

---

Other resources

Dublin School of Architecture

---

2005-01-01

## The Architecture of Dublin's Neo-Classical Roman Catholic Temples 1803-62

Brendan Grimes

*Technological University Dublin*, [brendan.grimes@tudublin.ie](mailto:brendan.grimes@tudublin.ie)

Follow this and additional works at: <https://arrow.tudublin.ie/bescharcoth>

---

### Recommended Citation

Grimes, Brendan: The Architecture of Dublin's Neo-Classical Roman Catholic Temples 1803-62. Doctoral Thesis. Dublin, National College of Art and Design, 2005.

This Theses, Ph.D is brought to you for free and open access by the Dublin School of Architecture at ARROW@TU Dublin. It has been accepted for inclusion in Other resources by an authorized administrator of ARROW@TU Dublin. For more information, please contact [yvonne.desmond@tudublin.ie](mailto:yvonne.desmond@tudublin.ie), [arrow.admin@tudublin.ie](mailto:arrow.admin@tudublin.ie), [brian.widdis@tudublin.ie](mailto:brian.widdis@tudublin.ie).



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-Share Alike 3.0 License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/3.0/)

*The*  
**ARCHITECTURE**  
*of*  
**DUBLIN'S NEO-CLASSICAL**  
**ROMAN CATHOLIC TEMPLES**  
**1803-62**

*In two volumes*

**Volume 1**  
Text

**Brendan Grimes** Dip. Arch., B.A., M.Litt.

Ph.D.

Submitted to  
the  
**Faculty of History of Art and Design and Complementary Studies**  
**National College of Art and Design**  
a recognised college of the  
**National University of Ireland**

Supervisor: Dr Paul Caffrey  
September 2005

*The*  
**ARCHITECTURE**  
*of*  
**DUBLIN'S NEO-CLASSICAL**  
**ROMAN CATHOLIC TEMPLES**  
**1803-62**

*In two volumes*

**Volume 2**  
Illustrations

**Brendan Grimes** Dip. Arch., B.A., M.Litt.

Ph.D.

Submitted to  
the  
**Faculty of History of Art and Design and Complementary Studies**  
**National College of Art and Design**  
a recognised college of the  
**National University of Ireland**

Supervisor: Dr Paul Caffrey  
**September 2005**

## **Declaration**

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at any other college or university, and that it is entirely my own work.

I agree that the library of the National College of Art and Design may lend or copy the thesis only with my written permission for a period of three years from the date of lodgement. After three years (or earlier if I give notice in writing) the library may lend or copy the thesis without restrictions.

Brendan Grimes

## CONTENTS OF VOLUME 1

	Abstract	4
	Acknowledgments	5
	Abbreviations	8
	Glossary	9
	Introduction	13
Chapter 1	<b>BACKGROUND</b> <i>Politics, culture, and architecture</i> <i>19th century church buildings – attitudes to religion – chapels in 18th and 19th Dublin – observations of travellers – morality and architecture – architectural ambitions – expenditure on religious buildings – importance of location</i>	23
Chapter 2	<b>A CHASTE AND SIMPLE ELEGANCE</b> <i>The Pro-Cathedral</i> <i>Neo-classicism– architectural sources in Paris and Laugier’s theory of architecture – sources outside France - Saint-Phillipe-du-Roule the model for the Pro-Cathedral - ‘Who was P?’ — sources for temple fronts - influence of the Pro-Cathedral - Our Lady of Mount Carmel</i>	36
Chapter 3	<b>PATRICK BYRNE (c.1783-1864)</b> <i>An architect of accomplishment</i> <i>Saint Paul’s – Saint Audoen’s</i>	75
Chapter 4	<b>NEO-CLASSICISM AND THE T-PLAN</b> <i>Three churches and two architects</i> <i>Adam and Eve’s, Saint Nicholas of Myra - Saint Andrew’s – James Bolger – John Leeson</i>	102
Chapter 5	<b>ARCHITECTURE FOR A ROMAN EYE</b> <i>The Church of Saint Francis Xavier</i> <i>The Gesù and the Church of Saint Francis Xavier – vaults - Notre-Dame-de-Lorette - Novitiate chapel, Monastery of the Christian Brothers, North Richmond Street</i>	137

---

Chapter 6	<b>CLERICAL INFLUENCE</b> <i>Patrons and architecture</i> <i>Classical v Gothic - Archbishop John Troy – Archbishop Daniel Murray - Father Matthew Flanagan – Father Bartholemeu Esmonde SJ – Father Peter Kenney SJ – Father Charles Aylmer SJ – Dr Michael Blake – Dr William Meagher – Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines – The Three Patrons, Rathgar</i>	153
Chapter 7	<b>CREATING ORDER</b> <i>Planning the churches</i> <i>Charles Borromeo – control of entrances – segregation of classes – music</i>	181
Chapter 8	<b>SPIRITUAL RESOURCES</b> <i>Funding the churches</i> <i>Sources of money – methods of collecting – bequests – sale of vaults – contributions from Protestants – charity sermons – public dinners - donations of labour and time – hardships endured</i>	207

---

Conclusion	242
Timeline	248
Appendix A <i>Notes and commentary on legislation which affected Catholics and church building (1697 to 1844)</i>	259
Appendix B <i>An account of the dispute between those who wanted to build the new church for Saint Andrew's parish in Townsend Street and those who favoured a site in Westland Row as reported in the pages of the Freeman's Journal</i>	296
Appendix C <i>A contemporary description of the finished Pro-Cathedral</i>	307
Appendix D <i>A description of Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines, by its patron Dr William Meagher</i>	309
Appendix E <i>The leading article in the Irish Times, 20 March 1860, describing the ceremonies which took place around the laying of the foundation stone of the Church of the Three Patrons</i>	327
Sources	329

## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the architecture of Dublin's 19th century neo-classical Catholic churches. The period under examination starts in 1803 with the campaign to build a new church in the Archbishop's parish for the Catholic inhabitants of the city. This church, which later became known as the Pro-Cathedral, was opened for worship in 1825, and completed 1841 with the building of its Greek Doric temple front. During this period work started on several more neo-classical churches. The first, after the Pro-Cathedral, was the Church of the Carmelite friary, Whitefriar Street, started in 1825. The series continued with Saint Nicholas of Myra, Francis Street (1829); Saint Francis Xavier, Gardiner Street (1829); Saint Andrew's, Westland Row (1832); Adam and Eve's, Merchants' Quay (1834); Saint Paul's, Arran Quay (1835); Saint Audoen's, High Street (1841); and Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines (1850). The Three Patrons of Ireland, Rathgar, which was completed in 1862, looks back for some of its inspiration to the Pro-Cathedral. It was also the last completed work of Patrick Byrne and his patron the Very Reverend Dr William Meagher, thus bringing to a close this phase of neo-classical architecture in Dublin.

The architectural language used for the churches was determined by the patrons and architects and the thesis examines the influences which determined this language. The influences include international neo-classicism, Roman classicism, the Greek revival, and traditional building methods. Important influences on the Dublin churches from Paris are the late 18th century basilican plan and temple fronted churches. Patrick Byrne was pre-eminent among architects in sustaining the neo-classical tradition in Catholic church architecture in Dublin from the 1830s until his death in 1864, and an important part of the thesis is an assessment of his contribution. Among the clerical patrons Dr Meagher made a significant contribution to the style and form of his two churches. The thesis examines the nature of his considerable influence, and that of other patrons. To match the architectural ambitions of the patrons, sufficient money had to be provided. The thesis explains how the money was collected and the essential part the Catholic laity played in providing voluntary work and the funds, to build the churches.

\*\*\*



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My first acknowledgement is due to my supervisor, Dr Paul Caffrey, who first suggested to me that the Dublin neo-classical churches merited study. Throughout the work Dr Caffrey helped me with contacts and advice. Professor John Turpin was ever ready with support and encouragement when needed.

Dr Edward McParland, Trinity College Dublin, took an interest in the work and was generous with his scholarship, advice, help, and encouragement.

Dr Christine Casey, University College Dublin (UCD) was especially helpful to me by answering my numerous questions over an extended period, helping me with sources, and giving me valuable information. At an early stage of my research Dr Eileen Kane, UCD, devoted an entire afternoon to helping me with her scholarship, advice, and encouragement. Dr Frederick O'Dwyer, Dr Roderick O'Donnell, Professor Emmet Larkin, Dr Máire Kennedy, Dr Gerard Gillen, and Dr Joseph McDonnell all took time to listen to my questions and all responded with information and advice.

I am grateful to the Vice-Rector Father Albert McDonnell of the Pontifical Irish College who made the necessary arrangements for me to stay there, for a week in March 2004, where I was made to feel very much at home by the Rector, Monsignor Liam Breslin, and by all the staff and seminarians. Monsignor John Hanly, archivist of the Irish College, not only gave me all the help I needed to use the archive, but he also introduced me to other archives in Rome together with good advice as to where I should best direct my research.

I am indebted to Lionel Britten, archivist, from the Mayor's office in Paris for sending me plans of some of the Paris churches.

At the Dublin Diocesan Archives I received a great deal of help from the archivist David Sheehy over an extended period. I am also grateful to the following archivists, librarians and others in libraries, archives and other repositories, in Dublin, who facilitated my research and studies:

Father Hugh Fenning OP, Dominican Priory Tallaght; Teresa Whittington and Peter Costello, Central Catholic Library; Father Ignatius Fennessy, Franciscan library; Ann Hodge, Curator of Prints and Drawings, National Gallery of Ireland; Joanna Finnegan and Sandra McDermott, National Library of Ireland; Andrew Kavanagh, architect; Fintan Keenan, Scott Tallon Walker, architects; Mark Leonard, W.H. Byrne & Son, architects; Angela O'Connell, Rathmines library; Peter Cahalane, librarian, Dublin Institute of Technology (DIT), Bolton Street, and his staff; Reverend Dr Fergus O'Donoghue SJ, Irish Jesuit Archive; Dr Muriel McCarthy and Ann Simmonds, Marsh's Library; Siobhan O'Rafferty, Royal Irish Academy; David Griffin, Ann Martha Rowan, and Simon Lincoln, Irish Architectural Archive; Brother Leo Judge, Brother Tom Connolly, and Noelle Dowling, Allen Library, Christian Brothers House, North Richmond Street; Jonathan Armstrong, King's Inns Library.

The parish priests, parish administrators, and others involved in the running of the various churches I visited and studied, were, without exception, helpful. I was helped and made welcome in the Pro-Cathedral by the administrator, Reverend John Delany,

the sacristan, John Hennessey, and Mary Irwin from the office staff. I was accorded similar help by the following:

Saint Francis Xavier - Reverend Paul Brassil SJ, PP, Reverend Donal Neary SJ, PP, and Barbara Dwyer; Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines - Reverend Aidan Burke PP, Reverend Richard Sheehy PP, and Moya Russell; The Three Patrons - Reverend Patrick Dowling PP; Saint Nicholas of Myra - Reverend Conleth Curley PP, and the sacristan Rita Kavanagh; Saint Audoen's - Reverend Michael Tierney PP; Adam and Eve's, Merchants' Quay - Reverend Rory O'Leary PP; Saint Andrew's - Reverend Arthur O'Neill Administrator, Elizabeth Watson; Saint Paul's - Edward B. O'Connor.; Saint Brigid's, Straffan, Co. Kildare - Reverend Cornelius Sayers PP.

James Hamilton read a draft of Appendix A *Notes and commentary on legislation which affected Catholics and church building*, and I am grateful for his comments and suggestions.

I gratefully acknowledge the financial assistance given to me by DIT. My colleague in the Dublin School of Architecture (DIT), Michael Fewer read a complete draft of the thesis at an early stage and his advice and comments were very helpful. My colleagues Cormac Allen, Ditte Kummer-O'Connor, and Bernadette Solon helped me with sources and contacts. I am also grateful to the head of the school, James Horan for his encouragement and support which was important to me.

Finally a deep acknowledgment must go to my wife Olivia who took an interest in the work, accompanied me on many of my visits to churches and patiently fostered a domestic environment which was always conducive to my studies.

## Abbreviations

AL	Allen Library, Christian Brothers House, North Richmond Street
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu
CDA	Cloyne Diocesan Archives
CRB	Church Representative Body
DAT	Dominican Archive Tallaght
DCA	Dublin City Archive
DDA	Dublin Diocesan Archive
FL	Franciscan Library, Killiney
IAA	Irish Architectural Archive
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Irish Ecclesiastical Journal</i>
<i>IER</i>	<i>Irish Ecclesiastical Record</i>
ICR	Irish College Rome
IJA	Irish Jesuit Archive
ML	Marsh's Library
NA	National Archives
NGI	National Gallery of Ireland
NLI	National Library of Ireland
OLR	Church of Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines
PF	Collegio Urbana de Propaganda Fide
RHA	Royal Hibernian Academy
RIA	Royal Irish Academy

## GLOSSARY

<b>Adam and Eve's</b>	The popular name, which is used throughout the text, for Saint Francis of Assisium, Merchants' Quay. Sometime after 1615 (when the Franciscans returned to Ireland) they opened a chapel in a lane off Cook Street, which became known to the initiated by the name of the pub that stood on the corner – Adam and Eve.
<b>Catholic</b>	Throughout the text the term 'Catholic' is used to mean 'Roman Catholic'.
<b>Chapel</b>	The word 'chapel' was used in Ireland to describe a place of Christian worship other than that of the established church of Ireland. Hence all the Catholic places of worship were called 'chapels' and this description can still be heard today. <sup>1</sup> In the Irish language the word 'séipéal' (chapel) is almost invariable used to describe a Catholic church or chapel. The word 'eaglais' (church) is rarely used, and the word 'teampall' is used to describe a Protestant church. When the Catholic chapels began to equal and surpass the churches of the established church in size and architectural pretension, the Catholics began to use the term 'church' to describe them. <sup>2</sup> To them the

---

<sup>1</sup> The Pro-Cathedral was frequently referred to as the 'Metropolitan chapel', and even today, Waterford cathedral is still sometimes called 'the big chapel'.

<sup>2</sup> The older term 'chapel' still remains in the street names of many Irish towns. For example in Skerries, Co. Dublin, Chapel Street was renamed Church Street, but Chapel Lane retains its original name.

word ‘chapel’ suggested subservience, and the word ‘church’ implied a claim to equality. But there also existed the idea that the churches were too small to merit being called ‘churches’. One of the curates on the staff of the Pro-Cathedral, writing from Rome, claimed to understand, after seeing the churches in Rome, Archbishop Murray’s reluctance to call the Pro-Cathedral a church.<sup>3</sup> At a meeting of 23 November 1845 to discuss building progress on the church of Saint Laurence O’Toole, Seville Place, Mr C. Fitzsimons is reported as objecting to the use of the word ‘chapel’ instead of ‘church’ to describe the new building. He said, to applause:

I trust that the Catholics of Ireland will show their own dignity; and that as we have got rid of the little Chapels of Liffey Street and Townsend Street, we will not allow the remnants of persecution that prevented us from calling our places of worship by their proper appellation to remain in force amongst us.<sup>4</sup>

In this thesis the general rule is to use the word ‘chapel’ for all Catholic places of worship built prior to the *Relief Act 1793*, and to use ‘church’ for those built after that date. An advertisement for the sale of tickets to the consecration of

---

<sup>3</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 35/2, Reverend O’Connell to Reverend Dr Hamilton, 1 April 1830.

<sup>4</sup> Donnelly, *Dublin parishes*, pt 13, 136. Daniel O’Connell referred to Saint Andrew’s as ‘the new chapel in Westland Row’ in 1832 when instructing his secretary to send £10, the first instalment of his subscription to the church. (Maurice R. O’Connell (ed.), *The correspondence of Daniel O’Connell*, vol. IV, 1829-1832, 427.

the Pro-Cathedral in the *Freeman's Journal* in 1825, used 'church' instead of 'chapel' in reference to the building. Official attitudes were not so liberal; even after 1871 the word 'chapel' is used to label Catholic churches on the ordnance survey maps.<sup>5</sup>

### **Ecclesiastical titles**

These refer to those of the Catholic divisions unless noted otherwise. Therefore the 'Archbishop of Dublin' refers to the Catholic archbishop even though for the period under discussion, this title could only officially be given to an archbishop of the established church, i.e. the Anglican Church of Ireland. The Catholic Archbishop of Dublin Dr Murray was happy to be addressed as the Archbishop of Dublin, but did not consider it prudent to sign himself thus in his dealings with the civil authorities<sup>6</sup>

### **Pro-Cathedral**

To avoid the risk of confusion the present-day names are used when referring to buildings. Thus the Pro-Cathedral is always called the Pro-Cathedral even though that name only began to be commonly used sometime in the 1880s.<sup>7</sup> The name was not used

---

<sup>5</sup> The 1882 ordnance survey map describes the Three Patrons as 'Rathgar R.C. Chapel'.

<sup>6</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers, 35/1, Dr Murray to Reverend Mr Hamilton, 24 July 1845. 'I do not think it quite prudent to violate the law by signing myself Archbishop of Dublin in a document which I suppose to go before our Civil Authorities.'

<sup>7</sup> Originally it was called the Metropolitan chapel, but later, by the 1840s (when the portico was being erected), the Metropolitan church. It was also sometimes referred to as the Church of the

in anticipation of a Catholic cathedral being build in the future, but because the pre-reformation Christchurch Cathedral was in the hands of the established church. Interestingly Father Bartholomew Esmonde SJ referred to it, in private correspondence, as ‘the Cathedral’ as early as 1826.<sup>8</sup>

## **Protestant**

The term usually refers to a member of the Anglican Church of Ireland which became the established church in Ireland after the Reformation. It was disestablished in 1871. The term sometime refers, in a loose way, to a member of any of the reformed churches.

**\*\*\***

---

Conception, and Saint Mary’s. Its official title, the Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Ever Blessed Virgin, is rarely heard.

<sup>8</sup> ARSI, Hib. 1. IV.g, Prov. Hib. Litt. 1773-1829, B. Esmonde, Clongowes Wood, Clane, to Rev. Luigi Fortes [Preposito Generale della Compagnia di Gesù], Gesù, 11 March 1826.



## INTRODUCTION

For its zeal in the causes of religion, its unceasing charity, and anxiety to have suitable temples erected to the honor of the Most High, Dublin is perhaps, second to no city for its means and extent, in the world.<sup>1</sup>

This thesis examines the architecture of the neo-classical churches built by the Catholics of Dublin in the first 62 years of the 19th century. Much attention has been given by architectural historians to 18th century and Victorian Dublin, but less attention to the period from the Act of Union 1800 to the end of the Georgian period in 1838.<sup>2</sup>

The thesis concerns itself with architectural matters but it also reviews the background politics and progress of legislation directed at Catholics, both of which had an important influence on Catholic religious buildings and their architectural expression. Although legislation against Catholics was enacted after the Reformation, the first acts which were to have an influence on Catholic architecture, in the 18th and 19th centuries, were enacted in 1695. They were *An act for restraining foreign education*, and *An act for the better securing the government by disarming papists*. Most of the anti-Catholic legislation was relaxed by the 1780s and removed almost entirely with the *An act for the relief of His Majesty's Roman*

---

<sup>1</sup> *Catholic directory, 1836*, Dublin 1836, 48.

<sup>2</sup> An important recent contribution is Edward McParland, *Public works in Ireland 1680-1760* (2001), the latest of many contributions over many years by Dr McParland. Dr Frederick O'Dwyer has heightened awareness and made several important contributions to 19th architectural scholarship, especially with his *The architecture of Deane and Woodward* (1997).

*Catholic subjects* of 1829, popularly known as the Catholic Emancipation act. A detailed account and discussion on the legislation enacted against Catholics, in this period, is contained in Appendix A.

The most important neo-classical churches in Dublin city are the Pro-Cathedral, Marlborough Street (1815); Saint Nicholas of Myra, Francis Street (1829); Saint Francis Xavier, Gardiner Street (1829); Saint Andrew's, Westland Row (1832); Adam and Eve's, Merchants' Quay (1834); Saint Paul's, Arran Quay (1835); Saint Audoen's, High Street (1841); Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines (1850); Three Patrons of Ireland, Rathgar (1860).<sup>3</sup> All of these buildings have a number of things in common. They were designed and built to be taken seriously as architecture, their patrons and architects attempted to find prominent sites for them, and stylistically they all aspire to the neo-classical in one form or other. Like many of the early 19th century courthouses in Ireland they all (except Adam and Eve's, and the Three Patrons) have classical temple fronts. Although the thesis contains references to other churches in Dublin and to churches in Ireland and abroad, the churches listed above are the principal churches which are examined. The thesis does not seek to give an exhaustive account of any of the churches or their contents, but rather to consider them as a group of neo-classical buildings of a distinct type, as a means of furthering knowledge of their architectural history. The reader will notice in the text several references which could provide points of departure for further detailed study.

The thesis seeks to explain the choice of architectural language, the origin and development of the various plan types and why

---

<sup>3</sup> Dates when building work started.

they were used. The thesis demonstrates that the planning and form of the churches were due much more to clerical preferences than is generally acknowledged, rather than to the architects' control of the designs.<sup>4</sup> Under the influence of the important clerical patrons there is evidence that the churches were designed to carry decorative iconographical schemes, however these were not all completed and few survive intact. An important part of the thesis is an investigation into the siting and architectural expression of the churches. The thesis also pays attention to the funding of the churches from various sources, the donation and time and labour from professionals, craftsmen, and others. All these contributions were freely given, but in some cases were the cause of great hardship for the donors.

The period under consideration in this thesis has not been neglected. Dr Edward McParland devotes considerable attention to Catholic church architecture in his doctoral thesis, *The public works of architects in Ireland during the neo-classical period*, University of Cambridge (1975). This work was consulted for this study and proved to be especially valuable. But still, 18th century Dublin has attracted the attention of architectural historians more than any other period, and with good reason. It was a period of stability and economic growth (at least until the 1790s), conditions necessary for good architecture to flourish. After the Irish Parliament voted itself out of existence with the Act of Union in 1800, Dublin became a provincial city, and the architecture henceforth to be created of less interest to architectural historians. Dr Maurice Craig devotes only three chapters out of 25 to the

---

<sup>4</sup> In 19th century Catholic churches throughout Ireland it is common to see the date stone with the parish priest's name on it. Rarely is the architect's name recorded; one exception is the Franciscan church in Galway, which records the architect's name, James Cusack, on a stone tablet over the main entrance to commemorating the church's consecration on 5 September 1849.

19th century in his book *Dublin 1660-1860* (1952). In the last chapter Dr Craig writes: 'It is difficult to write with patience of the nineteenth century in Ireland. It is an era of slow decay and fitful growth...'<sup>5</sup> He is referring to the slow decay of the classical ideal and the fitful growth of the modern ideal of Irish nationality. The churches of this study embody the neo-classical ideal, but hardly a slow decay; they are also a material expression of Irish Roman Catholicism which is a significant part of the ideal of Irish identity. The early 19th century classical churches in Dublin have been noticed by scholars, not least by Dr Craig, but as a group they have not received extensive study. Dr Craig devotes space to them with pithy observations. Of the Pro-Cathedral he writes that its 'huge hexastyle portico is ungainly: far better is the treatment of the return façades.'<sup>6</sup> He suggests that the least successful interior is that of Saint Andrew's, Westland Row, 'with its uneasy wall-spaces and unresolved interior...'<sup>7</sup> He acknowledges Saint Paul's, Arran Quay, as an important riverside element, grouped with the Four Courts, in the approach to the city from the west. He has no doubt that the finest is Saint Audoen's, High Street, with its 'two internal storeys of niches, detailed with a rich chastity...'<sup>7</sup> Of all the exteriors Saint Audoen's makes the biggest impression on him:

It looks like some impregnable fortress of the faith, its rugged calp masonry, battered like that of a mediaeval castle to its base, pierced only by the windows at the very top, and crowned with the cross which breaks the silhouette against the sky.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860*, 307. [Page number from reprinted edition of 1980.]

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 291.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 292.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 293. One wonders what the parishioners of the Protestant Saint Audoen's, sited adjacent to the Catholic Saint Audoen's, thought of this impressive structure when it was being built. Some indication might have been contained in the vestry minute books, but unfortunately the earliest minute book found (in the Church Representative Body library) only dates from 1870.

The Pro-Cathedral is the most important of Dublin's neo-classical Catholic churches and Dr Edward McParland was the first to give it scholarly attention, with a short article in the *Architectural Review* in 1975.<sup>9</sup> More recently Professor Michael MacCarthy has given us 'Dublin's Greek Pro-Cathedral', in James Kelly and Dáire Keogh, *History of the Catholic diocese of Dublin* (1999). Dr Roderick O'Donnell drew attention to the qualities of Dublin neo-classical churches with two articles in *Country Life* in 1981 and 1984. In the first of these articles, 'Note of Baroque splendour: neo-classical catholic churches in Dublin', he discusses the Pro-Cathedral, Saint Nicholas of Myra, Saint Andrew's, and Saint Francis Xavier, after noting that Dublin has the finest collection of neo-classical Catholic churches in the British Isles, which unlike London, Glasgow, or Edinburgh, has lost almost no church to the developer's axe.<sup>10</sup> In his second article, 'Roman reflections on the Liffey: classical catholic churches in Victorian Dublin', he discusses three of the churches by Patrick Byrne (c.1783-1864), Saint Audoen's, Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines, and the Three Patrons, Rathgar.<sup>11</sup> (He makes little reference to Saint Paul's, Arran Quay, also by Byrne, and the only one of the churches with a real reflection, albeit a Greek reflection, on the Liffey.) Dr O'Donnell's thesis, *Roman Catholic church architecture in Great Britain and Ireland 1829-1878*<sup>12</sup> is a broadly based work covering, as its title says, the whole of the British Isles. Dr O'Donnell has continued

---

<sup>9</sup> Edward McParland, 'Who was P?', *Architectural Review*, CLVII:936 (February 1975), 71-3.

<sup>10</sup> Roderick O'Donnell, 'Note of Baroque splendour: neo-classical catholic churches in Dublin', *Country Life*, (7 May 1981), 1288-9.

<sup>11</sup> Roderick O'Donnell, 'Roman reflections on the Liffey: classical catholic churches in Victorian Dublin', *Country Life*, (5 July 1984), 52-3.

<sup>12</sup> Roderick O'Donnell, *Roman Catholic church architecture in Great Britain and Ireland 1829-1878*, PhD thesis, University of Cambridge (1983).

adding to the scholarship of Catholic architecture; one of his latest contributions is ‘An apology for the Catholic Revival: the Architecture of the Catholic Revival in Britain and Ireland’, in Jan De Maeyer and Luc Verpoest (eds), *Religion, architecture and style in Western Europe 1815-1914, proceedings of the Leuven Colloquium, 7-10 November 1997* (2000).

Most historians of neo-classical architecture fail to notice any of the neo-classical Catholic churches in Dublin, while frequent references are made to the Casino at Marino, the Royal Exchange, the Custom House, the Four Courts, and the General Post Office. For example, although reference is made to over 20 Dublin buildings in Damie Stillman, *English neo-classical architecture* (1988), there is not one reference to a Catholic church in Dublin. The same omission occurs in Robert Middleton and David Watkin, *Neoclassical and 19th century architecture* (1980). Joseph Mordaunt Crook, however, includes the Pro-Cathedral in his discussion of the neo-classical in Dublin, along with the Custom House, and the General Post Office. He describes the Pro-Cathedral as ‘sublimely Greek by any standards.’<sup>13</sup> It is rare to find any mention of Dublin’s neo-classical churches in general histories of architecture, but Ian Sutton includes the Pro-Cathedral in a discussion of neo-classical basilican churches in his *Western architecture* (1999).<sup>14</sup>

The principal primary sources for this study are the church buildings themselves, all of which are still standing. The first stage of the research was to examine the churches in detail in order to study their architectural language. While it is true that all the churches share an architectural language they are different to each

---

<sup>13</sup> J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Greek revival: neo-classical attitudes in British architecture 1760-1870*, 102.

<sup>14</sup> Ian Sutton, *Western architecture*, 259.

other. All the churches were surveyed with rod and tape to produce floor plans. A study of the floor plans reveals in some cases a continuation of traditional planning from 18th century Irish precedents, and in other cases plan types owing their origin to churches in Paris and Rome. All the churches were searched for archival material. Rathmines church proved bountiful with its collection of pamphlets and photographs, and the Pro-Cathedral has the original model of the church built shortly after the competition design was approved.<sup>15</sup> In Saint Andrew's the wall monuments to the many Catholic gentry, the Barnewalls, Nettervilles, Butlers, and others, speak eloquently of their patronage. Saint Andrew's also holds some parish booklets from the 1930s and 1940s and a record of the burials in the vaults. Missing from Saint Andrew's in the green book mentioned by the administrator, Very Reverend Walter Meyler, in his *Address to the Catholic inhabitants of St Andrew's, Westland Row* (1859). The green book contained details of donations to the church and was to be available to anyone who wished to consult it. Surprisingly no archival material was found in Saint Francis Xavier.<sup>16</sup> No archival material was found in any of the other churches which might have helped to explain their history.

The Dublin Diocesan Archive in Archbishop's House, Drumcondra, has a rich source of archival material and it was used to help explain many aspects of church building particularly on the funding of the diocesan churches. Among the material consulted

---

<sup>15</sup> DDA, Pro-Cathedral box 38/10. The accounts for the building of the model start on 12 September 1816 and end on 30 July 1817. When the model was inspected in 2003 it was in a dismantled state. It is intended to move the model to the Irish Architectural Archive and to put it on permanent display.

<sup>16</sup> Surprising because reference to such material was made in two works by Maureen Ryan; her MA thesis, *The church of St Francis Xavier, Upper Gardiner Street, Dublin*, University College Dublin (1994), and 'Roman opulence in a Dublin church: the high altar of St Francis Xavier's', *Irish Arts Review* 1998, XIV, 33-9. Enquires reveal that the material was not transferred to the Irish Jesuit Archive.

there were the Pro-Cathedral account books 1803-25, and the papers of Archbishop Troy, Archdeacon Hamilton, and Archbishop Murray. The archive also contains press cuttings and parish pamphlets, ephemeral material which can be hard to find elsewhere and which sometimes proved to be useful.

Other useful sources for primary source material were the Irish Jesuit Archive, the Franciscan Library, and the Dominican Archive, all in Dublin. The book-sale catalogues (some of them annotated by the auctioneer), in the Royal Irish Academy of the bookseller Charles Sharpe proved a useful source in so far as they gave some insight into the books that were read by churchmen and architects. They contain several catalogues of books belonging to Catholic clergymen, including those of Dr Blake, Dr Troy,<sup>17</sup> and the architect Patrick Byrne.

Some compensation for the missing archival material in Dublin on Saint Francis Xavier was afforded by material in the archive of the Society of Jesus in Rome (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu), and by a typewritten copy of a letter, in the Irish Architectural Archive, written in March 1842 from Bartholemew Esmode SJ from the Gesù, Rome to Robert Haly SJ, Saint Francis Xavier, Upper Gardiner Street. The archive of the Irish College in Rome and the archive in Collegio Urbana de Propaganda Fide, Vatican City both proved to be valuable sources of information.

An important primary printed source is the *Catholic directory*, published annually from 1836 by William Joseph Battersby and after his death edited by Catholic priests. An indispensable

---

<sup>17</sup> John Thomas Troy (1739-1823). Archbishop of Dublin from 1786 until his death in 1823. Born at Porterstown, near Dublin on 12 July 1739. He joined the Dominican order in 1755 and left Dublin to study at the convent of San Clemente, Rome. (*Oxford dictionary of national biography online*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>, accessed 16 November 2004)



secondary source is Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of some Dublin parishes* (1906 to 1917). John Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth century press* (1965), was particularly useful in providing references to primary printed sources which helped to explain the political and social background to the architectural history. Other primary printed sources include 18th and 19th century guide books and travel books, which hardly ever fail to make some observations on Catholics and their church building. Some of these from the 18th century are: Anon., *A tour through Ireland in several entertaining letters* (1746); Philip Luckombe, *A tour through Ireland* (1780); Anon, *The complete Irish traveller* (1788). Among those consulted from the 19th century were John Carr, *The stranger in Ireland* (1806); James Hall, *Tour through Ireland* (1813); A. Atkinson, *The Irish tourist* (1815); Mrs Wood, *Letters from the Irish Highlands* (1825); Baptist Wriothsley Noel, *Notes of a short tour through the midland counties of Ireland* (1837), and James Grant, *Impressions of Ireland and the Irish* (1844).

To understand something of the planning of the churches a valuable source of information was Evelyn Carole Voelker's, doctoral thesis, *Charles Borromeo's Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae, 1577, A translation with commentary and analysis*, Syracuse University (1977). Further understanding in this area was afforded by Adrian Fortescue and B. O'Connell, *The ceremonies of the Roman rite described* (1930).

In order to place the Dublin churches in a broader European context it was important to visit and examine 18th and 19th century churches in Paris and Rome. An essential part of this part of the study was an examination of the important late 18th and early 19th century basilican plan churches which were built in Paris, and of value was an examination of churches in Rome,

some of which were well-known to the Irish clergy educated in Paris or Rome. A trip to Venice in 2005 allowed visits to two neo-classical temple fronted churches which pre-date the Paris ones. A journey to South Lancashire in 2002 and attendance at the 2004 conference in Lancaster of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain provided the opportunity to visit several Catholic churches in Liverpool and the Ribble Valley, which provided an insight into the comparative experience of Catholics in 19th century England and Ireland.

\*\*\*

## BACKGROUND

### *Politics, culture, and architecture*

*19th century church buildings – attitudes to religion – chapels in 18th and 19th Dublin – observations of travellers – morality and architecture – architectural ambitions – expenditure on religious buildings – importance of location*

They enjoy the Exercise of their Religion if not in such splendor, as they desire, yet without the least molestation from the Government.<sup>1</sup>

In the early 19th century Catholic churches of architectural pretension, mostly in a classical style began to be built in Dublin. By the middle of the century classicism was on the wane and the gothic style began to be increasingly favoured by Catholic church builders. These magnificent classical temples were built and paid for against the background of legislation which for over 100 years had discriminated against Catholics, making it difficult for them to build churches of architectural distinction on prominent sites.

---

<sup>1</sup> CRB, *The State & condition of the Popish Chapels in Dublin both Secular & Regular 1749.*

At least one early 19th century contemporary, William Parnell, argued that the legislation against Catholics only served to foster their religion and had there been no laws enacted against them Catholicism would have died out. He stated that prior to the Reformation in Ireland the Catholic religion was regarded with indifference by the mass of the people and the clergy were regarded as an oppressive encumbrance.<sup>2</sup> The government was not at ease with the fact that such a large portion of the population did not become attached to the newly established religion and the irony is (if William Parnell was correct in his reasoning) that a slight alteration in the course of history, might have better united people with government.

A report made for the government in 1731 states that there were 16 mass houses in Dublin, four of which had been built since the reign of George I (1714-27). The report also counts three private chapels, two nunneries, and '45 popish schools'.<sup>3</sup> A report made 18 years later, in 1749, for the Protestant archbishop of Dublin has notes on 19 Catholic chapels in the city.<sup>4</sup> In 1766 Walter Harris wrote that there were 16 Catholic chapels in Dublin. He does not record if these include or exclude chapels belonging to the regular clergy, and he may have got his information from the 1731 report. He stated that there were 18 parish chapels and two chapels of ease belonging to the established religion, together with six private chapels. There were three churches for French Protestants [Huguenots], one for Dutch Protestants, seven

---

<sup>2</sup> William Parnell, *An historical apology for the Irish Catholics*, 3,7.

<sup>3</sup> 'Report on the state of popery, Ireland, 1731', *Archivium Hibernicum*, IV (1915), 174.

<sup>4</sup> CRB, *The State & condition of the Popish Chapels in Dublin both Secular & Regular 1749*.

meeting houses for Protestant dissenters, two for Quakers, one for Methodists, one for Moravians, and one for Anabaptists.<sup>5</sup> It is likely, according to Nicholas Donnelly, that many of the old chapels mentioned in the 1749 report were built in the period 1660-80 during the restoration of the monarchy.<sup>6</sup> At the beginning of the 19th century there were, according to John Carr, a barrister from London, still two meeting houses for Quakers and one for Anabaptists, an extra three for Methodists, making a total of four, and one for French Lutherans. He also mentioned a church for French Calvinists, a Danish church, and a Dutch church. He counted 15 Catholic chapels, which is probably an underestimation, in the light of the 19 accounted for in the 1749 report.<sup>7</sup> By 1825 there were, according to a contemporary writer, 26 Catholic chapels in the city.<sup>8</sup> In 1849 there were, according to another contemporary, a total of 28 places for Catholics to worship, comprising nine parish chapels, one Jesuit, six in friaries, three in monasteries, and nine in convents.<sup>9</sup>

All of the 18th century Catholic chapels were fitted out inside at least adequately and sometimes expensively, but none of them made any attempt at anything more than a modest display on the outside. Even in the early years of the 19th century John Milner observed that ‘it is the spirit of our religion, to bestow the greatest

---

<sup>5</sup> Walter Harris, *The history and antiquities of the city of Dublin*, 379-80.

<sup>6</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *Roman Catholics. State and condition of R. C. chapels in Dublin*, 8. The monarchy was restored with Charles II (1660-85).

<sup>7</sup> John Carr, *The stranger in Ireland*, 47-8.

<sup>8</sup> [John Thomson], *The pleasure tours in Ireland*, 68.

<sup>9</sup> James Fraser, *A handbook for travellers in Ireland*, 28.

pains and expense upon the interior decorations of our churches and chapels.<sup>10</sup> G. N. Wright described the entrance to the Liffey Street chapel as ‘by a wretched gate-way, beneath a tottering fabric...’, but ‘the interior by no means corresponds: it is extremely neat, and has a venerable sombre character.’<sup>11</sup> (Appendix A contains more descriptions of 18th century Catholic church interiors.)

The building of the Carmelite Church of Saint Teresa, Clarendon Street [9.10], marked the beginning of a new era for Catholic church builders in Dublin. The foundation stone was laid by John Sweetman, one of Dublin’s leading Catholic laymen, in 1793 and the church was opened to the public in 1810. According to William Meagher Saint Teresa’s stood out like a jewel against the other Dublin churches which were ‘...crouching timidly in the darkest and most loathsome alleys and lanes of the city.’<sup>12</sup> Within about 25 years great progress had been made in the provision of fine new churches and this was a source of pride for Catholics. In a sermon made by Very Reverend Dr Miley<sup>13</sup> in Saint Audoen's, in August 1841 he gave the following description:

If a stranger were to ask me where the trophies of the glorious sacrifices of the Irish people for their religion are to be found, I would conduct him round the city, and show him the "back yard chapels" - the Catacombs of Dublin. And then I would bring

---

<sup>10</sup> John Milner, *An inquiry into certain vulgar opinions*, 250.

<sup>11</sup> G. N. Wright, *An historical guide to ancient and modern Dublin*, 179.

<sup>12</sup> William Meagher, *Notes on the life and character of his Grace Most Reverend Daniel Murray*, 9.

<sup>13</sup> John Miley (1805?-1861). A native of Co. Kildare. Educated at Maynooth and Rome. Lived in Rome 1833-5. In 1835 appointed curate to the Pro-cathedral. He accompanied Daniel O’Connell as his private chaplain to Italy in 1847. He preached the sermon at O’Connell’s requiem mass in the Pro-Cathedral. In 1849 he was appointed rector of the Irish college in Paris. He was a scholar of ecclesiastical history and wrote several books on the history of the papacy.

him to St. Andrew's, to SS. Michael and John's, to the church of St. Francis of Assisium, to both the Carmelite churches, to St. Nicholas's, a palatian [sic] gem amidst the ruins of "the Liberty;" to that beautiful Ionic temple of St. Paul's, to St. Michan's, to the Dominican church, to St. Francis Xavier, and to the Metropolitan, surpassing all the churches, not only in this island, but of the Empire, in Doric majesty.<sup>14</sup>

Reverend Baptist Wriothsley Noel, an Anglican clergyman from London, travelled through the midland counties of Ireland in the summer of 1836 and made some observations on Catholics and their chapels. He regarded the Catholic religion as superstitious, nevertheless he was pleased to see them erecting handsome structures.

To me it is a matter of satisfaction that the Roman Catholics of Ireland should increase in wealth, and of which such temples as this [church in Newry] [4.1], and the still more splendid Roman Catholic cathedral of Tuam [4.2], are symptoms.<sup>15</sup>

He thought that 'Romanism is more...to be dreaded in rags than in embroidery – in mud-floor chapels than in temples of granite.' He also looked forward to the day when they would 'either be filled with enlightened worshippers [Protestants], or be deserted monuments of a forsaken superstition.'<sup>16</sup> Thirty-seven years earlier another visitor to Ireland formed the opinion that the Catholic priest was the petty tyrant in every locality but with the authority

---

<sup>14</sup> Very Reverend Dr Miley, *Sermon delivered in St Audoen's parochial chapel, Bridge-Street, 24<sup>th</sup> August, 1841*, 9. The churches referred to are: Saint Andrew's, Westland Row; Saints Michael and John, Blind Quay; Adam and Eve's, Merchants' Quay, Saint Teresa's, Clarendon Street; Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Whitefriar Street; Saint Nicholas of Myra, Francis Street; Saint Paul's, Arran Quay; Saint Michan's, Church Street; Dominican church, Denmark Street; Saint Francis Xavier, Gardiner Street Upper; the Pro-Cathedral, Marlborough Street.

<sup>15</sup> Noel, Baptist Wriothsley, *Notes of a short tour through the midland counties of Ireland in the summer of 1836*, 80.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

to create that ‘orderly, decent and dignified conduct which Christianity produces in England.’<sup>17</sup>

A visitor to Cork in the late 18th century, Philip Luckombe, paints a picture of elegance mixed with poverty after visiting one of the big Catholic chapels in the city:

On Sunday morning early, I stepped into one of their mass-houses [in Cork city], and a spacious one it was....There were several elegant carriages standing before the door when I entered, and a prodigious crowd of people in the street as motly [sic] an assemblage of human creatures as I had ever seen. There were a multitude of beggars imploring alms in the Irish language....<sup>18</sup>

Aspirations to architectural decorum suitable for the house of God were not always considered necessary or else were not always achieved. A few years later in the early 18th century a visitor to Kilrush, Co. Clare was shocked to find such little attempt at dignity and ceremony in the Catholic chapel that the holy water was contained in a common washing-tub outside the door. At mass he found the chapel so crowded that he was not able

to proceed further than the door. The court was also full of people; some of whom were brought, on account of their age and infirmities, in little dog-carts and wheel-barrows, counting and conning their bead-strings with all the care and punctuality of a school-boy casting up his pounds, shillings and pence.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> George Cooper, *Letters on the Irish nation: written during a visit to that kingdom, in the autumn of the year 1799*, 44.

<sup>18</sup> Philip Luckombe, *A tour through Ireland*, 105.

<sup>19</sup> William Reed, *Rambles in Ireland*, 39. (Contained in, John Evans, *Remains of William Reed late of Thornbury: including Rambles in Ireland with other compositions in prose, his correspondence, and poetical productions. To which is prefixed, A memoir of his life*, London 1815.)



The morals of Dubliners were, according to Dr William Meagher,<sup>20</sup> the parish priest of Rathmines, a match for what he would have us believe, were the grim condition of the chapels in 18th century Dublin.

...the drunkard raved without obstruction, and the blasphemmer shouted his impiety, and the gambler squandered in nights of dissipation what his days of toil had accumulated.<sup>21</sup>

The new church buildings would provide a focus for devotion, match new reformed morals, and assert the right of Catholics to be as well-regarded as their Protestant neighbours. By the middle of the 19th century when several fine Catholic churches had been built in the city, Dr Meagher asserted that the depravity of 50 years earlier was little evident among the population in Dublin.<sup>22</sup> The creation of fine public buildings had become visible evidence of the Catholics' newly won civil rights, and an expression of their determination to command respect.<sup>23</sup> Catholics in other cities in the British Isles had similar ambitions. The Catholics of London saw their new church of Saint Mary's, Moorfields, as

---

<sup>20</sup> William Meagher was ordained in Maynooth in the early 1820s. In 1831 he was a curate in the Pro-Cathedral. He was appointed parish priest of Rathmines in 1848 and remained in that post until his death in 1881. (Donnelly, *Dublin parishes*, pt 6, 92.)

<sup>21</sup> William Meagher, *Notes on the life and character of his Grace Most Reverend Daniel Murray*, 11.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>23</sup> The parish committee of the Francis Street chapel budgeted an annual sum in 1794 to provide a salary for a policeman to keep the approaches to the chapel clear of the obstructions of beggars (N. Donnelly, *A short history of Dublin parishes, part VI*, 62.) The *Dublin Evening Post*, 28 November 1786, advised Catholics to use their best efforts to clear the approaches to the chapels of beggars (Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism*, 248.)

more appropriate [than their old chapel] for the display of the imposing service of their religion, and better adapted for the respectability and numbers of its adherents in the capital.<sup>24</sup>

This idea of matching high morals with fine buildings was a universal aspiration of the clergy and laity in the cities and large towns of Ireland. At a meeting, in Cork, to further the building of Saint Mary's, Pope's Quay [3.21e& 3.22], the prior, Dr Bartholomew Thomas Russell<sup>25</sup> said that Catholics need no longer feel inferior when they had accustomed themselves to their new church. He also thought that a beautiful church would exercise great moral influence on the character and feeling of the Catholic population. He also said that Catholics

...ought to recollect, that at the present time, their religion should be marked by all the accessions calculated to render its solemnities more imposing and more attractive.<sup>26</sup>

Dr William Higgins in his printed appeal for funds to build his new cathedral in Longford also drew a connection between public morals and architecture.

... the Bishop conceives he would advance the glory of God, and greatly promote the cause of truth and morality, by erecting a spacious Cathedral in the centre of the Diocese...<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> E. W. Brayley, 'An account of the Roman Catholic chapel, Moorfields', in John Britton, and Augustus Pugin, *Illustrations of public buildings in London*, volume 2, London 1828, 5.

<sup>25</sup> Bartholomew Thomas Russell (1799-1890). Born in Limerick. He received his education for the priesthood in Lisbon. He returned to Cork in 1823 as a member of the Dominican Order. He laid the foundation stone of the Dominican church of St Mary's, Cork in 1831 and was present at its opening in 1839. He was prior of Cork from [?] until 1852 when he was removed to Dublin after being elected provincial of the order. He was prior of Dublin from 1856 to 1860 and stayed there until he was made prior of Esker in 1863. He was again provincial from 1864 to 1868, after which he remained in Dublin as prior until 1871. He was again prior of Cork from 1871 to 1874, and afterwards prior of Dundalk until 1880. He spent the remainder of his life in Cork until his death on 10 July 1890. [Notes from Hugh Fenning OP.]

<sup>26</sup> *Cork Southern Reporter*, 29 June 1839.

<sup>27</sup> ICR, Dr William Higgins, Ballymahon, to Dr Paul Cullen, Rome, 10 July 1838, Cullen papers 1836-40. The quotation is from a printed appeal on which the letter is written.

By the first decade of the 19th century Catholic churches had already made an architectural impression in many of the small towns in Ireland. A contemporary tourist, in the 1810s, was impressed by the handsome Catholic chapel in Tullamore,<sup>28</sup> and thought that the Catholic chapel in Headfort Place, Kells, to be ‘by far the most ornamental [edifice] to the town.’<sup>29</sup> In Callan, Co. Kilkenny, the same tourist was impressed with ‘a rather magnificent chapel’ recently erected by the Augustinians [3.7 & 3.8].<sup>30</sup> The Catholic population was not adverse to architectural pomp and something of this attitude is encapsulated in a report made in 1837 in the *Dublin Review*:

Let us have nothing that can be mistaken for a dissenter’s meeting-house ...but let all our churches be so constructed, that no Catholic may pass them without an act of reverence, and no Protestant without a look of admiration.<sup>31</sup>

The opening of a new Catholic church was to become an important social event attended by many from the wealthy and influential sections of society, indicating a general acceptance of the Catholics’ role in contributing to public architecture. For example the consecration of the new church of Saint Nicholas of Myra [1.11 to 1.13 & 2.27 to 2.34 & 9.15], in 1832, was attended by ‘a very fashionable congregation’ which included several Protestant families. The archbishops of Dublin, Tuam, Cashel, and Bishops of Derry, Achonry, Cork, Elphin, Down and Connor and the coadjutor Primate [of Armagh] participated in the

---

<sup>28</sup> A. Atkinson, *The Irish tourist*, 72.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 275.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 441.

<sup>31</sup> *Dublin Review*, III (1837), 384. Quoted in Edward McParland, *Public works of architects in Ireland*, 223.

ceremony which lasted over three hours. The music was selected from masses by Haydn and Mozart, and the orchestra was supplemented by members of the band of the 1st Dragoon Guards.<sup>32</sup> The tone of Catholic religious services were transformed to match the new and ostentatious structures the Catholics were building, by the introduction of more elaborate embroidered vestments and altar furnishings, and by the greater use of music and incense.<sup>33</sup>

The diocese of Dublin provided most of the best examples of these new churches, which were among the most expensive and prestigious buildings of their type in the British Isles.<sup>34</sup> Bishop Myles O'Reilly pointed out that the Dublin diocese spent more than any other diocese in Ireland. Summing up the expenditure by the Dublin Catholics in the period 1800-64 he tells us that in the 50 Dublin parishes, 41 convents had been built at a cost of £361,500; 119 churches at a cost of £630,200; ten colleges and seminaries at a cost of £78,100, and 15 hospitals at a cost of £100,300.<sup>35</sup> However other dioceses also spent heavily: the Catholics of Ireland spent about £5,000,000 on religious buildings and schools from the beginning of the century until 1868.<sup>36</sup>

The important churches were intended to be built on prominent sites. The Pro-Cathedral [1.2 to 1.6, 2.8 to 2.18 & 9.16] may have been designed for the principal street in Dublin, Sackville Street

---

<sup>32</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 16 February 1832.

<sup>33</sup> S. J. Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-famine Ireland 1780-1845*, 98.

<sup>34</sup> Desmond J. Keenan, *The Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Ireland*, 119.

<sup>35</sup> Myles O'Reilly, *Progress of catholicity in Ireland in the nineteenth century*, 33.

<sup>36</sup> *Catholic directory 1869*, 308.

(now O'Connell Street) [9.12] but was built nearby in a lesser street. Saint Paul's [1.21 & 2.57 to 2.71 & 9.17] achieved a magnificent prominence on Arran Quay on the western approach to the city. Its portico even projects beyond the building line appearing to occupy some of the public space. (Saint Paul's and the Pro-Cathedral are the only Catholic churches in Dublin with porticos which project forward of the building line.) The *Catholic directory* noted that Saint Paul's was the first Catholic church in several centuries to have a tower and cupola.<sup>37</sup> Saint Audoen's [1.18 & 2.42 to 2.49 & 9.19] occupies a prominent site on High Street overlooking the heart of the medieval city. There is evidence that Saint Nicholas of Myra [1.11 to 13, 2.17 to 34 & 9.15] was to be opened up to Francis Street as the centrepiece of a façade to include two presbyteries. As built it is sited behind the houses on Francis Street with a narrow access from the street but its half-hidden position provides an excellent foil to its imposing portico and tower. Saint Francis Xavier [1.14 to 1.17 & 2.35 to 2.41 & 9.11] and Saint Andrew's [1.7 to 1.10, 1.13 & 2.19 to 2.26 & 9.18] both form part of the street façade. Saint Andrew's together with its presbyteries, takes up a considerable portion of Westland Row and extends to Cumberland Street South where the back of the church and schools dominate the street with its assured architecture. Saint Andrew's was to have a tower which was not completed but if it had been would have been visible from Merrion Square. Adam and Eve's [1.1, 2.4 to 2.7 & 9.6, 9.7] was originally hidden between Merchants' Quay and Cook Street, but eventually expanded (with the friary) to present façades to

---

<sup>37</sup> *Catholic directory* 1842, 279.

Merchants' Quay, Cook Street, Skippers Alley, and Winetavern Street, after having subsumed Rosemary Lane. Our Lady of Refuge [1.22 to 1.24 & 2.72 to 2.86 & 9.13] in the mainly Protestant suburb of Rathmines makes an imposing presence on the Rathmines Road and its dome is visible over a large part of the city and suburbs. The latest church of this study, the Three Patrons of Ireland [1.19, 1.20 & 2.50 to 2.56 & 9.14] was too much for the *Irish Times* which thought that it would '...depreciate the value of property in the neighbourhood, and drive the Protestant occupants from the place.'<sup>38</sup> By this time the Catholic hierarchy was well-regarded by the mass of the people and the civil authorities, but not by all Protestants. The *Irish Times* article conveys a sense that Protestants sympathy for the Catholics' cause had largely evaporated by the mid-century when they had obtained their civil rights and were continuing to build on a grand scale, and beginning to build in a triumphal manner. Another view of the matter comes from the parish priest of Rathmines, Dr William Meagher, who thought that the unfinished state of Our Lady of Refuge, in 1878, before the portico had been built, was the subject of grief and shame 'and a scandal to our non-Catholic townsmen...'<sup>39</sup>

The Catholic community was well aware of the importance of siting their churches and monuments as a means of laying claim to its share of the city. The significance of the site chosen for the

---

<sup>38</sup> Leading article in the *Irish Times*, 20 March 1860.

<sup>39</sup> William Meagher, *To the Roman Catholic parishioners of Rathmines*, 4.

monument to Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847)<sup>40</sup> [10.1], champion of the Catholic cause in Ireland, for example, was well understood. It is at the head of O'Connell Street (previously Sackville Street), close to O'Connell Bridge (previously Carlisle Bridge), within view of the Parliament House, opposite Burgh Quay where the Catholic Association used to meet, and on the highway between the Custom House [7.12] and the Four Courts [7.4].<sup>41</sup> By the 1860s the tide of Catholicism, by then strongly linked to nationalism, was flowing strongly and the *Evening Mail* thought it would be no use protesting against

the site chosen for the next Dublin monstrosity [the O'Connell monument], for these Corporators are resolved to have their way in every matter, however ridiculous and offensive their notions may be.<sup>42</sup>

Daniel O'Connell was the first Catholic in the modern period to have such a conspicuous monument erected in his memory in such an important public place.

\*\*\*

---

<sup>40</sup> Daniel O'Connell was born in Co. Kerry, and received some of his education in France. He was a powerful advocate for Catholic civil rights playing a leading role in the Catholic Committee, and founding the Catholic Association in 1823. He was elected to parliament in 1828 and was largely responsible for persuading parliament to put in the statute book *An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects* 1829.

<sup>41</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 22 September 1862. Press cutting in Larcom papers, vol. 1, ms 7628, NLI.

<sup>42</sup> *Evening Mail*, 7 October 1862. Press cutting in Larcom papers, vol. 1, Ms 7628, NLI.

## 2

### A CHASTE AND SIMPLE ELEGANCE *The Pro-Cathedral*

*Neo-classicism— architectural sources in Paris and Langier’s theory of architecture – sources outside France - Saint-Philippe-du-Roule the model for the Pro-Cathedral - ‘Who was P?’ — sources for temple fronts - influence of the Pro-Cathedral - Our Lady of Mount Carmel*

The number and respectability of the Roman Catholics of Dublin suggest the propriety, that some, at least one, of the buildings consecrated by them to the sacred Duties of their Religion, and appropriated to their accommodation, should be among the Ornamental Edifices of this metropolis.<sup>1</sup>

The architectural language of international neo-classicism, which was used for the Pro-Cathedral, is mostly a French creation from the 1740s. It was established by the winners of the Grand Prix of the Academy in Paris who, inspired by the architecture of ancient Rome, rejected the extravagance of the baroque.<sup>2</sup> It was also a language which could be studied through publications on the classical architecture of Rome and Greece made by artists, archaeologists, and architects. Best known, in English speaking countries, are the writings and works of James Stuart<sup>3</sup> and Nicholas Revett.<sup>4</sup> They spent nearly five

---

<sup>1</sup> DDA, Troy papers 1818 [sic], Fund raising circular dated 18 May 1803.

<sup>2</sup> David Watkin, *A history of western architecture*, 312.

<sup>3</sup> James Stuart (1713-1788). Painter and architect known as ‘Athenian Stuart’. He was born in London. He went to Rome, mostly by foot, to study art in 1741. In Rome he became associated with Gavin



years, from 1751, in Greece measuring antiquities which gave them enough material to publish the first volume of *The antiquities of Athens* in 1762. Stuart was liberally assisted with money, for the intended publication, by the Earl of Malton (afterwards Marquess of Rockingham), Earl of Charlemont, and others. After the publication of the first volume Stuart was made a member of the Royal Society and Society of Antiquaries, and afterwards became a member of the Dilettanti society.<sup>5</sup> He also acquired architectural patronage and had as much work as he wanted. He died in 1788 leaving the second volume unfinished; his widow, Elizabeth Woods, with the help of William Newton and members of the Dilettanti society prepared it for publication in 1787. Two more volumes, prepared from the drawings and notes of Stuart and Revett were published in 1794, and 1816. All four volumes are folio size, and the subject matter is presented in the same manner in each volume, i.e. an historical introduction, detailed notes on the plates, general view, plan, sections and elevations, followed by details. This format made this work, and similar publications,<sup>6</sup> perfectly suited for architects who wanted to copy or adapt the

---

Hamilton, painter, Matthew Brettingham, architect, and Nicholas Revett. In 1748 the four artists walked to Naples and on this journey the idea of measuring the antiquities of Athens was discussed. (Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (eds), *The dictionary of national biography*, vol. XIX, Oxford 1917, 88-9.)

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Revett (1720-1804). He was born at Brandeston Hall, near Framlingham in Suffolk. He went to Rome in 1742 and studied painting there. At Rome he became acquainted with James Stuart, and went with him to Athens in 1751 to measure the antiquities there. They resided in Athens almost all the time until 1754, where they measured and drew most of the antiquities in Athens and its neighbourhood. On their return to England, in 1755, they were admitted to the Society of Dilettanti, and with the aid of influential members succeeded in publishing in 1762 the first volume of the *Antiquities of Athens*. (Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (eds), *The dictionary of national biography*, vol. XIV, Oxford 1917, 920-1.)

<sup>5</sup> James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The antiquities of Athens*, volume 4 (edited by Joseph Woods), London 1816, xxiii.

<sup>6</sup> Among the French publications one of the first was J.D. Le Roy, *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce*, Paris 1758.

designs, and thus helped to make neo-classicism an international language of architecture.

Although much of the classicism used by Catholic church builders, in Dublin, in the early 19th century came from French sources, there had already been a tradition of neo-classicism in public and private architecture from the mid-18th century, and a tradition of Palladianism from earlier. The Casino at Marino [7.3], in the North Dublin suburbs, designed by Sir William Chambers for Lord Charlemont from 1758 onwards was the earliest neo-classical building in Ireland.<sup>7</sup> Neo-classicism was confirmed with the Royal Exchange (now the City Hall) [7.20], Dublin, designed in 1769 by Thomas Cooley. The neo-classical style in architecture was well established in Dublin by James Gandon with the Custom House [7.12], begun 1781, and the Four Courts [7.4], begun 1786. Gandon worked in the office of Chambers from 1758 to 1765 or 1766, from whom he acquired an anti-Greek attitude, which he passed on to Henry Baker and Richard Morrison.<sup>8</sup> Henry Baker's influential position as master of the School of Architectural Drawing may in part explain the half-hearted acceptance of the Greek Revival by architects working in Dublin in the early 19th century.<sup>9</sup> The earliest important neo-Greek statement in Dublin architecture was Nelson Pillar (1808) [7.10].<sup>10</sup>

Outside Dublin the Greek version of neo-classicism was more freely accepted. The building contract for Dundalk Courthouse (c.1813) [7.11] by Edward Parke and John Bowden specified that

---

<sup>7</sup> Chambers was acquainted with Piranesi's works and met Lord Charlemont in Rome.

<sup>8</sup> Edward McParland, *The public works of architects in Ireland during the neo-classical period*, 63.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 174.

all the architectural details and ornaments were to ‘be executed according to the patterns and true proportions of the Rules of Grecian Architecture as they are to be collected from the Ruins of the City of Athens...’<sup>11</sup>

A slump in public building in the 1820s robbed the Greek revival of its early momentum in Dublin, but it survived with Saint Stephen’s (C of I) [7.7], Mount Street (c.1820), by John Bowden and Joseph Welland, and King’s Inns Library [7.14], Henrietta Street (1825) by Frederick Darley.<sup>12</sup> It continued with the pure Greek Doric temple front of the Free Presbyterian church (1840), Gloucester Street (now Seán MacDermott Street) designed by D.C. Ferguson [7.15]. All the main religious denominations built in a classical style until at least the mid-19th century. The Methodists built a church in Saint Stephen’s Green, opened in June 1843, and named the Methodist Centenary Church, to mark one hundred years of Methodism in Ireland [7.22]. It has a neo-classical Ionic tetrastyle portico, similar to that of Saint Francis Xavier, and like Saint Francis Xavier is built entirely of Wicklow granite. In the mid 18th century the Catholic Church in Ireland had little opportunity to build, but when it did build its sympathies were with the classical. None of the Dublin chapels from this period survive but the descriptions of their interiors in the report on Catholic chapels made for the Protestant archbishop of Dublin

---

<sup>11</sup> Harold O’Sullivan, ‘The Court-house, Dundalk and the contract for its erection dated 30th April, 1813’, in *County Louth Archaeological Journal* (1962), 139.

<sup>12</sup> Edward McParland, *The public works of architects in Ireland during the neo-classical period*, 177.

Frederick Darley (1798-c.1873) came from a quarry owing family. He continued his association with the benchers, and may have been the architect responsible for the three bay extension to the north of King’s Inns which is balanced by Jacob Owen’s extension to the south. He designed the Greek revival Magnetic Observatory (1838) for Trinity College Dublin, which was dismantled in 1974 and re-erected in University College Dublin.

in 1749 suggests that the interiors of at least some of the chapels were classical.<sup>13</sup> Also, evidence from drawings in the Scriven collection in the National Gallery of Ireland support the contention that at least some of them were classical. The Fleet Street chapel had an irregular plan, but a classical cupola, round headed windows, and a tetrastyle Tuscan or Doric colonnade.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand the Dominican chapel in Bridge Street had pointed windows<sup>15</sup> and Saint James's, James's Street had pointed windows and doors.<sup>16</sup> Saint Patrick's chapel, Waterford (1764) [3.19 & 3.20] is a remarkable survival from this period with a classical interior. Its modest entrance off a laneway contrasting with its decently appointed interior fits some of the descriptions made of 18th century Dublin chapels.

The idea of building an important city Catholic church in the parish of Saint Mary's became realisable after the Relief Act of 1793<sup>17</sup> and in 1803 a printed appeal was made to the public for funds stated that this church would be 'adapted to the increased population of this great city, and not unworthy of the opulence, with which God has blessed its Inhabitants.'<sup>18</sup> The architectural competition for the new Metropolitan chapel (later the Pro-Cathedral) was announced in 1814 and the committee wanted a classical building. The winning design was clearly derived from French models (with a strong Greek ingredient), and has the

---

<sup>13</sup> CRB, *The State and condition of the Popish Chapels in Dublin both Secular and Regular 1749*, Archbishop's register No. 18 (10).

<sup>14</sup> NGI, Drawing c. 1820 from the Rev. R. Scriven collection, 6277.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 6277 [sic].

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 6275.

<sup>17</sup> *An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Popish, or Roman Catholic Subjects of Ireland 1793* (33 Geo. 3. C.21).

<sup>18</sup> DDA, Troy papers 1818 [sic], Fund raising circular dated 18 May 1803.

appearance of being intended for an open site. There is an oral tradition that the new Metropolitan chapel was intended for a site on Upper Sackville Street (now O'Connell Street). In 1796 all the houses on the west side of Drogheda Street were demolished to bring it into line with Upper Sackville Street [9.12] and to make it into a grand thoroughfare. For many years sites were available where the houses had been demolished. According to Donnelly, writing in the early 20th century, it was feared that an attempt by Catholics to build on such a prominent site might provoke reprisals and delay or endanger the much hoped for Catholic emancipation, therefore it was decided to look for a less prominent location. Among the many houses of the nobility for sale after the *Act of Union 1801* was Lord Annesley's town residence, and this was bought by the parish. This was behind Lord Drogheda's house and opposite Lord Tyrone's house.<sup>19</sup> In the absence of written documents, the scenario suggested by Donnelly is plausible, but by no means to be taken for granted.<sup>20</sup> In the *History of the city of Dublin*, published in 1818, the authors, two of whom were Protestant clergymen, regretted that 'this grand and classic edifice is not displayed in a more open site. Had it been raised in a commanding situation, it would have formed one of our most striking public structures.'<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless the site chosen is still a good one, with open ground to the front. The site is cramped on the north side with the result that the north façade is hidden, however it may have been intended to open it up to the

---

<sup>19</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of some Dublin parishes*, pt 12, 86-7.

<sup>20</sup> According to Mary Purcell, Dr Troy was disappointed when the Government acquired the site for the GPO. (Mary Purcell, *Dublin's Pro-Cathedral*, no page numbers.)

<sup>21</sup> J. Warburton, J. Whitelaw, and Robert Walsh, *History of the city of Dublin*, 1154.

north, and had this been done there would have been little criticism of the site.

As Archbishop of Dublin, and chairman of the building committee, Dr Troy was responsible for the decision that the new church should be a classical design. He spent a week in Paris in 1777 on his journey from San Clemente in Rome to Ireland to become bishop of Ossory.<sup>22</sup> Troy had spent more than 20 years previously as a Dominican priest in San Clemente, which has a basilican plan. About 25 years before Dr Troy's visit to Paris the two-storey Italian-type façade used on churches began to be abandoned in favour of façades based on the temple fronts of antiquity. The most influential example in Paris was the temple front portico of Sainte Geneviève (begun 1757) [5.21 & 5.22] by Jacques-Germain Soufflot (1713-80). Soufflot incorporated much of Marc-Antoine Laugier's (1713-69) theory of architecture in Sainte-Geneviève. Dr Troy can hardly have failed to notice Sainte-Geneviève when he was in Paris and his friendship and frequent meeting with Andrew Lumisden (1720-1801) there would have provided opportunities to discuss neo-classicism and ecclesiastical architecture.<sup>23</sup> Lumisden was private secretary to James III from 1762 and was sufficiently important in ecclesiastical circles to be presented with one of the 31 copies of Bishop Thomas Burke's *Hibernia Dominicana* (1762) published in Cologne, which Dr Burke presented to individuals and institutions.<sup>24</sup> Lumisden was also at the centre of the circle involved in the publication of the temples of Paestum and his own *Remarks on the antiquities of Rome and its*

---

<sup>22</sup> Michael McCarthy, 'Dublin's Greek Pro-Cathedral', 242.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 242.

<sup>24</sup> Joseph McDonnell, 'Friends, Roman bindings, and Dr Troy', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, VI (2003), 53.

*environs* was published in 1797.<sup>25</sup> It is tempting to speculate that Troy's friendship with Lumisden might explain the choice of the architectural language used at Paestum for the Pro-Cathedral. Dr Troy had a copy of *Remarks on the antiquities of Rome and its environs* in his library.<sup>26</sup>

When Troy was in Paris Saint-Symphorien was the only one of the basilican churches mentioned above which had been finished; Saint-Philippe-du-Roule and Saint-Louis were under construction. Not yet under construction when he was in Paris, but almost certainly designed, was a basilican church for the new parish of Saint-Pierre-du-Gros-Cailou, which had been detached from the parish of Saint-Sulpice in 1776. The design was begun in the mid 1770s by Jean-François-Thérèse Chalgrin (1739-1811) but taken over and developed by his fellow student Mathurin Cherpitel (1736-1809).<sup>27</sup> Construction work did not start until 1782, and what had been built before the Revolution was destroyed. It was not until 1822 that work was started on a new church designed by Hippolyte Godde, and finished in 1829.<sup>28</sup> In the original design by Chalgrin the Doric order with a residual base is used for the portico and the interior. The façade [1.39], as originally designed, with its hexastyle portico is similar to the façade and portico of the Pro-Cathedral.<sup>29</sup> It is tempting to speculate that Dr Troy had seen the designs for this church and remembered them when he began

---

<sup>25</sup> Micheal McCarthy, 'Dublin's Greek Pro-Cathedral', 242, 245.

<sup>26</sup> RIA, Charles Sharpe, *Catalogue of Most Rev. Dr Troy's library to be sold by auction on 25 June 1823 and following days*.

<sup>27</sup> Allan Braham, *The architecture of the French enlightenment*, 240.

<sup>28</sup> Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos (ed.), *Le guide du patrimoine: Paris*, 482.

<sup>29</sup> The façade of Thomas Harrison's design for a Doric church (1780s?) [1.41] is also similar to the façade of the Pro-Cathedral.

to think about his parish church in Dublin. If he had shown an interest in Saint-Philippe-du-Roule he would have undoubtedly been told of other modern churches being designed for Paris, and in particular another one by the same architect.

Laugier published his *Essai sur l'architecture* in 1753; a second edition followed in 1755. The *Essai* was an attempt to treat architecture using the systematic approach adopted by the *encylopédistes*. He attempted to explain the origins of architecture, to lay down rules for good design, and to give advice on the layout of streets, gardens etc. Of particular interest to students of ecclesiastical architecture is his detailed chapter on how to build churches.<sup>30</sup> Laugier, a Jesuit priest with a deep understanding of architecture, hoped to contribute to the reform of church architecture and he proposed a model design in the *Essai*. In his design he heightened the church from the normal baroque of double the width of the nave to two and one half times. In this way he approached the proportion of gothic cathedrals. He arrived at this height by superimposing two orders in a peristyle around the inside of the church. His taste was for the first row of columns to have an architrave and the second row to have a full entablature. In his design a plain barrel vault covers the nave without ribs and its height is intended to make it appear to lose its heaviness. The aisles have flat ceilings opening into square chapels. The altars are placed against the side walls and the outside walls have full-size windows. There are windows between the columns at the upper level instead of *lunettes* cutting into the barrel vault. His plan is meant to be uncluttered, no arcades, no pilasters,

---

<sup>30</sup> Chapter IV, 'On the style in which to build churches', 100-120, in Laugier, Marc-Antoine, *An essay on architecture*, Los Angeles 1977 (translated and with an introduction by Wolfgang and Anni Herrman).



no pedestals. Because of the difficulties of treating the intercolumniation and ceiling in the ambulatory he preferred to do without a round apse and let the choir end in a square form.<sup>31</sup> He also rejected the idea of a dome over the crossing. The idea of applying a classical peristyle to the interior of a church was around for almost a century before Laugier's *Essai* but he was the first to develop the idea clearly and to push hard for its realization. His ideas on architecture were to have a significant influence on architects, most of whom were in their 20s when Laugier's *Essai* was published. Within a decade of the second edition of the *Essai* all progressive architects had adopted the system of column and entablature.<sup>32</sup> Nearly all architects used a single order instead of the superimposed orders that Laugier preferred.

