated from London with his family.[103] Four years later Fellows retired because of ill health and was replaced in 1845 by John Fish.[104] When the extraordinary landscape works ended in the Phoenix Park in March 1849, Fish was highly regarded for his work, but unfortunately could not be facilitated in any capacity by Woods & Forests. Apart from Fish, the park labourers, the timekeeper, and a watchman cum labourer with fourteen and eighteen years employment respectively, also became unemployed with the termination of landscape improvements.[105] Labouring work, whether by piece, task rate or permanent employment, were all utilised in the Park. Day labourers were employed on the extraordinary works as well as on the ordinary works in the Park, and were selected for their industry and good conduct, but sadly, in spite of Fish's, and Burton's best efforts to have them retained on the ordinary services, they also were let go.[106] Burton was conscious of the role that unemployment as an issue had in securing funding in the first instance for the extraordinary works, and hence his endeavours to seek ongoing employment for them.

Building works were undertaken by the contractor who was selected on the basis of tenders received from the party 'whose offer shall appear upon the whole to be the lowest, and most advantageous to the Public, if he shall be considered eligible in every other respect'.[107]

Charles Carolin & Co., and John Butler & Co. were the contractors who carried out most of the building works whether in the public or private areas of the Park during the period of extraordinary works, although many others were also involved, as we will see later when discussing detailed Park developments.[108] In May 1848 Burton was instructed by Woods & Forests to wind up the extraordinary works in the Phoenix Park under his care, which, as we have seen above, he did at the end of March 1849.[109] This was probably as a result of the widespread concern of Parliament due to public over-expenditure in England, and the dissatisfaction with the lack of control exerted by Woods & Forests generally on expenditure. As a result of legislation introduced in 1851, Woods and Forests once again became two separate departments, as it had been before their amalgamation in 1832, with the English Office of Works becoming a fully fledged ministry, directly responsible to Parliament. The Office was managed by three commissioners - a First Commissioner who was in charge of Works and the two junior commissioners who were in charge of Crown Lands. This new arrangement placed the management of the Phoenix Park, with the exclusion of the official residences and demesnes (which remained the responsibility of the Board of Public Works (Irl.) as heretofore) yet again under a new department, that of the English Office of Works.[110] A letter dated 9 October 1851 stated that

> The general management of Her Majesty's Royal Parks will, under an act passed in the last session of Parliament, on and after the 10th Inst. be placed under the immediate control of the Office of Her Majesty's Parks, Palaces and Public Buildings through the Chief Commiss. of that Board instead of as heretofore of this Department through the Chief Commissioner of Woods.

In spite of the change, the QRO, under Burke's superintendence still managed the Park, thus ensuring much valued managerial continuity.[111] For the remainder of the decade very little developmental work was undertaken other than routine Park maintenance, some levelling of ridges, and drainage works in the under secretary's demesne. Additional building was undertaken on the constabulary barracks, and the police station at Parkgate Street, neither of which were a charge on the English Office of Works budget. In September 1859 sanction was given for the erection of gaslights along the Grand Avenue, adding considerably to the utilitarian and aesthetic appearance of the Park. We will return to this topic in a later chapter.[112]

ln January 1860 arrangements were made to transfer Park management to the Office of Public Works (Ireland). Burke's departure, as we have noted above, was a considerable loss, and how much his retirement influenced the decision to transfer to the Irish Office of Public Works is unclear, although it presented the ideal opportunity to break

from the QRO, the Land Revenues of Ireland and the English Office of Works. Since the Irish Board of Works already had a considerable portfolio of building maintainence in the Park, such a move seemed sensible. At the time Park management was transferred to the Office of Public Works (Irl), James Higgins Owen was the principal architect, having occupied that post since the retirement of his father in June 1856. Like his father he was both architect and engineer, having been first employed as an architect with the Board in July 1847, thus ensuring continuity of the Owen dynasty in the Irish Board of Works. This was further strengthened in January 1860, when another of Jacob Owen's sons, Enoch Trevor Owen, was appointed as the assistant architect to the Board.[113]

Fortunately Wilkie, now aged sixty-five, and a very experienced park bailiff, was able to manage the Park for another decade thus ensuring managerial continuity from the English Office of Works to the Office of Public Works (Irl). He died in 1870 after a short illness, and was succeeded by Charles McDonald, who had held the position of head gardener at Woodstock, Co. Kilkenny from 1860. McDonald, who was apprenticed to Charles McIntosh at Dalkeith, also gardened at Trentham and Dunrobin Castle,[114] and continued until 1877, having received a severe reprimand two years previously for some misdemeanour relating to utilising additional lands at Whitefields in the Phoenix Park. William

Dick, who was appointed his successor in March 1877, continued as Park bailiff until 1900.[115]

The final decade of our study on Park management from 1870 to 1880 was punctuated by two reports on the operational activities of the Office of Public Works (Irl). Although these only impacted in a minor way on Park management, they do give us a valuable insight as far as Phoenix Park management was concerned. Since Burke's retirement in 1859, the bailiff effectively acted as superintendent, but in 1864, a commissioner and subsequent chairman of the Office of Public Works (Irl), Col.J.G.McKerlie (appointed chairman 1865), took a special interest in Park management and observed that 'The Conservancy of the Phoenix Park.....entails a heavy responsibility'.[116] (appendix G) It was hardly surprising then, when assistant commissioner Roberts was appointed in November 1873, the management of the Phoenix Park became one of his responsibilities, which included

> ...all the works that are executed for the maintenance of the Phoenix Park, and the carrying out of improvements in it, including the People's Gardens, the gate-lodges, and the constables' lodges.[117]

Amazingly, Roberts undertook this task, with the help of the bailiff, before or after his normal office hours. This was a considerable achievement because of the Park's size, and its establishment, which in 1878 consisted of a gardener, six garden labourers, an overseer, a ganger,

two carpenters, a forester, one horse and guide, and forty-nine labourers. The bailiff, deerkeeper, thirteen constables, and gatekeepers completed the team responsible for the management and security of the Park.[118] This indicated a considerable shift away from task or contract work, which was much favoured during the Johnston and Burton eras.

It seems somewhat surprising and extravagant that five departments or their agencies, as we have noted above, were involved in the management of the Park between 1800 and 1880 or that a convenient arrangement was arrived at whereby one department or their agency acted for another. Why should so many departments have been involved in the management of the Phoenix Park during this study? There were many reasons for this, some more obvious that others. On the one hand there was the integrity and competency of the personnel employed in the particular department or agency, who were responsible for the day to day management and development on the Park, and on the other hand there were the diverse and difficult duties which Park management encompassed and required to be undertaken. Financial control and the perceived authority of the officers of State, who resided in the various demesnes within the Park, were further obstacles to be sorted out. Various government enquiries and official inspections into departmental operations and management all had their impact on the Park. These possibly were inspired not only by the desire to expand departmental

empires through amalgamation but also because there were obvious economies through staff reduction or where a body of specialist knowledge was brought to focus on specific projects. For example Woods & Forests had built up considerable expertise in landscape maintenance and development as a result of their management of crown estates and royal parks. Perhaps, most importantly, the Phoenix Park was the only royal park in Ireland and as such became a 'miscellaneous' property as far as management was concerned. However it did fit neatly into Woods & Forests property portfolio along with the rest of the royal parks in England. It was also fitting that Woods & Forests, who were the most experienced department in landscape management and design, of all the departments involved in the management of the Park during the eighty years under study, should have been the department to undertake such large expenditure on spectacular landscape improvements and development in the Phoenix Park.

CHAPTER 3 - Finance

This chapter explains the relevance of financial study to, and how it impacted on the appearance of the Park. It examines the periods during which monies became available and for what purposes? and to what effect? It also enquires into who made the financial decisions and if the sums involved were sufficient for the intended purposes.

It further examines not only the sources and availability of finance for the development and day-to-day running of the Park but also different aspects of financial management and their impact. Estimates were required and prepared annually for the routine management and maintenance of the Park as well as details of expenditure; in addition special parliamentary grants were made available for 'extraordinary' works, which also required annual estimates and records of expenditure. The monies spent on London's Royal Parks are compared with those laid out on the Phoenix Park. Other elements which are explored, are the accounting procedures, and the personnel who controlled the Park's finances, and the people who initiated and ultimately sanctioned Park expenditure. Various management strategies are examined, for example direct labour and piece (task) rates which were used occasionally to increase productivity while including a social and humanitarian dimension, which included the employment of labourers and distressed tradesmen on temporary work relief schemes.

FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

Initially we will examine financial management under the Board of Works, which as we have seen in chapter two managed all the public areas of the Phoenix Park as well as its official residences and attached demesnes from 1800 to the middle of 1834. From this latter date they continued to manage only the official residences and their demesnes in the Park, as well as other Park demesnes and institutions, such as the Ordnance Survey Office, the Royal Hibernian Military School, the Constabulary Barracks, police stations, and the school and teacher's residence. These had been added at various times to their management portfolio by 1880. In chapter two we noted that the public areas of the Park were actively managed by Woods & Forests from 1834 to 1851; from 1851 to 1859 by the English Office of Works and from 1860 onwards by the Office of Public Works (Ireland).

Before examining the sources of finance for the Phoenix Park we will briefly look at the availability of funds for the country generally during our period of study. The Act of Union (1800) specified that sums of monies paid before the act (an average of the six years before the 1 of January 1800) for the support of agriculture, manufactures and institutions such as the Board of Works were to be continued for at least twenty years afterwards. Total funding from 1800 to 1828 amounted to £5.3 millions, which was more than a threefold increase as contemplated

by the precise terms of the Act of Union.[1] The average annual Parliamentary grant to the Board of Works was a little over £22,600 during the first twenty-nine years of our period commencing in 1801.[2] An analysis of the expenditure by the Board of Works on the public areas of the Phoenix Park, and on the other hand its official residences and demesnes (the lord lieutenant's, chief secretary's and under secretaries of the civil and military departments) for the seven years, ending 10 October 1810, shows a large difference between the level of expenditure on both these areas. The total spent on the maintenance of the public areas of the Park during this period amounted to nearly £21,000 or an average of £3,000 per annum, whereas the combined expenditure on the official residences and demesnes during the same period amounted to a staggering £105,000 or an average of £15,000 per annum.[3] Of this £105,000, more than £72,000 was spent on the viceregal lodge and demesne. The Duke of Richmond (lord lieutenant 1807-1813) spent £18,000 in one year alone (1808-1809) on improvements to the viceregal lodge and demesne.[4] These included new entrance gates and gate lodges to the viceregal demesne. This substantial outlay on official Park residences and demesnes during this period was paralleled by the enormous growth in country house building, which commenced at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The vast majority of these houses (both town and country) were built from the early 1800s to the mid-1840s

during periods of landlord prosperity.[5] It was only fitting that the lord lieutenant and his top officials should occupy residences and demesnes of a splendour equal to those of lesser nobility and officials throughout the country.

McDowell in his book on *The Irish Administration 1801-1914* notes that 'from early in the 19th century, the treasury with crusading zeal and Puritan precision was engaged in enforcing severe administrative standards…Waste was to be sternly discouraged…Economy…was to be strictly enforced [and] expenditure should be justifiable…'[6] Treasury correspondence with the various departments who managed the Phoenix Park during our period of study shows that these principles were comprehensively and consistently applied, but with varying degrees of success. This is discussed further on page twenty-five when we look at the large number of examinations and financial enquiries into spending. We will also note that there were examples of considerable official overspending as well as stringent controls on expenditure. Furthermore select parliamentary committees regularly investigated government spending of the various departments and organizations with great zeal and single mindedness.

Between 1800 and 1830 nine investigations were undertaken concerning the Board of Works, although only a few of these impacted on the workings and management of the Park and its institutions. Between

1819 and 1830 five select committees (plus one confidential submission) investigated and reported on the organisation, management and effectiveness of its workings.[7] However the two most important sets of recommendations from the Park's point of view were earlier submissions made by the Earl of Hardwicke, who issued instructions in 1801[8] and the *12th Report of the Commissioners appointed to Enquire into Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites and Emoluments relating to Public Offices in Ireland*, published in 1812 (hereafter referred to as the *12th Report on Fees etc.etc.*).[9] We will return to these below. Even though a number of internal enquiries took place involving middle and lower management grades[10] during our period of study, two other reports the Landsdowne[11] and *Crichton*[12] reports into the operational activities of the Office of Public Works (Irl), were undertaken in the final decade of our study between 1870-1880. Both these reports have been referred to in the preceding chapter. Although these impacted only in a minor way on Park management, the latter gives a valuable insight into Park management, particularly in relation to the number of staff employed and their duties.

We will now examine how the management and maintenance of the Park, including infrastructural and other improvements, were financed and how this expenditure was monitored. Funds were provided primarily through parliamentary grants using the mechanism of annual estimates. In the case of the public areas of the Phoenix Park and the official demesnes

and their pleasure grounds, these estimates were prepared by the relevant personnel which included the under or park bailiff, the overseers of improvement and pleasure grounds and the board's architect. Generally these were sanctioned by the lord lieutenant and the relevant departments responsible for management at the time, and submitted for approval by the treasury and ultimately voted on and sanctioned by parliament. However there were exceptions. During the period in which Woods & Forest funded the management and maintenance of the Park through annual estimates, there was an additional mechanism for funding through grants for 'extraordinary' works, provided from the land revenues of Ireland. We will return to these grants later in pages ten & eleven.

In 1801 the Earl of Hardwicke (lord lieutenant, 1801-1806) investigated how the Board of Works operated and managed its civil expenditure. The Earl issued instructions on how the commissioners should manage their affairs and guidelines were given relating to expenditure. All items of expenditure exceeding five pounds were to be submitted by the architect to the board and those over one hundred pounds were to be approved by the lord lieutenant. He indicated that careful accounts were to be kept, estimates laid before parliament, and no fees received by subordinate officers. Instructions were also given to the architect and overseer of buildings regarding inspections of work and supervision of workmen.[13] Provision was also made to appoint a

supervisor of accounts, who had the responsibility for recording all accounts. In addition he had to draw up along with the secretary of the Board of Works an annual account of expenditure of the department under the following headings: salaries & wages, new erections, repairs, gardens & pleasure grounds, purchase of furniture and contingencies. The account was to commence on the 6 January each year and to close on the 5 of January the following year.[14] However ten years later the *12th Report on Fees etc.etc.*, mentioned above, found that Hardwicke's instructions were substantially ignored and that there was considerable unauthorized over-spending, much of which was the fault of the board's architect, Francis Johnston. Also, as noted above there was considerable over expenditure on official residences in the Phoenix Park.[15] The matter was further complicated because 'orders from the lord lieutenant and the chief secretary are considered as peremptory, the board conceiving it had no control over them'; and even requisitions from the under-secretary and the lord lieutenant's attendants were complied with without much investigation by the board.[16] Before 1811 detailed estimates of the probable expenditure of the Board of Works do not appear to have been submitted to parliament on a regular basis, as previously recommended, before obtaining the annual grant for that service. After this, estimates were required to be submitted to the lord lieutenant for his sanction before they were laid before parliament, thus checking 'unnecessary

expense'.[17] The lord lieutenant's authority to order works not specified in the estimates up to £500 was also confirmed, above which it was recommended that the Treasury should have an advisory role to the lord lieutenant regarding the 'propriety and necessity of the work to be erected'. Projects above £5,000 were not to be commenced until estimates were laid before and approved by Parliament.[18] How well these recommendations were implemented or monitored is unclear, but we will return to this important question later on. This is an appropriate point to examine the annual expenditure on Park maintenance from 1800-1880, commencing with the period up to 1832 when Decimus Burton and Woods & Forests became actively involved in Park management. The average annual expenditure or in some cases estimated expenditure on Park maintenance is summarized below.

Annual expenditure on the Public areas of the Park (1803-1880)

*1803-1810 ..... average £3,000 per annum[19]

1824 .....estimated £2,000 per annum[20]

1826-1832 .....average £1,820 per annum[21]

*1829 .....£3,400 per annum[22]

1836 .....estimated £2,300 per annum[23]

1851 .....estimated £3,800 per annum[24]

1868 .....estimated £5,000 per annum[25]

1879-80 .....expenditure *c*.£6000 per annum[26]

*Denotes that the estimate included the official demesnes and pleasure gardens (p.107)

The table above gives the annual expenditure on the public areas of the Phoenix Park, which is explained below. The average annual expenditure given under the heading 'Phoenix Park' over the seven year period from 1803-1810 amounts to £3,000 per annum. Whether this sum included the upkeep of the official demesnes and their pleasure grounds is uncertain, since substantial expenditure has also been recorded under the heading for the various official Park lodges during the same period.

The estimates for 1824 were more direct since a little over £300 is allocated in the repairs column under the Phoenix Park heading (for repairs of roads, boundary walls, fences, gate lodges etc.) and a little over £1,700 is allocated under a column for roads, gardens and pleasure grounds (which must refer to the public areas of the Park). In the same estimates separate entries were made for the roads, gardens and pleasure grounds of all the official lodges, which amounted to more than £2,750. This meant that £750 extra was estimated to be spent on the upkeep of the official demesnes than on the whole area of the Phoenix Park.

Published figures for the seven years from 1826 to 1832 show an annual maintenance outlay on the Phoenix Park of £1,820, which the Park ranger, Sir William Gosset, claimed allowed 'little for improvements'.[27] In 1829 the select committee examining the *Irish Miscellaneous*

Estimates was satisfied that the board's expenditure was being carefully controlled with one exception.[28] The committee was not able to ascertain 'what check or control [was] exercised with respect to the expense for walks, fences, pleasure grounds and gardens [of the Phoenix Park] amounting to almost £3,400…' to which the Government's attention was drawn.[29] It would appear that figures given to the 1829 select committee for Park maintenance and 'improvement' also included the annual cost of maintaining the viceregal demesne and pleasure grounds and possibly those of the other official demesnes. It might appear that the cost of maintaining the official demesnes and their gardens and pleasure grounds had been concealed in the budget for the maintenance of the public areas of the Park but more likely it may have been because this portion of the budget (£3,400) would have been dispensed by Charles Slow in his dual role as deputy-bailiff of the Phoenix Park and as overseer of gardens etc., which included those of the official demesnes within the Park. It is unclear over what period the select committee examined the Park estimates to reach their conclusions.

In spite of the low annual budget (for the day-to-day expenditure for the ordinary services and maintenance of the Park) outlined above, it increased marginally to £2,000 in 1836, and was somewhat surprisingly admitted by the Treasury at the time to be a 'comparatively trifling rate'.[30] Nevertheless there was concern that a system of 'efficient control

over the accounts….' of the Park should be put in place,[31] which along with the large sums of money that were to be allocated for Park improvements by Woods & Forests (extraordinary works), made the convincing argument for the appointment of a paymaster and receiver for the Phoenix Park, as we will see below. Obviously both Woods & Forests and the Treasury were mindful of the concerns voiced by the select committee in 1829 regarding the monitoring of expenditure.

Ample opportunity to incorporate the necessary checks and controls presented themselves with the reorganization not only of departments but also the methods of accounting. As noted above, the Office of Public Works (Irl.) continued to manage and fund from their parliamentary grant the official Park residences, demesnes and pleasure grounds along with a number of other Park institutions, but from midsummer 1834 the public areas of the Park were actively managed and funded by Woods & Forests who utilized the administrative staff in their QRO in Dublin and the Phoenix Park staff establishment. In May 1834 a fundamental change took place in the manner in which funds were to be provided for the maintenance of the public areas of the Park for recreation. In future the ordinary services of the Park (provided for in the annual estimates, as we see later) which included not only its ongoing maintenance and management but also the payment of tithes, the purchase of hay for feeding deer in Winter, liveries for Park servants and

various other incidental expenses, would be paid from the Woods & Forest fund under the provisions and regulations of the Civil list and Land Revenue Acts.[32]

One of the precautions taken by Woods & Forests in September 1835 to monitor and control expenditure was the introduction of a monthly estimate, which obliged the Park bailiff to submit an estimate for the monies required for the maintenance and management of the Park. In addition to making monthly returns of the sums he received, the park bailiff was required to continue making weekly accounts of expenditure.[33] The appointment of the paymaster and receiver in 1836 enabled further financial control. Under Woods & Forests, management systems of financial reporting with checks and balances, particularly involving the park bailiff, Decimus Burton and his clerk of works, both in relation to expenditure on the ordinary services as well as the extraordinary services were continually being improved and put in place.[34] The estimate for maintaining and managing the Park for the year commencing 1 April 1836 amounted to over £2,300 and was presented under twelve headings.[35] In April 1851 Woods & Forests decided on the adoption of a new printed form for the monthly expenditure estimate on the ordinary services of the Park (maintenance and management), which were listed under sixteen headings.[36] (appendix two) It also included the total estimate for the year ending 31 March, which amounted to a little over

£3,800. The £1,500 differential in the Park's estimate for the year 1836 and the year 1851 [a fifteen year interval] was relatively insignificant, since it only kept pace with additional services such as lighting of extra lights, the cultivation of crops, contribution to the policing of the Park and expenses for the Phoenix Park school. Indeed relatively small increases are noted in the annual estimates for the remainder of the 1850's, which coincided with special Park improvements such as gas lighting noted below.

Under the management of the Office of Public Works (Irl.) after 1860 the annual estimates still continued to cater mainly for Park maintenance and management without substantial funding for special projects. Estimates for the year ending 31March 1868 for the maintenance of the public areas of the Park was more than £3,500, whereas the annual estimate for the official Park residences (for the lord lieutenant, chief secretary, under-secretaries and private secretary) with their demesnes, gardens and pleasure grounds was nearly £3,900. In the same year £400 and £151 were made available respectively for a new gardener's cottage and propagating pit in the People's garden.[37] The 1879-1880 maintenance figures are entered under two headings in the commissioners annual report (forty-eight) – one for £700 is for maintenance and supplies and the second under maintenance is for pay

and materials which amounted to *c.*£5,200 for pay by the 'servants for the Board of Works' and a mere *c.* fifty pounds for materials.

We will now examine the use of special grants for major Park improvements from 1800-1880. There is little evidence to suggest that funds were available for special projects during the management of the Park by the Board of Works between 1800 and 1830. We have noted below that the construction of the entrance ensemble at Parkgate Street in 1813 was funded from the sale of Park trees, which yielded £500. We will also see in chapter five that one of the largest structures erected in the Park (the Wellington testimonial in 1818) was paid for by public subscription. However during Woods & Forests' time managing the Park (1834-1851) major funding became available for Park improvements. We will now look at the special or extraordinary grants, which were made available for major Park improvements. Early in April 1833, Woods & Forests successfully sought approval for the expenditure of a special grant of £1,500 for Park improvement. Initially the lord lieutenant's approval was obtained (he appears to have chosen the projects) and then the Treasury's on the basis that the funding would be met from the 'growing produce of the Irish Land Revenues'.[38] The size of this special grant matched the returns from the public sale of the deputy's bailiff's lodge and lands at Chapelizod (then outside the Park), which had been recently disposed of.[39] The sale of the property occupied by the deputy-bailiff's is

discussed further in pages three & four, chapter seven. Not only was the special grant (mentioned above) overspent but also many of the projects (recommended by Burton in 1832) had been mismanaged by the Office of Public Works (Irl.). This led directly to Woods & Forests directing projects from 1834, as we have seen in chapter two.

In July 1835 a further grant of £15,000 was allocated for Park improvements out of growing returns from the Irish Land Revenue, with the provision that no more than £4,000 would be spent in any one year.[40] From a humanitarian point of view Burton favoured projects that had a high labour content during winter and which were also most advantageous to the public.[41] In April 1841 another £15,000 was made available (on the same conditions and from the same source) to continue Park improvements, which included funds for the restoration of the Park wall and the formation of new roads.[42] Accounts published by Woods & Forests in May 1842 show an enormous expenditure on the Phoenix Park of more than £61,000 over a nine-year period from January 1833 to January 1842, which included day-to-day expenditure as well.[43] In March 1845 a further £4,000 was allocated for Park improvements possibly as result of representation made to Earl De Grey (lord lieutenant 1841-1844) to provide employment for the inhabitants of Dublin.[44] We will return to this below. Park improvements continued on a grand scale until 1849 when the lords of the treasury terminated these 'extra ordinary services'.[45]

This unprecedented expenditure on the public areas of the Park over a sixteen-year period from 1833-1849 resulted in major landscape and infrastructural changes, which are abundantly evident today. These are discussed in some detail in chapters four and seven. Substantial special grants were also allocated for Park drainage in May 1837[46] and again in January 1847, when £9,000 was allocated. The entire drainage works were completed early in 1850 at a total cost of a little over £10,300.[47] We will return to Park drainage in chapter four.

With such large sums of money allocated to 'extraordinary works' there was an anxiety that the system of accounting, which had heretofore operated in the Park and depended entirely on the park bailiff, was unsatisfactory.[48] In summer 1836 Woods & Forests experimented in park management with the provisional appointment of a receiver and paymaster, whose responsibilities were limited 'to the actual payment by himself personally, into the hands of the individuals therein named, the sums so certified to be due to them respectively, and taking properly attested acquittances for the same'.[49] The persons responsible for the superintendence of the various works – the park bailiff, Decimus Burton and the clerk of works were still held responsible to Woods & Forests for the 'correctness of the returns and accounts' given to the receiver and paymaster in the first instance. The experiment was considered so successful by Woods & Forests that they recommended not only the

permanent appointment of such a person to the Phoenix Park but to keep it under review as a possibility for application to 'other quarters, where considerable sums of money are yearly expended...'[50] In June 1837 Treasury approval was given for the appointment of a receiver and paymaster (one position) for the service of the Phoenix Park for an initial three-year period from July 1836 to July 1839.[51] The position was terminated towards the end of 1850 by the Treasury who considered John Burke (appointed park superintendent in 1840) to be the most appropriate person to take over these duties as part of his overall responsibility for the Park.[52] This arrangement recognized the termination of the extraordinary works and special funds and recognised the reduction in the amount of accounts to be transacted.

Various management strategies, which included direct labour and piece (task) rates, were used occasionally to increase productivity but there was a social and humanitarian aspect to these as well. Included among the latter was the employment of 'unemployed manufacturers and other poor labourers' on temporary work relief schemes. In August 1837 the lord mayor of Dublin petitioned the lord lieutenant, Earl De Grey, to provide Park employment to relieve the great distress that prevailed in the city. This resulted in the construction of a sunken fence in the viceregal lodge at a cost of £500.[53] At the same time large numbers of unemployed weavers were given temporary employment in levelling the Star Fort. At

the end of August 1837 their numbers and rates of pay were gradually reduced so as to prevent any problems 'from the discharge of so large a number of workmen at a late period of the year and in the hope that they may find other employment during the present favourable season'.[54] Labouring work, whether direct or by piece (task) rate was used in the Park. Day labourers (temporary employees) were employed on the extraordinary works as well as the ordinary routine maintenance of the Park. These men were selected for their good conduct and industry. With the termination of the extraordinary works in March 1849 a valuable skilled labouring force was lost in spite of Burton's best efforts to retain them. Burton, conscious of the role that unemployment had in securing funding for the 'extraordinary' works, was anxious to seek ongoing employment for them.[55]

There is no evidence to suggest that any major funding was made available between 1851 and 1859, whilst the Park was under the management of Her Majesty's Works & Public Buildings (GB). However from 1854 onwards some monies were included in the annual estimates under the heading of 'Special Services' (though not to the extent of those provided for 'extraordinary' works under Woods & Forests). These ranged from a few hundred pounds in the 1854 estimates for boundary wall repairs to over £800 in 1859 for illuminating the main avenue from

Parkgate Street to Castleknock Gate with gas light,[56] the latter as a result of public pressure from the residents of Castleknock and its environs.[57]

In June 1861 Thomas Larcom (under-secretary 1853-1868) transmitted a memorial signed by some of the most distinguished citizens of Dublin including its Lord Mayor (Thomas Atkinson) and Archbishop (Paul Cullen) to the Treasury seeking funding to improve the Phoenix Park. The memorialists compared the expenditure on the royal parks and pleasure gardens in London with that of the Phoenix Park from 1851 to 1860.[58] These showed spectacular differences, for example, St. James's, Green and Hyde Parks and Roads, had an expenditure over the ten-year period of a staggering £247,000 compared to the miniscule sum of £44,000 on the Phoenix Park, even though their combined areas were less than half that of the Phoenix Park. Regent's Park (487 acres) had an expenditure of £70,000 over the same ten-year period. In spite of the Phoenix Park's size (1758 acres and larger than most of London's royal parks put together though excluding Richmond park), the total expenditure on London's parks (excluding Richmond park) for that period amounted to £735,000.[59] Moreover it was argued that the Phoenix Park was the only public Park available to the citizens of Dublin.

As a result of these representations it was proposed that Park improvements to the value of £15,000 should be allocated and gradually spent over a period of time. This sum was considered adequate for further

tree planting, drainage and other works and it was hoped to commence with an additional £3000 included in the estimates for 1861-1862. However the Treasury only allowed sufficient funding for normal Park maintenance and management, arguing that considerable sums had already been spent on the Park and that little more than a year had elapsed since the Phoenix Park had been transferred to the Board of Works (Irl.).[60] Only minor improvements took place from 1860-1880 with the exception of the Peoples Flower gardens, some tree planting and the erection of two notable sculptures (the Carlisle and Gough statues) both of which were funded by public subscription. The property portfolio and additional responsibilities of the Office of Public Works, both within the Park, in Dublin, and throughout the country generally, had dramatically increased, thus offering increased competition for available funds.[61]

INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES

The principal income generated by the Park between 1800 and 1880 derived primarily from grazing, with smaller contributions from timber, crops and deer, although some financial benefits also accrued from the Park's natural resources of stone, sand and gravel. To a lesser extent, public finances also benefited from donations of Park turves (grass sods) and nursery stock (young trees from Park plantations) to other institutions and public authorities.

However grazing became the principal source of income generated by the Park from the time it came under the active management of Woods & Forests in 1834. As we have already noted in chapter one the lord lieutenant was entitled, with certain exceptions to all the grazing. He allocated some to the chief secretary and others (including the under keepers, under bailiff, gate keepers, the Royal Hibernian Military School, and messengers), and others had grazing privileges by their patent of appointments (the ranger, bailiff and keepers). In July 1801 their combined grazing privileges amounted to 165 cows, 103 horses, one hundred sheep and one bull excluding those of the chief secretary and the lord lieutenant.[62]

In January 1833 Burton reported that the Park could be made 'eventually more profitable to the Crown' with 'a comparatively small outlay' on drainage and other works.[63] Within three months Woods & Forests proposed the reduction and eventual abolition of grazing grants in the Phoenix Park, first by withholding grazing from persons not Park officers, secondly by the immediate reduction by half of those enjoyed by the lord lieutenant, the chief secretary and under-secretary by half, and thirdly by not renewing the grazing grants to new park keepers and gate keepers (entitled to four cows each).[64] This resulted in a dramatic reduction in cow and horse numbers to ninety-two and thirty-one respectively, with further reductions realized when grazing grants to the

Royal Hibernian Military School and to new park appointees were discontinued.[65]

Even though the lord lieutenant, under-secretary and under bailiff had grazing rights under their patents of office, the number of animals they had were to be controlled and for family use only. Accounts were also to be kept of the numbers, and periodic returns were to be made.[66] It is hardly surprising that the leading officers of state relinquished part of their grazing entitlements to the public areas of the Park since they already had farms within their demesnes. With the abolition of the post of ranger of the Phoenix Park (which was linked to the office of under-secretary) in 1840, one hundred pounds annual compensation was paid in lieu of grazing and salary, which was attached to that position.[67]

At the end of October 1833 grazing returns were much less than anticipated and even though the grazing rates were low there was still insufficient cattle to consume all the grass.[68] A number of reasons were advanced to explain this: principally the 'ill repute of the pasturage in consequence of the long continued overstockage' but there were other contributory factors such as the lateness of the season in which the new grazing regulations were introduced and the poor circulation of the advertisements. The loss of income arising from under stocking could have been considered beneficial from 'the respite from the close feeding and tearing by horses, to which it has been subjected for so many years'.[69]

Moreover, with the continuing improvement of the herbage, the proximity of the Dublin markets and the nearness of the shipping ports, it was envisaged that surplus Park grazing could attract full rents and the attention of 'respectable' graziers.[70]

In early 1834 Woods & Forests outlined their plan to the Treasury for Park grazing and indicated what steps had already been taken to regularise grazing entitlements and predicted that £500 could be expected from grazing rents to May of that year.[71] It was also anticipated that within a few years considerable annual incomes would be generated, especially when drainage was undertaken, and that these would be applicable to the ordinary services of the Park as well as compensating subordinate officers (especially the gate keepers and park keepers) and a small number of people for their loss of grazing rights.[72] Within three years commencing May 1834 the average income from allowing public grazing of sheep and cattle in the Park 'averaged upwards' of £800 per annum.[73]

The first decade of public grazing proved difficult both from an accountancy and management point of view even though substantial incomes were generated. In March 1843 considerable changes were proposed in the system of charging, collecting and accounting for grazing rents, all of which was undertaken by Wilkie the Park bailiff. In addition animals were only allowed to graze from 1st May to 1st November and not

the whole twelve months as heretofore.[74] The reduction in grazing time was an attempt to overcome the extremely wet conditions of the Park and the scarcity of grass in the winter. Grazing by horses and sheep was prohibited presumably because of the physical damage caused by their hooves (in the case of the former) and close grazing (in the case of the latter).

These changes not only improved the herbage, but also resulted in increased grazing rents, since the 1849 returns were a little over £925.[75] However this income was nearly halved the following year,[76] possibly due to poor grass growth early in the season, in which case owners would have postponed grazing until later, when grass growth improved. By 1860 grazing rents had reached a spectacular high of almost £1,436[77] reflecting the improved drainage and herbage of the Park, which we will discuss in chapter four. During the decade 1860-1870 grazing rents averaged about £1000 per annum[78] but in spite of considerable fluctuations the following decade, which were primarily caused by cattle diseases, the annual average income appears to have been about £960.[79]

The sale of Park timber was another source of income and considerable benefit in kind would have derived from the use of poles (thinnings) from Park plantations for fencing and other purposes. In February 1802 between 400 and 500 trees were sold for £300.[80] This suggests that the trees were being exploited for their commercial rather

than their aesthetic value. In March 1809 timber prices reached exorbitant levels[81] so it is hardly surprising to find further Park trees being sold in 1812 to pay for the construction of the new Park entrance gates and lodges at Parkgate Street.[82]

In 1832 it was revealed that Park timber was sold and the remainder used for fencing young plantations; that trees were felled by the authority of the lord lieutenant and under the ranger's direction and that the entitlement to dead wood and 'lots & tops' belonged to the under bailiff. It was also disclosed that no formal register of timber trees was kept at this time.[83] Timber sales for the three consecutive years 1830 to 1832 only realized a little over £350.[84] In 1834 Woods & Forests introduced regulations for the disposal of timber,[85] which suggests that little or no accountability of park timber took place before this. In future the disposal of all Park timber, wood, bark or faggots was to be sold by public auction in suitable lots after advertisement and that the gross proceeds were to be lodged to Woods & Forest's account at the Bank of Ireland. In addition, in an extraordinary proposal, Park trees, suitable for the repair of Park fences and other works within the service, were to be lotted and bought at auction for Park use. However Woods & Forests required advanced details and estimates of such lots and a statement of the services for which they were required.[86] The new regulations required that a report would be submitted to Woods & Forests in advance of any

tree felling or thinning of park plantations.[87] It is unlikely that the practice of the park authorities purchasing their own timber at auction was ever implemented, since a few years later we find timber being felled and allocated for specific Park projects without any reference to auction.[88]

In 1834 more than 1200 trees, over half of which grew in the viceregal demesne, were felled and sold at auction. Most of these, consisting mainly of oak, ash, elm and beech originated from plantation thinnings, which were planted in the first decade of the nineteenty century.[89] In 1837 a staggering 500 trees and 1200 poles were felled in the chief secretary's demesne to create vistas from the public areas of the Park.[90] The creation of these vistas will be discussed further in chapter 6. Some of this timber was used for fencing the new Park plantations as well as renewing the fencing in the chief secretary's demesne.[91] The remainder was either sold at auction or stored at the Park's White Fields store for future use.

In the following year, a further though somewhat unexpected income was generated by the sale of timber from the 'The Night of the Big Wind'[92] which occurred between the 6-7 January 1839. About 500 Park trees were blown down, the majority of which were elm along with an additional 400 hawthorns.[93] These, along with 207 lots of mixed branches, were valued at approximately £2,000. Not surprisingly, they realised only a fraction of their projected value. Even the £620 raised

from the sale of this timber was amazing,[94] especially since timber values had fallen by eighty per cent in the neighbourhood of Dublin due to market saturation.[95] However the proximity of the Park to the city was advantageous in quickly disposing of the Park's timber especially since carriage costs were a major factor for demesnes situated further out.[96] Woods & Forests continued to maintain a tight grip on expenditure. In 1840, when the lord lieutenant put forward proposals for improving the viceregal demesne's plantations and fences at a cost of almost £350, he was informed that only £240 could be spent, a sum equivalent to the value of the timber felled in his demesne.[97]

It appears that relatively little income was generated from trees between 1850 and 1880. This is understandable in view of the removal of plantation thinnings during the previous two decades and the devastation of the 1839 storm. However the regulations introduced by Woods & Forests whereby approval was required before any thinning or disposal of trees took place continued to the end of our period.[98]

We have noted in chapter one the importance of the deer herd as an integral component of the Phoenix Park scenery and for the supply of venison to government officials and public officers, which continued throughout this period. As with park grazing, regulations were introduced in 1841 to regulate the supply of venison to state officials and dignitaries and to monitor the numbers of deer.[99] However no profit resulted from

the deer, since there is little evidence of income generated from the sale of venison or live deer.[100] Some income was created from the sale of deerskins, heads, antlers and offal[101] but this was more than offset by management costs which included, among other items, winter feeding and the prevention of theft of new born fawns.[102] From 1846 to 1850 'inferior' deer were distributed to Park labourers and the poor of Chapelizod in an obvious response to the famine.[103] I can find little evidence to establish whether this practice continued on a regular basis but it is unlikely, since 'inferior animals' were sold before 1846 and the monies lodged to Woods & Forests account in the Bank of Ireland.[104] Occasionally deer were sold for stocking parks and demesnes such as Lord Enniskillen's Florencecourt.[105] When Lord Clancarty of Garbally Park in County Galway sought deer for his park none were available that year.[106] On the debit side, since it was considered necessary to improve the herd, deer were introduced from Hampton Court[107] and the Earl of Bessborough's Park in County Kilkenny.[108] The overall size of the herd varied but 600 deer was considered the carrying capacity of the Park when the grazing requirements of other animals were taken into account.[109]

Apart from the official park demesnes, crop production was confined to the Whitefields and Mountjoy districts of the Park with a deer and cattle farm at the Barrack demesne (now the Ordnance Survey in

Ireland). The establishment of the deer farm, proposed by Burton in September 1834, enabled not only the animals to feed and shelter in winter, but also produced hay as well as the odd crop of oats.[110] In 1838 a six-year plan for the improvement and cultivation of thirty-nine and a quarter acres of the White Fields district was initiated. This envisaged growing crops of oats, potatoes, wheat and hay at an estimated cost of almost £1,250 with an expected income of £2,160.[111] The sale of the potato crop alone generated almost £960, with which Woods & Forests were entirely satisfied.[112] In December 1842 Wilkie put forward a six-year plan for cultivating about seven acres of the Barrack demesne farm for deer food.[113] It is unlikely that this proceeded since considerable effort and attention was given to the twenty-five acre experimental farm at the back of the Barrack demesne, which was distinct from the farm within the demesne. This farm, under the superintendence of a Mr. Kennedy (a civil servant with interest in drainage), focussed on land drainage but the disposal of its produce became acrimonious. The superintendence of the twenty-five acre farm reverted to the Park bailiff in 1845,[114] who produced crops of potatoes, wheat and oats until 1848. Following these crops coarse hay was produced and sold to enable better quality hay and turnips to be purchased for the deer.[115] The incentive to cultivate the Park was to improve the ground and drainage before it was incorporated into the open area of the Park, and at the same time to ensure that the various

enterprises were profitable or at least broke even. I could find no evidence of further cultivation of the open Park up to the end of our study period.

We will now look at the benefits and use derived from the natural resources of the Park which not only included sand, gravel and quarry stone but also the supply of trees and turves (sods of grass) for landscape works. Old Park maps (fig.1, vol. two) before and about the beginning of our period show a number of gravel pits concentrated along the southern boundary of the Park from Knockmaroon to Chapelizod. A quarry (Coyle's) is also shown 'intruding' into the Park. Judging by their size thousands of tons of gravel (and broken stone), required for the viceregal demesne's walks and the extensive network of Park roads and footpaths, would have been supplied from these pits from 1800 onwards.[116] Under Woods & Forests, accessibility to the Park's gravel pit near Chapelizod was greatly improved in 1842[117] and an adjacent area of good gravel deposits was also uncovered at this time.[118] This gravel was extensively used when the Park was subsequently managed by Her Majesty's Works & Public Buildings (GB) and the Office of Public Works (Irl.). Proximity to the gravel was cited as a reason for the cost effectiveness of forming a path from the Royal Hibernian Military School to the Magazine Fort in 1859.[119] Sand from the Chapelizod pit was also used in the construction of the guard house at the Constabulary barracks in the Park, the walks in

the viceregal demesne, the Custom House and the grounds of the Royal Infirmary and numerous other locations.[120] In 1870 it was proposed to draw up a schedule of public buildings which would be supplied from the Park's gravel pit and the following year a tender was accepted to supply up to 800 tons of stones and gravel from the pit to any location within the Park.

At this point it is important to differentiate between the rounded stones of varying sizes deposited in the gravel pits and subsequently broken for road works, and quarried stone which was used in the construction of Park buildings and the boundary wall. It is tempting to speculate that quarried stone from nearby Coyle's quarry supplied at least some of the stone for the original boundary wall. In 1836, Burton, having had his recommendation to purchase Coyle's quarry rejected, obtained permission from Woods & Forests to uncover limestone strata in the Park.[121] However, when this development was rejected because of cost and nuisance, Burton was requested to seek tenders for the supply of quarried stone.[122] However quarries in the vicinity of Dublin were unable to supply the several types of stone in the time required without impeding the progress of the various Park projects, so Woods & Forests authorised the opening of a stone quarry in the Park in April 1837.[123] Burton considered this stone to be of excellent quality.[124] One of the first beneficiaries of the quarry was the construction of the new boundary wall

from Chapelizod to Parkgate Street and the subsequent repair of the remaining boundary wall of the Park.[125] The Treasury was informed that considerable savings would be made as a result of the Park quarry both in terms of supply, carriage and labour costs.[126] Stone from the Park quarry was used to construct several Park buildings, which included the Police barracks at Ashtown Gate and the school and teacher's residence nearby, both of which were built in 1847. In both cases, monies were deducted from the builder's account for the supply of park stone and sand.[127] The major drainage of the Park, which commenced at this time, also used park stone, which was made available at 'prime' cost to the contractor.[128] The major visual intrusion of the open stone quarries and their amelioration into the landscape is discussed in chapter five.

As noted above, public finances also benefited, but to a lesser extent, from the park's topsoil, grass sods (turves) and nursery stock (trees from young plantations). Understandably the landscape and gardening requirements of the official demesnes for topsoil and grass sods were supplied from the Park as well as to other locations within the Park such as the magazine area of the constabulary barracks.[129] This was to minimise costs, as exemplified by the new conservatory erected by Lord Naas (1867-1868) in the chief secretary's demesne, for which not only was the sand and stone supplied from the park quarries but also the grass sods for landscaping its exterior perimeter.[130] During the last decade

of our study a small number of interesting high profile public landscape schemes took place for which not only did the Park provide 'fresh' cut grass sods but also young trees from the Park's plantations. One involved the planting of thirty-five trees at the Rotunda Hospital to replace old trees[131] and the other encompassed the supply of grass sods for tree planting in Sackville Street (now O'Connell Street).[132]

A number of important conclusions can be drawn from this chapter on finance as it relates to the Phoenix Park. It will be seen from our examination of funding for the maintenance and management of the public areas of the Park that financial stringency was maintained throughout the period (1800-1880). This financial control contrasted sharply with the considerable expenditure by lord lieutenant on the viceregal lodge and demesne, especially from 1804-1810 when expenditure was almost three and half times that spent on the public areas of the Park.

The large number of examinations and enquiries into the financial affairs of the Board of Works from 1800 to 1830 gives a valuable insight into the management and funding of the Park. In spite of the specific instructions regarding financial management in 1801 great difficulty arises in controlling expenditure on specific projects, especially in relation to the viceregal lodge and demesne. The matter was further complicated because 'orders from the lord lieutenant and the chief

secretary are considered as peremptory, the board conceiving it had no control over them'; and even requisitions from the under-secretary and the lord lieutenant's attendants were complied with without much investigation by the board.

The only period during which substantial funds were made available for the Park improvements was during the period of management by Woods & Forests from 1832 to 1850. This was also a period of experimentation in financial accountability and control in the Park which proved so successful that Woods & Forests were pleased to inform the Treasury of its potential. It was during this period that the humanitarian face of officialdom showed itself through the various employment schemes in the Park, which maximised the use of unemployed labourers and tradesmen; 'inferior' deer were also distributed to Park employees and the local communities.

Our study also shows a major bias in spending on Londons's royal parks compared to the expenditure on the Phoenix Park in spite of the latter's size (1758 acres) which made it larger than the sum total of most of London's parks at the time and it was also argued in vain that it was the only public Park available to the citizens of Dublin.

This chapter also reveals that the principal income generated by the Park during our study period derived primarily from grazing, with smaller contributions from timber, crops and deer, although some financial

benefits also accrued from the Park's natural resources of stone, sand and gravel. To a lesser extent, public finances also benefited from donations of park turves (grass sods) and nursery stock (young trees from park plantations) to other institutions and public authorities.

CHAPTER 4 – Park Infrastructure: *c.* 1800 – 1880

We have noted above that unprecedented expenditure by Woods & Forests took place on the public areas of the Park over a sixteen-year period from 1833-1849 which resulted in major landscape and infrastructure changes, which are abundantly evident today. These included not only major architectural works with many new gate lodges being built and a number of others being rebuilt, complete with entrance gates and palisade fencing but also a number of internal park lodges for servants of the Park. Major earthworks were levelled and special grants were also allocated for Park drainage in May 1837 and again in January 1847, all of which resulted in a total transformation of the Park's surface both from an aesthetic and utilitarian point of view. All of the park roads were restored and many of them were relocated to take advantage of improved scenic views and landscapes. The Park's landscape features which have had a lasting visual and functional impact on the Park include the creation of numerous tree belts and plantations as well as the formation of sunken-fences (ha-has) particularly around the perimeter of the official demesnes and ornamental water areas, which are such a valuable landscape and functional asset within the Park. These are the works, both architecturally and aesthetically, that confer on the Park its present day character and charm.

An area the size of the Phoenix Park could not function properly

without an effective infrastructure of secure boundaries, strategically placed access points with adjoining gate lodges, an internal system of roads and paths and a number of internal lodges for personnel involved in Park security and management. A less obvious but essential element was the drainage system which enabled the Park to be used more for recreational purposes, military exercises and reviews. Most importantly of all, drainage affected the nineteenth century financial management, an important feature of which involved the returns from Park grazing and surplus timber production. The infrastructure outlined above assumed even greater importance when the lord lieutenant, the chief secretary, the under-secretaries - both civil and military - and the lord lieutenant's private secretary and their respective households took up residence in the Park. This chapter explores a number of infrastructural elements relating to the Phoenix Park which includes the boundary wall, Park gates and gatelodges, roads and land drainage.

However one of the most important functions, as far as the original purpose of the Park was concerned, was the protection of the herd of fallow deer. With the passage of time, considerations such as aesthetic appearances, the security of official government residences and their households, the protection of the grass sward and the grazing animals, and the control of commercial vehicles passing through the Park became more important than intensive grazing and use by the military. All these

were made possible by the erection of a stone wall around the perimeter of the Park.

We will now discuss the Park's size and boundary, which has been already noted in Chapter one was enclosed with a stonewall and stocked with deer by royal authorisation in May 1663. Initially its size was to have been about 1000 acres but since this was insufficient, further authorisation was given in 1663 to purchase additional lands, which brought the total area of parkland to over 2000 acres (inclusive of Kilmainham) by 1669. On the north side the line of the wall followed the old Castleknock road and crossed the Liffey west of where the Heuston Rail terminus now stands. From this point the wall ran southwards along the present Military road, turning westwards near Bow-bridge, then along Kilmainham lane and northwards to Islandbridge.[1]

Nearly all the major changes to the line of the mural boundary took place before 1800, as discussed above. However major rebuilding and repair work took place from 1800 to 1880, while a section from Chapelizod to Islandbridge, was practically rebuilt along the old Sir John Temple wall line. Partial collapse, storm damage, the undermining of foundations due to quarrying and gravel extraction, were also part of the wall's history during this period. The provision of both private and public pedestrian entrances, the erection of railings and the elimination of unauthorised steps across the wall will also be discussed since they

affected not only Park security but also the appearance of the boundary wall.

A report[2] on the condition of the Park in November 1801 noted that the boundary wall required some repairs and rebuilding. Shortly afterwards in January 1802, Robert Woodgate, the Board of Works architect, was asked to report on it and found that the walls were in need of general repairs.[3] This prompted the Board to query the competency of the contractor responsible for its maintenance, a George Gibson of Baggot Street. The latter must have acquitted himself since he obtained all monies owing to him at the end of his contract period in December 1801 as well as securing further employment from Woodgate in 1803.[4]

Even though funds were regularly included in the annual estimates for the repair of the Park wall, these were too small to make any significant impact on structural improvement.[5] In January 1810 a portion of the Park's boundary wall behind the lord lieutenant's demesne collapsed but was speedily repaired as were a number of other breaches that occurred there again in 1811.[6] However these repairs were not able to satisfy a commission of enquiry, which reported in 1812 that in spite of £20,000 allocated to Park maintenance from 1804 to 1810, the walls were still in poor repair.[7] Francis Johnston, the Board of Works Architect and Inspector of Civil Buildings for most of that period, agreed with their findings regarding the wall. Disturbed by this, the enquiry commissioners

recommended that as many of the 'jobbing' works as possible should be terminated and that the

> '[Park] walls should be carefully surveyed, and a specification being made out of what is necessary to be done in order to put them into complete repair… the execution thereof, and their future maintenance, should be publicly contracted for...' [8]

However sensible and prudent these recommendations were, they do not appear to have been implemented since records for the next two decades show that wall repairs were still haphazard and reactive. Only small sums of money were available for emergency works, but there were some exceptions such as in 1815 when almost £300 was spent on wall repairs between Chapelizod and Coyle's quarries.[9]

Burton's appointment by Woods & Forests in 1832 to improve the Park's landscape and infrastructure created an expectation that the boundary wall would be restored. In his initial reports[10] to Woods & Forests in January 1833 and September 1834 Burton emphasised that the wall was defective in many parts and required thorough restoration. He also drew attention to the numerous breaches, which resulted in trespassing, particularly on the east side of the Park near the city.

Expenditure on the day-to-day maintenance of the Park wall at the time indicated that less than one hundred pounds per annum was available for sundry or emergency repair works.[11] However in 1835 a

substantial sum was specifically allocated for the boundary wall[12] but unfortunately funds were diverted to a drainage project at Mountjoy Barracks.[13] Burton's acquiescence was probably due to the knowledge that an initiative to improve the Chapelizod to Islandbridge road was about to commence which because of its common boundary with the Park necessitated rebuilding the Park wall.[14] (Fig.4.01)

Fig.4.01

The Mullingar Road Trustees, who were in charge of the road, had already been empowered to acquire a small portion of the Phoenix Park for these improvements. However lack of funds and the trustees' reluctance to increase road tolls suggested an ingenious partnership between the road trustees and Woods & Forests who themselves were contemplating park improvements in that area.[15] The piece of ground acquired by the trustees consisted mainly of steep embankments, which meant that surplus soil from the road widening could be used to fill up numerous unsightly and dangerous gravel pits in adjacent parts of the Park.[16] (fig.5.01)

Fig.5.01

The wall along the summit of the embankments was considered to be about 150 years old, in bad repair and from defects in the original construction formed 'an unsightly and inappropriate boundary to a Royal Park on the side of the most frequented approach to the Capital...'[17] The estimate for the wall's age gives its construction in the 1680's, which is surprisingly accurate.[18] Undoubtedly this was Temple's wall constructed

in 1682, which must also have suffered from building deficiences. (Figs.1.05 & 1.05a)

Figs.1.05 & 1.05a

Plans and specifications for widening the road were prepared by Jacob Owen, the Board of Works architect, on behalf of the trustees, whilst Burton, acting on behalf of Woods & Forests, produced estimates for the entire works. There was general agreement on the plans and estimates with some minor alterations to the specifications. The entire cost was estimated at a little over £3,000 but when adjustments were made for building the boundary wall and other associated landscape works in the Park, the trustees became liable for and agreed to pay £1,200. In December 1836 rebuilding commenced and took about a year to complete.[19] The new wall was built at road level which rendered it safe and easier to repair and it most likely followed the line of the previous wall given that only a small portion of the Park was acquired by the Trustees.

Burton then set about the restoration of the remainder of the Park wall which was listed as a high priority in his June 1838 report.[20] A month earlier, William Nixon the clerk of works for Park improvements, had submitted a comprehensive report [21]on the condition and probable cost of repair and partial rebuilding of the entire boundary wall, which was found

...to have been badly built in the first instance, the stone on an

> average was pretty good but the mortar bad and sparingly used, especially in the interior of the wall; this together with bad and loose workmanship and little attention to the bond and packing of the work caused the wall to be now hollow, unsound, crooked, overhanging in several places, and in some parts at this time in a dangerous state. An additional height had been more recently built on the original wall in several places, where this occurs the stone used had been chiefly round and small quarry stone, and the workmanship equally bad with the other.[22]

A coat of dashing had been applied to some of the decayed parts in recent years, which along with the binding effects of ivy in other parts had prevented considerable portions of the wall from falling. It was also observed that parts with dashing invariably proved to be in an unsound state. Clearly the proper restoration of the wall was a low priority with poor work practices and minimal use of mortar.

