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by Edward McParland.

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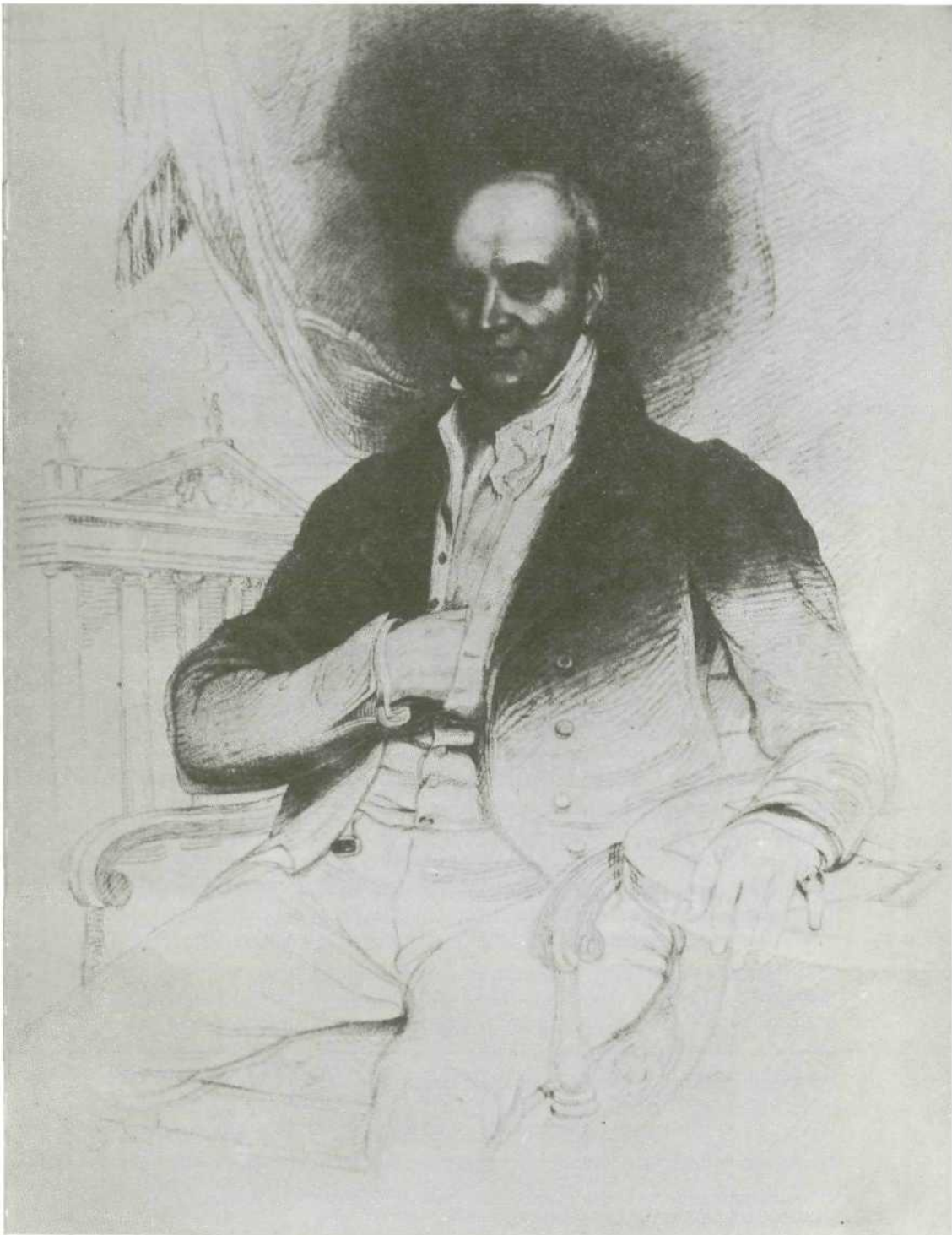
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Cover : The Cartouche from 'A New Map of Ireland divided into Provinces, Counties, &c. By Thos. Kitchin Geogr. Hydrographer to his Majesty.' Old maps of Ireland are being sought for display in the Map Room at Castletown. The house will be open to the public on Wednesdays, Saturdays and Sundays from April-September, 1970 ; 2-6 p.m.

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PRICE TEN SHILLINGS



Francis Johnston; from the engraving by H. Meyer after Thomas Clement Thompson
(National Gallery of Ireland).

FRANCIS JOHNSTON, ARCHITECT, 1760-1829¹

by Edward McParland, Christ's College, Cambridge.