Under the influence of Laugier's theoretical writing and the practical example of Sainte-Geneviève the temple front was to replace the Roman baroque façade and become dominant in neo-classical architecture. At first the lateral portions had statuary niches, windows or reliefs but these disappeared by the late 1770s. The interior also changed. There was a greater demand for lightness and transparency encouraged by Laugier who sought to marry the boldness of gothic with the majesty of classical. Two churches by Pierre Contant d'Ivry (1698-1777) are the earliest examples to use columns with a continuous entablature, they are Saint-Vasnon, at Condé-sur-Escaut (1751-6) and Saint-Vaast in Arras (begun c. 1755) [6.1]. Saint-Vaast is lit by windows which do not penetrate the vault; this is in accordance with Laugier's recommendation. Ivry's most important commission was the

---

<sup>31</sup> Wolfgang Herman, *Laugier and eighteenth century French theory*, 103.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

church of the Madeleine in Paris, designed in 1761.<sup>33</sup> Soon after work had started on Sainte-Geneviève three basilican churches were built in the Paris area; Saint-Philippe-du-Roule (1772-84), Paris [1.4, 1.26, 1.27, 5.13 & 5.14], designed by François-Thérèse Chalgrin; Saint-Symphorien (1767-70) at Versailles [5.3, 5.4 & 5.5]; Saint-Louis at Saint-Germain-en-Laye [5.11 & 5.12], designed by Nicolas-Marie Potain and begun in 1766. Louis-François Trouard the architect of Saint-Symphorien was winner of the Prix de Rome in 1753 and built almost nothing but churches. All these churches were preceded by Saint-Vincent-des-Augustins, Lyons (also a basilican church like the Paris examples), but not to achieve the fame of the Paris churches because it was not finished until 1789. It was started in 1759 and designed by Léonard Roux (1725-c.1794).<sup>34</sup>

The basilican form was used for several later churches in Paris, including Saint-Barthélemy (1778, destroyed) by Cherpitel, Saint-Sauveur (after 1778) by Bernard Poyet (1742-1824), Chapelle des Filles de Saint-Chaumont (1781) by Convers, and Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Romainville (1785-7) by Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart.<sup>35</sup> There were a few basilican churches built in France outside Paris, in the 1750s, 60s, and 70s, as far west as Rennes, as far east as Strasbourg, and as far south as Alès; others were planned but not built. Those built include Saint Vincent des Augustins (1759), Lyon by Leonard Roux; Cathedral (first plans

---

<sup>33</sup> Wend Von Kalnein, *Architecture in France in the eighteenth century*, 199. It was in many ways like Sainte-Geneviève. Construction began in 1764 but was halted in 1774 in order to concentrate on Sainte-Geneviève. In 1790 work was halted again until 1806 when Pierre Vignon was commissioned to build a Temple of Glory for the armies of Napoleon. Vignon demolished what had been built and laid new foundations.

<sup>34</sup> Robert Middleton and David Watkin, *Neoclassical and 19th century architecture*, 132.

<sup>35</sup> Wend Von Kalnein, *Architecture in France in the eighteenth century*, 204.

1762), Rennes [6.24 & 6.25] by Potain; Notre Dame (1766-85), Guebwiller, by Beuque; La Madeleine (before 1767), Rouen by J.-B. Le Brument; Convent de la Reine, Chapel (1767-72), Versailles by Richard Mique (1728-94); Saint-Symphorien, Gy, by H. Frignet and Ch. Colombot; Cathédrale Saint Jean, Alès (1769-76) by F. Giral and J. Donnat; Eglise des Capucines (1774), Strasbourg by J.-B. Kléber.<sup>36</sup>

Four of the most important French architects who designed churches before the Revolution which have some affinity with the Pro-Cathedral are Nicolas-Marie Potain (1713-96), Louis-François Trouard (1729-94), Jean-François-Thérèse Chalgrin (1739-1811), and Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart (1739-1813) [10.5]. All of these architects died before the competition for the Pro-Cathedral was announced in 1814.

Potain prepared plans in 1765, on the order of Louis XV, for the new church of Saint-Louis in Saint-Germain-en-Laye. The original design was for a big church with a hexastyle Doric portico [1.30, 1.31, 5.11 & 5.12]. Work started in 1766 but due to financial difficulties and disputes, the work was quickly interrupted and a more modest proposal was prepared by Potain and his son-in-law Pierre Rousseau, but the Revolution brought this work to an end before the church was even half finished and the building was renamed the Temple de la Raison. Construction, as a Catholic church, continued in 1825 under the direction of architects Moutier and Malpièce. The original design was respected but the neo-classicism is that of the Restoration. Moutier and Malpièce are responsible for the redesign of the portico (tetrasyle Tuscan). The church was consecrated in 1827. The original plan contained 24

---

<sup>36</sup> Wolfgang Herman, *Laugier and eighteenth century French theory*, 249-251.

internal free-standing columns defining the nave, nine side chapels on each of the outer walls of the aisles, and three chapels behind the high altar in the ambulatory. As built the 24 free-standing Ionic columns are retained, but arranged differently to the original design; the line of columns is interrupted at the short transepts and there are eight closely spaced columns arranged in a semicircle behind the high altar. There are three side altars on each of the outer walls of the aisles. Lighting is by three clerestorey windows on each outer wall, and by two lunettes, one at each transept. In the ambulatory there are four windows at ground level. The side chapels are lit by rooflights. The ceiling is flat and coffered. (Potain's scheme for the rebuilding of Rennes cathedral predates Saint-Louis (later renamed Saint-Germain) by three years, but was not completed until 1844, has a barrel vault supported by granite Ionic columns.) At the crossing, in line with the transepts are two diaphragm arches which interrupt the continuous line of the entablature. Potain studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris and won the Prix de Rome in 1738. During his stay in Rome he undertook the extensive task of restoring the mouldings of Saint Peter's and, at the request of Ange-Jacques Gabriel, made a collection of drawings of Italian theatres. On his return to France in 1746, he entered the royal office of works, and was appointed building inspector at Fontainebleau. Between 1754 and 1770 he worked under the supervision of Gabriel, the chief architect, directing the construction of the Place Louis XV (now Place de la Concorde). He was among Gabriel's principal assistants on the construction of the opera house (completed 1770) at Versailles

and collaborated on Louis XV's great project for rebuilding Versailles.<sup>37</sup>

Saint-Phillippe-du-Roule, 154 rue du Faubourg-Saint-Honoré, [5.5 & 5.14] was designed by Chalgrin in 1764, around the same time as Saint-Louis, but building work did not start until 1774 and continued until 1784. This was Chalgrin's most important work and he received the commission because of his association with the Comte de Saint-Florentin. The front façade has a tetrastyle Doric (unfluted and with bases) portico giving it a starker appearance than the portico of the Pro-Cathedral which borrows its appearance from the highly sophisticated Greek.

Chalgrin studied with Louis-Adam Lurion (fl 1737–69) and with Giovanni Niccolò Servandoni (1695-1766) until the latter's death. He then became a pupil of Etienne-Louis Boullée (1728-99), under whose guidance he participated in the student competitions at the Académie d'Architecture in Paris. In 1758 he received the Prix de Rome and he left for Italy the following year. His correspondence from Italy with Jacques-Germain Soufflot indicates that he was already moving in the most advanced neo-classical circles of his day, and soon after his return to Paris in 1763 he became Inspecteur des Travaux de la Ville de Paris under Pierre-Louis Moreau-Desproux. He became a member of the Académie Royale d'Architecture in 1770 but was not elected to the first class until 1791. His associations with the French aristocracy led to his imprisonment during the French Revolution. By 1795, however, he had been appointed to the Conseil des Bâtiments, and in 1798 he became Charles de Wailly's successor at

---

<sup>37</sup> Gérard Rousset-Charny, *The Dictionary of art online*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 14 February 2003), <http://www.groveart.com>.

the Institut de France. His best-known work is the Arc de Triomphe, begun for Napoleon in 1806.<sup>38</sup>

Saint-Symphorien [1.28, 5.3, 5.4, & 5.5], in the town of Versailles, was designed in 1764 by Trouard and built 1767-70. This is the earliest and the most austere of the basilican churches built in the vicinity of Paris in the 1760s. It retains its original austerity externally but inside it has been softened by painting and other modifications. The main entrance is marked with a tetrastyle Tuscan portico. Originally there was only one entrance at the front with niches containing statues of Saints Helen and Louis; these niches have been removed and replaced with doors. The entrance to the back is through an even more primitive distyle in antis Tuscan portico. The interior is barrel vaulted supported on 20 freestanding renaissance Doric columns. There are two side chapels with a pair of freestanding columns at the entrances. The two columns supporting the organ gallery were removed after the Revolution.

Trouard studied at the Académie d'Architecture, Paris. He won the Prix de Rome in 1753. His father Louis, was a marble supplier to the Bâtiments du Roi. By the early 1760 he was working as Inspecteur of the external works at the château of Versailles. He later served as municipal architect of Versailles. It was in this period that he received the commission to design Saint-Symphorien from the Bishop of Orléans. He was elected to the Académie d'Architecture in 1767, and in 1769 was promoted to

---

<sup>38</sup> Sylvia Lavin, *The Dictionary of art online*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 14 February 2003), <http://www.groveart.com>.

Contrôler of external works at Versailles. One of his pupils was Claude-Nicolas Ledoux (1736-1806).<sup>39</sup>

Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart (1739-1813) designed Saint-Louis-d'Antin [1.33, 5.17 & 5.18] incorporated in the Capuchin monastery at rue Caumartin, and built 1780-2. Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Romainville, built 1785-7 [1.36, 5.1 & 5.2] also designed by Brongniart, retains its original neo-classical severity. The understated façade with its rendered Doric pilasters is in strong contrast to the wonderfully primitive interior. A masonry barrel vault is supported on 18 Tuscan columns, complete with a Doric entablature which runs continuously around the nave and the apse at the high altar. The interior is lit by windows in the aisles and from a lunette over the high altar. The plan is a model of simplicity, clarity, and coherence.

Brongniart studied at the Collège de Beauvais and at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts under Jacques-François Blondel and Etienne-Louis Boullée. He never won the Prix de Rome, nor did he study in Italy, but in the 1770s he became one of the most fashionable architects of town houses (*hôtels particuliers*) in Paris, particularly in the northern part of the Chaussée d'Antin quarter and south of Les Invalides, which he helped develop as smart residential areas. His success was largely the result of the patronage of Louis-Philippe I, 4th Duc d'Orléans (1725–85), and Louis-Philippe's rival the Prince de Condé. After the Revolution he lost his patronage and retired to Bordeaux, where he supervised the décor for revolutionary festivals. He returned to Paris in 1795 and in 1804 he was appointed Chief of Public Works. It was in this

---

<sup>39</sup> Gérard Rousset-Charny, *The Dictionary of art online*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 20 April 2003), <http://www.groveart.com>.

capacity that he designed his best-known work, the Bourse (1808-13). This is in a style very different to that of his pre-Revolution neo-Classicism; the stark simplicity is replaced by the decorative pomp favoured by Napoleon.<sup>40</sup>

After the Revolution ecclesiastical property was confiscated by the state and church building came to a halt. After the fall of Robespierre in 1794 the suppression of the clergy began to be eased but it was not until the early 1800s that church building was resumed. The French neo-classical basilican plan church developed before the French Revolution (1789) continued to be used after the Concordat (1801) The most common characteristics of the design was the barrel vault, or coffered ceiling, and side aisles and the classical portico. The architect mostly responsible for carrying on this tradition was Etienne-Hippolyte Godde (1781-1869). The son of a building contractor he studied architecture at the Ecole Spéciale d'Architecture in Paris under Claude-Mathieu Delagardette (1762-1805). His first architectural work was the church of Boves, Picardy, started in 1805 and finished in 1818. From 1813 to 1830 he was city architect and it is from this period that his Paris churches date. His Paris churches include Saint Pierre-du-Gros-Cailou (1822) [1.38, 1.39, 1.40, 5.7 & 5.8], Notre-Dame-de-Bonne-Nouvelle (1823-30) [5.15 & 5.16], and Saint-Denis-du-Saint Sacrement (1823-35) [ 1.35, 5.9 & 5.10].<sup>41</sup>

Godde's Saint Pierre-du-Gros-Cailou is a more modest work than Cherpitel's original but he acknowledges the original design. He

---

<sup>40</sup> *The Dictionary of art online*, L. Macy (ed.), (accessed 14 February 2003), <http://www.groveart.com>.

<sup>41</sup> Jean-Michel Leniaud, *The Dictionary of art online*, L. Macy (ed.), (accessed 2 June 2003), <http://www.groveart.com>.



retains six columns on the portico but they are arranged in two rows, the inner row is distyle in antis and the outer row tetrastyle. The columns are Tuscan without bases. The Tuscan columns are also used inside but instead of supporting an architrave they support a series of arches. The roof of the nave is barrel-vaulted and the roofs of the aisles are a series of groin vaults [5.8].

The façade of Notre-Dame-de-Bonne-Nouvelle, rue de la Lune, has a severity belonging more to the 1780s than to the 1820s [5.15]. The portico is distyle in antis Doric with one entrance. The columns sit on plinths and are unfluted and the architrave is Doric but with a band of dentils. Inside the timber and plaster barrel vault is supported on an arcade of Doric columns on bases. Above the arcade is a continuous entablature. The same order is used throughout the church. The lighting is by windows in the aisles and by a rooflight in the hemisphere of the apse.

Saint-Denis-du-Saint-Sacrement, rue de Turenne, has a very clear basilican plan, not unlike that of Saint-Symphorien or Saint-Germain-l'Auxrois. The façade has a tetrastyle Ionic portico with one entrance and two niches with statues of Saints Peter and Paul. Inside there are 18 unfluted Ionic columns supporting an architrave and a coffered timber and plaster barrel vault. Unlike Saint Pierre-du-Gros-Caillois, and Notre-Dame-de-Bonne-Nouvelle, the columns support a colonnade rather than an arcade. The aisles have coffered flat ceilings. Lighting is by windows in the aisles, by a rooflight in the apse, and, unusually, by a rooflight in the nave.

The French 18th century basilican plan was taken up by patrons and architects outside France. In Italy the renovation by Giacomo Quarenghi (1744-1817) of the monastery church of Santa

Scolastica [6.20], Subiaco in 1774-77 provided a model for many neo-classical church interiors; its barrel vaulted nave is flanked by aspidal chapels and the nave is lit through openings in the vault. In northern Europe, a fine example based on the French neo-classical basilican form is the Lutheran church, Vor Frue Kirke (Church of Our Lady), Copenhagen (1810-29) [6.8], designed by Christian Frederik Hansen. This is the principal church of Denmark. It has a barrel-vaulted ceiling supported by a Doric colonnade above plain pillar-arcades. Apart from its architectural merit as a neo-classical church it is interesting because of the similarity of the internal arrangement to J. Hardouin-Mansart's chapel at Versailles [5.6]. The purpose of the two-storey arrangement at Versailles was to separate the royal family from members of the court; the upper storey was reserved for the royal family and the lower storey allocated to the court. Because of this special requirement the chapel failed to start a new trend.<sup>42</sup> A small, but fine example of a French-inspired basilican church, is the Catholic church of Saint Bartholomew [6.2 & 6.3], Rainhill Stoops, South Lancashire, built in 1840<sup>43</sup>. It was built at the expense of Bartholomew Bretherton, and designed by Joshua Dawson (1812-56).<sup>44</sup> It has six-bay colonnades of Corinthian columns supporting complete entablatures, and a coffered barrel-vault over the nave with a semi-circular apse, and aisles. Outside it has the appearance of a classical temple with a hexastyle portico of fluted Ionic columns. The windows, which are at the ceiling level, are hidden from the outside by parapets along the sides. Another

---

<sup>42</sup> Wolfgang Herrman, *Laugier and eighteenth century French theory*, 109.

<sup>43</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner, *The buildings of England: South Lancashire*, 370.

<sup>44</sup> Peter Howell and Ian Sutton (eds), *The Faber guide to Victorian churches*, 104.

Catholic example of a basilican church, in England, derived from French models is the chapel at Prior Park, Bath [6.22]. It was added to the west wing of Prior Park to the designs of John Joseph Scoles (1798-1863). It was begun in 1844, but remained roofless for many years until finished in 1882.<sup>45</sup> Prior Hall was started in about 1735, by Ralph Allen, primarily to demonstrate the value of his Bath quarries.<sup>46</sup> It was bought in 1830 by Bishop Baines, who, if he had had his way, would have made it the centre of the revived Catholic church in the West of England.<sup>47</sup> An early example of austere neo-classicism, unprecedented in England, can be found in Saint Lawrence, Mereworth [6.16], rebuilt for the Earl of Westmorland in 1744-6. The main space is a wide barrel-vaulted nave with narrow flat-roofed aisles. The vault is carried on unfluted Doric columns complete with a heavy entablature. The architect is unknown.<sup>48</sup>

According to early accounts the design for the Pro-Cathedral, Dublin, was sent from Paris by an amateur residing there in 1814.<sup>49</sup> The internal arrangement is similar to contemporary 18th century French churches of the basilican type, but the neo-Greek front portico is not particularly French; it has more of the flavour of international neo-classicism. The members of the building committee, which included Dr Troy (chairman), and William Sweetman (secretary), wanted a classical building and by their choice from the competition entries they clearly favoured French

---

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>46</sup> John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 301.

<sup>47</sup> Op. cit., 8.

<sup>48</sup> John Newman, *The buildings of England: West Kent and the Weald*, 421.

<sup>49</sup> Maurice Craig, *The architecture of Ireland*, 257. The early accounts are not specified, but one of them was from G.N. Wright, *An historical guide to ancient and modern Dublin*, Dublin 1821.

neo-classicism and neo-Greek for the new church. Saint-Philippe-du-Roule, Paris, was often used as a model for other churches of this type. In Saint-Philippe-du-Roule there are three entrances to the front. Those entering through the main door pass under a tertastyle Tuscan portico. The columns are unfluted and have bases. The portico projects only slightly from the main façade, but the façade is recessed behind the portico to create an open porch, similar to the open porch in Saint Andrew's, Westland Row. (Saint Andrew's is discussed in detail in chapter 4.) Inside Saint-Philippe-du-Roule there are 22 free standing fluted Ionic columns supporting a timber and plaster barrel-vault. The nave and aisles are lit by six windows at ground level in the aisles and two windows over the crossing.<sup>50</sup>

The Pro-Cathedral [1.2 to 1.6, 2.8 to 2.18 & 9.16] is not a copy of Saint-Philippe-du-Roule [1.4, 1.26, 5.13 & 5.14] but there are some important points of comparison. The similarities in plan are most remarkable [1.4]. Both churches have basilican plans which are similar in many respects. In size and proportion they correspond almost exactly. The width and length of both interiors are almost the same, the ratio of width of nave to width of aisle is the same in both churches, and the intercolumniation is the same. Saint-Philippe-du-Roule has the vestige of transepts which interrupt the colonnades to define the position of the high altar. These vestigial transepts are defined on the side façades. The colonnade runs uninterrupted in the Pro-Cathedral but the idea of embryonic transepts are suggested in the side chapels near the west (liturgical) end. In the original design for Saint-Philippe-du-Roule the

---

<sup>50</sup> According to Alan Braham, *The architecture of the French enlightenment*, 133, the church as it survives today retains very little of Chalgrin's original conception. The Lady chapel behind the apse was added in 1851.

columns continued around and in front of the apse where the choir stalls were placed. In 1846 the apse was placed further back, to the designs of Hippolyte Godde, to form an ambulatory behind the columns. This means that the apsidal arrangement in the Pro-Cathedral was not copied from Saint-Philippe-du-Roule. Could it be that the re-ordering of Saint-Philippe-du-Roule in 1846 was based on the example of the Pro-Cathedral? The result of the alteration is to make the spatial volumes in both Saint-Philippe-du-Roule and the Pro-Cathedral similar. The sense of space is similar in both churches because they have a similar plan, the same proportions, the same incolumniation, and both have barrel vaults. But the 22 free standing internal Ionic columns create an altogether different architectural impression than that created by the baseless Doric columns of the Pro-Cathedral. The interior of Saint-Philippe-du-Roule is lit by three windows in each aisle and two high level windows over the embryonic crossing.

Although the ambulatory behind the altar was used in French churches since Abbot Suger made his additions to Saint Denis, this arrangement is not usual in the basilican plan churches which were built in the Paris region. Most of the basilican churches in Paris have plans more closely related to Early Christian models. (Some of these plans are shown in Volume 2, Section 1.)

The model of the Pro-Cathedral [2.16] shows the columns of the porticos fluted, but without the active intervention of the supervising architect, John B. Keane<sup>51</sup>, they might have been left

---

<sup>51</sup> John Benjamin Keane (died 1859) acquired his architectural training in the office of Richard Morrison where he worked from about 1809 until he set up on his own in 1823. He entered competitions for courthouses at Tralee (1828), Carlow (1828), and Tullamore (1832). He was successful at Tullamore and also designed courthouses at Ennis (1845), Nenagh (1840), and Waterford (1849). He was equally at home designing in gothic or classical. His winning entry for Queen's College Galway (now University College Galway) in 1846 was in a gothic style. He designed Saint Laurence O'Toole (1844), Seville Place, Dublin in an early gothic style. Besides Saint Francis Xavier (1829) he built the fine neo-

unfluted. Keane was dealing on a day to day basis with the administrator of the Pro-Cathedral, Dr John Hamilton, but on the matter of the fluting he consulted the archbishop, Dr Daniel Murray [10.6], while work was proceeding with the south portico:

I have had a communication with His Grace the Archbishop on the subject of fluting the Columns. And he expressed himself satisfied with whatever course that might be decided on. Therefore His Grace not being inimical to the fluting I have determined under the circumstances of the enriched frieze & & to have them fluted. I have directed Mr. Ballantine [the contractor] accordingly.<sup>52</sup>

If Keane's brief had been to follow the model there would have been no need to consult Dr Murray; to leave out the fluting would have been a departure from the model which shows all the columns fluted except for those on the primitive temple fronts framing the windows on the side pavilions. It is not known why it was even contemplated leaving out the fluting, but it can only have been for one or two reasons, to save money or for aesthetic considerations. Unfluted Doric columns would have given the building a primitive appearance, closer in spirit to Saint-Philippe-du-Roule, but a departure from the exact archaeological approach intended, as shown in the model. If they had been left unfluted, they would no longer have been Greek. The exterior appearance of the building follows the model closely, but two important departures were made which changed the intended design of the interior. Firstly the windows which were intended to penetrate the barrel-vault were blocked up during construction and a dome built over the sanctuary. The windows would have provided an even

---

classical Saint Mel's Cathedral, Longford, and the neo-classical Saint Mary's, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary (1850-6). He also designed country houses.

<sup>52</sup> DDA, John B. Keane to Reverend John Hamilton, 14 October 1834, Hamilton papers 35/4.

lighting of the interior, but by blocking them up light had to be found by some other means. At first lighting was provided by four oval windows at the base of the dome and later these were substituted by two large semi-circular windows with the same radius as the barrel vault. It is not known why these changes were made, but there are three possible reasons; the desire to create a different interior, the desire to create more interior space, or structural necessity. It also possible that a combination of reasons led to unintended consequences.

Here is a scenario to consider. During the building work it is feared that the walls which are to support the main roof will not prove to be structurally adequate to resist the side thrust of the barrel vault due to insufficient lateral support. The solution to this problem is either to provide flying buttresses or to raise the level of the side roofs to provide the lateral restraint needed. To provide flying buttresses in a classical building would be unthinkable unless they were hidden (as originally intended in Saint-Philippe-du-Roule), but to raise the level of the side roofs would be acceptable and would provide extra floor space some of which could be used as galleries for the congregation. Blocking up the windows would also strengthen the walls, but would leave the problem of providing light to the interior, the solution to which we have seen. Although the structure was certainly strengthened by blocking up the windows it seems unlikely that it was necessary. The barrel-vault is made of timber and plaster, and is hung from the roof trusses and therefore creates no outward thrust. The decision to build a dome, therefore, was much more likely to have been due to architectural preference than to structural necessity. In December 1818 and in June 1819 John

Sweetman<sup>53</sup> was paid money first to obtain architectural information and later to obtain drawings.<sup>54</sup> The information and drawings may have concerned the new design for the roof and dome. The roof and dome were complete by the end of 1820.

Writing before the interior was finished G. N. Wright offered the opinion that ‘the chaste and simple elegance which is to characterize this building would not admit the introduction of statuary to any part of it.’<sup>55</sup> The Reverend Wright’s observations were made before 1821, probably in 1819 or 1820. The roofing was taking place in late 1819<sup>56</sup> and the shell of the building was finished in 1821. It was not until 1823 that the interior plastering was finished.<sup>57</sup>

The costly east front (main entrance) to the Pro-Cathedral is fine but not as interesting as the south front which projects a feeling of strength with its primitive temple fronts set into pavilions. The south front is more likely to appeal to present-day taste than the archaeologically correct east front, but it was admired by at least

---

<sup>53</sup> John Sweetman (1752-1826) was born in Dublin. He was a Catholic and succeeded to the family brewing business on the death of his father. He became identified with the movement to remove civil and religious disabilities of Catholics and was one of the chief supporters of the policy of John Keogh (1740-1817). He was a delegate of the Catholic Convention which met in Dublin on 3 December 1792. He was an active United Irishman. He was a member of the Leinster directory of the revolutionary movement and some of its executive committee meetings took place at his brewery in Francis Street. He was arrested with other leaders of the movement on 12 March 1798. He and others were sent to Fort George in Scotland in 1799 and deported to Holland and set at liberty in 1802. After 18 years of exile he was allowed return to Ireland in 1820. He died in May 1826 and is buried in Swords. (Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (eds), *vol. XIX*, Oxford 1917, 197-8, and *The dictionary of national biography on line*, [www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com), accessed 16 November 2004.)

<sup>54</sup> DDA, Account book, 32, Pro-Cathedral box 38/10.

<sup>55</sup> G.N. Wright, *An historical guide to ancient and modern Dublin*, 176.

<sup>56</sup> DDA, Irish college Paris (part 2) 1814-50 – 121/9, Dr Troy to Dr Long, 20 December 1819.

<sup>57</sup> DDA, *Church building: Diocese of Dublin 1800-1916*.



one 19th century contemporary who described it as being finished in a ‘a very beautiful and singular style.’<sup>58</sup>

It is not known who the architect for the Pro-Cathedral is, although we know the names of the principal architects who worked on its execution: they are John Taylor, John Leeson, Richard Morrison and his son William Vitruvius, George Papworth and John B. Keane. A consideration of who the architect for the Pro-Cathedral might have been could usefully start with these architects if only to eliminate some or all of them.

The first architect mentioned in connection with the Pro-Cathedral is John Taylor, and in the absence of conflicting evidence he should be the most likely to be the author of the design. According to G. N. Wright, writing during the early stages of construction, the design was ‘by an amateur residing in Paris’ and Taylor was supervising the building work.<sup>59</sup> Taylor received his architectural training at the Dublin Society’s Schools. In 1791 and 1792 he was awarded premiums for architectural drawing, and by 1815 he was established as an architect in Dublin.<sup>60</sup> By the time he was working on the Pro-Cathedral he had designed two churches in Dublin: the Catholic church of Saints Michael and John, Exchange Street, for Dr Michael Blake, and the Protestant church of Saint Michael and All Angels, High Street (demolished). Both these churches were gothic in style, and thus provide no evidence that he was capable of such a competent neo-classical design as the Pro-Cathedral. More likely his competence in supervising building work is what recommended him to the

---

<sup>58</sup> William Curry (ed.), *The picture of Dublin*, 198.

<sup>59</sup> G. N. Wright, *An historical guide to ancient and modern Dublin*, 175.

<sup>60</sup> Howard Colvin, *A biographical dictionary of British architects 1600-1840*, 3rd ed., 961.

building committee of the Pro-Cathedral, probably on the advice of his client for Saints Michael and John's, Dr Michael Blake. However his involvement was short and he was dismissed from the Pro-Cathedral job in July 1816.<sup>61</sup> In 1830 he moved to London to fill the post of Surveyor of Buildings to H. M. Customs and in 1839-40 he designed the Greek revival custom house in Glasgow.<sup>62</sup> (It is interesting that an architect from Dublin, which had little time for the Greek, should nourish the taste for its revival in Glasgow.)

Richard Morrison (1767–1849), the son of John Morrison, architect and builder, was born in Co. Cork, and studied at the Dublin Society's Schools. He worked first in Clonmel, Co. Tipperary but later moved his practice to Dublin in about 1800. He was 47 years old in 1814 when the Pro-Cathedral competition was announced. He is known to have designed six county court houses, and three county jails at Enniskillen, Roscommon, and Tralee, but the basis of his practice and reputation was his country houses.<sup>63</sup> His prisons were all designed around 1814, evidence that he was busy at this period, although that would not necessarily discourage him from entering the competition for the Pro-Cathedral. Preparing designs for important architectural competitions takes up a considerable amount of an architect's time, and established architects tend to avoid them. Most young architects regard them as an opportunity to establish a reputation, as did Morrison when he came to Dublin in his early 30s. In January 1800 designs for the King's Inns submitted in

---

<sup>61</sup> Ann Martha Rowan (ed.), *The architecture of Richard and William Morrison*, 11, note 8.

<sup>62</sup> Colvin, op. cit., 962.

<sup>63</sup> Rowan, op. cit., 4.

competition by James Gandon, Richard Morrison, and Graham Myers were being considered by the benchers, and in June of that year the scheme by Gandon was approved. Later in 1800 he was one of eight architects who competed with designs for Saint George's church, Dublin. He was awarded 2nd prize. Francis Johnston was awarded 1st prize and the church was built to his design. In 1802 he entered a design for the architectural competition to convert the Parliament House, College Green, Dublin, to a bank for the directors of the Bank of Ireland who had bought the redundant parliament house. This competition was won by Henry Aaron Baker, the two designs submitted by Morrison were unplaced, and the building work was executed to the designs of Francis Johnston.<sup>64</sup> Morrison entered two designs for Saint George's, one of which survives.<sup>65</sup> The surviving design shows a façade with a pedimented tetrastyle portico, derived from French neo-classical sources; the tower and spire recall the examples given by James Gibbs. Morrison was a classical architect at heart and the design for Saint George's shows that he was capable of producing a design like that of the Pro-Cathedral, but none of his built work had that pure French neo-classical quality. If Richard Morrison had designed the Pro-Cathedral he would have publicised the fact. He knew the value of self-advertisement, and published his designs widely. William Vitruvius (1794-1838) was working in partnership with his father by 1814. His work is well documented and there is no mention of a design for the Pro-Cathedral. The Morrisons had a supervisory role during the

---

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 176-9.

<sup>65</sup> IAA, Murray collection.

building of the Pro-Cathedral from June 1816 until the end of 1817, and no evidence has been found for any other involvement.

In January 1818 John Benjamin Keane, took over the site supervision for a fee of £50 a year. Up to then Keane had been working as an assistant to the Morrisons, presumably on the Pro-Cathedral job. His name first appears in *Wilson's Dublin Directory* in 1823, and in 1828, when he was establishing his career, he submitted designs for courthouses at Carlow and Tralee. He was unsuccessful in these competitions (both competitions were won by his former employer William Vitruvius Morrison), but he was successful in 1832 with his design for Tullamore courthouse. It is not known when Keane was born but he must have been young and inexperienced when the competition for the Pro-Cathedral was announced. In 1814 he was working for the Morrisons and it is possible that he entered and won the competition on his own or in collaboration with the Morrisons, but it is unlikely. However the possibility should not be dismissed out of hand. When a young and inexperienced architect wins a prestigious competition, he is often required to enter into partnership with a more experienced architect, to help bring the project to realization. If Keane had won this competition he would have immediately come to the notice of patrons. As it turned out his career did not really become established until about 15 years after the competition. He spent much of 1828 and 1829 entering competitions (mostly without success) and exhibiting designs at the Royal Hibernian Academy. He produced the working drawings for the front portico which was completed in 1841. (An account of the portico and the interior of the Pro-Cathedral, written by John B. Keane is reproduced in Appendix C.)

John Leeson (c.1798-1855?) was clerk of works on the Pro-Cathedral from 1819, or earlier, until June 1822 when the building work was interrupted due to lack of funds. He attended the Royal Dublin Society's School of Architectural Drawing and was awarded one of its two first-class premiums in 1813. When he was dismissed by Dr Michael Blake as architect for Saint Andrew's in 1832 he went into print in the pages of the *Freeman's Journal* to defend his reputation. Little or nothing is known of his architectural career after this episode. (An account of this correspondence in the *Freeman's Journal* is given in Appendix B.)

George Papworth (1781-1855) was appointed architect for finishing the interior in 1823 when funds became available again.<sup>66</sup> He worked on the Pro-Cathedral until 1827. While he was engaged on the Pro-Cathedral he designed the new church for the Carmelites at Whitefriar Street, which was started in 1825.<sup>67</sup> Papworth was in his early 30s when the Pro-Cathedral competition was held. Following his father's death in 1799 he became a pupil of his elder brother John Buonarotti Papworth (1775-1847).<sup>68</sup> He came to Dublin in 1806 where he worked both as an architect and as manager of a stonecutting company. After the stonecutting company was sold in 1812 he must have had more time to devote to his architectural practice. From his brother he received a training in the Greek revival which would have equipped him to produce a design like the Pro-Cathedral. (His portico for Kenure Park [7.1] although not in the Greek revival style is ample proof of his ability to handle the classical elements

---

<sup>66</sup> Rowan, op. cit., 11.

<sup>67</sup> IAA, *Biographical index of Irish architects*.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

of architecture.) Papworth's work is well documented and there is no record of him entering the competition for the Pro-Cathedral.

Some sources assert that John Sweetman is the architect, but without giving evidence.<sup>69</sup> Sweetman, did however, influence the building committee on the realization of the design during the course of construction.<sup>70</sup> The account book for the Pro-Cathedral contains two entries which suggest that Sweetman was acting as an agent for the architect rather than as the architect. On 31 December 1818 he was paid £22 15s 0d 'to obtain architectural information', and in June 1819 he was paid £5 13s 9d 'to obtain drawings'.<sup>71</sup> If he were the architect he would have *provided* the drawings and information, rather than *obtain* them. Sweetman did not practise as a professional architect and although an oral tradition describes him as an amateur architect, no work by him has been identified. The *Irish Builder* quotes an anonymous correspondent who informed the journal that a contemporary record stated that on 27 September 1814 a design 'for the Pro-Cathedral, by Mr. John Sweetman, Raheny, an amateur architect, was adopted for the R. C. Metropolitan chapel.'<sup>72</sup> Unfortunately the original source is not given, and the quotation cannot be relied on because the use of the term 'Pro-Cathedral' was not in use in 1814. The winning entry for the architectural competition, held in 1814, was marked 'P' and described as a Grecian design, but the author's name is unknown.<sup>73</sup> Dr McParland's article 'Who was

---

<sup>69</sup> For example, *Freeman's Journal*, 29 January 1908; *Church building: Diocese of Dublin 1800-1916*; Desmond Guinness, *Georgian Dublin*, 120; J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Greek revival*, 102.

<sup>70</sup> Edward McParland, 'Who was P?', *Architectural Review*, , CLVII: 936 (February 1975), 72.

<sup>71</sup> DDA, Account book, 32, Pro-Cathedral box 38/10.

<sup>72</sup> *Irish Builder*, LXIX:25, 10 December 1927, 898.

<sup>73</sup> McParland, op. cit., 71-3.

P?’<sup>74</sup> asks the question but does not provide the answer. Professor McCarthy offers the suggestion that the ‘P’ stood for ‘Pontifex’ identifying the conception of the building with Dr Troy.<sup>75</sup> There is a difficulty with this suggestion: why would Dr Troy submit a design in competition when he could have persuaded the building committee to engage a suitable architect to realise his concept? If he had been unable to persuade the committee members by words it is unlikely that he could have done so by drawings. Also, if he had designed the building, and wanted to keep it a secret, why would he risk being unmasked by using a label standing for ‘Pontifex’? It seems almost pointless to speculate on what ‘P’ stood for, if anything, but some other plausible possibilities include Paris, Papworth, or Parke. It seems unlikely that either Papworth or Parke was the architect. A more prosaic explanation is that the competition entries were simply labelled with letters of the alphabet.

The evidence from G. N. Wright that the design is from an amateur residing in Paris, and the evidence from the Dublin Diocesan Archives that John Sweetman, who was living in Paris at the time, obtained the drawings, and the absence of any claims of authorship from Irish architects point to the design coming from Paris, probably (but not necessarily) from a French architect. Although the plan, the internal proportions, and the barrel-vaulted ceiling is closely derived from Saint-Philippe-du-Roule, the front portico is not the same, and, as mentioned before, the ambulatory in the Pro-Cathedral was not copied from Saint-Philippe-du-Roule, nor was it common to have an ambulatory behind the altar

---

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Michael McCarthy, ‘Dublin’s Greek Pro-Cathedral’, 238.

in Parisian churches of this type. If the Pro-Cathedral was designed in Paris then the design was known in Paris, and it is possible that the plan of the Pro-Cathedral was used as a model in the re-ordering of Saint-Philippe-du-Roule by Etienne-Hippolyte Godde in 1846. Godde was familiar with Saint-Philippe-du-Roule from at least 1805 when work started on his first building, the church of Boves, Picardy. This church was based on Saint-Philippe-du-Roule. If Sweetman consulted an unknown architect, his name will remain a mystery unless a piece of documentary evidence comes to light. If he consulted a well-known first rate architect, then Godde should be considered a possibility. If not Godde than consideration should be given to his associates. By the time his was 33 years old in 1814, when the design was prepared, Godde was one of the most experienced church architects in Paris, and as city architect, from 1813 to 1830 he designed several of the city churches. If Sweetman wanted to consult one of the better church architects in Paris, then Godde was an obvious choice. Another young architect whom Sweetman could have consulted was Louis-Hippolyte Lebas (1782-1867). Lebas travelled extensively in Italy in 1804, 1806-8, and 1811. He was in Paris after his travels, and in 1812 he published in Paris, with François Debret, *Oeuvre complete de Jacques Barozzi de Vignole*, an event which must have made him known to those interested in architecture. One of his teachers was Brongniart from whom he may have absorbed something of Brongniart's ability to handle primitive versions of the neo-classical, for example Brongniart's Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois [1.29, 5.1 & 5.2]. The connection between Andrew Lumisden and Dr Troy, pointed out by Professor Michael McCarthy, suggests the possibility of the architect belonging to Lumisden's circle of those interested in the



Greek revival. All the architects who had designed the first of the 18th century basilican plan churches in Paris had died before the competition for the Pro-Cathedral was announced. Chalgrin died in 1811, Trouard in 1794, Cherpitel in 1809, Brongniart in 1813, and Potain in 1796.

Whoever the architect was the real inspiration for the design concept comes to us through the writing of Laugier, and the work of Chalgrin, and possibly Cherpitel. Dr Troy and his committee must be credited with bringing the language of late 18th century French neo-classicism to Dublin at a crucial stage in the development of Catholic church architecture. This language was to influence the Dublin classical churches to a greater or lesser extent in all parts of the architectural design, the planning, treatment of façades, use of materials, internal arrangements, decoration, and lighting.

When the Pro-Cathedral was built, the spirit of French architecture was brought to Dublin. To enter the Pro-Cathedral is to enter, in imagination, one of the French basilican planned churches of the late 18th century. But the main portico conveys more of the sense of international neo-classicism from the early 19th century. The interior of the Pro-Cathedral is French, but the exterior would not look out of place in any city touched by neo-classicism. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries architectural ideas were transmitted quickly by publications and by the movement of architects, and Dublin by no means lagged behind any part of Europe.<sup>76</sup> The use of Greek detailing in the Pro-Cathedral was perfectly in tune with contemporary architectural

---

<sup>76</sup> Ideas quickly crossed the Atlantic also, e.g. The neo-classical Saint Mary's Catholic cathedral, Baltimore, was designed by Benjamin Latrobe (1764-1820) in 1804-8 and built in 1809-18.

developments on the continent and in Britain. The Neue Wache guardhouse (1816-18) [7.24], Berlin, by Karl Friedrich Schinkel, started shortly after the Pro-Cathedral, is fronted by a hexastyle Doric portico, perfectly conveying the sturdiness appropriate to a military building. Other neo-classical buildings, built a few years before or after the Pro-Cathedral, using baseless Doric columns, include the Tempio Canoviano (1819-33) [7.28], near Possagno, by Antonio Canova (1757-1822) and Giovanni Selva (1751-1819); the Caffè Pedrocchi (1826-31) [7.26], Padua, by Selva's pupil, Giuseppe Jappelli (1783-1852); the Coffee House (1815-17) [7.31], near the Royal Gardens, Venice, by Lorenzo Santi (1783-1839); the Justiciary Courts (1809-14), Glasgow, by William Stark (1770-1813), and The Botanicum (1788)[7.27], Uppsala, by Louis-Jean Depez (1743-1804). Depez was a pupil of Blondel and a Grand Prix winner in 1776; he lived in Sweden from 1784 until his death. The reconstructed Vor Frue Kirke (1808-1829) [6.8], by Christian Frederik Hansen, is fronted by a hexastyle Doric portico similar to the one on the Pro-Cathedral.

The architectural sources for the Pro-Cathedral were the 18th century French basilican church, and international neo-classicism as practised in the early 19th century. To keep abreast with architectural developments contemporary Irish architects, and their patrons looked to France. The French system of architectural education concerned itself with a high standard of design and professionalism and was successful in its aims. There was a tendency to centralise control of all French operations in Paris from the mid 17th century onwards, starting with teaching establishments, the Ecole Polytechnique, and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, and continuing with the establishments which were the chief commissioning agencies, the Conseil des Bâtiments

Civils, the Commission des Monuments Historiques, the Service des Edifices Diocésains, and other state bodies. What could be built was controlled by a small number of men. Architects were restricted by law from undertaking more than one major project at a time, which meant that they could concentrate on doing their best work.<sup>77</sup>

The Ecole des Beaux-Arts was the most important school of architecture in the 18th and 19th centuries. The system of education in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts was based almost entirely on a series of monthly competitions which provided the student with the experience and knowledge to compete for the Grand Prix. The student moved at his own pace and could spend up to 15 years at the school.<sup>78</sup> The winners of the Grand Prix (also known as the Prix de Rome) were sent to Rome for five years, and on their return were almost certain to embark on a prestigious career.

Although the churches of Rome and Paris are the principal sources of architectural inspiration for Irish architects and clergymen involved in church building in the early 19th century, other sources were ever present and influential. One such source is the north of Italy. In the early 18th century a number of new churches were built in the north of Italy with temple fronts, and some old churches received temple fronts. This tradition continued well into the 19th century. The series began with the great hexastyle prostyle Corinthian temple front added by Andrea Tirali (c.1660-1737) at the beginning of the 18th century to the

---

<sup>77</sup> Robin Middleton (Ed), *The Beaux-Arts and nineteenth-century French architecture*, 7.

<sup>78</sup> Neil Levine, 'The competition for the Grand Prix in 1824: a case study in architectural education at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts', in Robin Middleton (ed.), *The Beaux-Arts and nineteenth-century French architecture*, 68.

Church of San Niccolò dei Tolentini (1706-14), Venice [6.17].<sup>79</sup> Giovanni Antonio Scalfarotto (1690-1764) also designed a temple front for Santi Simeone e Giuda (1718-38) [6.21], Venice which followed the lead given by Tirali. Another major temple front was that of San Filippo in Turin [6.18], designed by Filippo Juvarra (d. 1736); its execution was delayed until 1835 and completed in the 1890s.<sup>80</sup> But the idea of fronting a church with a classical portico is older than the 18th century. Michelangelo intended a portico for the front of Saint Peter's, but better known are the churches of Palladio; the one which best expresses a version of the idea closest in spirit to the Dublin churches is the Tempietto at Maser designed in 1580 [6.19]. Geographically closer to Dublin is Saint Paul's, Covent Garden, finished in 1631 [7.29], and later temple fronted churches in London.

The Pro-Cathedral set an example which was to encourage the building of further fine churches in Dublin, both by the secular clergy and by the religious orders. Stylistically it provided a lead for Saint Andrew's, Westland Row, where the Doric order is used on the façade, and where the detailing throughout is Greek. Greek detailing is much in evidence, also in Saint Paul's, Arran Quay, and in Saint Nicholas of Myra. Only one Dublin church was to adopt a version of the basilican plan, used in the Pro-Cathedral, that was the Church of the Three Patrons, Rathgar. (Outside Dublin the interior of Franciscan abbey church of Saint Francis [3.10], Eglinton Street, Galway is a close derivation from the Pro-Cathedral.) The earliest church to follow the lead given by the Pro-Cathedral was Our Lady of Mount Carmel [2.1, 2.2 & 9.9],

---

<sup>79</sup> Carroll Meeks, 'Temple fronts in neo-classical Italy', *Architectural History*, 4 (1961), 28.

<sup>80</sup> Op. cit., 28.

designed by George Papworth (1781-1855) while he was working on the Pro-Cathedral. The first stone was laid on 25 October 1825 by the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr Daniel Murray. The church was consecrated by Dr Murray on 11 November 1827.<sup>81</sup> Work was almost finished in March 1834 when the *Catholic Penny Magazine* published a description of the interior:

The interior presents a beautiful architectural view. The right side of the church, from which the light is emitted, is pierced by windows; and the left is ornamented by corresponding niches, filled with statues of eminent saints. The ceiling is coved, and divided into rectangular compartments. The interior, just completed will be peculiarly neat. The whole expense is about £4000; and proves how much can be done with small means, when taste and judgment are combined.<sup>82</sup>

In the tradition of 18th Dublin Catholic churches Our Lady of Mount Carmel did not present a grand external appearance. The site was long and narrow, the entrance was from a minor street, and funds were limited. In spite of these restrictions Papworth managed to design an elegant building without using expensive materials. Inside the building was a simple hall with a coved ceiling divided into compartments, an arcade of windows of the south side divided by pilasters, and on the north side a corresponding blind arcade with statues under the arches. Greek ornamentation was used on the walls and ceiling and the high altar was set before two Ionic columns and entablature copied from the Erechtheum. All that remains of the original church is the entrance front to Whitefriar Street and the side wall to York Row (now Whitefriar Place). The original church is now the south aisle of a now much enlarged neo-gothic church. In 1951 the Whitefriar Street entrance

---

<sup>81</sup> *Dublin Penny Journal*, 27 October 1832.

<sup>82</sup> *Catholic Penny Magazine*, 29 March 1834, 50.

was closed and a new entrance made from Aungier Street, and a new High Altar installed at the Whitefriar Street end.

In spite of displaying his competence in his design for the Carmelite church there is no record of Papworth being further involved in the design and building of new Catholic churches, although he is thought to have worked on Saint Maur's, Rush, Co. Dublin, between 1844 and 1851. Instead the lead given by Papworth with the Carmelite church was taken up, but not immediately, by his colleague Patrick Byrne (c.1783-1864)[10.3], the subject of the next chapter.

\*\*\*

AN ARCHITECT OF ACCOMPLISHMENT  
*Patrick Byrne (c.1783-1864)*

*Saint Paul's – Saint Audoen's*

And of the equally gifted man whose talents and disinterested care have laid us under such obligations at Rathmines, how justly may not the same eulogium be repeated? [praise for Francis Johnston's ability to design well in the Gothic or Classical style] - of him who designed the portico of St. Paul's, and erected the majestic Shrine of St. Audoen's and the solemn Cathedral-like pile of St. James, and the graceful Sanctuary of St. John, bold and beautiful Dome of our Lady of Refuge - of the accomplished, and good, and generous PATRICK BYRNE how truly may it not be said, that he regarded the beauties of Classical and Mediaeval Art with equal reverence, studied their several excellencies with equal assiduity, and wrought upon the principles of both with equally supereminent success?<sup>1</sup>

Patrick Byrne was to design more neo-classical Catholic churches in Dublin than any of his contemporaries. This may have been due to his being a Catholic, as well as to his reliability, competence and a career which coincided with a period of church building.

His formal architectural education started in 1796 when, at the age of 13, he enrolled in the Dublin Society's School of Architectural

---

<sup>1</sup> William Meagher, *Five engravings descriptive of the new church of Our Immaculate Lady of Refuge, Rathmines, with a brief account of its origin and progress*, 23.

Drawing.<sup>2</sup> There he was taught by Henry Aaron Baker (1753-1836)<sup>3</sup>, and thus was heir to the neo-classicism developed by James Gandon who had Baker as a pupil, partner, and successor. Work on the King's Inns [7.13] had not long ago started (in 1795) when Byrne enrolled and his teacher Baker must have been closely involved in the work, in any event he took over the job after Gandon resigned in 1808. Byrne distinguished himself at the school by winning medals in 1797 and 1798. From 1820 until 1848 he worked for the Wide Street Commissioners, first as a measurer and then as an architect. This could mean that he was, in effect, city architect, but it could also mean that he was acting as a consultant when called upon. In the minutes (5 May 1841) of the Wide Street Commissioners he is referred to as 'the Board's Architect', however there is no reference to an architect in the Board's list of salaried posts.<sup>4</sup> From 1848 to 1851 he was architect to the Royal Exchange.<sup>5</sup> Little is known of his architectural work until his first known ecclesiastical commission for the new Saint Paul's which was started in 1835. In 1835 Byrne was aged 52, and it is odd that no important work of architecture by him has been recorded before that date. Yet he can hardly have emerged fully

---

<sup>2</sup> Gitta Willemson, *The Dublin Society drawing schools*, 143.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Aaron Baker (1753-1836) started his architectural training with Thomas Ivory. When Ivory died in 1786 Baker, who was 23 years old, went to work for James Gandon who was busy with the Custom House. In the same year he succeeded Ivory as master of the Dublin Society's school for architectural drawing and retained the post until his death. He continued his association with Gandon taking over the King's Inns job after Gandon resigned because of the constant delays and shortage of money. He did work for the Wide Street Commissioners, the most important being the laying out of the Westmorland Street and D'Olier Street, Dublin.

<sup>4</sup> Edward McParland, 'The Wide Streets Commissioners: their importance for Dublin architecture in the late 18th-early 19th century', in *Irish Georgian Society Bulletin*, XV:1 (January-March 1972), 6.

<sup>5</sup> IAA, *Index of Irish architects*, citing *Thom's directory 1848-51*.



formed as an architect at that stage of his life without having acquired considerable experience and established a reputation which would enable his patrons to trust him. Is Dr William Meagher's comparison of his abilities with those of Francis Johnston a clue to his earlier career? If he was not practising architecture on his own account he was almost certainly working with another architect, and if this premise can be accepted the two most likely candidates are his teacher, Henry Aaron Baker and Francis Johnston. Johnston died in 1829 before Byrne emerged in his own right as an architect, and Baker died in 1836. From 1796, when Byrne first became a student at the Dublin Society's school, until 1835, when Saint Paul's was started, the city had acquired several new public buildings, mostly by Francis Johnston (1760-1829); Saint George's, Hardwicke Place was begun in 1803 and finished in 1813; the Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle, was started in 1807, and the General Post Office was started in 1814. Also in this period the King's Inns was finished by Johnston in 1816. From Johnston Byrne could have acquired his competence with the Greek revival. Before 1835 there is no record of Byrne designing any of the new Catholic churches being built in Dublin. From 1815 work had started on the Pro-Cathedral, the Carmelite church in Whitefriars Street, and the churches of Saint Francis Xavier, Saint Nicholas of Myra, Saint Andrew, and Adam and Eve. After Saint Paul's almost all the ecclesiastical work for the Catholic church in Dublin was entrusted to him, his last completed work being the church of the Three Patrons which was started in 1860 when Byrne was 77 years of age. His reputation also extended outside the capital and he designed Catholic

churches at Mullinahone (1850) [3.30] and Drangan (1853) [4.28 & 4.29], Co. Tipperary, and at Arklow (1859) [3.3 & 3.4] and Enniskerry (1858) [4.26], Co. Wicklow. These churches are still standing and in use except for Saint Michael's, Mullinahone which was demolished in 1967.<sup>6</sup> He submitted proposals for a church in Donnybrook, Dublin, in 1860, but died before preparing detailed design drawings.<sup>7</sup> It was not until 1861, with the design of Saint Saviour's [4.21], for the Dominicans, by J. J. McCarthy, that Byrne's reign in Dublin came to an end. In the 25 years since the building of Saint Paul's he had made an important contribution to the architectural character of Catholic Dublin. He may have come to the attention of his patrons through involvement in Catholic politics; it is quite probable that he is the Patrick Byrne Esq proposed as a member of the New Catholic Association in November 1825.<sup>8</sup> Later in life he enjoyed the esteem of his colleagues who elected him vice-president of the Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland from 1854 (along with George Papworth), a post which he held until his death in 1864. This was the highest honour the architects could accord him; the position of president was, at this time, always held by someone from

---

<sup>6</sup> Information from Stephen and Nellie Gahan, Fethard Street, Mullinahone, 27 June 2005. According to Mr and Mrs Gahan Saint Michael's had large galleries in the transepts and at the west end and the congregation occupied the parts of the church according to their standing in society.

<sup>7</sup> Donnelly, *Dublin parishes, pt I*, 63.

<sup>8</sup> *Dublin Evening Post*, 22 November 1825. *Wilson's Dublin Directory* for the year 1825 lists the following:  
Patrick Byrne, boot & shoemaker, 36 South King Street  
Patrick Byrne, architect, 8 Mabbot Street  
Patrick Byrne, cheese warehouse, 153 Francis Street  
Patrick Byrne, skin & feather dealer, 87 Francis Street  
Patrick Byrne, woollen draper, 17 Francis Street  
Patrick Byrne, barrister.  
There are also two P. Byrnes listed.

outside the profession.<sup>9</sup> He was also accorded high esteem by his clients, and his talents publicly acknowledged by the patron for two of his churches, the Very Reverend William Meagher. He died on 10 January 1864<sup>10</sup>, and is interred in an unmarked grave in Glasnevin cemetery.<sup>11</sup>

Although Byrne was trained in the classical language of architecture his versatility allowed him to adapt to the new gothic style advocated by Pugin and asked for by some of his ecclesiastical clients from the early 1840s, for example Saint John the Baptist, Blackrock [4.18] which was started in 1842, and the Church of Saints Alphonsus and Columba, Ballybrack, Co. Dublin which was dedicated in 1854 [4.24 & 4.25]. The foundation stone for his Gothic Saint James's church, James's Street [4.19] was laid in 1844 and the church dedicated in 1854.<sup>12</sup> He also built three Gothic churches in the Clontarf parish, the Church of Our Lady of the Visitation, Fairview Strand (1847-55) [4.14]; Saint Assam's, Raheny (1859-1864) [4.15], and Saint Pappin's, Ballymun (1848) [4.13].<sup>13</sup> All these churches were outside the city centre. In Co. Wicklow he built Saint Mary's, Enniskerry [4.26 & 4.27], which was started in 1858

---

<sup>9</sup> The first three presidents of the institute were aristocratic patrons who exercised little or no influence on the running of its affairs. When Byrne was elected vice-president he shared the post with George Papworth who died in 1855. The last president under the old system was the Marquess of Clanricarde (1844-63). From 1863 the presidents were members of the architectural profession, the first being Sir Charles Lanyon (1863-68).

<sup>10</sup> *Dublin Builder*, VI:98, 20 Jan. 1864, 9.

<sup>11</sup> Plot number XA34 garden.

<sup>12</sup> Patrick Raftery, 'The last of the traditionalists: Patrick Byrne 1783-1864', in *Irish Georgian Society Bulletin*, VII (April-December 1964), 59.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

The contents of Byrne's library provide some indication of his interest and education. His library was auctioned by H. Lewis on 17 February 1864 and the following days, together with the libraries of the Very Reverend Dean Meyler, parish priest of Saint Andrew's from 1833 until his death in 1864, and that of 'a Roman Catholic clergyman.'<sup>14</sup> Many of the libraries sold by auction in this period belonged to clergymen; this was not surprising because they did not have direct descendants to whom their libraries would be useful. Patrick Byrne's son John who was his assistant predeceased him by nine months; this might explain why the library was auctioned if it were not for the fact that another son, Hugh was still alive and holding the post of City Architect, a post he held from 1840 until his death in 1867.<sup>15</sup> Possibly Hugh thought that most of the books in his father's library were too old to be of practical help for a practising architect. Another possibility was that Byrne's widow needed the proceeds of the auction. The auction catalogue lists only three books on architecture published after 1855; this suggests that Byrne in his later years was losing interest in acquiring new books, or that his son retained the new books he was interested in. Two of the three books in the auction catalogue published after 1855 are later editions of earlier works; they are B. Winkle, *Illustrations of cathedrals*, London 1860 (this was first published 1836-42 in three volumes as *Cathedral churches of Great Britain* and this edition was

---

<sup>14</sup> H. Lewis (auctioneer), *Catalogue of the libraries of the late Very Reverend Dean Meyler PP also of the late Patrick Byrne, Esquire, architect and civil engineer etc. and that of a Roman Catholic clergyman*, Dublin 1864. There is a copy in the library of the Royal Irish Academy.

<sup>15</sup> C.P. Curran, 'Patrick Byrne: architect', *Studies*, XXXIII:130 (June 1944), 201.

also included in the sale), an edition of Stuart and Revett's, *Antiquities of Athens*, London 1857; the other book is Benjamin Ferrey, *Recollections of A.W.N. Pugin, and his father, Augustus Pugin*, London 1861. There were 1415 lots in the auction and Byrne's share was about 400 lots. It is impossible to be precise as to the number of lots which belonged to Byrne. The difficulty is that the title page of the catalogue lists three libraries, but only two libraries are mentioned, that of Very Reverend Dean Meyler PP, and that of Patrick Byrne. It seems that the library of the Catholic clergyman are included in Byrne's library which consist of lots 602 to 1415. Most of the lots at the beginning of the catalogue are books on architecture and most of the lots at the end of the catalogue are pictures, vestments and books which only a clergyman would be likely to possess. Unfortunately it is not possible to detect with certainty where one library ends and the other begins. The clergyman's library appears to start at about lot 990, after which there are no books on architecture.

Not surprisingly most of Byrne's library consisted of books on architecture. Naturally also, there were books on cost control, building construction, and mechanical and civil engineering. He had novels, biographies, books on travel, history, art, philosophy, science, mathematics, and geography. He had 27 volumes of music, including seven volumes of Thomas Moore's melodies; this information makes it easy to visualise Byrne taking part in musical evenings at home and in the houses of his friends. Most of the books on architecture were published during his working career, but he had over 60 books published before 1820. Like any practising architect in the 19th century he had to build his own

library of specialist books not only to satisfy his general interest in architecture but also to inform himself on current developments. For example, most of his books on gothic architecture were published (and probably bought) in the 1840s, when his patrons were being seduced by Pugin and his followers. He did work for the Dublin Cemeteries Committee at Glasnevin cemetery (e.g. the entrance gate [7.30]) from the early 1840s until the later years of his life and in this period he bought a few books on memorial architecture, for example Peter Frederick Robinson, *Designs for lodges and park entrances*, London 1833, and Geoffrey Maliphant, *Designs for sepulchral monuments, mural tablets etc.*, London 1827. His library indicates a man who was interested in architectural history, theory, and criticism, as well as in the practical concerns of any architect. He had John Ruskin's, *Stones of Venice*, London 1851-3, and *Seven lamps of architecture*, London 1849, and James Elmes, *Lectures on architecture*, London 1821, the latter regarded as an essential textbook for architectural students. He had the folio size edition of James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The antiquities of Athens*, published in London in four volumes in 1825; the illustrations in this work are clear, exact, and therefore useful to a practising architect. He was well aware of French publications; his library included two copies of Paul Marie Letarouilly, *Édifices de Rome moderne*, Paris 1840, Charles Nicholas Cochin and Jérôme-Charles Bellicard, *Observations sur les antiquités de la ville d'Herculaneum*, Paris 1757;<sup>16</sup> Jean-Nicholas-Louis Durand is represented by three books, *Essai sur l'histoire générale de l'architecture*,

---

<sup>16</sup> First published in 1753 in French and in an English translation.

Liège 1842, *Recueil et parallèle des édifices en tout genera, anciens et modernes*, Brussels [n.d.], and *Précis des leçons d'architecture données à l'Ecole royale polytechnique*, Paris 1823. His interest in classical architecture was further nourished with Claude Perrault, *The five orders of architecture*, London 1722;<sup>17</sup> J. de Rubeis, *Insignium Romae Templorum Prospectus exteriores et interiores*, Rome 1684; Sir William Chambers, *A treatise on civil architecture*, London 1759, James Paine, *Plans elevations and sections. of noblemen's houses, bridges, temples etc.*, London 1767, and James Gibbs, *A book of architecture*, London 1739. Byrne was equally at home with Gothic architecture as he was with Classical and it is not surprising to find in his library Thomas Rickman, *An attempt to discriminate the styles of architecture in England*, London 1848; John Kendall, *An elucidation of the principles of English architecture*, London 1842, Frederick Paley, *A manual of Gothic architecture*, London 1846, Augustus Charles Pugin, *Examples of Gothic architecture*, London 1838, Augustus Welby Pugin, *The present state of ecclesiastical architecture in England*, London 1843, and Matthew Holbeche Bloxam, *The principles of Gothic ecclesiastical architecture*, London 1846. Most of Byrne's work was ecclesiastical and his library contained several books which would have been useful for his practice. He had two books by John Milner, *Ecclesiastical architecture of England*, London 1811, and *Ecclesiastical democracy detected*, London 1793. He had Richard Tress's folio size book, *Modern churches*, London 1841, William Bardwell, *Temples ancient and modern; or notes on church architecture*, London 1837, John Raphael Brandon and Jopshua Brandon, *Parish churches*, London

---

<sup>17</sup> A translation of *Ordonnance des cinq espèces de colonne*, Paris 1676.

1848. He had the two volumes of John Britton, and Augustus Pugin, *Illustrations of public buildings in London*, London 1825 and 1828. These volumes contain plans, sections and elevations, as well as descriptions of the most important public buildings in London, many of them churches. Amongst his engineering books he had George Sempie, *A treatise on building in water*, Dublin 1776. He had a few books on painting and sculpture but not enough to suggest he was especially interested. (No edition of Vasari's *Lives of artists* is listed in the catalogue.) He had Alberti's work on architecture, painting, and sculpture;<sup>18</sup> Andrea Pozzo, *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum Andreae Putei*, Rome 1758, *Report from the select committee on arts and their connection with the minutes of evidence*, House of Commons 9 September 1835, Vincenzo Fortunato (translated by C.P. Meehan), *Lives of the most eminent painters, sculptors and architects of the order of S. Dominic*, Dublin 1852. Most of the books in his library were published in the period 1834 to 1855 suggesting that this period was the busiest of his career. He also had over 300 numbers of the *Builder* indicating his interest in current architectural and building affairs. The sale catalogue did not contain any edition of Palladio's *Quattro libri dell'architettura*, but it did include an edition of Vitruvius, *The Civil Architecture of Vitruvius; comprising those Books which relate to the public and private Edifices of the Ancients, translated by W. Wilkins; ... with an introduction, containing an historical view of the rise and progress of architecture amongst the Greeks*, London 1812.

---

<sup>18</sup> Leon Battista Alberti, *The architecture...in ten books. Of painting in three books. And of statuary in one book. Translated into Italian by Cosimo Bartoli. And now for the first time into English...by James Leoni, Venetian architect*, London 1726. This was reprinted in 1739 and 1755 (the copy in Byrne's library).



After the Act of Union (1800) there were many book sales in Dublin from the libraries of the departing aristocracy and ruling elite.<sup>19</sup> Many of Byrne's older books may have come from these sales. The modern books he could have bought from any of the many booksellers in Dublin. Contemporary Dublin booksellers could supply their customers with foreign book catalogues and obtain any desired books.

The contents of his library convey an impression of a professional architect well educated in architectural matters, both historical and contemporary. Little is known for certain of Byrne's family background. C.P. Curran writes that he was probably a Dublin or a Wicklow man judging from his name. He further speculates that he may have been the son of John Byrne who took part in the architectural competition in 1769 for the building of the Royal Exchange.<sup>20</sup> Patrick Raftery notes that Patrick Byrne made a fine watercolour of the interior of the Royal Exchange in 1834 thus strengthening the speculation that he had a connection with the 18th century architect.<sup>21</sup> He also makes the suggestion that there may have been some relationship with Edward Byrne, a rich Dublin merchant and chairman of the Catholic Committee. If this were true it might help explain his patronage by the Catholic

---

<sup>19</sup> Máire Kennedy, 'Rare, Valuable and Extensive Libraries: the book auction catalogues of Charles Sharpe in the Royal Irish Academy library', in *Long Room Ireland's Journal for the History of the Book*, 46 (2001), 25.

<sup>20</sup> C.P. Curran, 'Patrick Byrne: architect', *Studies*, XXXIII:130 (June 1944), 197.

<sup>21</sup> This watercolour is in the National Gallery of Ireland

clergy.<sup>22</sup> His attendance at the Dublin Society School suggests either good connections or a talent which could not be ignored.

Whereas the bells on Saints Michael and John's, which first rung in 1815 provided one of the first emphatic aural assertions of the Catholics' new found confidence, Patrick Byrne's Saint Paul's was its first strong visual assertion. Situated on the north side of the Liffey Quays it is the first prominent building visible from the western approach to the city. Further east along the quays, also on the north side, are two important 18th century buildings expressing government authority – the Four Courts (1786) and the Custom House (1781) both by James Gandon. As in the Four Courts, the portico of Saint Paul's projects beyond the building line of the street façades, thus giving an impression of ownership over the public footpath, as if it were a public building. The projection, as well as making a visual punctuation, helps to make the best use of the limited site area and does not (and could not) extend beyond the line of the areas and steps of the houses.

The old chapel of Saint Paul's was a small plain rectangular building built in 1730 and reconstructed in 1785-6.<sup>23</sup> A site, on Arran Quay at the corner of Lincoln Lane, for the new Saint Paul's was secured by the parish priest Very Reverend Dr William (Canon) Yore. The site had been previously occupied by the Police Court which had moved to Capel Street, nearby.<sup>24</sup> Dr Yore

---

<sup>22</sup> Patrick Raftery, 'The last of the traditionalists: Patrick Byrne, 1783-1864', *Irish Georgian Society Bulletin*, VII (April-December 1964), 49, 51.

<sup>23</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of some Dublin parishes, pt X*, 23.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

called a parish meeting in March 1834 to discuss building the new church, and one year later on 17 March (Saint Patrick's day) 1835 the foundation stone was laid by Archbishop Murray. The *Catholic Penny Magazine* published an engraving of the façade and a description of the church in its edition of 10 January 1835. No mention is made of the architect, but the article is signed 'B', possibly Patrick Byrne. The writer thought that the new church was 'likely to become one of the principal architectural ornaments of our city.'<sup>25</sup> The portico of Saint Paul's is built of granite, following the example of Saint Francis Xavier's which broke the tradition of using a combination of Portland stone and granite which was initiated in Dublin in the early 18th century with the building of the Parliament House.

It is the intention to have the portico and other parts of the exterior executed in granite stone...a circumstance that must be gratifying to all who wish to see native material and labour made available for domestic purposes.<sup>26</sup>

The proposed use of granite in the portico was also a source of satisfaction for the editor of the *Catholic directory*, William J. Battersby, who noted that until recently it was 'considered indispensable to send to the sister country for large blocks of stone required for the columns and architrave of a large portico.'<sup>27</sup>

Just over two years later the church was ready for use and blessed by Dr Murray on 30 June (feast of Saint Paul) 1837. A sum of £600 was collected on the opening day.<sup>28</sup> Although it only took

---

<sup>25</sup> *Catholic Penny Magazine*, 2:48, 10 January 1835, 14.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>27</sup> *Catholic directory 1836*, 73.

<sup>28</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of some Dublin parishes*, pt X, 26.

two years to make the church ready for use, it took a further five years to finish the front. The portico (without the statues), bell tower and the cupola were finished and paid for by 1842.<sup>29</sup> A considerable proportion of the building costs were expended on the front, compared to the money spent on providing accommodation. Catholic church builders were learning that to take on the responsibility of making an architectural presence was expensive, yet they took this responsibility seriously.

The problem of placing a tower and spire over a classical portico was successfully solved by James Gibbs with Saint Martin-in-the-Fields (1721-6), London [7.18], and through the fine engravings of it in Gibbs's book on architecture it had a widespread and continued influence.<sup>30</sup> We know that Byrne had a copy of Gibbs's book, and he had two good examples of successful churches (built for the established church) with tower and portico combined, in Dublin, to study. The closest in spirit to Saint Martin-in-the-Fields is Saint George's (1803-13) [7.19], Hardwicke Place, Dublin, by Francis Johnston. Both these churches have spires which are most associated with medieval architecture but here are made firmly classical. The smaller Saint Stephen's [7.7] in Upper Mount Street, Dublin by John Bowden, and consecrated in 1824 is a close architectural relation to Saint Paul's. The Ionic order taken from the Erechtheum is used in the portico of Saint Stephen's. Above the portico is a tower in two main parts. The lower part is square with details taken from Athenian sources, and the upper part is a

---

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>30</sup> John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, 327.

model of a circular temple with details taken from the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates; the tower is surmounted with a small copper dome. The Ionic capitals of Saint Paul's are also copied from those on the Erechtheum (and finely carved in granite, an unusual choice of stone for such fine carving, and an example of fine craftsmanship [2.61 & 2.62].) In contrast to the simplicity of Saint Stephen's the tower on Saint Paul's is more densely articulated. It is also divided into two parts (not counting the base), and is finished with an egg-shaped dome with a cross on top. Byrne also employs delicate bands of decorative details on the tower taken from the Erechtheum. Although Saint Stephen's seems an obvious precedent for Saint Paul's, there are several towers over classical façades in Dublin which Byrne undoubtedly knew, and all of which have points of similarity with the tower of Saint Paul's. Examples are the Rotunda Hospital (founded 1748) [7.2], Richard Cassels; the Bedford Tower (1750-c,1758) [7.5], Arthur Jones Nevill and Thomas Eyre, and the chapel of the Hibernian Military School (1771) [7.6], Thomas Ivory. Different in scale but also possibly an inspiration for Byrne is the tower and dome of the Custom House. Saint Paul's has a clock in the tower, with four faces. It is not clear whether the intention was to assert equality with the Protestant churches, which usually housed clocks, or to imply a public status for the building. Before the Reformation it was usual for churches to use bells to mark time. After the Reformation, the newly invented mechanism, the clock, began to be incorporated into bell towers. Byrne may have unconsciously included the clock because it was part of this tradition, but it was

more likely a deliberate decision to enhance the building's status by assuming a responsibility to the public, which a clock implies.<sup>31</sup>

In Saint Paul's there are three entrances under the portico; the central door leads to the nave and the two side doors give direct access to the two balcony stairs. The main entrance passes under the tower, through a draught lobby and into the nave. To make the most of the site area available the façade and the east side are aligned with the streets, which are not square to each other, resulting in a skewing of the main axis; this is obvious on the plan [1.21] but hardly noticeable otherwise. Byrne's confidence in this solution is an indication of his knowledge of ancient Roman practice. The Romans would often bend the axis of a city gate to suit differing street alignments, e.g. the gate at Palmyra [8.6]. The first impression of the interior, as one's eye is drawn to the altar, is the large wall-painting in the apse; it depicts the conversion of Saint Paul, by F. S. Barff [2.69], behind a screen of giant Ionic columns, instead of a reredos. This idea was borrowed from Saint Mary's, Moorfields (1817-20) [6.8] in London.<sup>32</sup> Saint Mary's was remarkable for the Baroque drama of its concealed lighting of a painting of the crucifixion by Agostino Aglio (1777-1857) in the apse. Archbishop Troy was aware of Saint Mary's by at least 1820.<sup>33</sup> Saint Mary's, Moorfields was illustrated in John Britton

---

<sup>31</sup> I am grateful to the following who (by e-mail via the Society of Architectural Historians) furnished me with observations, references, and information on bells, clocks, and clock towers: Dr Matthew E. Gallegos, College of Architecture, Texas Technical University; Aaron Wunsch, University of California, Berkeley; Victoria Solan, Faculty of Architecture, Landscape and Design, University of Toronto; John McGrain, Baltimore County Historian.