Nixon subdivided the wall into nine divisions dictated by the Park entrances and carefully calculated the number of lineal feet which either required repairing or rebuilding. This amounted to almost 30,000 feet, or approximately five and three-fifths English miles, nearly 17,500 feet of which needed to be repaired and the remainder required rebuilding, but it excluded the portion 'recently built' from the new Chapelizod Park entrance to the Salmon Pool, near the Islandbridge entrance.[23] (Figs.4.02 & 4.02a)

Figs.4.02 & 4.02a

Burton recommended the restoration of the entire wall for approximately £7,000 provided that stone from the recently opened Park quarry was used. His specification for the building and repair of the wall was aimed at stability and longevity and would be of uniform height at 7 feet 9 inches above the general surface of the ground. The repaired portions were to be underpinned in parts, decayed stones removed and replaced by new ones, and the wall securely pinned and pointed on both sides.[24] (Underpinning involved enlarging and renewing the existing foundations of the wall by removing from the base short lengths of wall at a time. Pointing or re-pointing in this case involved the raking out of decayed mortar from the joints of stone and refilling the joint with suitable mortar. Pinning is a process whereby a small, usually flat stone is inserted into a mortar joint to reduce the area of mortar exposed to the weather. Because these small stones are not under compression they become lost through the weathering process and are often discarded and not replaced when re-pointing takes place. These stones are important both visually and for the structural fabric of the wall).[25]

Newly constructed parts of the wall were specified by Burton to be in regular courses and tapered on both sides from two feet at the bottom to eighteen inches at the top. The whole wall was specified to be finished with scotch coping consisting of large stones smoothened on the beds and joints but with the tops and projections left rough.[26] (Fig.4.03)

Fig.4.03

At the Treasury's request [27] Nixon prepared a second report in November 1838. He used his original format but applied more stringent criteria as to what was absolutely necessary 'to make the walls secure and capable of affording the proper protection to the Park'. This reduced expenditure to almost £3,330.[28] £1,475 was allocated for works to six of the nine wall divisions and a further £1,130 was sanctioned in December 1839 for the Ashtown to Cabra gates section, which required extensive repairs and rebuilding.[29] In January of that year a severe storm caused considerable damage to the wall between Knockmaroon and Colonel White's gates where seven parts were levelled by falling trees from the adjoining demesnes, and also near the Circular Road gate where eighty-two feet collapsed. These were rapidly repaired in order to secure the deer and other grazing animals.[30]

We have already noted that the new wall from the existing Chapelizod gates commenced in 1836. Burton also was anxious to repair and realign the boundary wall in the opposite direction from Chapelizod to Knockmaroon but the encroachment of Coyle's quarry made it difficult. Earlier in 1836 Burton had tried to persuade Woods & Forests to purchase the quarry but to no avail.[31] However two years later, concerned at the progressive encroachment, Wilkie the park bailiff reported the matter to Woods & Forests who referred it to Burton and their solicitors.[32] Subsequent investigation revealed that the quarry had been

worked to a depth of eighty feet thus undermining the boundary wall and creating hazards for Park users and grazing animals. An earlier successful court action, based on the established Park boundary of 1788, had been brought against Coyle in 1826 to recover a small portion of the Park, which had been absorbed into the quarry.[33] In order to build the wall in a straight line across the quarry, Coyle's interest was purchased by the Crown for £200 and another section belonging to Messrs. Crossthwaite, which also adjoined the Park was generously leased to the Crown without compensation.[34] (Fig.4.04) In May 1841 expenditure for £1,000 was approved which included the excavation of foundations, the removal of some old walling, the inclusion of brick arches in some foundations, masonry in the footings of the new portions of wall as well as super pinning and pointing. The delivery of materials to, and the carting away of rubbish from the site were also included.[35] Understandably progress was slow due to the difficult terrain and budgetary constraints, which meant that the wall was not completed until September 1843.[36] Further funding enabled the repair of the boundary wall from the new wall across Coyle's quarry to Knockmaroon gate to continue and also from Cabra gate to the Circular gate.[37]

Fig.4.04

Earlier in May 1842, Woods & Forests, worried about over-expenditure, stated that they 'were of the opinion that the completion of the boundary fence of the Park is essential and must not be abandoned'

and requested Burton to reconsider some of his road schemes for the Park.[38] Hence it came as no surprise when the completion of Coyle's quarry wall was listed as one of Burton's priorities for 1843.[39] In spring 1845 Burton prioritised the repair and rebuilding of the remainder of the boundary wall of the Park for a little more than £3,000.[40]

In 1847 Burton costed the repair of the remaining portions of the boundary wall but since the termination of Park improvements were pending no further funds were allocated for this purpose.[41] In March 1849 'an accurate Report of the present state of the boundary wall...' was sought and submitted by Burton's clerk of works, Fish, in May 1849.[42] The report was concise and concentrated on sections of wall requiring attention and described the type of construction already undertaken. The entire boundary with the exception of the Chapelizod gravel pit, the constabulary barracks and the Royal Infirmary had been all thoroughly repaired and rebuilt to the specification already outlined above. Fish was still concerned at the precarious condition of the boundary wall at the Chapelizod gravel pit and enumerated the various lengths of wall, which had fallen or were in imminent danger of falling as a result of large-scale gravel extractions in 1845.[43] This continued to be troublesome and posed a serious threat to further undermining the boundary wall and encroaching on the Park itself during the next three decades.[44] (Figs.4.05 & 4.05a)

Figs.4.05 & 4.05a

Almost symbolically the last rebuilding of the wall by Burton took place in 1849 when the old Chapelizod gate lodge which incorporated part of the boundary wall was demolished having housed the various clerks of works responsible for Park improvements for almost two decades. Indeed from this time until the close of this study there appears to be no evidence of any further major repairs or rebuilding to the boundary wall, as one might expect in view of the extensive works undertaken since 1835. Funding however was included in the annual estimates for routine wall repairs and other sundry building works.

Fig.4.05a reconstructs the periods of Park wall building which almost entirely took place during the study period from 1800-1880 or more precisely during Woods & Forests active term of Park management from 1834 to 1850.

Fig.4.05a

This may be an opportune time to review the type of construction used in the Park wall and to explore the possibilities of dating the existing walls and to look at details. Gibney identifies three types of wall construction used in the eighteenth century the first of which applies to the Park and is identical to the mediaeval walling used in monastic buildings, castles and fortified housing in Ireland. An important characteristic of these walls was their compound construction, which consisted of two separate masonry membranes and the space between filled with a core of mortar imbedded with loose unbonded rubble

Fig.4.06

stones.[45] (Fig.4.06)

The walls surrounding the Park consist of a variety of rubble walling styles, are of compound construction and use locally available stone that is either uncut or roughly shaped with a hammer. Most of the wall has been built in coursed and uncoursed random rubble (Figs.4.06a & 4.06b) but there is also a small representation of coursed squared rubble flanking the Chapelizod gates.[46] (Fig.4.06c)

Figs.4.06a & 4.06b

Fig.4.06c

Uncoursed random rubble was used in practically every old mortared stone building in Ireland and has the advantages of being most attractive when well constructed, has no inherent weakness and can accommodate a range of stone sizes because it is not limited to course heights.[47] This was the most likely type of construction used in rebuilding the Park wall in the 1660s, which required only common masons for its construction as distinct from stonecutters.[48] The possibility of any of Dodson's wall remaining is unlikely because of its poor construction and the subsequent repair and rebuilding works carried out in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although small isolated pockets may still exist nearer to ground level.

Random rubble built to courses became increasingly popular from the nineteenth century onwards and as we have noted above was used by Burton for rebuilding extensive lengths of Park wall, particularly from the Chapelizod gate to the Salmon Pool, near the Islandbridge gate of the

Park. This is possibly one of the most extensive and best examples of this type of walling style in the Dublin area. (Fig.4.06d) Perhaps Burton was attracted to this style because it was easier to calculate the number of man hours required to construct each course and it facilitated a greater number of men in its construction - a maximum workforce of 16 - compared to smaller numbers used on uncoursed walls.[49] Other sections of wall rebuilt by Burton are still in excellent condition and reflect the calibre of stone masons and their craft at that particular time. As Maurice Craig points out in his *Architecture of Ireland*,[50] when A. W. N. Pugin arrived in Ireland in 1838 he demanded masonry of a special quality and found that the Irish masons could satisfy him.

Fig.4.06d

Of necessity a wall of such length will have been subjected to the varying skills of numerous masons not only through the centuries but also during our period. Though the wall can be broadly classified as rubble walling, close examination shows numerous styles of this type not only within the study period 1800-1880 but also before and afterwards. Examination of the reconstructed wall plan of the Park will indicate not only the dates of construction but also a detailed report of a section of wall as presented by Burton's clerk of works. To conclude, it is interesting to note the inclusion of a fountain in the Park wall on Parkgate street near the main entrance of the Park, which resembled a Venetian well-head and was set in a recess with a variegated brick arch. (Fig.4.07)

Fig.4.07

The architectural firm of Deane and Woodward were commissioned by the lord lieutenant, the Earl of Carlisle, to design the fountain which was erected *c.*1860 but only the brick arch and outline now remains.[51] (Fig.4.07a)

Fig.4.07a

GATE LODGES

Park gates and their corresponding lodges were essential elements in the management of large demesnes since they controlled access and egress as well as providing security. The term 'park gate lodge' is best defined for the purpose of our discussion as a building set at a park gate entrance which provided living quarters for a person or family who had as one of their duties the opening and shutting of that gate. However in the Phoenix Park there were a number of categories of gate lodges, which can be broadly divided into those located on the perimeter boundary and those located at the entrance to enclosures within the park; among the latter are included the gate lodges to the viceregal and other official residences within the Park. A number of other residences were also strategically located throughout the park for the accommodation of park servants but which had no gate lodges. Only the perimeter gate lodges will be discussed in this chapter whereas the other categories mentioned above will be discussed in chapters 5 and 6. (Fig.4.08)

Fig.4.08

In 1801 the Park was served by seven gates and accompanying gate lodges, six of which derived their names from the locality in which they

were situated - Dublin gate or Parkgate street located nearest the city center, Islandbridge, Chapelizod, Knockmaroon, Castleknock, Blackhorse Lane (hereafter referred to as Cabragh) and the Circular Road (subsequently known as the North Circular Road gate). The seventh gate, which was privately owned and situated outside the Park wall, belonged to Luke White of Luttrellstown (which he renamed Woodlands), who had a private right of way from Whites road.[52] At the close of this study period there were eight gates and corresponding lodges for public vehicular access and one private vehicular gate and lodge.

The first decade of the nineteenth century saw the rebuilding of gates and lodges at Parkgate Street and the building of new gates and possibly gate lodges at Ashtown. In Jan 1804, Woodgate, the Board of Works architect, was instructed to relocate Cabragh gate in a more convenient location compliant to under secretary Marsden's wishes,[53] but whether this took place in 1809 is uncertain, given the difficulties later experienced by Burton at this location.[54]

The most impressive entrance improvements during this period were the new gates and lodges at the Parkgate street entrance designed by Francis Johnston and approved by the lord lieutenant, the 4th Duke of Richmond.[55] Work commenced on the gates in 1809 but the whole scheme, including lodges and sidewalls, was not completed until 1813.[56] In 1811, Johnston submitted plans, approved by the lord lieutenant, for

the alteration of Barrack street the principal approach to the Park from the city. (Fig.4.09) The plan envisaged building two identical gate lodges[57] set at an angle to the main avenue on either side of the gates. It also provided a new garden for the Royal Infirmary to replace the original one, which was lost as a result of road improvements.[58] The two lodges were small classical buildings, single-storied with single windows on either side of an entrance porch and a central chimneypiece. The lodges were finished in lime stucco with stone tablets erected above the doorways dated 1811 and inscribed in Roman numerals. (Fig.4.10) Adjoining one of the lodges is a small but sensitively designed guardroom, which gives a commanding view of the gates. (Fig.4.10a)

Fig.4.09

Fig.4.10

Fig.4.10a

The entrance ensemble was more harmonious than the composition it replaced but it enabled Johnston to maintain the spirit of the original design. A substantial two-storied lodge with a number of outhouses [59] had existed there previously which probably included a stable and cowhouse to facilitate the gatekeeper, who had the privilege of Park grazing. (Figs.1.08 & 1.08a) Johnston's design heralded a new approach since the building scale was greatly reduced and the outbuildings considerably shrunken or abandoned altogether, a philosophy subsequently adopted by Burton. This policy change will be returned to later.

Figs.1.08 & 1.08a

The pre-Johnston entrance appears to have been composed of three pairs of wooden gates with a pedestrian or foot gate nearest the lodge.

Johnston's use of limestone piers, walls and iron gates proved more durable than the timber gates used by his predecessors but this may have reflected the exorbitant price of wood at the time.[60]

Johnston's entrance consisted of four limestone piers, each of which was topped with a magnificent scalloped hemisphere of limestone on top of which a lantern was placed.[61] Two limestone walls, with pedestrian openings in each, linked the piers and gates to the boundary wall to give a unified composition. (Figs.4.11&4.11a) Three pairs of functional but simply designed iron gates by Robert Mallet completed the principal entrance to the Park. Each gate was gently curved in plan[62] to give an overall semicircular effect with iron columns used as intermediaries to attach them to the piers.[63] (Fig.4.12) The erection of ten jostle posts around the base of the piers to protect the gates from vehicular damage marked the completion of the first part of the scheme by mid 1810.[64]

Figs.4.11 &4.11a

Fig.4.12

The arrangement of four piers with three pairs of gates allowed three carriageways to accommodate traffic, which is unique to this entrance of the Park. Johnston's original design has largely remained intact in spite of some later alterations to accommodate the Dublin Metropolitan police force, which will be discussed in chapter six. It is also the oldest entrance ensemble still extant in the Park.

In Burton's survey of the Park's gate lodges and entrances submitted to Woods & Forests in September 1834 this gate was considered the least offensive on account of the smaller scale of the lodges but Burton advised that since this was 'the principal and most conspicuous entrance to the Park, and facing the city, the Lodges and Gates here should assume, when rebuilt, a more important appearance than the other entrances…'[65] The proposals for the main entrance included the removal and rebuilding of new gates and lodges about 300 yards into the Park 'on the brow of the first ascent' with a rearrangement of the roads just inside. Woods & Forests were advised that the new gates and lodges should be of a bold design with a portion of the grand avenue outside the gates fenced with iron palisade giving the whole a noble and spacious effect. It was surprising that Burton would consider rebuilding the lodges and gates so soon after Johnston's lodges and gates, but this was the principal ceremonial entrance to the viceregal lodge. We will see in chapter five on the discussion for a location for the Wellington testimonial that James Gandon argued for a triumphal arch and considered that the best location for such a national testimonial was this entrance to the Phoenix Park. He argued that it was the entrance to a noble public park, which housed the 'Majesty's' representatives in Ireland, and that the citizens of Dublin would pass under it 'to enjoy the recreations afforded by, perhaps, the finest field for exercise adjoining

any city in Europe'. Gandon was also conscious that military personnel participating in field exercises and reviews would also pass under it. It was also to be visible from the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham, and so encourage young soldiers and help old veterans to remember 'heart stirring recollections'.[66] However Gandon's proposal was rejected.

With the principal entrance renewed by Johnston by 1813, the Board of Works turned their attention to the Castleknock end of Chesterfield Avenue with the erection of new gates in 1813 [67] and then in 1816, on the lord lieutenant's instructions, to the Circular Road entrance. The importance of this entrance lay in its location nearest the northern part of the city; thus it facilitated both the recreational and commercial traffic from that quarter of the city, as we have already noted in chapter 1. Johnston provided designs for the alterations costing nearly £440, which almost certainly included the erection of a new lodge as well as gates and alterations to the boundary wall.[68]

Even though no further major improvements were undertaken to Park entrances and lodges until after Burton's report to Woods & Forests in 1833, there was an ongoing need for basic lodge maintenance. A survey [69] of the gatelodges in 1801 indicated that they were all in good repair except for Knockmaroon.[70] In spite of constant maintenance there was considerable dissatisfaction at the manner in which gate lodges were neglected by their occupants, who were mostly Revenue employees.

Johnston had earlier stated [71] that the lodges were a source of continual expense because of the neglect by their inhabitants. In September 1834, Burton stated that

> The lodges and Gates throughout the Park are of a mean character ...They should gradually be rebuilt in an appropriate style of architecture, and no walled gardens, cowhouses or outbuildings allowed… [72]

He further advised on the style of architecture that should be pursued in a public park stating that

> The building should be designed of a solid but handsome character, and even if required to be simple and void of embellishment, yet good proportions should be studied. The materials of which they are composed should be durable in their nature, and the sites for them, therefore, should be selected with more than usual care, with a view both to the purposes for which the buildings are intended, and the effect which they will have on the general landscape. [73]

We have seen in the previous chapter that £15,000 was approved in July 1835 for Phoenix Park improvements. High on Burton's list was his desire to gradually rebuild all the park's gates and gate lodges which with remarkable judgement he almost accomplished during the following decade. Within a month of receiving grant aid, Woods & Forests had approved Burton's plans for the erection of new gates and gate lodges at Chapelizod (Figs.4.13 & 4.13a) and Castleknock, (Figs.4.14 & 4.14a) even though the latter gates were only a little over twenty years old.[74]

Figs.4.13 & 4.13a
Figs.4.14 & 4.14a

Tenders were sought for both of these but were considerably in excess of Burton's estimate[75] so in spring 1836 new tenders were obtained for Castleknock for which John Butler of Talbot Street was the successful tenderer.[76] Both lodge and gates were completed in January 1838 with some additional expenditure due to the substitution of wrought iron instead of cast iron for the gates and the use of more iron railing to faciltate aligning the gates with the new avenue. The gates and presumably the iron palisade railings were produced by the famous Turner iron foundry. [77]

The first occupant of the new Castleknock lodge was Thomas Bryan who petitioned Woods & Forests to have a garden attached but this was initially refused. However a proposal by Burton to enclose a small plot of ground to the front and side of the lodge to improve appearances and prevent cattle sheltering was accepted.[78] Bryan also requested additional storage space, a wicket gate for the front door and a water barrel. (Fig.4.15) However before Burton had time to consider the request, Bryan had already erected an unsightly wooden shed and a shutter at the front door to prevent litter accumulation. Burton seized the opportunity to prevent the erection of unauthorised additions to lodges by advising Woods & Forests against it, but relented on Bryan's requests.[79]

Fig.4.15

The original location for Chapelizod lodge and gates proved problematic because of the inadequate approaches from Chapelizod

village and the steep incline inside the Park. He proposed their relocation to a site opposite the Royal Hibernian military school and to replace the original village carriage and pedestrian entrance with a turnstile only.[80]

Figs.4.16 & 4.16a

(Figs.4.16 & 4.16a) He also proposed the alignment of the new lodge and gates with the center of the school so as to create an impressive focal point on entering the Park at this point. However the location of the school's farmyard at a lower level in front of the main building detracted so much from Burton's proposal that he suggested building a more compact farmyard in an alternative location. The landscape development of the Royal Hibernian military school and its impact on the aesthetic appearance of the Park will be discussed in chapter 6.[81]

In March 1836 due to alterations in the boundary wall and new road it had become necessary to set back the site of the new Chapelizod lodge and gates causing it to be erected for the most part within the line of a gravel pit which required an extra depth of foundation. Burton responded to the challenge by reducing the overall dimensions of the lodge. By providing a basement-storey he was able to have the same accommodation as shown in his 1833 plans. With approval sanctioned for the revised plans, tenders were sought which resulted in Messrs Henry

Fig.4.17

Mullins & McMahon being the successful tenderer for £680.[82] (Fig.4.17)

Both Castleknock and Chapelizod gate lodge designs were based on the theme of a small classical temple and are constructed of local

limestone and Killiney Hill granite. Burton had already produced plans for Woods & Forests for a series of gatelodges at Hyde Park, London, in 1825, which were described as 'an interesting set of variations upon a theme of a small classical temple'.[83](Figs.4.18, 4.18a, 4.18b & 4.18c) The Chapelizod gate lodge most closely resembles those designed for Hyde Park, which like it included sunken courtyards (both Chapelizod and Castleknock gate lodges have sunken courtyards) for storage, which facilitated a more compact design. Indeed so successful were Burton's designs for Hyde Park that they were considered handsome in 'every front' and since the 'kitchen-yards were sunken they were not in the slightest degree offensive'. [84]

Figs.4.18, 4.18a, 4.18b & 4.18c

In the Phoenix Park small turfed gardens were provided instead of the previous spacious ones and the backdrop to the lodges were planted with coniferous trees. In both cases the lodges were located neatly on the right hand site of the carriageway as one enters the Park just inside the entrance. The entrance gates and screen railings are particularly impressive at Chapelizod (made by McGloughlin & Sons) where a considerable length of pallisade railing extends on either side of the carriage and pedestrian gates. This obviously allows for maximising the panoramic view of the Royal Hibernian Military School on the approach to the Park. Only one pair of carriage gates with well proportioned granite piers with lights was constructed at Chapelizod even though Burton

shows two on his plans (he states that only one may be required). In addition two pedestrian gates are provided both for symmetry and utility. (Fig.4.19) However the same visual balance was not achieved at the Castleknock entrance where the ornate pallisade screen railing embracing part of the lodge and garden is unmatched on the opposite side where there is a boundary wall. Again similarily designed granite piers and pedestrian gates completed the Castleknock entrance ensemble with a single carriageway provided. (Fig.4.14)

Fig.4.19

Fig.4.14

On completion of both Castleknock and Chapelizod gates and lodges, Burton recommended the erection of a new lodge and gates at Knockmaroon to replace the existing one, which was described as having 'a mean and wretched appearance'.[85] Consistent with Castleknock and Chapelizod lodges, Burton specified limestone from the newly opened Park quarry and granite from Killiney Hill which he estimated at £900, the lodge and sunk court costing £550 and the gates and railings costing £350. The apparent high cost of the gates and railings relative to the lodge had been explained by the fact that the lodge was situated in the center of two roads and thus required two sets of gates and considerable lengths of iron railings on either side, which were subsequently substituted by masonry walls in the interest of economy. (Fig.4.20)

Fig. 4.20

Only one tender was received for Knockmaroon, which was nearly twice Burton's estimate and caused by the enormous cost of working the

limestone and Killiney granite. The difficulty was overcome by asking Butler, the sole tenderer, to resubmit his price based on the use of lime stucco instead of facings of limestone and granite, and Golden Hill granite instead of Killiney Hill granite for the gate piers. Costs were further minimised by substituting masonry walling for iron railing on either side of the outer approach roads.[86] Burton accepted Butler's revised tender for a total of £1,050, but not before he satisfied himself that Golden Hill granite was an adequate substitute for Killiney Hill granite. Golden Hill granite was used extensively in public works, particularly by the Board of Ordnance, as well as numerous other buildings in Dublin including the portico of the St.Paul's Roman Catholic chapel, which had been recently erected on Arran Quay. The high cost of Killiney Hill granite was greatly influenced by the hardness of the stone and by the fact that the quarries were in single ownership, except for the portions worked by the Commissioners of Kingstown Harbour.[87]

The compact octagonal gate lodge at Knockmaroon is idyllically sited in a central location between two roads and is served by a pair of carriageway gates and an adjoining pair of pedestrian gates with screen railings, all of which create a neat ensemble. The positioning of the lodge between the two carriageways, whilst providing symmetry, must have posed operational difficulties for the occupant and may explain the scarcity of similar designs, preference elsewhere being shown for either

single lodges located to one side or double lodges at gate entrances. Only two other designs by Burton exist which echoes the Knockmaroon lodge; one was for a gatelodge at Calverly Park in Tunbridge Wells in Kent (Fig.4.21 & 4.21a) and the other was for an unexecuted circular lodge at the Bayswater entrance to Hyde Park, London.[88]

Fig.4.21& 4.21a

Consideration was then given to replacing Colonel White's gate and lodge, located between Knockmaroon and Castleknock, but because of its private status no action was taken. Burton advocated that the road should be opened to the public and that iron gates and stone piers should replace the existing close wooden ones.[89] Colonel White's gate was an obvious choice for replacement since its building would have completed a series of new lodges and gates extending from Chapelizod to Castleknock. However, even though Burton prepared plans, (Fig.4.22 & 4.22a) no new lodge or gates were erected at this location until the close of the nineteenth century when Colonel White's gate and road came into public ownership.[90]

Fig.4.22 & 4.22a

In June 1838 Burton proposed the erection of two new lodges and entrance gates at Ashtown (even though new gates and gate lodges were erected there, as has been noted, in the first decade of the nineteenth century) on the understanding that one of them would become a police station for the Dublin Metropolitan police. This idea was developed the previous summer when the superintendent of the Dublin Metropolitan

police considered that a new force could not operate efficiently within the Park unless they resided there. However Burton's vision of two uniform and externally matching gate lodges with purpose built police accommodation had to wait a further six years before the idea was resurrected. The provision of police stations in the Park will be returned to in Chapter six.

In May 1839 Treasury approval was granted instead for a simple gate lodge at Ashtown and one at Cabragh.[91] Ashtown gatelodge was soon completed (Figs.4.23 & 4.23c) but the police barracks with matching façade was not built until 1848. The lodges, the second of which was incorporated into and fronted the police barracks, (Fig.4.23b) were built of rubble masonry and faced with brick with lime stucco dressing similar to Knockmaroon, an exciting departure from earlier specifications for the lodges already constructed. The idea of matching gate lodges was a popular means of achieving symmetry and possibly originated from earlier twin lodges at this location, which were probably designed by Johnston. The use of brick for external cladding appears to be unique as far as Burton's other gate lodges are concerned, both here and in England. The entrance ensemble consisted of two carriage gates, two foot gates, twenty-two feet of iron palisade railing on a stone curb, eight granite stone piers and two cast iron standards with lamps and fittings.[92] (Fig.4.23a)

Figs.4.23 & 4.23c

Fig.4.23b

Fig.4.23a

The successful tenderer for both Ashtown and Cabragh lodges and gates was Arthur McKenna & Sons who managed to maintain his tender prices lower than the official estimates, especially for Ashtown, thus reversing earlier embarrassments to Burton caused by underestimating his earlier projects. By spring 1841 McKenna had received his final payment for the Ashtown lodge and gates [93] but plans for Cabragh lodge and gates went less smoothly.

Burton had ambitious plans for the Cabragh entrance similar to Chapelizod, which principally evolved around safe access to the Park. This time the task proved insurmountable. In his initial report to Woods & Forests he pointed out that the Cabragh gate was badly located and suggested that it should be moved westward to provide a more direct route to the Phoenix column[94] (Figs.4.24 to 4.24e) to improve the general environs of the area. This proposal of Burton's to move the lodge and gates closer to Ashtown was rejected on the grounds that the existing site was more convenient to the public. He then focused on the environs of the original entrance with the purpose of making it safer. To achieve this it was necessary to purchase additional lands to improve the entrance to the Park but the owner was unwilling to cooperate. Burton's only option then was to realign the Park walls on either side of the proposed carriage gates.[95] The new lodge was ready for occupation in May 1841, thus clearing the way for the demolition of the old one and the construction of

Figs.4.24 to 4.24e

a new and safer entrance.[96] However in spite of the lack of ornateness of the entrance gates and railings at Cabragh, Burton successfully achieves a pleasing composition with his lime stuccoed classical lodge by orientating it in such a manner that it acts as a focal point on entering the Park. (Figs.4.24 & 4.24e) Again in common with the other gate lodges in the Park it is located on the right hand side of the Park on entry.

Figs.4.24 & 4.24e

It has been already noted that it was almost certain that a new lodge was built at the North Circular entrance to the Park in 1816 thus explaining why Burton was merely content to carry out repairs and improve the general appearance of the lodge, which was in keeping with his classical style for the other Park entrances. (Fig.4.25b) In fact the existence and condition of this lodge may have been the influential factor which inspired Burton to adopt a classical style for his lodge designs in the Park. He argued that the buildings adjoining the North Circular gate lodge were more extensive than required and that 'the back offices presented an unseemly and straggling appearance towards the Park'. The visual impact was further complicated by the mingling of the toll house roofs outside of the Park wall with those of the lodge itself. In the case of the latter, Burton had recommended the removal of the offending toll house roof projections, raising the height of the Park wall, and completing it with scotch coping. These proposals are represented on two plans, the first (Fig.4.25) which showed the existing position and the

Fig.4.25b

Fig.4.25

second (Fig.4.25a) what was proposed.[97] Space was reorganised and contracted but interestingly no structural alterations were made to the lodge itself. This arrangement allowed for a substantial plantation backdrop to be created. What kind of gates existed at the North Circular Road entrance is unclear but the single gateway was insufficient to cater for increasing traffic at the turn of the twentieth century when the existing wrought iron gates, piers and railings in the Georgian style catering for two carriageways of traffic were erected. Perhaps one of the best-framed views of the Wellington testimonial is at the end of the North Circular road, where it superbly acts as a distant focal point. The completion of alterations to the Circular Road gate lodge heralded the end of building of new gate lodges and alterations of existing ones during the study period.

Fig.4

At this point it may be useful to remind ourselves of the circumstances that arose in 1832 and discussed in chapter two on Burton's and Owen's involvement in the Phoenix Park. In May of that year Owen was appointed architect to the newly constituted Board of Public Works (Irl), which hitherto as the Irish Board of Works had responsibility for the Phoenix Park and continued to act as agents for Woods & Forests until mid summer 1834. In August 1832, three months after Owen's appointment, Burton accepted an invitation by Woods & Forests to visit the Park to make a detailed report on landscape improvements which were submitted in January 1833 and referred to

above.

Clarification of Owen's role at this time would be helpful since he also had submitted plans, specifications and estimates for a number of gate lodges, including the proposed relocation of Chapelizod lodge opposite the Royal Hibernian Military School, and for park keepers' lodges and other park improvements proposed by Burton in January 1833 report. (Figs.4.26 to 4.26c) Owen was almost certainly responsible for the renovation of the Islandbridge gate lodge in the cottage ornee style. Burton had listed this as one of the works undertaken between August 1832 and his September 1834 report even though he made no reference to it in his January 1833 report. However since this was a relatively new lodge built in the early years of the 1800s, Burton may have chosen to ignore it for the time being.

Figs.4.26 to 4.26c

Owen produced a series of architectural drawings and estimates dated March 1834 for both gate lodges and keepers' lodges for the Phoenix Park. (Figs.4.26 to 4.26c) These included drawings and specifications for new lodges at Chapelizod and Castleknock as well as 'reforming' the gate lodge at Knockmaroon and the lodges at the Dublin gate.

Figs.4.26 to 4.26c

Owen's designs for both the gate and keepers' lodges ranged in style from the neo-classical for the Dublin gate lodges to the old English for Knockmaroon and the Italianate for Castleknock. (Figs.4.26 to 4.26b)

Figs.4.26 to 4.26b

The wide range of architectural styles would almost suggest that a catalogue of architectural designs for demesne and estate lodges was used. Owen's design for Chapelizod gate lodge consisted of an imposing, if somewhat forbidding castellated Gothic arch with two footgates and an integrated gatehouse at one side and a small turret terminating the opposite side. (Fig.4.26c) This contrasted greatly with the open and inviting effect of Burton's small classical gatelodge with an entrance arrangement of ornamental iron gates, granite piers with surmounted lights and an expansive iron railing on either side. Clearly a decision was required as to which design would be implemented, which has been already discussed in chapter two.

Fig.4.26c

Deane suggests 'that most late eighteenth century lodges were spartan in accommodation and architecturally unassuming' but there were exceptions such as the Islandbridge gate lodge which was originally built in the early 1800's (Fig.4.27a). This replaced a smaller gate lodge on the western side of the Islandbridge Park entrance. (Fig.4.27) It will be recalled in the discussion on the relationship between Burton and Owen in chapter two that this lodge appears to have been renewed by Owen in 1832. At this time it received its gothic detailing. (Fig.4.27c) As such it provides a valuable size contrast [the c.1805 lodge was large (Figs.4.27a & 4.27b)] between the relatively spacious eighteenth century Park lodges and their outhouses and the more compact lodges designed by Burton.

Fig.4.27a

Fig.4.27

Fig.4.27c

Figs.4.27a & 4.27b

Indeed it would appear that Johnston's lodges more closely resembled Burton's in size than the eighteenth century ones. The picturesque style of the Islandbridge gate lodge, its size and natural backdrop makes it unique among the gate lodges of the Park.

In conclusion the gate lodges and gate entrances of the Phoenix Park provide an essay both in design around a classical theme and the range of external finishes. This is even more surprising, since though the majority of the gate lodges are by Burton, cognisance must have been taken of the earlier designs by Johnston. The entrances and gate lodges at Hyde Park (another royal park), which were designed by Burton also offer a useful comparison with the Phoenix Park. He had relative freedom with both the location and layout of entrances and gate lodges for the majority of sites although economic constraints began to emerge with the building of the Knockmaroon entrance and gate lodge. In the case of the Cabragh entrance and gate lodge his initial choice of location was impeded by Woods & Forests and a second choice, which entailed the purchase of additional land at Cabragh, also failed to materialise.

Burton's range of external lodge finishes is interesting, from Killiney Hill granite and limestone facing for both Castleknock and Chapelizod to a lime stucco finish for Knockmaroon gate lodge. It is known that his preferred materials for the exterior at Knockmaroon was Killiney Hill granite and cut limestone but whether he intended to

continue to use this combination for all the external finishes is not known and open to conjecture. However his choice of a red brick external finish and lime stucco for the twin lodges at the Ashtown entrances would suggest that Burton enjoyed the design challenge of providing another visually enriching entrance to the Phoenix Park.

PARK ROADS

The history of early roads in Ireland (including the first toll roads in the 1730's) is well described in David Broderick's *The First Toll-Roads*.[98] There were no toll roads in the Phoenix Park and no commercial traffic was allowed to pass through it except by special permit (usually for supplying goods to the Park residences). Some of the earliest toll roads, which included the Dublin-Navan (1729) and Dublin-Mullingar (1731 & 1733) bordered long stretches of the Park wall (the former having toll-gates at Stoneybatter and Castleknock).[99] The Circular Road toll around Dublin City (created in 1763) gave rise to the toll-house outside the North Circular Road gate of the Park. This was one of the earliest roads to lose its toll status in 1851 whilst the other two referred to above lost theirs under the 1855 Turnpike Abolition Act.[100]

As noted in chapter one, at the close of the eighteenth century the Park was served by a clearly defined perimeter road that skirted the inside of the mural boundary of the Park especially from the Circular Road to the Knockmaroon gate and from thence to the main Parkgate Street

entrance. Due to the steep embankments the latter section of road was removed somewhat from the wall and forced to take a serpentine route on occasions in order to avoid a number of steep valleys and embankments. Chesterfield Avenue (which later is called the Grand Avenue) at this time zig zags through the Park from the Parkgate Street entrance to Castleknock but is accessible to all the principal residences and institutions via link roads. (Fig.1.07)

Fig.1.07

During the first decade of the nineteenth century a number of additions and improvements took place to the Phoenix Park roads, which had the effect of opening up to carriages large areas of the Park hitherto inaccessible. In 1802 a road was formed from Islandbridge to the Phoenix column (with an arch constructed over it in 1803)[101] from which a major spur crossed the Fifteen acres, which joined a new access route to Mountjoy barracks. Other new roads constructed a few years later appear to have been aimed at improving accessibility to the various official demesnes, the Hibernian Military School and from the North Circular road to the main avenue of the Park. (Fig.4.28) To what extent new roads were influenced by military and security needs or indeed recreational or management needs is hard to evaluate. However it would appear that military mobility within the Park was greatly enhanced by this improved road network, especially in regards to the new roads from the Magazine Fort and across the Fifteen acres, which also linked Mountjoy barracks

Fig.4.28

Fig.4.28

and the Hibernian Military School in a more direct way. (Fig.4.28) As a result overall Park security and that of its official residents became more enhanced.

Further road construction took place in 1813,[102] with the lord lieutenant's approval, when the direction of the road to the Royal Hibernian Military School was altered and greatly improved by adopting a more natural and gently sweeping line. Some military influence can be noticed with the provision of a new road (although vestiges of a track is

Fig.4.28

shown on earlier maps (Fig.4.28) which commenced near the salute battery and passed through the Star Fort and continued on to join the Khyber road thus giving an alternative route to the Fifteen acres as shown

Fig.4.29

on Taylor's map of 1816. (Fig.4.29) A couple of years later with the erection of the Wellington testimonial in 1818 on the site of the salute battery the connecting road to the Star Fort, no longer used, is erased as indicated on a Park map of 1830. This map also shows further improvements with a number of the roads adopting natural and sweeping lines compared to the more angular lines adopted in the eighteenth century. Additional new roads are also added to the Fifteen acres

Fig.4.30

network. (Fig.4.30)

The magnitude of Burton's road proposals can be seen from a study of two Park maps dated 1830 and 1845, the latter summarizing his

Figs.4.30 & 4.31

landscape proposals to that date. (Figs.4.30 & 4.31) The principal reasons

advanced by Burton for improving the Park roads were safety, convenience for the recreational public and (most important of all) landscape and picturesque improvement. Burton justified a new road in front of the Barrack demesne (Mountjoy Barracks), even though somewhat lengthier than the discarded road at the rear of the demesne, because it opened up an area that

> … is most romantic and beautiful and indeed surpasses in these respects any other portion of the Park. It is to be regretted that, in consequence that in the absence of proper paths and roads through it, the public have not the opportunity, at present, of appreciating the advantages of the locality, and this latter might be increased in beauty, if the bottom of the wooded ravine were in part to be damned up, to form a piece of ornamental water, which would be filled from the small stream now flowing there.[103]

Burton, conscious of the benefits of an unfolding landscape for the visiting public, undoubtedly was drawing on his previous experience in which he provided plans for Hyde Park in 1825, which was under the management of Woods & Forests.[104] These showed the layout of roads, paths and drives as well as the siting of gates and lodges. He would have been aware, and was possibly a keen student, of Repton's treatises on landscape gardening, in particular his treatise *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, published in 1816.

Central to Burton's road proposals was the creation of a central

straight avenue which ran from Castleknock gate to the Wellington tesitimonial. Burton, in his January 1833 report, expressed his rationale and design philosophy regarding avenues, especially the one he proposed for the Park. He expressed the view that the principle road of the Park, which formed the Grand Avenue, was

> laid down on a most unfortunate line, both as regards effect and propriety. It is a generally allowed rule an Avenue of this description should be perfectly straight and when thus and is sufficiently extensive, the effect is very imposing as in the Long Walk at Windsor, the drives through Bushy Park etc. The Avenue in question, on the contrary, is crooked and of little extent.....it may be suggested that the Grand Avenue should be altered to take the straight line marked on the accompanying Plan, by which, a noble Vista would be obtained from the Dublin Gate to Castleknock. Finer scenery would be presented along the proposed, than on the present line...[105] (Fig.5.10)

Fig.5.10

The construction and landscape development of the Grand Avenue is discussed in detail in chapter five.

The creation of a semi-circular road, which extended from the Phoenix column and passed between the under-secretary's and viceregal demesnes, Ashtown gate, the newly erected under Bailiff's lodge to connect with the newly formed road in front of the Barrack demesne (Mountjoy Barracks) to link up the Knockmaroon road, was another major achievement. (Fig.4.31) He also formed a new access road between

Fig.4.31

the Chapelizod gate and the Royal Hibernian Military School as well as reforming and extending the road which ran from the newly sited Chapelizod entrance to the lower glen pond. Another new road was formed at a higher level overlooking the glen pond and a new road followed at an angle through the Oldtown wood between the chief secretary's demesne and the Barrack demesne (Mountjoy Barracks).

Burton also realized a number of other changes which involved the abolition of some roads, one which ran from Castleknock behind the Barrack demesne to Knockmaroon (already noted above), another which crossed the Fifteen acres from Knockmaroon by the chief secretary's demesne and a third which connected Ashtown gate to the under-secretary's demesne. (Fig.4.31)

Fig.4.31

Park surveys in 1801 and 1802 indicated that the Park roads were in bad repair with the Castleknock to Knockmaroon road requiring a new coat of gravel while other Park roads had potholes, making them unsafe for carriages. To rectify this ten horses and carts were purchased (and later expanded to fourteen), and an appropriate number of attendants and labourers hired for road repairs using gravel from the Chapelizod and Knockmaroon pits. It was considered that an establishment of horses and carts gave better returns than hired ones although this thinking changes, as will be seen, in the 1830's.

Charles Slow, under-bailiff of the Park, was given additional

responsibilities for Park roads and improvements and was made overseer of roads and improvements probably in 1801 (see chapter two). He was also responsible for stabling the horses at Chapelizod where he resided. However progress on road repair was impeded due to alternative demands on the horses in forming plantations in the viceregal lodge. In 1811 Slow estimated that were about eleven and three quarters Irish miles (fifteen English miles) of gravelled Park roads, a third of which needed repair every year at an annual cost of £752 (based on using Park gravel).

In 1832 the Park horses were auctioned off and all associated Park road works were placed under contract to the 'new' Board of Works (Irl.)[106] with the exception of the watering of the Park roads from Parkgate street to the 'Obelisk' (the reference to the obelisk must have meant the Phoenix column). This was to be undertaken by the Paving Board to minimize the nuisance of dust and to bind the gravel especially where repairs were undertaken.[107] Wilkie, however, appears to have been assigned the task of watering the demesne carriageways probably on account of security and because 'the watering carts were now in his possession'.[108] In 1859 serious recognition was given to the routine necessity for ongoing road maintenance by the inclusion in the weekly work schedules for the Phoenix Park roads of both material and hire costs of horses.[109] More than a decade later in 1871 a three-ton horse-drawn iron roller was purchased from Toomey's iron foundary in Parkgate street

for consolidating the newly repaired Grand Avenue.[110] (The first to mention the use of a heavy metal roller in road construction had been Hely Dutton, the landscape gardener and land improver, in 1802. He was convinced that nothing would benefit Irish roads more than rolling with 'a very heavy roller').[111] Another key element in the construction and preservation of roads was drainage, not only to achieve a dry base for the road metal but also capable of taking away excess water from the environs of the road.[112] The next section explores the development, installation and necessity of Park drainage.

PARK DRAINAGE

The importance of drainage cannot be overstated, not only in terms of the Park's visual appearance and physical use, but also because of its major contribution to the development of drainage as a science, which had a major influence on drainage practices throughout the country. One of the most difficult problems to solve since the formation of the Park was its effective drainage. Several attempts were made during the first half of the nineteenth century commencing with an official inspection in 1801.[113] This may have resulted from criticism a few years earlier in 1798 by the noted landscape gardener, agriculturist and author, Hely Dutton, who publicly criticized the condition of the Park by stating that

> 'If it [the Park] was properly drained, judiciously planted, the briars, furze, &co,&co. eradicated, the useless ditches leveled, and other improvements made, an increase of

> surface and produce, equal, at a very moderate calculation, to £6000 per an. might be obtained at an expense comparatively small...'[114]

Dutton had also estimated that at least a quarter of the Park was waste and that quality of the produce, which was mainly hay and grassland, was of poor quality.[115] Just how much drainage was required at the time is unclear, but judging by his remarks the Park greatly needed attention. Before the 1801 inspection only four labourers were employed 'in making drains and scouring ditches',[116] but after the review ten horses with attendants and labourers were provided and later increased to fourteen horses with attendants.[117] A decade after Abbot's official inspection a special enquiry in 1811 was told 'that a great deal of drainage' had been undertaken but could not be quantified because of poor recording, and that for three or four years 'very little drainage' could be undertaken because of works within the various Park demesnes.[118]

When Burton visited the Park in 1832, he found it inadequately drained and marshy for the greater part of the year.[119] In a subsequent report he observed that the land was 'in most parts of a damp and spongy nature', and that drainage should be a priority among the general improvements suggested. He argued that good drainage was more productive of grassland and that the Park would become 'more agreeable as a resort for the public' with its overall appearance improved. And not

only would the surface water be removed, but also the recreational uses of the Park, its ability to produce good quality timber, its revenue from grazing, hay production and yields from tillage crops would all increase and improve.[120]

In December 1835 Wilkie was put in charge of drainage and other operations to improve both the surface and grassland of the Park. He was instructed to plan and provide for these in the 1836/37 financial year.[121] The enormity of this can be judged by Jacob Owen's estimate that a 1000 acres of parkland required drainage at a projected cost of £4,500 or a little more than £640 per annum over a seven-year period.[122] Wilkie focussed his attention on one of the swampiest areas of the Park between Ashtown and Castleknock (this may have been because he resided there).[123] He submitted two proposals with estimates, one for covered drains, which led into larger built sewers and another for ones which discharged directly into open drains and ditches. Woods & Forests sought Burton's opinion on these proposals for the overall drainage of the Park, together with a layout, report and estimates.[124] It is not clear what the extent of Burton's proposals were but it would appear that he collaborated closely with Wilkie on the north-east of the Park mentioned above. (Fig.4.32) Both sets of proposals were submitted to the Woods & Forests land agents and valuers, Messrs Brassington & Gale, for evaluation and recommendation. It appears that they broadly agreed with each other except for some

Fig.4.32

minor variations in drain depths.[125] Thus the scene was set for the first major attempt to solve a most difficult Park problem.

Before proceeding, a brief discussion on the art of drainage, as practiced to the 1830's will help place in context the dramatic improvements in techniques which were about to unfold in the Park during the next few decades. The principles of good drainage were well understood and practiced by the Romans, who also knew about the propriety of directing drains across the slope of a field, a point which generated much discussion during the debates of the 1830's and 1840's.[126] The methods used up to the 1830's were traditional, with the exception of Elkington's discovery in 1764 which allowed the removal of surplus water caused by springs.[127] In 1800, John Johnstone, patronized by the Royal Dublin Society, published Elkington's discovery and helped to focus attention on the best methods of drainage.[128] These were divided into two categories, covered drains which were advocated by Burton as being more suitable for open parkland,[129] and open drains, which were extensively used in the Park and critically referred to as 'breaknecks'.[130]

Covered drains, though more expensive to construct, were the obvious choice, since they allowed large areas of grassland to remain undisturbed once they had been restored. These drains could then be discharged into larger open or culverted ones, some of which still remain as open streams, sunken fences and enclosed drains.

From the 1830's, articles on successful drainage schemes and their benefits began to appear in the agricultural press.[131] For the next twenty years the effectiveness of different methods was a major topic for debate, both in the agricultural press and among agricultural societies, in Ireland and in England.[132] During this time a number of drainage initiatives were undertaken in the Park, which effectively mirrored the scientific developments in the field, which culminated in a most successful scheme started in 1847. The challenge lay in the effective drainage of 1,330 statue acres of parkland with a retentive clay soil on a virtual flat plain.[133]

Reference is now made to the 1837 Park scheme, which resulted in over 400 statue acres, comprising mainly the north-eastern and north-western areas of the Park, being drained. Little was done in 1838 but drainage commenced in the Star Fort district the following year under the superintendence of Brassington & Gale, with Wilkie responsible for the ground works.[134] Levelling of entrenchments surrounding the Star Fort commenced in July 1837 as an employment scheme for 'distressed' weavers, after representations were made to under-secretary Drummond.[135] Burton had initially recommended the scheme not only for its much-needed employment potential but also for its immediate physical and visual impact on the Park.[136] The scheme, although successful, highlighted the incompetency of Brassington & Gale and this must have placed their future role as consultants to Woods & Forests seriously in

doubt.[137]

Whilst the drainage of the Star Fort was in progress an interesting initiative was under consideration by Woods & Forests to set up an experimental farm in the Phoenix Park to investigate drainage and subsoiling. The author of the proposal, the Rt. Hon. Thomas Francis Kennedy, sought twenty-four statue acres at the back of the Ordnance Survey, formerly known as Mountjoy Barracks, along with funding to cover the costs of drainage, subsoiling and crop production over a four year period commencing in 1841. Crop yields during that time it was hoped would be a measure of the success of the experiments and the means by which Woods & Forests could recoup their initial outlay.[138] Kennedy was a high ranking civil servant[139] who took a keen interest in agricultural improvement and was prompted to undertake the project from observing the partial failure of all previous drainage in the Park and a conviction that if a system, then advocated by Smith of Deanston, was applied then the money expended per acre would be rapidly repaid.[140] Woods & Forests were well disposed to Kennedy's experimental work but imposed strict accounting and operational controls on him.[141]

Crop yields were disappointing in the first year and failed in the second year due to weather conditions and defective seed potatoes. However Kennedy tried to blame Wilkie who was exonerated by Woods & Forests because he complied with their instructions.[142] Obviously

disheartened, Kennedy claimed that Wilkie showed no goodwill towards him and ignored his drainage operations. More serious charges were also levelled by him but could not be substantiated, and Woods & Forests continued to support Wilkie's integrity. This may have prompted Kennedy to take his grievance to Sir Robert Peel.[143] Indeed it may have been Peel's intervention that inspired a three man enquiry to look into the whole affair which found in Wilkie's favour in December 1842, and also prompted Woods & Forests to engage Smith of Deanston to assess the standard of drainage undertaken on the experimental farm.[144]

Smith reported in June 1843 that Kennedy's experiments had been conducted with skill, care and within budget, and that both the quality and the quantity of the crops produced were as good as could be expected given the weather conditions. Smith had some reservations about the closeness of the drains but acknowledged Kennedy's desire to exhibit a 'perfect specimen' of his [Smith's] system.[145] Woods & Forests were highly appreciative of Smith's tactful approach and complimented him on the way he had handled the investigation. Kennedy was officially informed of the outcome of the enquiry in January 1844 and, though greatly disappointed that his results were not more successful, he must have taken some consolation from Smith's praise for the manner in which the experiments were executed.[146] Possibly the last straw for Kennedy was the drainage of over one hundred acres of the viceregal demesne by

Wilkie in May 1842 using traditional methods, whereby drains were placed twenty inches deep and a staggering 106 feet six inches apart. By going deeper (earlier drains were sixteen to nineteen inches deep) and placing them further apart (earlier drains were thirty-eight to fifty-four feet apart), Wilkie may have been paying some attention to Smith's 'Thorough Drainage' which would have recommended depths of twenty-six to thirty inches (but only ten to forty feet apart depending on soil and subsoil types).[147] On completion of drainage in the viceregal demesne in 1843 almost 700 statue acres of the Park had been drained costing almost £3,300. In August of that year, Smith at the request of Woods & Forest, reported on the drainage already undertaken in the Park and how it might be improved by his 'Thorough Drainage' method.[148]

Smith was an agricultural engineer from Deanston, Perthshire in Scotland who publicized his revolutionary and universally applicable drainage system in 1831.[149] As early as 1826 he discovered that his system was not as effective on clay soil as on other types which led him to invent a subsoil plough which when used on clay soils greatly improved drainage by breaking up the lower layers.[150] In 1836 he was called as an expert witness before a House of Commons committee on agricultural depression to explain his system of drainage and cultivation, which the chairman of the committee considered 'was the only thing likely to promote agriculture'.[151] Loudon, the famous agricultural and

horticultural author, considered Smith's drainage method and subsoil ploughing 'the most extraordinary agricultural improvement in modern times'.[152] Smith frequently lectured in Ireland and in England and took a particular interest in the Royal Agricultural Improvement Society of Ireland.[153] Before his untimely death on the 10 June 1850, Smith was toasted as 'a man who had done more to increase the agricultural Produce of the United Kingdom than any other man in existence.[154]

His system of drainage was considered the best agricultural practice in Ireland during the mid 1840s[155] and it is somewhat surprising that Burton, Wilkie and Brassington & Gale stuck rigidly to the traditional box system of drainage, which contrasted to the deeper and closer spacings advocated by Smith. However it may have been that Burton lacked expertise in this discipline and possibly explains why the superintendence of the Star Fort in 1837 was placed under Brassington & Gale referred to above.

At least another 300 statue acres, composed mainly of the Fifteen Acres still required drainage along with the chief secretary's demesne and the Royal Hibernian Military School, but this was postponed until 1847.[156] This was hardly surprising since Woods & Forests needed to clarify for themselves the conflicting recommendations regarding the depth and spacing of drains. This cessation in Park drainage will allow us review of the debate from 1843 to 1847, which was succinctly summed

up in *The Agricultural Gazette's* editorial on Jan 4, 1845 as follows:

> '…so unsettled is its first principles, that there is scarcely one part of the process which is not the subject of conflicting opinion and opposite practice. The depth of the drains, the width between them, the direction in reference to the fall of the land, the mode of filling in, the mode of outlet (whether independent or locked into a main drain), the drain itself, whether tile or stone or any other material; and if tile, the shape, length, mode of manufacture...[is all debated-]'[157]

Drainage developments moved rapidly in the 1840s and in May 1843 *The Journal of the Royal Agricutural Society of England* recorded the discovery of the simple cylindrical pipe conduit. The following year *The Agricultural Gazette* reported on an improved cylindrical tile-making machine.[158] In August 1843 Smith was requested to report whether any of the Park soils were suitable for the manufacture of clay tiles.[159] None was, but a small (though insufficient) quantity was found about a mile outside the Castleknock gate.[160]

Another agricultural engineer and drainage expert at the time was Josiah Parkes who came to prominence in 1833 for his drainage activities and discovery of the principle of deep drainage, whereby he advocated that the drains should be placed at a minimum depth of four feet.[161] Like Smith he also invented drainage tools and wrote a series of drainage dissertations as well as advising a parliamentary committee.[162] Among his

clients were Sir Robert Peel and Woods & Forests (the latter he advised on draining the New Forest).[163] Smith's views had been generally preferred up to 1843, the same year that Parkes became the consulting engineer to the Royal Agricultural Society of England, a prestigious position which gave considerable weight to his views. In 1846 Parkes publicly stated that drainage depths of from four to six feet (rather than Smith's twenty-six to thirty inches) were the most economic and beneficial to landowners. Indeed in order to qualify for loans at preferential rates under the *Public Money Drainage Act of 1846*, one had to use Parkesian principles.[164]

In January 1847, ten years after the first serious attempt to drain the Phoenix Park, the Treasury sanctioned £9,000 for the 'complete drainage of the Phoenix Park' to be phased over three years and to be funded from the Irish land revenues.[165] This initiative was undertaken by the Earl of Bessborough, when lord lieutenant, who persuaded Woods & Forests to seek funds for the project. The lord lieutenant's aims were twofold:

1. To drain the Park for the 'health and comfort of the residents in the Park' and for 'the enjoyment of the public who frequented it for recreation both on foot and horseback' and

2. To establish a School of Drainage 'for the introduction of the most approved system of drainage in Ireland'.[166]

The question of whether Smith was considered by Woods &

Forests to superintend and advise on Park drainage for this latest initiative, deserves some attention. After all he had advised them, much to their satisfaction, on the Kennedy affair and again in 1843 on the drainage already installed in the Park and how it might be improved. Smith had also maintained a very high profile in Ireland and kept close links with The Royal Agricultural Improvement Society of Ireland as we have already seen.

However in view of Parkes' credentials it was hardly surprising that Woods & Forests engaged him to report on the state of the drainage in December 1846.[167] He prepared two reports, an initial report with survey and a more detailed one, which he submitted in February 1847. He also submitted a detailed drainage plan for the chief secetary's demesne and other areas of the Park. (Figs.4.33 & 4.33a) The report was excellent and discussed the general character of each district commenting on its state of wetness, soil, subsoil and facilities such as outfalls. It also noted the pasture condition due to poor drainage as well as the effects it had on deer, cattle and sheep. It also stated the prospects for growth of good quality timber, ornamental trees and shrubs and stressed the necessity to substitute covered waterways for open ones to supply water to the several Park establishments. The report concluded with the proposed system of drainage for the Park, the supervision and supply of materials and most importantly, an estimate of its probable cost. The appendix listed grasses

Figs.4.33 & 4.33a

indigenous to the Park which were surveyed by David Moore, curator of the National Botanic Gardens.[168]

Parkes estimated that a little more than 1,550 statue acres of Parkland required drainage at a cost of almost £9,000 and an additional sum slightly in excess of £1,300 for an improved water supply to the official residences and other establishments in the Park. When completed in February 1850, about 1,330 statue acres were effectively drained and the water supply greatly improved for just under £9,000.[169] His method of laying drains at depths varying from four to six feet and averaging forty-five feet apart used cylindrical clay pipes varying in diameter from one to six inches. This was much deeper and a little further apart than Smith's recommendations for his 'Thorough Drainage' method. Initially Parkes had to rely on tiles imported from Bridgewater and poorer quality ones from Athy (from Lefroys of Cardenton), but in August 1847 the Pignell Hill tilery in the New Forest commenced production which offered better prices and size ranges.[170] He also organized building stone from the Park quarry to build drainage and water supply culverts as well as masonry cesspools.[171]

On completion of the scheme in March 1850 Parkes submitted a map of the Park showing

> ...culverts, cesspools and drinking places of cattle ...[where] the site of every drain may be discovered, in after

times, so that any interruptions may be easily ascertained, and corrected should the action of any drain prove faulty.[172]

Parkes' success was due to his professionalism, technical ability and enlightened management methods. In spite of several drawbacks due to untrained labour and material shortages, the scheme proved very successful, both in terms of execution, public relations and most importantly of all, its effectiveness as witnessed by the testimonials of Park users, both public and institutional. The Earl of Clarendon, lord lieutenant of Ireland, stated 'that the system had been attended with complete success' and that the herbage had become sweet and luxuriant. He noted that the land no longer cracked in summer and that grazing animals had improved rapidly. Both the military and the Royal Hibernian Military School considered the Park to be no longer swampy and to be considerably healthier than heretofore.[173]

As already noted the Earl of Bessborough's second objective envisaged the establishment of a school of drainage but this never materialized, probably for the reasons outlined below. Land drainage in Ireland gained rapid momentum due to the *Land Improvement and Drainage Acts, 1847*. Initially Board of Works inspectors used Smith's method with depths from two and a half to three feet and widths between drains from eighteen and thirty feet. In 1848 Parkes system gained favour with recommendations for depths (and widths) varying from three and

three quarters to four feet (and widths from thirty-two to forty-five feet).[174] Six years later depths from four to four and a half feet were 'universally approved and adopted' with the widths between drains remaining between thirty and forty-five feet depending on circumstances.[175] The popularity of deep drainage became such that in 1862 the Board of Works stated that the system of deep drainage had gained considerably in estimation, and its advantages were becoming more generally appreciated. This was due to the striking success which had attended works carried out on this principle.[176]

Obviously Parkes' drainage of the Phoenix Park was closely observed and monitored by inspectors and landowners alike, since this was where he made his 'deep drainage' debut in Ireland on a grand scale. A wealth of practical experience, detailed knowledge and observations regarding drainage practices on different soil types throughout the country was accumulated among landowners and those involved in drainage.[177] Thus a highly specialized and knowledgeable Board of Works drainage inspectorate emerged from 1847 onwards who were capable of assessing and advising landowners on the best techniques. Thus the need for a school of drainage was replaced by the rapid developments and installation of drainage schemes throughout the country.

