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The early career of George Coppinger Ashlin (1859-1869)

Gothic Revival architect

Volume 1

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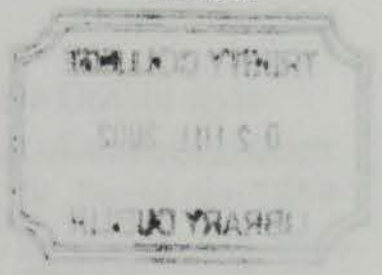
by

MILDRED DUNNE

(in two volumes)

Volume 1

TEXT



Thesis submission
to the
University of Dublin
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for the
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Dr. Edward McParland, Supervisor

Department of the History of Art and Architecture

Trinity College, Dublin

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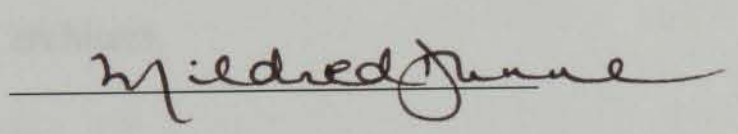
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DECLARATION

This thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at any other university. Except where stated, the work described therein was carried out by me alone.

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Mildred Dunne

Summary

This thesis studies the development of the early career of George Coppinger Ashlin (1837-1921). The period covered is from 1859 to 1869 when Ashlin was in partnership with E.W. Pugin. The works of the Pugin and Ashlin partnership form the core of this thesis.

The starting date of 1859 coincides with the end of Ashlin's pupilage with E.W. Pugin and the beginning of the partnership. The concluding date of 1869 was not the official end of the partnership; the partnership did in fact end in August 1868. By 1869, however, E.W. Pugin announced his official representative in Ireland and Ashlin began to erect churches, albeit in the partnership style, as an independent architect.

At the outset the aim, scope and method of this study must be defined. The aim of this work is to show how the work of the apparent heirs of A.W.N. Pugin, namely his son E.W. Pugin and George C. Ashlin, explored continental themes in conjunction with Puginian Gothic. As apparent heirs to A.W.N. Pugin they did not adhere to his style of architecture until the close of the partnership.

General texts of research into Irish nineteenth century architecture are restrictive. Douglas Scott Richardson's *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland* (1983) reaches far beyond its nearest rivals, although it suffers from generalisations endemic in such an extensive survey. A few very useful articles and other publications have appeared in recent years, on individual areas, buildings or

architects. Primary among these publications is Frederick O'Dwyer's essay on the Pugin and Ashlin partnership published in 1989. In the broader context of Pugin and Ashlin's architecture, the Belgian Gothic Revival is identified in the context of the British Gothic Revival in Chris Brooks *The Gothic Revival* (1999). The rise of Puginian Gothic in Belgium in the 1850s and 1860s had a powerful effect on E.W. Pugin and subsequently on G.C. Ashlin's careers. Jean van Cleven's numerous publications on the Belgian Gothic Revival highlights the many Pugin family connections with Belgium at this time. The Pugin and Coppinger family connections remained significant throughout the life of the partnership and their ramifications are further detailed in the catalogue entries.

As for method, this study does not follow a strictly chronological progression. Instead chapters three and four deal with a single church type (urban and rural respectively) and discuss developments and themes within each type. Discussions are generally not organised by individual building programme, but the churches as a whole are examined. Chapters one and two deal with the biographical and architectural backgrounds respectively. The survival of records, particularly personal documents but also public material, is erratic at best. Diocesan records for this period are often scanty. For this reason the precise background to a building's history, particularly a church, often is recorded best in newspapers and journals.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to the large number of friends, colleagues and acquaintances who have assisted me during my study. I am indebted to my supervisor, Dr. Edward McParland.

I am equally grateful to my colleagues in the National Inventory of Architectural Heritage, Dúchas, the Heritage Service. I would especially like to thank Erika Sjöberg, Gareth John, T.J. O'Meara and Damian Murphy for their assistance in many aspects of this work.

My thanks also to Trinity College to the Graduate Studies Research Travel Fund for financial help and to the Desmond Guinness Award which facilitated a trip to Belgium in 2000.

My thanks also to the many libraries, archives and staffs who have proved most helpful. In Dublin, I would like to thank the Director and staff of the Irish Architectural Archive; the department of Early Printed Books, Trinity College; the National Library of Ireland and the Registry of Deeds. In England, I thank the staff of the Royal Institute of British Architects, British Architectural Library and the Drawings Collection, London; the National Monuments and Records Centre, Swindon. In particular I would like to thank Janet McLean at the House of Lords, Records Office, London. For access to the Cloyne Diocesan Archives I would like to thank the archivist Sr. Cabrini Delahunty Ph.D. For access to architectural drawings I would like to thank Ashlin Coleman Heelan and Partners, Pembroke Road, Dublin and W.H. Byrne and Son, Suffolk Street, Dublin.

There are a number of other individuals, who were most generous of their time and information, and who deserve special mention: the late Jeanne Sheehy, the late Clive Wainwright, Dr. Margaret Belcher, Dr. Arthur Gibney, Peter Howell, Catherine Lawless, Dr. Roderick O'Donnell, Tanya Möller, Dr. Frederick O'Dwyer, Professor Roger Stalley, Lady Alexandra Wedgwood and Ann Wilson.

My thanks also to the descendants of Thomas A. Coleman and Katherine Pugin in Ireland for information on the respective family histories. I am indebted to Peggy Ryan, Anthony Meldon and Sarah Houle.

My trip to Belgium was facilitated by Miek Goossens, from the State Department for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage, and Dr. Lori van Biervliet and Jean van Cleven who were most generous with their time and information. I would also like to thank the Baron and Baroness Bethune, Kasteel Marke, Belgium for allowing me access to the Bethune family archives and to the archivist Filip Peperstrate.

Trips abroad were greatly facilitated by accommodating friends such as Barbara Kearney in Brussels and Aisling Howley in London.

My final thanks are to my family and friends. I would like to acknowledge the support of my parents Honoria and Timothy Dunne, and my brother and sisters, Donal, Maria and Wendy. This thesis could not have been written without the colourful comments, support and enthusiasm of two dear friends, Eve McAulay and Peter Cherry.

Abbreviations

AJBI, IAA	Alfred Jones Biographical Index, Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin
Ashlin and Coleman, IAA	Ashlin and Coleman collection, Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin
Ashlin Coleman Heelan, Dublin	Uncatalogued drawings and roof specification, Ashlin Coleman Heelan Partners, Pembroke Road, Dublin
Augustinian Archives, Dublin	Augustinian Archives, Ballyboden, Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin
Bowden, DDA	Richard Bowden, 'Church and schools erected, extended, or completed in the Diocese of Dublin 1866-1916' (Dublin: 1916 typescript), Dublin Diocesan Archives, Bishops' Palace, Dublin
DDA	Dublin Diocesan Archives, Bishops' Palace, Dublin
E.W. Pugin Diary	E.W. Pugin 1856 Diary, microfilm copy, House of Lords Records Office, Historical Collection, London
F.X. Martin, transcript 1962	Transcript in AJBI made in 1962 by F.X. Martin of extracts (relating to Augustinian order only) from Ashlin's cash book then in the possession of H.T. Coleman
IAAIIA	Irish Architectural Archive Index of Irish Architects database, Irish Architectural Archive, Merrion Square, Dublin
Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives	Bishop William Keane Papers, Cloyne Diocesan Archives, Bishops' Palace, Cobh, Co. Cork
Loppem Château Corres.	Loppem Château Correspondence, 1894, Familie-Archief de Bethune, Kasteel Marke, Kortrijk, Belgium

Abbreviations

McCarthy Papers, Cloyne Archives	Bishop John McCarthy Papers, Cloyne Diocesan Archives, Bishops' Palace, Cobh, Co. Cork
NMRC, Swindon	National Monuments and Records Centre, Swindon, England
PKS, IAA	Patterson, Kempster, Shortall, quantity surveyors papers, Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin
Registry of Deeds, Dublin	The Registry of Deeds, Henrietta Street, Dublin
RIBA, Draw., London	RIBA Drawings Collection, Portman Square, London
Stephanie Ashlin interview, IAA	Professor Alistair Rowan's interview with Stephanie Ashlin, 10 December 1981, handwritten notes in the IAA
W.H. Byrne, Dublin	Drawings, W.H. Byrne Architects, Suffolk Street, Dublin
Welsh Papers, BAL	Welsh Papers, British Architectural Library, Royal Institute of British Architects, Portland Street, London

PART ONE

EARLY CAREER AND WORK

Introduction

The subject of nineteenth-century ecclesiastical architecture in Ireland is hardly a neglected one, but its study has traditionally been focused on the early years of the nineteenth century and in particular the architecture of A.W.N. Pugin and J.J. McCarthy. A.W.N. Pugin was seen as the father of the nineteenth-century Gothic Revival, a movement in nineteenth century architecture that saw the erection of churches, in particular, following certain criteria as laid down by him. The churches he and his disciples built remained influential throughout the architectural careers of E.W. Pugin and G.C. Ashlin.

The aim of this study is to show how the work of the apparent heirs of A.W.N. Pugin, namely his son E.W. Pugin and George Coppinger Ashlin, explored continental themes in conjunction with Puginian Gothic. The firm employed their interpretation of the High Victorian style throughout the Irish urban and rural landscape while retaining aspects of Puginian Gothic. Despite such an acknowledgement their architecture was in many ways also a challenge to the principles laid down during the Puginian Gothic period.

The period covered in this study, from 1859 to 1869, begins with the establishment of the partnership of Pugin and Ashlin. The cut off date, of 1869, coincides with the definite end of the partnership and the launch of Ashlin's independent career. The contribution of the individual architects within the partnership is difficult to determine after the two initial commissions where E.W. Pugin's influence was at its height. As E.W. Pugin's English career flourished

Ashlin was more in command of the Irish commissions where his more restrained style becomes evident.

The dearth of studies in Irish architectural history of this period has to be indicated. General texts of research into Irish nineteenth century architecture are restrictive. Douglas Scott Richardson's *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland* (1983) reaches far beyond its nearest rivals, although it suffers from generalisations endemic in such an extensive survey. A few very useful articles and other publications have appeared in recent years, on individual areas, buildings or architects. Primary among these publications is Frederick O'Dwyer's essay on the Pugin and Ashlin partnership published in 1989. O'Dwyer's study of the work of the partnership was taken by this work as a starting point. This thesis extends considerably O'Dwyer's archival range, both in Britain and Ireland as well as in Belgium, and provides extensive catalogues of building – with full bibliographical apparatus – from the period of the partnership and (in Ashlin's case) of the years 1870-1880. The preparation of the catalogue was based also on the study of c.3000 drawings from the firm of Ashlin and Coleman in the IAA and on site visits during which about ninety per cent of buildings listed were visited.

In the broader context of Pugin and Ashlin's architecture, the Belgian Gothic Revival is identified in the context of the British Gothic Revival in Chris Brooks *The Gothic Revival* (1999). The rise of Puginian Gothic in Belgium in the 1850s and 1860s had a powerful effect on E.W. Pugin and subsequently on G.C. Ashlin's careers. Ashlin had connections with Belgium from an early age. Jean van Cleven's numerous publications on the Belgian Gothic Revival highlights the many Pugin

family connections with Belgium at this time. The Pugin and Coppinger family connections remained significant throughout the life of the partnership and their ramifications are further detailed in the catalogue entries.

As for method, this study does not follow a strictly chronological progression. Chapters one and two deal with the biographical and architectural backgrounds respectively. Here familial connections are brought to the forefront. These chapters are partially chronological as they trace the background to the architects and their architecture. Chapters three and four deal with a single church type (urban and rural respectively) and discuss developments and themes within each type. Discussions are generally not organised by individual building programme, but the churches as a whole are examined. The survival of records, particularly personal documents but also public material is erratic at best. Diocesan records for this period are often scanty. For this reason the precise background to a building's history, particularly a church, often is recorded best in newspapers and journals.

The buildings dealt with in this survey include all those that were initiated under the partnership from 1859 to 1868. Those that were begun in 1869 are included, as they were very much in the partnership style and bear all the hallmarks of the Pugin and Ashlin style. It was not until the 1870s that Ashlin's independent style emerges.

Chapter 1 - Origins and early life

Introduction

George Coppinger Ashlin was the third and youngest son of John Musson Ashlin and Dorinda Maria Coppinger. He was born in 1837 into a prominent Cork Catholic family whose influence can be identified throughout his professional career.[1] His maternal relatives, the Coppingers, profoundly influenced the aspiring ecclesiastical architect's social and professional life.[2] Two interrelated and almost interchangeable themes course throughout G.C. Ashlin's early career; these are his Cork connections and his family.

Ashlin's mother, Dorinda Maria Coppinger, was the second born and the eldest daughter of Stephen William Coppinger and Joanna Coppinger, who were first cousins. Dorinda's family cultivated many connections with prominent families, in Cork and the surrounding counties. The Coppingers, a prominent Catholic family from Cork, were known historically as the Coppingers of Ballyvolane and

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[1] For source material on G.C. Ashlin see IAAIIA, ASH003 and AJBI, IAA, Ashlin file A46. See also 'Our Interviews – No.5 Mr. George C. Ashlin, R.H.A., FRIBA', *The Irish Builder,* vol.43 no.1010, 30 Jan. 1902, pp.1018-1019; Alexandra Wedgwood, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects. The Pugin Family*, vol.1 (London: Farnborough: Gregg International, 1977) pp.118-119; Alexandra Wedgwood, *Catalogues of Architectural Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum: A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family* (London: Victoria and Albert, 1985), pp.37-38; Hugh Maguire, 'Ashlin, George C(oppinger)', in Jane Turner, ed., *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1996), vol.2, pp.599-600; Alison Felstead, Jonathan Franklin and Leslie Pinfield, eds, *Dictionary of British Architects 1834-1900* (London: Mansell Publishing Ltd., 1993), p.26 and C.F. Smith and Bernard Share, eds, *Whigs on the Green*, (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1990), p.164. Ashlin's date of birth is erroneously given as 1836 in Wedgwood, 1977, p.118.

Barryscourt.[3] The roots of the family date as far back as the sixteenth century when the family were recorded both in England and in Ireland. The English side of the family tended to spell their name with one 'p', while the Irish branch favoured the double 'p' spelling.[4] The English Copingers came from the south east counties of Kent and Suffolk, while the Irish side settled primarily in the south-west of the country.[5] That the two families were from the same stock is evident from their respective coats of arms.

The Irish Coppingers had great antiquity in the city of Cork, being an old and highly esteemed family. They 'were among those old Burgher families of Danish origin who were once all-powerful within the city walls of Cork.'[6] The Coppinger family ancestors had regularly been mayors and aldermen of Cork city throughout the fourteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[7] They spread themselves as large proprietors over the city and the adjoining county. Subsequently scattered throughout Cork county are places that were formerly possessed by the Coppingers

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[2] For a history of the Copinger/Coppinger families in England and Ireland see Walter Arthur Copinger ed., *History of the Copingers or Coppingers of the County of Cork, Ireland, and the Counties of Suffolk and Kent, England*, 4 parts (Manchester: H. Sotheran & Co., 1884).

[3] O'Connell, 1883, in Copinger, ed., 1884. Ballyvolane, occupied by Coppingers as late as 1747, was the old ancestral residence of one branch of the Irish Coppingers. Barryscourt was rented from the Earl of Barrymore, near Cork, which is half a mile outside Carrigtwohill, and was an old castle that gave the title of Baron to the Earls of Barrymore. The Coppingers were leasing land from the Earls of Barrymore from the early 1700s. Carrigtwohill would become significant in Ashlin's later architectural career, which will be discussed in later chapters.

[4] Copinger, ed., 1884, pp.iv-v. For an updated account of the English Copingers see Ian Stuart Copinger, ed., *History of the Copingers by W.A. Copinger* (Durham: I.S. Copinger, 1985).

[5] Copinger, ed., 1884, p.iv.

[6] O'Connell, 1883, p.167, in Copinger, ed., 1884.

[7] John Burke and John Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry*, vol. 1 A-L (London: 1846), p.262.

or with which they were associated.[8] That they were well established and well connected throughout the centuries is evident from their family tree.[9] **(1.1)** The Irish Coppinger family were, most importantly, Roman Catholic; they had been Catholics long before the enactment of the penal laws.[10] They were influential in terms of the Roman Catholic Church and claimed responsibility for introducing the Capuchin order into Cork city in the seventeenth century.[11] The power was also evident in practical terms. The Ballyvolane Coppingers, who were deemed the head of the Irish Coppinger family, possessed the power to appoint parish priests to the Cork parishes of SS. Peter and Paul and St. Mary's (now St. Anne's) Shandon.[12]

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[8] Copinger, 1884, p.61, in Copinger, ed., 1884. These properties included Copinger's Court, the sixteenth-century Elizabethan styled building. Near Midleton, where Ashlin's mother's family resided, there was Coppinger's Town Castle, which was a small portion of a ruined castle, and in Carrigtwohill there was a burial ground which was commonly known as the burial place of the Coppingers.

[9] Coppinger, ed., 1884, 'Pedigree of the Coppingers of Ballyvolane and Barryscourt, Co. Cork. No.2'. For an abridged version see illus. 1.1.

[10] Burke, 1846, p.262.

[11] William D. O'Connell, 'The Regulars in the Post-Reformation Period', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, vol.48 no.167, Jan.-June 1943, pp.19-25 (p.23). In 1629 Fr. Robert Comyn, a Limerick Capuchin, came to Cork on the invitation of secular priest Fr. James Mortell who had been a novice in a continental house of the order. Fr. Mortell urged Comyn to send friars to the Cork city. Mortell's sister was Mary wife of Dominic Coppinger 'one of the leading personages in Cork'.

[12] See Seán O'Coinealain, 'The bells of Shandon – now silent, ring out again in the new year', *The Holy Bough*, 1951, pp.15-16; Seán O'Coinealain, 'The Coppingers of Cork', *The Holy Bough*, 1950, p.28; P. Cahalane, 'The Catholic Parish Churches of Cork', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, vol.48, no.167, Jan.-June 1943, pp.26-29 (p.27) and John J. O'Shea, 'The Churches of the Church of Ireland in Cork City', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, vol.48 no.167, Jan.-June 1943, pp.30-35 (pp.32-33). St. Anne's replaces an older church on the site of St. Mary's, Shandon. In the seventeenth century St. Mary's, Shandon (the Church of Our Lady of Mary) burnt down and was rebuilt in 1693, but on another site that was nearer the north gate of the city. St. Mary's, Shandon remained there until 1879 when it was transferred to Shanakiel Road, Sunday's Well. St. Anne's Shandon was built in 1722 on the site of St. Mary Shandon. This was at first a chapel-of-ease for St. Mary's.

The origin of the claim was pre-Reformation. The family exercised this power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; however, they lost this right during the latter part of the eighteenth century.[13]

The Catholic Church was no longer anxious to enlist the type of patronage that had been essential during the period of the penal laws.[14] The Catholic Bishop of Cork, Dr. John Murphy, was opposed to the Coppinger claim.[15] He successfully resisted the claim on the grounds that in pre-Reformation times the presentation would be to the Rectorship, but in post-Reformation times the presentation would be to the Bishopric, as the Bishop happened to be the Rector of St. Mary's.[16] He argued that there was no evidence to prove such a claim and that the lapse of over fifty years would nullify it. William Coppinger (1779-1863), the then head of the Coppinger family initially presented his case in writing. He eventually presented his case in

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[13] Marita Foster, *Inside their World, An Archival Exhibition focussing on the lives of three 19th Cork gentlemen: Richard Dowden (RD), Thomas Hewett and William Coppinger* (Cork: Cork Archives Institute, [1992]), p.11. It is thought that they lost the right between 1761 and 1772.

[14] See Kevin Whelan, 'The Regional Impact of Irish Catholicism 1700-1850', in William J. Smyth and Kevin Whelan, eds, *Common Ground. Essays on the historical geography of Ireland* (Cork: Cork Univesity Press, 1988), p.264.

[15] Dr. John Murphy, Bishop of Cork (1815-1847), was the brother of James Murphy the founder of the Midleton Distillery. The Murphy family had founded both Murphy's Brewery and Cork Distilleries Ltd. Archdeacon John James Murphy (1796-1883), a nephew of the Bishop, initiated the building programme of SS. Peter and Paul's church and as such was closely involved with Pugin and Ashlin. For the Murphy family see Diarmuid Ó' Murchadha, 'The Uí Mhurchadha or Murphy's of Muskerry, Co. Cork', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, vol.73 no.218, July-Dec. 1968, pp.161-181; vol.74 no.219, Jan-June 1969, pp.1-19. Bishop Murphy along with Bishop Murray of Dublin constituted the episcopal right wing of the Irish Catholic Church. Murphy refrained from joining with those bishops who were politically active. See Oliver MacDonagh, 'The Politicization of Irish Catholic Bishops, 1800-1850, *The Historical Journal*, vol.18 no.1, 1975, pp.37-53 (p.47).

[16] Cahalane, 1943, p.27.

person and travelled to Rome in 1820.[17] He claimed that the Bishops of Cork had taken wrongful possession of a right long enjoyed by his family. His cousin, William Coppinger, Bishop of Cloyne and Ross (1753-1831) from 1791-1831, supported his efforts urging him to carry his evidence 'to the fountain head and to re-establish [the] claim for the honour and advantage of those who may come after you.'[18] Rome deprived William Coppinger of the right 'on the valid plea that he could not show cause or endowment, the endowment having been swallowed up at the Reformation.'[19] This may have ended the Coppinger family's right of presentation but it did not end the family's influence on ecclesiastical affairs within the parish of SS. Peter and Paul's and within the dioceses of Cork and Cloyne. Faith, it seems, controlled the activities and dictated the social circles in which the Coppinger family moved and worked.

Despite this apparent set back, in ecclesiastical terms, the Coppinger family remained well placed among the powerful Catholic families of Cork city and county. The Coppinger family's connection with the parish of SS. Peter and Paul was undoubtedly helpful in terms of the future ecclesiastical commissions that Pugin and Ashlin would execute for the parish of SS. Peter and Paul and for the diocese of Cloyne in general. Ashlin had a suitable pedigree and desirable lineage that could

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[17] William Coppinger was a highly influential landowner and gentleman farmer. He owned Barryscourt, which he inherited in 1816, and Ballylean, Co. Clare, which he inherited in 1830. He was educated in England and in Cork and was considered a great traveller by his friends and family. He played an active part in the movement that led to Catholic Emancipation but did not support Daniel O'Connell in his repeal campaign. He was a member of the Cork Catholic Board. His estates passed on to his nephew Morgan John O'Connell.

[18] Manuscript letter from William Coppinger, Bishop of Cloyne and Ross to William Coppinger, Barryscourt (n.d.), cited in Foster, [1992], p.12.

[19] O'Connell, 1883, p.167, in Copinger, ed., 1884.

only enhance future affiliations with the clergy and garner significant and lucrative ecclesiastical commissions. Dr. William Coppinger, a second cousin of Ashlin's maternal grandfather, was much remembered for his heroic work in penal times. He wrote widely until his death and was known at the time for the work he did for Roman Catholics.[20] During the late seventeenth century, the leading families among the landowner class in the southern counties included the Goolds of Muskerry,[21] the Galweys of Lota,[22] the Sarsfields and the Roches. Into all of these, the Coppingers married and they succeeded in the difficult task of maintaining their religion and holding on to their estates, even during the aftermath of the Rebellion of 1641, when many families were deprived of their lands.[23] The later Coppingers, and contemporaries of Ashlin, equally married well and into influential families: Elizabeth Coppinger of Ballyvolane married John O'Connell, brother of Daniel O'Connell.[24] Their son, Morgan John O'Connell, married Mary Anne Bianconi,

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[20] Dr. William Coppinger was coadjutor of Cloyne and Ross in 1787 and ruled the diocese form 1791-1831. In 1808 he wrote to the Archbishop of Cashel Thomas Bray, from the residence of his kinsmen in Midleton, promoting bishops that were not approved by the king. He was involved, along with Daniel O'Connell, in the veto controversy of 1808. See Jeremiah Falvey, *The Chronicles of Midleton* (Cork: Sira Publications, 1998), p.35.

[21] Also spelt Goulds. The entire central part of the county between the rivers Lee and Blackwater formed a portion of the ancient territory of Muskerry.

[22] They were among the leading merchants not only of medieval Cork but also of Youghal, Kinsale and to a lesser extent Limerick. The name was also spelt Galway. See Edward MacLysaght, *Irish Families, Their Names, Arms and Origins* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis and Co. Ltd., 1957), p.292; Henry Blackall, 'The Galweys of Munster', *Journal of the Cork Archaeological and Historical Society*, vol.71 no.213, Jan.-June 1966, pp.138-158; vol.71 no.215, Jan.-June 1967, pp.20-51; vol.73 no.217, Jan.-June 1968, pp.161-174; vol.74 no.219, Jan.-June 1969, pp.71-83.

[23] Patrick A. Murphy, 'The Coppingers of Coachford', *The Corkman*, 7 Mar. 1986.

[24] This would prove advantageous for Ashlin in later years with his commission for the O'Connell Memorial Church, Caherciveen, Co. Kerry, with Ashlin as the sole architect. It was one of his main independent architectural projects.

daughter and eventual heir of the inventor Charles Bianconi.[25] In this way, a web of solidarity and family loyalty embedded the Coppingers in the template of Munster Catholic power.

Ashlin's maternal grandparents, Stephen William Coppinger (1764-1820), from Midleton, and Joanna Coppinger from Rossmore were first cousins. The Rossmore Coppingers were directly descended from the Coppingers of Ballyvolane, deemed the ancestral head of the Irish Coppinger family. The Midleton Coppingers were offshoots of the main family since the start of the eighteenth century. It would appear to have been advantageous for the Coppingers of Midleton to marry back into the main branch of the family. The Midleton Coppingers had two town residences: Midleton House and Midleton Lodge and were also the owners of Lakeview House. Midleton had a wide and varied commercial sector.[26] There was more investment in the expanding mills around the port of Cork and in Midleton with these locations having favourable access to the English market, and the demand for flour within Cork city was also growing. By 1837-1838 there were just over eighty mills in Co. Cork.[27] This growing urban population in Cork city provided a market for flour, particularly for bread. The corn factor trade between England and Cork created a vital link between the Coppinger family and John Musson Ashlin, G.C. Ashlin's

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[25] M.J. O'Connell wrote the biography of Bianconi, *Charles Bianconi: a biography 1786-1875* (London: 1878).

[26] See David Dickson, 'An Economic History of the Cork region in the Eighteenth Century', (Ph.D.: Trinity College, 1977). For a discussion of the religious distribution among the commercial sector in Cork city, see Maura Murphy, 'Cork Commercial Society 1850-1899: Politics and Problems', in P. Butel and L.M. Cullen, eds, *Cities and Merchants: French Perspectives on Urban Development, 1500-1900* (Dublin: Trinity College Dublin, 1986), pp.233-244 (p.236).

[27] Andy Bielenberg, *Cork's Industrial Revolution 1780-1880 Development or Decline?* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1991), especially Chapter 5, 'The Corn-Milling Industry', pp. 41-49.

father. The principal corn houses in the city, at the end of the 1830s, were Beamish and Crawford, J. Gould and Co., E. Gould, J. Power and T. Coppinger.[28] As can be seen from the family tree, the Coppingers had married into both the Power and Gould families.

Many of the corn dealers also diversified into malting for the brewing and distilling industry of the region. Brewers in Cork included Messers. J.J. Murphy and Co. and J.A. Arnott and Co. who were devoted to the manufacture of porter, stout and ale, where again the Coppingers had family interests. The Coppingers in Midleton, along with many of their relatives, enjoyed extensive brewing and merchant interests while the Power family became well-known distillers. Though the Coppingers were also agents for Beamish and Crawford, they transported stout from Cork to Ballincurra in their own boat the *B + C*.[29] George Coppinger Ashlin's father, John Musson Ashlin J.P., was a cornfactor.[30] This links him with the Coppinger family and the south west of Ireland in the 1830s. He was originally from Rush Hill, Surrey, England. His father, George Ashlin, had addresses in Brixton, Surrey and Mark Lane in the City of London.[31] It was as early as the 1830s that the Ashlins had business dealings with the Coppingers. In 1832, J.M. Ashlin acquired a property at 48 Margaret Street, London.[32] He seems to have taken out a life assurance policy for £2000 at this time with £1500 to be placed in the Bank of

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[28] Bielenberg, 1991, p.45.

[29] Falvey, 1998, p.36.

[30] Registry of Deeds does not record any other families of the same name in the district for the period under discussion. The city directories of the period record no other Ashlins. Contemporary surveys of surnames in county Cork fail to record any occurrence of the name Ashlin.

[31] Registry of Deeds, Dublin, 1834/4/244; the Grant Probate 1839 Perog. Grant Book Folio 108A, the National Archives, Dublin.

Ireland in the names of two of Dorinda Coppinger's brothers and George Ashlin senior. These were trust funds to pay Dorinda in the event of J.M. Ashlin's demise.

J.M. Ashlin's marriage to Dorinda Coppinger took place in 1833 with George Ashlin senior and Dorinda's three brothers acting as participants in the marriage settlement.[33] The marriage has all the trademarks of a Coppinger wedding with all of the parties either related to each other or, indeed, connected by business interests. Most significantly, there are connections between the Coppingers, the Ashlins and the all-important Pugin family. Midleton was the seat of the wealthy Broderick family who had acquired vast estates in east Cork. Charles Broderick, Lord Midleton's, chief residence was at Peper Harrow, Godalming, Surrey. It was in Surrey that the English side of the Copinger family settled. By 1841 A.W.N. Pugin was already at work for him on his estates in Surrey and Ireland.[34] It is certainly possible that the Pugins, Ashlins and Coppingers were familiar with each other. There are suggestions that J.M. Ashlin had connections with Ramsgate in England.[35] It was in Ramsgate that A.W.N. Pugin and his family lived from 1843. He spent the final years of his life there and was buried there in 1852.[36] It is possible that the

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[32] Registry of Deeds, Dublin, 1834/4/244.

[33] For the full contents of the marriage settlement see Registry of Deeds, Dublin, 1834/4/244.

[34] Phoebe Stanton, *Pugin* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), pp.173, 201, 205, 209. Stanton mentions two villas in Cobh reputedly designed by A.W.N. Pugin for Lord Midleton.

[35] Stephanie Ashlin interview, IAA. She maintained that the Ashlins were from Ramsgate.

[36] A.W.N. Pugin went to stay in Ramsgate on the death of his father in 1832 and his mother in 1833. In 1835 he moved to a house that he had designed from himself, St. Marie's Grange, Alderbury, near Salisbury. In 1843 he started to build his own house, the Grange, Ramsgate. For A.W.N. Pugin see Stanton, 1971; Wedgwood, 1985; Margaret Belcher, *A.W.N. Pugin An annotated critical bibliography* (London and New York: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1987); Clive Wainwright and Paul Atterbury, *Pugin A Gothic Passion* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Megan Aldrich, *Gothic Revival* (London: Phaidon, 1994; repr. 1997); Paul Atterbury, ed., *A.W.N. Pugin Master of the*

Ashlin family, or relatives of J.M. Ashlin, were also involved in the furniture trade where there were connections with the Pugin family as early as 1831. In Wedgwood, *Catalogues of the Architectural Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, there is a catalogue entry for 'Identified Drawings: Birmingham' and includes the entry for Perry Hall, Handsworth, Birmingham.[37] Wedgwood refers to a volume containing designs for furniture. On f.25 of this volume, there was a 'perspective of a circular table with a single pedestal consisting of fluted columns on ornately carved feet'. It was signed by A.W.N. Pugin, dated 1831 and inscribed '105 Great Russell Street/Bloomsbury; Ashlin and Collings/Great Bolton Street/Seven Dials'. According to Wedgwood, Ashlin and Collings appear in the *Post Office and London Directory*, for 1831, as glass manufacturers. Three Ashlins, John (b.1790), Thomas (1779-90) and William (1789-1826) are listed as furniture makers, while William, who was described as a gilder, carver and looking glass maker, traded as Ashlin and Collings (or Ashlin and Co.).[38] E.W. Pugin set up in the 1860s the 'South East Furniture Company' at Ramsgate to manufacture his designs.[39] It was possibly in partnership with his brother Cuthbert Welby Pugin.

Extended relatives of the Ashlin family were involved in banking and in particular the National Bank. The head office for the National Bank was in Old

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Gothic Revival (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), and Rosemary Hill, *Pugin and Ramsgate* (Ramsgate: The Pugin Society, 1999).

[37] Wedgwood, 1985, pp.183-185.

[38] Geoffrey Beard and Christopher Gilbert, eds, *The Dictionary of English Furniture Makers 1660-1840* (Leeds: W.S. Maney and Son Ltd., 1986), pp.20-21. They worked at Althorp, Northants and also for the sixth Duke and Duchess of Bedford. By 1821 the trading style had changed to Ashlin, Collings and Ashlin.

[39] Roderick O'Donnell, 'The Later Pugins', in Clive Wainwright and Paul Atterbury, eds, *Pugin A Gothic Passion* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), pp.258-271 (p.262).

Broad Street, London where a George Ashlin Esq. was one of the directors.[40] The secretary was a Michael Joseph Power. The sub-manager in Liverpool was William Crompton Ashlin who may have been a kinsman.[41] The Dublin office was situated on College Green with several branches in County Cork. The manager in Cork was Francis J. Power; in Clonakilty it was Nicholas W. Roche and in Midleton it was Ashlin's maternal uncle, Edmund S. Coppinger.[42] The Powers and the Roches were families with whom the Coppingers were associated and related. Business connections continued into the late 1850s between the Ashlins and the Coppingers. In September 1858, Dorinda Coppinger in conjunction with Thomas Stephen Coppinger and George Ashlin of Mark Lane granted lands in Cork to Edmund Stephen Coppinger (Dorinda's brother) and his wife Maria Brennan. George Ashlin, T.S. Coppinger and Bishop Keane acted as mortgagees.[43]

G.C. Ashlin's maternal uncles forged connections with families that would further link him with the one family who would have a lasting effect on his career, the Pugins. Thomas Stephen Coppinger J.P. (1800-1861), married Sir John Power's daughter, Annette, in 1840, while his younger brother, Edmund, married one of Power's nieces, Maria Brennan. Sir John Power, the Dublin distiller and barrister lived with his family in Edermine, Co. Wexford, where E.W. Pugin designed the chapel.[44] The Power family remained significant in the eyes of the Pugin family, as

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[40] *Thom's Almanac and Official Directory of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland* (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1866), p.1097.

[41] ibid., p.15.

[42] ibid., p.1097. E.S. Coppinger's name is variously spelled Edmund and Edmond.

[43] Registry of Deeds, Dublin, 1858/33/147.

[44] For the Power family see Art Kavanagh and Rory Murphy, *The Wexford Gentry*, 2 vols (Wexford: Irish Family Names, 1994), vol.1, pp.168-180. John Power was awarded a Baronetcy and in 1841, at

another of Sir John Power's daughters, Elizabeth, was married to one of A.W.N. Pugin's clients, John Hyacinth Talbot. Talbot, an MP for Wexford, owned three Wexford residences at Castle Talbot, Talbot Hall and Ballytrent.[45] A.W.N. Pugin's entrance into the society of Wexford Catholic gentry had originated with J.H. Talbot's niece, Maria Theresa, who was the wife of John, the sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury.[46] Lord Shrewsbury's marriage connections with the Talbot family of Co. Wexford, allied with the fact that both families held estates in Wexford and Waterford, provided the unique circumstances for A.W.N. Pugin to work for his patron in Ireland. A.W.N. Pugin was introduced to John Power who immediately retained him to reconstruct their mansion in Edermine. The Earl of Shrewsbury had commissioned much private and ecclesiastical work in the English midlands and remained at the forefront of Puginian Gothic Revival architecture. The Power

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the age of 64, he became Sir John Power of Roe Buck House, Dublin and Edermine and Sampton, Co. Wexford. He was a friend and confidante of Daniel O'Connell. For Edermine see Douglas Scott Richardson, *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland* (London and New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1983), pp.486-487. It was attributed to A.W.N. Pugin by Kevin Spencer, 'Pugin and County Wexford', *Journal of the Old Wexford Society*, no.8, 1980-1981, pp.77-90 (p.81) and by Stanton, 1971, p.209.

[45] For the Talbot family see Kavanagh and Murphy, 1994, vol.1, pp.207-217 and Spencer, 1980-1981, pp.77-90. Maria Talbot was the daughter of William Talbot (b.1765) of Castle Talbot, Blackwater, Co. Wexford. He was succeeded by his son William, on whose death in 1861, his uncle John Hyacinth Talbot succeeded to the seat of Castle Talbot. J.H. Talbot married twice, firstly in 1822 Anne Eliza Redmond only daughter and heir of Walter Redmond, Ballytrent. Their eldest daughter Anne Eliza Mary married Sir Thomas Nicholas Redington, of Kilcornan, Co. Galway. Redington was appointed Under-Secretary for Ireland in 1846 after the fall of the Peel administration. He was acquainted with A.W.N. Pugin in connection with the Maynooth College commission. Their second daughter Jane Anne Eliza married Sir James Power (the second Baronet) of Edermine House and owner of the distillery in 1843. Secondly, he married Elizabeth Power. T.N. Redington was involved with G.C. Ashlin in a church in Roveigh, Co. Galway. (See Appendix II.) For Redington and A.W.N. Pugin see Frederick O'Dwyer, 'A W N Pugin and St Patrick's College, Maynooth', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, vol.12, 1996, pp.102-109 (p.109).

[46] Lord Shrewsbury died in Naples in 1852 and was succeeded by his nephew Bertram Talbot.

family, in later years, would remain at the forefront of ecclesiastical commissions that concerned G.C. Ashlin and E.W. Pugin. E.W. Pugin's first commissions in Ireland were to complete his father's and it was through the Power family that this was made possible. It was fitting that the Coppinger family, and thus cousins of Ashlin's, were connected with the family that would serve Ashlin later in his career. With such connections in Munster and south Leinster, Ashlin had the knowledge of, and was related to, many of the wealthy merchant families, which facilitated his entry into Cork Catholic society as an aspiring architect.

The decision for the Ashlin Coppinger alliance to live in Cork was a result of the Coppinger family connections with the south of Ireland. The family, comprising three sons, John, George and Stephen, and one daughter Dorinda, lived in the late-Georgian house in Carrigrenane, which was sited on a promontory on Little Island that jutted out into Lough Mahon.[47] Carrigrenane comprised the house and land totalling eighty-one acres within the barony of Barrymore.[48] The house was acquired as part of a marriage settlement between John Musson Ashlin and Dorinda Maria Coppinger.[49] The family may have divided their time between Carrigrenane and their London and Surrey homes. Dorinda Ashlin sold the house on the death of J.M. Ashlin in 1838 and returned to England with her four children. She too may have divided her time between the house in Wandsworth, Surrey and the house in

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[47] Mark Bence-Jones, *Burke's Guide to Country Houses vol. 1 Ireland* (London: Constable, 1978; repr. 1996), p.59. The house survives, but in a ruinous state.

[48] Registry of Deeds, Dublin, 1839-13-225, erroneously quoted as 1839-13-255 in footnote p.123, in Frederick O'Dwyer, 'A Victorian Partnership – The Architecture of Pugin & Ashlin', in John Graby, ed., *150 Years of Architecture in Ireland RIAI 1839-1989* (Dublin: RIAI and Eblana Editions, 1989), pp.55-62.

[49] Registry of Deeds, Dublin, 1834/8/167, 1835/8/167; O'Dwyer, 1989, p.55.

Mark Lane, London. Subsequently Carrigrenane and its land were sold.[50] On leaving £6,900 in his will, J.M. Ashlin enabled his family to live in England and for the children to be educated abroad: the sons were educated in Belgium and in England. It was likely that the money was left in a trust for the children's education. J.M. Ashlin's will names Dorinda's brother, Joseph William Coppinger, as the executor thus continuing the alliance with the extended Coppinger family.[51] By the 1850s Dorinda Ashlin was living in Cunningham Place, St. John's Wood, London. It was during these years, when the Coppinger Ashlin household resided in London, that the future architect along with his brothers, was educated in two of the finest Catholic schools in Europe: St. Mary's College Oscott, Birmingham, England and St. Servais, Liège, Belgium.

The Coppinger Ashlin children's ties, to the Roman Catholic Church and to Cork, remain to the forefront throughout their lives. While George remained in England in the 1850s to pursue his education, John and Stephen returned from Belgium to Cork; the eldest son, John, entered his father's business as a corn merchant in Castleredmond in Midleton;[52] Stephen entered the priesthood in the local diocese of Cloyne; and their sister Dorinda became a nun with the Sacred Heart order in Roscrea. Stephen was a priest in some of the towns, within the diocese of

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[50] Registry of Deeds, Dublin, 1839/13/225.

[51] J.W. Coppinger (1807-1883) was a well-known solicitor with homes in Dublin and Cork.

[52] John Ashlin operated his business (he was listed as a corn and grain broker) from 82 South Mall, Cork, a building which he shared with an architect and a solicitor. Along with his cousin Thomas Stephen Coppinger they were active in civic meetings in Midleton throughout the nineteenth century. T.S. Coppinger was an agent in Munster for the Patriotic Assurance Company in Midleton and John was a representative of the harbour commissioners in Midleton. See *Guy's Directory province of Munster 1893* (Cork: Guy and Co., 1893), pp.10, 30. In the general area, relatives were coal merchants, general merchants and solicitors.

Cloyne, where G.C. Ashlin as a hopeful young Cork Catholic architect would seek commissions.[53] He was stationed in Cobh as a curate and administrator and subsequently became parish priest of Doneraile - two towns where Ashlin was active architecturally.[54] On the death of Bishop William Keane in January 1874, Rev. Stephen Ashlin addressed a crowded Midleton church, the following February, at which he paid tribute to the memory of the deceased prelate. It is also significant that he reminded the faithful that promised subscriptions for the new cathedral at Cobh would be collected in the town and district during the following week. Rev. Stephen Ashlin was concerned for the collection of the money on two accounts, as administrator and curate of the parish of Cobh and as the brother of the architect who was building the cathedral at that time. The Midleton Coppingers played a major part in persuading the Presentation Sisters and the Christian Brothers to establish communities in the town. The arrival of the Sisters was mainly due to another member of the Coppinger family and an uncle of Ashlin's, Rev. Stephen William Coppinger a curate in Midleton.[55]

The family connections, throughout the years, with the Bishops of Cloyne certainly had a positive effect on George Coppinger Ashlin's career as an

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[53] Ashlin himself would build the local Catholic parish church, the Church of the Holy Rosary (1892) and the Munster and Leinster Bank (1900) in Midleton.

[54] By the time of George Ashlin's death, in 1921, Stephen was the Very Rev. Stephen Ashlin who had 'long been stationed in Cobh as curate and as administrator, and was subsequently P.P. of Doneraile'. Obituary 'Mr. George Coppinger Ashlin', *Cork Constitution,* 14 Dec. 1921, p.4.

[55] The money he used came from the 'Gould Inheritance', which was a trust fund established to administer the fortune of Angelina Gould who had entered Doneraile Convent in 1826. See Falvey, 1998, p.36. Thomas Coppinger was the Town Commissioner and his bequest of £20 per year for the maintenance of the Christian Brother community and £50 towards the cost of the monastery enabled that community to establish themselves in the town.

ecclesiastical architect, and in particular, the time spent building within the dioceses of Cork and Cloyne. This was especially the case with the building programme for Cobh Cathedral that was initiated by Bishop Keane during the years of his episcopacy 1854-1874. Keane had been parish priest in Midleton from 1841-1854.[56] In 1858, as newly created Bishop of Cloyne, he acted as a mortgagee for Ashlin's uncle Edmond Coppinger.[57] E.W. Pugin would have had cause to be impressed with this Cork man who had such highly influential Cork and episcopal connections.

The years in Belgium - 1850-1851

The reason for the Coppinger Ashlin family to educate their sons in Belgium and in particular Liège is uncertain, but there were many contributing factors. There had always existed an English colony in Belgium and in particular Bruges.[58] Following England's victory over France in 1815, there was almost an English invasion of Belgium. Large numbers of British subjects settled in Brussels, Liège, Verviers and Ghent and most especially in Bruges. According to Murray's *Handbook* Bruges was the cheapest place in Europe to rent a house.[59] It was considered 'the Liverpool of the middle ages' with Ghent the 'Belgic Manchester'.[60] The prints of Samuel Prout, Robert Hills and William Bartlett, with views of Bruges, served as unparalleled

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[56] Keane had lived in Skibbereen when he was Bishop of Ross in 1856.

[57] Registry of Deeds, Dublin, 1858/33/147. It appears that Bishop Keane was a mortgagee for the marriage of Edmond Stephen Coppinger (Ashlin's uncle) to Maria Brennan in 1840.

[58] Lori van Biervliet, ' "Dear old Bruges" The English Colony in Bruges in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Low Countries A Yearbook*, 1998-1999, pp.52-59. I am grateful to Dr. Lori van Biervliet for directing me to this information.

[59] *A handbook for travellers on the Continent: being a guide to Holland, Belgium, Prussia, Northern Germany, and the Rhine from Holland to Switzerland* (17th edn, London: John Murray, 1870), p.129.

[60] *A handbook*, 1870, p.131.

propaganda. Belgium declared its independence from the Kingdom of the United Netherlands in 1830, with Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, an uncle of Queen Victoria, crowned King in 1831. He reigned until 1865. The presence on the Belgian throne of Leopold I, the widower of the British royal princess Charlotte, was yet another reason for the English to cross the Channel. The Trollope family settled in Bruges in 1833 and Mrs Trollope's descriptions of *Bruges and Western Germany* (1833) brought many British people to Belgium. Thus, some former military men, together with ex-colonials and many antiquarians formed an English-speaking colony. A mixture of interest in art and religion connected many in the colony. The pre-eminently Catholic city of Bruges afforded an ideal breeding ground for followers of the Catholic Revival and converts to the Oxford Movement. The Londoner James W.H. Weale lived in Bruges from 1855-1878.[61] He was a champion of the preservation of monuments and historic buildings and was a promoter of Gothic Revival art. The British and certainly the Catholic in Britain were very taken by the Catholic society in parts of Belgium. The Irish woman Mother Margaret Mary Hallahan founded a community of the third order of St. Dominic in 1841 under the influence of Catholicism in Bruges.[62] In 1842, she became foundress of the Dominican nuns in England. In 1858 the baronet Sir John Sutton (1820-1873) of Norwood Park, Nottingham founded an English seminary to

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[61] William Henry James Weale (1832-1917) converted to Roman Catholicism in 1849. He moved to Bruges in 1855 living there until 1878. In 1863 he launched *Le Beffroi*, a periodical concerned with the conservation of monuments and historic buildings, the study of medieval art and the promotion of the Gothic Revival style of architecture. See Lori van Biervliet, 'Weale, W(illiam) H(enry) J(ames)', in Jane Turner, ed., 1996, vol. 33, pp.7-8.