<sup>32</sup> Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860*, 292.

<sup>33</sup> Micheal McCarthy, 'Dublin's Greek Pro-Cathedral', 245.

and Augustus Pugin, *Illustrations of public buildings in London*, London 1825 and 1828, and Byrne had a copy in his library. Dr Troy died in 1823 therefore was not responsible for briefing the architect, directly, but knowledge of Saint Mary's which was an important Catholic church, was current among clergy and architects interested in ecclesiastical architecture. The *Catholic Penny Magazine* noted that the *lumière mystérieuse* behind the altar was successfully used to the same effect in Les Invalides, Saint Roche and Saint Sulpice in Paris.<sup>34</sup> This reference comes from *Illustrations of public buildings in London*, an indication, perhaps, that Saint Mary's was known in Catholic circles in Dublin.<sup>35</sup> It was intended that the painting behind the altar of Saint Paul's be a representation of the Crucifixion, just as in Saint Mary's.<sup>36</sup>

The nave is lit by ten round-headed windows (five on either side) between plain pilasters. Over the pilasters is an Ionic frieze and cornice which continue around all sides of the interior. The Ionic theme is continued in the detailing of the ceiling, sanctuary and balcony. The ceiling is a shallow barrel vault divided into five compartments by transverse bands. Within each compartment are three rosettes framed with squares. In many respects the interior of Saint Paul's owes something to Our Lady of Mount Carmel [2.1, 2.2 & 9.9], designed by George Papworth and started in 1825. There is much in common in the two churches, the shallow barrel vault, the Greek detailing from the Erectheum, and the

---

<sup>34</sup> *Catholic Penny Magazine*, 2:48, 10 January 1835, 15.

<sup>35</sup> E. W. Brayley, 'An account of the Roman Catholic chapel, Moorfields', in John Britton and Augustus Pugin, *Illustrations of public buildings in London*, volume 2, 6.

<sup>36</sup> *Op. cit.*, 15.

articulation of the external walls. Even the site restrictions determined that both churches should have narrow naves.

Saint Paul's was to make more than a visual impression. It was not enough to have one bell; Saint Paul's had a peal of six bells which were first rung on the Feast of All Saints in 1843.<sup>37</sup> These joy-bells, as they were called, were popular with the citizens of Dublin who came in their thousands to hear them rung for the first time. The bells were rung every Sunday and on special days '... by select and judicious persons chosen and adapted for that important purpose.'<sup>38</sup> They were made by James Sheridan, of the Eagle Foundry, Church Street. Sheridan was pleased with his work and placed an advertisement in the *Catholic Directory* describing the bells and the 'great delight and satisfaction of the assembled thousands who came to witness the reviving sounds of Irish Christianity.' He praised the parish priest Dr Yore 'whose patrician love for Ireland induced him to get them here, notwithstanding the allurements held out by the London bell-makers.'<sup>39</sup>

The choice of the Greek Ionic order, and the use of Greek ornamentation, for Saint Paul's is worth remarking on. Compared with England, and particularly Scotland, Ireland has few Greek revival buildings, and even in Ireland the Greek revival was accepted less in Dublin than it was in the provinces. Byrne's architectural education having come through the Chambers – Gandon – Baker tradition, was not calculated to incline him

---

<sup>37</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of Dublin parishes*, pt X, 28.

<sup>38</sup> *Catholic directory 1846*, 280.

<sup>39</sup> *Catholic directory 1847*, 559.



towards the Greek. Perhaps the impetus of the Greek revival provided by the Pro-Cathedral, and continued with Saint Andrew's, was required to run its course with Saint Paul's. The sturdy and masculine Doric seems fitting for the big churches in the Archbishop's parishes, Saint Mary's and Saint Andrew's. In Saint Paul's the delicate Greek Ionic, helps to convey a sense of the confidence and quiet assertiveness which the Catholics of Dublin had by then become accustomed to feeling. The drawing of the façade of Saint Paul's shown in the *Catholic Penny Journal* [2.57]<sup>40</sup> is slightly different to the façade as built. The drawing shows the three entrance doors at the same height, and three round-headed windows above the doors. This calm regularity accords with, for example, the neo-classicism of Saint-Philippe-du-Roule [5.13] which has three entrance doors of equal height. It also accords with the design of the Pro-Cathedral where three equal height doors were intended [2.16]. The arrangement of doors and windows that Byrne intended for the façade of Saint Paul's can be judged from the similar arrangement as built on the façades of Our Lady of Refuge [2.72] and Saints Mary and Peter, Arklow, Co. Wicklow [3.3]. Another departure from the design was the omission of the fluting from the columns. The fluting was clearly intended and would have completed the design. The façade of Saint Paul's faces south and enjoys an open aspect over the River Liffey, and whenever the sun shines it looks its best. Byrne perfectly understood the subtle effects his delicate bands of ornamentation, surfaces on different planes and angles, etc. would

---

<sup>40</sup> *Catholic Penny Journal*, 10 January 1835.

produce, especially in sunlight. The semi-ovoid dome was built as designed. Could the use of this type of dome be a subtle sign to distinguish the church as a Catholic one? Whether this is so or not the semi-ovoid dome was later used on several Catholic churches, e.g. Church of the Blessed Virgin, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary [3.5], and Longford Cathedral [3.18].

Patrick Byrne's next church was for the parish of Saint Audoen's in High Street. The old chapel in Bridge Street was erected in 1719 by the Dominicans and it became the parish chapel in 1767. By the 1830s the chapel was in bad repair and too small and the parish priest, Very Reverend James Monks, had already started planning to replace it.<sup>41</sup> He was dissatisfied with the 'obscurity of the present site' and considered it important that a good site be found for the new church.<sup>42</sup> The building of the new church of Saint Audoen's owes much to the energy of Father Monks, parish priest from 1833 to 1850. He started a penny weekly collection and by 1841 had collected £4,436 for the building fund. The foundation stone was laid on 2 July 1841, and by 1843 the *Catholic directory* announced that the church 'already raises its lofty head over the city'.<sup>43</sup> Work had to be suspended two years later to prevent the project falling into debt.<sup>44</sup> However the work continued and was far enough advanced to allow the consecration to take place on 13 September 1846. The onerous work of

---

<sup>41</sup> *Catholic directory* 1836, 79.

<sup>42</sup> *Catholic directory* 1837, 150-1

<sup>43</sup> *Catholic directory* 1843, 279.

<sup>44</sup> *Catholic directory* 1846, 281.

collecting money took a heavy toll on Father Monk's health and he was seldom seen in public after the opening ceremony.<sup>45</sup> A few months before the opening ceremony he dictated a letter to Archbishop Murray and signed it with a shaky hand. He told the archbishop that he had collected and expended over £10,000 for the church and £200 was still owing. He had contracted this debt in his name and asked the bishop to pay it because he was dying.

The whole immense edifice I leave most solidly constructed, entirely covered in, windows & floors & without one penny of rent due, or any other claim whatever to embarrass its progress towards a speedy completion, save only these £200 – incurred for the timber of the flooring just now being finished...

A post script mentions that £2,000 has been invested to pay for the rent of the church in the joint names of Reverend Monks and Reverend William Meagher.<sup>46</sup>

Saint Audoen's is built adjacent to the pre-Reformation church of Saint Audoen, now belonging to the established church. The Catholic Saint Audoen's is bigger, more impressive, and on a more elevated site than the Protestant Saint Audoen's. The surviving vestry minute books of Saint Audoen's do not record what the Protestant clergy and vestrymen thought of the big new Catholic church arising beside their church.<sup>47</sup> It can hardly have been a matter for much satisfaction to them to see Catholic churches being built in the city when in the same period Protestant

---

<sup>45</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of Dublin parishes, pt VII*, 178.

<sup>46</sup> DDA, Reverend James Monks PP to Archbishop Murray, 2 May 1846, Murray papers, 32/2: 1845-6. Father Monks died in 1850.

<sup>47</sup> The earliest minute book belonging to Saint Audoen's (C of I) in the Church Representative Body starts at 1870.

churches were closing due to the movement of people to the suburbs.<sup>48</sup> In the period 1830-95 five Protestant churches in the city were closed to public worship. The surviving minute books of Saint Audoen's frequently record the removal of names from the list of vestrymen as they ceased to reside in the parish.<sup>49</sup>

For many years after the opening efforts were made to finish the interior; an interior which won the admiration of John Ruskin.<sup>50</sup> This was high praise coming from Ruskin, who had not much to say in praise of classical architecture. In its unfinished state, Cardinal Newman considered it for his university, before deciding to build the University Church in Saint Stephen's Green [4.3 & 4.4].<sup>51</sup> The *Catholic Directory* reported in 1853 that the interior was finished 'with the most perfect stucco work ever executed.'<sup>52</sup> Reverend Patrick Mooney PP (1850-1867) oversaw the completion of the interior and he was also responsible for the organ.

It was to be a long time before money could be found to finish the church by building the portico. Very Reverend Nicholas Canon Walsh PP (1867-1875) attempted to start the portico but did not get very far. Instead he concentrated on the completion of

---

<sup>48</sup> John Crawford, *Around the churches: The story of the churches of St Patrick's Cathedral group of parishes Dublin*, 7.

<sup>49</sup> For example an entry for 7 February 1881 records the names of seven vestrymen who were removed from the list as they had ceased to live in the parish. CRB, Saint Audoen's minute book 1870-1886, P.116.5.1.

<sup>50</sup> E. MacDowel Cosgrave, *Dublin and Co. Dublin in the twentieth century*, 27.

<sup>51</sup> Roderick O'Donnell, 'Roman reflections on the Liffey: classical catholic churches in Victorian Dublin', *Country Life* (5 July 1984), 52.

<sup>52</sup> *Catholic directory 1853*, 274.

the high altar. Reverend William Irwin PP (1874-1884) would have liked to finish the portico but instead put his energy into building the presbytery. The parishioners were willing to provide a residence for the clergy and were anxious to build the portico. At a meeting of the parishioners in March 1876 a resolution was tabled stating: 'That the time has come when a movement should be made to rescue our parochial church from the unseemly state in which it has so long remained.'<sup>53</sup> It was nearly 20 years before the portico was finished in 1894 when Canon Kavanagh was parish priest; not before its time: 'Too long was the unfinished front with its untidy approach, offending the public eye.'<sup>54</sup> It was erected under the supervision of Stephen Ashlin and W.H. Byrne.<sup>55</sup> According to Patrick Raftery it is thought that the portico was to Patrick Byrne's design. But, according to the *Catholic directory* the portico was to have been hexastyle.<sup>56</sup> However the portico is tetrastyle and the order chosen is Corinthian, the same order which is used inside.<sup>57</sup> The portico finally gave the church the desired architectural front to High Street, but all the time the great mass of the church, built on sloping ground and visible from the streets below gave it a towering presence.

---

<sup>53</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 27 March 1876.

<sup>54</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of Dublin parishes, pt VIII*, 180-1.

<sup>55</sup> Patrick Raftery, 'The last of the traditionalists: Patrick Byrne 1783-1864', 57.

<sup>56</sup> *Catholic directory 1847*, 298. It is questionable whether a hexastyle portico was ever seriously considered. To be effective it would have been necessary to demolish the buildings on either side, leaving inadequate space for the future presbytery.

<sup>57</sup> A statue of Saint Audoen in one of the niches at the crossing is holding a model of the new church with a tetrastyle Ionic portico.

The portico and front façade is built entirely of granite, a trend established with the portico of Saint Francis Xavier and continued with Saint Paul's. The shafts of the columns consists of several short drums, unlike the traditional method of building columns in Dublin which was to use as few pieces as possible.<sup>58</sup> Originally the pediment was to have three statues, Saint Laurence O'Toole, Saint Patrick, and Saint Audoen.<sup>59</sup> However by the 1890s when the portico was built the three statues erected were the Virgin Mary, Saint Audoen, and Saint Patrick. The reason for the presence of the Virgin predates the building of the new church when a confraternity was formed, under the patronage of the Virgin, among the parishioners to pray for the conversion of sinners. Before the new church was commenced they resolved that:

in the new parish church, then about to be commenced, an altar and chapel of the richest materials should be erected, adorned with a marble statue of the Virgin, and appropriated for ever to the peculiar objects contemplated by this devout sodality.<sup>60</sup>

Before work commenced, or shortly after, John Hogan was approached about providing a statue of the Madonna and Child for Saint Audoen's, but negotiations with him fell through. Father Corr wrote several letters in 1843 to Dr Paul Cullen in Rome asking him to arrange for a sculpture to be started immediately by the best artist in Rome. On 8 September 1844 Cullen signed a contract for the statue with Pietro Bonanni (1789-1821), then Pietro Tenerani's closest assistant. The intention seems to have

---

<sup>58</sup> Each of the column shafts has eleven pieces on Saint Audoen's, on Saint Paul's it is six, and on Saint Francis Xavier it is seven. The shafts on the Pro-Cathedral are made up of eight pieces

<sup>59</sup> *Catholic directory 1847*, 298.

<sup>60</sup> *Catholic directory 1846*, 281.

been for Tenerani (1798-1869) to execute the sculpture but due to ill health he delegated the work to Bonanni who finished the statue [2.48] which arrived safely in Dublin on 14 August 1847. The model for the statue seems to have been Raphael's *Madonna del Granduca* (1504) now in the Pitti Palace. The pose for the statue was stipulated by the client and part of the problem with Hogan was that he proposed a design of his own which was not approved.<sup>61</sup>

There is one entrance under the portico through a round-headed doorway. On either side of the door is a blind archway and on the upper storey there are three niches. This theme, of niches and arcade, is repeated in the interior.

The interior has preserved much of its original neo-classical chasteness [2.43 & 2.44]. The interior elevation is articulated with a blind arcade divided by a giant order of Corinthian pilasters with niches between the pilasters at the upper level [2.46]. It was intended to place statues of the twelve apostles in the niches between the Corinthian pilasters, and statues of the four evangelists in the niches at the crossing.<sup>62</sup> The nave is lit by clerestorey lights which penetrate the vault, a system of lighting intended for the Pro-Cathedral, but not carried out there.<sup>63</sup> The ceiling over the crossing, which was in the form of a saucer dome,

---

<sup>61</sup> Eileen Kane, 'From Rome to Dublin in 1848: A Madonna for St Audoen's', *Irish Arts Review* 2000, XVI, 151-6.

<sup>62</sup> *Catholic directory 1847*, 298. There are ten niches between the pilasters, not twelve as reported by the editor, W. J. Battersby, unless one counts the niches (of a different design to the others) which are now hidden by the organ.

<sup>63</sup> John B. Keane, who worked on the Pro-Cathedral, used this lighting idea in Longford Cathedral.

collapsed in 1884 and was replaced with a flat plaster ceiling.<sup>64</sup> Although seemingly, at first glance, removed from the French spirit of the neo-classic introduced to Dublin with the Pro-Cathedral, this is not the case. In Saint Audoen's, Byrne deliberately set out to produce a different architectural experience from that of Saint Paul's. The entrance façade under the portico is treated with the same regularity as he intended on Saint Paul's, but this time with a round-headed doorway flanked with blind arcades which return around the side walls of the portico. At the upper level are niches. The order is Roman Corinthian, with further resonances of Rome conveyed by the niches and arches. Saint Audoen's would not look out of place among any of the late 18th and early 19th century temple fronted churches in Paris. The Corinthian order is continued inside with fluted pilasters, niches, and blind arcades. These elements are carried right around the interior and the rhythm they produce is relaxed in the sanctuary and at the back wall of the transepts. The spirit of Saint-Philippe-du-Roule lingers in Saint Audoen's with the barrel-vaulted ceiling, and with the method of lighting. Byrne has abandoned the shallow curved ceiling he used in Saint Paul's, and which Papworth had used in Our Lady of Mount Carmel, a few years before. The barrel vault allowed him to place the windows above the entablature thus producing an even lighting throughout the church. At the crossing most of the lighting is by Diocletian windows, another

---

<sup>64</sup> N. Donnelly, *A short history of some Dublin parishes, pt VIII*, 181. Some secondary sources claim that the church had a dome which collapsed, but this is unlikely. The illustration of the interior from the *Catholic directory 1844* shows a ceiling [2.43].

<sup>65</sup> *Catholic directory 1847*, 298.



reference to ancient Rome. Gone also is the big gallery which he was compelled to use in Saint Paul's. The gallery in Saint Audoen's is small and only intended to accommodate the organ and choir. Architecturally it is designed to interfere as little as possible with the neo-classical purity of the space; does not even touch the side walls of the nave thus making it look like a piece of furniture.

In Saint Paul's and Saint Audoen's, Patrick Byrne firmly established an architectural presence for the Catholic church in the city of Dublin. He also helped to continue and develop the architectural language of neo-classicism first used for Catholic churches in the Pro-Cathedral. In Saint Paul's he used a Greek variant of neo-classicism, with details from the Erechtheum and flat-headed doorways, and in Saint Audoen's his language is Roman with the Corinthian order and round-headed doorways. His next neo-classical ecclesiastical work was the small and exquisite Novitiate chapel, built for the Christian Brothers at their monastery in North Richmond Street; this is discussed in chapter 5. After that he was to design two more important neo-classical churches which were built in the Dublin suburbs; Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines, and The Three Patrons of Ireland, Rathgar; these churches are discussed in chapter 6.

\*\*\*

## 4

### NEO- CLASSICISM AND THE T-PLAN

#### *Three churches and two architects*

*Adam and Eve's, Saint Nicholas of Myra - Saint Andrew's – James Bolger  
– John Leeson*

We are rejoiced to find that the congregations attending divine service here [in Saint Nicholas of Myra], have of late become not only respectable but numerous.<sup>1</sup>

The T-plan was used in many 18th and 19th century chapels in Ireland. It had numerous advantages. It allowed local builders, using simple equipment and muscle power to enclose, without too much difficulty, sufficient space for a congregation near the altar. Traditional vernacular building techniques in Ireland could not easily allow clear spans of more than about six metres. For a decent barn type church to serve a small rural community a roof span of about 12 metres might be required, posing technical difficulties for rural builders. Typically a T-plan church might start with a simple barn type building with the altar on one of the long sides. Later an extension might be made opposite the altar and finally to increase the accommodation galleries might be built in each of the arms. Sometimes an addition might be made behind the altar, as for

---

<sup>1</sup> *Catholic directory 1837*, 149, quoting Reverend Matthew Flanagan PP.

example in Grange church, Co. Louth [1.25, 3.23, 3.24 & 3.25]. There were many T-plan churches built in Ireland in the 18th and 19th centuries, mostly in rural areas but the plan type also found its way into the larger towns and cities, not because of the technical limitations of the builders but because the plan type, as well as satisfying planning requirements, became part of the building tradition. The tradition originated in 17th century Scotland and spread to the north of Ireland in the 18th century, where it became commonly used for Presbyterian chapels and soon after for Catholic chapels.<sup>2</sup> The use of balconies in Dublin churches dates back to at least the 1620s. The interior of the Jesuit Counter-Reformation chapel, built in 1628, in Back Lane was described by the 1st Earl of Cork as ‘...galleried above round about with rails and turned ballasters...’<sup>3</sup>

The plans of three neo-classical churches in Dublin are based on the T; they are Adam and Eve’s, Merchants’ Quay; Saint Nicholas of Myra, Francis Street; and Saint Andrew’s, Westland Row. Saint Paul’s, Arran Quay, is slightly related to the T-plan type, in that it is long and narrow and has a very big balcony, but unlike the typical T-plan the altar is placed on one of the narrow ends. Apart from Saint Paul’s, none of Patrick Byrne’s churches have large balconies and none of his churches are based on the T-plan. Byrne was undoubtedly a progressive architect and he saw the T-plan as old-fashioned, and large balconies as only necessary when

---

<sup>2</sup> Alastair Rowan, ‘Irish Victorian Churches: denominational distinctions’, 212.

<sup>3</sup> Rolf Loeber, ‘Early Classicism in Ireland: Architecture before the Georgian era’, *Architectural History*, vol. 22:1979, 55, quoting from *Calendars of State papers, Ireland 1625-32*, 509-10.

space was restricted, but otherwise too intrusive for the pure neo-classical spaces he wanted to create.<sup>4</sup>

The Franciscans are responsible for building the church of Adam and Eve, and its realisation represents their successful establishment after a difficult history in Ireland. After the dissolution of the monasteries in the late 1530s the future for the regular orders in Ireland seemed bleak and most of the monks left the country or were driven underground. Sometime after 1615 the Franciscans returned to Dublin and opened a chapel in a lane off Cook Street near a public house called Adam and Eve. The name endured as the popular name for the present church of Saint Francis of Assisium, Merchants' Quay.<sup>5</sup> The friars succeeded in re-establishing themselves in the late 17th century in Francis Street, and they erected a decent church and small convent there, but the sanction of the law in 1690 prevented them from taking over the church. They handed the church over to the secular clergy and the new church became the Pro-Cathedral of Dublin until the new Pro-Cathedral was opened in Marlborough Street in 1825. Although the Franciscans, like all the regular orders, had little legal protection during most of the 18th century they had established themselves on part of their present site by the mid 1700s where they had accommodation for eight friars and a small church. The church seems to have been decently fitted out; over the high altar they had an altarpiece consisting of a large religious painting.

---

<sup>4</sup> The writer of Patrick Byrne's obituary in the *Dublin Builder*, VI:98, 20 January 1864, 9, suggested that Byrne was 'probably less venturesome and ambitious than those of modern classicists and mediaeval revivalists.'

<sup>5</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *Roman Catholics. State and condition of R.C. chapels, both secular and regular*, 6.

There were two balconies, one for the choir and the other fitted out with pews.<sup>6</sup> The provision of pews was modelled on the Anglican practice whereby their rent provided a useful income for the maintenance of the church and its clergy. The pews were normally used by persons of high-standing in the parish who had contributed substantially to the building fund.

In 1757 the friars purchased a house in Merchants' Quay which was fitted up as a friary. Later they acquired the site of the old Rosemary Lane chapel of Saint Michael which lay up against their own. It seems that the high altar of Saint Michael's was exactly where the altar of the new church was to be. The foundation stone was laid for the new church on 16 April 1834 by Reverend Henry Hughes, the guardian of the Franciscan Priory. At the ceremony the preacher, Reverend P. Dowling OSA, reminded the people of a solemn promise they had made to build a church after the outbreak of cholera of two years previously.<sup>7</sup> It was considered important that the location of the new church was on the same 'venerable spot' as the old church.<sup>8</sup> The architect for the new church was James Bolger (*fl.* 1820-40). James worked, for a number of years, with his uncle Bryan Bolger (c.1758-1834), who had a busy practice as a quantity surveyor ('measurer of buildings') during the late 18th century until his death. Bryan Bolger had a close professional association with Richard Morrison (1767-1849), and it is possible that his nephew received some of his architectural training in his office. In any event James Bolger

---

<sup>6</sup> Gregory Cleary, *The friars minor in Dublin 1232-1939*, [20].

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, [22]. This ceremony was also reported in the *Catholic Penny Magazine*, I;20, 28 June 1834, 203-4.

<sup>8</sup> *Catholic Penny Magazine*, I;10, 19 April 1834, 85.

succeeded Morrison as architect to Trinity College in December 1831 but only held the post until June 1832, when he directed his attention to the building of Saint Andrew's, Westland Row.<sup>9</sup> James Bolger was entrusted with the Saint Andrew's job because of the recommendation of his uncle. To ensure continuing patronage it is important that a young architect does well on his first important job. James did well and was entrusted with the design of the new Adam and Eve's. Not much of Bolger's original design for Adam and Eve's remains, but some idea of the plan can be had from the 1838 ordnance survey map [9.7].

The new Adam and Eve's had a floor area of about 600 square metres, but hidden from the public streets behind other buildings. There were two entrances, one from Cook Street and the other from Merchants' Quay. For the visitor it must have been an exhilarating surprise to enter the large space of the church after approaching it through narrow lanes. However wonderful such spatial experience might have been, the friars were ambitious to extend the church to make a front onto Merchants' Quay, but in spite of the friars' efforts their splendid new church was to remain hidden from the main street for many years. The traditional T-plan was used with the high altar in the usual place in a shallow apse on the bar of the T. Each of the arms had a balcony giving about another 250 square metres. The traditional T-plan very often used balconies to increase the capacity of the church; it also made it convenient to separate the classes. The ordnance survey map shows the ceiling layout which suggest a barrel-vaulted or

---

<sup>9</sup> Jacqueline O'Brien and Desmond Guinness, *Dublin: a grand tour*, 244.

low curved ceiling with perhaps an elliptical dome at the crossing. Part of the original church survives in the transepts of the present building [2.4].

The design of the new church was described by the *Catholic directory* as being ‘...in the Grecian style of architecture, according to one of the best models, drawn by Mr. Boulger.’ The description continues:

The ceiling, which is divided into enriched pannels [sic], is 45 feet high. The interior is ornamented with pilasters, supporting an enriched cornice of granite, over which the windows are placed. There are three elegant and commodious galleries, (one on each aisle) capable of holding 1500 persons...

The church was capable, according to the *Catholic directory* of accommodating a total of about 4,000 people.<sup>10</sup> The living accommodation for the clergy was to be placed over the church. At the time the altar was not finished but it was intended that it be ‘constructed in the most florid style of Corinthian architecture.’ It was also intended to build ‘an admirable Ionic portico fronting the quay.’ To build the portico the building fronting Merchants’ Quay, which was being used as a residence for the clergy, was to be removed. When completed the portico would present ‘a grand and majestic appearance.’<sup>11</sup>

Although enough money was found to build the church, the friars found it hard to raise the money to finish it, let alone build the

---

<sup>10</sup> This is an exaggeration. 4000 people would all have to stand and they would be tightly packed. The area of Adam and Eve’s including the balconies was about 860 square meters. Assuming an area of 25 square meters for the sanctuary the area available for 4000 people was 835 square meters, that is 0.21 square meters per person. This does not allow for circulation. The minimum area needed per person to avoid body contact is 0.29 square meters. (Julius Panero and Martin Zelnik, *Human dimension and interior space*, 41.)

<sup>11</sup> *Catholic directory 1836*, 83-4.

portico onto Merchants' Quay, and by 1840 the work had almost come to a stop,<sup>12</sup> but by 1841 the church was almost finished,<sup>13</sup> and on 15 November 1842 was dedicated.<sup>14</sup> The friars continued to collect money to pay off the debt and continued to improve the church. On 24 March 1845 they bought 'one of the sweetest-toned bells' weighing nearly 3,000 lbs for the church.<sup>15</sup> It was described as 'a splendid Angelus Domini Bell' and erected the following year.<sup>16</sup> By 1850 improvement work was continuing and the desire to provide a portico to Merchants' Quay was still alive. The clergy were still resident in the house fronting the quay and until a new residence was found it was not possible to proceed with the portico. The *Catholic directory* took a keen interest in the architectural activities of Catholic church builders and advised the Franciscans that care 'should be taken to let the front of the church and its approaches be suitable and respectable.'<sup>17</sup> The *Builder* reported in November 1852 that an Ionic portico of granite, designed by Patrick Byrne was to be erected by the contractor T. Murphy.<sup>18</sup> By this time the interior was finished and serious consideration could now be turned to the front entrance.<sup>19</sup> By 1854 work had started on a new presbytery and on the building

---

<sup>12</sup> *Catholic directory* 1840, 265.

<sup>13</sup> *Catholic directory* 1841, 279.

<sup>14</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 16 November 1842.

<sup>15</sup> *Catholic directory* 1846, 223.

<sup>16</sup> *Catholic directory* 1847, 299.

<sup>17</sup> *Catholic directory* 1850, 282.

<sup>18</sup> *The Builder*, X:511, 20 November 1852, 738.

<sup>19</sup> *Catholic directory* 1853, 274.



of the new front.<sup>20</sup> It was intended to erect ‘a pretty campanile’ according to a small tinted drawing which Byrne exhibited at the RHA in 1862.<sup>21</sup> The new front, however, was not the portico originally projected but an Italian renaissance façade organised with two storeys of architectural orders, Ionic pilasters at the lower level and Corinthian at the upper [2.5]

The history of the church of Adam and Eve is one of continual enlargement. On 26th November 1871 a meeting was held in the church, with Cardinal Cullen<sup>22</sup> in the chair, with the object of starting a building fund for the enlargement of the church. Over £300 was collected at the meeting and by mid December the total collected was almost £700.<sup>23</sup> Walter G. Doolin, architect was engaged to carry out the alterations and enlargements. His quantity surveyors, P. and D. W. Morris, 16 Upper Gardiner Street, in their report, dated 1 February 1896 estimated that £6,000 would cover the proposed new work. The new work included additions to the church, a new transept, alterations to the

---

<sup>20</sup> *Catholic directory 1854*, 215.

<sup>21</sup> *Dublin Builder*, IV:62, 15 July 1862, 175.

<sup>22</sup> Paul Cullen (1803-1878). Born at Prospect, Co. Kildare. Entered the Urban College of the Propaganda at Rome in 1820. Ordained priest in 1829 & left the Propaganda to become Vice-rector, later Rector of the Irish College in Rome; and from May 1848 to January 1849 he was Rector of the Propaganda after the departure of the Jesuits. During the revolution of 1848 in the Papal States, Mazzini became master of Rome & ordered students to leave the Propaganda within a few hours. Cullen, using diplomatic skills managed to save the Propaganda by placing it under American protection. After the death of William Crolly in 1849 he was made Archbishop of Armagh in 1850. He was given permission by Rome to summon the first national synod since the convention of Kilkenny under the papal nuncio in 1642. He presided at the synod held in Thurles in 1850. On the death of Dr Murray he succeeded him as Archbishop of Dublin. He was created Cardinal in 1866, the first Irishman to be made a prince of the church. He died on 24 October 1878 in Dublin. (Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (eds), *The dictionary of national biography*, vol. V, Oxford 1917, 277-8.)

<sup>23</sup> FL, Account book, C.84.

chancel, new chapels, lowering the floor level, and a new sacristy.<sup>24</sup> By May 1889 the church was ready for painting. The estimate for painting from William Martin, Son and Co., 18 Stephen's Green North gives us some idea of the interior as it was in 1889. The church had a dome, transept and nave. It was decorated with mouldings, enrichments and cornices. Above the cornice there was a clerestorey. The dome had panels with mouldings, and was supported on pendentives. There was a string course around the nave. There was of total of ten metal columns supporting the galleries. There were two entrances, the one from Merchants' Quay, and another from Cook Street.<sup>25</sup>

Enlargement and alterations continued during the 20th century starting in the 1920s with the enlargement of the apse and continuing until the 1930s with the extension of the nave, the addition of the aisles and the new façade to Skipper's Alley [2.6 & 2.7]. The consecration of the restored church took place on 29 April 1939. The architects responsible for the new work were J.J. O'Hare; John J. Robinson and R.C. Keefe; Joseph Vincent Downes and Bernard Meehan<sup>26</sup> The only part of James Bolger's original work from the 1830s to survive is the altered transept [2.4]. In Adam and Eve's Bolger used Greek ornamentation, and a shallow barrel vaulted ceiling following the lead given by George Papworth, less than ten years earlier at Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Whitefriar Street [2.2]. Unlike the treatment of the wall surfaces at Our Lady of Mount Carmel Bolger articulates his wall

---

<sup>24</sup> FL, Loose papers relating to Adam and Eve's, 1890-9, C.77.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Gregory Cleary, *The Friars minor in Dublin 1232-1939*, [26-30].

surfaces with pilasters and plain rectangular panels creating an impression of lightness and delicacy. In Adam and Eve's the windows are semi-circular and placed above the cornice; this creates an even lighting of the interior.

As soon as Matthew Flanagan was appointed parish priest of Saint Nicholas of Myra, Francis Street, in 1827 he directed his efforts to building an addition to his church at the east end. Father Flanagan was one of the new generation of priest educated at Maynooth and he served as parish priest of Saint Nicholas until his death in 1856.<sup>27</sup> In one of the parish registers Father Flanagan wrote on 3 December 1834:

The Building was commenced January 1829 and now to be completed interiorly before January next will cost interiorly complete £8400 of which the poor and labouring classes collected by a Society of the undernamed charitable Individuals, during the space of 5 years with unremitting and indefatigable zeal amounted to £2959 5s 5d the remainder was supplied by the donations of the richer Parishioners of the Parish, of the clergy, and of certain charitable Individuals residing out of the Parish.<sup>28</sup>

This record made in the parish register is a copy of part of the parchment which was enclosed in a bottle and placed under the high altar on 1 December 1834. As well as a short account of the new church the parchment also contained a short history of the parish, information on the clergy and the work of the parish, and an account of the state of ecclesiastical affairs and politics in Ireland.

---

<sup>27</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of some Dublin parishes, part VI*, 1909, 68.

<sup>28</sup> Saint Nicholas of Myra, *St Nicholas Without Baptisms 1824-1856*.

According to Donnelly the principal lines of the design were by the architect, John Leeson, but Father Flanagan was responsible for the refinement of all the details, which he says was evidence of a ‘cultivated taste’.<sup>29</sup> In the copy of the parchment placed under the high altar a statement that the parish priest was the ‘Builder of the church’ is corrected to read ‘under whom the church was built’. It is likely that the correction was made on the authority of the parish priest who, from a feeling of modesty, was unwilling to take all the credit for his work.

When the building work started it was only intended to add to the old church, but on completion of the east end and transepts ‘the Rev. M. Flanagan was induced to raze the remaining old walls...’<sup>30</sup> We are not told who induced him. He may have been encouraged by his building committee, or by one or more influential individuals, possibly his own fellow priests. The priests tended to be more ambitious than their building committees.

Leeson’s design for the exterior was criticized in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, for what it described as ‘the incongruous association of a Gothic spire rising out of a Greek portico’, the writer, confident of his own superior judgement in matters of taste, proffered the advice that ‘As it is not yet too late, we indulge a hope that this error may be corrected.’<sup>31</sup> The design illustrated in the *Dublin Penny Journal* [2.27] shows a tetrastyle Ionic portico, which is wider than the nave. The columns are unfluted. There is a main entrance

---

<sup>29</sup> Donnelly, op. cit., 71.

<sup>30</sup> *Catholic directory 1836*, 66.

<sup>31</sup> *Dublin Penny Journal*, 29 December 1832, 213.

directly under the portico and an indication of one entrance on either side of the portico. Set back from the front of the portico are two presbyteries on either side connected to the church with open archways. The drawing suggests a large open space in front of the church and presbyteries, which would have involved the demolition of some houses fronting Francis Street. No houses were demolished and only one presbytery was built. The spire, which offended the *Dublin Penny Journal* cannot be called gothic. The whole arrangement of portico, base, tower, and pyramidal spire has a sober classical appearance, and is a satisfactory solution to the problem of uniting spire and portico. According to Patrick Raftery the front, as built, was not designed by John Leeson but by Patrick Byrne.<sup>32</sup> The façade and bell tower was completed during the tenure of Canon Edward McCabe as parish priest (1856-65) at a cost of £5,000.<sup>33</sup> However the *Catholic directory 1841* reports that the front portico of Saint Nicholas of Myra is ‘in a forward state.’<sup>34</sup> Could it be the portico was started by Leeson and finished by Byrne? On the other hand, as we shall see below, Leeson had fallen out with the parish priest of Saint Andrew’s in 1832 and does not seem to have been entrusted with any church work after that date. The following description of the proposed portico and tower from a guide book to Dublin of 1835 matches closely what was built:

[The front façade will] consist of a portico of fluted columns of the Ionic order, arranged in pairs, resting on a continuous sub-

---

<sup>32</sup> Patrick Raftery, ‘The last of the traditionalists: Patrick Byrne, 1783-1864’, *Irish Georgian Society Bulletin*, VII (April-December 1964), 65.

<sup>33</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of some Dublin parishes*, pt VI, 72-3.

<sup>34</sup> *Catholic directory 1841*, 279.

plinth, and supporting an entablature, finished by an attic. The centre door, over which is a “*dove and rays*,” executed in alto relievo, is approached by an ascent of four steps, opening into the vestibule and the gallery staircases. The campanile, or bell tower, will be square, ornamented on each face with coupled Corinthian pilasters, surmounted by a regular entablature and pediment, and terminated by a figure of Faith.<sup>35</sup>

The entrance portico is tetrastyle Ionic. The column shafts are unfluted, and made of Portland stone, an unlikely choice of material for Byrne who used granite for the external columns of Saint Paul’s, and Saint Audoen’s. There were three figures over the pediment, the Virgin on the apex, Saint Patrick on the north, and Saint Nicholas of Myra on the south.<sup>36</sup> Immediately behind and above the portico is a square tower articulated with Corinthian pilasters and finished with a hemispherical dome clad in copper. The back wall of the portico is smooth granite, and has one main entrance. The plain walling, visible at the sides and back, is Dublin calp limestone. There was a pediment on the tower, as shown in the engraving [2.27] and it was probably intended to build the spire, but in the late 1850s the pediment on the tower was replaced with the copper dome. Leeson had died about 1855. During this period building work was also taking place on the portico and all this work was under the superintendence of the architect John Bourke.<sup>37</sup> The design concept for the front belongs to John Leeson, even though it was modified later, possibly by other hands.

---

<sup>35</sup> William Curry (ed.), *The picture of Dublin*, 202. This account was taken from a similar description in the *Catholic Penny Magazine*, I:11, 26 April 1834, 94.

<sup>36</sup> Mildred, Lawler, *St Nicholas of Myra and its two architects*, 11.

<sup>37</sup> *Builder*, XVI, 2 October 1858, 666.

Whereas the capitals on the portico are Roman Ionic, the internal ornamentation is emphatically Greek. The curved ceiling is divided with bands decorated with key pattern and bead mouldings. Between these bands are moulded square panels with painted decoration. The centrepiece of this Greek decoration is on the giant circular plasterwork rose over the sanctuary at the crossing. In this circle are images of the apostles, each one with his symbol. On the main axis of the church are Peter and Paul with Peter at the head of the nave. (Paul was not an apostle but is often included instead of Judas Iscariot.) Outside the circle of apostles are the four fathers of the western church. Gregory the Great (540-604) wearing papal tiara and with a dove perched on his chair behind him, Ambrose (340-397) robed as a bishop, reading a scroll, Jerome (345-420) robed as a cardinal and with a quill, and Augustine (354-430) robed as a bishop [1.12 & 2.31].<sup>38</sup> The focal point of the church, the high altar, has retained its original fittings. The parish priest bought the altar at Rome and the statuary at Florence.<sup>39</sup> Father Flanagan used his contact in Rome, the Rector of the Irish College, Dr Paul Cullen, to help him buy the sculpture he wanted for his church. He travelled to Florence in 1833 and took an apartment for one month to look for sculpture and to study Italian. Shortly after arriving in Florence he wrote a gushing letter to Cullen describing his journey, and praising the beauty of Florence, its clean and well-dressed inhabitants and its delightful cafés and restaurants.

---

<sup>38</sup> IAA, Undated and anonymous pamphlet, *The church of St Nicholas of Myra*, 4-5, RP.D.111.6.

<sup>39</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of some Dublin parishes, part VI*, 1909, 69-70.

The City is all alive – the streets wide, admirably paved I may say flagged & perfectly clean – the air good, and the view of the vicinity which I only yet had at a distance exceedingly cheering and enlivening.<sup>40</sup>

Father Matthew had already commissioned the Roman artist Giuseppe Leonardi to build the altar for Saint Nicholas of Myra but he had failed to find anyone in Rome willing to carve the two statues of angels he wanted, for the price he was willing to offer. In Florence his quest was successful and he concluded there a contract with Francesco Pozzi to carve the two angels. He informed Cullen:

He has engaged to make the 2 statues of Angels for a much more moderate price than they were offered me at Rome besides the great savings in the Carriage to the Port – and has already one figure nearly completed in clay which pleases me much. I must trouble you to see Leonardi as soon as convenient after the receipt of this letter to direct him about the exact measurements of the Pedestals at each end of the Altar or rather the extreme of it.<sup>41</sup>

Leonardi had his altar finished and ready for shipment to Ireland by early 1834 and throughout the proceeding Cullen was kept informed. Father Flanagan wrote to him in February 1834:

I apprehend that from the moment I left that city [Florence] the Sculptor discontinued my work, so that it not likely that the statues will be ready at least for some months.

Father Flanagan was right in his judgement and it was not until September that the statues were ready. He had paid the sculptor some money in advance and had deposited the balance with a

---

<sup>40</sup> ICR, Matthew Flanagan, Florence, to Paul Cullen, Rome, 4 June 1833, Silke catalogue, carton IV, folder 1.

<sup>41</sup> ICR, Matthew Flanagan, Florence, to Paul Cullen, Rome, [n.d. but 1833 according to the catalogue], Silke catalogue, carton IV, folder 1.



banker in Florence. He had agents working for him in Florence and Livorno who corresponded with Cullen concerning the work, nevertheless he asked Cullen if he knew anybody going to Florence to ask him to call on the studio of Pozzi to see how work on the angels was progressing.

Over the side altar to the north is a plaster relief of the *Last supper*, and over the other side altar the *Marriage of the Virgin*, by John Smyth<sup>42</sup>. The *Pietà*, by John Hogan, is placed above the altar in a tetrastyle Ionic temple front recalling the portico at the front of the church.<sup>43</sup> The internal elevation is arranged in two storeys. The upper storey is articulated with double pilasters in the Doric order. The entablature belongs to the Ionic order and it runs without a break around the nave and transepts. Between the pilasters are tall round-headed windows. The lower storey is plain except where it is broken by doors or confessional boxes. The plain lower storey accords with John Milner's advice that the pilasters should finish above the floor level to avoid being damaged.<sup>44</sup> Between the two storeys is a string course consisting of modillions and key pattern [2.32]. The *Freeman's Journal* described the interior as it was at the consecration of the church on 15 February 1832:

The pilasters over the altar are of the Ionic order, and have a very fine effect. The stucco, too over the sanctuary – the only part as

---

<sup>42</sup> John Smyth (c.1773 – 1840). Son of Edward Smyth. He received instruction at the Dublin Society's School and worked with his father at 36 Montgomery Street. He carved the statues of Hibernia, Mercury, and Fidelity over the portico of the General Post Office. (Walter G., Strickland, *A dictionary of Irish artists*, 390-392.)

<sup>43</sup> There is evidence of closed-up window opes above the altar. It is not known when the opes were closed up or indeed if windows were ever inserted. An east window in a classical church is uncommon. For further information on John Hogan see, John Turpin, *John Hogan: Irish neo-classical sculptor in Rome 1800-1858*, Dublin 1982.

<sup>44</sup> John Milner, *An inquiry into vulgar opinions*, 272.

yet ceiled – is beautiful. The building is altogether light, elegant and commodious, and when completed will reflect great credit upon the architect who planned, and the independent and liberal parishioners who erected so noble a temple to the living God. And surely the labours of the rev. gentleman under whose auspices so vast a work was undertaken can never be forgotten. Of the Rev. Mr. FLANAGAN may be written in the Church of St. Nicholas Without – what has been so appositely and classically inscribed to the memory of SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN in Saint Paul's – *monumentum quens?* [sic] *Circumspice!*<sup>45</sup>

Almost 10 years later on 8 November 1842 the church was solemnly dedicated, although unfinished. The *Catholic directory* expressed the hope that Father Flanagan could complete 'this sacred structure which is an honour to his taste and judgment.'<sup>46</sup>

The story of Saint Andrew's starts in Townsend Street. Since 1824 efforts had been made to improve or enlarge the chapel in Townsend Street [9.21] and by 1831 the walls of a new church were well over ground level under the direction of John Leeson and the administrator of the parish, Reverend Matthias Kelly. Leeson had impressed the Reverend Matthias Kelly with his professional competence during the years when he had worked on the Pro-Cathedral.<sup>47</sup> Since that time he had a further opportunity to demonstrate his abilities with the new church of Saint Nicholas of Myra, under construction when he was engaged by Father Kelly. If his personal relationship with the new administrator, Dr Blake, had not broken down, it is more than likely that he would have been asked to design the new church envisaged by him. In

---

<sup>45</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 16 February 1832. Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723) rests in a tomb in Saint Paul's Cathedral and near it is a simple tablet with the inscription *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice*.

<sup>46</sup> *Catholic directory* 1842, 279.

<sup>47</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 3 February 1832.

spite of having spent a considerable sum of money on the Townsend Street chapel Dr Blake, at two public meetings, persuaded the parishioners to abandon the current work and build a new church on vacant land in Westland Row. The previous administrator, Father Kelly, and John Leeson (both as architect and parishioner) wanted to continue with the work already started but Daniel O'Connell also spoke at the meeting in favour of Dr Blake's plans and no doubt the eloquence of O'Connell and Dr Blake's canvassing of his parishioners decided the matter. Dr Blake was a formidable opponent and was to prove too much for Father Kelly, John Leeson, and their supporters. He was a student of the old Irish (Ludovisian) College in Rome and was the last to quit it when the French Revolutionary authorities forcibly closed it seizing its property in 1798. After his return to Ireland he was appointed parish priest of Saints Michael and John, in 1810, and during his administration completed the parish church and presbytery.<sup>48</sup> He was allowed return to Rome to re-establish the Irish College there, which he succeeded in doing in 1828, after much trouble. He was rector of the college for two years before returning to Ireland.<sup>49</sup>

Bryan Bolger was one of those consulted and he recommended on 16 January 1832 that Saint Andrew's be started anew on a new site.<sup>50</sup> Dr Blake lost little time and he chose Bolger's nephew James as architect. Soon after Dr Blake addressed his parishioners

---

<sup>48</sup> Saints Michael and John was designed by John Taylor and was built on the site of the Smock Alley Theatre incorporating some of its structure. It is the oldest Catholic church building in Dublin.

<sup>49</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of Dublin parishes*, part VII, 151-2.

<sup>50</sup> Edward McParland, 'The papers of Bryan Bolger, measurer', *Dublin Historical Record*, XXV:4 (September 1972), 128.

through the pages of the *Freeman's Journal*, in a letter published on 9 February 1832. (The correspondence is reproduced in Appendix B.) He referred to the two general meetings on the subject of the new church and stated that it was decided that 'we must have our Parish Chapel elsewhere or none at all.' However, he said that he would be guided by the decision of a majority of his parishioners in a fair manner and that he was resolved

...with the approbation of the last General Meeting, to wait personally upon all the Housekeepers and respectable Heads of Families belonging to my Flock, and receive their Votes in Writing.

It is hard to imagine a majority of his parishioners having the courage to vote against the persuasion of Dr Blake in these circumstances. We learn from his letter that the original plan was oblong, but a new plan with a transept (on the same Townsend Street site) was then being realised and the foundations for it had been dug. He objected that the wall of the transept would come into immediate contact with the presbytery thereby rendering it uninhabitable. He was in effect arguing that the site was too cramped and it would be impossible to provide enough space for the congregation. He objected to the gallery which had been recently built 'as discreditable to the parish...'. He also attempted to frighten his parishioners (who had folk memories of injuries due to structural failures in old mass houses and chapels including one in their own parish),<sup>51</sup> by suggesting that the wooden columns

---

<sup>51</sup> For example, the *Dublin Gazette*, 7 December 1708, reported: 'On Sunday, in the evening, at the time of service, a Beam in the Mass House, on Arrans Kay, gave way, which occasioned three persons killed, and several others wounded.' (Quoted in Donnelly, *State and condition of R.C. chapel in Dublin*, 25.) In 1745 a mass house collapsed killing the priest and nine others, and injuring many, several of whom died subsequently. (Patrick F. Moran, *The Catholics of Ireland under the penal laws in the eighteenth century*, 54.)

which were to support the roof ‘may suddenly give way and bury the whole edifice and thousands of people, in one promiscuous heap of ruins.’<sup>52</sup> As if it was not enough to insult the architect by saying that his roof might collapse he also mocked him for stating that a new church on a new site would cost £12,000, whereas to finish what had been started in Townsend Street would cost £4,436. 5s. 8d.

especially when we consider that not more than about the one-third of it has been constructed – and even that is far from being finished – and that the cost for what has been done is £5000 and upwards.

It was, of course, important for Dr Blake to have the support of his parishioners, who were after all to supply the money for his vision of a new church and he told them in his letter that he was ‘willing to engage in this sacred undertaking, which I see to be necessary, with them, but not without them.’

John Leeson was not prepared to swallow his pride and let such a provocative letter pass without a public reply. He was embittered with the turn of events which saw his project being abandoned by the new administrator. It cannot be concluded that he was hot-headed; he seems to have been an architect who was prepared to listen to his clients and get on with them. We have seen how he took instructions from Father Kelly and his public letter, published in the *Freeman’s Journal*, on 14 February 1832, to Dr Blake mentions how he accommodated the wishes of the previous administrator. We not know why Leeson and Blake did not get on

---

<sup>52</sup> A few years later on Christmas morning 1840 six people died in John Leeson’s church, Saint Nicholas of Myra, when someone shouted that the gallery was falling. The deaths were caused by the ensuing panic. (Donnelly, *Dublin parishes*, pt 6, 70.)

well together. Perhaps Blake did not regard Leeson as a good enough architect for his plans, or perhaps some personal slight passed between the two men, which kindled an animosity. Whatever the reason it was to result in the ending of Leeson's career as an architect.<sup>53</sup> Leeson's letter hints at some of the possible reasons for the rift. One reason might have been an attempt to supplant him by professional colleagues who ingratiated themselves with Blake. In his letter Leeson accuses Blake with knowing nothing about architecture 'and calling in your councils persons, whose interest it is to MISLEAD YOU, that they may be enabled to forward their own views.' He reminded Blake that he challenged him

in the presence of twenty of the Committee, to submit the building to the inspection of *two practical Architects, (not Measurers and would-be Artists)* to report their opinion thereon; but this proposition you objected to, for two reasons; the first, I must say, a very foolish one – namely, that if those Architects decide against me, they thereby created a feeling of enmity in my breast unfavourable to them; the second, which, I am confident was the more weighty one, that if they decided in my favour, you were determined, nevertheless, not to abide by their decision.

He finished, with heavy-handed irony:

In conclusion, Very Reverend Sir, I beg to return you my most sincere thanks for the *extreme delicacy* you have handled my professional character since your appointment to this Parish.

The purpose of Leeson's letter was to vindicate his own character and by attacking Blake's proposals and arguing to continue with the building on Townsend Street to win over the parishioners to his point of view. But his letter also sheds some light on other

---

<sup>53</sup> The *Biographical file of Irish architects*, in the Irish Architectural Archive only mentions two works by Leeson, Saint Nicholas of Myra, and the unfinished church in Townsend Street.

matters. He had been appointed by Father Kelly to prepare plans for a new parochial church on the Townsend Street site, soon after he had been appointed to the parish. The church was to be, in accordance with Father Kelly's wishes, in the 'style of the continental churches, as far as the form of the ground and the limited means of the parish would allow.'<sup>54</sup> His plans were approved of by a committee which included Archbishop Murray. Work proceeded without interruption until more than half the building was nearly completed, when work came to a stop for lack of funds. During the suspension of work, which was for nearly a year, Leeson was instructed to redesign the sanctuary to include a transept. In the letter he discussed the merits of his plan compared with 'the thing called a plan, lately submitted to the parish.' This mention of a plan implies that another architect had been engaged or was attempting to supplant Leeson. If this was the case then it would explain why Leeson had no inhibitions in publicly challenging Dr Blake in the way that he did. On the other hand, Leeson had reason to be confident that the arguments for continuing on the Townsend Street site would prevail. Another letter to the *Freeman's Journal*, the following month, argued in favour of the Townsend Street site and resolved not to cooperate with Dr Blake if he went ahead with the new site; the letter was signed by 133 parishioners.<sup>55</sup> The committee in favour of the old site continued the fight with a public notice requesting the attendance of heads of households to a meeting in the Corn

---

<sup>54</sup> It is not clear what Father Kelly meant by 'continental churches', but if he had in mind the contemporary church architecture of Paris or Rome he was thinking of classical architecture.

<sup>55</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 13 March 1832.

Exchange Building, Burgh Quay. Those wishing to attend were assured that ‘EFFECTUAL arrangements have been made to prevent the admission of DISORDERLY PERSONS.’<sup>56</sup>

By April 1832 Dr Blake and his supporters proceeded to press ahead with his plan to build on the new site, in the face of opposition from a sizeable portion of his parish. He convened a meeting on 8 April 1832, which was chaired by Reverend John Ennis. The meeting formed a committee of 11 from among the subscribers to the new church, for the purpose of collecting funds. The committee members were Daniel O’Connell MP, Martin Burke, John Pearson, Ambrose Magarry, John Barlow, Owen O’Connor, M. Byrne, John Kelch, John Reily, William Maguinness, and Val Bourke. The secretary was Patrick K. Gibbons. The committee gave Dr Blake authority to collect funds for the new church and to select an architect. The support of Daniel O’Connell for the new church and site weighed heavily in Dr Blake’s favour and the committee unanimously passed a resolution in his favour:

That our illustrious countryman, and fellow-parishioner, Daniel O’Connell, Esq., M.P., is particularly entitled to the thanks of this meeting for postponing his departure and attending our meeting here this day, and that we, his fellow-parishioners, take this opportunity of stating our sentiments, in conjunction with the feelings of all Ireland, that he is fully entitled to our confidence, and that we place unlimited reliance on his powerful advocacy of his country’s rights.<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 16 March 1832.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 9 April 1832.



If John Leeson had simply chosen to express his disagreements with Dr Blake in private he might have salvaged his architectural career.

James Bolger was appointed as the new architect on the recommendation of his uncle Bryan Bolger, who was probably part of the design team on the earlier project, as measurer, with Leeson. We know that Father Kelly and the building committee, gave a Mr Bolger (probably Bryan Bolger) six complimentary tickets for a concert on 12 November 1828, to raise money to be used to complete the first wing of the new parish chapel of Saint Andrew.<sup>58</sup> Bryan Bolger left a considerable sum of money to the Dublin Diocese in his will and worked as measurer on several Dublin Catholic churches.

Some of the architectural ideas for the new Saint Andrew's may have come from the deposed Leeson. In his public letter to Dr Blake, Leeson stated the plan dimensions of his design, for the chapel on Townsend Street, to be 130 feet by 66 feet 6 inches [39.65 metres by 20.28 metres]. He claimed that the advantage of his plan was that the priest could be easily heard from the altar, he also mentioned a circular wall behind the altar which would help to project the voice. The dimensions of the new church, in Westland Row, were to be 150 feet by 50 feet [45.75 metres by 15.25 metres]. The length of the nave of Saint Andrew's, as built, to the back wall of the high altar is 46.04 metres, and the width is 15.20 metres, leaving little doubt that the church was built to this design. It is easy to imagine that Bolger studied Leeson's design

---

<sup>58</sup> DDA, Murray papers, 30/11:1828.

before producing his own under the influence of Dr Blake, and it is, to say the least, remarkable that the proportions applied to Saint Andrew's are almost precisely the same as those used in Leeson's Saint Nicholas of Myra which was under construction when Bolger was designing Saint Andrew's [1.13]. Saint Andrew's is larger than Saint Nicholas of Myra but the interiors of both churches are similar on several points. The most important is the similarity of proportions. The most obvious is that both churches are based on the T-plan, and both churches only have galleries in the nave. The curved ceilings and the Greek ornamentation are similar. The internal elevations of both churches are articulated with double pilasters. Between the pilasters in Saint Nicholas are tall round-headed windows. In Saint Andrew's the windows are lunettes at high level, a device which was later to be used by Bolger at Adam and Eve's. The idea of combining the façades of church and presbyteries was first expressed in Leeson's design for Saint Nicholas, and taken up in Saint Andrew's.

Whether Leeson or Bolger should be credited for the design concept of Saint Andrew's at least one contemporary, did not think much of either architect:

Without one ray of genius - not a spark,  
L-s-n comes next - a Chapel building clerk;  
So dull and stupid - could you once suspect  
This brainless oaf to be an architect.

As Croker says - Sound trumpets - beat the drums  
And clear the way - for boxing B-lg-r comes!  
I'll back him in the ring 'gainst any odds! -  
B-lg-r the scamp! - abhor'd by men and gods.

A worthy pair, fit rivals to contend,  
For fame and cash - but Bolger gain'd his end;

Good Doctor Blake, look to the parish purse,  
If L-s-n's bad - B-lg-r is ten times worse.<sup>59</sup>

Dr Blake laid the first stone on 30 April 1832. The ceremony was attended with a great deal of pomp. A large commodious platform was provided for those attending, which the *Freeman's Journal* observed was 'crowded with elegantly dressed females.' The foundation stone was inscribed with a cross and M.B. 1832.

The Russian Horn Band was in attendance on the occasion, and added considerably to the effect of the ceremony by their wild and characteristic music. God save the King was performed at the commencement and conclusion of the ceremony.<sup>60</sup>

The *Freeman's Journal*, reported that the nave was to be 150 feet by 50 feet and the transept 143 by 50 and that a space was left on either side for a boys' and a girls' school. The interior of the church was built closely to these dimensions but the schools were built facing Cumberland Street South to the back of the church, and the presbyteries were built at the sides.

The work proceeded quickly and by the time the walls were up to roof level over £6,000 had been collected for the building fund. On 2 January 1834 the church was blessed and opened for worship, and the Townsend Street chapel was finally abandoned. In the meantime (1833) Dr Blake had been appointed Bishop of Dromore and Very Reverend Walter Meyler took over as administrator until his death in 1864. Sometime after Saint Andrew's had been opened Father Meyler closed the convent chapel in Baggot Street, belonging to the Sisters of Mercy, to the

---

<sup>59</sup> RIA, Nicholas Numskull, *The art of puffing: an essay on the rise and progress of architectural taste in Dublin*, Dublin 1832, 10. Contained in the Haliday pamphlets.

<sup>60</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 1 May 1832

public, prohibiting celebration of the second mass on Sundays which lay people had been attending.<sup>61</sup> The effect of this was the loss of the weekly income from the mass which the nuns had enjoyed since the opening of the convent chapel on 4 June 1829. The intention in closing the chapel seems to have been to swell the takings in Saint Andrew's.<sup>62</sup>

In 1838 the large baroque statue of Saint Andrew with his cross [2.25], by John Smyth, was erected. It impressed the editor of the *Catholic directory* who wrote that it was the first piece of colossal statuary erected on any Catholic church in Ireland since the Reformation. The solemn consecration took place on 29 January 1841. The ceremony started at 8 am after the vigil of the preceding evening, and continued until 3 pm. The sermon was preached by Dr Wiseman. The *Freeman's Journal* had this to say:

In Rome itself the august rite could not have been performed in a more complete form, and in the brilliancy and becoming splendour with which it was attended there are many of the great continental churches that could not have eclipsed yesterday's ceremony.<sup>63</sup>

The celebrations continued with a series of oratorios, starting in the following March.<sup>64</sup> The building work also continued and both church and parochial houses were completed in 1843. The total cost of the church and the two houses was £26,536.<sup>65</sup> If the parish had taken John Leeson's advice they would have had, according to

---

<sup>61</sup> The chapel was designed by John B. Keane and opened in 1829. Later alterations were by John Bourke.

<sup>62</sup> Mary C. Sullivan (ed.), *The correspondence of Catherine McAuley, 1818-1841*, 63.

<sup>63</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 30 January 1841.

<sup>64</sup> *Catholic directory 1842*, 403.

<sup>65</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of some Dublin parishes, pt VII*, 153.

him, a church 'second to none for architectural elegance' on a rent free site with the presbytery, for less than £10,000.<sup>66</sup> However, Dr Blake was not satisfied to have his church hidden away on a constricted site. Daniel O'Connell expressed it very well at one of the public meetings of parishioners:

Too long have we Catholics been slaves and cowards. Let us come forth into the light and the main streets. We are no longer felons. Let us build our new church in Westland Row, and look our enemies in the face.<sup>67</sup>

The façades of the new church with its Doric portico and two presbyteries take up a considerable portion of the street on the east side of Westland Row. The portico is close in size and proportion to the portico of the Pro-Cathedral [1.5 & 1.9], but the treatment is quite different. The portico of Saint Andrew's is distyle in antis, in that it has two fluted columns framed by the side walls of the portico, however, in spirit it is hexastyle because of the four pilasters which frame the side doors. Saint Andrew's is the only Catholic church in Dublin to follow the Pro-Cathedral by using baseless and fluted Doric columns, a Doric entablature, and Greek ornament on the façade. The language used here is not a pure archaeologically correct Greek, or a primitive neo-classicism; it is rather neo-Greek softened with a Roman use of round-headed windows, doors and blind arcading. The ornament is used in a manner that anticipates, to some degree, the architecture of Alexander 'Greek' Thomson.<sup>68</sup> The statue of Saint Andrew on the

---

<sup>66</sup> John Leeson to Michael Blake, 11 February 1832, *Freeman's Journal*, 14 February 1832.

<sup>67</sup> Quoted in *St Andrew's, Westland Row, Catholic Annual 1942-3*, original source not given.

<sup>68</sup> See Gavin Stamp, *Alexander 'Greek' Thomson*, Glasgow 1999 which contains many illustrations of details.

pediment adds drama to the façade and clearly proclaims the church a Catholic one. It was intended to erect a grand steeple, which was to be finished by 1843 and, according to the *Catholic directory* was to be ‘commemorative of the mayoralty of Daniel O’Connell Esq., M.P.’<sup>69</sup> Only the base of the steeple was built, but even this is clearly visible from Merrion Row; if the steeple had been built it would have asserted a strong presence not only in the near neighbourhood of Merrion Square, but also in more distant places.

The materials used on the façade are granite, Portland stone for the columns and entablature, and brick on the upper storeys of the presbyteries. The use of these materials continues a building tradition established since the 18th century in Dublin. Inside the classical theme is continued with a mixture of Greek and Roman elements, but mostly Greek. On entering the church the visitor’s attention is immediately drawn to the high altar which consists of four Corinthian columns supporting a pediment whose apex almost reaches the full internal height of the nave [2.23]. The capitals and entablature are based on the order used on the Monument of Lysicrates, Athens. The shafts of the original columns in Athens are fluted, but in Saint Andrew’s they are smooth and made by the scagliola method. The pediment is copied from the Lantern of Demosthenes, Athens.<sup>70</sup> The painting over the altar is *The descent from the cross* (1754) by G.F. Beghley. This painting came from the Townsend Street chapel where it was

---

<sup>69</sup> *Catholic directory* 1842, 279.

<sup>70</sup> *Catholic directory* 1836, 70.

part of the altarpiece.<sup>71</sup> Other paintings in the church include *The martyrdom of St Thomas à Beckett* and *The Crucifixion* which were both presented by Daniel O'Connell. The *Ascension* by John Hogan was originally placed over the tabernacle which was a model of the Arch of Titus.<sup>72</sup> The high altar, with its front slabs and pilasters of jasper, was obtained from Rome, together with the Arch of Titus, and selected by Dr Miley. The high altar, including the columns and pediment of scagliola, the side altars, and Hogan's sculpture, cost over £800. With the introduction of 40 hours adoration in 1853 a new tabernacle was put on the high altar and the original tabernacle put on one of the side altars.<sup>73</sup> Not long after making the altar for Saint Nicholas of Myra, Giuseppi Leonardi was engaged to make the side altars and a tabernacle for one of the side altars. The contract was made in May 1835 with Reverend Meyler and Leonardi agreed to have the work finished by the middle of the following July. As the work progressed he was paid by Dr Paul Cullen, and he received his final payment in January 1836 after all the work had been finished. The size of the altars and some of the materials were specified, but not in precise detail. Some of the marble was to be selected together by Leonardi and Meyler, and the size of the tabernacle was to be in proportion to the altar.<sup>74</sup> The wording of the contract gives the impression that Leonardi was entrusted with the details of the design with minimum interference from his patrons.

---

<sup>71</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *Roman Catholics. State and condition of R.C. chapels in Dublin*, 34.

<sup>72</sup> The *Ascension* is now at the north west side of the crossing.

<sup>73</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of some Dublin parishes*, pt VII, 154.

<sup>74</sup> ICR, Contract between Giuseppi Leonardi and Rev. J. Meyler PP, Saint Andrew's, dated 9 April 1835, Silke catalogue, carton IV, folder 2.

Greek detail predominates in the nave and transept. The curved ceiling is decorated with bands of Greek key pattern, and the entablature and pilasters which run round the walls below the windows are taken from the Monument of Thrasyllus, Athens. The nave and transepts are lit by Diocletian windows at clerestorey level. The niches at the crossing contain statues of the four evangelists and the ceiling is decorated with medallions of the coronation of the Virgin, Saint Andrew, Virgin and Child, Saint Laurence O'Toole, and Saint Peter. The ceiling and the four evangelists were executed after drawings by John Hogan.<sup>75</sup>

As patron of Saint Andrew's Dr Blake instructed James Bolger and the brief was clearly to design a classical church. It cannot be taken for granted that Dr Blake, himself, was entirely responsible for the choice of this architectural language. Perhaps the members of building committee persuaded him. Blake was in favour of the gothic style when he presided over the building of Saints Michael and John, which was opened in 1815. John Leeson had designed the classical church of Saint Nicholas of Myra and it seems that Father Kelly asked him to design a classical church. Leeson, in his famous letter, asks Dr Blake, with a touch of irony, if the unfinished gallery in the Townsend Street chapel offends his 'classic eye'. We can never know what Leeson might have done, but Dr Blake's judgement in his choice of architect seems to have been sound. (Bolger was also to design Saint Mary's, Navan, Co. Meath [3.29], for the Reverend Eugene O'Reilly, begun in 1836 and completed in 1845. It was described by a contemporary as 'an

---

<sup>75</sup> DDA, Commission for sacred art and architecture – Church of Saint Andrew.



elegant Grecian edifice'.<sup>76</sup> In plan this church is a large hall with big balconies on three sides, and with the altar on one of the long sides, as in the first stage in the evolution of the T-plan, and lit by hidden natural light. The roof span is about 20 metres (five metres more than in Saint Andrew's). The original roof was to prove structurally too ambitious and has since been replaced with a steel structure.)

The church and presbytery buildings were complete in 1843, but the building history of Saint Andrew's continued further, with furnishing, improvements, the building of vestries, extensive rooms for confraternities, and schools. The church was not neglected and in 1850 arrangements were being made to furnish the interior with paintings,<sup>77</sup> and in 1852 the altars in the transepts were ready.<sup>78</sup> The administrator Very Reverend W. Meyler gave an account of the building work in a pamphlet addressed to his parishioners in 1859.<sup>79</sup> After the church and houses were finished he informs us that the next important works were the two large vestries at the extremity of either transept. One of the vestries was for the eight priests attached to the church. The other vestry was for the children of the parish who attended for the services at the altar and as members of pious and religious associations. It was also used by the ladies of the parish who looked after flowers, vestments etc. 'Beneath these vestries there are extensive rooms for the various confraternities,...' He mentions as examples the

---

<sup>76</sup> Christine Casey and Alistair Rowan, *The buildings of Ireland: North Leinster*, 428.

<sup>77</sup> *Catholic directory 1850*, 282.

<sup>78</sup> *Catholic directory 1852*, 310.

<sup>79</sup> Very Rev. W. Meyler, *Address to the Catholic inhabitants of St Andrew's, Westland Row*, Dublin 1859.

Burial Society, a Purgatorian Society, and the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament.<sup>80</sup> The school for the female children of the parish was erected over the vestries. This school could accommodate nearly 1,000 children. The parishioners also contributed generously towards a school for boys run by the Christian Brothers which could accommodate at least 1,000 children. The schools have been built thus expensively, in consideration of the respectability and wealth of the Parishioners.<sup>81</sup> At least some of this work was carried out to the designs of Patrick Byrne. Father Meyler mentions that the expenses to the roof and ceiling

have considerably exceeded the original contract, not only for the object of giving greater effect to the incomparable designs of our architect, P. Byrne, Esq., Talbot-street, but in order to afford an opportunity of extending hereafter the chancel of the Sanctuary, and of giving a cruciform construction to the building, and thus making it a truly admirable edifice.<sup>82</sup>

This statement poses some questions. Firstly it is not clear that Patrick Byrne was responsible for designing all the work carried out since the church and parochial houses were finished in 1843, and he does not say when the additional work was started; all we know is that it was finished by 1859 when he published his pamphlet. Was James Bolger responsible for the design of the work at the back of the church and fronting on to Cumberland Street South, or was it the work of Patrick Byrne? To add to the uncertainty we do not know when Bolger died. However his latest

---

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 5.

known work was in 1845, and his name does not appear in the *Post Office Directory* after 1849, suggesting that he ceased practice about 1845 and died about 1849.<sup>83</sup> However the schools are shown on the ordnance survey map of 1847, thus it is possible that Bolger was the architect. It seems reasonable however to attribute the work to Patrick Byrne. Byrne was actively involved in church architecture in this period, whereas Bolger was not, and Father Meyler's reference to Byrne's 'incomparable designs' suggests considerable building work took place after the church and presbyteries were finished in 1843. The façade to Cumberland Street South is an assured piece of architecture, worthy of Byrne, and must rate as one of the least known examples of good 19th century architecture in Dublin [1.10 & 2.21]. In the middle of the façade Byrne formed an open entrance lobby to the back of the church entered through a large archway. The façade is brick with granite quoins, and granite to the springing of the central arch and to the head of the side doors.

The extension behind the altar envisaged by Father Meyler could only extend as far as the tower thus it would have been a very slight extension. We know that the tower had been built by 1847 and it was intended to erect the spire after the schools had been built.<sup>84</sup> What he did not explain in his address was that it was intended to bring the altar forward and place it directly under the

---

<sup>83</sup> IAA, *Biographical file of Irish architects*.

<sup>84</sup> *Catholic directory 1847*, 296.

crossing.<sup>85</sup> This extension, which would have posed an interesting challenge to the architect, was not attempted.<sup>86</sup>

The T-plan evolved as a result of traditional building methods in rural Ireland. In Dublin this plan type with its large balconies suited the requirements of Catholic church builders where space was limited and congregations were big. The plan type was last used in its traditional form in Adam and Eve's. In Saint Nicholas of Myra, and Saint Andrew's the plan persisted but without the large balconies. The form of these three churches was the result of a meeting of local building tradition with inter-national neo-classicism.

---

<sup>85</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 22 April 1856.

<sup>86</sup> Donato Bramante faced with a not un-similar problem at Santa Maria presso San Satiro, Milan (begun 1478) created an illusionistic chancel behind the altar.