However, much remained to be done to restore the Park's surface

after drainage was complete. Burke, aware of the Park's appearance, recommended that the ridges remaining after drainage should be levelled, the old ditches and hollows filled up and the appropriate areas sown with grass and clover. He was also aware, in spite of considerable expenditure on subterranean works, the success of the project would be judged to a large degree by surface appearances.[178]

Subsequent reports on Park drainage in October 1861[179] and in 1908[180] indicate the necessity for ongoing maintenance of a drainage system not only to obviate the damaging effects of tree roots but also to avoid silt within the drains and to allow for proper discharge at outlets by the removal of debris and silt. Further defects to the system were also caused not only by the construction of sewage and other underground services but also by the compaction of the ground by animals during inclement weather and wet conditions.

Perhaps the greatest testimony to Parkes' drainage scheme is that it continues to operate efficiently and is capable of discharging maximum amounts of rainfall from the Park. Visually and physically the Phoenix Park became transformed from an unhealthy, swampy and physically limiting landscape to a healthy green oasis capable of generating increased revenue, allowing greater use by the various institutions in the Park and most importantly of all, as a public recreational playground.

CHAPTER 5 – The Public Landscape

This chapter examines the evolving landscape design and development of the public areas of the Phoenix Park from 1800 to 1880. At the beginning of our study period the entire area of the Park measured almost 1,752 English acres[1] and was far greater in extent than Hyde Park, Kensington Gardens, Green Park, St. James's and Regent's Parks put together.[2] The private areas of the Park consisted of the official residences and demesnes of the lord lieutenant and his various secretaries, along with a number of other establishments, which were mainly of a military nature, which will be discussed in later chapters.

This study falls into three broad time spans, which coincides not only with the changing landscape fashions of the time, but also corresponds, as we have already seen in chapter two, with changes in Phoenix Park administrations. The initial period from 1800 to 1830, when the Park was managed by a reorganised Board of Works, is characterised to some degree by a Reptonian approach, though Repton himself had little contact with Ireland: he came in 1783 as private secretary to William Windham, the chief secretary though he stayed only a few months[3]. Repton's only Irish commission (unexecuted) was for George Freke Evans, M. P. in 1806 for a large mansion at Bulgaden (Bulgadeen), Kilmallock, in County Limerick.[4]

The second phase of the study, from 1830 to 1850, covers the early to mid Victorian period, when the Park is under the accomplished and competent personnel of Woods & Forests. It is during this period that the experienced and professional landscape architect, Decimus Burton, makes his appearance in the Phoenix Park. This period, as we will see later, can be justifiably considered the golden era of landscape design in the Park, because of the amount of landscape and infrastructural works undertaken by Burton and Woods & Forests. Then comes the interlude of the 1850s, which was a wrapping up period by the English Board of Works, then responsible for Park management. No landscape or architectural developments of note took place during this period except for the installation of the gas lighting.

The third phase of landscape development, from 1860 to 1880, coincides with the management of the Phoenix Park by the Irish Board of Works and corresponds with the mid to late Victorian period, and is represented by the development of the People's Garden, the addition of two major sculptures, the completion of the Wellington testimonial and the creation of new tree plantations.

In this chapter we will enumerate the changes which impacted on the landscape and at the conclusion of each section note if there are any

discernible changes in landscape design trends. We will confine our discussion primarily to the formation of landscape by focusing on the natural elements of land, trees, and water, and also on sculptures and monuments.

Early in the nineteenth century the Park's terrain was described as being 'very unequal, producing an undulating surface of hill and dale', and 'agreeably diversified with wood and water'.[5] However in the centre there is a large plain, commonly called the Fifteen Acres (it is approximately 300 acres), which not surprisingly, was frequently used for military reviews both in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At the beginning of the 1800s this area was very neglected, and was publicly criticised by the noted landscape gardener, agriculturist and author, Hely Dutton. He argued that if it was properly drained, judiciously planted, with the briars and furze removed and the useless ditches levelled, the surface would become much more productive.[6] Dutton was speaking as an agriculturist but his advice would have dramatically improved the appearance of the landscape. It was also stated that the military entrenchments detracted from the Park's ornamental appearance and should be levelled, the fosses (ditches) filled up and grass sown.[7] Some idea of the amount of vegetation and levelling required on the Fifteen Acres can be obtained from a report of 1804,[8] which stated that 'a great number of men' were employed for some days cutting down and

clearing away the undergrowth and bushes, as well as levelling 'the inequalities of ground'. This was necessary to allow the formation of two lines of soldiers, to extend for nearly a mile (since the ground would not facilitate a single line) for a review by the lord lieutenant.

There is little to suggest that any major levelling of earth works was undertaken during this period, except the maintenance of open drains and the creation of new ones, as well as trenching and creating embankments around newly formed plantations.[9]

WATER

Water, which we have already noticed in our chapter on infrastructure, is inextricably linked to the natural drainage of the Park. Maps[10] of the period indicate just how few water features there actually were in the Phoenix Park. (Fig.5.01) In 1801 it was observed that the Park 'would be much beautified...' by having the watercourses cleaned and the drains deepened to help the overall drainage.[11] Two areas of particular interest exist in the Park, one in the West where a series of lakes has formed which originates in the Barrack demesne and passes through the Furry Glen on its way to the River Liffey; the other, which manifests itself through a series of lakes commencing in the viceregal lodge, the ravine below it, which later becomes the zoological gardens' lake, leading into another in the band hollow (which was drained and planted as we will see later) and beyond that

Fig.5.01

to yet another, which was formed in the Promenade grounds (later to become the People's Flower Garden) and passes to the River Liffey through the grounds of the Royal Infirmary. A stream, which flows along the Khyber valley, close to the Magazine fort, also formed a lake before exiting near the Islandbridge gate. An earlier map[12] of the Park (1775) shows a large water feature around the base of the Star Fort embankments, which later formed a series of natural ponds, the largest of which, the Citadel pond, still exists.

Surprisingly one of the three lakes (between the zoological gardens and the People's Garden) was drained and planted *c.*1813. This may have been done in the interest of safety, rather than for any aesthetic effect, since both ends were bounded by causeways.[13] However, it appears odd that a large lake should be drained and planted given the scarcity of ornamental water within the Park, especially when one observer noted at the time that 'The Park is not destitute of water, though the magnitude of the space it occupies bears no proportion to the extent of the place.'[14] However, this loss was more than compensated for when Decimus Burton created a large ornamental lake in the Promenade grounds (later to become the People's Garden) in the 1840s along with other water features in the Park, as we will see later.

Fig.5.02

In 1800, the Spa well (Fig.5.02) which was located in a shady glen on a narrow strip of land between the viceregal and zoo lakes, came to prominence as a chalybeate spring, famous for its curative properties.[15] The lord lieutenant, Lord Whitworth, had a small structure of Portland stone erected over the spa and surmounted by an eagle (as an emblem of longevity) in 1813.[16] The designer is unknown, but Francis Johnston had, three years earlier, produced a design for a lodge at the Spa Well in the shape of a rustic temple. In 1818 the Spa was described as being 'among the romantic objects of the Park' and was approached by a gradual descent through a planted avenue. Decimus Burton undertook further improvements at this location as we will see in the next section. No further alterations appear to have been undertaken until the next period between 1830-1860.

One of the landscape legacies bequeathed by eighteenth century improvements to the Park was a number of strategically located woodlands

Fig.5.03

and groups of trees.[17] (Fig.5.03) Some of these were located within official and institutional demesnes, while others would have been planted or regenerated naturally in the public areas of the Park. This applied particularly to the hawthorn groves on the steep embankments of the ravines along the southern boundary of the Park, with particularly large expanses bordering the Khyber road and on the flat plains between the Phoenix

column and the Wellington testimonial.[18] (Fig.5.04) In 1818 many of these were described as being of a large and venerable growth, which suggested that they were planted in the opening decades of the eighteenth century.[19]

Fig.5.04

A report on the state of the Phoenix Park in 1801[20] showed a great need for new tree plantations. It also revealed that most of the elm and oak trees in the Park were thriving, but that ash was in decline. Those growing on low-lying and poorly drained ground were particularly affected, which seems surprising, since ash trees are adaptable to a wide range of moisture levels and soil types.[21] However, it should be noted, that most broadleaved parkland trees such as oak, elm, beech, sycamore, lime and horse chestnut, require not only good drainage, but also good soil.

The 1801 report revealed two further disturbing facts: one was that between 400 and 500 trees in different parts of the Park were decreasing in value each year, presumably because they were becoming overmature. These were sold the following February for £300.[22] We have already discussed the possibility of commercial exploitation of the Park's woodland resource in the chapter on Park Finance. The second cause for concern was the existence of only two young tree plantations (elm), one located between the chief secretary's demesne and the Royal Hibernian Military School and the other

between the lord lieutenant's demesne and the North Circular Road gate.[23] The result was a tree-planting programme, which commenced in 1802.

The outcome of this tree planting initiative was examined as part of a broader enquiry in 1811[24] where it was revealed that between 1801 and 1811 only thirteen new plantations consisting of twenty-five English acres, or less than one and a half per cent of the total area of the Park, were formed.[25] It is most likely that the majority of the tree clumps shown on Sherrard, Brassington and Greene's map of 1813 [revised in 1836] are those referred to above.[26] (Fig.5.04) This small amount of tree planting is all the more surprising since vast quantities of trees were being planted on private estates at the time. For example between the years 1801 and 1812 Mr.Herbert of Muckross planted well over one hundred acres of woodland, whilst Lord Landsdowne at Kenmare planted more than 1,000,000 trees including oak, ash, elm, and beech on his estate from 1801 to 1812[27].

Fig.5.04

In 1810 the lord lieutenant, the 4th Duke of Richmond, approved funding for further tree planting.[28] It is interesting to speculate where this planting took place (perhaps in the viceregal demesne!) or if it was part of a much larger scheme. Perhaps it was motivated by the pending 1812 inquiry, mentioned above. Further planting commenced in 1813 (for three consecutive years), the first being adjacent to the Royal Hibernian Military

School; the second, consisted of seventeen areas of planting on either side of Chesterfield avenue and the remaining one, consisted of 'two plots' of ground between the Chesterfield Avenue and the Barrack demesne.[29] The most interesting of these were the plantings on either side of the Chesterfield Avenue between Baynham's lodge at the Parkgate Street entrance,[30] and the Phoenix entrance to the viceregal lodge. This appears to have been aimed at interplanting Chesterfield's sparsely placed groups of elms along the main Park avenue.[31](Fig.5.01), the majority of which survived until the 1903 storm when most of them were destroyed. When the Grand Avenue was subsequently created, its line avoided the majority of the original trees, which lined the old avenue [as shown on an 1853 O.S. map of the Park] (Fig.5.05) An article on the 'Present State of Gardening in Ireland' in 1826 stated that 'a great many hawthorns have been irregularly scattered throughout the grounds' and that during the lord lieutenancy of the Earl of Talbot (1817-1821) 'several very formal groups and clumps were made without the least regard to the general ornament of the place'.[32] It also regretted that some professional gardener was not employed 'in the ornamenting of this Park…' [33]

Fig.5.01

Fig.5.05

Three further plantations were formed about this time, one of which covered an area between the chief secretary's and the Barrack demesne.

Another was located between the Barrack demesne and Knockmaroon. The third, a woodland belt, was between Castleknock and Ashtown gates, and is clearly shown, along with the other two plantations, on Sherrards, Brassington and Greene's revised map of 1836. (Fig.5.04) (surprisingly the two plantations above coincided with the largest areas of furze in the Park). The first of these was the most interesting, and was laid out in a formal geometrical style, with several rides or avenues meeting at a central point; in addition a number of other asymmetrical avenues, which intersected, as well as joining the core ones. Two circular groups of trees were incorporated into the overall scheme, one of which had been planted previously. This planting scheme may have referred to obsolete hunting patterns or that of creating a sheltered environment for the deer herd, rather than any notion of returning to the formality of eighteenth century landscaping. However it is an extraordinary landscape development and one not easily explained. There is little evidence to suggest that further tree planting took place before 1830.[34]

Fig.5.04

Whatever the impact of tree plantations on the Park's landscape, which would have been small, nothing could compare with the scale of the Wellington testimonial, whose foundation stone was laid in 1817.[35] Not only did this become the largest monument in the Park and one of Dublin's most

prominent landmarks, but it was also the largest of its type (an obelisk 205 feet high) in the world at the time, and still remains the largest in Europe.[36]

The successful design for the testimonial was a 220 feet high obelisk (though not built to that height), by Robert Smirke, who was later to become the designer of the British Museum.[37] The faces of the obelisk, which are finished in Wicklow granite, have the various military victories inscribed on them. Three pedestals were also constructed to one side facing the Grand Avenue - one for an equestrian statue of Wellington and two for accompanying triumphal lions.[38] However, due to lack of funding the statuary was abandoned and the pedestals subsequently demolished. Four bronze reliefs were added, two depicting the Duke's victories in Asia (sculpted by J. R. Kirk) and Europe (represented by Waterloo and sculpted by Thomas Farrell), another depicting Civil and Religious Liberty (sculpted by John Hogan). The last panel is a tribute to the Duke in Latin and English, composed by his brother, Richard, Marquis of Wellesley.[39]

Smirke's winning design which generated considerable controversy was described 'as ungainly and ungraceful an example of bad taste as the kingdom could supply'.[40] In 1832 an elegant drawing of how the completed testimonial was envisaged was produced by George Petrie which contrasted sharply to the vignette produced in Warburton Whitelaw and Walsh's

History of The City of Dublin in 1818, which showed the testimonial to be rather clumsy and ill proportioned. (Figs.5.06 & 5.06a) The authors, though unhappy with the design, predicted that the siting of the monument in such a romantic setting as the Phoenix Park (and because of its towering height) would ensure an imposing presence.[41]

Figs 5.06 & 5.06a

By early 1815 it emerged that St. Stephen's Green was the preferred location, but due to objections by the residents the Phoenix Park was chosen.[42] James Gandon argued for a triumphal arch and considered that the best location for such a national testimonial was the entrance to the Phoenix Park along the quays from Barrack Street. He claimed that it was the entrance to a noble public park, which housed his Majesty's representatives in Ireland, and that the citizens of Dublin would pass under it 'to enjoy the recreations afforded by, perhaps, the finest field for exercise adjoining any city in Europe.' Gandon was also conscious that military personnel participating in field exercises and reviews would also pass under it. It would also be visible from the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham, and so encourage young soldiers and help old veterans to remember 'heart stirring recollections.'[43] However, triumphal arches were rejected by the selection committee as lacking in artistic merit.[44] Ironically almost ten years later a triumphal arch, designed by Decimus Burton, for London's Hyde Park was

approved by the King as a fitting testimonial for the Duke of Wellington. It was completed in 1828, and was highly acclaimed by contemporary critics.[45]

In June 1816, the lord lieutenant (Lord Whitworth) granted permission for the erection of the testimonial in the Phoenix Park, near to the main entrance, and some distance behind the old Salute Battery.[46] The site was most suitable, since it commanded high ground overlooking the city, and terminated a number of vistas to the Park, as we will see later. The Park was also suitable, not only because of its association with the Duke of Wellington (he was chief secretary from 1807-1809), but also because of the many military institutions already located within the Park and its use for military exercises and reviews. The testimonial was not only in view of the Royal Military Infirmary and the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham, but also the Magazine Fort and the Royal Hibernian Military School.

At this juncture it would be interesting to explore what evaluation and analysis, if any, was given to site selection for the testimonial? Unfortunately there are no records or plans extant, which might throw light on this question. Because of its size, the testimonial forms an important landmark for the city of Dublin and within the Park, particularly on the approach to the Park from Parkgate Street and the quays. (Fig.5.07) The testimonial creates an important landmark on the western approach to the

Fig.5.07

city as well as terminating vistas from the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham, the Royal Military Infirmary within the Park, along the city quays and from the Park's North Circular road entrance. The alignment of the testimonial, both as a focal point on the approach from the North Circular road, and also as a backdrop to the entrance gates on this approach, suggests that serious consideration was given to its exact location.

It has been suggested that the testimonial is somewhat of a folly within its own landscape, because its monumental grandeur has not been absorbed into a formal design of roads and vistas, unlike the obelisk at Castle Howard in Yorkshire. However, the testimonial does play host to the wider landscape as noted above in terms of focal points and terminating vistas, as well as sitting comfortably within its allocated space in the Park. At the time of its 'completion' in 1822, there would have been greater visibility of the base and pedestal, but tall buildings and maturing trees now conspire to make it more enclosed and less visible. Situated as it is on high ground and given its commanding position, the testimonial would have been a more of an important component of the picturesque landscape when first erected, than at present. Nevertheless its strong firm lines can be viewed satisfactorily from many angles. It has been described as having

> a rugged grandeur, a severity, a poise and dignity, an approachability, yet inaccessibility, which seems fully to fulfill the desire of the originators that it should adequately convey an idea of the character of Wellington.[47]

It has been correctly stated that the Phoenix Park has suffered from never having had an overall landscape design in the eighteenth century[48] and the same can be applied to the first three decades of the nineteenth century. However it is important to examine the available evidence in relation to professional landscape involvement and to discern what, if any, design trends are noticeable in the landscape works undertaken.

LANDSCAPE DESIGN

John Claudius Loudon was Repton's natural successor after Repton's demise in 1818. Loudon had visited Ireland between 1809 and 1811 to undertake a tour of the country and was engaged professionally in three or four counties, but not in the Phoenix Park.[49] In his *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, Loudon was disparaging in his remarks about the state of landscaping in Ireland but interestingly was positive regarding the Phoenix Park, describing it 'as beautifully diversified with woodland, champaign and rising grounds tastefully adorned with extensive sheets of water and plentifully stocked with deer'.[50] What Loudon viewed was a predominantly natural picturesque landscape (Figs.5.08 & 5.08a), which relied more on nature and the meagre landscape works of the eighteenth century rather than

Figs.5.08 & 5.08a

any landscape intervention that had been made during the first three decades of the nineteenth century.

Loudon was critical that no 'English artist of eminence' had been employed as a landscape gardener in Ireland but he did acknowledge that Sutherland was the best Irish practitioner in 1810 and lauded a M'Leish, a pupil of his own, who came to Ireland in 1813 and is credited with introducing Loudon's gardenesque style of landscaping into Ireland.[51] We will discuss this style in some detail in the next chapter. There is no evidence that any of these or any other Irish practitioner such as Hely Dutton (already mentioned above for criticizing the condition of the Park and for road construction), Edmund Murphy or James Fraser, were employed in a professional capacity on any landscape works in the Park. It was more likely that one individual or the combined efforts of under bailiff, architect and one or all the chief officers of state (lord lieutenant, chief secretary and under secretary) were responsible for the relatively small amount of landscape works undertaken during this period. The 1801 review of the Park by chief secretary Charles Abbot certainly had a motivating effect on tree planting during the first decade, whereas under-secretary William Gregory, whose Ashtown demesne in the Park was described as 'being neat and well

wooded',[52] was probably the motivating force for further tree planting during the remainder of this period.

Given the small amount of landscape development undertaken during the first period from 1800 – 1830, there is nevertheless a discernible mix of landscape styles of tree planting ranging from the formal geometry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (whether as a design feature or to accommodate the deer) to a Brownian belt plantation extending from the Ashtown to the Castleknock gates, and clump plantings which encompassed the new roads from the back of the under-secretary's demesne to Ashtown gate and also the new road which joined Chesterfield Avenue and the under-secretary's demesne. The small number of roads constructed during this period adopted a curved outline in the Reptonian style compared to the more angular outlines of previous Park roads. (Figs.5.09 & 5.03)

Figs.5.09 & 5.03

However, major landscape and architectural changes occurred between 1832 and 1849 with the appointment of Decimus Burton as landscape architect, under Woods & Forests, who assumed active management of the Park from 1834, as we have already noted in Chapter two. We have previously noted that Burton's reputation as a landscape designer and architect was already well established with Woods & Forests through his work on the Royal Parks in London. In 1825 he had provided

designs for lodges and gateways for Hyde Park, obtaining the commissions probably through his association with John Nash and on the recommendations of Sir Charles Arbuthnot of Woods & Forests.[53] A year later he provided designs for a zoological garden for the newly founded Zoological Society of London.[54] Probably as result of this, he established a foothold in the Phoenix Park through his commission from the Royal Dublin Zoological Society for whom he submitted a report and plans in October 1832 for the proposed zoological gardens. We will be discussing the development of the zoological gardens and its buildings in chapter seven.

Burton submitted three reports in quick succession, to Woods & Forests in August 1832, in January 1833 along with explanatory plans and drawings, and in September 1834.[55] From these we can get a clear indication of his intentions for the Park as a whole, and also what landscape works he considered most urgent, and which improvements would be the most obvious to the public. Burton was also struck by the 'beauty of the locality' and was convinced of the 'capability of rendering the Park far more attractive and commodious for the Public…'.[56] Burton observed, that in spite of previous planting, draining and other works having been undertaken, the Park still had an air of neglect when compared to the public parks near

London, or with most of the private parks in England. In particular he made reference

> ... to the dilapidated condition of the unsightly appearance of the Walls, Lodges, and other structures, the want of convenient Drives, Malls and Walks, the undrained state of the ground and consequent marshy condition of the soil throughout the greater part of the year, and the want of ornamental Plantations in parts of the Park which are capable of presenting the most beautiful scenery in the general landscape.[57]

Burton's reports encompassed all aspects of the Park's landscape, including the approach to the main entrance from the quays along the river Liffey, Park entrances, and gate lodges. He highlighted the need to level ditches and earthworks, to remove high walls around enclosures and to replace them instead with sunken fences. He undertook major road realignments as well as the creation of new ones and the removal of old ones. Burton was particularly fond of creating belt plantations to screen out perimeter and internal buildings and the boundary wall because of its poor condition. He advocated the removal of some plantations and the need to form more ornamental ones as well as opening vistas to the mountains and across the Park. He urged the need for drainage, the widening of causeways, and the filling in of gravel pits and ponds. Many of these have been emphasized already in our discussion on Park infrastructure in chapter four,

but we will examine them now from an aesthetic and landscape point of view.

Some of the biggest improvements in the appearance of the Park were brought about by Burton's proposals to undertake major earthworks, which included the realignment of Chesterfield Avenue, the levelling of the Star Fort and other entrenchments used for military purposes, the levelling of hedge rows and drainage of ditches, the filling in of disused gravel pits and rendering the Park quarries more picturesque.

The realignment of Chesterfield Avenue, which resulted not only in the construction of a new avenue, but also many of the link roads, was one of the largest landscape projects undertaken in the Park during Burton's superintendence. As a result it will be interesting to examine in some detail Burton's design philosophy on avenues, and the construction of this Grand Avenue. He criticised the existing avenue stating that it was 'laid down on a most unfortunate line, both as regards effect and propriety' and that it was 'crooked and of little extent'[58] (Fig.5.10) Burton affirmed that

Fig.5.10

> it is a generally stated rule – an avenue of this description should be perfectly straight, and when thus and sufficiently extensive, the effect is very imposing as in the Long Walk at Windsor, the Drives through Bushy Park, etc.etc.[59]

He also drew attention to the fact that it was 'a public thoroughfare of great traffic', that skirted close to the viceregal lodge which would not have been the case had the avenue taken a direct line through the Park.[60] This was an obvious appeal to the lord lieutenant's traffic sensibilities, possible security consciousness, and proximity to his residence. Before we proceed to discuss the layout and construction of Burton's avenue proposal for the Phoenix Park let us now briefly look at the function of avenues.

John Evelyn in *Sylva* published in 1664 is attributed with the first use of the word avenue to mean a special tree lined approach walk, as opposed to a tree-lined garden walk. Indeed there is evidence that tree-lined drives or avenues existed well before the term was used by Evelyn. Tree-lined lanes and hedgerow trees were the forerunners of tree-lined drives.[61]

Avenues served many functions, both economic and social. Some large-scale avenue plantings were justified on economic grounds, but social activities also played a part, including that of deer hunting. They provided access to the main house not only for pedestrians and riders, but also for carriages. From an aesthetic perspective they framed views to the house, and also from the house to monuments and buildings within and beyond the landscape.[62]

Avenues were a major landscape feature in Irish demesnes both in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as shown on Rocque's map of Co.Dublin, 1757. Major Irish demesnes such as Dromoland, Castletown, Carton, Howth Castle and Kilruddery all had tree-lined avenues as integral landscape features.[63] Castle Hamilton in County Cavan had an avenue of mature fir trees nearly a mile long, and to the south of the house there was a vista nearly a half mile long and two hundred feet wide, framed by elms.[64]

However the term avenue as applied to the Grand Avenue in the Park was somewhat of a misnomer since it didn't terminate in a mansion but it was tree lined, was magnificently proportioned and had the Phoenix column as a central focal point mid-way on its course.

By the mid-nineteenth century the conservation of avenues became an issue for debate, which resulted in widespread replanting, and the creation of new avenues.[65] Avenues usually consisted of a single line of trees on either side of the approach road, but in some cases there were double lines.[66] In the Phoenix Park, however, there was a most peculiar arrangement of trees, which was noted by the famous artist and landscape gardener, William Sawrey Gilpin, grandson of that William Gilpin in whose topographical writings lay the origins of the picturesque movement. In 1832, the same year as Burton was appointed to report on the Park, William Sawrey Gilpin

published his *Practical Hints upon Landscape Gardening* in which he noted that:

> the avenue in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, is of a peculiar formation, being composed of groups of trees at regular distance from each other, and in exact line; but the groups on the one side facing the openings on the other. The effect is injurious to the grandeur and solemnity of the avenue; but it gives, perhaps, a cheerfulness and variety to it as a drive, for it leads to no mansion.[67]

The construction of the Grand Avenue, which was basically a realignment of the old Chesterfield one, had the potential to interfere not only with the chief secretary's demesne,[68] but also the viceregal and under-secretary's demesnes as well. To minimise disruption and for cost effectiveness, the avenue was constructed in a number of phases and spanned the entire period from 1833 until 1849.[69] (Fig.5.10) Burton argued that realignment would be cost effective, saying that excellent quality stone was available from the Park quarries and that common labour was readily accessible.[70] The first phase of avenue formation extended from Castleknock gate to a point near the Phoenix monument; the second phase extended from west of the Phoenix monument to east of it, which involved the dismantling and re-erection close by of the monument as well as raising it on a stepped pedestal to create a taller focal point, enclosing with iron railings and

Fig.5.10

Figs.5.11 & 5.11a

lighting with gas lights;[71] (Figs.5.11 & 5.11a) the third phase continued from east of the Phoenix monument to just beyond the Zoological gardens to a point near the Wellington Testimonial where it joined the old avenue.

The scale of the Grand Avenue, which still exists except for the planting arrangement, is monumental. The avenue measures a little over two and one quarter miles in length from Castleknock Gate to the Parkgate Street entrance. It consists of a central carriageway forty-two feet wide, bounded on either side by a raised footpath ten feet wide separated from the

Fig.5.12

carriageway by a sloping grass verge, also ten feet wide.[72] (Fig.5.12) The raised footpaths offered enhanced views of the landscape. Burton, obviously conscious of ceremonial cavalcades to the viceregal lodge and the military reviews on the Fifteen Acres, adopted a monumental and majestic layout for the Grand Avenue.

Burton was concerned that the principal entrance to the Park should assume a more important appearance than the other entrances and submitted proposals for the main entrance which included the removal of the existing piers and lodges and rebuilding of new gates and lodges about 300 yards into the Park 'on the brow of the first ascent' with a rearrangement of the roads just inside. Woods & Forests were advised that the new gates and lodges should be of a bold design, with the portion of the Grand avenue outside the

new gates fenced with iron palisade giving the whole a noble effect.[73] Burton was already well versed in providing plans for grand entrances such as the entrance screen and gate at Hyde Park. This involved the construction of a gateway and screen to the park together with a triumphal archway on the axis of the above gates.[74] Burton's entrance to Hyde Park consisted of a central triumphal arch linked to two flanking arches by a graceful Ionic colonnade, which still survive. However, with the resiting of his complementary second triumphal arch, some of the original impact of Burton's façade is lost. Unfortunately in spite of his many recommendations regarding the improvement of the main Phoenix Park entrance to Woods & Forests, the construction of a grand entrance never materialized. Had this major improvement taken place, then the Phoenix Park programme of works initiated in 1832 would have been complete.

Soon after the realignment of Chesterfield Avenue was proposed in 1833, Burton was anxious that the related planting should commence as soon as possible. The purpose was twofold: one was to establish new trees so that the new Grand Avenue would be gradually formed and at moderate cost,[75] and secondly it would ensure an eagerness by the general public for the project and hence create enthusiasm among Woods & Forests for its continuation and completion.

One of Burton's initial plans for the Grand avenue in January 1837 shows the tree planting as a series of clumps of different shapes - diamonds, circles and squares and, interestingly enough, maintains the peculiar layout of having each arrangement face an open space on the opposite side of the Avenue, as in the original Chesterfield Avenue. Recent research shows that the different formal shapes of tree clumps were the arrangement used in the second planting or interplanting of Chesterfield Avenue.[76] These clumps were also mound planted as it appears were the original plantings also[77]. In a later drawing of February 1841,[78] (Fig.5.13) the tree planting proposal is shown as formal clumps of trees similar to those used on Chesterfield Avenue. However, other drawings (May 1843 & August 1844)[79] (Figs.5.13a & 5.13b) show proposals for planting circular groups of trees opposite each other, which were approved and adopted by Woods & Forests.[80] It is not clear whether Burton changed his mind voluntarily regarding the design of the clumps or whether there was subtle pressure to do so. It is interesting to note that a similar Avenue scheme (i.e. circular clumps opposite voids) by Burton, dated 1836, exists for an unexecuted estate development at Eastbourne for the Earl of Burlington (later the 7th Duke of Devonshire), although in this case the avenue takes on a gently sweeping curve to suit the configuration of the site.[81]

Fig.5.13

Figs.5.13a & 5.13b

One of Burton's initial recommendations was for angular clumps of English elm trees (fifty per clump) for the Grand avenue planting, and to have each clump enclosed with a post and wire fence on an embankment surrounded by a ditch.[82] It became clear that Woods & Forests were unhappy with this selection, as we will see later. In the eighteenth century, the trees most used for avenues and walks were lime and elm, followed by horse chestnut. Two clones of lime were in common use before 1750, *Tilia x vulgaris 'Pallida'* or 'buttress-trunked' clone and the 'tall-clone'. Horse chestnut and lime were planted in Bushy Park in London in 1699, and when first noted by Loudon (the great Victorian landscape gardener and social reformer) in 1838 he declared that it was the finest avenue of horse chestnuts in England.[83]

Woods & Forests, unsure of which species of tree to select, wrote to Sir William Hooker, director of Kew Gardens, seeking his opinion on the 'Scarlet Lime' or Red-Twigged lime *(Tilia platyphyllos cv. 'Rubra' ('Corallina')* as a suitable tree for the Grand avenue. Sir William contacted Mr. Mackay of Trinity College Botanic Gardens regarding its suitability to the Phoenix Park environment. As a result the 'Scarlet Lime' was lauded for its 'general appearance, rapidity of growth and as being more likely to resist the violence of storms in an exposed situation'.[84] Wind resistance was a

consideration for Woods & Forests, who were shocked by the devastation of the 1839 storm, when many of the existing elms were destroyed. Given the success of many trees species that thrived in the Park, particularly English elm, it is somewhat surprising that Burton's recommendation of elm was disregarded.

His proposals for tree clump protection on the Grand Avenue were also accepted in favour of timber railing which he had recommended earlier until Wilkie informed him that trees required thirty-five years free from the attention of the deer.[85] The ornamental iron railing, which was more cost effective compared to timber replacement, was similar to that which was used to secure lodges and protect plantations from animals. This more expensive solution, designed by Burton, added considerably to

Fig.5.14

the appearance of the Park.[86] (Fig.5.14) Nine Scarlet limes were planted in each clump.

The levelling of the Star Fort was another major earth moving operation. Situated between Chesterfield Avenue and the Magazine Fort it occupied an area of nineteen acres and had been constructed by the Earl of

Fig.5.15

Wharton, lord lieutenant (1708-1710).[87] (Fig.5.15) So called because of its polygonal shape, it was constructed of soil and built originally for security reasons. The structure, however, was not entirely out of character in a park

since 'fortified' gardens were a feature of some eighteenth century parks. The high brick lined walls of these earlier gardens offered protection against animals, thieves, and improved the microclimate for fruit growing in particular. One example was at Blenheim in Oxfordshire, where an eight-acre kitchen garden had imposing fourteen feet high walls, with four huge semicircular bastions, and another was a 'fortified' seven-acre kitchen garden at Claremont in Surrey, both of which were designed by Sir John Vanbrugh.[88]

Burton was aware how much the Star Fort detracted from the ornamental appearance of the Park, and that its removal would greatly improve the beauty and enjoyment of the area by the public.[89] Work commenced in July 1837. It is estimated that thirty-nine thousand cubic yards of soil was moved and used to fill the trenches (fosse) surrounding the Fort.[90] A number of landscape operations were necessary before the Star Fort and its environs could be returned to grazing and recreational use. This involved topdressing with mould (soil), grassing down and drainage, all of which was undertaken before 1850. More than five thousand cubic yards of 'rich mould' from the River Liffey excavations for the Kingsbridge railway development in 1843, were used in this operation.[91]

In March of the following year (1844) as part of the ongoing improvements on the north-west side of the Park, Burton proposed the removal of an extensive bank of earth which was over the precipitous face of an old quarry (Coyle's) for the security and safety of the public.[92] But instead of using unemployed weavers and tradesmen as in the case of the Star Fort, Burton proposed using gunpowder (for economic reasons) to obtain 'a more broken and picturesque appearance than if effected by hand'.[93] The bank of soil, about one thousand feet long, consisted of a substratum of limestone rock, which in some cases was bare to the height of forty feet and surmounted with earth of varying depths from thirty-five to fifty feet.[94] To the south of the bank of earth was a great natural hollow, made more extensive by the removal of large quantities of clay which left a perpendicular edge to the bank which was to be blasted.[95]

The operation, under the superintendence of Captain Larcom of the Ordnance Survey Office, was highly successful and acclaimed by the press.[96] The dramatic results, shown as before and after sketches and drawings, indicate just how effective the controlled explosion was, not only in removing the earthen embankment but also in achieving the desired visual effect.[97] (Fig.5.16, 5.16a, 5.16b & 5.16c)

Figs.5.16, 5.16a,5.16b & 5.16c

Before dealing specifically with the planting of the newly exposed

earthen embankments of Coyle's quarry, let us look at Burton's overall planting proposals for the Park. Most of his planting achievements are summarised in the 1845 plan of the Phoenix Park, although other plantings took place before 1850. (Fig.5.10) Burton advocated the extensive use of belt plantations to screen the boundary wall, which had the added benefits of placing trees in areas of the Park where none previously existed and concealing disused gravel pits, particularly at Chapelizod and near White's Gate. Belts of trees were also used to screen ugly buildings such as the Ordnance Survey Office, the Royal Hibernian Military School farm buildings, and those in the chief secretary's demesne. In a number of instances there was an added difficulty of planting where redundant roads, old lodges and outbuildings had to be broken up first, for example between Castleknock and White's Gates.

Fig.5.10

The irregular belt plantations varied in size from five to ten acres depending on site layout. A range of forestry trees including oak, elm, ash, beech, common birch, weeping birch, Spanish chestnut, horse chestnut, sycamore, limes and poplars was used. A number of cone bearing and evergreen trees such as larch, Scots pine, spruce, silver fir as well as a handful of the more exotic trees such as Lucombe oak, evergreen oak and

both copper and purple beech.[98] Except for some of the latter species, the range of tree species were similar to those already used in the Park.[99]

Burton was particularly fond of forming plantations on either side of new lodges or buildings to soften or anchor them to the landscape. Nearly all the gate lodges offered good examples of this, as well as new buildings such as the Constabulary Barracks. The 1845 plan of the Park noted above shows plantations of various sizes which were used at intervals beside the roads and also at junctions, particularly in the more scenic areas of Chapelizod and Knockmaroon, and where the general flatness of the Park required to be relieved.

The severe storm of January 1839 devastated the mature tree population of the Park and resulted in more than four hundred forest trees and a great number of hawthorns being blown down.[100] This forcefully demonstrated the need for sustained planting to replace storm damaged and over mature trees, as well as increasing the total area under plantations. It may also have prompted Ninian Niven, the eminent horticulturist and landscape gardener, to contact Burton the following year about establishing a National arboretum (collection of a wide range of hardy trees) in the Phoenix Park.[101] The proposal received a luke warm reception from Woods & Forests, possibly because Niven had prematurely publicised it.[102]

Furthermore at this time, Woods & Forests had attracted criticism from John Claudius Loudon, for their limited use of tree species in both Regent's and Hyde Parks.[103] Loudon at the same time (1840) was involved in designing the Derby arboretum, the first English fee-paying Park designed for public use.[104]

Burton received much unsolicited advice relating to tree planting in the Park. Shortly after the January storm of 1839, the Duke of Leinster sent a copy of his plans for avenues he had planted at Carton suggesting that they could have a similar application in the Phoenix Park.[105] After an inspection by Charles Gore, the chief commissioner of Woods & Forests in November 1845, several minor recommendations were made, the principle one being the planting of hawthorns on a site north of Coyle's quarry and the planting of a further five or six hundred throughout the Park to replace those decaying.[106] About the same time, Lord Lincoln, the lord lieutenant, ordered the making of a plantation on high ground overlooking Chapelizod and the planting of single trees in protective cradles (to avoid damage by grazing animals) on the sloping banks.[107]

In response, Burton indicated that he had always recommended the planting of hawthorns, furze and brooms on the site adjacent to Coyle's quarry 'to accord with the wild and natural scenery of that district of the

Park'. He had also recommended a similar type of planting on the steep embankments between Chapelizod and Islandbridge gates.[108] Burton considered that this part of the Park (the north-west part - between Chapelizod, Knockmaroon and White's gates) to be 'the most picturesque and varied landscape to be found in the Park'.[109] He felt it was vital to open up this scenic area by providing a roadway, which would also offer a safer means of travel. Much of the beauty of the area was afforded by a stream flowing through a wooded ravine, which was dammed to give a much greater area of ornamental water.[110] It is hardly surprising that Burton considered this valley to be one of the most beautiful in the Park because of its winding nature and richly wooded embankments, somewhat reminiscent of Capability Brown's Golden Valley at Ashridge College (near Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire) or his Grecian Valley at Stowe Gardens in Buckinghamshire in England.[111] (Fig.5.17 & 5.17a)

Fig.5.17 &5.17a

Another important landscape development, was the formation of the Promenade grounds, near the Parkgate Street entrance. In December 1840 the lord lieutenant (Hugh Fortesque, Viscount Ebrington) requested that this ground, opposite the Royal Infirmary, should be enclosed with a post and rail fence for the security and enjoyment of the public.[112]A substantial screen plantation was formed and a few years later, gravelled paths, a few detached

clumps of trees, and shrubberies were also added.[113] These were marked out by Burton and approved on the spot by Charles Gore, chief commissioner of Woods & Forests, and protected by wire fencing.[114] Burton visually balanced the large screen plantation above by creating another one on the opposite side of the Grand Avenue, which significantly enclosed the grounds around the Wellington Testimonial and afforded a sense of unity to both the North and South promenade grounds (on either side of the Grand Avenue). (Fig.5.18)

Fig.5.18

Burton, conscious of the scarcity of ornamental water within the Park, seized the opportunity to create a lake within the enclosed promenade grounds and to further enlarge it a few years later in 1845, as shown on the Promenade drawing of November 1845.[115] (Fig.5.18a) This enclosed area later evolved to become the People's Garden, as we will see in the last section.

Fig.5.18a

Other landscape developments undertaken during this period included boundary treatment of the several demesnes within the Park. The removal of high stone walls, the creation of sunken fences or ha-has and the planting of screen belts of forest trees and evergreens as replacements, had a profound visual impact on the Park's landscape and will be examined in chapter six.

Decimus Burton is better known for his architectural works in the Phoenix Park such as the gate lodges and the layout of the Zoological Gardens rather than for his landscape achievements, which are monumental, as we have seen with the construction of the Grand Avenue, the levelling of the Star Fort and other military entrenchments and his abundant formation of tree belts. His style of landscape can be described as of the picturesque school as we have seen that whenever the opportunity afforded itself in the reordering of the landscape such as Coyle's quarry and its environs, Burton was always keen to establish natural vegetation. In his establishment of tree plantations, especially belts, there is a strong tendency towards the Capability Brown manicured edge although he does use 'irregular' belts as well. We will return to Burton's overall achievements at the end of the thesis when we have a broader view of his entire Park work. We have documented Burton's other Irish commissions in chapter four, which were mainly of an architectural nature with the exception of two unexecuted schemes for estate layouts at Howth, County Dublin and at Middleton, County Cork.

Between 1852 and 1860 the management of the Phoenix Park was under the English Board of Works and the QRO in Dublin. This was very much a transition period and the only significant undertaking was the installation of gas lighting along the Grand Avenue.[116]

PUBLIC PARKS AND MONUMENTS

The final period between 1860 and 1880, when the Irish Board of Works took over the management of the Phoenix Park, saw fewer changes than the period from 1830 to 1850. A small number of significant projects did however take place, which included the erection of two important sculptures – the Carlisle statue and the Gough monument, both by John Henry Foley. However the most impressive landscape development from a horticultural and recreational point of view was the evolution of the North Promenade grounds into the People's Garden. Other developments included the formation of three new plantations, overlooking the River Liffey between the Magazine Fort and the Royal Hibernian Military School, so as to 'beautify the landscape of this portion, which was heretofore much exposed and bare'.[117] And in February 1861 the finishing touches were added to the Wellington Testimonial by removing the redundant statue pedestals, which were replaced by steps similar to those on the other sides.[118] Shortly afterwards, the area was drained, the ground levelled and grass terraces formed.[119] The Phoenix monument was raised yet again by the addition of a quatrefoil stone base and ornamental railings in 1865, which further enhanced it as a focal point on the Grand Avenue.[120] (Fig.5.19) The opportunity was also taken at this time to repair any damage to the stonework of the Phoenix column. (Figs.5.20 & 5.20a)

Fig.5.19

Figs. 5.20 & 5.20a

In 1864, the Commissioners for Public Works announced in their annual report for that year, that a flower garden was 'in course of arrangement' and would be 'available for visitors' the following year. This was a natural progression for the North Promenade grounds, which covered an area of twenty-three acres. As well as new flower beds, additional walks were added, new shrubberies formed, and numerous specimens of evergreens and rare trees planted.[121] It attracted very large numbers of visitors because of its location and ease of accessibility. In effect it was a public flower garden within a public park, or as it was subsequently called the 'People's Garden'.[122]

At this point we should look at the origin and evolution of public parks at this time. In 1833 a Select Committee on Public Walks recommended that due to the expansion of building, the opportunities for exercise were lessened, and recommended that there should be greater provision of open spaces for leisure pursuits.[123] Early attempts to provide such facilities rested with private benefactors, as in the case of Derby Arboretum and Prince's Park in Liverpool. Three years after the Select Committee reported, Loudon, (one of the foremost landscape gardeners and social reformers of the time, and an insistent advocate for the provision of

public parks,) laid out a park in Gravesend and three years later received the commission for Derby Arboretum.[124]

Although the royal parks in England had been open to the public by grace and favour for centuries, the concept of purpose designed public parks dates only from the nineteenth century. These areas, for public recreation and freely accessible, were seen as an instrument for social reform. The first municipal park, which was dedicated to the recreation of local residents was Birkenhead Park, designed by Joseph Paxton and opened in 1844.[125] A distinction must be made between those parks freely available for recreation as at Birkenhead and others which charged an admission fee such as Derby Arboretum.

And as early as 1837 Ninian Niven, who was one of the foremost Victorian landscape gardeners in Ireland, put forward his ideas for a public fee paying park at Monkstown, County Dublin, which included among its many features a flower border. Unfortunately his layout was never executed, whereas his public park in Blackrock, Dun Laoghaire, County Dublin, was.[126] Niven is credited with the design for the People Gardens in the Phoenix Park but this is open to question since there is no evidence to support it.[127] The People's Garden evolved from the North Promenade ground, which was fenced off for the safe enjoyment of the public,

particularly women and children, since it was a favourite location for the schooling of horses. At that time a large lake was created, clumps of trees planted, and shrubberies and paths were formed. Moreover the area was naturally beautiful because of a large ravine that divided the grounds, which on the high ground offered a wonderful view of the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham. It was overlooked on its South Eastern side by the Royal Infirmary, while its Western side lay under the shadow of the Wellington Testimonial. (Fig.5.21) The People's Gardens bear none of Niven's design features normally attributed to him– terraces, signature trees such as monkey puzzles and lines of Irish yew, balustrades, fountains or parterres. Niven's career and professional work is well documented by Edward Malins and Patrick Bowe on *Irish Gardens and Demesnes from 1830* and again by Eileen McCracken in the *Brightest Jewel.* We will return again to Ninian Niven and his role in the viceregal demesne in chapter six.

Fig.5.21

The Seventh Earl of Carlisle, who was chief secretary for Ireland (1835-1841), as well as serving two terms as lord lieutenant of Ireland (1855-1858; 1859-1864)), is credited with creating the People's Garden.[128] What involvement he had is uncertain; it may have been that he only initiated the project and worked closely with Wilkie on the concept. Whatever input the Earl had, it was Wilkie's lot to implement the project

since the Earl left office at the time the scheme commenced in 1864. The Earl died in December of that year.[129] Wilkie's credentials make him a strong candidate as the designer for the People's Garden. At the time of its construction he was more than thirty years bailiff of the Phoenix Park and had worked with Decimus Burton for nearly twenty of those, implementing a wide range of major landscape improvements, which included some landscape development of the North Promenade. Wilkie was known for his plantsmanship and was widely acclaimed in the horticultural press.[130] Many of the flower varieties, specimen evergreen shrubs and rare trees that adorned the People's Garden were also grown at his own private demesne, The White Fields, which will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 7.

Pressure for the development of the Promenade grounds into a public park near the city end of the Park was considerably advanced by a memorial signed by a group of Dublin's most eminent and influential citizens in 1861 urging the Government to provide funding for its development.[131] This was followed a year later by an article on the necessity for opening public parks and gardens for the education of the working classes [132] and in 1864 another article appeared urging a People's park for Dublin.[133]

Four years after the People's Gardens opened, a series of articles appeared in the *Gardeners' Record* [134] which gave details of the flowerbeds,

some of which were described as novel – some imitating flowing ribbons, another like a knot tied in a lady's bonnet, others in the shape of leaves or of a rose. The articles were complimentary but less so regarding the construction of six rockeries, which were created towards the western end on a flat plain. All advised that they should be placed in a more natural setting on the embankments of the ravine near the water.

At this stage it is important to note that different opinions about People's Garden or Public Parks emerged among the leading landscape practicioners in England.[135] In the late 1850's Lord John Manners, Commissioner of the English Board of Works proposed laying out flower beds in public parks for the public benefit. A few years earlier the royal parks following on the popularity of the floral displays at Crystal Palace, were planting large quantities of bedding plants, and by the mid-1860s the municipal parks of London were following their example.[136] Hence the floral developments at the People's Garden in the Phoenix Park were following emerging trends in England. A small area of ground was added to the People's Gardens [137] as a result of the underground rail tunnel, which skirted around the Wellington Testimonial, and completed by 1877.[138] (Fig.5.21a)

Fig.5.21a

In recognition of the Earl of Carlisle's involvement in the People's Garden and service to Ireland, it was fitting that his statue (by John Henry

Foley) was erected and unveiled in the People's Garden in the Phoenix Park on 2 May 1870.[139] The eight feet three inches high bronze statue (placed on a pedestal almost as high)[140] greatly relieved the flat plain of the gardens and acted as another important focal point, as did the picturesque gardener's lodge that was erected overlooking the lake in 1867. (Fig.5.22b) [141] Within the garden the statue was placed facing the Grand Avenue and the Wellington Testimonial, which is symbolic, given the Earl's efforts to have it finally completed.[142] The statue was blown up in July 1957 and even though it was removed from its pedestal (which is still in situ) it was relatively undamaged.

Fig.5.22b

A second sculpture of the Earl, also by Foley, was inaugurated in August 1870 at Brampton in Cumbria and shows him in the robes of the Order of the Garter, whereas in the Phoenix Park statue Foley has him appropriately robed in the Order of St. Patrick.[143] (Figs.5.22 & 22a)

Figs.5.22 & 5.22a

Almost a decade later another magnificent sculpture, by Foley and Brock was unveiled in the Phoenix Park in February 1880.[144] This equestrian statue, of Field Marshall Viscount Gough, was sited on the top of an incline on the Grand Avenue, between the Wellington Testimonial and the People's Gardens. Because of the height of the sculpture's large bronze plinth, which

rested on a granite base, the whole ensemble formed an important focal point on the Grand Avenue at the lower end of the Park, nearest the city[145] until

Fig.5.23

until blown up in 1958.[146] (Fig.5.23) Again the statue only received minor damages and now resides in England, where it has been fully restored. Similarly, the Carlisle statue is now in England, where it too has been restored. It has been stated that Gough, like Carlisle 'had found a place on the periphery of the city, close to the institutions associated with the viceroy and the ruling elite', rather than a more prestigious city centre location.[147] It can be argued that for the Earl of Carlisle, no more appropriate location could be chosen in view of his connections with the Park outlined above. Even the siting of the Gough monument was not entirely inappropriate in view of his soldiering along with Wellington[148] and the strong military and equestrian associations within the Phoenix Park itself.

Within the first eighty years of the nineteenth century the period from 1830 to 1850 was one of unprecedented landscape development in the Phoenix Park. During this time Woods & Forests provided extraordinary architectural and landscape expertise along with expert landscape management, which, together with skilled administration, greatly benefited the Park. Decimus Burton was a key figure on the landscape and architectural side (already noted in chapter two), who was ably supported by

a team of skilled personnel led by an outstanding horticulturist and Park bailiff, William Spalding Wilkie. Woods & Forests were likewise ably supported by highly experienced administrative staff of the QRO in Dublin, led by John Burke. In 1840 the North Promenade ground was developed as a public amenity thus making it one of the earliest amenities of this type available to the public. Over two decades later, it evolved into the People's Gardens and was noted for its novel experimentation with floral displays.

It was also during the period 1800-1880 that the Park acquired three of its four major testimonials and statues: the Wellington testimonial (1818), the Carlisle statue (1870) and the Gough statue (1880), all of which were located in publicly accessible areas of the Park.

CHAPTER 6 – The Landscape of Private Demesnes

Chapter six explores the landscape impact, horticultural achievements and role of the private demesne within the Park and the concept of the demesne itself. Major landscape features, especially the sunken fence are also examined, as is their impact on the appearance of the Park. The internal landscape of each of the three 'private' demesnes is individually surveyed to determine the outstanding landscape features during the full period of this study and to glimpse the personnel and management involved. Contrasts and comparisons between the demesnes also emerge, especially the demesne size and hence the inevitable difference in the scales of operation which is largely governed by the rank of the official resident.

Strategically clustered around the environs of the Phoenix column, on either side of the Grand Avenue, are a number of demesnes or enclosures which were occupied by top government officials during the total period of this study. Among these were the lord lieutenant or viceroy and his private secretary, the chief secretary, the under-secretary (civil department), and, for a short period, the under-secretary of the military department, who occupied a lodge formerly inhabited by a deputy park ranger on an eleven acre site, which later became the zoological gardens (discussed in chapter seven).

The private demesnes of the Phoenix Park can be viewed as a microcosm of the relationship between demesnes and the country as a whole or even in a smaller geographical area such as the Liffey Valley and the demesne cluster noted above. This becomes more apparent when we examine the beneficial effects that the boundary treatments of the Park demesnes have on themselves, on each other, and on the Park itself. The visual 'opening' up of these demesnes had a profound effect from within looking out to the greater Park domain and on the panoramic views offered by the Dublin and Wicklow mountains. The resiting of gate lodges also afforded an opportunity to focus on monuments, for example the Phoenix column became the central focal point as one exits the

Figs.6.01 & 6.01a

Phoenix entrance of the viceregal lodge. (Figs.6.01 & 6.01a) Likewise the

Fig.6.02

cupola of the Cooley chapel (Fig.6.02) in the grounds of the Royal Hibernian Military School becomes an important focal point for the chief secretary's residence.

Unlike the management of the public areas of the park, noted in the previous chapter, these demesnes were managed continuously during our period by the Irish Board of Works. However, in a number of instances, especially where the public landscape of the Park met the Park's private demesnes, close cooperation was necessary not only between different administrations but also between the professionals of those administrations.