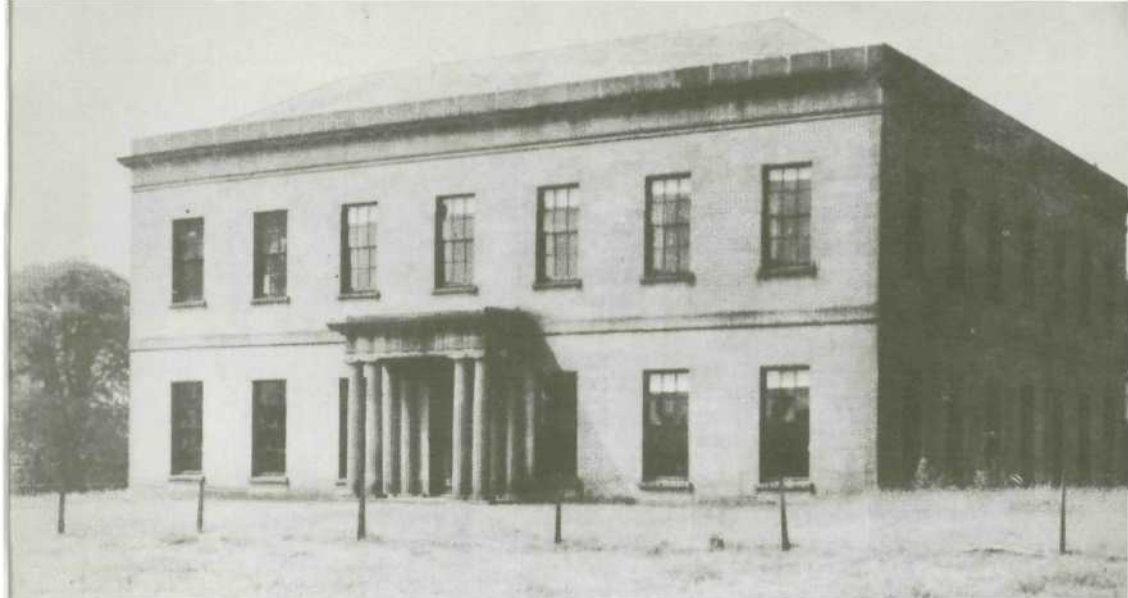
Introduction

On the 24th March 1845, and on the seventeen succeeding days, the art collection built up by Francis Johnston in the last years of his life was sold by auction in Dublin. Of the collection, the auctioneers proudly claimed that "with the exception of the great sale at Strawberry Hill, there never was a catalogue published, or a collection offered for sale, containing the same number of rare and precious articles."² The collection, according to the catalogue, "was commenced as a pleasure (and) became latterly the business of his life." In the last ten years of his life Johnston had turned from the practice of architecture to the formation of this collection which was to be dispersed only sixteen years after his death.

It is suggested later that this premature retirement from an unusually successful career may be a sign of revolt against the type of commission he received in his position as Architect of the Board of Works, and which was basically unsuited to the sensitivity of his nature and style. From these projects he turned to the collection which, like the Royal Hibernian Academy which he founded at the same time, would express a permanence in his life's work. Unfortunately, the fate of the "Johnstonian Collection" is characteristic of how fortune treated much of Johnston's search for permanence. Even in his lifetime he expressed fears (subsequently proved groundless) for the imminent decay of Rokeby Hall, the country house on which he first worked. In 1846 his coat of arms, which he had hidden under a piece of wood attached to the Richmond Gate,³ was discovered and erased. Since his death, many of his buildings have disappeared or have been damaged—his finest castle Charleville Forest is exposed to vandals. his triumph of planning at the Richmond Penitentiary has been largely demolished, and St. Andrew's, one of his finest churches in Dublin, was destroyed by fire in the middle of the last century. Even today, his fine Cornmarket in Drogheda is used as a Corporation dump, and is due to be demolished.