## ARCHITECTURE FOR A ROMAN EYE

*The Church of Saint Francis Xavier*

*The Gesù and the Church of Saint Francis Xavier – vaults - Notre-Dame-de-Lorette - Novitiate chapel, Monastery of the Christian Brothers, North Richmond Street*

...ad novum S. Franc. Xav. Templum frequens populus confluit.<sup>1</sup>

Saint Francis Xavier, Gardiner Street, was built for the Jesuit order and its planning owes much to the mother-church of the Jesuits, the Gesù, in Rome. The Gesù [6.11] was paid for by Alessandro, Cardinal Farnese, and designed by Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola. Work began on its construction in 1568. It has a barrel-vaulted nave with four chapels on either side with saucer-domes, a short transept projected only slightly beyond the outer walls of the nave, and there is a dome over the crossing. The nave is well-lit with windows around the base of the dome, on the façade, and in the barrel vault. The side chapels are dimly lit. Work on the façade of the Gesù was begun in 1571 to the designs of Giacomo della Porta, after Vignola apparently failed to satisfy Cardinal Farnese with his proposals.

The Jesuit fathers who founded Saint Francis Xavier, Bartholomew Esmonde, Peter Kenney, Charles Aylmer (1786-

---

<sup>1</sup> ARSI, Robert St Leger, Tullabeg, to Pater Noster [Jan Roothaan], 4 January 1833, Hib.2 II, 20.

1847), and Dr Daniel Murray (1768-1852) [10.6] - later Archbishop of Dublin - received their early education in the school for the classics, founded in 1750, by the Jesuits in Saul's Court, off Fishamble Street.<sup>2</sup> After leaving the school Peter Kenney completed his ecclesiastical studies in Palermo and returned to Dublin in 1812 and later became the first superior of the restored Jesuit order in Ireland.<sup>3</sup>

The Bull of Restoration of the Society of Jesus was read in the Gesù in 1814. At the ceremony were the future Archbishop of Dublin, Dr Daniel Murray, and the Vicar Apostolic of London, Dr John Milner. On his return to Dublin Dr Murray suggested to Peter Kenney that he build a new church.<sup>4</sup> In 1823, the year that Dr Murray became Archbishop of Dublin, the Jesuits had almost completed negotiations to buy the Free church, Great Charles Street, for £2,000. When the landlord found it was to be used as a Catholic church he pulled out.<sup>5</sup> The site in Gardiner Street was obtained in 1827 from the Irish Sisters of Charity and building work started two years later and was finished (complete with portico) in one building campaign from 1829 to 1834. This was due to good management of the finances (under difficult circumstances) together with a strong desire to make a fine architectural display. The progress of the work was reported to the Jesuit headquarters in Rome, and these reports convey a sense of

---

<sup>2</sup> Maureen Ryan, 'Roman opulence in a Dublin church: the high altar of St Francis Xavier's', in *Irish Arts Review*, vol. 14 (1998), 33. There is a portrait of Dr Murray in Saint Francis Xavier [10.6].

<sup>3</sup> Tim Corcoran SJ, 'Father Thomas Betagh, S.J.', *Irish Jesuit Directory 1934*, 202.

<sup>4</sup> Maureen Ryan, *The church of Saint Francis Xavier*, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Edward Eugene O' Donnell, *The Jesuits in Dublin 1598-1998*, 29.

pride in their achievements. Some of the reports were sent by Robert St Leger SJ, the Rector of the Jesuit school in Tullabeg (near Tullamore, Co. Offaly). These reports make frequent reference to the financial difficulties involved in building the church, the burden for which was largely carried by Father Aylmer.

P. Aylmer sub initium transcuri mensi in magnis difficultatibus implicatus habebat. Scripsit ad me de suis angustiis et de pecuniarum ejus penuria, et de magna summa quae architectis et aliis ex templo erat solvenda.<sup>6</sup>

The Jesuits were so concerned with the size of their debt that they had to consider raising the money from their students. Father St Leger reported to Rome:

Gravissimis debitis oneratur Ecclesia, quae nullo alio modo expungi possint quam eleemosinis et discipulorum pensionibus.<sup>7</sup>

In the same letter he also reported that many were flocking to the new church. The popularity of the new church was a cause of satisfaction for the Jesuits, not only for the income which this brought, but for the public esteem and respect which they enjoyed. This esteem and respect had been earned by their hard work, and by architectural display.

Ecclesia haec quam omnes merito admirantur ut inter omnia hujus urbis templa Catholica optimum architecture ecclesiastico exemplar, primo aperta ad Divini officii celebrationem erat tertio Maii 1832, quo die venit Archiepiscopus et primam litavit hostiam, quamvis adhuc nec consecrata nec perfecta erat.

The church opened for use on 3 May 1832 and was dedicated on 12 February 1835. The new church was described by Reverend

---

<sup>6</sup> ARSI, Robert St Leger, Tullabeg, to Pater Noster [Jan Roothaan], 28 July 1832, Hib.2 II,13.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 24 August 1833, Hib.2 II,23.

Patrick Mehar SJ as a ‘...beautiful, uniform, and commodious temple.’<sup>8</sup> The *Catholic Penny Magazine* described it as

...one of the most perfect, convenient, and classical edifices of our City, combining, at once, elegance of design, with utility of arrangement; and affording the ONLY specimen in Dublin where NATIVE GRANITE has been exclusively applied, in the construction of an extensive portico.

The description that follows was written by someone with architectural knowledge, possibly the architect John B. Keane.

The interior of the cruciform church is 40 feet high, terminated by a horizontal ceiling, disposed in quadrangular and octangular coffers, with enriched mouldings, and rafted rosettes in each, all highly relieved. The ceiling rests on a continuous entablature, with enrichments, and surmounting a series of pilasters in the modern Ionic order, 30 feet high, arranged at proportionate intervals, on the surrounding walls, with capitals after the Roman college, having alto-relievo cherubim on the abaci. In the inter-pilasters are dressed arcades, 20 feet high, opening the nave to the minor chapels, with clerical-story windows, surmounting the arches, which light the center church.

The great altar-screene [sic] is an accurate composition from the most enriched example of the Corinthian order, 25 feet high, with a pediment, and alto relievo in the tympanum.

The minor altars are placed in highly dressed semi-spherical niches, 20 feet high, as also the stoves at the extremities of the transept, with vaulted terminations, disposed in richly-moulded circular and polygonal coffers, &c.<sup>9</sup>

In a guide book to Dublin published in 1835 the side chapels are described as ‘confessional chapels’ with their domes resting on Corinthian columns.<sup>10</sup> This reference to Corinthian columns may be a mistake as the capitals in the side chapel are Ionic. It is

---

<sup>8</sup> *Catholic directory 1837*, 151

<sup>9</sup> *Catholic Penny Magazine*, I:3, 1 March 1834, 18.

<sup>10</sup> William Curry (ed.), *The picture of Dublin*, 201.



possible that they were replaced, but it would have been difficult to justify the cost of doing so. Furthermore in the hierarchy of the architectural orders the Corinthian takes precedent over the Ionic, therefore it is fitting that the important order is reserved for the high altar.

It is remarkable how quickly the church was built in one campaign and made ready for use compared with other contemporary churches. For example, in Dublin, the Pro-Cathedral; Saint Paul's, Arran Quay; Saint Audoen's, High Street; Saint Nicholas of Myra, Francis Street; and Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines, did not receive their porticoes for many years after they had opened for use. This is not surprising; most church builders had to put enormous effort into raising the money needed and the flow of money was, more often than not, so slow that building work was protracted over many years. There was an incentive to finish the portico of the new church of Saint Francis Xavier which resulted in a big effort to raise the necessary funds in the Spring of 1834.

About the beginning of March Mr. Aylmer reminded us for the first time that he was under an obligation to have the portico finished before the 1st. May or else he would be forced to pay £30 a year additional rent. This has caused exertions, which have been serviceable. He spoke of it himself from the pulpit: a system of penny subscription was set on foot in which Mr. Haly and Peter are the chief agents & have been very successful. Peter told me that it now amounts to £6 or so per week. Many donations have been also obtained. Miss Dennis [?] gave the £80, which she had reserved for the side-chapel & added to it £20, so that it was £100 for the Portico. The Novena brought £91 & all this joined to the £140 made by St Francis' day must surely clear the expenses that have since been incurred in the finishing the Portico.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> ARSI, Peter Kenney, Dublin, to Robert St Leger, Gesù, 14 April 1834, Hib.2 VIII,1.

Less than five years after the church was finished plans for extending the apse were being discussed. It is possible that the extended apse was part of the original architectural concept for Saint Francis Xavier, but was set aside for lack of funds. On the other hand it is possible that during Father Esmonde's stay at the Gesù from 1839 to 1844 the idea of extending the church fixed itself in his mind. Whatever the reason, in early 1842, we find Father Esmonde, writing from the Gesù discussing designs for extending the apse and other work, with Robert Haly SJ, who was resident in Gardiner Street. The only thing that worried him was the cost of the work.<sup>12</sup> Father Esmonde had sent a ground plan (which he had made from memory) of Saint Francis Xavier from Rome to Father Haly before Christmas 1841. His plan showed an addition behind the altar to increase the size of the sanctuary. Originally the sanctuary extended beyond the crossing a distance equal to the length of the transepts as can be seen on the ordnance survey map of 1847 [9.11]. Father Esmonde's idea was to extend the sanctuary and to finish it with a semi-circular apse like in the Gesù. Without the enlarged sanctuary the plan of Saint Francis Xavier was, according to Father Esmonde, 'meagre and stunted' to 'Roman eyes'. Everyone he consulted in Rome thought that the general effect and proportions of the church would be improved by the proposed enlargement of the sanctuary.<sup>13</sup> Although Father Esmonde was sending drawings from Rome to Dublin, Father Haly was consulting an architect, who was not

---

<sup>12</sup> IAA, typescript copy of letter from Bartholemew Esmonde SJ, from the Gesù, to Robert Haly SJ, Saint Francis Xavier, Upper Gardiner Street, postmark 24 March 1842.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

named, but was probably John B. Keane as he is recorded as having received payment in the account book of 1829 to 1835, and is mentioned in the *Builder* as the architect for the alterations and additions to be carried out in 1851.<sup>14</sup> The architect was expected to use his judgement in deciding on proportions and aesthetic matters. The idea of enlarging the sanctuary came from the Jesuits and even how it should be achieved seems to have been largely decided by Father Esmonde with his colleagues and the architect as consultants. Discussing the three-quarter columns in the sanctuary Father Esmonde wrote:

Tho' I love pillars & consequently shd prefer per se the 3 quartered pillars as in my plan to a flat pilaster, still I should prefer whatever yr architect's eye, on the spot, preferred; especially if he on the spot was decided that the projection of the 3 quarter pillars would obtrude too much on the eye, tho' to my distant eye I hardly think it would especially if the Sanctuary be so far thrown back as the plan supposes...<sup>15</sup>

The three-quarter columns were built in accordance with Father Esmonde's suggestions. He seems to have got his way, most of the time, in building matters. Gentle words from him were enough for action from others. 'Do you wise ones ever think of my original place for pulpit at the junction of Nave and Transept with entrance thro' the wall from behind as in my plan.'<sup>16</sup> The pulpit was built as he wanted, however not all his ideas were accepted; he wanted to place the confessionals in the side chapels off the nave. His colleagues claimed that there was not enough

---

<sup>14</sup> *Builder*, IX, 8 March 1851, 152. IJA, Account book for the building supplies and craftsmen's fees for the building of Saint Francis Xavier, cm/Gard 38.

<sup>15</sup> IAA, typescript copy of letter from Bartholemew Esmonde SJ, from the Gesù, to Robert Haly SJ, Saint Francis Xavier, Upper Gardiner Street, postmark 24 March 1842.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

room for the confessionals in the side chapels, a claim that astounded Father Esmonde. It is a pity that he did not remain firm on this point, instead he suggested an alternative, against his better judgement, which was regrettably carried out.

...I see no place unless you open the arches where the doors now lead from Nave to side-chapels & place 4 confessionals in the thickness of the wall adding a foot or so (as may be required) taken from the side chapels themselves, leaving Confessionals to open on the Nave. But this has many objections besides being an alteration.<sup>17</sup>

The building of the apse in 1851 and the placing of the high altar within it brought the spirit of the Gesù to Dublin. Some of the features from the Gesù which are employed in Saint Francis Xavier are, the chapels to the side of the nave, the short transepts, the sanctuary which terminates with the apse, and the generous clear lighting at high level in the nave. The chapels are lit from above, making them well lit unlike those in the Gesù. In the Gesù the chapels are connected. There is only one chapel on either side of the nave in Saint Francis Xavier therefore they cannot be connected, but they are linked to the side entrances and the transepts, and thus provided a passageway to the seating reserved for the well-off members of the congregation. The Gesù has a barrel-vaulted ceiling in the nave and a dome over the crossing, whereas the ceiling of Saint Francis Xavier is flat.

There is a close resemblance in the proportions on plan of Saint Francis Xavier to the Gesù which explains why the architectural

---

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> DAT, B.T. Russel O.P., 'Notes on the building of Saint Mary's church, Pope's Quay, Cork 1834-1845', 10 May 1833.

experience conveyed by the interiors are comparable. The similarity in the proportions becomes apparent when the plan of Saint Francis Xavier is scaled up to match that of the Gesù. [1.16] Not only is the ratio of length to width the same but the ratio of nave width to side altar width is almost the same for both churches. There are hundreds of Jesuit churches all over the world and many of them are linked, to a greater or lesser degree, to the mother church, the Gesù. The church of Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis (1643) [1.34], Paris, for example, shares with Saint Francis Xavier some of the characteristics mentioned above derived from the Gesù.

Saint Francis Xavier was built over a vaulted basement. The vaults [1.15] consist of chambers with rising walls built of limestone and vaulted in brick. There are several small chambers which could have been used for individual or family burials, but most of the vaults are large and not suited for burials, therefore it does not seem that burials were intended. Perhaps the Jesuits, in view of the provision for their suppression in the relief act of 1829, felt that they should not risk drawing attention to themselves by burying their deceased donors in their church. There may have been other reasons for not using the vaults for burials. About the same time the Dominicans in Cork were building their church of Saint Mary's, Pope's Quay. Their architect, Kearns Deane suggested that they should build vaults for internment in Saint Mary's, but the Dominicans would not consent because, they said, there was a popular prejudice against burials in churches, and because they thought there were not enough wealthy people in Cork to support it, and because they feared it might give rise to disputes with the bishop.<sup>18</sup> In Dublin, however, it is unlikely that

the Jesuits would allow themselves to get involved with a dispute with the Archbishop of Dublin, Daniel Murray, who was himself a Jesuit.

Under the law the regular clergy were subject to more restrictions than the secular clergy and they needed to use caution in their dealings with the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. It was safe for the secular clergy to build vaults in their churches. Saint Andrew's, Saint Audoen's, Saint Nicholas of Myra, and the Pro-Cathedral have vaults where some of the wealthy contributors to the building funds are buried. In Our Lady of Refuge it was intended to have vaults to cost not more than £200 for rich parishioners or others.<sup>19</sup> In Saint Francis Xavier the vaulted basement was a logical method of bringing the ground floor to the required level above the street. Furthermore the basement had long been used in Ireland, mostly for domestic building, as a practical means of ensuring protection against rising dampness. The presbytery was built in the traditional manner with a basement and it was arranged that the basement and ground floor of the presbytery are at precisely the same level as the basement and ground floor of the church.

The Ignatian chapel was built about 1850. Later it was lengthened, and later a wing was added which extended across the back of the church.<sup>20</sup> A new organ was installed in 1885 at a cost of £1700.

The corridor on the west side with confessionals, sodality rooms and oratory was built in 1905 to the designs of W.H. Byrne.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> William Meagher, *Five engravings*, 18.

<sup>20</sup> Maureen Ryan, *The church of Saint Francis Xavier*, 27.

When Peter Kenney SJ was in Maryland, USA, he advised John McElroy SJ on his (McElroy's) projected church in Frederick. Father Kenney recommended a 'Grecian' church rather than a Gothic one because he thought that the builders available would not be able to handle the intricacies of Gothic. McElroy was interested in Saint Francis Xavier, Gardiner Street as a model, and Kenney arranged for him to have the plan and interior views sent to him.<sup>22</sup>

On his return to Dublin, Kenney was delighted with the newly finished Saint Francis Xavier and, later, in a letter to the Jesuit General, Jan Roothan, 20 October 1833, he wrote:

Solatio mihi erat maximo videre novam nostram S. Francisii Xav.  
Ecclesiam. Pulcherrima quidem est, et quod ad stylum et  
ecclesiastico architecturo decorum attinet certe [?] nullam tibi  
simila in his insulis inter ecclesias Catholicas habet

In the same letter he wrote that both the church and the unfinished residence were a monument to the genius in these things of Father Esmonde, and to Father Aylmer's skill and perseverance in this very arduous work.<sup>23</sup> Father Esmonde died on 15 December 1862 and according to his obituary in the Jesuit archives in Rome he was the principal architect of Saint Francis Xavier's.<sup>24</sup>

Although the plan of Saint Francis Xavier is based on that of the Gesù its façade is derived from French temple fronted models of

---

<sup>21</sup> DDA, *Church building: Diocese of Dublin 1800-1916*.

<sup>22</sup> Thomas Morrissey, *As one sent: Peter Kenney SJ 1779-1841*, 328, 329, 336.

<sup>23</sup> ARSI, P. Kenny, apud Collegium Cluenense, to Jean Roothaan, Gesù, 20 October. 1833 [Hib.2 II,25].

<sup>24</sup> ARSI, *Summaria vitae nostrorum defunctorum in Provincia Hiberna a die 15 Sept. 1862 ad 15 Sept. 1865*, Prov. Hib. Litt. Ann. Summ. Vitae 1814-1889, 1501:413-4.

the late 18th and early 19th centuries. It bears a particular resemblance to the façade of Notre Dame de Lorette (1823-6) [5.19 & 5.20] by Louis-Hippolyte Le Bas (1782-1867) which had been erected a few years before. Both façades have the main entrance under a tetrastyle portico with two lesser entrances, one on either side of the portico. The Corinthian order is used on the portico of Notre-Dame-de-Lorette and the Ionic order inside, whereas the Ionic order is used throughout in Saint Francis Xavier, except for the high altar. The portico (of Notre-Dame-de-Lorette) incorporates archaeological details from the portico of the Doric temple at Cori, south-east of Rome, and from the Corinthian capitals of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina in the Forum Romanum [8.1 & 8.2].<sup>25</sup> Inside it has the early Christian arrangement of Ionic colonnades separating nave from aisles. The ceilings of nave and aisles are flat. Most of the lighting is from clerestorey windows over the colonnades. The apse is extended back similar to the arrangement in Saint Francis Xavier and the Gesù.

Le Bas won the architectural competition to build Notre-Dame-de-Lorette organised by the city of Paris, in 1823. His architectural education began with his father's brother-in-law, Antoine-Laurent-Thomas Vaudoyer, but he soon transferred to the atelier of Charles Percier. He travelled extensively in Italy in the early 1800s. In 1806-8, when in Italy on military service, he began, with François Debret (also from Percier's studio), a volume of measured drawings and views of all the executed work of Jacopo

---

<sup>25</sup> Barry Bergdoll, *The Dictionary of art online*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 20 May 2003), <http://www.groveart.com>.



Vignolo. This was published in Paris in 1812, as *Oeuvre complete de Jacques Barozzi de Vignole*. He served on site for 10 years during the building of the Bourse, designed by Brongniart and built 1808-26. Brongniart died in 1813 and his tomb (at Père-Lachaise cemetery) was designed by Le Bas. After 1819 he became one of the most influential teachers of his day. He achieved further renown with the winning of the competition for Notre-Dame-de-Lorette, and for a model prison, La Petite Roquette (1823-36, destroyed 1973), Paris. These successes led to his election to the Académie des Beaux-Arts in 1825 and made him one of the most respected voices in French architecture. He succeeded Vaudoyer as official architect to the Institute de France in 1832, and in 1840 succeeded Jean-Nicolas Huyot as professor of architectural history at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, a post he held until 1863.<sup>26</sup>

Outside Dublin the interior of Saint Francis Xavier was used as a model for the Jesuit church of the Sacred Heart in Limerick [3.13 & 14]. The beautiful, but less well-known Novitiate chapel of the Christian Brothers House, North Richmond Street [6.95, 96, 97 & 98], also owes something to Saint Francis Xavier, especially in the design of the reredos and its correct use of the classical orders to create a hierarchy of importance. The walls of the nave are articulated with round-headed windows and Ionic pilasters. The more important order, the Corinthian is reserved for the reredos, just as it is in Saint Francis Xavier. The original altar was made of wood, and this was replaced in 1906 with a copy (with minor alterations) in marble built by George Smyth, sculptor; this altar

---

<sup>26</sup> Ibid..

music which had as its centre the Bavarian city of Ratisbon (Regensburg).<sup>48</sup>

In the nearby Protestant church of Saint Thomas the list of salaries for the year 1824 reveals that among its employees, the organist was the highest paid at £56. 17s 6d a year.<sup>49</sup> The music in the Pro-Cathedral had been provided by a mixed choir of men and women until it was replaced by a choir and men and boys to sing only Gregorian chant, the music of Palestrina and music not later than the end of the 17th century except music formally approved by the committee.<sup>50</sup>

The Jesuits wasted no time in installing an organ in their new church of Saint Francis Xavier. The organ was a fine instrument which had been built for the Royal Musical Festival in Westminster Abbey, 1834. An organ gallery with ample space for the choir together with rooms for choral purpose was also provided.<sup>51</sup>

The clergy of Saint Audoen's could no longer afford to pay musicians in 1847.<sup>52</sup> To supplement his modest income Mr Haydn Corri offered his professional services to Maynooth parish but the parish priest was satisfied with the music supplied by the college choir and informed Reverend Dr Hamilton that

---

<sup>48</sup> Gerard Gillen and Andrew Johnstone (eds), *A historical anthology of Irish church music*, 28.

<sup>49</sup> CRB, St Thomas's parish vestry book, 1823-1843, 41, P.80.5.

<sup>50</sup> The idea of having only men and boy's voices anticipated the provision in *Moto proprio* (22 November 1903) of Pope Pius X which excluded women from all parts of liturgical singing (T. Lincoln Bouscaren SJ, et al, *Canon law: a text and commentary*, 712.)

<sup>51</sup> William Curry (ed.), *The picture of Dublin*, 201-2.

<sup>52</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 37/1, Monica Purcell to Dr Hamilton, 2 October 1847.

the Gentlemen of that establishment [Maynooth College] seem to think that Mr Mathew does not require the aid of musical talent, especially when it must be purchased at the high expense of 20 pounds; [per annum?] which sum, although not large, is hardly procured in such a parish as Maynooth is. I shall see Mr Corri in a few days, please God, & give him then the results of my consultation with the parish on this subject.<sup>53</sup>

The importance of music in rendering the ceremonies impressive and interesting was universally acknowledged by the clergy but the shortage of money very often made it difficult to provide good music in any but the more important churches. It is interesting to note that in the new church of Saint Mary's, Moorfields, London (1817-20) 'ceremonies and performances, both vocal and instrumental, are superintended by eminent professional men,'<sup>54</sup> Such sumptuous ceremonial and musical performances were generally not approved of by the established church in Ireland. The *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* railed against them on several occasions For example a notice of the ceremonies to be performed at the opening of Saint Mary's, Athlone, on 13 June 1841 is reproduced in full in the journal so that the writer can mock it. The attractions included a Pontifical High Mass, a sermon, five bishops in episcopal robes, and a choice selection of vocal and instrumental music. Tickets for the event ranged from five to one shilling. The writer deplored the use of a church as a playhouse which would make anyone feel that

money is the mainspring of Popery ; and that in Ireland, it is (like any other voluntary system) a religion, not for the poor – but for

---

<sup>53</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 36/3, Reverend John Cainen to Rev. Dr Hamilton, 29 May 1840.

<sup>54</sup> E. W. Brayley, 'An account of the Roman Catholic chapel, Moorfields', in John Britton and Augustus Pugin, *Illustrations of public buildings in London*, volume 2, 10.

the rich – if only the rich can be bribed to pay for it, even by the prostitution of the most sacred mysteries of religion.<sup>55</sup>

The generality of clergy and laity were indifferent, if not hostile to developments in liturgical music,<sup>56</sup> but for Dublin, the evidence is that in some of the large Catholic churches serious provision was made for liturgical music.<sup>57</sup>

The planning and internal arrangements of 19th century Dublin churches are a result of several influences: the traditional plan types originating from early Christian Rome and its variations as developed over the centuries; the T-plan common in Ireland; the recommendations given by Charles Borromeo in the 16th century (which became generally accepted); and the requirement to separate the social classes.

\*\*\*

---

<sup>55</sup> *IEJ*, I:29, 199.

<sup>56</sup> Gerard Gillen, 'Irish Catholics and Hymns', *The Furrow*, LI:10 (October 2000), 550.

<sup>57</sup> For a discussion on this topic see, Thomas Day, *Why Catholics can't sing: The culture of Catholics and the triumph of bad taste*, New York 1991.

## 6

### CLERICAL INFLUENCE

#### *Patrons and architecture*

*Classical v Gothic - Archbishop John Troy – Archbishop Daniel Murray -  
Father Matthew Flanagan – Father Bartholemew Esmonde SJ – Father  
Peter Kenney SJ – Father Charles Aylmer SJ – Dr Michael Blake – Dr  
William Meagher – Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines – The Three Patrons,  
Rathgar*

Accustomed myself, from earliest youth, to devote a rather unusual share of attention to the principles of ecclesiastical architecture, and having enjoyed lengthened opportunity of maturing my ideas on the subject, by familiarity with the great masterpieces of the art, scattered over the Catholic countries of the Continent; feeling also, that, when prepared by suitable previous reflection, a clergyman is, in general, the person most likely to comprehend aright the requirements of the divine worship in any particular locality, and best fitted to devise the properest means of providing for them - for all these reasons, I entertain, I do confess, no small confidence in the correctness of my views in these matters.<sup>1</sup>

The architectural taste of individual members of the clergy had a considerable influence on the design of the churches they commissioned. There is nothing

---

<sup>1</sup> William Meagher, *Address to the parishioners of SS Mary and Peter, Rathmines*, 4.

remarkable about this, except that in some cases the architect seems to have been used more as an executor, rather than creator of the design.

In every parish where new churches were built the clergy were compelled to labour over many years to raise the money needed. The exertions of raising money were usually matched by a close interest in every aspect of the planning and building of the church. This chapter examines the role of the patrons and their relationships with their architects in the design and building of the churches. To what extent were the patrons responsible for the design and what was left to the architects? We can be certain that the patrons of the Dublin churches (as commissioning patrons everywhere) have always chosen architects most likely to realise their visions, and they have always briefed them as to their requirements. The patron always expected the architect to satisfy his requirements or to exceed his expectations. Most patrons would be content to leave all the technical and architectural details to the architect provided he satisfied the planning requirements and maintained control of the cost. The clerical patron with a knowledge of architecture might be inclined to interfere with the design work.

Before an architect met his patron the patron had already put a great deal of thought into what his requirements were and would, in all probability, have formed a concept of what his new church would look like. Where an architect is chosen by competition the patron will usually be careful to make clear what the requirements are. Even the architectural style to be used could be specified. A well-known example is the Houses of Parliament (1836-48) by Sir Charles Barry (1795-1860) where the gothic style was stipulated as part of the competition requirements. For the clerical patron the

matter of style was of utmost importance. According to the *Dublin Penny Journal* the classicism favoured by Catholic patrons of the 1830s was due either to the foreign travels of the clergy or a desire to be different from the Protestants who, according to the journal, built their new churches predominately in a gothic style.<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to be convinced by either of these reasons. The Irish clergy saw both medieval and classical churches on the continent but little gothic architecture in Rome. As for a desire to be different from the Protestants, the architectural evidence suggests the contrary. By building in a classical style Catholic church builders were striving to emulate and surpass the Protestant churches of the 18th century which were built in a classical style. Dr Edward McParland points out that the Chapel of Trinity College Dublin (1788-98), designed by Sir William Chambers (1723-1796) and Graham Myers (*fl.* 1777-1800) [7.8 & 7.9], anticipates in its interior many of the features which characterize 19th century Catholic churches, i.e. the barrel vault, windows over the cornice, pilasters, and the gallery confined to the west end.<sup>3</sup> The clergy who were educated in Rome and imbued with Ultramontanism, who later desired to be fully in communion with Rome would be naturally inclined towards the classical. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries the Protestants built predominately in the gothic style usually only for small parish churches but the important churches tended to be classical.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> *Dublin Penny Journal*, 29 December 1832, 213.

<sup>3</sup> Edward McParland, *The public works of architects in Ireland*, 108.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.

Two important churches in Dublin built for the established church in a classical style are Saint George's, Hardwicke Place (1803-13) [7.19], by Francis Johnston, and Saint Stephen's, Upper Mount Street (1825) [7.7], by John Bowden and Joseph Welland. The Protestants never abandoned the classical during the first 50 years of the 19th century, witness the neo-classical church of Saint Matthias, Adelaide Road, Dublin (1842-8, demolished in 1958 or shortly after), by Daniel Robertson. The architects of neo-classical Catholic churches were also heir to a tradition from the 18th century which developed an abundance of labourers and craftsmen who had mastered the building techniques required for classical architecture. It is not true to state that the Catholic clergy in Dublin were unequivocal advocates of classical as opposed to gothic. Contemporary with the Pro-Cathedral are the gothic churches in Dublin, Saints Michael and John, Blind Quay (1815) [4.7] by J.P. Taylor; Saint Michan's, Halston Street (1816) by O'Brien and Gorman, and Saint Peter's (1834) prominently sited in the centre of the North Circular Road at the start of the Cabra Road.<sup>5</sup> (Saint Michan's derives from Francis Johnston's Chapel Royal (C of I), built in 1807 [4.6].) The church built in Rathmines and dedicated in 1830 was gothic [4.5]. (This church was demolished to allow the building of the classical Our Lady of Refuge.) Five years after the gothic Rathmines church was built the Dominicans built a classical church in Denmark Street in 1835 fronting the street [2.92].<sup>6</sup> Patrick Byrne, like Francis Johnston was equally at home with classical or gothic styles. Byrne's Saint John the Baptist, Blackrock (begun 1842) [4.18] and Saint James's,

---

<sup>5</sup> The present church on the same site replaced the 1834 church.

<sup>6</sup> [Hugh Fenning], *St Saviour's church Dublin: centenary 1861-1961*, 80. The Dominican church in Denmark Street was demolished in the 1960s.



James's Street (1844) [4.19] are both gothic and built at the same time as his Saint Audoen's, High Street. Contemporary with these three churches is the classical Saint Andrew's consecrated in 1843. Saint John the Baptist was commissioned by Reverend Dr John Ennis PP. Dr Ennis was ordained at the age of 24 and then spent two years in the seminary of Saint Sulpice. On his return from Paris, in 1818, he was appointed curate of Saint Andrew's and helped Dr Blake and Dean Meyler by keeping the accounts of the building work.<sup>7</sup> Neither the classicism he saw in Paris nor the building of Saint Andrew's, nor his period as parish priest of Booterstown with its classical Church of the Assumption [2.87 & 2.88], persuaded him to commission work in the classical tradition. He seems to have come under the spell of Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-1852), as many of his contemporaries did in the 1840s, including Reverend George Canavan PP who was responsible for Saint James's. When Dr Paul Cullen, Rector of the Irish College in Rome, visited Birmingham in the summer of 1842 he expected to see 'something respectable' after all he had heard of Pugin's buildings. However he does not seem to have been predisposed to like Pugin or the gothic style. He found the bishop's residence 'a most miserable looking concern' and the convent 'a very poor inconvenient building, as ugly and irregular outside as anything I ever saw'. He thought Pugin's church [Saint Chad's] bad value for money and the ornaments ridiculous.

There are, I believe, but two candlesticks on the altar of the B. Sacrament – and the B. Sacrament is kept – a little thing just the shape of a half barrel raised up in the centre of the altar – at the high altar there in a sort of a shrine placed over the cross stands, in the shape of a squeeze box, containing relics – altogether the appearance of the place is very strange.

---

<sup>7</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of some Dublin parishes, pt III*, 112, 114.

Cullen's heart was with the classical, and he regretted the influence of Pugin on the Catholic clergy, a great number of whom were abandoning the classical.

It is a great pity that such a Goth as Pugin s<sup>d</sup> be allowed to destroy everything in this country, but what is worse he is now beginning to get a footing in Ireland – at Waterford he is engaged to build a convent for the presentation nuns, and in Wexford he is doing everything – the vestments and surplices are very queer things – but then he says they are ancient.<sup>8</sup>

Before the influence of Pugin became widespread in the 1840s it was common for small parish churches to be built in a classical style. Father William Young PP was responsible for two small classical churches, in North County Dublin.<sup>9</sup> After erecting schools for boys and girls in 1831, he started building the new church of Saints Peter and Paul at Baldoyle [2.89 & 2.90] on the site of the old chapel. It has a temple front façade with four Tuscan pilasters, made from granite which came from Lambay Island. The church is sited at the water's edge and its façade creates an impressive focal point from Willie Nolan Road. Local tradition says that the original communion table, altarpiece and windows were donated from the Protestant church of Saint Nicholas Within.<sup>10</sup> His other church, a more modest building, is at Kinsealy and dedicated to Saint Nicholas of Myra [2.91]. Work started in 1832, and as at Saints Peter and Paul's the schools which were built at the same time form part of the architectural

---

<sup>8</sup> ICR, Paul Cullen, Liverpool, to Tobias Kirby, Rome, 4 July 1842, Kirby papers 1836-43. 'Squeeze box' is an Irish colloquialism for the accordion or melodeon. The Bishop's house has since been demolished.

<sup>9</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of Dublin parishes*, pt XIV, 60-61.

<sup>10</sup> Joseph Hone, Maurice Craig, and Michael Fewer, *The new neighbourhood of Dublin*, 13.

ensemble. The church of Saint Nicholas of Myra faces the Malahide Road, and although much smaller than Saints Peter's and Paul's, it asserts its presence just as effectively. Both churches are based on the T-plan.

As soon as the neo-Greek temple front of the Pro-cathedral was finished John B. Keane was commissioned by the administrator of the parish, Reverend Dr Hamilton<sup>11</sup> to design a gothic church, Saint Laurence O'Toole, Seville Place [4.8 & 4.9]. While Saint Laurence O'Toole was being built (during the mid 1840s) Dr Hamilton developed an interest in and bought books on gothic architecture.<sup>12</sup>

The gothic style was to achieve ascendancy in Catholic church building in the 1860s starting with Saint Saviour's, Dominick Street (1858) [4.21] by J.J. McCarthy, and Saints Augustine and John, Thomas Street (begun in 1862) [4.20] by Pugin and Ashlin. Outside Dublin, Pugin and Ashlin, J.J. McCarthy, William Hague, and others built impressively big gothic churches, in the second half of the 19th century, which dominate the skyline of many Irish towns. The neo-classical did not completely go out of favour. In Limerick the Franciscans began the church of the Immaculate Conception, Henry Street, in 1876 [3.15 & 3.16]; this is a basilican church with a giant pro-style Corinthian portico and an interior based on the Early Christian architecture of Rome. The interior of

---

<sup>11</sup> John Hamilton (1800-62). Studied in Irish College, Paris, and at Saint Sulpice. Ordained in 1824 and appointed curate of Pro-Cathedral. Administrator of Pro-Cathedral from 1831 to 1853 and paid off the debts there. He ran an orphanage, a home for widows, a home for blind boys and a Catholic Library Bookshop. He revived the *Catholic directory*.

<sup>12</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 37-1, receipts dated January and July 1847, and notes on verso of Thaddeus Callaghan to Dr Hamilton, 27 September 1849.

the Jesuit Church of the Sacred Heart in Limerick (started in 1862), [3.13 & 3.14], is also neo-classical with an interior modelled on Saint Francis Xavier, Dublin. The Franciscan abbey church, Galway (consecrated 1849) [3.9 & 3.10], designed by James Cusack, uses the baseless Doric order throughout in a simplified version of the Pro-Cathedral. The latest example of a Catholic neo-classical church on an impressive scale was Cavan cathedral (1942) [3.27 & 3.28] designed by Ralph Byrne. The cathedral front is obviously inspired by Francis Johnston's Saint George's, Hardwicke Place, Dublin, but using the Corinthian order in a baroque manner, dominating the skyline and overshadowing the neighbouring Protestant parish church.

John Milner, titular bishop of Castabala, and resident in England, was a friend of the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr Troy. Through his publications on ecclesiastical architecture he had some influence on the patrons of Irish church buildings. His most influential work was, *An inquiry into certain vulgar opinions concerning the Catholic inhabitants and the antiquities of Ireland*, published in London in 1808. As the title indicates, the book contains observations on Catholics. It also contains in an appendix entitled 'Letter to a Catholic merchant of Waterford', his advice on how a church should be planned and fitted out. Although he claimed to favour gothic, he expressed a preference for the classical when discussing interiors.<sup>13</sup> He recommended that the altarpiece should consist of four columns or pilasters supporting an entablature with a closed or open pediment.<sup>14</sup> He suggested good proportions for chapel

---

<sup>13</sup> John Milner, *An inquiry into certain vulgar opinions*, 253.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 269.

interiors should be 1:3:1 (width:length:height).<sup>15</sup> He was also mindful of practical matters, recommending that there should be an entrance to one of the sides in addition to the main one at the west end, and that columns or pilasters along the side should finish on brackets one-third the distance from floor to architrave, unless they are of stone, or if the congregation is decent or orderly.<sup>16</sup> This practical advice was noted in the design of Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines, where it was planned to have the internal pilasters in granite up to a height of 6 feet.<sup>17</sup> In the Pro-Cathedral the lower part of the internal columns are made of cast iron, presumably to afford the protection recommended by Milner. (Regrettably this mixture of cast iron and plaster results in a lumpy entasis which destroys the Greek refinement which was intended.)

Designs for the new Metropolitan chapel (Pro-Cathedral) were sought by competition in 1814, and the committee wanted (possibly under the influence of Dr Troy) a classical building. John Benjamin Keane was employed at the Pro-Cathedral from at least 1818 for much of this time as executant architect. Using the model as a guide he directed the building. The only significant change to the original design was the introduction of a dome over the nave. It is not known who was responsible for this change, in any event approval for the change would have had to come from Archbishop Murray. Keane was proud of his work on the Pro-

---

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 263. Patrick Byrne, who had at least two of Milner's books in his library, used these proportions in St Audoen's and St Paul's.

<sup>16</sup> John Milner, *An inquiry into certain vulgar opinions*, 272.

<sup>17</sup> *Builder*, VIII, 30 November 1850, 568.

Cathedral and, judging from his description of the church in the *Catholic Directory*, in no sense gives the impression that he felt diminished by being the executor rather than the author of the design.<sup>18</sup>

The building of Saint Nicholas of Myra began in 1829, two years after Father Matthew Flanagan was appointed parish priest of Saint Nicholas. Donnelly credited the architect, John Leeson, with the general layout of the design but Father Flanagan for the refinement of all the details, which he says was evidence of a 'cultivated taste'.<sup>19</sup> Father Flanagan's close attention to detail is evident from his correspondence with Dr Paul Cullen when he was in Italy, in 1833, commissioning the altar and its marble angels. The altar and the side angels were designed by Giuseppe Leonardi, who was based in Rome. Leonardi made the altar and the pedestals for the angels. The angels were carved in Florence by Francesco Pozzi, and Father Flanagan undertook the responsibility of co-ordinating the measurements of angels and pedestals.<sup>20</sup>

Saint Francis Xavier was also started in 1829. The architect associated with the design is John Benjamin Keane, but as we have already seen, Father Bartolomew Esmonde was largely

---

<sup>18</sup> *Catholic directory 1842*, 258-9. While working on the Pro-Cathedral he designed St Mel's Cathedral, Longford, where he used a basilican plan and barrel vault (without the dome) similar in several respects to the design of the Pro-Cathedral, and built at a cost of £75,000. (In one important respect he did depart from the design of the Pro-Cathedral by using an arcaded instead of a colonnaded peristyle. Laugier and most of his contemporaries would not have approved.)

<sup>19</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of some Dublin parishes, pt VI, 1909*, 71.

<sup>20</sup> ICR, Matthew Flanagan, Florence, to Paul Cullen, Rome, 4 June 1833, carton IV, folder 1, Silke catalogue.

responsible for at least large parts of the design.<sup>21</sup> A careful account was kept of receipts and expenditure during the building of Saint Francis Xavier and the only money recorded as having been paid to Keane was £100.<sup>22</sup> This sum represents a little over 0.5% of the total cost of the building. Contemporary architects would expect fees of at least 5% of the building cost to allow them devote adequate time to a job. On this reckoning Keane should have received over £900 in fees if he had been employed to design the church and supervise the building work. He may have contributed much of his time and expertise *gratis* as a contribution to the work, but he had staff to pay, and judging from his frequent requests for advances in fees on the Pro-Cathedral and Saint Laurence O'Toole jobs, this seems unlikely.<sup>23</sup> It is more probable that his role was as architectural advisor rather than as designer. It is possible that he produced a sketch design based on a conceptual drawing by his clerical patron. It is more likely that he was employed as advisor during the later stages of design or when the building contractors were on site. This later suggestion is put forward as being likely because we have already seen how Father Esmonde was responsible for the design of the extension to the sanctuary in 1842 but with advice from an

---

<sup>21</sup> The Irish Jesuit Archive contains the papers of Fathers Alymer, Esmonde, Haly, St Leger, and the General to Provincials file. Permission to consult these papers was not granted, but the archivist Father Fergus O'Donaghue SJ states that they contain no information on the building of the church of Saint Francis Xavier.

<sup>22</sup> IJA, 'Account of receipts & expenditure for St Francis Xavier, March 1829 to September. 1835', cm/Gard 38.

<sup>23</sup> IJA. A list of subscribers, dated 31 July 1830, to the church includes the names John Keane, and Patrick Byrne, cm/Gard/41(1). We do not know if these are the architects

architect.<sup>24</sup> The account book, for the first phase of the work, contains details of payments and wages made to tradesmen and labourers indicating that work on site was directed by the Jesuits. The accounts are signed by Fathers Peter Kenney and Charles Aylmer.

Some hint of the dominant role played by clerical patrons can be gleaned from the proceeding at the dinner held on 19 May 1840, after the ceremonies which took place at the laying of the foundation stone to Longford cathedral [3.18]. Archbishop John MacHale said he did not want government pensions for clergy, or that Catholic churches should be erected by government appointed architects. He was not prepared (nor were the majority of his colleagues) to accept financial assistance from the state in exchange for a loss of control over the running of their affairs. He mocked what he called ‘scholastic architects educated in Oxford and Cambridge’ and he claimed that if the government were to grant £20,000 not more than £3,000 would be left ‘to the erecting of a miserable edifice’ after all the fees had been paid. He went on to say that the Catholic Church owed nothing to temporal authority:

...it came down from heaven, and having derived its descent from a high station, its temples overtop all the edifices of human creatures; it recommends itself not by right of conquest, but by its sympathies with the people. It is these circumstances which have given it the noble character which it acquired at the period of its founding, a character which it has since sustained, and which it will continue to possess for ever in this country, unless it becomes trammelled with the bondage of a state connection.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> According to Father Collins SJ the church was designed almost entirely by Father Esmonde. (Desmond Collins, *St Francis Xavier's church, Gardiner Street 1832-1982*, 6.)

<sup>25</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 25 May 1840.



We have already seen how in spite of having spent a considerable sum of money on the Townsend Street chapel the new administrator, Very Reverend Dr Michael Blake, persuaded the parishioners to abandon the current work and build a new church in Westland Row. If Dr Blake was strong enough to stop work on the Townsend Street chapel, persuade his parishioners to allow him build a new church, sack John Leeson, and have his initials inscribed on the foundation stone of his church, it is not unreasonable to assume that he took a close interest in the design of the new church. We can form some slight impression of the character of Dr Blake from the contents of his library. His library was auctioned in 1825 after he left Ireland to reside in Italy. It contained books on travel, French literature, grammar, classics, philosophy, history, science and art. He also had novels, and books on chess. He had books on church history in Italian, and theology in French. He had some books on architecture, but probably no more than should be expected of any educated person; they included 120 engravings of Rome contained in Jacobo de Rubeis, *Insignium Romae, Templorum prospectus inventi nunc tandem suis cum plantis ac mensuris a Jacobo de Rubeis cum privilegion summi, Pontificis Innocentii, XI, 1684*; John Baptiste Soria, *Architectural views in Rome with portraits*, Rome 1624. Thomas Humphrey, *Irish builder's guide*, Dublin 1813 was also on his shelves indicating an interest in building and cost control.<sup>26</sup> However, it cannot be assumed that Dr Blake was responsible for the decision to build in a classical style. Before coming to Saint Andrew's he had been parish priest of Saints Michael and John, where he found a site for a new church to replace the adapted storehouse in Rosemary Lane

---

<sup>26</sup> RIA, Charles Sharpe, *Catalogue of an excellent collection of books, which is to be sold by auction by Charles Sharpe, at his literary and general auction saloon, No 33 Anglesea-street, commencing and concluding on Saturday next, February 5, 1825.*

which was being used as a chapel.<sup>27</sup> The new church of Saints Michael and John, by John Taylor, opened in 1815, is in a gothic style.

Patrick Byrne had been practising architecture for over 30 years when he was asked by Dr William Meagher, newly appointed, in 1848, parish priest of Saints Mary and Peter, Rathmines, to design a new church for his parish. Rathmines was in the rural part of the parish of Saint Nicholas of Myra and was made a separate parish to cater for the inhabitants of the new suburb which had been created in the 1820s. The first parish priest was Canon William Stafford, who after being put in charge of the parish in 1823, lost no time in taking steps to build a parochial church 'in form and dimensions suited to the brightening fortunes of religion, and the predicted importance and prosperity of the locality.'<sup>28</sup> A site was purchased from the Earl of Meath in 1824 and shortly after the foundation stone was laid by Lord Brabazon, who also contributed 30 guineas towards the building cost. Oddly the new church was not to follow the neo-classical lead given by the Pro-Cathedral which was under construction at the time. Instead the style chosen was gothic and according to Donnelly the finished church was 'superior in taste and finish to any similar Gothic structure previously attempted in Dublin'.<sup>29</sup> The finished church [4.5] measured on plan about 27 metres by 11 metres. It was solemnly dedicated on the feast of the Assumption, 15 August

---

<sup>27</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of Dublin parishes, pt VIII*, 196. This was on the site of the Smock Alley Theatre.

<sup>28</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of Dublin parishes*, part VII, 84.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

1830 by Archbishop Murray. At this stage it was a shell only and £5,000 had been collected for the building locally. To finish the building large parts of the ground which had been bought had to be sold.<sup>30</sup>

When the church was built it was thought to be too big, but 18 years later in 1848 the idea of building a new church took root, due to the overcrowding that took place day and night during a most successful mission given by Dr Luigi Gentile (1801-48) and Father Furlong of the Order of Charity. Dr Gentile's eloquence in favour of a new church convinced the public to support the project.<sup>31</sup> The priests of the parish were more cautious and they engaged Patrick Byrne to prepare a suitable plan for enlargement of the church. The parish priest Father Stafford opened the subscription list with a generous donation of £100. He died less than two months later in November 1848, and the new parish priest, Dr William Meagher, after giving the matter his consideration decided to recommend to his parishioners the building of a new church. He called a meeting in the church on Whit Sunday, 1 May 1849 at which a building committee was named. At the same meeting the subscription list was opened and reached £2,200.<sup>32</sup> With an inspiring confidence he convinced his parishioners that funds would be forthcoming. He reminded them that although pestilence and famine had swept away thousands in some other localities, Rathmines was, by comparison, unharmed. 'Has not Rathmines been rendered more than once the scene of

---

<sup>30</sup> William Meagher, *Five engravings descriptive of the new church of Our Immaculate Lady of Refuge*, 4.

<sup>31</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of Dublin parishes*, pt VII, 90.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

Heaven's most special favours?<sup>33</sup> In a sense, the new church in Rathmines was to be built as a votive offering to God, for sparing the inhabitants from disasters and as thanksgiving for their good fortune. He found from speaking to people that he was likely to get more generous contributions for a new church than for enlarging the old one.<sup>34</sup>

Dr Meagher was soon to make his ideas on architecture and his new plans for his parish known. If there is any uncertainty about the extent of the involvement of the clerical patrons in the architecture of the churches mentioned so far, there is no such uncertainty when it comes to Dr Meagher. He was a keen advocate of classical architecture; and he wanted to build his new parish a church in the best example of that style. First he had to convert his parishioners to his way of thinking. Although we think of the clergy as the patrons of church architecture, in a sense the real patrons were the parishioners, especially the wealthy ones, for without convincing them to part with money nothing more than modest structures could have been built. Dr Meagher decided that the first thing he had to do was convince his parishioners that he knew what was best in architecture and to discourage any tendencies they might have towards gothic architecture. No doubt, with Pugin in mind, he warned his parish committee that there

has sprung up of late in these countries [the British Isles], not an admiration, not a rational love of gothic religious architecture,

---

<sup>33</sup> William Meagher, *Address to the parishioners*, 15-6.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

but a mania. Beware of that mania, Gentlemen; it has led many astray.<sup>35</sup>

In May 1849 Dr Meagher launched his campaign with the publication of a pamphlet addressed to the parishioners. Here he used his considerable skills to persuade his parishioners to agree to his proposal to build a new church.<sup>36</sup> With a confidence, which must have been inspiring, he claimed to have no doubt at all that what he was proposing was right and the best thing for the parish.

Before presenting his ideas for the new church he argued against the proposal to enlarge their church. To enlarge the church in a tasteful manner would be impractical, and impossible to produce a building which could ‘...touch their feelings or lift the souls to God.’<sup>37</sup> Furthermore the building should aim at

...producing impressions of awe and reverence by its bold proportions, by its perfect symmetries, by its majestic amplitude, by its stern adherence to every minutest particular of correct architectural design;<sup>38</sup>

He said there were enough examples of poor ecclesiastical architecture in the country and he did not want to add to it by leaving posterity any more ‘monuments of corrupt taste.’ To do so would be a disgrace to the beautiful suburb of Rathmines, and not

---

<sup>35</sup> OLR, William Meagher to gentlemen of the committee, 3 October 1849. The letter is 20 pages long with a further 12 pages dated 15 October 1849 which had been accidentally omitted by the printer.

<sup>36</sup> William Meagher, *Address to the parishioners of SS Mary and Peter, Rathmines*, Dublin 1849.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

worthy of a ‘great catholic nation.’<sup>39</sup> His persuasive words had the desired effect on his parishioners and he recorded:

On Whitsunday, May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1849, a meeting that comprised almost every Catholic of rank and property in the parish, together with a crowd of the humbler classes, assembled in the Parish Chapel, and with only a very few exceptions, declared itself fervently and decidedly in favour of the New Church.<sup>40</sup>

Although Dr Meagher consulted Patrick Byrne, he was responsible for the design concept for the new church [1.22], and responsible for directing much of the detailed design. He told his parishioners that the new church should be in the style of ‘the Roman, or Palladian architecture of modern Italy’.<sup>41</sup>

Let the form of your church be a Greek Cross, the several shafts of which are equal, and over the centre, where the arms intersect each other, erect a dome, and raise your altar beneath. Ornament your walls by bold Corinthian pilasters, reaching from the floor to the architrave, and dividing the space in compartments, which can contain each a closed arch, that may all one day be opened, and present access to sixteen noble lateral chapels. Let a plain unbroken Corinthian frieze and cornices encompass the building; with semi-cylindrical roof, of fullest proportions, surmounting the whole. Observe, I pray you, the numerous advantages of this plan.<sup>42</sup>

Dr Meagher expressed confidence that money would not be a great difficulty and he implied that he knew of sources ‘...from many a hidden spring streams of riches shall burst forth.’<sup>43</sup> He

---

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>40</sup> William Meagher, *Five engravings descriptive of the new church of Our Immaculate Lady of Refuge*, 6.

<sup>41</sup> William Meagher, *Address to the parishioners of SS Mary and Peter, Rathmines*, 28.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 28-9.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 20.

proposed taking down the old church and re-erecting it in Harold's Cross.<sup>44</sup> Although the committee members agreed to his proposals at first, they were worried about the expense of the undertaking and had doubts about the Greek cross design. They decided to hold a special meeting about the project at which the clergy of the parish were to have no admission. When Father Meagher heard of the proposed meeting he wrote a letter to the committee and had copies printed.<sup>45</sup> In this 32 page letter he protested that he was responsible for the plans but that for 'any further steps taken, I am accountable only as a member – an almost passive member of your Committee.'<sup>46</sup> He argued that it would be a betrayal of those who gave money for the project and for whom extra masses had been said. He was also concerned that he would become the object of public ridicule. He gave assurances on the cost and wrote that plainer ornamentation could be used. He was not prepared to drop the Corinthian order but if need be Ionic or even Doric arrangements, i.e. entablatures, could be used above the capitals of the Corinthian pilasters. He also suggested that the dome could be left out and a saucer dome used instead. He allowed that the portico could be built later. Another public meeting was held on 15 May 1850 and Dr Meagher persuaded the parishioners to be courageous and proceed with the new church. In the haste to see progress the foundations trenches for the new church were excavated on a site fronting Richmond Hill, but after more consideration it was decided to build around the old church

---

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>45</sup> William Meagher, *Letter to the gentlemen of the committee*, 3 October 1849.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 3.

and abandon the building work already begun.<sup>47</sup> This change of mind was to affect the design of the church as originally planned, but not the concept. To fit over the old church, the height had to be increased by a considerable amount, and the arms reduced in length from 40 feet to 25 feet in order to fit on the site. As a further necessity the arms were increased in width. The result was a great increase in the space under the dome [1.23]. These changes were, according to Dr Meagher, an improvement, and a happy fatality revealing God's approval.<sup>48</sup>

The first stone was laid on 18 August 1850 by Archbishop Daniel Murray. The Dublin quarries of Kimmage and Donnybrook supplied the calp limestone, and the granite came from Ballyknocken, Co. Wicklow. John Lynch and his firm at Mountpleasant Avenue did the masonry work finishing in December 1851. The tender of William Hughes of Talbot Street was accepted for the roof and dome; this work was finished in the autumn of 1853. Hogan and Connolly carried out the interior plasterwork.

To them fell the lot of revealing to the public eye the first glimpses of the gorgeous yet chaste and majestic forms which the church was finally to assume,<sup>49</sup>

Meagher was proud of his new church and he confidently assumed it to be '... destined to exercise no inconsiderable influence over the taste and the tendencies of the Catholic mind,

---

<sup>47</sup> William Meagher, *Five engravings descriptive of the new church of Our Immaculate Lady of Refuge*, 7.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 10. (Maybe the masonry work was not quite finished at the end of 1851 as Dr Meagher states. The *Builder*, X, 31 January 1852, 76, reports that the old church is nearly enclosed by the new one and that the walls are nearly at wallplate level.)



on the subject of church-building, amongst us.' In the same context he mentions 'the fascinating gracefulness of her Saint Genevieve, the solemn grandeur of her Escorial, and her peerless Vatican Basilica'. To support his argument he gave as further examples of Greek cross plans, Sainte-Geneviève, Paris; Hagia Sophia, Istanbul; Saint Mark's, Venice; Santa Maria degli Angeli, Florence, and Santa Agnese in Piazza Navona, Rome. He also mentioned San Carlo in Catenari, and San Ciriaco in Ancona. He also gives as an example the chapel of Hôpital de la Salpêtrière in Paris [1.37].<sup>50</sup> Nearer to home he would probably have known that Waterford cathedral (1794) and Saint Mary's, Pope's Quay, Cork (1834) are based on the Greek cross, although Saint Mary's Greek cross plan was not fully realised until 1872.

During construction it was decided to allow for a more elaborate west front at a future date when funds permitted, the idea being that the portico should be 'in harmony with the interior magnificence of the structure.' The church had eight exterior doors, one on each arm of the cross and one under each pendentive. Five of these doors had external porticos; four of them were at the outer angles of the cross 'while at the southern extremity, a closed portico extends, oblong in form, and of spacious dimensions, over which the Sacristan's apartments are constructed.' The front elevation was to have a portico of Corinthian columns nearly 50' high, 'dimensions so gigantic as to exceed considerably any composition of the same order ever erected in the British islands.'<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 11. In his *Letter to the gentlemen of the committee*, dated 3 October 1849 with an appendix dated 15 October 1849.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 13.

Work on the church was progressing quickly in 1854 and a statue of Our Lady, which had been exhibited at the Great Exhibition was placed on view in a niche outside.<sup>52</sup> This statue was especially commissioned from James Farrell (brother of Thomas) for the pediment of Rathmines church.<sup>53</sup> The church was consecrated in May 1856. Most of Father Meagher's ideas were realized as this description from the *Freeman's Journal* testifies:

The interior of the church presents to the eye of the spectator the idea at once of spaciousness and sublimity. The noble dome which rises in the centre gives off from each side a coved ceiling richly ornamented. The dome is divided into 120 panels furnished with tasteful embellishments. The spectator on entering cannot fail to be struck with the elaborate beauty of the stucco work, not only of the ceiling, but also of the cornices, groins and pilasters, of which latter the capitals are exquisitely wrought in mouldings and foliage of the composite order. The decorations of that interior are after the design of the architect, Mr. P. Byrne, of Talbot-street, and have been carried out in the most tasteful manner by Mr. Thomas Connolly, in partnership of Hogan and Connolly. The panels of the dome are decorated with finely executed heads of angels and saints. The grand arch over the great altar, and the side arches leading to the minor chapels and oratories are finished in the richest style of art. The marble altar bears on its front a beautifully executed copy in sculptured relief of Leonardo's "Last Supper." The tabernacle in coloured imitation marble is unique in its design and construction.<sup>54</sup>

When the church was opened for use in 1856 the expensive work of building the portico had not been attempted. Over 20 years later in 1878, with seemingly undiminished energy, the parish priest, Dr William Meagher wrote to his parishioners a 29 page

---

<sup>52</sup> *Catholic directory 1854*, 214.

<sup>53</sup> Paula Murphy, *Thomas Farrell, Dublin sculptor 1827-1900*, 43.

<sup>54</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 20 May 1856.

letter in which he outlined his proposal to build the portico for the church.

I propose, with your assistance, to erect, as the principal frontage of our sacred building, an imposing Portico of rich materials – Portland stone – and of such design and proportions, together with strictest attention to architectural propriety, as may enable it to vie in these several respects with the noblest structures of a city such as ours, pre-eminent for its grand and graceful tectonic erections.<sup>55</sup>

He urged his parishioners to allow him build the portico, finishing with the clinching argument that the Pope had commenced the building of a huge portico to the front of San Paolo fuori le mura.<sup>56</sup>

It is a consolation, too, and an encouragement, to see that, like ourselves, they have been content to consummate, first, the embellishment of God's house within, and, now that they have done so, their MOST HOLY FATHER AND PONTIFF is girding himself to lead them on to a correspondent appropriate exterior – TO A BEFITTING PORTICO.<sup>57</sup>

He did not pass over the opportunity to ask his parishioners for more money to spend on the interior. With remarks that emulate Abbot Suger he told them that the interior is fine but would be even better

...when every ornament from pavement to pinnacle shall be blazing in burnished gold, and every altar constructed of rarest marbles, and every niche and every tablet glowing with the sculptor's and painter's fairest creations, think, dearest Friends,

---

<sup>55</sup> William Meagher, *To the Roman Catholic parishioners of Rathmines*, 3 June 1878, 2.

<sup>56</sup> San Paolo fuori le Mura, Rome, was started in 384 and built under the emperors Valentinian II, Theodosius and Arcadius. This immense basilica with a nave and four aisles was completed in the remarkably short time of ten years. After a devastating fire in 1823, the church was reconstructed, the work finishing in 1854.

<sup>57</sup> William Meagher, *To the Roman Catholic parishioners of Rathmines*, 3 June 1878, 21.

whether it will not be an additional joy to look down from amidst the beatitudes of eternity upon this paradise restored, through God's ineffable bounty, by our hands.<sup>58</sup>

He lost little time in consulting architects O'Neill and Byrne (no relation to Patrick Byrne) who made drawings of a portico closely following the design shown in *Five engravings descriptive of the new church of Our Immaculate Lady of Refuge*. In the elevation drawing even the statues are copied from the original; there were to be statues in each of the three niches and three statues over the pediment. On the frieze the lettering MARIAE PECCATORUM REFUGIO was to be inscribed as on the original. The only significant departure from the original was the addition of two campanili, reminiscent, of those on Saint Sulpice, Paris, adorned with at least four statues each and finished with pointed domes.<sup>59</sup> The campanili are omitted on the contract drawings which were signed by the building contractors Michael Meade and Son on 2 September 1878. As built the frieze is inscribed MARIAE IMMACULATAE REFUGIO PECCATORUM. The three statues on the pediment represent the Virgin, Saint Patrick, and Saint Laurence O'Toole.<sup>60</sup> Dr Meagher lived to see the portico completed in 1880, but died the following year, while work on the wings was still in progress.

---

<sup>58</sup> William Meagher, *To the Roman Catholic parishioners of Rathmines*, 3 June 1878, 6.

<sup>59</sup> Drawings in office of W.H. Byrne and Son, architects, Dublin.

<sup>60</sup> DDA, Commission for sacred art, Our Lady of Refuge.

The interior of the church, roof and dome were destroyed by fire on 26 January 1920.<sup>61</sup> In the rebuilding the dome was made even higher, and the general arrangement of the plasterwork was maintained but with altered proportions.

Father Meagher had the rare opportunity to build a second church in his parish, and again he enlisted the architectural services of Patrick Byrne. The church of the Three Patrons was started in 1860 and was Byrne's last church [1.19, 2.50, 2.51, 2.52, 2.53, 2.54, 2.55, 2.56 & 9.14]. A bequest of £2,000 was specifically directed to the building of a church of ease in Rathgar. According to Father Meagher the church was intended for the numerous domestic servants, who worked in Protestant houses and who were not given enough time to go to mass in Rathmines. He wrote in a letter to his parishioners that 'these good poor creatures are doomed' to 'the grudging parsimony that doles out to them on Sundays a miserable dribble of time for performance of its most hallowed rites'.<sup>62</sup> Meagher, now long past his youth, was not consumed with as much passion for this church as he had been for the Rathmines church, nevertheless, according to C. P. Curran, he subjected the architect, Patrick Byrne, to his will and reduced him to little more than a clerk of works causing him to be exposed to some undeserved criticism.<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> *Evening Herald*, 26 January 1920; *Irish Times*, 27 January 1920; *Irish Independent*, 27 January 1920; *Evening Telegraph*, 27 January 1920.

<sup>62</sup> William Meagher to his parishioners, 26 March 1862, 2.

<sup>63</sup> C.P. Curran, 'Patrick Byrne: architect', *Studies*, 33(1944), 200.

According to Patrick Raftery, the original plans show a portico and campanile but these were omitted and the church was built of rubble and plaster. The baptistery and sacristy were provided after the church became a parish church in 1882.<sup>64</sup> The high altar was designed by William H. Byrne and executed by the sculptor Joseph Farrell.<sup>65</sup> The plan is basilican and is clearly derived from the plan of the Pro-Cathedral.

The ceremonies at the laying of the foundation stone on 18 March 1860, attracted the attention of the *Irish Times* which had this to say in its leading article:

The adherents of Papacy in this country seem determined to brave the law and public decency to the utmost. On Sunday last, the Protestant and quiet township of Rathgar was the scene of mob-fanaticism and priestly display. A chapel, it seems, is to depreciate the value of the property in the neighbourhood, and drive the Protestant occupants from the place. A person, entitled the Bishop of Bombay, blessed the first stone, and acted as Hierophant in the celebration of the rites. Although the chapel is to be dedicated to St Patrick, the patron day of that saint was passed over, and Sunday was chosen as the day when the mummeries performed would be most likely to offend Protestant notions respecting the tranquillity of the Sabbath.

The indignant writer goes on to say that:

Under the windows of the Protestant gentry all the paraphernalia of Popery was ostentatiously displayed, and the people taught Romanism was, indeed, the dominant religion.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup> Patrick Raftery, 'The last of the traditionalists: Patrick Byrne 1783-1864', in *Irish Georgian Society Bulletin*, VII (April-December 1964), 64. Raftery suggests that the façade of SS Mary and Peter, Arklow (1859-61) by Byrne gives an idea of what might have been intended for The Three Patrons. The drawings he refers to have not been located.

<sup>65</sup> Roderick O'Donnell, 'Roman reflections on the Liffey: Classical catholic churches in Victorian Dublin', *Country Life*, 5 July 1984, 52.

<sup>66</sup> *Irish Times*, 20 March 1860. This reference was given to me by the parish priest Reverend Patrick Dowling. The full text of the article is reproduced in Appendix E.

Father Meagher at first intended that the new church should be small and cost no more than £1,200, but after taking advice he decided not to insult the inhabitants with the introduction of an ‘unsightly public edifice into their beautiful district.’<sup>67</sup> By the time of the dedication £4,000 had been paid on the structure, and by February 1863 the cost had risen to £6,000.

All the clergy who built churches were familiar with much Catholic architecture on the continent, particularly that of Rome and Paris. They listened to their architects’ advice but did not take direction from them. At the laying of the foundation stone for Longford Cathedral on 19 May 1840, the Most Reverend Dr John MacHale praised Dr Higgins for his great learning which he applied to the design of the temple:

He has, in the exercise of a cultivated and refined taste, brought home models of the finest specimens of architecture which could be met with in France or Italy, including the splendid monuments of art which are to be found in the Eternal City, and by that means he has been enabled to design the noble temple, the foundation of which he has this day laid, and which, when finished, will not be merely a distant imitation of these stupendous edifices, but will be one which should be looked on with admiration and respect even in Rome, and there would be ranked among its wonders by strangers.<sup>68</sup>

Dr Meagher, as we have seen, took a great interest in all aspects of the design. In both his churches he decided which orders of architecture to use, the iconographic programme, and even what some of the building materials should be. His choice of a central plan, for a church which would be dedicated to the Virgin,

---

<sup>67</sup> William Meagher to his parishioners, 26 March 1862, 4.

<sup>68</sup> *Freeman’s Journal*, 25 May 1840.

suggests that he was aware of the tradition in Italy of its strong association with Marian churches. Some examples of centrally planned Marian churches in Italy are: S. Maria degli Angeli, Florence (1434); Santa Maria di Calcinaio, Cortona (1484); Santa Maria delle Carceri, Prato (1485); Santa Maria di Loreta, Rome (1507); Santa Maria della Consolazione, Todi (1508); Madonna di Santa Biagio, Montepulciano (1518); Santa Maria di Carignano, Genoa (1549); Madonna di Campagna, Verona (1559); Santa Maria della Salute, Venice (1631), and Santa Maria Assunta, Ariccia (1662).<sup>69</sup> Ecclesiastical architecture has a long history, is subject to traditional customs, and must satisfy liturgical requirements. For these reasons the 19th century ecclesiastical patron was in a strong position to exert a form of architectural dictatorship over his architect. Rarely did an architect of the stature of Pugin arise who could dictate to his ecclesiastical patrons. In 19th century Dublin, and elsewhere in Ireland, there is convincing evidence that the clergy who built Catholic churches exerted a strong influence on their design. Although not evident in Dublin, the common practice among church building priests of having their names carved in stone on the façades is an indication of their desire to be associated with the architecture.

Nothing was possible, however, without the financial support of the Catholic laity (and others), and this will be discussed in chapter 8.

\*\*\*

---

<sup>69</sup> Dates when work started.



# 7

## CREATING ORDER *Planning the churches*

*Charles Borromeo – control of entrances – segregation of classes – music*

...the teeming multitude of the faithful – the habits and even the health of our people, justify a custom [segregating the congregation] seldom witnessed among our brethren elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

In 1559 Charles Borromeo's maternal uncle Giovanni, Cardinal Angelo Medici, a native of Milan, was elected Pope Pius IV. At the age of 22, Borromeo (1538-84) was summoned to Rome by his uncle and made a cardinal and administrator of the Papal States.<sup>2</sup> In 1564 he was appointed Archbishop of Milan. With the aim of creating order in the building of new churches in his diocese he engaged the help of architect Pellegrino Tibaldi (1527-96) and published his recommendations *Instructiones fabricae et suppellectilis ecclesiasticae*, in 1577. This was the most important document on church planning published since the Counter-Reformation and it had a wide influence in the Catholic church in the following centuries. No evidence has been found that Borromeo's text was used directly as a guide in the Dublin churches, but the churches do conform to his advice in most respects; this is because a general consensus on

---

<sup>1</sup> William Meagher, *Address to the parishioners of SS Mary and Peter, Rathmines*, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn Carole Voelker, *Charles Borromeo's Instructiones fabricae et suppellectilis ecclesiasticae, 1577*, 8.

church building, according to Borromeo's advice, became part of an agreed architectural language.<sup>3</sup> The work is divided into 33 short chapters treating with architecture and its meaning for church building as well as the practical concerns of building and furnishing, all of which is intended to be helpful to those considering the design of churches, oratories, monasteries, and the living quarters for clergy. On planning matters he considers the siting and approach to the church, the location of the sacristy, living quarters, bell towers, and baptistery. On architecture he gives advice on doorways, windows, and chapels. He deals with furniture, e.g. holy water fonts, confessionals, seating, partitions, the fittings for the altar, and sacred art. He gives advice on vaults for burials. He gives practical advice on roof and floor construction, and does not neglect the important consideration of storage space for various items of the Catholic rite like biers, poles, oil vases, and household items like ladders and buckets. (Proper storage space is often overlooked but is necessary to avoid clutter in the church.)

In chapter 1 Borromeo deals with the siting of the church and the living accommodation for the clergy. He recommends that the church should be on a prominent site, but away from noise and dirt. If the site is flat there should be three to five steps up to floor level. It is clear that the intention is to emphasize the civic importance of the building. In Dublin there was no doubt in the minds of those planning the new Catholic churches in the 19th century that their churches were to be important public buildings

---

<sup>3</sup> The recommendations on Catholic church planning given in Adrian Fortescue, *The ceremonies of the Roman rite described*, London 1930, do not contradict Borromeo.

which would adorn the city and enhance the status of the Catholic population. Every effort was made to find prominent sites for the Dublin churches and these efforts were successful in all cases. All the churches originally had at least three steps from ground to floor level. Borromeo recommends that the living quarters for the clergy should be nearby but should not have a common wall with the church; this recommendation does not apply to caretakers or sacristans who may live adjoining the church for its safety. The Dublin churches which come near to breaking this rule are Saint Andrew's, with its long street façade of church and presbyteries, and Saint Francis Xavier which also forms part of the street façade. On close inspection it is apparent that the presbyteries and churches are only connected at the front.

Borromeo prefers the longitudinal plan, because it was used in early Christian Rome, but has no objection to the central plan.<sup>4</sup> His new emphasis on the architectural importance of the nave was partially due to the idea of using it as a congregational hall for preaching.<sup>5</sup> In early Christian Rome the bema in the basilican church required more and more room for the officiating clergy and in later churches developed into transepts and then into a cruciform plan that came to symbolise the crucifixion. Saint Audoen's and Saint Francis Xavier are the only churches in this study to have Latin cross plans. Apart from Our Lady of Refuge, which is centrally planned, the other churches have longitudinal plans; Saint Andrew's, Adam and Eve's, and Saint Nicholas of Myra have T-plans, Saint Paul's has a single nave, and the Pro-

---

<sup>4</sup> The central plan was also used in early Christian Rome.

<sup>5</sup> Evelyn Carole Voelker, *Charles Borromeo's Instructiones fabricae et suppellectilis ecclesiasticae, 1577*, 28.