Decimus Burton, in an 1833 report[1] to Woods & Forests, stated his dislike for the high boundary stone walls that surrounded the official residences in the Park and claimed that they 'disfigure the landscape'. He advocated sunken fences or ha-ha's instead of the high stone walls where possible, and praised their superior effect by pointing to the existing sunken fence on the west side of the viceregal demesne 'where such defence has been considered sufficient towards the Park, and ... the general views are not circumscribed by the intervention of the private grounds'. He further recommended that where inconvenience would be caused by exposing ugly views, 'plantations could be made for the purpose of concealing them'. Burton's treatment of sunken fences, also referred to as ha-ha's or sunken walls with turfed slopes, specified that 'the top of [the] sunk wall ... be covered with turf and in no case ... be higher than the surface of the open Park adjoining'.[2]

At the height of Repton's professional career in the opening decades of the nineteenth century it was noted that '.... every house [in England] of any pretensions had its walls (except those protecting the kitchen garden) swept away, and a ha-ha substituted [3] but this certainly was not the case in Ireland. (Fig.6.03a) We have seen in chapter one that sunken fences were already in use in the Phoenix Park in the latter part of the eighteenth century at the viceregal demesne (Fig.6.03), at the Ordnance Survey Office formerly Luke Gardiner's residence and

Fig.6.03a

Fig.6.03

Mountjoy Barracks) at the chief secretary's demesne, and in many other Irish demesnes as at Castletown, County Kildare and Russborough, County Wicklow. In 1828, James Fraser, one of the leading landscape gardeners of the time, described a double sunken fence with variations, for the Earl of Clancarty at Garbally, Co. Galway.[4] (Figs.6.03b & 6.03c) Their popularity continued to increase in the nineteenth century with the creation of landscape parks, the vast majority of which were developed by the 1840s.[5]

Figs.6.03b & 6.03c

Returning to the Phoenix Park, the landscape changes brought about by the removal of the high stone walls around the demesnes and the construction of sunken fences must have produced a spectacular effect which dramatically integrated their landscapes with those of the public Park. The result had such an effect that one observer noted that the well wooded viceregal demesne, far from 'interfering with the general expanse and beauty of the scene' was on the contrary improved 'by presenting such a large oasis-like sweep of rich wood to view'.[6] Simple sunken fences were also used to protect new plantations throughout the Park. (Figs.6.03d & 6.03e)

Figs.6.03d & 6.03e

Fig.6.04

An 1845 plan[7] (Fig. 6.04) of the Phoenix Park shows the enormous progress made in the construction of sunken fences over a ten year period not only around the private demesnes within the Park but also enclosing other institutions such as Mountjoy Barracks, The Royal Hibernian

Military School, the zoological gardens, the bailiff's residence and the head deer keeper's lodge, although the latter is only an excavated ditch. Before Burton's departure in 1850, the private demesnes were almost all completely enclosed with substantial sunken stone wall fences. In the case of the viceregal, chief secretary's and Mountjoy Barracks demesnes their existing sunken fences (located to the front of the residences) were incorporated by Burton into his overall scheme for sunken fences, which circumscribed the entire demesnes.

A written specification exists for a sunken fence by Wilkie, the park bailiff, for the chief secretary's demesne which is four and a half feet deep, twelve feet wide at the top and one and a half feet wide at the bottom.[8] This depth is obviously too shallow (for most animals but not sheep) and may have been an error, later corrected by Burton, who has described how it was to be finished, already referred to above; however we do have a cross section of the sunken fence proposed by Burton for the chief secretary's demense which corresponds to the finished fence (Fig.6.05) and another for the Constabulary Barracks. (Figs.7.30 & 7.30a) The sections show substantial foundations, which has not always been found to be the case. The sunken walls around the private demesnes are finished in random rubble both coursed and uncoursed but there is also an excellent example of coursed squared rubble around the bailiff's demesne and Ashwood, near Castleknock gate. Because these walls have a

Fig.6.05

Figs.7.30 & 7.30a

retaining function, it will be noticed from both the section referred to above and from field evidence that there is a slight lean towards the embankment. These walls were composed of a single outer masonry membrane with a core of loose unbonded rubble stones. (Figs.6.06 & 6.06a) The stones were most likely recycled from the high boundary walls of the various demesnes since the cleaning of stones for reuse had been specified for levelling the boundary walls of the Barrack demesne.[9]

Figs.6.06 & 6.06a

Sunken fences were primarily conceived as dry ditches, unlike water filled moats, which originally had a defensive function although some later became ornamental sheets of water.[10] Willis refers to 'an Ah,Ah, with a dry Ditch at the Foot of it'[11] Dry sunken fences would have been easier to manage than water filled ones, the latter becoming stagnant if there was insufficient outfall or natural drainage as in the case of the Phoenix Park, where soil type and general flatness of the surface made the removal of water difficult. To overcome these problems Burton provided a stone culvert or drain below the bottom of the sunken fence at the viceregal lodge and Ordnance Survey Office (and probably others). This was an added expense but without them water would accumulate on the floor of the sunken fences and problems caused by grazing animals and horse riders using them for watering purposes (thereby destroying the turf embankments and ruining their appearance) as well as the inevitable danger to other Park users.

The three larger Park demesnes were essentially private residences with supporting land units for the various government officials, their families and staff. Each demesne with its accompanying residences and facilities reflected the importance and status of the residing official from the lord lieutenant to his under and private secretaries. They also had grazing and venison entitlements, which has already been considered in chapter three. The three park demesnes under review benefited from the produce of the demesne farms as well as the abundant supplies of fruit, vegetables and flowers produced from the walled kitchen gardens.

The largest and most prestigious of these 'private' estates was the viceregal demesne (Fig.6.07) which not only included the viceregal lodge and its ancillary outbuildings and maintenance yards, but also lawns (used for grazing), pleasure grounds, lakes, kitchen gardens with its vineries, peach houses, melon yards, pine stoves (glasshouses for growing pineapples), mushroom houses, orchards, compost yard, and laundry with adjacent drying grounds. There was also a number of smaller 'demesnes' scattered around the northern perimeter of the viceregal demesne. These included the private secretary's lodge, the comptroller of the lord lieutenant's household (who resided in the 'Cottage') as well as gardeners', boatman's and fisherman's houses. There were two ice houses belonging to the lord lieutenant – one within the demesne itself (on the edge of the arboretum near the outbuildings) - and the other

Fig. 6.07

outside the boundary of the demesne, located just within the zoo grounds, the latter possibly replacing the former when it fell into disrepair.

For the remainder of the discussion on the viceregal demesne the evolution of the various landscape components outlined above - the pleasure grounds, grazing areas, kitchen gardens and lakes will be traces as well as some aspects of their management where it impacts on the landscape. James Asser's map of *c.*1775 (Fig.6.07) clearly illustrates the dominant landscape components of the demesne before Robert Clements relinquished the house and demesne for government use. Asser's map shows the principal lodge with outbuildings and yards, flanked on the right by a substantial walled garden, and on its left by a large area of pleasure grounds, with a central core of woodland, surrounded by a serpentine walk bounded on its outer perimeter by shrubberies. The pleasure grounds also contain a lawn with a small building – probably a rustic arbour with a background of shrubbery, where three smaller internal serpentine paths converged. Nearby in a woodland clearing was another building – possibly a rustic summerhouse or seat – and a rectangular grass area which may have been either a bowling green or a cricket pitch.

Fig.6.07

The term pleasure ground was commonly used in the eighteenth century and applied to an area of cultivated lawns, ornamental plantings (including *arboreta*, *pineta* or woodland) and architecture, as opposed to

the less intensively maintained landscape park.[12] A large estate might well have had a pleasure ground, which would be traversed on foot, while the park would be enjoyed from horseback or horse-drawn transport.[13]

Later maps[14] of the Park show the wooded pleasure grounds of Asser's map to be more densely planted and described as 'Wilderness'. Interpretation of tree planting (single, group, grove etc.etc.) and wooded areas on maps can be difficult in determining whether the planting is an actual record of tree planting on the ground or just diagrammatic to show 'tree' areas, unless supported by documentary evidence. In the case of Figs.6.07a (Asser) and 6.08 (Brown's *c.*1813) both show areas of tree and shrub planting diagrammatically, but the latter represents the removal of various landscape features (serpentine paths, shrubberies, unplanted lawns and sport areas). This is further reinforced by Taylor's map of 1816, (Fig.6.08a) although there is some evidence to suggest that the Park in general is 'overplanted'. The 1st ed O.S. map [1838] (Fig.6.08b) for the Phoenix Park shows that new path systems have emerged in the 'Wilderness' of the viceregal lodge but these are not so apparent in the O.S. map of 1849, (Fig.6.08c) which probably reflected the maturing vegetation and the cartographer's criteria for mapping detail.

Figs.6.07a & 608

Fig.6.08a

Fig.6.08b

Fig.6.08c

The term 'Wilderness' describes a designed grove or wood with paths cut through it. Its shape was usually regular and in essence it was an attractive ornamental area in which to wander and pause.[15] Some of the

best examples to be found here of this formal French-style seventeenth-century landscape feature, which was usually laid out some distance from the house, is at Kilruddery, County Wicklow, where it is referred to as the 'Angles' and also at Antrim Castle.[16] Another, though recently restored, wilderness is at Ham House (1671), Surrey, and is somewhat similar to the Kilruddery design. At Ham house there are several paths and compartments delineated by hornbeam hedges. The compartments contain some trees behind the hedges but are quite open, with grass, flowering shrubs, paths, seats and statuary.[17] By the early eighteenth century 'paths wriggled and wound', and at Wray Wood, Castle Howard, North Yorkshire straight allees were converted into serpentine paths. Later in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the wilderness would become an informal woodland area of mixed species with meandering paths.[18]

The first decade of the nineteenth century saw considerable landscape activity take place at the viceregal demesne, which was reported to have 'been lately new laid out and enlarged'.[19] A demesne map *c*.1813 shows a newly enclosed area (Fig.6.08) for which gates (by Mallet) and gatelodges were provided by the Duke of Richmond in 1808. (Figs.6.09 & 6.09a) In 1837 the sunken fence was realigned along the western boundary in front of the viceregal demesne (Fig.6.10) to which new gates lodges, gates and railings were added to the designs of

Fig.6.08

Figs.6.09 & 6.09a

Fig.6.10

Decimus Burton in 1842[20]. (Figs.6.11 & 6.11a) New sunken fences were created on the northern and southern sides of the demesne to enhance the overall landscape.[21]

Figs.6.11 & 6.11a

The demesne woods were strengthened with new tree planting and evergreen shrubs such as laurels and hollies.[22] In 1802 'quantities of Common privet, Sweet Briar, Honeysuckle, and white Jesamin [jasmine] were provided to form screens in front of the clumps of Forest Trees and Shrubs planted last Spring in the wood of his Excellency the Ld.Lieutenant's Demesne…'.[23] Not only would these shrubs have produced a more natural and colourful effect but they would also have filled the air with fragrance for the benefit of those walking in the pleasure grounds. Trees and evergreen shrubs, particularly cherry and Portugese laurel, continued to be planted in the pleasure grounds and throughout the demesne during the period 1800-1880.[24]

Between 1835 and 1838 a walk with a summer house and shrubbery was developed which connected the south lawn of the viceregal lodge to an area of the pleasure grounds where there was a rectangular area of water known as Nut island.[25] This water feature was both ornamental and functional, since it provided water for demesne use, but it assumed a more ornamental appearance after Burton's recommendations. (Fig.6.12) Nearby a cricket ground was developed for

Fig.6.12

the staff of the viceregal lodge, and in 1858 an enclosed racket court was also provided by the lord lieutenant, the Earl of Eglinton.[26]

In January 1855 pine trees were ordered from Oakvale nurseries in Liverpool for the refurbishment of the pleasure grounds from a list compiled by Wilkie, the Park bailiff.[27] Wilkie may have taken the opportunity, in collaboration with the lord lieutenant, to initiate the establishment of a *pinetum* (collection of cone bearing or coniferous trees) in the pleasure grounds, where a number of mature conifers, especially cedars, and some of the rarer pines still grow. The arrival of these pines coincided with the planting of pine trees by the St. German family, shortly before the 3rd Earl of St. Germans left the viceregal lodge at the end of February of that year (1855). Soon afterwards, both Lady St. Germans and the tree (Monterey pine) she had planted at the viceregal lodge had died, which prompted the new lord lieutenant, Lord Carlisle, to erect an unusual monument to commemorate the events.[28] (Fig.6.13) Another monument, a garlanded truncated column with verse, was placed in the woodland in 1862. (Fig.6.14) The St. German family may have followed Queen Victoria's example of ceremonial tree planting in September 1853, when she planted an Irish oak in the pleasure grounds near the viceregal lodge. This was in an area now known as the 'Queen's Walk', which also formed part of the pleasure grounds and helped screen the exterior of the walled gardens.[29] An important feature of these

Fig.6.13

Fig.6.14

grounds was the Turner conservatory built in 1852 which showed a domed house thirty-two feet six inches long and eighteen feet wide with flanking wings sixteen feet long, twelve feet wide and twelve feet high on either sides.[30] The brick back-wall is still extant. (Figs.6.21b & 6.21c)

Figs.6.21b & 6.21c

An *arboretum* (of deciduous trees) or a *pinetum* (of coniferous or cone bearing trees) is usually thought of as a collection of exotic trees, arranged either at random or according to botanical categories, with paths, rides and vistas cutting through it.[31] An intricate path system is shown on a map of the viceregal demesne (Fig.6.07), indicating that the *pinetum* was probably laid out artistically rather than botanically, regarding tree groupings. *Arboreta*, especially *pineta*, had become popular in Victorian times due to the fascination they held for the nineteenth-century traveller and the interest of formality of shape of the trees, which could be columnar, conical, or have their branches droop in a symmetrical weeping fashion.[32]

Fig. 6.07

The earliest known *arboreta* in Ireland were those at Oriel Temple, County Louth, created by John Foster (1740-1828), the last Speaker of the Irish House of Commons and at Tollymore, County Down, the planting of both of which had commenced in 1768.[33] John Foster had introduced 1700 species of trees and shrubs from Europe and America and his collection at Collon was described as second only to Kew.[34] It will be recalled that fifteen years earlier before the establishment of the

viceregal *pinetum* Ninian Niven had unsuccessfully tried to establish a national arboretum in the Park. In 1865 the pleasure grounds were referred to as a "'wild garden' half pleasure ground, half wilderness", which succinctly describes their evolution during the period 1800-1880.[35]

To the front and back of the viceregal lodge were substantial areas of lawn, the back lawn being terminated by two lakes linked by a watercourse. The definition of a lawn in the historical sense is considerably different from that of modern day use. Philip Miller in his *Gardener's Dictionary* (1807) defined a lawn as a very great plain in a park or a spacious plain adjoining a noble seat, less than thirty to forty acres. The historical lawn gave a sense of openness, although trees could be planted in an irregular fashion around the boundary for effect and shade. And the way to maintain a lawn was by grazing, with the animals themselves producing a picturesque effect. It is easy to see how, with specimen tree planting, the lawn evolved into parkland.

Since farming was an integral part of demesne management, lawns were grazed, except when meadows were required. The practicalities of keeping grazing animals and deer from damaging trees, shrubberies, walks and water areas required considerable effort and expenditure by providing fencing. In 1800, fences were repaired using young trees from the demesne and thorn hedges were cut, layered and reinforced with thorn quicks (young thorn plants) to prevent trespassers

and deer from entering.[36] Netting was required for the protection of young plantations and sunken fences were deepened and widened to prevent cattle from damaging the pleasure ground.[37] Later, gaps, which appeared in hawthorn hedges, were filled with hollies, to give added strength and year round colour and interest. In 1807, seven hundred feet of 'fancy paling' painted an 'invisible green' was erected at each end of an iron trellis to enclose the 'South Lawn' in front of the viceregal lodge, thus forming a rectangular area of lawn (and a forerunner to Burton's parterre).[38] At the same time newly planted clumps of trees and shrubs were protected by rustic fences made of Wicklow poles[39] which appear to have been replaced a few years later by an iron rod railing (four rails high) with sturdy upright oak posts.[40] (Fig.6.15) Clearly there were times when grazing was allowed on the lawns, but trees and shrubs still required protection. Some tolerance of deer may have been allowed since an 1830 illustration shows a pastoral scene of cows and deer on the South lawn. (Fig.6.16) A particular feature of landscape painting was the inclusion by artists (particularly landscape artists and designers like Repton) of animals, particularly cows and deer to give the scene a more pastoral effect, but this was not so in the viceregal demesne where, as we have already noted fences and tree guards were required to prevent damage to vegetation.

Fig.6.15

Fig.6.16

In 1838 Decimus Burton recommended a more permanent solution to enclose the South lawn with the erection of a balustrade on a low stone wall which ran parallel to the viceregal lodge.[41] The balustrade was cast and rendered in the best quality Roman cement and coloured to imitate Portland stone.[42] Burton decided to add 'blockings' at frequent intervals both to relieve the monotony of the capping and to serve as bases to carry vases.[43] In the interest of economy Burton proposed to stucco the low random rubble wall with a local lime, which he considered to be 'an excellent material' and to place the balustrade on top of it. This he argued would not only afford more privacy to the viceregal lodge but would also 'present a handsome appearance towards the Great Avenue for the Public'.[44] The enclosure was completed the following year by returning the balustrade on both sides to the viceregal lodge and forming gravel terraces, one which overlooked a parterre from the lodge and the other which not only overlooked the parterre but also gave excellent views across the Park. (Figs.6.17 & 6.17a) A central gravel walk led from the viceregal lodge entrance down a flight of granite steps to the center of the terrace overlooking the Park, which was accessed by another flight of granite steps. Perimeter gravel paths ran on either side of the returning balustrades with an adjoining path at the base of the grass terrace nearest the Park.[45] He also proposed to soften the corners of the balustrade

Figs.6.17 &6.17a

projecting towards the Park by creating 'Wildernesses' or ornamental plantations of evergreen and American shrubs.[46] (Fig.6.18)

Fig.6.18

Ninian Niven has been credited with the design of the formal gardens around the viceregal lodge[47] but there is no evidence to support this claim. There may have been some confusion because of Niven's involvement in the viceregal demesne. Niven established a nursery at Drumcondra, Dublin[48] from which trees were supplied to the viceregal demesne and he was also associated with ceremonial tree plantings by Queen Victoria and her family already mentioned above.[49] Niven's early landscape schemes for a national arboretum in the Phoenix Park in 1838,[50] already noted, and for a public gardens at Kingstown (Monkstown) were never implemented, but he did become Ireland's foremost Victorian landscape gardener.[51]

In 1835 Decimus Burton had discussions about the design of the South Lawn with Mrs. Phipps (later Lady Normanby),[52] wife of the then lord lieutenant, Henry Phipps, who was created marquis of Normanby in June 1838[53]. Queen Victoria on her first visit to the viceregal lodge in 1849 considered it 'a nice comfortable house, not unlike Claremont (Surrey, England) with a pretty terraced garden in front [of the lodge](laid out by Ly. Normanby)'.[54] Burton however drew up the sketch plans (Fig.6.18a) and the detailed designs for the balustrade and terraces, as we have outlined above. (Fig.6.18b) Although we don't have a detailed

Fig.6.18a

Fig.6.18b

layout for the celtic cross beds, which form the centre pieces of the parterre, we do have them shown in outline.[55] (Fig.6.18c) Some of the confusion about Niven's involvement in the layout of the formal gardens may have arisen because of his prolific use of terraces, balustrades, vases, parterres, and signature plants such as Irish yew, all of which were used at the viceregal lodge. (Fig.6.19) His involvement with ceremonial plantings and the supply of trees to the various demesnes within the Phoenix Park may have further compounded the error.

Fig.6.18c

Fig.6.19

A number of articles[56] in leading horticultural journals from 1861 to 1870 praised the layout of these formal gardens on the south side of the viceregal lodge as well as printing detailed designs of the garden. (Fig. 6.20) One report stated that it was 'very beautifully designed as an ornamental flower garden' and that there was 'a massiveness, a width and character about this in perfect harmony with the building…it was skilfully and tastefully planted, and in perfect keeping, which made it quite pleasing to look upon…'.[57] Another commented that the effect of the garden 'was most graceful and dignified from the wide brea(d)ths (sweeps!) of verdant turf and nearly due proportioning of colour'.[58] The two Wellingtonias (*Sequoiadendron giganteum*) planted in the formal gardens in August 1861 by Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort – possibly the last he planted before he died - were also noted in the report.[59] The simplicity, formality, colour and magnificent views of the

Fig.6.20

Dublin mountains from this location were encapsulated in two paintings of the formal garden by the artist G. M. Sutherland, one in 1855 and another in 1863. (Figs.6.21 & 6.21a)

Figs.6.21 &6.21a

To the east of the formal gardens lies one of the most important element of the demesne - the kitchen garden. Of the two walled kitchen gardens within the Viceregal demesne – one, known as the 'kitchen garden' – is located just inside the back entrance gate lodge between the laundry and the private secretary's lodge and the other, known as the viceregal gardens, was located east of the viceregal lodge complex. (Fig.6.07)

Fig.6.07

The 'kitchen garden', bounded by stone walls, had its infrastructure developed over a five year period from 1810 onwards, commencing with the erection of a wall on the east side, then the north and west walls and finally the south wall in 1814, its phased development being a possible response to budgetary constraints.[60] A substantial shed for storing frames (with glass), used for forcing crops, was constructed in 1813[61] and a fine two-storied gardener's house was subsequently added. When the garden was first used is uncertain but reference was made to it in 1804[62] and an internal elm hedge, which was thickened with sweet briar and privet when the walls were constructed, indicates it existed from the beginning of the nineteenth century.[63] The development of the kitchen garden was a

response to increasing demands of the viceregal household for additional supplies of fruit and vegetables.

The main walled garden complex, the viceregal gardens, has not changed ostensibly in area from the 1760s to the present day, though its uses and some internal elements of its infrastructure have with the addition of buildings and further division of the largest section. The gardens are divided into three unequal parts (Fig.6.22). The one nearest the lodge, which was primarily used for fruit production, accommodates Richard Turner's peach house. (Figs.6.07 & 6.22a) When erected in 1836-37, it was claimed to be the most extensive range of iron houses constructed in Ireland.[64] The range, which measured 220 feet in length (most of which survives) was divided into four separate houses by means of glass partitions. The house is a simple lean-to arrangement and is approximately twelve feet wide at the ground and twelve feet high at the rear wall, as shown on Turner's drawing.[65] (Fig.6.22b) Heating was reputed to be by hot air flues in the rear masonry wall, which were serviced by a number of fireplaces stoked outside the rear wall.[66] However Turner and Walker successfully tendered in October 1836 for a water heating apparatus to heat a peach house.[67] (Fig.6.22c) Whether this was to heat a different peach house is unclear but most unlikely. The separate divisions allowed the cultivation of species with differing ripening times. In front of the peach house, two of the large garden

Fig.6.22

Figs.6.07 & 6.22a

Fig.6.22b

Fig.6.22c

quarters were devoted to dwarf and pyramidal trees of pears, apples and cherries as well as beds of strawberries, whilst the walls supported a variety of specially trained fruit trees including peaches.[68] Fruit trees and vines were supplied by the best nurseries in England and Ireland including the famous Thomas Rivers nursery of Sawbridgeworth, Hertfordshire, and Ninian Niven's Garden Farm in Drumcondra, Dublin.[69]

The next part of the garden, (Figs.6.22 & 6.22a) by far the smallest, was called the Melon ground and contained melon houses, pits for pine apple production, small glasshouses, and one tall house with a banana plant 'full of the finest fruit', outhouses for potting plants, stores and offices, ground for standing out plants in Summer and the gardener's house.[70] It was noted in 1865 that not only were the garden offices 'well appointed' but that 'quite a respectable building' was available for the accommodation of apprentice gardeners.[71] In 1870 this section also contained one of the largest Pine stoves (glasshouses) to be seen for the production of pineapples. It was a low ridge-and-furrow structure, forty-four feet in length, twenty-four feet in width, and about seven feet in height to the eaves of the ridges; there were seven of these houses [72], most likely Paxton ridge and furrow houses, similar to that at Lismore Castle, County Waterford.

Figs.6.22 & 6.22a

Figs.6.22 & 6.24

The third part of the garden, (Figs.6.22 & 6.24) by far the largest, contained the culinary section (for finer vegetables such as asparagus and herbs) and was subdivided into a number of compartments over time.[73] The coarser vegetables were grown in the stone walled kitchen garden near the private secretary's demesne. Dateable keystones over four internal walled arches indicate that infrastructural improvements took place in 1847 during the Earl of Clarendon's lord lieutenancy (Figs. 6.23 & 6.23a) and the Duke of Abercorn's two terms as lord lieutenant (1866-8 and 1874-6). The two keystones erected during the Duke of Abercorn's terms of office are different and possibly indicate his gaining a dukedom in August 1868. (Figs.6.23a & 6.23b)

Figs.6.23 & 6.23a

Figs.6.23a & 6.23b

In 1842-43 Turner erected in a range of vineries 450 feet in length in this section, similar in appearance to the peach house though a little smaller in dimensions, measuring eleven feet wide and approximately the same in height.

The range was divided into eight compartments between forty feet and sixty feet long, each housing a different type of vine. The houses were widened by six feet between 1861 and 1865 by replacing the rear wall, supporting the existing roof on iron columns and connecting the original roof to the new back wall by a glazed hip roof.[74] When the houses were erected they were considered the most extensive and of the

newest construction of any in Ireland and for over thirty years were considered the 'chief sight in the Viceregal Gardens'.[75] (Fig.6.24) Fig.6.2

These gardens were considered 'the Frogmore of the Green Isle' because of the quality and quantity of fruit produced which was necessary to supply the continuous succession of formal dinners and receptions.[76] It was for its fruit, especially grapes that the viceregal gardens became famous,[77] (Fig.6.24a) but there were other important functions for the Fig.6.24 gardens as well, such as providing interior floral and foliage decoration. (Fig.6.24b) The challenge was the production of out of season flowers. Fig.6.24 With the appropriate resources of glass houses, both hot and cold and a wide range of plants, the gaps could be bridged. During the first decade of the period 1800-1880 one order alone for the supply of plants to the gardens amounted to almost two thousand flowering plants, which included hyacinths, varieties of narcissi, jonquils, pinks, carnations, dogstooth violets, and double primrose roots among many other[78]. During the 1820s double and single hyacinths, narcissi, carnations and rhododendrons were particularly popular for forcing out of season flowering.[79] In the late 1840s and during the 1850s the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, sent a large range of exotic indoor plants, including orchids, hoyas, gardenias, and rhododendrons to the viceregal lodge for the attention of a Mr. Counihan, who was probably the gardener in charge of the section.[80] Such an exotic plant range, undoubtedly boosted by the

royal visits of Queen Victoria in 1849 and 1853, reflected the much improved environmental conditions provided by Turner's vineries. In 1865, a visitor was particularly impressed by a fine selection of *Dracaena terminalis*, which was considered 'a most valuable plant for room decoration on a grand scale'. A 'conservatory' for the growing of exotic plants especially orchids was added in 1867 to the walled gardens and located just below Turner's vineries. (Figs.6.24c & 6.24d)

Figs.6.24c &6.24d

Growing exotic plants and fruits depended very much on a reliable heating system. Heating glasshouses gave rise to numerous theories and discussion as what was best practice and is succinctly dealt with by Woods & Warren, page 121.[81] The possible use of hot air flues and piped hot water have already been noted in the peach houses. In one of the vineries bottom-heat was used on the principle adopted by Mr. Fleming of Trentham Gardens in Staffordshire whereby the borders in which the plants grew were raised by a row of brick arches. This formed a series of chambers into which fermenting heat generating materials were placed with the resultant rising heat aiding growth.[82] (Fig.6.22d)

Fig.6.22d

The gardens had a considerable outdoor ornamental aspect, which first came to notice in the horticultural press in 1825 and continued throughout the period 1800-1880. This involved experimentation with brightly coloured tender flowers, which heretofore were confined to glasshouses, and which were planted out in beds during the summer.[83]

However the protection by canvas screens was required to shelter the flowerbeds.[84] Thousands of crocus roots and dozens of roses were also used during this period for garden display, and some may also have been used for indoor decoration.[85]

The most spectacular display of flowers within the gardens was provided by a number of ribbon borders of bedding plants some of which ran for six hundred feet in front of the largest curvilinear range of glasshouses. The plants were put in single rows, which were rather far apart, so that each line was distinct for the entire length.[86] The two ribbon borders in front of the curvilinear range were separated by a wide walk, with the plants in the borders gradually rising to hide the culinary aspects, particularly on the side opposite the vineries. These borders, which flourished during the 1860s, were considered 'the wonder of most Irish bedding-out people'.[87]

George Fleming of Trentham Gardens in Staffordshire (noted above) was the first to devise ribbon borders, or was very much instrumental in popularising them. Other English gardens like Enville and Dudmaston also became famous for borders; and abundant literature became available on the subject during the 1850s.[88] Originally 'ribbons' were serpentine but in the 1850s most 'ribbons' were straight lines and were considered to be a substitute for the herbaceous border. Public gardens generally confined their 'ribbons' to three rows with red, white

and blue a favourite colour combination, which is still used in the People's Gardens in the Phoenix Park. One wonders whether the interpretation of 'ribbons' was misunderstood (or perhaps was being explored in a broader sense) when beds, imitating flowing ribbons, were created in the People's Garden in the late 1860s.

Next in importance comes the chief secretary's demesne and gardens. (Fig.6.25) We have noted in chapter one that the house and land occupied by the park bailiff came into the remit of the chief secretary, Sir John Blacquire, when he also was appointed park bailiff in 1774. He built a handsome Georgian home which was a 'low two storeyed structure, flanked by projecting bow-fronted wings, facing south across the lawn and sunk fence to the parkland beyond. (Figs.6.26 & 6.26a) In the back there were fruit trees, flower gardens, peach trees under glass…'.[89] During the study period from 1800-1880 further additions and improvements were made to the house including the addition of a conservatory in 1867. (Figs.6.26c & 6.26d) James Asser's map of *c.*1775 (Fig.6.27) shows the chief secretary's demesne to be almost thirty-five Irish acres with an irregular boundary on the north and west sides and a substantial area of woodland near the Phoenix column, which had been recently enclosed from the public Park. Understandably the pleasure grounds had not been yet developed, except for a small shrubbery on the west side of the house.

Fig.6.25

Figs.6.26 & 6.26a

Figs.6.26c & 6.26d

Fig.6.27

In 1802 the roads outside the main entrance were reorganised and a large plantation of trees was established outside the demesne wall between the entrance gate and the Fifteen acres.[90] A year later a new gate lodge may also have been erected[91] and a small piece of ground on the northern side was incorporated into the demesne by means of a paling and sunken fence.[92] (Fig.6.27a) More than twenty years later, in 1824, a new back gate lodge was built and the approach road from Chesterfield Avenue altered accordingly.[93] This road was realigned yet again as a result of proposals put forward by Decimus Burton in 1836.[94]

Fig.6.27a

Burton proposed the construction of a sunken fence on the north east side of the chief secretary's demesne to join up with the existing sunk fence on the north west side. His plan was a realignment of the existing boundary whereby the high wall was replaced by the sunken fence, which resulted in a small net gain of ground for the public Park.[95] (Fig.6.05) When the project was complete the removal of the high stone boundary walls had exposed the entrance gate lodges, which prompted a call for their improvement and the provision of additional facilities.[96] The magnificent entrance ensemble of matching gate lodges and arching screens over the main and pedestrian gates (attributed to Jacob Owen) provide a fitting entrance to the chief secretary's lodge.[97] (Figs. 6.28 & 6.28b) A plan and elevation, presumably also by Jacob Owen, exists for a somewhat similar entrance ensemble but with octagonal and part

Fig. 6.05

Fig. 6.28 & 6.28b

octagonal gatelodges and a pedimented structure over the main gate. (Fig.6.28a) The main and pedestrian gates incorporated into the existing scheme are by the famous ironfounder Richard Turner. (Fig.6.28c)

Fig.6.28a

Fig.6.28c

Burton had anticipated the exposure of the outbuildings and kitchen garden walls by the removal of the existing high boundary wall and provided for this by including evergreen plantations to be created at the appropriate locations.[98] However a further and far more daring proposal by Burton was to cut vistas through the chief secretary's demesne to allow the scenery of the Dublin Mountains to be viewed from the Grand Avenue.[99] A report and plan was drawn up by Wilkie, the Park bailiff, on Burton's instructions which involved planting over 1,000 evergreen trees and shrubs consisting of yews, evergreen oak, hollies, strawberry trees, laurustinus and a variety of laurels.[100] (Fig.6.29) In March 1838 Burton expressed his satisfaction having cut through the 'walls of hideous trees'.[101] These vistas are not as visible on the O.S. maps (Figs.6.08b & 6.08c) as they are on Wilkie's plan, but clearly discernible openings can be seen along the boundary of the chief secretary's demesne, particularly along the eastern boundary opposite the Grand Avenue. The success of the project was undoubtedly helped by the appreciation of the chief secretary at the time, George William Howard (1835-1841), Viscount Morpeth, who later became lord lieutenant when Earl of Carlisle and as we have already seen was involved in the layout of

Fig.6.29

Figs.6.08b &6.08c

the People's Gardens. This 'public' amenity is striking i.e. the demesne is not seen as private entity, but as part of a larger whole.

The chief secretary's demesne had similar landscape components as the viceregal demesne though obviously on a smaller scale. These included the pleasure grounds, the farm, the kitchen gardens with gardener's house and the farmyard, which was separated from the lodge by the kitchen gardens. A plan exists for an icehouse, thought to be the chief secretary's, but it is more likely the one built for the lord lieutenant inside the boundary of the Zoological Gardens[102]. An icehouse existed in the chief secretary's demesne in 1802 and seven years later was repaired and had its roof thatched.[103] In the same year John Roe surveyed part of the Park (Fig.6.30) for drainage purposes, which included an outline of the chief secretary's demesne with some internal details.[104] Among the latter is a circular building at the top of the upper pond, close to where the icehouse stood, which Roe may have inadvertently called a pigeon house. The front elevation shown on the 'plan for an ice house to be built in the Phoenix Park' is similar to that constructed and still extant at the Zoological Gardens,[105] which its chamber style dates to the mid-eighteenth century.[106] (Fig.6.31) As a result of Roe's drainage survey the upper and lower ponds (E & F) had their sides 'sloped' and the excess mud removed and mixed with lime for spreading to improve the 'front' meadow.[107] Somewhat surprisingly, both these ponds vanish which is

Fig.6.30

Fig.6.31

unfortunate taking into account the lack of ornamental water in the Park and demesnes generally. Some clue as to what might have caused this can be gleaned from Burton's correspondence of 5 June 1838[108] in which he makes reference to the formation of the new boundary sunken fence cutting off the supply of water to the ponds. Burton had hoped to remedy this by creating another sunken fence in lieu of a field hedge, which crossed part of the demesne, but this appears not to have been done. The stream, which replaced the ponds is shown on the 1st ed. O.S. map 1838 (Fig.6.08b) and was eventually culverted as part of the major drainage undertaken towards the end of the 1840s.

Fig.6.08b

Fig.6.30

At the top of the lower pond (F) (Fig.6.30) adjacent to the sunken fence a stone arched bridge exists as part of the perimeter walks of the demesne, (Fig.6.27a). These walks were well developed by the 1830's. Further walks provide linkage from the lodge to the perimeter walks and around the kitchen garden and to the pleasure grounds in front of the lodge facing into the Park.

Fig.6.27a

In 1826 the chief secretary's demesne was described as neat and well wooded, 'the dressed grounds are upon an extensive scale, very formal, and as yet no variety of ornamental trees or shrubs has been introduced'.[109] Niven's appointment as gardener the following year obviously paid dividends, since the gardens by 1837 had achieved some

considerable fame '…in the decoration of which Mr. Niven has acquired such deserved celebrity'[110].

The 1st ed. O.S. map for County Dublin produced in 1838 (Fig.6.32) shows the spacious pleasure grounds between the south side of the lodge and the Park with floral features, composed of 's' and 'comma' shaped beds around a circular bed of shrubs near the lodge front, whilst two tree clumps frame the view from the lodge towards Cooley's Chapel and the Dublin Mountains. On the western side of the pleasure grounds is a well-developed formal landscape feature, which fronts a small conservatory (which no longer exists) situated on the southern side of the kitchen garden wall. This feature could have been a shrubbery formally arranged with straight paths converging on a circle of shrubs, which joined another area containing a summer house and small pond, all of which are clearly marked on the 1st edition of the Ordnance Survey of 1838 but are without trace on the 1867 O.S. map (Fig.6.32b). An 1853 map[111] (Fig.6.32a) of the Park shows the front pleasure grounds in a transitory state between the 1st and 3rd editions of ordnance survey maps where the formal feature has become less defined and the lawn immediately in front of the lodge shows a dramatic increase in the number of flowerbeds and shrubs. A report on the gardens in 1861 'wished that in such a place they [the flowerbeds] were either swept away and their place occupied by green grass, or a few choice shrubs…' to allow for the appreciation of the

Fig.6.32

Fig.6.32b

Fig.6.32a

surrounding scenery.[112] By the 1867 ed. O.S. map the formal feature had given way to an informal arboretum, the summerhouse no longer existed and the small pond, which was located nearby, had become more canalised and formal in outline.

Like the viceregal demesne, the chief secretary's demesne also became a repository for ceremonial trees commencing with two Wellingtonias (*Sequoiadendron giganteum*) planted in the front lawn by the Prince and Princess of Wales in 1868. Two remarkable trees, probably survivors from Sir John Blacquire's time, still grow in the demesne – one, an oriental plane (*Platanus orientalis*), is located at the top of the drive near the lodge on the left hand side in the south meadow, the other, an evergreen oak (*Quercus ilex*), is located north of the lodge in the front pleasure grounds beside the gate to the kitchen garden.[113]

The main walled kitchen garden forms the north and west boundaries to the chief secretary's lodge, outbuildings and yard; another smaller walled garden is located west of the farmyard and a frame yard for growing melons, cucumbers and pineapples adjoins the farmyard to the east.[114] (Fig.6.33) The proximity of the kitchen garden to the lodge was typical of the location of eighteenth century walled gardens[115] whereas in the Victorian period the tendency was to remove the kitchen garden away from the main residence. Examples of this can be seen at Kilakee, County Dublin and at Hilton Park in County Monaghan (both

Fig. 6.33

gardens in which Niven had an involvement). As at the viceregal lodge, the kitchen gardens were used as flower gardens and for the production of fruits, vegetables, flowers and foliage plants for house decoration.[116] The range of produce would also have been similar though the quantities produced would have been smaller.

From early in our period the main walled garden was undergoing improvements with the construction of a new wall, possibly the one that divides the garden in an east – west direction (marked *dividing wall* in Fig.6.33), with new walks being laid down on either side of it.[117] Nearly a decade later in 1811 a major restoration of the main walled garden was undertaken at a cost of almost £400. This involved lining the existing walls internally to an 'average width' of six inches, raising their height and adding a coping course, all with brick. The foundations were to be made good with stone when required. The amount of curved walls, which is unusually extensive in these gardens, but designed to maximise on sunshine and heat, added to the overall cost.[118] In the same year the inevitable request followed to obtain a supply of fruit trees to make a new fruit tree border so as to utilize and furnish the newly refurbished walls.[119]

Fig.6.33

In 1824 Loudon wrote that 'the kitchen garden of the chief secretary's lodge is reckoned one of the best managed in the county of Dublin'.[120] Pineapples were a particular favourite in the chief secretary's gardens[121] and a particular interest of Ninian Niven, the Scottish

gardener, who worked there from 1827 to 1834, before becoming curator of the Botanic Gardens at Glasnevin in Dublin, where he remained until 1838.[122] Niven's career is well documented by Nelson & McCracken, Malins & Bowe and Lamb & Bowe but not so his collaborative work with Richard Turner at the chief secretary's gardens. Their earliest documented collaboration is at the chief secretary's demesne for a pinery designed and erected by Turner with the internal layout by Niven and heating by Walker.[123] Niven's design, dated December 1839, was for the internal layout of a lean-to structure sixty feet long and fourteen feet six inches wide, only the plan of which survives. (Fig.6.34) Also included on the same plan for the chief secretary's garden was a melon yard with a pit for growing-on young pineapples.[124]

Fig.6.34

The pinery was completed in the autumn of 1840[125] and another similar one was erected in 1842,[126] both of which formed part of a larger range which was constructed or at least commenced in 1841.[127] The latter, for which drawings are available (Figs.6.35 & 6.35a) consisted of 'a central vestibule fifteen feet long' and two return ranges of iron fruit houses fifty-three feet long. The central bow-fronted conservatory was surmounted by a curvilinear span roof and the decorative upright piers and gutter ornament were similar to Turner's work in Belfast.[128] Unfortunately none of this once magnificent glasshouse range survives.

Figs.6.35 & 6.35a

The main walled garden had a reputation for the production of excellent fruit, vegetables, choice specimen indoor plants as well as outstanding plants of potted geraniums. But most spectacular of all were the ribbon borders, which were somewhat similar to those at the viceregal demesne but commanding a greater composition of floral arrangements.[129] This was achieved not only by using a greater variety of flowers but by grouping them in circles and panels and by raising the soil at the back of the borders into flattish pyramids. Both by grouping of plants and altering the topography of the ground, this relieved the monotony of the long straight lines of the original style of ribbon borders. However it was considered that different kinds of flowering plants, especially *centaureas*, could be used at the chief secretary's demesne so as to produce the same colour effect achieved by Lord Herbert at Mount Merrion, where his gardener, Mr. Walsh, was deemed to be 'perhaps the most advanced of the Dublin colour-colourists'.

The gardens of the chief secretary's demesne fell into a state of neglect by the late 1860's, but the situation was changed by the appointment of a new gardener in 1869.[130] The Turner range of glasshouses was described in 1871 as a fine range, 'giving an air of importance to the whole place' even though the pineapples had been replaced by tropical plants for indoor decoration.[131]

The under-secretary's demesne, the smallest of the three (nearly thirty-two Irish acres) under discussion, shows a well-developed landscape in James Asser's map of *c*.1775. (Fig.6.36) A mature serpentine walk skirted about two-thirds of the demesne on the Grand Avenue and viceregal demesne side, whilst the majority of the demesne was occupied by a 'lawn' with shade trees. A large formal water area was located about midway along the western boundary of the demesne, whilst a serpentine lake occupied a central position within the demesne.[132] Early in the study period (1800-1880) considerable landscape activity took place with two new access routes being developed to the demesne, one from the Phoenix column, and another from the Grand Avenue. However the principal approach road was from the northern side of the demesne. (Fig.6.36a)

Fig.6.36

Fig.6.36a

In 1803 a new gate lodge was erected[133] to service the new entrance and road from the Phoenix column, which became the principal access route to the under-secretary's lodge. (Fig.6.37) The gate lodge, (Fig.6.38a) built around the same time as Buggy's gate lodge at the rear of the viceregal demesne and similar in scale, (Figs.6.38c & 6.38d) was a simple structure with a bedroom, kitchen and yard. (Figs. 6.38) The accompanying drawings show that the lodge was subsequently enlarged. (Figs.6.38 & 6.38b) Within the demesne access to the under-secretary's lodge was across the serpentine lake by means of a walled arched bridge

Fig.6.37

Fig.6.38a

Figs.6.38c & 6.38d

Fig.6.38

Figs.6.38 & 6.38b

with wooden railings on top, which was constructed at the same time as the gate lodge.[134] (Fig.6.39) The large pond and rectangular water feature (along the western boundary Fig.6.36a) appear to have suffered the same fate as those in the chief secretary's demesne, falling victim to lowering water tables as a result of the sunken fences. Only a small water feature remains on the 1st ed. O.S. map 1838 and on the 1853 O.S. map of the Park. (Figs.6.40 & 6.40a)

Fig.6.39

Fig.6.36a

Figs.6.40 & 6.40a

During the first decade 1800-1810 a substantial plantation was established along the western boundary, presumably for aesthetic reasons and to afford shelter to the demesne. It was along this boundary that William Gregory, the under-secretary, had a wall constructed to secure the demesne in 1814. It is somewhat surprising that not only was this wall, but the remaining 'high lofty walls' around the demesne, swept away by Burton in favour of sunken fences from the beginning of the 1840s.[135] (Figs. 6.41, 6.41a & 6.41b)

Figs.6.41, 6.41a & 6.41b

Part of the demesne's northern boundary wall also formed the south facing wall of the 'old' kitchen garden before it was eventually replaced by the walled garden complex at the back of the lodge. Both kitchen gardens are clearly shown on the 1sted. O.S. map of 1838 (Fig.6.42) but only the 'new' garden is shown on the 1853 O.S. map of the Park (Fig. 6.42a); the latter map no longer shows the 'old' kitchen garden which had been completely absorbed into the pleasure grounds.

Fig.6.42

Fig.6.42a

The 'new' gardens, which are more regular in outline, except for a peculiar angular portion projecting into the pleasure grounds, are more in keeping with the symmetry and layout of Victorian kitchen gardens. Considerable development took place in the kitchen garden in the 1850s: additions were made to the vineries, the line of the wall protruding into the pleasure grounds was realigned and a series of buildings were erected at the back of the vineries. (Fig.6.42b) Included among these were gardeners's accommodation, fruit store, mushroom house, a heating system for the revamped vineries and a number of pit houses, probably for pineapple and melon production. A slate water tank dated 1853 inscribed J. Rock of Dublin still exists. (Figs.6.42c & 6.42d) The realignment of the southern wall of the kitchen garden is somewhat unusual in that it isolates the gardener's house from being an integral part of the kitchen garden to being a feature in the pleasure grounds. The internal path layout becomes more standardised and formal as shown on the O.S. map of 1867. (Fig.6.43) Perhaps the greatest contribution that the under-secretary's demesne makes to garden history and history of art is the evolution of the walled garden from the eighteenth century through an almost transitory phase to a model of a mid Victorian kitchen garden.

Fig.6.42b

Figs.6.42c &6.42d

Fig.6.43

The gardens were not nearly as extensive as either the viceregal or the chief secretary's but were highly productive from the beginning of this period in fruit production, which included peaches, melons,

cucumbers, grapes and strawberries. Vegetables were produced abundantly to a high degree of perfection with particular preferences for asparagus and sea kale.

The pleasure gardens dovetailed neatly into the demesne parkland and would have responded well to Loudon's recommendations for villa gardening except for the lawns nearest the house which contained a proliferation of flower beds, for which the chief secretary's garden was criticised. William Spalding Wilkie, as we have already noted, came highly recommended from Woburn Gardens to garden at the under-secretary's residence from 1816 to 1832, before becoming under-bailiff, bailiff and eventually park superintendent of Phoenix Park.

Oddly enough Turner is not represented by either conservatories or vineries at the under-secretary's demesne as he is at both the viceregal and chief secretary's demesnes. He did however make gates for the under-secretary's demesne but whether these are the gates that still remain at the main demesne entrance is unclear. Somewhat surprisingly and hitherto unknown Turner was responsible for the Castleknock gates and palisade fencing, noted above, as well as the main entrance gates (including pedestrian ones) to the chief secretary's demesne. He was also responsible for casting some of the gas light standards (Fig.6.43a) while others were made by the two firms of Daniels and Shotts. Turner showed his versatility by the delicate and simple construction of a hand-rail over

Fig. 6.43a

an open drainage channel in the 'Wilderness' area of the viceregal demesne. (Fig.6.43b)

Fig.6.43b

Before concluding this chapter brief mention must made of the under-secretary's lodge which was described in chapter one as a Georgian house built onto the mediaeval Ashtown castle. About 1850 the whole was stuccoed, new conservatories replaced the old verandahs and other additions were made. (Fig.6.44). In 1986 Ashtown lodge was demolished but the substantial structure of Ashtown Castle was left and restored to its former glory. (Figs.6.42c & 6.42d). In conclusion it must be noted that all three demesnes during this period of study (1800-1880) attracted favourable comment both for their garden buildings, landscape layouts and management. Their unique location and proximity to each other is worthy of note as well as the successful landscape treatment of their boundaries by replacing high stone walls with sunken fences.

Fig.6.44

Figs.6.42c &6.42d

The removal of the high stone walls and the creation of sunken fences in their stead was perhaps the singular most dramatic and daring landscape innovation to happen in the Phoenix Park during this period. It allowed the official demesnes within the larger demesne of the Park to become 'more public' and more integrated into the landscape of the Park itself. Burton took this a stage further when he created 'vistas' across the chief secretary's demesne, again with the expressed intention of 'opening up' what in effect was a 'private demesne' for the enjoyment of the

public at large. This is all the more surprising since walls around Irish demesnes were one of their defining features not only for security purposes but also as an expression of their size. However, a direct comparision with Irish demesnes is somewhat difficult because of the uniqueness of the Phoenix Park, which consists of a series of demesnes within a demesne.

How much credit can be given to the various occupants of these residences can be difficult to determine with some but easier with others. There can be no doubt about the contribution made by the 4th Duke of Richmond, when lord lieutenant (1807-1813), both to the viceregal demesne and the Park. Likewise the Rt. Hon. William Wickham, when chief secretary (1802-1804) left a considerable legacy to the chief secretary's demesne. In the case of William Gregory, the longest serving under-secretary for Ireland (1812-1830), his legacy no doubt was the well-wooded demense and the reordering of the pleasure grounds and walled gardens.

The viceregal demesne, the summer residence of the lord lieutenant and his court, was the largest of the three and received the most publicity and acclamation. It attracted attention with experimentation in planting out tender plants for summer bedding in the 1820s. Later the spectacular ribbons borders of bedding plants in front of Turner's vineries were considered one of the most spectacular sites to be seen for more than

three decades. The viceregal flower gardens encompassed by the balustraded terraced gardens created in 1838 were in the forefront of the revival of this landscape feature. The huge popularity enjoyed by Niven in the following decades in creating balustraded terraced gardens may owe its origin to the lead given by the viceregal gardens and the fashion adopted by the lord lieutenant.

The chief secretary's demesne, the second largest of the demesnes, also came to public attention because of its ribbon flower borders and the excellence of its fruit productions and glasshouse range by Turner. The treatment of the walls of the kitchen garden and Niven's first known collaboration with Turner is also important.

The smallest of the three, the under-secretary's demesne, was noted for its culinary produce and fruit. However its greatest importance is that it charts in a very precise way the evolution of the walled garden from the eighteenth century to the mid-Victorian period.

We have already noted in chapter three the financial stringency and pecking order which was applied to each demesne and the resulting effects this had on their overall development.

CHAPTER 7 - The Landscape impact and evolution of institutional demesnes.

This chapter examines the landscape impact and evolution of institutional demesnes within the Phoenix Park. For the purpose of this thesis the term 'institutional demesne' covers a broad spectrum of Park development and associated activities which embrace local management, security, military influences, recreation and education.

In our discussion on local management the operational facilities available to both the bailiff and under-bailiff that enabled them to manage not only the Phoenix Park but also their official residences and associated demesnes, will be explored.

Initially focus will be on the development of the White Fields Demesne which housed not only the residence of the park bailiff, his private gardens and outhouses, but also the yard and buildings for the various tools, equipment, carts and supporting facilities necessary for Park maintenance. These included a carpenter's shop, forge and bothy. Discussion on other facilities such as the deerkeeper's lodge with venison house and grounds and a park constables lodge, which were located on the southern side of the Park, will follow. On the northern side of the Park the Waterhouse was converted to house two park constables.

Discussion will then take place regarding Park security which was complex, with a number of different organisations providing staff responsible not only for the internal security of the public areas of the Park but also its official residences and associated demesnes. During the study period (1800-1889) two police stations were constructed as well as a training constabulary barracks and facilities which included an exercise yard, sleeping quarters, canteen, officers mess, band room, hospital and horse riding facilities.

No new military installations were constructed within the Park during this period. On the contrary a number were dismantled while others changed use (though still militarily connected) or received sympathetic landscape treatment which allowed them to be more integrated into the Park landscape. The use of the Park by and the influence of the military is lessened during our study. The formation of the military cemetery at Grangegorman reduced the pressure on the Park as can be seen later and the removal of the salute battery to make way for the Wellington testimonial helped improve the appearance of the Park. The removal of the Star Fort earthworks also dramatically improved the Park's visual outline.

In chapter one the popularity of the Park was noteworthy for informal and passive recreation but during the whole of this study

period definite areas of the Park were designated for various recreational and sporting activities which included the establishment of the Zoological gardens, the People's Gardens (which has been discussed in chapter five), cricket grounds, playing fields and polo grounds. Our final section explores the erection of a school residence and school residence in the Phoenix Park.

Discussion will now take place on the development of the White Fields demesne. From 1800-1830, the under or deputy-bailiff, Charles Slow, resided outside the Park. He may have lived in the 'Convalescent Demesne' (the Royal Infirmary) in the Phoenix Park for a short time[1] before moving to the Kings House in Chapelizod in 1804[2]. The portion of ground occupied by Slow (which formerly was part of the King's House) was conveniently situated on the left bank of the River liffey close to the village of Chapelizod and the Phoenix Park.[3] (Fig.7.01)

Fig.7.01

This ten-acre property occupied by Slow, was bounded on the North, East and West sides by substantial stone walls over ten feet high.[4] The property contained a two-storied stone house with a slated roof, a spacious dining room, drawing room, kitchens, cellars, etc., all of which were in thorough repair in the 1830's. Also included was a terraced garden, a lawn and a walled garden

which was 'judiciosly planned, and stocked with a collection of choice Wall and Standard Fruit trees in full bearing'.[5] There were also numerous outbuildings which included stone built stables, fifty feet long, with slated roof and loft, cowhouses, piggery and poultry house, a yard and a number of paddocks which were subdivided by stone walls.[6] There was sufficient stabling for sixteen horses as well as cart and car houses. In 1832 the property was valued at a hundred pounds per annum and had a sale value of £1,400.[7]

It was hardly surprising, when in 1832, Woods and Forests with the lord lieutenant's approval decided to dispose of the King's House stating that its extent, value and cost of upkeep could not be justified for an officer of that grade. Instead it was decided to erect a 'small' house in the Park for the newly appointed bailiff, William Spalding Wilkie.[8] The bailiff's lodge was completed in 1834 in a cottage ornée style to the designs of Jacob Owen, the Board of Works architect.[9] (Fig.7.02) In September of the same year Decimus Burton reported to Woods and Forests, that 'new House has been erected between Ashtown and Castleknock Gates and a large garden and nursery for trees formed there'.[10] More than a year later, Burton and the park bailiff, clearly unhappy with the location of the new house stated that it was 'placed in a most inconvenient situation considering the duties he [bailiff] has to

Fig.7.02

perform and the numerous parties who are compelled to call on him, on the business of the grazing and the general service of the Park'.[11] The house, two and a quarter miles from the Dublin gate, had no road serving it for over a quarter of a mile even thought it was located in one of the swampiest areas of the Park. The house required decoration and some alterations to make it a comfortable residence; externally there was a need for sheds, a carpenter's yard, a covered sawpit and domestic offices. Somewhat surprisingly Burton was of the opinion that too much ground was allocated to the bailiff's lodge for his private use.[12] (Fig.7.03)

Fig.7.03

In January 1833 Burton had recommended 'the propriety of erecting a House for the bailiff nearer the centre of the Park and on the triangular piece of ground between the Vice Regal and Under Secretary's demesnes, with store and carpenter's yards and small garden attached'.[13] A little over three years later, Burton submitted a series of plans for the bailiff's lodge with allied facilities. (Figs. 7.04 to 7.04c) These proposals were rejected however on the grounds of cost and scope.[14] Even though a stable, cowhouse, tool house and lock up shed were already added to the White Fields demesne in 1838,[15] Burton still looked to have a new lodge and facilities to be provided elsewhere. These hopes were thwarted when an inspection showed that a new dwelling was unnecessary

Figs.7.04 to 7.04c

and with alterations and some additions adequate facilities could be provided for the Park bailiff to effectively undertake his duties.[16] (Figs.7.05 to 7.05b) The modifications involved a rearrangement of ground floor space with additional rooms[17] and facilities, all of which were completed in 1839.