[62] Dr. Ullathorne had brought her over to England. She was strongly connected with the diocese of Birmingham. She was also the foundress of the English Congregation of Sisters of Penance of St. Catherine of Sienna.

train missionaries for England and Scotland. He would become a pivotal figure in the Belgian career of E.W. Pugin and subsequently G.C. Ashlin.[63]

Belgium was a very significant country in which to be educated from the perspective of a potential pupil and kinsman of the Pugin family. A.W.N. Pugin had visited Bruges on various occasions. It was one of his former pupils, Thomas Harper King, a convert to Catholicism, who had published the tenets of his master in *Les Vrais Principes de l'Architecture Ogivale ou Chrétienne* in 1850 in Bruges.[64] This volume arose out of his objections to the principles used when the new church of St. Mary Margaret, Bruges was built. The Bishop of Bruges, Jean-Baptiste Malou, was a friend of Cardinal Wiseman and a great admirer of A.W.N. Pugin. It was in 1850 that the Belgian architect, Jean-Baptiste Bethune, travelled to England to meet A.W.N. Pugin.[65] Bethune (1821-1894) was a follower of the Puginian style of church building; as J.J. McCarthy was titled 'the Irish Pugin', Bethune was 'the Belgian Pugin'. Bethune was to become an important figure in both E.W. Pugin and G.C. Ashlin's respective Belgian careers.[66] In many respects, through befriending

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[63] See Chapter 2 for Sutton's role in E.W. Pugin, and subsequently Ashlin's, Belgian career. Sutton's brother John (1821-1878) succeeded him to the baronetcy in 1873. He married twice, first to Anne Houson, daughter of the rector at Brant Broughton, Lincoln and in 1851 he married Anne Harriet daughter of the maternal uncle, William Fitzwilliam Burton, of Burton Hall, Carlow by his first wife Mary daughter of Sir John Power, first Baronet of Kilfane. G.E. Cockayne, *Complete Baronetage* (Exeter: William Polalrd and Co. Ltd., 1906), vol.5, 1707-1800, p.163.

[64] Thomas Harper King, *Les Vrais Principes de l'Architecture Ogivale ou Chrétienne, avec des remarques sur leur renaissance au temps actuel. Remanié et développé d'après le texte Anglais de A.W. Pugin, par T.H. King, Et traduit en français, par P. Lebrocquy* (Bruges, T.H. King, 1850).

[65] This information is taken from A.W.N. Pugin's diaries. Bethune describes his first visit to Ramsgate in a letter, see Wedgwood, 1985, p.98. He made a second visit to see A.W.N. Pugin and brought his brother Felix who was a priest.

[66] See Chapter 2.

Bethune, A.W.N. Pugin was preparing the way for his son to continue his church building career in Belgium.

There appears to have been a precedent in the Coppinger family to send their children to Belgium. An Albert William Coppinger was a pupil at the college of Roulers in 1854-55.[67] When Belgium separated from Holland in 1830, the Roman Catholic Church controlled the education system with no interference from the state.[68] This would prove attractive to Roman Catholic families who wished for a Catholic education for their children. Among the anti-clergy factions, however, the entire education system in Belgium was deemed highly unsatisfactory.[69] J. Emmerson Tennent, expressing a strongly anti-clergy feeling, sees the split between Holland and Belgium as reversing the process of prosperity. The process of splitting Ireland from Great Britain was deemed similar.[70] Tennent continued with a comparison between the 'patrioterie' who repealed the union of Holland and Belgium in 1830 and the 'patriots' who were against the union between Ireland and Great Britain. This similarity did not escape the promoters of the revolution in each

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[67] Albert William Duncan Coppinger (b.1840) appears in W.A. Coppinger, *History of the Coppingers*, 'Pedigree of the Coppingers of Ballyvolane and Barryscourt, Co. Cork. No.2'. He is a distant relative of Ashlin's on his grand mother's side. He is cited in *De Briefwisseling van Guido Gezelle met de Engelsen 1854-1899*, vol.1 (Ghent: Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal-en Letterkunde, 1991). I am indebted to Dr. Lori van Biervliet for directing me to this information.

[68] W.E. Hickson, *Dutch and German Schools. An Account of the Present state of Education in Holland, Belgium, and the German states, with a view to the practical steps which should be taken for improving and extending the means of popular instruction in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Taylor & Walton, 1840).

[69] J. Emmerson Tennent, *Belgium*, 2 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1841), pp.123-124.

[70] Tennent, 1841, vol.1, pp.x-xi.

country. 'Belgium has long been the Ireland of Holland, the relation of the dominant power has been in almost every particular, that of '*the Sister Island*' to England.'[71]

It is tempting to speculate on Ashlin's first sight of Belgium from the boat as he crossed from England. In the 1840s J. Emerson Tennent described such a journey:

> At sunset when about ten to fifteen miles from land, we had the first sight of the coast of the "Low Countries", [sic] not as on other shores discernible by hills or cliffs, but by the steeples of Nieuport, Ostend, and Blankenburg rising out of the water; presently a row of wind-mills, and the tops of a few trees and houses, and finally a long line of level sand stretching a way towards Walcheren and the delta of the Scheldt.[72]

While in Liège Ashlin lived at No. 17 Rue des Anges.[73] He attended the nearby school of St. Servais from October to December 1850.[74] He is noted in the school archives as an 'old boarder' who took classes in Mathematics, Grammar, Geography and Calligraphy, subjects which would prove useful in his later career. It is interesting to assess the architecture that Ashlin would have been familiar with from an early age. He did not grow up with knowledge of the ancient cathedrals in Dublin or Ireland; it was the ancient Belgian cathedrals that would prove to be more interesting and exciting for the young boy than anything he would see in Britain or in Ireland.

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[71] *The Belge*, 1830 cited in Tennent, 1841, vol.1, p.238.

[72] Tennent. 1841, vol.1, pp.2-3.

[73] This street is very close to the Rue Saint Gilles where the Centre Scolaire St. Benoît St. Servais (known as St. Servais in the nineteenth century) was situated.

[74] Private correspondence with the author from the Secretary of the Centre Scolaire Saint-Benoit Saint-Servais, 24 June 1999. Wedgwood, 1985, p.118 erroneously cites the school as St. Gervais.

Although Ashlin was educated in Liège during the short period between 1850-1851, his Belgian connections would remain highly significant throughout his professional career. The city was, for many centuries, the seat of a diocese and of an ecclesiastical principality that explains its riches in churches, abbeys and convents. There were some seven collegiate churches, thirty-two parochial churches, and upward of forty religious houses, of various orders, so that the city of Liège was designated the 'Paradise of Priests'.[75] It was also an important educational centre; the sixteenth-century university was especially distinguished as a school of Catholic theology and was then frequented by 6,000 students.[76] Despite the overall religious atmosphere of the city, Liège was also a thriving industrial town and was often referred to as the 'Birmingham of Belgium' in the travel literature of the day. These handbooks indicated that Liège differed

> from most other Belgian towns inasmuch as it appears to be thriving. The clouds of smoke usually seen from a distance hanging over it, proclaim the manufacturing city, the Birmingham of the Low Countries; and the dirty houses, murky atmosphere, and coal-stained streets, are the natural consequence of the branch of industry in which its inhabitants are engaged.[77]

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[75] Charles Wild, *Twelve Etched Outlines Selected from the Architectural Sketches made in Belgium, Germany, and France* (London: Charles Wild, 1833), p.4.

[76] Liège, on the 25 September 1816, received her own university by royal decree. It was situated on the banks of the Meuse and was built on the ruins of the Jesuit church.

[77] *A hand-book for the travellers on the Continent: being a guide through Holland, Belgium, Prussia and Northern Germany, and Along the Rhine, from Holland to Switzerland. Containing descriptions of the principal cities, their museums, picture galleries, &c.;- the great high roads; and the most interesting and picturesque districts, also Directions for Travellers; and Hints for Tours* (London: John Murray, 1836), p.152 and also Benjamin Webb, *Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology or Church Notes in Belgium, Germany, and Italy* (London: Joseph Masters, 1848), p.29. Bruges was considered

There were further English connections in Liège such as the Englishman Cockerill who set up an iron foundry with many Englishmen working there. In terms of business, Belgium's ambition was to become 'a little England'.[78] A.W.N. Pugin had visited Liège and was impressed by the ironwork he saw being produced and the general religious atmosphere of the city. The overall religious atmosphere of Belgium and Liège must have influenced Ashlin significantly as he returned to England.

The return to England - 1851

On leaving St. Servais, in 1851, Ashlin entered St. Mary's College, Oscott, Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire, England.[79] Oscott was a well-known centre for the education of Catholic boys having two bishops on the staff.[80] Many converts within the Oxford Movement sought sanctity there.[81] Many Irish families sent their sons there including the O'Connell family with Daniel O'Connell and Morgan O'Connell

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'the Liverpool of the middle ages', see *A hand-book for travellers on the Continent*, (1836), p.101. The comparisons are further continued with Louvain being considered as the 'Oxford, or rather the Maynooth' of Belgium. See Tennent, 1841, vol.2, p.128.

[78] Robert Bell, *Wayside Pictures through France, Belgium, and Holland* (London: Richard Bentley, 1849), p.380.

[79] This Roman Catholic institution was formally opened as a school and a seminary in 1794 at Old Oscott. In 1835 a new site was purchased a few miles away and named New Oscott. Here Joseph Potter, from Lichfield, built a college in a Tudor Gothic style. He continued to supervise the buildings until their completion in 1893. A.W.N. Pugin undertook alterations, decorations and furnishings in the chapel and throughout the building from 1837.

[80] Canon Greaney, *The Buildings, Museum, Pictures, and Library of St. Mary's College, Oscott. Being the substance of two lectures given to the Students of the College, in November and December, 1898* (Birmingham: privately printed, 1899).

[81] Greaney, 1899, p.18.

as past pupils.[82] Oscott College and St. Chad's Cathedral (1839-1841) were among the earliest Catholic buildings of any pretensions to architecture that were erected in England since the Reformation. The College was eight miles north of Birmingham and situated in an area where A.W.N. Pugin had friends and had built the local Catholic Cathedral, St. Chad's. It was while A.W.N. Pugin was in Birmingham that he met John Hardman, who became his close friend, and colleague, and John Talbot, the sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, who became his chief patron. In terms of the potential, for an ecclesiastical architect, to cultivate lay and clergy patrons, Oscott was a momentous place. A.W.N. Pugin was appointed Architect and Professor of Ecclesiastical Antiquities at Oscott College in 1837 and gave his first lecture to the seminary in November of that year. The Oscott seminary chapel opening took place on 29 May 1838 with Bishop Ullathorne attending.[83] When the chapel was finished, A.W.N. Pugin was invited to stay at Oscott, which he did at intervals for two or three years.[84] A.W.N. Pugin's coming to Oscott introduced a new and important departure in the art history of the College. He designed all internal fittings and all Gothic furniture, the Professor's gowns and iron inkpots for the study.[85]

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[82] Daniel O'Connell was editor of the first volume of the student journal *The Oscotian or Literary Gazette, of St. Mary's Birmingham* (Birmingham: R.P. Stone, 1828).

[83] On the 29 May 1838 Dr. Walsh consecrated the high altar at Oscott and on the 31 May, the church was dedicated to Our Lady and opened for public worship. Bishop Ullathorne made a tour of Belgium in the company of Charles Hansom. The object of this tour was to examine the best specimens of medieval art and to get hints for the church that he was about to build. See *The Oscotian. Bishop Ullathorne: The Story of his life; Selected Letters, with Facsimile; 4 portraits of hjs Lordship; views of Coventry Church & Oscott College* (3rd edn, London: Burns & Oates, 1886, pp.27, 37. At Oscott A.W.N. Pugin completed the new chapel and constructed the reredos of old wood carvings brought from the continent; the carved pulpit came from St. Gertrude's in Louvain.

[84] Greaney, 1899, p.5.

[85] Stanton, 1971, pp.34-35, 197, 199, 202.

Ashlin attended St. Mary's College, from 14 August 1851 until December 1855.[86] By 1852 Ashlin had taken up drawing, including perspective, water colouring and oil painting. He patronised the library of the College and requested Mr. Trachon, the librarian, to obtain for him some mathematical books. A list of boys, at St. Mary's, at the beginning of mid-summer 1853 included all three Ashlin brothers, John, Stephen and George.[87] It is significant that it was at Oscott that the young and aspiring Cork architect would be exposed to, at first hand, the Pugin chapel interior and decoration with its many Belgian touches.[88] It is likely that Ashlin either met or became aware of E.W. Pugin while the latter resided in the Birmingham area in the 1850s. In 1852, following A.W.N. Pugin's death, the eighteen-year-old E.W. Pugin was left as his father's successor in practice. The family, which included Jane Knill, A.W.N. Pugin's wife since 1848, moved to Birmingham at the suggestion of John Hardman.[89] During the years 1854-1855

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[86] AJBI, IAA, Ashlin file A46. Extracts from the records of St. Mary's College, Oscott, obtained by Alfred Jones during the compilation of the George Ashlin file. The accounts are preserved in the College Archives. It includes items for tailor, line, washing, haircutting, drill. The material in the College includes a 'List of Students (1794-185…)', an Account Book from St. Mary's and some cuttings. George Coppinger Ashlin maintained a mediocre position in the class throughout his course at Oscott.

[87] AJBI, IAA, Ashlin file A46.

[88] A Flemish lectern (c.1500) from St. Peter's Church, Louvain, which belongs to St. Chad's; collection of carved wood with over eighty pieces many collected by A.W.N. Pugin comprising some from Lincoln Minster, Salisbury, Amiens, Dieppe, Beauvais and several from Flanders; in the Chapel the reredos was designed with ten pieces of ancient Limoges enamel inserted in the gradus; the pulpit, which is now in St. Chad's is a fine renaissance wood carving and originally came from St. Gertrude's, Louvain and was originally intended for Oscott; communion rails (c.1620) are Belgian work and the twenty stalls in the choir and confessionals in St. George's Chapel are of Flemish workmanship. See Greaney, 1899, pp.9, 11, 14.

[89] O'Donnell, 1994, p.259.

E.W. Pugin resided in Birmingham.[90] He continued his own architectural education and succeeded his father as architect of Oscott College. This would further interconnect the social circles of the two families, thus increasing the chances of Ashlin catching E.W. Pugin's eye. Oscott may have been a breeding ground for E.W. Pugin's potential partners: Edmund Kirby (1838-1920), a Liverpool architect and a pupil of E.W. Pugin until 1858, was educated at Oscott.[91] His career was similar to Ashlin's; he entered E.W. Pugin's Liverpool office as a pupil with his five-year pupilage being supplemented by study at the Royal Academy schools.[92]

In 1855, at the age of eighteen, Ashlin left St. Mary's College Oscott. It is likely that he stayed in England and in particular at the family's London home. Ashlin entered E.W. Pugin's offices as a pupil from 1856-1859.[93] By March 1859 Ashlin was 'late pupil of E.W. Pugin' **(3.2)**. During Ashlin's pupilage to E.W. Pugin Ashlin became a student of the Royal Academy schools in London on 31 March 1858.[94] In approaching E.W. Pugin Ashlin was well advised. The year 1856 was particularly fruitful year for E.W. Pugin; it was in this year that he left Birmingham for London where the family settled in Gordon Square. A few years later, in 1861, the Pugin family returned to the Grange, Ramsgate, Kent where E.W. Pugin made

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[90] Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their works from its foundation in 1769 to 1904*, 4 vols (London: Henry Graves and Co. Ltd., and George Bell and Sons, 1905), vol.3, 1905, p.215. From 1860 he is registered as living in Ramsgate.

[91] On Edmund Kirby see Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/2/6.

[92] Kirby then worked in the studio of Hardman and Company and as an assistant with the architect John Douglas of Chester.

[93] Felstead, 1993, p.26, provides the dates 1856-1860.

[94] Felstead, 1993, p.26; AJBI, IAA, Ashlin file A46 (iii).

additions and kept an office as well as those at Liverpool and London.[95] He met no fewer than five bishops, including Dr. Nicholas Wiseman, Bishop of Westminster, to discuss commissions. He entertained the Cardinal at Ramsgate and when he moved to London he immediately attended the Cardinal's soirées. He travelled to Ireland, France and Belgium where he was recognised as his father's successor more than he had been in England. He inspected churches by William Wardell and J.J. McCarthy and was introduced to the Duke of Norfolk at the seventeenth Earl of Shrewsbury's funeral.[96] In 1859, Pope Pius IX made him a knight of St. Sylvester and Cardinal Wiseman invested him at the 150th anniversary of Ushaw College.[97] It was into this growing and increasingly exciting architectural and ecclesiastical milieu Ashlin entered as pupil during the latter part of the 1850s.

The years in Dublin – 1859-1868

These years changed Ashlin's life and career: Ashlin would become pupil, partner and ultimately brother-in-law of E.W. Pugin. On completing his articles in 1860, at the age of twenty-three, Ashlin became a partner and the firm Pugin and Ashlin was established. The years of the partnership were prolific. It was an opportune time for the young architect to have made the acquaintance of the Pugin family and for his career to take off. An established figure, E.W. Pugin was active in his profession and son of one of the most important figures in nineteenth-century ecclesiastical

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[95] O'Donnell, 1994, p.260. Graves, 1905, vol.3, p.215 indicates E.W. Pugin's addresses as Gordon Square for 1860 and 1862, Ramsgate for 1866 and 1867, and Westminster for 1873-1874.

[96] E.W. Pugin Diary, 16 Aug. 1856. Bertram Talbot's death was a major blow for E.W. Pugin.

[97] E.W. Pugin proudly signs himself 'KSS' in the drawing of SS. Peter and Paul's, Carey's Lane, Cork in illus. 3.2.

architecture. Despite the apparent seniority within the partnership, it was based on mutual benefits. While E.W. Pugin came from such a renowned architectural lineage, he was an English architect in Ireland whose first commissions were the completion of his father's. Despite Ashlin's youth and his comparative inexperience, he had the commercial and merchant connections and the gentrified relations of the southern part of Ireland. It was in this partnership that Ashlin gained his most important and his first success in public competition. The operations of the firm were complex with E.W. Pugin spending most of his time in England operating his busy English practice with Ashlin in Dublin managing the Irish side. Despite their success, the dissolution of the firm took place at the end of 1868. The subsequent re-organisation of the Dublin office gave Ashlin the impetus to continue the firm's commissions independently.

It was the logical move in E.W. Pugin's, and indeed G.C. Ashlin's, escalating architectural profile. On a personal level, these were also productive years for Ashlin. He sought advancement in the professional associations such as the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Royal Hibernian Academy, the Royal Institute of Architects of Ireland and the Architectural Association of Ireland. On the 21 May 1863 Ashlin was elected Fellow of the RIAI, being proposed by his fellow architects J.J. McCarthy and seconded by J.J. Lyons and J. McCurdy.[98] This early achievement served to advance his career in professional circles in Ireland. He was a member of the Council from 1864-66, 1870-74 and 1876-1901. He appeared in the architectural journals of the day in 1866 in defence of his and E.W. Pugin's

[98] Minutes of the RIAI, p.127, cited in AJBI, IAA, Ashlin file A46 (iii). Wedgwood, 1977, p.118 gives the date of 1855.

reputations over the construction of SS. Peter and Paul's, Carey's Lane, Cork and again in 1867 in defence of another Cork commission, St. Colman's Cathedral, Cobh.[99] He was an energetic and enthusiastic promoter in architectural circles and ensured that his name was familiar to prospective colleagues and patrons prior to the establishment of his own architectural practice.

Ashlin's marriage in 1867 to Mary Pugin (1841-1933), the daughter of A.W.N. Pugin and the sister of E.W. Pugin, was another connection with the Pugin family.[100] According to E.W. Pugin 'the marriage went off to the satisfaction of everybody, more especially to the pair themselves, who in a letter … received yesterday morning described themselves as being perfectly happy.'[101] They were based in Dublin as Ashlin was then managing the Irish side of the partnership. The marriage may be seen as one of the final steps in Ashlin's indoctrination into the Pugin architectural ethos. In keeping with the A.W.N. Pugin mode of living the life of the Christian architect, G.C. Ashlin built his own house, St. George's, Killiney, Dublin.[102] The house had 'a general feeling of allegiance to the Grange at

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[99] 'Correspondence', *The Irish Builder,* vol.8 no. 147, 1 Feb. 1866, p.31; 'Correspondence – Cloyne New Catholic Cathedral', *The Irish Builder,* vol.9 no. 189, 1 Nov.1867, pp.282-3.

[100] On Mary Pugin see AJBI, IAA, Mary Pugin file A48. I am indebted to Catriona Blaker for a xerox copy from *Christchurch Miscellany*, p.571, concerning Mary Pugin's date of birth. Mary Pugin's sister Catherine (also spelled Katherine) married a man called Meldon and their son, Ashlin's first cousin Austin Pugin Meldon (also possibly called George Edgar Pugin Medon) was a pupil in E.W. Pugin's Liverpool office. I am indebted to Anthony Meldon for making available to me the Meldon family tree which he is currently compiling. According to the Stephanie Ashlin interview, IAA, she maintained that Mary Pugin was 'very much a Frenchwoman'.

[101] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, E.W. Pugin to Bishop Keane, 3 Dec. 1867.

[102] St. George's had in the nursery a carved stone fireplace with the name Miriam cut in Gothic lettering across the lintel. There was also stained glass showing Ashlin and his family in prayer with the various architectural motifs indicated in the framing.

Ramsgate.'[103] Like Ramsgate, St. George's had a smaller house within the gardens that was built for Ashlin's only child and daughter, Miriam Francis Xavier (1877-1937), who married her cousin Stephen Martin Ashlin (1879-1942).[104] By 1868, Ashlin was a capable and aspiring architect and a senior figure in the most successful Catholic practice in the country. He was soon to be the sole figure in that practice. He had a substantial list of works to his name, many executed in partnership with E.W. Pugin, and some in the form of published projects under his own name.

Ashlin's architectural career was in full progress by the start of the 1870s. Important new churches and convents were placed under his direction. It was during these years that Ashlin concerned himself with professional activities and on advancing his career. On the 18 January 1879, Ashlin was made Associate of the RHA and became a Royal Academician on the 10 June 1885.[105] On the 15 May 1899 he was elected Fellow of the RIBA being recommended by the Council of the Allied Society under Bylaw 9; he resigned in 1915.[106] He was elected President of the RIAI from 1902-1904 in succession to Sir Thomas Deane. It was the first election held under the new bye-laws, and was for a maximum term of three years.

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[103] Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence, Mary H. Watts to Welsh. Watts was A.W.N. Pugin's grand daughter.

[104] On Stephen Ashlin see AJBI, IAA, Stephen Ashlin file A50 and obituary *The Irish Builder,* vol.84, 14 Mar. 1942, p.110. He was Ashlin's brother John and Maria Lyon's son. He was born in Midleton, Co. Cork. He was elected a member of the RIAI, in 1903, when G.C. Ashlin was president. He married G.C. Ashlin's only daughter Miriam in October 1904. He was a member of the Architectural Association of Ireland and in January 1908 he entered into partnership with Ashlin and Thomas Aloysius Coleman. In 1920 he was raised to the rank of Fellow of the RIAI. On Miriam Ashlin see AJBI, IAA, Miriam Ashlin file A49.

[105] Ann M. Stewart, *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts Index of Exhibitors and their works 1826-1979,* vol.1 A-G, (Dublin: Manton Publishing, 1988), p.xx.

[106] Felstead, 1993, p.26; *The Irish Builder,* vol.41 no.946, 15 June 1899, p. 70.

In order to mark his term of presidency of the RIAI, he presented the Architectural Association with a gift of 60 guineas to be expended in three years as a contribution towards the expenses incurred in providing premises for the Association.

The picture gained of Ashlin's life and early career over these years, sketched from sparse documents, newspapers and professional notices, is of a man actively engaged in the pursuit of his profession. He died in 1921 and was lauded as one of the oldest architects in Ireland having had a career of over sixty years. He left behind his wife, his only daughter Miriam and some £9,943 with £25 to his parish priest in Ballybrack for charitable purposes. Mary Pugin Ashlin died in 1933 and with her death, 'a notable link with the architectural past was severed'.[107] *The Irish Builder* in summing up his prodigious career stated that 'the story of Ashlin's professional career would be the history of the Gothic Revival in Ireland, and of the great Catholic church building era that lasted for nearly seventy years.'[108] His death ended an era of the Gothic Revival, and in particular, an aspect of the Puginian Gothic Revival.[109]

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[107] AJBI, IAA, Mary Pugin file A48.

[108] 'Death of Mr. George C. Ashlin, RHA', *The Irish Builder,* vol. 63 no. 28, 31 Dec. 1921, p.840.

[109] 'Obituary', *The Builder*, no.3494, 23 Dec. 1921, p. 402; *The Building News*, no.3514, 12 May 1922, p.328; *Irish Independent*, 12 Dec. 1921; Obituary 'Mr. George Coppinger Ashlin', *Cork Constitution,* 14 Dec. 1921, p.4. Both Mary Pugin and George Coppinger Ashlin are buried in Glasnevin Cemetery JF $23^{1/2}$ 24 Dublin section.

Chapter 2 - Sources of influences – continental influences and the Pugin family

Introduction

The influences on the early career of George Coppinger Ashlin incorporated three distinct phases, each of which is connected with the extended Pugin family. The first of these phases began in 1856 when Ashlin became a pupil of E.W. Pugin; the second, in 1859, with the establishment of the partnership of Pugin and Ashlin, and the third phase, following the dissolution of the partnership in 1868, concerned the independent beginnings of G.C. Ashlin's career. There was no practice in England where G.C. Ashlin might explore advancing ideas in Catholic Church architecture better than in the *milieu* of the Pugin family. E.W. Pugin (1834-1875) as Ashlin's immediate employer is particularly relevant.[1] The first son and second child born to A.W.N. Pugin, E.W. Pugin grew up helping his father in his office. His childhood was spent travelling around Britain and the continent assessing and absorbing

[1] For source materials on E.W. Pugin see IAAIIA, PUG001 and AJBI, IAA, E.W. Pugin file P93. See also Alexandra Wedgwood, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects. The Pugin Family* (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1977), pp.113-119; Alexandra Wedgwood, *Catalogues of the Architectural Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum: A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin Family* (London: Victoria and Albert, 1985), pp.312-315; Douglas Scott Richardson, *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland* (London and New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1983), pp.494-502; Roderick O'Donnell, 'Roman Catholic Church Architecture in Britain and Ireland (1829-1878)' (Ph.D.: University of Cambridge, 1983), in particular chapter 8, 'The Churches Described 1859-1878', pp.268-275; Roderick O'Donnell, 'The Later Pugins', in Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright, eds, *Pugin A Gothic Passion* (New York: Yale University Press, 1994), pp.258–271; Roderick O'Donnell, 'The Pugins in Ireland', in Paul Atterbury, ed., *A.W.N. Pugin Master of the Gothic Revival* (London and New York: Yale University Press, 1995), pp.136-159 and Roderick O'Donnell, 'Pugin, E(dward) W(elby)', in Jane Turner, ed., *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers, 1996), vol.25, pp.716-717.

contemporary and medieval architecture. On the death of A.W.N. Pugin in 1852, E.W. Pugin set up his architectural practice in the north of England where his father had connections with patrons and clergy.[2] E.W. Pugin's practice in Liverpool may not have been as wide ranging in type or style as perhaps other practices; the Pugin family were, after all, ecclesiastical architects.[3]

The revival of the Gothic style

Before the arrival of A.W.N. Pugin and the Pugin family into the arena of ecclesiastical architecture, little emphasis was being placed on the structural implications of the revived Gothic style. Architects at the start of the nineteenth century, following the lead set by such architects as Horace Walpole in the eighteenth century, concerned themselves with the appearance and approximation of Gothic forms through various decorative and ornamental features often in landscaped gardens.[4] Their Gothic, although real, was false in the sense that they

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[2] Dr. Thomas Walsh (1777-1849) was Bishop of the Northern District and co-adjutor to Bishop Milner whom he succeeded as Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District in 1826. He was President of Oscott College from 1818-1826. He was a stauch supporter of A.W.N. Pugin and organised the building of St. Chad's Cathedral (1839-1841), Birmingham where he is buried.

[3] On E.W. Pugin's overall career see his obituaries, 'The Late Mr. E. Welby Pugin', *The Builder,* vol.23 no.1688, 12 June 1875, pp.522-523; 'Mr. E.W. Pugin's Works', *The Builder,* vol.23 no.1690, 26 June 1875, p.586; *The Irish Builder*, vol.17 no.372, 15 June 1875, p.157. For an overview of his career see also the Architectural Publication Society, *The Dictionary of Architecture issued by the Architectural Publication Society with illustrations*, 9 vols, part 21, P-Q (London: Thomas Richards, 1852-1892), pp.187-188; Wedgwood, 1977, pp.113-119, and Bryan Little, *Catholic Churches since 1623 A Study of Roman Catholic Churches in England and Wales from Penal Times to the Present Decade* (London: Robert Hale, 1966).

[4] On the Gothick Revival see Terence Davis, *The Gothick Taste* (London and Vancouver: David & Charles, 1974); James Macaulay, *The Gothic Revival, 1745-1845* (Glasgow: Blackie and Sons, 1975); Michael McCarthy, *The Origins of the Gothic Revival* (London and New Haven: Yale University

had looked to pattern books and surface detail rather than at the materials and structure of the actual buildings. In addition many were classical in plan and proportion. Architects were neither interested in the structural application of Gothic, nor in the religious dogma from which it became inseparable during the mid-nineteenth century. Bishop John Milner (1752-1826), Vicar Apostolic of the Midland district, was an early apologist for the Gothic style.[5] Prominent among English Catholics, his antiquarian tastes found favour in the late eighteenth century. He anticipated A.W.N. Pugin regarding the latter's views of contemporary church architecture. In Ireland, in the 1830s, revived Gothic was not an innovation. Architects such as Thomas Cobden, Dominic Madden, Thomas Duff and Francis Johnston and the Board of First Fruits architects, such as John Semple, the Pain brothers and John Bowden, were active in the revival of an early Gothic style for the Church of Ireland. A vigorous building campaign had been administered and funded by the Board of First Fruits between 1778 and 1833. After the Union an Act of Parliament in 1808 consolidated the finances of the Board of First Fruits and allowed it to spend money on the repairing of old churches. It was replaced by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1833 with the reforms of the Church Temporalities

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Press, 1987) and David Watkin, *The English Vision: The Picturesque in Architecture, Landscape and Garden Design* (London: John Murray, 1982).

[5] Dr. John Milner became the Vicar Apostolic of the Midland district in 1803. He had a considerable lay following among the middle class Catholics of the English Midlands. He was educated at the English college at Douai. An enthusiastic ultramontane, he was opposed to the 'veto' giving the Crown the right to delete names of candidates for vacant sees and pressed for Papal Infallibility. His importance, as archaeologist and as builder of St. Peter's, Winchester, has been noted by Eastlake. On Milner see F.L. Cross, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p.901; Charles L. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1872; edn, Surrey: Leicester, University Press, 1970), pp.118-121, pp.345-346 and Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival, An Essay in the History of Taste* (London: Constable, 1928, repr. London: John Murray, 1995), pp.125-129.

Act which reduced the number of high offices and took over the job of overseeing church building and repair.

Stylistic prejudices at the start of the century indicated that Gothic was associated with the Church of Ireland and the Anglo-Irish establishment. The majority of Board of First Fruits churches, built between 1810-1833, were plain boxy-like halls with three-storey western towers and in more elaborate cases, a series of stepped buttresses decorating the sides and gable end. John Semple, in Leinster, and James and George Richard Pain, in Cork, were their most successful architects. Semple, in particular, was most innovative in the use of a masonry vault in the Black Church, Dublin. In its early manifestations Catholic Gothic, in its general stylistic features followed the precedent of the Established Church as identified in SS. Michael and John's, Dublin (1815) that echoed the lightness and slightness of Commissioners Gothic. The three Gothic Catholic cathedrals of the 1820s: SS. Patrick and Colman, Newry, Co. Down (1825-28) by Duff; St. Jarlath's, Tuam, Co. Galway (1827) by Madden, and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Carlow (1828) by Cobden, reveal a common interest in this late thin form of Gothic, particularly Perpendicular.[6] The style incorporated a classically symmetrical shape embellished with spiky ornament such as pinnacles and plaster decoration.[7] By 1829 Thomas Bell in his *Essay on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture* had

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[6] Thomas P. Kennedy, 'Church Building', in Patrick J. Corish, ed., *History of Irish Catholicism*, vol.5, no.8 (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1970), p.3. With the use of the lantern spire in Carlow Cathedral, Kennedy believes that Cobden was familiar with the Gothic work in Holland and Belgium.

[7] On the early Gothic Revival in Ireland see Douglas Scott Richardson, *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland* (London and New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1983), pp.217-224 and Jeanne Sheehy 'Irish church-building: popery, Puginism and the protestant ascendancy', in Chris Brooks and Andrew

identified Francis Johnston as the exemplar of this style.[8] Catholic churches in non-Gothic modes surfaced continually in every decade. Catholics and indeed Presbyterians shared a preference for classical temples in contrast to their Gothic establishment neighbours. The Pro-Cathedral in Dublin, begun in 1816, which was French Neo-Classical in style propounded the idea that Catholic churches ought to be classical in style to mark their connection with Paris and Rome and to differentiate them from the Church of Ireland.[9]

With the arrival of A.W.N. Pugin in the late 1830s and early 1840s the basic constituent principles of the Gothic Revival style were reassessed and outlined. Flawed though they were, A.W.N. Pugin's theories of rational, moral and true architecture inspired many aspiring patrons and architects. His publications surpassed the then extant notions of the revived Gothic movement by declaring that Gothic was to be the only architectural style on moral and practical grounds. He highlighted the significant differences architecturally and ideologically between the earlier revival of a Gothic style and an adherence to the principles of Puginian Gothic. He maintained that buildings should not contain any features that were not required for convenience, construction or propriety. His assertion of architectural principles was inseparable from his Roman Catholic religious beliefs. His statements coincided with an increased demand for Catholic churches and the

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Saint, eds, *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp.133-150 (pp.133-136).

[8] Thomas Bell, *An Essay on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture* (Dublin: William Frederick Wakeman, 1829).

[9] Other examples of this trend are seen in two Cork churches, St. Mary's Roman Catholic church, Pope's Quay (1832-38) by Kearns Deane which is Neo-Classical in style and St. Patrick's, Lower Glanmire Road (1836) by George Pain which is another Greek Classical temple.

prominent position of Catholics as patrons following the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. A.W.N. Pugin built up a network of architectural commissions in the north of England, from the end of the 1830s, and it is from this pool of contacts that the young E.W. Pugin emerged as an independent architect. The style of church building favoured by the elder Pugin during the late 1830s was Early English, a style of Gothic that flourished in England in the thirteenth century. At some point in his career, A.W.N. Pugin revived most of the English Gothic styles, beginning with the Perpendicular style and progressing to the Decorated and Early English.

In England the Oxford Movement and the Cambridge Camden Society set about reordering the Church of England.[10] The Cambridge Camden Society, later the Ecclesiological Society, was founded in 1839 to investigate and restore Church of England churches. Through their numerous publications, such as *A Few Words to Church Builders* (1841), their ideas were received into the public domain. Two of the founders, James Mason Neale (1818-1866) and Benjamin Webb (1819-1885),

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[10] For the Oxford Movement see Shane Leslie, *The Oxford Movement 1833-1933* (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd., 1933). On the Ecclesiological movement see James E. White, *The Cambridge Movement, The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival An Essay in the History of Taste* (London: Constable, 1928; repr. London: John Murray, 1995), especially chapter 8, 'Ecclesiology', pp.150-174 and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp.123-138. For a discussion of the wider European and American contexts see Georg Germann, *Gothic Revival in Europe and Britain: Sources, Influences and Ideas* (Camb. Mass: The MIT Press, 1973), pp.99-135, George L. Hersey, *High Victorian Gothic A Study in Associationism* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1972), especially chapter 3, 'The Ecclesiological Society', pp.61-92, Phoebe B. Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1856* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1968), pp.3-29, pp.60-90 and Peter Collins, *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture 1750-1850* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), pp.100-110.

were moved to reform church architecture and revive ritual arrangements.[11] They believed that no systematic treatise hitherto set forth how churches may best be built in accordance with 'Catholicity and antiquity and the voice of the Anglican Church'.[12] At this time theologians in Oxford began to revive the theological basis of the Church of England. Led by John Henry Newman (1801-1890), they published tracts called *Tracts for the Times* that stressed the elements of continuity in the Church of England, such as its Catholic past in the Middle Ages. The Tractarians, who stood for doctrinal reform in the Church of England, were irrevocably identified with popery, and never more so than with the conversion of Newman to Catholicism in 1845. The principles of these two groups, the Tractarians and the Ecclesiologists, encompassed at least two approaches to liturgy. In 1842 the first volume of *The Ecclesiologist*, a journal published by the Ecclesiological Society, proclaimed that it was not a sign of weakness to copy perfection, which was deemed to be Decorated or Middle Pointed. Twenty years later the aspiration to perfection encompassed a far greater range of styles. The Ecclesiologists followed a similar course with the revival of the architectural forms of medieval parish churches, promoted so tirelessly by A.W.N. Pugin. They believed in the cyclical nature of Gothic art with Middle Pointed considered to be the morally and artistically superior as opposed to the primitive Early English or debased Perpendicular Gothic. The Ecclesiological Society created the standard Anglican church form, which was the Church of

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[11] On Neale see A.G. Lough, *The Influence of John Mason Neale* (London: Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, 1962). On Webb see J. Mordaunt Crook, 'Benjamin Webb (1819-1885) and Victorian Ecclesiology', in R.N. Swanson, ed., *The Church Retrospective, Studies in Church History* (36 vols, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1996-2000), vol.33, 1997, pp.423-457.

[12] *A Few Words to Church Builders* (Cambridge: Cambridge Camden Society, 1841), p.3. In listing publications where information on correct church building was to be gained A.W.N. Pugin's *True*

England's answer to A.W.N. Pugin's Catholic notions of church building. The architectural doctrines of the Ecclesiological Society, however, depended on the revival of full Roman Catholic ritual. A.W.N. Pugin's closest counterpart in the Anglican Church was Richard Cromwell Carpenter (1812-1855) and in the Church of Ireland it was Joseph Welland (1798-1860), architect to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.[13] Welland's mature work, of the 1850s, offers a Church of Ireland alternative to the Gothic churches of the A.W.N. Pugin school. Both Carpenter and Welland's churches realise the ecclesiological ideal, being constructed of 'real' materials, with a high-pitched roof and a well-developed chancel correctly arranged, with low seats, a screen, stalls, and a properly vested altar. In the Irish context Joseph Welland recognised the possibilities which deeply stepped buttresses, high gables and asymmetrical porches gave to church designs.

Ecclesiological thinking and aspirations reached Ireland through A.W.N. Pugin and his most fervent pupil J.J. McCarthy (1817-1882). It also spread through the Oxford Architectural Society throughout the British Isles through the influence of the clergy who went out from the two universities. Ecclesiology had considerable influence in Ireland. *The Ecclesiologist* frequently discussed Irish matters and was

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Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture was recommended. See *A Few Words to Church Builders*, 1841, p.3.

[13] For Welland see AJBI, IAA, Joseph Welland file W40, W42; M.J. McDermott, 'A Mirror of the Time: the Gothic Revival churches of the Church of Ireland by Bowden and Welland', *Irish Architect*, no.77, March/April 1990, pp.50-51 and Simon Walker, *Historic Ulster Churches* (Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies, 2000), p.186 and Rowan, Alistair, *The Buildings of Ireland, The counties of Londonderry, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Tyrone, The Buildings of Ireland* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979), pp.63-65 for a brief biographical entries.

obviously read in Ireland as several ecclesiological societies appeared.[14] McCarthy established A.W.N. Pugin's true principles as the norm through the Irish Ecclesiological Society, which he was instrumental in setting up in 1849.[15] The society's object was to form a medium whereby Catholics may co-operate in the study and investigation of Catholic antiquities and show the connection between them and the Roman Catholic religion. The society published one pamphlet in 1851 on ecclesiological matter entitled *Suggestions on the Arrangement and Characteristics of Parish Churches*. The Church of Ireland founded St. Patrick's Society for the Study of Ecclesiology in October 1850.[16] The aim of that society was to build Protestant churches employing the principles of the Church of England and not those of the Roman Catholic Church. In the Church of Ireland, this connection led to the employment of architects favoured by the Church of Ireland and British Ecclesiological Societies.[17] The practices of the Church of Ireland were liturgically and ritually lower that those of the Church of England and the pulpit was generally central in the geometrical as well as moral sense. There was a strong and

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[14] The Down, Connor and Dromore Church Architectural Society was established in Belfast in 1842. It retired from connection with the Ecclesiological Society in February 1843. It became very much an antiquarian society as seen from its publications.

[15] This was a Roman Catholic body and membership included senior clergy with the Very Rev. David Moriarty as the Vice President. He became Bishop of Kerry in 1854. For the Irish Ecclesiological Society see Richardson, 1983, p.484 and Jeanne Sheehy, *J.J. McCarthy and the Gothic Revival in Ireland* ([Belfast]: UAHS, 1977), pp.9-13.

[16] On the Church of Ireland Ecclesiological Society see Horatio Townsend, *Thoughts on Church Architecture in two papers read before the Saint Patrick's Society for the Study of Ecclesiology*, (Dublin: James McGlashan, 1854).

[17] For example, William Butterfield's employment at St. Columba's College Chapel, Rathfarnham, Dublin (1877-1880) and William Slater's employment at Kilmore Cathedral (1857). Slater was pupil and successor to R.C. Carpenter who along with Butterfield was one of the Society's favourite architects. George Edmund Street built St. John's church, Ardamine, Wexford (1860) and restored Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin during the 1870s.

growing evangelical tendency within the Church. Since the seventeenth century it was essentially a protestant church with an influx of Calvinist clergy. There was tension between the supporters of the Oxford Movement, who stressed the Catholic side of Anglicanism rather than the Established Church, and the Evangelists who represented the more puritan and stronger elements of the Irish Church. The Church of Ireland attempted to resist ecclesiological tendencies, associating them with the Roman Catholic Church. In spite of this resistance, however, Church of Ireland churches became increasingly ecclesiological with developed chancels, south porches, baptisteries, honest construction and open timber roofs. This was most evident in William Burges's St. Fin Barre's Cathedral, Cork (1865-1878), where in terms of site, style and materials it attempted to counteract the effects of the Church Temporalities Act.

The introduction of continentalism

The overwhelming insistence of Puginian Gothic stimulated the Catholic hierarchy to define its position with regard to church architecture. Rome took an interest in the affairs of Irish church building, as the voice of Irish Catholics grew stronger. The arrival in Dublin of two future cardinals, Dr. Paul Cullen and Dr. John Henry Newman, furthered changes in liturgical practices that had been initiated in English churches during the 1830s and 1840s. In 1849, Rome sent Cullen as the Archbishop of Armagh and Apostolic Delegate. Cullen had spent many years in Rome running the Irish College and was a convinced ultramontane.[18] In 1852, he succeeded

[18] By the end of the nineteenth century these terms, ultramontanism, gallicanism and cisalpinism had also required a devotional and liturgical meaning, with the lavish ceremonials of Rome and the plaster

Archbishop Daniel Murray, who had been co-adjutor archbishop of Dublin since 1809 and bishop since 1823. Murray was a pre-emancipation bishop with certain deference to British power but had maintained a somewhat guarded and cautious attitude to Roman triumphalism.[19] Cullen, on the other hand, was a product of the new counter reformation; he was a maximalist in doctrine and an authoritarian in the church.[20] He soon set about re ordering the Irish church. With his arrival in Dublin and A.W.N. Pugin's death, in 1852, the knell was tolled for Puginian Gothic in Ireland, at least, for the near future. Although architects were becoming interested in all things continental, the Gothic style was still preferred, but the Puginesque additive plan and deep sanctuaries were rejected. John Henry Newman established himself in Dublin in 1854 having accepted an invitation by Cullen to take the position as first rector of the newly founded Catholic University. Together these two future cardinals outlined the aims of the Irish Catholic Church with a view to a modern Roman Catholic architecture.

In England, in the early nineteenth century, the theoretical principles of ecclesiastical architecture, with which the Anglicans were so greatly concerned, remained largely peripheral to the interests of the Roman Catholic Church.[21]

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cast saints being described as 'ultramontane' to distinguish them from the plainer procedures and iconography common in Ireland and other parts of northern Europe. See K. Theodore Hoppen, *Ireland since 1800 conflict and conformity* (London and New York: Longman, 1989; repr. 1999), p.69.

[19] Oliver MacDonagh, 'The Politicization of Irish Catholic Bishops, 1800-1850', *The Historical Journal*, vol.18 no.1, 1975, pp.37-53 (p.51).

[20] On Cullen see Peadar MacSuibhne, *Paul Cullen and his Contemporaries; with their letters from 1820-1902*, 5 vols (Naas: Leinster Leader, 1961-1977).

[21] Little, 1966, especially chapter 5, 'The Puginites', pp.79-92 and chapter 7, 'Mid-Victoriana', pp.127-143.

Various factors are responsible for the individual character of English Roman Catholic church building: 'old' Catholics who were deeply suspicious of changes, the Oxford converts keen to introduce Roman architecture as a mark of their new faith, and the impact of A.W.N. Pugin's leadership of the Gothic Revival. Catholic church architecture had since the time of A.W.N. Pugin pursued a course parallel to that of the Anglican church though taking care not to converge, although by the end of the century the two courses run closer.[22] Leading architects, such as George Goldie and J.A. and Charles Hansom, were more influenced by continental Gothic than their Church of England contemporaries.[23] *The Ecclesiologist* divided religious architecture of English Roman Catholics into two types, the Puginesque and the Oratorian.[24] On the one hand the revivalists attempted a return to Christian purity of the medieval world. Led in architecture by A.W.N. Pugin, their principles were distinguished first by an ideal of a historically accurate re-creation of a past architecture based upon the study of national Christian styles, more particularly the Gothic. This traditional ecclesiological alternative, which looked back to the pre-Reformation church, was much more popular. Against this group was aligned a Roman-inspired Catholic hierarchy that aspired to an alliance with the modern Catholic Church and its Roman and Classical traditions. Newman's growing

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[22] For a brief discussion of Roman Catholic church architecture in England at this time see Peter Howell, *The Faber Guide to Victorian Churches* (London: Faber and Faber, 1989), p.47. For a more comprehensive survey see Edward Norman, *Roman Catholicism in England from the Elizabethan Settlement to the Second Vatican Council* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp.57-106.

[23] On the Hansoms see the Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/1/12.

[24] On the Oratorians see Cross, ed., 1958, pp.985-986. J.H. Newman introduced them into England, founding the Oratory at Old Oscott in 1847 and that in London two years later, which moved to Birmingham in 1854.

concern that there could be no simple return to the authority of the medieval church posed a problem for the whole notion of the revival of medieval styles.[25]

Puginian Gothic was deemed to offer little for the contemporary church. The influence of the ecclesiological debates in the intellectual circles of Cambridge and Oxford stimulated Newman's concern with the questions of church form and arrangement. Newman was concerned that church architecture should facilitate the Roman liturgy that had evolved during the counter-reformation. Priority was given to practicality and economy over the historical precedence that had preoccupied previous decades. Instruments of ritual gained attention and this highlighted the potential for tension between the two factions within the Catholic Church. The liturgical layout of churches in the 1840s, particularly those of A.W.N. Pugin, included screens, compartments and medieval liturgy; it was choral, ritual and non-spectatorial. The Roman-inspired faction maintained such a screen was an unnecessary piece of antiquarianism and urged church builders to explore the philosophy of architecture that was more appropriate to the modern ritual. The opening of A.W.N. Pugin's St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, London in July 1848, marked the decline in the Puginian manner of church interiors. It was the first time that the *Quarant'Ore*, which needed the congregation's attention, was staged in a public church and was deemed a complete innovation in English liturgical life.[26]

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[25] On the revival of style see J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern* (London: John Murray, 1987).