Cathedral and the Three Patrons have basilican plans derived from French models.

Borromeo writes that every church should have in the upper part of the chief doorway the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary with her son Jesus in her arms. On the right hand side there should be the effigy of the saint to whom the church is dedicated and on the left another saint to whom the people of the parish are particularly devoted.<sup>6</sup> Except for the small rural church of Saint Nicholas of Myra, in the village of Kinsealy to the north of the city (started 1832) [2.91], none of the Dublin churches have images over the doorways, however sculpture was used on the outside of most of the churches in a way that Borromeo would probably have approved. The Virgin reigns supreme over Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines, Saint Audoen's, Saint Nicholas of Myra, and on the Pro-Cathedral. In 1836 when the main portico of the Pro-Cathedral was partly finished the pediment was to be ordered with figures representing the three Christian virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity.<sup>7</sup> In the event the statues erected represent the Virgin, Saint Patrick, and Saint Laurence O'Toole.<sup>8</sup> (The portico was finished by 1841.)<sup>9</sup> Saint Andrew reigns supreme and unaccompanied, in Baroque splendour, on the apex of his portico. Borromeo recommends that a church should have an atrium. The atrium was never a tradition in Irish church building, and anyway

---

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>7</sup> *Catholic registry directory 1836*, 68.

<sup>8</sup> Daniel Downing, 'The pro-cathedral Marlborough St, Dublin: its story and associations', *IER* 5th series (1917), IX, 458.

<sup>9</sup> *Catholic directory 1841*, 277.

the size of the city sites would not have permitted them, except perhaps for Saint Nicholas of Myra. It is not surprising that Borromeo should recommend an atrium. When he was made Archbishop of Milan in 1564 his first pastoral visit was to the church of Sant'Ambrogio [6.12] which has an atrium which creates a serene space which surely worked its architectural charm on him.

He allows the architect freedom in deciding what roof system is suitable for a particular church, but he seems to favour the trabeated roof system of the ancient Roman basilica because of its associations with the early church. He points out that because of the sacred images and objects that must be protected the durability of the roof is of great importance. He says it is not wrong to build vaulted ceilings and acknowledges that they are seen in some ancient basilicas in Milan and its province.<sup>10</sup> John Milner,<sup>11</sup> writing in the early 19th century, favoured the bold semi-circular barrel vault, but where funds were lacking, he advised his readers to

be content with an elliptical one, and at all events you must restrain your plasterers from introducing the common ornaments with which they are accustomed to decorate their drawing rooms, and square modern chapels.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Sant'Ambrogio, Milan has a vaulted ceiling.

<sup>11</sup> John Milner (1752-1826). Educated at Sedgley Park, and at the English College, Douai. He was ordained in 1776. He was sent to Winchester where he was to remain for 22 years eventually becoming Bishop and Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District. He became one of the pioneers of the Gothic revival and published *The history, civil and ecclesiastical, and survey of the antiquities of Winchester*, 2 volumes, Winchester 1798. (M. N. L. Couve de Murville, *John Milner*, Birmingham 1986.)

<sup>12</sup> John Milner, *An inquiry into certain vulgar opinions*, 272.

Milner was advocating the barrel vault used on many of the 18th century French basilican churches, and thus anticipating the barrel vault used in the Pro-Cathedral, and the curved ceilings used in Saint Nicholas of Myra, Saint Paul's, and Saint Andrew's.

The floor must not consist of any type of brickwork unless it is glazed. In important churches the floor should be finished in marble or other stone. He approved of mosaic work and tessellated designs (which had a long history), but, and on this point he is definite in his opinion, no sacred image of any kind should be on the floor. An earthen floor was common in the humbler Irish churches until at least the end of the 18th century. The floors of the Pro-Cathedral and Saint Francis Xavier were laid in York stone. In Saint Andrew's the floor of the nave slopes slightly towards the altar.

He recommends that the heads of doorways should not be arched, but flat as in ancient basilicas, otherwise they will look like city gates. The main façade should have an uneven number of doors which should be used to separate men and women. No doorways should be constructed at the sides or back of the church, except those necessary for access to ancillary spaces. A distinguishing feature of Irish Catholic churches of the 19th century is the liberal provision of doorways at the front and sides to separate the classes and to accommodate the large crowds. Even in the smallest Catholic chapels the classes were segregated. Sometimes the Catholic clergy experimented with unsegregated arrangements but their efforts were universally rebuffed by the

better-off parishioners.<sup>13</sup> Although it was not mandatory to separate men and women in the churches it was commonly done in rural churches and in some city churches well into the 20th century. Part of a statute promulgated by the Archdiocese and Province of Dublin in July 1831, invoking the authority of Saint Augustine, asks the priests to keep men and women separate in their churches as much as they can with convenience.<sup>14</sup>

One would expect the heads of doorways in neo-classical buildings to be flat and indeed this is the case in the classical Dublin churches. The main façades of most of the Dublin churches have three entrances but this follows logically from the plan and in any event most architects would avoid an even number to avoid duality.

He recommends a circular window over the main doorway, and an uneven number of lateral windows. Windows should not be behind the altar, and if possible should not be over the altar, and they should be as high as possible. People should not be able to look into the church. All the windows should be of clear glass with no painting, except with the image of the saint to whom the church is dedicated. All the Dublin churches are lit by high windows; none of them have windows over the main door, and none have windows directly behind the altar, but both Our Lady of Refuge and Saint Audoen's have windows above the altar. Saint

---

<sup>13</sup> Vincent J. McNally, *Reform, revolution and reaction: Archbishop John Thomas Troy and the Catholic church in Ireland 1787-1817*, 26.

<sup>14</sup> Daniel Murray et al, *Statuta dioecesan, per Provinciam Dublinensim*, Dublin 1831, 160. 'Populi,' inquit S. Augustinus, 'confluunt ad Ecclesias casta celebritate, honesta utriusque sexus discretionem.' Solliciti sint Presbyteri, hanc tam antiquam et salutarem consuetudinem accurate servari, viros a mulieribus in Ecclesiis segregando, quantum commode fieri potest.

Paul's has a hidden window over the altar to light the painting behind the altar. An east window behind the altar is common in gothic churches and in churches built in the gothic style, but usually not in classical churches. In Saint Nicholas of Myra there is evidence of a blocked-up window behind the altar, indicating a change of mind during the construction period when it was decided to place an altarpiece behind the altar. All of the churches in this study were originally fitted with clear glass, as befitting an ideal of neo-classical purity, but in the course of time stained glass was introduced.

The main altar should be at the east end of the church and have three steps to the front and sides. The recommendation for the orientation of the main altar was never an absolute requirement, however it was always considered desirable that the altar should face east towards the rising sun, the symbol of the resurrection. This idea is so strong that the altar end of a church is always called the east end whether or not it faces east, likewise the main entrance is always called the west end. In practice the desire to place the altar at the east end was usually sacrificed if the requirements of the site made it difficult, unsatisfactory, or impossible. The entrance to the mother church of Roman Catholicism, San Giovanni in Laterano, faces east, as indeed do some of the other important early Christian churches in Rome, e.g. Saint Peter's, Santa Maria Maggiore, and San Clemente. The main entrance of the Pro-Cathedral faces east, and therefore the main altar is at the west end. If the altar had been designed to be at the east end the main entrance would be to the narrow Thomas Lane, which would have been an unsatisfactory architectural solution. Furthermore the elevational treatment of the back of the



church to Marlborough Street would have posed a difficult problem for the architect, better avoided than confronted. Renaissance theorists were flexible on the point of orientation, and regarded it as more important that the façade of the church face the piazza or more important street. Most of the other churches, either through fortunate choice of site, or architectural ingenuity, manage to accord with the custom of having the main altar, more or less, to the east end. Because of the site restrictions of Saint Audoen's, Saint Paul's, and the Three Patrons none of their main altars are at the east end.

There are steps up to all the main altars, and in most of the churches in this study, there are three steps as recommended by Borromeo. All the churches in this study have three altars at the east end; they are the High altar, the Blessed Virgin Mary altar and the Sacred Heart altar. John Milner maintained that a beautiful altarpiece is essential and that the whole east end should present 'an interior façade, or piece of finished architecture.' He recommended a classical temple front 'which should finish in a closed or open pediment.'<sup>15</sup> Temple fronts were most effectively used at the east ends of Saint Nicholas of Myra, Saint Francis Xavier, and Saint Andrew's. The altar in the Novitiate chapel, in the monastery of the Christian Brothers, North Richmond Street, is also framed with a temple front, perhaps inspired by the nearby Saint Francis Xavier.

In accordance with ecclesiastical custom the lamps in a church may be of silver, brass, or even gold, depending on the size and

---

<sup>15</sup> John Milner, *An inquiry into certain vulgar opinion*, 269.

importance of the church. The form of the lamp may be as diverse as the fashion of the time, and nothing is forbidden providing it conforms to church usage. A lampadarium is a structure from which a number of lamps are suspended, rather like a chandelier. A lampadarium in a small church might have three lamps and that in a large church thirteen. He says whatever the number it should be uneven.

Borromeo assumes that the baptistery is a separate structure, as is common in Italy. He says the baptistery should be to the south of the church and be as far from the façade of the church as the site allows. The best plan shape for the baptistery is octagonal, and the door should face west. Due to the restrictions of city sites it would not have been practical to build separate baptisteries in Dublin. Usually the baptistery was incorporated in the body of the church and sometimes, in a later addition, a baptistery was built, but attached to and entered from the nave of the church, for example, in Our Lady of Refuge, and the Three Patrons. The octagonal shape recommended by Borromeo for baptisteries had long been regarded as a symbol of regeneration, and was commonly used for baptisteries in the north of Italy. The idea of the symbolism was that God created the world in seven days, and the eighth day was a new beginning; thus eight became a fitting number to be associated with baptisteries and baptism fonts. Most of the baptismal fonts in the Dublin churches are octagonal.

He recommends that the holy water fonts be supported on a small column. They should not be outside, but inside, accessible at the right hand; one on the men's entrance and the other at the women's. Most of the neo-classical Dublin churches have porticos

and the semi-open space they provide gives adequate protection for the fonts that have been placed outside at the entrances. Saint Andrew's has two fonts in the portico supported on columns.<sup>16</sup>

In large churches two ambos may be constructed. In many churches one ambo is erected to serve for the reading of both the gospel and epistle; in that case it should be on the gospel side. The ambo should be made of stone and decorated with devotional sculpture. If an ambo cannot be provided a pulpit should be erected on the gospel side. The pulpit should be of wood, and suitably located in the body of the church so that the reader or preacher can be seen and heard by all. The Dublin churches have pulpits, all of which have been carefully placed to allow the preachers to be heard.

He recommends that confessionals should be provided and that men and women should use different confessionals. Saint Nicholas of Myra, and the Church of the Assumption, Booterstown, have recesses in the walls for confessionals indicating that accommodation for their provision was considered as part of the original design [2.32]. San Fedele, Milan, by Pellegrino Tibaldi, begun in 1567 was, as far as we know, the first church built with recesses for confessionals.<sup>17</sup> Confessionals in the Dublin churches were usually fitted as pieces of free-standing furniture; this worked out satisfactorily in most cases, but in Saint Francis Xavier the introduction of confessionals into the nave

---

<sup>16</sup> J.D. Hilarius Dale recommended that the holy water stoups should be placed within the outer door on the right hand on entering the church (*The sacristan's manual*, 33.)

<sup>17</sup> Voelker, op. cit., 310.

resulted in the closing up of two of the three openings (on the nave side) in each of the side chapels.

He discusses the wooden partition used to divide the body of the church between men and women. This partition should be 2.18 metres high but with hinged panels on the upper part to allow the height to be reduced during the sermon. Modern canon law 1262 still prescribed until revised in 1986 that 'it is desirable that in conformity with ancient discipline, the women shall be separate from the men in church.'<sup>18</sup>

Where bishops have permitted the use of benches, they should be on the women's side (north)<sup>19</sup>. If benches for men are permitted they should not be for kneeling and they should not have back rests. The benches should be portable. The Reverend James Hall, and Anglican clergyman, writing in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, noted that most of the Catholic chapels in Ireland, like the churches in Russia, have neither seats or pews of any kind.<sup>20</sup>

The bell tower should be placed over the entrance to the atrium or portico. Towers are not generally a feature of the Dublin churches. Only two have towers, Saint Nicholas of Myra, and Saint Paul's, and both towers are over the entrance. A tower was intended for Saint Andrew (behind the altar) but only the base was built. Adam and Eve's obtained a tower over its west entrance in the mid 20th century, and a pair of towers was designed for the

---

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in Voelker, op. cit., 320, and listed in T. Lincoln Bouscaren et al, *Canon law: a text and commentary*, 711.

<sup>19</sup> San Appollinare Nuovo (c. 490), Ravenna, with its mosaics in the nave depicting long rows of female saints to the north and male saints to the south, confirm this as an old tradition.

<sup>20</sup> James Hall, *Tour through Ireland*, vol. 1, 62.

front of Our Lady of Refuge, by O'Neill and Byrne in the 1870s but not built. Towers (like porticos) are expensive to build and can be done without if money is short.

Bishops and ecclesiastics may be buried within a church and he gives instructions in regard to their place of burial. Where laymen are permitted to be buried in the church their tombs should be vaulted and should not in any way project above the floor. He gives the practical advice that sepulchres should be protected by a double stone cover to avoid smells in the church.

The sacristy should be sufficient distance from the main altar so that the priest and his assistants can process ceremonially to the altar. He also says that the sacristy should not open directly into the sanctuary. Where possible the sacristy should face south-east. In small churches he concedes it may not be possible to follow all this advice. In the Dublin churches the sacristy is always near the altar, and in Saint Francis Xavier, Saint Andrew's, Our Lady of Refuge, and Saint Audoen's the sacristy, contrary to Borromeo's advice, opens directly onto the sanctuary. In the Pro-Cathedral and the Three Patrons the plan does not allow the sacristy to open directly onto the sanctuary, and the site restrictions on Saint Nicholas of Myra, and Saint Paul's do not allow it.

In a T-plan church with galleries in each arm there were six parts to the accommodation used by the faithful, and they could be used to separate the congregation according to sex, wealth or status. In Saint Nicholas of Myra entrance to the nave is through the main door. There is one gallery at the west end and there are two entrances to it from side entrances at the front of the church. Those entitled to enter the space close to the sanctuary did so

through two porches at the intersection of the nave and the transepts. There is a railing (which can be locked and bolted) separating the nave from the transepts to ensure that no intermingling of the classes took place. Ushers controlled the approach to and from the communion rail from all parts of the church. The several entrances in the Dublin churches were not simply designed to segregate different parts of the congregation but were also needed to cater for the large congregations which became common from the mid 1820s when the church began to identify itself with Irish nationalism. In Saint Nicholas of Myra two extra entrances were added to improve the access to the galleries.<sup>21</sup>

Saint Paul's has three doors at the front; the main door leads directly to the nave, and the two side doors lead directly to the large gallery; there were also two doors on the east side from Lincoln Lane. In the church of Saint Francis Xavier members of the upper and middle classes entered the church through the lateral doors and passed through the side chapels to the transepts and the part of the nave nearest the altar.<sup>22</sup>

Most Catholic churches in Ireland had separate entrances to different parts of the church, in contrast to most Protestant churches which did not place such emphasis on controlling the congregation. Two examples of exceptions to this general rule in Dublin are the Protestant Saint George's church, Hardwicke Place, which has one entrance under the portico and two

---

<sup>21</sup> *Builder*, XVI, 2 October 1858, 666.

<sup>22</sup> Maureen Ryan, *The church of St Francis Xavier*, 16.

entrances on each side, and the Catholic Carmelite church, Whitefriars Street, which had only one entrance when first built.

The practice of segregating congregations by class was continued in some Dublin churches until the late 1950s, but interestingly discontinued by the Dominicans in Saint Mary's, Pope's Quay, Cork in 1861.<sup>23</sup> One of the reasons for segregating men and women was to provide separate seating for members of confraternities whose members were either men or women but not both. For example the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul was only open to men until the 1970s and when women were admitted they were placed in a separate conference. Seating, if supplied at all, was for the rich members of the congregation. A tourist in Ireland in 1836 describes how a portion of the Dominican church in Limerick, near the altar was railed off and provided with benches for 'the richer members of the flock.'<sup>24</sup> Most mass goers accepted this arrangement without protest, but some poor mass-goers resented being segregated and tried to upset the established order. W. Redmond, of 37 Talbot Street, was so incensed at being refused admission to the nave of the Pro-Cathedral, in November 1839, that he expressed his feelings on this, and other matters, to the administrator, Reverend Dr Hamilton.

---

<sup>23</sup> James Dwyer, *The Dominicans of Cork city and county*, 63. When Saint Mary's was being planned it was intended that the main entrance be reserved 'for the respectable classes' (Dominican Archive Tallaght, Letter drawer 1832-3, B. J. Russell to John [Leahy?], Lisbon, 14 April 1832.) Seven years later Russell stated that Saint Mary's should 'afford sufficient accommodation to all classes, and, as much as possible, on the principle of equality, that which induces the Catholic church in continental parts, in general, to range all its votaries, of whatever rank or condition in life, upon one the same unelevated level (loud cries of hear).' (Dominican Archive Tallaght, press cutting 28 June 1839, *Cork [Herald?]*). Although the rail separating the nave from the crossing was removed, the rails separating the aisles from the nave are still in place.

<sup>24</sup> Baptist Wriothlesley Noel, *Notes of a short tour through the midland counties of Ireland in the summer of 1836*, 257.

It having been communicated to me on Sunday last, by one of the paid collectors, at the Nave door of the Church, that by your desire I was to be prevented in future from entering that portion of the building unless I paid the usual price of admission, and also that I should not be allowed to sit on the seat in the entrance, and further, that you did not 'like voluntary collectors':

He then continued to say that he would not mind if the rule about sitting on the seat was universally applied but he noticed that others have been allowed sit on the seat. Next he declared himself to be of modest means but respectable:

I have not the same pecuniary means to attract notice or respect that my friend [the door collector] has, still my family being equally respectable, and my principle and general Character as pure, independent, and impeachable, I do not see any reason why I should suffer any person no matter in what rank of life they may move to insult me, undeservedly, without at least complaining of it.

He added a postscript: 'As soon as I can spare as much, I will pay the Amount of the complimentary admission to the Nave of the Church.'

Another mass goer who travelled from Kingstown (Dun Laoghaire) every Sunday morning for 8 o'clock mass at the Pro-Cathedral deliberately taunted the collector at the door by tendering 8d instead of the required 1/- for seats in the gallery for himself and members of his family. He did this on at least three consecutive Sundays and was at first met with abusive language but on the last occasion a gang of collectors were especially assembled and they manhandled him out of the church. He reported the matter to the police and had two of the collectors summoned to the magistrates court in Kingstown.<sup>25</sup> The galleries

---

<sup>25</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers, 36-4, Kingstown Police Office statement, 24 May 1841.



over the aisles, to which he aspired, were reserved for people of high status who could afford the entrance charge.<sup>26</sup> The separation of the classes was common throughout Ireland and infringement of the unwritten rule forbidding their intermingling was often regarded as a serious social transgression. Canon Patrick Power recalls such a transgression in the old church at Kilsheelan, Co. Waterford, which led to a clan fight with bloodshed in the church rendering a re-blessing of the church necessary.<sup>27</sup> The charging of an admission fee to enter a church for any religious purpose was forbidden by canon law but the need for money to maintain church and priests must have encouraged the priests not to disabuse its congregations of the notion that the entrance charges to the churches were compulsory. A tourist in Ireland in 1834 noticed that no one was allowed into the recently built Catholic church in Cahir, Co. Tipperary without making a contribution.

I saw a man attempt to pass without contributing; and I saw the priest push and buffet the man, and at length, strike him several times with his stick, and knock his hat off his head!<sup>28</sup>

Good preachers and eminent ecclesiastical visitors could always be guaranteed to draw large congregations and consequently substantial sums in entrance charges. When Cardinal Wiseman visited Ireland in August 1858 he preached in the Pro-Cathedral and Saint Andrew's. Nearly two hours before the Pontifical High Mass, at which he was to preside, in the Pro-Cathedral the church doors were besieged with applicants for tickets and long before

---

<sup>26</sup> In the Catholic cathedral, Waterford, the galleries are fitted out with pews, suggesting that they were reserved for wealthy Catholics who had made substantial contributions to the building fund.

<sup>27</sup> Patrick Power, *Waterford and Lismore: a compendious history of the united diocese*, 207

<sup>28</sup> Henry D. Inglis, *A journey throughout Ireland during the spring, summer, and autumn of 1834*, vol. 1, 125.

his eminence arrived every available part of the church was densely crowded with people.<sup>29</sup> After the sermon throngs of people blocked his way and some zealous men insisted on complimented him by unyoking his carriage and pulling it in triumph to the Archbishop's house in Eccles Street where he was staying.<sup>30</sup> Admission to the mass, at which he was to preach in Saint Andrew's, was by ticket only, and half an hour before the start it was difficult to find standing space in the church such was the 'vast assemblage of ladies and gentlemen.' Among the congregation was the Lord Mayor and a large number of Protestants.<sup>31</sup>

Dr William Meagher, parish priest of Rathmines admired the uncluttered spaces of continental churches, when he wrote

...neither the exigencies of custom, nor the poverty of religion, require that barriers should guard the members of any particular class from contact with their humbler fellow-worshippers...With us, however, the time has not arrived when we can dispense with these means of maintaining order, and satisfying the established habits of society.

He maintained that his plan of the new church allowed separation of the classes without compromising the architecture.<sup>32</sup> His idea was to build a centrally-planned church in the shape of a Greek cross. At first he planned to place the high altar under the dome in the centre but due to practical difficulties he decided instead that

---

<sup>29</sup> Nicholas Wiseman, *The sermons, lectures, and speeches delivered in Ireland by his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman*, 136.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 348-9. One wonders what the Protestants thought of his sermon, as a large part of it was devoted to denouncing Protestantism in Ireland.

<sup>32</sup> William Meagher, *Five engravings descriptive of the new church of Our Immaculate Lady of Refuge*, 15.

this area should be reserved ‘ for reception of the more opulent parishioners...’ This idea of allocating the best seats for the wealthy undoubtedly was a cause of resentment, and at least one priest, Reverend Matthias Kelly, administrator of Townsend Street chapel, disapproved of it, but accepted the idea that rich and poor should have separate entrances and occupy separate parts of the church, providing no class should have an advantage over the other.<sup>33</sup>

The sight of beggars lining the approaches to beautiful churches and congregations dressed in rags offended the sensibilities of a clergy and laity who were seeking respectability. They were anxious that the crowds leaving the churches after mass create a good impression. In 1794 the Francis Street chapel allocated an annual sum to pay a policeman to keep the approaches to the chapel free from the obstruction of beggars.<sup>34</sup> The efforts to keep beggars away continued with the building of the new church, Saint Nicholas of Myra, and the parish priest, Father Flanagan reported in 1837 that ‘... much has been done towards the completion of this elegant Church; the approaches to it have also been rendered decent and respectable.’ He was also pleased with the congregations he was getting, reporting that they ‘...have of late become not only respectable but numerous.’<sup>35</sup> He must have felt that his fine neo-classical church needed well-dressed people to complement the architecture. The desire to have decent and clean congregations was for long considered desirable by most Catholic

---

<sup>33</sup> Letter from John Leeson to Very Reverend Dr Blake, *Freeman's Journal*, 14 February 1832.

<sup>34</sup> N. Donnelly, *A short history of some Dublin parishes*, pt VI, 62.

<sup>35</sup> *Catholic directory 1837*, 149-150.

clergymen and laity (not only in Dublin) if for no other reason than to gain the approval of the civic authorities. In 1700 the Catholics of Waterford, in their petition to the Corporation for a chapel, were at pains to point out that they were working hard to keep out ‘the country men’ who were lowering the tone of their chapel and that

...two of the congregation are appointed every Sabbath day at the door of the Chapple to keep them out, soe, few or none of them do now come in, but doe tarry abroad in the little cabin house Chapple made for themselves...<sup>36</sup>

The older churches used galleries to accommodate many people as close as possible to the sanctuary, for example, Grange church, Co. Louth (1762) [1.25, 3.23, 3.24 & 3.25], Saint Patrick’s, Waterford (1764 or earlier) [3.19 & 3.20], and Saint John’s, Kinsale (1836) [3.11 & 3.12]. Patrick Byrne continued this tradition by using a large gallery in Saint Paul’s. Adam and Eve’s had three galleries which gave the church a capacity of 1,500. W.J. Battersby deplored the huge galleries of many churches because he thought it appeared irreverent for any part of the congregation to be at a higher level than the altar and priest.<sup>37</sup> The galleries were a necessity in order to achieve the maximum accommodation on small sites, and where they were not necessary they were sometimes used because a building traditional had been established. All the Dublin churches, in this study, have galleries, at the west end containing the organ and accommodation for the choir. Most of the churches contain only enough space in the

---

<sup>36</sup> P. M. Egan, *History, guide and directory of county and city of Waterford*, 520. The tradition, among all classes, of dressing in ‘Sunday best’ clothes continues, although the practice is not as strong as it used to be.

<sup>37</sup> *Catholic directory 1848*, 235.

galleries for the choir and organist but Saint Paul's, Saint Andrew's, and Saint Nicholas of Myra, have big galleries, in the T-plan tradition, allowing room for members of the congregation.

All the churches have organs, an important provision for music at High Mass. The provision of organs in the city churches implies a desire to invest Catholicism with a more impressive use of ceremony. Traditionally not much, if any, attention was paid to music in Catholic chapels, but even in the provinces James Hall noticed, in the early 1800s, that the Catholics 'in some parts of Ireland, (which is a new thing) are beginning to pay attention to church-music.'<sup>38</sup> Between 1500 and 1800 the poverty of most of the Catholic population excluded the possibility for the development of church music as high art and without this cultural base progress in the 19th century was slow.<sup>39</sup> Another reason was a lack of supporting legislation giving sufficient recognition to Catholicism. It was not until the 1780s, in consequence of Lord North's relief bill and the foundation by George III in 1795 of the Royal College of Saint Patrick, Maynooth, that the Roman liturgy with its Latin church music could be practised with its full adornments as in Catholic Europe.<sup>40</sup> But even before that a plainchant revival had gained some momentum from the 1770s.<sup>41</sup> The organs were always placed at the back of the nave in the choir gallery. Reverend Bartholomew Esmode SJ thought that a

---

<sup>38</sup> James Hall, *Tour through Ireland*, vol. 1, 74.

<sup>39</sup> Harry White, 'Church Music and Musicology in Ireland', in Gerard Gillen and Harry White (eds), *Music and the church*, 333.

<sup>40</sup> Gerard Gillen and Andrew Johnstone (eds), *A historical anthology of Irish church music*, 27.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

proposal to put the organ at the back of sanctuary of Saint Francis Xavier would be a distraction and 'be justly condemned by every Catholic eye as a mere Protestant invention...'<sup>42</sup> The custodians of the Pro-Cathedral were interested enough in providing good music in the church that they employed a competent musician, Mr Haydn Corri, as organist and choirmaster.<sup>43</sup> Mr Corri was more interested in good music than his employers were and he was forever complaining about the standard of his singers and the state of the organ. In late 1839 he was dissatisfied with the work being done to the organ and he complained to Reverend Dr Hamilton thus:

I do not like to appear dissatisfied, but I really think, indeed am convinced, that a very sluggish attention is paid to the perfecting of the organ of the Church. I have 5 stops on the great organ as yet untouched, and am obliged to play upon 5 instead of 10.<sup>44</sup>

Even when Corri found himself in custody in May 1841 (possibly in the debtors' prison) he still worried about the state of the organ.<sup>45</sup> To keep a regular choir it was necessary to pay an organist

---

<sup>42</sup> IAA, RP.D.117.7, typescript copy of a letter from Bartholomew Esmode SJ from the Gesù, Rome to Robert Haly SJ SFX, Upper Gardiner Street. Postmark 24 March 1842. (In the re-ordering of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Whitefriars Street, Dublin, in the mid 20th century the organ was placed behind the altar.)

<sup>43</sup> Haydn Corri (1785-1860). Born in Edinburgh. Pianist, organist and composer, son of Domenico Corri. In 1811 and 1819–20 he travelled to Ireland as *maestro al cembalo* for a series of performances given by Italian opera singers from London, at Dublin's Crow Street Theatre. In 1821 he settled in Dublin, with his wife the soprano Ann Adams (Adami) whom he had married in London on 15 July 1814. She took up an engagement as second soprano at the new Dublin Theatre Royal in Hawkins Street that year. Quickly establishing himself as a teacher of the voice and piano, Corri played a central role in the musical life of the city for many years. He was organist and choirmaster at the Pro-cathedral, Marlborough Street, 1827–48. He published a singing tutor and wrote a number of glees and songs. (*The New Grove Dictionary of Music Online*, L. Macy (ed.) (Accessed 4 August 2002), <http://www.grovemusic.com>)

<sup>44</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 36/2, Haydn Corri to Rev. Dr Hamilton, 3 November 1839.

<sup>45</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 36/4, Haydn Corri to Rev. Dr Hamilton, 5 May 1841.

and at least the leading members of the choir. The Pro-cathedral was able to pay more for its musicians, thereby putting other churches at a disadvantage. Father Flanagan of Saint Nicholas of Myra was so annoyed to be told by his organist that one of his female singers (Miss Francesca de la Vega) had been poached by the Pro-Cathedral and had left his choir without notice, that, immediately on hearing the news, he wrote to Dr Hamilton to complain. His annoyance had not abated the next day and he wrote a more strongly worded letter to the Archbishop on the matter to vent his frustration. ('I strive in this miserable locality to make out £80 a year to pay the organist & 4 singers for very moderate attendances...')<sup>46</sup> In the Pro-Cathedral the four singers (soprano, alto, tenor, and bass) employed to lead their sections in the choir were paid between them £91 for attending rehearsals and on Sundays for the year 1850, an indication that serious attention was paid to the provision of music.<sup>47</sup> Music was considered by the Synod of Thurles (1850) which decreed that during Mass nothing but Latin was to be sung and that it must be solemn and ecclesiastical in nature, and based on the Roman model, i.e. Gregorian chant and sacred polyphony. Dissenting voices wanted the music to be based on indigenous folk repertory. The Roman idea received a boost from the newly formed Cecilian society (*Caecilianismus*), a movement for the reform of church

---

<sup>46</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 37/1, Rev. Mathew Flanagan to Dr Hamilton, 27 September 1847 and to Dr Murray 28 September 1847.

<sup>47</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers, 37-2

been made, and was being honoured, to pay £100 per annum of this debt, but in December 1839 Daniel Curran agreed to accept £600 sterling in lieu of the debt provided it was paid within six months.<sup>119</sup> It is not known if this arrangement was proposed by Curran or Hamilton or if it was carried out. In a note in Dr Hamilton's hand prepared for the annual general meeting of the building committee in January 1838 it is recorded that the late D. Linehan had submitted accounts amounting to £10,357 and had been paid £9,007. The late John Curran's accounts came to £6,440 and he had been paid £5,306. Linehan's executor had agreed to accept the balance at £100 per annum without interest.<sup>120</sup>

William Hughes, Talbot Street, builder, worked on the Pro-Cathedral but had such difficulty getting paid that he wrote to Dr Hamilton in 1844

I have been so much distressed by want to cash for some time that I find it would be impracticable for on my part continuing the jobbing work on the Church of the Conception in a satisfactory manner under the present terms. ...it is far from my intention that you should inconvenience the funds of the Church in endeavouring to obtain a settlement for me as I would prefer suffering pecuniary inconvenience myself than such should be done.<sup>121</sup>

He still hoped to be paid and a few months later he wrote to Dr Hamilton to say that he would not be able to continue in his business unless he was paid.<sup>122</sup>

---

<sup>119</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 35/5, Daniel Curran to Reverend Dr Hamilton, 18 December 1839.

<sup>120</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 36/1, Report on building finances, 14 January 1838. Amounts are given in the text to the nearest pound.

<sup>121</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 36/7, William Hughes to Dr Hamilton, 16 October 1844.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., William Hughes to Dr Hamilton, 10 March 1845.



Dr William Meagher PP, Rathmines found himself in trouble over the debts he incurred in the building of Our Lady of Refuge. He sent out a circular to the Dublin parishes with a plan to collect money: ‘...if I could but induce every Popish man woman and child in our city to contribute just one penny each to keep a poor P.P. out of trouble it would go far to save him from ruin.’<sup>123</sup> The *Freeman’s Journal*, 27 June 1812 reported that a sermon would be preached preceded by a concert in Saint Patrick’s chapel. The purpose was to raise money to pay for the building, the only Catholic chapel in Dublin dedicated to Saint Patrick.

We, however, cannot but lament that in the land of his adoption the monument of Patrick should be suffered to stand as the monument of oppression on the Widow and the Children of the builder, whose all is involved, the debt being due exclusively to her, amounting to £800.<sup>124</sup>

The continual search for money to build churches ruined the health of some of the people involved. The parish priest of Saint Audoen’s, Father Monk was reported as being only a shadow of his former self and rarely seen in public after the many years he laboured to raise money. Peter Kenney SJ attributed his illness to the 11 days he spent in Paris in the winter of 1829, on his way from Rome to Dublin, to the labour of seeking alms from the Catholics in Paris for the fabric of Saint Francis Xavier.<sup>125</sup>

Building work was in progress on Saint Francis Xavier in the early 1830s. The accounts of receipts and expenditure from March 1829 to September 1835 for the church and residence survive.

---

<sup>123</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 37/2, circular letter from Dr Meagher, Rathmines, 30 August 1849.

<sup>124</sup> NLI, Walsh book of press cuttings, E-F. Ms 11628.

<sup>125</sup> Thomas Morrissey, *As one sent: Peter Kenney SJ 1779-1841*, 225.

The accounts are not necessarily typical of all the churches, but they serve to give an idea of some of the various sources of money and their relative importance.<sup>126</sup> Almost £18,500 was spent on the church. The money came from: legacies and donations (19%); church collections (15%); raffles (30%), two oratorios (3%); sale of debentures (7%); and borrowings (26%).<sup>127</sup>

\*\*\*

---

<sup>126</sup> A glimpse into an unusual source comes from local tradition in Westport, Co. Mayo, and concerns Father Peter Ward from Westport who was born about 1760 into a family of prosperous Catholics. He was probably educated in France, and he served in the Peninsular War as Napoleon's chaplain. He returned from the war with enough money to fund the building of churches in Mayo at Aughagower, Cushlough, and possibly Drummin. He also brought home three portrait paintings; Napoleon, Marie-Louise (Napoleon's second wife), and Marshal Ney. (John Mulloy to Brendan Grimes, 19 November 2002.)

<sup>127</sup> IJA, Account book for the building supplies and craftsmen's fees for the building of Saint Francis Xavier, cm/Gard 38.

## 8

### SPIRITUAL RESOURCES

#### *Funding the churches*

*Sources of money – methods of collecting – bequests – sale of vaults – contributions from Protestants – charity sermons – public dinners - donations of labour and time – hardships endured*

...from many a hidden spring streams of riches shall burst forth.<sup>1</sup>

Almost all the money for churches built by the Catholic Church came from private sources, without financial support from the government, with the exception of Maynooth College which was established by George III and funded by the government. It is remarkable that so much money was spent on building Catholic churches in the 19th century, compared with church building by the established church which received money from the government. The money for the Catholic churches came from well-off Catholics of the merchant and professional classes, a few aristocratic Catholics, members of the Catholic gentry, the poor of the parishes, and from members of other churches. Money was given by regular donations from the well-off, and from the poor by weekly collections. Other important sources included bequests, fund-raising ventures such as raffles, concerts, and charity sermons. People from all social classes sometimes gave their services, skill, and labour towards the

---

<sup>1</sup> William Meagher, *Address to the parishioners of SS Mary and Peter, Rathmines*, 15.

end of raising Catholic churches, without asking for payment. Church attendance and contributions remained low until after the death of the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr Troy, in 1823 when the church with a united hierarchy chose to become identified with the nationalist movement.<sup>2</sup>

This chapter seeks to identify the sources of the money and the means of collecting it by examining the available evidence from manuscript sources, particularly those relating to the Pro-Cathedral and Saint Francis Xavier. The principal printed sources consulted are those relating to Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines, and Saint Andrew's, Westland Row. Printed and manuscript sources relating to Saint Mary's, Pope's Quay, Cork, although not concerned with Dublin, are too important a source to ignore, as they provide valuable insight into the funding of a contemporary church. The monuments in the churches and the records of burials provide further evidence of the identity of some of the people who contributed to the building funds.

In 19th century Dublin it was usual to start church building without a clear idea of how long the building would take, or indeed, where the money was to come from. Dr William Meagher, the parish priest of Rathmines, was in no doubt of God's approval of his idea to build a new church and he was confident of God's help in seeing to it that the money was forthcoming. Not all his parishioners were as confident as he was, but he got his way, and the parishioners supported him. The same faith and courage was

---

<sup>2</sup> Vincent J. McNally, *Reform, revolution and reaction: Archbishop John Thomas Troy and the Catholic church in Ireland 1787-1817*, 4.

evident from the clergy a couple of decades earlier at the Pro-Cathedral, and the same caution from some of the laity.

A committee was set up in early 1834 to complete the exterior of the Pro-Cathedral. The biggest part of this work was the main portico. At least one member of the committee recommended that no work of any kind should be undertaken until tenders and specifications had been obtained and that no work should be started until the money was to hand, without incurring debt.<sup>3</sup> His sensible advice was not heeded, instead strenuously efforts were made to collect money from parishioners, and others, as we shall see later. The many fine Catholic churches built in Ireland during the 19th century is evidence that the courage of the building priests won the day against their cautious and prudent parishioners, who also eventually paid for the buildings.

For a great part of the 18th century most of the trade in Ireland was carried out by Catholic merchants.<sup>4</sup> The Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, William King wrote in 1719:

By the Act against Popery that hinders Papists to purchase land, they have turned themselves entirely to trade, and most of the trade of the kingdom is engrossed by them.<sup>5</sup>

Even so it was not always easy for Catholics to prosper in trade, in the face of opposition from some of their Protestant competitors. Until the middle of the century they had difficulties as these two examples from Cork illustrate. On 17 January 1704 the Corporation of the City of Cork decided:

---

<sup>3</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers, 35/4, Ed[?] to Dr Hamilton, 17 March 1834.

<sup>4</sup> John Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth century press*, 157, quoting a report on a House of Commons debate reported in *Faulkner's Journal*, 15 February 1774.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in M. O'Riordan, *Catholicity and progress in Ireland*, 183.

That an application be made to the Parliament next session, setting forth the grievance the English lie under by the encroachments of the Irish into their respective trades, and also setting forth the great numbers of Irish flocking into this City, to the great damage and danger of the Protestant inhabitants.<sup>6</sup>

60 years later Catholics were well-established commercially in Youghal, Co. Cork, to the alarm of the Protestant inhabitants who submitted a petition to the Corporation asking that four Papists who had been admitted to freedom to trade be disenfranchised. They had, it was claimed, been admitted contrary to a bye-law made on 27 February 1743. The petitioners were afraid of the competition and they stated that they ‘are very apprehensive that the many branches of their several Trades are already engrossed by Papists, and the trade of the Town will centre with them...’ The petition asked that all Papists be disfranchised but only four were, presumably the four who had been lately admitted and had been the cause of concern.<sup>7</sup> The Protestant traders were still not happy and they managed to persuade the Corporation to make an order dated 29 October 1764 declaring:

That no Papist, or person professing the Popish Religion, shall ever hereafter be admitted free of any trade, or free of export and import, and that all Bye-laws made in their favour be repealed.<sup>8</sup>

This bye-law was confirmed by another made as late as 11 April 1776 and it was not until 26 September 1795 that this anti-Catholic legislation was declared null and void by Youghal Corporation.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> Richard Caulfield (ed.), *The council book of the Corporation of the City of Cork from 1609 to 1643, and from 1690 to 1800*, 311.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 474.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 475.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 535.

In spite of difficulties, by the beginning of the 19th century there was sufficient wealth in the hands of Catholics to allow them to make significant contributions to religious and philanthropic causes, e.g. temperance movements, schools, libraries, and self-improvement schemes.<sup>10</sup> From January to July 1844 over £30,000 was bequeathed for charitable purposes of which £6,253 was for Protestant use and £23,477 for Catholic use.<sup>11</sup> Catholic penetration into the professions and manufacturing was slow in the first half of the 19th century due to resistance by those in power. Catholics were particularly discriminated against in the growing world of banking.<sup>12</sup> This put Catholic business men at a disadvantage compared with their Protestant colleagues. Lord Grenville presented in 1808, a petition of several Catholic merchants to the House of Lords, praying:

That they may not be excluded from acting, if elected, as Governors or Directors of the Bank of Ireland...In Ireland ...you would exclude from that situation those, who form the larger portion of the monied interest of the country – and who possess the greater share of the commercial capital.<sup>13</sup>

The House of Lords considered the petition and decided against allowing Catholics this civil right by 101 votes to 64.<sup>14</sup>

The Catholic gentry and aristocracy were supporters of Catholic charities and church building programmes. During the Marquess Wellesley's second period as lord lieutenant (1833-5), Lady

---

<sup>10</sup> Patrick J. Corish, *The Irish Catholic experience*, 153.

<sup>11</sup> Hansard, lxxvi, 907, 16 July 1844, quoted in Donal Kerr, *Peel, priests and politics*, 123.

<sup>12</sup> Patrick J. Corish, *The Irish Catholic experience*, 152. Daniel O'Connell founded the National Bank to give Catholics the opportunity to enter the banking world.

<sup>13</sup> Anon., *A statement of the penal laws which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland: With commentaries*, 324.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 325.

Wellesley, a Catholic, was a frequent attender at mass in the Pro-Cathedral and a generous contributor to the building fund and numerous charitable causes administered by Dr Hamilton.<sup>15</sup>

Much money was willed for building and charitable purposes. Such bequests were sometimes disputed and a cause for anxiety for all concerned. Bryan Bolger (died 1834), the measurer, left a considerable sum to the Dublin Diocese, but with legal costs and lawsuits it was reduced to about £1,000.<sup>16</sup> Bolger also left nearly £10,000 to Edmund Rice, the founder of the Christian Brothers for the education of the poor, but the will was contested by his nephew, James Bolger, and the greater part of the money was lost to the charity.<sup>17</sup> It was common for wills to be contested and not unknown for aggrieved parties to attempt their suppression. J. Browne wrote to Reverend Dr Hamilton informing him that the late Miss June Browne, of Castlemoyle, Co. Galway, had left £50 in her will to the Pro-Cathedral, but that there '...is an effort made to suppress and destroy the Will..' <sup>18</sup> In 1847, the worst year of the Great Famine in Ireland, Thomas Madden was reduced to begging for some portion of the money he claims his aunt was induced to leave to the Pro-Cathedral. He could not understand how his aunt, who professed to be religious should leave money

---

<sup>15</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 37/5, undated letters from Lady Wellesley to Dr Hamilton from the period 1833-5.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Myles J. Kelly to Dr Murray, 4 August 1843.

<sup>17</sup> AL, *Annals of the Christian Brothers House*, 17. Both Brian and James Bolger had a professional relationship with the Brothers. Shortly after the Christian Brother Institute was founded in 1802, Edmund Rice commissioned Brian Bolger to find a suitable site for their house in Dublin. A plot of ground was acquired in North Richmond Street in 1828 and shortly after the house was built under the direction of James Bolger. [*Annals*, *op.cit.*, 1,2, & 5.]

<sup>18</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers, 36/3, Reverend J. Browne to Reverend Dr Hamilton, 27 June 1840.



to the church when she had three of her sister's children and two of them in 'abject poverty.'<sup>19</sup> Richard Corballis, who died on 27 August 1847 left £100 '...to each of the first Three Catholic Churches that shall be built after my Decease in the City of Dublin or within one mile of the Castle thereof...' A legal opinion held that Saint Laurence, Seville Place [4.8 & 4.9], then being built, qualified, as it was yet to be built.<sup>20</sup> For the regular clergy money in the form of bequests posed a special risk. It has already been mentioned that the relief act of 1829 provided for the suppression of regular clergy, and although this provision did not result in active harassment it was used successfully in court to deprive the Dominicans of two legacies of £500 which were bequeathed to them by Michael John Simms for the improvement to Saint Mary's, Pope's Quay, Cork, and for the education of two Dominican students. The bequests were set aside on 13 January 1864 in an appeal case *Simms versus Quinlan*.<sup>21</sup> It was generally thought that the provision against regular orders in the act would be a dead letter but the *Charitable Bequests Act 1845* (7 & 8 Vict. Cap. 97) also made it unlawful to render bequests to religious orders. There was widespread sympathy for the Dominicans at their loss and the people of Cork organized a collection to compensate them. Fifty years later the Augustinians had a bequest for John's Lane church, Dublin, set aside by the court under the same law.<sup>22</sup> Bequests to the clergy were commonly included in the

---

<sup>19</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 37/1, Thomas Madden, Manchester, to Dr Hamilton, 27 September 1847.

<sup>20</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 37/1, legal opinion.

<sup>21</sup> James Dwyer, *The Dominicans of Cork city and county*, 65.

<sup>22</sup> Thomas Butler, *John's Lane: a history of the Augustinian friars in Dublin 1280-1980*, 144.

wills of Catholics, and were frequently included after some encouragement from the legatees.<sup>23</sup>

The sustained efforts by Dr Troy and his successors to collect money for the building of the Pro-Cathedral give a good idea of the work involved in fund raising for a 19th century Catholic church in Ireland. An appeal to the public was launched by the committee on 18 May 1803 after the late Earl Annesley's house in Marlborough Street had been bought for £5,100. The parish of Saint Mary's set up a finance committee to organize weekly collections for the building fund for the Pro-Cathedral. At a meeting on 13 February 1818 the committee elected officers from the 22 members that attended the meeting. Another meeting was held the following week and five of the members were appointed to attend the meetings of the building committee and to report progress. Meetings were held once a week until the following May and 50 parishioners were appointed as collectors each one responsible for a certain area or 'walk'.<sup>24</sup> Even Dr Troy called on houses in the parish to collect money.

The next concerted effort to collect money began in June 1825 when the committee began preparations for the opening of the church later in the year on 8 September. They decided to have printed 3,000 admission tickets at £1 each and 2,000 at 10s each.<sup>25</sup> The money was intended for necessary building works to permit the opening. The sale of tickets was slow and the committee after resolving to publish the names of those who bought tickets in the

---

<sup>23</sup> *IEJ*, I:8, 23 February 1841, 122.

<sup>24</sup> DDA, Pro-Cathedral box 38/10, 'Finance committee minute book, dated 14 Feb. 1818'.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 June 1825.

newspapers, making arrangements to sell tickets in other parishes, and in Liverpool (without much success) decided to postpone the opening.<sup>26</sup> (The opening was postponed until 14 November 1825.) Instead of the £4,000 hoped for from the sale of tickets, the committee received only £2,268.<sup>27</sup>

During the erection of the portico of the Pro-Cathedral money produced by the weekly collections were not enough and other ideas were tried. In 1838 the building committee proposed holding a raffle to raise money to complete the portico. The prize was to be a 50 guinea silver plate set, and tickets were to be one guinea each. The draw was to be an elaborate contrivance held over a number of days with the band of the Royal Guards in attendance each day.<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately the proposed spectacle was stopped by a legal opinion that such a raffle, although for a worthy cause, would be against the law.<sup>29</sup> A more risky venture, but with good rewards if successful was to put on a public concert. Hadyn Corri advised Dr Hamilton, in October 1839 on the expenses of hiring the Round Room [7.2] for a 'Theatrical Speculation'. He advised him that the cost of the Round Room, together with orchestra, soloists etc. would be about 165 guineas, but if the Round Room, which held 1,200 could be filled the expenses would be comparatively small.<sup>30</sup> Around the same time an effort was made to raise funds by writing to wealthy and

---

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 12 August 1825 & 26 August 1825.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 29 November 1825.

<sup>28</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers, Draft of poster for raffle of 50 guinea plate.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., James O'Dowd to Reverend John Hamilton, 28 December 1838.

<sup>30</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 36/2, Hadyn Corri to James Hamilton, 8 October 1839.

influential people asking for subscriptions. The priests of all the parishes of the Diocese were also asked to make collections from their parishioners. These letters brought some small donations, and many letters of regret and some of outright refusal. The Carmelite friars of Saint Teresa donated £20 from their own funds and promised to make a collection from the community at large.<sup>31</sup> Reverend Young of Baldoyle and Howth collected just over £10 and regretted it could not be more.<sup>32</sup> The further from Dublin the less likely was the appeal of being successful. Reverend Hyland from Dunlavin wrote that because of the late harvest he could not ask his parishioners for money until another month and promised that ‘...at that time the clergymen will not fail to co-operate with you in making the collection for so laudable an object as efficient as our means will allow us.’<sup>33</sup> Reverend L. Dunne from Castledermot replied that he had to postpone the collection but that ‘I will not be unmindful, nor have I, of the claims our Metropolitan Church, has upon the faithful here.’<sup>34</sup> Reverend Redmond of Arklow, send a small donation but was sorry that it was so small, the reason being that

...an impression strongly prevails here in spite of any effort to remove it that you have the wealth of the world in Marlboro’ Street & that it would be sending coals to Newcastle to send money to your Church.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers, 36/1, Reverend O’Hanlon to Reverend Dr Hamilton, 22 December 1838.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., Reverend William Young to Reverend Dr Hamilton, 25 July 1838.

<sup>33</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers, 36/1, Reverend Hyland to Reverend Dr Hamilton, 27 September 1838.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., Reverend L. Dunne to Reverend Dr Hamilton, 23 December 1838.

<sup>35</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 36/6, Reverend Redmond to Dr Hamilton, 27 March 1843,

Many people in Dublin had other reasons for not contributing. Robert Fanning, Leeson Street wrote that he was not willing to contribute because ‘...it would be a bad compliment to the wealthy, respectable & united parishes of his Lordship who are fully competent & I am sure willing to the task specified.’ He went on to say ‘My own parish, one of the poorest in Dublin and its chapel (Francis St) in a very unfinished state, calling loudly and largely on its impoverished parishioners for completion.’<sup>36</sup> The building committee renewed its efforts in 1840 by sending out a circular letter appealing for funds to complete the portico. Daniel O’Connell responded with a contribution of £10 and a note to say

...I have being more than once an unsuccessful orator in urging others to contribute. I can succeed with myself as respectfully offering my humble mite towards the finishing of that building...<sup>37</sup>

Even an event like the blessing of a bell could be made into a fine ceremonial occasion with fund raising capabilities. The consecration of the great bell for the Pro-Cathedral took place on 23 May 1844. The bell was placed on a platform outside the sanctuary with seating accommodation for over 70 clergy and for others who had obtained tickets. Father Mathew, renowned for his oratory, which at this event was put to the service of fund raising, gave the sermon. The church stayed open after the ceremony and thousands of people came to inspect the bell which was moved to the belfry the next day and tolled for the first time on the following Sunday.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers, 36/1, Robert Fanning to Reverend Dr Hamilton, 28 August 1838.

<sup>37</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers, 36/3, Daniel O’Connell to Reverend Dr Hamilton, 17 November 1840.

<sup>38</sup> *Freeman’s Journal*, 24 May 1844.

The collectors of money for Saint Mary's parish were treated to an annual dinner. For one such dinner in 1845, the music director of the Pro-Cathedral, Haydn Corri composed six verses to the air of *The Young May Moon*. The song is in praise of Saint Patrick, Saint Laurence O'Toole, Archbishop Murray, Archdeacon Hamilton, and Charles Kennedy, who donated the site for a new church to be built at Seville Place.<sup>39</sup>

Dr Hamilton had friends who could advise him on likely sources of money. For example, his friend, J. Duigan approached one of the directors of the Dublin to Drogheda railway company to obtain advice on how the directors should be best approached for a donation to the church of Saint Laurence O'Toole, which was being built at Seville Place, near the Dublin terminus. Duigan also advised Dr Hamilton on people who were likely to contribute. He also informed him that Lord Cloncurry had won £10,000 in the Hamburg lottery and should make a contribution.<sup>40</sup> Dr Hamilton, ever careful, wrote to Lord Cloncurry's mother to ask advice on the best time to approach her son for a donation.<sup>41</sup> (When seeking funds for Carlow Cathedral [4.16], Bishop Doyle, with a light touch, wrote to Lord Cloncurry on 14 October 1829, asking for a contribution, informing him that all the noblemen and landed proprietors he had asked had agreed to contribute, adding '...I thought you would not be displeased with me for mentioning the matter to your Lordship, and I do no more.')<sup>42</sup> Dr Hamilton

---

<sup>39</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 35/7, AD to Reverend Dr Hamilton, [1846].

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., J. Duigan to Reverend Dr Hamilton, [1845].

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., L. Moore to Reverend Dr Hamilton, 30 May 1846.

<sup>42</sup> Valentine Lord Cloncurry, *Personal recollections*, 382.

maintained contact with wealthy people and must have had an agreeable personality as far as they were concerned. On a trip to or from Paris, in the summer of 1847, he called to see Lord and Lady Trimleston in London, and induced them to give money for the church of Saint Laurence O'Toole, then being built.<sup>43</sup> Three years later Dr Hamilton was looking to London again for more funds when he used his contact Richard Farrell for advice. Farrell's advised him that he might succeed if he could

... obtain an introduction to Raphael who I believe was a Jew but now is a zealous Church building Papist of great Wealth & very parsimonious habits.

He advised him with an assessment of his character as far as giving money was concerned. 'He is a miser & yet can be lavish in his gifts...'<sup>44</sup>

Lord Cloncurry provided the site for the parish church at Blackrock and also made a donation. The Rajah of Singapore, who was on a visit to Lord Cloncurry, also made a donation. The parish priest of Blackrock, Dr John Ennis, learnt about fund raising when he was curate at Saint Andrew's, and he succeeded in obtaining donations for his church from Lord Stuart de Decies, the Hon. Sidney Herbert, Mr John Byrne of Peafield, and Major O'Shee who gave £2,000. He was also received a bequest from Lord Castlecoote towards the building.<sup>45</sup>

Some money was collected abroad but with not much success. It was difficult to persuade people to contribute to a building they

---

<sup>43</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 37/1, Lord Trimleston to Reverend Dr Hamilton, 20 August 1847.

<sup>44</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 37/2, Richard Farrell to Reverend Dr Hamilton, 15 May 1850.

<sup>45</sup> N. Donnelly, *A short history of some Dublin parishes*, pt III, 114.

might never see, and not much help with such persuasion could be expected from the local clergy. Reverend B.T. Russell O.P. collected money for Saint Mary's, Pope's Quay, Cork, not only locally but also in England and various parishes in Ireland. He did, however, behave most nobly by refraining from collecting in Dublin, because three churches were in progress there and because the Sisters of Charity were collecting in Dublin for a hospital, and they would not apply to the citizens of Cork while the Dominicans were building.<sup>46</sup>

The difficulties of collecting abroad did not deter the most ambitious clergy. As early as 1841 Bishop William Higgins decided that America was the best country in which to collect money for Longford Cathedral. He was determined to go himself and he asked the Rector of the Irish College in Rome, Dr Paul Cullen, to obtain the necessary permission to absent himself from his diocese and to collect money abroad.

I need not say that it would have double weight in coming directly from the Pope instead of the Propaganda, and it should be not confined to any particular country. If I obtain it in this way, I engage to complete before the end of three years, the finest church in every respect that ever existed in Ireland.

He also asked Cullen if he could procure some indulgences in favour of contributors he would consider himself 'beyond all difficulties.'<sup>47</sup> With or without letters from the Pope it was never easy to collect money for a church outside the parish, especially if it was considered extravagant. Father William Foley was sent by

---

<sup>46</sup> DAT, B.T. Russel O.P., 'Notes on the building of St Mary's church, Pope's Quay, Cork 1834-1845', 3 July 1834.

<sup>47</sup> ICR, Cullen papers 1841-43, Bishop W. Higgins, Dublin, to Dr Cullen, Rome, 8 November 1841.



his bishop to collect money in America for Saint Colman's Cathedral, Cobh, Co. Cork [4.17]. After meeting the Archbishop of San Francisco, he wrote home:

His Grace's reception of me was anything but cordial. He did not ask me to sit down, but at once launched into language most intemperate on the unreasonableness of Your Lordship's sending a priest here when the religious institutions are all in debt...<sup>48</sup>

Other priests sent elsewhere in America and in Australia, to collect money for Saint Colman's, reported similar hostility.<sup>49</sup> The available records give no indication that similar serious attempts were made to collect money abroad for any of the Dublin churches. Perhaps the builders of large churches in the provinces were more mindful of the potential of collecting from Irish emigrants than the Dublin builders. Ireland was occasionally host to collectors for church buildings from abroad. In late 1844 and early 1845 Monsignor L'Abbe Schwertfager spent six months in Ireland making a collection to discharge a debt for a church he had built in his diocese in Switzerland. We do not know if his efforts were successful but he made many friends while in Ireland and was recommended to Dr Cullen when he visited Rome.<sup>50</sup>

The regular orders often helped each other. For example the proceeds of a Pontifical High Mass and oratorio in the Jesuit church of Saint Francis Xavier, Upper Gardiner Street, at which Dr Wiseman preached, was given to the Franciscans towards their building fund for the completion of their church on Merchants'

---

<sup>48</sup> CDA, W. Foley to William Keane, 29 November 1870. Quoted in Ann Wilson, *Visions materialised: the building of St Colman's Cathedral, Cobh (1868-1917)*, 95.

<sup>49</sup> Ann Wilson, *op. cit.*, 96.

<sup>50</sup> ICR, Cullen papers 1845-8, J. O'Ferrall, Dublin, to Dr Paul Cullen, Rome, 23 January 1845.

Quay.<sup>51</sup> There was much skill involved in the politics of collecting money. When Dr Hamilton was parish priest of Saint Michan's and long after he had finished his work at the Pro-Cathedral he was reminded by his friend Gonville Ffrench that he had helped Dr Hamilton with contributions to the Pro-Cathedral and now he needed help to repair his local church in Ballyforan, Ballinasloe.<sup>52</sup> We do not know if the help was received, but five months later a new church 75' x 36' with a tower was being built in Ballyforan, and Gonville Ffrench asked Dr Hamilton for a share of a recent bequest to the Dublin diocese. He conceded that Ballyforan was not in the Dublin archdiocese but 'you will remember that we are members of the same faith.'<sup>53</sup>

There is little evidence that wealthy donors demanded anything in return for their donations apart from small favours. One example of a fund raising committee honouring (whether willingly or not we do not know) one of their members is recorded. Captain George Bryan of Jenkinstown, Co. Kilkenny, had his arms emblazoned at the gallery stairs of Saint Michan's, 'for his heroic work in collecting money for the new church...'<sup>54</sup> The poor were happy to have prayers said or masses offered in return for their donations but the wealthy sometimes used their pecuniary influence for other purposes, most of them probably benign, for example to have poor children admitted to orphanages. We do not know what Lord Trimleston had in mind when he wrote to

---

<sup>51</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 3 February 1841.

<sup>52</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 37/4, Gonville Ffrench to James Hamilton, 18 September 1856.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, Gonville Ffrench to James Hamilton, 15 February 1857.

<sup>54</sup> DDA, parish file for Halston Street, Very Reverend. Myles Ronan, *The parish of St Michan*, Dublin [n.d., no page numbers]. George Bryan had his town house at 12 Henrietta Street.

Reverend Dr John Hamilton that his contribution towards the south window of Saint Laurence O'Toole's chapel depended 'on the success of your efforts in the matter you had so kindly consented to undertake...'<sup>55</sup>

With pressing requests to the Catholic laity for money to build churches, hospitals, orphanages, and schools before the national schools scheme was introduced in 1831, it is remarkable that so much was achieved. Nothing could be done without the support of the laity and the clergy had to use their persuasive gifts to ensure the necessary support was forthcoming. Where there was competition for funds it was particularly important not to offend any influential group. An example from Cork illustrate this point. In 1833 there were three Catholic churches being built in Cork; they were Cork cathedral, Saint Mary's, Popes Quay, and the Holy Trinity commissioned by Father Mathew. Bishop Murphy decided to use terra cotta capitals for the cathedral, which had been intended for the new courthouse, but which had been rejected by the Grand Jury. This offended the stonecutters who issued a circular to all the tradesmen proposing that they should not contribute to the cathedral.<sup>56</sup>

Another source of money was the selling of vaults for internment. The vaults in the Pro-Cathedral [1.3] began to be used as a cemetery from 1827 and receipts for burials in the ten years (1827-37) amounted to £3,744 10s for the building fund.<sup>57</sup> The vaults in

---

<sup>55</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 37/2, Lord Trimleston to James Hamilton, 29 June 1849.

<sup>56</sup> DAT, B.T. Russel O.P., 'Notes on the building of St Mary's church, Pope's Quay, Cork 1834-1845', 10 & 16 May 1833.

<sup>57</sup> N. Donnelly, *Dublin parishes*, pt XII, 100.

Saint Andrew's [1.8] were used for the same purpose. In Saint Andrew's the passages which lead to the north and south transepts were intended to be used to display the monuments commemorating the persons whose remains were deposited in the vaults.<sup>58</sup> It was intended to build vaults under the chapels in Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines, but these were not built.<sup>59</sup> The regular clergy did not sell vault space for the reasons stated in chapter 5.

Sometimes tensions arose between the regular and secular clergy. When the Augustinian were considering building, in 1843, a church in Tallow, Co. Waterford, Bishop F. Hanly wrote to Dr Paul Cullen asking him to 'imagine for a moment the monstrous obscenity of erecting a house of worship at the very door of the parish church!'<sup>60</sup> The difficulties which sometimes arose between secular and regular clergy was almost invariably due to their having to compete for support and funding from the Catholic laity. A report made to Propaganda Fide in the early 1800s states that there are too many monks in Ireland and that they would be better employed outside the country.<sup>61</sup>

Several priests were trained in the art of fund raising at the Pro-Cathedral and they carried their skills to other parishes. Father Walter Meyler learnt how fundraising was done for the Pro-Cathedral during his 26 years as curate there. When he took over the parish of Saint Andrew's from Reverend Dr Michael Blake in March 1833, the new church of Saint Andrew's had been built up

---

<sup>58</sup> *Catholic directory 1841*, 277.

<sup>59</sup> William Meagher, *Five engravings*, 18.

<sup>60</sup> ICR, Bishop F. Hanly, Carlow, to Dr Cullen, Rome, 8 April 1843, Cullen papers 1841-43.

<sup>61</sup> PF, *Scritture riferite nei congressi – Irlanda*, Vol XIX (1811-15) Fol. 15-17 [n.d.].

to roof level at a cost of over £6,000 which Dr Blake had collected. Father Meyler continued the building work and collected the rest of the money needed to finish the church, presbyteries and schools. A great part of Father Meyler's success was due to his ability to heal the divisions among his parishioners over the decision to abandon the building work in Townsend Street. He went from house to house to collect money from wealthy parishioners, and all the donations and subscriptions were recorded in the parochial books and the amounts and names posted in the church so that anyone could see how much money everyone had given.<sup>62</sup> Although the wealthy were always expected to contribute generously the contributions from the poor were significant, both in rich and poor parishes. For example in the parish of Saint Andrew's, whose inhabitants numbered many wealthy people, more than one-third of the cost of over £20,000 for the parochial houses and church came from the weekly contributions of the working classes.<sup>63</sup> The poor and labouring classes of the parish of Saint Nicholas contributed at least 35% of the cost of their new church of Saint Nicholas of Myra.<sup>64</sup> In the parish of Saint Audoen's the poor contributed more than £7,000 towards the cost of their new church while those contributing anything like considerable sums, i.e. the rich, scarcely gave £2,000.<sup>65</sup> It seems a shame that poor people should have been expected to contribute so much of their meagre income to church

---

<sup>62</sup> W. Meyler PP, *Address to the Catholic inhabitants of St Andrew's, Westland Row*, 5-6.

<sup>63</sup> *Catholic directory 1844*, 386. The final cost by 1859 was over £26,000.

<sup>64</sup> Saint Nicholas of Myra, *St Nicholas Without Baptisms 1824-1856*.

<sup>65</sup> *Catholic directory 1846*, 281.

building and many Catholic priests considered it a humiliation to depend on the contributions of the poor.<sup>66</sup> One contemporary, in 1823, reported that the exactions to collect money from the people, was sometimes, and in some places, matters for serious complaint.<sup>67</sup>

Many landowners all over Ireland quietly provided their Catholic tenants with chapels. In Mallow, Co. Cork, Mr Jephson-Norreys of Mallow Castle donated a site for new church in 1818, and at Doneraile, Co. Cork, Lord Doneraile gave a site for the church of Saint Mary's and £50 towards the building fund.<sup>68</sup> *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* reports, in 1788, on one such donation in Straffan, Co. Kildare [4.10]:

A handsome chapel is just finish [sic] at Straffan near Leixlip, on the estate of Mr. Henry which has been erected at the sole expense of that gentleman for the accommodation of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion in this neighborhood.<sup>69</sup>

In Dublin the site for the Townsend Street chapel site was given to the parish priest by the Royal Dublin Society in the flee market between Poolbeg Street and Lazars Hill. This chapel was used from 1750 until Saint Andrew's, Westland Row was ready in 1834.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> J.K.L. [Rt Reverend J.W. Doyle, Bishop [RC] of Kildare and Leighlin], *A vindication of the religious and civil principles of the Irish Catholics in a letter to his Excellency the Marquis Wellesley*, Dublin 1823, 40. Bishop Doyle thought it might be a good thing for Catholic priests to be humbled by having to accept money from the poor.

<sup>67</sup> John O'Driscoll, *Views of Ireland, moral, political, and religious*, vol. 1, 136.

<sup>68</sup> Brian De Breffny and George Mott, *The churches and abbeys of Ireland*, 154.

<sup>69</sup> *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 23-7 August 1788.

<sup>70</sup> Myles V Ronan, *An apostle of Catholic Dublin: Father Henry Young*, 26.

Some Protestants contributed to the building funds of Catholic churches with money, building sites, or professional services. In a report dated 23 November 1804 to Propaganda Fide, the Bishop of Cork, James Murphy reported that good progress was being made in his diocese with the replacement of the old cabins with good slated chapels.

We have at present six more nearly finished, and if God in his mercy is pleased to grant this Empire an honorable Peace shortly, I hope with his assistance and that of our Protestant Neighbors; for indeed they have been very kind to us on these occasions, we shall get Chapels around the whole Diocese in a few years.<sup>71</sup>

When work on the Pro-Cathedral came to a stop in 1821 due to the falling away of financial support from the public the building committee in a resolution appealed to the generosity and sense of justice of their Protestant brethren reminding them, in a reference to the tithes collected for the maintenance of the established church, that

large sums are annually supplied by the Catholic population of Ireland, for erecting and upholding of places of religious worship not of their own community...<sup>72</sup>

The obligation by all to pay tithes for the upkeep of the churches of the established religion was a source of grievance to most Catholics. The Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin expressed this grievance thus:

They [Catholics] still are bound to rebuild and ornament their own former parish church and spire, that they may stand in the

---

<sup>71</sup> PF, *Scritture riferite nei congressi – Irlanda*, Vol XVIII Fol. 262-3, quoted in Emmet Larkin, *Historical dimensions of Irish Catholicism*, 17.

<sup>72</sup> DDA, Pro-cathedral box 38/10, *Report of the committee for building the Roman Catholic Metropolitan Chapel, given at a numerous meeting of the citizens of Dublin, held in the New Buildings on the 11<sup>th</sup> June, 1821, the Most Reverend Dr. Troy, in the chair.*

midst of them as records of the right of conquest, or the triumph of law over equity and the public good.<sup>73</sup>

John O'Driscoll put it another way, unconscious of the irony that his sentiment could equally apply to both religions.

It is not right that those who live upon potatoes and sour milk, should be called on to build elegant churches for those who fare sumptuously and drink wine every day.<sup>74</sup>

Around the same time the committee also appealed to the government for a loan of £6,000. In the memorandum the committee stated that their principal source of funding (contributions from Catholics) had nearly dried up due to the depression which had taken place in agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce.<sup>75</sup> The committee's appeal was successful, and Dr Troy was able to report at a public meeting in the same year that the late Hugh O'Connor Esq had left £4,000 in his will to the church as had the late Thomas Butler of Cardiff a similar sum. But for this good fortune, Dr Troy is reported as saying: 'we had almost submitted to behold as the result of our labours, the walls of the intended great edifice going to decay, and standing only as a symbol of public distress or public reproach.' Two years later Dr Troy died and the first public mass in the Pro-Cathedral was his solemn requiem.<sup>76</sup> The generosity of Protestants in helping to build the Pro-Cathedral was recalled by Archbishop Murray at the dinner, held in the evening after the dedication ceremonies, on 14 November 1825. He said he would

---

<sup>73</sup> James Warren Doyle, *Letters on the state of Ireland*, 61.

<sup>74</sup> John O'Driscoll, *Views of Ireland, moral, political, and religious*, vol. 1, 136.

<sup>75</sup> From notes taken by Dr Edward McParland from *State Paper Office, Dublin Castle, CSORP 1821/52*. [This document is now in the National Archives.]

<sup>76</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 29 January 1908.



... never forget the liberality and zeal of our Protestant fellow citizens, of which this day furnishes us with many examples. But, Gentlemen, acts of kindness are never thrown away upon an Irish heart. (cheers) The magnificent structure in which we assembled this morning will, I trust be a temple of concord, giving glory to God, and remaining a sign of place [sic] among men.<sup>77</sup>

The portico of the Pro-Cathedral was too imposing for the taste of some Protestants if we are to believe the Hon. Gonville Ffrench who informed Reverend Dr Hamilton that

... many well-disposed Protestants might be willing to contribute to the building of the Church who might be jealous of its external grandeur.<sup>78</sup>

The building committee for the new chapel at Rathmines placed an advertisement in the *Freeman's Journal* appealing to the Catholic public, and the Protestants of Dublin to contribute to the new building.<sup>79</sup> Outside Dublin the generosity of Protestants was also in evidence. The *Catholic directory 1860* noted that a large number of Protestants generously subscribed to the building fund to enlarge the Catholic church in Sligo.<sup>80</sup> Possibly as much as 30% of the contributions made to Saint Mary's, Pope's Quay, Cork came from members of churches other than the Catholic church.<sup>81</sup> At a meeting to further the building of Saint Mary's, in June 1839, the Prior Dr Russell was reported as saying that they

---

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 15 November 1825.

<sup>78</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers, 36/3, Hon. Gonville Ffrench to Reverend Dr Hamilton, 6 November 1840.

<sup>79</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 24, 25, and 26 November 1825.

<sup>80</sup> *Catholic directory 1860*, 209.

<sup>81</sup> DAT, 'Receipts and expenditure from July 1832 to July 1836'. This is a three page report listing donations of £1 and upwards, giving the names, in most cases the addresses, and in some the occupations of the donors. Based on this information an estimate was made of the proportion of money donated by non-Catholics.

relied upon the collected pence of the poor man who freely gave his small earnings; they relied upon some of their liberal and enlightened Protestant fellow citizens – (Loud cheers) – men of cultivated minds and patriotic spirit.<sup>82</sup>

The parish priest of Arklow acknowledged the help he received from his Protestant neighbours in a circular he issued to his parishioners when appealing for funds in 1859 for his new church [3.3 & 3.4].