Figs.7.05 to 7.05b

In spite of Burton's disagreement with Owen's location and layout of the bailiff's lodge they did concur on the style of architecture chosen. We have already explored Burton's architectural style (chapter four) but in the case of the bailiff's lodge it is worth further discussion having being originally designed in the cottage ornée style by Owen with later additions, as we have seen above, by Burton. The greatest test of an architect's true style is perhaps the house he builds for himself. Burton lived at a number of locations throughout his career including numbers ten-fourteen Spring Gardens adjoining Trafalgar Square in which he developed an office and town house for himself.[18] At Tunbridge Wells, Kent, Burton built Baston Cottage (Fig.7.06) [presumed to be for himself] and another at St. Leonard's called the Cottage, both of which were in the cottage ornée style, which indicated his serious interest in the genre.[19] Another house, Alverbank House, built for John Wilson Croker at Gosport in 1842, was also built in Burton's cottage ornée style with fretted bargeboards and diamond

Fig.7.06

paned windows. Bentham Hill (1832-33), near Southborough, although built in the Old English Style is remarkable for its extraordinary combination of levels, roofscape and architectural elements.[20] (Figs.7.07 & 7.07a) It will be noted that many of the architectural elements employed at Baston Cottage, Alverbank House and Bentham Hill were also used at the bailiff's lodge in Phoenix Park.

Figs.7.07 & 7.07a

Returning to the White Fields demesne, Burton's 1839 site plan (Fig.7.03) shows a small demesne of approximately nine statue acres composed of a large kitchen garden, with pasture and arable grounds on either side of the lodge and garden and a small pleasure or ornamental grounds to the front of the lodge. The demesne was separated from the boundary wall of the Park by a tree plantation and at the entrance two small groves of trees were shown just inside the sunken fence of the demesne boundary. An access route, which skirted the demesne boundary, from Ashtown was also shown but by 1845 a more direct road had connected the route from the back road to the Grand Avenue. (Fig.7.08) Twenty years later (1865) Wilkie had use of approximately six acres for his private use, two of which were allocated to ornamental purposes and 'the remaining four acres in part to a strawberry ground, and to a compact and well cropped fruit and vegetable garden, with neat

Fig.7.03

Fig.7.08

Vinery and greenhouse, frames and pits….'. Some of the frames and pits were filled with Japanese plants of 'recent introduction' and rare Pines 'not yet proved hardy'.[21]

Fig.7.09

An 1853 map[22] of the Park (Fig.7.09) showed the pleasure grounds well developed with walks and abundant plantings of trees and shrubs. The landscape development of the park bailiff's White Fields demesne should be hardly surprising because of Wilkie's reputation as a renowned plantsman. In 1847 Woods & Forests' attention was drawn to the 'nursery' established by Wilkie at his lodge which they considered was 'in direct opposition to their decision ….for forming an arboretum in the Park'.[23] They reasoned that it couldn't have been created without the employment of park labourers or Park funds. They stopped short of directing that the garden should be removed but allowed only one park labourer to maintain the grounds attached to his lodge.[24] Wilkie had obviously used the guise of creating a nursery to conceal the formation of an *arboretum*, although Burton had informed Woods & Forests that a nursery had been established in his 1834 report.

Wilkie's defence was that 'the wild garden and nursery' was laid out to shelter the trees and shrubs and to demonstrate how rare conifers could grow there. He felt that this aspect of arboriculture had been neglected as far as the Park was concerned

and by introducing such rare and choice plants the landscape could have been greatly improved.[25] Wilkie had obtained many of these conifers from Kew Gardens; others he had purchased at his own expense and hoped that other demesne owners would follow his example by planting such exotic conifers on their estates.[26]

Even though the ornamental garden at White Fields was only about two acres in extent it was renowned for its range of exotic plants, particularly conifers. The gardens hosted not only the leading Irish and Scottish horticulturists of the day, Dr. David Moore of the National Botanic Gardens at Glasnevin and William McNab of the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh, but also accommodated a number of ceremonial trees planted by the Earl of Carlisle (1858) and Lord Eglinton (1859) when lords lieutenant, the Countess of Eglinton (1859), General Lord Seaton (1860) and the sons of Robert Burns, the Scottish poet.[27] Another design feature of the garden pertinent to our study was the manner in which the plants were displayed. On the lawn many of the finest plants were allowed to grow in the gardenesque style (Fig.7.10) with their lowest branches 'sweeping the grass' and, by way of contrast, planted on the raised banks, both deciduous and evergreen trees and shrubs were allowed to blend in the picturesque style.[28]

Fig.7.10

This is the first time the term gardenesque has been encountered when applied to any of the pleasure grounds of the Park's demesnes discussed so far. The term gardenesque was first used by Loudon in 1832 for a style of gardening that allowed each plant to develop naturally so that it could be displayed to its best advantage.[29] He introduced the term gardenesque to characterise the non-indigenous plants and emphasized that 'it is necessary to understand that there is such a character of art as the gardenesque, as well as the picturesque'.[30] By 1843 Loudon added a third 'style or system of art' which he referred to as the geometric gardensque in which plants were placed regularly and symmetrically as distinct from the pictorial gardenesque where plants were grown for their inherent shape and beauty alone.[31]

The White Fields demesne not only provided for the private needs of the bailiff but was also the Park's depot for the management of the Park as a whole. A stable and cow-house, tool house and lock up shed were provided in 1838 as noted above

Fig.7.11

(Fig.7.11) but obviously as the landscape development of the Park progressed the need also grew to provide a range of facilities for the Park staff. In the following year, Burton, well aware of the needs of a Park of this size, produced two plans for the White Fields demesne, one showing the existing facilities which included

the new buildings noted above with a small additional building and an open sawpit. (Fig.7.03). Burton's second plan (Fig.7.12) shows an elaborate range of outbuildings with separate spacious timber and work yards and a new access road to the timber yard, none of which were constructed to the plans proposed. The 1853 O.S. map (Fig.7.09) shows that some additional buildings were added to the original lean-to buildings with a subdivision of the adjacent yard space, reflecting Burton's desire for separate work and timber yards.

Fig.7.03
Fig.7.12
Fig.7.09

A subsequent plan of the yard in 1870 indicates that the range of buildings included piggeries, stable, cowhouse, boiler, fowl house and carriage house, all of which were for the bailiff's own private use as well as a workshop, tool store and general store for the Park's use. Clearly more facilities were required. (Fig.7.13) In 1871 a contract was placed for the construction of a lean-two nine bay cart shed, carpenter's shop and workmen's canteen on the opposite side of the yard to the existing buildings.[32] (Fig.7.13a) A further range of cart sheds was added in 1879 consisting of a lean-to six bay infill building constructed on the boundary wall of the Park which required the wall to be raised by eighteen inches.[33]

Fig.7.13
Fig.7.13a

The White Field's range of stores which housed the appliances and tools used by foresters, gardeners, roadmakers and

others to maintain and develop the Park was considered one of the demesne's features.[34] They were reported to be admirably kept and to contain a valuable store of tools and materials necessary for the maintenance of the Park.[35] However gratifying such utterances from the press may have been for the Board of Works no comparison could be made with the magnificent architectural and all embracing farmyards and stableyards constructed on various demesnes throughout the country during our period of study. However there was no disagreement about the magnificent arboretum with design elements of the gardenesque and picturesque which caused one commentator to report in the Freeman's journal in 1876 that The White Fields was 'a repository for one of the finest collections of forest trees and shrubs in three kingdoms' and reared by one of Ireland's best arboriculturists under the patronage of the Earls of Eglinton and Carlisle.[36]

PARK SECURITY

Security was one of the Park's most important management functions, which included not only the protection of the Park and those using it for recreational and other purposes, but also the protection of its residents which included the lord lieutenant, the chief secretary and the under-secretary, the latter having direct responsibility for law and order in the country as a whole. This

section explores not only the various categories and agencies of security which operated within the Park but also their duties and the infrastructure necessary to achieve their task. Park security was performed by a number of different park staff and the police. Whilst there was an expectation that security was a duty of all Park staff it was the primary role of gatekeepers, deputy or under-keepers (also referred to as park keepers), park constables and the police, depending on the time span under examination.

In July 1801 a government memorandum[37] recorded six gatekeepers and four deputy keepers. The gatekeepers provided an important security function by controlling entry into and egress out of the Park, as well as performing other functions such as checking the animal numbers that entered and exited the Park as well as lighting the lamps on each of the gates at night.[38] A review of the number of under-keepers and gate keepers in 1832 revealed that numbers had remained static though one of the under-keepers performed a double duty (for which he received extra grazing) - that of gate keeper at Ashtown as well as the duties of park keeper.[39]

A year later the park ranger, Sir William Gosset, intimated that no reduction should be made in the number of park keepers, because of the Park's size, its defective boundary and the poor

population, who resided nearby.[40] Gosset was frequently compelled to seek police assistance as well as hire men for watching duties during the fawning season, in spite of which, many young deer were still stolen.[41] In May 1834, Woods and Forests approved a complement of seven gate keepers and three under keepers for the Park. However their grazing privileges were abolished but as compensation their salaries were increased. At this time the three under keepers (park keepers) were respectively referred to as the keeper of the deer and cattle with two assistants - the first and second assistant (of the deer and cattle).[42] Less than two years later it emerged that three keepers were insufficient to protect the deer and to prevent other misdemeanours. When the second assistant position became vacant two park constables were employed instead, which proved most satisfactory, so much so that when the third assistant retired the exercise was repeated.[43] In October 1837 the park ranger, Thomas Drummond, produced a set of rules[44] for the guidance of the four park constables. In addition to these there was a head deer keeper, seven gate keepers, the park bailiff and the park ranger.

Drummond divided the Park into four districts, each of which was assigned to a park constable as shown on the Park map. (Fig.7.14) Each constable has responsibility for the Park in general

Fig.7.14

but was particularly accountable for his own district. Any damage was to be reported immediately to the park bailiff; any dogs chasing the deer or cattle were to be shot and young plantations were to be examined every day to ascertain the security of the fences or see if the trees had been injured in any way.[45] The head deer keeper, who was in charge of the park constables, had the general care of the Park as well as ensuring that the park constables attended to their duties in their respective districts.[46] But his primary responsibility was the care of the deer and cattle grazing and to furnish the bailiff with a deer count taken on the twenty-fourth of November each year, which up to this point (1841) had not taken place.[47] Why this date was chosen is unclear but with the foliage removed from the trees and undergrowth dying back, visibility would have been clearer. Each morning the head deer keeper and park constables attended the bailiff's lodge and reported if any wrongdoing had occurred since the previous morning and to receive any new instructions from the park ranger.[48]

In March 1841, the regulations were improved and made more specific especially in relation to tree felling, the removal of timber and the treatment of injured animals. Livery clothes were to be worn from ten o'clock in the morning to sunset and guns had to be carried whilst on duty.[49] Because of their unsocial hours the

park constables and gatekeepers successfully obtained an increase in salary, being argued that they were denied an opportunity to add to their earnings because of the long working hours.[50] In addition, as we will see later, they were each allocated a lodge, which further added to Park security.

Almost from the beginning of this study period in 1800 houses were provided for park keepers (park constables) although at this time only two of the four park keepers were housed in the Park.[51] However during the management of the Park by Woods & Forests a concerted effort was made to house all park keepers (park constables). Gate keepers were well provided for with the gate lodges, which, as we have already seen, were almost all rebuilt during Woods & Forests's time. Whether or not there was a strategic plan in providing and locating lodges for park constables throughout the Park is unclear but it would appear planned, both from a security and an aesthetic stance.[52] The provision of lodges meant that almost all of the Park districts had both gatelodges and park constable lodges located within them.

In 1832 Decimus Burton recommended the erection of a park keeper's lodge on the edge of the Fifteen Acres.[53] It was occupied by William Godden, the head keeper or deer keeper of the Park in lieu of vacating his residence, Ivy House, the site of

which is now located within the Zoological Gardens.[54] William Godden had been appointed deer keeper in 1812 by the Duke of Richmond, then lord lieutenant of Ireland.[55] A design by Jacob Owen exists for a keeper's lodge with storehouse attached, dated twenty-first March 1834,[56] (Fig.7.15) which resembles the existing plan, but bears no resemblance to its exterior finish. It may have been that Owen submitted a number of designs. However facilities such as a stable, venison room, a cart and wood shed were necessary and were added when approval was granted in May 1840, which allowed the deer keeper to undertake his duties more effectively and efficiently. The additions were to the designs of Decimus Burton, which was an essay in compactness around a small yard attached to the house.[57] Judging by Owen's plans for the lodge it appears that his intention from the outset was to incorporate the store house into the lodge design and subsequently convert it to living quarters.[58] This may have been a deliberate response relating to the resources allocated at the time for such buildings. The deer keepers lodge and outbuildings, in the cottage ornee style, is a two storey building set in its own grounds of about three acres surrounded by a sunken fence without a stone retaining wall. (Fig.7.16) It is located on high imposing ground overlooking the River Liffey with views towards the Dublin mountains, located

Fig.7.15

Fig.7.16

roughly half way between the Islandbridge and Chapelizod gates to the Park. In 1864 E. Trevor Owen produced drawings for a porch, which was subsequently added to the deerkeeper's lodge.[59]

In December 1840 Wilkie, the park bailiff, submitted a plan for the creation of a deer paddock with a shed and covered cribs for feeding deer during severe winters. (Fig.7.17) The paddock, two and a half acres in extent, was surrounded by a sloping ditch and backed onto the sunken fence of the chief secretary's demesne. Ample shelter was provided on site by white thorns and furze as well as a modest timber shed, which was relocated from another area of the Park.[60] The shed was moved yet again, some eight years later, this time to the deer keeper's demesne, when it was found that there was no suitable place to receive new deer into Park or for the convalescence of sick or injured deer.[61]

Fig.7.17

With both the park bailiff and deer keeper housed, the next step was to accommodate the four park constables. Towards the end of 1844 or early 1845 two of the park constables were accommodated within the Park - one occupied the lodge near Mountjoy barracks and the other lived in the deer keepers house.[62] It is surprising to learn that occupation of the under-keeper's lodge at the south- west corner of Mountjoy barracks was allowed, since a decade earlier Decimus Burton had questioned its viability and

queried if it should be taken down altogether. Burton was of the opinion that the cottage was so dilapidated that it should be rebuilt.[63] However in 1850 this attractive hexagonal shaped lodge was re-roofed and had an upper dormitory added by raising the walls three to three and a half feet. This feature, designed by Burton, is unique among the lodges of the Park.[64] (Fig.7.18)

Fig.7.18

In 1843 an opportunity arose to house a futher two park constables in the Spa House when it was repossessed by Woods & Forests. A memorandum at the time clarified the correct name of the house as the Spa House and not the Water House or the Pump House as it was called and listed on some maps from time to time. Neither should it have been confused with the Summer House close to the Spa well which wasn't a residence.[65] The Spa House was dilapidated at the time[66] and some basic alterations and additions were required. Wilkie proposed building coal houses, potatoe sheds and raising the two wings (of the Spa House) to create bedrooms to enable it to be occupied by two park constables.[67] (Fig.7.19) These alterations were delayed to allow Decimus Burton submit his proposals in August 1844 which included, in addition to Wilkie's proposals above, two additional bedrooms at ground level. Burton considered the addition of bedrooms on the upper level would increase the bulk of the upper

Fig.7.19

part of the building and 'would materially injure its appearance as a conspicuous object in the Park'.[68] Lord Lincoln, one of the commissioners of Woods & Forests, was unhappy with the 'elongated wings' but preferred Burton's plan to having them raised.[69] (Fig.7.19a) In 1860 at least one and most likely two of the upper stories were added to the Spa House[70] thus completing the building as we know it today, though not as bulky in appearance as once considered by Decimus Burton. One wonders if Burton planned the arrangement of the additional rooms at ground level to enable upper rooms to be added at a later date. However the maturity of vegetation in the immediate environs of the Spa House has some mitigating effects on its overall size. (Figs.7.19a & 7.19b)

Fig.7.19a

Figs.7.19a & 7.19b

Alterations of the Spa House in 1845 facilitated the accommodation of two park constables and their families. In order to accommodate the fourth park constable a new lodge was erected in 1846 on a prominent location on Knockmary Hill, adjacent to but on the Western side of the Royal Hibernian Military School.[71] The design, by Decimus Burton, was in the cottage ornee style and is one of his smallest lodges within the Park and the only one still extant that has its original exterior whitened wall finish. Occupying a small area enclosed by an ornate iron railing, also designed by

Burton, the lodge is presented as a most picturesque object within the landscape.[72] (Figs.7.20 & 20a)

Figs.7.20 &7.20a

The number of park constables appears to have remained static until 1872 when a fifth one was appointed to take charge of the People's Gardens, the popularity of which, as we have already seen, was attracting large numbers. We will see later that a police presence was also required to prevent vandalism and keep law and order. Maintaining the policy of their predecessors the Office of Public Works set about erecting a park constable's lodge[73] on the Northern side of the Park with its garden backing onto the Park wall between the Phoenix Park school and the private secretary's demesne. This lodge is referred as Concrete lodge, supposedly the first building in the Park to be constructed of mass concrete. A romantic building, with steep orange tiles, is again in the cottage ornée style and most probably to the design of E. T. Owens. (Fig.7.21)

Fig.7.21

Running parallel with the reorganisation of an internal security force of deer keeper, park constables and gatekeepers for the Phoenix Park was a proposal to create a number of police stations within the Park. This idea was developed in 1837 when the superintendent of the Dublin Metropolitan Police considered that a new force of police could not operate efficiently within the Park

unless they resided there. In the knowledge that two gate lodges were vacant, one at the Dublin Gate and the other at Ashtown, the Commissioner of police set about securing them for use as police stations.[74] The proposal was endorsed by the Earl of Mulgrave, lord lieutenant of Ireland, and supported by under-secretary Drummond, who was responsible for law and order in the country. The latter was also ranger of the Park and one of its residents, and had a vested interest in law and order in the Phoenix Park. Drummond, realising the great benefit of such an arrangement, indicated to Woods & Forests that they should 'be pleased to sanction the proposed arrangement' at the request of the lord lieutenant.[75]

The Dublin Metropolitan Police were formed in 1786 and consolidated by the Irish (Constabulary [Ireland]) Act 1836 of Parliament.[76] They performed a vital role in Park security, especially from 1837 onwards when they were gratefully received into the Phoenix Park by Woods & Forests and the Government officials who resided there. The Dublin Metropolitan Police or the DMP as they were known, had overall responsibility for policing Dublin city, were unarmed, and came under the control of a commissioner of police whose administrative headquarters was at Dublin Castle.[77] Drummond welcomed the prospect of police patrols in the Park especially since representations had been made

to the local authorities for years 'to restrain the disorderly conduct of vagrants and other abandoned characters frequenting the Park in the day time for protection and security of persons and property of those using the Park after sunset'.[78] This was the case 'in spite of the best efforts of the establishment of Park officers' and most disturbing of all 'the outrages & disorders were becoming so flagrant as to deter the more respectable class of people from enjoying the Park for recreation'.[79] Since the nearest police stations were Queen St. and Chapelizod it was hardly surprising that both police and Park administration sought to have a number of police barracks within the confines of the Park.[80]

Both the south gate lodge at the Dublin gate entrance and the north gate lodge at the Ashtown gate entrance both required alterations to facilitate police occupation. Burton had no objection 'to the proposed appropriation temporarily of the Buildings', but recommended that Woods & Forests should be informed. Burton was of the opinion that their use was short term rather than permanent, but even so he was critical of Owen's plans for the alterations of both lodges. Owen as the Irish Board of Work's architect was responsible for providing policing accommodation, but Burton in his role as architect to Woods & Forests for improvements to the Phoenix Park also had a role to play in the

design of the lodges, whether alterations were involved or in the provision of new lodges.

Burton, unhappy with Owen's proposed alterations for the lodges, was critical of his plans, stating that the appearance would not be satisfactory since the two lodges at each of the entrances were uniform and that Owen's plans would destroy that uniformity. (Fig.7.22) Burton argued that any work undertaken on the South lodge at the Dublin gate would be in vain, since he envisaged that when new gates and entrance lodges would be erected further into the Park, the lodge most likely to be demolished would be that on the south side since it stood in isolation between two public roads – the main avenue of the Park and Conygham / Chapelizod road - and hence would be a wasted investment. Burton reinforced his argument by stating that the Northern lodge was less conspicuous because it was located in the angle against the Military infirmary and that it would be far better to use this for police purposes and move the gatekeeper to the South lodge until a new and grander entrance was built. The alterations, which were modest enough, were completed in June 1838 and the police were in occupation early in 1839. (Fig.7.23) Shortly afterwards the Park bailiff, Wilkie, was reporting that one sergeant and eight constables were

Fig.7.22

Fig.7.23

on duty in the Park during the day and a similar number at night and 'that the services performed by them are quite satisfactory'.[81]

The original intention of using one of the gate lodges and outbuildings at the Ashtown entrance was abandoned when the police indicated that they no longer required stabling for their horses at Ashtown. It was also realised that these were old buildings, even when converted for temporary accommodation, would be insufficient for police needs and could be provided by rented accommodation in the locality instead.[82] The police still desired accommodation within the Park which Burton considered could be best met by the erection of a small police barracks. The site, chosen by John Burke, the Park superintendent, was located near White's gate at the rear of Mountjoy barracks set within the plantations and backing onto the Park wall.[83] Burton's plan (Fig.7.24) for a small police barracks to accommodate a married sergeant and twenty-five single men received the unanimous approval of the lord lieutenant, police and Woods & Forests, but the isolation of the site within the Park deemed the location unsuitable.[84] A report from the superintendent of D division of police, in whose area the Park police operated, considered the site unsuitable in all respects: the distance from any market or shops, located where their services are least required and the distance they

Fig.7.24

would have to travel to and from their beats 'rendered' it most inconvenient.[85] A proposal to locate in Mountjoy barracks also appears to have been negatively received.[86] However several weeks later, following a meeting with the lord lieutenant, commissioner Gore of Woods & Forest, Colonel Brown (Inspector General of the Police) and Decimus Burton, a decision was made to erect the police barracks at Ashtown instead of White's gate.[87]

Burton, on Gore's instructions, was requested to prepare a design adapted to the location with its façade conforming to that of the recently constructed gate lodge opposite.[88] When the Ashtown location was previously considered by Owen and Burton in 1838, Burton had envisaged that whatever works were undertaken for the police at the Ashtown entrance it should be both permanent, handsome and form part of a design ensemble which included the new gate keeper's lodge and gates.[89] Furthermore he recommended the erection of an entirely new building for the police which would be built in uniformity with, and correspond externally with, the gate keeper's lodge.[90] A little more than 8 years later Decimus Burton had the opportunity to implement his own building proposals at this location. Why the Board of Works or Jacob Owen were not involved in the design and execution of this building is unclear. It may have been that Owen was too busy with his other

projects which included the ongoing additions to the constabulary barracks in the Park as we will see later. However it is more likely that since Burton had designed the Ashtown gatelodge and that the front of the proposed police station was to match its façade, then Burton would have been the obvious choice.

Burton submitted his plans for the police station in November 1846 with detailed proposals for the exterior of the building – its front to be faced with red bricks, with stuccoed dressings similar to the gate lodge opposite; (Fig.7.25) he proposed that 'the rest of the buildings should be built of rubble stone (with the sand and stone supplied from the Park quarries[91]) without embellishments and concealed by plantations of evergreens from the open Park.[92] (Fig.7.25a) Unlike his two storied Italianate style building proposed for White's gate police station, this was to be a 'one storey Building'.[93] The use of red brick for both the gate lodge and to front the police station is an unusual material for Burton to work with, although his Upper Queens Terrace at Fleetwood in England was constructed of local red brick.[94]

Fig.7.25

Fig.7.25a

Ashtown police barracks was completed in 1848 and was warmly welcomed by the twenty-seven strong police force (required to protect the Park) especially after the winter of 1847, which was one of the severest on record. [95] This is an opportune time to review the numbers of police

that were required to protect the Park. Early in 1839, as has been noted, a sergeant and eight constables were required for day duty in the Park and that a sergeant and ten constables were needed at night (a total of twenty personnel). At that time only a third of the Park's police force could be accommodated at the Dublin gate lodge (south), the remainder having to reside near the Bridewell Lane station in Barrack street.[96]

Burton's design for the proposed new police station at Whites gate catered for one married sergeant and twenty-five constables (total of twenty-six) with the obvious intention of accommodating the sergeant and eight constables already housed at the Dublin gate lodge (south). However with the building of the Ashtown gate police barracks, only one sergeant and eighteen constables were catered for, which possibly reflected the optimum size of building Burton was prepared to erect at this location or a resignation to the fact that the police had resolved to remain at the Dublin gate lodge (south). The increase in police numbers for the protection of the Park during the interim nine-year period (1839-1848) from twenty to twenty-seven (including sergeants and constables) most likely reflected an increase in the popularity of the Park as a result of the ongoing improvements. The composition of the twenty-seven strong police contingent for the Park consisted of a sergeant , two acting sergeants, twenty-two constables with an additional two constables required in summer 'to patrol the more secluded parts of the Park'[97]

But police accommodation still remained a problem at the Dublin gate police station with additional space being sought in 1855.[98] However the English Board of Works, who then managed the Phoenix Park, were unwilling to enlarge the Dublin gate facility especially since a new police barracks had been erected at the Ashtown entrance for the accommodation of a sergeant and eighteen men[99].

The additional space sought at the Dublin gate police station was to provide for more space rather than to accommodate more constables.[100] In March 1856 Jacob Owen submitted a plan and elevation showing his proposed alterations to provide the additional accommodation sought by the police. Owen envisaged an additional story over the north end of the building which he considered would 'improve the architectural character of the Building – a matter of some importance in this public Situation'.[101] (Fig.7.26) However the Park superintendent, John Burke, disagreed and was of the opinion that the proposed alterations would 'even present a more unsightly appearance than at present' and further highlight the lack of uniformity between the two lodges.[102] In spite of this, Burke's peers in London granted permission on condition that the cost of the addition (a little over one hundred pounds)

Fig.7.26

would be funded by the police, a possible ploy that appears to have prevented the alterations from taking place.[103]

In 1839 an Act was passed to provide 'for the better training of a Reserve [police] Force, to be kept at or near Dublin'. It was envisaged that personnel from the provincial depots of Armagh, Ballincollig, Ballinrobe and Daingean (formerly Philipstown) were to be transferred to a central depot near Dublin.[104] A suitable site was acquired in the Phoenix Park near the North Circular Road entrance opposite the Zoological gardens. Plans and specifications were submitted by Jacob Owen for the new buildings at an estimated cost of a little over £10,000 and after some slight modifications the plans were approved in July 1840. In April 1841 plans were approved for an extension to accommodate a further hundred, and in June 1842 the buildings were completed eventually catering for between 600-700 men.[105]

The main buildings, which were occupied *c.*1842, front onto the Phoenix Park and in spite many additions remain virtually unchanged to this day. A gravel parade ground was also added and a riding school for the mounted constablulary was built in 1845. An infirmary was added *c.*1852 and an unusual brick building was built in 1863 for use as an officers' mess as well as a cavalry barracks.[106] (Fig.7.27) Whilst the constabulary depot has a

Fig.7.27

fascinating architectural history the purpose of this section is to explore the visual impact it had on the surrounding landscape. However mention must be made of the officers' mess, the plans for which were drawn up by the notable architect Benjamin Woodward, whose work in Ireland included the old library in Trinity College and the original Kildare Street Club. Woodward's style is clearly evident though the curious animal carvings in Kildare Street were not repeated in the Phoenix Park Depot.[107]

In December 1839 Jacob Owen had written to Decimus Burton informing him that he would shortly receive the plans of the constabulary barracks to be erected in the Phoenix Park. The plans had already been approved by the lord lieutenant (Fig.7.28) who preferred the main block to be moved from position A to position B on the plan, citing the proximity to the existing perimeter road adjacent to the boundary wall as a convenience. It also meant that the parade ground would be 'more cheerful and dry' since it would benefit from the southern sun and it could be enlarged if a sunken fence was constructed as shown by the pencil outline on the plan (Fig.7.28a) The initial site occupied by the constabulary depot amounted to five acres but if the curved line was followed an additional acre would be added.[108] This sunken fence proposal will be referred to later.

Fig.7.28

Fig.7.28a

Treasury approval was granted in June 1840 who instructed the Board of Works (Irish) to proceed with the building but that plans and elevations for the buildings should be submitted from time to time and the works inspected by Decimus Burton.[109] However when Burton received a tracing of the block plan (Fig.7.29) a few months later from Owen a number of changes had been made contrary to what was agreed on site the previous November when the chief commissioner of Woods & Forests, under-secretary Drummond, a major Miller and a colonel Magregor and Burton himself were present. The block plan clearly showed the intention to build the main central block close to the boundary wall of the Park thus necessitating the closure of the road from the (North) Circular Road to Cabra, Ashtown and Castleknock gates and the creation of a new one in front of the Constabulary site. Burton was also perplexed by the proposal to close two sides of the site with high stone walls when it was clearly agreed that the boundary of the site 'should be a sunk fence only similar to those which had been substituted for high walls at the Chief and Under Secretary's Demesnes'.[110] The explanation for setting back the principal block was that the Board of Works had suggested it and when Viscount Ebrington (lord lieutenant) and Lord Duncannon (comm. of Woods & Forests) visited the site 'it

Fig.7.29

was approved there and then because it was a decided improvement'.[111] Woods & Forests approved Owen's plan for setting back the central block and constructing a new road in front of the site but held firm on the site boundary which should be a sunk fence and that the new road would be funded by the Board of Works.[112]

In October 1840 Owen submitted a plan and specification for a sunken fence (Fig.7.30) to Woods & Forests for approval indicating that the lord lieutenant and the police agreed that they were 'best adapted for the purpose'.[113] Subsequently he (Owen) submitted a revised and much improved version of his earlier sunken fence (Fig.7.30a) which Woods & Forests along with Burton appeared to agree with. In December 1843, the chief secretary, Lord Eliot, submitted a modified plan (Fig.7.30b) of Burton's boundary line (shown red in Fig.7.30b) which effectively increased the area of the constabulary barracks.[114] In reality the security of the constabulary depot was of prime importance which was reflected in the decision to move the main block closer to the boundary wall as well as the construction of a more substantial sunken fence although it did serve the aesthetic objective (Fig.7.31)

Fig.7.30

Fig.7.30a

Fig.7.30b

Fig.7.31

In relation to the overall plan Burton was unhappy that the out offices behind the East and West wings extended to the outer boundary of the constabulary site and would be entirely exposed to view from the Park. To counteract this Burton advocated the immediate formation of two plantations. (Fig.7.32) Furthermore, because both these wings projected towards the Park 'to become the most conspicuous objects', Burton recommended that their elevations should not be inferior to the central building and that it was 'especially important' that the roofs of the wings and of the south ends of their back offices should be concealed by a parapet and cornice instead of the dripping eaves shown on Owen's drawings.[115] Though not shown on the Constabulary Barracks drawing of 1842 (possibly by Jacob Owen from his original drawing) [Fig.7.33] they do exist, not only on the gables of the wings but also on the returns of the end blocks of the side wings. (Fig.7.33a) It also came to Burton's attention that it was intended to stucco the central block with Roman cement whereas the wings, built in cut black stone with quoins, window and door jambs were built of brick, would not. Burton considered that the 'violent contrast' contrast between the stucco finish and the latter two materials to be objectionable and was of the opinion that the main block and both side wings were to be finished in stucco.[116]

Fig.7.32

Fig.7.33

Fig.7.33a

Burton's opinion and recommendation was favoured and all three buildings were stuccoed.

Less than three years later with the lord lieutenant's approval, expansion was taking place outside the original site to provide a training ground for horses,[117] (Fig.7.34) which became the site of the new infirmary in 1851. (Fig.7.35) This facility was considered well ahead of its time with the provision of a 'luxurious system of hot and cold water baths'.[118] In 1861, with major additions planned, enlargement of the site became necessary,[119] (Fig.7.36) and the opportunity presented itself to substitute the sunken fence with an ornamental iron railing. Thus the aesthetic control exerted by Woods & Forests and their consultant landscape architect, Decimus Burton, all of whom had departed the scene for a decade, began to wane, and the political authority of lord lieutenant, chief secretary and under secretary held sway in matters not only relating to the provision of additional space for the constabulary but in aesthetic matters such as the substitution of the sunken fence for a substantial iron boundary fence. Thus it can be seen that police not only gained a foothold in the Park but their premises underwent considerable expansion from the late 1830s to the end the study period (1880).

Fig.7.34

Fig.7.35

Fig.7.36

THE MILITARY INFLUENCE

In this section the landscape impact brought about by the military installations within the Park is examined. In chapter one the considerable influence of the military on the Park was noted, not only in relation to the various 'demesnes' that were created for their use such as Mountjoy barracks, the Royal Hibernian Military School, the Royal Infirmary, the Salute Battery, the Magazine Fort and Star Fort, but also their activities within the Park. Included among these were the military reviews for which the Park was renowned, encampments, military manoeuvres, and artillery practices (the latter activity being facilitated by provision of an artillery butt and a number of batteries on the Fifteen acres). Some of the biggest impacts on the Park's landscape were brought about by the removal of a number of these. Chief among them, as has already been seen, was the removal of the Star Fort embankments, the Salute Battery and the artillery butt and batteries.

But perhaps the greatest change of all was achieved by reducing the size of the Barrack demesne, formerly Mountjoy barracks, which during the study period became the Irish headquarters for the Ordnance Survey. Luke Gardiner's house and demesne has already been discussed in chapter one. By 1812 Gardiner's house had been acquired and converted into a cavalry

barracks, one of its functions being to provide a cavalry escort for the lord lieutenant.[120] Lt. Col. Thomas Colby was appointed to undertake a survey of all Ireland at a scale of six inches to one mile mile in June 1824. On one of his early visits to Ireland he selected Mountjoy House in the Phoenix Park as his headquarters[121] and in 1825 it was handed over by the Board of Ordnance.[122] (Fig.7.37) Fig.7.37 An 1830 plan of the Ordnance Survey office, barrack square, and smaller buildings also indicated a small strip of ground granted by the lord lieutenant to be enclosed by a boundary wall. (Fig.7.38) Fig.7.38 This would create a back yard for the barrack square and afford ventilation around the fireproof plan store. It is unclear whether this was implemented at the time. But three years later Decimus Burton was reporting to Woods & Forests on his plans for the Barrack demesne and its environs. Burton proposed the digging up of the narrow road between the high boundary wall of the Park (part of which borders the Farmleigh Estate) and the high wall of the Barrack demesne and planting it up. This loss, however, was compensated for by creating a new road to the front of the demesne.[123] (Figs.7.39 & 7.39a) Figs.7.39 &7.39a

The Barrack demesne occupied an area of almost thirty-nine acres and was used by the lord lieutenant for farming. Woods & Forests seized the opportunity, when complaints were voiced in the

House of Commons on behalf of those utilising the Park for recreation, to follow Burton's recommendations to resume possession of the land at an appropriate time when the lord lieutenancy became vacant.[124] In January 1834 Woods & Forests had gained possession of the property and in September of the same year Decimus Burton was reporting that the enclosure walls of the Barrack demesne constituted 'one of the greatest deformities in the Park' and recommended their immediate levelling. He also advocated the retention of about ten acres towards the centre of the demesne for growing hay and for 'drawing' the cattle and deer into.[125] Approval to enclose ten acres of the Barrack demesne with a sunken fence was given by Woods & Forests in August 1835 with further permission to extend it at the front entrance instead of the existing wooden fence.[126] Burton successfully negotiated with Colonel Colby and Mr. Larcom the removal of half an acre of ground which projected abruptly into the Park which was enclosed by an ugly wooden fence and intersected 'one of the few well timbered glades in the Park'.[127] This projection is clearly shown on Colby's plan of 1830 (Fig.7.40) and on Burton's plan of November 1835. (Fig.7.40a) In order to complete the line of sunken fence approximately one and a quarter acres was added to give a more symmetrical boundary. Burton, anxious that the house should be

Fig.7.40

Fig.7.40a

screened because of its ugly architecture, advised that the lands added to the Survey Office 'should be planted with reference to the general landscape in the Park'[128] and that the ground for growing hay for the deer should be separated from the new ground allocated to the Survey Office by a ditch and wooden fence.[129]

For Burton and Woods & Forests it was a remarkable achievement to reduce the Barrack demesne (formerly Luke Gardiner's demesne) from its original size of nearly thirty-nine acres to about sixteen acres, a little over eight acres of which was occupied by the Ordnance Survey office and a little less than eight acres of which was devoted to hay for the deer and for driving cattle. Subsequently a little over an acre of this latter ground was devoted to gardening by members of the Ordnance Survey staff with the permission of Woods & Forests.[130] (Fig.7.41) By substituting a sunken fence instead of the high stonewalls the landscape visibility of the area was dramatically improved. The alteration of the roads around the demesne improved the landscape not only visually but also by improving accessibility as well. Within the Barrack demesne, Burton switched the emphasis from the south-western facing side of the house, as shown in the 1828 Brocas painting, to the south-eastern front which exists today. (Fig.7.42) An added bonus was the much-improved drainage of the

Fig.7.41

Fig.7.42

immediate environs due to the sunken fence and other works undertaken locally.[131]

By 1853 (Fig7.43) an extensive landscape had developed around the Ordnance Survey office which included walks, boundary hedges, shrubberies, specimen trees and shrubs and island beds of shrubs of varying shapes and sizes. An array of meteorological instruments were located in the southern section of the garden, which enabled continuous meteorological data to be collected from June 1829 to the present day.[132] (Fig.7.44) A substantial but compact brick walled garden adjoins the main complex and shows an interesting internal layout maximised for fruit and vegetable production. (Fig.7.45)

Fig.7.44

Fig.7.45

The establishment and early history of the Royal Hibernian Military School (RHMS) has been noted in chapter one. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the army took over its full management which changed it from being an orphanage to a decidedly more military establishment.[133] The number of children in the school rose dramatically over a ten-year period from January 1799 to January 1809 from 202 to 448.[134] The chief secretary at the time, Major General Sir Arthur Wellesley resided on the opposite side of the Fifteen Acres and since all military matters were directed per his office he was very much aware of the critical

financial state of the RHMS. Wellington was able to appreciate the importance of the School from the military point of view and successfully managed to have it entirely maintained by Parliamentary grant from 1809 onwards instead of relying on grant aid and benefactors as heretofore.[135] Wellington directed that the much needed reconstruction of the RHMS be carried out immediately which was undertaken by the principal architect of the Board of Works Francis Johnston.[136] The wings of the central building and other additions to the School earned Johnson much praise as well as his handling of the difficult foreground to the building. (Figs.7.46 & 7.46a)

Figs.7.46 &7.46a

The RHMS was built on a platform of ground, which descended rapidly to the boundary wall of the School and offices. These were described as being 'mean and disgusting objects' which greatly detracted from the general appearance of the main building.[137] However, Johnston with great ingenuity was able to overcome the defects by deep excavations in which he constructed a complete farmyard with all the necessary offices. (Fig.7.47) An added bonus was the provision of a large area in front of the School in which the boys could play and perform their military exercises. This extended platform provided an uninterrupted view to the

Fig.7.47

Fig.7.48

distant scenery as well as rendering the farmyard invisible from the higher ground.[138] (Fig.7.48)

More than twenty years later, however, when Decimus Burton choose to relocate the Chapelizod entrance on an axial line with the RHMS and the Cooley chapel, (Fig.7.49) the siting of the farmyard proved to be problematic. The new entrance from Chapelizod was placed directly opposite the School since it formed a prominent focal point on high ground. However the effect was destroyed by the walls of the cow houses and sheds which formed the outer boundary of the demesne.[139] Burton recommended the removal of the farmyard to a more suitable and discreet site within the demesne and proposed an inclined lawn bounded by a dwarf wall with iron railings instead of the existing outer boundary and farmyard.[140] The estimated cost of £1,430 was clearly too expensive for Woods & Forests who opted for a more modest scheme of an outer embankment and plantation to screen the high wall of the farmyard.[141] (Fig.7.50)

Fig.7.49

Fig.7.50

One of Burton's early successes in 1833 was the removal of a substantial triangular-shaped brick walled garden near Chapelizod which he considered greatly detracted from the Park.[142] (Figs.7.51&7.51a) We have noted in chapter 1 that this garden was attached to the King's house in Chapelizod. The garden, though

Figs.7.51 &7.51a

detached from the School demesne, had been used free of rent by the RHMS since 1773 for supplying vegetables to the School and also contained a gardener's lodge. Understandably the Governors were anxious that restitution should be made for their investment in the walled garden which involved fencing and building the gardener's lodge as well as the loss of almost five and a half acres.[143] They felt that some equivalent piece of ground from the Park attached to their demesne might be granted to them, especially because of their charitable status. However on investigation, Woods & Forests found that from time to time the Governors of the School had appropriated for the use of the School several parcels of land from the Phoenix Park as well as the initial grant of land for the school house, chapel and curtilages.[144] Woods & Forests were aware that the grants of land were to continue only during the pleasure of the Lords Lieutenant of Ireland for the time being, that the land held by the School was greater in extent than for the purpose for which it was originally acquired and that there was a recent reduction in the number of children attending the School. The above, coupled with the legal constraints on Parklands and the necessity for full financial returns on lands conveyed, meant that no additional lands were transferred to the RHMS demesne.[145]

Considerable expansion had taken place during the first decade of the nineteenth century. In 1808 nineteen acres of farm and garden were under cultivation, which together with buildings and church amounted to twenty-four and a half acres.[146] In 1813 a substantial tree plantation was established on the west side of the RHMS demesne[147] with another plantation of just over four acres being established along the eastern side of the demesne sometime before 1838.[148] An additional acre was sought in 1859 to improve the main entrance, to enlarge the play area and parade ground as well as improving farmyard security. (Figs.7.52 & 7.52a) However this was refused and the demesne area remained at a little over thirty-one acres – a considerable increase on the nine acres which was allocated to the institution at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[149]

Figs.7.52 &7.52a

About twenty years after the opening of the RHMS another military institution was about to open its doors near the Parkgate Street end of the Phoenix Park. The Royal Military Infirmary, erected to the design of William Gibson and opened in 1790,[150] also occupies a platform of ground which gives it a commanding position overlooking the Park facing towards the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham and also provides a valuable focal point within the Park from the Grand Avenue. A steep embankment descended

rapidly from the platform to a valley, through which ran a stream which was bordered by a 'neat gravel walk' for the benefit of the patients. In a corner of the demesne a number of small gardens belonging to some of the officers existed.[151] The whole area during the total study period occupied a little more than eight and a half acres.[152] In 1814 a wall was built which defined the boundary between the Infirmary and the Promenade grounds. The opportunity was taken at the time to enclose some additional ground in lieu of a garden given up for improvements carried out previously at the Parkgate Street entrance to the Park.[153] The terrain on the Park side of the boundary wall made further enlargement into the Park unattractive but expansion did take place on the far side of the Circular road (Infirmary road) on lands acquired by the War Department.[154] (Fig.7.53)

Fig.7.53

From the foregoing it can be seen that the military influence within the Park was curtailed even though some expansion of the RHMS was allowed, but a considerable amount of the ground was planted with perimeter tree belts, which helped to integrate the complex into the landscape. What was more significant during this period were the numbers of military related projects and activities proposed for the Park that were rejected. One of these, a proposal for a National cemetry[155] (Fig.7.54) designed by George Papworth,

Fig.7.54

was to have been located on high ground opposite the Magazine fort with its entrance nearly halfway between Islandbridge gate and Parkgate Street entrance. As part of this proposal a number of other locations within the Park (at Chapelizod, inside the Circular Road Gate and between Islandbridge gate and Chapelizod) were also considered.[156] In 1832 matters had come to a head relating to the burial of soldiers from the Dublin Garrison since the local Parish of St. James wasn't anxious to have them interred in their cemetery.[157] Then in 1834 the Dublin Cemetery Company, probably acting on behalf of the military, had been refused part of the Park for a cemetry.[158] An even greater threat was posed in 1848 with the request to erect a cavalry barracks on twenty-five to thirty acres of Parkland between the Magazine Fort and the Royal Hibernian Military School. This proposal was thwarted by the intervention of the lord lieutenant who considered it would be an unpopular decision with park users.[159]

Woods & Forests also began to assert themselves not only in the allocation of Park ground for specific projects but also its use for activities – recreational and otherwise. In 1840 what could have resulted in a serious precedent for the use of the Park was averted when Woods & Forests postponed (indefinitely) a proposal by Jacob Owen to lease a portion of the Park between Castleknock

Gate and White's Gate for the private development of villas in the Park.[160] This concept of villas in the Park was undoubtedly inspired by John Nash's plan for Regent's Park which included a number of prestigious villas designed by Burton himself including the Burton family home.[161] (Figs.7.54a & 7.54b) As early as 1842 they began to discriminate against activities of a non-recreational nature - the army were refused military practice because of the danger to the public[162] whereas in the same year no objection was raised to allocating a portion of the Park for a cricket ground.[163] In Spring 1861 further restrictions were placed on the cavalry who were not allowed to drill in the Park because of the potential damage to the surface due to the wet season.[164] However in August 1874 the All Ireland Polo Club was granted permission to erect a tent for four days during the Horse Show that year.[165]

RECREATIONAL AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

Attention will now be focused on recreational and educational aspects and in particular on a unique demesne within the Phoenix Park, which in spite of its voluntary status, its emphasis on both the recreational, educational and scientific roles found it difficult to establish itself. The early history of Dublin Zoo is well documented regarding the personalities involved in its establishment and the development of the animal collection but not

so the buildings or landscape formation associated with it.[166] We will be concentrating on the physical formation of Dublin Zoo as well as its landscape and visual impact on the Park.

In May 1830 at a meeting in the Rotunda it was decided to establish The Zoological Society of Dublin with the aim of forming a collection of living animals, similar to London Zoo which had opened in 1829, just a year after the first zoological garden opened in Paris. At the Rotunda meeting it was announced that the lord lieutenant, the Duke of Northumberland, 'had kindly consented to allow a portion of the Phoenix Park already enclosed' to be used as a zoological gardens.[167] The licence to occupy the ground was during 'pleasure of the lord lieutenant' so the Marquis of Anglesey, the new lord lieutenant, appointed in November 1830, had to confirm his predecessor's decision. In May 1831 the Zoological Society were informed that the lord lieutenant had endorsed his predecessor's decision, so the way was clear for development.[168] One wonders if Woods & Forests, who were involved in the management of the Phoenix Park, were aware as to whether any lands were being ceded to the Zoological Society, since they interpreted their powers as the protectors of crown lands, and they were singleminded in allowing use only for the public at large and not for vested interests.

The irregular piece of ground measured about three and a half acres and was situated near the southern end of the viceregal demesne.[169]

(Fig.7.55) It was enclosed by a stone wall on two sides but opened onto the lake on the third. The upper portion of the site, a nearly level paddock, contained two groups of 'fine timber trees' and an orchard. The slope down to the four-acre lake was thickly covered with mainly thorny undergrowth and was also at the disposal of the Society. The original site buildings consisted of a 'substantial' dwelling house, an out house or stable and a small cottage.[170] The site, as noted in chapter one, was a deputy ranger's lodge with supporting grounds and subsequently was made available to Baroness Talbot, who rented it out to the Bishops of Limerick and Kildare at various times. From 1806 to 1812 it was occupied by Sir Edward Baker Littlehales, who was under-secretary of the military department at that time.[171] During the latter's occupation considerable improvements were undertaken, especially to the gardens and property boundaries.[172] From 1812 to 1832 the lodge, known as Ivy Lodge, was inhabited by William Godden, who was appointed the Phoenix Park deer keeper by the Duke of Richmond in 1812, as we have already noted.[173] The Society gained possession of Ivy Lodge in 1833 having compensated the under-secretary, Sir William Gosset, with £150 to enable the construction of a deer keeper's lodge in the Park.[174]

Fig.7.55

The Zoological Society, aware of the necessity to have plans for the Gardens prepared by some competent person, appointed Decimus Burton (then architect to London Zoo) to undertake the task in July

1830.[175] Burton only submitted his report and plans in October 1832 but was most enthusiastic about the site and outlined an ambitious programme of development which included enclosing part of the adjoining lake.[176] Conscious of the delay in submitting plans, he suggested that he needed time to 'mature' his ideas 'as to the best mode of disposing of the site' and the amount of illustrative drawings which he thought advisable to accompany his report.[177] Burton's proposals for the buildings and grounds sought to maximise their location regarding aspect and picturesque effect as well as making the grounds attractive to visitors by capitalising on the inherent landscape values of the site and the fine views of the Park and Wicklow mountains. Burton prepared two plans for the Society – one for the site which was already in their possession and another should the site be extended. He encouraged the Society to enclose the lake by acquiring the bank opposite and to extend it as far as the road which led to the viceregal demesne. This would allow plantations to be laid out on both sides of the lake with walks and buildings, add to the beauty of the views on both sides and improve the view of the valley from the Park. Burton also envisaged that the icehouse and Spa well would be absorbed by future expansion of the Zoo.[178]

In both plans he presumed the entrance of the Zoological Gardens to be in its 'present' location but to be further improved in appearance and extent depending on whether additional ground

was acquired or not. The concept of a grotto-like covered passage running under the road at the south end of the lake through the Park plantation, for egress only, was also proposed.[179] Burton drew attention to a specially designed turnstile (requiring no gate keeper) used at the Regent's Park zoo. A new road was also envisaged through the plantation to join with the Grand avenue. A terrace, probably similar to the one he designed for London zoo, was also proposed to take advantage of the beautiful scenery generated by the gardens and lake with the Park and mountains forming 'a magnificent backdrop to the picture'.[180]

Before examining the peripheral developments and expansion, which affected both the Zoological Gardens and the Park, exploration of the evolution of the zoo buildings and those responsible for them now follows. In 1832 a number of buildings were already erected - a lodge at the entrance for the gate-keeper (Fig.7.56) an ostrich house, which was a large temporary box like structure, a bear-pit and a large building, eighty feet long, referred to as the Repository,[181] which was the first animal house to be erected at Dublin Zoo.[182] There was also a temporary wooden building for deer, alcove seats and a well designed otter place.[183]

Fig.7.56

Burton's 1832 report to the Dublin Zoological Society, noted above, was accompanied by two plans and several designs for

houses.[184] Even though Burton's original commission did not include drawings of buildings he did nevertheless supply the Society with a number of designs (none of which appear to be extant), which he hoped they would find useful. Some of the sketches of buildings for birds and animals were adapted by Burton from his designs for the London Zoological Society's garden in Regent's Park. He also suggested some new designs – one in particular, which was for a polygonally shaped menagerie. How much it resembled his Raven cage for London Zoo, the first building to be erected there, is uncertain.[185] (Fig.7.57)

Fig.7.57

How much of the layout, architectural style and type of buildings provided by Burton for Dublin zoo resembled those of London Zoo is open to conjecture. The sites were radically different – London Zoo was a semicircular site, which Burton divided informally by a network of paths, linking the various structures housing the animals, whereas the Phoenix Park site was much more picturesque. London zoo's buildings were designed in the cottage ornee style which was considered appropriate at the time for garden architecture.[186] There is no reason to believe that Burton adopted a different style for Dublin Zoo especially since he favoured the cottage ornée style for many of the lodges located within the Park. A number of Burton's buildings for London's zoo

– the Camel house with clock tower (Fig.7.58), the delicate iron Macaw aviary (now the Raven cage) and the old tunnel linking the two parts of the garden, (Fig.7.59) still survive in London Zoo although some are considerably altered such as the Giraffe house.[187]

Fig.7.58

Fig.7.59

There is no evidence to suggest that any of Burton's building designs were implemented though buildings continued to be erected during the final period of this study (1830-1880).[188] An elephant house, referred to as Albert's Tower, since it was originally built for Albert the giraffe, was erected in 1845-1846 to the design of George Wilkinson. (Fig.7.60) It acted as an observation tower and also contained quarters for an elephant and a camel. The wall vents are not unlike those at Wilkinson's Harcourt Street Station.[189] (Figs.7.60a & 7.60b) It may have been that since money was scarce the Society was unable to afford Burton's fees and preferred to draw on the various professional talents from their membership free of charge, a characteristic in which they prided themselves. Cunningham in his booklet on the *Origin and Early History of the Royal Zoological Society (1901)* makes specific mention of 'architects who offer suggestions in regard to new designs for houses [and who] are frequent guests at the Zoo breakfast table'.[190] It is interesting to note in this respect that Jacob

Fig.7.60

Figs.7.60a & 7.60b

Owen, architect to the Board of Works, was a council member of the Zoological Society from 1848 to 1857.[191]

Whatever about the degree of Burton's involvement within the boundaries of Dublin Zoo there is ample proof of his professional work and encouragement regarding the Zoo's expansion and the treatment of its exterior boundaries. In August 1835 Woods and Forests agreed to widen the narrow Mound or Causeway road leading from the Grand Avenue to the entrance of the Zoological Gardens based on Burton's observation on how dangerous it was.[192] This recommendation embodied a number of related projects, which included not only the widening of the Causeway road but also the removal of the cottage next the entrance and the whole of the wall on the North side of the road as well as lowering the wall on the South side to road level. Considerable earthworks on the adjoining slopes as well as levelling in front of the Zoo entrance was also involved. (Fig.7.62) The two entrance gates with four piers and steps were beautifully crafted in granite with iron railings consisting of both wrought and cast iron painted an 'invisible green'. Regrettably these plans don't exist but a detailed specification which matches the works of the existing original entrance, does exist as well as an outline plan and photograph.[193] (Figs.7.63a & 7.63b) Unfortunately a defect in the Causeway mound, which allowed water to escape from the Zoo lake, caused much anxiety and embarrassment to Burton and a reprimand from

Fig.7.62

Figs. &7.

Woods and Forests.[194] Examination of the plan for drainage and the supporting causeway embankments indicate that these demanded more skills of an engineering nature rather than architectural ones. (Fig.7.64) Fig.7.64 The drainage of the lake allowed the accumulation of mud, which had formed to be cleared and used for land formation both adjoining and within the Zoo, which was subsequently fenced and planted with trees.[195] (Figs.7.65 & 7.65a) Figs.7.65 &7.65a

Burton, in his initial report to the Zoological Society of Dublin in 1832, noted the small area of ground that had been allocated to it and since it had an irregular boundary, added that there would be insufficient paddocks to accommodate deer, bison and other grazing animals. At the time the Society was encouraged by Burton's prospect of obtaining not only the use of the lake but also the land on each bank as well as the Spa well. In 1839, the lord lieutenant, Viscount Ebrington, strongly supported the Society's request to Woods & Forests for the enclosure of the pond and a part of the bank on the western side of the lake adjoining the road leading to the viceregal lodge.[196] The additional ground was seen as a matter of primary importance to protect the waterfowl, to form paddocks and which could add considerably to the beauty of the scenery. The lord lieutenant considered that 'in appearance forms but a continuation of the Pleasure ground attached to the

[viceregal] Lodge'.[197] The request was refused on the grounds that it would interfere with the enjoyment of people 'who resort in great number to that beautiful spot' and the matter was dropped from the Society's agenda at that time.[198]

However in January 1843 the Society renewed their pursuit of additional ground, this time focusing on the Spa well end of the Zoo lake and its environs. A comprehensive report and plan (Fig.7.66), submitted to Woods & Forests,[199] was passed to Burton for his professional opinion. He agreed that the grant of land, which was only half of what was previously sought, was desirable but advised that the inclusion of the Spa well would only aggrieve the public.[200] Woods & Forests again refused on the same grounds as above – that of interfering with the public enjoyment but held out some hope of helping to improve their grounds adjacent to the Spa well.[201] Some landscape improvements were undertaken in the general environs of the Spa well during the following few years, which included some planting to stabilise the steep causeway between the viceregal lake and the zoo lake as well as replacing a high stone wall with an iron railing.[202] (Fig.7.67) Within a decade of the Zoological Society seeking to expand, considerable advances were made in landscape development and housing of animals as shown on an O.S. map of 1853. (Figs.7.68 & 7.68a)

Fig.7.66

Fig.7.68
& 7.68a

Two further attempts to appropriate the west bank of the zoo lake were made - one in March 1858 on the instructions of the lord lieutenant, Lord Eglinton, which was to no avail.[203] The other in 1863 was to the under-secretary, Thomas Larcom, and resulted in the Irish Board of Works granting an area of almost two and three quarter acres of the west bank provided it was enclosed by a light open fence.[204] It would appear that no further land was granted to the Society during the full period of this study.