[26] On the *Quarant'Ore* see 'Forty Hours Devotion', in *The New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, 18 vols (edn, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967-1989), vol.5, 1967, pp.1036 and Cross, ed., 1958, p.515. It was regarded as the essence of the devotion that it should be kept up in a succession of churches, terminating in one at about the same hour at which it commences in the next. The Blessed

The *Quarant'Ore* had profound implications for the layout of church interiors. This devotion was spectatorial in nature in which continuous prayer was made for forty hours before the displayed Blessed Sacrament. A solemn High Mass, the Mass of Exposition, was sung at the beginning and the Mass of Deposition at the end of the period of forty hours and both these Masses were accompanied by a procession of the Blessed Sacrament and by the chanting of the litanies of the saints. *The Rambler*, in 1848, brought into the public domain the conflict between the Roman Catholic Church and Puginian Gothic.[27] Following the Roman ritual evolved in Oratorian circles in the post-reformation Catholic church, *The Rambler* stressed the importance of liturgical and architectural continuity between the celebrant and the congregation and rejected the intrusion of any barriers between the two. *The Rambler* also promoted the classical Italian style, which had developed in conjunction with the patterns of the ritual itself. This philosophy could find no compromise with A.W.N. Pugin's medievalism.

These two groups, the Puginians and the Oratorians, developed ideals of essentially irreconcilable natures. They shared the aim of Catholic pre-eminence but were distanced by their understanding of what that should encompass. The argument broadened, in England and in Ireland, into a contest between the Gothic Revival and the needs of the contemporary clergy. For some the alternative that best supplied the needs of the church was the classical-inspired style. As such, in both

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Sacrament is always, except in patriarchal basilicas, to be exposed upon the high altar. Statues, pictures and relics in the immediate neighbourhood are to be removed or covered.

[27] *The Rambler* was a new Catholic journal founded by J.M. Capes, with the approval of Bishop Wiseman and J.H. Newman. For the *Rambler*'s rejection of A.W.N. Pugin see Seán O'Reilly, 'Contrasting visions of history: *The Rambler*'s rejection of Pugin', *Architectural History Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain,* vol.41, 1998, pp.179-191.

England and Ireland, architects returned to an interest in classical styles. Newman was led towards the adoption of a style originating in an Italian, classical tradition. His University Church, Stephen's Green, Dublin (1855-1856) represents Newman's personal conception of a Roman ecclesiology and the extent to which his architecture reflects the ideals of St. Charles Borromeo.[28] The church is developed from the Christian basilica and is round-arched in inspiration, with aisles eliminated for economy. The interior is contracted to the elementary conjunction of a flat-roofed rectangular nave and semicircular apse. Its suitability was validated by its practicality.

The Catholicism with which Cullen and the ultramontanes identified was not that of medieval England but contemporary Europe and Papal Rome. Their liturgy was visual rather than ritual and choral. The clergy were encouraged in their continentalism in London by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster Nicholas Wiseman and in Dublin by Cullen and Newman.[29] The Irish Synod of Thurles, held in 1850, marked the dividing line between penal and post-penal Ireland with Cullen presiding as the Papal Legate. It was the first national Catholic synod held since the Reformation and was contemporary with Cardinal Wiseman's Oscott Synod. Its aim was to effect better regulation and government of the clergy and the Irish Church and the proper administration of the sacraments. The clergy were exhorted to administer

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[28] The conception of the church was essentially Newman's. John Hungerford Pollen, another convert to Catholicism, supervised the construction under the supervision of Newman. For Pollen see Anne Pollen, *John Hungerford Pollen 1820-1902* (London: John Murray, 1912). On the University Church see Peter Costello, *Dublin Churches* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1989), pp.56-57, Eileen Kane, 'John Henry Newman's Catholic University Church in Dublin', *Studies*, Summer/Autumn, 1977, pp.1-20 and C.P. Curran, *Newman House and University Church* (Dublin: UCD, n.d.).

the sacraments more often and only in Church. Cullen's aim was the renaissance of the church on more Roman, more Tridentine and more canonical lines. In short, the church was being gradually absorbed into a wider international Catholicism in which uniformity, spectacle and obedience to the papacy counted for more that had previously been the case.[30]

Cullen, Newman, Wiseman and their followers wanted to remove the Anglican tendency as seen in the use of the medieval pointed styles, so promoted by Anglicans and the Ecclesiological Society. Contemporaries looked to the works of St. Charles Borromeo for inspiration in a brief and largely unsuccessful attempt at formalising architecture appropriate to the Catholic Church. In 1855 E. van Drival published the original Latin text of the saint's directions on church architecture and furniture with annotations in French. In 1857 George J. Wigley published an English translation, *S. Charles Borromeo's Instructions on Ecclesiastical Buildings*.[31] These publications were seen as a direct challenge to the Cambridge Camden Society's *A Few Words to Church Builders*. Wigley suggested that the all-important conclusion was the removal of the Anglican tendency from English Catholic architecture. The plan of the model modern church was an arrangement based on classical Christian prototypes, notably the basilica. The *Ecclesiologist* saw the marriage of the Gothic of A.W.N. Pugin to the Oratory as negative and simple

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[29] Eastlake noted that Wiseman's personal tastes were at variance with medievalism and how 'during the latter part of his life he made no secret about the fact'. See Eastlake, 1872; edn, 1970, p.347.

[30] Hoppen, 1989; repr. 1999, pp.69-70 and Donal A. Kerr, *Peel, Priests and Politics. Sir Robert Peel's Administration and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1841-1846* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp.1-67.

eclecticism. This would have profound implications for the work of Pugin and Ashlin.

Gothic was too well established and was seen as a national style. The standard of archaeologically correct buildings was seen as a backward looking phase by England and Ireland's generation of architects of the 1850s. Believing that architects could not be confined forever to the Decorated style, Street, Butterfield and Scott, hoped that it would be possible to advance while avoiding the mistakes that had led the medieval builders to Perpendicular and ultimate debasement. G.E. Street (1824-1881) came into the Gothic movement after the 1830s.[32] Despite inheriting Scott's Pugin-inspired 'awakening', there was a growing sense of boredom in the 1850s with the Puginian stage of the Gothic Revival.[33] Gothic was still, in the 1850s, so very much considered a national style that deviations towards foreign styles by English architects were a challenge. Street believed that architects must not merely copy and in order to strengthen the English style but must graft in new elements.[34]

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[31] George J. Wigley, *S. Charles Borromeo's Instructions on Ecclesiastical Buildings* (London: C. Dolmen, 1857). Wigley tried to bring his chosen style of Gothic to Ireland with his proposal for SS. Peter and Paul's, Carey's Lane, Cork. For the Cork commission see chapter 3.

[32] John Summerson, *Victorian Architecture: Four Studies in Evaluation* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1970), pp. 47-76. On Street see H.-R. Hitchcock, 'G.E. Street in the 1850s', *Architectural History Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain,* vol.19, 1960, pp.145-171. See also Basil F.L. Clarke and John Piper, 'Street's Yorkshire Churches and Contemporary Criticism', in John Summerson, ed., *Concerning Architecture, Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner* (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1968), pp.209-225.

[33] Summerson, 1970, p.56.

[34] Clarke and Piper, 1968, p.209.

A new vigorous style of architecture, assertive and confident with raw materials taken from foreign sources, was needed and introduced. During the 1850s English church architects looked to Italian work through the eyes of John Ruskin, while G.E. Street published his *Brick and Marble Architecture of the Middle Ages in Italy: Notes of a Tour in the North of Italy* (1855). Continental interests, and in particular early French interests, were seen in the architectural publications of the day. In 1854 the first volume of E.E. Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire* was published. In 1855 the Lille Cathedral competition was begun.[35] The swing away from fourteenth-century Decorated is demonstrated in Webb's *Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology; or Church Notes in Belgium, Germany, and Italy* that was published as early as 1848. By the 1850s, the early French style, which proclaimed an ideal of muscularity and was eclectic in its sources began to supersede previous styles.[36] This style came to the fore in the 1850s. Characteristics of this High Victorian style included an emphasis on simplicity and grandeur of form; the enrichment of architecture by both sculpture and permanent decoration, or constructional polychromy; and the conviction that the new style was progressive by the creative eclecticism in its choice of sources, principally Italian and early French Gothic.[37] William Butterfield's All Saints, Margaret Street, London (1849-1859) became the

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[35] The competition for the erection of a cathedral in Lille was won by the English partnership of Clutton and Burges. Their design drew attention to the merits of French Gothic.

[36] On the influences of Early French Gothic see J. Mordaunt Crook, 'Early French Gothic', in Sarah Macready and F.H. Thompson, eds, *Influences in Victorian Art and Architecture*, occasional papers, Society of Antiquaries London, vol.7 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), pp.49-58. In the 1880s it would be replaced by a picturesque mode that upheld 'refinement' as an ideal and preferred exclusively English models.

[37] On the characteristics of High Victorian architecture, see H.-R. Hitchcock, 'High Victorian Gothic', *Victorian Studies*, vol.1, 1957, pp.47-71, Stefan Muthesius, *The High Victorian Movement in*

ideal church. It moved from Anglo-Italian to early French influences, which was witnessed in the borrowing of features from continental Gothic and the frequent use of the horizontal line. Foreign styles and use of materials, which the Ecclesiologists had at first been unable to accept, influenced the architects of the 1850s. This highly creative phase of the Gothic Revival, which concentrated on mass, on the wall plane and on an originality of composition, has become known as the vigorous style. The various influences were assimilated and with each architect they fused together into a personal style. Plain chamfered arches, square abaci, and plate-traceried windows were much sought after alternatives to the mouldings and tracery that the earlier revivalists had copied. Instead of variety of silhouette and irregularity of plan, architects strove for horizontality, breadth of outline and simplicity of mass.

The office of E.W. Pugin pre-1859

The body of churches that E.W. Pugin built in the 1850s formed the immediate background to the partnership and subsequently to Ashlin's own architectural style. It was from the *milieu* of styles and theories of the Ecclesiologists and the High Victorians that the younger Pugin emerged. His early churches were in the rather staid Early English manner that A.W.N. Pugin and his followers had employed at the start of their own careers. Designed with marked English and ecclesiological influences, they comprised separate roof for chancel and nave and have a tendency towards the use of English tracery. They were Decorated in style but Puginesque in plan, ritual and furnishing. One of the more striking and influential of A.W.N.

Architecture 1850-1870 (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972) and Hersey, 1972, pp.93-153.

Pugin's northern churches was St. Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham (1839-1841) **(2.1)**.[38] It was a transitional building for A.W.N. Pugin, representing the end of one stage of his development and the beginning of another. This red brick cathedral, with its fourteenth-century styled German towers and spires, was undoubtedly influential for both E.W. Pugin and indeed the young G.C. Ashlin, both of whom were becoming increasingly aware of continental, and in particular, Belgian architecture. The interior breadth and openness of St. Chad's was more in keeping with the counter reformation spirit, which laid emphasis on the ability of the congregation to see the altar and the ceremonies taking place around it. E.W. Pugin would develop a plan that would put this scheme into a Decorated Gothic form. E.W. Pugin's early style is still evident in St. Vincent de Paul's, Liverpool (1856-1857) where he employed the early English Geometrical style in the four-light cross gable windows with four-point arch above **(2.2)**.[39] The nave and chancel, internally and externally, are housed under separate roofs with a definite chancel arch defining the two spaces architecturally and liturgically. Although built in the early Decorated style, the *Builder* described St. Vincent de Paul's as being built 'in the Anglican style'.[40] This association of the Decorated style of Gothic with the Church of England harked back to the Ecclesiological Society's promotion of Puginian Gothic for Anglican churches. St. Vincent de Paul's exploited the highly individualistic

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[38] On St. Chad's see Howell and Sutton, 1989, p.11-12; Stanton, *Pugin* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), pp.59-60 and Wedgwood, 1977, fig.165. Birmingham was the centre for Catholic affairs with its historical associations with Dr. John Milner, whose books A.W.N. Pugin admired.

[39] The foundation stone was laid on the 6 April 1856 and the church was opened on the 26 August 1875. On St. Vincent de Paul's see 'Church Building News', *The Builder,* vol.14 no.689, 19 April 1856, p.217; *The Builder*, vol.15 no.756, 1 Aug. 1857, p.425; *The Buildings of England, South Lancashire* (London: 1963; repr. London: Penguin Books, 1993), p.41 and Howell and Sutton, 1989, p. 71.

[40] *The Builder*, vol.15 no.756, 1 Aug. 1857, p.425.

'confessional aisle', where confessionals were enclosed within a side aisle wall. Such manipulation of internal space was very influential for the later churches built by the partnership in Ireland.[41] Other English details included the square-ended chancel at Our Lady of Sorrows, Peckham (1859)[42] and Our Lady Help of Christians, Kentish Town (1858-1859) which was built in the Early English Gothic style.[43]

As early as 1848 British architects were concerned with and interested in the continental and in particular the Belgian, approach to correct and true church buildings. In Benjamin Webb's *Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology* (1848) he believed 'that Belgium was backward, but still really under the influence of the revival of Ecclesiology'.[44] Throughout Europe a central argument for the revival of the Gothic style was its claim to being a national style and this phenomenon was witnessed in Belgium, France and Germany. Belgium grew in popularity for English architects throughout the nineteenth century; the English colony aided such development.[45] Belgium had some remarkable examples of progressive Gothic

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[41] See chapter 3.

[42] The foundation stone for Our Lady of Sorrows (also known as Our Lady of Seven Dolours) was laid in 1864 and the church was opened in 1866. Dr. Nicholas Manning preached the opening sermon. See Alexander Rottmann, *London Catholic Churches: A Historical and Artistic Record* (London: Sands & Co., 1926), pp.274-277 and Denis Evinson, *Catholic Churches of London* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp.214-215.

[43] The church is aisleless and without a clerestory. See Rottmann, 1926, pp.230-232.

[44] Benjamin Webb, *Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology or Church Notes in Belgium, Germany, and Italy* (London: Joseph Masters, 1848), p.32.

[45] On the English colony and antiquarians and architects who were active in Belgium in the nineteenth century, see chapter 1.

Revival architecture, with both quality and quantity equally evident.[46] Here architects could inspect at first hand some of the country's, and indeed Europe's, strongest medieval and nineteenth-century church architecture and interior fittings. Belgian Pointed architecture differed from English and Irish medieval architecture in many respects. Belgian Gothic was characterised by a greater complexity of plan, frequency of apses and apse chapels, greater comparative height, the commonness of stone vaulting and the secondary importance of detail.[47] Benjamin Webb felt that there appeared to be an excessive fancifulness of outline and an arbitrary distribution of ornament and decoration. Belgian pointed differed from French in exhibiting very little statuary and a lack of the great portals found in the latter. The Belgian architects used brick with great success, often with as little stone as possible for dressings. Rigid and excessive verticality was an object of ambition to the Belgian architect. A taste of the more interesting buildings and theories of the day may be appreciated in examples by Jean-Baptiste Bethune and Thomas Harper King in Belgium.

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[46] On the Belgian Gothic Revival see Chris Brooks, *The Gothic Revival* (London: Phaidon, 1999) especially chapter 10, 'Gothic Beyond Britain', pp.276-281, and chapter 12, 'A New Age: Europe and America 1850-1900', pp.341-372; Jean van Cleven, 'Neogotiek en neogotismen: De neogotiek als component van de 19e eeuwse stijl in België', in Jan de Maeyer, ed., *De Sint Lucasscholen en de neogotiek*, Kadoc-Studies 5 (Leuven: Universitaire Pers, 1988), pp.16-55; Jean van Cleven, *Neogotiek in België* (Ghent: Uitgeverij Lannoo, 1994) and Germann, 1973.

[47] On Belgian Gothic architecture see A.J.L. van de Walle, *Gothic Art in Belgium Architecture, Monumental Art*, translated by J.A. Kennedy (Brussels: Marc Vokaer, 1971) and Webb, 1848, pp.30-32.

Jean-Baptiste Bethune (1821-1894) was fervently Catholic and devoted to A.W.N. Pugin.[48] Bethune visited England in 1842-1843 during which he met A.W.N. Pugin; he returned in 1850. The Pugin family was connected for many years with Belgium.[49] With A.W.N. Pugin's death in 1852, Bethune was left with responsibilities of continuing the discipleship. He became an excellent translator of A.W.N. Pugin's opinions. In 1854 he established a stained glass workshop with the advice and assistance of John Hardman (1812-1867), becoming known, in the words of convert W.H.J. Weale (1832-1917), as the 'Pugin of Belgium'.[50] Bethune was acquainted with Sir John Sutton (1820-1873), a former fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, patron of A.W.N. Pugin and living as a Catholic convert in Bruges.[51]

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[48] On Bethune see Jean van Cleven, 1994, pp.167-211; Jean van Cleven, 'Bethune, Jean-Baptiste-Charles-François', in Turner, ed., 1996, vol.3, pp.884-885; Jules Helbig, *Le Baron Bethune Fondatuer des Ecoles Saint-Luc Etude Biographique* (Lille-Bruges: Société Saint-Augustin Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie, 1906) and Brooks, 1999, pp.280-281, 367-372.

[49] A.W.N. Pugin had connections with British families living in Bruges, such as the Petres. Pugin had designed the Petre chantry chapel in St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, London in 1850 for the Hon. Edward Petre (1794-1848). By 1856 his widow, who was Lord Stafford's daughter, became a nun in Namur (Sister Mary of St. Francis) and endowed the Roman Catholic church in Selby, England. She founded the Convent of Notre Dame, Battersea Road, London in 1870.

[50] Weale, who became a Catholic in 1849, moved to Bruges in 1855 and lived there until 1878. On Weale see Lori van Biervliet, 'Weale, W(illiam) H(enry) J(ames)', in Turner, ed., 1996, vol.33, pp.7-8. He wrote *Weale's Handbooks for Tourists Belgium, Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne. An entirely new guide book for travellers, with numerous historical and archaeological notes* (London: W. Dawson & Sons, 1859).

[51] On the Pugin Sutton connections see Stanton, 1971, pp.138-143. A.W.N. Pugin carried out works at West Tofts, Norfolk between 1846 and 1852 for the Sutton family of Lynford Hall. Augustus Sutton, rector of St. Mary's, commissioned A.W.N. Pugin in 1849 to rebuild the chancel of St. Mary's, West Tofts (1845-1846). Sir John Sutton, a brother, collaborated with A.W.N. Pugin on the design of organs and organ cases which was published in 1847. They had met in the early friendly phase of A.W.N. Pugin's contact with the Cambridge Camden Society. A younger Sutton brother, Frederick Heathcote Sutton, Rector of Brant Boughton, Linolnshire, was a close friend of G.F. Bodley. A.W.N. Pugin added the chantry chapel in 1849. E.W. Pugin took over the West Tofts commission in 1854.

By 1856 E.W. Pugin had made the acquaintance of the influential Bethune who was a cousin of the Bishop of Bruges, Jean-Baptiste Malou (1809-1864).[52] Bethune continued in the Puginian manner following his working relationship with the Pugin family. His Vive-Kapelle complex (1860-1867), 'the model Gothic Revival site of Belgium', which included a church, parsonage, cloister and schools, transposed A.W.N. Pugin's house and adjacent church of St. Augustine's, Ramsgate (1843-1851) into the Gothic brick tradition of Bruges. This monastic-like arrangement around a church, with English broach spire, was in the manner of English-inspired Puginian developments within the Belgian Gothic Revival. Perhaps Bethune's most important contribution to the Belgian Gothic Revival was the foundation of the St. Luke Schools in Ghent in 1862.[53] These were Catholic craft workshops with an identifiable debt to aesthetic principles of A.W.N. Pugin, whose slogan was 'rational, national and Christian'.[54]

A.W.N. Pugin's works and theories were introduced into a wider continental audience with Thomas Harper King's (1822-1892) publication of a translation into French of *The True Principles*.[55] Published in Bruges in 1850, *Les Vrais Principes de l'architecture ogivale ou chrétiennne*, was ostensibly a translation of both A.W.N. Pugin's *True Principles* and *Contrasts*.[56] King, a convert to Catholicism

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[52] E.W. Pugin Diary, 29 Mar. 1856 and Helbig, 1906, p.27.

[53] On the St. Luke schools see Jean van Cleven, 'Belgian Architecture, 1830-c.1850', in Turner, ed., 1996, vol.3, p.548 and de Maeyer, 1988.

[54] A.W.N. Pugin further influenced Bethune in the construction of the abbey of Maredsous (1872-1890) which was inspired by A.W.N. Pugin's monumental Irish buildings in the use of natural stone masonry and the group of lancet windows.

[55] On King see Jean van Cleven, 'King, Thomas Harper', in Turner, ed., 1996, pp.66-67.

[56] Thomas Harper King, *Les Vrais Principes de l'architecture ogivale ou chrétiennne, avec des remarques sur leur renaissance au temps actuel. Remanié et développé après le texte Anglais de*

who had moved to Bruges in 1849, was an architect who had published several books on medieval architecture and Gothic Revival metal work.[57] *Les Vrais Principes* was illustrated with examples of contemporary Belgian work including Neo-Classical work. He posited unambiguously in the introduction that Gothic was the only rational style in which to build churches. In the name of this rationality the emphasis lay with functionalism and the logics of construction that had to result in a natural way. A.W.N. Pugin's work was made accessible to the continent with Viollet-le-Duc owning a copy.[58] The French editions of A.W.N. Pugin's previous books had consisted of plates alone, but with this publication readers were introduced to Pugin's text with plates. King was significant in the two-way development of influences in Belgian Gothic Revival: he made significant contributions to the development of an English-inspired Gothic Revival on the continent, and through his publications, he made medieval continental architecture better known in England, where it became a major source of influence. As an appendix to J.J. McCarthy's *Suggestions on the Arrangement and Characteristics of Parish Churches* (1851), he refers to the practice of the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines in Belgium where architects were forbidden to enlarge ancient churches in any style that was not 'comfortable' with the original. Since 1839, when a new church was to be erected, or a picture or statue placed in an old one, the design for

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A.W. Pugin, par T.H. King et traduit en francais, par P. Lebrocquy (Bruges: 1850). The front cover proudly titles the author as 'architect, Bruges'.

[57] King's other publications include, *The Cabinet Maker's sketch book* (London: 1847); *Orfèvrerie et ouvrages en métal du moyen-âge*, 2 vols. (Bruges: 1852) and *The Study-book of medieval architecture and art; being a series of working drawings of the principal monuments of the middle ages, whereof the plans, sections, and details are drawn to uniform scales*, 2 vols (London: Bell & Daldy, 1858, 1859).

[58] Robin Middleton, 'Viollet-le-Duc's influence in nineteenth-century England', *Art History*, vol.4 no.2, 1981, pp.203-219 (p.204).

such a church, picture or statue, had to be approved by the bishop of the diocese.[59] McCarthy also praised the translation into French of A.W.N. Pugin's *True Principles* by T.H. King and Philip's revival of the manufacture of church plate, vestments and ecclesiastical ornaments in Liège.[60]

From 1850 onwards in Belgium a series of Catholic organisations developed in opposition to the secularising and liberal initiatives of the government. Ultramontanes wanted to secure an ecclesiastical presence in every sector. The St. Luke schools, in this context, were conceived as a substitute to the academies. By 1850 the traditionalist ultramontane circles in Belgium saw in A.W.N. Pugin's strongly archaeological and historically interpreted Gothic Revival the appropriate means of expression of their Catholic revival. Largely through the activities of the ultramontane Malou, Bruges became an important centre of the Gothic Revival movement. Bruges also became a centre for the production of A.W.N. Pugin designs in church furnishing.[61] Malou was an old friend of Cardinal Wiseman, both having studied in Rome, and a great admirer of A.W.N. Pugin.[62] This ultramontane Catholic elite sought to use the Gothic Revival style to his own ends, with the

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[59] J.J. McCarthy, *Suggestions on the Arrangement and Characteristics of Parish Churches* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1851), pp.45-46.

[60] Name and address of J.J. McCarthy was at the back of A.W.N. Pugin's 1851 Diary. John Philip worked for A.W.N. Pugin. Liège was the centre for iron works in Belgium at this time with Cockerill settling there.

[61] Peter F. Anson, *Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940* (London: Studio Vista, 1965), p.46.

[62] Malou was invited to the inauguration of Southwark Cathedral where he met A.W.N. Pugin in 1848.

Church returning to the augmentation of authority.[63] The Belgian Gothic Revival became the Catholic movement that A.W.N. Pugin had tried to make it in England in the 1840s. Although, by the time of A.W.N. Pugin's death Gothic was the church style, he had failed to make the English Gothic Revival primarily a Catholic movement.

E.W. Pugin's partnership with Irish architect James Murray (1831-1863) was of importance at this time.[64] The dates for the partnership vary from 1856 to 1860.[65] *Pace* Alexandra Wedgwood, this partnership was not unimportant.[66] The Pugin and Murray partnership was significant as it was involved in continental commissions. Pugin and Murray's first major commission was for the church in Dadizele, Belgium that launched the younger Pugin into the arena of continental Gothic Revival church

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[63] Pope Pius IX strongly condemned liberalism and distanced himself from the Liberal Catholics. In 1854, he called for the dogma of the Immaculate Conception and after his power was questioned in 1870 he called for the dogma of papal infallibility.

[64] James Murray came from Armagh. He wrote a book entitled *Modern Architecture, ecclesiastical, civil and domestic. Illustrated by views and plans of gothic and classic buildings, erected since 1850* (Coventry: 1862). For the Pugin and Murray partnership see the Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/2/14, Wedgwood, 1977, pp.117-118 and IAAIIA, MUR053. Wedgwood maintains that E.W. Pugin and Murray 'were probably attracted to each other, both being young architects, precocious, ambitious and Roman Catholic.' See Wedgwood, 1977, p.117. It was not possible to make a connection between this James Murray and the Murray family of architects and builders from Armagh who were related to Francis Johnston. For the Murrays and Johnston connection see Bernadette Goslin, 'A History and Descriptive Catalogue of the Murray collection of architectural drawings in the Royal Institute of Architects of Ireland', 2 vols (M.A.: UCD, 1990).

[65] Wedgwood dates it to c.1857-c.1860. See Wedgwood, 1977, p.117. Professor Welsh believes it to have occurred between 1856-c.1859. See Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/2/14. Roderick O'Donnell gives the dates 1857-1860 in O'Donnell, 1994, p.261. The IAAIIA, MUR053 gives the dates 1856-1858/1859.

[66] Wedgwood, 1977, p.113. Wedgwood includes in this statement the partnership with G.C. Ashlin and that E.W. Pugin 'should be considered principally as an independent architect.' See Wedgwood, 1977, p.113.

architecture **(2.3)**. By 1859, Pugin and Murray were involved in Irish commissions; they designed the Convent of Our Lady, Bantry, Co. Cork and submitted entries, albeit unsuccessful entries, for the new church at Carey's Lane, Cork.[67] Murray, it appears, was not entrusted with the Irish commissions but concentrated instead on the partnership's commissions in the English Midlands. It was very fortuitous that the Pugin and Murray partnership ended at the end of the 1850s, in order for the Pugin and Ashlin partnership to begin. It was the perfect opportunity for a local Cork man and aspiring young architect, such as Ashlin, with the appropriate social and ecclesiastical connections to make a move. It was during these commissions that Ashlin, as E.W. Pugin's apprentice, took an active part in E.W. Pugin's commissions.

Bishop Malou asked E.W. Pugin to prepare drawings for the new church at Dadizele, outside Bruges, and his episcopal residence at St. Michel, near Bruges.[68] E.W. Pugin was impressed and thought Bishop Malou 'one of the most episcopal looking men [he] ever saw'.[69] E.W. Pugin indicated to Malou on the 9 March 1857 that the plans, which were redone three times, were completed and that he intended sending them with Sir John Sutton. E.W. Pugin continued stating that he would enclose some sketches by a friend, in which (although he could not recommend the

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[67] RIBA Draw., London, V2/92/2, 'Bantry Our Lady's convent'. See Wedgwood, 1977, p.117. The contemporary press records the laying of the foundation stone but does not mention the name of the architect. See 'Architecture in the provinces', *The Dublin Builder*, vol.1 no.4, 1 April 1859, p.164. The convent chapel was built in 1878 to the design of local architect Samuel F. Hynes, Cork. See *The Irish Builder*, vol.19 no.424, 15 Aug. 1877, p.236. On the commission for SS. Peter and Paul's, Carey's Lane, Cork see chapter 3.

[68] St. Michel's is now demolished.

[69] E.W. Pugin Diary, 31 Mar. 1856.

elevation) there were merits to the plan.[70] A drawing exists, which shows a domed structure, and is believed to be this proposal for the Dadizele church. Jean van Cleven believes this drawing to have been executed by George Coppinger Ashlin, and that he was the friend in question.[71] Although there was a history of domed Gothic designs in Europe, E.W. Pugin did not favour the design of this church drawing. He stated to Malou on the 13 May 1858 that he had proposed Ashlin to superintend the setting out of the work.[72] In June of the same year, drawings of the church were being forwarded by Ashlin to Belgium.[73] It was at this time that E.W. Pugin expressed his fears for the difficulty of erecting a crypt given the proximity of the river. Despite these fears, Bishop Malou laid the foundation stone of the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Our Lady, Dadizele in 1857.[74] The design was partly inspired by the Lille Cathedral competition entries that E.W. Pugin had seen in 1856. It was the first major commission of E.W. Pugin and his then partner James Murray.[75] As apprentice to E.W. Pugin, it appears that Ashlin's job was to carry out and manage,

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[70] This letter is in the Bishop's Palace Bruges, Belgium, BAB F 65. I am indebted to Dr. Jean van Cleven for this information.

[71] The drawing is uncatalogued in the Bishop's Palace Bruges, Belgium. I am indebted to Dr. Jean van Cleven for this information.

[72] This letter is in the Bishop's Palace Bruges, Belgium, BAB F 65. I am indebted to Dr. Jean van Cleven for this information.

[73] This letter is in the Bishop's Palace Bruges, Belgium, BAB F 65. I am indebted to Dr. Jean van Cleven for this information.

[74] The foundation stone was laid on the 8 September 1857, with construction taking place between 1859-1892. 'Miscellanea – Cathedral of Dadizeele', *The Builder,* vol.15 no.764, 26 Sept. 1857, p.556; 'Notre Dame de Dadizeele, in the diocese of Bruges', *The Builder,* vol.15 no.769, 31 Oct. 1857, pp.626-627 with illustration. The church was estimated to cost £70,000. See *A handbook for travellers on the Continent: being a guide to Holland, Belgium, Prussia, Northern Germany, and the Rhine from Holland to Switzerland* (London: John Murray, 1870), p.116. The church was demolished during World War II and was subsequently rebuilt.

[75] On the Dadizele commission see RIBA Draw., V2/82/1, V2/80/2, Wedgwood, 1977, pp.117-118 and Brooks, 1999, pp.366-368.

where possible, the Belgian commissions. The execution of the church at Dadizele, however, was handed over to Bethune for the construction of the church, which took place between 1859-1892.

During the negotiations for Dadizele, E.W. Pugin was commissioned to build a house for Charles van Caloen, a member of an aristocratic family that originated at Calonne-sur-l'Escaut, near Tournai.[76] The Château de Loppem (Lophem), Courtrai (Kortrijk), Belgium (1857-1862) was not a fortunate commission. Sir John Sutton, a friend of van Caloen, continued in the role as intermediary with E.W. Pugin. Until 1859 the correspondence is a catalogue of excuses for delays. E.W. Pugin designed a very English-looking house that was to be erected principally by English craftsmen.[77] There was no precedent in Belgium for a château in the English Gothic Revival style. The style of architecture of the design as well as the draughtsmanship was similar to A.W.N. Pugin's Scarisbrick Hall. The picturesque variety of the gables, roof ridges, and square and octagonal tower reinforces the Puginian doctrine that the elevations should express the plan. Plans were changed and the building was made more consciously Flemish with the layout of the tall and narrow tower that is echoed in the blind panels and arches that link the buildings through all storeys on both main façades.[78]

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[76] For the Loppem Château commission see Clive Aslet, 'The Château de Loppem, Belgium – The property of the Fondation van Caloen', *Country Life*, vol.175, 12 Jan. 1984, pp.67-71, vol.175, 19 Jan. 1984, pp.147-151, van Cleven, 1994, pp.200-203 and Brooks, 1999, p.367. Charles van Caloen died in 1896. It was at Tournai that A.W.N. Pugin was involved in a commission for the Benedictines.

[77] The bricks were made on site with an English brick maker, John Evans, in charge. They also used specially imported Welsh slates.

[78] In order to make the building more Flemish, E.W. Pugin looked to the designs in the recently published pattern books of Georg Gottlob Ungewitter (1820-1864). A.W.N. Pugin may have looked

Despite E.W. Pugin's difficulties the Loppem commission was important for Ashlin. Similarly in the Loppem commission Ashlin acted as an intermediary between E.W. Pugin, who was based in England, and the Belgian patrons. E.W. Pugin notified van Caloen on the 11 June 1858 of his difficulty in getting someone to go abroad but that Ashlin would make the journey and would bring the plans for the foundation.[79] On the 18 October 1858 E.W. Pugin added further, in an attempt to gain more time, that 'Almost the entire office has been engaged for the last fortnight on the plans for [the] house…they are now all but finished'.[80] E.W. Pugin bargained furthermore and suggested that given the circumstances (that the drawings were almost completed) he should postpone his journey to Belgium in order to complete the drawings and bring them in person. To assure van Caloen, he stated that 'Mr. Ashlin is engaged on your furniture'.[81] It was for the Chateau Loppem commission that Ashlin executed the furniture drawings following E.W. Pugin's designs.[82] By the following January, E.W. Pugin felt that van Caloen wished him 'to prepare the furniture for nothing.'[83] He grumbled that 'in Belgium they do not know

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at the two-volume, *Entwürfe zu Stadt- und Landhäusern* (Leipzig: 1858-1864). On Ungewitter see Michael J. Lewis, 'Ungewitter, Georg Gottlob', in Turner, ed., 1996, vol.31, pp.580-581, Karen David-Sirocko, 'Anglo-German interconnexions during the Gothic Revival: a case study from the work of Georg Gottlob Ungewitter (1820-1864)', *Architectural History Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain*, vol.41, 1998, pp.153-178 and Brooks, 1999, pp.359-360.

[79] This letter is in the Loppem Castle archives. I am indebted to Dr. Jean van Cleven for this information.

[80] Aslet, 1984, p.69.

[81] 'Mr. Ashlin is engaged on your furniture but I fear that I shall not be able to bring any of it with me this time, but will do so if the designs now made are worked out satisfactorily in time.' See Aslet, 1984, p.150.

[82] Aslet, 1984, pp.150-151. These drawings are housed in Château Loppem, Belgium.

[83] Lophem Château corres., E.W. Pugin to John Sutton, 13 Jan. 1859.

how to treat an architect & I am sure they do not know how to pay one.'[84] In January 1859 the new set of plans were no better received by van Caloen. Bethune was of the opinion 'that Pugin was shuffling, that he does not care one farthing, whether the plans are good or bad, and that he will try to get the money and we may after that whistle for the rest.'[85] It was at this stage, in 1859, that Bethune took over the building of the castle from E.W. Pugin's 1857 designs. Relations with Bethune appear to have been pleasant at the end of January 1859 with E.W. Pugin passing on his mother's 'kind regards' and requesting Bethune to stay with them during his stay in England.[86] There seems to have been a healthy interest in each other's work with E.W. Pugin, in March 1859, boasting of (and perhaps even exaggerating) his achievements in Cork with the commission of SS. Peter and Paul's. 'I have carried the day at Cork, against 17 other architects, including my 2 late partners, and the 2 I have beaten in Liverpool'.[87] He continued in this vein announcing his return from a long tour where in England, Ireland and Scotland he obtained 'some large works'.[88] A formal rupture appears to have occurred, however, between E.W. Pugin and Bethune in 1860. As Ashlin was perhaps an architectural intermediary, so Sutton was a social mediator. It was a role that did not sit lightly on Sutton. He was uncomfortable involving himself in the matter concerning the plans for the château and was worried about the 'bad business' between van Caloen and E.W. Pugin. He was afraid that Pugin's head was 'light', that he was 'half mad' and that he had behaved 'very ill'.[89] By the end of January 1859 E.W. Pugin wrote to Sutton

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[84] Lophem Château corres., E.W. Pugin to John Sutton, 13 Jan. 1859.

[85] Bethune to Stuart Knill, no date, quoted in Aslet, 1984, p.69.

[86] Lophem Château corres., E.W. Pugin to Bethune, 27 Jan. 1859.

[87] Lophem Château corres., E.W. Pugin to Bethune 24 Mar. 1859.

[88] Lophem Château corres., E.W. Pugin to Bethune, 28 June 1859.

[89] Lophem Château corres., John [surname undocumented] to George A. Mass Mann, 14 Jan. 1859.

indicating that the 'trouble [was] all over' and assured Sutton that he had done his best.[90] For E.W. Pugin, who was in his early twenties, it should have been a very important commission. Yet with so many of his father's buildings to complete, an expanding English practice of his own and the beginnings of an Irish practice, he did not have the time. When building at Loppem did begin he was either in England or in Ireland and was too far from Bruges to keep adequately informed of progress.

The office of E.W. Pugin post-1859

The changes in E.W. Pugin's architecture and office have their origins in Belgium and the continental Gothic Revival. E.W. Pugin's English office, at the end of the 1850s, benefitted from continental influences and had reached a point where it was changing albeit maturing. With the departure of Edmund Kirby (1838-1920) and James Murray, E.W. Pugin was free to take Ashlin as a partner. E.W. Pugin joined the vanguard of the artistic movement of the 1850s in the move towards a greater boldness and aggressiveness of forms. In 1859, the pilgrimage church in Dadizele was underway, the large château for van Caloens at Loppem was started with Bethune's collaboration, and E.W. Pugin was completing his father's English commissions. He created churches that explored completely fresh architectural ideas while staying within the conservative framework of the Gothic Revival. His church plans, from this date, usually included a polygonal apse, low aisles and dominating roof, with a tower and spire providing a strong vertical emphasis. The design for the interior of Crosshalls Street church, Liverpool (1858) and the Church of Our Lady de la Salette, Liverpool (1858-1859) carry motifs that are repeated in the Irish context.

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[90] Lophem Château corres., E.W. Pugin to Sir John Sutton, 24 Jan. 1859.

They also mark E.W. Pugin's move into the realm of so-named High Victorian architects.[91] The interior layout with the reconciliation of the Gothic Revival style with an essentially counter reformation church plan of an apsed basilica would dominate Irish church building in the 1860s.[92] The simple external contours, economical in both formal and financial terms, together with the unified interior anticipated many of the developments in the firm's work in Ireland in the 1860s. It is of great significance that George Coppinger Ashlin, who was in the office at this time where there were commissions throughout the country and connections with English and European clergy was made a partner.

One of E.W. Pugin's most calculated moves was to conquer Ireland. What had Ireland to offer in terms of competition for the continental inspirations and aspirations of Pugin and Ashlin? Masters of the 1850s Irish architectural scene were Thomas Newenham Deane (1828-1899) and Benjamin Woodward (1816-1861).[93] Deane and Woodward's works capture well the breadth and stylistic pluralism of the extensive architectural *tableau* to be found in Ireland. Indeed Deane and Woodward's design for the Cork Town Hall (1851) was based on Belgian designs.[94] The Museum Building, Trinity College Dublin (1854-1856) was erected under the

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[91] Howell and Sutton, 1989, p.68.

[92] See chapter 3.

[93] For Benjamin Woodward see Frederick O'Dwyer and Jeremy Williams, 'Benjamin Woodward', in Tom Kennedy eds, *Victorian Dublin* (Dublin: Albertine Kennedy Publishing, 1980), pp.38-63. For Deane and Woodward see Eve Blau, *Ruskinian Gothic the Architecture of Deane and Woodward 1845-1861* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982) and Frederick O'Dwyer, *The Architecture of Deane and Woodward* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1997).

[94] O'Dwyer and Williams, 1980, p.47. The Cork Town Hall competition was based on Belgian town halls. The design is an amalgam of the Cloth Hall, Ypres and the Hôtels de Ville at Brussels, Louvain and Limbourg. The Cork designs were the prototype of for the Oxford Museum (1854).

influence of John Ruskin's writings, with the integration of Italian and round-arched sources, its polychromatic and varied materials and the individual craftsmanship.[95] This style defined the concerns of architects until the end of the century with Deane erecting St. Ann's, Dawson Street, Dublin in 1868 in a similar style. In terms of Puginian influence J.J. McCarthy inherited most of his practice.[96] In 1852, A.W.N. Pugin offered McCarthy the supervision of his Irish work but the proposed partnership came to nothing owing to Pugin's death in the same year. Through McCarthy's church architecture, the aims and ideals of A.W.N. Pugin remained evident long after his death. McCarthy, who belonged to the older Gothic school of the 1840s, was inspired at first hand by the writings and work of A.W.N. Pugin. He was also a leading figure in the Irish Ecclesiological movement. Although he became known as 'the Irish Pugin', he was not a rigid follower. His architecture displayed an abundance of decoration that was nearer to continental than English examples. Gothic, while being preferred, was not the only style he used.[97] This would influence the later churches of the partnership in their experimentation with other architectural styles.

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[95] For the Museum Building see Patrick Wyse Jackson, 'A Victorian Landmark Trinity College's Museum Building', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, vol.11, 1995, pp.149-154.

[96] On McCarthy see Sheehy, 1977; Jeanne Sheehy, 'J(ames) J(oseph) McCarthy', in Turner, ed., 1996, vol.19, pp.869-870; Richardson, 1983, pp.488-493; Jeanne Sheehy, 'Irish church-building: popery, Puginism and the protestant ascendancy', in Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint, eds, *The Victorian Church Architecture and Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp.133-150 (p.141).

[97] McCarthy's round-arched churches include examples at Ballitore, Co. Kildare, Lixnaw, Co. Kerry, the Passionist monastery, Harold's Cross, Dublin and Thurles Cathedral, Co. Tipperary. See Sheehy, 1977.

The initial commissions E.W. Pugin received in Ireland were the erection of interior fittings in buildings his father had already designed. E.W. Pugin carried on his father's tasks in Ireland, the convents at Birr and Waterford and the Irish cathedrals. Among the earliest was the designing of the reredos and altar for Killarney Cathedral in 1854.[98] On a return visit to Ireland, in 1856, his main objective was to canvas for commissions. He succeeded in getting the west wing of the Convent of Our Lady of Mercy, Birr, Co. Offaly.[99] He proceeded to Adare where he 'at once commenced spreading [his] nets to catch fish which although slowly, came at last'.[100] A.W.N. Pugin had designed Adare Manor for the second Earl of Dunraven in 1846-1847. Lord Dunraven (1812-1871), a noted antiquary and convert to Catholicism, subsequently gave E.W. Pugin the commission to design the dining room screen. On his return to Dublin from Adare, E.W. Pugin met J.J. McCarthy and 'went with him to see several of his works which were very fair.'[101] His father had dominated the south east of Ireland with a brand of church design that had never been rivalled. Indeed E.W. Pugin was not needed to carry on his father's mantle; J.J. McCarthy was executing such work. English commissions were at the forefront of his mind at this time. His interest in promoting himself and his work was such that of the Ushaw College commission he stated 'Thank God this will give me much more standing in England'.[102] The first Irish building that E.W. Pugin

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[98] Stanton, 1971, p.117. In 1856 he designed a fireplace for the Presentation Convent in Waterford. See Wedgwood, 1977, p.116 and Stanton, 1971, p.202.

[99] E.W. Pugin Diary, 8 Jan. 1856 and Stanton, 1971, pp.163, 206 fig.142 that shows the A.W.N. Pugin portion. The west wing of the convent (1846-1847) was added in 1858 from designs of E.W. Pugin. This completed the quadrangle of the building as proposed by A.W.N. Pugin.

[99] E.W. Pugin Diary, 12 Jan. 1856.

[100] E.W. Pugin Diary, 11 Jan. 1856.

[101] E.W. Pugin Diary, 12 Jan. 1856.

[102] E.W. Pugin Diary, 14 Mar. 1856.

designed was a private chapel for Anthony John Cliffe, a convert to Catholicism.[103] The chapel, which was attached to the main house at Bellevue, Co. Wexford, was begun in 1856 following the Cliffe family's conversion. The chapel employed the thirteenth-century Gothic style with a small nave that was not much larger that the chancel and with the customary south side porch.[104] The materials are in the expected Puginian manner: random rubble with granite details and dressings. The completion of some of his late father's commissions in his father's style did not provide the success and 'standing' that E.W. Pugin craved. His new apprentice, G.C. Ashlin, was related to and socially connected with the Wexford gentry, such as the Powers and the Talbots.[105] E.W. knew that to make an impact on the Irish architectural scene he would have to obtain lucrative commissions. While the first churches are strikingly dependent on A.W.N. Pugin, later ones show developing originality and anticipate his mature work. Within a few years he had surpassed the ideals of his father by leaving behind the early phase of the Gothic Revival.

The Pugin and Ashlin partnership

With the early Irish work of E.W. Pugin gradually mounting, the next step was to set up an office in Dublin from which to manage the Irish commissions and to make

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[103] *The Building News*, 30 Sept. 1859, p.889. The Cliffe family were connected through marriage with the Powers of nearby Edermine and thus to the Talbots. For the Cliffe family see Art Kavanagh and Rory Murphy, *The Wexford Gentry*, vol.1 (Wexford: Irish Family Names, 1994), pp.70-75 where the chapel is erroneously attributed to J.J. McCarthy and given the date c. 1859. This church was attributed to J.J. McCarthy in the County Wexford *An Foras Forbatha* report (c.1970), p.45 and by Stanton, 1971, p.209

[104] The tall wing on the north side appears to be a later addition.

[105] For the extended Coppinger family tree see Walter Arthur Copinger, *History of the Copingers or Coppingers of the County of Cork, Ireland, and the Counties of Suffolk and Kent, England*

Ashlin a partner. Among the earliest references to 'Messrs Pugin and Ashlin' in Ireland is one in the *The Dublin Builder's* report of an English journal's (*The Builder*) notice of drawings for the Church of SS. Augustine and John's, Thomas Street on display.[106] The partnership formed in the wake of two commissions, SS. Peter and Paul's, Carey's Lane, Cork (1859-1866) and SS. Augustine and John's, Thomas Street, Dublin (1860-1895).[107] Pugin and Ashlin enjoyed a very extensive practice in Ireland from 1859 until 1868. In 1861 Ashlin set up an office at No. 90 St. Stephen's Green South where he remained until 1879.[108] The professional relationship between G.C. Ashlin and E.W. Pugin was symbiotic, one having the experience, the other being available to supervise the work.[109] The partnership extended only to the Irish side of the business while E.W. Pugin continued to build under his own name in England. His distinctive style and extensive practice were new to Irish patrons. The firm's approach, although determined by the dictates of their Catholic patrons, leaned towards the use of severe unornamented geometric masses of French Gothic derivation.