I have already received kind countenance and substantial assistance from my good Protestant neighbours, with whom I have the happiness to live on the best of terms, and I sincerely thank God for the happy change which has taken place in my day, when Catholics and Protestants, instead of engaging in deadly feud and battle of old, live together in mutual benevolence and peace.<sup>83</sup>

At a sermon preached by Very Reverend Theobald Mathew at the consecration of the new Catholic church at Maynooth, on 14 June 1840 he acknowledged that Protestants had ‘contributed largely towards the erection of this temple.’<sup>84</sup>

When Father Walter Meyler took over the parish of Saint Andrew’s in March 1833 he was obliged to turn to Protestants living in his parish when he thought Catholic liberality was overstretched. His testimony indicates a generous response to his appeal and an acknowledgment of past support:

...when pressed by the unexpected failure of the Hanover-street Schools, and thus obliged to leave nothing unattempted to repair the saddening visitation – and stimulated by the long experience of twenty-six years in the parish of St. Mary, where I had

---

<sup>82</sup> *Cork Southern reporter*, 29 June 1839.

<sup>83</sup> Dolores Tyrrell, ‘The parish church of Saints Mary and Peter, Arklow’, in *Arklow Historical Society Journal* 1985, 53. During the rebellion of 1798 the old parish church in Arklow was burnt down and the parish priest Reverend William Ryan was murdered soon after in his family home in Johnstown.

<sup>84</sup> *Catholic luminary*, No. 1, 20 June 1840, 7.

undertaken an application, and most successfully, to the Protestants of a district to which I had been appointed ...I was induced to apply to the respectable Protestants of St. Andrew's, and I now feel the greatest pleasure in recording, that Protestant members of the bench and of the bar, and many others, cheerfully and generously so assisted me as to enable me soon to discontinue such extra applications.<sup>85</sup>

The site for the prominently sited Saint Paul's on Arran Quay was very expensive and contributions came from most of the religious denominations.<sup>86</sup> In the 18th century and until the land acts of 1877, 1887, and 1896 most of the land of Ireland was owned by Protestants, therefore it is not surprising to learn that some of them donated land for Catholic churches, very often at the risk of exciting the prejudice of their co-religionists. For example, Lord Fitzwilliam (7th viscount) paid for a new chapel at Booterstown, Co. Dublin (begun in 1812) [2.87 & 2.88] for his tenants but insisted that it avoid any churchlike appearance from the outside so as not to offend his Protestant tenants and friends.<sup>87</sup> The new parish priest, Canon Forde,<sup>88</sup> set about giving the church 'that more church-like appearance which was denied it by its founder', after his arrival in 1862.<sup>89</sup> William (St Lawrence), Earl of Howth (1752-1822), a Protestant, lent moral and material support for a

---

<sup>85</sup> W. Meyler PP, *Address to the Catholic inhabitants of St Andrew's, Westland Row*, 6.

<sup>86</sup> *Catholic Penny Magazine*, 2:59, 28 March 1835, 167.

<sup>87</sup> N. Donnelly, *Dublin parishes, pt III*, 109. A memorial tablet in the church to Mrs Barbara Verschoyle (1753-1837) informs us: 'She [Mrs Verschoyle] was the chief means of this sacred edifice being erected by the liberality of her attached friend and patron the last Richard Lord Viscount Fitzwilliam for the accomodation [sic] of his Roman Catholic tenants of this part of his estate'.

<sup>88</sup> Born 1820 and studied at the Irish College, Rome. In 1846 he was appointed assistant at Saint Paul's, Arran Quay. He later worked as curate at Saint John the Baptist, Blackrock (1849-53), and at Saint Andrew's, Westland Row (1858-60?). He took up the professorship of theology at the Irish College, Paris, in 1853. He was parish priest of Booterstown for 1862 to 1873. (N. Donnelly, *Dublin parishes, pt 3*, 117.)

<sup>89</sup> N. Donnelly, *Dublin parishes, pt III*, 117.

new Catholic church in Howth by laying the first stone (on 10 June 1814) and by his donation of the building site, the principal building materials, and a sum of £50.<sup>90</sup> His grandson, William Ulick Tristram (St Lawrence), Earl of Howth (1827-1909) was equally generous with financial support for another Catholic church in Howth, designed by W. H. Byrne, and dedicated to the Assumption of Our Lady on 15 October 1899.<sup>91</sup> Many members of the Howth family were Catholics (like other Old English families) which partly explains why Protestant sympathies for Catholic aspirations were supported by money.

The sympathy and support of many Protestants and others towards their Catholic neighbours was undoubtedly a great help to the builders of Catholic chapels. In February 1844 the Bishop of Belfast wrote to Dr Paul Cullen in Rome asking him to help George Whitta, who was not a Catholic, find his way around Rome. He informed Cullen that:

About eight years ago a Catholic Pastor of this Diocese and his very numerous flock were wantonly & uncharitable ejected from their House of Worship, and for a time could procure no Site on which to erect a new church, either this gentleman or his very near relation, generously gave in perpetuity ample ground for a church, graveyard, and School house, together with a handsome subscription for the erection of the Church.<sup>92</sup>

Even after the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1871 there is evidence that Protestants helped their Catholic neighbours

---

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., *pt XIV*, 60. Many of Lord Howth's family were Catholic, and all his descendants became Catholic.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., part 14, 63.

<sup>92</sup> ICR, Cullen papers 1845-8, Bishop C. Denver, Belfast, to Dr Cullen, Rome, 19 February 1844.

with contributions towards church building.<sup>93</sup> For example, in the 1890s £7,000 was spent on the parish church of Saints Peter and Paul in Balbriggan, Co. Dublin [4.22 & 4.23], and Protestants contributed generously.<sup>94</sup> Whereas Lord Fitzwilliam was glad to help his Catholic tenants to build a modest chapel at Booterstown, Lord Fingall (Catholic) was glad to see his co-religionists erecting more architecturally assertive structures. In 1791 he contributed 60 guineas towards a Catholic chapel in Drogheda, Co. Louth which he described as

...a most noble Structure and cannot but be a very essential advantage to the prosperity of Religion, as well as an ornament to the Town, being a most magnificent Model of refined Taste to the whole Kingdom.<sup>95</sup>

Around the same time a tourist in Ireland noticed that a Catholic church in Kilkenny was being paid for principally from the contributions of 'its mayor, recorder, aldermen, sheriff, and other protestant gentlemen.'<sup>96</sup>

The Duke of Devonshire contributed, in January 1838, £1000 towards a new Catholic church in Dungarvan, Co. Waterford, together with a gift of 100 guineas for an altarpiece. The *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* reported on this instance of Protestant liberality along with 12 others in an article which imputed motives not entirely disinterested to the donors.

---

<sup>93</sup> The *Irish Church Act* 1869 provided for the disestablishment and partial disendowment of the Church of Ireland from 1 January 1871.

<sup>94</sup> N. Donnelly, *Dublin parishes*, pt XVI, 128.

<sup>95</sup> ICR, Silke catalogue 8 Pre-Cullen, Lord Fingall, Killeen Castle, to Archbishop Rich. O'Reilly, 1 November 1791.

<sup>96</sup> Charles Topham Bowden, *A tour through Ireland*, 124.

To be sure, considering that some of these liberal Protestants are (to say the least) under considerable obligations to the Roman Catholic priests, in the management of elections, and matters of that sort, these instances of liberality do so seem quite so free from suspicion as one might at first suppose.<sup>97</sup>

The same article maintained that it was not only wealthy Protestants who contributed to Catholic church building, but also those who were less well-off; for reasons not at all magnanimous.

...the vast sums extorted (in six-pences, shillings, and half-crowns a week) from poor Protestant tradesmen, by threats of exclusive dealings, and threats of all sorts, - of which the less it says the better. If all that Protestants give, from hope or fear, to the support of Popery in Ireland, were withdrawn ...Popery would present a much less flourishing appearance that it does at present.<sup>98</sup>

An important method of fund raising until about 1875 was the charity sermon. Father Theobald Mathew<sup>99</sup> could always be guaranteed to attract a large crowd; for example in 1841 he accepted an invitation to preach in the new Catholic church in Kilkee, Co, Clare and raised over £300 from entry fees.<sup>100</sup> In Dublin the charity sermon was used more often to raise money for schools and orphanages rather than for church building. The

---

<sup>97</sup> *IEJ*, I:8, 23 February 1841, 122.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>99</sup> Mathew, Theobald (1790-1856) Born at Thomastown Castle, Co. Tipperary where his father was agent to Lord Llandaff. First sent to the catholic academy in Kilkenny whence he passed in 1807 to Maynooth college. He left after a short stay to join the Franciscans in Dublin. Was ordained in 1841. He was shortly after sent to Cork to take charge of a chapel known as the little friary. His success as a preacher was remarkable. He opened a free school for boys. He also established a free school for girls. After about 25 years in Cork he was appealed to by some of his non-conformist friends to put his name at the head of their temperance society, which he did after taking some time to decide. His influence induced thousands to take the pledge. As a result of his influence almost half the adult population gave up drink. The duties on Irish spirits fell from £1,434,573 in 1839 to £852,418 in 1844. The statistics showed a big decrease in crime. He was granted a pension on the recommendation of Lord John Russell. He died at Queenstown (Cobh) on 8 December 1856.

<sup>100</sup> Ignatius Murphy, 'Building a church in 19<sup>th</sup> century Ireland', *The Other Clare: Journal of the Shannon Historical Archaeological Society*, II (April 1978), 22.

charity sermon had a long tradition in Dublin and was used by preachers of all religions. When Joseph de Bougrenet de Latocnaye was in Dublin in the late 18th century he noticed that a Mr Kirwan was a very fashionable preacher who could collect over £1,000 at one of his charity sermons.<sup>101</sup> These charity sermons continued to be important social occasions well into the 19th century. For example, the *Catholic directory* noted that several lords attended a sermon preached by Father Mathew in the Pro-Cathedral in aid the Widows' Asylum on 27 September 1840 at which more than £200 was collected.<sup>102</sup> Congregations were willing to give generously in return for a good sermon. A chapel attached to a charitable institution was considered important as a means of raising money towards its upkeep.<sup>103</sup> Good sermons were also necessary for the day to day running of a church: In 1837 attendances were down at Saint Francis Xavier, Gardiner Street, because of a shortage of eloquent preachers and consequently the church collections amounted to a little more than a quarter what they had been in 1832, although some of the reduction was due to bad weather, fever, and financial failures in the city.<sup>104</sup> The sermon preached by Very Reverend John Miley in Saint Audoen's chapel on 24 August 1841 was published in pamphlet form in the hope that those who read it might be

---

<sup>101</sup> Joseph de Bougrenet de Latocnaye, *Ramble through Ireland*, vol. 1, 38. Mr Kirwan was a Catholic priest who converted to Anglicism

<sup>102</sup> *Catholic directory 1842*, 394.

<sup>103</sup> The chapel (Church of Ireland) of the Rotunda Maternity Hospital (1751), Dublin, is placed in the most important part of the building above the entrance hall and on the main axis.

<sup>104</sup> Thomas Morrissey, *As one sent: Peter Kenney SJ 1779-1841*, 395.

persuaded to assist in the building of the new Saint Audoen's.<sup>105</sup> Before the Great Famine it was common for candidates at election time to make contributions, and after 1850 the more usual method, especially in large towns, was to organise raffles and bazaars.<sup>106</sup> The Hon. Mr Dawson gave £100 towards the new cathedral church in Dundalk on 16 July 1841, the day after he was elected member of parliament for Louth.<sup>107</sup>

The holding of public dinners were another means of raising money. For example one such dinner at Jude's Hotel, Grafton Street was held on 23 January 1845 in aid of funds for the new Catholic church at Chapelizod; it was presided over by Daniel O'Connell and tickets were 10s each.<sup>108</sup>

Workmen sometimes donated some or all of their labour or skill, and professional men sometimes gave their services *gratis* or donated part of their fees.<sup>109</sup> Some of the craftsmen involved in the building of the model of the Pro-Cathedral donated some or all of the money due to them, to the building fund, and even in the late 19th century when the Catholic church in Ireland was in the ascendancy we find Walter Doolin donating some of his professional fee to the restoration fund for Adam and Eve's.<sup>110</sup> Most of the building work for Saints Micheal and John, Blind

---

<sup>105</sup> John Miley, *Sermon delivered by the Very Rev. Dr. Miley, in St. Audoen's parochial chapel, Bridge-street, 24th August, 1841*, Dublin 1841.

<sup>106</sup> Ignatius Murphy, 'Building a church in 19<sup>th</sup> century Ireland', *The Other Clare: Journal of the Shannon Historical Archaeological Society*, II (April 1978), 25.

<sup>107</sup> *Catholic directory 1842*, 415.

<sup>108</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 23 January 1845.

<sup>109</sup> DDA, Pro-cathedral box 38/10, Account book 1803, 5.

<sup>110</sup> FL, Loose papers relating to Adam and Eve's, 1890-99, C.77, Walter Doolin to Reverend Clement A. Hyland, 13 December 1889.



Quay (1815) was provided voluntarily by Dublin tradesmen.<sup>111</sup> Kearns Deane (a Protestant) donated his professional services *gratis* in designing and directing work on Saint Mary's, Popes Quay, Cork, for the Dominicans [3.21 & 3.22].<sup>112</sup> Patrick Byrne supervised, gratuitously, the work on the building of the parish church at Blackrock (built to his design and opened in 1845).<sup>113</sup> The work was carried out without a main contractor, which made the task of supervision more onerous than it would have been normally. During the building of Saints Mary and Peter, Arklow [3.3 & 3.4], many of the local farmers undertook the work of transporting building materials, and the fishermen brought stone from Howth.<sup>114</sup> These acts of co-operation help to explain how the Catholic churches of the period came to be built.

Builders were sometimes forced to agree to contracts which were not favourable to them and indeed frequently caused them and their families hardship. In the building of the Pro-Cathedral the contractors were required to be satisfied to receive their payments in instalments for three years after the work was finished, and the principal contractors for the building work on the Pro-Cathedral agreed thus, in May 1818.<sup>115</sup> In spite of these liberal terms the contractors sometimes had difficulty getting paid for their work.

---

<sup>111</sup> N. Donnelly, *Roman Catholics. State and condition of R.C. chapels in Dublin, both secular and regular, A.D. 1769*, 33.

<sup>112</sup> *Cork Southern Reporter*, 20 August 1836. The Dominicans recorded their gratitude to Kearns Deane on a stone plaque which is in the porch of the church.

<sup>113</sup> N. Donnelly, *Dublin parishes, pt III*, 115.

<sup>114</sup> Dolores Tyrrell, 'The parish church of Saints Mary and Peter, Arklow', in *Arklow Historical Society Journal 1985*, 53.

<sup>115</sup> DDA, Troy 1818, Denis Linehan to the Most Reverend Dr Troy, 6 May 1818; Messrs Baker and McCartney, 6 May 1818 to ditto; John Curran to ditto, 13 May 1818.

John Curran was one of those who agreed to be paid over a three year period and while engaged on the work he became indebted to John Martin & Son for timber supplied for the Pro-Cathedral. To secure payment for the timber Curran assigned to the supplier the debt owed by the church and the mortgage of a property. The court had ordered the property to be sold but John Martin was unwilling to see John Curran ruined and wrote to Reverend Dr Hamilton explaining the circumstances and continuing thus:

To prevent such a proceeding which will be attended with great expense, indeed I may say utter ruin, to Mr Curran I beg leave to apprise you of the facts, hoping that the consideration of them may induce you and the other Reverend Gentlemen of the church to make some arrangement for payment of Mr Currans debt or the least some portion of it. If his religious feelings have prevented him up to this hour from adopting any harsh measure for obtaining payment you will surely give him all the merit he deserves for such forbearance, especially when he himself has been pressed for and forced to pay the debts he contracted in carrying on the works.<sup>116</sup>

Dr Hamilton does not seem to have responded to this plea and over three years later John Curran died with the debt unpaid. His brother Daniel reminded Dr Hamilton that his late brother was owed about £1,000 for building work. He was willing to accept £100 a year (without interest) until the debt was paid off, providing the mortgage of £250 or £300 held by John Martin was paid off first.<sup>117</sup> Daniel Curran was reduced to begging for £50 from the money owed otherwise, he wrote, he would be ejected from his brother's house.<sup>118</sup> It seems that an arrangement had

---

<sup>116</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 35/5, John Martin to Reverend Dr Hamilton, 2 October 1835.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., Daniel Curran to Reverend Dr Hamilton, 19 February 1838.

<sup>118</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 36/2, Daniel Curran to Reverend. Dr Hamilton, 25 September 1839.

been made, and was being honoured, to pay £100 per annum of this debt, but in December 1839 Daniel Curran agreed to accept £600 sterling in lieu of the debt provided it was paid within six months.<sup>119</sup> It is not known if this arrangement was proposed by Curran or Hamilton or if it was carried out. In a note in Dr Hamilton's hand prepared for the annual general meeting of the building committee in January 1838 it is recorded that the late D. Linehan had submitted accounts amounting to £10,357 and had been paid £9,007. The late John Curran's accounts came to £6,440 and he had been paid £5,306. Linehan's executor had agreed to accept the balance at £100 per annum without interest.<sup>120</sup>

William Hughes, Talbot Street, builder, worked on the Pro-Cathedral but had such difficulty getting paid that he wrote to Dr Hamilton in 1844

I have been so much distressed by want to cash for some time that I find it would be impracticable for on my part continuing the jobbing work on the Church of the Conception in a satisfactory manner under the present terms. ...it is far from my intention that you should inconvenience the funds of the Church in endeavouring to obtain a settlement for me as I would prefer suffering pecuniary inconvenience myself than such should be done.<sup>121</sup>

He still hoped to be paid and a few months later he wrote to Dr Hamilton to say that he would not be able to continue in his business unless he was paid.<sup>122</sup>

---

<sup>119</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 35/5, Daniel Curran to Reverend Dr Hamilton, 18 December 1839.

<sup>120</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 36/1, Report on building finances, 14 January 1838. Amounts are given in the text to the nearest pound.

<sup>121</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 36/7, William Hughes to Dr Hamilton, 16 October 1844.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., William Hughes to Dr Hamilton, 10 March 1845.

Dr William Meagher PP, Rathmines found himself in trouble over the debts he incurred in the building of Our Lady of Refuge. He sent out a circular to the Dublin parishes with a plan to collect money: ‘...if I could but induce every Popish man woman and child in our city to contribute just one penny each to keep a poor P.P. out of trouble it would go far to save him from ruin.’<sup>123</sup> The *Freeman’s Journal*, 27 June 1812 reported that a sermon would be preached preceded by a concert in Saint Patrick’s chapel. The purpose was to raise money to pay for the building, the only Catholic chapel in Dublin dedicated to Saint Patrick.

We, however, cannot but lament that in the land of his adoption the monument of Patrick should be suffered to stand as the monument of oppression on the Widow and the Children of the builder, whose all is involved, the debt being due exclusively to her, amounting to £800.<sup>124</sup>

The continual search for money to build churches ruined the health of some of the people involved. The parish priest of Saint Audoen’s, Father Monk was reported as being only a shadow of his former self and rarely seen in public after the many years he laboured to raise money. Peter Kenney SJ attributed his illness to the 11 days he spent in Paris in the winter of 1829, on his way from Rome to Dublin, to the labour of seeking alms from the Catholics in Paris for the fabric of Saint Francis Xavier.<sup>125</sup>

Building work was in progress on Saint Francis Xavier in the early 1830s. The accounts of receipts and expenditure from March 1829 to September 1835 for the church and residence survive.

---

<sup>123</sup> DDA, Hamilton papers 37/2, circular letter from Dr Meagher, Rathmines, 30 August 1849.

<sup>124</sup> NLI, Walsh book of press cuttings, E-F. Ms 11628.

<sup>125</sup> Thomas Morrissey, *As one sent: Peter Kenney SJ 1779-1841*, 225.

The accounts are not necessarily typical of all the churches, but they serve to give an idea of some of the various sources of money and their relative importance.<sup>126</sup> Almost £18,500 was spent on the church. The money came from: legacies and donations (19%); church collections (15%); raffles (30%), two oratorios (3%); sale of debentures (7%); and borrowings (26%).<sup>127</sup>

\*\*\*

---

<sup>126</sup> A glimpse into an unusual source comes from local tradition in Westport, Co. Mayo, and concerns Father Peter Ward from Westport who was born about 1760 into a family of prosperous Catholics. He was probably educated in France, and he served in the Peninsular War as Napoleon's chaplain. He returned from the war with enough money to fund the building of churches in Mayo at Aughagower, Cushlough, and possibly Drummin. He also brought home three portrait paintings; Napoleon, Marie-Louise (Napoleon's second wife), and Marshal Ney. (John Mulloy to Brendan Grimes, 19 November 2002.)

<sup>127</sup> IJA, Account book for the building supplies and craftsmen's fees for the building of Saint Francis Xavier, cm/Gard 38.

## Conclusion

We sincerely hope that Your Grace [Paul Cullen] has decided on building a Cathedral in the heart of Dublin, [and] will not employ any of our Goths of Architects but engage a Roman. Considering the number of Churches that are building in Ireland, it is surprising that some Architetto Romano has not received a hint before to try his fortune in this country.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen how the Catholics of Ireland, in spite of (or because of) the legal disadvantages they had to bear for most of the 18th century, emerged with a new-found confidence in themselves in the early years of the 19th century. Architecture was an important means by which this confidence was expressed. They made every effort they could to build fine churches which they saw as worthy public buildings, and they succeeded. The best of these churches are in Dublin, but the rest of the country was on the move also, and some mention has been made of churches outside Dublin. The impetus for this Catholic building revival came from the Catholic aristocracy and gentry, but perhaps more so from a middle class, which having been excluded from the professions, had grown rich on the fruits of their commercial activities.

The classical language of architecture which was favoured by the Catholic church builders was largely chosen by the clergy who commissioned the work, but their architects were in tune with the requirements of the age and responded ably. Sometimes this classical language was international neo-classicism which would

---

<sup>1</sup> DDA, Cullen papers: secretaries file 1858, Bernard Lyons, Dublin to Paul Cullen, Rome, 5 November 1858.

not look out of place in any European city, and sometimes the language was a blend of neo-classicism with local building tradition and architectural habits. The standard was set by the Greek rival Pro-Cathedral, which continued to exert its influence on Catholic church architecture in Dublin throughout the period under examination. The architecture of the Pro-Cathedral is a marriage of international neo-classicism with the late 18th century basilican churches of Paris. To step inside the Pro-Cathedral is to experience a part of Paris. Paris and Rome were brought to Dublin with the building of Saint Francis Xavier, the temple front from Paris and the plan from Rome. The Greek rival introduced by the Pro-Cathedral continued in Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Saint Nicholas of Myra, Saint Paul's, and Saint Andrew's. The temple front introduced by Saint Francis Xavier was taken up by Saint Nicholas of Myra, Saint Paul's, Saint Andrew's, and Our Lady of Refuge. The temple front of Saint Andrew's is an original creation but was inspired by the Pro-Cathedral. The first portico was built with Portland stone, continuing a tradition from the 18th century. Saint Francis Xavier was the first portico to be built with local granite, a new trend which was continued at Saint Paul's, and Saint Audoen's. On the insistence of the parish priest, Dr Meagher, Portland stone was used on Our Lady of Refuge.

The strong influence the commissioning clergy had on the design of their churches is particularly evident in the case of Dr William Meagher who was responsible for, Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines, and the Three Patrons, Rathgar. He went to great pains to convince his parishioners to accept his architectural visions, and was determined to succeed. His case is well-documented but the architectural evidence suggests that his style

of patronage (although not always supported by sufficient architectural knowledge or vision) was the norm in 19th Ireland, among the Irish Catholic clergy. In Dublin, certainly, the architect, more often than not, had to develop rather than conceive the architecture. The competition brief for the Pro-Cathedral asked for a classical design, the design of Saint Nicholas of Myra was largely determined by the parish priest, the design and building of Saint Francis Xavier was closely directed by the Jesuit fathers. It is less clear in the cases of Adam and Eve's, Saint Paul's, Saint Audoen's, and Saint Andrew's, how much influence the clergy had on the designs, but in these churches the clergy maintained a close involvement in the realisation of the buildings.

Among the architects involved in the design and building of the 19th century classical churches in Dublin, Patrick Byrne is dominant. He designed Saint Paul's, Saint Audoen's, Our Lady of Refuge, and the Three Patrons. He also designed the main façade of Adam and Eve to Merchants' Quay, and he did extensive work in the 1850s on Saint Andrew's, and designed the schools which are part of Saint Andrew's complex. His pre-eminence as an architect of Catholic churches is further confirmed by the several gothic churches he built in Dublin. He also designed churches which were built in counties Tipperary, and Wicklow. This thesis has brought to light some of the qualities of Patrick Byrne who was an architect of considerable ability, and whose life and architecture merit further study. He played a large part in continuing Dublin's neo-classical tradition in architecture, which had been established by William Chambers, and Thomas Cooley, into the middle of the 19th century. John B. Keane is better known than Byrne, but in Dublin he was not given (or missed) the



opportunities to make a mark worthy of his abilities in church architecture. He worked on the Pro-Cathedral for many years, and designed the gothic Saint Laurence O'Toole. He was architect to Saint Francis Xavier but Father Bartholomew Esmonde SJ is credited with the design. He came into his own with the Cathedral church of Saint Mel, Longford (1840-63), a church deserving serious attention from architectural historians. Two other architects, in the history of Dublin's 19th century classical Catholic churches, John Leeson and James Bolger, blossomed briefly only to fade away quickly. Leeson fell out with the new administrator of Saint Andrew's parish, and was sacked as architect for the new church in favour of Bolger, an incident that did neither architect any good.

A boost to church building came in 1823 after Daniel Murray was made Archbishop and when Daniel O'Connell began to push for Catholic emancipation. This allying of religion and politics increased the flow of funds and the power of the clergy. Another reason for the Catholic ascendancy was increasing church attendance by Catholics after the Famine. Before the Famine not more than 40% attended mass regularly, but by the end of the century attendance was over 90%.<sup>2</sup> In the five years after the potato failed in 1846 the class of people whose economy was based on subsistence was wiped out, by emigration or death; this had a beneficial effect on the Irish economy, and the 30 years after the Famine was a period of prosperity in Ireland.<sup>3</sup> By the end of

---

<sup>2</sup> Emmet Larkin, 'The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75', in *American Historical Review*, LXXVII (1970), 636.

<sup>3</sup> Emmet Larkin, *Historical dimensions of Irish Catholicism*, 14.

the 19th century, the resources to build very big churches were attainable. A good example which illustrates this increase in prosperity is a comparison between Saint Nicholas of Myra, Dublin, built in the 1830s at a cost of £8,000 and the nearby Saints Augustine and John's church, John's Lane, which was begun in 1862 and finished in 1892 at a cost of £60,000.<sup>4</sup>

By the 1840s the craze for gothic had taken a hold on the Irish clergy and the next 60 years was to see tall gothic spires springing up in almost every sizeable town in Ireland, often deliberately sited to eclipse the modest spires of the established church. The classical tradition continued, however, among church builders, throughout the 19th century and well into the 20th century. In Dublin, the parish priest of Saint Agatha's, Reverend Matthew Collier PP (1878-1892) decided to build a classical Roman church, which was started but not finished during his term. Saint Agatha's [2.93] was designed by W. H. Byrne and is on the minor North William Street parallel to the North Strand. His successor Reverend John O'Malley PP (1892-1904) had grander notions, and perhaps a desire to emulate Dr Blake: he wanted to abandon the partly finished church and start again on a commanding site, but Archbishop William J. Walsh refused his consent to build a new church and O'Malley refused to accept the Archbishop's authority, quarrelled with him over the matter for years, and finally decided to challenge him in court. The trial lasted a few days ending with a favourable verdict for the defendant, but O'Malley still did not cease his agitation and was eventually sacked by the

---

<sup>4</sup> Hugh Campbell, 'Religion and the city', 19.

long-suffering Archbishop. His successor, Canon Walshe decided (wisely) to go back to the original plan and site. ‘Of the £8,385 gross of Miss Walsh’s legacy, a sum of £5,987 had been rescued from the wreck of the litigation...’ St Agatha’s was opened and blessed on 25 Oct. 1908.<sup>5</sup>

J. J. McCarthy made perhaps two visits to Rome to study the baroque Santa Francesca Romana and the early Christian Santa Agata dei Goti, before designing the chapel at Holy Cross (1874-76) [2.94] for Cardinal Cullen.<sup>6</sup> J. J. McCarthy, often called the Irish Pugin, was at home with the gothic, but Cardinal Cullen, a lover of classical architecture, was having none of it.

\*\*\*

---

<sup>5</sup> Donnelly, *Dublin parishes, pt XIII*, 143-6.

<sup>6</sup> O’Donnell, ‘Roman reflections on the Liffey’, 53.

## TIMELINE<sup>1</sup>

Date	Artistic events & events related to church building	Historical events	Political and ecclesiastical appointments and royal successions
1695		Beginning of penal legislation against Catholics with <i>An act for restraining foreign education</i> , and <i>An act for the better securing the government by disarming papists</i>	Narcissus Marsh, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin (1694-1703)
1696			
1697		<i>An Act for banishing all papists, exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all regulars of the popish clergy out of this kingdom</i>	
1698			
1699			
1700			Pope Clement XI (1700-1721)
1701			
1702			
1703		<i>An act to prevent Popish priests from coming into this kingdom</i> <i>An act to prevent the further growth of popery</i> <i>An act for registering the Popish clergy</i>	William King, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin (1703-1729)
1704			
1705			
1706			
1707		Union of England and Scotland	Edmund Byrne, Archbishop of Dublin (1707-1724)
1708			
1709			
1710			
1711			

---

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from various sources the principal being, T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, F.J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland*.

1712			
1713			
1714			
1715		Jacobite rising in Scotland	
1716			
1717			
1718			
1719			
1720			
1721			Pope Innocent XIII (1721-1724)
1722			
1723			
1724			Dominic Edward Murphy, Archbishop of Dublin (1724-1729) Pope Benedict XIII (1724-1730)
1725			
1726			
1727			
1728			
1729			Luke Fagan, Archbishop of Dublin (1729-1733)
1730			John Hoadly, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin (1730-1742) Sir Robert Walpole appointed Prime Minister, 15 May 1730 Pope Clement XII (1730-1740)
1731			
1732	Alexander Pope, <i>An essay on man</i>		
1733	J.S. Bach, <i>B minor Mass</i>		
1734			John Linegar, Archbishop of Dublin (1734-1756)
1735			

1736			
1737			
1738			
1739		George Whitefield and then John Wesley launch Methodist revival in England	
1740		Famine in Ireland (1740-1) Maria Theresa becomes ruler of the Austrian dominions	Pope Benedict XIV (1740-1758)
1741			
1742			Sir Robert Walpole, Prime Minister resigns Spencer Compton appointed Prime Minister, 16 February 1742
1743			Charles Cobbe, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin (1743-1765) Henry Pelham appointed Prime Minister, 27 August 1743
1744			
1745		2 August, Young Pretender lands in Scotland	Lord Chesterfield lord lieutenant (1745-6)
1746		16 April, rout of Jacobites at Culloden	
1747			
1748			
1749	Report for the Protestant archbishop of Dublin entitled <i>The State &amp; condition of the Popish Chapels in Dublin both Secular &amp; Regular</i>		
1750			
1751	Diderot and d'Alembert, <i>The Encyclopedie</i> , 1751-72	Charge of treason against the Bishop of Ferns dismissed	
1752			
1753	Marc-Antoine Laugier, <i>Essai sur l'architecture</i>		

1754			Thomas Pelham-Holles, 4th Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne appointed Prime Minister, 16 March 1754
1755			
1756		Seven Years War (1756-63)	William Cavendish, 4th Duke of Devonshire appointed Prime Minister, 16 November 1756
1757	Jacques-Germain Soufflot's first design for Ste-Geneviève published		Richard Lincoln Archbishop of Dublin (1757-1763) Duke of Newcastle appointed Prime Minister, 2 July 1757
1758			Pope Clement XIII (1758-69)
1759		Jesuits expelled from Portugal	
1760		Catholic committee by Curry, O'Connor, and Wyse	King George III (1760-1820)
1761			
1762	James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, <i>The antiquities of Athens</i> , volume 1 J.J. Rousseau, <i>Social contract</i>		John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute appointed Prime Minister, 26 May 1762
1763		<i>An Act for the better discovery of charitable donations and bequests</i>	Patrick Fitzsimons, Archbishop of Dublin (1763-1769) George Grenville appointed Prime Minister, 16 April 1763
1764	Work begun on Ste-Geneviève, Paris		
1765			Hon. William Carmichael, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin (1765) Charles Watson-Wentworth, 2nd Marquess of Rockingham appointed Prime Minister, 13 July 1765
1766			Arthur Smyth, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin (1766-1771) William Pitt appointed Prime Minister, 30 July 1766
1767			

1768			Augustus Henry Fitzroy, 3rd Duke of Grafton, appointed Prime Minister, 14 October 1768
1769			Pope Clement XIV (1769-1774)
1770			John Carpenter, Archbishop of Dublin (1770-86) Frederick North, styled Lord North, appointed Prime Minister, 28 January 1770
1771	First edition of <i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i>		
1772			John Cradock, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin (1772-1778)
1773	<i>The works in architecture of Robert and James Adam, 1773-9</i>		
1774		<i>An act to enable his Majesty's subjects of whatever persuasion to testify their allegiance to him</i>	
1775			Pope Pius VI (1775-1799)
1776	Adam Smith, <i>The wealth of nations</i>		
1777			
1778		<i>An act for the relief of his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom professing the popish religion</i>	
1779	Canova's sculpture, <i>Orpheus and Eurydice</i>		Robert Fowler, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin (1779-1801)
1780			
1781			
1782		<i>An Act for the further Relief of His Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom professing the Popish Religion</i> 16 April Irish Parliament votes its independence, and makes a declaration of constitutional rights	Marquess of Rockingham appointed Prime Minister, 28 March 1782 William Petty, 3rd Earl of Shelburne appointed Prime Minister, 4 July 1782



1783		England concedes legislative independence to Irish parliament	William Henry Cavendish Cavendish-Bentinck, 3rd Duke of Portland appointed Prime Minister, 2 April 1783  William Pitt appointed Prime Minister, 19 December 1783
1784			
1785	Mozart, <i>The marriage of Figaro</i>		
1786		Death of Frederick the Great  First gas lighting	Death of John Carpenter, Archbishop of Dublin  John Thomas Troy, Archbishop of Dublin (1786-1823)
1787	James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, <i>The antiquities of Athens</i> , volume 2	Association for the abolition of the slave trade founded in Britain	
1788			
1789		French revolution  14 July, fall of the Bastille  4 August, Declarations of the Rights of Man  George Washington, first president of the United States of America (1789-97)	
1790			
1791	Theobald Wolfe Tone, <i>Argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland</i>	Belfast and Dublin societies of United Irishmen formed	
1792		Wolfe Tone assistant secretary to the Catholic Committee  French republic proclaimed	
1793	Building work started on Saint Teresa's, Clarendon Street  Foundation of Saint Patrick's College, Carlow	<i>An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Popish of Roman Catholic Subjects of Ireland</i>	
1794	James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, <i>The antiquities of Athens</i> , volume 3		
1795	Maynooth College founded		
1796			

1797	Andrew Lumisden, <i>Remarks on the antiquities of Rome and its environs</i>		
1798		United Irish rising	
1799			
1800		<i>Act of Union of Ireland and Great Britain</i>	Pope Pius VII (1800-23)
1801			Charles Agar, Viscount Somerton (created Earl of Somerton 1806), Protestant Archbishop of Dublin (1801-9)  Henry Addington appointed Prime Minister, 17 March 1801
1802			
1803	Site for the Pro-Cathedral purchased		
1804			William Pitt appointed Prime Minister, 10 May 1804
1805		Battle of Trafalgar: Britain defeats French and Spanish fleets	
1806			William Wyndham Grenville, 1st Baron Grenville, appointed Prime Minister, 11 February 1806
1807			Duke of Portland appointed Prime Minister, 31 March 1807
1808		Irish bishops reject the veto scheme	
1809			Euseby Cleaver, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin (1809-1819)  Spencer Perceval appointed Prime Minister, 4 October 1809
1810			
1811	Saint Teresa's built		Prince Regent (1811-1820)
1812		Napoleon invades Russia	Robert Banks Jenkinson, 2nd Earl of Liverpool, appointed Prime Minister, 8 June 1812
1813			
1814	Architectural competition for the Pro-Cathedral		

1815	Building work started on the Pro-Cathedral	Napoleon defeated at Waterloo	
1816	James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, <i>The antiquities of Athens</i> , volume 4		
1817			
1818			
1819			
1820			George IV (1820-30) Lord John George Beresford, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin (1820-1822)
1821			
1822			William Magee, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin (1822-1831)
1823		Catholic Association formed by Daniel O'Connell Death of James Gandon, architect	Pope Leo XII (1823-9) Daniel Murray, Archbishop of Dublin (1823-52) Death of John Thomas Troy, Archbishop of Dublin
1824	First performance of Beethoven's <i>Choral symphony</i>		
1825	The Pro-Cathedral opened for worship		
1826			
1827			George Canning appointed Prime Minister, 10 April 1827 Frederick John Robinson, 1st Viscount Goderich, appointed Prime Minister, 31 August 1827
1828			Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington, appointed Prime Minister, 22 January 1828
1829	Building work started on Saint Nicholas of Myra, and on Saint Francis Xavier	<i>An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects</i> Death of Francis Johnson, architect	Pope Pius VIII (1829-30)
1830			Charles Grey, 2nd Earl Grey, appointed Prime Minister, 22 November 1830

1831	Building work started on Saint Mary's, Pope's Quay, Cork	Edward Stanley (Chief Secretary 1839-3) founded the Irish national system of education	Richard Whately, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin (1831-1863) Pope Gregory XVI (1831-46)
1832	Building work started on Saint Andrew's Saint Francis Xavier opened for worship		
1833			
1834	Building work started on Adam and Eve's Saint Andrew's opened for worship		William Lamb, 2nd Viscount Melbourne, appointed Prime Minister, 16 July 1834 Duke of Wellington appointed Prime Minister, 17 November 1834 Sir Robert Peel appointed Prime Minister, 10 December 1834
1835	Building work started on Saint Paul's Saint Francis Xavier consecrated Adam and Eve's opened for worship		Viscount Melbourne appointed Prime Minister, 19 April 1835
1836	Augustus Welby Pugin, <i>Contrasts</i> William Joseph Battersby published the first annual <i>Catholic directory</i>	Death of Henry Aaron Baker, architect	
1837	Saint Paul's opened for worship		Queen Victoria (1837-1901)
1838		First electric telegraph (Britain)	
1839			
1840		First postage stamp (Britain)	
1841	Augustus Welby Pugin, <i>True principles of Christian or pointed architecture</i> Building work started on Saint Audoen's Portico of Pro-Cathedral finished		Daniel O'Connell, Lord Mayor of Dublin (1841-2) Sir Robert Peel appointed Prime Minister, 30 August 1841

1842	Building work finished on Saint Paul's		
1843	Building work finished on Saint Andrew's		
1844		<i>An Act for the more effectual Application of Charitable Donations and Bequests in Ireland</i>	
1845		Great Famine in Ireland (1845-7)	
1846	Dedication of Saint Audoen's		Lord John Russell appointed Prime Minister, 30 June 1846 Pope Pius IX (1846-78)
1847		Death of Daniel O'Connell	
1848			
1849			
1850	Building work started on Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines Apse to Saint Francis Xavier extended	John Benjamin Keane's name was removed from the list of member of the Royal Institute of the architects of Ireland after he was imprisoned for debt	
1851		Great Exhibition in London	
1852			Death of Daniel Murray, Archbishop of Dublin Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin (1852-1878) Edward George Geoffrey Smith Stanley, 14th Earl of Derby, appointed Prime Minister, 23 February 1852 George Hamilton-Gordon, 4th Earl of Aberdeen, appointed Prime Minister, 19 December 1852
1853	Hausmann begins the rebuilding of Paris		
1854		Catholic University of Ireland founded	
1855			Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston, appointed Prime Minister, 6 February 1855
1856	Our Lady of Refuge		

	dedicated		
1857			
1858		Death of John Hogan, sculptor	Earl of Derby appointed Prime Minister, 26 February 1858
1859		Death of John Benjamin Keane, architect	Viscount Palmerston appointed Prime Minister, 12 June 1859
1860	Building work started on the Three Patrons of Ireland		
1861		American civil war began Death of Prince Albert Emancipation of Russian serfs	
1862	Three Patrons of Ireland completed and dedicated on 18 May to the three patron saints of Ireland, Saint Patrick, Saint Bridgid, and Saint Columcille	Death of Reverend John Hamilton former administrator of the Pro-Cathedral	
1863			
1864		Death of Patrick Byrne, architect	

## Appendix A

*Notes and commentary on legislation which affected Catholics and church building (1697 to 1844)*

The laws enacted against Catholics were intended to protect the interests of the Protestant minority ruling class who had benefited from the defeat of the Catholic King James II by his son-in-law, King William of Orange (William III) in 1691. This class was fearful of a restoration to the throne of the Catholic Stuarts, and the consequent change in land ownership.<sup>1</sup> In the preamble to *An Act for banishing all papists, exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all regulars of the popish clergy out of this kingdom* (9 Will. 3. C.1. 1697) it is stated:

that the late rebellions in this kingdom have been contrived, promoted, and carried on by popish arch-bishops, bishops, jesuits, and other ecclesiastical persons of the romish clergy.

In the early months of 1698 the transportation of Catholics ecclesiastics was begun under the banishment act. King William's Catholic ally, Emperor Leopold of Austria, alarmed at these proceedings, instructed his ambassador to intervene on behalf of

---

<sup>1</sup> William arrived in Ireland in June 1690. After his victory at the Battle of the Boyne in July 1690, James II departed to France. The final Williamite victories and the change over of power took place after the Catholic defeat at Aughrim and the surrender of Limerick in 1691.

the Catholics of Ireland. Leopold saw the intention of the new legislation as the entire extirpation of the Catholic religion and was concerned that it would destroy confidence between allies of different religions. King William was anxious about the effects of this legislation and its enforcement on public opinion in Europe, but was not strong enough to go against parliament by refusing to sanction the bill, however he assured the Austrian ambassador that no church dignitaries would be removed and that there would be no interference with Catholic worship. In spite of the reassurances given to the ambassador the eight remaining bishops in Ireland were soon reduced to two, Archbishop Edward Comerford of Cashel and Bishop Patrick Donnelly of Dromore. Donnelly remained at large until 1706 when he was imprisoned and brought to trial but acquitted. Comerford appears to have been left unmolested by the government until his death in 1710.<sup>2</sup> A report compiled in 1697 listing the Catholic clergy of the diocese of Dublin, records Edward Murphy as parish priest of Saint Audoen's parish and John Linegar a secular priest attached to Saint Michan's parish. We do not know if they were banished, but their names were to appear later as archbishops of Dublin. Dominic Edward Murphy was archbishop from 1724 to 1729, and John Linegar from 1734 to 1756.<sup>3</sup>

*An Act to prevent the further growth of popery* (2 Anne. C.6. 1703) was intended to prevent Protestants from being seduced by

---

<sup>2</sup> Maureen Wall, *The penal laws*, 12-15.

<sup>3</sup> ML, 'A Particular acct of the Romish Clergy - Secular & Regular, in every parrish in the Dioces of Dublin.' Ref. class v.3, Tab.I. No. 18.



Catholicism and to ensure that children were educated in the established religion. This act also made it unlawful to assemble at holy wells and other places of pilgrimage. The government was anxious about these large gatherings

...by which not only the peace of the publick is greatly disturbed, but the safety of the government also hazarded, by the riotous and unlawful assembling together of many thousands of Papists to the said wells and other places:

This act was a determined piece of legislation running to 28 sections and was added to and amended in 1709 with *An Act for explaining and amending an Act* intituled *An Act to prevent the further growth of popery* (8 Anne. C.3).

*An Act for registering the Popish clergy* (2 Anne. C.7. 1703) had the advantage that priests who had registered had a legal status and were free to carry out their functions. This law was intended to bring about the final extirpation of the Catholic religion in Ireland by ensuring that as priests died they would not be replaced. Stronger legislation would have been regarded with alarm by England's Catholic allies on the continent. But, it seems probable that few legislators, apart from the more enthusiastic Protestant bishops such as Archbishop King of Dublin, really wanted the mass of the Catholic population to turn to the Established Church for spiritual consolation after the supply of priests had dried up.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Maureen Wall, *The penal laws*, 16.

With the enactment of such legislation in the late 17th century and early 18th century it is not surprising that there were few Catholic chapels given that so many of the Catholic clergy had been deported, and that the population had not acquired a church going habit. There is evidence to suggest that the laws were not rigorously applied, especially in rural areas, and local politics determined how the laws were applied. Most magistrates and constables (who were not paid) would have preferred not to upset the inhabitants of their localities by the undue application of unpopular laws, besides they had enough to do dealing with more conventional crime. Waterford corporation displayed some tolerance to Catholic aspirations by giving them permission to erect a chapel on the site of the present cathedral, in 1693, on condition that they did not cause offence to the Protestants. To this end they attended mass early on Sunday mornings, before the Protestant services. When the chapel was not in use it had to be kept locked.<sup>5</sup> The Catholics of Waterford presented a petition to the corporation in 1700 requesting permission to build a new chapel on the same site. In a well-reasoned case they pointed out that ‘in Dublin, under the eye of the Government, they have divers Chapples in the Citty, and are graciously permitted.’<sup>6</sup> In the late 18th century the chapel in Waterford was described by a contemporary writer as a ‘fine modern building, the isles supported by stone pillars, the panels of the wainscots carved

---

<sup>5</sup> Alyson McDonnell, *The architecture of John Roberts*, 29.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in P.M. Egan, *History, guide & directory of county and city of Waterford*, 521.

and gilded, and the galleries finely adorned with paintings.<sup>7</sup> Another contemporary described the chapel as ‘one of the most extensive and elegant in the British dominions.’<sup>8</sup> The liberal attitude of Waterford corporation towards Catholics was not shared by all in authority. The Duke of Ormonde took a particular interest in preventing the Catholic clergy operating in his city, Kilkenny. In a letter to the Earl of Arran, dated 2 October 1683 he wrote:

I am informed that the insolence as well as indiscretion of the regular Popish clergy was grown to that height that they were building or fitting up no less that four chapels at Kilkenny, and that they persisted in that folly though advised to the contrary by some more sober men of their own religion. It may therefore be fit for you to send to the Bishop of Ossory and perhaps to the Mayor of the city to let them know you are so informed and desire them to take care to prevent it as also the celebration of mass within the walls of the town.<sup>9</sup>

Francis Marsh, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin in a letter to the Duke of Ormonde on 3 February 1685 wrote:

I know not nor ever heard of any chapels allowed them though some public houses have been overlooked and neglected by the government by connivance only as I conceive.<sup>10</sup>

Less than 50 years earlier, the government was more tolerant, but only for a short time. The Jesuit chapel in Back Lane, opened in 1627 by Robert Nugent SJ was described, two years after it was

---

<sup>7</sup> Charles Smith, *The ancient and present state of the county and city of Waterford*, 180.

<sup>8</sup> James Hall, *Tour through Ireland*, vol, 1, 119.

<sup>9</sup> William P. Burke, *The Irish priests in the penal times (1660-1760)*, 69.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

opened, by Sir William Brereton, in his *Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, Scotland, and Ireland* [1634-5]:

The pulpit in this church was richly adorned with pictures, and so was the high altar, which was advanced with steps, and railed out like cathedrals; upon either side thereof was there erected places for confession; no fastened seats were in the middle or body thereof, nor was there any chancel; but that it might be more capacious there was a gallery erected on both sides, and at the lower end of this church...<sup>11</sup>

The Jesuit chapel was closed down by the government in 1629, only two years after it was opened, but its influence was to continue in subsequent galleries churches, both Catholic and Protestant.<sup>12</sup>

In the period 1700-10 the Catholic clergy who were spared the letter of the law remained in Dublin and kept chapels which had been established in the previous century, but life was not made easier for Catholics when King James II died in 1701 and the Pope recognized his son James III as the legitimate King of England.<sup>13</sup> Some regular clergy registered as parish priests to stay in Dublin after 1704 and their chapels became parochial. Within a decade from 1704 many regular clergy had returned and established new chapels in warehouses and stables.

---

<sup>11</sup> Quoted in Nicholas Donnelly, 'The Diocese of Dublin in the eighteenth century', *IER*, August 1889, 721. In 1706 the Tailors' Hall was erected on the site of the chapel.

<sup>12</sup> Joseph McDonnell, *Ecclesiastical art of the Penal era*, 4.

<sup>13</sup> Maureen Wall, *The penal laws*, 17.

There seems no doubt that Catholics, of all classes, were allowed to practise their religion without interference. They were probably more often regarded with pity than with alarm by the Protestant upper classes. William Nicolson, Protestant Archbishop of Derry describing his journey north to take over the administration of his dioceses, wrote of the Catholics he saw:

To complete their Misery, these animals are bigoted Papists; and we frequently met them trudging to some ruin'd Church or Chapel either to Mass, a Funeral, or a Wedding, with a Preist [sic] in the same Habit with themselves.<sup>14</sup>

During the 1720s many chapels were renovated or extended and by 1749 almost all the chapels were purpose-made ecclesiastical buildings. Most of these chapels were designed to accommodate as many people as possible by means of two or three galleries.<sup>15</sup> An ambivalent attitude by the civil authorities to the Catholics in the application of the law is suggested by this report by the *Dublin Journal* of 6 April 1722:

The Lords Justice of Ireland have orders for putting the laws in execution against the Roman Catholics in that kingdom and orders are given for shutting up their chapels.<sup>16</sup>

The *Report on the state of popery in Ireland, 1731* commissioned by the government also indicates an ambivalent attitude by the

---

<sup>14</sup> W. Nicolson to Archbishop Wake, 24 June 1718, B.M., Add. MS. 6116, ff. 64-64v, quoted in Kevin MacGrath, 'The clergy of Dublin in 1695', in *IER*, 5<sup>th</sup> series, LXXIV, September 1950, 195.

<sup>15</sup> Nuala Burke, 'A Hidden Church?', *Archivium Hibernicum*, XXXII (1974), 87.

<sup>16</sup> John Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth century press*, 36. Although the laws in Ireland were passed by the Irish Parliament it had no power to enforce these laws. The centre of administration in Ireland, Dublin Castle, took its orders directly from the ministry in England

authorities to Catholic church building. The Protestant Bishop of Cloyne told the committee of inquiry on 14 December 1731:

Some new Mass-houses have been attempted to be raised about three years ago, particularly at Cloyne and Charleville, within view of the Churches in those Towns, and where no Mass-houses were before. But the finishing of the same, has been hitherto prevented by the care of the respective Magistrates of those places.<sup>17</sup>

On the other hand James Huleatt, Mayor of Cork, stated to the committee on 12 November 1731 that:

...there are two reputed new Mass Houses in the said City, one slated Mass house in the South Suburb, built in the year 1728,...the other built about a year past on a fine eminence, in a Large Sumptuous manner in the North Suburbs...tho' they had a Large Convenient mass house before...<sup>18</sup>

The committee were also told that

...the mass-house of Mullingar, built in the year 1730, is remarkable large, has an aisle, three galleries, and a spacious altar-piece, painted, and set off with images, flower-pots, and gilded candlesticks, and has a settled priest, who has got tythes.<sup>19</sup>

The 1731 report gives the impression that Catholic church building in big urban centres was progressing without much

---

<sup>17</sup> 'Report on the state of popery, Ireland, 1731', *Archivium Hibernicum*, II (1913), 131.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 127.

<sup>19</sup> *Catholic directory 1842*, 387. (The full text of *A report made by his grace the lord primate, from the lords committees, appointed to enquire into the present state of popery in the kingdom of Ireland, and to prepare such heads for bills, as they think most proper for explaining and amending the acts to prevent the growth of popery; and to secure this kingdom from any dangers from the great number of papists in this nation. To which is added an appendix containing original papers*, is printed in *Catholic directory 1842*, 369-90).

interference. In the opinion of the lords committee this increase in building

of public mass-houses and convents..[is]...to the manifest danger of the Protestant religion, of his majesty's government, and of the peace and welfare of this kingdom.<sup>20</sup>

It is hardly surprising therefore that the committee recommended that

...it is absolutely necessary, that the magistrates of this kingdom, particularly those in the city of Dublin, do immediately enter upon a more steady and vigorous execution of the laws against popery, especially those against all regular, and persons exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction contrary to the laws of this kingdom.<sup>21</sup>

Whether prompted by this recommendation or not Dublin Corporation set up a committee to consider what further laws were needed to help in the proper running of the city. The committee's report, dated 4 December 1739 suggested 18 extra laws, number 15 of which stated:

That each alderman should be obliged to make returns every term to the grand jury at every general sessions of the peace, of all popish schoolmasters and nunneries, or friars, that they know, are informed of, or have reason to suspect are within their several wards, in order to have the same prosecuted and suppressed.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 387.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 375.

<sup>22</sup> Rosa Mulholland Gilbert (ed.), *Calendar of the ancient records of Dublin*, vol. VIII, 354, 359.

In spite of a hostile attitude from Dublin Corporation to the Catholic clergy, particularly those belonging to religious orders, there is, from this period, a discernibly tolerant attitude by the press towards them which begins to discard descriptions like ‘popish priest’ in favour of descriptions like ‘Roman Catholick clergyman’, and ‘parish priest’.<sup>23</sup> The newspapers began to publish death notices of Catholic clergymen; for example *Faulkner’s Dublin Journal* of 13 January 1741 published a notice of the death of the parish priest of Saint Nicholas Without [Saint Nicholas of Myra], Reverend Thomas Austin, with the words that ‘... his death [is] very much lamented by people of all persuasions.’<sup>24</sup> There is evidence that life for the regular orders was also becoming easier. A report to Propaganda Fide in January 1742 on three Franciscan bishops in Ireland noted that:

Tutte li Vescovi d’Ibernia, benchè Francescani, possono commodamente vivere e mantenersi. ...Le messe in buona parte gli vengono pagate uno scudo l’una.

The same report noted that there were not a few rich Catholics willing to support them:

---

<sup>23</sup> After the Catholics were expelled from the Irish Parliament at the start of the reign of William III, that is in 1692, a hostile and contemptuous phraseology was used to describe Catholics, ‘papists’, ‘popish people’ etc. From the time of the introduction of the Protestant creed into Ireland in Elizabeth’s time they were described as ‘persons in communion with the Church of Rome’. The term ‘Roman Catholic’ was used by the statutes after 1792. According to the anonymous author of *A statement of the penal laws which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland: with commentaries*, no gentleman or scholar uses terms like ‘papist’, ‘romanist’ etc. anymore, however. Dublin Corporation (which passed a resolution condemning the pamphlet mentioned above in 1812) continued to use the term ‘romanist’ at least up until 1829 as evidenced in the *Calendar of ancient records of Dublin*.

<sup>24</sup> John Brady, *Catholicism and Catholicism in the eighteenth century press*, 63-4.



Tutti li Battesimi e Matrimoni dei Cattolici nobili e ricchi, che non sono pochi ...li fa sempre il vescovo e non il parroco...rimostrata gratitudine generosa di denaro.<sup>25</sup>

Although the report of 1731 mentions big Catholic churches built, or being built in Cork, Mullingar, and Tipperary, they were exceptional. The 1740s was still not the time for building on anything more than a modest scale and to add to the difficulties the collapse of a mass house in Pill Lane, Dublin, killing the priest and nine others prompted the government to order all the mass houses in Dublin to be shut up for the safety of congregations.<sup>26</sup>

The threat of a Jacobite rebellion in 1744 and 1745 caused apprehension amongst Protestants and created difficulties for Catholics and their priests. The Protestant archbishop of Tuam advised his clergy by letter to arm themselves in case of attack by Catholics. In his letter he wrote: 'Penal Laws have indeed been made against their priests, for the defence of the government against their dangerous practices.' He noted, however, that ordinary people feel no disadvantage and in fact go in great numbers to the mass houses without molestation, and the priests are well-known to Protestant gentlemen, and as long as they

---

<sup>25</sup> PF, Scritture riferite nei congressi – Irlanda, Vol X (1739-1760) Fol. 52.

'All these Irish bishops, even though they are Franciscans, can maintain themselves and live comfortably.' 'Most of the masses they say are paid for at the rate of one scudo each.' 'All the baptisms, and marriages of the Catholic nobility and wealthy (of which there are not a few) are performed by the bishop [Franciscan] and not by the parish, and they are willingly and generously paid.'

<sup>26</sup> John Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the eighteenth century press*, 65, quoting *Exshaw's Magazine*, February 1744.

behave themselves no one will disturb them.<sup>27</sup> About the same time in Dublin the Catholic clergy were repeatedly warning their flock to avoid riots, drunkenness and late nights. They were advised ‘...to behave themselves so in every respect, as to be worthy the favour and liberty which they now enjoy.’<sup>28</sup> *Faulkner’s Dublin Journal* noted on 26 September 1752 that riots were very frequent in the city.<sup>29</sup> Exhortations and threats of excommunication seem to have had no effect and riots were still frequent four years later. The government must have been pleased when the Catholic hierarchy abolished, in 1756, many holy days, thereby reducing the occasions for drunkenness, debauchery and rioting.<sup>30</sup> Later in the century Archbishop Troy prohibited the customary masses on the midnight before Christmas day to discourage dangerous crowds of merry makers from the streets.<sup>31</sup>

A report commissioned, in 1749, by the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin examined nine secular chapels, six regular, and four nunneries, in the city, and found that they were well-furnished with pews, confessionals, altarpieces, and paintings. The report’s concluding paragraph states:

From this view of the Popish Chapels in Dublin a just Judgement may be made, how unreasonable the Clamours of that People are abroad & at

---

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 70-1, quoting *Faulkner’s Dublin Journal*, 15 October 1745.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 67-8, quoting *Exshaw’s Magazine*, October 1745.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 90, quoting *Faulkner’s Dublin Journal*, 11 May 1756.

<sup>31</sup> John D’Alton, *The memoirs of the archbishops of Dublin*, 483.

home, upon the point of Persecution. They enjoy the Exercise of their Religion if not in such splendor, as they desire, yet without the least molestation from the Government. Let them compare the State of their condition with what the Protestants suffer in Popish Countries, as to the outward Profession of their Religion. To meet together in Fields & woods is a high Indulgence in France. But these things are well known.<sup>32</sup>

A turning point in the fortunes of the Catholic Church in Ireland occurred in 1751, after a charge of treason against the Catholic Bishop of Ferns, was dismissed. This emboldened the Catholic Church to function publicly. Synods of bishops were held and the Catholic Association openly pursued civil and religious liberty for Catholics.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, the Catholic hierarchy was anxious not to offend the government, and step by step it took care to allay suspicion of disloyalty. Frequent affirmations of loyalty were considered necessary and given. For example, in 1762, priests were required to read an exhortation from their altars in all the churches of the Dublin diocese expressing loyalty. An extract from this exhortation stated that the Penal Laws:

...which, however severe in themselves, yet give us an opportunity of feeling with grateful hearts the clemency of his present majesty, and his royal ancestors, whose generous indulgence hath in a great measure suspended the sharp edge of those laws...against a people, who, from their dutiful inoffensive behaviour, seem to merit a milder fate.<sup>34</sup>

By the 1760s English governments began to see the merit in cultivating good relations with Irish Catholics. Among the

---

<sup>32</sup> CRB, *The State & condition of the Popish Chapels in Dublin both Secular & Regular 1749*.

<sup>33</sup> Desmond J. Keenan, *The Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Ireland*, 2.

<sup>34</sup> John Brady, op. cit., 103, quoting *Pue's Occurrences*, 13 March 1762.

reasons for this change of attitude was the recognition of the power of Catholic public opinion, and misgivings about the reliability and loyalty of Irish Protestants. Also traditional anti-Catholicism sat uneasily with the religious composition of a new empire in Canada, the West Indies, and in India. Also the need for soldiers during the Seven Years War and later meant that Catholics could not be ignored. It is no co-incidence that relief acts were put through during war time. On the death of the Pretender, James III in 1766 the Pope refused to recognise his son Charles Edward as the legitimate king, and thus removed an important reason for suspicion against the Catholics.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore King George III (1760-1820) was also King of Hanover where Catholics enjoyed freedom of worship and neither the King nor his ministers were disposed to persecute Catholics unless they were a threat to the government.<sup>36</sup> By the early 1770s English ministers began to sponsor the Catholics of Ireland and to urge for the progressive dismantling of the Penal Laws.<sup>37</sup>

Of great concern to the government was the suspicion that Catholics were not loyal to the government. From the government's point of view it was important that re-assurance be given on that point. The Catholic Committee sent Dr John

---

<sup>35</sup> Maureen Wall, *The penal laws*, 18.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>37</sup> Thomas Bartlett, 'The origins and progress of the Catholic question in Ireland, 1690-1800', in T.P.Power and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Endurance and emergence, Catholics in Ireland in the eighteenth century*, Dublin 1990, 6-9.

Carpenter<sup>38</sup> (later Catholic Archbishop of Dublin 1770-86) to London in the winter of 1767-8 to act as secretary to Nicholas Viscount Taaffe<sup>39</sup> and to advise him on the wording for a loyalty test which would be acceptable to Catholics.<sup>40</sup> The Catholic laity represented by Lord Gormanston, Lord Fingall, Lord Trimlestown, Joseph Barnewell, Anthony Dermot, Edward Moore, Robert Caddell, William Cooke, William Reilly, John Bagot, J.M. Daly, and Michael Sweetman signed an address, dated 24 January 1777, to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland pointing out that the body of Roman Catholics are loyal in spite of occasional ‘tumultuous risings of promiscuous miscreants from every denomination of religion.’<sup>41</sup>

*An Act for the relief of his Majesty’s subjects of the kingdom professing the popish religion* passed by the Irish House of Commons (17 & 18 Geo. 3. C.49. 1777-8), in its preamble acknowledged the reasonableness and expediency of relaxing the anti-popery laws due to the ‘... uniform peaceable behaviour for a long series of years’ by those professing the popish religion.

---

<sup>38</sup> John Carpenter (1727-86). He was born in Dublin. Nothing is known about his background or early years except that he spent some time on Achill Island where he learned Irish. He was educated in Lisbon and ordained there about 1752. On his return to Dublin he was appointed curate of Saint Mary’s parish. He succeeded Dr Patrick Fitzsimons as Archbishop of Dublin in 1770, and as Archbishop took an active part in preparing Catholic claims for presentation to the Irish Parliament. (Brian Mac Giolla Phadraig, ‘The archbishops of Dublin 1734-1940’, *Pro-Cathedral year book 1953*.)

<sup>39</sup> Nicholas Taaffe (? – 1769). Count of the Holy Roman Empire in the service of Austria/Hungary. He repelled the Turks from Europe in 1738.

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Wall, ‘Archbishop John Carpenter and the Catholic Revival, 1770-1786’, in *Reportorium Novum*, I:1 (1955), 173; Hugh Fenning, ‘The archbishops of Dublin, 1693-1786’, in James Kelly & Dáire Keogh, *History of the Catholic diocese of Dublin*, Dublin 1999, 208.

<sup>41</sup> John Brady, op.cit, 183, quoting *Freeman’s Journal*, 1 February 1777.

By the 1770s the Catholics had an important stake in society by virtue of their successful and considerable involvement in trade, a state of affairs which undoubtedly provided a good reason for loyalty. In the House of Commons Mr Clotworthy Rowley (1731?-1805), member for Downpatrick,<sup>42</sup> claimed that Catholics in Ireland possessed three-quarters the trade

... and yet tho' we derive such great benefits from their industry, we suffer them, with great ill policy, to labour under sundry disadvantages to which they are subjected by the Popery laws and which deserve to be relaxed, from any evil operation against our fellow subjects.<sup>43</sup>

Of the wealth possessed by Catholics and Protestants, according to statistics published by *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* in 1795, the Catholics possessed 22% and the Protestants 78%.<sup>44</sup> A list of 1250 Catholic merchants, manufacturers and traders living in Dublin who had taken the oath of loyalty to the king in the

---

<sup>42</sup> R. G. Thorne, *The history of Parliament: The House of Commons 1790-1820*, vol. 5, 58.

<sup>43</sup> John Brady, op.cit., 157, quoting *Freeman's Journal*, 15 February 1774.

<sup>44</sup> *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 31 March 1795. The full statistics are:

1000 Catholics worth £12,500 each

9000 Catholics worth £2000 each

75,000 Catholics worth £60 each

417,000 Catholics worth £10 each

7000 Protestants worth £12,500 each

23000 Protestants worth £2000 each

85,000 Protestants worth £60 each

83,000 Protestants worth £10 each

period 1778-90 is evidence that Catholics formed a large part of the business population.<sup>45</sup>

After concessions were made to the Catholics in Great Britain there were serious riots in Glasgow and Edinburgh in 1779, involving the burning of chapels and houses. These events must have made the Catholic hierarchy uncertain what to expect from the legislature. After the Gordon riots in London in 1780 the Catholic clergy appealed to Irish Catholics for moderation and submission to the law.<sup>46</sup>

In 1787, Archbishop Troy demonstrated his loyalty to King George III by holding a solemn service in the Francis Street chapel, to offer thanks for the King's recovery from his first severe illness. The service consisted of music which included *God Save the King* and concluded with benediction.<sup>47</sup> Dr Troy was the first Catholic bishop in Ireland since the reign of James II to receive a public expression of gratitude from the government for his efforts to promote peace.<sup>48</sup> According to Charles Topham Bowden, Dr Troy and the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, Dr Fowler were, he understood, 'constantly together – inseparable friends.'<sup>49</sup> By the end of the 18th century Catholic bishops were

---

<sup>45</sup> Maureen Wall, 'The Catholic Merchants, Manufacturers and Traders of Dublin 1778-1782', in *Reportorium Novum*, II:2 (1960), 300.

<sup>46</sup> Eamon O' Flaherty, 'Ecclesiastical politics and the dismantling of the penal laws in Ireland, 1774-82', in *Irish Historical Studies*, XXVI:101, May 1988, 42-3.

<sup>47</sup> Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of some Dublin parishes, part VI*, 61.

<sup>48</sup> Henry E. Peel, 'The appointment of Dr Troy to the see of Dublin', in *Reportorium Novum*, IV:1 (1971), 5-16.

<sup>49</sup> Charles Topham Bowden, *A tour through Ireland*, 32.

accustomed to being consulted by Dublin Castle on political matters, but the Catholic religion could not yet lie happily in the administrative system. George III put forward the view in June 1798 that:

...no country can be governed where there is more than one established religion; the others may be tolerated, but that cannot extend further than leave to perform their religious duties according to the tenets of their church, for which indulgence they cannot have any share in the government of the state.<sup>50</sup>

Archbishop Troy's contemporary the Bishop of Cork, Dr Moylan earned the gratitude of the government for his efforts to keep the peace in the period of the 1798 rebellion. Thomas Pelham, chief secretary of state wrote to Dr Moylan on 5 May 1798:

I have received so much pleasure from reading your pastoral address, that I cannot help troubling you with a few lines, expressive of my gratitude to you for so seasonable, able, and judicious an interposition of your authority and advice, in support of the Christian religion and laws of the country.<sup>51</sup>

Dr Moylan published his pastorals in the press and circulated them to members of the government and other influential people. Thomas Pelham's successor as chief secretary of state, Lord Castlereagh thanking him for a tract he had sent him wrote that he had '...never read any production which appears to me

---

<sup>50</sup> Quoted in Sean Joseph Connolly, in William Edward Vaughan (ed), *A new history of Ireland V*, Oxford 1989, 'The catholic question, 1801-12', 29.

<sup>51</sup> T. Pelham, Phoenix Park, Dublin, 5 May 1798, to Dr Moylan, quoted in Thomas R. England, *Letters from the Abbé Edgeworth*, 188.



better calculated to recal [sic] the deluded people of this country to reflection.’<sup>52</sup> He was given the freedom of the city of Cork and of many other corporate towns in Ireland; this was a high mark of civic approbation, especially for a Catholic clergyman.<sup>53</sup> His contemporary the Bishop of Waterford was also highly regarded and Dr Moylan, himself, describing his funeral in 1796 informs us:

Nothing could surpass the respect paid by all denominations of people to the memory of our dear and much-to-be-regretted deceased friend. The funeral procession was attended by the principal Protestant gentlemen of the county, with the mayor and corporation of Clonmel...Most of the lawyers then on circuit attended, and the judge declared that if he could with propriety quit the bench he would attend the funeral of so venerable a member of society.<sup>54</sup>

The threat of revolution alarmed the government, and the Irish bishops distrusted those who would have a republic in Ireland after the French model. With the destruction of ecclesiastical property in France the bishops decided that, from their point of view, Ireland was better under British rule.<sup>55</sup> The mass of the Irish people did not share the bishops’ view, neither did most of the Irish clergy, including the religious orders; they were in favour of the ideals of the United Irishmen, but the strict church discipline imposed on them by the bishops prevented most of

---

<sup>52</sup> Lord Viscount Castlereagh to Dr Moylan, 26 April 1799, quoted in Rev. Thomas R. England, *Letters from the Abbé Edgeworth*, 188.

<sup>53</sup> Thomas R. England, *Letters from the Abbé Edgeworth to his friends*, 185.

<sup>54</sup> Moylan to Bray, 28 July 1796, Cashel Diocesan Papers, Bray 1796/21, quoted in Seán Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845*, 10.

<sup>55</sup> John Healy, *Maynooth College: Its centenary history*, 241.

the clergy from giving public expression to their opinions.<sup>56</sup> According to Wolfe Tone, one of the leaders of the United Irishmen, the Catholics

... saw the brilliant prospect of success which events in France opened to their view, and they determined to avail themselves with promptitude of that opportunity, which never returns to those who omit it.<sup>57</sup>

In spite of the bishops' demonstration of loyalty, and their exhortations to loyalty from the altar they were not regarded as above suspicion by members of the administration. In May 1798, Camden, the Lord Lieutenant wrote to the Duke of Portland (Secretary of State) saying that he had been informed and was inclined to believe that Troy was sworn in as an United Irishman. The loyalty of another leading prelate, Dr Bishop Hussey, was under suspicion by the Castle authorities and when he died they ordered his house in Waterford to be searched, but nothing incriminating was found.<sup>58</sup> The bloodshed in the rebellion of 1798 might have been much worse had it not been for the pastoral letters issued by the bishops urging calm.<sup>59</sup> Maynooth College, also, took pains to avoid any involvement in the rebellion. On 11 May 1798, when there was daily rumour of a rising in Dublin, the trustees passed two important resolutions

---

<sup>56</sup> Richard Hayes, *Priests in the independence movement of '98*, 258. According to Bishop Myles O'Reilly all the Catholic bishops and *almost* all the priests took the side of the government against the 1798 Rebellion. (Myles O'Reilly, *Progress of catholicity in the nineteenth century*, 6.)

<sup>57</sup> R. Barry O'Brien (ed.), *The autobiography of Theobald Wolfe Tone 1763-1798*, 47.