In the final section of this chapter there will be a brief look at an unique development in the Phoenix Park – the construction of a school and teachers residence with supporting playground and yard. (Fig.7.69) The design by Decimus Burton is in the old English style and utilised limestone and sand from the Park quarries and was built in 1848.[205] This compact development is located between the Ashtown and Cabra Gates and backs onto the boundary wall of the Park. The original building cluster must have had the appearance of another Park lodge, although this is no longer the case since the schoolhouse was considerably enlarged since 1880. (Fig.7.69a) The school catered exclusively for children of employees of the Commissioners and was built entirely out of public funds derived from land revenue.[206] Burton is known to have designed only one other school (recently restored) at

Fig.7.69

Tunbridge Wells in Kent in the Tudor Gothic style, the foundation stone of which was laid by the young Princess Victoria, the Dutchess of Kent on the 29th September 1834.[207] (Fig.7.69b)

Fig.7.69b

In conclusion we find that both the expansion of the military establishments and their use of the Park for various military activities have been greatly curtailed with a greater emphasis on the use of the Park for recreational activities. The police during this period established a considerable foothold in the Park not only with two new police stations – one at Parkgate Street and the other at Ashtown gate – but also a major training facility for police recruits. However the presence of police within the Park was of mutual benefit to the protection of the Park and encouraged by Woods & Forests in particular.

However in spite of the considerable developments of a non Park nature such as the provision of school facilities, the constabulary barracks and various expansion of institutions within their own demesnes such as the Roylal Hibernian Military School and the Ordnance Survey Office all of which were discreetly landscaped and located away from being a major intrusion into the Park and situated along the Park boundaries. In the last two decades of this study period there is a definite move towards

facilitating recreational activities within the Park, particularly team sports such as cricket and polo.

CHAPTER 8 - Conclusions

The period from 1800 to 1880 is significant both for the Phoenix Park's management and landscape development which have been discussed separately even though they are both inextricably linked. For example the degree of landscape and infrastructural development directly depended on the available funding and personnel, both administrative and professional. Likewise, decisions relating to the Park's land use, whether institutional or recreational, also depended on Park management in the broadest sense and on funding to a lesser degree. A third and hugely significant result of this research is an assembly of a miscellaneous collection (over 330 items) of maps, prints, paintings, plans and architectural drawings, the majority of which are associated with the Phoenix Park. A large number of these are unpublished and indeed unknown.

The main emphasis of chapter one is on the outline history of the Phoenix Park to *c.*1800. A number of conclusions emerge which relate to the military presence within the Park, the use of Park lodges as official government residences, the landscape design and development of the Park up to 1800, and the administrative structures which, by 1800 saw senior government office holders in the positions of ranger and bailiff.

The military use of the Phoenix Park during the eighteenth century not only dominated the Park's landscape with military institutions and

fortifications but also allowed the Park to be extensively used for military reviews, manoeuvres, encampments, and artillery practice.

The first of these military intrusions was the Star Fort (Wharton's Fortification) which commenced in 1710 though work abruptly stopped on it in 1711. In spite of this, considerable earthen embankments were constructed which remained well into the first half of the nineteenth century. Another military installation erected *c*.1710 was the Salute Battery which was used for firing of cannon on ceremonial occasions. It became disused in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The Magazine Fort, built in 1734, still remains with Francis Johnston's triangle of brick buildings which were added in 1801. In 1766 permission was granted for the building of the Royal Hibernian Military School in the Park near the village of Chapelizod. A school chapel to the design of Thomas Cooley was added in 1771. Nearly two decades later another important military institution, the Royal Infirmary or Soldier's Hospital was erected in 1786-1788 to the design of James Gandon. These latter two institutions occupied excellent vantage points within the Park and added considerably to the visual attractions of the Park and as seen from afar. The Wellington Testimonial, though aesthetic in nature, was also a major 'military intrusion'.

A number of requests from the military for a military cemetery (designed by George Papworth), a cavalry barracks and the continuation

of military practices in the Park were all refused by Woods & Forests, and subsequently cavalry exercise in the Park was curtailed during inclement weather. By way of contrast the police established a considerable foothold in the Park not only with two new police stations - one at Parkgate Street and the other at Ashtown gate - but also with the erection of a major training facility for police recruits. However, the presence of police in the Park was of mutual benefit, and was encouraged by both Woods & Forests and under-secretary Drummond, who was also park ranger.

However these institutions and fortifications generated considerable traffic and wear and tear on the Park's roads. Other military activities to impact on the Park generally were the ongoing reviews, manoeuvres, artillery practice and encampments. Numerous reports and records indicate the scale of these activities, some of which commandeered all the public areas of the Park as shown on General Irwine's map of the Park in 1775. A large plain between the Magazine Fort and the Royal Hibernian Military School was dedicated to and used regularly for target practice and encampments. Overall Park use by the military for institutional, defensive and military manoeuvres had a debilitating effect on the Park.

The public areas of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Phoenix Park owed their landscape formation and beauty more to natural

landforms and distant views than to internal designed landscapes with the exception of the 'Wilderness's', and of a number of strategically located woodlands and groups of trees planted on either side of Chesterfield Road. It is estimated from Park maps of the 1770s that about five per cent of the public areas of the Park were then under tree cover. Indeed tree establishment would have been difficult, given the amount of deer and various other livestock grazing in the Park, the inadequate drainage, and the possible lack of maintenance. However the public areas of the Park cannot be visually divorced or isolated from the various institutions and lodges within the Park. The landscapes attached to these 'private' demesnes, particularly the official government residences with their well landscaped demesnes, added considerably to the overall visual beauty of the Park.

Park management seems to have waxed and waned up to 1800 with good management the norm until about 1727. A quarter of a century later it was found necessary to introduce a set of rules and regulations regarding Park management. However within three decades matters had deteriorated considerably.

The management structure and line of authority at the beginning of the 1800s was a somewhat paradoxical and complex arrangement. It was important at the start of this study, to clarify where different responsibilities lay between 1800 and 1880.

At the beginning of the 1800s under-secretary was ex-officio the ranger / keeper of the Park, and his immediate superior in the government administration, the chief secretary, was the Park bailiff, both of them appointees of the lord lieutenant. The structure was further complicated by the fact that the three highest government officials, the lord lieutenant, the chief secretary and under-secretary all resided in the Park. A further complexity existed since the Board of Works, which was in charge of Park improvements, reported to the lord lieutenant. Not surprisingly roles and responsibilities became blurred and confused as leading government officials, who resided in the Park, donned the mantle of ranger, keeper and bailiff, which in the latter's case was further complicated by the delegation of his duties to a deputy or under-bailiff.

In April 1833 Woods & Forests set about rationalising Park management, firstly by uniting the posts of bailiff and under-bailiff, and then by disengaging the post of bailiff from the chief secretary's position. On the demise of under-secretary Drummond in May 1840 the opportunity to separate the office of ranger / keeper from that of under-secretary for Ireland was grasped. From May 1840, the 'entire and undivided control and responsibility' for the management of the public

areas of the Phoenix Park, as well as the revenues arising from it were vested in Woods & Forests.

The Board of Works managed all areas of the Park from the beginning of the study period (1800) until 1829 when Woods & Forests became responsible for managing the public areas of the Park until 1851 (the Board of Works retaining the management of the private demesnes and some institutions in the Park). Management of the public areas of the Park continued from August 1851 to December 1859 under the London-based Board of Works (GB) and reverted once again to the Dublin-based Board of Works, reconstituted in 1831 as Board of Public Works (Irl.), from January 1860. Thus this latter body became responsible once again for the management of all areas of the Phoenix Park, public and private.

Somewhat surprisingly, and in spite of the many departmental, agency and organisational changes, some degree of professional and administrative continuity was maintained for long periods of time. William Spalding Wilkie, who had served as head gardener to under-secretaries Gregory and Gosset for about sixteen years, also fulfilled the duties of under-bailiff, bailiff and park superintendent for thirty-eight years, thus spanning the entire management period of the Park under Woods & Forests, the Board of Works (GB), and ten years of management under the Board of Works (Irl.) from 1860 to 1870. Another long serving and 'meritorious' officer was John Burke, clerk of the Quit

Rent Office (a position held by him under patent since 1817), whose personnel acted as the Irish agents for Woods & Forests. Since July 1840 all directions from Woods & Forests were issued through John Burke, who in December of that year was entrusted 'with the general superintendence of the Phoenix Park and all matters connected therewith'. Burke continued as park superintendent until December 1859, only days before the newly created Board of Public Works (Irl.) took over the management of all areas of the Phoenix Park. The enormous value for the Park in perpetuating both the design philosophy and management ethos of both Woods & Forests and Decimus Burton cannot be underestimated. One of the results of this study has been to identify officials (as distinct from architects and landscape designers) such as W. S. Wilkie, John Burke, William Gregory, the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Carlisle whose contribution greatly benefited the Park's management and development.

The Phoenix Park was the only royal park in Ireland and as such became a 'miscellaneous' property as far as management was concerned. However it did fit neatly into Woods & Forests property portfolio along with the rest of the royal parks in England. It was also fitting that Woods & Forests, of all the departments involved in the management of the Park during the eighty years under study, should have been the department to undertake large scale expenditure on major landscape improvements and

development in the Phoenix Park. Of all the departments involved in Park management, they were the most experienced in landscape management and design.

It will be seen from our examination of funding for the maintenance and management of the public areas of the Park that financial stringency was maintained throughout the period (1800 to 1880). This financial control contrasted sharply with the considerable expenditure by the lord lieutenant on the viceregal lodge and demesne, especially from 1804-1810 when expenditure was almost three and half times that spent on the public areas of the Park.

The large number of examinations and enquiries into the financial affairs of the Board of Works from 1800 to 1830 gives a valuable insight into the management and funding of the Park. In spite of the specific instructions regarding financial management in 1801 great difficulty arose in controlling expenditure on specific projects, especially in relation to the viceregal lodge and demesne. The matter was further complicated because 'orders from the lord lieutenant and the chief secretary are considered as peremptory, the board conceiving it had no control over them'; and even requisitions from the under-secretary and the lord lieutenant's attendants were complied with without much investigation by the board.

The only period during which substantial funds were made available for the Park improvements was during the period of management by Woods & Forests from 1832 to 1850. This was also a period of experimentation in financial accountability and control in the Park which proved so successful that Woods & Forests were pleased to inform the Treasury of its potential. It was during this period that the humanitarian face of officialdom showed itself through the various employment schemes in the Park, which maximised the use of unemployed labourers and tradesmen; 'inferior' deer were also distributed to Park employees and to local communities. It was also a time for innovation and experimentation. For example the massive soil banks on top of Coyle's quarry were removed using gunpowder in order to obtain a more picturesque appearance as well as reducing costs. Burton subsequently had these planted with hawthorn (*Crataegus spp.*), furze (*Ulex spp.*) and broom (*Cytisus and Genista spp.*) to match the local naturalized scenery, thus making it one of the first records of ecological planting within the Park.

The principal income generated by the Park during the study period derived primarily from grazing, with smaller contributions from timber, crops and deer, although some financial benefits also accrued from the Park's natural resources of stone, sand and gravel. To a lesser extent, public finances also benefited from donations of park turves (grass sods)

and nursery stock (young trees from park plantations) to other institutions and public authorities.

Few landscape works were undertaken in the public areas of the Phoenix Park from 1800 to 1830 with the exception of some groups of tree planting and the reinforcement of the planting on either side of Chesterfield Avenue. The arrangement of these groups of trees was noted by William Sawrey Gilpin, author of *Practical Hints upon Landscape Gardening*, to be 'injurious to the grandeur and solemnity of the avenue' but also that it gave 'a cheerfulness and variety to it as a drive'. In 1818 the erection of the Wellington Testimonial, to the design of Sir Robert Smirke, was commenced which made it the tallest obelisk in the world at the time.

Unprecedented expenditure by Woods & Forests took place on the public areas of the Park over a sixteen-year period from 1833-1849. This resulted in major landscape and infrastructural changes, which are abundantly evident today. These included not only major architectural works with many new gate lodges built and a number of others being rebuilt, complete with entrance gates and palisade fencing but also a number of internal park lodges for servants of the Park. Major earthworks were levelled and special grants were also allocated for Park drainage in May 1837 and again in January 1847, all of which resulted in a total

transformation of the Park's surface both from an aesthetic and utilitarian point of view.

The Park's landscape features, which have had a lasting visual and functional impact on the Park, include the creation at this time of numerous tree belts and plantations as well as the formation of sunken-fences (ha-has) particularly around the perimeter of the official demesnes.

Valuable insight into Decimus Burton's wide-ranging architectural and landscape designs, and managerial skills are highlighted in this research. Jacob Owen's role is also clarified since as architect to the Board of Works he also had submitted plans, specifications and estimates for a number of the Park's gate lodges, including the proposed relocation of Chapelizod lodge opposite the Royal Hibernian Military School, and for park keepers' lodges and other park improvements. These also included drawings and specifications for a new lodge at Castleknock as well as 'reforming' the gate lodge at Knockmaroon and the lodges at the Dublin gate. Owen's designs for both the gate and keepers' lodges ranged in style from the neo-classical for the Dublin gate lodges to the old English for Knockmaroon and the Italianate for Castleknock. However Burton's designs and track record on London's royal parks was sufficient for Woods & Forests to favour him instead of Jacob Owen.

Burton's gatelodges and gate entrances provide essays in both design (around a classical theme) and range of external finishes. This is

even more surprising, since though the majority of the gate lodges are by Burton, cognisance must have been taken of the earlier designs by Johnston. The entrances and gatelodges at Hyde Park (another royal park), which were designed by Burton, offer a useful comparison with those of the Phoenix Park. In the latter location he had relative freedom with both the location and layout of entrances and gate lodges for the majority of sites although economic constraints began to emerge with the building of the Knockmaroon entrance and gate lodge.

The importance of Park drainage cannot be overstated, not only in terms of the Park's visual appearance and physical use, but also because of its major contribution to the development of drainage as a science, which had a major influence on drainage practices throughout the country. One of the most difficult problems to solve since the formation of the Park was its effective drainage. Several attempts were made during the first half of the nineteenth century commencing with an official inspection in 1801. During Woods & Forests' time (1829-1850) two of the greatest exponents of the art and science of drainage – James Smith of Deanston and Josiah Parkes – were involved.

In 1847 the Treasury sanctioned £9,000 for the 'complete drainage of the Phoenix Park' to be undertaken by Josiah Parkes. Perhaps the greatest testimony to Parkes' drainage scheme is that it continues to operate efficiently today and is capable of discharging maximum amounts

of rainfall from the Park. As a result both visually and physically the Phoenix Park became transformed from an unhealthy, swampy and physically limiting landscape to a healthy green oasis capable of generating increased revenue, allowing greater use by the various institutions in the Park and most importantly of all, as a recreational playground for the public. Parkes' method of drainage, known as deep drainage (with depths of drains varying from three and three-quarters to four feet and intervals between drains of from thirty-five to forty-five feet) became so popular that in 1862 the Board of Works stated that the system of deep drainage had gained considerably in estimation and its advantages were becoming generally appreciated. However a second objective to establish a School of Drainage did not materialise probably because land drainage in Ireland had gathered such rapid momentum due to the *Land Improvement and Drainage Acts, 1847*.

In 1840 the North Promenade ground was developed as a public area thus making it one of the earliest amenities of its type available to the public. Over two decades later, it evolved into the People's Gardens and was noted for its novel experimentation with floral displays.

In the late 1850s Lord John Manners, Commissioner of the English Board of Works, proposed laying out flower beds in public parks for the public benefit. A few years earlier, the royal parks, following on the popularity of the floral displays at Crystal Palace, were planting large quantities of

bedding plants, and by the mid-1860s the municipal parks of London were following their example. Hence the floral developments that took place at the People's garden in the Phoenix Park were following emerging trends in England.

Ninian Niven, the foremost Victorian landscape gardener in Ireland, has been credited with the design of the People's Gardens but there is no evidence to support this. On the contrary, it appears that the concept of a People's garden was initiated by the Seventh Earl of Carlisle, and there is evidence that the design and layout were undertaken by William Spalding Wilkie, the park bailiff.

A major bias in favour of spending on London's royal parks compared to the expenditure on the Phoenix Park was revealed in 1861 and this was in spite of the latter's size. It was also argued in vain that it was the only public Park available to the citizens of Dublin. When expenditure on the royal parks and pleasure gardens in London was compared with that of the Phoenix Park from 1851 to 1860 it showed spectacular differences. St. James's, Green, and Hyde Parks and Roads, had an expenditure over the ten year period of a staggering £247,000 compared to the miniscule sum of £44,000 spent on the Phoenix Park, even though their combined areas were less than half that of the Phoenix Park. Regent's Park (487 acres) had an expenditure of £70,000 over the same 10 year period. In spite of the Phoenix Park's size (1758 acres) – it

was larger than most of London's royal parks put together (excluding Richmond park). The total expenditure on London's parks (which also excludes Richmond park) for that period amounted to £735,000.

The removal of the high stone walls around official residences and their demesnes, and the creation of sunken fences in their stead was perhaps the singular most dramatic and daring landscape innovation to happen in the Phoenix Park during this period. It allowed the official demesnes within the larger demesne of the Park to become 'more public' and better integrated into the landscape of the Park itself. Burton took this a stage further when he created 'vistas' across the chief secretary's demesne, again with the expressed intention of 'opening up' what in effect was a 'private demesne' for the enjoyment of the public at large. This is all the more surprising since walls around Irish demesnes were one of their defining features, not only for security purposes but also as an expression of their size. However, direct comparision with Irish demesnes is somewhat difficult because of the uniqueness of the Phoenix Park, which consists of a series of demesnes within a larger demesne.

How much credit can be given to the various occupants of official demesnes can be difficult to determine in some cases, but easier with others. There can be no doubt about the contribution made by the 4th Duke of Richmond, when lord lieutenant (1807-1813), both to the viceregal demesne and the Park. In the case of William Gregory, the

longest serving under-secretary for Ireland (1812-1830), his legacy no doubt was his well-wooded demesne and the reordering of the pleasure grounds and walled gardens.

The viceregal demesne, the summer residence of the lord lieutenant and his court, was the largest of the three and received the most publicity and acclamation. It attracted attention with experimentation in the planting out of tender plants for summer bedding in the 1820s. Later the spectacular ribbon borders of bedding plants in front of Turner's vineries were considered one of the most spectacular sites to be seen for more than three decades. The viceregal flower gardens were created in 1838 and surrounded by balustrades and two terraces. This new flower garden, previously referred to as the South Lawn, the design of which has been mistakenly attributed to Ninian Niven, was in fact designed by Lady Normanby (wife of the Lord Lieutenant) with assistance from Decimus Burton. The huge popularity enjoyed by Niven in the following decades in creating balustraded terraced gardens may owe its origin to the lead given by the viceregal gardens and the fashion adopted by the lord lieutenant at the time. The famous ironfounder, Richard Turner, is well represented in the viceregal gardens for his peach house (claimed to be the most extensive range of iron houses when constructed in 1836-37), and his spectacular range of vineries. He was also responsible for a number of previously undocumented items such as gas light standards,

the entrance gates to the chief secretary's demesne, exterior hand rails over a woodland causeway in the viceregal demesne and the Castleknock entrance gates with adjoining iron palisade railing, all of which are still extant. Attention must also be drawn to the scale of ceremonial tree plantings in the viceregal demesne, which were initiated by Queen Victoria when she planted a common oak (Quercus robur) in 1853.

The chief secretary's demesne, the second largest of the demesnes, also came to public attention because of its ribbon flower borders and the excellence of its fruit production, and glasshouse range by Turner. Niven's collaboration with Turner & Walker at the chief secretary's walled garden is significant, as is the establishment of the correct dates for the erection of segments of the curvilinear glasshouse range from 1840 to 1842.

The smallest of the three demesnes, the under-secretary's, was noted for its culinary produce and fruit. However, what is of greatest importance is that it charts in a very precise way the evolution of the walled garden from the eighteenth century to the mid Victorian period through a series of walled gardens which are cartographically represented on a number of maps.

In the discussion on the impact and evolution of the institutional demesnes on the Park, it can be seen that both the expansion of the military establishments and their use of the Park for various military

activities were greatly curtailed during this period, with a greater emphasis on the use of the Park for recreational activities. As early as 1842 Park management began to discriminate against activities of a non-recreational nature taking place in the Park. In the last two decades of this study period 1860-1880 there is a definite move towards facilitating recreational activities within the Park, particularly team sports such as cricket and polo. In August 1874 the All Ireland Polo Club was granted permission to play occasionally on the Nine Acres, and permission was also granted to erect a tent for four days during the Horse Show that year.

In summation then it can be stated that both the managerial, financial, infrastrucural and landscape design decisions taken during the study period 1800 to 1880 dramatically changed not only the infrastructure of the Park but also the visual appearance of the landscape. The Park's appearance changed from a somewhat rural agricultural landscape to a more modern parkland that is enjoyed today by a recreational and sporting public.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1 (THE HISTORY OF THE PHOENIX PARK TO *c.*1800)

[1] C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its Origin and early History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, 3rd series, 1900-1902, p.465

[2] Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860*, Dublin, 1952, p.13.

[3] Ibid., p.14.

[4] *Calendar of State Papers (1615-1625),* pp.246, 258. I am indebted to Dr. Brian McCurtain for a series of references dealing with the early history of the Park.

[5] C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its Origin and early History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, 3rd series, 1900-1902, pp. 470, 471.

[6] Ibid.

[7] C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its Origin and early History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol xxii, 3rd series, 1900-1902, p. 471. A spring of water exists near the Phoenix column close to the entrance of Aras an Uachtarain (formerly the viceregal lodge) at the side of the ha,ha embankment. Christy Ryan, former caretaker of the Magazine Fort pointed out the location of two wells in the Magazine Fort, one of which was located at the western side of the blast wall and the other apparently under the gable wall of the central magazine indicated by a small arch in the gable just above the level of the floor.

[8] G. E. Howard, *Treatise of the Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland*, 1776, vol. ii, p. 261.

[9] C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its Origin and early History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, 3rd series, 1900-1902, p. 471.

[10] Ibid., p.474.

[11] F. Elrington Ball, *History of the County of Dublin part iv*, Dublin, 1906, p.184.

[12] Leonard Cantor, 'English Deer Parks, An Historcial Background', *Selected papers from the proceedings of a symposium on the management, conservation and interpretation of park deer*, a symposium held at Manchester Polytechnic 6-7 Apr 1988, p. 2.

[13] C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its Origin and early History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, 3rd series, 1900-1902, p. 474.

[14] Ibid., pp. 474, 475.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid. Also: Robert Owen, '*An Account of the Foundation of the Royal Hospital of Charles 2nd near Dublin*', Dublin, 1725, pp. 26, 27.

[17] NLI, Thomas Taylor's 'Survey of part of Phoenix Park and Newtowne, 1671', Ms 16. G. 17(48).

[18] C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its Origin and early History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, 3rd series, 1900-1902, p. 480.

[19] Rolf Loeber, *A Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Ireland 1600-1720*, London, 1981, p. 49.

[20] HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, K.C.*, vol. iii, new series, London, 1904, pp.189-190.

[21] Arthur Gibney, 'Studies in Eighteenth-Century Building History' (Ph. D. thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1997), p. 238.

[22] HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, K.C.*, vol. iii, new series, London, 1904, pp. 291-292.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Rolf Loeber, *A Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Ireland 1600-1720*, London, 1981, p. 50.

[25] NLI, Thomas Taylor's 'Survey of part of Phoenix Park and Newtowne, 1671', Ms 16. G. 17(48).

[26] C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its Origin and early History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, 3rd series, 1900 –1902, p. 476.

[27] G. E. Howard, *Treatise of the Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland*, Dublin, 1776, vol. ii, pp. 260, 261.

[28] HMC, *Calendar of the Mauscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, K.C.*, vol. vi, new series, London, 1911, pp. 390-391.

[29] Thomas U. Sadleir, 'The Phoenix Park, its origin and Its Buildings', *Official Programme (second day) for the Royal Irish Automobile Club Irish International Grand Prix Phoenix Park Dublin July 12th & 13th , 1929*, p. 27; copy in R. I. A. C. library, Dublin; C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its Origin and early History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, 3rd series, 1900 –1902, pp. 476, 477.

[30] Ibid., p. 47.

[31] NGI, Cat. no. 7516, Francis Place, 'Dublin from the Park beside the House called the Phoenix', 1698; BL. (Map Lib.), Maps nos. 11850(1) and 11815(6) by I. Brown. The dates suggested by the library catalogue are clearly incorrect as noted by wall realignments and occupants of official residences i.e. the under secretaries Hamilton from 1780 to 1795 and Marsden from 1801 to 1806. Map no. 11815(6) must be *c.*1804 onwards; map no. 11850(1) as dated on map i.e.1789.

A small rectangular wall recess appears to have been created at the time to facilitate a stream exiting from the Park near Parkgate street. This was in the ownership of the Paving Board when it was subsequently incorporated into the Park over a half century later. Two existing undated stone tablets incorporated in the Park wall on either side of the Parkgate street entrance probably date from this time and indicate the street names – Parkgate street, the approach road to the Park from the city, and Conyngham Road, which commences at the Parkgate street entrance and extends to Islandbridge. The road name was probably in recognition of the Hon. William Conygham's generosity in part funding the scheme and as its proposer in his capacity as a Wide Streets Commissioner.

[32] Gilbert Coll., Dublin, Ms 91 f. 51 ; TCD Libr., Ms 1180 (I 6.10) includes among other items a charge for enclosing the wood in the Phoenix Park, draining it and making a fishpond, Jan 14th, 1703 (1704).

[33] NLI, Ms 11,848, Domville Papers, An Account of monies paid to Luke Gardiner 1743-1745.

[34] NLI, Robert Molesworth to his wife Letitia, 13 Oct 1716, microfilm p. 3752.

[35] OPW Libr., James Sherrard, 'Survey of His Majesty's Park The Phenix near Dublin', 1772. This survey was copied in 1828 by order of Woods & Forests.

[36] James Asser's map of the Phoenix Park, *c.*1775 (Private collection).

[37] Vivien Igoe and Frederick O'Dwyer, 'Early views of the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham', *The GPA Irish Arts Review yearbook 1988*, vol. v, p. 82.

[38] C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its Origin and early History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, 3rd series, 1900 –1902, pp. 472, 473.

[39] Edward Mc Parland, *Public Architecture in Ireland 1680-1760*, New Haven & London, 2001, p.114.

[40] F. Elrington Ball, *History of the County of Dublin pt. iv*, Dublin, 1906, pp.170, 173, 174.

[41] BL., Correspondence between Charles Lindsay and Edward Cooke regarding the Phoenix Park, Aug 1801(Add. Ms. 35,729) pp. 307-311. The term 'Ranger's department' has not appeared in references relating to the early history of the Phoenix Park, but is frequently referred to in the context of English royal parks.

However there are references to the Department of the ranger during the period when the Park was managed by Woods and Forests (1829-1849). The Irish equivalent before Woods and Forests was 'the Ranger and his establishment'. *Report of the Select Committee on the Land Revenues of the Crown*, H.C.1833 (677) XIV. 235, p. 235.

[42] Rolf Loeber, *A Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Ireland 1600-1720*, London, 1981, pp. 7-8, 48-51; A. R. G. Griffiths, *The Irish Board of Works, 1831-1878*, New York & London, 1987, p. 2.

[43] 10 George 1V, Cap. 50. This Act was passed 'to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to the management and improvement of His Majesty's Woods, Forests, Parks and Chases and the Land Revenue of the Crown in England and Ireland'.

[44] 1 & 2 Will. 1V. Cap. 33, was enacted for the 'Extension and promotion of Public Works in Ireland' which resulted in a reconstituted Board of Works, 1831.

[45] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-second Rep., App., Plans, Index*, H.C. 1845 (617) XXVII.503, app.10A, p. 39.

[46] 14 & 15 Vic. Cap.42. This Act was passed to 'make better provision for the management of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues of the Crown, and for the direction of Public Works and Buildings'.

[47] 23 & 24 Vic. An Act passed on 23 July 1860 to vest the management of the Phoenix Park in the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland.

[48] *Report of the Select Committee on the Land Revenues of the Crown*, H.C.1833 (677) XIV. 235, pp. 65, 68, 152, 240, 242.

[49] Ibid.,pp. 65 & 242.

[50] Ibid.,pp. 57, 60, 65-66, 126 & 242. The rangers were allowed to take the profits of the surplus grazing (herbage) for themselves. In respect of cutting mature standing timber, the ranger of Windsor Park appears to have been the biggest offender in this respect. Lodges were available for rangers or deputy rangers if required, or they could be occupied as a nominee of the ranger e.g. Sir Henry Campbell occupied the ranger's lodge in Richmond Park by kind permission of the ranger.

[51] BL., Correspondence between Charles Lindsay and Edward Cooke regarding the Phoenix Park, Aug 1801(Add. Ms. 35,729) pp. 307-311.

[52] *Lib mun*, pt. 2, pp. 91-92.

[53] Ibid., The £50 annual salary was introduced when Edward Brabazon was appointed ranger of the Phoenix Park.

[54] *Lib mun.*, pt. 2 , p. 91.

[55] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter Book T(2B-38-111), pp. 124-126.

[56] C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its Origin and early History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, 3rd series, 1900 –1902, p. 477.

[57] Francis Elrington Ball, *A History of the County of Dublin, pt. iv*, Dublin, 1906, p.189; *Lib mun.*, pt.2, p.91.

[58] *Lib mun.*, pt. 2, pp. 91-92.

[59] *Lib mun.*, pt. 3, p. 106.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) Search Notes relative to the offices of ranger / keeper bailiff and under bailiff from Vice Treasurer's office to Weale, Sept 1832.

[63] Ibid.

[64] BL., warrant appointing Edward Cooke keeper / ranger of the Phoenix Park, Oct 1796 (Add. Ms. 35,729), pp. 343-344. There seems to have been still some confusion at the time of Cooke's appointment about the number of keepers in the Park since the warrant refers to 'Warrant appointing Mr. Cooke one of the Keepers of the Phoenix Park'.

[65] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Search Notes relative to the offices of ranger / keeper, bailiff and under bailiff from vice treasurer's office to Weale, Sept 1832.

[66] Ibid.

[67] BL., Appointment of Sir John Blaquiere as bailiff of the Phoenix Park, 29 Dec1774 (Add. Ms. 35,729) pp. 338-340.

[68] Bodkin, M, S. J., 'Notes on the Irish Parliament in 1773', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xlvii, 48c4(1942-1943) pp. 156-157.

[69] BL., Appointment of Sir John Blacquiere as bailiff of Phoenix Park, 29 Dec1774 (Add. Ms. 35,729) pp. 338-340.The annual salary of the bailiff is clearly stated to be £9 per year. In Bodkin's notes referred to above (n.68) he states that the annual salary is variously given as £9, £12 & £40. Joan Tighe, 'Sir John Blacqiere in Dublin', *DHR*, vol. xxiv, no. 2, Mar 1971, pp. 7 & 14. During Blacquiere's administration he co-operated with Gardiner, Beresford and others as members of the Wide Streets Commission who were responsible for so many of our Georgian streets and squares.

[70] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Search Notes relative to the offices of ranger /

keeper, bailiff and under bailiff from vice treasurer's office to Weale, Sept 1832; Edith M. Johnston, *Great Britain and Ireland 1760-1800*, Edinburgh & London, 1963, p. 306.

[71] F. Elrington Ball, *History of the County of Dublin pt. iv*, Dublin, 1906, p.188.

[72] C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its Origin and early History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, 3rd series, 1900 –1902, p. 477.

[73] PRO, Treasury Papers, TI33671/229 16714, Burton's report to Woods & Forests, 31 Jan 1833.

[74] F. Elrington Ball, *History of the County of Dublin pt iv*, Dublin,1906, pp. 187, 188. Valerie Mc K. Bary, 'Derrynane Abbey', *The Kerry Magazine*, no.2 (1990) pp. 5, 6.

[75] *Lib mun., pt.iii*, p. 106.

[76] Ibid.

[77] The Ordnance Surveys of Ireland and The Ordnance Survey of Northern Ireland, *Ordnance Survey in Ireland An Illustrated Record*, Dublin, 1991, p. 13. Christine Casey, *The Buildings of Ireland Dublin*, New Haven & London, 2005, pp. 300-302.

[78] *Lib mun. , pt.3*, p. 106.

[79] C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its Origin and early History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, 3rd series, 1900 –1902, p. 486.

[80] Edward McParland, *Public Architecture in Ireland 1680-1760*, New Haven & London, 2001, pp. 140, 141. The Star Fort and Magazine Fort are clearly shown on eighteenth century maps of the Park. Both these fortifications are frequently confused with each other in the literature or considered the same fortification.

[81] C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its Origin and early History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, 3rd series, 1900 –1902, pp. 472, 473.

[82] Christine Casey, *The Buildings of Ireland Dublin*, New Haven & London, 2005, pp. 305-306, gives a descriptive art historical account of the Magazine fort. Edward McParland, *Public Architecture in Ireland 1680-1760*, New Haven & London, 2001, pp.139,140.

[83] J. Warburton, J. Whitelaw and Rev. Robert Walsh, *History of The City of Dublin, London, 1818*, vol. ii, p.1309.

[84] PRO, Lon., WO 44/106, Ordnance Correspondence Ireland 1816.

[85] F. Elrington Ball, *History of the County of Dublin pt iv*, Dublin, 1906, p. 192.

[86] PRO, Lon., T1/446, The Memorial of His Grace the Lord Primate..., 7 Mar 1766. PRO, Lon., T1/464/92, Bristol to Lords of His Majesty's Treasury, 9 Mar 1767.

[87] J. Warburton, J. Whitelaw and Rev. Robert Walsh, *The History of the City of Dublin, London, 1818*, vol. ii, p. 602.

[88] Christine Casey, *The Buildings of Ireland Dublin*, New Haven & London, 2005, pp. 302-304.

[89] NLI, Mis. docs. 9/98, A List of Forest Trees, Fruit Trees, Shrubs, and Evergreens... for the year 1781.

[90] Christine Casey, *The Buildings of Ireland Dublin*, New Haven & London, 2005, pp. 304-305.

[91] J. Warburton, J. Whitelaw and Rev. Robert Walsh, *The History of the City of Dublin, London, 1818*, vol.ii, p. 720, 722. Christine Casey, *The Buildings of Ireland Dublin*, New Haven & London, 2005, pp. 304-305.

[92] James Asser's map of the Phoenix Park, *c.*1775 (Private collection). This map in particular shows a major weave of 'roads' embracing the Salute Battery, Star Fort and Magazine Fort areas of the Park.

[93] C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its Origin and early History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, 3rd series, 1900 –1902, p. 484.

[94] *Hibernian Magazine*, Aug. 1774, p. 490.

[95] The Royal Collection, RCIN 734007, Windsor, Plan of Manoeuvres performed in the Phoenix Park in June 1775. I am grateful to Anthony Malcomson for bringing this plan to my attention.

[96] Ibid. Also James Asser's map of the Phoenix Park, *c.*1775 (Private collection).

[97] *Hibernian Magazine*, Aug 1776. I am grateful to John Boles for this reference.

[98] C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its Origin and early History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, 3rd series, 1900 –1902, p. 480.

[99] J. F. Collins, *Soils Of Phoenix Park, Dublin And Their Suitability for Recreational Purposes*, Dublin, 1974, p.1.

[100] C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its Origin and early History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, 3rd series, 1900 –1902, p. 481.

[101] 'The Phoenix Park', vol. iii, no. 34, *The Dublin Builder*, 1861, p. 518.

[102] David Jacques & Arend Jan van der Horst, *The Gardens of William and Mary*, London, 1988, pp.153-166, which details the formation and types of bosquets and wilderness's of the time.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Edward Malins & The Knight of Glin, *Lost Demesnes*, London, 1976, p. 6.

[105] Pat Pierce (text) & Barbara Haynes (ed.), *London's Royal Parks Souvenir Guide, London*, 1993, p. 60.

[106] John Trussler, *Tablet of Memory*, Dublin, 1782, p. 180.

[107] NLI, 'Phoenix Park- Sir John Ligonier, Ranger 1736-1750', Nowlan Ms. 14,893.

[108] I am grateful to David Griffin for this information. There is a bronze bust of the Earl of Chesterfield in St. Patrick's Hall.

[109] Pat Pierce (text) & Barbara Haynes (ed.), *London's Royal Parks Souvenir Guide, London*, 1993, p. 11.

[110] John D'Alton, *The History of the County of Dublin*, Dublin, 1838, p. 537.

[111] John McCullen, 'A Landscape History of The Phoenix Park, Dublin', *Glasra*, (new series), vol. 2 (1993), p. 88.

[112] Asser's map (*c.*1775) shows a very detailed tree planting for the Phoenix Park whereas Irwine's map (1775) which shows military manoeuvres indicates a greatly reduced number of tree groups on either side of the main road as well a small amount of individual and groups of trees. Because of the purpose of Irwine's map, it should show greater accuracy of features, somewhat akin to an orienteering map.

[113] This area of woodland (*c.*5%) is calculated from Thomas Sherrard's map of 1772 (copied in 1828) which shows individual acreages for the various Park woodlands.

[114] Edward Malins & The Knight of Glin, *Lost Demesnes*, London, 1976, p. 196.

[115] I am grateful to Dr. Susan Hood for this reference and generously sharing her work on Donnell's involvement in landscaping Strokestown Park.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Edward Malins & The Knight of Glin, *Lost Demesnes*, London, 1976, p.196.

[119] C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its Origin and early History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, 3rd series, 1900 –1902, p. 484.

[120] PRO, London, 'Rules', 23 May 1752, T/3019/1902. I am indebted to Anthony Malcomson for this reference.

[121] Ibid.

[122] C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its Origin and early History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, 3rd series, 1900 –1902, p. 484.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2 (PARK MANAGEMENT FROM *c.*1800-1880)

[1] BL, Memorandum of the Officers of the Phoenix Park, July 1801, (Add. Ms. 35,729), pp. 315-318.

[2] C. L. Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its origin and early history', *Proceedings of theRoyal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, 3rd series, 1900-1902, p. 484.

[3] *The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc.*, Board of Works, H.C.1812 (33) V.191, pp.1-49. NAI, OPW minute books from 1800-1829.

[4] *The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc.*, Board of Works, H.C.1812 (33) V.191, p. 4.

[5] Ibid., pp. 1-7.

[6] Ibid., p.13.

[7] Ibid., p. 6; NAI, OP/118/15, Instructions to His Majesty's Commissioners of the Board of Works from Lord Lieutenant Hardwicke, Dec 1801.

[8] Frederick O'Dwyer, 'The Architecture of the Board of Public Works 1831-1923', Ciaran O'Connor and John O'Regan (eds), *Public Works*, Dublin, 1987, pp. 10, 11. *The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc.*, Board of Works, H.C.1812 (33) V.191, pp. 3, 4. NAI, OPW minute book 1/1/1(2D-56-93), p.1.

[9] Ibid., p. 29.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid., pp. 32, 33.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., p. 31.

[14] Ibid., p. 29.

[15] Ibid., pp. 26, 27.

[16] Ibid., p. 47.

[17] Ibid., p. 19, 20.

[18] Edith M. Johnston, *Great Britain and Ireland 1760-1800*, Edinburgh & London, 1963, p. 306.

[19] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O (2B-38-105), pp. 17, 22, 23. Edward George Geoffrey Smith Stanley, appointed Chief Secretary 29 Nov 1830,was the last person in that official position to be bailiff of the Park. (see C. J. Woods & Ciaran Brady, 'Secretaries to Chief Governors,and Chief Secretaries, 1566-1922', *New History of Ireland*, eds, T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, F. J. Byrne, Oxford, vol. ix, 1984, p. 531, for date of Stanley's appointment as chief secretary. In the NLI, Nowlan Mss. (Ms.14,987), p. 5, there is a reference to '1832 Bailiff Rt. Hon CG Stanley- under the Great Seal during pleasure'.

[20] PRO, Memorial of the bailiff, W. S. Wilkie, for an augmentation of his salary, T1 3671/229. In it Wilkie states that he was appointed bailiff in May 1832, but he obviously meant under bailiff, since he makes reference to his predecessor William Slow, who was under bailiff of the Park. Slow also held the position of superintendent of works. In Woods & Forests file no. 762, NAI, Wilkie has signed a number of letters as under bailiff in the months of Oct & Nov 1832. He is also described as under ranger, etc., Phoenix Park, Dublin (possibly meaning under bailiff) in E. Malins and the Knight of Glin, *Lost Demesnes*, London, 1976, appendix E, when he subcribed to James Forbes's '*HortusWorburnensis*', London 1833. NAI, Q.R.O. file no. 762, Stewart to Commissioners of Woods & Forests approving new establishment for the Phoenix Park, 26 Feb 1834. In the NLI, Nowlan Ms. (Ms.14,897), p. 5 there is a reference to 'Under Bailiff W. S. Wilkie warrant during pleasure' with 1832 adjacent to it.

[21] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O (2B-38-105), pp. 20-23.

[22] NAI, File 31361-33, Burton's reports: 27 Sept 1834, p. 3 & 10 Nov 1835, pp. 8, 9. Q.R.O..Letter book O (2B-38-105) p.14.

[23] *The Gardener's Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, 26 Feb 1870, obituary notice, p. 282; Woburn Abbey archives, letter of recommendation from Henry Sinclair of Woburn, to Messrs. Gibbs, Seedsmen, Half Moon Street, Picadilly, London, recommending Wilkie for the 'situation in Dublin', and describing him as 'the cleverest young man I have seen for some time', dated 29 Oct 1816. I am indebted to Mrs. Ann Mitchell, Archivist at Woburn for this reference.

[24] *Saunders News-Letter and Daily Advertiser*, 19 Feb 1870 and 25 Feb 1870. Three different ages were recorded for Wilkie - the initial obituary notice recorded his age at 76; 75 is given as his age in the Church of Ireland register of Burials 1844 to 1893, p. 56; and 77 in his obituary in *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, 26 Feb 1870, p. 282. His death certificate records his age at 76; it also records that he was a bachelor and died from pneumonia. He is buried in Castleknock graveyard.

[25] *Saunders News-Letter and Daily Advertiser*, 25 Feb 1870; *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, 25 Feb 1870, p. 282; James Fraser, 'On the present State of Gardening in Ireland, with Hints for its future Improvement', *The Gardener's Magazine*, vol. i, 1826, p.13.

[26] PRO, Commissioners of Woods & Forests to Treasury, 2 Jan 1838, TI 3671/229 16714, p. 2.

[27] PRO, Woods & Forests to the Treasury, 2 Jan 1838, TI 3671/229 16714.

[28] Ibid., p. 4.

[29] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book 0 (2B-38-105) p. 134; The time given is midsummer 1834 for the Board of Public Works (Irl) to relinquish control of the 'open' Park, whereas Wilkie gave the time as Oct (see TI 3671/1229 16714), probably the time when he took over the responsibilities for the open areas previously undertaken by the Board of Public Works (Irl).

[30] PRO, Woods & Forests to the Treasury, 2 Jan 1838, TI 3671/229 16714.

[31] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book T(2B-38-111), pp. 4, 5.

[32] This was made possible by 10 Gul. 1V, Cap.1 of 13 Feb 1832, which united the Office of Surveyor General of His Majesty's Works and Public Buildings with the Office of His Majesty's Woods, Forests and Land Revenues. J. Mordaunt Crook and M. H. Port, *The History of the King's Works*, vol. vi, London 1973. This history gives a detailed account of the various amalgamations and personalities involved for the period under discussion.

[33] *Report of the Select Committee on the Land Revenues of the Crown*, H.C.1833 (677) XIV.235, pp.100, 145, 146, 239. This is a valuable source of information on Woods & Forests, the body which was responsible for managing Crown Lands and collecting land revenues in Ireland and England during our study period. It also examines the historic predecessors of Woods & Forests and the various amalgamations which resulted in its role and formation. R. B. McDowell, *The Irish Administration 1801-1914*, London / Toronto,1964, p. 91.

[34] *Report of the Select Committee on the Land Revenues of the Crown*, H.C.1833 (677) XIV. 235, pp.100, 239, 266. Six posts were abolished in the Dept. of Land Revenue in Dublin. These were the Surveyor General of Crown Lands, Register of Forfeitures, Solicitor of Forfeited Claims, Clerk of Forfeitures, Solicitor of King's Rents and an Assistant Clerk of the Quit Rents.

[35] *Report to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests respecting the collection of Quit and other Rents payable to the Crown in Ireland*, H.C.1834 (598) LI.161

[36] *Report of the Select Committee on the Land Revenues of the Crown*, H.C.1833 (677) XIV. 235, pp. 99, 100, 139, 140.

[37] Ibid., p. 158.

[38] Ibid., pp. 391, 392; J. Mordaunt Crook and M. H. Port, *The History of the King's Works*, vol. vi, London, 1973, pp, 192, 210, 217, 218, 679.

[39] Mordaunt Crook and M. H. Port, *The History of the King's Works*, vol. vi, London, 1973, pp. 189, 192, 193, 679. Gore was temporary private secretary to Lord Duncannon in 1839; Commissioner of Woods & Forests 1839-51; Commissioner of Crown Lands 1851-1885. Married Duncannon's daughter Augusta, Countess of Kerry, 1845; brother of the 4th Earl of Arran and nephew of the Duchess of Inverness.

[40] Entry on John William Ponsonby, fourth Earl of Bessborough (1781-1847) in *DNB*. He was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for two years, and died while still in office on the 16 May 1847. Immensely popular in Ireland because of his support for Catholic Emancipation; he was a close friend of Daniel O'Connell and a sitting MP for Kilkenny on two occasions.

[41] Ibid., p. 87

[42] J. Mordaunt Crook and M. H. Port, *The History of the King's Works,* vol. vi, London, 1973, pp. 189, 192, 193, 679. Gore was temporary private secretary to Lord Duncannon in 1839.

[43] *Report of the Select Committee on the Land Revenues of the Crown*, H.C.1833 (677) XIV. 235, pp. 3, 30.

[44] J. Mordaunt Crook and M. H. Port, *The History of the King's Works*, vol. vi, London, 1973, pp. 181, 182.

[45] J. Fraser, *The Gardeners' Magazine*, 'On the present State of Gardening in Ireland, with Hints for its future Improvement', vol. i, 1826, pp. 10-14.

[46] C. J. Woods, 'under-secretaries, 1777-1922', (T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, F. J. Byrne), *A New History of Ireland*, vol. ix, Oxford, 1984, p. 533.

[47] Joseph Hadyn, *The Book of Dignities*, London,1894, 3rd ed., p. 563; Sir Bernard Burke, *Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain*, London, 12th edition, 1914, p. 794. Major General Sir William Gosset, C. B., R. E., M. P., K. C. H. K. S. F., was a descendant of a Hugenot refugee from Normandy, Jean Gosset (1642-1712), who settled in Jersey after the Edict of Nantes. Sir William served in Holland and Ceylon; was MP for Truro and after his term as under-secretary for Ireland (1831-1835) he became Sergeant at Arms at the House of Commons, an appointment he retained until his death in 1848. I am greatly indebted to the late C. E. W. Trench of Slane, Co. Meath, who furnished me with information on members of the Gosset family as well as a portrait of Sir William Gosset and a painting of Ashtown Lodge, where he resided during his term of office as under-secretary. Sir William Gosset's grand daugther married C. E. W.Trench's grandfather.

[48] Richard Barry O'Brien, *Thomas Drummond Under-secretary in Ireland, 1835-*

1840: Life and Letters, London, 1889 (NLI, Ir. 92 d 45); Laurence O'Dea, 'Thomas Drummond', *Dublin Historical Record (DHR)*, vol. xxiv, no. 4, Sept 1971, pp. 112-123. NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book U (2B-38-112) pp. 37, 38.

[49] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers. Correspondence with Drummond on the employment of distressed weavers in the Phoenix Park in 1837. Q.R.O. Letter book O (2B- 38-105) pp. 191, 192, 194-198.

[50] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book U (2B-38-112) pp. 37, 38.

[51] Ibid., pp. 87, 88, 250, 251.

[52] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book T (2B-38-111) pp.94-396; Q.R.O. Letter book Y (2B-38-116), pp. 300, 301.

[53] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book1/1/3/28 (2D-52-22) pp. 44, 45.

[54] Ibid.,

[55] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-second Rep., App., Plans, Index* H.C.1845 (617) XXVII. app.10A.

[56] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Phillips to James Weale, 19 Sept 1828; J. Mordaunt Crook & M.H. Port, *The History of the King's Works*, vol.vi, London, 1973, p.90.

[57] J. Mordaunt Crook & M. H. Port, *The History of the King's Works*, vol. vi, London, 1973, pp. 162, 181,182.

[58] A. R. G Griffiths, *The Irish Board of Works,1831-1878*, New York & London, 1987, pp. 1-32; Frederick O'Dwyer, 'The Architecture of the Board of Public Works 1831-1923', Ciaran O'Connor and John O'Regan (eds), *Public Works*, Dublin, 1987, p. 11.

[59] Letter from Lowther to Goulburn, 7 Sept 1830; I am indebted to David Godden for a transcript of same, which came into his possession from Jack Nowlan, former registrar of the OPW.

[60] Private letter from William Gregory to Henry Goulburn, 10 Sept 1830; Again I am indebted to David Godden for the transcript of this letter.

[61] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book K (2B-38-101) pp. 201, 202. Also Q.R.O. Letter book O (2B-38-105) pp.134, 145-147. The various letters in pp.134, 145-147 above clearly establishes that the Phoenix Park was considered one of the royal parks and gardens.

[62] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book N (2B-38-104) pp. 2-4.

[63] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O (2B-38-105) pp. 23-29, 132-136.

[64] Ibid.

[65] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book N (2B-38-104) pp. 98-99, 106-108, 235.

[66] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers), Gosset to Weale, 2 July 1834.

[67] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book K (2B-38-101) p.188.

[68] Ibid., pp.198-200.

[69] Ibid., p.188.

[70] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-second Rep., App., Plans, Index,* H.C. 1845 (617) XXVII.503, app.10 (A.), p. 39.

[71] NAI, Letter book K (2B-38-101) pp.198-200; OPW Libr., file no.13161-33, Weale to Burton, 23 Aug 1832, , the latter was staying at Machin's Hotel, Dawson Street, Dublin, at the time.

[72] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book K (2B-38-103) p. 200.

[73] Ibid., pp. 201, 202.

[74] OPW Libr., file no.13161-33, Burton to Weale, , 24 Aug 1832.

[75]OPW libr., file no.13161-33, Weale to Burton, 9 Sept 1832.

[76] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book M (2B-38-103) p. 37.

[77] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book K (2B-38-101) pp. 298-305.

[78] Ibid., p. 298.

[79] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book N (2B-38-104) pp.18, 19, 165, 166.

[80] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-second Rep., App., Plans, Index,* H.C. 1845 (617) XXVII. app. 10A.appen.10(A.) pp. 40-43. In his preamble to the report, Burton makes reference to his report of Aug 1832, which probably was the one submitted to the Commissioners of Woods & Forests in Jan 1833. He most likely prepared an abbreviated form of the report for the Lord Lieutenant, whom he briefed before he left for England in Aug 1832.

[81] Ibid., p. 3.

[82] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book N (2B-38-104) pp. 235, 250, 251. The date on the letter requesting plans, specifications and estimates is entered as 7 Nov 1835, which should obviously read 7 Nov 1834.

[83] Philip Miller, *Decimus Burton Exhibition His Life and Work*, London, 1981, pp.15 & 19. This is an exhibition guide of Burton's (1800-1881) work held on the centenary of his death in 1981 in London. It was this exhibition which was held in the Royal Hospital Kilmainham in July 1988 and gave rise to another exhibition booklet highlighting Burton's work in Phoenix Park. John McCullen & Brian Arnold, *Decimus Burton Exhibition*, Royal Hospital Kilmainham, Dublin, 1988, pp.1-11.

[84] D. J. Cunningham, *The Origin and Early History of the Royal Zoological Society of Ireland*, Dublin, 1901, pp. 8, 9.

[85] Frederick O'Dwyer, 'The Architecture of the Board of Public Works 1831-1923', Ciaran O'Connor and John O'Regan (eds), *Public Works*, Dublin, 1987, p. 12; NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, correspondence re Owen's appointment and private work, 26 May 1842.

[86] *Supplementary Est. for Civil Services, 1867-1868*, H.C.1867 (139)(419) XLVII.543, 549, p. 23. Superannuation and Retired Allowances - Jacob Owen retired at 77 because of age and infirmity, after 50 years service.

[87] Dana Arnold, 'Decimus Burton's Work in the Phoenix Park, 1832-49', *Bulletin of Irish Georgian Society*, vol. xxxvii,1995, pp. 57-75.

[88] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Paine to Gosset re plans and estimates prepared by Owen based on Burton's 1833 report; memorandum from Owen to Gosset why plans and estimates were prepared by him.

[89] Ibid.; refers to Burton's Jan 1833 report.

[90] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book P(2B-38-106) pp. 93, 94.

[91] Ibid., pp. 93-101.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid,. pp. 116-117, 168-169; OPW libr., file no.13161-33, Burton's Report to Woods & Forests, 10 Nov 1835, p. 8.

[95] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-second Rep., App., Plans, Index*, H.C. 1845 (617) XXVII. app.10A. p. 41.The employment of 'distressed' weavers is discussed under general landscape works.

[96] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book R (2B-38-109) pp.103, 104.

[97] Ibid., pp.100, 105.

[98] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, concerning the employment of 'distressed' weavers, dated July to September 1837. NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book R (2B-38-109) various entries, pp.189-226.

[99] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter books on the Phoenix Park contain numerous references and details relating to Burton's managerial role in the Park.

[100] NAI , Q.R.O. Letter book P (2B-38-106) p.106; NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Souter to Milne, 20 Oct 1835; Milne to Burton, 31 Oct 1835 & Milne to Burton, 16 Nov 1835.

[101] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book P (2B-38-106) pp.149, 152, 153, 156.

[102] J. Mordaunt Crook and M. H. Port, *The History of the King's Works*, vol. vi, London, 1973, p. 253; NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book S (2B-38-110) p. 502.

[103] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book U (2B-38-112) pp.13, 14 , 52, 53.

[104] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book Z (2B-38-117) pp. 208, 339, 340.

[105] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book J2 (2B-38-127) p. 35; NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 30 March 1849 & 4 May 1849.

[106] Ibid.

[107] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book P (2B-38-106) pp.110, 111.

[108] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book P (2B-38-106) pp.110-112; Other contractors who tendered or undertook work were Arthur McKenna & Son; William Scallon; Henry, Mullins, and McMahon; Anthony Williams and John Dwyer.

[109] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 30 Mar 1849.

[110] J. Mordaunt Crook and M. H. Port, *The History of the King's Works*, vol. vi, London, 1973, p. 249.

[111] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book L2 (2B-38-129) pp.166, 167.

[112] Phoenix Park developments between 1852 and 1860 are contained in three Q.R.O.Letter books (2D-52-20), (2D-52-21) & (2D-52-22).