At the end of 1868 the fruitful partnership that was confined to works in Ireland was dissolved. Ashlin had come as a pupil, he stayed to become a friend, apprentice, partner, and in 1867, a brother-in-law. The dissolution of the partnership took place in August 1868, while the firm were at the height of their negotiations

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(Manchester: H. Sotheran & Co., 1884), 'Pedigree of the Coppingers of Ballyvolane and Barryscourt, Co. Cork. No.2'. For an abridged version see illus. 1.1.

[106] 'The New Augustinian Church, John Street', *The Dublin Builder*, vol.2 no.18, 1 June 1860, p.266. *The Builder's* report appeared as 'The architectural drawings at the Royal Academy', *The Builder*, vol.28 no.903, 16 May 1860, pp.327-328.

[107] For these commissions see chapter 3.

[108] AJBI, IAA, Ashlin file, A46.

concerning St. Colman's Cathedral, Cobh, Co. Cork. Ashlin wrote to his brother Stephen, who was then a curate in Cobh, of his decision. Stephen Ashlin visited E.W. Pugin in Ramsgate, and thought him an extraordinary man, but he could 'well understand how it was [with] absolute – necessity that drove George to a dissolution of the partnership.'[110] It is likely that by 1868 E.W. Pugin, never an easy person with whom to work, had become impossible as a partner. E.W. Pugin was described as having 'all the advantages of an impulsive temperament, an uncontrollable temper, a passion for rows and litigation and a complete lack of prudence.'[111] Ashlin may have engineered the dissolution so that the firm, and his career, would not continually suffer the consequences of E.W. Pugin's imprudent actions. Such actions included E.W. Pugin's public criticism of Benjamin Ferry's *Recollections of A.W.N. Pugin and his father Augustus Pugin* in 1861. He was involved in publishing accounts of his father's involvement in the Parliament Buildings with Sir Charles Barry. E.W. Pugin's searing contest with the Barry family summed up in his pamphlet *Who was the art architect of the House of Parliament?* (1867) found him in dispute not only with the Rev. E.M. Barry but even with his father's friends. In 1875, he published a new edition of one of his father's last books, *Church and State or Christian Liberty An Earnest Address on the Establishment of the Hierarchy by A. Welby Pugin* (London: 1875) in which his father's involvement in the commission is

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[109] Richardson, 1983, p.495.

[110] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, Stephen Coppinger Ashlin to Bishop William Keane, 29 Aug. 1868.

[111] Girouard, Mark, *The Victorian Country House* (edn, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), p.347.

again clearly stated.[112] Between 1862-1863, E.W. Pugin was in partnership with J.A. Hansom, the break up of which led to disputes between them in the press.[113] The money that rolled in from fees rolled out again in lawsuits and speculation. In 1872 his disastrous investment in the Granville Hotel, Ramsgate, Kent (1869-1870), which he built and owned, forced him into liquidation with liabilities of nearly £200,000.[114] Although he had no active participation in the erection of Cobh Cathedral since 1868, E.W. Pugin requested Bishop Keane of Cork to pay his commission on the cathedral directly to him as opposed to sending it through Ashlin. By arrangement, E.W. Pugin agreed to give Ashlin one-third while keeping the remainder.[115] Ashlin, it appears, was glad to pay E.W. Pugin whatever the fees on the project might be, in order to proceed with his independent career. This remained the case until his death in 1875. In September 1869, E.W. Pugin announced that his representative in Ireland was Collingridge Barnett.[116] As such, Barnett supervised the erection of E.W. Pugin's final Irish commission St. Brigid's, Crosshaven, Co. Cork.

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[112] See A.W.N. Pugin, *Church and State or Christian Liberty An Earnest Address on the Establishment of the Hierarchy by A. Welby Pugin* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1875), with introduction by E.W. Pugin.

[113] Pugin and Hansom first collaborated over Bishop Gillis's, Leith church where E.W. Pugin handed over his father's drawings. The result is in the style of A.W.N. Pugin not J.A. Hansom. The churches from this partnership include St. Wilfrid's, Ripon (1860-1862) which was more to Hansom's design but the altar is by E.W. Pugin. E.W. Pugin's pupils later formed the backbone of Catholic church architecture in the north west of England with Edmund Kirby in England and Peter Paul Pugin as E.W. Pugin's most important pupil.

[114] Girouard, edn, 1979, p.347. The building is partly destroyed.

[115] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, E.W. Pugin to Keane, 10 Feb. 1872. Keane writes on the letter: 'Answered. Better to make no change. +W.K.' This was reiterated in the McCarthy Papers, Cloyne Archives, Ashlin to McCarthy, 19 Mar. 1883.

[116] 'New R.C. Church, Crosshaven, Co. Cork', *The Irish Builder*, vol.11 no.233, 1 Sept. 1869, p.205. For this commission see chapter 4.

Chapter 3 - Cobh Cathedral and the urban churches

Introduction

The firm's architectural interests may be broadly divided into two distinct styles each distinguished by their sources of inspiration: the early French and the early English. The conflicting nature of the two styles, however, of verticality as opposed to horizontality, registered a continuing opposition within the work of the partnership. The French work of the firm is employed in the churches built in urban areas, while the firm's English work is seen in their rural and smaller commissions. The partnership was among the first firms to introduce into Irish church architecture the complexities of French space and motifs. These so-named urban churches include: SS. Peter and Paul's, Carey's Lane, Cork (1859-1869), SS. Augustine and John's, Thomas Street, Dublin (1860-1895), the Church of the Sacred Heart, Donnybrook, Dublin (1863-1866) St. Patrick's, Monkstown, Co. Dublin (1861-1866) St. Joseph's, Glasthule, Dublin (1867-1869), Holy Cross, Tralee, Co. Kerry (1866-1869), St. Patrick's, Monkstown, Co. Cork (1867-1870) and St. Kevin's, Harrington Street (1868-1872).[1] These churches adhered to a certain style that was prevalent in England during the latter years of the 1850s, which exhibited the French

[1] The most comprehensive source of information for those erected in Dublin is the collection of Welsh Papers in the British Architectural Library, RIBA, London. Gathered by Professor Stephen Welsh, in the 1960s, this collection of papers comprises information regarding the names and dates of the churches, convents and schools built by the partnership. The information was elicited through questionnaires sent to parish priests and local historians. The results of this survey are verified in the entries in *The Dublin Builder* and *The Irish Builder*. In Ireland, documentation was brought together in 1916 in the Dublin Diocesan Visitation papers, Bishop's Palace, Drumcondra, Dublin. These records give the relevant information pertaining to the partnership and the Dublin commissions. Questionnaires were sent to the parish priests requesting information concerning the name of the architect, the date of dedication and the consecration of the particular church in question.

Gothic influences that were noted in the press of the day. *The Irish Builder*'s description of the style of St. Patrick's Monkstown, Dublin was that it was '… in the French Pointed style…'[2] or with regard to the Church of the Sacred Heart, Donnybrook that it was 'early French',[3] while the bell tower of SS. Augustine and John's, Thomas Street terminated 'in a French double-pointed roof'.[4] In terms of site, style and materials, however, St. Colman's Cathedral, Cobh, Co. Cork (1868-1915) represented the firm's apotheosis of this urban church style.

The geographical layout of the firm's commissions tended towards the diocese of Dublin and the south west of the country where family and ecclesiastical connections were influential. The firm's most notable success outside the Cork and Cloyne dioceses was under the patronage of the Archbishop of Dublin Dr. Paul Cullen.[5] Pugin and Ashlin were most active in the emerging Dublin suburbs that included Monkstown, Glasthule and Donnybrook. The development of these areas is reflected in the commencement of several parish churches. The firm's urban churches include more than just Dublin as a geographical boundary with the style being used in commissions in Tralee, Co. Kerry and Monkstown, Co. Cork. Their closest rival, J.J. McCarthy (1817-1882), was active also in Leinster and throughout Co. Kerry. The sources for the firm's patronage were exclusively Roman Catholic,

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[2] 'R.C. Church of Saint Patrick, Monkstown, Dublin', *The Dublin Builder,* vol.7 no.143, 1 Dec. 1865, p.280. When Monkstown was nearly completed it was described as being completed in 'Early French' style. See 'Roman Catholic Church of St. Patrick, Monkstown, Dublin', vol.8 no.161, 1 Sept. 1866, p.212.

[3] 'New Church of the Sacred Heart, Donnybrook', *The Dublin Builder,* vol.8 no.160, 15 Aug. 1866, p.202.

[4] 'Church Building News', *The Dublin Builder,* vol.3 no.38, 15 July 1861, p.577.

[5] Peadar MacSuibhne, *Paul Cullen and his Contemporaries: with their letters from 1820-1902*, 5 vols (Naas: Leinster Leader, 1961-1977).

compared to the broader associations of E.W. Pugin's English and G. C. Ashlin's subsequent Irish careers.[6] The successful cultivation of a close relationship with the clergy is apparent from the predominance of ecclesiastical commissions and essential family connections. The majority of these churches were built as parish churches, while some were built for religious orders.

The strong Tridentine impetus for imposing European ideals of church organisation and performance in Britain, which was brought to Ireland by Bishop Cullen and Newman, ultimately led to a struggle between the traditional vernacular world and the new institutional Catholicism. The Church was anxious to eradicate such local practices as the pattern and 'stations'. The station was where the priest would designate the houses of various parishioners who were relatively well off as the place where he would hear confessions and say mass for all those in the immediate area. The pattern was essentially a visit or a pilgrimage to a holy well. The ritual often focused on a pattern day, usually the anniversary of the saint to whom the well is dedicated. The station and pattern were essentially local, communal, and contrary to the all-encompassing urban and Roman aspirations of Dr. Cullen.[7] The Church's efforts to displace the station met with great hostility;[8] it saw the pattern as pagan and barbaric. Following trends in Britain, bishops introduced new Roman devotions into their diocese that were more formal, more controlled and

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[6] In the 1880s Ashlin designed two memorial churches for the Church of Ireland, All Souls, Raheny, Co. Dublin and the Adelaide Memorial Church, Myshall, Co. Carlow.

[7] Kevin Whelan, 'The Catholic Church in County Tipperary 1700-1900', in William Nolan, ed., *Tipperary: History and Society. Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1985), pp.215-255 (p.244).

– in the ultramontane sense – more modern than those emanating from the already existing expressions of popular piety.[9] Dr. Patrick Leahy (1806-1875), bishop of Cashel from 1857, was an example; he wanted Roman chant, Roman ceremonies, Roman everything.[10] There was a unique symbolic association where the Church of Rome saw the classical style as the most appropriate form of expression for Catholic churches as employed in early nineteenth-century classically inspired churches in Dublin city.[11]

Thus a 'devotional revolution' took place in Ireland in the 1850s and 1860s where trends already taking place in the Catholic Church in England were

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[8] Letter from Rev. P.F. Moran, DD, Irish College Rome to Rev. Dr. Taylor, president of Carlow College, 19 Jan. 1853, where Taylor states that Dr. Keane 'seems to be altogether in favour of the *stations*', cited in MacSuibhne, vol.3, 1965, p.159.

[9] Emmet Larkin, 'The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75', *American Historical Review*, vol.77 no.3, June 1972, pp.625-652 (p.645). Such devotions included the rosary, forty hours, perpetual adoration, novenas, blessed altars, *Via Crucis*, benediction, vespers, devotion to the Sacred Heart and to the Immaculate Conception, jubilees, triduums, pilgrimages, shrines, processions and retreats.

[10] C. O'Dwyer, 'Archbishop Patrick Leahy' (M.A.: University of Maynooth, 1971), p.44 cited in Whelan, 1985, p.250. Bishop Leahy's interest was such, that he succeeded in getting the leading Gothic Revivalist, J.J. McCarthy, to design the new Cathedral in Thurles, Co. Tipperary based on Italian prototypes. For Thurles Cathedral (1865-1879) see Jeanne Sheehy, *J.J. McCarthy and the Gothic Revival* (Belfast: UAHS, [1977]), pp.25, 63. Pride of place in Bishop Leahy's church was a tabernacle that came from the Gesù in Rome and supposedly made by Giacomo della Porta. The foundation stone of the Cathedral was laid in October 1865 and it was consecrated in 1879 under the episcopacy of Dr. Thomas Croke (1824-1902), Archbishop since 1875, with the final stages being supervised by G.C. Ashlin. For the drawings, which date from 1878-1879, for the fitting for the interior by Ashlin, see Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.155/1-13. Dr. Croke employed Ashlin to build the church of the Sacred Heart, Templemore, Co. Tipperary (1877) in the Decorated Gothic style. See Appendix II.

[11] See for example such churches as St. Paul's, Arran Quay (1835-1842), St. Nicholas of Myra, Francis Street (1829-1835), St. Francis Xavier, Gardiner Street (1829-1832) and St. Andrew's,

absorbed.[12] Bishops and priests introduced sodalities, confraternities, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, Peter's Pence and other continental urban based bourgeois substitutes for the pattern and the station.[13] Of the new devotions, the *Quarant'Ore* (or the Forty Hours) became the most significant to the architectural layout of the church. In addition, the sacraments, baptisms, confessions and marriages, except the last rites, were to take place in the church, forcing the parish church to become a more important focal point for the community.[14] The role of the parish church changed as an attempt was made to bring the Irish Catholic Church into line with accepted European and continental practice in Europe.

Westland Row (1832-1834). See Roderick O'Donnell, 'Note of Baroque Splendour Neo-Classical Catholic Churches in Dublin', *Country Life*, vol.169, no.4368, 7 May 1981, pp.1288-1289.

[12] Larkin, 1972, p.639. Hoppen suggests that the 'devotional revolution', which Larkin postulated as occurring after the Famine, was a much longer process and had by 1850 already been adopted, not only by many churchmen, but by the middle and upper class sections of the laity. See K. Theodore Hoppen, *Ireland since 1800 conflict and conformity* (London and New York, Longman, 1989, repr. 1999), p.75.

[13] Kevin Whelan, 'The Catholic Church in County Tipperary 1700-1900', in William Nolan, ed, *Tipperary: History and Society. Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1985), pp.215-255 (p.243). St. Vincent Roman Catholic church, Cork was opened in 1857. St. Vincent de Paul, Liverpool, was built by E.W. Pugin between 1856-1857. The sodality of the Children of Mary was founded in the Ursuline Convent, Thurles, Co. Tipperary in 1854. Archbishop Croke established the St. Vincent de Paul society in 1875 and in 1876 he founded the Holy Family Confraternity (for men) and the Confraternity of the Sacred Heart (for women).

[14] Baptisms were not carried out in the church until after the Synod. Ignatius Murphy, 'Building a Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland', *The Other Clare*, vol.2, April 1978, pp.20-26 (p.22). Provision was now made to seat the entire congregation. These public exercises were also reinforced by the use of devotional tools and aids: beads, scapulars, medals, missals, prayer books, catechisms, holy pictures, and *Angus Dei*, all blessed by priests who had recently acquired that privilege from Rome through the intercession of their bishops.

The first urban commissions – Carey's Lane and John's Lane

It was into this devotional, and indeed Roman-inspired, environment that Pugin and Ashlin entered the Irish church-building world in 1859. They immediately exploited the continental interests and ultramontane aspects of Cullen's and other bishops' episcopacies. Their first two commissions and their earliest successes, were SS. Peter and Paul's (commonly known as Carey's Lane), Cork[15] and SS. Augustine and John's, Thomas Street (commonly known as John's Lane), Dublin.[16] In these commanding commissions, the central parish church in Cork city and largest Augustinian church in Dublin, the younger Pugin announced the firm's High Victorian presence **(3.1) (3.2)**. In 1859, the administrator of SS. Peter and Paul's the Venerable Archdeacon James Murphy (1796-1883), was delegated to obtain plans for a building to replace the old penal chapel.[17] A competition was held which was

[15] Watched by some 3,000 spectators and with Bishops Laurence Gillooly of Elphin, John McEvilly of Galway and Patrick Durcan of Achonry in attendance, the foundation stone was laid on 15 August 1859. The 29 June 1866 was the day of dedication. For SS. Peter and Paul's see T.F. McNamara, *Portrait of Cork* (Cork: Watermans, 1981), pp.123-126; Douglas Scott Richardson, *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland* (London and New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1983), pp.495-498 and Evelyn Bolster, *A History of the Diocese of Cork. The Episcopate of William Delany: 1847-1886*, 4 vols (Cork: Tower Books, 1993), vol.3, pp.230-233.

[16] On SS. Augustine and John's, Dublin see F.X. Martin transcript, 1962; Richardson, 1983, pp.495-8; Thomas C. Butler, *John's Lane. A History of the Augustinian Friars in Dublin 1280-1980* (Dublin: St. John's Priory, 1983). Ashlin was paid directly at the Augustinian church from May 1862. MSS copy of cash book, Augustinian Archives, Ballyboden, Dublin. The cash book is now lost. The accounts for John's Lane date from May 1862 to December 1890.

[17] Rev. John James Murphy (1796-1883) was a nephew of the Bishop of Cork, John Murphy (1815-47) and James Murphy the founder of the Midleton Distillery. The Murphy family founded both Murphy's Brewery and Cork Distilleries Ltd. He was sent to England, aged 9, to complete his education at Sedgeley Park, Wolverhampton, a Catholic school founded by Bishop Challoner to educate sons of well-to-do merchants. While there Bishop Milner taught him. When he was ordained a priest he worked in Liverpool. In 1847 Dr. Delany admitted him to the diocese of Cork and in 1848 he became administrator to SS. Peter and Paul's. For Rev. J.J. Murphy's early life and travels see Rev. P. Cahalane, 'The Catholic Parishes of Cork', *Journal of the Cork Historical and*

won by the partnership of Pugin and Murray, who were already seeking commissions in the Cork area.[18] By 1859, however, their short-lived partnership had ended. In order not to favour either architect, the church building committee rejected their original design and held another competition. E.W. Pugin and James Murray each submitted independent schemes along with such architects as M.E. Hadfield, W. Atkins, S.J. Nicholls,[19] G.J. Wigley,[20] J. Hurley and J.P. Jones.[21] The designs of John Hurley[22] of Cork, Hadfield and Goldie[23] of Sheffield, and William Atkins[24] of

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Archaeological Society, vol.48, 1943, pp.26-35 (p.28) and A.J. Reilly, *Father John Murphy; Famine Priest* (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds Ltd., 1963), particularly chapter 9 'Church Builder', pp.78-92. For the Murphy family see chapter 1.

[18] On the Bantry commission see chapter 2. See also Wedgwood, 1977, p.117 and RIBA Draw., London, V2/92/2.

[19] On Nicholl see Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/2/11, where his year of birth is given as 1826. Samuel Joseph Nicholl (1823-1905) was a Roman Catholic architect and pupil and relative of J.J. Scoles. He worked as a draughtsman for P.C. Hardwicke at St. John's Cathedral, Limerick (1855-63). Theodore Phyffers, who was brought to England by A.W.N. Pugin executed the rood beam, rood figures and baldacchino sculpture. Phyffers executed much sculpted work in London, in churches at Commercial Road, Farm Street, Notting Hill, Ogle Street, Soho Square and Chelsea St. Mary.

[20] George J. Wigley published an English translation of the architectural writings of St. Charles Borromeo, *S. Charles Borromeo's Instructions on Ecclesiastical Buildings* (London: 1857). Wigley, like E.W. Pugin, rejected A.W.N. Pugin's Gothic in order to suit the needs of the contemporary clergy. With the aid of this translation of Borromeo's text Wigley could promote the principles of Roman inspired architecture in Britain and Ireland.

[21] 'Competition for church, SS. Peter and Paul's, Cork', *The Dublin Builder,* vol.1 no.5, 1 May 1859, pp.59-60. Jones maintained that he was not placed because he was a Protestant and that the committee was prejudiced. 'The canvassing of the committee was beyond comprehension, as one of them said he was 'badgered' from morning till night by one of the competitors and his friends.' (p.60) The implication here is E.W. Pugin and his influential new partner, Ashlin and his friends and family.

[22] Hurley was a Protestant, but Protestant architects had designed many of the Catholic churches in Cork.

[23] On George Goldie (1828-1887) see Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/1/9/1; Alison Felstead, Jonathan Franklin and Leslie Pinfield eds, *Dictionary of British Architects 1834-1900* (London: Mansell Publishing Ltd., 1993), p.357 and the IAAIIA, GOL000. On Hadfield and Goldie see IAAIIA, GOL002.

Cork were placed first, second and third respectively; E.W. Pugin was not placed. The building committee set aside their award, however, and selected the design of E.W. Pugin although it had been hastily prepared and carelessly presented.[25] Jones, wrote to *The Dublin Builder*, and maintained that E.W. Pugin was sure of the commission 'from the first' thus implying that family connections had played a part.[26]

Carey's Lane was built to replace an earlier church that had important Coppinger family ties. Ashlin's family was connected socially with the administrator's family, while in 1863 Ashlin's brother John, married Maria (Minnie) Lyons daughter of Dr. Francis Lyons, MP and Lord Mayor, and one of the benefactors of the church.[27] The time was appropriate for Ashlin to succeed James Murray as partner: E.W. Pugin may have had the experience and family name in church-building circles in England, but it was Ashlin who had the knowledge of the local patrons and ecclesiastics in Cork Catholic circles. It was a politic move to look further than Cork city for the erection of the firm's second founding commission, John's Lane. The design for the church, which dates from 1860 when the scheme was exhibited at the Royal Academy in London, identified E.W. Pugin as the sole architect.[28] It was, nonetheless, one of the firm's earliest and most impressive

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[24] On William Atkins (1812-1887) see IAAIIA, ATK001. His father's sister was married to George Richard Pain to whom he was apprenticed. Samuel Francis Hynes was a pupil of Atkins.

[25] *The Builder,* 2 April 1859, p.241, *The Builder,* 9 April 1859, p.258 and 'Competition for church - SS. Peter and Paul, Cork', *The Dublin Builder*, vol.1 no.5, 1 May 1859, pp.59-60.

[26] 'Competition for church – SS. Peter and Paul, Cork', *The Dublin Builder*, vol.1 no.5, 1 May 1866, pp.59-60.

[27] Both Rev. J.J. Murphy and his brother John, along with Francis Lyons gave the two side altars as gifts to the church.

[28] 'The new Augustinian Church, John-street', *The Dublin Builder*, vol.2 no.18, 1 June 1860, p.266.

designs.[29] The commission probably came to E.W. Pugin through his connections in Wexford. The Power family, for whom E.W. Pugin had been employed, owned the distillery that adjoined the church. They were influential patrons and were responsible, as early as the 1830s, for encouraging the building of a church in Donnybrook.[30] The Prior of John's Lane, Fr. John Walsh, initiated the building programme in 1854. His successor Martin Crane (1818-1901), Prior from 1855-1863, started the actual building work.[31] There were again suggestions of family or business connections aiding Pugin and Ashlin in the successful receipt of this commission.[32] The reviewers of the exhibition were taken by surprise 'as they had authority for believing that the building in question would have been left open for competition by the profession'.[33]

SS. Peter and Paul's and John's Lane are heavily influenced by models E.W. Pugin had designed in Liverpool, most notably, the Church of the Reconciliation de la Salette, Eldon Street (1858-1860). This church belonged to a series of so-named 'industrial' churches designed for the large Roman Catholic congregations in the

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[29] 'Ecclesiastical Building News', *The Dublin Builder,* vol. 4 no.57, 1 May 1862, p.112.

[30] John Power (afterwards Sir John) of Roebuck House was part of the church building committee in 1836. A church was built in 1839 and by 1860 it was too small and ungainly. On the Power family and Donnybrook see N. Donnelly, *Short Histories of Dublin Parishes* (repr., Dublin: Carraig Books, [1914]), vol.1, p.41-60.

[31] See Augustinian Archives, Dublin, Box B3 for the deed to the presbytery where it is stated that the deed for the church land was dated 16 October 1858. The Cranes were a famous Wexford family whose family were closely connected with the Augustinian order for generations. There may have been connections with the Power family. The Talbot family (who was related to the Power family) was credited with bringing the Augustinians to Dublin in the thirteenth century.

[32] See O'Dwyer, 'A Victorian Partnership – The Architecture of Pugin & Ashlin', in John Graby, ed., *150 Years of Architecture in Ireland RIAI 1839-1989* (Dublin: RIAI, 1989), pp.55-62, (p.57).

[33] 'The new Augustinian Church, John-street', *The Dublin Builder,* vol.2 no.18, 1 June 1860, p.266.

industrial towns in Lancashire.[34] It incorporated the standard E.W. Pugin elevation with a large arch containing a rose window with arcading and porch beneath flanked by buttresses and surmounted by a bell-cote. The interior exhibited the successful reconciliation of the Gothic Revival with a counter reformation plan of a wide apsed basilica, where the nave and apsed chancel are united under a roof of a single pitch **(3.27)**. *The Tablet* in 1859 noted that E.W. Pugin's planning was revolutionary and avant garde in church building.[35] When translated to the Irish context, the early partnership churches are more dramatic and monumental in their expression than most contemporary church architecture at this time. The site at John's Lane was dramatic, with the ground sloping down towards the River Liffey, leaving the nave and the priory soaring above the adjacent buildings **(3.3) (3.4)**. The press, in 1862, considered the site inappropriate and felt that it could have 'contributed more to its beautification were the site more central.'[36] In contrast, the Unitarian church on Stephen's Green was more fortunately sited, 'being on the direct line of a most important thoroughfare, Stephens-green, west.'[37] Similarly, SS. Peter and Paul's was built on a cramped site but, with the proposed tall attenuated tower and spire, it could be seen from afar **(3.2)**.[38] Equally, at John's Lane the solid proportions to the

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[34] Roderick O'Donnell, 'The Later Pugins', in Clive Wainwright and Paul Atterbury, eds, *Pugin A Gothic Passion* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), pp.258-271 (p.264).

[35] The *Tablet* noted that E.W. Pugin's planning achieved 'a complete revolution in church-building'. *Tablet*, 1859, p.629, cited in O'Donnell, 1994, p.266.

[36] 'A Retrospective View', *The Dublin Builder,* vol.4 no.149, 1862, pp.1-2.

[37] This was the first work of Messrs. Lanyon, Lynn and Lanyon in Dublin.

[38] The tower was never built due to foundation difficulties. Correspondence in *The Dublin Builder* of 1866 announced traces of settlement in the base of the proposed tower. In a reply to the accusation, dated 19 January 1866, Ashlin 'states on his authority that there was never the slightest apprehension with regard to the security of the foundations of the tower.' See 'Correspondence', *The Dublin Builder,* vol.8 no.147, 1 Feb. 1866, p.31. The author of the article writes again 'Correspondence SS. Peter and Paul's Church', *The Dublin Builder,* vol.8 no.148, 15 Jan. 1866, p.54. On the question of

western tower, centrally placed and rising above a tall, gabled west window distinguishes it externally **(3.1) (3.2) (3.4)**.

The interiors of both SS. Peter and Paul's and SS. Augustine and John's are a *tour-de-force* of Gothic Revival, with the chancel and nave treated as one space, and with all attention focussed on the altar **(3.5) (3.35)**. The interiors reflect the almost universal change in church layout where the greatest possible amount of space for the solemnisation of ceremonies, and a provision for an uninterrupted view of the ceremonial by as large a body as possible, had taken the place of the more distinctly separated nave and chancel of the 1840s and early 1850s. The spacious nave with subordinate aisles, is unbroken by conventional transepts, and is terminated in a polygonal apse, while the separation of the sanctuary is unmarked, other than by the distinctive and diverse treatment of the nave and chancel ceilings **(3.6)**. Pugin and Ashlin experimented with space using architectural motifs that continually feature in their later churches. The manipulation and creation of bolder spaces included chapels around the chancel, confessionals set into the thickness of walls, clerestory openings that continued across transepts that hardly exist and the exploitation of a variety of roof types and spaces. These two churches, along with the early proposals for a church in Cobh, Co. Cork, stand apart as the strongest examples of E.W. Pugin's influence on the partnership. In many ways, these churches were extensions

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solidity of the church Dominic O'Connor, in communication with Professor Stephen Welsh, stated that he 'was doing repairs and odds and ends there SS. Peter and Paul's for nearly fifty years, and, on the whole, found it soundly built. Although the subsoil is liquid mud, foundation piers and walls went down about 18 feet or so to solid gravel – except under four minor piers, which sink a bit periodically, and under the baptistery which became unsafe and had to be taken down and rebuilt anew.' Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/24/2, Dominic M. O'Connor correspondence file, O'Connor to Welsh, 20 April 1962.

of his detailed High Victorian English work. The use of colour was also a determining influence from E.W. Pugin's English career. Carey's Lane, faced with rich red Glanmire sandstone and white limestone, and John's Lane, faced with Dalkey granite and red sandstone, gave a variety that signalled a new departure in Irish church architecture at this time.[39] They exhibited an elaborateness and a certain fussiness that was absent in their later urban commissions even when erected on a grand scale like St. Colman's, Cathedral, Cobh, Co. Cork.

Cobh Cathedral as the apotheosis of the urban style

Following their success at Carey's Lane and John's Lane, the firm erected a series of churches in urban centres, particularly in Dublin, with Cobh Cathedral as their greatest success. Cobh was not the firm's first proposal for a cathedral; in 1860, the partnership submitted a design for the new cathedral at Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.[40] These urban churches, many of which had influential patrons, consolidated the firm's reputation in Ireland. The building of St. Colman's was, nonetheless the apotheosis of this urban style. Indeed, Cobh Cathedral was the most ambitious building programme undertaken by the Catholic Church in the nineteenth century.[41] The background to the cathedral commission is important at this stage. It was stated in the Welsh Papers that 'Cove [sic] Cathedral is recognisably in Ashlin's voice as

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[39] Richardson, 1983, p.497. Richardson maintained that SS. Peter and Paul's colour combination had only been used in local warehouses.

[40] RIBA Draw., London, V2/84/1, V2/84/2, V2/85/1. Drawings V2/84/2 and V2/85/1 are reproduced in Wedgwood, 1977, p.119, figs.123, 124.

[41] Emmet Larkin, 'Economic Growth Capital Investment and the Roman Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century', *American Historical Review*, vol.72, 1967, pp.852-883 (p.864).

SS. Peter and Paul's in is Edward Pugin's.' **(3.7)**[42] The architectural commission that was Cobh Cathedral took over fifty years to complete and encompassed the reign of three bishops: Bishops William Keane (1854-1874), John McCarthy (1874-1893) and Robert Browne (1893-1935).

The story of Cobh Cathedral begins with Bishop of Cloyne and Ross, Dr. David Walsh (1847-1849) upon whose death, in 1849, Cloyne and Ross again became separate sees. Dr. Timothy Murphy (1849-1856) became the first bishop of the newly recreated diocese of Cloyne, a diocese, however, that did not have a cathedral. Murphy set about organising the building of a new church, but he died before any building action was taken.[43] In 1857, Dr. Keane, then Bishop of Ross, was translated to Cloyne. It presented to Bishop Keane the opportunity of building a Cathedral and a parish church at the same time. At that time Cobh, renamed Queenstown, was one of the few towns in Ireland with increased populations during the famine years and was the most prosperous and rapidly expanding town in the diocese. Cloyne itself was the one of the richest and most populous dioceses in Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century.[44] Cobh had become the episcopal residence of Ashlin's mother's cousin, Dr. Coppinger, Bishop of Cloyne and Ross, at the end of the eighteenth century **(1.1)**. Dr. Coppinger had fled Youghal in the 1790s and thereafter lived in Cobh. The site chosen was that of the small parish church, where

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[42] Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/24/2, Dominic M. O'Connor correspondence file, O'Connor to Professor Welsh, 20 April 1962.

[43] J. Wilson, *St. Colman's Cathedral Cobh* (n.p.), p.17. Bishop Murphy was the founder of the Diocesan Seminary, St. Colman's College, Fermoy, Co. Cork.

[44] Donal A. Kerr, *Peel, Priests and Politics. Sir Robert Peel's Administration and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1841-1846* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p.3. The most populous dioceses were Tuam, Cloyne, Ross, Dublin, Meath and Killaloe, each with over 300,000 Catholics.

Cloyne bishops since 1769 – with the exception of Dr. Murphy – had resided and had become known, unofficially, as the Pro-Cathedral of the diocese.

From the beginning, controversy followed the cathedral's erection and nowhere was this expressed more pointedly than in the selection of an architect. As early as January 1857 George Goldie, while writing to Bishop Keane and claiming 'slight acquaintance' with him, requested his permission that his firm be allowed to enter the 'competition'.[45] There must have been some indication of a commission as E.W. Pugin submitted drawings, dated c.1858-1859, for a proposed church at Queenstown **(3.8)**. Goldie stated his experience: he was in the competition for Lille cathedral and the new Catholic church in Berne, where he gained a special diploma of merit for the former and a gold medal for the latter. In the interim local architect, John Hurley made suggestions and plans for the proposed new church. In 1861, he informed the building committee, that as diocesan architect, he was in charge of all of building projects. Hurley stated that the late Dr. Timothy Murphy, Bishop of Cloyne, had intended a church to be erected in Cobh. Hurley maintained that they had discussed various local churches with Dr. Murphy enquiring whether Hurley liked St. Vincent's, Cork (1856-1857) to which Hurley replied in the negative.[46] Hurley was aggrieved that neither Bishop Keane nor the committee were aware that

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[45] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, George Goldie to Bishop Keane, 30 Jan. 1859. According to the Cloyne Diocesan catalogue this letter was in an envelope for Cathedral returns 1859 and is thus catalogued as 1859. The date on this letter, however, appears to read 1857 rather than 1859. If it reads 1857 then there were intentions as early as 1857 for a competition. It has not been possible to verify the date, as there is no reference to Goldie's connection with the Berne or Lille commissions in the IAAIIA, GOL000.

[46] John Benson was originally involved with the church in 1851. It is not known what remains of Benson's involvement in the work. George Goldie was involved from 1856 onwards when the church was dedicated.

he was the architect for the new Queenstown 'chapel'.[47] He felt that it would be damaging to his profession if the project was subject to a competition. He endorsed his claim with a letter stating that he was present at the measuring of the site.[48] To further consolidate his claims, Hurley wrote to Goldie, stating that he was professionally engaged on the project 'for which his plans had been adopted, for years' and requested Goldie 'to respect the right of a Brother Professional'.[49] Hurley and Goldie had crossed paths before with the commission for SS. Peter and Paul's, Carey's Lane, where both architects had lost the commission to Pugin and Ashlin. On Goldie's behalf, Bishop Gilooly of Sligo, responded to Keane with a glowing letter of commendation stating that

> As an Architect Goldie is scarcely surpassed in taste & skill; he is scrupulously exact in protecting the interests & adhering to the instructions of his employers; and is more free than any architect I know – from professional susceptibility & absolutism.[50]

Hurley continued throughout 1863 to protest his position as architect of the proposed new church.

Meanwhile in 1862 *The Dublin Builder* announced a competition for the new church in Cobh and the organisation of the site for the new church was underway. In

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[47] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, John Hurley to Bishop Keane, 1 Mar. 1861.

[48] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, T. Murphy to John Hurley, 24 Jan. 1861.

[49] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, copy of Hurley's letter to G. Goldie in Bishop Keane's handwriting, 7 Mar. 1861.

[50] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, Bishop Lawrence Gillooly to Keane, 30 May 1863. Goldie would later erect the Cathedral in Sligo in 1867-1874.

the same year Rev. James Rice,[51] administrator at Cobh, wrote to Keane stating that the site for the new church was 'everything that could be desired.'[52] Although the site was short and quite narrow at one end, additional ground was obtained.[53] The counsel and advice of a Mr. A. Deane was sought throughout the early stages of the building.[54] In 1864, he entered the negotiations regarding the site. Acting as an intermediary between Frederica Harriet Rushbrooke, who had inherited Lord Midleton's estates, and Rev. J. Rice with the church committee, Deane arranged the lease of the site for a temporary church from the Rushbrooke estate.[55] The ground was eventually in the church's possession in 1866.

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[51] Rev. James Rice was administrator of Cobh from 1861-1873. S.C. Ashlin was administrator from 1876-1881.

[52] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, Rev. J. Rice to Keane, 15 Oct. 1862.

[53] 'New Roman Catholic Cathedral, Queenstown', *The Irish Builder*, vol.11 no.219, 1 Feb. 1869, p.36. To add to the available length of ground, two houses on the terrace next to and on line with the presbytery were purchased and taken down. To widen the front to the required breadth, the road was changed and the ground gained was enclosed within the foundation walls of the church. The space available was increased to 190ft. long and over 70ft. broad for the nave and the aisles with full room for the tower and spire at the front southern angle and sufficient elevation throughout for the clerestory.

[54] The identity of Deane is unknown but it is possible that he was a member of the prominent Deane family who had been architects in Cork for some time. His involvement in the early stages of the Cobh commission was very important; he chose the stone and gave Ashlin the necessary details regarding the interior fittings of the church; for example, there were to be eight confessionals flush with walls. An Alexander Sharpe Deane was working in Cobh during the 1840s and died in 1847. For Alexander Sharpe Deane see Jeremy Williams, *A Companion Guide to Architecture in Ireland 1837-1921* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1994), p.74 and Felstead, 1993, p.243. For the Deanes see Frederick O'Dwyer, *The Architecture of Deane and Woodward* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1997) and Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Deane and Woodward 1845-1861* (Princeton and Guilford: Princeton University Press, 1982) and Felstead, 1993, p.244.

[55] F.H. Rushbrooke, a spinster living in Surrey, England, inherited the Irish estate of Lord Midleton on his death in 1858.

The drama continued in the search of an architect for the cathedral. By July 1866, a decision appears to have been made that a cathedral rather than a church would be erected and to limit the competition to three architects.[56] Dr. Rice, secretary of the building committee, entered into talks with the chosen architects. Goldie, whose name was among those selected to compete, did not believe that a competition was advisable and mentions the 'manifold disadvantages … illustrated within an easy distance from Queenstown.'[57] Goldie was undoubtedly referring to the SS. Peter and Paul's commission, where Pugin and Ashlin had received the commission under questionable circumstances.[58] The sub-committee, set up in 1867, outlined the basic conditions for the competition. In January 1867, J.J. McCarthy, seeking fairness in the competition, wrote to Ashlin in Dublin. McCarthy had been to Queenstown and had spoken to Keane and Rice 'with the view of obtaining strictly fair play in the prosperous [sic] competition'.[59] He had proposed certain conditions to Keane and Rice who agreed to them and enclosed a copy for Ashlin.[60] He suggested that Ashlin, on behalf of the partnership, along with Goldie and himself, agree to the conditions and forward them in writing to the committee. Ashlin responded stating that he thought the conditions as proposed by Goldie and

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[56] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, note from Rice, 7 July 1866.

[57] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, Goldie to Rice, 24 Jan. 1867.

[58] Pugin and Ashlin and Goldie had clashed on another commission in 1867. In an editorial in *The Irish Builder* it was stated that Pugin and Ashlin and Goldie submitted sketches for the new altar at St. Joseph's Dungarvan and that those by Pugin and Ashlin were adopted. 'New Altar of St. Joseph, Roman Catholic, Dungarvan', *The Irish Builder*, vol.9 no.172, 15 Feb. 1867, p.44 illus. p.45. Goldie responded to the editor stating that 'The commission for the altar was given to me by Mr. Dower…. The design of which you give a lithograph had been "submitted" since, and it is, perhaps, not worth while to inquire under what circumstances it was "adopted". See 'Correspondence', *The Irish Builder*, vol.9 no. 172, 1 Mar. 1867, p.64.

[59] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, McCarthy to Ashlin 29 Jan. 1867.

McCarthy unsatisfactory but would defer going into details until he had spoken to E.W. Pugin.[61] The conditions that McCarthy and Goldie had added to Rice's circular were pointed. They wished that two members of the selection committee appointed by the general committee should be architects 'of eminence' and not connected with the competition.[62] This would bring the committee number to seven. McCarthy's object was impartiality and fair play for both the competing architects and the committee. McCarthy was also anxious that no plan would be adopted that could not be executed within the specified sum.[63] Pugin and Ashlin wrote to Rice saying that they were happy to leave themselves in the hands of the committee, as to the original conditions, but had some reservations concerning McCarthy's conditions. Of a committee of seven, Pugin and Ashlin feared that

> five … wd be strangers to the wants and peculiarities of the locality, three … would be personal friends of the competitors and two … being archts would in all probability have a predelection [sic] in favour of their own style of architecture all of which would be eminently unsatisfactory.[64]

Ashlin was anxious that

> Proffessional [sic] assistance [was] very useful in <u>enabling</u> a committee to decide on abstract merits or to form an opinion on technical points but should not in our opinion be used further.[65]

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[60] For a list of J.J. McCarthy and G. Goldie's proposals see 'Correspondence – Cloyne New Catholic Cathedral', *The Irish Builder*, vol.9 no.189, 1 Nov. 1867, p.282.

[61] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, Ashlin to McCarthy, 1 Feb. 1867.

[62] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, McCarthy and Goldie to Rice, 6 Feb. 1867.

[63] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, McCarthy to Rice, 5 Feb. 1867.

[64] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, Cloyne Archives, Ashlin for Pugin and Ashlin to Rice, 8 Feb. 1867.

[65] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, Ashlin for Pugin and Ashlin to Rice, 8 Feb. 1867.

In April 1867 the firm, Pugin and Ashlin, responded to McCarthy's conditions: they would not accede to such conditions but had consented to the terms outlined in Rice's circular of 21 January 1867.[66]

The matter did not end there. On the 21 February 1867 Goldie wrote to Keane and expressed his hope that the bishop's decision regarding the conditions of the competition would not be delayed. He commended Keane's 'refined taste, & deep interest in all concerning Catholic art, which will, with his high social position, be its best guarantee for his judgement.'[67] Goldie wrote again on the 27 February and expressed his disappointment that he had alluded to in previous correspondence. He felt that he did not have the advantage of being acquainted with the committee members as was Ashlin, while the lay portion of the committee were incapable of 'judging on a question of art' such as the decision of this competition demanded. Furthermore, he felt that the Cobh committee were allowing 'a flagrant act of scandalous dishonesty' to be perpetrated again. It had already occurred at SS. Peter and Paul's Carey's Lane, when the commission was given to Pugin and Ashlin 'before the Competition was announced'. Both Goldie and McCarthy were very concerned with Ashlin's family ties and local connections which formed so many strong, but inevitable, links between Ashlin and the committee. To compound matters, they questioned the ambiguous nature and manner of Ashlin's dissociation from them. 'It was to provide against these accidents that McCarthy and Goldie

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[66] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, Ashlin for Pugin and Ashlin to McCarthy, 5 Feb. 1867. The circular contained the terms of the competition and sought security that the stipulated sum was adhered to.

[67] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, Goldie to Keane, 21 Feb. 1867.

wished - & were happy in having Keane & Dr. Rice's approval of the idea – to secure capable & unbiased Tribunal.'

The committee rejected McCarthy and Goldie's suggestions. McCarthy and Goldie decided to deprive themselves of the opportunity to erect the cathedral rather than subject themselves to 'the indignity that the present attitude of the Committee threatens.'[68] Rice wrote to Pugin and Ashlin on 22 July 1867 stating that the committee wished them to furnish plans and specifications. He stated that communications with all other architects had ended.[69] They congratulated the committee on dispensing with the competition. In a rather ironic turn of events, while McCarthy and Goldie were making accusations regarding Ashlin's family connections, Ashlin's brother Stephen wrote to Keane to complain of favouritism. Stephen Ashlin's complaint was with the committee secretary's favouring of McCarthy's 'extravagant conditions'. Stephen Ashlin was in a delicate position. He was Ashlin's brother but he was also a curate in the parish. He had refrained from attending meetings where the question of an architect might be raised. He felt that he would be wanting in his duty as a brother if he did not offer some support at this crucial stage. Stephen further maintained that were it not for the course the administrator had followed, the commission 'would never have gone to a competition.' The commission, in the end, did not go to competition; however it did culminate with Pugin and Ashlin as the successful recipients.

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[68] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, Goldie to Keane, 27 Feb. 1867.

[69] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, Rice to Pugin and Ashlin, 22 July 1867.

On a personal note, it was during August of 1868 that the partnership of Pugin and Ashlin was dissolved. Stephen Ashlin wrote to Keane wishing to reassure him that George was

> perfectly prepared to carry out the work according to the original plan and sum specified – But he is perfectly convinced that the detailed drawings of Mr. Pugin will lead to a largely increased expenditure. This Mr. Pugin has admitted to us both [George and Stephen Ashlin] separately. He [E.W. Pugin] changes very much and would appear to [Stephen Ashlin] to be throwing dust in the eyes of the Queenstown people.[70]

E.W. Pugin, on the 3 September, also wished to resolve the Queenstown commission. He decided to leave it in Dr. Keane's hands what was to be the fate of the commission. He was most anxious that it should be a 'really grand work' and was happy to say that the main features of the building, length, width & height can be carried out for the sum allowed.'[71] Although the architects remained Pugin and Ashlin, Ashlin was now the executant architect.

The earliest proposals for the Cobh commission may date to as early as c.1858-1859.[72] These drawings are in the hand of E.W. Pugin who was engaged in SS. Peter and Paul's and most anxious to build a church in the new diocese. The initial scheme was for a parish church, with the drawings inscribed 'Proposed church – Queenstown - in the Diocese of Cloyne' **(3.8)**.[73] The drawings comprise a six bay

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[70] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, S.C. Ashlin to Keane, 29 Aug. 1868.

[71] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, E.W. Pugin to Keane, 3 Sept. 1868.

[72] Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.1/A1-A3. They represent a south elevation, a cross section to the south and a section to the east.

[73] For example the south elevation, Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.1/A1.

south elevation with flying buttresses and tower indicated (in the drawing) reaching to roof height only. The church is without transepts or clerestory and is signed by E.W. Pugin. The section to the east also indicates that radiating chapels were intended.[74] A pencil sketch beside the east end elevation shows a plan of the rather awkward east end with three radiating chapels whose ends are indistinctly terminated. The interior of this early proposal included a groined ceiling and a large gallery at the west end.[75] This overall layout was used for the early proposals for Carey's Lane, Cork and John's Lane, Dublin **(3.2)** **(3.4)**. At the Carey's Lane proposal there are gabled aisle windows on the south side and a series of radiating chapels (perhaps three) at the east end.[76] This directly inspired the proposal for SS. Augustine and John's as published in *The Dublin Builder* in 1866 and 1872 **(3.4)**. The radiating chapels in all three churches, however, were not executed. The second early scheme for Cobh, also for a parish church, shows the west elevation. It is titled 'Proposed Front Elevation of Catholic Church, Queenstown' and probably dates to before 1867 **(3.9)**.[77] In massing the scheme was very similar to the 1861 proposal for the west front of John's Lane **(3.1)**. The tower and spire, which rises above a gabled rose window, was inspired by the later proposals for the west front of John's Lane where there was a rose window **(3.3)**. It also had similarities to Pugin and Murray's design for Dadizele **(2.2)**. The firm's most notable other use of the centrally placed tower was at the pilgrimage church of the Assumption, Lady's Island, Co. Wexford (1863-1864) **(4.2)** and the Church of the Sacred Heart, Ferrybank, Co. Waterford (1866). **(4.4)**

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[74] Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.1/A3. It is inscribed 'Proposed new church – Queenstown – in the diocese of Cloyne'.

[75] Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.1/A2.

[76] O'Dwyer, 1989, p.61 reads these chapels as the chancel.