<sup>58</sup> Richard Hayes, 'Priests in the independence movement of '98', 259.

<sup>59</sup> John Milner, *Inquiry into certain vulgar opinions concerning the Catholic inhabitants and the antiquaries of Ireland*, 28-9.

directing the president ‘to expel every such person...[who] shall not have given every satisfaction respecting the purity of his principles [i.e. loyalty to the government].’ The trustees present were Lords Fingall (in the chair), Gormanstown, and Kenmare, and the Most Reverend Drs O’Reilly, Troy, Moylan, Plunkett, French and Cruise. The Earl of Fingall took an active part in the suppression of the rebellion at the head of a corps of yeoman, chiefly composed of members of his own faith.<sup>60</sup>

Every one of the 69 students resident in the college was interrogated by the president and ten were expelled. The students boarding outside the college were also interrogated and seven were expelled. The rebellion took place on 28 May and was effectively suppressed less than a month later by 20 June.<sup>61</sup> Many Catholic chapels were burnt down during and after the rebellion when murder, arson and robbery were rampant, especially in Wexford and the surrounding counties. As far as buildings were concerned at least, the Catholics were treated with justice as the government paid out grants to have their burnt-out chapels repaired.<sup>62</sup> A further assurance of loyalty was given by the Hierarchy when they agreed, in 1800, to a request by Sir John C. Hippisley to add questions and answers to the ordinary catechism under the heading of the fourth commandment.<sup>63</sup> The

---

<sup>60</sup> Gibbs and Doubleday, *The complete peerage*, vol. 5, 388.

<sup>61</sup> John Healy, *Maynooth College: its centenary history*, 242-3.

<sup>62</sup> DDA, Green file (1): Troy 1799-1801, Charles Abbot, Dublin Castle, to Dr Troy, 7 December 1801. John Milner, *An inquiry into certain vulgar opinions*, 249.

<sup>63</sup> An extract from the revised fourth commandment can be found in, A Roman Catholic of Dublin, *A vindication of the Most Rev. John Thomas Troy, D.D. Roman Catholic Archbishop in the Church*

addenda dealt with matters of duty and loyalty to the government and were designed to inculcate good social and civil behaviour among the Catholic subjects; they were unanimously adopted by the bishops.<sup>64</sup> Dr Troy was well-enough in with the administration to be able to write, in September 1800, to the Under Secretary at the Castle, Alexander Marsden, recommending that his nephew John James Troy be placed in some other government situation, instead of the one he now holds as ‘...his constitution & state of health preclude him from a State of Confinement at a writing desk, & require exercise.’ He had spoken to Lord Castlereagh about the matter.<sup>65</sup> The

---

of Dublin, against the charges contained in a letter to the Right Hon. William Wickham, by a yeoman; and in other anonymous publications, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., xi:

‘Q. What are the duties of subjects to the temporal powers?’

A. To be subject to them, and to honour and obey them not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake; for so is the will of God.

Q. Does the scripture require any other duty of subjects?

A. Yes, to pray for the Kings, and for all who are in high station, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life.

Q. Is it sinful to resist or combine against the established authorities, to speak with contempt or disrespect those who rule over us.

A. Yes; St Paul says, let every soul be subject to higher powers; he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist, purchase to themselves damnation.’

The wording of the Irish catechism was mild compared with the French one which Napoleon foisted on his subjects in 1804. Under the fourth commandment the first question and answer was:

‘Q. What are the duties of Christians with regard to reigning princes, and what are our duties in particular, towards Napoleon, our Emperor?’

A. Christians are bound to give to their princes, and we, in particular, are bound to give love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, the taxed which are ordered for the preservation and defence of the Empire and of the throne, to Napoleon, our Emperor. We are bound, moreover, to give him our fervent prayers for the spiritual and temporal prosperity of the State.’ [Mary H. Allies, *The life of Pope Pius the Seventh*, 125.]

<sup>64</sup> NLI, Memorandum of correspondence of Sir John C. Hippisley, ms 5027, no page number.

<sup>65</sup> DDA, Transcript of letter from Troy to Alexander Marsden [under sec. at the Castle], 22 September 1800, Rebellion papers (Dublin Castle) 620/18a 10/5, box file Troy 1786-1823.

suppression of the 1798 rebellion was not the end of the threat of revolution. As long as Napoleon stayed in power the threat remained. Archbishop Troy continued to make frequent pleas for peaceable behaviour. For example in October 1802 he instructed his clergy to read an exhortation ‘addressed principally to the lower Orders of our Communion’, and ‘to be distinctly and impressively read at each Mass, on Sunday next, the 16<sup>th</sup>, and on Wednesday the 19<sup>th</sup> inst. [October 1802]’ In his pastoral letter he announced a forthcoming Mass to be offered in each parish of the archdiocese

to recommend our most gracious Sovereign and these kingdoms to the protection of Heaven, and to preserve them – particularly this our dear Country, from the designs of our common enemy, by whom we are menaced.

The enemy was, of course, French revolutionary ideas, and this was made clear:

If the deluded and misguided of our communion, had duly attended to the admonitions of their Chief Pastors, and to the repeated instructions of their Clergy, on the nature of combination oaths and other iniquitous bonds of unlawful associations, instead of confederating with the infidel advocates of modern French revolutionary maxims, we would not have to deplore the lamentable consequences of rebellion in this country.<sup>66</sup>

Archbishop Troy believed that without religion society could not last for long and that for this reason religion is important for governments. He frequently exhorted loyalty to the government,

---

<sup>66</sup> A Roman Catholic of Dublin, *A vindication of the Most Rev. John Thomas Troy, D.D. Roman Catholic Archbishop in the Church of Dublin, against the charges contained in a letter to the Right Hon. William Wickham, by a yeoman; and in other anonymous publications*, vii, x.

and warned against approaching ‘the rotten tree of French Liberty.’<sup>67</sup> To keep order in the country the government had no choice but to foster and maintain good relations with the Catholic hierarchy. Sir John C. Hippisley summarized this point succinctly:

The popular religion of Ireland is not the established Religion, but its Pastors have an incalculable influence & control on the minds and habits of the People, & every attempt towards the Civilization of the lower Classes of the Roman Catholic Communion must be fruitless, unless carried on with the concurrence of their Clergy.<sup>68</sup>

In spite of the sometimes strained relationship between the government and the Catholic hierarchy there was little restriction on the building or the fitting out of Catholic chapels from about the mid 18th century. Most of the 18th century chapels, which were to be replaced in the 19th century, were in secluded locations in the heart of the old city, but the Penal Laws did not state that Catholic buildings could not be built on prominent sites, and indeed the convents of the Poor Clares (King Street) and the Dominican nuns (Channel Row) each had large street frontages, and the Carmelite nuns held three houses fronting Arran Quay and some adjoining houses in Pudding (now Lincoln) Lane.<sup>69</sup> However, convents and orphanages, run by women, could not be seen as a challenge to the established

---

<sup>67</sup> John Troy, *Pastoral address to the Roman Catholics of the Archdiocese of Dublin...16th February M.DCC.XCVII*, 22.

<sup>68</sup> NLI, *Summary of correspondence of Sir John C. Hippisley with Lord Hobart and Lord Viscount Castlereagh – 1799-1800 being chiefly a memorandum on the catholic church in Ireland up to 1799*, Ms 5027.

<sup>69</sup> Nuala Burke, 'A Hidden Church?' *Archivium Hibernicum*, XXXII(1974), 85.

church. Although Catholic chapels were tolerated and financially helped by some Protestants they were not officially encouraged to make a strong architectural presence. In the deeds of sale and leases of the 18th century clauses were sometimes inserted prohibiting the sub-letting to Catholics or the building of a Catholic chapel on the property.<sup>70</sup> In England Catholic chapels in the 18th century were often hidden, not because of the law, but for fear of the mob.<sup>71</sup> In Dublin there were instances, in the 18th century, of Protestant churches being attacked by Catholic mobs, after some slight or other. Neither were Catholic churches in Dublin completely safe from mob violence but their frequenters enjoyed more security than their co-religionist in England who were a minority of the population. Sometime in the 1870s reprisals were expected at Saint Nicholas of Myra after a Catholic mob had smashed all the windows in the nearby Protestant church of Saint Bride. The expected violence was averted when the presence of 200 policemen and 2000 volunteers guarding the church was enough to deter any attack.<sup>72</sup> Such protection could not be provided for Catholic churches in England. The first Catholic chapel built in Liverpool was destroyed by anti-Jacobite rioters in 1746.<sup>73</sup> The most notorious mob violence was carried out by Lord George Gordon's blue-cockaded followers who were not satisfied with gutting and looting the Catholic Embassy

---

<sup>70</sup> Patrick F. Moran, *The Catholics of Ireland under the penal laws in the eighteenth century*, 21.

<sup>71</sup> Bryan Little, *op.cit.*, 44.

<sup>72</sup> NLI, Richard D. Walshe book of cuttings etc. On Dublin streets, E-F, Cutting 'Church history of Francis Street by W. A. Henderson' [n.d or source given]. Ms 11628.

<sup>73</sup> Bryan Little, *op.cit.*, 30.

chapels, and others lately established at Moorfields and elsewhere but they sacked the houses of many Catholics; burnt the house and library of Lord Mansfield, the Lord Chief Justice and outraged the house of Sir George Savile MP who two years earlier had introduced the relief bill of 1778.<sup>74</sup> Although hostility towards Catholics did not entirely disappear in 19th England they built some impressive churches in the first 50 years of the century. Two important (and large) churches in the heartland of Catholic Lancashire in the Ribble valley are Saints Mary and John the Baptist, Pleasington [6.14], built in 1816-19 to the design of John Palmer (1785-1846), and Saint Peter's (1832-5)[6.15], Stonyhurst College, designed by J. J. Scoles, for the Jesuits, who intended it to be a strong symbol of Catholic resurgence. (Later in the century the Jesuits used the Gothic style to pierce the skyline of Preston with the more than 90 metre high spire of Saint Walburge's (1850-4) [6.13], designed by Joseph Aloysius Hansom.)

*An Act for the further Relief of His Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom professing the Popish Religion* (21 & 22 Geo. 3. C.24. 1782) provided that:

...no benefits in this act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to any popish ecclesiastick who shall officiate in any church or chapel with a steeple or bell...

---

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 37.



A similar provision was included in the relief act passed by the Westminster House of Commons in 1791 (31 Geo. 3. C.32. 1791). The question arises whether steeples or bells were specifically prohibited or not. The act simply states that its benefits shall not apply to those who officiate in a church with a bell or steeple. If this meant that such priests were to be no better off than they had been before the act than there was nothing to stop them having bells or steeples. If it meant that the full rigour of the law were to be directed against them than it amounted to a prohibition. The architectural evidence suggests that, whatever the fine points of law, bells and steeples were prohibited, otherwise they would have been provided, at least in some instances. There is no doubt that towers and steeples represented authority and from the standpoint of the established church a tower or steeple built on a church belonging to another religion would be taken as an affront. However, until Saint George's church (1803-13) [7.19], Hardwicke Place, was built, the established church had little to show in the way of steeples. In these circumstances a Catholic steeple would have been a double affront. A visitor to Dublin in the late 18th century noticed that the 'modern-built churches in Dublin have neither spires or steeples. There are two or three of them adorned with elegant stone fronts.'<sup>75</sup> Over 20 years later, in 1805, another visitor made much the same observation:

---

<sup>75</sup> Philip Luckombe, *A tour through Ireland*, 7.

In walking the streets of Dublin, a stranger is much struck by observing so many churches without steeple, tower or dome, the want of which renders this magnificent city of little consequence to the eye at a distance.<sup>76</sup>

Although some of the 18th century parish churches in Dublin of the established religion were designed to have steeples they were not built for one reason or another. The most common reason cited is the lack of money, but another reason is a lack of will. 18th century Anglicanism favoured a minimum of pomp, panoply, and elaborate display which was seen as conflicting with its lucid and classical view of life.<sup>77</sup> However the Westminster act of 1710 for building 50 churches in London declared that ‘...there shall be erected and built, of Stone and other proper Materials, fifty Churches, with Towers or Steeples to each of them...’<sup>78</sup> Steeples and towers, therefore, were taken seriously and were used on Catholic churches as soon as it was safe to do so; particularly in the later half of the 19th century, when the gothic style was fashionable, steeples belonging to Catholic churches began to dominate the skyline of many Irish towns. A traveller in Ireland in 1834 observed that a considerable number of Catholic churches which had been erected recently had spires ‘which, in height and architecture, quite eclipse those of the churches of the Establishment.’<sup>79</sup> A century and more earlier the

---

<sup>76</sup> John Carr, *The stranger in Ireland*, 102.

<sup>77</sup> Damie Stillman, ‘Church architecture in neo-classical England’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XXXVIII:2, May 1979, 104.

<sup>78</sup> An Act for granting to Her Majesty several duties upon Coals for building fifty new Churches in and about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and Suburbs thereof, and other Purposes therein mentioned. 1710 (9 Anne c.22).

<sup>79</sup> Henry D. Inglis, *A journey throughout Ireland during the spring, summer, and autumn of 1834*, vol. 1, 125.

only steeples belonged to the established church and some of them asserted strongly dominance over all other religions, e.g. St Ann's (1722-6), Shandon, Cork [7.17].

One way of getting around the belfry law was to build a bell-tower as a separate structure from the chapel. Soon after the act was passed a square bell-tower was erected in Baltinglass, Co. Wicklow, in the cemetery which was separated by a field from the chapel, and at Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow a bell-tower separated from the church was built.<sup>80</sup> Many chapels in Ireland were built in the 19th century with separate bell-towers long after the law had anything to say on the subject of bells and steeples.<sup>81</sup> G. N. Wright (an Anglican clergyman writing in 1821) noted that Catholics are not yet allowed summon their congregation by bell. He seemed to be implying that it would only be a matter of time before this restriction would be lifted.<sup>82</sup> The Reverend Wright did not allow theology or politics to affect his appreciation of architecture. He admired Saints Michael and John (1815) [4.7 & 9.8] and noted that:

The front towards Exchange-street, is also visible from Wood Quay, and it was understood an opening would have been left by the commissioners of Wide-streets, through which this very elegant front might be seen, not only from Wood Quay, but also from the opposite side of the river, and so be an extremely interesting object in this part of the city but the commissioners have thought proper to alter their determination, so the

---

<sup>80</sup> Patrick F. Moran, *The Catholics of Ireland under the penal laws in the eighteenth century*, 55.

<sup>81</sup> The tradition continued into the 20th century.

<sup>82</sup> G.N Wright, *An historical guide to ancient and modern Dublin*, 174. A view of St James's chapel in James's Street of about 1820 shows a temporary structure for supporting a bell. (National Gallery of Ireland catalogue number 6275 - Scriven collection.)

north front is, strictly speaking, presented to a very confused passage, Lower Exchange-street.<sup>83</sup>

Some of the paintings and furniture in the churches of this study came from earlier chapels and in no sense do they suggest an impoverished organization. For example the altarpiece the *Descent from the cross* in Saint Andrew's came from the Townsend Street chapel.<sup>84</sup>

*An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Popish, or Roman Catholick Subjects of Ireland* 1793 (33 Geo. 3. C.21) conceded in its preamble that '...from the peaceable and loyal demeanor of his Majesty's Popish, or Roman Catholick subjects, it is fit that such restraints and disabilities shall be discontinued.' Under this act certificates were issued to Catholics who took and subscribed to the oaths and declarations of loyalty. These certificates were used by Catholics as a defence against the operation of the popery laws for many years.<sup>85</sup> The act allowed Catholics to become members of the legal profession, and abolished the need to secure a licence from the Protestant bishop for a Catholic school. Dublin Corporation protested vigorously against this act which it saw as a betrayal of Protestant interests.<sup>86</sup> Lord Cloncurry (who

---

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 182-3. The Wide Street Commissioners made a new approach to Saints Michael and John, from Merchants' Quay, in 1832.

<sup>84</sup> Myles V Ronan, *An apostle of Catholic Dublin: Father Henry Young*, 26.

<sup>85</sup> Maureen Wall, 'The Catholic Merchants, Manufacturers and Traders of Dublin 1778-1782', in *Reportorium Novum*, II:2 (1960), 299-300.

<sup>86</sup> James MacCaffrey, *History of the Catholic church in the nineteenth century (1789-1908)*, vol.2, 119. In an address, in 1792, to the Lord Henry Fitzgerald and Henry Grattan, members of parliament for the city, the Corporation stated: '...It is become necessary for us as a Protestant corporation to speak our sentiments to our representatives in parliament, lest our Roman Catholic brethren may be induced to believe, if we remain silent, that we approve of the changes we have seen proposed. We

incidentally was regarded with suspicion by Dublin Corporation) thought that this act was the ultimate cause of every succeeding calamity in Ireland, because it gave the vote to the lower classes of Catholics, but excluded the more intelligent Catholics from seats in parliament.<sup>87</sup> With this act of 1793 virtually all the restrictions which has been placed on Catholics were removed, and all restrictions on building were removed, and it is from this period that substantial Catholic churches began to be built. Three of the finest Catholic churches in Ireland from the early 1790s are Saint Peter's, Drogheda (demolished), by Francis Johnston, Saint John's, Cashel (architect unknown), and Waterford Cathedral by John Roberts. In England the rebuilding of the Bavarian chapel, Warwick Street, London, and the building of Saint Peter's, Seel Street, Liverpool, both in 1788, marked the beginning of a renaissance in Catholic city churches.<sup>88</sup> Even in rural areas substantial Catholic chapels were being built from about the middle of the 18th century. Austin Cooper described, in 1783, the Catholic chapel at Rush [4.12], north Co. Dublin as 'a very large Romish Chapel, the largest I have ever seen in a country town, with three Galleries and hung with several pieces of Foreign painting...' He also noted that the chapel was surrounded with a good wall with two gates.<sup>89</sup> Dublin

---

therefore entreat of you... that you will oppose with all your influence and great abilities any alteration that may tend to shake the security of property in this kingdom or subvert the Protestant ascendancy in our happy constitution.' [*Calendar of the ancient records of Dublin*, vol. XIV, 243.]

<sup>87</sup> Valentine Lord Cloncurry, *Personal recollections*, 34.

<sup>88</sup> Damie Stillman, 'Church architecture in neo-classical England', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XXXVIII:2, May 1979, 103.

<sup>89</sup> NLI, Austin Cooper papers Ms772 (3), f.17. He records an inscription over the east gate:

'This entire fabrick

Corporation which had throughout the 18th century opposed relief legislation for Catholics, continued to protest into the 19th century. Its object was the protection of the Protestant interest, in other words the retention of power, influence, and wealth. The Corporation's point of view was succinctly summed up in an address to George III, dated 13 March 1795:

...As the chief Protestant corporation in your majesty's kingdom in Ireland, we...declare our inviolable attachment to the great principles of the revolution of 1688, which were reasserted by the Irish legislature in 1782....And we consider that the present application of our Roman Catholic fellow subjects to obtain the repeal of all restrictive laws whatsoever, would prove, if successful, highly dangerous to those great objects.<sup>90</sup>

A disinterested observer in 1799 thought otherwise and wrote that the

---

was built by the  
parishioners of Rush & finished  
under the direction of the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr  
Thos. Murphy June 4th 1778  
Pray for him.'

This inscription could not be found on a visit to the church in March 2004, but the following inscription was found on a stone plaque, built into the wall beside the west door:

'This Chapel of St Maur was  
built by the Inhabitants of this Parish  
under the Direction of the Revd  
Thos Murphy P.P. A.D. 1760.'

In the early 1980s the parish priest decided to build, amid much local controversy, a new church. The new church was built adjacent to the old one which has found a new use as an arts centre.

<sup>90</sup> *Calendar of the ancient records of Dublin*, vol. XIV, 400.

laws against the Roman Catholics are...founded upon ridiculous, absurd and antiquated principles of policy totally inapplicable to the present times.<sup>91</sup>

Before the French revolution the continental colleges had provided 500 places for Irish seminarians. Maynooth College (St Patrick's royal seminary) was founded in 1795 when revolutionary developments on the Continent had closed the seminaries there. Great Britain and Ireland were at war with France and needed to keep the Irish bishops content. *An Act for the better Education of Persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholick Religion* 1795 (35 Geo III. C.21) allowed the setting up of a Catholic college at an annual grant of £8,000. In return for this the bishops had to accept trustees and a board of visitors not exclusively ecclesiastical or even Catholic. Maynooth experienced difficulties at the start and had six different presidents during the first 18 years. The theology course, apart from being unsatisfactory, was not even completed by many students because they were taken out of the College by their bishops and ordained to meet the desperate need for priests.<sup>92</sup> In a notebook of c. 1838 kept by Henry Maxwell, a Protestant, of Farnham, Co. Cavan, there are many observations on the Catholic church and its clergy.<sup>93</sup> According to his notes, much of which were taken from John O'Driscoll, *Views of Ireland, moral, political, and religious*, London 1823, the government expected that priests educated in

---

<sup>91</sup> George Cooper, *Letters on the Irish nation: written during a visit to that kingdom, in the autumn of the year 1799*, 95.

<sup>92</sup> Patrick J. Corish, *The Irish Catholic experience*, 161.

<sup>93</sup> NLI, 'Notebook of Henry Maxwell on Catholic church & clergy, c.1838', ms 3504.

Ireland, rather than on the continent, would be free from all foreign prejudices against Great Britain. Although, he writes, they did meet with prejudice on the continent it was by no means as much as the prejudice they met at home. The priest educated on the continent acquired, from polite association, a more liberal view of the world, and better manners, than the Maynooth educated men who retained the narrow outlook common to their class. John O'Driscoll remembers the continental educated priests with fondness. They were 'Mild, amiable, cultivated, learned, polite – uniting the meek of spirit of the Christian Pastor to the winning greatness of the polished man of the world.' They were welcome guests at the table of the Protestant gentry, 'where they were well qualified to sit and bring a full and overflowing cup to the intellectual banquet.' At their own tables they brought their experience and education to bear 'to sooth the asperities of the time' and to counsel patience, fortitude, and forbearance.<sup>94</sup> This is in contrast to the Maynooth men who come out badly prepared with ill digested knowledge and 'the conceits of a puerile logic.'<sup>95</sup>

There was more of the spirit of Rome at Maynooth, than at Rome itself. And we are sure that the Pope has less of Popery in his mind & character, than some of the young students of that College.<sup>96</sup>

Another writer, Henry D. Inglis, shared this opinion on the character of priests in general. He asserted that they are taken

---

<sup>94</sup> John O'Driscoll, *Views of Ireland, moral, political, and religious*, vol. 2, 113.

<sup>95</sup> NLI, 'Notebook of Henry Maxwell on Catholic church & clergy, c.1838', 31, ms 3504.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*



I can prove to any unprejudiced person, who wishes to be informed on the subject; the walls which support the roof over the nave of the church are beyond the quoin of the Chapel-house. You then say that "if the transept plan be objectionable, the original one is no less so" - for some reasons which you labour to prove, AND FAIL, but which you state are super induced by your anxiety to accommodate the poor; and here let me state, that your wish for their comfort

NEVER EXCEEDED THAT OF YOUR REV. PREDECESSOR who disapproving of the regulations adopted in Marlborough-street, determined to divide the church *equally* among POOR and RICH giving the one class *no* advantage over the other, except that of a separate entrance; nor did the humble classes ever complain of being excluded from entering through Townsend-street, until within these few weeks past, when it was thought necessary, for certain reasons, to put "alarm and consternation into their mouths BY AUTHORITY". As to your assertion, that the poor cannot hear the instruction from the Altar, it is evident to any person, that the farther you remove the clergyman from the people, the more difficulty he will experience in making his voice heard, the contrary rule will evidently have a contrary effect. In the construction of Music-rooms and Theatres, where the conveyance of sound is so closely studied, it is endeavoured to give the building such a form as to diffuse the voice equal on every side, never extending its length beyond the pitch that the human voice is known to be capable of expanding. Now, I contend, THAT MY PLAN has the ADVANTAGE in this particular, as it is intended to be but 130 feet long, which is 20 feet less than the thing called a plan, lately submitted to the parish. It has, however, the advantage in width, of being 66 feet 6 inches from wall to wall, exceeding the other by 16 feet 6 inches. Hence, exhortations from the Altar would be heard which decided advantage, having the circular wall immediately behind affording the effect of throwing the voice forward.

And now, Very Reverend Sir, I come to that part of your letter which contains AN UNWARRANTABLE ATTACK ON ME - *an assertion without proof*. You say, "that the gallery lately constructed is discreditable to the Parish". Will you have the goodness to point out in what particular it is so. Is it its present unfinished appearance that offends your classic eye? Let it be finished before you condemn. You might as well form an opinion of a picture, after the first colour has been laid on, as to pass the opinion you have done on this portion of the building. Or is it that it is inconvenient? I say again, let it be finished, and then ask the Catholic inhabitants of Poolbeg-street, the quays, and *that* part of the Parish, and I am willing to abide by their decision. But, of all your arguments on the subject, the *favourite one* seems to be your objection to the "wooden posts" which support the roof; and, indeed, it does not surprise me, as it gives you such an opportunity of being very pathetic on the fatal effects which would occur, "if the building fell and buried thousands in its ruins". Speaking, not

"technically", but rationally, *do you know what is meant by dry rot?* - from what cause it proceeds? - or whether the posts (as you call them) or the *roof* will be more likely to be attacked by that disease? - the first not being subject to the changes of the atmosphere, while the latter is subject to it in a great degree: and yet THERE ARE instances of WOODEN roofs lasting for centuries, although the stone domes of the Churches of St. Peter, at Rome, and St. Genevieve, at Paris, *have failed*, while the *exterior* dome of St. Paul's, London, entirely *constructed of wood*, has endured, since very shortly after the great fire of 1666, a lasting monument of the skill of its architect. Before I close this letter, it may not be amiss to mention that I challenged you, in the presence of twenty of the Committee, to submit the building to the inspection of *two practical Architects*, (*not Measurers* and would-be Artists) to report their opinion thereon; but this proposition you objected to, for two reasons; the first, I must say, a very foolish one - namely, that if those Architects decide against me, they thereby created a feeling of enmity in my breast unfavourable to them; the second, which, I am confident was the more weighty one, that if they decided in my favour, you were determined, nevertheless, not to abide by their decision.

You have, Reverend Sir, fallen into a *slight* error, I hope unintentionally, in stating that the finishing of the building, even according to the transept plan, would cost £4435 5s 8d. *Such is not my statement* - my estimate is for FINISHING the building according to the ORIGINAL PLAN. Your other assertion is equally erroneous, as to the proportion of the building nearly completed. The east exterior wall is finished to its greatest extent; that on the west side requiring *but eleven feet* of foundations to bring it as far as the springing of the circular wall behind the Altar, and the expense of finishing all the foundations will not exceed £90!. In conclusion, Very Reverend Sir, I beg to return you my most sincere thanks for the *extreme delicacy* you have handled my professional character since your appointment to this Parish. You must, if not restricted by the good sense of the Parish, have a building of *your own* raising, without much regard to the pockets of your flock, no matter how accomplished - "*the end justifies the means*".

I have, however, the satisfaction of stating that the first professional authority has declared that the portion of the church built is of the most permanent description, and if completed, would be second to none for architectural elegance.

I am, Very Reverend Sir, your obedient servant,

J. LEESON.

Architect to the Roman Catholic Church of St. Mark, St. Andrew, &c. &c.  
Westmoreland-street, 11th February, 1832.

P.S. As a PROFESSIONAL man, I have expressed the preceding opinion; - being a PARISHIONER I stand on my right also freely to ask now, in these time of universal want of money - when people find it difficult to sustain their legal engagements, can you feel yourself sustained in *dragging* from the limited means of the Catholic portion of your Parish a sum of perhaps FIFTEEN THOUSAND POUNDS, to build a church in another situation without adverting to a parochial residence for the Clergy, (and which you will, no doubt, be ADVISED to undertake) and which, *if you attempt* (knowing that you have no sustaining power to complete), will cause a breach between the members of your flock, as well as throw discredit on the acts of your reverend predecessor - while, permit me to observe, by pursuing a contrary course, and raising £4,400 to complete the magnificent building already MORE THAN ONE HALF BUILT, you enlist the warm and zealous energies of all those parishioners, who for years, I am aware, have been distinguished in their good acts to benefit the parish - will the more readily suit the means, you should *fairly* rely on for assistance and add to that influence in your new situation which YOUR CONTEMPLATED ABANDONMENT OF THE TOWNSEND STREET SITE IS SO LIKELY AND DESERVEDLY TO LESSEN.

J. LEESON.

\*\*\*

## Appendix B

*An account of the dispute between those who wanted to build the new church for Saint Andrew's parish in Townsend Street and those who favoured a site in Westland Row as reported in the pages of the Freeman's Journal*

The first letter, published on 3 February 1832, is from the former administrator Father Matthias Kelly, which he addressed to the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the united parishes of Saints Andrew, Mark, Peter, and Anne.

For some weeks past I had heard in silence that the great zeal of your present Very Rev. Pastor on his arrival in your Parish, was directed to the building of another chapel, abandoning the edifice commenced by me according to your wishes, upon which a sum of five thousand pounds and upwards had been expended, which less than five thousand more would complete, and which, if completed according to the design, would be, in the opinion of disinterested and competent judges, interiorly, one of the most architectural and beautiful edifices in the City of Dublin. This I heard in silence. But having ascertained that this experiment on the good feelings of the parishioners is made under a false impression that the general wish of the parish never had been consulted, either in regard to the eligibility present site, or in regard to the plan of the edifice, a considerable portion of which is now erected on it, I feel it due to myself – I feel it due to the parishioners of St. Andrew, and to the subscribers at large, whose contributions I solicited, and obtained a large amount to satisfy them, by the publication of authenticated original documents, that the general wish of the parish had been duly considered on each of the abovementioned points – that the manifest and determined will of the parishioners was to have the new Chapel erected where it is now, and no where else; and also, that the plan of the present new edifice, as far as is now roofed in, was generally and warmly approved of the parishioners. These facts established and before the public, then will vanish the only colourable pretext under which the Parishioners in those times of general distress, could be pressed for a further sum of fifteen thousand pounds towards the erection of a new Chapel and Chapel-house in Westland Row, while in Townsend-street, the place of their choice, is already provided, at an expense of four thousand pounds, one of the largest and best Chapel-houses in Dublin, and where, also, in six summer months would be completed for less than

five thousand pounds, one of the most commodious and (interiorly) one of the most beautiful Roman Catholic Chapels in the British Empire. If my thus coming forward shall, for the moment, give any pain to a reverend friend, whom I hold and have held, during an acquaintance of twenty-three years, in the highest esteem and veneration, I feel satisfied, nevertheless, that in doing so I am his real and true friend, having good reason to fear that the present inconsiderate, ill-advised experiment on the feelings of the people will if persevered in, eventually be fatal to his peace of mind, and to his future influence in the parish: and also, knowing well that they who conduct him to, or willingly go with him, on the dangerous path, will quickly leave him to himself when trouble and disappointment shall have come upon him. It is true the very reverend pastor, in the ardour of his zeal disregards all difficulties that may be in his way, and is fearless of trouble or disappointment in an undertaking which he considers for the honor of religion and the glory of God. During a residence of twenty-two years, in his former parish, where indeed he was all to all, he felt conscious of possessing that unlimited influence over the minds of his parishioners, that he could lead them on instantaneously to any undertaking he proposed for the good of religion. But a friend will tell him to pause – to consider well whether he really carries with him that same influence into another parish, differing as widely from the former in circumstances, education, and habits of thinking, as in extent and population. I tell him that such undertaking as the present, on the first week of his arrival in the parish, if further persevered in, will only convince the parishioners of St. Andrew's that his influence requires to be controlled, and having taken up the idea, he may rest assured they will not neglect the accomplishment of it.

In urging them on to this new undertaking he may therefore address them with ardour and zeal on promoting the glory of God and the food of religion; but they nevertheless will continue to be of opinion that it would be more to the glory of God, and more conducive to their spiritual as well as temporal interests, if the zeal and the energies of their pastor were directed rather to the gradual paying off the debt on the present building, and the speedy completion of the remainder of it, in order that they might have at length a parish chapel where they might conveniently attend to the duties of religion, instead of involving them in a new and impractical project, which the present generation would probably never see accomplished, or at least never paid for. Oh! What a consolation would it be to me rather in silence and retirement to see the zeal and influence of my revered and very rev. friend directed to the former obvious, unquestionable and attainable good! But circumstances having required it of me, I proceed to the statement of facts.

The parishioners of St. Andrew's will remember that for several years before I went to Townsend-street, the question of a new chapel was frequently agitated in the parish. It so happened that the very first Sunday I went there there was a meeting of the parishioners on the subject. Having only just then arrived in the parish, I declined taking any active part on the subject, and obtained adjournment to some future time. So matters remained for several months, during which I was anxiously occupied in the consideration of the subject and in seeking the several opinions of the parishioners. At first I was very anxious to have the new chapel in a better situation, but finding the general feeling in favour of the old site, and having learned from several of the old parishioners that even years before the present Chapel-house was erected at a cost of four thousand pounds, so strong was the feeling against building the new Parish Chapel any where except on the old site, that even [when] an offer was made by the late Lord Fitzwilliam, on a large spot of ground on Westland Row, rent free, with the expectation also of a large donation from him to aid the building, if erected there, had no influence to change the determination in favour of the original site. The feeling was, by the parishioner in College-green, Exchequer-street, Suffolk-street, St. Andrew-street, Dame-street, Eustace-street, Fownes-street, Anglesey-street, Aston's-quay, Westmoreland-street, Fleet-street, would become remote and estranged from the Parish Chapel, and that this should not be consented to for the sake of approximated the chapel nearer to the neighbourhood of Merrion-square, where a Catholic population was not. These reasons, together with the additional consideration that a sum of four thousand pounds had been lately expended in the erection of a fine Chapel House in the premises in Townsend-street, made me give up all idea of urging the parishioners to build the Chapel elsewhere. I then gave my mind to the maturing a plan of a new edifice adopted to the old and favourite site, and engaged an architect for the purpose, whose intelligence and capability I had the opportunity of knowing for years during the erection of the Metropolitan Chapel. After three months a plan being prepared, I invited the parishioners to inspect it, requesting of those who approved of it to sign a requisition calling for a public meeting of the parishioners to consider it. The following is the requisitions signed on that occasion. The signatures would be much more numerous if I had allowed them to be put down in the ordinary way - i.e., allowing one who came to sign to put down also the name of a friend or neighbour who had authorised him to sign for him. But this I did not even in one instance permit. Every signature to the requisition is in the handwriting of the person himself. I yet hold the original document:-

## NEW ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

We, the undersigned Roman Catholic Clergy and Inhabitants of the United Parishes of St. Andrew, St. Mark, St. Anne, and St. Peter's, having long felt that our present Chapel is totally inadequate to the accommodation of the Parishioners, and equally unsuitable as a Parochial Church, to a parish comprising within it so great a portion of the wealth and respectability of the City – and having learned with pleasure that at length has been matured the plan of an edifice which merits at once the wants and wishes of the Parishioners – sufficiently capacious for their accommodation, and church-like in its construction, but, at the same time, practicable at the present period, because adapted to the present site, and to be erected at moderate expense – anxiously request, Rev. Sir, that you will call a Public Meeting of the Parishioners, on as early a day as possible, to consider the expediency of immediately carrying into effect this most desirable object.

To Rev. Matthias Kelly, Adm.

Rev. Patrick Smyth,

Rev. John McDonough,

Rev. John Purcell,

Rev. John Whelan,

Rev. Patrick Woods,

Rev. John Ennis,

Rev. Cornelius Rooney,

Daniel O'Connell,

Maurice O'Connell,

Bernard Mullins,

John Weldon,

Thomas Taylor,

James Del Vecchio,

John Murphy,

Christopher Riffe [?],

Richard O'Reily [?],

James Walsh,

John Cullen,

Edward Hayes,

Ambrose Moore,

Thomas Farrell,

Charles Toole,

Mathew Donnelly,

Thomas Nugent,

P. Hayes,

Laurence Lynch,

Wm. Maynign [?],

Thomas Kelly,

Francis Morgan,  
Garrett Kavanagh,  
Behan and Lynch,  
Wil [?] Farrell,  
James Lynam,  
James Rooney,  
Michael Doody,  
Patrick D'Arcy,  
P. Daniel,  
Richard Gavin,  
Joseph Byrne,

Patrick Fitzpatrick,  
Richard Sheil,  
Patrick Boylan,  
John Howley,  
Stephan Woulfe,  
John Richard Corballis,  
Patrick Curtis,  
M.N. Conolly,  
William Fitzpatrick,  
Patrick Dempsey.

The length of the present document prevents the publication at present of the proceedings of the Parochial meeting, convened in pursuance of the above requisition. Let it suffice to say at present, that at that meeting a committee of twenty-one parishioners was appointed to consider the plan, and to report on same to an adjourned meeting of the parish and that at said adjourned meeting the plan submitted was approved and agreed to without a dissenting voice – a building committee of five, viz.: Most Rev. Dr. Murray, Rev. Matthias Kelly, Bernard Mullins, Patrick Boylan, and James Del Vecchio, Esqrs, appointed to see the plan carried into effect; and Mr. John Leeson appointed Architect to the building.

MATTHIAS KELLY, P.P.

St. James's-street  
February 2, 1832.

The administrator's reply was published on the following Thursday, 9 February 1832, and addressed to the parishioners.

While it is universally admitted and deeply felt in our Parish, that a New Parochial Church is indispensably and immediately necessary for us, the great undertaking, so much desired, has been hitherto prevented or retarded by a difference of opinion regarding the Site and Plan of the intended Edifice. If the predominating, or rather general feeling which was so unequivocally expressed at our two late very Numerous public Meetings, purposely convened for ascertaining the sentiments of our Fellow-Parishioners, be a just criterion, we cannot doubt that the Parish has spoken out decidedly, and that we must either have our Parish Chapel elsewhere or none at all., But, as it is possible that by collecting the sentiments of the People from House to House we might be led to a different conclusion, and as it is my most cordial wish to be guided in this important affair by the decision of the Majority, ascertained in the fairest and most evident manner, I have therefore resolved, with the approbation



of the last General Meeting, to wait personally upon all the Housekeepers and respectable Heads of Families belonging to my Flock, and receive their Votes in Writing.

In order, however, that each one who subscribes his or her name, may do so with a full knowledge of the reasons on both sides, I will here state them succinctly, but to the utmost of my power accurately; and first let us hear that majority, which has already shown itself.

If we resolve, say they, on having our intended parochial church on the old site, in Townsend-street, we must adopt either the plan which has a transept, for which very expensive foundations have already been laid, and appear in the passages and yard of the chapel, or we must cut off the transept, excavate all the foundations, in order to make the Materials in some way useful, and build our Church in an oblong form, according to the original Plan. Now, if we adopt the Plan with a Transept, it will bring the wall of the new Edifice into almost immediate contact with the windows of the Chapel-house - will render that House an unsafe residence for our Clergy, and after having cost so much money, it must become untenable. But if the Transept Plan be objectionable, the original one is not less so, if the former would render the Chapel odious to the people. The Transept being cut off, and no Gallery being on the side where the more wealthy individuals enter, these, of course, must be accommodated elsewhere. Let seats be arranged along the nave of the church for them, and the poorer people must be stowed up in the side aisles, where they cannot either well see the altar or hear instructions from it; or let the upper half be enclosed for the rich, and the lower for the poor. In that case, the latter can no longer enter by Townsend-street - they must enter by passages indescribably offensive for many reasons, and after all, they cannot have sufficient room. The industrious classes are aware of this inconvenience and have already, through the collectors, signified their alarm and consternation at the idea of such a plan being carried into effect.

Add to these considerations the objection which is felt by almost everyone to the gallery lately constructed as discreditable to the parish, and the apprehension that the wooden columns which have been erected to support the roof, if they are allowed to stand, may, after some few years, contract what is technically termed the dry-rot, and while covered with paint, which will conceal the progress of the interior ravages, may suddenly give way and bury the whole edifice and thousands of people, in one promiscuous heap of ruins. Add also the expense and inconvenience of again shifting the altar, and adapting our present place of worship to the shiftings of the scaffold. These, with many other reasons, have caused in the minds of most of the Parishioners so deep a prejudice against the projected new Church in Townsend-street, that they are not inclined to speak or think of it, much less to contribute towards its completion. At least such was the feeling manifested by almost everyone at our late Public Meetings. The minority on these occasions, though composed of men

amiable in private life, and respectable by their public and station in society, were very insignificant indeed, as to number: and it was with great difficulty that they could obtain even a patient hearing. Their arguments, however, deserve to be considered. In the first place they insist, that for the sake of consistency, the original plan, which was approved of at a general meeting, should not now be executed. Secondly -they allege the important consideration, that the ground on which our present Chapel stands is not subject to rent. Thirdly - that having expended five thousand pounds and upwards on the new edifice, and being able to assure the public *on the strength of authorised documents that the actual cost of finishing it would be but £4436. 5s. 3d., while the probable cost of an intended Chapel to be erected in another situation is given at £12,000*, we should not entertain the thought of removal. Lastly - that the majority of our parishioners, if fairly consulted, would declare in favour of the old site, and the original plan, and would discountenance and reprobate any departure from either. These arguments, I say, deserve to be deliberately considered. Consistency in adhering to what is right and salutary cannot be too much recommended. The advantage also of having the Chapel premises in Townsend-street exempt from ground rent is of importance, whether we complete the new edifice upon it, according to the transept plan, or the original one, or contracted hereafter into a Chapel-of-ease for that angle of the Parish, or finally, dispose of the concern altogether, for lessening the expense of another undertaking. And it is surely cheering to learn, *on the strength of authorised documents that the cost of finishing the Building, even according to the transept plan would be but £4436. 5s. 8d., especially when we consider that not more than about the one-third of it has been as constructed - and even that is far from being finished - and that the cost for what has been done is £5000 and upwards.*

As to the sentiments of the majority of our Parishioners, if we have not been able to ascertain them from public declarations at General Meetings, the mode which I have adopted of waiting upon them from House to House, is sufficient, I trust, to prove that I am not regardless of their feelings, nor anxious *to involve them in a new and impracticable project, which the present generation would probably never see accomplished, or at least never paid for.* No, I am willing to engage in this sacred undertaking, which I see to be necessary, with them, but not without them.

With their kind co-operation I shall not find it impracticable nor even difficult. I will repay their confidence by attending to their business with every view of economy as well as convenience, and I do not believe that *they will quickly leave me to myself, should trouble or disappointment come upon me.*

MICHAEL BLAKE.

Townsend-street Chapel-house.

Feb. 9th., 1832.

At this stage the architect, John Leeson, decided to commit himself to print, to defend himself, to express his loyalty to his client Father Kelly, and to attack Dr Blake. His noble sentiments did nothing to advance his architectural career. His letter was published on 14 February, and addressed directly to Dr Blake.

Very Reverend Sir,

Considering myself called on, by some statements put forward in your letter, which appeared in the Freeman's Journal of the 9th. instant, relative to the plans and construction of the New Roman Catholic Church, lately commenced in Townsend-street, I beg to make a few remarks.

Passing over that part of your letter in which you so confidently state that the "predominating, or rather general feeling" of the parish "was unequivocally expressed" in favour of a new building on a new site, I come to that part which I consider reflects on my professional character, and which seems to me more the effect of prejudice than conviction, inasmuch as you judge without being capable of forming a correct opinion not having taken due time for consideration, and unacquainted as you are, with the first principle of an art you pretend to understand, and calling in your councils persons, whose interest it is to MISLEAD YOU, that they may be enabled to forward their own views.

Shortly after the Rev. M. Kelly had been appointed Administrator to this parish, he applied to me to prepare plans & c. for a new parochial Church, to be built on the premises on which the old Chapel stands.

In accordance with his wishes I endeavoured to copy the style of the continental churches, as far as the form of the ground and the limited means of the parish would allow. The plans were approved by the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, Bernard Mullins, P Boylan, Del Vecchio, the gentlemen appointed to examine and report on their fitness for the purpose intended; and the work proceeded without interruption until more than half the building was nearly completed, after which, for want of funds, the works were suspended for nearly a year, during which time I was instructed to form a new arrangement on the South or Altar end of the building. This new plan was carried into effect, and forms the first topic in your letter, to which I feel bound to reply.

In the first place, may I be permitted to ask how can you know whether or not the church, if built with a transept will bring the walls of the new edifice into almost immediate contact with the windows of the Chapel-house, having never seen either plan, elevation, or section of the said transept? Now, Rev. Sir, I can inform you ( and I hope you will allow I am the very best judge on this point) that it would not have that effect, which

I can prove to any unprejudiced person, who wishes to be informed on the subject; the walls which support the roof over the nave of the church are beyond the quoin of the Chapel-house. You then say that "if the transept plan be objectionable, the original one is no less so" - for some reasons which you labour to prove, AND FAIL, but which you state are super induced by your anxiety to accommodate the poor; and here let me state, that your wish for their comfort

NEVER EXCEEDED THAT OF YOUR REV. PREDECESSOR who disapproving of the regulations adopted in Marlborough-street, determined to divide the church *equally* among POOR and RICH giving the one class *no* advantage over the other, except that of a separate entrance; nor did the humble classes ever complain of being excluded from entering through Townsend-street, until within these few weeks past, when it was thought necessary, for certain reasons, to put "alarm and consternation into their mouths BY AUTHORITY". As to your assertion, that the poor cannot hear the instruction from the Altar, it is evident to any person, that the farther you remove the clergyman from the people, the more difficulty he will experience in making his voice heard, the contrary rule will evidently have a contrary effect. In the construction of Music-rooms and Theatres, where the conveyance of sound is so closely studied, it is endeavoured to give the building such a form as to diffuse the voice equal on every side, never extending its length beyond the pitch that the human voice is known to be capable of expanding. Now, I contend, THAT MY PLAN has the ADVANTAGE in this particular, as it is intended to be but 130 feet long, which is 20 feet less than the thing called a plan, lately submitted to the parish. It has, however, the advantage in width, of being 66 feet 6 inches from wall to wall, exceeding the other by 16 feet 6 inches. Hence, exhortations from the Altar would be heard which decided advantage, having the circular wall immediately behind affording the effect of throwing the voice forward.

And now, Very Reverend Sir, I come to that part of your letter which contains AN UNWARRANTABLE ATTACK ON ME - *an assertion without proof*. You say, "that the gallery lately constructed is discreditable to the Parish". Will you have the goodness to point out in what particular it is so. Is it its present unfinished appearance that offends your classic eye? Let it be finished before you condemn. You might as well form an opinion of a picture, after the first colour has been laid on, as to pass the opinion you have done on this portion of the building. Or is it that it is inconvenient? I say again, let it be finished, and then ask the Catholic inhabitants of Poolbeg-street, the quays, and *that* part of the Parish, and I am willing to abide by their decision. But, of all your arguments on the subject, the *favourite one* seems to be your objection to the "wooden posts" which support the roof; and, indeed, it does not surprise me, as it gives you such an opportunity of being very pathetic on the fatal effects which would occur, "if the building fell and buried thousands in its ruins". Speaking, not

"technically", but rationally, *do you know what is meant by dry rot?* - from what cause it proceeds? - or whether the posts (as you call them) or the *roof* will be more likely to be attacked by that disease? - the first not being subject to the changes of the atmosphere, while the latter is subject to it in a great degree: and yet THERE ARE instances of WOODEN roofs lasting for centuries, although the stone domes of the Churches of St. Peter, at Rome, and St. Genevieve, at Paris, *have failed*, while the *exterior* dome of St. Paul's, London, entirely *constructed of wood*, has endured, since very shortly after the great fire of 1666, a lasting monument of the skill of its architect. Before I close this letter, it may not be amiss to mention that I challenged you, in the presence of twenty of the Committee, to submit the building to the inspection of *two practical Architects*, (*not Measurers* and would-be Artists) to report their opinion thereon; but this proposition you objected to, for two reasons; the first, I must say, a very foolish one - namely, that if those Architects decide against me, they thereby created a feeling of enmity in my breast unfavourable to them; the second, which, I am confident was the more weighty one, that if they decided in my favour, you were determined, nevertheless, not to abide by their decision.

You have, Reverend Sir, fallen into a *slight* error, I hope unintentionally, in stating that the finishing of the building, even according to the transept plan, would cost £4435 5s 8d. *Such is not my statement* - my estimate is for FINISHING the building according to the ORIGINAL PLAN. Your other assertion is equally erroneous, as to the proportion of the building nearly completed. The east exterior wall is finished to its greatest extent; that on the west side requiring *but eleven feet* of foundations to bring it as far as the springing of the circular wall behind the Altar, and the expense of finishing all the foundations will not exceed £90!. In conclusion, Very Reverend Sir, I beg to return you my most sincere thanks for the *extreme delicacy* you have handled my professional character since your appointment to this Parish. You must, if not restricted by the good sense of the Parish, have a building of *your own* raising, without much regard to the pockets of your flock, no matter how accomplished - "*the end justifies the means*".

I have, however, the satisfaction of stating that the first professional authority has declared that the portion of the church built is of the most permanent description, and if completed, would be second to none for architectural elegance.

I am, Very Reverend Sir, your obedient servant,

J. LEESON.

Architect to the Roman Catholic Church of St. Mark, St. Andrew, &c. &c.  
Westmoreland-street, 11th February, 1832.

P.S. As a PROFESSIONAL man, I have expressed the preceding opinion; - being a PARISHIONER I stand on my right also freely to ask now, in these time of universal want of money - when people find it difficult to sustain their legal engagements, can you feel yourself sustained in *dragging* from the limited means of the Catholic portion of your Parish a sum of perhaps FIFTEEN THOUSAND POUNDS, to build a church in another situation without adverting to a parochial residence for the Clergy, (and which you will, no doubt, be ADVISED to undertake) and which, *if you attempt* (knowing that you have no sustaining power to complete), will cause a breach between the members of your flock, as well as throw discredit on the acts of your reverend predecessor - while, permit me to observe, by pursuing a contrary course, and raising £4,400 to complete the magnificent building already MORE THAN ONE HALF BUILT, you enlist the warm and zealous energies of all those parishioners, who for years, I am aware, have been distinguished in their good acts to benefit the parish - will the more readily suit the means, you should *fairly* rely on for assistance and add to that influence in your new situation which YOUR CONTEMPLATED ABANDONMENT OF THE TOWNSEND STREET SITE IS SO LIKELY AND DESERVEDLY TO LESSEN.

J. LEESON.

\*\*\*

## Appendix C

### *A contemporary description of the finished Pro-Cathedral*

The following description of the Pro-Cathedral, written by John B. Keane, was published in the *Catholic Directory 1842*.<sup>1</sup> Keane was one in the series of executant architects for the building. He produced the working drawings for the portico and supervised its construction until its completion in 1841.

The Metropolitan Catholic Church of Dublin, or Church of the Conception, Marlborough-street, presents to the educated and scientific observer the purest and most extensive composition of Grecian architecture, as applied to an ecclesiastical edifice, in the British empire. This truly imposing pile, in its external form, is something after a prostyle periptural [sic] temple, having flank colonnades of fluted Greek Doric columns near thirty feet high, surmounted by proportionate entablatures in detail after the choragic monument of Thrasyllis [sic] and these colonnades are terminated by rectangular wings containing atria and vestibules to the aisles and vestries.

The hexaprostyle front, which is a most magnificent and classic structure (being in its details after that unrivalled model of Grecian architecture, the temple of Minerva Parthenos) consists of six large fluted columns near five feet diameter and above thirty feet high, composed of massive frustum blocks of Portland stone, averaging five tons weight each, and seated on thorough solid granite plinths. Those columns sustain a proportionate and massive entablature with its classic details stretching near ninety feet exclusive of its returns, and terminated in its elevation by a most accurately proportioned pediment sixty feet high, with acroteria forming bases for the characteristic figures intended to surmount this splendid portico. The epistylum or architrave being the supporting beam, of this extensive entablature, is constructed of solid ponderous blocks of stone from five to eight tons weight each, several of which are disposed in suspension, and scientifically confined in their lateral tendencies to a steadfast position.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Catholic directory 1842*, 258-9.

The pronaos of the portico is terminated by massive antaie corresponding in detail with its classic style of architecture, and the cella is perforated by three openings - one large door entering to the nave of the church, and two minor doors entering to the galleries.

The interior of this superb church is cleithral, though hypethral in disposition of arrangement, and most effective and classic - having a nave 40 feet wide, and extending above 150 feet from front to rear - bounded by continuous peristyles or colonnades of fluted Greek Doric columns near thirty feet high-sustaining their proportionate entablature with details - and surmounted by a vaulted ceiling above fifty feet in height which is intersected over the great altar by a spherical dome sixty feet high-enriched with bassi-relievi and moulded radial coffers.

The nave is surrounded by the aisles, twenty feet wide, which stretch round the entire church, having the terminating walls studed [sic] with classic antae corresponding to the columns of the peristyles, and the intervals furnished with minor altars and marble monuments. The ceilings of the aisles are disposed in a series of moulded coffers resting on a continuous entablature and tranverse [sic] beams.

The steps and landings approaching to this temple of religion are arranged and improved in their formation, so as to correspond with the style and conveniences of the building, and which establish this Christian edifice as unequalled in classic beauty and extent in modern times; and it must be gratifying to all who are interested, and who have been engaged in this stupendous undertaking to know (that from the perfect scaffoldings and arrangements made for carrying on the works), not a single accident has occurred during its erection.

\*\*\*



## Appendix D

*A description of Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines, by its patron Dr William Meagher*

The following description of Our Lady of Refuge is taken from William Meagher, *Five engravings descriptive of the new church of Our Immaculate Lady of Refuge, Rathmines, with a brief account of its origin and progress*, Dublin 1855. Reverend Dr William Meagher was the parish priest of Rathmines and was responsible for building the new church in Rathmines. He had strong views on architecture was able to convince his parishioners to allow him put his theory into practice. The building of the church was started in 1850 and was nearing completion, but without the portico, when Dr Meagher's book was published. According to Meagher the book was published in the hope of interesting 'our pious friends and fellow-citizens elsewhere to lend a helping hand in extricating us from pecuniary difficulties..'.<sup>1</sup> He was convinced that his church would provide a good influence on the quality of Catholic architecture in Ireland, and to help this influence the book contains drawings of the plan, the main façade, the interior beneath the dome, the transepts, and the side chapels. The book is a handsome folio production containing (in 24 pages) a short historical introduction, an account of the reasons for building, and its progress during construction. The most interesting part of the book is the description of the church which includes an exposition of Meagher's architectural theories, a rare insight which helps us to understand something of contemporary attitudes of the ecclesiastical patron. It is this part of the book which is reproduced here.

---

<sup>1</sup> William Meagher, *Five engravings*, 12.

## THE GROUND-PLAN.

The shape of the Church, as laid down in the annexed ground-plan, shows a Greek cross with a slight departure from the rigid requirements of that form – the western shaft being a little more elongated than the other three while, according to the strict architectural canon, all of them should be perfectly equal. As originally projected, no such deviation existed, at least in the interior - the additional space being intended for a mere atrium or enclosed porch, separated from the body of the building by a curtain wall, similar in arrangement within the corresponding terminations of the three other limbs of the cross; and the alteration arose in consequence of changes admitted into the first design for the grand facade in front of the Rathmines Road. That design excluded the idea altogether, of an open or pillared portico, as it was considered that the expenses attendant upon so costly an appendage would entail pecuniary burdens on the Parish above its abilities to sustain. When the work, however, went forward, and the building was seen expanding its giant arms and lifting its majestic head, the courage and pious ambition of the people rose with the rising walls, and several, whose opinions were not to be disregarded, became loud in their remonstrations against what seemed to them the parsimony that would “clip of [sic] its fair proportions” the exterior of an edifice which was to subsist a monument for ever of the taste and munificence of its founders. Fortunately, we trust, their wishes prevailed; and, accordingly, when the erection of the façade arrived at the point where the plain entablature and pediment, as first intended, were to commence, its prosecution was stopped, the remainder of the wall built up in plain masonry, and opportunity thus left for addition, at some future moment, of a portico in harmony with the interior magnificence of the structure. The closed porch became, in consequence, unnecessary; and the ground which it was to occupy remained available for the internal enlargement of the western compartment, with only the slightest intrusion on the principles of the Greek Cross. Instead of the curtain wall, four Corinthian columns were substituted, similar in position and dimensions with the pilasters that adorn the terminal walls in the other arms of the Cross; and on them the grand entablature was carried forward unbroken all round: while high above and over the space obtained by omission of the porch, stands, unobtrusive and retired, the choir gallery with the organ midway in front. The columns thus act as a screen, behind which the portion added to the church in this direction recedes; the enlargement becomes, in consequence, less apparent than real - the appropriate proportions of the compartment are restored, and the departure from the general arrangements reduced to a mere beautiful variety.

Eight doors conduct into the interior - one of commanding proportions in each arm of the Cross - and one smaller in each of the spaces immediately under the pendentives of the dome. To five of these are attached external porticos, corresponding in style and materials with the general features of the edifice outside. Four of them, in shape of quadrants, fill up the outer angles of the Cross, inclosing the lateral chapels; while at the southern extremity, a closed portico extends, oblong in form, and of spacious dimensions, over which the Sacristan's apartments are constructed. Within these porticos again, and indeed, at all the entrances to the building, porches of wood-work are provided; the object of so many doors and of their several appendages being to counteract the disadvantages of the site, exposed, as it is, to all the inconveniences of the wind, from whatever quarter it proceeds. Means of ingress and egress are thus found at every side of the Church, and opportunity thereby afforded of closing the doors exposed to the prevailing blasts; currents of air through the edifice being thereby excluded, and the health and comfort of the parishioners effectually secured. At the eastern end stands the Sacristy, while at the west, fronting the Rathmines Road, is seen the platform on which the grand façade will be raised, whenever funds may be forthcoming for its construction.

#### FRONT ELEVATION.

As represented in the annexed engraving, it will form a Corinthian portico of four columns, each nearly fifty feet high-dimensions so gigantic as to exceed considerably any composition of that same order ever erected in the British islands. On the apex of the pediment will stand a colossal statue of the Redeemer, supported at the lower angles on each side by Saint Peter, joint Patron of the Parish, at the right, and his companion Apostle, Saint Paul, at the left. Within the portico below, in the central niche, over the principal door of entrance into the Church, will be seen, as already placed, Our Lady of Refuge, directing the attention of the Divine Infant in her arms to the supplicating crowd beneath, and on either side respectively, Saint Rumoldus, Archbishop of Mecklin and Apostle of Belgium, and Saint Livinus, Apostle of Brabant - both, as recorded, ancient Bishops of Dublin, previously to having embarked upon the labours of their apostleship. It is the fixed determination of the Committee, should Providence aid them to its accomplishment, that every portion of this noble appendage to our new Church, shall be constructed, in all its most massive and most elaborate details, of Irish materials; and left to testify how richly our country has been supplied with resources for tectonic magnificence.

## THE DOME.

A person desirous of viewing the interior to greatest advantage, should enter the Church by the door leading from either the north-western or the south-western quadrant. Here, instantly as he crosses the threshold, the whole internal structure, in all its variety, magnificence, and amplitude, breaks upon him. Everything above and around - the arms of the cross branching off into broad and symmetrical compartments-the bold entablature running round and round in rich and unbroken continuance - the high altar rising in chaste and imposing simplicity - the chapels, arcades, pilasters, niches - the arched ceilings, heavy without being overladen with embellishments - but above all, the dome, towering nearly one hundred feet on high, and reposing in graceful but vigorous majesty on the converging vaults that overhang the four compartments of the cross - all operate to awaken in the beholder that combined feeling of admiration, delight, and awe, which it is the privilege of Christian art preëminently to create. Numerous as the objects are that solicit attention, and vast the space over which they are distributed, the eye gazes from end to end with the pleasure springing from conviction, that it beholds everywhere but the legitimate portions of one unbroken whole, without any deficiency to regret, or any obtrusive anomaly to disturb the unity and repose of a design maturely considered, and carried out to its completion, according to the strictest rules of art, with undeviating exactitude. As yet the queenly structure is only in its undress, but should it please God still further to smile upon our aspirations, and enable us to invest the Spouse in habiliments still worthier of the Heavenly Bridegroom -“Sicut Sponsam ornatam viro suo” - should we ever succeed in presenting its roofs and dome glowing as the azure of Heaven, and frieze and cornice and embellishments all emblazoned everywhere in gold, with the sixty-two spaces on its walls filled up, as prepared for the purpose, with the painter's and the sculptor's inspiring creations, then indeed might we felicitate Religion upon having found amongst us a temple not unworthy to stand, side by side, with her wonderworks in more favoured lands!

The dome measures fifty--three feet in diameter, and rises something more than ninety-three in altitude. It is amongst the largest structures of the kind, secular or ecclesiastical, ever erected in this country; and, we may fearlessly add, far surpasses them all in the lightness, gracefulness, and majesty of its internal appearance. In one striking feature of its decorations, the dome of Rathmines is unique. Instead of rosettes, its coffers are filled up with the heads of adoring saints - an innovation which, in the judgment of the first artists in our city, has proved perfectly successful; and the propriety of which may be best understood from the

following extract of a letter On the subject, addressed by the Parish Priest of Rathmines to its Catholic inhabitants. “From a drawing to be seen in the parlour of the Parochial House, and which you are respectfully invited to examine, some idea may be formed of the internal embellishments now in progress at the New Church of ‘OUR LADY OF REFUGE’. This sketch represents the interior of the great dome expanded over the High Altar, and thronged with a multitude of the Celestial Hierarchy – Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, etc. in ascending ranks, one above the other, gazing as it were through the windows of Heaven, downwards, in adoration, at the centre of all that is most divine in religion – the MYSTICAL CALVARY beneath – *‘the Altar on which is laid the LAMB as if slain’*”

These Sacred Personages, one hundred and forty-four in number, are introduced without confusion, or prejudice to the purely classical character of the decorations with which the dome is enriched; being merely sculptured medallions of the Saints, substituted in the coffered panels, for the rosettes with which these spaces are usually filled up. A meaningless and barely secular ornament is thus made to give way to an arrangement replete with life, and feeling, and strong devotional significance. The eye still wanders over the rich and harmonious expanse before it, which the mind is assisted to soar into regions of Faith and Beatitude. The tambour or drum of the dome, if means can be realized for the purpose, will, it is proposed be similarly adorned; while the pendentives, or large spandrel compartments uniting the dome with the vaulted ceilings over the four diverging arms of the cross, will, in time, be occupied by large paintings of the four principal events in the history of the Virgin; three of these – the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Crucifixion – being in close alliance with the Adorable Sacrifice on the altar below; the fourth representing the triumph of Faith in the Assumption of our Lady into Heaven. The day may come when this whole beautiful series of enrichments may be seen emblazoned in azure and gold – types of Her, the Immaculate Queen, to whom the sacred structure, when finished, is to constitute our votive offering. The may seem less else than a gorgeous dream just now; but there are signs encouraging us to hope that the brilliant vision may yet be realized.

In Catholic countries on the Continent, the house of God enjoys the advantage of revealing itself to the spectators in its full, legitimate, beautiful proportions, unencumbered by the crowd of clumsy accessories, which of necessity, circumstances have introduced into the churches of these islands. There, upon entering, the eye not only ranges at liberty over all that meets it from above and around, but traverses with delight the spacious pavement, stretching onward in lengthened continuity before it, and glittering oftentimes, like some enormous carpet of flowers, in all the

gorgeous tints of richest marble. There, neither the exigencies of custom, nor the poverty of religion, require that barriers should guard the members of any particular class from contact from their humbler fellow-worshippers. The extent of Christ's Earthly residence is, in every instance, ample enough for reception of all his brethren; and benches, and pews, and sightless shelves of galleries are, in consequence, almost unknown. With us, however, the time has not arrived when we can dispense with these means of maintaining order, and satisfying the established habits of society. Our places of worship are but few in number, and restricted in dimensions; while the distinctions of rank amongst us are more marked and more exacting; and, therefore, contrivances requisite, which, elsewhere, would seem useless and even offensive. But while, by all means, we make provision for the convenient accommodation of our people, we should strive to do so with as little injury as possible to the architectural aspect of our Churches. And indeed, it is pleasing to remark that this object has been kept more or less carefully in view, particularly in the Metropolis, since the dawning of a better day upon Catholicity in these countries; and in preparing the plan of "Our Lady of Refuge", nothing that maturest reflection could suggest was left unattempted to insure so desirable a result. With this view, when selection was to be made of the form which our new Church should assume, the Greek Cross was preferred as most susceptible of arrangements to meet the wants of a dense and devout population, without intruding too much upon the requirements of architectural propriety. Expanding itself, as it does, into a central and four radiating equal compartments, it presented easy and ample opportunity of separating, by tastefully contrived barriers, the several classes of our congregation from each other; while it insured most desirable opportunities to them all, for preservation of health, and comfort, and good order, and convenience of ingress and egress with abundant facility for observance of every rubrical prescription, and fullest scope for exercise of artistic taste and skill. Into these five sections, accordingly, the Church of Rathmines is divided; that at the east being occupied by the High Altar, and the other four accommodating, we might say, as many separate congregations - all met under the one roof and all worshipping before the same altar, but arriving and departing without confusion by doors and avenues peculiar to each. The central compartment immediately under the dome, is that appropriated for reception of the more opulent parishioners, but has been already sufficiently described. In the engraving opposite this page is represented one of the four compartments, that occupy each an arm of the Cross. Its dimensions are forty-five feet by thirty, overhung by a semi-cylindrical ceiling, sixty-three feet at its summit above the pavement. Below the entablature, the walls are perforated all round by circular-headed arches,

separated from each other by intervening Corinthian pilasters, that stretch boldly upwards from the floor to the architrave, the spaces between the tops of the arches and the lowest members of the grand entablature being filled up with large square tablets, richly trimmed at the edges, and intended one day for reception of paintings, descriptive, each of some striking incident in the history of the Virgin. In the principal wall of each compartment the arches are three in number, that in the middle being occupied by one of the three great portals by which the Church is entered; while those at either side are intended as recesses for confessionals, designed to correspond in size and style with the general features of the building. Nothing to be seen in Ireland, or, with few exceptions, in other countries, can compete with the gorgeous yet purely classical character of the entablature – foliated scroll-work of exquisite design and equally exquisite workmanship filling up the frieze with masses of most elaborate and fascinating intricacy; while the noble projecting cornice exhibits the same combination of graceful magnificence, in its every prominent and every minutest particular. A window of majestic size, and resembling in formation those similarly placed in the great Church of St. Peter at Rome, stands midway in the large semicircular space between cornice and the vaulted ceiling above, having at each side a spandrel division beautifully moulded, and prepared for the reception, let us hope, at some future day, of paintings worthy of exhibition in places so appropriate.

#### THE ALTARS.

Originally it was intended that the high altar should occupy the central compartment, exactly beneath the dome; and, doubtless, were the canons of art alone to be consulted, its position should be such. When the time, however, came for carrying out this design, its adoption was found liable to such serious objections - so many advantages were to be sacrificed - so many inconveniences submitted to, that perseverance in the project seemed little better than insanity. The priest would have to wend his passage, it was said, from the Sacristy to the distant altar; midway through a crowd packed to inconvenience; and, while engaged in the Holy Mysteries, was to be concealed by the intervening altar from a full half of the congregation; while, at the more solemn celebration of the same divine rites – indeed on almost every occasion, when the functions of religion present themselves under their most imposing forms - the same multitude, for just the same reason, were to be utterly debarred from all chance of witnessing ceremonies so edifying, and in a view of which the faithful every where, but especially in Ireland, are so anxious to participate. But a still stronger objection to the contemplated arrangement sprung from the obstruction, which, it was foreseen, its consequences would present to the

religious instruction of the people; as no power of voice nor skill in its management could enable a preacher to make himself heard by the crowd of auditors listening to him from behind, if he addressed them from the altar, or by an equally numerous assemblage spoken to across the altar from a pulpit. One principal motive for wishing to plant the altar in such a position, arose from the hope which it encouraged, of enabling the people by such a device, to partake of the Holy Communion all at the one table, and thus emancipate the ministering priest from the necessity of mingling in the crowd in order to impart to his humbler brethren at a distance their share of the Heavenly banquet; but, when it became apparent, that, in consequence of the form and amplitude of the sacred edifice, this truly important object was, by a little ingenuity, just as attainable with the altar stationed, as it now is, in the eastern compartment, the last and most potent reason for clinging to the original idea vanished; and the grand altar, it was resolved, should occupy the division of the Church in nearest proximity to the Sacristy. From the commencement many persons, especially amongst the Clergy, regarding the original project with an almost enthusiastic preference, as a happy combination, they imagined, of architectural and devotional advantages, whilst others foresaw and predicted its inconveniences: and it is but justice to both these parties thus to record the fact, and motives for the alteration.

As seen at present, this principal altar is but a temporary erection, designed to supply the emergencies of the divine worship only while funds are being amassed for a permanent worthier substitute. The ladies of Rathmines, aided, they trust and entreat, by every pious daughter of religion in the metropolis, have resolved, if possible, to bestow upon the Church of Her, the patroness and model of all female excellence, an altar, unsurpassed in material, design and workmanship, by anything of the same kind witnessed hitherto within the wide domains of Britain!

#### THE SIDE CHAPELS

Besides the principal, there are eight subordinates altars, occupying as many chapels in the circuit of the edifice – these latter so contrived that, instead of interrupting the great outlines of the composition, or usurping ground required for accommodation of the people, they stand unobtrusively back – appearing, each a little structure in itself, and yet, by connection, a natural member of the building at large. In each arm of the cross are two of these chapels, one opposite the other, in the two smaller sides of the compartment – the arches here being hollowed out into large and deep-set niches, having their appropriate entablatures, with enriched



oblong panellings beneath, and the conch above adorned with beautifully designed trelliswork of diamond and rosette.

It is proposed that these chapels shall be dedicated, each under the joint invocation of three of those more celebrated servants of God, who, from age to age, particularly in more recent times, have adorned religion, and of our Lady of Refuge, "Queen of all Saints". Thus, in the eastern compartment, the chapel at the Gospel side of the great altar will be styled of "the three Apostles". St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John: that at the Epistle side, of "the three Martyrs", St. Laurence, St. Vincent, and St. Sebastian. In the southern compartment will be, at the eastern side, the chapel of "the three Doctors", St. Chrysostom, St. Gregory, and St. Augustine: at the western, that of "the three Bishops", St. Charles Borromeo, St. Francis of Sales, and St. Alphonsus of Liguori. In the western compartment, at the south, the chapel of "the three Abbots", St. Benedict, St. Bernard, and St. Bruno: at the north, that of "the three Priests", St. Vincent of Paul, St. Philip Neri, and St. Francis Xavier. In the northern compartment, at the west, the chapel of "the three Virgins", St. Agnes, St. Teresa, and St. Catharine: at the east, that of "the three Patrons", St. Patrick, St. Bridget, and St. Columbkil.

The semicircular wall encompassing the altars in these chapels will be embellished, as we have already said, with three large oblong tablets: within each of which will be seen, we trust, sooner or later, a full-length painting of one or other, respectively, of the Holy Personages just specified.