[113] Public Works (Ireland)*: Report of Committee appointed by Treasury; with Evidence, Appendix, and Index,* H.C. 1878 (C.2060) XXIII, app. B, p. 247. This states that Enoch Trevor 0wen was appointed assistant architect on 10 Jan 1860.

[114] *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, 29 Oct 1870, p.1440; Ray Desmond, *Dictionary of British and Irish Botanists and Horticulturists*, London, 1994, p. 449.

[115] NAI, Establishment, Boards Orders, vol. i, Secretary's office, Minute dated 15 Oct 875, p. 8; NAI, OPW, file 7496/00, Secty. to George Dick, 23 Nov 1920.

[116] Public Works (Ireland)*: Report of Committee appointed by Treasury; with Evidence, Appendix, and Index,* H.C. 1878 (C.2060) XXIII, pp. 2, 3.

[117] Ibid., p, 3; Roberts was appointed in Nov 1873 as a result of the Lansdowne Report, dated the 2 Feb 1872.

[118] Ibid., pp.199, 250, 253, 254.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3 (FINANCE)

[1] *Report from the Select Committee on the Irish Miscellaneous Estimates etc.*, H.C. 1829 (342) IV.127, p. 3.

[2] Ibid., p. 17.

[3] *The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc.*, Board of Works, H.C.1812 (33) V.191 pp. 40, 41.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Terence Dooley, *A Future for Irish Historic Houses*, Dublin, Sept 2003, p. 9.

[6] R. B. McDowell, *The Irish Administration 1801-1914*, London, 1964, p. 95.

[7] A. R. G. Griffiths, *The Irish Board of Works, 1831-1878*, New York and London, 1987, pp. 8-16.

[8] NAI, OPW papers, 'Instructions to His Majesty's Commrs. Of the Board of Works, 1801' (OP/118/15)

[9] *The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc.*, Board of Works, H.C.1812 (33) V.191

[10] Wilkie, the park bailiff was accused of wrongdoing on a couple of occasions during Woods & Forests' time but was vindicated each time. However accusations against Charles McDonald (park bailiff) were upheld.

[11] Landsdowne Report, unpublished inquiry into Board of Works, 2 Feb 1872. See Rena Lohan's, *Guide to the Archives of the Office of Public Works*, Dublin, 1994, pp. 38, 39.

[12] *Public Works (Ireland): Report of Committee appointed by Treasury; with* Evidence, Appendix, and Index, H.C. 1878 (C.2060) XXIII. See Rena Lohan's, Guide to the Archives of *the Office of Public Works*, Dublin,1994, pp.193,194.

[13] NAI, OPW papers, 'Instructions to His Majesty's Commrs. Of the Board of Works, 1801' (OP/118/15)

[14] Ibid., section 26.

[15] *The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc.*, Board of Works, H.C.1812 (33) V.191, pp. 29, 30.

[16] Ibid., p. 47.

[17] *The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc.*, Board of Works, H.C.1812 (33) V.191, p.17.

[18] Ibid., p.18.

[19] *The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc.*, Board of Works, H.C.1812 (33) V.191, pp. 40, 41.

[20] Ests., Charitable Institutions and Miscellaneous Services, Ireland, H.C. 1824 (55) XXI, pp. 2, 3.

[21] *A Return of the State of the Phoenix Park (1826-1832)*, 1833 (145) vol. xxxv (121) p.145

[22] *Report from the Select Committee on the Irish Miscellaneous Estimates etc.*, H.C. 1829 (342) IV.127, p.17.

[23] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Phoenix Park Estimate for year commencing 1 Apr 1836, submitted by Wilkie, the Park bailiff.

[24] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book L2, Philipps to Burke, 3 Apr 1851(2B-38-129) p. 4. NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Account for the month of Apr 1851; also gives the annual estimate for 1851 listed under sixteen headings.

[25] *Supplementary Est. for Civil Services, 1867-1868*, H.C.1867 (139) XLVII.543, pp. 33, 35, 37.

[26] *Public Works (Ireland): Board of Public Works: Forty-eighth report*, H.C. 1879-80 (C.2646) *****app. (A1), pp. 40, 41.

[27] *Return of State of Phoenix Park near City of Dublin, 1826-32*. H.C.1833 (145) XXXV.127, p.145

[28] *Report from the Select Committee on the Irish Miscellaneous Estimates etc.*, H.C. 1829 (342) IV.127, p.17.

[29] Ibid.

[30] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O, Woods & Forests to Treasury, 28 Apr 1837 (2B-38 -105) p. 28; NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O, Treasury to Woods & Forests, 17 June 1837 (2B-38-105) p. 293.

[31] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O, Treasury to Woods & Forests, 17 June 1837 (2B-38-105) p. 293.

[32] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O, Woods & Forests to Treasury, 9 May 1834 (2B-38-105) pp. 31, 32.

[33] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book P, Milne to Wilkie, 16 Sept 1835 (2B-38-106) pp.122, 123.

[34] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book W, Gore to Burton, 9 Aug 1842 (2B-38-114) pp.114-120. This is one example of the detailed examination and instructions issued by Woods & Forests to both Burton and Wilkie re accounting procedures, over expenditure and new instructions regarding methods of financial accountability.

[35] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Phoenix Park Estimate for year commencing 1 Apr 1836, submitted by Wilkie, the Park bailiff.

[36] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book L2, Philipps to Burke, 3 Apr 1851(2B-38-129) p. 4. NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Account for the month of Apr 1851; also gives the annual estimate for 1851 listed under sixteen headings.

[37] *Supplementary Est. for Civil Services, 1867-1868*, H.C.1867 (139) XLVII.543, pp. 33, 35, 37.

[38] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O, Woods & Forests to Treasury, 26 Apr 1833 (2B-38-105) pp.10-14. NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O, Treasury to Woods & Forests, 13 May 1833 (2B-38-105) pp.13, 14.

[39] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O, Woods & Forests to Treasury, 26 Apr 1833 (2B-38-105) p.11.

[40] NAI, Q.R.O Letter book O, Treasury to Woods & Forests, 11 July 1835 (2B-38-105) pp.145, 146.

[41] PRO, Treasury Papers, TI33671/229 16714, Burton's report to Woods & Forests, 27 Sep 1834.

[42] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book T, Treasury to Woods & Forests, 20 June 1840 (2B-38-111) p. 205.

[43] *Account of Receipts and Payments by Coms. of Woods, Forests and Land Revenue in Ireland, 1833-42 Received and Paid by Woods & Forests Dept. in Ireland*, H.C.1842 (222) XXXVIII.499, pp. 499, 500.

[44] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book T, Treasury to Woods & Forests, 20 June 1840 (2B-38-111) pp. 431, 432.

[45] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book H2, Woods & Forests to Burton, 31 Mar 1849 (2B-38-125) pp. 283, 284.

[46] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O, Treasury to Woods & Forests, 31 May 1837 (2B-38-105) p.296. The £5,000 allocated by the Treasury was for the improvement of Crown properties in Ireland, which included the employment of labourers to drain the Phoenix Park.

[47] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-eighth Rep., App., Plans, Index*, H.C.1851 (631) XXIX.349, app. no. 8, pp. 9-13; also appen. no. 9, pp. 64-78.

[48] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O, Woods & Forests to Treasury, 28 Apr 1837 (2B-38-105) pp. 282-284.

[49] Ibid., pp. 286, 287, 289.

[50] Ibid, pp. 289, 290.

[51] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O, Treasury to Woods & Forests, 17 June 1837 (2B-38-105) p. 293.

[52] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book K2, Woods & Forests minute, 24 Nov 1850 (2B-38-128) pp. 354, 355.

[53] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O, Woods & Forests to Treasury, 22 Aug 1837 (2B-38-105) pp. 301, 302; NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O, Spearman to Woods & Forests, 23 Aug 1837 (2B-38-105) p.302.

[54] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Milne to Weale and Milne to Drummond, 30 Aug 1837. Other correspondence shows that at least 168 persons were employed on the scheme.

[55] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book H2, Gore to Burton, 31 Mar 1849 (2B-38-125) pp. 283, 284.

[56] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Printed Estimate form for 1854; NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book 1/1/3/28, Burke to Saunders, 12 Sept 1859 (2D-52-22) p. 33.

[57] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burke to Office of Works & Buildings, 13 May 1858

[58] *Correspondence between Irish Govt. and Board of Works respecting the Improvement of the Phoenix Park*, H.C. 1862 (359) LIII.627, pp.1-5.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Rena Lohan, *Guide to the Archives of the Office of Public Works*, Dublin, 1994. This guide sets out the dates when the different responsibilities were added to the Office of Public Works.

[62] BL., 'Mr. Cooke's statement of the Park Officers & their privileges', July 1801, Add. Ms 35,729, pp. 315-318.

[63] PRO, Treasury Papers, TI33671/229 16714, Burton's report to Woods & Forests, 31 Jan 1833. It was estimated that over 1000 acres of pasture was available for grazing (see also chapter 4 which also deals with drainage).

[64] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book M, Gosset to Duncannon, 10 Apr 1833 (2B-38-103) pp.80, 81.

[65] Ibid, pp81. NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book M, Weale to Gosset, 29 Apr 1833 (2B-38-103) p.85.

[66] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book M, Weale to Gosset, 29 Apr 1833 (2B-38-103) pp.82, 90.

[67] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book T, Treasury to Woods & Forests, 20 June 1840 (2B-38-111) p.172.

[68] NAI, Q.R.O., File 762, Weale to Duncannon, 31 Oct 1832.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O, Woods & Forests to Treasury, 25 Jan 1834 (2B-38-105) pp.15, 16, 19.

[72] Ibid.

[73] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book T, Woods & Forests to Treasury, 2 Jan 1838 (2B-38-111) p. 2.

[74] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burke to Woods & Forests, 22 Mar 1843; NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book X, Gore to Burke, 24 Apr1843 (2B-38-115) pp.164-168.

[75] Accounts of Receipts and Expenditure of Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, H.C.1848-49, 1849 (629) XXX.547, p. 28.

[76] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-seventh Rep., App., Plans, Index,* H.C. 1850 (554) XXX.393, p.100.

[77] *Public Works (Ireland): Board of Public Works: Twenty-eight report*, H.C. 1860 (2690) XXIV. 759, p. 36.

[78] *Public Works (Ireland): Board of Public Works annual reports* from 1860 to 1870. A full set of the Board of Public Works' annual reports are held in the OPW library at 51 St. Stephens Green, Dublin 2.

[79] *Public Works (Ireland): Board of Public Works annual reports* from 1870 to 1880.

[80] NLI, Nowlan Ms.14,897, p.118.

[81] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/1(2D-57-34) p. 515.

[82] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/2 (2D-57-35) pp.149, 157, 158, 197.

[83] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Gosset to Woods & Forests, 17 Dec 1832.

[84] Ibid.

[85] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book N, Milne to Gosset, 25 Feb 1834 (2B-38-104) pp. 25-27.

[86] Ibid.

[87] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book M, Weale to Gosset, 29 Apr 1833 (2B-38-103) p. 87.

[88] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book R, Milne to Wilkie, 19 Apr 1837 (2B-38-109) p.121; NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book R, Milne to Wilkie, 22 Mar 1837 (2B-38-109) pp.158, 159.

[89] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book N, Milne to Gosset, 25 Feb 1834 (2B-38-104) pp. 25-27.

[90] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book S, Milne to Wilkie, 3 Apr 1838 (2B-38-110) pp. 2, 3.

[91] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book S, Milne to Burton, 18 Apr1838 (2B-38-110) p. 2.

[92] Lisa Shields and Denis Fitzgerald, ' "The Night of the Big Wind" in Ireland, 6-7 January 1839', *Irish Geography*, vol. xxii, 1989, pp..31-42. This excellent article gives a thorough account of the storm and the damage it caused throughout the country.

[93] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Statement of the number of trees which were blown down by the storm on the 6 Jan 1839.

[94] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book S, Milne to Wilkie, 12 Mar 1839 (2B-38-110) pp. 216, 217.

[95] *Dublin Evening Post*, 'The Late Storm', Sat 12 Jan 1839.

[96] Ibid.

[97] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book S, Gore to Wilkie, 3 Feb 1840 (2B-38-110) pp. 497, 498.

[98] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/58, OPW to Park bailiff, 17 Nov 1877 (2D-61-121) p. 731; NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/67, Hornsby to Dick, 4 Feb 1880 (2D-61-130) p. 98.

[99] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burke to Woods & Forests, 5 May 1841.

[100] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/51, BOW to McDonald, 15 July 1875 (2D-61-114) p. 784. This correspondence indicates that some surplus deer were sold by tender.

[101] *Public Works (Ireland): Various Board of Public Works annual reports* from 1860 to 1870 (see reports 1875 to 1881) show receipts for sale of deer, skins, offal, timber & sale of hay which indicate modest returns. For Woods & Forests (see reports for 1849 & 1850) returns show sale of deer skins, offal etc., the returns for which are very modest i.e £15-13-0 and £17-9-6 respectively.

[102] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers. Rewards paid to Park staff for detecting deer stealers in the Phoenix Park, Wilkie to Woods & Forests, 30 Sept 1833.

[103] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book A2, Gore to Burke, 16 Feb 1846 (2B-38-118) p. 347; NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book E2, Gore to Burke, 5 Feb 1847 (2B-38-122) p. 83; NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book H2, Milne to Burke, 14 Dec 1848 (2B-38125) p.122. Twelve deer were donated in 1846, forty-five in 1847, forty-four in 1848, thirty-eight in 1849 and forty-four in 1850.

[104] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter A2, Gore to Burke, 20 Sept 1845 (2B-38-118) p.190. A deer was distributed by the Board of Public Works among four poor people in 1872.

[105] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/50, BOW to the Earl of Enniskillen, 9 Nov 1874 (2D- 61-113) p.125.

[106] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/52, Hornsby to The Earl of Clancarty, 5 Nov 1875 (2D- 61-115) p. 552.

[107] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book T, Woods & Forest to Treasury, 26 Feb 1839 (2B-38-111) pp. 54, 55.

[108] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book F2, Gore to Earl of Bessborough, 15 Nov 1847 (2B-38-123) pp. 231, 232.

[109] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Wilkie to Burke, 16 Dec 1842.

[110] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book N, Weale to Burton, 7 Nov 1835 (2b-38-104) pp. 250, 251.

[111] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book S, Milne to Wilkie, 24 Dec 1838 (2B-38-110) pp. 64, 165.

[112] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book S, Milne to Wilkie, 24 Sept 1839 (2B-38-110) p. 87.

[113] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Wilkie to Burke, 16 Dec 1842.

[114] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book A2, Gore to Burke, 15 Dec 1845 (2B038-118) pp. 63, 264.

[115] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book, Milne to Burke, 22 Aug 1846 (2B-38-121) p. 200; NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book F2, Gore to Burke, 6 Sept 1847 (2B-38-123) pp.144, 145; NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book H2, Gore to Burke, 5 Oct 1848 (2B-38-125) p. 21; NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book H2, Gore to Burke, 21 Feb 1849 (2B-38-125) pp. 226, 227.

[116] *The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc.*, Board of Public Works, H.C.1812 (33) V.191, p. 33.

[117] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book V, Woods & Forests to Burton, 18 Feb 1842 (2B-38-113) pp. 299-301.

[118] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 10 Jan 1842.

[119] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book 1/1/3/28, Burke to Woods & Forests, 25 Jan 1859 (2D-52-22) pp.11, 12. It was a further 10 years before the cost of this path was included in the estimates. Treasury letter book 1861-1863 (2D-57-17) pp. 227, 228.

[120] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/33, Hornsby to Freeman, 15 Feb1867 (2D-61-96) p. 44; NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/34, Hornsby to Fagan, Mar/Apr 1869 (2D-61-97) p. 277. NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/38, Hornsby to McDonald, 21 Oct 1870 (2D-61-101) p.10.

[121] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book R, Milne to Burton, 3 Dec 1836 (2B-38-109) pp. 26, 27.

[122] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book R, Milne to Burton, 28 Feb 1837 (2B-38-109) pp. 88, 89.

[123] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book R, Milne to Burton, 1 Apr 1837 (2B-38-109) p.106.

[124] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 6 June 1838, p.12.

[125] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book R, Milne to Burton, 16 Mar 1837 (2B-38-109) p. 96.

[126] PRO (London), Woods & Forests to Treasury, 4 Nov 1838, T1/3671/229, p. 5.

[127] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 14 Mar 1849.

[128] NAI, Q.R.O. book E2, Gore to Burke, 18 Mar 1847 (2B-38-122) pp.199, 200.

[129] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/33, Secretary to Wilkie, 24 June 1867 (2D-61-96) p.140. Other examples included the supply of sods for the under-secretary's demesne, topsoil for the viceregal demesne are recorded in the BOW Letter books from 1867 to 1880.

[130] Ibid., pp.154, 172, 178, 409.

[131] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/47, Secretary to McDonald, 17 Jan 1874 (2D-61-110) pp. 550, 560;

[132] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/47, Secretary to Mackay, 2 Feb 1874 (2D-61-110) p. 654. The trees were planted by the Tree Committee, which was composed of the inhabitants of Sackville (now O'Connell) Street who sought a donation in vain from the BOW.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4 (PARK INFRASTRUCTURE)

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[1] C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Phoenix Park, its Origin and early History', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxii, 3rd series, 1900-1902, p. 475; Robert Owen, *An Account of the Foundation of the Royal Hospital of Charles 2nd*, Dublin, 1725, pp. 26, 27.

[2] BL, 'Report on the State of the Phoenix Park', Nov.1801, (Add. Ms.35,731), p. 297. This report sought by Government on the state and management of the Park was made under the direction of Chief Secretary Abbot (see *Report of the Commissioners on Fees, Gratuities & c*, H. C. (33)1812, vol. v. (191).

[3] NAI, OPW minute book 1/1/1 (2D-56-93), pp. 5, 27.

[4] NAI, OPW minute book 1/1/1 (2D-56-93), pp. 28, 29, 237, 244; NAI, OPW letter book 1/1/2/1 (2D-57-34), pp.118, 125.

[5] The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc., Board of Public Works, H.C.1812 (33) V.191, pp13, 31, app. 6, p. 29.

[6] NAI, OPW letter book 1/1/2/1 (2D-57-34), p. 570; OPW minute book 1/1/3 (2D-56-95), pp. 65, 394, 396.

[7] The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc., Board of Public Works, H.C.1812 (33) V.191, pp13, 31, append. 6, p. 29.

[8] Ibid., p.13.

[9] NAI, OPW letter book 1/1/2/2 (2D-57-35), pp. 391, 392.

[10] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book K, (2B-38-101), p300; Q.R.O. letter book O, (2B-38-105), p.141

[11] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers. There is a large volume of papers which deal with Park estimates and expenditure in this collection

[12] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers. Tenders from contractors dated Aug 1835.

[13] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book P, (2B-38-106), pp.113, 114.

[14] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 6 June 1838, p. 9.

[15] PRO, T1 3671/229, Woods & Forests to Treasury, 7 Dec 1836; NAI, Q.R.O. letter book O, (2B-38-105), pp. 259-262.

[16] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book O, (2B-38-105), pp. 259-262.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Per. com. Patrick McAfee

[19] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book P, (2B-38-106), pp.270, 271, 276; Q.R.O. letter book 0, (2B-38-105), pp. 259-263; Q.R.O. letter book R, (2B-38-10) p. 40.

[20] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 6 June 1838, p. 9.

[21] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers 'Report and Estimate by William Nixon Clerk of the Works on the present state of, and required repairs, to the Boundary Wall of the Phoenix Park Dublin', 20 May 1838.

[22] PRO, T1 3671/229, Woods & Forests to Treasury, 4 Nov 1838, pp.1-3. An example of the use of rounded stones, which is rare in the Park walls, can be seen on the inner wall adjacent to the Islandbridge gate. The use of these stones, given the resources of the Park quarry is somewhat surprising but may have been an economical and convenient way of utilizing them. I am indebted to John Boles who informs me that this section of wall (with iron railing on top) dates from about the 1930's when portion of the wall collapsed.

[23] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, 'Report and Estimate by William Nixon Clerk of the Works on the present state of, and required repairs, to the Boundary Wall of the Phoenix Park Dublin', 20 May 1838.

[24] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, minute dated 11 Aug 1843; PRO, T1 3671/229, Woods & Forests to Treasury, 18 Nov 1839.

[25] Bernard Fielden, *Conservation of Historic Buildings*, Oxford, 1994, pp. 433, 442; Patrick McAfee, *Irish Stone Walls*, Dublin, 1999, pp.136-139

[26] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, minute dated 11 Aug 1843; PRO, T13671/229, Woods & Forests to Treasury, 18 Nov 1839.

[27] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, minute dated 11 Aug 1843; PRO, T1 3671/229, Woods & Forests to Treasury, 18 Nov 1839.

[28] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, 'Second Report and Estimate by William Nixon, Clerk of the Works, on the Boundary Wall of the Phoenix Park Dublin', 21 Nov 1838.

[29] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book S, (2B-38-110), p. 452.

[30] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book S, (2B-38-110), pp.173, 174, 179, 190, 191, 198, 199; Q.R.O. letter book T, (2B-38-111), pp. 52, 53, 58, 59.

[31] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book R, (2B-38-109), pp. 26, 27.

[32] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book S, (2B-38-110), p. 21.

[33] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book T, (2B-38-111), pp.175-181.

[34] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burke to Woods & Forests, 3 July 1840.

[35] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book T, (2B-38-111), pp.182-204; NAI, QRO letter book U, (2B-38-112), pp. 411-415. The term 'super pinning' has been difficult to define but it has been suggested by Dr. Frederick O'Dwyer that it may mean buttressing. The Park walls are supported by brick buttressing near the Chapelizod Gate in obvious effort to stabilise and prevent from falling into the adjacent gravel pits.

[36] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book V, (2B-38-113), pp. 299-301; NAI, Q.R.O. letter book W, (2B-38-114), pp.114-120 & 160,161

[37] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book Y, (2B-38-116), pp.1-3. The Circular Road Gate is now referred to as the North Circular Road Gate.

[38] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book V, (2B-38-113), pp. 435-438.

[39] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 30 May 1843; Q.R.O. letter book X, (2B-38-115), pp.145, 146 & 353-355.

[40] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book Z, (2B-38-117), pp. 314-317.

[41] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book F2, (2B-38-123), pp. 84-87.

[42] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book G2, (2B-38-124), pp.181-184; NAI, Q.R.O. letter book H2, (2B-38-125), pp. 250, 251.

[43] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers 'Report on the present condition of the boundary wall', Fish to Burton, 24 May 1849.

[44] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book 1/1/3/26, (2D-52-20) p.101; NAI, OPW letter book 1/1/2/41, (2D-61-104) pp. 346 -348. I have found no evidence that the wall across the gravel pit was constructed during our study period.

[45] Arthur Gibney, 'Studies in Eighteenth-Century Building History', (Ph. D. thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1997), pp.164, 165.

[46] Patrick McAfee, *Irish Stone Walls*, Dublin,1999, pp. 42-44. The Park wall was also examined by Edward Mc Parland, Patrick McAfee & John Mc Cullen in Mar 2000.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Arthur Gibney, 'Studies in Eighteenth-Century Building History', (Ph. D.thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1997), p.170.

[49] Patrick McAfee, *Irish Stone Walls*, Dublin, 1999, pp. 42-47.

[50] Maurice Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland from the earliest times to1880*, London & Dublin, 1982, p. 266.

[51] Frederick O'Dwyer, *The Architecture of Deane and Woodward*, Cork, 1997, pp. 498, 499.

[52] BL, 'Report on the State of the Phoenix Park', Nov 1801, (Add. Ms. 35,731), p. 294; Jim Lacey, *A Candle in the Window A History of the Barony of Castleknock*, Dublin, 1999, p. 46. The gate and lodge are now known as White's gate and White's gate lodge, and were newly replaced in the early twentieth century, when the Whites road came into public ownership.

[53] NAI, OPW minute book 1/1/1 (2D-56-93) p. 429.

[54] NAI, OPW minute book 1/1/2 (2D-56-94) p. 452.

[55] Ibid., p. 375.

[56] Ibid., The instruction to commence was issued on the 31 Dec 1808 and instructions for capping the piers given in Mar 1813. NA1, OPW letter book 1/1/2/2, (2D-57-35) p. 256.

[57] A framed block plan of the Dublin lodges and gates by Decimus Burton, dated 15 Feb1838 is located at the OPW depot at the White Fields depot in the Phoenix Park.

[58] NAI, OPW letter book 1/1/2/1 (2D-57-34) p. 480; NAI, OPW letter book1/1/2/2 (2D-57-35) pp. 99, 100. Two granite tablets with the date 1811 in roman numerals are inserted above the doors of one of these lodges and the remains of the other which was converted into a police station.

[59] Vivien Igoe and Frederick O'Dwyer, 'Early views of the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham', *The GPA Irish Arts Review yearbook 1988*, vol. v, p. 82.

[60] NAI, OPW letter book 1/1/2/1(2D-57-34) p. 515.

[61] NAI, OPW letter book 1/1/2/2 (2D-57-35) p. 256.

[62] A pair of the original gates were erected in Cloverhill, Co.Cavan having been purchased by Senator Cole in 1940 from Hammond Lane foundry. I am indebted to Daphne Shackleton for this information and to the late Mary Cole who allowed a detailed examination to be made of the gates. The wicket gates from the pedestrian entrances were incorporated into the entrances to the Boxing Stadium on the South Circular, some details of which are to be found in File A96 no. 2/11/38, p. 3 at the OPW depot, White Fields, Phoenix Park. A framed block plan of the Dublin lodges and gates by Burton, dated 15 Feb 1838 is at the OPW depot,

The White Fields, Phoenix Park.

[63] The iron columns are clearly shown in a photograph of the main entrance in Album of Views, Dublin by J. Tallon, 34 Grafton St., *c.*1895. Copy in possession of the author.

[64] NAI, OPW letter book1/1/2/1 (2D-57-34) p.581; NAI, OPW minute book 1/1/3 (2D-56-95) p.100.

[65] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 27 Sept 1834, p. 6.

[66] Thomas J. Mulvany, *The Life of James Gandon, Esq.*, Dublin, 1846, p. 224. I am grateful to Dr. Edward Mc Parland for drawing my attention to this reference.

[67] NAI, OPW letter book1/1/2/2 (2D-57-35) p. 273.

[68] Ibid., pp. 496 ,500, 501.

[69] BL, 'Report on the State of the Phoenix Park', Nov. 1801 (Add. Ms. 35,731) p. 295.

[70] There are many references to the repair of gate lodges and park gates in both the minute books and letter books of the OPW in the National Archives.

[71] *The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc.*, Board of Public Works, H.C.1812 (33) V.191, app. no.6, p. 31.

[72] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-second Rep., App., Plans, Index*, H.C.1845 (617) XXVII.503, app.10A, p. 41.

[73] Ibid.

[74] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book P (2B-38-106) pp.109, 110.

[75] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers. Burton to Woods & Forests, 19 Nov 1835.

[76] NAI, OPW letter book P (2B-38-106) pp. 234, 235.

[77] NAI. OPW unsorted (1994) papers. Burton to Woods & Forests, 6 June 1835, p. 5. Turner's name is inscribed on the gate.

[78] NAI, OPW letter book P(2B-38-106) p. 74; NAI, OPW letter book S (2B-38-110) pp. 463-465; A drawing exists of a plan of Castleknock gate and lodge showing the enclosure by the iron palisade fence as well as front and side elevations of the fence. The drawing is signed by Decimus Burton and dated the 16 Dec 1839 and held in the NLI (Architectural drawing no. 2125).

[79] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Bryan to Weale 31 Aug 1837; Burton to Woods & Forests, 15 Jan1838; Weale to Burton 22 Jan 1838. NAI, OPW letter book R (2B-38-109) p. 299.

[80] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book P(2B-38-106) pp.109, 110. These plans have not been located. Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-second Rep., App., Plans, Index,* H.C. 1845 (617) XXVII.503, app. 10A, p. 41.

[81] OPW Libr., file no.13161/33, Burton to Woods & Forests, 10 Nov 1835.

[82] OPW Libr., file no.13161/33, pt. 2, Burton to Woods & Forests, 17 Mar 1836, p. 6. Letter book P(2B-38-106) pp. 233-235, 250, 251 & 256.

[83] Philip Miller, *Decimus Burton Exhibition His Life and Work,* The Building Centre Trust, 1981, p.15.

[84] *The Irish Farmer's and Gardener's Magazine*, Dublin, vol. i , 1826, p. 353; The lodges in Hyde Park have been visited and studied on a number of occasions by the author.

[85] OPW Libr., file no.13161/33, pt. 2, Burton to Woods & Forests, 6 Jun 1838 file no.13161/33, pt. 2, p.10.

[86] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods and Forests, 7 Aug 1837 & 10 Mar 1838.

[87] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Butler to Burton, 9 Mar 1838; Milne to Burton, 11 Mar 1838; Burton to Phillips, 15 Mar 1838.

[88] Philip Miller, *Decimus Burton Exhibition His Life and Work*, The Building Centre Trust, 1981, p.15.

[89] OPW Libr., file no.13161-33, pt. 2, Burton to Woods & Forests, 6 Jun 1838, p.19.

[90] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-second Rep., App., Plans, Index*, H.C. 1845 (617) XXVII.503, app. 10 A, p. 41; NAI, OPW, letter book S (2B-38-110) p. 274; OPW file no. 13998/12 held at the OPW depot, White Fields, Phoenix Park.

[91] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book S (2B-38-110) pp. 274.

[92] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton's estimate for Ashtown entrance, 27 Feb 1839.

[93] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book S (2B-38-110) pp.274, 304-307; NAI, Q.R.O. letter book U (2B-38-112) p. 354.

[94] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book K (2B-38-101) p. 299; *Report of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests*, H. C.1845 (617) vol. xxii (503) Appen. 10A, p. 41;

Q.R.O. letter book 0 (2B-38-105) pp.140, 141.

[95] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book S (2B-38-110) pp. 495,496 & letter book T (2B-38-111) pp.142-146.

[96] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book U (2B-38-112) pp. 422,423 ; Q.R.O. letter book X (2B-38-115) pp.107,108.

[97] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book T (2B-38-111) pp. 387-389. NAI, OPW/13170/03, drawing collection contains both plans, plan A showing the North Circular lodge as it existed and plan B, showing the proposed alterations. Both are initialled by D.B. and accompanied his report to the Woods & Forests in Jan 1844.

[98] David Broderick, *The First Toll-Roads*, Cork, 2002, pp. 5-33.

[99] Ibid, pp. 250, 252.

[100] Ibid, pp. 261, 233.

[101] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/1 (2D-57-34) pp. 52, 53,138.

[102] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/2 (2D-57-35) p. 276.

[103] PRO, Treasury Papers, TI33671/229 16714, Burton's report to Woods & Forests, 31 Jan 1833, p. 303.

[104] Philip Miller, *Decimus Burton Exhibition His Life and Work*, The Building Centre Trust, 1981, p.15.

[105] PRO, Treasury Papers, TI33671/229 16714, Burton's report to Woods & Forests, 31 Jan 1833, p. 303.

[106] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/5 (2D-57-38) pp.1, 2, 13.

[107] Ibid., pp. 78, 79, 80, 81.

[108] Ibid., pp. 277, 278.

[109] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/21 (2D-61-84) p. 370.

[110] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/39 (2D-61-102) pp. 212, 283, 318, 335, 336.

[111] David Broderick, *An Early Toll-Road, Dublin*,1996, pp.149, 150.

[112] Martin Doyle, '*Road-Making and on Ventilation & c*', Dublin, 1830 pp.14, 15,16.

[113] *The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc.*, Board of Public Works, H.C.1812

(33) V.191, p.13.

[114] Hely Dutton, *Irish Agricultural Magazine*, *c.*1798, p. 339.

[115] Ibid.

[116] NAI, OP 18/30, OP 18/34 & OP 18/46.

[117] *The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc.*, Board of Public Works, H.C.1812 (33) V.191, p.13.

[118] Ibid, p. 33.

[119] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-second Rep., App., Plans, Index,* H.C. 1845 (617) XXVII.503, app. 10A, p. 39.

[120] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O (2B-38-105) pp.141, 144, 294.

[121] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book P (2B-36-106) pp.168, 169.

[122] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book N (2B-38-104) p. 96.

[123] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book K (2B-38-101) p. 299.

[124] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book P(2B-38-106) pp. 224, 225.

[125] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O (2B-38-105) pp. 293-296.

[126] Anon, *History of Agricultural Drainage*, Land Drainage Service, MAFF (Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Foods), London,1977. John Johnstone, *An Account of the Most Approved Mode of Draining Land*, Dublin, 1800, pp.127, 128.

[127] Henry C. Brett, *The Principles of Land Drainage*, Belfast and Dublin, 1910, pp. 39-41.

[128] John Johnstone, *An Account of the Most Approved Mode of Draining Land*, Dublin, 1800.

[129] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-second Rep., App., Plans, Index,* H.C. 1845 (617) XXVII.503, app. 10A, p. 41.

[130] Hely Dutton, *Irish Agricultural Magazine*, *c.*1798, p. 339.

[131] Martin Doyle, 'On Draining', *The Irish Farmer's and Gardener's Magazine*, vol. ii, 1835, pp.1-8; 'What is the best system of Thorough Draining', *The Irish Farmer's and Gardener's Magazine*, vol. vi, 1839, pp. 502-510.

[132] *The Agricultural Gazette*, 5 Apr 1845, p. 229.

[133] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-eighth Rep., App., Plans, Index*, H.C.1851 (631) XXIX.349, app. 9, pp. 9-13.

[134] NAI, Q.R.O letter book S(2B-38-110) pp. 67-68 & 70, 270-272.

[135] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Unemployed Weavers, July – Sept. 1837.

[136] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-second Rep., App., Plans, Index*, H.C. 1845 (617) XXVII.503, app. 10A, p. 41.

[137] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book U(2B-38-112) pp. 91, 92, 163, 164, 284, 285.

[138] Ibid, pp. 215-218, 244-247.

[139] Entry on Thomas Francis Kennedy (1788-1879) in *DNB*.

[140] BL, Kennedy papers (Add. Ms. 40519) p.118.

[141] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book U (2B-38-112) pp. 215-218.

[142] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book V(2B-38-113) pp.172-174, 213-215, 230-231; BL, Kennedy papers (Add. Ms. 40519) pp.120-122.

[143] BL, Kennedy papers (Add. Ms. 40519), pp.118, 119, 136.

[144] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book X (2B-38-115) pp. 39, 40; BL, Kennedy papers, (Add. Ms. 40519) p.118.

[145] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book E2 (2B-38-122) pp. 269, 270.

[146] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book X (2B-38-115) pp. 39, 40, 282.

[147] BL, Kennedy papers, (Add. Ms. 40519) p.119; NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) paper drainage experiments-printed sheets.

[148] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book X(2B-38-115) p. 343; NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, drainage experiments – printed sheets.

[149] Entry on James Smith (1789-1850) in *DNB*

[150] James Smith, *The Irish Farmer's and Gardener's Magazine*, vol. ii, 1835, pp. 475-479.

[151] See entry on James Smith (1789-1850) in *DNB* where date given 1834 is incorrect. See Nicholas Goddard's *Harvests of Change*, London, 1988, p.18.

[152] Entry on James Smith (1789-1850) in *DNB*, p. 467.

[153] H. F. Berry, *History of the RDS*, London, 1915, p. 277; *The Agricultural Gazette*, 5 Sept 1846, p. 604. There are many other refs. in the *Agricultural Gazette* during the 1840s where Smith lectured in Ireland and England on drainage.

[154] *The Agricultural Gazette*, 18 Jan 1845, p. 44.

[155] *The Agricultural Gazette*, 17 Jan 1846, p. 44.

[156] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book W (2B-38-114) p. 301; letter book X (2B-38-115) pp. 343, 344.

[157] *The Agricultural Gazette*, 4 Jan 1845, p. 9.

[158] Josiah Parkes, 'On Draining', *The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, vol. vii, 1847, p. 251 ; *The Agricultural Gazette*, 20 Sept 1845, pp. 646-647 and *The Agricultural Gazette*, 13 July 1844, pp. 468, 469.

[159] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book X (2B-38-115) p. 343.

[160] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book E2 (2B-38-122) pp.12, 13.

[161] Entry on Josiah Parkes (1793-1871) in *DNB*.

[162] Entry on Josiah Parkes (1793-1871) in *DNB* ; *The Agricultural Gazette*, 14 June 1845, p.408.

[163] Josiah Parkes, "On Draining", *The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, vol vii, 1847, p. 260; Twenty-eight or Twenty-second annual *Report of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests*, H. C.1851 (631) vol. xxix (349) appen. 9, p. 75.

[164] Nicholas Goddard, *Harvests of Change*, London, 1988, p. 93.

[165] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Treasury authority 27 Jan 1847.

[166] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-eighth Rep., App., Plans, Index*, H.C.1851 (631) XXIX.349, app. 9, p. 9.

[167] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book E2 (2B-38-122) pp.15-19.

[168] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-eighth Rep., App., Plans, Index*, H.C.1851 (631) XXIX.349, app. 9, pp. 9-13, which contains a synopsis of Parkes's report.

[169] Ibid.

[170] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Parkes to Woods & Forests, 3 Dec 1846 & 2 Aug 1847.

[171] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-eighth Rep., App., Plans, Index,* H.C.1851 (631) XXIX.349, app. 9, pp.10-11.

[172] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Parkes to Woods & Forests, 18 Mar 1850.

[173] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-eighth Rep., App., Plans, Index,* H.C.1851 (631) XXIX.349, app. 9, pp. 64-67.

[174] *Public Works (Ireland): Board of Public Works: Seventeenth Report with app.,* H.C. 1849 (1098) XXIII.433, pp. 607.

[175] *Public Works (Ireland): Board of Public Works: Twenty-fourth report,* H.C. 1856 (2140) XIX.357, p.11.

[176] *Public Works (Ireland): Board of Public Works: Thirty-third report,* H.C. 1865 (3541) XXVIII.571, p. 9.

[177] *Public Works (Ireland): Board of Public Works: Seventeenth Report with app.,* H.C. 1849 (1098) XXIII.433, pp. 5-9

[178] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burke to Woods & Forests, 21 June 1850.

[179] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Irwin to Griffith, 24 Oct 1861.

[180] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Anderson to Stevenson, 21 Dec 1907.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5 (THE PUBLIC LANDSCAPE)

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[1] *The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc.*, Board of Public Works, H.C.1812 (33) V.191. Map of Phoenix Park, revised in 1811 by Sherrard, Brassington & Greene and based on the 1773 Survey of the Park by Thomas Sherrard.

[2] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book K (2B-38-101) p. 298.

[3] George Carter, Patrick Goode, Kedrun Laurie, *Humphry Repton Landscape Gardener 1752-1818*, Norwich, 1982, p. 9. An exhibition on Humphry Repton held at Norwich in 1982 and at London's Victoria & Albert Museum in 1983.

[4] Ibid., p.164.

[5] J. Warburton, J. Whitelaw and Robert Walsh, *History of The City of Dublin,* vol ii, London, 1818, p.1311.

[6] Hely Dutton, *Irish Agricultural Magazine*, vol. i, p. 39.

[7] NLI, 'The Fifteen Acres', Nowlan Ms. 14,893; p.109.

[8] *Walkers Hibernian Magazine*, July 1804, p. 443.

[9] *The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc.*, Board of Public Works, H.C.1812 (33) V.191, p. 32.

[10] BL, (map no.11850 [1]) and BL, (map no. 11815 [6])

[11] BL, 'Report on the State of the Phoenix Park', Nov 1801, Add. Ms. 35,731, p. 296.

[12] 'Plan of manouvers performed in the Phoenix Park in June 1775' (Royal Collection, Windsor Castle [map no. 734007])

[13] BL, (map no.11850 [1]) and BL, (map no.11815 [6])

[14] J. Warburton, J. Whitelaw and Robert Walsh, *History of The City of Dublin,*vol ii, London, 1818, p. 1312.

[15]Ibid., pp.1306, 1307.

[16] Ibid., p.1307.

[17] BL, (map no. 11850 [1])

[18] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, traced map of Park by Sherrard, Brassington & Greene 1813 [revised 1836].

[19] J.Warburton, J.Whitelaw and Robert Walsh, *History of The City of Dublin, vol.* ii, London, 1818, p.1312.

[20] BL, 'Report on the State of the Phoenix Park', Nov 1801 Add. Ms. 35,731, pp. 294-297.

[21] Edward Malins & The Knight of Glin, *Lost Demesnes*, London, 1976, p.192; Samuel Hayes, *Practical Treatise on Trees*, Dublin, 2003 (facsimile edition) p.120.

[22] NLI, Nowlan Ms. 14,897, p.118.

[23] BL, 'Report on the State of the Phoenix Park', Nov 1801, Add. Ms. 35,731, p. 294. The clump of elm trees between the chief secretary's demesne and the Royal Hibernian Military School is clearly marked on the 1789 and *c.*1805 maps of the Park. The second clump of elm trees is probably that located near the Spa well, since a later reference refers to elm thinnings taken from this clump.

[24] *The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc.*, Board of Public Works, H.C.1812 (33) V.191

[25] Ibid., p. 32. BL, (map no.11815 [6])

[26] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, traced map of Park by Sherrard, Brassington & Greene 1813 [revised 1836].

[27] Edward Malins & The Knight of Glin, *Lost Demesnes*, London, 1976, pp. 89-191.

[28] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/1(2D-57-34) pp. 583-584.

[29] Ibid., pp. 247, 336-337, 338.

[30] BL, Add. Ms. 35,729, pp. 341, 342. This assumption is based on the fact that Benjamin Baynham, who was an under-gatekeeper *c.*1801, became a gatekeeper before 1814 and hence the occupier of the Parkgate street gatelodge to the Park.

[31] BL, (map no. 11815 [6]) map shows a far greater number of tree groups along the main avenue than the earlier BL, (map no. 11850 [1]) map. The 1st ed. O.S. map1837 of the Park shows a far higher density of planting along the avenue than earlier maps.

[32] James Fraser, Part 1 'Present State of Gardening in Ireland', *The Gardener's Magazine*, vol. i, 1826, p.12.

[33] Ibid.

[34] After 1815 there is no further mention of tree planting in the Board of Works letter book series up until 1830 or in their minute book from 1826 to 1829.

[35] Judith Hill, *Irish Public Scuplture*, Dublin ,1998, p. 68.

[36] James Howley, *The Follies and Garden Buildings of Ireland*, New Haven and London, 1993, pp. 9, 16.

[37] Ibid, pp. 67, 68.

[38] Judith Hill, *Irish Public Sculpture*, Dublin, 1999, p. 68.

[39] NLI, 'Wellington Monument', Nowlan Ms. 14,898; pp195-197. P. F. Garnett, 'The Wellington Testimonial' *Dublin Historical Record (DHR)*, vol. xiii, no. 2 (June–Aug 1952), p. 58.

[40] James Howley, *The Follies and Garden Buildings of Ireland*, New Haven and London, 1993, p.15.

[41] J. Warburton, J. Whitelaw and Robert Walsh, *History of The City of Dublin,* vol ii, London, 1818, p.1105; also see Judith Hill, *Irish Public Sculpture*, Dublin,1999, p. 68.

[42] P. F. Garnett, 'The Wellington Testimonial', *Dublin Historical Record (DHR)*, vol. xiii, no. 2 (June–Aug 1952), pp. 53, 54.

[43] Thomas J. Mulvany, *The Life of James Gandon, Esq.*, Dublin, 1846, p. 224. I am grateful to Dr. Edward Mc Parland for drawing my attention to this reference.

[44] P. F. Garnett, 'The Wellington Testimonial' *Dublin Historical Record (DHR)*, vol. xiii, no. 2 (June–Aug 1952), p. 49.

[45] Philip Miller, *Decimus Burton Exhibition His Life and Work*, London, 1981, p.17. This is an exhibition guide of Burton's (1800-1881) work held on the centenary of his death in 1981 in London.

[46] P. F. Garnett, 'The Wellington Testimonial', *Dublin Historical Record (DHR)*, vol. xiii, no. 2 (June–Aug1952), p. 54. The positions of the Wellington testimonial and the Salute Battery are clearly shown on the 1st ed.O.S.map1837 of the Park.

[47] Ibid., p. 61.

[48] Edward Malins & The Knight of Glin, *Lost Demesnes*, London, 1976, p.196.

[49] Keith Lamb & Paddy Bowe, *A History of Gardening in Ireland*, Dublin, 1995, p. 61.

[50] John Claudius Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, London, 1824, p.1094 (section of page ref. no. 7653).

[51] Keith Lamb & Paddy Bowe, *A History of Gardening in Ireland*, Dublin, 1995, pp. 61, 62.

[52] Edward Malins & The Knight of Glin, *Lost Demesnes*, London, 1976, p.196.

[53] Philip Miller, *Decimus Burton Exhibition His Life and Work*, London, 1981, p.15. This is an exhibition guide of Burton's (1800-1881) work held on the centenary of his death in 1981 in London. The association between John Nash and the builder James Burton (father of Decimus Burton) is also relevant because it exposed the young Decimus to building and park developments at and around Regent's Park.

[54] Ibid., p.19.

[55] There are a number of copies and sources for Burton's reports contained in the OPW letter books in NAI and in the PRO (Treasury papers). I have been unable to find the 1832 report but in a covering letter to Woods & Forests, for the September 1834 report, Burton refers to it and the works completed as a result of and since his 1832 report. Both of the above (results of 1832 report and September 1834 report) are published in Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, Twenty-second *Rep., App., Plans, Index,* H.C. 1845 (617) XXVII.503p. 40-43. The Jan 1833 report is contained in the PRO, Treasury Papers, TI33671/229 16714, Burton's report to Woods & Forests, 31 Jan1833.

[56] PRO, Treasury Papers, TI33671/229 16714, Burton's report to Woods & Forests, 31 Jan 1833.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60]Ibid.

[61] Sarah M. Couch, 'The Practice of Avenue Planting in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Garden History*, vol. 20, 1991, p.173. This is probably the best article on avenues to have appeared in recent times.

[62] Ibid., p.176.

[63] Edward Malins & The Knight of Glin, *Lost Demesnes,* London, 1976, pp. 9, 10, 22, 25.

[64] Toby Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, New Haven and London, 2004, p. 211.

[65] Sarah M. Couch, 'Conservation of Avenue Trees', *Garden History*, vol. 18, 1994, p. 308.

[66] John Rocque, *A Survey of the County of Dublin*, 1760.

[67] William Sawrey Gilpin, *Practical Hints upon Landscape Gardening*, London, 1832 (1st ed.), p. 27. I am grateful to Dr. Sophie Piebanga (York) for this reference.

[68] PRO, Treasury Papers, Burton's report Woods & Forests, 31 Jan 1833, TI33671/229 16714.

[69] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-second Rep., App., Plans, Index*, H.C. 1845 (617) XXVII.503. An 1845 plan of the Phoenix Park (included as app. no.10 (D) in the report clearly shows the old and the new avenues. PRO, (T 63/13) MPD 141. Three plans of the Phoenix Park, A, B & C by Decimus Burton (1843-1844) shows the various stages of construction of the Grand Avenue.

[70] PRO, Treasury Papers, TI33671/229 16714, Burton to Woods & Forests, 31 Jan 1833.

[71] NAI, OPW Letter book T (2B-38-111) p. 202.

[72] NAI, Decimus Burton drawing dated Mar 1838 shows the avenue, footpaths and embankments (NAI, OPW/13170/03).

[73] PRO, Treasury Papers, Burton's report to Woods & Forests, 27 Sept 1834, T133671/229 16714, p. 9.

[74] Philip Miller, *Decimus Burton Exhibition His Life and Work*, London, 1981, p.16. This is an exhibition guide of Burton's (1800-1881) work held on the centenary of his death in 1981 in London.

[75] PRO, Treasury Papers, Burton's report Woods & Forests, 27 Sept 1834, TI33671/229 16714, p.10.

[76] Recent aerial photography of the Park clearly shows the outline of the Chesterfield Avenue planting. I am grateful to Margaret Gormley for bringing this to my attention.

[77] Recent survey work has shown that a number of earthen mounds in the Nine Acres area of the Parks (F10, F11) coincide with tree clumps of Chesterfield's avenue not only with the initial planting but also the second phase or inter-planting that took place. I am grateful to Gerry Gallagher for bringing this to my attention.

[78] NAI, Decimus Burton Plan, 11 Feb 1841 (NAI, OPW/13170/03)

[79] PRO, (T 63/13) MPD 141, Plans B & C, by Decimus Burton (Oct 1843 & Aug 1844)

[80] NAI, OPW Letter book Y (2B-38-116) pp. 47, 48.

[81] Philip Miller, *Decimus Burton Exhibition His Life and Work*, London, 1981, p. 30. This is an exhibition guide of Burton's (1800-1881) work held on the centenary of his Death in 1981 in London.

[82] NAI, OPW Letter book T (2B-38-111) p. 202..

[83] Sarah M. Couch, 'The Practice of Avenue Planting in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Garden History*, vol. 20, no. 2, 1991, pp.179-182.

[84] NAI, OPW Letter book Y, (2B-38-116) pp. 48, 67, 68, 95, 96. The broadleaf lime cultivar *'Rubra'*, Red-twigged lime was found in France in 1755 (*Alan Mitchell's Trees of Britain*, London, 1996).

[85] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 30 May 1843.

[86] NAI, OPW Letter book Y (2B-38-116) pp. 47, 48.

[87] NLI, 'Star Fort or Wharton's Folly', Nowlan Ms. 14,893; p. 52A.

[88] Christopher Ridgway & Robert Williams (editors), *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture in Baroque England,* Stroud, 2000, p. 49.

[89] PRO, Treasury Papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 31 Jan 1833, TI33671/229 16714.

[90] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers , Burton to Woods & Forests, 16 Jan 1838. This correspondence estimated that a further 26,000 cubic yards of soil to be moved at a cost of approximately £600. Other correspondence indicates that another £300 was already spent.

[91] NAI, OPW Letter book Y (2B-38-116) pp.146, 147. This was the excavation for Kingsbridge Station (designed by Sancton Wood) opened in1845.

[92] Ibid., pp. 27-29.

[93] Ibid., pp. 27-29; NLI, Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778.

[94] NLI, Larcom Papers, Ms. 7778.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid.

[98] NLI, Nowlan Ms. 14,897, 'Tree Nursery at Barrack Demesne', 10 Nov 1835, p.120.

[99] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, 'Particulars of Trees which were felled etc. etc', submitted by W. S. Wilkie, 14 Jan 1835.

[100] NAI, Q.R.O. File 762, Woods & Forests to Treasury, 10 Jan 1839.

[101] NAI, OPW Letter book S, Gore to Burton, 2 Mar 1840 (2B-38-110) p. 522.

[102] Conductor, 'Ireland', *The Gardener's Magazine*, vol. xiv, Jan 1838, p. 533.

[103] Per. com. with Dr. Hazel Conway.

[104] Melanie Louise Simo, *Loudon and the Landscape*, New Haven and London, 1988, pp.191, 199.

[105] NAI, OPW Letter book S, Milne to Burton, 21 Feb 1839 (2B-38-110) p.198.

[106] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, 'Phoenix Park Memorandum', 14 Nov 1845.

[107] Ibid.

[108] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 6 Jan 1846.

[109] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 6 June 1838, p. 20.

[110] Ibid.

[111] On my visits to both Ashridge and Stowe Gardens I have always been struck by the similarities of both the Golden Valley and the Grecian Valley with that in the Park. The latter valley may have been the inspiration of William Kent and executed by Brown. (see Dorothy Stroud's *Capability Brown*).

[112] NAI, OPW, Letter book U, Gore to Burton, 24 Dec 1840 (2B-38-112) pp. 263, 264.

[113] NAI, OPW, Letter book T, Woods & Forests to Treasury, 23 Dec 1844 (2B-38-111) p. 436; NAI, OPW, Letter book Z, Burton to Woods & Forests, 26 Feb 1845 (2B-38-117) p. 316.

[114] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Gore, 3 Mar 1847 and Gore to Burton, 12 Mar 1847.

[115] NAI, OPW, Letter book T, Woods & Forests to Treasury, 23 Dec 1844

(2B-38-111) p. 436; NAI, OPW, Letter book Z , Burton to Woods & Forests, 26 Feb 1845 (2B-38-117) p. 316.

[116] *Public Works (Ireland): Board of Public Works: Twenty-eight report*, H.C.1860 (2690) XXIV. 759, p. 37. The data for the Park during this period is contained in the Quit Rent Office (Q.R.O.) Letter books held at the NAI.

[117] *Public Works (Ireland): Board of Public Works : Thirty-fourth report*, H.C. 1866 (3676) XXIV.461, p. 9.

[118] P. F. Garnett, 'The Wellington Testimonial', *Dublin Historical Record (DHR)*, vol. xiii, no. 2 (June–Aug1952) p. 61.

[119] *Public Works (Ireland): Board of Public Works: Thirty-first report*, H.C. 1863 (3182) XXVI.377, p. 7.

[120] Plan of works required, signed by E. Trevor Owen, ass. architect & Frederick Franklin, surveyor, 2 May, 1865. (NAI, OPW/5HC/2/85)

[121] *Public Works (Ireland): Board of Public Works: Thirty-second report*, H.C. 1864 (3359) XXX.495p. 8. *Public Works (Ireland): Board of Public Works: Thirty-third report*,1865 (3541) XXVIII.571, p. 9.

[122] 'The People's Garden, Phoenix Park, Dublin', *The Gardeners' Record*, 16 Jan 1869, pp. 34, 35. E. Roberts; 'Half an Hour in the People's Garden, Phoenix Park', *The Gardeners' Record*, 31 July 1869, pp. 378, 379. R.D, 'The People's Garden, Phoenix Park, Dublin', *The Gardeners' Record*, 25 Sept 1869, pp. 477, 478.

[123] Brent Elliott, *Victorian Gardens*, London, 1986, pp. 52, 53.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Michael Symes, *A Glossary of Garden History*, Great Britain, 1993, p. 95.

[126] Keith Lamb & Paddy Bowe, *A History of Gardening in Ireland*, Dublin, 1995, p.116.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Henry Lonsdale M. D, *The Worthies of Cumberland*, London, 1872, pp.182, 183. I am grateful to Joanna Matthews (Oxford) for this reference and supplying the photograph of the Brampton statue of the Earl of Carlisle.

[129] Ibid, p.185.

[130] William Robinson, 'The Dublin Phoenix Park and its Gardens', *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, vol. i, 25 Feb 1865, p.173.

[131] 'The Phoenix Park', *The Dublin Builder*, vol. iii, no. 34, 15 May 1861, p. 518.

[132] 'Necessity for opening Public Parks and Gardens for the education of the working classes', *The Dublin Builder*, vol. iv, no. 70, 15 Nov 1862, p. 295.

[133] 'A People's Park required for Dublin', *The Dublin Builder*, vol. 6, no. 108, 15 Jun 1864, p.113.

[134] 'The People's Garden, Phoenix Park, Dublin', *The Gardeners' Record*, 16 Jan 1869, pp. 34, 35. E.Roberts, 'Half an Hour in the People's Garden, Phoenix Park', *The Gardeners' Record*, 31 July 1869, pp. 378, 379. R. D, 'The People's Garden, Phoenix Park, Dublin', *The Gardeners' Record*, 25 Sept 1869, pp. 477, 478.

[135] Brent Elliott, *Victorian Gardens*, London, 1986, pp.134, 135.

[136] Ibid.

[137] *Public Works (Ireland): Board of Public Works: Forty-sixth report*, H.C. 1878 (C.2092) XXIII.369, p.14.