The west fronts of the Church of the Sacred Heart, Donnybrook **(3.10)**, the Church of the Holy Cross, Tralee, **(3.11)** St. Patrick's, Monkstown, Dublin, **(3.12)** St. Colman's Cathedral **(3.7)**, St. Joseph's, Glasthule **(3.13),** St. Patrick's, Monkstown, Co. Cork **(3.14)** and Immaculate Conception Clonakilty, Co. Cork **(3.15)** have strong similarities. In each case a large arch dominates the west front with rose window filled with Geometric Gothic tracery. The rose window is flanked by buttresses and, in most cases, a tower at the end of one aisle. The main entrance is placed under the rose window. In the original design for the west front of Glasthule, the rose window was not completely circular **(3.16)**. In the case of Monkstown, Cork, arcading below the rose was not used **(3.14)**. If a tower is built it is generally surmounted by a broach spire except at Glasthule, Donnybrook and Tralee, where the spires (and at Glasthule the tower) remain unbuilt **(3.17)**. At Monkstown, Cork site restrictions dictated that the tower would be built at the west side of the north transept **(3.18)**, a position already used by the firm at Fermoy. Co. Cork **(3.19)**.[78] Continental inspiration was at play with the positioning of the proposed tower at Glasthule **(3.16)**. Italy had been the inspiration for the tall, freestanding tower of Street's St. James the Less, Westminster (1859).[79] This decidedly un-English treatment was employed in the original proposal for Glasthule

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[77] RIBA Draw., London, V2/83/2; Wedgwood, 1977, pp.118-119.

[78] E.W. Pugin had used this position for the tower at St. Gregory's, Longton, England where there were site restrictions. 'Church of St. Gregory, Longton. Diocese of Birmingham', *The Irish Builder*, vol.9 no.186, 15 Sept. 1867, p.236.

[79] On St. James the Less see Peter Howell and Ian Sutton, *The Faber Guide to Victorian Churches* (London: Faber and Faber, 1989), pp.81-82 and C.M. Smart Jr., *Muscular Churches: Ecclesiastical Architecture of the High Victorian Period* (London and Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1989), pp.91-97. The spirelets and spire are of Norman French derivation.

and later in St. Kevin's, Harrington Street, Dublin (1868-1872).[80] While the firm was busy building churches around the country and experimenting and developing various architectural and decorative motifs, the plans for Cobh were changing.

G.E. Street (1824-1881) believed that there were certain characteristics needed for a town church, which were not as important for a country church. Above all, it was 'most necessary to avoid rusticity in any way, whether in material, design or execution.'[81] He felt that the sentiment that was conveyed through the use of rough walling materials contradicted the polished and smooth surfaces of neighbouring urban buildings. The firm's most dramatic polychromatic instances are in their earliest commissions, be they urban or rural. John's Lane and Carey's Lane, the early plans for Cobh, and the Church of the Assumption, Lady's Island, Co. Wexford display the firm's familiarity with combining different stones, colours and forms. E.W. Pugin displayed this ability in the church in Dadizele, Belgium (1859) **(2.3)** where red, black and buff brick were combined in a manner that anticipated, in form but not in material, his later English and Irish work. The dressings, tracery and the buttress set offs tended to be executed in contrasting colour and stone; red sandstone is placed next to granite and Bath stone next to limestone. As regards the stone dressings intended for Cobh, Ashlin believed that both Bath stone and limestone were equally durable in the positions they were intended to occupy. Limestone was a 'noble material for the grand work that [was] now contemplated.'[82] Once the punched limestone was in place Ashlin thought it

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[80] On St. Kevin's see Donnelly, [1914], vol.2, pp.117.

[81] G.E. Street, 'On the Proper Characteristics of a Town Church', *The Ecclesiologist,* vol.11 no. 45, Dec. 1850, pp.227-233 (p.229).

[82] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, Ashlin to Keane, 25 Feb. 1869.

looked 'exceedingly well', adding that it 'looks stronger & gives a more monumental character to a building.'[83]

The powerful effect of one single undivided space, so unusual in A.W.N. Pugin's interiors, was recognised by Pugin and Ashlin and their continental inspired patrons. Pugin and Ashlin's churches look first to the manner in which the design must satisfy the requirements of the Roman ritual. This gave rise to a structure whose arrangement was limited only by its practical functions. The style was a flexible formal language, either pointed or rounded, which might be applied accordingly to different symbolic needs. The basic Pugin and Ashlin church comprised a basilica plan **(3.6) (3.20)**. The Roman basilica provided the wide space that was necessary for the congregation to gather. The rectangular ground plan was divided by two rows of columns into a wide nave and two side aisles with the nave normally terminated in a polygonal apse. This plan maximises the interest in continental spectatorial devotions taking place on or near to the altar. The cathedra and the altar maintain their role as the decisive factors in the axis of the apse around which the ceremonies took place in the functioning of the basilica. Many architects used the scheme, during the nineteenth century, as the backdrop for different styles. Not all of the firm's urban churches built during the 1860s follow the apsed basilica style ground plan. St. Joseph's, Glasthule **(3.16)** utilised the square-ended apse while St. Patrick's, Monkstown, Cork **(3.18)**, St. Colman's, Cork **(3.21)** and the current layout of the Church of the Sacred Heart, Donnybrook followed the cruciform plan.

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[83] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, Ashlin to Keane, 6 Mar. 1869. The limestone in question was Kanturk limestone and cost an additional £2,900.

Transepts lost much of their architectural independence and were subordinated to the overall basilican scheme in many of Pugin and Ashlin churches. The exterior views of SS. Peter and Paul's **(3.2)**, Monkstown, Cork **(3.18)** and the plan of St. Colman's **(3.21)** indicated distinctive transepts with their roofs lower than the nave roofs. Originally, Patrick Byrne had been chosen as architect for Donnybrook, but soon after his appointment, he became very ill.[84] The design of Pugin and Ashlin was selected and proved 'one of the happiest and handsomest of their clever conceptions'.[85] The original plan for Donnybrook called for a rigid basilica layout where transepts were absent **(3.20)**. On completion the plan was orthodox except for the triple chapels that project from the east end of both nave and aisles **(3.22)**. Double transepts were erected at Monkstown, Cork **(3.23)**, although regular single bay transepts with triple lancets flanked by buttresses were proposed **(3.18)**. The July 1861 edition of *The Dublin Builder* referred to a proposed transept at SS. Augustine and John's, Thomas Street.[86] The narthex erected on either side of the central entrance was described as a transept.[87] The specification for the roofing of SS. Augustine and John's, dated 1866, also refers to a transept.[88] The early drawing of John's Lane in the RIBA indicated the presence of a transept in the more accustomed position **(3.35)**. Limited space in the final amount of land purchased for the erection of the church forced the church scheme to be altered.

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[84] 'Notes of works', *The Irish Builder*, vol.2 no.21, 1 Sept. 1860, p.330.

[85] Donnelly, [1914], vol.1, p.61.

[86] 'Church Building News', *The Dublin Builder,* vol.3 no.38, 15 July 1861, p.577.

[87] 'The new Augustinian Church', *The Dublin Builder*, vol.2 no.18, 1 June 1866, p.266.

In the interior of Donnybrook, Cobh, Carey's Lane **(3.6)** **(3.24)** and Monkstown, Cork, the transeptal space is defined with the insertion of a thin column to mark where the nave and the aisles end and where the transepts (or rather pseudo-transepts) begin. In Carey's Lane **(3.24)** and Cobh **(3.25)** these divisions were embellished further and acted as screens over the transeptal space thus reinforcing the continuity of the nave elevation across the transept entrances. The composition presented the aspect of a piece of solid constructional screenwork, than of a structural feature. Pugin and Ashlin's source lay in the more intricate plan types of the 1850s, as seen in William White's, All Saint's, Talbot Road, Paddington (1852) **(3.26)**. The effect created was of a unified interior space where the shallow transepts do not intrude into the nave space. The congregation's view of the altar and adjacent ceremonials taking place, while seated in these shallow transepts, was unobstructed **(3.6)**. A similar method is used in the Church of the Sacred Heart, Donnybrook where attempts were made to integrate, and at the same time, conceal the transeptal spaces.[89] Transepts solved the problem of segregation of the congregation if necessary. Galleries were, of course, out of the question for the firm. Goldie, on the other, hand employed a gallery at Sligo Cathedral (1867-1875). Goldie created a real gallery, which was approached by stair turrets at the south end and was intended for children, instead of a triforium and was thus able to increase the space of the church and keep the congregation together. The nave arcade and gallery were continued across the two-bay wide transepts. This scheme anticipates Pugin and Ashlin's screens with triforium passages at Cobh. Radiating chapels were placed next to one another, providing an opportunity to integrate the minor volumes. This

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[88] Specification, Ashlin Coleman Heelan, Dublin.

is seen in the early proposals for the three main E.W. Pugin-inspired churches, Cobh, John's Lane and Carey's Lane.

As part of the intended increasing of zeal and piety of the laity the clergy centred their attention on the sacraments of penance and Holy Communion. Thus confession and communion became more frequent. There were few examples of medieval confessionals; in medieval churches, open chairs had been used. This might have proved a difficulty to architects who felt that they had to have a medieval precedent to imitate. To address this absence of medieval precedent, confessionals were built into the wall of the church. As early as 1858, William Wardell developed further the innovatory built-in confessional.[90] Early examples had appeared in J.J. Scoles's Church of St. John the Evangelist, Islington (1841-1843) and in A.W.N. Pugin's St. George's Cathedral, Southwark (1841-1848).[91] Wardell, however, developed the concept from the simplest rectangular space to a penitent's compartment on either side of the priest, who had his own desk and fire in a species of small study. The built-in confessional facilitated the creation of the all-important unified space. The confessionals take the place of the chapels in the Gesù-inspired scheme. E.W. Pugin introduced this feature to Ireland through the works of the

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[89] 'New Church of the Sacred Heart, Donnybrook', *The Irish Builder*, vol.8 no.160, 15 Aug. 1866, p.202. For a plan see Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1/79/2.

[90] William Wardell was a convert. He produced churches in the correct manner that was almost indistinguishable from A.W.N. Pugin's own. Following Wardell's emigration to Australia in 1858, other architects came to prominence, particularly E.W. Pugin and his partners.

[91] On St. George's, Southwark see Alexander Rottmann, *London Catholic Churches: A Historical and Artistic Record* (London: Sands & Co., 1926), pp.259-270 and Denis Evinson, *Catholic Churches of London* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp.198-202; on St. John the Evangelist see Rottmann, 1926, pp.68-81 and Evinson, 1998, pp.41-46 and Howell and Sutton, 1989, p.78.

partnership.[92] He had employed the technique in the Liverpool churches where many of the partnership motifs were initiated. Thus recessed confessionals are placed in St. Colman's Cathedral **(3.21)**, St. Joseph's, Glasthule, St. Patrick's, Monkstown, Dublin and John's Lane **(3.35)**. Allied with the recessed confessionals was the internal emphasis on the horizontal as well as the vertical nature of the church interiors. The emphasis on the horizontality is achieved in the decorative and architectural elements. The decorative elements include the continuous stringcourse that runs below the recessed and splayed lower edge of the clerestory opening and above the apex of the pointed arches of the nave arcade. The stringcourse is marginally interrupted with the rising of the colonette from the corbels from above the pier below, as at SS. Augustine and John's **(3.35)**. These colonettes rise to meet the corbels at the springing of the ceiling ribs. At the design for Holy Cross, Liverpool the continuous stringcourse at the base of the splay of the clerestory openings creates a unified space and leads our eye down the longitudinal axis of the church. In the Liverpool church, the clerestory windows sit more closely to the interior wall plane than in the church built by the partnership.

The roofing techniques of the urban churches

At their most basic, the roofs employed in the churches erected by the partnership may be divided into two distinct categories, each distinguished by their sources of inspiration: the closed roof space and the open roof space. Open roofs are identified as those where the roof structure was visible to the congregation and closed roofs where the roof structure was concealed with a ceiling. Two types of open truss

[92] A.W.N. Pugin had built the confessionals into the walls of the church and between the buttresses in St. George's, Southwark, London. McCarthy mentions their suitability in, J.J. McCarthy, *Suggestions*

roofs, arched principals and the scissors truss where the rafters are exposed, were employed by the firm. The closed roofs comprised timber, occasionally plaster, pointed barrel vaults and wagon shaped roofs where timber is boarded to the back of rafters to make compartments.

The craftsmanship of the open timber roofs provided much of the visual effect of medieval English churches. In 1849, architects Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon published a collection of drawings of medieval roofs that were intended to be an inspiration to the designers of the period.[93] With the illustration of many of the intact roofs from medieval times, architects and carpenters were given the opportunity to experiment. They divided roof types into those with tie beams and those without such as hammerbeams and braced collars. The first were observed in all phases of medieval architecture; the second was common in the Early English and the Decorated styles (the architecture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively). As the Decorated style matured the lower principals were cut into the form of a pointed arch. Ties were not often found in the Early English period, collars with braces being substituted. Although there were structural developments by the mid-nineteenth century, the employment of earlier forms was in the spirit of much of the roof carpentry of the day.[94] The Ecclesiologists treated the nave and the chancel as two distinct areas of the church both architecturally and liturgically.

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on the Arrangement and Characteristics of Parish Churches (Dublin: James Duffy, 1851), pp.29-30.

[93] Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon, *The Open Timber Roofs of the Middles Ages Illustrated by perspective and working drawings of some of the best varieties of church roofs; with descriptive letter-press* (London: David Bogue and George Bell, 1849). It was reviewed in *The Ecclesiologist,* vol.11 no.43, Aug. 1850, pp.140-141. It is not known whether Pugin and Ashlin had a copy of this but it certainly seems likely.

[94] For these developments see David T. Yeomans, *The Trussed Roof* (Hants: Scolar Press, 1992).

Thus, externally and internally two roof heights were required to emphasise this distinction. Although the division was essential in the interior, it did not need to be traced on the exterior. It was ideal if it was noticed in both, and preferable if the breadth and height of the chancel was less than that of the nave.[95] Thus the appearance of the interior roof was a problem for church architects. The most common way to roof the interior of a church, in the 1840s, was to use the tie beam with either king or queen post trusses.[96] These unadorned beams and posts were left bare, which although it was the best course of action, had the unfortunate effect, as far as the Camdenians were concerned, of making the church look like a barn.[97] The other alternative was the erection of a flat ceiling to hide the exposed beams. They were also unhappy with this solution as the resulting appearance resembled a drawing room. Another suggestion was to cove the ceiling, 'which [was] one degree less hideous than the last method.'[98] To avoid the above actions, the Camdenians suggested doing without the tie beam. 'In all cases then, for a small church or a large, [the Camdenians] heartily recommend the arched open roof, of all wooden roofs the most elegant and churchlike'.[99] In this roof type the arched braces, pinned to the rafter and collar, supplied the place of the tie beams. In demanding the

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[95] *A Few Words to Church Builders*, 1841, p.6.

[96] The Incorporated Society for Church Building gave no grants unless there was a tie beam. This was a rule that the Camdenians hoped would be dispensed with. See *A Few Words to Church Builders*, 1841, p.17. French cathedrals were roofed with more steeply pitched trusses of a similar kind. In England, most of the surviving roofs before the eighteenth century show a poor understanding of the truss principle and must have acted more as beams or, in the case of hammerbeam roofs, as arches. The term 'tie beam' is symptomatic of this confusion. See Pedro Guedes, *Macmillan Encyclopaedia of Architecture and Technological Change* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1979), p.178.

[97] *A Few Words to Church Builders*, 1841, p.17.

[98] ibid.

[99] ibid.

readability of the constructive system, and the truth to materials, the roofing techniques of some of Pugin and Ashlin's churches were in direct opposition to Ruskin and A.W.N. Pugin's theories. The chapter titled 'Truth' in John Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) warns against architectural deceits, such as, the suggestion of a mode of support other than the true one, the painting of surfaces to represent another material and the use of cast and machine-made ornaments.[100] The building will be the 'noblest' when the eye discovers 'the great secrets of its structure'.[101] Similarly, A.W.N. Pugin championed the cause of 'truth to materials'. He advocated an open church roof with the structural timbers exposed and decorated for the congregation to admire. Seldom were his church roof spaces ceiled over in the manner of the preceding decades, as had been the fashion of the early Gothic Revival, and the preceding centuries, as witnessed in the churches erected during the Baroque and the Palladian periods.

Externally the urban church roofs of many of the partnership churches are executed as a continuous height with no distinction externally between the nave and chancel. In 1850 Street promoted this church layout in his letter on the characteristics of town churches. The church, St. Pierre, Chartres, was of an 'earlier character'.[102] Street recommended its 'grand unbroken line of roof…which gives invariably a wonderful repose and grandeur.'[103] Of the Augustinian church at Rue Malpalu, Rouen, France, Street talks of what a 'great element of grandeur a long

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[100] On Ruskin, see Michael W. Brooks, *John Brooks and Victorian Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989).

[101] John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London: 1849; repr. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1989), chapter 2, 'The Lamp of Truth', p.35.

[102] Street, 1850, p.232.

[103] ibid.

unbroken *horizontal* line always contains.'[104] The liturgy placed all of the emphasis on a single unified interior space that was expressed externally. There was less emphasis on differentiating the exterior heights of the church's nave and chancel, as had been the convention in the 1840s. In order to define the two separate liturgical spaces within the one unified space, different ceiling types were used by Pugin and Ashlin; in the nave a variety of roof structures were used, but in the chancel, the roof space was generally covered with an elaborately decorated ceiling. A ceiling that would accommodate the curvature of the apse was preferred with diagonal ribs drawing the congregation's attention in the direction of the altar.[105] Where a square-ended chancel was erected, a timber-panelled roof was erected. Seldom was the chancel ceiling open with the roof structure exposed.

Pugin and Ashlin's dramatic roof spaces begin with their initial commissions, SS. Peter and Paul's and SS. Augustine and John's. At Carey's Lane the roof is one of open timberwork, having paired fretted principals that rest on corbels carved to represent various angelic figures.[106] The nave roof is coved in two curved sections, in the lower the heads of the clerestory windows groin, as far up as the first purlin, from which springs the polygonal roof that originally was to be decorated **(3.27)**. The arched principals are prolonged beyond their apex in straight lines, which act as ties, and cross each other in a scissors truss. The groining of the clerestory windows

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[104] ibid.

[105] Edward Joseph Weber, *Catholic Church Buildings Their Planning and Furnishing* (London: B. Herder, 1927),p.127. Weber thought that the lines of the groining of the church should lead the eye to the altar. This is also reiterated in J. O'Connell, *Church Building and Furnishing: The Church's Way: A Study in Liturgical Law* (London: Burns & Oates, 1955), pp.22-27.

[106] RIBA Draw., London, V2/84/3.

into the coving was considered 'peculiar, but satisfactory'.[107] In place of principals, the aisle roof purlins rested on moulded arches that spring from the nave piers in a novel manner. These arches were read as buttresses, indeed, internal flying buttresses, which, while supporting the roofs of the aisles, give strength to the clerestory walls. A variation of these arches appear at Donnybrook, Dublin **(3.20)**. The ceiling of the groined polygonal apse is highly decorated. The inspiration for the nave roof, the 'Pugin roof with double backed principles', was Our Lady of Reconciliation de la Salette, Liverpool (1859-1860) **(3.28)**.[108] E.W. Pugin employed alternate fretted and unfretted arched principles combined with a scissors brace and a compartment above the apex of the braces. The Dominican church, Holy Cross, Tralee (1866) also employs the alternate fretted and unfretted 'Pugin roof' **(3.29)**.[109] As executed, after 1868, in the hands of Ashlin, there is a chunkier and less delicate appearance to the timber members. A variation of this fretted principle combined with a scissors truss was proposed for the Nenagh Cathedral competition of c.1860. The wall rises vertically above the clerestory range and then proceeds to rise at the 60° angle for the pitch of the scissors truss. This is in place of the diagonal coving in SS. Peter and Paul's, Carey's Lane. *The Irish Builder* published a drawing for the

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[107] 'A Glance at some recent works in Cork', *The Dublin Builder,* vol.8 no. 146, 15 Jan. 1866, pp.15-16.

[108] This was E.W. Pugin's phrase in a dispute as to the authorship of this roof type with the architect S.J. Nicholl. For the dispute see *The Tablet*, 1867, pp.267, 283 and 298, cited in O'Donnell, 1994, p.265. Along with E.W. Pugin, S.J. Nicholl was interested in the closed timber ceiling. Nicholl, in partnership with T.J. Wilson, designed the chapel of ease to St. Patrick's, Soho Square, Ogle Street (1862-1863). The church was dedicated to St. Charles Borromeo. The wide nave (26ft.) with a continuous timber barrel vault was uninterrupted by a chancel arch. Although the style is vaguely Early English, the plate tracery of the clerestory, the square abaci and the simple ornament of the capitals disclose Nicholl's knowledge of the wider interest in Gallic forms.

[109] 'New Dominican Church, Tralee', *The Irish Builder*, vol.8 no.150, 15 Mar. 1866, p.72 and 'New Dominican Church, Tralee', *The Irish Builder*, vol.8 no.153, 1 May 1866, p.112.

proposed church in Glasthule in 1866 and indicated the intended roof type **(3.16, vignette)**. The style chosen for St. Joseph's was that of SS. Peter and Paul's. As built, changes were made and the rafters were boarded to create a closed wagon shaped roof. Exposed fretted principles, as seen in St. Joseph's, Glasthule **(3.30)** and unfretted principles, as seen in St. Patrick's, Monkstown, Dublin **(3.31)** divide the bays of the roof. In between these arched principles the nave ceiling is panelled. The low and faceted profile of the ceiling suggests the example of St. Mary's church, Wimbotsham, Norfolk illustrated in Raphael and J. Arthur Brandon's *The Open Timber Roofs* **(3.32)**.[110] The chancel arch, in Glasthule, is defined as an unfretted principle, on a ceiling where principles are fretted. In Monkstown it is a decorated principle, where principles are unfretted. The chancel ceilings in both churches is of timber and plaster construction.

Even in medieval times, stone vaulting was expensive. Many wealthy foundations found the cost of a stone vault prohibitive. Barrel vaults constructed of wood existed in considerable quantity during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[111] Examples can be seen at Glasgow Cathedral where a late medieval timber barrel is panelled with ribs 'perpetuating at least the basic form of the original covering'.[112] The known examples of groined medieval timber vaults are limited to a few survivors and several restorations which replaced medieval constructions. The

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[110] Brandon and Brandon, 1849, 'Roof over nave St. Mary's Church, Wimbotsham, Norfolk', plate 5.

[111] M.F. Hearn and Malcolm Thurlby, 'Previously undetected wooden ribbed vaults in medieval Britain', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol.150, 1997, pp.48-58 (p.54).

[112] Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church 1130-1530* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), p.170. A view of the Cathedral before the nineteenth-century restoration shows that the medieval ceiling was of an arched wagon form with ribs corresponding to

originals generally dated to the century or so after 1250.[113] Wooden vaults have been associated with mature Gothic architecture in Britain. Examples are the nave at Warmington church, Northamptonshire, chapter house/south main transept at York Minster,[114] the transept at Exeter and at Warminster, Northants. Medieval groined timber vaults exists at Warmington and the choir at Selby. In a discussion of the restoration that took place in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin in the 1860s *The Ecclesiologist* wondered if the structure was too weak and the cost too great to bear a vault of stone, 'why not have boldly groined in wood', as Scott had done in Ripon?[115] Wooden groining that was left in its natural colour had 'one great Gothic element – truth; while sham work is utterly indefensible'.[116]

The origins of Pugin and Ashlin's closed timber roofs occur in Belgium. A dearth of good building stone fostered a strong tradition of timber ceilings in the Low Countries throughout the medieval ages; as a result the area had a higher concentration of timber ceilings designed in imitation of stone vaulting, of tunnel

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the bays and with additional lattice of ribs in the choir. See Elizabeth Williamson, Anne Riches and Malcolm Higgs, *The Buildings of Scotland, Glasgow* (Penguin Books, 199), p.130.

[113] Hearn and Thurlby, 1997, p. .

[114] Christopher A. Hewett, *English Cathedral Carpentry* (London: Wayland Publishers Ltd., 1974) p.48. The timber ribs of the south main transepts are of a late medieval date.

[115] 'S. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin', *The Ecclesiologist,* vol.23 no.131, April 1865, pp.87-108 (p.95). At Ripon the flat wooden ceiling was replaced c.1300 by a timber vault of which the present vault is a nineteenth-century copy. Wilson, 1990, p.75.

[116] 'S. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin', *The Ecclesiologist,* vol.23 no.131, April 1865, pp.87-108 (p.95). Gordon M. Hillis writing to the Editor of *The Ecclesiologist* stated that if the form of stone construction was to be imitated plaster was a more suitable material than wood. Stone vaults were covered with plaster and Hillis believes more satisfactory to the eye. See *The Ecclesiologist,* vol.23 no.132, June 1865, p.167.

section with an application of timber ribs.[117] Of particular note to Pugin and Ashlin's architecture was the medieval Dominican complex in Ghent.[118] The timber roof of the refectory of the Bijloke Abbey, Ghent which dates from the fourteenth century, was the inspiration for E.W. Pugin's contemporaries **(3.33)**.[119] This construction in timber is similar in form to stone cross-ribbed vaulting. With the encouragement of Cardinal Wiseman, the Dominicans began building in London in 1862. St. Dominic, Halverstock Hill, Southampton Road, London (1863-1883), designed by Gilbert Blount (1819-1876), redesigned and completed by Charles Alban Buckler (1825-1905) in 1876, was similar to work that the partnership had erected in Ireland.[120] The plan was based on the Gesù scheme and comprised nave and choir uninterrupted by a chancel arch. Buckler imitated the plans of the Dominican churches at Winchelsea, Antwerp and Louvain where there is 'no structural chancel, nor a processional way round the apse of the choir, as in cathedral churches and larger minsters.'[121] Buckler justified the use of the timber nave roof in imitation of stone vaulting by claiming the Dominican church in Ghent as a

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[117] Richard Fawcett, 'Late Gothic architecture in Scotland: Considerations on the influence of the Low Countries', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol.112, 1982, pp.477-496 (p.485).

[118] The Bijloke Abbey, Ghent was founded in 1228 and consisted of a number of buildings with elaborate timber roof constructions. On the Bijloke Abbey see A.J.L. van de Walle, *Gothic Art in Belgium. Architecture, monumental art* (Brussels: Marc Vokaer, 1971), p.229.

[119] It was also the inspiration in the Blindenhuis of van Canegeminstituut at Ghent (1852-1855). Despite its symmetric foundation it constituted a copy of the fourteenth-century front of the Bijloke Abbey. See van Cleven, 1988, p.33.

[120] On see C.A. Buckler see the Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/1/2 and on G.R. Blount see Welsh Papers, WeS/1/3. On St. Dominic's see Rottmann, 1926, pp.232-242 and Evinson, 1998, pp.73-77. The choir stalls were carved by Peeters of Antwerp. See Rottmann, 1926, p.242.

[121] *The Builder,* 7 May 1881, p.586 cited in Evinson, 1998, p.74.

precedent.[122] Pugin and Ashlin were not the only architects who looked to Belgian continental architecture for inspiration. Pugin and Ashlin's attempts to create the effect of medieval masonry vaulted space were far reaching. The exercise here was to imply that the roof was medieval and evoke a medieval atmosphere rather than to imitate a medieval vaulted roof. Certainly, the cost of erecting a masonry vault would literally outweigh the cost of a timber roof. One of the earliest of these designs by E.W. Pugin for the vaulted timber roof in this manner is in a design for an unidentified church in England.[123] The style is also evident in the ceiling design for the Church of the Holy Cross, Standish Street, Liverpool (1859-1860) **(3.34)**.[124]

The earliest example of the firm's use of this style was the elaborate vaulted timber ceiling used to cover the internal space of the church in SS. Augustine and John's, Thomas Street **(3.35)**.[125] This style was also used at the Church of the Assumption, Lady's Island, Co. Wexford **(3.36)**, the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Clonakilty **(3.37)**, Co. Cork and at St. Colman's Cathedral, Cobh Co. Cork **(3.38)**, all with variations. In John's Lane the internal ceiling or 'groined vaulting' has an effective appearance.[126] It comprises a timber pointed vault with timber ribs **(3.39)**. Ribs have an iconographic significance and serve an aesthetic purpose as linear elaborations. It was probably originally stained dark as in SS.

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[122] Buckler's Geometrical west window was derived from the same church, and the 'two-light windows in the apse resemble those of the exquisitely beautiful church of the Dominicans at Louvain'. See *The Builder,* 7 May 1881, p.586, cited in Evinson, 1998, p.74.

[123] RIBA Draw., London, V2/84/4, 'Unidentified interior of church'. The interior of the church is similar to SS. Augustine and John's.

[124] See *The Buildings of England – North Lancashire* (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1969), p.244. E.W. Pugin built the chancel (1875). The church was rebuilt after war damage in 1955. The construction material of the interior roof may be timber or plaster.

[125] RIBA Draw., London, V2/88/2.

Peter and Paul's, Cork. To complete the medieval effect it is complete with diagonal ribs and a longitudinal ridge rib. Though normally erected in timber, the firm used plaster in their Wexford example. The construction and carpentry of these roofs was relatively cheap and simpler than the carpentry involved in E.W. Pugin's 'double backed' roof. The specification dated 1866, for the roofing of John's Lane exists.[127] It suggests a tight budget; the description 'Crown Memel' indicates the most inexpensive method of converting logs to timber planks. An examination of the roof space shows that the intention was not to expose the rafters and purlins but to sheet them with a timber ceiling.[128] Above the timber ceiling an elaborate system of structural members held up the ceiling **(3.40)**. The outline specification indicates the use of sawn timber; the timber was red fir (or pine) from the Baltic port of Memel.[129] If the firm had chosen an exposed rafter and purlin roof system the timber used would be wrought timber (sawn and planed) and quartered pitch pine not Baltic fir or red deal as it was described in the trade. E.W. Pugin's church St. Monica's, Hoxton (1864-1865), also for the Augustinians, celebrated the use of timber as a structural and aesthetic material. Upright arches of pitch pine timber, which support the clerestory range of sexfoil windows and the scissors truss roof, separate the nave and aisles **(3.41)**.[130] In the Irish churches the timber ceiling was acting in conjunction

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[126] 'Notes of Works', *The Irish Builder*, 1 Sept. 1875, cited in AJBI, IAA, Ashlin file A46.

[127] Specification, Ashlin Coleman Heelan, Dublin. The actual contractual and design information was fully described on the drawings that have not survived.

[128] I am indebted to Dr. Arthur Gibney who accompanied me on an inspection of the roof structure.

[129] The principal source of constructional timber was the Baltic countries where it was shipped from such ports as Christiania (now Oslo), Riga and Memel. Although called 'fir' the timber was principally 'Pinus sylvestris' or Scots pine.

[130] On Hoxton see *The Dublin Builder*, vol.6 no.116, 15 Oct. 1864, p.213; Evinson, 1998, pp.114-115 and Rottmann, 1926, pp.208-209. Hoxton was a district known for its cabinetmakers and woodworkers. The high altar and rose window are of Belgian origin. See Rottmann, 1926, p.209.

with the liturgy by drawing the congregation's eyes from the timber ridge rib along the ribs of the chancel ceiling to the vanishing point that lies behind the altar. This perspectival and spectatorial aspect of the church interior was important architecturally and liturgically. As the distinction in the church interior between the nave and the chancel was whittled down to an absolute minimum, the primary method of defining these two spaces was in the design of the ceilings and roofs of the nave and chancel. The roof and ceiling designs subtly replaced the function and presence of the ever-decreasing chancel arch. The absence of the chancel arch made for a cheaper building and allowed for the creation of the all-important high, unbroken vault.

The date of erection of these ceilings is often difficult to access as the ceilings were often the last element to be put into place. In Cobh, the pitch pine roof was erected in the nave and the transepts between 1894-1903; the aisles were groined in Bath stone between 1893-1896 **(3.42)**.[131] The side aisles in SS. Augustine and John's were groined in timber **(3.43)**. One of the earliest drawings showing the original roof structures dates from 1869 **(3.44)**.[132] The drawing shows the original intention of covering the roof principals in the nave with a timber panelled ceiling rather than the pointed barrel vault that is in place at present. From a longitudinal

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The church was also innovatory in the reduction of the aisles to the width of access passages thus focussing the attention on the altar.

[131] James Coleman, *St. Colman's Cathedral Queenstown – Co. Cork and Historical Sketch* (n.p.: 1918), p.22.

[132] Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.1/B6. 76/1.1/B17 shows the original roof timbers for Cobh and dates from 1869. Chancel ceiling detail shown in 76/1.1/M21, M22 and dates from 1890. 76/1.1/L44 shows a plan of the groining of the nave and transepts. It dates from 1896 when it was already in place. 76/1.1/L12 shows the nave roof and dates from 1870/8 [last digit indecipherable] where the soffit of the ribs are to be wrought to a depth of 4 inches.

section of Cobh cathedral, which dates from 1868, one can see the timber rafters, purlins and principles **(3.45)**. In 1870, Michael Meade, who was engaged in the roofing of St. Kevin's, Harrington Street, Dublin was anxious to prepare the roofs for Cobh. Ashlin had expressed a preference for pitch pine.[133] It is possible that the Cobh ceiling was begun at this stage. There are further anomalies with the 1868 view of the roofing of the nave. This view suggests that the rafters rise to the apex of the ridge and thus indicates the intention to erect an open timber roof with trussed rafters. Such a roof construction would have been quite plain for such a large commission. Dr. Keane was the Bishop of Cloyne while the roofs were being designed and he no doubt wanted the most elaborate roof befitting a cathedral. The timber ribbed chancel ceiling as represented in this drawing coincides with the chancel as erected.[134] The ceiling in Clonakilty appears as a scaled down version of Cobh Cathedral, with a narrower ridge rib and the absence of the gilded bosses **(3.37)**. Although in 1897, the internal ceiling was described as having an 'open construction in pitch pine, varnished', it is currently sheathed throughout with dark varnished timber, which is repeated in the side aisles **(3.46)**.[135] It is elaborated in the nave with the groining of the clerestory openings and appears at its most complex in the apse above the high altar. The bay divisions are similar in both churches with what appears to be a free surface version of the quadripartite rib vault.

G.E. Street stated his preference for a painted canopy enveloping the nave, contrasting with a lower, ribbed vault over the choir and apse.[136] The timber ceilings

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[133] Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, Meade to Ashlin, 21 July 1870.

[134] Further views of the chancel show that the intention was to decorate the timber of the ceiling. The chancel is undecorated today.

[135] 'New Roman Catholic Church, Clonakilty, Co. Cork', *The Irish Builder*, vol.39 no.906, 15 Sept. 1897, p.180.

[136] See Howell and Sutton, 1989, pp.81-82.

in the firm's churches can be equated with Street's painted timber canopy. At SS. Philip and James, Oxford (1859-1862) Street employs a curved rib-vaulted apse with a timber wagon vault for the nave.[137] The use of timber in the ceiling of the firm's commissions is without doubt significant. It was certainly cheaper and more practical than masonry, while brick was not deemed an appropriate material in Ireland with which to roof a church. J.L. Pearson and E.W. Pugin had groined a nave in brick in their churches but they were the exceptions. The firm was interested in wide spacious naves, up to 30ft wide and more, timber was the logical and indeed practical material. Pearson's St. Peter, Vauxhall (1860-1864) was a milestone, as it was one of the first churches in modern times to have a vault of brick infilling between masonry ribs.[138] E.W. Pugin had vaulted the interior of the pilgrimage church in Dadizele, Belgium in brick **(3.47)**. This church space was equally as wide as that of some of the Dublin churches. Vaulting was unusual in English churches and even cathedrals are not vaulted as a matter of course. Street had employed vaults with stone ribs and brick cells for the chancel of St. James the Less, Westminster (1858-1861). In Ireland, earlier in the century, John Semple (c.1801-c.1873) pioneered the use of exposed masonry vaults in some of his Dublin churches, most notably, St. Mary's Chapel of Ease, Dublin (more commonly known as the Black Church) and the St. Patrick's Church of Ireland church, Monkstown, Co. Dublin (c. 1830).[139] In Britain, James Savage (1779-1852) had erected a masonry vaulted (in Bath stone) nave at St. Luke's, Chelsea between 1819-1825.

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[137] Howell and Sutton, 1989, pp.99-100.

[138] On St. Peter's, Vauxhall see Anthony Quiney, *John Loughborough Pearson* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979) and Smart, 1989, pp.124-131.

[139] Maurice Craig, 'John Semple and his churches', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, 1989, pp.145-150.

Chapter 4 - The rural parish churches and smaller commissions

Introduction

The firm's architectural interests, as have been identified, were divided broadly into two distinct styles: the early French and the early English. In addition to the firm's urban successes, Pugin and Ashlin marked the countryside with their style of rural church. These rural churches equally exhibited a tendency to standardisation in a similar manner to the urban churches. While the urban churches followed early French influences, the rural churches and smaller commissions exhibited a tendency to combine both French and English influences.

The geographical layout of these churches and chapels is more widespread than the urban commissions where Dublin played such a significant role. The firm's rural commissions were erected primarily in the south east and west of Ireland, in Co. Wexford, Co. Waterford and most significantly Co. Cork, where the all-important extended Coppinger family connections flourished. The rural churches included those of the Church of the Assumption, Lady's Island, Co. Wexford (1863-1864), SS. Peter and Paul's, Kilanerin, Co. Wexford (1865-1872),[1] of the Sacred Heart, Arles, Co. Laois (1865-1868),[2] of the Sacred Heart, Ferrybank, Co. Waterford (1866), of Our Lady of the Nativity, Ballyhooley, Co. Cork (1867-1869),[3] of the

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[1] 'New Catholic Church, Kilanerin, Co. Wexford', *The Dublin Builder,* vol.7 no.136, 15 Aug. 1865, illus. p.281.

[2] 'New Catholic Church, Arles, Co. Laois', *The Dublin Builder,* vol.7 no.144, 15 Dec. 1865, illus. p.293.

[3] 'New Roman Catholic Church at Ballyhooley, Co. Cork', *The Irish Builder,* vol.9 no. 178, 15 May 1867, illus. p.121.

Immaculate Conception and St. Joseph, Glenealy, Co. Wicklow (1868-1869)[4] and St. Mary's, Carrigtwohill, Co. Cork (1868-1872). Although by autumn of 1868, Pugin and Ashlin had established themselves throughout the south of the country, the partnership was dissolved. Both architects, however, continued to build in the south west of the country; Ashlin continued building in Co. Kerry, where the firm had worked in Listowel and in Tralee, and E.W. Pugin designed a church in Co. Cork. G.C. Ashlin erected St. Carthage's, Brosna, Co. Kerry (1868)[5] and Sacred Heart, Kilmoyley, Co. Kerry (1868)[6] while E.W. Pugin designed St. Brigid's, Crosshaven, Co. Cork (1868).[7] Allied with the rural parish churches are the firm's smaller commissions such as convents[8] and convent chapels,[9] mortuary chapels[10] and domestic structures.[11]

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[4] 'New Catholic Church, Glenealy, County Wicklow', *The Irish Builder,* vol.10 no.213, 1 Nov. 1868, illus. p.268.

[5] 'New Catholic Church, Brosna, Co. Kerry', *The Irish Builder,* vol.10 no.215, 1 Dec. 1868, illus. p.294. 'It may be taken as a good type of a parish church, combining as it does very considerable accommodation with comparatively small outlay.' 'Irish Building News, R.C. Church', *The Dublin Builder*, vol.8 no.163, 1 Oct.1866, p.243.

[6] 'New Catholic Church, Near Ardfert, Diocese of Kerry', *The Irish Builder,* vol.10 no.216, 15 Dec. 1868, illus. p.304.

[7] 'Notes of works', *The Irish Builder,* vol.10 no.205, 15 July 1868, p.182 where Pugin and Ashlin are the named architects. In 'New R.C. Church, Crosshaven, Co. Cork', *The Irish Builder,* vol.11 no.233, 1 Sept. 1869, p.205, E.W. Pugin is named as the architect.

[8] Such as the convent for the Christian Brothers, Drogheda, Co. Louth.

[9] These include the convent chapels for the Sisters of Mercy, Skibbereen, Co. Cork, the Carmelites Hampton, Drumcondra, Co. Dublin, the Ursulines, Doneraile, Co. Cork and the Loreto Order, Fermoy, Co. Cork.

[10] Such as the Greville Nugent mausoleum, Fore, Co. Westmeath and the Ballymurn mortuary chapel, Co. Wexford.

[11] Such as the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul orphanage, North William Street, Dublin.

Changes were made to the successful urban formula to cater for the finances and requirements of the rural parish. The Pugin and Ashlin rural church, with the average dimensions of 100ft. by 45ft., was constructed using local materials, occasionally sandstone and limestone, together with dressings of sandstone, limestone and sometimes granite. As exhibited in the urban churches the rural church comprised a nave with side aisles, generally two, and with the principal entrance at the west front. If a tower was to be built, it was frequently at the west end of an aisle and a broach spire generally surmounted it. As the rural style developed, however, the bell-cote became the more common and appropriate termination for the west front. There were variations on the termination of the east end, between the continental polygonal apse and the thirteenth-century English Gothic square-ended chancel. As identified in the urban commissions, transepts made a rare appearance. The enlargement of the chancel to the full width and height of the nave was also a feature in the firm's rural works. The different plan types and styles used, in the rural commissions, were the outcome of widely disparate requirements and patronage.

The legacy of A.W.N. Pugin and Puginian Gothic

Puginian Gothic was reflected in Pugin and Ashlin's rural commissions. Before E.W. Pugin and Ashlin's reign, A.W.N. Pugin's legacy in Ireland was evident most especially in the work of J.J. McCarthy (1817-1882). A.W.N. Pugin's ideal parish church style was that of the medieval English rural church, preferably of the fourteenth century. This style did not assimilate urban topography in the same manner it did rural. During the 1840s, McCarthy consolidated his position as the

architect who would generate a revival of ancient architecture in Ireland and build churches in the true ecclesiological manner. From as early as 1843 McCarthy had fallen under the influence of A.W.N. Pugin and the Ecclesiologists.[12] By 1846, McCarthy had embarked on his first significant commission St. Kevin's, Glendalough, Co. Wicklow (1846-1851).[13] Like the English Puginites, his first Puginian church, was decidedly rural. McCarthy's five-bay church, in the Early English style, followed ecclesiological recommendations for a small rural church with a distinctly marked chancel, south porch and a bell-cote to the western gable and was built of local materials (local granite with limestone dressings). To promote further his ecclesiological beliefs McCarthy founded the Irish Ecclesiological Society in 1849. The society published his pamphlet *Suggestions on the Arrangement and Characteristics of Parish Churches* (Dublin: 1851), which was viewed as an affirmation of A.W.N. Pugin's theories, and encouraged fellow architects to build in the Puginian and ecclesiological way.[14]

The pamphlet was published at a time when continental-inspired church layouts were becoming increasingly popular. As far as style was concerned, both McCarthy and the Ecclesiologists followed the same line of thought. The Camdenians believed that 'nothing can be better suited to a small chapel than Early English; for a larger building either of the two later styles may be employed with

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[12] On McCarthy and the Ecclesiologists see Jeanne Sheehy, *J. J. McCarthy and the Gothic Revival in Ireland* (Belfast: UAHS [1977]), pp.9-13 and Jeanne Sheehy, 'McCarthy, J(ames) J(oseph)', in Jane Turner, ed., *The Dictionary of Art*, 36 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers, 1996), vol.19, pp.869-870.

[13] On St. Kevin's see Sheehy, 1977, pp.6, 24, 35; J.J. McCarthy, *Suggestions on the Arrangement of Parish Churches* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1851), p.16.

more effect.'[15] McCarthy stated that churches ought to be decorated 'in that style which accords best with Christian traditions and sentiments, irrespective of merely antiquarian consideration'.[16] He was careful to maintain, however, that Ecclesiologists had ' a real purpose in view' and were 'careful not to confound the reverential investigation of antiquity with the blind worship of the obsolete.'[17] Yet while these sentiments could be applied to any style, even the round-arched style, he was more pointed in stating that, above all, rusticity was required in country churches.[18] To achieve this effect Early Pointed 'may, with strictest propriety, be used.'[19] Architects of the day called for rusticity in rural churches.[20] McCarthy stated that

> If a church is to be properly arranged, the very simplest architectural features will produce a perfectly ecclesiastical effect. Low walls of roughly-dressed ashlar work, or rubble masonry, simple lancet windows, boldly projecting buttresses, high-pitched roof, with gables terminating in crosses, will be unmistakeably a Church as one of the most finished detail.[21]

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[14] All of the churches illustrated, but one, were designed by McCarthy. The exception was St. Anne's, Liverpool, built by Charles Hansom. See McCarthy, 1851, p.17.

[15] *A Few Words to Church Builders* (Cambridge: Cambridge Camden Society, 1841), p.4.

[16] McCarthy, 1851, p.31.

[17] ibid.

[18] G.E. Street echoed this sentiment in his article on the characteristics of town churches where he believed rusticity was to be avoided. See Street, 'On the Proper Characteristics of a Town Church', *Ecclesiologist,* vol.11 1850, pp.227-233.

[19] McCarthy, 1851, pp.41-42.

[20] McCarthy, 1851, p.41. Similarly, there were objections against its use for city churches. See Street, 1850, pp.227-233.

[21] McCarthy, 1851, p.34.

The style necessitated the use of smaller window openings. The great elevation and ample windows, which city and large town churches demand were not required in country districts.[22]

Whatever about style, the most notable statement in his pamphlet was in the division of the two spaces in the church. In advising architects of the most important aspects of church building, McCarthy stated that the arrangement of a church must 'comply with the requirements for celebrating the Holy Sacrifice, and other sacred rites administered at the altar, with becoming order and solemnity.'[23] The second commandment was to supply a place in which the faithful could devoutly and reverently assist the holy offices. Thus the celebration of the Divine worship and the place occupied by worshippers then necessitated 'two parts, somewhat separate and distinct.'[24] The Cambridge Camden Society had preached of two distinct parts of the church and encouraged the erection of a 'well-defined Chancel' with the small apsidal projection for the altar as inadequate.[25] This publication placed McCarthy firmly within the generation of Irish architects in the 1850s who adhered to Puginian and ecclesiologically correct Gothic. Although in Wexford, in 1851, A.W.N. Pugin's assistants, Richard and James Pierce, erected two churches with unified nave and chancel. The Church of the Assumption (1851-1858)and the Church of the Immaculate Conception (1851-1858), both erected in Wexford town, further enhance the idea of the unified interior with traceried screens in the final bay of the nave arcade.

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[22] McCarthy, 1851, p.33.

[23] ibid., pp.14-15.

[24] ibid., 1851, p.15.

[25] *A Few Words to Church Builders*, 1841, p.5.