In the great Churches on the Continent the side chapels are oftentimes furnished with vaults underneath, appropriated to the sepulture of particular families, founders or special benefactors of the edifice. In imitation of this practice, opportunity is now open to such opulent families, within the parish or elsewhere, as may chose for themselves and their descendants a similar privilege. The expense of securing such right would not exceed two hundred pounds to be laid out in constructing the mortuary chamber below, and furnishing the chapel above - designated by the name of the purchaser - with an altar of Irish marble and workmanship, and with other necessary appendages of corresponding sumptuousness.

One word, in conclusion, upon a subject which, of late years, has attracted to itself no small share of public attention amongst Catholics. As already remarked, the Church of our Lady of Refuge is the first example of the Greek cruciform type of sacred edifices ever witnessed in Ireland, or, indeed, as far as the writer of these lines can vouch, in the British Islands anywhere. But if it be permitted us to judge, from the combination of rare

architectural excellencies with which it abounds, - from its convenience, healthfulness, and beauty, - or, again, from the still increasing pleasure with which its features have been regarded, as they went on developing themselves, interiorly and exteriorly, in the structure at Rathmines, it may be fairly calculated that the day is not far off when many such will be seen blending their fascinations with other favourite tectonic forms, to adorn, and enrich the shrines of holy religion amongst us. A strange notion not long since was abroad, and in some places may reckon its adherents still, which went to more than insinuate the duty of eliminating utterly from amongst us it and every kindred species of religious edifice, that traced its origin to the people and periods anterior to Christianity; a notion that restricted the name of Christian to Gothic structures exclusively, and stigmatized with the odious appellation of pagan, the style of every Church, ancient or venerated, or beautiful as it might be, in whose construction the outlines of Greek or Roman art were visible. It was a misfortune, according to these censors, a disgrace, and almost a sin, that anywhere in wide Christendom there should subsist one instance of the sanctuary of God, resembling in its forms the temple of the idol. What startling and what perilous hardihood does not the genius of innovation essay at times! In what strange contradictions does it not rush to entangle itself! If Michael Angelo or Bramante must not build according to the rules of Vitruvius, though, by doing so, he were to give to Christianity a temple, compared with which the pagan's mightiest "marvel were a cell"; neither, in consistency, can Raphael or D'Vinci be permitted to rival in glorious delineations, the symmetry and grace and expressiveness, the harmonious tints and nature idealised of Zeuxis or Apelles; nor Algardi nor Canova presume to imitate, in Christian marble, the heroic power and soaring greatness, or the exquisite softness and finish and beautiful proportions of Phidias and Praxiteles. These all but superhuman Greeks, by dint of genius and long industrious striving, found out and imparted to their wonderworks the natural and the proper, the sublime and beautiful, in all things; but, because, in their folly, they bestowed their glorious discoveries on the heroes and demigods of an absurd mythology, these fantastic divinities are to be left in sole possession of them, and the Christian sanctuary is to be content with hideous shapes and forms, typifying all that is great and good and entrancing in the holy religion, "the holy and the true"! For to this it should come. If the principle attempted to be enforced holds good for any one of the arts, it holds good for all. If the graceful shaft and gorgeous capital, the storied frieze, and rich unbroken cornice, and spanning vault and swelling dome, and all the nicely calculated proportions and faultless symmetries, are to be cast in horror aside, when the Christians build a sanctuary, because these beauties once circled round Minerva in the Parthenon, or foolish old Jupiter in the

Capitol; why, then, by the same law, should be chased from God's house every picture and every image in marble or brass, that charms or affects by observance of these rules, which bewildered religionists but glorious artists of old adopted, when they wrought their figures of transcendent beauty, and bestowed them upon their silly old gods and goddesses. If pagan architecture be an abomination in our churches, so should pagan painting be, and pagan sculpture likewise. And in very fact, to this revolting consistency it was fast coming and came! Until the priest, amidst the divine mysteries, had to witness representations of his dear suffering Master, that suggested only thoughts of a pious iconoclasm: and the Heavenly inhabitants, Apostles, Evangelists, and all, stared at Him from beneath shapes and forms more fitted to disgust than to edify, to remind him of demons and hobgoblins rather than of Christ's companions in beatitude! To this it came: still, this was consistent. But why not carry to consistency a little farther? Why not push it to its full legitimate lengths? There are other arts as well as painting and sculpture: why not apply the principle relied on to them? Why not apply it to music also? What brings pagan music into our churches? Why comes it crashing upon our ears, disturbing our communions with Heaven at faith's most tremendous moments? Why load with its profane melody the solemnest periods of the holy liturgy? Why join with it, in impious wedlock, the inspired language of kings and prophets? Why listen to its tones reëchoing in our ears the very sentiments dictated by the Holy Ghost to our souls? Why! Go back long centuries, and ask Ambrose and Gregory why. Ask the first of these sainted personages why it was, that, while thronged round about by his devoted people, unwilling, day or night, to quit his side, when they feared for his safety – ask him why it was that, to alleviate their fatigue and solace their apprehensions, he taught them, in alternate choirs, to chant the songs of David to the airs of the Grecian Tragedy, and married the Preface of the Mass to the same entrancing melody? And ask St. Gregory why he took the trouble, three hundred years later, when abuses had engrafted themselves upon the sacred psalmody, to revise, and correct, and restore it back again to its primitive *Grecian* purity? And, for full fifteen hundred years since then, the whole Western Church has perpetuated the practice: and the saints of Poland, and of Germany, and of France, and of Ireland, and Italy, and Britain, and the noble Goths of Spain, have sent up to God their deepest, tenderest thrillings of devotion, repeating the works of the Most High in the tones of the *Grecian tragedy*. But much more than this. Not alone has the Church treasured up the remnants of Pagan art in all its departments, and adapted them to her own holy purposes – wrested them from the gifted infidel, and preserved them for the service of her faithful sons (“*spoliavit Egyptios, ditavit Hebraeos*”), by amplified them, and improved them, and hallowed them – trampled the demon down, and bore these

glorious trophies away, and hung them joyfully over the shrines of her blessed Master. And not only their arts, but their sciences too – their books, and their literatures, and their languages. Yes; their literatures, crammed as these are, from beginning to end, with superstition, and disfigured by libertinism, she has preserved from the spoliator and the fanatic, and propagated them far and near, and made them instruments of enlightenment and delight and benediction to a hundred races of men. And, although new literatures have been born to her, and have grown up and flourished, in glorious maturity, around her, and for her; and, while she has been ever and is, the patroness and the promoter of learning and letters, in whatever shape developed of articulate speech; yet is there one pagan language, one dead and gone old pagan literature, which she would seem to prefer to all others – which, dead for almost all besides, still lives through her – lives for her. And, whilst she frowns on any writing in her younger languages, that contain a sentence at variance with her truths or dangerous to her sanctity, - frowns upon it, and dooms it to the flames, on the books of that dead old tongue, replete with blasphemy often, and stained with libertinism, she looks with indulgence for sake of the benefits they have wrought: and allows, under meet precautions, the perusal thereof; nay, not allow, but by formal decrees of her congregated sages and saints, approves and encourages. And in that old pagan language the chief portion of her hoarded wisdom had she treasured up; and the words of eternal life, spoken face to face by God to man, in that pagan language has she solemnly authenticated; and all her marvellous hourly wonders, through medium of it, are wrought; and her anointed ministers commanded in its accents to address their most solemn supplications and hers to God; and the tremendous words which her dear Saviour daily obeys, and at announcement of which all His divinest doings are redone, in that old pagan tongue are still uttered!

And if the Spouse of Christ thus writes and legislates and prays and chants in a language which from its earliest infantine accents to its perfect maturity as a vehicle of human thought was pagan essentially, why be prevented from praying and singing and sacrificing under a roof of pagan shapes and measurements? If, in preparation for performance of her sublimest acts, she clothes her Priests in habiliments whose very names of tunic, and dalmatic, and alb, and stole, perpetuate the fact of their pagan origin, why not, if so she deems it, inclose them within walls of pagan resemblance? It is no answer to say she now has an architecture of her own, and it is but reasonable she should adopt it. For has she not a literature of her own several of them in few things, if at all, inferior to that of ancient Rome, in many respects greatly superior, and yet the old words of pagan Latium are on her lips when she speaks or prays, at her fingers' ends when she writes. And she keeps account of her times as they come

and go, and designates her months as they pass, in appellations that recall not barely pagan times, but pagan superstitions and absurd pagan deities. And why not? Are they not the records of her victories, the proofs that “the lion of Juda hath conquered”? Are they not evidences that she is the “ancient of days”? not an apparition of yesterday, but from the *beginning*, and *consequently* to be unto the end! And her “aqua lustralis”, and her incense and her thurible, were they not in usage with the pagan, the accompaniments of his impious feasts and sacrifices before they arrived to her? But hath she not purified them, hath she not blessed them and made them her own? And why not the pagan temple as well, as she has done? Not barely has she imitated the shaped and dimensions of these buildings in the structures created by herself; but the identical shrines and sanctuaries raised by pagan hands to pagan demons she has seized and given unto Him that reigneth for ever and ever.

Besides, is it not more than unfair – is not imprudent too mild a term for the policy we have been commenting upon? – a policy which assumes to itself the right to affix depreciating appellations upon three-fourths of the Temples of God throughout His Church, upon nine-tenths of those built within the last three centuries - to sneer at the holy places where God’s people, in myriads, have been adoring Him from age to age, - where his Priests have sacrificed, his Saints prayed, where their bones repose, where their memories are celebrated! And these, many of them, for many reasons, the pride and the boast of the Catholic Christendom – acknowledged by the heterodox as well as by the Catholic man of taste to be the “glory of the whole Earth” – a marvel and a show for all mankind to admire: the Lateran Basilica – the “caput urbis et orbo” - the Mother Church – “Christ’s mighty temple o’er His Martyr’s tomb”, not excepted; no, nor the shrine over His own sacred sepulchre! – to fain depreciate these monuments of Christian zeal, and taste, and genius, and profuse munificence, and tender, loving devotion, by a nickname! These, assuredly, are considerations strong enough, if taken into account, to prevent a repetition of the hardy words on this subject which have startled, of late, and almost scandalized, the people.

In all, however, that has been here advanced to rebut the ungenerous charge, one word, be it remembered, has not been said to lessen the high and well-merited appreciation which genuine Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture ever must command. On the Earth there breathes not one who admires more ardently, or acknowledges with heartier readiness, all its glorious attributes than he whose pen traced this little expostulatory essay. Its achievements are above all praise; they are worthy, as far as poor human efforts can be, of the divine objects they had in view – worthy of the divine presence they were wrought to honour – worthy of the

ineffable doings they were intended to signalise. Let the lovers of Gothic Architecture, then, be proud of it if they please – there is ample reason that they should. Let them extol its excellencies as loudly as they think fit, they can never be too eloquent in its praise. Let them contend that its beauteous combinations are better calculated than those of any rival style to excite and concentrate the devotional feelings of a worshipping multitude – that “the long drawn aisle and fretted vault”, tinted lights, and soaring altitude, and spire, and arch, and pinnacle, looking upward all, and pointing like so many mysterious fingers to Heaven, are the very genius of religious emotion made visible. In all that there is nothing which is not admissible - nothing which may not be true! But its advocates must not go too far - they must not be unreasonable. They have so much in the subject of their eulogy that is glorious, so much that is fascinating, that they may well afford to repudiate all spirit of ungenerous exclusiveness. They must not hope to monopolize wholly to their favourite type the title of Christian, for to this they have no right. Other architectural arrangements are as Christian and more so than theirs. The first Churches that Christianity built and blessed were not Gothic, but Grecian. For a thousand years before a Gothic arch was seen in the world, or a Gothic steeple bore the cross triumphant in the air, Christ's spouse on Earth adopted the earlier model, and Christ's own adorable presence in ten thousand places approved and hallowed it. A word or two more remains on this part of the argument, which will be acknowledged worthy of attention.

When the Hebrew race had expiated their sins in exile, the Lord, in His tenderness, led them back to the Palestine of their forefathers, and inspired the benevolent Cyrus to permit and enable them to reconstruct for themselves a temple on the sacred hill where that of Solomon, which had been ruined, once stood. Large sums from the imperial treasury were disbursed for the purpose, and the people wrought with a joyous industry at the sacred structure. But when the work had made such progress as enabled the aged men who either had seen its renowned predecessor with their own eyes, or had been made familiar with its greatness by the narrations of their fathers, they wailed aloud and wept in agony, at the distressing contrast presented by the inferiority of the new temple, compared with that which had perished; and, to comfort them, God revealed to His prophet the ineffably greater privileges of the rising temple over that which had perished, bidding him go and announce the cheering fact to the people, that in the new and trifling structure the “Expected of Nations” should appear, the “Desire of the Eternal Hills” should be revealed. And that temple thus honoured, seen through intervening ages in vision by the Prophet, in which the Infant Jesus was presented, where he first astonished the world by His wisdom while yet a child, where his

adorable feet so often stood, where His astounding wonders were so often operated, His Heavenly lessons daily delivered, which He denominated His Father's house, where He prayed, and whose sacredness He vindicated, that temple was not a *Gothic* but a *Grecian* pile. It was a seemingly unimportant edifice which so dispirited the Jews to behold at first, enlarged however a short time previous to our Lord's nativity, by King Herod, and beautified by him, till, like the peerless Vatican Basilica of today, it became the amazement and admiration of all the Earth. It does not appear that our Lord or His Disciples expressed dissatisfaction at the architectural principles apparent in its design, or denounced it as of pagan original. On the contrary, as far as regards the Disciples, we have the testimony of the Gospel that they admired and praised it in the Divine Presence, without any rebuke from Him for bad taste or pagan prepossessions. Far otherwise. Poor and petty as 'tis likely it seemed to His adorable eye; yet, as ever, gentle and condescending, and adapting Himself to the lowliness of mortal conception, He seems to have coincided in the notions of its greatness expressed by them, and to have instanced its approaching ruin as, above all the calamities that hung over Jerusalem, the most terribly illustrative of the vigour with which its crimes were shortly to be visited. Shocked at His fearful description of this guilt and desolation, His disciples, as if to bespeak compassion for the House of God at least, solicited His attention, while quitting the Temple in His company, to the grandeur and beauty thus doomed to perish. "Observe", said they, "observe, Master! What materials these, and what structures!" "Yes", He replied, "observe! and the day will come when, for the sins of men, If all these mighty buildings, a stone will not be left upon a stone!" Again, on the day, when, to vindicated the honour of His Father's House from the scandal caused by the unworthy purposes to which He saw it so largely appropriated, He laid His celestial meekness for once aside, and cleared the Holy Place from such intrusion; being asked upon what authority He acted thus, He availed Himself of the admiration with which His countrymen justly regarded their incomparable Temple, to fix the attention of mankind upon the greatest of all His miracles-the resurrection from the dead - and answered: "Destroy this Temple, and in three days will I build it up!" as if He had said: Destroy, I will not say this beauteous Sanctuary, built for the spiritual residence of the Most High, but destroy, as I know you intend doing, another Temple, infinitely greater and more holy - dissolve this body of mine in which the divinity dwelleth corporeally, and in three days will I build it up.

Let us have Churches then of every fair and every convenient form that genius has contrived, and the taste and judgment of civilized Christian races approved – Gothic, and Greek, and Italian, aye, and Indian, in good time and place, and Chinese, and Japanese: in all the principles of tectonic

excellence are more or less inherent. Let God be honoured in all; have the glory secured to Him of each and of all; and let a pious nationality, thus, be indulged in its reasonable preference of one above all. In the populations alluded to, that as yet are but partially gathered within the fold, it is but natural, when they shall have become our brother religionists, that their eyes, accustomed to admire the productions of art in the forms around them in their several lands, should desire to see them adopted in the Churches of their people; should be found rejoicing that they too have learned to construct the House of God in a becoming style. Such ambition is good, and pious, and amiable; let it be gratified by all means. As for us, the ancient and more favoured sections of Christ's family, let us discard the petty rivalry, which, to secure an exclusive adoption for one species of architecture above another, would aim at its object by unwarrantable depreciation of all, save what chances to gratify our own peculiar views. But, if we be fascinated, indeed, by one style more than any other, and would wish that all men thought on the subject and felt as we do, there is an honourable and a useful way of tending towards the victory for which we long. In our position in life, whatever it may be, ecclesiastical, or artistic, or influential, by taste, or information, or opulence, or in any other way, present us with opportunity of erecting or designing a house to God, or, of advising or promoting its erection; let us study, as profoundly and correctly as in our power may be, the peculiar character of our favourite style, in all its various attributes and details; habituating our eye to its purest models, and eliminating from our minds every partiality for the false and illegitimate however dazzling, peculiarities, that, like unnatural excrescences, have so often attached themselves to every nameable style of architecture; and having thus schooled ourselves, let us show forth in the New Church, over whose erection it may be our fortune in any way to preside, the true beauties, in all their glory, of the particular style, or order, or period to which our preference is wedded. If we are to have a victory at all, this is the only honourable access to its attainment, and by this road real glory to the Church and to the arts may be won. Of artist and amateur such should be the course - giving to genius the widest range, to the arts unlimited liberty - vindicating our own freedom of choice, and respecting the same right in all others - admiring their success, and thanking Heaven that its objects are promoted by their efforts as by ours. In such spirit of truly Catholic artistic magnanimity it is, that the renowned Academy of St. Luke at Rome has lately issued to the architects of all countries without exception, its notice of premium to be awarded for the best design of a Church to suit the requirements of Catholic worship; leaving it at the option of the competitors to select whatever style of architecture, Gothic or Grecian - they may each think fit. This from the centre of Catholicity, from a city in which scarcely a vestige of Gothic architecture is to be seen,



and from the foremost society of the arts on Earth, marks emphatically what faith and taste combine to sanction and dictate upon this matter. The broad, majestic dome, towering outside into the clouds, and balanced firmly yet gracefully within, as if by magic, on the four converging vaults of Latin or Greek Cross, peopled with the adoring multitude, and glowing in all the bright and mystic tints of Paradise, breaks as glimpses of beatitude upon the devotee of the fervid and sunny South. To his eye religion reveals herself a vision of purity and loveliness and joy. To his apprehension, God is a Being awful, not by the immensity of His might, and the terrors of His justice, anything so much as by the measureless excess of His goodness, and bounty, and compassion; He is all that is rich, and beautiful, and tender, and beneficent; that loves His children as the apple of His eye; whose joy is to be amongst them ever upon Earth, and to feast them at His own table with a torrent of delights. To the apprehension of the Southern Catholic, such is religion; such is God; in unison with his own bright skies and throbbing affections; and, surely, not less consonant with the glories and teachings of holy Faith. And what he thus glowingly contemplates, he strives, in every bright and beautiful combination of matter, to impress upon the senses. But to populations swayed by feelings different, yet scarcely dissimilar, he is not unjust; to those whose love of God is mingled with thrilling terror - who behold awful shadows encircling His throne of light - who work out their salvation in fear and trembling - who feel thorns and briars of the pilgrimage more, and the ecstasies of the eternal dwelling-place less. He appreciates the justice of their reasoning, the purity of their tendencies, and admires the glorious types of art in which these impressions - sacred and solemn - are realised; the receding distances, the subdued lights, the severe grandeur, and almost threatening majesty hush his voice, and force him to adore. How glorious the sentiments of both, how sublime, and how worthy of holy religion! How much to be respected, mutually admired, and promoted! Long may they continue to inflame and purify the piety of the respective races that acknowledge their influences! And long may the arts that enhance that influence flourish, and everywhere prosper! May Gothic and Grecian Sanctuaries abound everywhere and superabound, amongst ourselves in particular! Partaking, as it is said we do, so largely of the warm feelings and glowing imagination of our Christian brethren of the south; long may these ideas, soaring feelings and glowing imagination of our Christian brethren of the south; long may these ideas, soaring and stimulating, of religion, and of God, fill our souls with visions of beatitude, subdued and regulated by the calmer majesty of the north.

And, now that the distinctive properties of these styles have been so accurately defined, what is there in them to prevent an artist of superior

parts from producing, as circumstances may require, noblest specimens of building in both? In the streets of our own beautiful metropolis - beautiful even in decay - have we not proofs decisive of how compatible, in the same person, transcendent success in the one may be with equally transcendent success in the other? Is not the portico in Sackville Street a composition of which, in their palmiest days of art, Ionia or Attica well be proud? And is not the Chapel in the Castle Yard amongst the veriest gems of Gothic construction that have charmed the eye of taste in these Islands for centuries? And both productions, withal, of the same gifted artist!<sup>2</sup> And of the equally gifted man whose talents and disinterested care have laid us under such obligations at Rathmines, how justly may not the same eulogium be repeated? - of him who designed the Portico of Saint Paul's, and erected the majestic Shrine of Saint Audoen's and the solemn Cathedral-like pile of Saint James, and the graceful Sanctuary of Saint John, bold and beauteous Dome of our Lady of Refuge - of the accomplished, and good, and generous PATRICK BYRNE how truly may it not be said, that he regarded the beauties of Classical and Mediaeval Art with equal reverence, studied their several excellencies with equal assiduity, and wrought upon the principles of both with equally supereminent success?.

\*\*\*

---

<sup>2</sup> Francis Johnston designed the neo-Greek General Post Office, and the neo-Gothic Chapel Royal.

## Appendix E

The following was published in the *Irish Times*, on 20 March 1860. It was the leading article and must have reflected the sentiments of many Protestants. The article asserts that the ostentatious display of the Catholic religion in the mainly Protestant area of Rathmines and Rathgar was offensive to the Protestant inhabitants. The article conveys a sense that Protestants were less sympathetic to the aims of Catholic, in the 1860s, when they were emerging triumphant (in the religious sense), than they had been at the beginning of the century when Catholics were starting to build their new churches.

The adherents of Papacy in this country seem to be determined to brave the law and public decency to the utmost. On Sunday last, the Protestant and quiet township of Rathgar was the scene of mob-fanaticism and priestly display. A chapel, it seems, is to depreciate the value of the property in the neighbourhood, and drive the Protestant occupants from the place. A person, entitled the Bishop of Bombay, blessed the first stone, and acted as Hierophant in the celebration of the rites. Although the chapel is to be dedicated to St Patrick, the patron day of that saint was passed over, and Sunday was chosen as the day when the mummeries performed would be most likely to offend Protestant notions respecting the tranquillity the Sabbath. On the public road processions were formed. The Metropolitan Police opened the procession, and kept the ground; then followed Carmelite and other confraternities, with the habits, insignia, and of banners of the orders. Priests, "in pontifical robes," followed, and the Bishop of Bombay was resplendent in tinsel and embroidery. All this took place on the common highway. There was no attempt at seclusion. Popery was dominant, and, careless of the law, marched her processions and performed her showy ritual without disguise, to the accompaniment of music and singing. If a few Protestant youths play a tune which rings of loyalty or patriotism with a fife and drum, the Police immediately seize the offenders. Should there be anything which might be called a flag amongst them, a three months' imprisonment awaits them. Yet here were crucifixes, standards, flags, and images borne along the highway; an inflammatory and controversial address was delivered in the open air; crowds of Priests gesticulated about the platform; and the people were

taught that though the law was strict which forbade such processions, there was a multitude of Priests who trampled on the law.

This open contempt of the law can hardly be considered as undesigned. The Chapel of Rathgar is an offshoot of the Chapel of Rathmines, and under the same spiritual director, Monsignor Meagher. Processions in public ere continually taking place at Rathmines Chapel until the law was appealed to, and the Priests were compelled to make, at least, a pretence of seclusion. On the festival of Corpus Christi, &c, a canvas screen is raised between the performers and the highway, and the confraternities may act as they please inside. But, in the present case, there was not the slightest attempt at privacy. Under the windows of the Protestant gentry all the paraphernalia of Popery was ostentatiously displayed, and the people taught Romanism was, indeed, the dominant religion. The matter would not be so serious were it not that a strong body of Police assisted at the ceremony, and that processions, in violation of the law, were headed by the very persons who are paid to ensure obedience to the law.

\*\*\*

## SOURCES

### Libraries and archives

#### *Archivium Collegii S. Isidori de Urbe, Rome*

4.31 Acknowledgment by John Hogan, sculptor, of contract for statues in Merchants' Quay of Immaculate Conception, St Francis and Bonaventure.

#### *Archive of the Pontifical Irish College, Rome*

Paul Cullen papers  
Tobias Kirby papers  
Silke catalogue of pre-Cullen papers

#### *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome*

Prov. Hib. Litt. Ann. Summ. Vitae 1814-1889  
Prov. Hib. Litt. 1773-1829  
Prov. Hib. Litt. 1830-1841

#### *Collegio Urbana de Propaganda Fide, Vatican*

Scritture riferite nei congressi, Irlanda

#### *Church Representative Body, Dublin*

*The State & condition of the Popish Chapels in Dublin both Secular & Regular 1749* (Archbishops registry No. 18:10)  
Saint Thomas's (Dublin) parish vestry book 1823-1843, P.80.5.  
Saint Audoen's (C of I), minute book 1870-1886, P.116.5.1.  
Saint Audoen's (C of I), minute book 1887-1913, P.116.5.2.

#### *Dominican archive, Tallaght, Co. Dublin*

Ms entitled 'B.T. Russell, O.P. Notes on the building of St Mary's church, Pope's Quay, Cork 1834-1845'

#### *Dublin City Archive*

Wide Streets Commissioners Maps – ground plan of cupola and portico of Saint Paul's, Arran Quay, WSC/MAPS/760

#### *Dublin Diocesan Archive*

Pro-Cathedral box 38/10, account books 1803-25  
*Church buildings Diocese of Dublin 1800-1916*  
Irish College Paris mss 121/9, 1814-50  
Archdeacon Hamilton collection  
Archbishop Troy papers  
Archbishop Murray collection  
Parish files containing pamphlets and press cuttings

***Franciscan library, Killiney, Co. Dublin***

Newspaper cuttings  
Loose papers  
Account books

***Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin***

Transcript from RDS minute of School of Architectural Drawing  
admissions and prizewinners  
St Nicholas of Myra – RP. D.111.6  
Drawings  
Photographs  
St Francis Xavier - RP. D.117.7

***Irish Jesuit Archive, Leeson Street, Dublin***

Account book for the building supplies and craftsmen's fees for the  
building of St Francis Xavier church, Gardiner Street - CM/Gard38

***National Archives, Dublin***

Bolger mss NA/PRO 1A/58/124

***National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin***

Irish School drawings (c. 1820) presented by Rev. R. Scriven 1913

***National Library of Ireland, Dublin***

Pamphlet containing *Sermon delivered by Rev. William Meagher PP, 27  
May 1845, to parishioners of SS Mary and Peter, Rathmines.*

Ó' Casaide papers: Two letters of the Rev. Matthew Horgan PP on  
architecture (1835) - Ms 10,669.

Notebook of Henry Maxwell on Catholic church and clergy (c.1838) -  
Ms 3504.

Mary D. Condon, *The Dublin riots and Catholic emancipation*, MA  
thesis, University of Southern California, 1950 – Ms 4759.

Monteagle papers -Ms 13,362.

Larcom papers – Ms 7628 and following.

F.S. Bourke collection: personal & business papers of Bryan Bolger -  
Ms.10,711.

Proceedings of the Catholic Association - Ms 3289

Summary of correspondence of Sir John C. Hippisley [confidential agent  
of the English government in the Papal States (1791-6)] with Lord  
Hobart & Lord Viscount Castlereagh – 1799-1800 being chiefly a  
memorandum on the catholic church in Ireland up to 1799 - Ms 5027.

Letters and documents: Dr Troy. Dr Doyle. A. H. Rowan &c. &c. - Ms  
1562.

Index to Irish newspapers 1794-1833 with a section on ecclesiastical  
affairs [established church] - Ms 4318.

Richard D. Walshe book of cuttings etc. on Dublin streets - Ms 11622  
and following.  
Drawings of Pro-Cathedral, AD1789 and AD1790.

### **The Pro-Cathedral**

Original model of the Pro-Cathedral (it is intended to move the model to  
the Irish Architectural Archive)

### **Saint Andrew's**

Parish booklets from the 1930s and 1940s

Copy of E. J. McAuliffe and Julian C. Walton, 'Names on coffin-plated  
in the vaults of St. Andrew's church, Westland Row, Dublin', *The  
Irish Genealogist*, V:1 (1974), 131-139, annotated with corrections  
and additions.

### **Rathmines Church**

Pamphlets

Rev. William Meagher PP, *To the gentlemen of the committee [for the  
new church at Rathmines]*, 3 October 1849.

Rev. William Meagher PP, *To the [Roman Catholic] parishioners [of  
Rathmines]*, 26 March 1862.

Rev. William Meagher PP, *To the [Roman Catholic] parishioners [of  
Rathmines]*, 20 February 1863.

Rev. William Meagher PP, *To the Roman Catholic parishioners of  
Rathmines*, 3 June 1878.

J. Canon Hatton PP, *To the [Roman Catholic] parishioners [of  
Rathmines]*, May 1925.

*Restora fete souvenir handbook*, 1945, containing Riobard A. Bramhan,  
'The Parish of Rathmines and the Church of our Immaculate Lady of  
Refuge', pp.3-6.

Album containing ten photographs of Rathmines Church taken before the  
fire of 1920, and two photographs of St Mary's School.

Account dated 5 November 1931 from W.H. Byrne & Son for the  
renovation work after the fire of 1920.

### **Royal Hibernian Academy**

RHA 1862, no. 491 refers to Adam & Eve's

### **Saint Nicholas of Myra**

St Nicholas Without Baptisms 1824-1856

### **Royal Irish Academy, Dublin**

*Haliday pamphlets 1542/7* contains An essay on the rise and progress of  
architecture in Dublin by Nicholson Numskull, 1832

Catalogue of Patrick Byrne's library

Catalogue of Archbishop Troy's library

***Marsh's library, Dublin***

'A Peticula<sup>f</sup> acct of the Romish Clergy - Secular & Regular, in every parrish in the Dioces of Dublin. [1697]' Ref. class v.3, Tab.I. No. 18

***W.H. Byrne & Son, Dublin***

Drawings of Our Lady of Refuge, and The Three Patrons

***Allen Library, Christian Brothers House, North Richmond Street***

Annals of the Christian Brothers House, North Richmond Street, 1802-1916

Tender for altar from Edmund Sharp, sculptor, 42 Great Brunswick St, dated 31 March 1906



### ***Bibliographical references churches***

References to the important neo-classical churches from the *Catholic directory*, Nicholas Donnelly, *A short history of some Dublin parishes*, and from some other journals and newspapers

#### **Adam and Eve's**

*Catholic directory*, 1836, 82-4; 1839, 193, 1841, 279; 1842, 279; 1843, 279; 1844, 389; 1846, 223, 285; 1847, 299; 1848, 292; 1850, 282; 1853, 274; 1853, 274; 1854, 215; 1860, 207;

#### **Pro-Cathedral**

*Catholic directory* 1836, 67-9; 1837, 145-6; 1839, 193, 1841, 277; 1842, Frontispiece, 258-9, 278; 1844, 386; 1845, 198, 238; 1846, 280; 1847, 296; 1851, 352; 1852, 248; 1854, 214; 1857, 213; 1858, 229; 1883, 231-2; 1887, 428; 1897, 351.

Donnelly, *Dublin parishes part 12*, 87-98, 105, 108, 118.

*Catholic Penny Magazine*, I:41, 22 November 1834.

*Freeman's Journal*, 29 January 1908.

*Carrick's Morning Post*, 30 March 1815.

*Evening Press*, 12 October 1984.

*Evening Telegraph*, 11 December 1915.

*Irish Independent*, 29 August 1922.

*Irish Independent*, 21 October 1975.

*Catholic Penny Magazine*, I:41, 22 November 1834, 453-8.

**Our Lady of Refuge**

*Catholic directory* 1853, 323; 1854, 214; 1856, 211, 220; 1857, 217; 1867, 371; 1888, 425.

*Freeman's Journal*, 20 June 1856.

*Builder*, VIII, 30 November 1850.

**Saint Andrew's**

*Catholic directory* 1836, 70-1; 1837, 148; 1839, 193; 1840, 342; 1841, 277; 1842, 278, 399-400, 403; 1844, 386; 1845, 238; 1846, 280; 1847, 296; 1850, 282; 1852, 310; 1855, 198.

Donnelly, *Dublin parishes part 6*, 152-6.

*Freeman's Journal*, 16 February 1832; 14 February 1832; 16 March 1832; 1 May 1832; 30 January 1841.

**Saint Audoen's,**

*Catholic directory* 1836, 79; 1839, 193, 1842, 279, 414; 1843, 279; 1844, 388-9; 1845, 239; 1846, 280-3; 1847, 297; 1853, 274; 1854, 214; 1847, 298; 1848, 292; 1853, 274; 1854, 214; 1869, 328.

Donnelly, *Dublin parishes part 2*, 178-180.

*Freeman's Journal*, 27 March 1876.

**Saint Francis Xavier**

*Catholic directory* 1836, 80; 1837, 151; 1842, 280; 1853, 274.

Donnelly, *Dublin parishes part 13*, 101-3.

*Catholic Penny Magazine*, I:3, 1 March 1834, 18.

**Saint Nicholas of Myra**

*Catholic directory* 1836, 75-7; 1837, 149-150; 1841, 279; 1842, 279; 1843, 385; 1887, 426.

Donnelly, *Dublin parishes part 2*, 69-73.

*Catholic Penny Magazine*, I:11, 26 April 1834, 94.

**Saint Paul's**

*Catholic directory* 1836, 71-3; 1839, 193, 1837, 148,152; 1838, 430; 1839, 193, 291; 1840, 265, 346; 1841, 278; 1842, 279; 1843, 279; 1844, 328, 387; 1845, 238; 1846, 280; 1847, 297, 559, 560; 1850, 282; 1859, 223; 1861, 243.

*Builder*, XVI, 8 May 1858, 320.

Donnelly, *Dublin parishes part 10*, 26, 28.

*Freeman's Journal*, 22 April 1858.

*Catholic Penny Magazine*, I:10, 19 April 1834, 85; II:48, 10 January 1835, 14-5; II:59, 28 March 1835, 166-7.

**The Three Patrons of Ireland**

*Catholic directory* 1861, 223; 1863, 223.

Donnelly, *Dublin parishes part 2*, 105-12.

*Irish Times*, 20 March 1860.

## Periodicals and newspapers

(The definite and indefinite articles have been omitted from the titles)

- American Historical Review* (1895 - in progress)  
*Architectural History* (1958 - in progress)  
*Architectural Magazine*, ed. J. C. Loudon (1834 - 8)  
*Architectural Review* – London (1896 - in progress)  
*Archivium Hibernicum* (1912 - in progress)  
*Arklow Historical Society Journal*  
*Builder* (1843 – in progress).  
*Carrick's Morning Post* (1812-32)  
*Catholic Luminary* (1840-1)  
*Catholic Penny Magazine* (1834 – 35)  
*Church History* (1978 – in progress)  
*Complete Catholic Registry...for 1836*, continued as *Battersby's Registry for the Catholic World* (1846-57) as *Battersby's Catholic Directory* (1858-64) as *Catholic Directory of Ireland* (1865-9) as *Irish Catholic Directory* (1870 – in progress). (Referred to in the text as *Catholic Directory*.)  
*Cork Historical Society Journal*  
*Cork Southern Reporter* (1807-73)  
*Country Life* (1926 – in progress)  
*County Louth Archaeological Journal* (1904 – in progress)  
*Dublin Builder*, later *Irish Builder* (1859 – in progress)  
*Dublin Evening Mail* (1823-28) continued as *Evening Mail* (1928-62)  
*Dublin Evening Post* (1732-41)  
*Dublin Gazette* (1706-1922), continued as *Iris Oifigiúil* (1922- in progress)  
*Dublin Historical Record* (1939 – in progress)  
*Dublin Penny Journal* (1832-36)  
*Dublin Review* (1836-1969)  
*Dublin University Magazine* (1878 – 80)  
*Ecclesiologist* (1843 – in progress)  
*Evening Press* (1932-95).  
*Evening Telegraph* (Dublin 1871-1924)  
*Faulkner's Dublin Journal* (1725-1825)  
*Freeman's Journal* (1763-1924)  
*Furrow* (1950 – in progress)  
*Irish Arts Review* (1984 – in progress)  
*Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* (1840- 52)  
*Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (1865-1968)  
*Irish Georgian Society Bulletin* (1958-1997), continued as *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies* (1998 – in progress).  
*Irish Independent* (1891 – in progress).  
*Irish Jesuit directory and year book* (1928- in progress)  
*Irish Times* (1859 – in progress)

*Journal of the Shannon Historical Archaeological Society*  
*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (1942-in progress).  
*Journals of the House of Lords*  
*Kennedy's British and Irish Catholic Magazine* (1837 - ?)  
*Lyra Ecclesiastica* (1879 – in progress)  
*Orthodox Journal and Catholic Monthly Intelligencer* (1813 -32),  
continued as *Weekly Orthodox Journal* (1832-5), continued as *London*  
*and Dublin Orthodox Journal* (1835-45), as *Weekly and Monthly*  
*Orthodox Journal* (1845-6)  
*Reportorium Novum* (1955-in progress)  
*Studies* (1912-in progress)

**Websites**

L. Macy (ed.), *The dictionary of art online* ([www.groveart.com](http://www.groveart.com))  
L. Macy (ed.), *The new Grove dictionary of music online*  
([www.grovemusic.com](http://www.grovemusic.com))  
*Oxford dictionary of national biography online* ([www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com))

### Primary printed sources

Containing books, pamphlets and articles published before 1900

- A Roman Catholic of Dublin, *A vindication of the Most Rev. John Thomas Troy, D.D. Roman Catholic Archbishop in the Church of Dublin, against the charges contained in a letter to the Right Hon. William Wickham, by a yeoman; and in other anonymous publications*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Dublin 1804.
- Allies, Mary H., *The life of Pope Pius the Seventh*, London 1875.
- Anon., 'Architecture in Ireland', *Dublin University Magazine*, XXIX:74, June 1847, 693-708.
- Anon., 'Ecclesiastical architecture in England', *Dublin Review*, XII (1842), 80-183.
- Anon., 'English tourists in Ireland', *Dublin Review*, III (1837), 401-27.
- Anon., 'State provision for the Irish clergy', *Dublin Review*, XVI (1844), 186-220.
- Anon., *A statement of the penal laws which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland: With commentaries*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Dublin 1812.
- Anon., *A statement of the penal laws which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland: With commentaries*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Dublin 1812.
- Anon., *A tour through Ireland in several entertaining letters*, Dublin 1746.
- Anon., *The complete Irish traveller containing a general description of the most noted cities, towns, seats, buildings, loughs &c. in the Kingdom of Ireland*, London 1788.
- Atkinson, A., *The Irish tourist*, Dublin 1815.
- Battersby, W.J., *A complete Catholic registry....for...1836*, Dublin 1836.
- Brayley, E. W., 'An account of the Roman Catholic chapel, Moorfields', in Britton, John and Pugin, Augustus, *Illustrations of public buildings in London*, volume 2, London 1828.
- Britton, John and Pugin, Augustus, *Illustrations of public buildings in London*, London 1825 and 1828.
- Burke, Edmund, *A philosophical inquiry into the origin of our ideas on the sublime and the beautiful*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London 1824.
- Bush, John, *Hibernia curiosa*, Dublin 1769.
- Carr, John, *The stranger in Ireland*, London 1806.
- Chantreau, Pierre Nicolas, *Viaggio nei tre regni d'Inghilterra di Scozia e d'Irlanda fatto negli anni 1788 e 1789*, 4 vols, Milan 1819. (Translated by Giuseppe Belloni.)
- Cloncurry, Lord Valentine [V. B. Lawless], *Personal recollections of the life and times with extracts from the correspondence of Valentine Lord Cloncurry*, Dublin 1849.
- Cooper, George *Letters on the Irish nation: written during a visit to that kingdom, in the autumn of the year 1799*, London 1800.
- Curry, William (publisher and editor), *The picture of Dublin or a stranger's guide to the Irish metropolis*, Dublin 1835.

- D'Alton, John, *The memoirs of the archbishops of Dublin*, Dublin 1838.
- Dale, John Duncan Hilarius, *The sacristan's manual: or handbook of church furnishings*, London 1854.
- Dwyer, James, *The Dominicans of Cork city and county*, Cork 1896.
- Egan, P. M., *History, guide and directory of county and city of Waterford*, Kilkenny [1895].
- England, Thomas R., *Letters from the Abbé Edgeworth to his friends written between the years 1777 and 1807; with memoirs of his life; including some account of the late Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, Dr. Moylan, and letters from the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, and others persons of distinction*, London 1818.
- Evans, John, *Remains of William Reed late of Thornbury: including Rambles in Ireland with other compositions in prose, his correspondence, and poetical productions. To which is prefixed, A memoir of his life*, London 1815.
- FitzPatrick, William John, *The life, times, and cotemporaries of Lord Cloncurry*, Dublin 1855.
- Fraser, James, *A handbook for travellers in Ireland*, Dublin 1849.
- Gibbs, James, *A book of architecture containing designs of buildings and ornaments*, London 1738.
- Gilbert, John T., (ed.), *Documents relating to Ireland, 1795-1804*, Dublin 1893.
- Gilbert, Rosa Mulholland (ed.), *Calendar of the ancient records of Dublin* (19 volumes) Dublin 1889-1944. [Lady Gilbert died on 21 April 1921. vols I to VII edited by John T. Gilbert ]
- Godkin, James, *Ireland and her churches*, London 1867.
- [Grant, James], *Impressions of Ireland and the Irish*, Vol. 1, London 1844.
- [Gregory, William], *The picture of Dublin for 1811*, Dublin [1811].
- Hall, James, *Tour through Ireland*, London 1813.
- Harris, Walter, *The history and antiquities of the city of Dublin*, Dublin 1766.
- Healy, John, *Maynooth College: its centenary history*, Dublin 1895.
- Inglis, Henry D., *A journey throughout Ireland during the spring, summer, and autumn of 1834*, London 1835.
- [Doyle J.W., Bishop [RC]of Kildare and Leighlin], J.K.L. *Letters on the state of Ireland addressed by J.K.L. to a friend in England*, Dublin 1825.
- [Doyle J.W., Bishop [RC]of Kildare and Leighlin], J.K.L. *A vindication of the religious and civil principles of the Irish Catholics in a letter to his Excellency the Marquis Wellesley*, Dublin 1823
- Latocnaye, Joseph de Bougrenet de, *Ramble through Ireland*, 2 vols., Dublin 1798.
- Laugier, Marc-Antoine, *An essay on architecture*, Los Angeles 1977 (translated and with an introduction by Wolfgang and Anni Herrman.)

- Laugier, Marc-Antoine, *Essai sur l'architecture*, Paris 1753 and 1755
- Lewis, Samuel, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland...in two volumes*, London 1837.
- Lewis, Samuel, *Topographical dictionary of Ireland*, Dublin 1837.
- Luckombe, Philip, *A tour through Ireland wherein the present state of the kingdom is considered; and the most noted cities, towns, seats, buildings, loughs, &c. described*, London 1780.
- Maxwell, Constantia (ed.), *A tour in Ireland with general observations on the present state of that kingdom made in the years 1776, 1777 and 1778 by Arthur Young*, Cambridge 1925.
- McGhee, Robert J., *The diocesan statutes of the Roman Catholic bishops of the Province of Leinster*, 1837.
- Meagher, William, *Address to the parishioners of SS Mary and Peter, Rathmines*, Dublin 1849.
- Meagher, William, *Five engravings descriptive of the new church of Our Immaculate Lady of Refuge, Rathmines, with a brief account of its origin and progress*, Dublin 1855.
- Meagher, William, *Letter to parishioners*, Dublin 1862.
- Meagher, William, *Letter to the gentlemen of the committee*, Dublin 1849.
- Meagher, William, *Notices of the life and character of His Grace Most Rev. Daniel Murray*, Dublin 1853.
- Meagher, William, *To the Roman Catholic parishioners of Rathmines*, [Dublin 1878].
- Meyler, Walter, *Address to the Catholic inhabitants of St Andrew's, Westland Row*, Dublin 1859.
- Miley, Rev. Dr, *Sermon delivered in St Audoen's parochial chapel. Bridge-street, 24<sup>th</sup> August, 1841*, Dublin 1841.
- Miley, Rev. Dr, *Sermon preached before his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, on Sunday September the 8<sup>th</sup>, in the Church of the Conception, Marlborough-Street, the day on which his Grace had ordered a Pontifical high mass and thanksgiving for the liberation of O'Connell and his fellow-martyrs*, Dublin 1844.
- Milner, John, *An inquiry into certain vulgar opinions concerning the Catholic inhabitants and the antiquities of Ireland*, London 1808.
- Moran, Patrick F., *The Catholics of Ireland under the penal laws in the eighteenth century*, London 1899.
- Murray, Daniel et al, *Statuta dioecesan, per Provinciam Dubliniensim*, Dublin 1831.
- Nicholson, Asenath, *Ireland's welcome to the stranger or an excursion through Ireland in 1844 & 1845, for the purpose of personally investigating the conditions of the poor*, New York 1847.
- Noel, Baptist Wriothlesley, *Notes of a short tour through the midland counties of Ireland in the summer of 1836*, London 1837.
- O'Brien, Jacqueline, and Guinness, Desmond, *Dublin: a grand tour*, London 1994.



- O'Brien, R. Barry (ed.), *The autobiography of Theobald Wolfe Tone 1763-1798*, Dublin [1893]
- O'Driscoll, John, *Views of Ireland, moral, political, and religious*, 2 vols, London 1823.
- O'Reilly, Myles, *Progress of Catholicity in Ireland in the nineteenth century*, Dublin 1865.
- Parnell, William, *An historical apology for the Irish Catholics* (2nd edition), Dublin 1807.
- 'Report on the state of popery, Ireland, 1731', *Journals of the House of Lords*, III, 169 *sqq.*, 1727-52. (This report is published in *Archivium Hibernicum*, I (1912), 10-27; II (1913), 108-156; III (1914), 124-159; IV (1915), 131-177.)
- Society of Dilettanti (publisher), *The unedited Antiquities of Attica; comprising the architectural remains of Eleusis, Rhamnus, Sunium and Thoricus*, London 1817.
- Stuart, James and Revett, Nicholas, *The antiquities of Athens*, volume 1, London 1762.
- Stuart, James and Revett, Nicholas, *The antiquities of Athens*, volume 2 (edited by Elizabeth Woods and William Newton), London 1787.
- Stuart, James and Revett, Nicholas, *The antiquities of Athens*, volume 3 (edited by Willey Reveley), London 1794.
- Stuart, James and Revett, Nicholas, *The antiquities of Athens*, volume 4 (edited by Joseph Woods), London 1816.
- Summerson, John *The architecture of the eighteenth century*, London 1969 & 1986.
- Topham Bowden, Charles, *A tour through Ireland*, Dublin 1791.
- Troy, John, *Pastoral address to the Roman Catholics of the Archdiocese of Dublin delivered by the Rev. John Thomas Troy, R.C.A.D. in the chapel of Francis-street, Dublin on Thursday, 16th February, M.DCC.XCVII. The day appointed for a solemn thanksgiving to the Almighty God for having mercifully preserved this kingdom from the late impending horrors of a French invasion*, Dublin 1797.
- Warburton, J., Whitelaw, J., and Walsh, Robert, *History of the city of Dublin*, London 1818.
- Wiseman, Nicholas, *The sermons, lectures, and speeches delivered in Ireland by his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman*, Dublin 1859.
- [Wood, Mrs], *Letters from the Irish Highlands*, London 1825.
- Wright, G. N., *Ireland illustrated from the original drawings of G. Petrie, Esq. and others*, London 1840.
- Wright, G. N., *An historical guide to ancient and modern Dublin*, Dublin 1821.

## Secondary printed sources

Containing books, pamphlets, and articles published after 1900

- Aalen, F. H. A, and Whelan, Kevin (eds), *Dublin city and county from prehistory to present*, Dublin 1992.
- Anon., 'The later classical or renaissance churches of Dublin', *Irish Builder*, (2 October 1909), 624-7.
- Bergdoll, Barry, *European architecture 1750-1890*, Oxford 2000.
- Bouscaren, T. Lincoln, et al, *Canon law: a text and commentary*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., Milwaukee 1963.
- [Burke, Dominic, and Swan, Louis], *The Christian Brothers: History of the institute*, Volume 2, Dublin [n.d.].
- Brady, John & Corish, Patrick J., 'The Church under the penal code', in Patrick J. Corish, *A history of Irish Catholicism*, vol. 4, Dublin 1971.
- Brady, John, 'Some aspects of the Irish church in the eighteenth century', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5<sup>th</sup> series, LXX (June 1948), 515-23.
- Brady, John, *Catholics and catholicism in the eighteenth century press*, Maynooth 1965.
- Braham, Allan, *The architecture of the French Enlightenment*, London 1980.
- Brooks, Christopher, and Saint, Andrew (eds), *The Victorian church, architecture and society*, Manchester and New York 1995.
- Burke, Nuala, 'A hidden church?', *Archivium Hibernicum*, XXXII (1974), 81-92.
- Burke, William P. *The Irish priests in the penal times (1660-1760)*, Waterford 1914.
- Butler, Thomas C., *A history of the Augustinian friars in Dublin, 1280-1980*, Dublin 1983.
- Campbell, Hugh, 'Religion and the city: the catholic church in Dublin 1691-1878', *Urban Design Studies*, III (1997), 1-24.
- Carey, F. P., *Catholic Dublin*, Dublin 1932.
- Casey, Christine, and Rowan, Alistair, *The buildings of Ireland: North Leinster*, Harmondsworth 1993.
- Clarke, B.F.L, *Church builders of the nineteenth century*, London 1938.
- Cleary, Gregory, *The friars minor in Dublin 1232-1939*, [Dublin 1939]
- Collin, Desmond, *Saint Francis Xavier's church, Gardiner Street 1832-1982*, Dublin 1982.
- Colvin, Howard, *A biographical dictionary of British architects 1600-1840*, 3rd ed., London and New Haven 1995.
- Connolly, Sean Joseph, in William Edward Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland V*, Oxford 1989, 'The catholic question, 1801-12', 24-47.
- Coombes, James, 'Catholic churches in the nineteenth century: some newspaper sources', *Cork Historical Society Journal*, LXXX:231, (January-June 1975, 1-12.

- Corcoran SJ, T., 'Father Thomas Betagh, S.J.', in *Irish Jesuit Directory 1934*, 195-202.
- Corcoran, Tim, 'O'Connell and popular education in *Studies*, V. XVIII (June 1929), 211-224.
- Corcoran, Tim, 'Popular education in the Ireland of 1825', in *Studies*, XIV:53 (March 1925), 34-45.
- Cordingley, R. A. (ed.), *Normand's parallel of the orders of architecture*, London 1959.
- Corish, P., *The Irish catholic experience: an historical study*, Dublin 1985.
- Corish, P.J. (Ed.), *A history of Irish catholicism*, 1970.
- Cosgrave, Dillon, *North Dublin: city and environs*, Dublin 1909.
- Costello, Peter, *Dublin churches*, Dublin 1989.
- Craig, Maurice, *Dublin 1660-1860*, Dublin 1952.
- Craig, Maurice, *The architecture of Ireland from the earliest times to 1880*, Dublin and London 1982.
- Crawford, John, *Around the churches: The story of the churches of St Patrick's Cathedral group of parishes Dublin*, Dublin 1988.
- Crook, Joseph Mordaunt, 'The pre-Victorian architect: professionalism and patronage' *Architectural History*, 12:1969, 62-78.
- Crook, Joseph Mordaunt, *The Greek revival: neo-classical attitudes in British architecture 1760-1870*, London 1972.
- Crookshank, Anne, *Irish sculpture from 1600 to the present day*, Dublin 1984.
- Cruickshank, Dan (ed.), *Sir Banister Fletcher's A history of architecture*, 20th edition, London 1996.
- Cullough, Niall, and Mulvin, Valerie, *A lost tradition: the nature of architecture in Ireland*, Dublin 1987.
- Curl, James Stevens, 'Classical churches of Ulster', *Country Life*, CLXIII:4326, (17 July 1980), 225-8.
- Curran, Bernard, *A guide to St Mary's Dominican church Cork*, Cork 1983.
- Curran, C.P., 'Patrick Byrne: architect', *Studies*, XXXIII:130 (June 1944), 193-203.
- Day, Thomas, *Why Catholics can't sing: The culture of Catholics and the triumph of bad taste*, New York 1991.
- De Breffny, Brian, and Mott, George, *The churches and abbeys of Ireland*, London 1976.
- De Montclos, Jean-Marie Pérouse (ed.), *Le guide du patrimoine: Paris*, Paris 1994.
- De Murville, M. N. L. Couve, *John Milner*, Birmingham 1986.
- Devèche, André, *L'Eglise Saint-Philippe du Roule de Paris*, Paris 1975.
- Dixon, Hugh, 'The papers of Bryan Bolger', *Dublin Historical Record*, XXVI:2 (March 1973), 62-4.

- Donal Kerr, 'Dublin's forgotten archbishop: Daniel Murray, 1768-1852', in James Kelly & Dáire Keogh, *History of the Catholic diocese of Dublin*, 247-267.
- Donal Kerr, *Peel, priests and politics*, Oxford 1982.
- Donnelly, Nicholas, 'The Diocese of Dublin in the eighteenth century', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, August 1889, 721-732.
- Donnelly, Nicholas, *A short history of some Dublin parishes*, pamphlet series Catholic Truth Society, Dublin 1909 to 1917.
- Donnelly, Nicholas, *Roman Catholics: State and conditions of R.C. chapels in Dublin, A.D. 1749*, Dublin 1904.
- Doubleday, H. Arthur and Lord Howard de Walden (eds), *The complete peerage or a history of the House of Lords and all its members from the earliest times*, vol. IX, London 1936.
- Downing, D., 'The Pro-Cathedral, Marlborough Street, Dublin: its story and associations', in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th series, IX (1917), 455-62.
- Dumolin, Maurice, and Outardel, George, *Les églises de France: Paris et La Seine*, Paris 1936.
- Egbert, Donald Drew *The Beaux-Arts tradition in French architecture*, Princeton 1980.
- [Fenning, Hugh], *St Saviour's church Dublin: centenary 1861-1961*, Dublin 1961.
- Fortescue, Adrian, *The ceremonies of the Roman rite described*, London 1930. [1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1917, this 1930 edition revised & augmented by J. B. O'Connell]
- Foyle, Andrew, *Bristol*, New Haven and London 2004.
- Fraser, Murray, 'Public building and colonial policy in Dublin, 1760-1800', in *Architectural History*, XXVIII (1985), 102-23.
- Galloway, Peter, *The cathedrals of Ireland*, Belfast 1992.
- Gibbs, Vicary (ed) & Doubleday, H. Arthur, *The complete peerage of England Scotland Ireland Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, vols I to V, London 1913.
- Giblin OFM, Cathaldus, 'Irish exiles in Catholic Europe', in Patrick J. Corish, *A history of Irish Catholicism*, vol. 4, Dublin 1971.
- Gillen, Gerard 'Irish Catholics and Hymns', *The Furrow*, LI:10 (October 2000), 548-556.
- Gillen, Gerard, and Johnstone, Andrew (eds), *A historical anthology of Irish church music*, Dublin 2001.
- Gilmartin, John, 'Peter Turnerelli Sculptor 1774-1839', *Irish Georgian Society Bulletin*, X:4 (October-December 1967), 1-19.
- Graby, John, and O'Connor, Deirdre (eds), *Phaidon architectural guide: Dublin*, London 1993.
- Green, Stephen J., *Saint Agatha's church North William Street 75 years old*, Dublin 1983.
- Guinness, Desmond, *Georgian Dublin*, London 1988.
- Gwynn, Denis, *Edward Martyn and the Irish revival*, London 1930.

- Gwynn, Denis, 'Henry Grattan and Catholic emancipation, in *Studies*, V. XVIII (December 1929), 576-592.
- Gwynn, Denis, 'Religious aspects of O'Connell's early life, in *Studies*, V. XVIII (March 1929), 33-47.
- Harbison, Peter, Potterton, Homan, & Sheehy, Jeanne, *Irish art and architecture from pre-history to the present*, London 1978.
- Hautecoeur, Louis *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France*, 7 vols., Paris 1948-67.
- Helferty, Seamus, and Refaussé, Raymond (eds), *Directory of Irish archives* (3rd edition), Dublin 1999.
- Herrmann, Wolfgang, *Laugier and eighteenth century French theory*, London 1962.
- Hitchcock, Henry-Russell, *Architecture: nineteenth and twentieth centuries*, (4th edition). Harmondsworth 1977.
- Hone, Joseph, Craig, Maurice, and Fewer, Michael, *The new neighbourhood of Dublin*, Dublin 2002.
- Horner, Arnold, 'Reinventing the city: the changing fortunes of places of worship in inner-city Dublin', in Clarke, Howard; Prunty, Jacinta, and Hennessy, Mark (eds), *Surveying Ireland's past: Multidisciplinary essays in honour of Anngret Simms*, Dublin 2004.
- Howell, Peter, and Sutton, Ian (eds), *The Faber guide to Victorian churches*, 1989.
- Jefferies, Henry A & Devlin, Ciarán (eds), *History of the Diocese of Derry from the earliest times*, Dublin 2000.
- Kane, Eileen, 'From Rome to Dublin in 1848: A Madonna for St Audoen's', *Irish Arts Review* 2000, XVI, 151-6.
- Keenan, Desmond, *The Catholic church in nineteenth century Ireland*, Dublin 1983.
- Kelly, Thomas, 'Papers of Bryan Bolger, 1792-1834', *Dublin Historical Record*, III:3. (September-November 1940), 8-18.
- Kennedy, Máire, 'Rare, Valuable and Extensive Libraries': the book auction catalogues of Charles Sharpe in the Royal Irish Academy library', in *Long Room: Ireland's Journal for the History of the Book*, 46 (2001), 25-33.
- Kennedy, Thomas P., 'Church building', in Corish, P.J. (Ed.), *A history of Irish Catholicism*, Dublin 1970.
- Kerr, Ian, *John Henry Newman*, Oxford 1988.
- Kindler, Roger A., 'Periodical criticism 1815-40: originality in architecture,' *Architectural History*, 17:1974, 22-37.
- Larkin, Emmet, 'Church and state in Ireland in the nineteenth century', in *Church History*, XXXI (1962), 302-3.
- Larkin, Emmet, 'Economic growth, capital investment, and the Roman catholic Church in nineteenth century Ireland', *American Historical Review*, LXXII (1967), 852-884.
- Larkin, Emmet, 'The devotional revolution in Ireland, 1850-1875', *American Historical Review*, LXXVII (1970), 625-652.

- Larkin, Emmet, *Historical dimensions of Irish Catholicism*, Washington and Dublin 1984.
- Lavedan, Pierre, *French architecture*, Harmondsworth 1956 (translation of the French edition first published in 1944).
- Levine, Neil, 'The competition for the Grand Prix in 1824: a case study in architectural education at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts', in Robin Middleton (Ed), *The Beaux-Arts and nineteenth-century French architecture*, 67-123.
- Lind, Olaf and Lund, Annemarie, *Copenhagen architecture guide*, Copenhagen 2001.
- Little, Bryan, *Catholic churches since 1623: A study of Roman Catholic churches in England and Wales from Penal Times to the present decade*, London 1966.
- Loeber, Rolf, 'Early Classicism in Ireland: Architecture before the Georgian era', *Architectural History*, 22:1979, 49-63.
- MacCaffrey, James, *History of the Catholic church in the nineteenth century (1789-1908)*, 2 vols, Dublin, Waterford, & St Louis 1909.
- MacCarthy, Michael, 'Dublin's Greek Pro-Cathedral', in James Kelly & Dáire Keogh, *History of the Catholic diocese of Dublin*, Dublin 1999.
- MacDowel Cosgrave, E., *Dublin and Co. Dublin in the twentieth century*, Brighton and London 1908.
- MacGrath, Kevin, 'The clergy of Dublin in 1695', in *IER*, 5<sup>th</sup> series, LXXIV, September 1950, 193-200.
- McCarthy, Dermod, *St Mary's Pro-Cathedral, Dublin*, Dublin 1988.
- McCarthy, Michael J.F., *Priests and people in Ireland*, Dublin and London 1902.
- McDermott, Matthew J., *Dublin's architectural development, 1800-1925*, Dublin 1988.
- McDonnell, Joseph, 'Friends, Roman bindings, and Dr Troy', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, VI (2003), 35-55.
- McDonnell, Joseph, *Ecclesiastical art of the Penal era & art and transcendence*, Maynooth 1995. [exhibition catalogue for Maynooth College bicentenary art exhibitions]
- McNally, Vincent J., *Reform, revolution and reaction: Archbishop John Thomas Troy and the Catholic church in Ireland 1787-1817*, Lanham, London, and New York 1995.
- McParland, Edward, 'The papers of Bryan Bolger, measurer', *Dublin Historical Record*, XXV:4 (September 1972), 120-31.
- McParland, Edward, 'The Wide Streets Commissioners: their importance for Dublin architecture in the late 18th-early 19th century', in *Irish Georgian Society Bulletin*, XV:1 (January-March 1972), 1-32.
- McParland, Edward, 'Who was P?', *Architectural Review*, CLVII:936 (February 1975), 71-3.
- McParland, Edward, *Public works in Ireland 1680-1760*, New Haven and London 2001.

- McRedmond, Louis, *To the greater glory: a history of the Irish Jesuits*, Dublin 1991.
- Meeks, Carroll L. V., *Italian architecture 1750-1914*, New Haven and London 1966.
- Meeks, Carroll L., 'Temple fronts in neo-classical Italy', *Architectural History*, 4 (1961), 28.
- Meeks, Carroll L., *Italian architecture 1750-1914*, New Haven and London 1966.
- Middleton, Robert and Watkin, David, *Neoclassical and 19th century architecture*, New York 1980.
- Middleton, Robin (Ed), *The Beaux-Arts and nineteenth-century French architecture*, London 1982
- Morrissey, Thomas, *As one sent: Peter Kenney SJ 1779-1841*, Dublin and Washington 1996.
- Murphy, Ignatius, 'Building a church in 19th century Ireland', *The Other Clare: [Journal of the] Shannon Archaeological and Historical Society*, II (April 1978), 20-26.
- Newman, John *The buildings of England: West Kent and the Weald*, Harmondsworth (2nd edition) 1976.
- Ó Doibhlin, Diarmaid, 'Penal days', in Henry A. Jefferies & Ciarán Devlin (eds), *History of the Diocese of Derry from the earliest times*, Dublin 2000.
- Ó Fearghail, Conchubhair, 'The evolution of Catholic parishes in Dublin city from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries', in F. H. A. Aalen and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Dublin city and county: From prehistory to present*, Dublin 1992.
- O' Flaherty, Eamon, 'Ecclesiastical politics and the dismantling of the penal laws in Ireland, 1774-82', in *Irish Historical Studies*, XXVI:101, May 1988, 33-50
- O'Brien, Jacqueline, and Guinness, Desmond, *Dublin: a grand tour*, London 1994.
- O'Connell, Angela, *The servants' church: A history of the Church of the Three Patrons, Rathgar*, Dublin 2004.
- O'Donnell, Roderick, 'An apology for the Catholic Revival: the Architecture of the Catholic Revival in Britain and Ireland', in Jan De Maeyer and Luc Verpoest (eds), *Religion, architecture and style in Western Europe 1815-1914, proceedings of the Leuven Colloquium, 7-10 November 1997*, Leuven 2000.
- O'Donnell, Roderick, 'Note of Baroque splendour: neo-classical catholic churches in Dublin', *Country Life*, CLXIX:4368 (7 May 1981), 1288-9.
- O'Donnell, Roderick, 'Roman reflections on the Liffey: classical catholic churches in Victorian Dublin', *Country Life* (5 July 1984), 52-3.
- O'Herlihy, C. M., Timothy, *Catholic emancipation reviewed a century after*, Dublin 1928.

- O'Higgins, Fergus, 'Catholic Association papers in the Dublin diocesan archives', *Archivium Hibernicum*, XXXIX (1984), 58-61.
- O'Reilly, Seán, 'Roman *versus* Romantic: Classical roots in the origins of a Roman Catholic ecclesiology', *Architectural History*, 40:1997, 222-40.
- O'Sullivan, Harold, 'The Court-house, Dundalk and the contract for its erection dated 30th April, 1813', in *County Louth Archaeological Journal* (1962), 131-143.
- O'Sullivan, Harold, 'The Court-house, Dundalk, and the contract for its erection dated 30th April, 1813', in *County Louth Archaeological Journal*, XV (1962), 131-143.
- O'Connell, Maurice R. (ed.), *The correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, volume IV 1829-1832, Dublin 1977.
- O'Donnell, Edward Eugene, *The Jesuits in Dublin 1598-1998*, Dublin 1999.
- Oppenheimer, Michael, *The monuments of Italy* (4 volumes), London and New York 2002.
- O'Riordan, M., *Catholicity and progress in Ireland*, London 1905.
- Panero, Julius, and Zelnik, Martin, *Human dimension and interior space*, New York and London 1979.
- Potterton, Homan, *Irish church monuments, 1570-1880*, Belfast 1975.
- Power, Patrick, *Waterford and Lismore: a compendious history of the united diocese*, Cork 1937.
- Power, T.P., & Whelan, K. (eds), *Endurance and emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the eighteenth century*, Dublin 1990.
- Price, Liam (ed.), *An eighteenth century antiquary*, Dublin 1942.
- Purcell, Mary, *Dublin's Pro-Cathedral*, Dublin 1975.
- Raftery, Patrick, 'The last of the traditionalists: Patrick Byrne, 1783-1864', *Irish Georgian Society Bulletin*, VII (April-December 1964), 47-67.
- 'Report on the state of popery, Ireland, 1731', *Journals of the House of Lords*, III, 169 *sqq.*, 1727-52. (This report is published in *Archivium Hibernicum*, I (1912), 10-27; II (1913), 108-156; III (1914), 124-159; IV (1915), 131-177.)
- Richardson, D.S., *Gothic revival architecture in Ireland*, New York 1983.
- Robinson, John J., 'Churches of the 19th century', in *Furrow*, June 1953.
- Roche, Kennedy F., 'The reflection of the Catholic church and the state in England and Ireland 1800-52', *Historical Studies*, No. 3, 1961.
- Ronan, Myles V., *An apostle of Catholic Dublin: Father Henry Young*, Dublin 1944.
- Rowan, Alastair, 'Irish Victorian churches: denominational distinctions', in Raymond Gillespie and Brian P. Kennedy (eds), *Ireland: Art into history*, Dublin 1994.
- Rowan, Alastair, 'The Irishness of Irish Architecture', in *Architectural History* 40:1997, 1-23.



- Rowan, Ann Martha (ed.), *The architecture of Richard and William Morrison*, Dublin 1989.
- Ryan, Maureen, 'Roman opulence in a Dublin church: the high altar of St Francis Xavier's', *Irish Arts Review* 1998, XIV, 33-9.
- Sheehy, Gerard, *et al* (eds), *The Canon law: letter & spirit: a practical guide to the code of canon law*, Dublin 1995.
- Stamp, Gavin, *Alexander 'Greek' Thomson*, Glasgow 1999.
- Stillman, Damie, 'Church architecture in neo-classical England', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XXXVIII:2, May 1979, 103-19.
- Stillman, Damie, *English neo-classical architecture*, London 1988.
- Strickland, Walter G., *A dictionary of Irish artists*, London 1913.
- Sullivan, Mary C. (ed.), *The correspondence of Catherine McAuley, 1818-1841*, Dublin 2004.
- Summerson, John *The architecture of the eighteenth century*, London 1969 & 1986.
- Summerson, John, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, 9th edition, Yale 1993.
- Sutton, Ian, *Western architecture*, London 1999.
- Thorne, R. G., *The history of Parliament: The House of Commons 1790-1820*, London 1986.
- Toman, Rolf (ed.) *Neoclassicism and romanticism*, Cologne 2000.
- Turner, Jane (ed.), *The dictionary of art*, London [date?]
- Turpin, John, 'John Hogan in Dublin', in *Dublin Historical Record*, XXXIV:I (December 1980), 1-14.
- Turpin, John, *John Hogan: Irish neo-classical sculptor in Rome 1800-1858*, Dublin 1982.
- Tyrrell, Dolores, 'The parish church of Saints Mary and Peter, Arklow', in *Arklow Historical Society Journal* 1985, 52-7.
- Von Kalnein, Wend, *Architecture in France in the eighteenth century*, New Haven and London 1995.
- Wakeling, Christopher, 'A Room Nearly Semi-circular': Aspects of the Theatre and the Church from Harrison to Pugin', in *Architectural History* 44:2001, 265-274.
- Walker, Simon, *Historic Ulster churches*, Belfast 2000.
- Wall, Maureen 'The Catholic Merchants, Manufacturers and Traders of Dublin 1778-1782', in *Reportorium Novum: Dublin Diocesan Historical Record*, II:2 (1960), 298-323.
- Wall, Maureen, *The penal laws, 1691-1760*, Dundalk 1976.
- Wall, Thomas 'Archbishop John Carpenter and the Catholic Revival, 1770-1786', in *Reportorium Novum: Dublin Diocesan Historical Record*, I:1 (1955), 173-182.
- Walsh, Jim *Church of St Peter and Paul Balbriggan*, [Dublin 1992].
- Whelan, Kevin, *The Catholic parish, the Catholic chapel and village development in Ireland*, offprint from *Irish Geography*, vol. XVI (1983).

- Whelan, Kevin, *The tree of liberty: radicalism, Catholicism and the construction of the Irish identity 1760-1830*, Cork 1996.
- White, Harry, 'Church Music and Musicology in Ireland', in Gerard Gillen and Harry White (eds), *Music and the church*, Dublin 1993.
- Willemsen, Gitta, *The Dublin Society drawing schools: students and award winners 1746-1876*, Dublin 2000.
- Williams, Jeremy, *A companion guide to architecture in Ireland 1837-1921*, Dublin 1994.

## Secondary printed sources

### Theses and dissertations

- Condon, Mary D., *The Dublin riots and Catholic emancipation*, MA thesis, University of Southern California, 1950.
- Duffy, Thomas J., *Artisan sculpture and the stone carving firms of Dublin 1859-1910*, PhD thesis, Department of History of Art and Design, National College of Art and Design, Ireland, 1999.
- Lawler, Mildred, *St Nicholas of Myra and its two architects*, Senior sophister dissertation, History of Art Department, Trinity College Dublin, 1992.
- McParland, Edward, *The public works of architects in Ireland during the neo-classical period*, PhD thesis, Jesus College Cambridge 1975.
- Murphy, Paula, *Thomas Farrell, Dublin sculptor 1827-1900*, PhD thesis, University College Dublin 1992.
- O'Donnell, Roderick, *Roman Catholic church architecture in Great Britain and Ireland 1829-1878*, PhD thesis, Cambridge 1983.
- O'Dwyer, Frederick *Public works architecture in Ireland 1829-1923*, PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin 1996.
- Ryan, Maureen, *The church of St Francis Xavier, Upper Gardiner Street, Dublin*, MA thesis, University College Dublin 1994.
- Voelker, Evelyn Carole, *Charles Borromeo's Instructiones fabricae et suppellectilis ecclesiasticae, 1577, A translation with commentary and analysis*, PhD thesis Syracuse University 1977.
- Wilson, Ann, *Visions materialised: the building of St Colman's Cathedral, Cobh (1868-1917)*, MA thesis, Department of History of Art and Design, National College of Art and Design, Ireland, 2002.

\*\*\*