[138] Correspondence relating to the Liffey Rail Extension under the Phoenix Park commences in the OPW Letter book 1/1/2/38 (2D-61-101), p. 200.

[139] Henry Lonsdale M. D, *The Worthies of Cumberland*, London, 1872, p.182.

[140] Ibid., p.183.

[141] *Public Works (Ireland): Board of Public Works: Thirty-sixth report with appendices*, H.C.1867-68 (4043) XXI.367, p. 25.

[142] NLI., 'Completion of the Monument', Larcom Papers (Ms. 7778).

[143] Henry Lonsdale M. D, *The Worthies of Cumberland*, London, 1872, p.185. I am grateful to Joanna Matthews (Oxford) for pointing out the difference between the statues, which appears to be mainly the robes worn by the Earl.

[144] Freddie O'Dwyer, *Lost Dublin*, Dublin, 1981, p. 90.

[145] I am familiar with the original siting of the sculpture and have photographed and examined the restored statue in England.

[146] Freddie O'Dwyer, *Lost Dublin*, Dublin, 1981, p. 90.

[147] Judith Hill, *Irish Public Sculpture*, Dublin, 1998, p.108.

[148] J. P. Powell, 'Field Marshal Viscount Gough', unpublished manuscript, 1996.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6 (THE LANDSCAPE OF PRIVATE DEMESNES)

[1] PRO, ' Report from Burton to Woods & Forests', 31 Jan 1833, TI/3671/229 (16714).

[2] PRO, ' Report from Burton to the Office of Woods and Forests', 27 Sept 1834, TI/3671/229 (16714) p.11.

[3] Miles Hadfield, *A History of British Gardening*, London, 1979, p. 242.

[4] James Fraser, 'Description of a Double Sunk Fence in Garbally', *The Gardener's Magazine*,vol. iv, Apr 1828, pp. 334, 335, 336.

[5] Terence Reeves-Smyth, 'Demesnes', in FHA Aalen, Kevin Whelan, Matthew Stout (eds), *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape*, Cork, 1997, p. 201.

[6] William Robinson, 'The Dublin Phoenix Park and its Gardens', *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette'*, vol. i, 21 Jan 1865, p. 52.

[7] *Report of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests*, H. C. 1845 (617) XXVII. 503. An 1845 plan of the Phoenix Park (included as appen. no.10 (D)) in the report shows the amount of sunken fences constructed before Aug 1845.

[8] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers. Wilkie to Burton, 28 May 1838.

[9] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton's estimate, 6 Aug1835.

[10] Michael Symes, *A Glossary of Garden History*, Great Britain, 1993, p. 77.

[11] Peter Willis, *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden*, Newcastle Upon Tyne, 2002, p. 20.

[12] Michael Symes, *A Glossary of Garden History*, Great Britain, 1993, p. 94.

[13] Ibid.

[14] O.S. maps of County Dublin, 1837 & 1849.

[15] Michael Symes, *A Glossary of Garden History*, Great Britain, 1993, pp.132, 133.

[16]Edward Malins & The Knight of Glin, *Lost Demesnes*, London, 1976, pp.12, 13. A very detailed description is given of the Antrim Castle 'Wilderness'.

[17] Michael Symes, *A Glossary of Garden History*, Great Britain, 1993, pp.133, 134.

[18] Ibid., p.134.

[19] *The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc.*, Board of Public Works, H.C.1812 (33) V.191, p.13.

[20] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 6 June 1842. NAI, Q.R.O. file 762, Stephenson & Milne to Treasury, 22 Aug 1837.

[21] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 31 May 1841.

[22] NAI, OPW Minute book 1/1/1 (2D-56-93) pp.180, 494. NAI, OPW Minute book 1/1/3 (2D-56-95) p. 65.

[23] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/1 (2D-57-34) p.104.

[24] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/17, Hornsby to Dowdall, 24 Apr 1855 (2D-61-80) p. 472. NAI, OPW Letter book 1/12/26, Hornsby to Pennick, 9 Jan 1861 (2D-61-89) p. 40.

[25] The 1st ed. O.S. Map of 1837 shows the walk and summerhouse.

[26] NAI, OPW Letter book1/1/2/20, Hornsby to Messrs Turner & Gibson (2D-61-83) p. 358. A stone placque commemorating the lord lieutenant's endeavour has been recently reerected over the new disability doorway to the racquet court.

[27] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/17, Hornsby to Accountant; Hornsby to Comptroller, Viceregal Lodge (2D- 61-80) pp. 303, 309.

[28] William Robinson, 'The Dublin Phoenix Park and its Gardens', *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*', vol. i, 21 Jan 1865, p. 76. The label on Lady St. Germans' tree says Jan 1856 which probably should read Jan 1855 since the 3rd Earl of St. Germans left office at the end of Feb 1855. The bas-relief memorial was a tree in Portland stone erected by Lady St. Germans' brother, Lord Carlisle (Strickland, p. 335).

[29] John McCullen, 'A Landscape History of The Phoenix Park, Dublin', *Glasra*, (new series), vol. 2, 1993, p. 95, 96.

[30] NAI, Plan, elevation and sketch of conservatory to be built at the viceregal lodge (NAI, OPW5 HC/2/1).

[31] Edward Malins and Patrick Bowe, *Irish Gardens and Demesnes from 1830*, London, 1980, p. 62.

[32] Ibid., pp. 62, 63.

[33] Keith Lamb & Patrick Bowe, *A History of Gardening in Ireland*, Dublin, 1995, p. 55.

[34] Ibid., p. 56.

[35] William Robinson, 'The Dublin Phoenix Park and its Gardens', *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette'*, vol. i, 21 Jan 1865, p. 76.

[36] NAI, OP 94/7, Bryan to Waldre, 2 Apr 1800.

[37]NAI, OPW Minute book 1/1/2 (2D-56-94) p. 245.

[38] Ibid., p. 2.

[39] Ibid., p. 54.

[40] NAI, OPW Minute book 1/1/3 (2D-56-95) p. 65.

[41] NAI, Q.R.O. file 762, Burton to Woods & Forests, 12 Feb 1838.

[42] NAI, Q.R.O. file 762, Burton to Woods & Forests, 12 Feb 1838. NAI, OPW papers OPW unsorted (1994) papers, George Stubbs, Agreement for Balustrade Vice Regal Demesne Phoenix Park, 19 Mar 1838.

[43] NAI, Q.R.O. file 762, Burton to Woods & Forests, 29 June 1839. NAI, Sketch plan of Vice Regal Lodge showing proposed balustrade and surrounds, *c.*1835 (OPW/5HC/2/12)

[44] NAI, Q.R.O. file 762, Burton to Woods & Forests, 12 Feb 1838.

[45] NAI, Q.R.O. file 762, Burton to Woods & Forests, 29 June 1839. NAI, Plan of the proposed return balustrade and the terrace adjoining mansion by Decimus Burton, 29 June 1839 (OPW/5HC/2/85)

[46] NAI, Sketch plan of Vice Regal Lodge showing proposed balustrade and surrounds, *c.*1835(OPW/5HC/2/12)

[47] Edward Malins and Patrick Bowe, *Irish Gardens and Demesnes from 1830*, London, 1980, p. 36.

[48] Ibid., p. 41.

[49] John McCullen, 'A Landscape History of The Phoenix Park, Dublin', *Glasra*, (new series), vol. 2, 1993, pp. 95, 96.

[50] Conductor, 'Ireland', *The Gardner's Magazine*, vol. xiv, Jan 1838, p. 533.

[51] Edward Malins & Patrick Bowe, *Irish Gardens and Demesnes from 1830*, London, 1980, pp. 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41.

[52] NAI, Q.R.O. file 762, Burton to Woods & Forests, 29 June 1839.

[53] *New History of Ireland*, eds, T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, F. J. Byrne, Oxford, 1984,

vol. ix, p. 498.

[54] This extract from Queen Victoria's Journal for 6 Aug 1849 now in Windsor is quoted in '*Beautiful Britain*', London, 1894, p.143. I am grateful to Mrs. Mary O'Reilly for drawing this publication to my attention.

[55] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-second Rep., App., Plans, Index*, 1845 (617) XXVII.50. An 1845 plan of the Phoenix Park (included as app. no.10 (D)). Outline of celtic crosses are shown in red in the center of the parterre on this plan.

[56] R. Fish, 'The Viceregal Lodge, Phoenix Park', *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener*, 29 Oct 1861, pp. 89, 90, 91, 92. W. Robinson, 'The Dublin Phoenix Park and its Gardens', *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, vol. i, 28 Jan 1865, pp. 75, 76. B., 'The Viceregal Lodge, Phoenix Park', *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener*, 15 Dec 1870, pp. 473, 474, 475, 476.

[57] B., 'The Viceregal Lodge, Phoenix Park', *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener*, 15 Dec 1870, p. 473.

[58] W. Robinson, 'The Dublin Phoenix Park and its Gardens', *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, vol. i , 28 Jan 1865, pp. 75, 76.

[59] Ibid., p. 76.

[60] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/1, Robinson to Johnson, 5 July 1810 (2D-57-34) pp. 583, 584. NAI, Letter book 1/1/2/2, Robinson to Kerfoot and Dwyer, 7 Apr 1812 (2D-57-35) pp.169, 170. NAI, Letter book 1/1/2/2, Robinson to Johnston, 14 Jan 1814 (2D-57-35) p. 325.

[61] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/12/2, Robinson to Johnson, 29 June 1813 (2D-57- 35) pp. 285, 286, 287, 288.

[62] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/12/1, Robinson to Woodgate, 18 Feb 1804 (2D-57-34) p.172.

[63] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/2, Robinson to Slow, 25 Mar 1815 (2d-57-35) p. 401

[64] Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew libr., Whitla to Hooker, English letters, vol. xxii, 4 Mar 1844. I am indebted to Dr. Edward Diestelkamp for this reference.

[65] NAI, Turner, Plan of Range of Peach Houses erected in the viceregal gardens Phoenix Park (OPW/5HC/2/12). Date is penciled in *c.*1835-1840. Dr. Edward Diestelkamp gives the date in his thesis (see footnote no. 65 for details) as 1836-1837.

[66] Edward J. Diestelkamp, 'The iron and glass architecture of Richard Turner', Ph. D. dissertation, University College, London,1982, p. 27.

[67] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/5, Paine to Owen, 5 Oct 1836 (2D-57-38) p. 295.

[68] R. Fish, 'The Viceregal Lodge, Phoenix Park', *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener*, 29 Oct 1861, p. 92.

[69] NAI, OPW letter book 1/1/2/1, Hornsby to Rivers, 30 Nov 1850 (2D-61-74) pp. 313, 314. NAI, OPW letter book 1/1/2/27, Hornsby to Smith, 14 Jan 1863 (2D-61-90) p. 236.

[70] R. Fish, 'The Viceregal Lodge, Phoenix Park', *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener*, 29 Oct 1861, p. 91. W.Robinson, 'The Dublin Phoenix Park and its Gardens', *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, vol. i, 28 Jan 1865, p. 75.

[71] W. Robinson, 'The Dublin Phoenix Park and its Gardens', *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, vol. i, 28 Jan 1865, p. 75.

[72] B., 'The Viceregal Lodge, Phoenix Park', *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener*, 15 Dec 1870, p. 475.

[73] W. Robinson, 'The Dublin Phoenix Park and its Gardens', *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, vol. i , 28 Jan 1865, p. 75.

[74] R. Fish, 'The Viceregal Lodge, Phoenix Park', *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener*, 29 Oct 1861, p. 91. W. Robinson, *'The Dublin Phoenix Park and its Gardens', The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, vol .i, 28 Jan 1865, p. 75. B., 'The Viceregal Lodge, Phoenix Park', *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener*, 15 Dec 1870, p. 475.

[75] W.Robinson, 'The Dublin Phoenix Park and its Gardens', *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, vol. i, 28 Jan 1865, p. 75.

[76] Ibid.

[77] B., 'The Viceregal Lodge, Phoenix Park', *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener*, 15 Dec 1870, p. 475.

[78] NAI, OPW minute book 1/1/1/2, List of plants for His Grace the Duke of Richmond (2D-57-35), pp. 370-371.

[79] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/3 (2D-57-36) 1823, pp. 350, 351;1824, p. 413; 1825, pp. 475, 481; 1826, p. 501. NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/4 (2D-57-37) p. 826, p. 47; 1827, pp. 67, 101; 1828, pp. 207, 271.

[80] Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew lib., Plants outward from 1848 to 1859 inclusive 22 Aug 1848, 25 Oct 1849, May 1852 and 6 Oct 1852. Mr. Counihan is also spelt Counighan and Counichan in the various despatches from Kew. I am indebted to Dr. Mary Forrest, UCD, for these references.

[81] May Woods & Arete Warren, *Glasshouses*, London, 1988, p.121.

[82] Anon., 'British Gardeners.- IX. George Smith', *The Gardener's Chronicle*, vol. 3, new series, 9 Jan 1875, p .45.

[83] Brent Elliott, *Victorian Gardens*, London, 1986, pp. 50, 51

[84] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/3, Robinson to Johnson, 17 May 1826 (2D-57- 36) p. 520.

[85] NAI, OPW Letter book1/1/2/3 (2D-57-36) 1822, p. 279; 1825, p. 481; 1826, p. 501; 1827, p. 67.

[86] R. Fish, 'The Viceregal Lodge, Phoenix Park', *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardner*, 29 Oct 1861, p. 91. W. Robinson, 'The Dublin Phoenix Park and its Gardens', *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, vol. i, 28 Jan 1865, p. 75.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Brent Elliott, *Victorian Gardens*, London, 1986, p.130.

[89] Elizabeth Shannon, *The American Ambassador's Residence*, Dublin,1979. Private coll., Elevation of Chief Secretary's lodge made for the Rt. Hon. William Wickham, Chief Secretary of Ireland (1802-1804).

[90] NAI, OPW Letter book1/1/2/1, Robinson to Woodgate, 10 Dec 1802 (2D-57-34) p. 98.

[91] Private coll., Plan and elevation of Chief Secretary's lodge with a small lodge drawn for the Rt. Hon. William Wickhman, Chief Secretary of Ireland (1802-1804).

[92] NAI, OPW Minute book1/1/1(2D-56-93) pp. 308, 309. BL, (map no.11850 [1]) and BL, (map no.11815 [6]). Perusal of both these maps will show the new plantation and new ground absorbed into the chief secretary's demesne.

[93] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/3, R.Robinson to F.Johnson, 18 Mar 1824 (2D-57-36) p. 374.

[94] NAI, letter book R, Milne to Burton, 3 Dec 1836 (2B-38-109) pp. 22, 23. NAI, Burton's plan of the proposed sunk fence, 1 Dec 1836 (OPW/5HC/2/85)

[95] Ibid.

[96] NAI, Letter book R, Owen to Weale, 31 Dec 1837 (2B-38-109) p. 289. NAI, Letter book R, Weale to Owen, 16 Jan 1838 (2B-38-109) pp. 289, 290. NAI, letter book R, Weale to Burton, 16 Jan 1838 (2B-38-109) pp. 290, 291.

[97] PRO, 30/9/10/35. Plan of Lodges and Gate at the entrance of the grounds of the Chief Secretary's Lodge, Phoenix Park, Dublin, unsigned and undated.

[98] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods and Forests, 1 Dec 1836.

[99] Ibid.

[100] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Wilkie to Burton, 28 May 1838. A plan is included with the report by Wilkie. This is one of the few plans drawn by Wilkie that still survives.

[101] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Milne, 21 Mar 1838.

[102] Plan and Section of an Ice House to be built in the Phoenix Park with entrance elevation, of the chief secretary's demesne, Phoenix Park (OPW/5HC/2/12). This drawing is unsigned and undated.

[103] NAI, OPW minute book 1/1/1 (2D-56-93) p.184; NAI, OPW minute book 1/1/3 (2D-56-95) p. 382.

[104] A Survey of part of His Majesty's Park, John Roe, June 1809 (IAA, Murray Coll.of Architectural Drawings, no. 717).

[105] Phil Lawler, 'The Ice House At Dublin Zoo', 1989, p. 6 This was a private report commissioned by Dublin Zoo.

[106] Mairead M. Johnston, *Ice and Cold Storage – a Dublin History*, Dublin, 1988, pp. 53, 54.

[107] NAI, OPW minute book 1/1/3 (2D-56-95) pp. 316, 435, 436.

[108] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 5 June 1838.

[109] John McCullen, 'A Landscape History of The Phoenix Park, Dublin', *Glasra*, new series, vol. ii, 1993, p. 95.

[110] E. Charles Nelson and Eileen M. Cracken, *The Brightest Jewel*, Kilkenny, 1987, p. 90.

[111] NAI, O. S. map of Phoenix Park, dated 1853 (OPW/5HC/2/91).

[112] R. Fish, 'The Chief Secretary's Lodge, Phoenix Park', *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener*, 12 Nov 1861, p.131.

[113] There is an evergreen oak (*Quercus Ilex*) growing at the Dutch style Westbury Court Garden dating from the time of the first house and garden there in 1694. The evergreen oak at the chief secretary's lodge, which looks similar to the Westbury Court Garden specimen I saw in 2004, may even date to before Blacquire's time.

[114] NAI, O. S. map of Phoenix Park, dated 1853 (OPW/5HC/2/91).

[115] Susan Campbell, *Charleston Kedding A history of Kitchen gardening*, London, 1996, pp. 23, 24.

[116] There are numerous mentions of fruit, vegetable and flower and pot plant production at the chief secretary's in both the letter and minute books of the OPW during our study period.

[117] NAI, OPW letter book 1/1/2/1, Robinson to Woodgate (2D-57-34) p.108.

[118] NAI, OPW minute book 1/1/3 (2D-56-95) pp. 386, 387, 388, 389, 392.

[119] Ibid. p. 392.

[120] W. Robinson, 'The Dublin Phoenix Park and its Gardens', *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, vol.i , 4 Feb 1865, p.101.

[121] NAI, OPW letter book 1/1/2/1, Robinson to Woodgate (2d-57-34) p.111.

[122] E. Charles Nelson and Eileen M. Cracken, *The Brightest Jewel, Kilkenny*, 1987, pp. 83-96.

[123] Edward J. Diestelkamp, 'The iron and glass architecture of Richard Turner', Ph. D. dissertation, University College, London,1982, p. 44.

[124] NAI, Sketch for the internal arrangement of Pine Stove, also a plan for the improvement of the melon yard at the chief secretary's lodge, Phoenix Park. (on the same sheet), signed by Ninian Niven and dated Dec 1839 (OPW/5HC/2/12).

[125] Ibid., p. 46.

[126] NAI, OPW letter book 1/1/2/7, Paine to Owen, 30 May 1842 (2D-57-40) p. 42.

[127] NAI, OPW letter book 1/1/2/6 Paine to Owen, 5 Apr 1841(2D-57-39) p. 263; Edward J. Diestelkamp, 'The iron and glass architecture of Richard Turner', Ph. D. dissertation, University College, London,1982, p. 46.

[128] Ibid. The undated drawing by Niven for the the kitchen garden range layout is mistakingly understood by Elizabeth Shannon in *The American Ambassador's Residence–Dublin*, to be have been the one used for the conservatory erected by Turner for Lord Naas, when chief secretary in 1852. A conservatory was erected, not by Turner but by a James Byrne of 38-39 James St., Dublin, for Lord Naas at the chief secretary's lodge in 1867. This error may have been propagated by an article in *The Tatler and Sketch*, Oct 1949, p. 9, on the chief secretary's lodge, Phoenix Park, Dublin and also may have originated as a result of Turner undertaking conservatory work for the lord lieutenant at the viceregal lodge in

1852, at the same time when Lord Naas was chief secretary.

[129] R. Fish, 'The Chief Secretary's Lodge, Phoenix Park', *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener*, 12 Nov 1861, pp.131,132,133. W. Robinson, 'The Dublin Phoenix Park and its Gardens', *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*, vol. i, 4 Feb 1865, pp.101, 102.

[130] 'Glimpses at Irish Gardens', *The Gardener's Record*, vol. i, 23 Oct 1869, p. 523.

[131] *The Cottage Gardener*, 9 Feb 1871, pp. 99, 100.

[132] Private Coll., James Asser's map of *c.*1775. BL, (map no.11850 [1]) and BL, (map no.11815 [6])

[133] NAI, OPW minute book 1/1/1 (2D-56-93), p. 303.

[134] Ibid., pp. 297, 353. Both the avenue from the Phoenix Column and the bridge across the lake is shown in fig. 6.39, vol .ii, p. 22).

[135] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 2 July 1840; Burton to Woods & Forests, 18 July 1840; Gore to MacDonald, 22 July 1840. NAI, CSORP, 1840, W 9330. There is a considerable amount of correspondence about the line of the sunk fence around the perimeter of the under-secretary's demesne between Burton, under-secretary MacDonald and Woods & Forests.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7 (THE LANDSCAPE IMPACT AND EVOLUTION OF INSTITUTIONAL DEMESNES)

[1] NAI, OPW minute book 11/1/1, Sat 23 July 1803 (2D-56-93) p. 348.

[2] *The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc.*, Board of Public Works, H.C.1812 (33) V.191, app. no. 6, p. 9.

[3] NAI, 'A Survey of the Grounds, & *c* at Chapelizod, occupied by the Deputy Bailiff of the Phoenix Park', signed by William Murray and dated 19 Mar 1832 (OPW/13170/03)

[4] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book L, Brassington & Gale with particulars of valuation of the King's House, Garden Grounds, etc., 27 Sept 1832 (2B-38-102) pp. 30-32.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] NAI, CSORP 1832/101, Murray to Woods and Forests, 19 Mar 1832.

[8] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O, Woods & Forests to Treasury, 26 Apr 1833 (2B-38-105) pp.11, 12.

[9] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Gosset to Woods and Forests, 22 July 1834. In Burton's report, 27 Sept 1834, he states that a new house had been erected for the foreman of the Park.

[10] PRO, ' Report from Burton to the Office of Woods and Forests', 27 Sept 1834, TI/3671/229 (16714) p. 3.

[11] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, 'Report from Burton to Woods and Forests', 10 Nov 1835, pp. 8-10.

[12] Ibid., p. 9.

[13] PRO, ' Report from Burton to Woods and Forests', 31 Jan 1833, TI/3671/229 (16714) pages unnumbered.

[14] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book P, Milne to Burton, 22 Mar 1836 (2B-38-106) pp. 233, 234.

[15] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Wilkie to Weale, 10 Feb 1838. The White Fields first appears on the 1st ed. O. S. map of 1838 and is shown as the area in front of the bailiff's and demesne, hence our reference to The White Fields Demesne.

[16] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book T, Treasury to Woods & Forests to Treasury, 4 Dec 1838

(2B-38-111) p. 51.

[17] NAI, There are at least six drawings relating to the bailiff's lodge and demesne, five of which are dated 22 Feb 1839. Two show The White Fields demesne nos. 1 & 2 (NLI, Arch. Drawings nos. 2116 & 2117). No. 3 is the original design of the lodge by Jacob Owen but drawn by Decimus Burton, dated 22 Feb 1839 (NLI, Arch. Drawing no. 2111). Nos. 4 & 5 show alterations to the lodge (NLI, Arch. Drawings nos. 2113 & 2114). Another plan, dated 21 Mar 1839 also shows alterations to the lodge (NLI, Arch. Drawing no. 2115). It appears that a combination of these plans (all of which are reproduced in vol. ii of this thesis) may have been eventually agreed upon.

[18] Philip Miller, *Decimus Burton Exhibition His Life and Work*, London, 1981, p. 43.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid, pp. 28, 41.

[21] William Robinson, 'The Dublin Phoenix Park and its Gardens', *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette'*, vol. i, 25 Feb 1865, p.173.

[22] NAI, 1853 O. S. map of the Phoenix Park (OPW/5HC/2/91).

[23] NAI, OPW Letter book E2, Gore to Burke, 4 Feb 1847 (2B-38-122) pp. 81, 82. NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burke to Wilkie, 6 Feb 1847. The nursery was already formed in 1834 as we have seen but its visual impact was now only now beginning to be felt.

[24] Ibid.

[25] NLI, Transcribed note on The White Fields, Phoenix Park, Nowlan Ms.14,897, pp.176, 178.

[26] Ibid.

[27] William Robinson, 'The Dublin Phoenix Park and its Gardens', *The Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*', vol. i, 25 Feb 1865, p. 73.

[28] R. Fish, 'Mr. Wilkie's, Phoenix Park', *Journal of Horticulture and Cottage Gardener*, 26 Nov 1861, p.164.

[29] Michael Symes, *A Glossary of Garden History*, Great Britain, 1993, p. 54.

[30] Brent Elliott, *Victorian Gardens*, London, 1986, p. 33.

[31] Ibid., p. 34.

[32] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/40, Hornsby to Nolan & Sons, 10 Aug 1871 (2D-61-86) pp. 384, 385. *The Fortieth Report from the Board of*

Public Works, Ireland, 1871-1872, Dublin, p.10.

[33] *Public Works (Ireland): Board of Public Works: Forty-seventh report with appendices*, H.C. 1878-79 (C.2336) XXI.265, p.14.

[34] NLI, Transcribed note on The White Fields, Phoenix Park, Nowlan Ms.14,897, pp. 178, 179.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid., p.178c.

[37] BL, Add. Ms. 35,729, Memorandum of the Officers of the Phoenix Park, July 1801, p. 317.

[38] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O, Decimus Burton to Woods & Forests, 27 Sept 1834 (2B-38-105) p.140.

[39] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, 'An account of the present Establishment of Officers for the custody and management of the Phoenix Park', 1832.

[40] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book N, Milne to Gosset, 14 May 1833 (2B-38-104) p. 8.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid., pp. 99, 100.

[43] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O, Milne to Treasury, 18 Mar 1836 (2B-38-105) pp.194-196; also Treasury to Woods & Forests, 22 Mar 1836 (2B-38-105) pp.198, 199.

[44] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Rule Park Constables, 1 Oct 1837.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burke to Woods & Forest, 5 May 1841.These include regulations to be observed by the head keeper of the Phoenix Park.

[48] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, 'Rule Park Constables', 1 Oct 1837.

[49] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burke to Woods & Forests, 6 March 1841.

[50] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Gatekeepers & Park constables to Woods & Forests, 26 July 1842; Gore to Burke, 11 Aug 1842.

[51] BL, Add. Ms. 35,729, Memorandum of the Officers of the Phoenix Park, July 1801, p. 311.

[52] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, they express the view that security would be improved if all the park constables resided within the Park (with the bundles of papers relating to the Spa House). Both are unsigned and undated.

[53] PRO, ' Report from Burton to the Office of Woods and Forests', 27 Sept 1834, TI/3671/229 (16714).

[54] W. V. Harrel, 'The Fallow Deer of the Phoenix Park', *The New Ireland Review*, vol. x, Oct 1898, p. 74.

[55] Ibid.

[56] NAI, Design for a Keeper's lodge and storehouse for tools and materials, proposed to be built in the Phoenix Park, J. Owen, 21 Mar 1834 (OPW/13170/03).

[57]NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book T, Duncannon & Gore to Lords of the Treasury, 19 May 1840 (2B-38-111) pp.144, 145; Stanley to Woods & Forests, 30 May 1840 (2B-38-111) pp.147, 148. Plans for these additions don't appear to exist.

[58] NAI, Design for a Keeper's lodge and storehouse for tools and materials, proposed to be built in the Phoenix Park, J. Owen, 21 Mar 1834 (OPW/13170/03).

[59] NAI, Plan, section and elevation showing proposed addition of porch for the Deerkeeper's lodge by E. Trevor Owen, dated 1864 (OPW5HC/2/29).

[60] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Wilkie to Burke, 18 Dec 1840.

[61] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Gore to Burke, 3 Apr 1848; Burke to Woods & Forests, 22 Apr 1848; Burke to Woods & Forests, 19 May, 1849; Gore to Burke, 24 May 1849.

[62] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, unsigned and undated but with bundle of papers dealing with the Spa House.

[63] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 10 Nov 1835.

[64] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book J2, Gore to Burton, 20 Dec 1849 (2B-38-127) pp. 309, 310. NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book K2, Philipps to Burke, 8 Oct 1850 (2B-38-128) pp. 304, 305.

[65] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, unsigned and undated memorandum, but appears to be in John Burke's hand. It is with the bundle of papers dealing with the Spa House.

[66] Ibid.

[67] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Memorandum no. 5575, signed by T. W. Philipps, 27 Aug 1844.

[68] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 19 Aug 1844.

[69] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Note signed L. , 25 Aug 1844. Lord Lincoln had previously met Decimus Burton in the Phoenix Park to discuss various works which included the Spa House and it was agreed that works should be of a 'substantial and lasting manner' suitable for two constables and their families.

[70] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Contract document with John Carolin for sundry repairs to Park lodges, including the 'Spa lodge', 27 Aug 1860. The sum included for the Spa House is almost £95 pounds – sufficient to erect two upper floors on the existing rooms designed by Decimus Burton.

[71] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 3 Feb 1846; NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book A2, Gore to Burton, 6 Feb 1846 (2B-38-118) pp. 237, 238. Unfortunately no plans exist for this lodge. Its location has been pointed by a process of elimination. It does not appear on Burton's plan of 1845 but is shown on the 1849 edition of the O. S. map of the Park.

[72] The enclosing railing, designed by Decimus Burton, is similar to that which was used to enclose the tree clumps along the main avenue.

[73] NAI, OPW Letter book 42, 1872, Hornsby to Under secretary, 10 Aug 1872, OPW 1/1/2/42 (2D-61-105) p. 475. The lord lieutenant's private secretary was notified because the appointment of Park constables was the remit of the lord lieutenant. NAI, OPW 1/1/2/47. Hornsby to The Architect (2D-61-110) pp.127, 334. *Public Works (Ireland): Board of Public Works: Fortieth report with appendices*, H.C. 1872 (C.584) XVIII.537, p.10.

[74] PRO, Treasury Papers, TI 3671/229 16714, Drummond to Woods & Forests, 1 Aug 1837 (with proposal of the Coms. of Dublin Police relative to alterations to the Gate Houses for the accommodation of the Force)

[75] Ibid.

[76] PRO, Records Information, *Records of the Royal Irish Constabulary*, Mar 1986.

[77] Pat Carey, 'The Phoenix Park Depot', *An Cosantoir*, Nov 1972, pp. 201-205.

[78] PRO, Treasury Papers, TI 3671/229 16714, Woods & Forests to Lords of the Treasury, 12 Nov 1837.

[79] Ibid.

[80] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Bowles to Weale, 23 Aug 1837.

[81] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Wilkie to Milne, 2 Feb 1839.

[82] NAI, OPW Libr., file no.13161-33, Owen to Burton, 21 Mar 1838.

[82] NAI, OPW Libr., file no.13161-33, Owen to Burton, 21 Mar 1838.

[83] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 25 July 1846.

[84] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Brown to Tod with report from Selwood, 15 Sept 1846.

[85] Ibid.

[86] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Gore to Burke, 30 Sept 1846.

[87] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 16 Nov 1846.

[88] Ibid.

[89] NAI, OPW Libr., file no.13161-33, Burton to Woods & Forests, 15 Feb 1838, pp. 5, 6.

[90] Ibid.

[91] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 14 Mar 1849.

[92] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 16 Nov 1846.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Philip Miller, *Decimus Burton Exhibition His Life and Work*, London, 1981, p.15.

[95] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Woods & Forests to Lords of the Treasury, 30 Nov 1846.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid.

[98] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Ardagh to Burke, 30 May 1855 with police report 28 May 1855; Burke to Works & Buildings, 1 June 1855.

[99] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burke to Works & Buildings, 19 Jan 1856 & 16 Feb 1856.

[100] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Wilkie to Burton, 28 May 1838. A plan by Wilkie is included with the report. This is one of the few plans drawn by Wilkie that survive.

[101] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Owen to Ardagh, 9 Mar 1856.

[102] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burke to Works & Buildings, 12 Mar 1856.

[103] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Works & Buildings to Burke, 28 Mar 1856.

[104] Pat Carey, 'The Phoenix Park Depot', *An Cosantoir*, Nov 1972, pp. 201- 205. Gregory Allen, The Phoenix Park Depot in History, Garda Museum notes, pp. 25, 27.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid.

[108] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Owen to Burton, 14 Dec 1839.

[109] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Stanley to Board of Works, 19 June 1840.

[110] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 10 Sept 1840.

[111] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) unsorted (1994) papers, Owen to Milne, 15 Sept 1840.

[112] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Gore to Owen, 24 Sept 1840.

[113] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Owen to Gore, 7 Oct 1840.

[114]NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Eliot to Woods & Forests, 27 Dec 1843.

[115] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 14 Oct 1840.

[116] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 6 Nov 1840.

[117] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 15 April 1844.

[118] Pat Carey, 'The Phoenix Park Depot', *An Cosantoir*, Nov 1972, p. 202.

[119] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Howard to Woods & Forests, 4 June 1861.

[120] Ordnance Survey Notes, one page, produced by OSI (not dated).

[121] Staff of both OSI's, *Ordnance Survey in Ireland*, Dublin, 1991, p.13.

[122] Ordnance Survey Notes, one page, produced by the OSI (not dated).

[123] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book M, Burton to Woods & Forests, 31 Jan 1833 (2B-38-101) pp. 302, 303.

[124] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book M, Weale to Gosset, 29 Apr 1833 (2B-38-103) pp. 90, 91, 92. Woods & Forests obviously took possession when the Marquis of Anglesey's term as lord lieutenant ended in Sept 1833.

[125] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O, Burton to Woods & Forests, 27 Sept 1834 (2B-38-105) pp.138, 139.

[126] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book P, Milne to Burton, 8 Aug 1835 (2B-38-106) pp.109, 110. NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book P, Milne to Burton, 27 Nov1835 (2B-38-106) pp.166, 167.

[127] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 10 Nov 1835, pp. 2, 3.

[128] Ibid., p. 3.

[129] Ibid.

[130] O. S. map, twenty-five inches to the mile, 1867 ed.

[131] Ibid., p. 4.

[132] Captain Cameron (ed.), *Meteorological Observations*, Dublin, 1856, introduction.

[133] A. W. Cockerill, 'The Royal Hibernian Military School, Dublin, Ireland, (1765-1924)', G. H. O'Reilly (ed.), *History of the Royal Hibernian Military School Dublin,* Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin, 2001, pp.18, 19.

[134] J. Warburton, Rev. J. Whitelaw, Rev. Robert Walsh, *History of The City of Dublin,* vol. i, London, 1818, p. 607.

[135] A. W. Cockerill, 'The Royal Hibernian Military School, Dublin, Ireland (1765-1924)', G. H. O'Reilly (ed.), *History of the Royal Hibernian Military School Dublin*, Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin, 2001, pp. 21, 23.

[136] Ibid., p. 23.

[137] J. Warburton, Rev. J. Whitelaw, Rev. Robert Walsh, *History of The City of Dublin,* vol. i, London, 1818, p. 606.

[138] Ibid. A thesis on the Murray Collection of Architectural Drawings in the collection of the Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland by Bernadette Goslin was most useful in relation to the farmyard buildings of the RHMS, now St. Mary's Hospital. Copies of these plans are held in the Irish Architectural Archives.

[139] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forest, 10 Nov 1835, pp.1, 2.

[140] Ibid.

[141] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forest, 18 Feb 1836.

[142] Coms. of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings, *Twenty-second*

Rep., App., Plans, Index, 1845 (617) XXVII.503, app.10A, p. 40.

[143] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book N, Milne to Gosset, 6 May 1833 (2B-38-104) pp. 2, 3, 4. NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O, Woods & Forests to Treasury, 25 Jan 1834 (2B-38-105) p.15.

[144] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book N, Milne to Gosset, 6 May 1833 (2B-38-104) pp.1-4.

[145] Ibid.

[146] J. Warburton, Rev. J. Whitelaw, Rev. Robert Walsh, *History of The City of Dublin,* vol. i, London, 1818, p. 608. Calculations are in conjunction with the 1859 demesne map referenced below.

[147] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/2, Gregory to Slow, 19 Feb 1813 (2D-57-35) p. 247.

[148] 1st ed. O. S. map of County Dublin, 1838.

[149] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, correspondence between the RHMS and Office of Works & Buildings, 31 Jan 1859-10 Oct 1859.

[150] J. Warburton, Rev. J. Whitelaw, Rev. Robert Walsh, *History of The City of Dublin,* vol. i, London, 1818, p. 721.

[151] Ibid., p. 722.

[152] Data recorded on a photcopied plan of the Royal Military Infirmary and Ordnance Stores, Dublin, dated 1848. Origin of copy is uncertain but probably the NAI.

[153] NAI, OPW Letter book 1/1/2/2, Robinson to Johnson, 6 July 1814 (2D-57-35) p. 363.

[154] E. Tobin, 'The Barracks and Posts of Ireland – 12 the royal military infirmary – department of defence and army headquarters', *An Cosantoir*, Jan 1968, p.18.

[155] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Lucas to Woods & Forests, 23 Nov 1844 and related papers; Gore to Lucas, 28 Nov 1844.

[156] Ibid.

[157] PRO (Kew) W0 44/112 (16738) correspondence between the Board of Ordnance and Sir William Gosset and others.

[158] NAI, Letter book N, Weale to Gosett, 20 Aug 1834 (2B-38-104) pp.174, 175.

[159] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book G2, Gore to Burton, 2 June 1848; Gore to Board of Ordnance, 2 June 1848; Gore to Baynham, 8 July 1848 (2B-38-124) pp.198, 199, 285 – 287.

[160] NAI, Q.R.O. letter book U, Gore to Burton & Gore to Owen, 26 Jan 1841 (2B-38-112) pp. 303, 304.

[161] Philip Miller, *Decimus Burton Exhibition His Life and Work*, London, 1981, pp. 7, 11-14.

[162] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book W, Milne to Burke, 2 Dec 1842 (2B-38-114) p. 302.

[163] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book W, Milne to Burke, 8 Oct 1842 (2B-38-114) pp.197, 198; NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book W, Milne to Ellis, 25 Oct 1842 (2B-38-114) pp. 208, 209.

[164] NAI, OPW letter book 1/1/2/25, Hornsby to Qrt. Master General, 16 Apr 1861 (2D-61-88) p. 52.

[165] NAI, OPW letter book 1/1/2/49, Hornsby to Rochfort, 7 Aug 1874 (2D-61-112) pp.123, 185.

[166] D. J. Cunningham, *The Origin and Early History of the Royal Zoological Society of Ireland, Dublin*, 1901 (contains 30 pages); C. V. A. Peel, *The Zoological Gardens of Europe*, London, 1903, pp. 213 - 231 covers chapter xxxvi which deals with The Gardens of the Royal Zoological Society of Ireland, Dublin. Arthur E. J. Went, 'The Dublin Zoo', *Dublin Historical Record (DHR)*, vol. xxiv, no. 4, Sept 1971, pp.101-110. I am most grateful to Robert Godden (now deceased) and David Godden (direct descendants of William Godden, Phoenix Park deerkeeper from 1812 to 1842) for the cache of transcribed papers relating to Dublin Zoo. These were collected by A .J. Nowlan, registrar with the OPW and who was related to the Goddens. The collection was in Nowlan's residence at the time of his death.

[167] Arthur E. J. Went, 'The Dublin Zoo', *Dublin Historical Record*, vol. xxiv, no. 4, Sept 1971, pp.101, 102.

[168] Ibid., p.102.

[169] Ibid., p.101.

[170] Decimus Burton's report to the Zoological Society of Dublin, 27 Oct 1832. This report is entered in full in the minutes of the Society for their meeting on the 19 Nov 1832. I am very grateful to Mr. Terry Murphy, past director of Dublin Zoo, for this information and for furnishing me with a copy of Burton's report noted above. The minute books and reports of the Society are now in the Trinity College library.

[171] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Weale to Gosset, 6 May 1833 (with 7 appended letters dealing with Mrs. Talbot's circumstances relating to the lodge in the Park).

[172] There are a large number of entries in the the BOW's letter books especially for the years 1807 and 1808 regarding Littlehale's demesne, which subsequently

became the Zoological Gardens of the Dublin Society.

[173] W. V. Harrel, 'The Fallow Deer of the Phoenix Park', *The New Ireland Review*, vol. x, Oct 1898, p. 74.

[174] Arthur E. J. Went, 'The Dublin Zoo', *Dublin Historical Record (DHR)*, vol. xxiv, no. 4, Sept 1971, p.102.

[175] Ibid., pp.102, 104.

[176] Ibid., p.104.

[177] Decimus Burton's report to the Zoological Society of Dublin, 27 Oct 1832, pp.123. See 170 above.

[178] Ibid.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Ibid.

[181] D. J. Cunningham, *The Origin and Early History of the Royal Zoological Society of Ireland, Dublin*, 1901, p.16.

[182] Saunders News Letter, 3 May 1836.

[183] Decimus Burton's report to the Zoological Society of Dublin, 27 Oct 1832, pp.123. See 170 above.

[184]D. J. Cunningham, *The Origin and Early History of the Royal Zoological Society of Ireland, Dublin*, 1901, p. 8. Cunningham suggests that at least one of the plans at Least (no.1) was in existence in 1860, as it is incidentally referred to in the Report of that year.

[185] Ibid.

[186] Philip Miller, *Decimus Burton Exhibition His Life and Work*, London, 1981, p.19.

[187] Ibid.

[188] Nowlan Ms. Kindly given to the author by Robert (now deceased) and David Godden. See footnote 165 above. They contain a number of references to new buildings being erected.

[189] Freddie O'Dwyer, *Lost Dublin*, Dublin, 1981, p. 91.

[190] D.J.Cunningham, *The Origin and Early History of the Royal Zoological Society of Ireland, Dublin*, 1901, p. 24.

[191] *Zoological Gardens Dublin 1830-1980*, this was a commemorative brochure produced by Royal Zoological Society of Ireland to celebrate 150 years in existence. It contains a photograph of Jacob Owen among others.

[192] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book O, Burton to Woods and Forests, 27 Sept 1834 (2B-38-105) p.139.

[193] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton's Specification for Works in widening the Causeway road and erecting railings…, 6 Aug 1835. NAI, OPW Letter book P, Milne to Burton, 27 Nov 1835 (2B-38-106) p.164.

[194] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 17 Mar 1836, p. 4 NAI, OPW Letter book P, Milne to Burton, 22 Mar 1836 (2B-38-106) pp. 233, 234.

[195] NAI, OPW Letter book R, Milne to Burton, 3 Feb 1837 (2B-38-109) p. 74.

[196] Nowlan Ms. In author's possession (see footnotes 166 & 188) Memorandum from the Ld. Lt. re proposed enclosure of pond adjoining Zool. Gardens, 27 Oct 1839.

[197] Ibid.

[198] Nowlan Ms. In author's possession (see footnotes 166 & 188) Burton to Woods & Forests, 18 Feb 1843.

[199] Nowlan Ms. In author's possession (see footnotes 166 & 188) Crampton to Woods & Forests, 2 Jan 1843.

[200] Nowlan Ms. In author's possession (see footnotes 166 & 188) Burton to Woods & Forests, 18 Feb 1843.

[201] Nowlan Ms. In author's possession (see footnotes 166 & 188) Woods & Forests to Crampton, 16 Mar 1843.

[202] NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book Z, Woods & Forests to Burton, 26 Feb 1845 (2B-38-117), pp. 316. NAI, Q.R.O. Letter book D2, Woods & Forests to Burton, 25 July 1846, p.179.

[203] Nowlan Ms. In author's possession (see footnotes 166 & 188) Crampton, Harvey & Irvine to Woods & Forests. Their memorial was sent on the 31 Mar 1858 to Ld. John Manners, 1st Comm.of Works & Buildings, Whitehall, on the instructions of the lord lieutenant.

[204] Nowlan Ms In author's possession (see footnotes 166 & 188) notes compiled under the heading 'The Zoo Lake'.

[205] NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Burton to Woods & Forests, 14 Mar 1849. NAI, OPW unsorted (1994) papers, Woods & Forests to Carolin, 9 Apr 1847.

[206] Per. com. with Seamus O Buachalla from the School of Education, University of Dublin (TCD). The only other school known to have been designed by Burton is Victoria School in Tunbridge Wells in Kent. See illustration no. 7.69b in vol. ii of this thesis.

[207] Philip Whitbourn, Decimus Burton Esquire, Tunbridge Wells, 2003, p. 33.

Appendices

A. Departments and agencies responsible for the management and development of the Phoenix Park (1800–1880)

B. Creation and abolition of posts of chief rangership / ranger and various keeperships or walks from 1661-1840

C. Rangers / Keepers of the Phoenix Park 1661-1840

D. Relationship between officers of state, rangers / keepers & bailiff of the Phoenix Park

E. Architects of the Board of Works *c.*1800–1880

F. The Office of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Public Buildings, 1832–1851

G. First Commissioners / chairmen of the Board of Works 1800–1880

Appendix A

Departments and Agencies responsible for the management and development of the Phoenix Park (1800 – 1880)

	Public Areas	Private Areas
1800	Board of Works	Board of Work (Irl.) [throughout]
1829	Woods & Forests	"
1832	Woods & Forests (with B of W as their agent)	"
1834	Woods & Forests (with Q.R.O. as their agent)	"
1851	Board of Works (London)	"
1860 – 1996	Board of Works (Ireland)	"

Appendix B

Creation and abolition of posts of chief rangership / ranger and various keeperships or walks from 1661-1840

Rangers

1660's	first ranger appointed
1761	merged with Newtowne keepership
1785	merged with Ashtown keepership
1785 –1840	office held by under-secretary for Ireland
1840	office abolished

Keepers

Newtowne
1660's – 1761 held by ranger

Ashtown
1660's - 1785

Kilmainham
1668 – 1680

Castleknock
1680 - 1785

Bailiff

Held ex officio by chief secretary for Ireland 1774–1833
Position of Bailiff and under-bailiff consolidated as the one position 1833

Park Superintendent

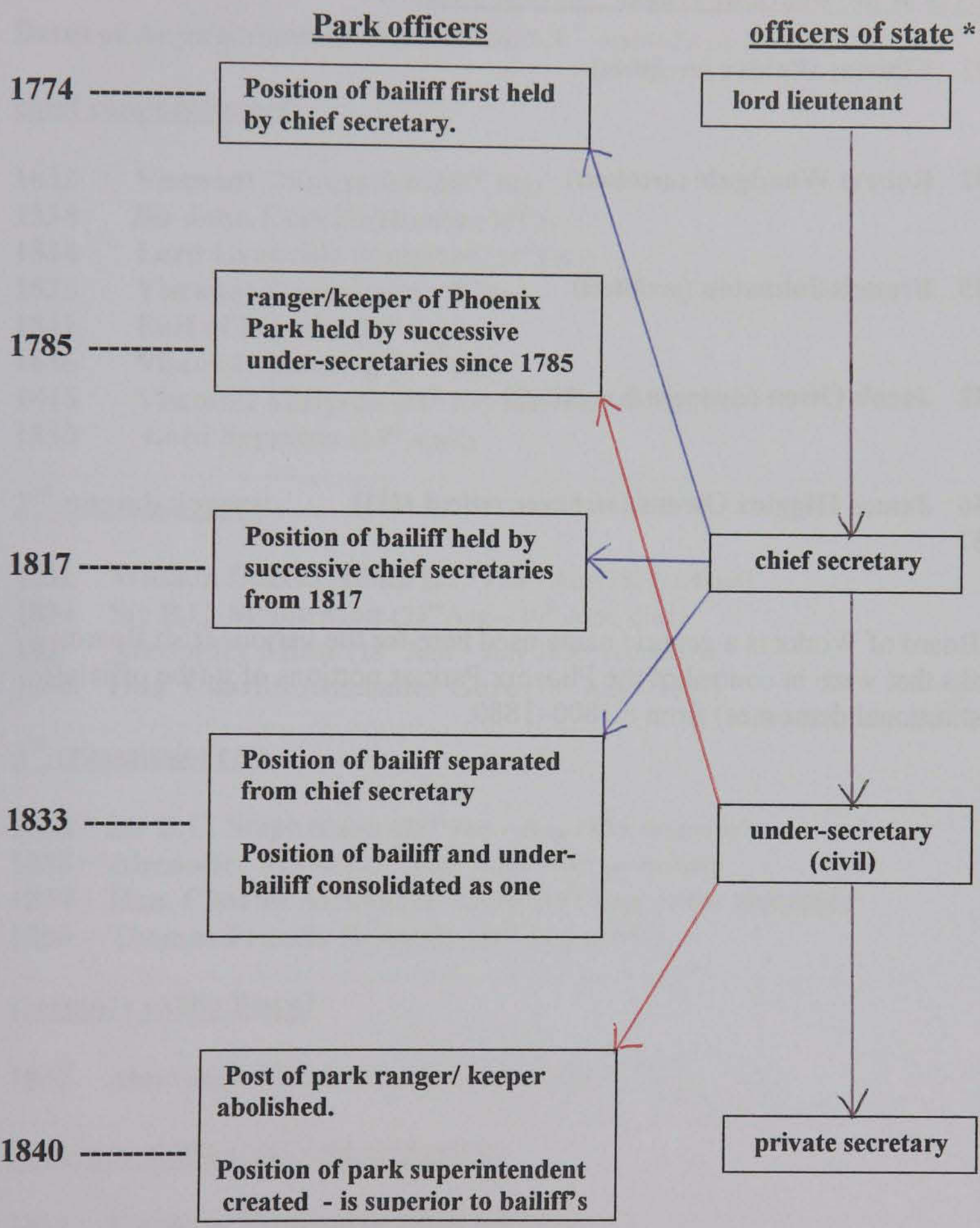
1840 to present time

Appendix C

Rangers / Keepers of the Phoenix Park from 1661-1840

1661	**Marcus Trevor, Viscount Dungannon**
1672	**Henry Brounker, later (from 1684) Lord Brounker**
1674	**Adam Loftus**
1676	**Edward Brabazon, Ist Earl of Meath**
1677	**William Ryder**
1677	**William Ryder and Edward Richbell**
1698	**Sir William Fownes** Bt **& Henry Petty,** 1st Earl Shelbourne
1704	**Thomas Smith**
1736	**Sir John Ligonier**
1751	**Hon. Nathaniel Clements**
1761	**Lord George Sackville**
1785	**Sackville Hamilton**
1795	**Lodge Mores Evans**
1795	**Sackville Hamilton**
1796	**Edward Cooke**
1801	**Alexander Marsden**
1806	**James Trail**
1808	**Sir Charles Saxton**
1812	**Sir William Gregory**
1830	**Sir William Gosset**
1835	**Thomas Drummond**
1840	**Post abolished**

Appendix D



*All resided in official residences and demesnes in the Phoenix Park. Downward arrows (black) shows descending order of official authority. Other arrows (coloured) show interconnectedness between Park posts and government officials. Compilation & layout by the author.

Appendix E

Architects of the Board of Works * *c.* 1800-1880

1792 Vincent Waldre (architect)

1802 Robert Woodgate (architect)

1805 Francis Johnston (architect)

1832 Jacob Owen (engineer & architect)

1856 James Higgins Owens (architect, retired 1891)
1857

* The Board of Works is a generic name used here for the various Irish Boards of Works that were in control of the Phoenix Park or portions of it (the official and institutional demesnes) from *c.*1800–1880.

Appendix F

The Office of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues & Public Buildings (1832–1851)

Dates of Appointment of chief, 2nd and 3rd commissioners & others

chief commissioners:

1832 **Viscount Duncannon** (22nd Feb)
1834 **Sir John Cam Hobhouse** (30th July)
1834 **Lord Granville Somerset** (31st Dec)
1835 **Viscount Duncannon** (7th May)
1841 **Earl of Lincoln** (25th Sept)
1846 **Viscount Canning** (10th Mar)
1846 **Viscount Morpeth** (13th July, later Earl of Carlisle)
1850 **Lord Seymour** (15th April)

.....

2nd commissioners:

1832 **William Dacres Adam** (22nd Feb – Aug 1834, retired)
1834 **Sir B.C. Stephenson** (23rd Aug – 10th June, died)
1839 **Alexander Milne** (18th June – July 1850, retired)
1850 **Hon. Charles Alexander Gore** (28th Aug – 1851)

.....

3rd commissioners:

1832 **Sir B.C. Stephenson** (22nd Feb – Aug 1834, promoted)
1834 **Alexander Milne** (23rd Aug – June 1839, promoted)
1839 **Hon. Charles Alexander Gore** (18th June – 1850, promoted)
1850 **Thomas Francis Kennedy** (28th Aug – 1851)

.....

secretary to the Board:

1832 **Alexander Milne** (Post abolished 1834)

.....

secretary to the chief commissioner:

1834 **Trenham Walshman Philipps** (Aug 1834 – 1851)

.....

Source: J. Mordaunt Crook & H. M. Port, *The History of the Kings Works*, vol. vi, London, 1973, appen. D, p. 679.

Appendix G

First commissioners / chairmen of the Board of Works* 1800-1880

1799 Lord Tyrawley (retired 1803)

1803 Major General John Freeman (First Commissioner, was still there in 29 Feb 1829 and probably remained until 1831)

1831 Sir John Fox Burgoyne (Chairman; Royal engineer)

1845 Sir Harry Jones (Chairman; Royal engineer)

1850 Sir Richard Griffith Bt. (Chairman; Royal engineer)

1864 Col. Graham McKerlie (Chairman; Royal engineer; retired 1884)

* The Board of Works is a generic name used here for the various Irish Boards of Works that were in control of the Phoenix Park or portions of it (the official and institutional demesnes) from *c.*1800–1880.

Sources: Frederick O'Dwyer, *Public Works The Architecture of the Office of Public Works 1831–1987*, Architectural Association of Ireland, Dublin, p. 10; *The twelfth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments etc.*, Board of Works, H.C. 1812 (33) V.191, pp. 3-5; NAI, OPW minute books NAI, 1/1/1/1(2D-56-93) & 1/1/1/5 (2D-56-97). For more detailed information on technical and administrative staff that worked in the OPW from 1829 to 1923 see Frederick O'Dwyer's *Public Works Architecture in Ireland 1829-1923*, Trinity College, Dublin, 1995.

ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library
BOW	Board of Works
CSORP	Chief Secretary's Office, Registered Papers, National Archives, Dublin
DHR	Dublin Historical Record
DMP	Dublin Metropolitan Police
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
HMC	Historical Manuscript Commission
IAA	Irish Architectural Archive
Larcom Papers	Papers of T. A. Larcom
Lib. mun.	Liber munerum
MAFF	Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries & Food
Nat. Arch. Dub.	National Archives, Dublin
NGI	National Gallery of Ireland
NLI	National Library of Ireland
OPW	Office of Public Works
OS0	Ordnance Survey Office, Dublin
Per. com.	Personal communication
PRO	Public Record Office, London
PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland
QRO	Quit Rent Office
RDS	Royal Dublin Society
RIA	Royal Irish Academy
RIC	Royal Irish Constabulary
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin
UCD	University College, Dublin
V&A	Victoria & Albert Museum, London

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National Archives
Board of Works papers mss, sorted and unsorted.
Calendar of State Papers.
Chief Secretary's Office mss.
Official papers (OP series).
Quit Rent Office mss.
Quit Rent Office letter books.
Treasury letter book 1861-1863 (2D-57-17)

National Gallery of Ireland
Prints and drawings collection.

National Library of Ireland
Prints and drawings collection
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Larcom Papers Ms. 7778.
Nowlan Ms.14, 893.
Nowlan Ms.14, 897.
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BL, (Map Lib.), map no. 11815(6).
BL, Kennedy papers, Add. Ms. 40519.
BL, (map no.11850 [1]) and BL, map no.11815 [6]).

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