McCarthy was a most talented architect in smaller country churches. He skilfully adapted his chosen style, predominantly Gothic and occasionally Romanesque, to the needs of the building and to local materials. In doing so he produced buildings that were solid and unpretentious, with clear, coherent spatial relationships. Certainly Pugin and Ashlin, whether in partnership or working independently, were McCarthy's closest rival. McCarthy designed a large number of churches in the diocese of Kerry, where Dr. David Moriarty, who had been Vice President of the Irish Ecclesiological Society, became co-adjutor Bishop in 1854 and succeeded to the See in 1856.[26] McCarthy's long association with the diocese of Kerry began in 1851 with St. Brendan's, Ardfert **(4.1)**. In 1853 he was appointed to superintend the completion of A.W.N. Pugin's, St. Mary's Cathedral, Killarney, Co. Kerry (1842-1843) and in 1857 he designed the chancel decoration of Pugin senior's St. Aidan's, Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford (1843-1850). In July 1860, McCarthy was in a brief partnership with Daniel O'Connell, grandson of Daniel O'Connell the Liberator, and distant relative of G.C. Ashlin **(1.1)**.[27] McCarthy and O'Connell had worked on churches in Co. Kerry, in Dingle and in Fieries.[28] It was such commissions, such as the completion of A.W.N. Pugin's work, for which Pugin and

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[26] He succeeded Dr. Cornelius Egan. McCarthy's relationship with Bishop Cullen was not as close as that with Bishop Moriarty. McCarthy had risked offending Cullen with his political and nationalist connections with Charles Gavan Duffy in 1851, although by 1860 he had designed a church in the round-arched style at Ballitore, Co. Kildare, Archbishop Cullen's birthplace.

[27] Daniel O'Connell's brother John married Elizabeth Coppinger who was Ashlin's grandmother's (Johanna Coppinger) first cousin. See Walter Arthur Copinger, ed., *History of the Copingers or Coppingers of the County of Cork, Ireland, and the Counties of Suffolk and Kent, England* (Manchester: H. Sotheran & Co., 1884), 'Pedigree of the Coppingers of Ballyvolane and Barryscourt, Co. Cork. No.2'. For an abridged version see illus. 1.1.

Ashlin would have been eligible and which they were anxious to receive. Indeed it was precisely such commissions that initially brought E.W. Pugin to Ireland when he completed his father's work for the Earl of Dunraven in 1856. E.W. Pugin was no doubt aware that Ashlin's connections in the south of the country would aid in the winning back of such commissions.

Lady's Island – the first rural commission

The firm's first rural commission, the Church of the Assumption, Lady's Island, Co. Wexford is among their most significant **(4.2)**. Lady's Island was an important Wexford commission where influential Coppinger family connections, with the Powers, the Redmonds, the Esmondes and the Talbots had been consolidated further with A.W.N. Pugin's arrival in Ireland.[29] A.W.N. Pugin had built little that was directly commissioned by the dominant secular clergy, nor did he build in Dublin. His churches were the realisation of the circle of connections of the Earl of Shrewsbury in the south east and the Earl of Kenmare and the Earl of Dunraven in the south west of Ireland. A.W.N. Pugin had built churches in Ramsgrange, Bree, Gorey, Tagoat and St. Peter's College, all in Wexford. Pugin and Ashlin's churches reaped the benefits of Pugin senior's affluent lay patrons. Lady's Island adjoined the parish of Tagoat where A.W.N. Pugin had built the parish church through the

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[28] On this brief partnership, see Sheehy, 1977, p.15. Daniel O'Connell had been the pupil of Joseph Aloysius Hansom, brother of Charles.

[29] For the Power, Talbot and Redmond family connections see Chapter 1. For the Esmonde family see Art Kavanagh and Rory Murphy, *The Wexford Gentry*, 2 vols (Wexford: Irish Family Name, 1994), vol.1, pp.97-111. The Esmonde family lived at Ballynastragh where Ashlin made additions to the house in 1869. Sir Thomas Esmonde along with John Talbot invited A.W.N. Pugin to Wexford. Sir Thomas gave the ground for St. Michael's, Gorey, Co. Wexford.

patronage of John Hyacinth Talbot, whose residence, Ballytrent, was nearby.[30] Puginian Gothic as witnessed at the Church of the Sacred Heart, Tagoat (1845-1846) **(4.3)** with the emphasis on materials, the excellence of the workmanship, the lack of ornament, the heavy proportions, characterised A.W.N. Pugin's work in Ireland and anticipated much of the rural style that spread across Ireland. Lady's Island paved the way for further lucrative Wexford commissions with SS. Peter and Paul's, Kilanerin, Co. Wexford being commissioned by the Wexford gentry.

Aspects of Lady's Island and the firm's rural churches were truly Puginian. The central position of the tower and spire was a favourite motif of A.W.N. Pugin's at the beginning of his career. At St. Giles, Cheadle, England (1840-1846) the central tower dominates the entire church.[31] The placing of tower in the central position reflected the firm's early acknowledgement of Pugin senior's work. The steeply pitched roof and the tall and tightly ordered east end evoke St. Chad's, Birmingham **(2.1)**. Pugin and Ashlin employed the central tower in both early urban and early rural commissions: at SS. Augustine and John's, Dublin, **(3.1)** the early Cobh Cathedral drawing (c.1867) **(3.9)** and at the Church of the Sacred Heart, Ferrybank, Co. Waterford **(4.4)**. At Lady's Island and Ferrybank, the tower was central and contained the principal entrance. At Ferrybank, angle buttresses flanked the entrance doorway and articulated the projecting tower, while at Lady's Island steps led up to the central entrance. The central tower, placed symmetrically on the west façade with a side aisle on either side, dictated the entire massing of the church. Ultimately Pugin and Ashlin's treatment of the aisles and their relation to the tower

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[30] Phoebe Stanton, *Pugin* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), pp.70, 205, illus. p.73.

originates and was an expansion of the formula used at Cheadle. The erection of the Church of the Sacred Heart, Ferrybank called for a two-stage development. The tower and spire were to be added to the front of the old parish church, which would then be demolished when funds permitted the second phase to begin.[32] The tower was built over the site of a family vault with the tower foundations acting as the walling and roofing of the crypt.[33] The second phase consisted of adding the new nave, aisles and sacristy. The entire scheme was illustrated in *The Dublin Builder* in 1866 **(4.5)**.[34] The vault was to commemorate Henry Winston Barron (1795-1872).[35] The Bishop of Waterford, Dr. Power, refused to allow the H.W. Barron memorial to be erected in St. John's Cathedral, Waterford. The Barron family comprised H.W. Barron's two sons Pierce Marcus Barron and Sir Henry Page Turner Barron. They looked instead to the neighbouring diocese and to the Bishop of Ossory Dr. Moran in 1875.[36] However Dr. Moran, who was Archbishop Cullen's nephew, also refused. In 1904 G.C Ashlin working independently eventually built the church to amended designs **(4.6)**.[37]

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[31] On Cheadle see Stanton, 1971, p.97-114. St. George's, Southwark, London (bombed and rebuilt) and St. Oswald's, Liverpool (1843) (replaced by a larger building) are other examples.

[32] Ferrybank remained the chapel-of-ease to Slieverue until it was constituted a parish in 1970. Until 1846 Slieverue and Glenmore had formed one parochial union. With the elevation of the Very Rev. Edward Walsh as Bishop of Ossory, he separated Slieverue and Glenmore. For the scheme see Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.94/1-87.

[33] Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.94/42.

[34] Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.94/28 and *The Dublin Builder*, vol.8 no.157, 1 July 1866.

[35] The principal benefactor was H.P.T. Barron (later second Baronet) of nearby Belmont House.

[36] H.P.T. Barron (later second Baronet) lived at nearby Belmont House. Ashlin built the church proper to a modified and more eclectic design in 1904 with the necessary funds left by Barron for the purpose on his death in 1900.

[37] See Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.94/13.

The Pugin and Ashlin partnership generally employed the asymmetrical tower throughout, particularly in the urban churches and occasionally in the rural commissions. At Sacred Heart, Arles, Co. Laois **(4.7)** and SS. Peter and Paul's, Kilanerin, Co. Wexford **(4.8)** the firm chose the asymmetrically placed tower.[38] The patronage of the wealthy gentry, the Redmonds in Co. Wexford and the Graces in Co. Laois, financed the erection of these towers and spires and further elaboration from the original schemes. The tower and spire were placed at the west end of the north aisle in the Laois church and at the west end of the south aisle in the Wexford church. After 1841, A.W.N. Pugin also preferred to place the tower asymmetrically usually in front of an aisle.[39] When constructed, Kilanerin was embellished further with the addition of almost freestanding spirelets in place of the broaches **(4.8) (4.9)**. This feature made a re-appearance in 1866 in the additions to the St. Mary's, Listowel **(4.10)** and a variation with tourelles on the proposed spire at the Dominican Church of the Holy Cross, Tralee, Co. Kerry **(3.11)**, where on both occasions they were considered novel.[40] The emergence of the bell-cote, however, for rural commissions was significant. Joseph Welland and McCarthy advocated their use. McCarthy suggested that the bell-cote be placed on either the east or west nave gable.[41] The churches without towers, the Church of the Nativity, Ballyhooley **(4.11)**, St. Mary's, Carrigtwohill **(4.12)**, the Church of the Immaculate Conception and St. Joseph, Glenealy **(4.13)**, St. Carthage, Brosna **(4.14)** and the Church of the

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[38] A tower at the north west angle was proposed for Brosna. 'Irish Church Building News, R.C. Church', vol.8 no.163, 1 Oct. 1866, p.243.

[39] The Ecclesiologists also championed the cause of asymmetricality.

[40] On Listowel, Co. Kerry see 'R.C. Church', *The Dublin Builder,* vol.8 no.156, 15 June 1866, p.160.

[41] McCarthy, 1851, p.21. McCarthy's St. Kevin's has a bell-cote on the west gable of the nave. Welland's Church of Ireland churches in Kanturk, Co. Cork (c.1860), Donamon, Co. Roscommon (c.1850) and St. Paul's, Knocktarna, Coleraine, Derry (1851-1855) employ bell-cotes.

Sacred Heart, Kilmoyley **(4.15)** are allied with E.W. Pugin's English churches. The bell-cote was reserved for the rural commissions although it was frequently used in E.W. Pugin's larger English commissions. At St. Monica's, Hoxton, London (1864-1865) **(4.16)**, St. Francis of Assisi, Gorton, Manchester (1866), St. Vincent de Paul, Liverpool (1856-1857) **(2.2)** and All Saints, Barton-upon-Irwell, Manchester (1865-1868) E.W. Pugin demonstrated the use of the bell-cote in an urban context.

Continental influences on the rural churches

Although elements and motifs of the rural churches owe a certain debt to Puginian Gothic, the overall design of many of these rural commissions highlighted the firm's interest in current continental motifs. Lady's Island followed the firm's early, and most French, successes in Dublin and Cork: SS. Peter and Paul's, Carey's Lane and SS. Augustine and John's, Thomas Street. Urban, and indeed High Victorian influences, inform the rural commissions. The rural churches were built contemporaneously with the larger urban commissions where French influences were in the ascendant. The continental influences included the overall massing of the churches, the polygonal apse, the emphasis on the horizontal courses of masonry and elaborate details such as the mannered windows and tracery.

The main aim of Pugin and Ashlin's church layouts was the easy physical and visual access to the high altar. A.W.N. Pugin on the other hand, in the 1840s, and J.J. McCarthy in the 1850s, had revitalised the additive plan of the fourteenth-century English rural parish church. Their churches comprised smaller spaces for multiple and distinct liturgical acts off the central core, with a deep sanctuary as the

most important space. This was contrary to the layout and liturgy of the 1860s church where the high altar, in a shallow apse, with a more pronounced reredos, large tabernacle and spire above, dominated the nave and aisles. McCarthy, as a follower of A.W.N. Pugin and promoter of ecclesiological ideals, propounded the notion of the two distinct spaces. Although Pugin and Ashlin like McCarthy wanted to achieve functional Gothic, both liturgically and structurally, by the 1860s their emphasis had changed. As witnessed in England, changes were made to the liturgy that effected significant changes to the layout of the church space, which placed greater emphasis on the high altar and the surrounding area. That the propensity for Catholic communities to innovate was linked closely to their level of wealth is significant. It was among the wealthier regions in Ireland, such as the dioceses of Cloyne and Dublin, and among the higher social classes of towns that modern formal religion made the greatest impact and where the populace most readily accorded obedience to the outward practice of ultramontane Catholicism.[42] The reformist campaign of Cullen and his ultramontane allies often had a retarded impact in many rural centres. While there was undoubted opposition to ultramontane ideas in many churches in rural settings, it is interesting to observe the definite architectural evidence to the contrary.

The firm's rural churches, nonetheless, continued themes already seen in the urban churches where the nave and chancel roof are united under the one roof height and terminated in a polygonal apse. At Lady's Island **(4.17)**, Kilanerin **(4.8)**, Arles **(4.18)**, Carrigtwohill **(4.12)**, Glenealy **(4.13)**, Brosna **(4.14)**, Kilmoyley **(4.15)** and

[42] On this aspect of the change in Irish church practices see K. Theodore Hoppen, *Ireland since 1800 conflict and conformity* (London and New York, Longman, 1989, repr. 1999), p.74.

Crosshaven **(4.19)** the nave and the chancel roof are united together under the one roof height. The polygonal chancel was employed at Lady's Island **(4.20)**, Kilanerin **(4.21)**, Arles **(4.22)**, Glenealy **(4.13)** and Kilmoyley **(4.15)**. As seen in the firm's urban commissions, the apsed style was brought to prominence in their urban churches erected during the 1860s. At Carrigtwohill **(4.23)**, Brosna **(4.14)**, Ballyhooley **(4.24)**, Crosshaven **(4.19)** and Ferrybank **(4.5)** the nave terminated in a square-ended chancel. In the use of the square-ended chancel, the firm looked back to the philosophy of A.W.N. Pugin. Apses had been the standard termination in some of A.W.N. Pugin's early churches, for example St. Chad's, Birmingham (1839) **(2.1)**, whereas square-ended chancels were adopted with A.W.N. Pugin's favoured Decorated Gothic style in the 1840s, for example, at St. Giles, Cheadle. The polygonal apse, however, afforded far greater visual prominence to the high altar than the square-ended chancel.

In general the employment of the separately roofed nave and chancel was an exception to their normal practice. It was an acknowledgement of Puginian Gothic coupled with ecclesiological principles. At Ferrybank **(4.6)** and Ballyhooley **(4.24)** the external chancel roof heights are distinctly lower than the nave. Both churches, however, were not completed as originally intended. In the proposed interior of Ferrybank there was a definite chancel arch with a lower height for the chancel ceiling.[43] The roof construction for the nave was the typical and expected 'Pugin roof' with exposed fretted principals.[44] At Ballyhooley there was also a separately roofed chancel. The original scheme, as illustrated in *The Irish Builder* of 1867,

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[43] Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.94/41. The chancel arch is also indicated in the drawing of the east and west elevations. See Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.94/40.

called for a single continuous roof with square-ended chancel, flanked by Lady Chapel and sacristy **(4.11)**.[45] The chancel wall projected slightly beyond the sacristy wall to indicate subtly its importance. The church's influences and debts were not to France and High Victorian thoughts but to the ecclesiological notions of A.W.N. Pugin and J.J. McCarthy. The plan, however, resembled the typical Pugin and Ashlin church, with nave, aisles, open and shallow chancel flanked by a Lady Chapel and sacristy. The chancel flanks were to be lighted by twin lancets that were reduced to a single lancet on the erection of a separately roofed chancel.

For McCarthy and the Ecclesiologists the most significant church plan was cruciform; it adhered to the symbolical notions of the time.[46] McCarthy's chief interest was in medieval English details and layouts with no concession to French motifs.[47] As identified and initiated in the urban churches, the firm's manipulation of the transept space was considerable and reached a high point in such urban commissions as, SS. Peter and Paul's, Carey's Lane, Sacred Heart, Donnybrook, St. Patrick's, Monkstown, Cork and Cobh Cathedral. The firm's main approach was not to use transepts. In only two rural commissions, were transepts intended and built: these are Glenealy, Co. Wicklow **(4.13)** and Brosna, Co. Kerry (1868) **(4.14)** where the basic plan was cruciform. Both churches were begun while the partnership was drawing to a close and it is likely that Ashlin was the executant architect. The most important focal point of the interior was the altar, therefore transepts should not

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[44] Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.94/40.

[45] 'New Roman Catholic Church at Ballyhooley, Co. Cork', *The Irish Builder*, vol.9 no.178, 15 May 1867, p.120, illus. p.121.

[46] McCarthy, 1851, p.17.

[47] McCarthy did eventually succumb to continental influences at Thurles Cathedral (1867-1879). On Thurles see Sheehy, 1977, pp.25, 63.

interfere, distract or accommodate a congregation who could not see the altar. Devices used in the urban churches were employed to promote a strong longitudinal axis within the interior that focussed the congregation's attention on the altar. These devices included dividing the transept space with a pair of arches and the erection of a quick succession of narrow arches in the chancel flanking the altar. The division of the transeptal space by arches that acted like a screen, separated and somewhat concealed the transepts by directing the congregation's attention eastward. The arches in the chancel had the effect of foreshortening the chancel even further thus making the priest appear larger. Despite the fact that A.W.N. Pugin and the Ecclesiologists promoted the cruciform church with pronounced transepts, Ashlin in these later rural churches, enhanced the apparent Puginian-inspired rural church with these High Victorian spatial manipulations. These mannered effects were used in St. Patrick's, Monkstown, Co. Cork, SS. Peter and Paul's, Carey's Lane, Cork **(3.5)** and at the Sacred Heart, Donnybrook, Dublin and at Glenealy **(4.25)** and Brosna to a subtler degree.

One can see the influences of French Gothic motifs where different planes and surfaces of wall intersect. It was at SS. Peter and Paul's, Carey's Lane. Cork where the firm first employed on the exterior gabled traceried openings that projected into the chancel roof. Although built at Donnybrook they were absent from the original scheme **(4.26) (4.27)**. The feature, which was employed frequently in E.W. Pugin's 'rich' English churches, such as All Saints, Barton-upon-Irwell, Manchester (1865-1868) was also used in the 1850s by G.E. Street. His church at Firsby, Lincolnshire (1858) exhibits a chunkier and muscular version **(4.28)**. It was used at the east end of St. Patrick's, Monkstown, Cork **(3.18)** and the later urban

churches, such as, St. Kevin's, Harrington Street, Dublin and the Immaculate Conception, Clonakilty, Co. Cork. Ashlin employed the motif in Glenealy **(4.13)** and Kilmoyley **(4.15)**, where again, it appeared, as a tribute to High Victorian massing. Allied with the openings that projected into the chancel was the gabled openings articulate the entire side elevation of a number of Pugin and Ashlin churches. As early as the twelfth century lateral gables to aisles and flanking chapels were in vogue, although it was in the Rayonnant Gothic that they were most frequently employed.[48] The motif was most frequently employed in the firm's churches where E.W. Pugin's influence was at its strongest, such as the early proposals for the church at Queenstown **(3.8)**, SS. Peter and Paul's, Carey's Lane, Cork **(3.2)** and SS. Augustine and John's, Thomas Street, Dublin **(3.3) (3.4)**.

The idea of horizontality was exploited in interiors and exteriors of both Pugin and Ashlin's urban and rural churches. G.E. Street believed that the whole building ought to be composed of a succession of horizontal layers, one over the other. Stringcourses were placed round sections of the building to identify them and mark their beginning and ending, for example, each stage of a tower was identified through a stringcourse and a type of window opening. A band of contrasting stone frequently joined clerestory lights, while the larger side aisle openings were joined by sill courses. The liberal use of slim advancing buttresses countered the layering effect of the stringcourses.

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[48] Significantly they were to remain a motif of Late Gothic architecture in the Low Countries. See Richard Fawcett, 'Late Gothic architecture in Scotland: Considerations on the influence of the Low Countries', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol.12, 1982, pp.477-496 (p.486).

As with the layering effect, the hierarchy of the churches' features is orchestrated in the treatment of the window openings. The typical west front comprised three lancets above the central entrance. Inspired by A.W.N. Pugin and developed by J.J. McCarthy at St. Brendan's, Ardfert (1851) the theme was used confidently by the firm **(4.1)**. The influences were more from an English than French derivation. At Kilanerin **(4.9)**, Arles **(4.7)**, Ballyhooley **(4.11)** and Brosna **(4.14)** such an arrangement was employed. The placing of the triple graded lancets in the west front is used in these churches in a manner used by A.W.N. Pugin at Tagoat, Co. Wexford **(4.3)**. The detailing of the west front of the urban churches has gone, except for some concessions to decoration. At St. Mary's, Carrigtwohill the firm used the motif of paired lights flanking a sculptural frame that echoed the central lancet. **(4.12)** E.W. Pugin's first use of this arrangement was on the façade of St. Francis of Assisi, Gorton, Manchester (1866).[49] The firm also employed the motif at St. Mary's, Listowel **(4.10)** where the sculptural frame was the same height as the middle lancet. In the Irish example a circular window with tracery defined the space above.[50]

In keeping with the notion of a hierarchy of window openings and appropriate window openings for rural churches, the firm utilised quatrefoil and trefoil clerestory lights. Details from the medieval church of St. Canice's, Gowran, Co. Kilkenny also occur, such as the twin lancets used for side aisle windows with

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[49] Peter Howell and Ian Sutton, *Faber Guide to Victorian Churches* (London: Faber and Faber, 1989), p.91.

[50] O'Neill and Byrne in St. Joseph's, Berkeley Road, Dublin (1880) continued the theme of a central sculpture flanked by lancets with circular opening above.

similar quatrefoil lights for the clerestory.[51] Quatrefoil clerestory lights appear at Lady's Island, Ferrybank **(4.5)**, Arles **(4.29)**, Kilanerin **(4.9)**, Ballyhooley **(4.11)** **(4.23)** and trefoil lights at Carrigtwohill **(4.12)**. The employment of the simple trefoil clerestory was a favourite device of McCarthy's and was found in many of his churches, for example, the church at Kilskyre, Co. Meath, at Kilcock, Co. Kildare, Kilcullen, Co. Kildare and at Portlaw, Co. Waterford. In the projected design for Ballyhooley **(4.11)** the clerestory range of quatrefoil openings ended at the east end in a pair of lancets. At Carrigtwohill lancets were placed in the chancel. The importance of the east end is identified and acknowledged in the hierarchy of the openings.

In the rural churches when tracery is introduced, although in a limited and hierarchical fashion, it was a most expressive medium. The two-light window with pointed trefoil heads topped by a quatrefoil, was often used by McCarthy and was a basic pattern and could be from other sources than St. Canice's, Gowran. It was used in the chancel of Lady's Island **(4.19)** and Kilanerin **(4.20)**. A variation with a trefoil head in place of the quatrefoil was used in the west front of the side aisles of Ferrybank and Lady's Island **(4.2)** **(4.4)**. At the east end of Ballyhooley, Kilmoyley and Glenealy there is an elaborate Geometrical tracery three light window. Geometric tracery within rose windows was often employed in the side altar windows, as at Arles **(4.21)**, Kilanerin **(4.20)** and Carrigtwohill **(4.22)**. The massing of the polygonal east end of Lady's Island **(4.19)**, Kilanerin **(4.20)** and Arles **(4.21)** is very similar with the chancel lights set high up to minimise the congregation's

[51] For St. Canice's, Gowran see Arthur C. Champneys, *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture, with some notice of similar or related work in England, Scotland and elsewhere* (London: G. Bell and Sons;

distraction by the back lighting of the high altar. Glenealy was one of the few rural churches where the firm employed, on the west front, that motif of a large arch with rose window and raking sill **(4.30)**. The proximity to Dublin, further highlighted by the steam train in the background of *The Irish Builder* illustration, may have influenced the tendency towards the urban style for this commission **(4.13)**. Glenealy looks back to the more High Victorian tendencies of the firm's designs. A rose window was used in two late Cork commissions: at the west end of Crosshaven and at the east end of Carrigtwohill **(4.22)**, but in both cases its initial visual effect was somewhat diminished as the principal entrance to the churches was situated elsewhere.[52] In Carrigtwohill the entrance was at the west front and in Crosshaven the entrance was at the south side.

As witnessed in the urban churches there was a development away from the finely chiselled finishes to the rougher more textured rural effects. Local materials were combined in a manner that did at first startle contemporaries. Similarly from about 1840, A.W.N. Pugin became sensitive to the indigenous architecture with which his buildings would live. At Arles, the materials used were dark local limestone relieved with white limestone dressings and bands of while limestone at intervals linking the different and separately roofed portions of the church. Limestone dressings and stringcourses relieved the hammer dressed limestone. The appearance would later inform Ashlin's own churches such as the Church of the Holy Rosary, Midleton, Co. Cork (1892). There is often a mechanical appearance to the tracery (when used) in these rural churches. The heaviness and solidity of the

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Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1910), p.160 and illus. between pp.160-161.

tracery, particularly at Arles, with the hood mouldings over the openings, which terminated in unornamented cubes, added to the rather heavy and less refined appearance to the church **(4.29)**. In the later years, it was this aspect of the church's appearance that was in stark contrast to the earlier influences of E.W. Pugin which, when translated to the Irish scene, became more restrained, heavy and with the lightness diluted.

The rural roofs

In contrast to the urban churches, the rural churches exhibited generally one type of roof construction – the scissors truss roof. Gothic Revival churches tended to have a roof slope of 60° that facilitated the use of the scissors truss. With this preference, the firm identified with the earlier commissions of A.W.N. Pugin and the previous generation of Gothic Revivalists. The notion of 'solidity' or reality of construction in church architecture was important for ecclesiologically minded architects such as J.J. McCarthy and Pugin and Ashlin. They shunned the more interesting roof trusses such as with hammerbeam and queen posts that A.W.N. Pugin had employed.[53] The firm employed at Kilanerin, Arles **(4.7)**, Ballyhooley **(4.31)** and Glenealy **(4.32)** the scissors truss. At Arles the truss was fretted and at Carrigtwohill the princpals were scissored and alternated with pairs of scissors trusses **(4.33)**. At Crosshaven the scissors truss was elaborated further, in an E.W. Pugin manner, with the addition of wind braces. The apex of the roof was boarded and thus closed in the rafters **(4.34)**.

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[52] The west end of Crosshaven was extended in the 1960s and the rose window was copied and replaced.

[53] Stanton, 1971, p.68, refers to the timber roof of St. Michael's, Gorey, Co. Wexford as 'spindly'. In A.W.N. Pugin's parish churches the open timber roofs tended to be painted.

The Cambridge Camden Society 'heartily' recommended the arched open roof as 'the most elegant and churchlike'.[54]

Overall, the firm did not erect masonry vaults, but the architects erected masonry vaults individually. In England, E.W. Pugin tended to build masonry vaults over smaller chapels, particularly mortuary and chantry chapels. E.W. Pugin's All Saints, Barton-upon-Irwell, Manchester (1868-1869) began with the building of the de Trafford chantry chapel in 1863.[55] The chantry was screened from the chancel by an arcade of three columns on the chancel side. On the chapel side thin shafts supported the masonry rib vaulted chantry roof. It is similar to E.W. Pugin's chantry chapels at Ushaw and St. Edmund's. The firm were responsible for the erection of two mortuary chapels, at Ballymurn, Co. Wexford (1861) **(4.35)** and at Fore, Co. Westmeath (1867) **(4.36)**. Ballymurn mortuary chapel was erected in the memory of the Maher family, while the Fore mausoleum was erected in memory of the Greville Nugent family. Ballymurn was constructed with a Portland stone roof supported on a groined ceiling of Caen stone. Granite was used for the other constructive portions and Bath stone dressings.[56] At Fore additions, which included the addition of the battlements, were made to a medieval anchorite cell. The interior is lined with Bath stone. Bath stone colonettes, which articulated the wall, rise up to join ribs that meet at the centre of the roof. Ashlin tended to build masonry vaults in some of the smaller churches he erected in his independent career.[57] In keeping with the practice

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[54] *A Few Words to Church Builders* (Cambridge: Cambridge Camden Society, 1841), p.17.

[55] The church was added to the chantry chapel at a cost of over £25,000 and was a gift of the de Traffords. Howell and Sutton, 1989, p.90.

[56] 'Notes of works', *The Dublin Builder,* vol.3 no. 32, 15 Apr. 1861, p.486.

[57] A masonry vault was erected at the O'Connell Memorial Church, Caherciveen, Co. Kerry (1885). The work is contemporaneous with Pearson's, Truro Cathedral. *The Irish Builder* reported that the

of building small masonry chapels for either chantry purposes or as private chapels, James Franklin Fuller, the leading Church of Ireland architect at this time built a chapel at Kylemore, Letterfrack, Co. Mayo in 1866. It follows the English fourteenth-century style with stone vaulting throughout both church and crypt.[58]

The convent chapels and continentalism

The firm built a number of convent chapels for the religious orders in Ireland during the mid-1860s. The convent and convent chapels include: the Sisters of Mercy convent chapel, Clonakilty, Co. Cork (1866);[59] the Sisters of Mercy convent chapel, Skibbereen, Co. Cork (1866-1868); the Christian Brothers convent, Drogheda, Co. Louth (1867);[60] the Carmelite convent chapel, Hampton, Drumcondra, Co. Dublin (1868) and, independently by Ashlin, the Ursuline convent chapel, Doneraile, Co. Cork (1869)[61] and the new wing and chapel for the Loreto convent, Fermoy, Co. Cork (1869). The geographical spread again centres on Cork where members of

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'whole of the ceilings [would] be vaulted with concrete groined vaulting, the ribs and arches of stone, and the roofs of oak, covered with Valentia slates.' See 'O'Connell Memorial Church, Caherciveen', *The Irish Builder,* vol.27 no.613, 1 July 1885, p.190 and vol.27 no.614, 15 July 1885, p.202, illus. p.203. At All Saints, Raheny, Co. Dublin (1891) and the Adelaide Memorial church, Myshall, Co. Carlow (1903) Ashlin erected masonry vaults. In Raheny the crypt to the Guinness family and in Myshall the nave roof are vaulted in Bath stone.

[58] The chapel was initially built for the family who owned the land, but the Benedictine Nuns acquired it after World War 1, who replaced the chapel with a more convenient one within the castle.

[59] 'New Chapel at convent, Clonakilty, Co. Cork', *The Dublin Builder,* vol.8 no.157, 1 July 1866, p.166 and illus.

[60] 'New Convent for the Christian Brothers, Drogheda', *The Irish Builder,* vol.9 no.174, 15 Mar. 1867, p.72 illus. p.73. Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.46/1 and 76/1.46/2 are both copies of the perspective illustrated in *The Irish Builder*.

[61] 'New Chapel and Choir, Convent of Ursulines, Doneraile, Co. Cork', *The Irish Builder,* vol.11 no.229, 1 July 1869, p.156, illus. p.157.

Ashlin's family were in religious orders.[62] The firm was more experimental with different styles than it was when erecting its parish churches. The convent chapel for the Sisters of Mercy, Skibbereen was built in the firm's standard early Decorated style. The traceried rose window on the west front, the variation on the arcading below, the central entrance and the combination of local materials were familiar themes employed by the firm **(4.38)**. The stairwell turret, almost château-like, tucked into the wall was another concession to continental inspired architecture. At the east end a five-light Geometrical window rose high up on the east wall. Similarly in Ashlin's convent chapel in Doneraile the early Decorated style was chosen with Geometrical west front window and cresting on the roof ridge, which emphasised Ashlin's and the patron's interests in continental architecture **(4.39)**.

Italian styles were never given much thought by the firm. The round-arched styles with some Romanesque features were popular because of the belief that Rome was the centre of Catholicism. Round-arched Renaissance classicism was paganism and A.W.N. Pugin only toyed with the use of the round-arched style as seen at St. Michael's, Gorey, Co. Wexford (1839). His use of the round-arched style was linked to Irish medieval precedent as were the stepped battlements of Gorey. John Ruskin's influence had sent architects 'rushing for a while towards North Italy.'[63]

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[62] A grand niece of Dr. William Coppinger (1753-1831), Bishop of Cloyne and Ross, Mary Coppinger, was the Superior in Midleton convent, while her sister Elizabeth was a nun in the convent in Tralee. The Bishop's own sister, Elizabeth, was a nun in the Ursuline convent in Cork city. Distant cousins, Mary (d.1876) and Alicia Coppinger (d.1878) were nuns in the Ursuline convent, Blackrock and the Presentation convent, Doneraile respectively. They were aunts of Albert William Duncan Coppinger who had attended school in Belgium in the 1850s. For the family tree see Copinger, ed., 1884, 'Pedigree of the Coppingers of Ballyvolane and Barryscourt, Co. Cork. No.2'.

[63] Charles L. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., edn, Surrey: Leicester University Press, 1970), p.317.

Benjamin Woodward (1816-1861) first promulgated the ornate and colourful style in partnership with the Deanes of Cork.[64] The Museum Building, Trinity College Dublin (1853) was a watershed in the history of architecture in Ireland as its combined theme of Italian and round-arched sources, polychromy and varied materials defined the concerns of architects for more than a decade. By way of John Ruskin, who had first hand experience of the buildings, McCarthy offered an Italianate style to the Catholic clergy that did not contradict his architectural principles. SS. Mary and Lawrence, Ballitore, Co. Kildare (1860) and St. Michael's, Lixnaw, Co. Kerry (1861) **(4.40)**, although neither was particularly Italianate, adopted round arches.[65] St. Paul's, at the Passionist monastery, Mount Argus, Dublin (1866) was north Italian Romanesque in inspiration, following one of Ruskin's preferred styles. The Cathedral of the Assumption, Thurles, Co. Tipperary (1865) was McCarthy's earliest instance of a historicist Italian Romanesque treatment of an Irish church. John Bourke's vaguely Hiberno-Romanesque design for SS. Peter and Paul's church, Moate Co. Westmeath (1863) was another early instance.[66]

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[64] On Benjamin Woodward and the Deanes of Cork see Frederick O'Dwyer, *The Architecture of Deane and Woodward* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1997) and Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Deane and Woodward 1845-1867* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).

[65] On Ballitore and Lixnaw see Sheehy, 1977, pp.25, 52.

[66] 'Intended new church of SS. Peter and Paul at Moate', *The Dublin Builder,* vol.5 no.80, 15 April 1863, p.68, illus. pp.68-68. There was a disagreement between Bourke and the parish priest and the commission went to William Caldbeck who finally designed the church in the Early English Gothic style in 1867.

The firm's most notable exploration of the round-arched style was at the convent chapel, Clonakilty, Co. Cork **(4.41)**.[67] The existing buildings were erected in a round-arched idiom and the firm wished to maintain the harmony with the existing buildings. The firm explored the round-arched idiom in the unexecuted proposal for Nenagh Cathedral, Co. Tipperary (1860). It was the firm's first cathedral and round-arched design. The Nenagh scheme was only partially Romanesque as pointed arches were also intended.[68] As at Nenagh, Clonakilty convent chapel is a round-arched variation on pointed precedents. The principal entrance is flanked by round-arched openings that are quite lancet-like. Above, in place of the three lancets or a traceried opening, are a pair of cusped two-light openings with a quatrefoil above set within a round-headed trefoil hoodmoulding. Above the paired lights is a circular quatrefoil opening. All openings are linked with the flanks of the chapel and convent by stringcourses.

The firm was predominantly concerned with the erection of ecclesiastical structures. Among the earliest institutional buildings, however, was the Sisters of Charity North William Street orphanage that dates to 1865.[69] This building was unique among Pugin and Ashlin's repertoire in that they toyed with the idea of

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[67] Of the four drawings that survive of the chapel, only one, which dates from 1879, includes some architectural detail. It comprises a part plan and elevation, see Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.26/1. The Ashlin and Coleman collection's earliest drawing dates from August 1869. See Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.26/4. It comprises a drawing of the side elevations of stalls and prie-dieus and a plan of the rectangular choir. A presbytery was added at a later stage. See Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.26/2. This drawing represents a finial of presbytery bay window and dates from 1882.

[68] See Alexandra Wedgwood, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of Britissh Architects. The Pugin Family*, vol.1 (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1977), figs.123 and 124, p.118.

[69] 'Irish News', *The Dublin Builder,* vol.7 no.142, 15 Nov. 1865, p.276.

Ruskinian Gothic for this domestic commission. The Christian Brother's convent at Drogheda was erected in a domestic Gothic style that was common in the 1860s **(4.42)** and used for a wide variety of secular building types. These commissions by the firm were built in a delicate and more refined quality, with bay windows and tall chimney stacks as evidenced in the presbytery at Monkstown, Co. Cork **(4.43)**. Paired single-pane sashes flank the doorway with stringcourses and sill courses linking all of the openings. The materials mirror those used at the nearby church. At Drogheda the treatment is similar. String and sill courses unite all sides of the building with fretted bargeboards and cresting in evidence. A rather delicate flèche is perched upon the main ridge of the convent roof with bell in place. Monkstown presbytery was built with the same finesse and bears the hallmarks of the E.W. Pugin's English work at this time.

Independent architectural beginnings for E.W. Pugin and G.C. Ashlin

It was with the design of two churches that Pugin and Ashlin's partnership drew to a close and their independent careers began. Ashlin's first post-partnership commission, St. Carthage's, Brosna, Co. Kerry (1868) was initially a Pugin and Ashlin commission **(4.14)**. With the dissolution of the partnership towards the end of 1868, it became one of Ashlin's commissions. The Church of the Sacred Heart, Kilmoyley, Co. Kerry (1868) **(4.15)** was begun just at the end of the partnership and constitutes G.C. Ashlin's first work independent of E.W. Pugin. E.W. Pugin's first independent commission in Ireland since the end of the 1850s was St. Brigid's, Crosshaven, Co. Cork (1868). It was significant that G.C. Ashlin and E.W. Pugin chose the south of Ireland, as the starting point for their respective independent

architectural beginnings. Both G.C. Ashlin and E.W. Pugin were anxious to build up their reputation in the south of the country given the difficulties they had encountered in recent times with such Cork commissions as SS. Peter and Paul's and Cobh Cathedral. It was also significant that J.J. McCarthy was building a successful career in Kerry at this time.

Kilmoyley and Brosna were the first two works to be published in *The Irish Builder* as independent works for G.C. Ashlin. Despite the fact that there was little in the general treatment that was new, the co-ordination of the parts and the restraint in the detail are sophisticated. The churches are different from each other, Brosna with its A.W.N. Pugin characteristics, such as the graded triple lancets, cruciform plan and square-ended chancel and Kilmoyley with its High Victorian characteristics of the transept-less nave terminating in an apse, and Geometrical four-light traceried west front. Brosna, which is confident in both the massing and the proportions, was very Puginian in the Irish context. It was more restrained than previous partnership rural churches, such as, Glenealy, Carrigtwohill or Ballyhooley. The initial plan, of 1866, indicated a larger and more elaborate design than the single-cell church erected and illustrated in *The Irish Builder* of 1868 **(4.14)**. These were due undoubtedly to reasons of economy. Shortly after this commission was published in *The Irish Builder* Ashlin followed it with another independent Kerry commission, the Church of the Sacred Heart, Kilmoyley (1868) **(4.15)**. The towers and the rose windows may be absent in Kilmoyley but references to High Victorian spatial manipulations remain. The rural clergy's taste and finances may have been limited but G.C. Ashlin was aware of such financial restrictions. At Kilmoyley only one

side aisle was indicated in the drawing and only one was erected.[70] The entrance to the church was through a south side porch that left the west front free for decoration. A Geometrical Gothic tracery window was proposed above four narrow lancets. A smaller three-light version was proposed for the east end and a two-light lancet with cinquefoil opening above was projected for the side aisles with cusped lancets for the chancel walls.[71] In Ashlin's later independent works at Fermoy **(4.44) (4.45)**, he continues this layout of the side aisles openings. The variation of plate and bar tracery represents the hierarchical and independent nature of the various parts of the church.

St. Brigid's, Crosshaven (1868) could have launched E.W. Pugin's independent career in Ireland at the end of the 1860s. Following the dissolution, however, E.W. Pugin announced that his representative in Ireland was Collinridge Barnett.[72] E.W. Pugin was busy with commissions throughout England. The Crosshaven commission was for a simple aisleless church in the early Decorated Gothic style.[73] The church was built on a height to maximise the view of the church from the village below. In terms of the interior decoration and the interior decoration Crosshaven alluded to E.W. Pugin's contemporary English commissions

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[70] It was proposed to build one on the north side. It was built eventually on the south side.

[71] Sexfoil lights were used instead.

[72] Barnett was evidently a friend of E.W. Pugin's. Indeed, he may have been the Mr. Barnett mentioned in E.W. Pugin's correspondence with Bishop Keane concerning the completed original plans for the Cobh commission. Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, E.W. Pugin to Keane, 27 Aug. 1868. A Mr. Barnett also appears as a stained glass artist in connection with SS. Peter and Paul's, Carey's Lane, Cork. See 'A glance at some recent works in Cork', *The Dublin Builder*, vol.8 no.146, 15 Jan. 1866, pp.15-16.

[73] It was described as 'Victorian Gothic' in 'New R.C. Church, Crosshaven, County Cork', *The Irish Builder*, 1 Sept. 1868, vol.10 no.233, p.205.

(4.16). The tracery was very similar to the elongated tracery employed by A.W.N. Pugin at St. Aidan's, Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford (1843-1850) **(4.46)**. The elongated cusped tracery heads enhance the interior decoration of the church.

As was the case with many of E.W. Pugin's commissions at this time, it was controversial. He sued the builders for breach of contract claiming that incorrect texturing of the exterior stone was used. The court case was between the contractor, Mr. Evans, and Canon McSwiney. It centred on Evan's interpretation of the specification for the stone facing. McSwiney maintained that Evans had failed to lay the limestone masonry in random courses as allegedly specified by E.W. Pugin. Evans had resorted to a cheaper method of construction by using snecked limestone. Evans lost the case. *The Irish Builder* felt that injustice had been done, as Evans had not priced for the coursed rubble. Such a controversy, particularly in the Cork area, would not have enhanced the reputation of G.C. Ashlin let alone the firm. Indeed this may have been the commission, and the controversy, which sealed the fate of the Pugin and Ashlin partnership.

Conclusion

The success of Pugin and Ashlin lay in the fact that, early among Irish Victorian architects, they attempted a resolution to the range of problems faced by Catholic architecture. They succeeded in the promotion of an architectural layout for a counter reformation ritual, that inspired continuity between the celebrant and congregation. In the majority of their commissions, the firm adopted the vocabulary of the contemporary pointed style with continental inspiration overlaid onto aspects of classical forms. A style honestly representative of the post-medieval Roman ritual, as J.H. Newman had noted, demanded classical roots, not pointed. Such classicism need not, however, be expressed in a trabeated or round-arched vocabulary. The firm's composite style is expressed most clearly in the basilica inspired ground plan with Gothic form of Puginian and continental extraction. This positioned Pugin and Ashlin at opposite poles to aspects of the Catholic architecture as promoted by the Roman inspired faction, and it kept them within the fold of the Gothic Revivalists.

By 1868, when the partnership drew to a close, Pugin and Ashlin was the most successful Catholic church firm in Ireland. That Ashlin should establish his own practice at this point rather than join another firm was significant. Possibilities for commissions after the departure of E.W. Pugin were increasing. He had a substantial list of works to his name, many executed in partnership and some in the form of published projects under his own name. As stated from the beginning of this study, familial connections had many ramifications; Ashlin continued to build for the gentry and the religious orders with which he was familiar. This is most especially

noted in Appendix II. Having concerned himself with professional activities to advance his career, Ashlin in 1875 became a partner with E.W. Pugin's two half-brothers, Cuthbert Welby Pugin and Peter Paul Pugin. The partnership Pugin Ashlin and Pugin were active from 1875-c.1880 in England and in Scotland. The Ashlin name, by this time, carried with it the E.W. Pugin (and indeed the A.W.N. Pugin) heritage.

E.W. Pugin's final commission in Ireland, St. Brigid's, Crosshaven (1868-1873) was never a challenge to Ashlin's career, nor indeed a commission that could have launched his own architectural ventures in Ireland. The commission's progression was crippled by yet another controversy that could only have sealed the fate of his reputation in Ireland. Once he announced that Collingridge Barnett was his representative he returned to England where his disastrous investment in the Granville Hotel, Ramsgate, Kent (1869-1870), which he built and owned, forced him into liquidation with liabilities of nearly £200,000. To pay for his speculations he received some fees from Ashlin for the Cobh commission. But by 1875 E.W. Pugin was dead.

By the end of 1870s, in England, the stylistic momentum of the first generation of Gothic Revivalist architects was beginning to wane. Post 1870 were years of conservatism where architects exchanged the more overtly foreign elements of the so-called High Victorian style for the perceived refined tones of English elements. In Ireland this refinement of style was witnessed in Ashlin's work of the 1880s where he returned to the simpler profiles of Puginian Gothic with added touches of medieval Irish motifs, such as the round towers and battlements. Ashlin's

later work particularly the Church of the Holy Cross (more commonly known as the O'Connell Memorial church) Caherciveen, Co. Kerry, identified the departure from the firm's continental inspiration to one that was more closer to ancient Irish examples and maintained his career for a further forty years.

PART TWO

CATALOGUE OF ARCHITECTURAL WORKS AND PROJECTS

Appendix I

Catalogue of Pugin and Ashlin works in Ireland 1859-1869

Introductory note:

This catalogue lists G.C. Ashlin and E.W. Pugin's and projects. It consists of those works designed and executed between 1859 and 1869.

The form of dating employed in the captions to the buildings in the Appendix is to be noted. The date of the laying of the foundation stone is taken as the start date for the building and the date of the consecration is taken as the end date. When the design is known to be of a different date to the construction of the building itself, the date of the design is given in parenthesis before the date of construction. If the date of the construction of the building is uncertain, the form 'c.' is employed.

The majority of these buildings were visited by the author.

Illustrations are referred to in the main text.

Abbreviations are listed before the Introduction.

CORK

1: *SS. Peter and Paul's, Carey's Lane* (1859-1866) Illus (3.2) (3.5) (3.6) (3.24) (3.27)

E.W. Pugin, then in partnership with James Murray, submitted a design in 1859 for the proposed new church in Carey's Lane. Following the breakup of their partnership E.W. Pugin submitted a design on his own. He subsequently went into partnership with his apprentice the Cork architect G.C. Ashlin whose family, for centuries, was connected with the parish of SS. Peter and Paul's. Plans to rebuild the eighteenth-century Carey's Lane church, as reported in *The Dublin Builder* (May 1859), had 'been in contemplation for some time back.' The foundation stone was laid on the 15 August 1859 and the church was dedicated on the 29 June 1866. The church was consecrated on the 10 August 1874.

This was G.C. Ashlin's earliest commission and had stylistically a decisive influence on every other church the partnership designed. Decorated Gothic in style the church comprises nave, side aisles, veiled transepts, chancel with apsidal end and two side chapels. Alterations were made to the plan of the church to accommodate the restricted site. The controversy that ensued concerned the firm's potential favouritism. Allegations were made in *The Dublin Builder* of 1859. It was felt that E.W. Pugin's 'was a very poor design, and carelessly got up' and that E.W. Pugin was sure of the commission under any circumstances. The tracery was part plate tracery and part Geometrical and in 1866 such a combination, as *The Dublin Builder* noticed, was 'not quite satisfactory'. The materials used at SS. Peter and Paul's were Glanmire red sandstone for the walling relieved with bands of limestone. In its materials and handling SS. Peter and Paul's possesses some of the vigour of E.W. Pugin's chapel at Bellevue, Co. Wexford (1856). In 1866 the church was hounded by further controversy when an article appeared in *The Irish Builder* indicating that there were traces of settlement in the tower. Although Ashlin refuted such claims in *The Dublin Builder* in February 1866, the proposed north west tower was not built.

The interior, with an open timber roof, is elaborately decorated. *The Dublin Builder* of 1866 noted that the internal roofing was 'peculiar … but not unwholly unsatisfactory' but 'scarcely desirable to be imitated'. Richardson likened the principals to 'adjustable spanners' that descended in pairs to hover above the nave. The interior layout with a spacious nave with subordinate aisles, unbroken by

the transepts, terminates with an apsidal end. The distinction of the sanctuary is unmarked other than by the distinctive treatment of the ceiling. *The Dublin Builder* of 1866 noted that SS. Peter and Paul's 'in arrangement may be accepted as an instance – and a very satisfactory model – of one type of church which the Catholicism of the present day [1866] may be said to have produced.' The traditions of English Gothic churches were being departed from at SS. Peter and Paul's.

Earley and Powell executed all the sculpture except one capital. The stained glass for the chancel was executed by a Mr. Barnett, which included four windows each consisting of two lights with tracery above. Four of the five windows were exhibited at the Edinburgh and Leith Stained Glass Works. It was in SS. Peter's and Paul's that the firm used the screened transept for the first time. There was a precedent in Britain at the time for an all-enclosing single nave space. Joseph Peacock's St. Simon Zealots (Church of England), London (1858-1859) was constructed on the cruciform plan with the transepts screened from the nave. The interior of SS. Peter and Paul's was further embellished with brasswork and panelling in 1874-1875; a new pulpit and sanctuary wall was executed in 1875 by the firm of Goyer Brothers, Louvain, Belgium to the designs of Ashlin. The new altar was executed by Samuel Daly, Cook Street, Cork and carved by Michael Murphy of the same firm.

The cost of the church in 1862, exclusive of the spire, was £14,494.11.1. The estimate for the spire was £2,800. The cost of the work to 1866 was £22,000, and by the end of the 1870s the figure had risen to £30,200. Barry McMullen, Cork was the contractor and the clerk of works was Mr. Langford.

References:

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.33/1-2.

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2-3, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/24/2, Dominic M. O'Connor correspondence file, O'Connor to Welsh, 20 April 1962.

Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, 26/3/1862 [account of meeting of committee for building the new church].

RIBA Draw., London, V2/84/3, interior view of SS. Peter and Paul's.

IAAIIA, PUG001.

IAAIIA, ASH003.

The Dublin Builder, 1 May 1859, pp.59-60.

The Dublin Builder, 1 Sept. 1859, p.115.

The Dublin Builder, 1 July 1860, p.297.

The Dublin Builder, 1 Aug. 1860, p.310 and illus.

The Dublin Builder, 15 Jan. 1866, pp.15-16.

The Dublin Builder, 1 Feb. 1866, p.31.

The Dublin Builder, 15 Feb. 1866, p.54.

The Irish Builder, 15 Aug. 1870, p.190.

Bolster, Evelyn, *A History of the Diocese of Cork. The Episcopate of William Delany: 1847-1886* (Cork: Tower Books, 1993), vol.4, pp.230-233.

Cahalane, P., 'The Catholic Parish Churches of Cork', *Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Journal*, vol.48 no.167, Jan.-June 1943, pp.26-29 (p.28).

McNamara, T.F., *Portrait of Cork* (Cork: Watermans, 1981), pp.123-126.

O'Dwyer, Frederick, 'A Victorian Partnership – The Architecture of Pugin & Ashlin', in John Graby, ed., *150 Years of Architecture in Ireland RIAI 1839-1989* (Dublin: RIAI and Eblana Editions, 1989), pp.56-57.

Richardson, Douglas Scott, *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland* (London and New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1983), pp.495-498.

CORK

2: House, Midleton (1861-1862)

Pugin and Ashlin are credited with the design of a house in Midleton, Co. Cork, which was built for J.S. Coppinger Esq., Ashlin's first cousin. The building is situated in a red brick terrace on Chapel Road with the date '1861' and the initials 'J.S.C.' picked out in variegated brickwork on the façade. A.W.N. Pugin is reputed to have built two villas (unidentified) for Lord Midleton at Cobh, c.1842, and two houses in Midleton, c.1845 which are believed to include a pair on the Main Street, which are now united.

References:

Welsh Papers, BAL WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.57.

Stanton, Phoebe, *Pugin* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), pp.205, 209.

CORK

3: *St. Patrick's, Fermoy, alterations* (1865-1867) illus (3.19)

Pugin and Ashlin altered St. Patrick's, which was then the cathedral of the diocese, in 1865. The church, which stands on one of Fermoy's hills, can be seen from every portion of the town. The alterations were carried out with the sanction and assistance of Bishop Keane who was a friend of Ashlin's maternal relatives the Coppinger family. This was the firm's first commission from Bishop Keane.

The Pain brothers in the early nineteenth-century Gothic Revival style built the original church (1825). Pugin and Ashlin's work altered the church's external appearance to make it correspond with the Gothic Revival style of the 1860s. This entailed breaking up the westfront with the insertion of buttresses and traceried windows. The firm also erected a tower with spire in their signature early Decorated style. It was placed not at the front but in an unobtrusive position at the north transept where it overlooked the town. This positioning of the tower anticipated St. Patrick's. Monkstown, Co. Cork (1867-1870) and some of E.W. Pugin's English commissions, such as St. Gregory, Longton (1867) in the diocese of Birmingham.

The interior with galleried transepts, narrow choir and plaster Gothic vaulting with ribs meeting in perforated bosses throughout remained untouched by the Pugin and Ashlin interventions.

In 1865 it was estimated to cost £1,700 and the total expenditure was £2,500. Mr. Newstead, Fermoy, Co. Cork was the builder. All changes were executed except the buttressing to the flanks, all of which was illustrated in *The Irish Builder* in 1867.

References:

The Dublin Builder, 1 Dec. 1865, p.286.

The Irish Builder, 1 Aug. 1867, p.194, illus. p.195.

Brunicardi, Niall, *St. Patrick's Church Fermoy* (Fermoy Heritage Series no.4) (Fermoy: Eigse Books, 1986)

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.60.

CORK

4: *Sisters of Mercy convent chapel, Clonakilty* (1866) illus (4.41)

The foundation stone was laid on the 4 April 1866 and the chapel was dedicated on the 1 May 1867. This was one of the rare occasions where Pugin and Ashlin employed the round-arched style. The chapel, which was attached to the existing convent adopted, according to *The Dublin Builder* 'a Lombardic style of treatment'. The style was chosen to match earlier convent buildings.

The chapel is placed asymmetrically with the campanile and the adjoining wings of the convent. The exterior openings are faced with limestone. The choir is separated from the sanctuary by two columns supporting three round arches. The altar and reredos, from the designs of G.C. Ashlin, were consecrated in 1872.

P. Scannell, Cork was the contractor.

References:

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.26/1, 3-4. [76/1/1.26/2 represents a detail of the presbytery, Clonakilty built in 1882 by Ashlin].

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

The Dublin Builder, 1 July 1866, p.166 and illus.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.59.

CORK

5: *Sisters of Mercy convent chapel, Skibbereen* (1866-1868) illus (4.38)

The Rt. Rev. Dr. O'Hea, Bishop of Ross, laid the foundation stone for the convent chapel on the 8 May 1867. The chapel was dedicated on the 30 April 1868. The chapel was built on a commanding aspect on rising ground beside the existing convent.

Built in the firm's usual early Decorated Gothic style, the new chapel was attached to the existing convent. The existing chapel was converted for use as a lateral chapel and a nun's choir and opened into the new chapel, which was separated from it by an arcade with ironwork. It was lauded as a fine example in the far south of the taste and ability of Pugin and Ashlin. Internally the chapel is faced with Bath stone and the roof has arched principals and sheeted with stained and varnished timber. *The Irish Builder* in 1867 considered the cusping of the west window to be novel in design. Underneath the window is a row of lancets filled with red marble. The firm used contrasting stone to great effect with the combination of red sandstone and Bath stone dressings. The gallery staircase is contained in the corner turret.

The cost was £1,500. William Murphy, Bantry, Co. Cork was the contractor. The stained glass, which represents St. Patrick, SS. Peter and Paul and the Divine Redeemer, was by Earley and Powell.

References:

The Dublin Builder, 15 Nov. 1866, p.268.

The Irish Builder, 15 May 1867, p.127.

The Irish Builder, 15 Aug. 1867, illus. p.208.

The Irish Builder, 1 June 1868, pp.142-143.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.60.

CORK

6: *Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Ballyhooley* (1867-1869) illus (4.11) (4.24) (4.30) (4.32)

Rev. Burton was responsible for the erection of the church. The foundation stone was laid on the 25 August 1867 and the church was dedicated on the 22 August 1869. Killanin and Duignan give the completion date as 1870.

The Irish Builder of May 1867 referred to Pugin and Ahlin's 'simple and severe' treatment of the church design. As funds were limited for many of the firm's smaller rural churches a simpler Gothic style was chosen. Early English in style, Ballyhooley comprises a nave, aisles, chancel, sacristy, side chapel, porch and bell-cote on the west gable. St. Mary's, Carrigtwohill, Co. Cork (1868-1872) is a variation of this rural style. As proposed in the 1867 *Irish Builder* illustration, the church was designed with an exterior nave roof that was continuous with the chancel roof. As built by the firm, they employed the more ecclesiologically inspired nave with separately roofed chancel. The chancel now stands apart from the nave and is not flanked by Lady Chapel or sacristy as originally intended. The sacristy adjoins the south side aisle

The overall design of some of the firm's rural churches was of the traditional ecclesiological variety. The nave is shorter than the usual 100 ft. at 83ft. while the width of the church is the standard 45ft. Although the individual elements are standard for the firm, each commission exhibited one or two novel details, such as the aisle windows at the west end. These windows, which look High Victorian with their trefoil pointed heads, are a thirteenth-century type found in Ireland, as for example in a towered keep in Ferns, Co. Wexford. The firm employed contrasting stonework with red sandstone used for the facing and limestone for the dressings and the stringcourses.

The interior with an open timber roof comprised framed, curved principals with diagonally laid sheeting. An organ gallery, with porch beneath, terminates west end of nave. The estimated cost in 1867 exclusive of fittings was £1,500.

References:

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

IAAIIA, PUG002.

The Irish Builder, 15 May 1867, p.120, illus. p.121.

The Irish Builder, 1 Sept. 1869, p.202.

Killanin, Lord, and Michael V. Duignan, *The Shell Guide to Ireland* (London: The Elbury Press, 1962), p.158.

Leask, H.G., *Irish Castles and Castellated Houses* (Dundalk: 1977), illus. 33-34, pp.49-50.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.59.

Richardson, 1983, pp.499-500.

CORK

7: *St. Patrick's, Monkstown* (1867-1873) illus (3.14) (3.18) (3.23)

St. Patrick's was built on a prominent site overlooking the harbour. Pugin and Ashlin judiciously placed the church, which is erected on a terrace cut into the hillside, sideways to the incline with the liturgical east end facing north and placed the tower at the lower side. The church was completed between 1872-1873.

Early Decorated Gothic in style, the plan chosen was cruciform having nave with clerestory lighting, aisles, transepts and polygonal apse. The materials used were local red sandstone with contrasting limestone and Bath stone dressings. The chancel has a gabled traceried window that rises into the apse roof. This treatment of the chancel window appeared at the Church of the Sacred Heart, Kilmoyley, Co. Kerry (1868-1873), the Church of the Immaculate Conception and St. Joseph, Glenealy, Co. Wicklow (1869) and the Church of the Sacred Heart, Donnybrook, Dublin (1863) where as here the gables over the chancel windows rise into the apse roof.

A pair of transepts on each side replaced the proposed single-bay transept with triple lancets. The transepts are separated from the nave by a pair of arches on each side supported by a marble shaft in a manner similar to St. Carthage, Brosna, Co. Kerry (1866-1868) and the Glenealy church. The roof construction derives from SS. Peter and Paul's, Carey's Lane, Cork (1859-1866) and the Nenagh Cathedral designs (c.1860).

A spire was added in 1881 in a more elaborate French Gothic manner. The cost estimated was £3,000 that excluded the upper portion of the tower and spire. Professor Welsh suggests that Ashlin built the tower between 1876-1877.

References:

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.129/1-9.

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

IAAIIA, PUG002.

The Irish Builder, 1 Oct. 1867, p.263 and illus.

The Irish Builder, 1 Dec. 1867, p.308, illus. p.309.

Hurse, A.E., 'Monkstown and Passage West, Co. Cork. Some Notes, Historical, Archaeological, and Otherwise', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, part III, vol.32 no.136, July-Dec. 1927, pp.86-96 (p.96).

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.59.

CORK

8: *St. Colman's Cathedral, Cobh* (1867-1915) illus (3.7) (3.8) (3.9) (3.21) (3.25) (3.38) (3.42) (3.44) (3.45)

As early as 1862 *The Dublin Builder* announcement of a competition that architects were invited by public advertisement to build a church in Cobh, Co. Cork. Work begun excavating the foundations in 1868 and by 30 September 1868 the Rt. Rev. Dr. Keane laid the foundation stone of the superstructure.

The firm made two schemes for a church in Cobh before the diocesan committee, which was set up in 1867, decided to build a cathedral. In 1867 it was decided that a select competition between three architects would take place. The architects chosen were Pugin and Ashlin, George Goldie and J.J. McCarthy. The diocesan committee abandoned the idea of the competition and chose the designs of Pugin and Ashlin. Two earlier schemes for the church exist in the British Architectural Library and the Irish Architectural Archive. The earlier schemes included a design for a church with a tower at the south west front and the second scheme called for a variation on the west front of SS. Augustine and John's, Thomas Street, Dublin. The second scheme employs a transverse roof across the west front. This was eliminated in execution. These two early schemes were abandoned in favour of the more typical Pugin and Ashlin arrangement. Cobh comprises nave with clerestory lighting, aisles, transepts, chancel with apsidal end flanked by two transeptal chapels, baptistery, organ gallery at west end and mortuary chapel in the base of the tower with spire at the south west angle.

The removal of the tower to south elevation belongs to the final phase where the design was composed in a manner quite similar to that of St. Patrick's, Monkstown, Co. Dublin (1861-1866) and St. Patrick's, Fermoy, Co. Cork (1865-1867). The deep transepts (though veiled) and the flying buttresses indicate the differences. A comparison with the interior of Monkstown shows similarities in both design and proportion, despite the great difference in size, structure and materials. The firm made their most spectacular use of the veiled transepts in Cobh, where the nave arcade, triforium passage and clerestory all pass in front of the transepts. The transepts are two bays wide, there are two clerestory openings in every bay and each bay embraces two units of the triforium.

Changes were made throughout the early years of the commission concerning the materials to be used. The church was initially intended to be faced in red sandstone, this was changed to limestone and then finally to granite. The specification for the granite ashlaring was the same as for the Church of the Church of the Sacred Heart, Donnybrook, Dublin both were executed by Meade and Sons. Dalkey granite was used instead of the suggested cheaper alternative Dublin Mountain granite with Mallow limestone dressings.

The nave is separated from the aisles and transepts by an arcade of seven arches on each side, extending to the chancel piers and from these to the apse. Confessionals were formed in the thickness of the aisle walls. After 1879 work proceeded slowly and between 1883 and 1889 work ceased altogether for lack of funds. The sanctuary and the transeptal chapels were completed and the high altar erected after 1889. Bishop Browne completed the work. The clerk of works was Charles G. Doran. This included the timber ceiling, the internal carving, the erection of the tower and spire and sacristies and the installation of the bells. The contractor for the nave ceiling was Creedon from Fermoy. The external carving was by the Harrisons. Earley and Powell carved the high altar and Lady Chapel altar. The pulpit throne and screens are by Beakey. The estimated cost in 1867 was £25,000. When completed in 1919 the final cost was £235,000.

References:

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.1/1-3; 76/1.1/A1-A9; 76/1.1/B1-B31; 76/1.1/C1-C2; 76/1.1/D1-D8; 76/1.1/E1; 76/1.1/F1-F3; 76/1.1/G1-G3; 76/1.1/H1-H9; 76/1.1/J1-J6; 76/1.1/K1-K20; 76/1.1/L1-L49; 76/1.1/M1-M31; 76/1.1/N1-N35; 76/1.1/O1-O33; 76/1.1/P1-P59; 76/1.1/R1-R28; 76/1.1/S1-S20; 76/1.1/T1-T60; 76/1.1/U1-U63.

PKS, IAA, 0671; B15/57, pp.638-644; B14/36, pp.557-562.

Keane Papers, Cloyne Archives, boxes a-z; aa-zz; ab, ac, ad, ae, af, ag, ah.

McCarthy Papers, Cloyne Archives, boxes e, g, h, k, l, m, o, p, q.

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

RIBA Draw., London, V2/83/2, view of cathedral with proposed central tower.

IAAIIA, PUG002.

IAAIIA, ASH003.

The Dublin Builder, 15 April 1862, p.104.

The Irish Builder, 15 Aug. 1867, p.215.

The Irish Builder, 1 Nov. 1867, pp.282-283, pp.284-287.

The Irish Builder, 15 July 1868, p.182.

The Irish Builder, 1 Sept. 1868, p.220.

The Irish Builder, 15 Oct. 1868, p.247.

The Irish Builder, 1 Feb. 1869, p.36.

The Irish Builder, 1 Jan. 1870, p.14.

The Irish Builder, 1 Oct. 1874, p.275.

The Irish Builder, 1 Aug. 1879, p.240.

Coleman, James, *St. Colman's Cathedral Queenstown – Co. Cork an Historical Sketch* ([Cork], 1918).

Galloway, Peter, *The Cathedrals of Ireland* (Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies, 1992), pp.54-56.

Garner, William, *Cobh Architectural Heritage* (Dublin: An Foras Forbatha, 1979).

Graves, Algernon, *The Royal Academy of Arts A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904*, 4 vols (London: Henry Graves and Co. Ltd. and George Bell and Sons, 1905), vol.3, 1905, p.215.

O'Dwyer, 1989, pp.60-61.

Richardson, 1983, pp.500-502.

Thompson, Patrick, *Guide to St. Colman's* (1983).

Wedgwood, Alexandra, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects. The Pugin Family*, vol.1 (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1977), pp.118-119.

CORK

9: *Presbytery, St. Patrick's, Monkstown* (1868) illus (4.43)

The Irish Builder announced that the presbytery was 'about to be built' in 1868. The firm employed red brick and Bath stone dressings for the presbytery, which reveals the predominant influence of E.W. Pugin in this commission.

References:

The Irish Builder, 1 June 1868, p.136, illus. p.137.

CORK

10: *St. Brigid's, Crosshaven* (1868-1873) illus (4.19) (4.35)

The Very Rev. Canon Neville PP initiated plans to build a church in 1868. Pugin and Ashlin submitted the original plans for the church. The Bishop of Cork, the Most Rev. William Delany, laid the foundation stone on the 22 August 1869. By September 1869, E.W. Pugin announced that Collinridge Barnett, his representative in Ireland, would supervise the construction of the work. The church was dedicated in 1873 and opened on the 29 June 1873.

The plan of the church, as announced in *The Irish Builder* in 1868, was cruciform with transepts measuring 16ft. by 28ft. The church, as erected, comprises a nave, aisles, chancel flanked by side chapels, sacristy on south side, a baptistery at the south west and a tower. The church was finished with limestone facing from Little Island and Bath stone dressings to doors and windows. In the west front, there was a niche with a statue of St. Brigid above the large rose window. Rose windows were intended for the side aisle gables. The internal roof is a combination of exposed timberwork with the ceiling spaces panelled. It was also proposed in 1868 to erect a tower and spire with circular staircase turret at the junction of the nave and the north transept. A tower was built at the north elevation.

The nave is separated from the aisles by columns of red Cork marble. Messrs Gribbon and Cleere, Stephen's Green, Dublin prepared the bill of quantities. There was no specification but the description of the work was given in notes on the drawings. In 1870 Richard Evans, the contractor, initiated a lawsuit against Canon Denis Swiney to recover the value of extra work done (£403) in erecting the church. Canon McSwiney felt that Evans had not used the random masonry for the exterior facing of the church that E.W. Pugin intended but did not clearly specify. Evans did not take into consideration E.W. Pugin's representative in Ireland for this commission, Collinridge Barnett, who undertook to describe the manner in which the external facing of the walls ought to have been finished. The walls were specified to be faced of rubble masonry of local stone in random courses, varying from 4in. to 8in. in height. Evans, a native of Cork, supposed that hammer dressed stone meant stone prepared with a hammer and random courses meant that the work was able to be made up

at random in courses of unlimited extent. Eight of the principal architects and builders in Cork coincided with Evans's interpretation of the specification. Evans, however, lost the case.

Expenditure in 1868, exclusive of spire and fittings, was expected to be under £2,000. The clerk of works was Mr. McAulif. The church was extended in length by thirty feet in 1960-1963. The spire, which consists of a steel frame sheathed in copper, was erected in 1969-1970.

References:

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/24/2, Dominic M. O'Connor correspondence file.

IAAIIA, PUG001.

The Irish Builder, 15 July 1868, p.182.

The Irish Builder, 1 Sept. 1869, p.205.

The Irish Builder, 15 Aug. 1870, p.189.

The Irish Builder, 15 April 1873, p.109.

The Building News, 3 Sep 1869, p.198.

The Cork Examiner, 30 June 1873.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.62.

D. Ó'Murchadha, Diarmuid, *History of Crosshaven and the Parish of Templebreedy* (Cork: Cork Historical Guides Committee, 1967).

CORK

11: *Additions to church, Shanballymore* (1869)

Unspecified enlargements and improvements were proposed for the Roman Catholic church in Shanballymore, which was in the same parish as the Doneraile convent chapel.

References:

The Irish Builder, 15 Feb. 1869, p.51.

CORK

12: *Our Lady Star of the Sea, Barryroe* (1869-1871)

Our Lady Star of the Sea, in the diocese of Ross, was commenced in February 1869 after the dissolution of the partnership. The foundation stone was laid on the 8 June 1869 and Bishop O'Hea dedicated the church on the 18 June 1871.

The church is of large proportions and very plain and severe in style. According to Coombes, revenue from the new train track from Liselvane to Courtmacsherry, which had been contracted by volunteer labour, constituted part of the building fund. The Bath stone for the church was transported to Courtmacsherry by local vessels. Quantities were supplied by Gribbon and Cleere, Stephen's Green, Dublin.

References:

The Irish Builder, 15 Feb. 1869, p.51.

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/3, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

Coombes, James, *A History of Timoleague and Barryroe* (Timoleague Muintir na Tire: Friary Preservation Committee, 1969), pp.70-71.

CORK

13: *Schools and residence, Doneraile* (1869)

Plans were prepared in 1869 by G.C. Ashlin for Very Rev. Dr. Croke PP.

References:

The Irish Builder, 15 Feb. 1869, p.51.

CORK

14: *Ursuline convent chapel and choir, Doneraile* (1869) illus (4.39)

The convent chapel and choir were among Ashlin's first independent commissions. It was begun in 1869 in the firm's standard early Decorated Gothic style.

The principal entrance was situated in the west end. Access to the west entrance organ gallery was obtained by a staircase turret at the south west angle of building. A cloister running the south side of the chapel from choir to this staircase afforded the religious means of communication with the organ gallery without the need to go through the chapel. The roof was open timbered. The sacristy was situated at the north east corner.

The builder was Mr. Newstead, Fermoy and the cost including the altar was £1,500.

References:

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/3/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

The Irish Builder, 1 July 1869, p.156, illus. p.157.

CORK

15: *The Church of the Immaculate Conception, Clonakilty* (1869-1880) illus (3.15) (3.37) (3.46)

G.C. Ashlin was the successful architect in September 1869 for the limited church competition. The foundation stone was laid in 1870 and the church was dedicated 15 September 1897. Built in the early French Gothic style in the manner of the firm's urban churches, the church comprised nave, side aisles, transepts, chancel with apsidal ending, two chapels, sacristy and a baptistery. The exterior walling was in dark granite.

The church is similar in massing to St. Kevin's, Harrington Street, Dublin (1867-1869). The exterior is faced in limestone with limestone dressings. The interior timber ceiling was built in the same manner as the timber ceilings in the Church of the Assumption, Lady's Island, Co. Wexford, SS. Augustine and John's, Thomas Street, Dublin and St. Colman's Cathedral, Cobh, Co. Cork. The timber ceiling comprises ribs and is intended to evoke the feeling of a masonry vaulted medieval interior.

The decoration of the apse was by Hodginson, Limerick and the woodwork was by Cotter of Cork. The tower, which was completed in 1898, is similar to St. Patrick's, Monkstown, Co. Dublin (1861-1866). The bell, commissioned in 1897, was not installed until the twentieth century.

The cost was £36,000. P.J. Scannell, Cork erected the high altar.

References:

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.25/1-19; 76/1.26/1, 3-4.

IAAIIA, ASH003.

The Irish Builder, 15 Sept. 1869, p.209.

The Irish Builder, 1 April 1880, p.101.

CORK

16: *Loreto convent wing with chapel, Fermoy* (1869-1873) illus (4.44) (4.45)

Ashlin designed a new wing comprising recreation hall and dormitory and chapel in 1869. This is one of the independent commissions where Ashlin moves away from the work of the partnership. The foundation stone was laid on the 18 October 1869 and the chapel was dedicated on the 16 April 1873.

The single cell convent chapel terminated in a polygonal apse. There is no differentiation in the roof ridge. The division between the convent and chapel is marked by a tower containing staircase to a large dormitory, which occupied the first floor of the building and also communicating with the organ gallery of chapel. The square stair turret, with steeply pitched hipped roof with cresting, resembles the roof of Pugin and Ashlin's SS. Augustine and John's, Thomas Street, Dublin. The style of the convent wing is in the domestic Gothic style of the day. Ashlin employed harshly contrasting red sandstone and white limestone dressings for the stonework of the convent and the chapel. The chapel ceiling is groined, and the groining is carried on marble shafts.

Mr. Newstead, Fermoy, Co Cork was the builder. The estimated cost was £3,500.

References:

The Irish Builder, 15 Sept. 1869, p.210, illus. p.211.

CORK

17: *St. Mary's, Carrigtwohill* (1869-1872) illus (4.12) (4.34)

Bishop Keane laid the foundation stone on 4 November 1869 after the dissolution of the partnership. The church was opened and consecrated on the 15 May 1872.

It follows the standard rural church formula that was employed in Ballyhooley (1867-1869). Early English Gothic in style, the church comprised nave, square-ended chancel, aisles and sacristy. The west front terminates in a bell-cote. It was faced in red sandstone with Bath stone and limestone dressings. Stringcourses and the use of contrasting stone work highlight the materials used. A central sculpture was placed on the west front in the manner used by E.W. Pugin in St. Francis of Assisi, Manchester, England (1866) while a rose window lights the east end. The firm employed a range of trefoil clerestory openings with lancets in chancel wall.

The nave was separated from the aisles by an arcade of columns. The roof construction consists of a combination of scissors truss with scissored arched braced principles.

Mr. Newstead, Fermoy, Co. Cork was the builder. The estimated cost was £2,500.

References:

IAAIIA, ASH003.

The Irish Builder, 15 Nov. 1869, p.263.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.59.

DUBLIN

18: *Sisters of Charity convent chapel, Stanhope Street* (c.1859-1860)

The Pugin family drawings in the RIBA contain a drawing that was originally thought to be a convent chapel in Stanhope Street, London. In September 1993 a note on the drawing by Roderick O'Donnell re-attributed it to Stanhope Street, Dublin. The drawing may refer to a commission by E.W. Pugin on his own or an early commission in partnership with George Ashlin. A drawing in the Ashlin and Coleman collection in the Irish Architectural Archive illustrates choir stalls for a church on Stanhope Street and dates to 1876.

References:

RIBA Draw., London, V2/88/1, 'New chapel proposed to be erected at the Convent of the Sisters of Charity Stanhope Street'.

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.78/1.

Wedgwood, 1977, p.114. [It is titled 'Convent chapel, Stanhope Street (St. Pancras), Camden, London].

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.56.

DUBLIN

19: *SS. Augustine and John's Church, Thomas Street* (1860-1895) illus (3.1) (3.3) (3.4) (3.35) (3.39) (3.40) (3.43)

The deed for the site, dated 16 October 1858, was made between Thomas Smith, Letitia Catherine Berry and the Rev. Martin Crane, the co-founder of the church. Drawings for the proposed church were exhibited in the Royal Academy exhibition no.657 in 1860. Archbishop Cullen laid the foundation stone on Easter Monday April 1862. In 1875 he dedicated the church. The church was sited on a crest that falls steeply to the Liffey so that it dominates the Liffey valley.

In 1866 *The Dublin Builder* announced that the plan was to comprise a nave, aisles, a transept, chancel and four chapels. The façade towards Thomas Street was to be surmounted by a bell tower and was to attain the height of 160ft. The principal entrance was through a deeply recessed double doorway in the centre with an eight-light traceried window of Geometric Gothic design above. The aisles of the church present a gable externally in each bay and contain a four-light window. The clerestory is lighted by circular windows with cinquefoil cusping.

The nave was to be separated from the aisles by Aberdeen granite columns (Cork red marble was used instead) on black Kilkenny marble bases and was to terminate in an apse of five sides from which would radiate the side chapels. This east end arrangement was similar to the early schemes for a church at Queenstown (now Cobh). The temporary stud partition between the nave and unfinished east end was finished in 1866. *The Dublin Builder* noted that the groined vaulting of the nave had 'an effective appearance'. The stone used for the building was red sandstone with limestone and granite dressings in contrast to the white Caen stone statuary. In 1871 the tower and two thirds of the length of the exterior was completed. The spire and roof were completed in 1874 when the nave was opened for public masses. The exterior was completed in 1895, and the interior in 1911 under the supervision of Ashlin and Coleman. William Hague built the tower. James Pearse executed the statues of the Apostles. J. O'Brien was the clerk of works. The nave roof was slated in 1866; in the 1950s the slate roof was removed and replaced with copper. Meade and Son were the contractors from 1866 for the roofing.

G.C. Ashlin built the Augustinian priory between 1877-1880 to the cost of £9,000. The total cost of the church was £68,800 that comprised the fabric of the church £60,000 and the altars, windows and the pulpit £8,800. The statue of St. Augustine, which stands 10ft. 6in. high, was executed by Earley and Powell. The iron work for the side chapel was by McGloughlin and the mosaics were by Oppenheimer.

References:

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.82/1-14.

Augustinian Archives, Rathfarnham, box B3.

Ashlin Coleman Heelan, Dublin, uncatalogued drawings and 1866 roof specification.

RIBA Draw., London, V2/88/2, V2/82/2, interior and exterior views.

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

Bowden, DDA.

F.X. Martin, transcript 1962.

IAAIIA, PUG002.

IAAIIA, ASH003.

The Building News, 24 Nov. 1871, pp.390-391 and illus.

The Building News, 16 Feb. 1872, illus.

The Dublin Builder, 1 June 1860, p.266.

The Dublin Builder, 15 May 1861, illus. between pp.514-515.

The Dublin Builder, 15 July 1861, p.577.

The Dublin Builder, 1 Jan. 1862, pp.1-2.

The Dublin Builder, 1 May 1862, p.112.

The Dublin Builder, 15 Dec. 1866, p.294 and illus. p.295.

The Irish Builder, 1 Sept. 1875, p.248.

The Irish Builder, 15 Feb. 1884, p.46.

Irish Catholic Directory, 1850, p.283.

Irish Catholic Directory, 1871, p.256.

Irish Catholic Directory, 1886, p.413.

Butler, Thomas C., *A History of the Augustinian Friars in Dublin 1280-1980* (Dublin: St. John's Priory, 1983), pp.133-144.

Costello, Peter, *Dublin Churches* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1989), p.48, photograph of Our Lady's Chapel p.49.

Donnelly, Nicholas, *Short History of Dublin Parishes* (Dublin: Carraig Books, [1914]), pp.43, 331.

Graves, 1970, vol.2, p.215.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.57.

Richardson, 1983, pp.498-499.

Souvenir Augustinian Bazaar 1911 (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1911).

Stewart, Ann M., *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765-1927, Index of Artists*, 2 vols (Dublin: Manton Publishing, 1990), vol.1, p.20.

Wedgwood, 1977, p.118.

DUBLIN

20: *St. Patrick's, Monkstown* (1861-1866) illus (3.12)

The site for the new church had been purchased in 1861 while Fr. Bartholomew Sheridan was the parish priest. The foundation stone was laid on the 29 June 1861. The ceremony of dedication took place on the 16 September 1866. Archbishop Cullen, who had just been created Cardinal, presided on the occasion.

In September 1863, Fr. Sheridan's successor, the Very Rev. James (Canon) Cavanagh (d.1865) was appointed parish priest of Kingstown, Monkstown, Glasthule, Dalkey and Killiney. Bishop Cullen commended him as having built 'six churches in thirty years'. Kingstown (now Dun Laoghaire) was a large and prosperous township that had included Monkstown up to the turn of the twentieth century. As the walls began to emerge above the foundations, Fr. Cavanagh grew dissatisfied with the plan. Fr. Sheridan's intention was a replica of the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Dalkey, Co. Dublin (1841), but Fr. Cavanagh considered such a design obsolete and unsuited to the locality. Ashlin was commissioned to draw up new plans and specifications. The agreement was dated 30 December 1863, was for the sum of £5,450, and was exclusive of the spire. The work was to be completed by 1 July 1865. Following the death of Cavanagh in 1865, the Very Rev. Canon McCabe, Pastor of St. Nicholas and Vicar General of the Diocese, was transferred to the diocese of Kingstown and Monkstown. He was parish priest from 1865-1879.

The church comprised nave, aisles, chancel with apsidal end, chancel aisles, sacristies, organ loft, baptistery in the north west angle and tower and spire at south west angle. The tower was detached from the nave. Built in the early Decorated Gothic style, the church is faced in rusticated granite masonry (snecked) with Bath stone dressings in a manner similar to the Church of the Sacred Heart, Donnybrook (1863-1866). The Geometric gothic rose window incorporates Caen stone mullions. There are two doorways in the west gable between which stands the statue of the patron saint. The internal ceiling was constructed of painted timber panels with exposed principals. The confessionals are built into the side aisle walls. The sacristy was erected at the south east angle and the baptistery at the north west angle.

Six arches of Michelstown brown porphyry, with circular bases of white Italian marble and sub-bases of Ennis black limestone, divide the nave from the side aisles. The aisles are lit by twelve lancet windows and the clerestory contains triplets of similarly shaped windows. The chancel arch, which rises to the full height of the roof, was supported by shafts of Cork red marble. The capitals and arch itself are of Caen stone and carved to represent fruit, foliage and flowers. It was erected by Earley and Powell, Camden Street, Dublin.

The cost of the church, exclusive of the tower, was £5,450. The porch and the mortuary chapel cost £80, altar rails cost £100, which were designed by G.C. Ashlin in 1910. Michael Meade was the builder.

References:

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.129/1. Catalogued as St. Patrick's, Monkstown, Co. Cork.

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

IAAIIA, PUG002.

The Dublin Builder, 1 Dec. 1865, p.280 and illus.

The Dublin Builder, 1 Sept. 1866, p.212.

Irish Catholic Directory, 1862, p.233, p.239, p.249.

Irish Catholic Directory, 1867, p.376.

Donnelly, [1914], vol.1, p.161-162; vol.2, pp.153-174.

O'Dwyer, 1989, pp.57-58.

Costello, 1989, p.166.

Richardson, 1983, p.500.

Sweeney, Maxwell, *Monkstown: The Story of a Parish* (Dublin: St. Patrick's Parochial Committee, 1966).

DUBLIN

21: *The Church of the Sacred Heart, Donnybrook* (1863-1866) illus (3.10) (3.17) (3.20) (3.22) (3.31) (4.26) (4.27)

On the 12 August 1860 there was a meeting in the old chapel, where the decision was made to build a new church. The site chosen was at the intersection of numerous public thoroughfares and close to the Green. In September 1860 *The Dublin Builder* announced that Patrick Byrne had furnished drawings in the Early English Gothic style. The Rev. Pat J. Nowlan was the curate. The conveyance of site was executed in 1863. Cardinal Cullen laid the foundation stone of Byrne's design on 12 June 1863. The church was dedicated and opened on the 26 August 1866, after a change of plan described below.

Patrick Byrne, however, died in 1864 and the designs of Pugin and Ashlin were adopted. The style was designed in the early French style that was in the manner of Pugin and Ashlin's urban churches. The Church of the Sacred Heart church continues forms defined at E.W. Pugin's Liverpool church, the Reconciliation de la Salette (1858-1859). It was one of the best proportioned and detailed of the Dublin churches. The church comprises nave, aisles, chancel with apsidal end, side chapels, organ gallery, south porch and tower and spire at the north west angle. The building was faced in hammer dressed granite with Bath stone dressings. The broach spire and lych gate (a rare form outside the Church of England) that were proposed in *The Dublin Builder* illustration of 1866 were not built. An early Pugin and Ashlin plan of the church, which dates from c.1864-1865, excludes transepts. Triple-bay transepts, however, were erected. Each side of the polygonal chancel end is pierced with a two-light window, with gablets rising into the apse roof in a manner that is repeated at Kilmoyley, Kerry and Monkstown, Cork.

The nave columns of Cork marble shafts with Caen stone caps and base mouldings of Carrara marble rest on plinths of Kilkenny marble. Arches were erected between side aisle windows and piers of nave that acted as internal buttresses. The clerestory range comprises cinquefoil openings two to each bay. The timber roof is open with arched principals, two to each bay.

The tympanum and the cross on west gable was erected by Earley and Powell. Mr. Fagan, Great Brunswick Street from the drawings of Pugin and Ashlin, executed all ironwork, except the cross on the apse, which is by Skidmore of Coventry. O'Callaghan, Batchelor's Walk, erected the high altar, to Pugin and Ashlin's designs. It was a gift of a lady member of the congregation. The cost of the church up to 1866 was £7,000. The altars cost £700, communion rails £300, pulpit £300, organ £200, windows £840, and £6,000 was spent on the church. The total was £8,340. Michael Meade, Great Brunswick Street, Dublin was the builder.

References:

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.79/1-3.

Ashlin Coleman Heelan, Dublin, roof specification. (Reference to the cresting over the transepts at Donnybrook).

Cloyne Archives, Cork, Keane Papers, Ashlin to Keane, 6 Mar. 1869. (Reference to the durability of the Bath stone used in Donnybrook).

Bowden, DDA.

IAAIIA, PUG002.

The Dublin Builder, 1 Sept. 1860, p.330

The Dublin Builder, 1 Nov. 1860, p.363.

The Dublin Builder, 15 Aug. 1866, p.202 and illus.

Irish Catholic Directory, 1861, p.213, p.223, p.245, p.262.

Irish Catholic Directory, 1864, p.26.

Irish Catholic Directory, 1867, p.370.

Donnelly, [1914], vol.1, pp.59-66.

Costello, 1989, pp.128-129.

O'Dwyer, 1989, pp.57-58.

DUBLIN

22: *Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul convent and orphanage, North William Street* (1865)

The nuns arrived in Ireland in 1858 from Sheffield under the patronage of the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk. They took up residence in Dublin in 1857 under a French Superioress. The foundation stone was laid on the 5 November 1865.

Built in the Venetian Gothic style, four storeys high, the female orphanage comprised refectory, kitchen and ancillary accommodation on the basement floor; entrance hall and school rooms on the ground floor; and work rooms, dormitories, infirmary and lavatories on the upper floors. The building was faced with brown stock brick with red brick dressings in the Ruskinian style. The monotony of the front was relieved by projecting piers between the windows and by the use of coloured bricks in the arches and cornices. The polychromatic brickwork, which links the fenestration on adjoining floors, gives the building a more monumental character and scale.

Two perspective views of the new convent appear in Timothy Hevey's sketchbook. Hevey's studies were inscribed 'New Convent at Nt. Wlm. St. Dublin' and 'North William St. Orphanage Pugin and Ashlin architects. T.Hevey Lith'. Hevey's drawings depict a project only slightly modified in execution. They were clearly conceived in the manner of perspective illustrations in *The Irish Builder*, though no such illustration appeared.

References:

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/3/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

O'Reilly, Seán, 'Timothy Hevey (1846-1878) An Episode in Irish High Victorian Architecture', 2 vols (Ph.D.: UCD, 1994), vol.1, p.263.

The Dublin Builder, 15 Nov. 1865, p.276.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.60.

DUBLIN

23: *The Convent of the Sacred Heart, Mount Anville, additions* (1866)

The Sisters of the Sacred Heart purchased the estate of Mount Anville in July 1865 from William Dargan, the railway contractor and inspiration behind the Dublin Exhibition of 1853. The 1866 of *The Dublin Builder* reported extensive new and 'excessively plain' unidentified work for the Sisters with a projected cost of £10,000.

Timothy Hevey, then in Pugin and Ashlin's office in the 1860s, illustrated a perspective of the entrance front in his sketchbook. The sketch was inscribed 'The residence if the Late Wm. Dargan. Mt. Anville'.

George Ashlin's mother Dorinda Coppinger lived in Mount Anville in the latter years of her life. On her deathbed, in 1884, she was professed into the order. She commissioned her son to design her mortuary chapel that was erected in the grounds of Mount Anville.

References:

The Dublin Builder, 15 June 1866, p.160.

The Irish Builder, 15 Mar. 1868, p.74.

Irish Catholic Directory, 1866, p.363.

Ní Riain, Idé M., *A History of Mount Anville 1799-1988* (Kildare: Leinster Leader, 1987), p.54.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.60.

O'Reilly, 1994, vol.1 p.264.

DUBLIN

24: *St. Joseph's, Glasthule* (1867-1869) illus (3.13) (3.16) (3.30)

In 1866, the parish priest, the Rev. George Canon Harold (d.1894), contemplated a new church. Cardinal Cullen laid the foundation stone on the 30 May 1867 and the church was consecrated on the 10 October 1869. The foundation stone was presented by Mr. M. Carroll of Glasthule by whom it was cut and dressed. The trowel was presented by Mr. Donegal, Dame Street, Dublin.

Built in the early Decorated Gothic style, St. Joseph's comprises nave, aisles, chancel with square-ended apse, side chapels, sacristies and organ gallery. A tower and spire united to the church fabric was not built. Turrets having between them a rose window over a blind arcade above a double doorway flank the west front. The rock-faced granite walling was relieved by sandstone dressings.

The intercolumniation of the Aberdeen granite columns in the nave arcade was much less than usually adopted and gave an appearance of greater length. An organ gallery terminates the western end. The roof is constructed of curved and framed principals over the centre of each nave column, supported on corbels at stringcourse level under clerestory windows. In order to maximise the sense of horizontality the stringcourse wraps around the corbel. The roof was constructed of curved framed principals over the centre of each nave column. As no intermediate principal was used, further corbels were introduced under the purlin and bolted to the principals. The ceiling was boarded to the back of the rafters. The confessionals are built into the side aisle walls.

The contractor was J. McCormick, Talbot Street, Dublin as he had the lowest tender of £5237.3.5. Estimated cost exclusive of tower and spire in 1867 was £8,000. Ashlin inserted the present ceiling in the church in 1900 at a cost of £600. According to the Welsh Papers, the PKS papers and the DDA Ashlin built the presbytery in 1875.

References:

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.98/1-4.

Bowden, DDA.

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

PKS, IAA, B06/05, pp.42-45; B07/02, pp.19-21. [presbytery].

IAAIIA, PUG002.

IAAIIA, ASH003.

The Dublin Builder, 1 Oct. 1866, p.236.

The Irish Builder, 15 April 1867, p.94, p.102 and illus.

The Irish Builder, 1 June 1867, p.140.

The Irish Builder, 15 Oct. 1869, p.237.

Irish Catholic Directory, 1867, p.374.

Irish Catholic Directory, 1868, p.354.

Irish Catholic Directory, 1882, p.226.

Donnelly, [1914], vol.1, p.159.

O'Dwyer, 1989, pp.57-58.

Stewart, 1990, vol.1, p.20.

DUBLIN

25: *Building, Inchicore* (1868-1869)

The only reference to this building is among the newly acquired (August 2001) Ashlin and Colman architectural drawings in the IAA. The two drawings illustrate an end elevation, a front elevation and a plan that date to March 1868. The second drawing is titled 'Inchicore No.2' and is signed Pugin and Ashlin and dated to January 1868. It illustrates some sections and a rear elevation.

The building is L-plan with a projecting porch and flèche above. A classroom was indicated in the small arm of the building and the main body of the building was divided into two. The materials used were red brick and Bath stone dressings to the openings. The interior has a scissors truss roof.

References:

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 2001/98/1-2.

DUBLIN

26: *St. Kevin's Harrington Street* (1868-1872)

The new church replaced the wooden church that had served as a chapel-of-ease for St. Nicholas of Myra, Francis Street, Dublin. The parish was created from St. Catherine's in 1855. The first public meeting regarding the church was the 16 June 1867. The parish priest was Rev. Martin Barlow (1865-1870). In July 1868, *The Irish Builder* pronounced Pugin and Ashlin's designs the best with the elevations being noted as 'particularly attractive'. W.F. Caldbeck, Harcourt Street, Dublin was the only other competing architect. The foundation stone was laid on 3 June 1869. Cardinal Cullen, on the Feast of St. Kevin, dedicated the church 3 June 1872.

A model of the church was exhibited on 16 December 1869 at the Conversazione of the RIAI. Cruciform in shape, and in the Decorated Gothic style, the church comprised a wide nave, no side aisles, transepts and chancel. The confessionals were set into the nave walls. The proposed tower at the north west angle was not built. The pitch pine roof with exposed principals is panelled. W.H. Byrne executed the altar in 1884.

The materials include large areas of hammer dressed granite (snecked) and sandstone dressings. The bays of the nave and elsewhere were marked by buttresses terminating in pinnacles. The west end of the nave, the east end of the chancel and the north and south ends of the transepts were flanked by turrets bearing spirelets.

Messrs Gribbon and Cleere, Stephen's Green, Dublin took out the quantities. Messrs. Meade and Sons, who started the roofing of St. Colman's Cathedral, Cobh, Co. Cork in 1870, also began the roofing of St. Kevin's. B. Millard was another contractor. The cost of the original structure was £20,000. G.C. Ashlin designed the presbytery on Heytesbury Street.

References:

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.62/1-63.

Bowden, DDA.

The Irish Builder, 1 July 1868, p.161.

The Irish Builder, 15 July 1868, p.182.

The Irish Builder, 15 June 1884, p.179 illus. of memorial altar.

Irish Catholic Directory, 1863, p.243.

Irish Catholic Directory, 1871, p.260.

Irish Catholic Directory, 1872, p.280.

Donnelly, [1914], vol.2, p.114-119.

Costello, 1989, p.60.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.58.

Williams, Jeremy, *A Companion Guide to Architecture in Ireland 1837-1921* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1994), p.135.

DUBLIN

27: *Proposed layout of Mountjoy Estate, Berkeley Street* (1868)

A portion of the Mountjoy Estate, situated at the head of Berkeley Street and Eccles Street and bordering the Royal Canal, was purchased in 1868 by a company of gentlemen for the purpose of laying it out in building sites. The site of considerable extent comprised about nine acres and according was laid out by Pugin and Ashlin. By 1868, several allotments had been made and buildings operations has begun. It was hoped that this would be a vast improvement to locality as the present aspect of the place was, according to *The Irish Builder*, 'strikingly unsuggestive of prosperity.'

References:

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

The Irish Builder, 15 July 1868, p.182.

DUBLIN

28: *Carmelite chapel, Monastery of the Incarnation, Hampton, Drumcondra* (1868-1873)

The Irish Builder announced, in 1868, that a Carmelite convent was being built at Hampton, near Drumcondra to the designs of Pugin and Ashlin. In *The Irish Builder* of 1873, there was a further notice of a chapel and convent being erected on a site to the west of Drumcondra Hill. The contractor for the convent was John Brady, Camden Street, and for the chapel, Michael Meade and Son, Great Brunswick Street.

The chapel is erected in stone with gables at the east and west ends. At the west end there is a porch with a circular window over and a the east end a belfry. The chapel was designed to seat sixty.

References:

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/3/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

The Irish Builder, 1 Aug. 1868, p.195.

The Irish Builder, 1 Aug. 1873, p.210.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.59.

DUBLIN

29: *St. Paul's, Christian Brother's school, 83-88 North Brunswick Street* (1868-1870)

The school was opened on the 2 February 1869 and was built in collaboration with Daniel J. Freeman.

References:

Welsh Papers, London, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

IAAIIA, ASH003.

DUBLIN

30: *Christian Brothers convent, Westland Row* (1868)

The convent was first occupied on the 14 December 1868. The Welsh Papers list the building as by the partnership of Pugin and Ashlin.

References:

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

DUBLIN

31: *Dominican Priory, Tallaght* (c.1868)

Undated perspective of a proposed design in the Ashlin and Coleman collection in the Irish Architectural Archive. The drawing is signed E.W. Pugin and may have been a commission on his own.

References:

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.153/1.

KERRY

32: *St. Mary's, Listowel, additions* (1865-1866) illus (4.10)

Pugin and Ashlin's involvement with this church was in its extension towards the square and the addition of a gabled west front and tower with spire, at the eastern angle. The gable bears the date 1866. Over the principal doorway there were two tracery windows with a canopied niche, springing from a carved corbel and shaft of polished limestone, at each side of which is a two-light window, and overhead in centre of gable a circular tracery window 6ft. in diameter.

The dressings to doors, windows, weatherings and bands are of Kanturk white limestone and the local dark limestone for walling. The columns to principal doorway are polished Aberdeen granite, spire of white limestone, with bands of dark limestone. The wrought iron cross, which as *The Dublin Builder* in 1866 stated was a 'very creditable specimen of native workmanship' was executed by Messrs Hodges and Sons, Westmoreland Street, to the designs of Pugin and Ashlin. A novel feature of the octagonal spire were the four tourelles rising at the base of the spire that anticipated the design of the unbuilt tower at Holy Cross, Tralee (1866-1869). The bell in the tower was by Murphy of Dublin.

James Scanlan, Dublin was the builder.

References:

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2-3, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

The Dublin Builder, 15 Oct. 1865, p.251.

The Dublin Builder, 15 June 1866, p.160.

KERRY

33: *The Church of the Holy Cross, Tralee* (1866-1869) illus (3.11) (3.29)

Fr. Lynch, the first superior of the Dominican convent from 1861, went to Italy in September 1863 and died there. He was in correspondence with Fr. Francis Goldie a Dominican Prior in England. Fr. Goldie was a brother of George Goldie, builder of the parish church in Bandon, Cork and competitor to Pugin and Ashlin in the SS. Peter and Paul's, Carey's Lane commission and the Cobh Cathedral commission. Fr. Goldie suggested to Fr. Lynch his brother's appointment as architect for the building of Holy Cross. As happened in two Cork commissions, the job went to Pugin and Ashlin. The foundation stone was laid on the 15 August 1866 and the church was opened 14 September 1871. Holy Cross was begun by Fr. Burke OP and finished by Fr. Murphy OP.

The church was well sited as it projects into a broad street at Day Place allowing the building to be seen to advantage on all four sides. Decorated Gothic in style, the church comprised nave, side aisles, chancel with apsidal ends, two side chapels and sacristies. Confessionals were arranged between the buttresses in alternate bays of the aisles. The tower and spire at the north west angles was not built due to the low bearing capacity of the site. The west front is very similar in massing to the Church of the Sacred Heart, Donnybrook, Dublin (1863-1866), in particular the placing of the large arch above the rose window with tower terminating the west end of a side aisle. The composition of the tower and spire had novelty and boldness in the use of the octagonal spire with tourelles. According to *The Irish Builder* of 1866 this 'church may be taken as a fair average specimen of a number of Roman Catholic churches, varying in cost from £4,000 to £6,000, erected, or being erected, in different parts of the country.'

The exterior of the church is faced with red sandstone with Bath stone dressings and Bath stone tracery. The interior is lined throughout with Combe Down Bath stone. The church was ready for roofing in September 1866. Pugin and Ashlin erected an open timber roof that was similar to those erected at SS. Peter and Paul's, Carey's Lane, Cork and the proposed Nenagh Cathedral (c.1860). The chancel ceiling is groined in wood. Payment was made to the contractor, Arthur Crosbie, between 1866-1869 the sum of £4,600 with £250 to Ashlin and £439.6.7 to the clerk of works.

Ashlin designed the high altar in 1873; the rosary altar by Ashlin in 1881 and a new altar and reredos were erected in 1896.

The cost was £6,000.

References:

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.160/1.

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/3, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

IAAIIA, PUG002.

The Irish Builder, 15 Mar. 1866, p.72.

The Irish Builder, 1 May 1866, p.112.

The Irish Builder, 15 Sept. 1866, p.233.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.58.

KERRY

34: *St. Carthage, Brosna* (1866-1870) illus (4.14)

The partnership designed the new church in 1866, but on the dissolution in 1868, Ashlin became the executant architect. The foundation stone was laid on the 16 May 1869 and the church was opened in 1870.

Early English Gothic in style the church, which is cruciform and aisleless, comprises nave without clerestory, transepts, polygonal chancel, sacristy and organ gallery at the west end. *The Irish Builder* stated in 1868 that the church 'may be taken as a good type of country parish church, combining as it does very considerable accommodation with comparatively little outlay.' The initial Pugin and Ashlin design proposed a tower at the north west angle that was not built. Each side of the polygonal chancel is pierced with three lancet windows.

The roof is open to the ridge and is stained and varnished. The transepts are separated from nave by a pair of arches having limestone columns on each side as in the manner of the Church of the Immaculate Conception and St. Joseph, Glenealy, Co. Wicklow (1868-1869) and St. Patrick's, Monkstown, Cork (1867-1870). In the 1866 design it was proposed to erect a polygonal chancel and a tower at the north west angle. Neither were built in the scheme completed by Ashlin.

The contractor was W. Walsh, Foynes. The cost was £2,000.

References:

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

The Dublin Builder, 1 Oct. 1866, p.243.

The Irish Builder, 1 Dec. 1868, p.294.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.59.

KERRY

35: *Orphanage, Convent of Mercy* (1867-1868)

The only source for this project that has been traced is the Welsh Papers. The foundation stone was laid on the 24 June 1867 and the orphanage was opened in 1868. The Welsh Papers maintain that G.C. Ashlin signed the contract on the 4 July 1868. It is not known where in Kerry the commission was erected.

References:

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

KERRY

36: *Tower and spire, St. John's, Tralee* (1868-1870)

The foundation stone for St. John's church, designed by J.J. McCarthy, was laid in November 1854. Pugin and Ashlin's involvement was in the erection of the tower with spire in the centre of the west front, which was 'progressing rapidly' as reported in *The Irish Builder* of 1868. The materials are pink sandstone and grey limestone. The central tower produces an effect that was quite similar to that of A.W.N. Pugin's St. Giles, Cheadle, England (1840). The foundation of the tower was blessed in September 1868 and the cross on the top of the spire was fixed on the 23 October 1870 as a sign of completion of the work. The Welsh Papers attributes the work to Ashlin.

References:

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

The Irish Builder, 15 Sept. 1868, p.233.

Sheehy, Jeanne, *J.J. McCarthy and the Gothic Revival in Ireland* ([Belfast]: Ulster Architectural Heritage Society, 1977), p.54.

KERRY

37: *The Church of the Sacred Heart, Kilmoyley* (1868-1873) illus (4.15)

This commission was one of the first independent commissions G.C. Ashlin received. The foundation stone was laid in March 1871 and the church was dedicated 5 October 1873.

The church comprised nave, chancel ending in a polygonal apse, aisle on the south side, sacristy and porch at the north west angle. Executed in the early Decorated style, the exterior is faced with dark limestone with light coloured limestone dressings. The west gable is surmounted by a bell-cote and contains a three-light window with traceried head. On the north side there are two-light windows between the buttresses. A belfry surmounts the west front and a gablet furnished the east end, dying into the apsidal roof. The gabled traceried window is let into apse in a manner similar to Monkstown, Co. Cork (1867-1870) and the Church of the Immaculate Conception and St. Joseph, Glenealy, Co. Wicklow (1868-1873). Simpler variations appear in the urban churches such as at the Church of the Sacred Heart, Donnybrook, Dublin, the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Clonakilty, Co. Cork and St. Kevin's, Harrington Street, Dublin. The side aisle opening comprise paired lancets with hexafoils and smooth limestone surround echoes Ashlin's independent commission for the Loreto convent chapel, Fermoy, Co. Cork.

References:

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.6/1.

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/3, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

IAAIIA, ASH003.

The Irish Builder, 15 Dec. 1868, p.304 and illus.

The Cork Examiner, 5, 7 Oct. 1873.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.59.

LAOIS

38: *The Church of the Sacred Heart, Arles* (1865-1868) illus (4.7) (4.18) (4.22) (4.29)

The Rt. Rev. Dr. Walsh, Bishop of Kildare, dedicated the Church of the Sacred Heart on 24 May 1868. *The Irish Builder* in 1868 thought that although the church was of small dimensions it was 'of a more pretentious character than is usually to be met with in churches erected in country districts.'

The church, erected on an elevated position, was built in the early Decorated style. It comprises nave, aisles, chancel, two chapels, sacristies, south porch and tower with spire at the north west angle. The benefactors of the church were the Grace family. The church comprises nave with apsidal termination, side aisles and a tower with broach spire. The nave is divided from the aisles by an arcade of six arches resting on columns of red marble with capitals and bases of white limestone.

The materials used on the external facing of the church are dark rusticated limestone from the locality and white limestone dressings from Stradbally quarries that created a monochromatic effect. To emphasise the rural nature of the church plate tracery was also employed. The use of the two types of limestone has lead to a heavy appearance of the tracery, in particular, the hoodmouldings over openings which terminate in cubes of limestone. The roof is open timbered with the curved principals resting on corbels, between which runs a continuous stringcourse under the clerestory windows.

The total cost £3,500 which was made up by voluntary donations and by contribution of £1,500 from Mrs. Grace of Gracefields. Altars, glass and communion rails were a gift of Mrs. Grace and supplied by Earley and Powell, Dublin.

References:

The Dublin Builder, 15 Dec. 1865, p.292, and illus. p.293.

The Irish Builder, 1 June 1868, p.143.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.59.

LAOIS

39: *High altar, church, Ballyraggett* (1869)

Rev. Thomas Walsh PP commissioned the Caen stone high altar from the design of G.C. Ashlin. Improvements were made to the church and to the two side altars. These improvement included a new ceiling to nave and side aisles, groined in plaster with moulded ribs and bosses and new flooring. Mr. Murphy, Waterford was the contractor and Mr. Bourke, Gloucester Street, Dublin was the plasterer. The high altar represents the Sacrifice of Melchisadeck, the Sacrifice of Abraham and the Crucifixion.

References:

The Irish Builder, 15 Feb. 1869, illus. between pp.42-43.

LOUTH

40: *Christian Brothers convent, Drogheda* (1867-1868) illus (4.42)

The foundation stone was laid on the 19 March 1867 and the convent occupied on the 28 April 1868. The convent was built to a modified design omitting the flèche on the roof. The red brick building with limestone dressings, two storeys high, comprises parlours, study, refectory, infirmary, kitchen, store rooms, cells and sleeping compartments. There is an oratory on the first floor lighted by lancet windows (at end of wing) and with a groined plaster ceiling.

Belfast red brick and limestone dressings were used for bands, strings and the voussoirs of arches. The eaves course of the main block of building is successfully brought on brick corbelling beyond the face of the wall. The bargeboards are perforated with trefoils and are used at front gables and gablets on wings.

References:

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.45/1-2.

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

IAAIIA, PUG002.

The Irish Builder, 15 Mar. 1867, p.72 and illus. p.73.

The Irish Builder, 1 Oct. 1867, p.262.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.60.

LOUTH

41: *Christian Brothers schools, Drogheda* (1868)

The Irish Builder in 1868 reported that Christian Brothers schools were opened in April of that year.

Mr. Thomas Conolly, West Street, Drogheda was the builder.

References:

The Irish Builder, 1 April 1868, p.89.

LOUTH

42: *St. Augustine, Shop Street, Drogheda, additions* (1869)

Ashlin was paid for works in 1869, including the altar to St. Joseph, for the St. Augustine's church. The organ gallery dates from 1876.

References:

F.X. Martin, transcript 1962.

TIPPERARY

43: *Proposed cathedral, Nenagh* (c.1860)

The designs for the cathedral in Nenagh, Co. Tipperary date to c.1860. A design for the Roman Catholic church in Nenagh is mentioned in *The Ecclesiologist* of 1860. The cathedral as proposed by Pugin and Ashlin was never built, however, a church dedicated to St. Mary of the Rosary was built by Walter G. Doolin between 1893-1906.

Three Pugin and Ashlin drawings survive for the proposal in the Pugin family drawings in the RIBA, London. The drawings include a perspective of the exterior from the south west, a perspective of the exterior from the north east and a perspective of the interior looking east. The designs show a north west tower and spire to a nave and chancel with clerestory lighting and low aisles. The arrangement of the east end is complicated with three small gabled chapels projecting from the chancel, between two slightly larger gabled buildings which may be sacristies. There are large east and west rose windows and small ones to the east of the chapels. The gabled presbytery is at the south east corner of the cathedral.

The interior has round-arched arcades and a scissors truss roof that was similar to SS. Peter and Paul's, Carey's Lane, Cork (1859-1866) and anticipated the Church of the Holy Cross, Tralee (1866-1869).

References:

RIBA Draw., London, V2/85/1, V2/84/1, V2/84/2.

IAAIIA, PUG002.

The Builder, 12 June 1875, p.523, where listed as convent.

Crooks, G.P., 'The Career and Architectural Works of Walter G. Doolin (1850-1902)', 2 vols (M.A: UCD, 1987).

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.56.

Wedgwood, 1977, p.118, illus. 123, 124.

TIPPERARY

44: *Proposed church, Carrickbeg, Carrick-on-Suir* (1867)

The only reference to this project, which has been traced, is in the Welsh Papers. The project, however, was unrealised. The Welsh Papers include a reference to the 1867 edition of *The Building News* where it was indicated that the services of Pugin and Ashlin had been retained for this church. The drawings in the Ashlin and Coleman collection refer to internal fittings and date to the 1880s.

References:

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.20/1-10.

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

TIPPERARY

45: *Presentation convent, Fethard* (1869-1871)

Ashlin executed the first stage of the project while Walter Doolin completed the remainder of the work. The foundation stone was laid on the 26 July 1869. The Presentation Sisters took possession on the 13 May 1871. E.W. Pugin completed the main wing according to Professor Welsh. Additions were made in the 1880s.

References:

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.158/1, 76/1.159/1.

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2 Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

IAAIIA, AHS003.

The Irish Builder, 15 May 1867, p.114.

The Irish Builder, 15 May 1870, p.114.

WATERFORD

46: Christian Brothers convent, Mount Sion (1866)

The convent was first occupied according to the Welsh Papers on 8 December 1866. Quantities for the alterations of Mount 'Zion' convent, totalling £1,113, were supplied to Pugin and Ashlin by Patterson and Kempster in 1867. Mr. Fitzpatrick was the builder.

References:

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/24/2, Dominic M. O'Connor correspondence.

Aston, Gordon, 'List of all work carried out 1860-1933' (typescript in the IAA, RP.B.31.9).

WATERFORD

47: *The Church of the Sacred Heart, Ferrybank* (1864-1866) (1904) illus (4.4) (4.5) (4.6)

This commission, for the Barron family, called for a two-stage plan. The initial stage, dated 1864, involved the erection of a symmetrical west end tower and spire to be added to front of the old parish church. The second stage involved the rebuilding of the old church. The entire scheme was illustrated in *The Dublin Builder* in 1866 showing the tower and church as proposed by Pugin and Ashlin.

Of this Pugin and Ashlin scheme only the tower was erected. The tower, which was built at the sole expense of Pierce Marcus Barron, was built above the Barron family vault. The materials used were red sandstone with limestone dressings. In 1904 G.C. Ashlin rebuilt the church. The interior and exterior reflect the interest in Celtic motifs at the turn of the century. This is seen in the employment of the battlements on the exterior and the banded columns in the interior. Ashlin employed the addition of battlements to the exterior in the O'Connell, Memorial Church, Caherciveen, Co. Kerry (1882).

James Scanlan, Dublin was the builder.

References:

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.94/1-87.

Scott collection, IAA, 89/44/37-49, 50-56.

The Dublin Builder, 1 July 1866, p.166.

O'Dwyer, 1989, pp.58-59.

WATERFORD

48: *St. Joseph's high altar, Dungarvan* (1867)

Pugin and Ashlin designed the high altar for the church. The altar was erected through the munificence of J. Dower Esq. J.P., from Dungarvan. Pugin and Ashlin and George Goldie submitted sketches to Dower. The design of Pugin and Ashlin was accepted. Goldie contacted the editor of *The Irish Builder* in March 1867 stating that the commission had been awarded to him as early as the 9 April 1866. The Pugin and Ashlin design that the journal had illustrated in February 1867 had been 'submitted' since. Goldie implied that there was some favouritism involved in Pugin and Ashlin's design being chosen over his. He stated that it was perhaps not worth while to inquire under what circumstances the design was adopted. The editor of *The Irish Builder* responded by stating that Pugin and Ashlin received an invitation from Dower for the work and it was being completed with Dower's full knowledge and approval.

The front panel is carved with a representation of the Marriage of St. Joseph and is flanked by red marble columns, having carved capitals and white marble base mouldings.

The expenditure was £200. The contractor was J. Scannell, Cork. According to the Welsh Papers Mr. Payne designed the church. This may refer to the Pain brothers. The church was renovated between 1888 and 1894 under the direction of Ashlin.

References:

The Irish Builder, 15 Feb. 1867, p.44, illus. p.45.

The Irish Builder, 1 Mar. 1867, p.64.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.60.

WATERFORD

49: *Proposed church, Stradbally* (1867)

The only reference to this project, which has been traced, is in the Welsh Papers. H. T. Coleman, in communication with Professor Welsh in 1962, maintained that plans were drawn up in 1868 for the church. The project, however, was unrealised. The Welsh Papers include a reference to the 1867 edition of *The Building News* where it was indicated that the services of Pugin and Ashlin had been retained for this church.

References:

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

WESTMEATH

50: *Greville Nugent mausoleum, Fore* (1867) illus (4.37)

The restoration and new chantry chapel at Fore for Lady Rosa Greville involved the re-facing and re-roofing of the single cell chapel and building a battlemented boundary wall. This structure was originally a fifteenth-century anchorite's chapel with a small late medieval rectangular tower house attached. It was first restored by the second Earl of Meath in 1680. Pugin and Ashlin's work was completed in 1867. The cusped lancet windows and wall treatment are similar to the elevations of Edermine chapel, Co. Wexford. Lady Rosa Greville and her husband were buried at Fore in 1883.

Messrs Sibthorpe and Son, Great Brunswick Street, Dublin were the contractors.

References:

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/3, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

The Irish Builder, 1 Oct. 1867, p.263.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.58.

Casey, Christine, and Alistair Rowan, *The Buildings of Ireland. North Leinster, The counties of Longford, Louth, Meath and Westmeath*, The Buildings of Ireland, vol.2 (London: Penguin, 1993), p.295.

Fitzsimons, Hannah, *The Great Delvin* (Dublin: Reprint Limited, 1979.

WEXFORD

51: *Ballymurn mortuary chapel* (1861) illus (4.36)

The chapel was erected in memory of M. Maher, MP for Co. Wexford who had died in May 1860. The chapel is fitted with a small altar and lighted by traceried windows. The external corbelled roof is erected with Portland stone, which is supported on a groined ceiling of Caen stone. Granite is employed for the other constructive portions with Bath stone and limestone dressings.

Messers Hardman and Co. were the constructors.

References:

The Dublin Builder, 15 April 1861, p.486.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.58.

WEXFORD

52: *Church of the Assumption, Lady's Island, Broadway* (1863-1864) illus (3.36) (4.2) (4.17) (4.20)

The foundation stone was laid on the 11 May 1863 for the Archdeacon James Walsh and the church opened on the feast of the Assumption 15 August 1864. It was Pugin and Ashlin's first Wexford parish church. The parish adjoins that of Tagoat where A.W.N. Pugin had built the parish church (Sacred Heart) in 1846 through the patronage of J.H. Talbot of Ballytrent.

Decorated Gothic in style, the church comprises nave, aisles, chancel with polygonal apse, two side chapels in line with the aisles, sacristy and porch at the south west angle. The central position of the tower with broach spire on the west front was constructed under the influence of A.W.N. Pugin's early English churches. Lady's Island is faced with granite with Whitehaven red sandstone dressings.

The interior is vaulted with a plaster ceiling in a manner that anticipates the timber ceilings in SS. Augustine and John's, Thomas Street, Dublin (1860-1895) and St. Colman's Cathedral, Cork (1867-1915) and later churches such as the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Clonakilty, Co. Cork (1869-1880).

References:

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2-3, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

IAAIIA, PUG002.

The Dublin Builder, 1 May 1863, pp.79-80.

O'Dwyer, 1989, pp.58-59.

WEXFORD

53: *SS. Peter and Paul's, Kilanerin* (1865-1872) illus (4.8) (4.9) (4.21)

This commission was through the Redmond family. The foundation stone was laid on the 29 June 1865 and the church was opened in 1872. The church was built by Canon Doyle (d.1882).

The style was Early English Gothic style of the thirteenth century. The dimensions are 100ft. by 45ft. The church comprises a nave, chancel, apsidal end, aisles, south porch, tower with broach spire and quatrefoil clerestory treatment. The local materials employed are blue/green calp rubble limestone with granite dressings. *The Dublin Builder* in 1865 reported that the details throughout were 'extremely severe and simple' with tracery being introduced only in the chancel and side chapel windows. The spire, which reached 100ft., is more elaborate than originally proposed with the addition of spirelets around the base instead of the simple broach. The church at Kilanerin illustrates the firm's continuing adherence to the philosophy of A.W.N. Pugin, especially in their rural commissions.

Red marble columns is used for the nave arcade with Kilkenny limestone bases and capitals. The estimated cost in 1865 was £1,500. Professor Welsh was of the opinion that this commission was taken over by E.W. Pugin in 1869 following the dissolution of the partnership. The Welsh Papers refer to a letter from H.T. Coleman (25 April 1972) where Coleman states that there was an entry in a Pugin and Ashlin ledger that the sum of £20 had been received from Canon Doyle on the 1 May 1865 for the plan of the church.

References:

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

The Dublin Builder, 15 Aug. 1865, p.198, p.281.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.59.

WEXFORD

54: *Ballynastragh House, Gorey* (1869)

The *Irish Builder* in 1869 announced that considerable improvements and additions were 'about to be carried out' to G.C. Ashlin's designs for Sir John Esmonde, Bart., M.P.'s house at Ballynastragh. Originally a seventeenth-century house, it was built by James Esmonde, 8th Bart. Various alterations were carried out by succeeding Esmondes. Ashlin's embellishments included the castellations, the addition of a slender five-storey battlemented tower on one side and a projection with round-headed windows on the other. The garden front was given two Victorian three-sided bows with three tiers of pilaster. Bence-Jones suggests that they are 'of a style very characteristic of Ashlin'.

The house is now demolished.

References:

The Irish Builder, 15 Feb. 1869, p.51.

Bence-Jones, Mark, *Burke's Guide to Country Houses Volume 1 Ireland* (London: Burke's Peerage Limited, 1978; repr., Constable: 1996), p.26 and illus.

WEXFORD

55: *Enniscorthy Castle* (1869)

This was an independent Ashlin commission. He was involved in the complete renovation and remodelling of Enniscorthy Castle in order to fit it as the Irish residence of Issac Newton Wallop (1825-1891) the fifth Earl of Portsmouth. *The Dictionary of Art* states that the commission is by the firm.

References:

The Irish Builder, 15 Aug. 1869, p.195.

Maguire, Hugh, 'George Coppinger Ashlin', in Jane Turner, ed., *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols (London: Macmillan Publisher, 1996), pp.599-600.

WICKLOW

56: *The Church of the Immaculate Conception and St. Joseph, Glenealy* (1868-1869) illus (4.25) (4.31) (4.33)

This church was one of the last partnership churches. The foundation stone was laid on the 19 March 1868 and the church was opened and dedicated on the 4 October 1869.

Early English Gothic in style, the church is cruciform in shape and comprised nave, transepts, chancel with apsidal end and sacristy. The Early English massing is counterbalanced by the High Victorian elements to the design such as the details to the transept spaces in the interior and the treatment of the chancel window in the exterior. A belfry surmounts the west front and a gablet furnished the east end, dying into the apsidal roof. The gabled traceried window is let into apse in a manner similar to Monkstown, Co. Cork (1867-1870) and the Church of the Sacred Heart, Kilmoyley, Co. Kerry (1868-1873). A pair of arches separates the transepts from nave on each side, in the manner of Monkstown, Cork and Brosna. The dressings to the doors, windows, strings, gable moulds are of chiselled granite and were executed by John Brady, Ballyknocken granite quarries. The west end is surmounted by a bell-cote and a gablet furnished the east end dying into the apsidal roof. The nave roof is open timbered with a scissors truss.

The cost was £4,000.

References:

Bowden, DDA.

IAAIIA, PUG002.

The Irish Builder, 1 May 1868, p.117.

The Irish Builder, 1 Nov. 1868, p.268.

O'Dwyer, 1989, p.59.

Appendix II

A guide to sources for G.C. Ashlin's works 1870-1880

Introductory note:

It is to be noted that those buildings in Appendix I whose building programme extends beyond 1869 are omitted in Appendix II.

This continuation of catalogue entries carries the story of the early career of G.C. Ashlin into the period beyond the limits of the thesis.

CORK

1. *St. Augustine's church and priory, Washington Street* (1872-1874)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.132/1-4.

F.X. Martin, transcript 1962.

The Irish Builder, 15 Dec. 1872, p.339.

Clerk of works, Mr. Delaney. The drawing for the chancel seats date to 1879 and the communion railing to 1876.

2. *Presentation convent, Midleton, choir screen* (1875)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.126/1.

3. *Presentation convent, Youghal, stalls and communion bench* (1877)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.169/1-3.

4. *St. Mary's Cathedral, Cathedral Road Cork, proposed communion rail* (1878)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.34/1.

5. *Good Shepherd convent, Sunday's Well Road,Cork, stalls, benches* (1879-1880)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.36/1-5.

IAAIIA, ASH003.

Contractor, E. and P. O'Flynn for Bishop Delany.

6. *St. Mary's Convent of Mercy, Buttevant* (1879)

The Irish Builder, 15 Feb. 1879, p.52.

The convent was opened on the 9 February 1879. The style was domestic Gothic with pointed gables and large chimneys. It is built of local limestone, Youghal bricks in the jambs, arches, chimneys and cut stone

sills. Red pine wood was employed in the interior. Accommodation was provided for 18 nuns, with a pension school to accommodate 100 pupils. The clerk of works was R.P. Monahan. The cost was £3,000.

DOWN

7. *Dominican church, Queen Street* (1874-1875)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.137/1-12.

The Irish Builder, 15 Feb. 1875, illus p.50.

The Irish Builder, 1 Sept. 1875, p.248.

Dedicated in September 1875 and opened on the 17 October 1875.

DUBLIN

8. *Roman Catholic schools, Donnybrook* (1870)

IAAIIA, ASH003.

Bowden, DDA.

The Irish Builder, 15 May 1870, pp.98, 114.

The schools, which were connected to the church, were built for the Very Rev. Dean O'Connell. Contractor, R. Courtney, Dundrum. James Farrell, Harcourt Street, supplied the quantities. William Byrne and Son extended the schools in 1902-1907.

9. *Sisters of Mercy convent chapel, Stanhope Street* (1870)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.78/1.

The Irish Builder, 15 May 1870, p.114.

The Irish Builder, 1 Sept. 1870, p.205.

James Farrell, Harcourt Street, supplied the quantities. Builder, J. McCormack, Talbot Street.

10. *Catholic church, Stanhope Street* (1870)

The Irish Builder, 1 Sept. 1870, p.205.

The Lord Bishop of Cape Town laid the foundation stone in connection with the training schools on the 28 August 1870. The church comprised nave, aisles, chancel, sacristy and organ gallery at the west end. The materials were red brick with Bath stone. Contractor, J. McCormack, Talbot Street, Dublin.

11. *St. George's, Killiney* (1870-1871)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.106/1-2.

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2-3, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

The Irish Builder, 13 July 1907, p.487.

Peter Pearson, *Between the Mountains and the Sea. Dun Laoghaire – Rathdown County* (Dublin: The O'Brien Press, 1998), pp.73-74.

Williams, Jeremy, *A Companion Guide to Architecture in Ireland, 1837-1921* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1995), p.182.

This was Ashlin's own residence. He also designed a summer house in the Queen Anne style on the property for his daughter in 1903. The red brick gate lodge bears the date 1882. Builder, James Donovan, Dalkey, Dublin.

12. *Augustinian Novitiate, Orlagh, Rathfarnham* (1872-1874)

F.X. Martin, transcript 1962.

G.C. Ashlin was paid in 1874 and in 1877 for unidentified works.

13. *St. Alphonsus Redemptorist convent, St. Alphonsus Road* (1873-1874)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.76/1.

The Irish Builder, 15 Aug. 1873, p.210.

A convent for the Sisters of the Most Holy Redeemer was begun in 1873. Contractor, John Brady.

14. *St. Alphonsus convent chapel, St. Alphonsus Road* (1874)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.65/1-2.

PKS, IAA, B06/49, pp.697-701.

The Irish Builder, 1 Aug. 1873, p.210.

The chapel comprises a five-bay nave with first two bays double storeyed, the public on the ground level and the nuns above. The interior comprises a domed crossing flanked by barrel vaulted transepts and an arcaded apse beyond. Builder, Michael Meade and Son.

15. *The Church of the Annunciation, Rathfarnham* (1874-1878)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.167/1-9.

PKS, IAA, B07/19.

IAAIIA, ASH003.

The Irish Builder, 1 April 1875, p.98.

The Irish Builder, 1 April 1878, p.112.

Irish Catholic Directory, 1869, p.296, p.311.

Irish Catholic Directory, 1871, p.258.

Irish Catholic Directory, 1879, p.228, p.230.

Cardinal Cullen laid the foundation stone on the 29 March 1875 and the Very Rev. Monsignor McCabe dedicated the church on the 27 March 1878. Built in the Early English Gothic style in manner of firm's rural commissions. Patterson and Kempster supplied the quantities. Contractor, Meade and Son. The cost was £9,849-7-0.

16. *Oratory to the Honan family, Glasheen, Botanic Avenue, St. Patrick's Cemetery* (c.1875)

Williams, 1995, p.61.

17. *The Church of Mary Immaculate, Inchicore* (1875-1878)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.64/1-11.

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 2001/98/1-59.

PKS, IAA, 0718; 0746; B06a/21, pp.173-5; B15/59, p.650.

IAAIIA, ASH003.

Bowden, DDA.

The Irish Builder, 1 Dec. 1875, illus. p.329.

The Irish Builder, 15 Dec. 1878, p.368.

The Irish Builder, 18 Jan. 1879, p.82.

The Irish Builder, 10 Oct. 1901, p.893.

Stewart, Ann M., *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765-1927, Index of Artists*, 2 vols (Dublin: Manton Publishing, 1990), vol.1, p.20.

Commissioned by the Oblate Fathers and commenced on the 9 July 1876. Dedicated in December 1878. The chancel, sacristy and side chapels were built from 1892-1903. Completed in the 1920s with the addition of the bell towers. Pearse and Sons executed the communion rails in 1901. Meade was the

contractor and Patterson and Kempster supplied the quantities to the amount of £9,775. The first portion including the nave and aisles cost £8,300. Chancel and sacristy cost £10,470.

18. *Chapel, All Hallows, Drumcondra* (1876)

Williams, 1995, pp.158-159.

The fittings for the collegiate chapel were designed by G.C. Ashlin.

19. *The Church of the Holy Cross, Dundrum* (1876-1879)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.88/1-2.

PKS, IAA, B06a/24, pp.195-198; B9/28, pp.156-172.

Bowden, DDA.

Donnelly, Nicholas, *Short Histories of Dublin Parishes* (repr., Dublin: Carraig Books, [1914]), vol.1, p.120.

IAAIIA, ASH003.

The church was built on the site of an older church that was dedicated in 1837. The present church was begun in May 1876 and dedicated on the 6 July 1879. Patterson and Kempster supplied the quantities. Contractor, Meade and Sons. The cost was £5, 274. Ashlin also built the presbytery.

20. *St. Marie's industrial school, Stanhope Street* (1876-1880)

PKS, IAA, B06a/28, pp.263-268; B08/18, pp.271-322, 362-381; B10/01, pp.1-93.

IAAIIA, ASH003.

Donnelly, [1914], vol.1, p.36.

Contractor, Richard Toole. Patterson and Kempster supplied the quantities in July 1876 to the amount of £6,310. The works comprised new porter's lodge and laundry buildings.

21. *Our Lady of Lourdes chapel, Carmelite church, Aungier Street* (1877)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.51.

PKS, IAA, B06a/51, pp.428-431; B07/49, pp.896a-901; B08/03, pp.40-46.

The Irish Builder, 15 July 1877, p.202, illus. p.205.

Williams, 1995, p.123.

The chapel was proposed to be erected in conjunction with the Carmelite church in 1877. Patterson and Kempster supplied the quantities to the amount of £2,462. Mr. Meade was the contractor. Williams states that the building was begun in 1867. An oak pulpit dated 1881 was also designed by Ashlin for the church.

22. *Augustinian presbytery, John's Lane* (1877-1880)

Ashlin Coleman Heelan, Dublin, folders.

PKS, IAA, B06a/54, pp.562-7; B10/25, pp.680-703.

F.X. Martin, transcript 1962.

Augustinian Archives, Dublin, Box B3.

The Irish Builder, 15 April 1878, pp.119-121 and illus. p.119.

Builder, Mr. Hammond. Cost of the quantities, £7,273. The deed for the premises was dated the 12 May 1879. A portion of this land was comprised in the deed for the church that dated to the 16 October 1858. The cost was £9,000.

23. *St. Andrew's, Westland Row, benches* (1879)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.83/1.

24. *The O'Brien Institute, Malahide Road* (1880)

The Irish Builder, 1 May 1880, p.131.

25. *Lisle House, No.33 Molesworth Street, alterations* (1880)

The Irish Builder, 1 Sept. 1880, p.251.

Alterations to mid-eighteenth-century house to create shop premises. Contractor, Stubbs and Brodigan, Amiens Street.

GALWAY

26. *Convent of Mercy and schools, Galway* (1873-1874)

PKS, IAA, B06/14, pp.202-205, 442-445.

P. Morris was the builder. Patterson and Kempster supplied the quantities for the convent and the schools.

27. *St. Colman's, Roveagh, Clarinbridge, additions* (1873-1874)

PKS, IAA, B06/41, pp629-30.

Fahey, Jerome, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Kilmacduagh* (Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son), pp.417-418.

The builder was C.T. Redington [C.I. Redington in PKS]. 'Ruveigh' in PKS. Redington from designs of G.C. Ashlin restored the church, which dates from c.1820, in 1873. The windows were erected in memory of Sir T.N. Redington and Mrs. T. Xavier Redington his mother. C.T. Redington's maternal grandfather was J.H. Talbot Esq. J.H. Talbot's daughter, Ann Eliza, married Redington. Earley and Powell executed the woodwork.

28. *Sisters of Charity schools, Galway* (1873-1874)

PKS, IAA, Book 6, 442.

P. Morris was the builder. Patterson and Kempster supplied the quantities to the amount of £4,300 in June 1873.

29. *Dominican convent, Taylor's Hill* (1878-1879)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.97/1.

PKS, IAA, B08/24, pp.818-840.

Patterson and Kempster supplied the quantities. Builder, P. Halloran. Choir stalls were erected in 1878.

30. *Pallas House, Galway* (1879-1881)

PKS, IAA, B09/10, pp.126-131; B10/24, pp.674-5, 747-788.

IAAIIA, ASH003.

Unidentified additions were carried out for the Earl of Westmeath. Patterson and Kempster supplied the quantities to the amount of £5,000. Builder, P. Morris.

31. *Tullira Castle, additions* (1880-1884)

PKS, IAA, 0631; B09/36, pp.698-705; B11/67, pp.908-928.

IAAIIA, ASH003.

Work completed for Edward Martyn.

KERRY

32. ***Holy Trinity Franciscan church, Killarney, cross on spire*** **(1874)**

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.105/1.

33. ***St. Mary's Cathedral, Killarney, communion rails*** **(1874)**

IAAIIA, ASH003.

34. ***Archdeacon O'Sullivan memorial altar, Holy Cross, Kenmare*** **(1875)**

Ashlin and Coleman, 76/1.100/3.

KILKENNY

35. *St. Mary's Cathedral, James Street, Kilkenny, communion railing* (1874)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.102/1.

IAAIIA, ASH003.

36. *Moran wing, St. Kieran's College* (1875-1877)

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/3, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

The foundation stone was laid on the 5 March 1875 and was completed in June 1877. The only reference to this project which can be traced is the Welsh Papers, where Ashlin's authorship for the wing is questioned by Professor Welsh.

LAOIS

37. *St. Canice's, Aghaboe* (1872-1877)

PKS, IAA, B05/54, pp.851-865; B06/31, pp.463-472.

The Irish Builder, 15 Nov. 1877, p.339.

The church was dedicated on the 4 November 1877. The materials used are limestone with white granite dressings. The tower was in the south west angle and in 1877 was spireless. In the recesses of the walls, which project externally, the confessionals were placed. The high altar and rails were a gift of Lord Castletown who also gave the site. Patterson and Kempster supplied the quantities for £2,046 in December 1872. There was a court case between Rev. Matthew Keeffe and the builder R. Courtney. A portion of the wall collapsed and the rebuilding of the masonry portions of the east and west gables, the side wall, chancel and choir took place in January 1874. Athy stock brick was used to replace the older bricks. The east window was a gift of Mrs. Phelan of San Francisco.

LOUTH

38. *St. Mary Magdalen's Dominican church, Drogheda* (1870-1878)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.44/1.

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

The Irish Builder, 15 May 1870, p.114.

The Irish Builder, 1 Sept. 1870, p.209.

The Irish Builder, 15 Jan. 1875, p.26.

The Builder, 27 Sept. 1878.

The Builder, 26 Oct. 1878.

Casey, Christine and Alistair Rowan, *The Buildings of Ireland. North Leinster, The counties of Longford, Louth, Meath and Westmeath*, *The Buildings of Ireland*, vol.2 (London: Penguin, 1993), p.240.

The foundation stone was laid on the 4 September 1870 and the church was opened on the 15 September 1878. The style was thirteenth-century Gothic. The quantities were supplied by James Farrell, Harcourt Street, Dublin. The pulpit was designed in 1883.

39. *St. Patrick's Pro-Cathedral, Dundalk, proposed communion gates* (1872)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.84/3.

40. *Siena convent, Drogheda, chapel and communion railing* (1876)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.43/1.

Casey and Rowan, 1993, pp.241-242.

41. *St. Joseph's Mission Retreat, Dundalk* (1878)

PKS, IAA, B06/64, pp.653-658.

Casey and Rowan, 1993, p.266.

Patterson and Kempster supplied the quantities to the amount of £9,544. Builder, J. McAdorey.

42. ***St. Joseph's Redemptorist monastery, Dundalk*** **(1878-1881)**

PKS, IAA, B14/52, pp.899-904.

IAAIIA, ASH003.

Casey and Rowan, 1993, p.266, plate 135.

The monastery was opened on the 28 August 1881. Builder, J. McAdorey.

MEATH

43. ***Netterville almshouses, Dowth*** **(1877)**

PKS, IAA, C/84; B06a, p.325.

Casey and Rowan, 1993, p.230.

Patterson and Kempster supplied the quantities in January 1877 to the amount of £3,350. Contractor, Mr. Hammond and Co.

OFFALY

44. *Convent of Our Lady industrial schools, Birr* (1865)

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

Foundation stone was laid on the 29 June 1865. The only reference to this project is in the Welsh Papers.

TIPPERARY

45. *Chapel, Mooresfort* (1877)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.130/1.

PKS, IAA, B06a/49, pp.419-421.

IAAIIA, ASH003.

The Builder, 18 May 1878, p.501.

Graves, 1905, vol.1, p.72.

Sheehy, Jeanne, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: the Celtic Revival 1830-1930* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), pp.121, 123, 128.

This chapel, commissioned by the Arthur John Moore of Mooresfort, was unexecuted. Proposed cost, £1,892.

46. *The Church of the Sacred Heart, Templemore* (1877-1905)

PKS, IAA, B06a/43, pp.372-374; B07/46, pp.772-787; B09/32, pp.507-510.

The Irish Builder, 1 May 1877, pp.128-129 and illus. p.133.

The Irish Builder, 15 Aug. 1880, p.238.

The Irish Builder, 31 July 1902, p.1348.

The Irish Builder, 3 June 1905, p.377, illus. p.378.

The Builder, 3 June 1905, p.603.

The foundation stone laid on the 1 January 1877 and mass celebrated in January 1882. The church was erected for Archbishop Croke. The style was Decorated Gothic with a centrally placed tower in the manner of Pugin and Ashlin's urban churches. The materials employed are local limestone for facing and dressings and Caen stone for the internal dressings. Polished red Aberdeen granite columns are used in the nave and the transepts. A Gothic quatrefoil west window for the west wing was executed by Mr. Newstead, Fermoy in 1880 using limestone from his Gurrane quarry. The tower and spire completed on the 22 March 1905 and the church dedicated in October 1907. Builder, T. Mackey, Dublin. Cost, £8092.

47. *The Cathedral of the Assumption, Thurles, Archbishop's throne, pulpit and communion rails* (1877-1879)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1.155/1-13.

O'Toole, James, 'The Cathedral of the Assumption, Thurles, Co. Tipperary' (B.A.: TCD, 1982).

48. *Presbytery, Thurles* (1879)

PKS, IAA, B06a/75, pp.825-6.

Patterson and Kempster supplied the quantities to the amount of £1,608. Builder, Barry McMullan.

49. *Cathedral, Emly* (1880)

IAAIIA, ASH003.

PKS, IAA, B09/25, pp.391-395.

The Irish Builder, 15 Mar. 1880, p.83.

Builder, Healy brothers.

WATERFORD

50. ***Augustinian monastery, Dungarvan*** **(1872-1873)**

F.X. Martin, transcript 1962.

Ashlin received £70 from the Prior Rev. Fr. Williams for unidentified work in connection with the new monastery.

51. ***Convent of the Little Sisters of the Poor, Barrack Hill*** **(1873)**

Welsh Papers, WeS/17/2, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

The Building News, 1 Aug. 1873, p.126.

The foundation stone for the convent was laid on the 13 July 1873.

52. ***Convent schools, Dungarvan*** **(1879)**

PKS, IAA, C/109 (May 1879).

Patterson and Kempster supplied the quantities to the amount of £1,375 in May 1879. Builder, R. Curran.

WESTMEATH

53. *The Church of the Assumption, Delvin* (1873)

PKS, IAA, B06/48, pp.686-695, pp.706-716; B06a/41, pp.345-346; B07/32, pp.463-472.

IAAIIA, ASH003.

The Irish Builder, 1 Nov. 1873, p.298.

Casey and Rowan, 1993, pp.200-201, plate 132.

Fitzsimons, Hannah, *The Great Delvin* (Dublin: Reprint Limited, 1979), pp.103-106.

The foundation stone was laid in 1873. Built in the style of the firm's urban churches. The materials used are dark limestone with white limestone dressings. The quantities were supplied by Patterson and Kempster. Builder, W.R. Davis from Trim, Co. Meath. Parish priest, Rev. Matthews. The spire was not built to the height of the original design. The contract for the church was signed in 1872 and the church was to cost £6,413 and £2,081 for the tower and spire.

WEXFORD

54. *St. Mary's, Rathangan* (1871)

Foras Forbatha, *Co.Wexford*, p.45.

St. Mary's was erected in the thirteenth-century Gothic style favoured by A.W.N. Pugin. The church was cruciform and partly derived from A.W.N. Pugin's, Sacred Heart, Tagoat (1846). The church comprises high nave and aisles, clerestory, transepts, choir, apse and high altar. The material used was conglomerate ashlar. According to the An Foras Forbatha report 'the church is a very exciting visual experience, rare in Ireland, found more often in early Gothic Revival churches in England.'

55. *Roman Catholic church, Ballyoughter* (1874)

Welsh Papers, BAL, WeS/17/2-3, Pugin and Ashlin correspondence file.

The Irish Builder, 15 June 1874, p.168 and illus. p.169.

Foras Forbatha, *Co. Wexford*, p.45.

This single cell church with bell-cote was erected in the Early English style. The materials used are local brownstone with granite dressings. Same description of stone used in the nearby old abbey. The dimensions of the church are 76ft. by 30ft and the chancel 20ft. by 10ft.

WICKLOW

56. *Farmstead, Tinode, Blessington* (1870)

The Irish Builder, 15 May 1870, p.114.

The new farmstead was built for the Rt. Hon. W.F. Cogan. *The Irish Builder* announced that it was in course of erection or about to be built in 1870. Contractor, J. and W. Beckett, South King Street, Dublin. James Farrell, Harcourt Street, Dublin supplied the quantities. The building is unidentified.

57. *Roman Catholic church, Kilbride* (1872)

Ashlin and Coleman, IAA, 76/1/101/1-2.

PKS, IAA, B06a/38, pp.323-324; B09/11, pp.132-144, pp.148-151, pp.286-287.

Builder, Mr. Meade.

58. *SS. Mary and Michael, Rathdrum, pulpit* (1880)

IAAIIA, ASH003.

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IAAIIA, ASH003, ATK000, GOL001, MUR053, PUG001, PUG002.

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Augustinian Archives, Ballyboden

Material pertaining to SS. Augustine and John's, Thomas Street

box B 1; box B 3; box B 3a; box B 4.

Correspondence

Letter to the author from the Secretary of the Centre Scolaire Saint-Benoit Saint-Servais, 24 June 1999.

CORK

Cloyne Diocesan Archives, Bishop's Palace, Cobh, Co. Cork

Bishop Keane papers.

Bishop McCarthy papers.

Bishop Browne papers.

BRITAIN

LONDON

House of Lords

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SWINDON

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BELGIUM

COURTRAI/KORTRIJK

Familie-Archief de Bethune, Château de Marke (Kasteel Marke), Courtrai (Kortrijk)

Loppem (Lophem) Château correspondence 1894, 0622022 Bn Bethune 1894

E.W. Pugin to John Sutton, 13 January 1859.

E.W. Pugin to John Sutton, 24 January 1859.

E.W. Pugin to Bethune, 27 January 1859.

E.W. Pugin to Bethune 24 March 1859.

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