From what is left of Johnston's buildings, from his rare letters, from his many drawings now in the National Library in Dublin and from the occasional critical attention paid to him in the past, it has been possible to build up some picture of his personality and of his approach to architecture. Firm biographical details, however, are scarce. He was born in 1760 in Armagh of a prosperous family, the first member of which to settle in Ireland was a William Johnston who came from Scotland to repair buildings damaged in the rebellion of 1641. Francis' father, also William, was a builder occasionally acting as an architect and of his

- 1) This article was originally submitted to the University of Cambridge as part of the examination for Part II of the Architecture and Fine Arts Tripos. I would like to thank the many people who helped me with its preparation, especially the **staff** of the National Library in Dublin; also Mr. George Paterson and Mr. Roger **Weatherup** of the County Museum, Armagh. I am particularly grateful to Dr. Maurice Craig for his many valuable suggestions.
- 2) A catalogue of the sale is in the possession of Mr. Richard Graves Johnston, of Armagh, a great-great-grandson of Francis Johnston's brother, Andrew.
- 3) **The** Richmond Gate stood on the South Quays of the Liffey as the gate to the military road. In 1846 the gate was moved to the main entrance of the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham.



1. Townley Hall, entrance elevation.

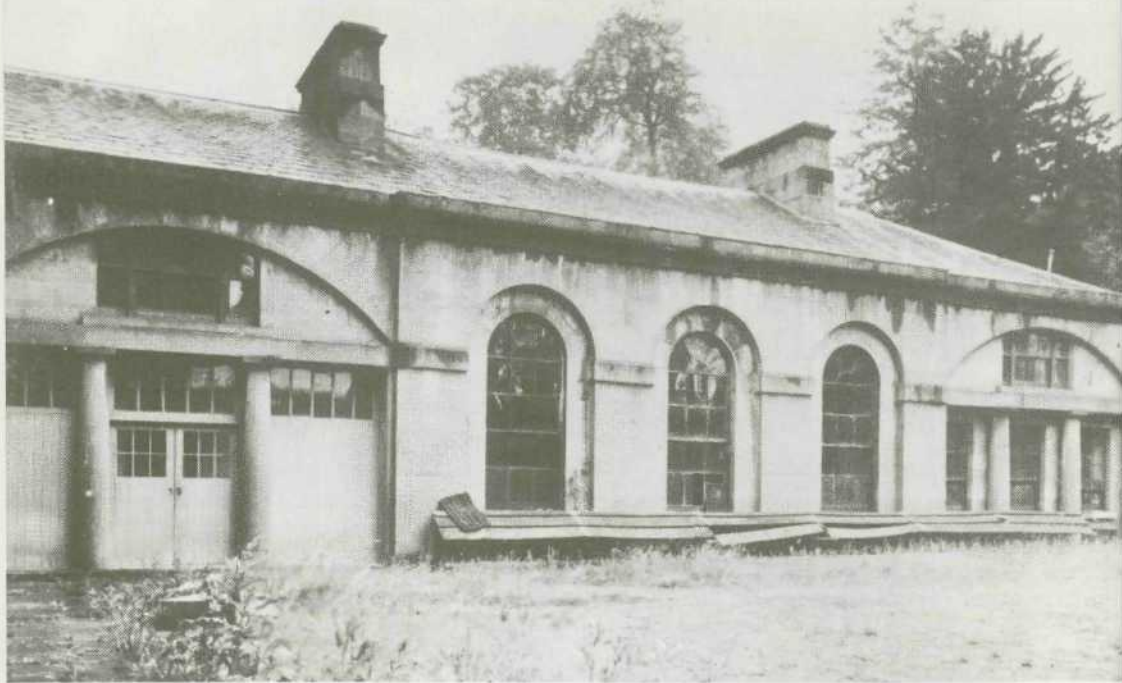
four sons, three were "brought up as architects, but with such a knowledge of carpentry as made them sound practical architects."⁴

When he was eighteen, Richard Robinson, Archbishop of Armagh, sent him to work with his architect, Thomas Cootey, in Dublin. Johnston stayed in Dublin until Cooley's death in 1784 when he succeeded his master as Primate Robinson's architect. A letter written in 1820 by Johnston to J. N. Brewer gives an outline of his career from 1784 onwards and a list of his most important works.⁵ By the time of writing this letter he had taken his nephew, William Murray, into partnership in his office. Freed from a profession which had brought him material wealth, but probably a decreasing spiritual satisfaction, he devoted himself to his paintings, his sea shells and the other valuables in his collection. He also devoted himself to the Academy and in 1824, the year after its foundation, he designed its premises which he built at his own expense. In 1829 he died and was buried in the churchyard of St. George's Church in Dublin.

What follows is an account of his work, domestic, public and ecclesiastical. It traces his career from the early work in Armagh under the shadow of Cooley; to Townley Hall where he first gave allegiance to Wyatt; to his late maturity in the years immediately following 1800, when he remained faithful to Wyatt but achieved an assured and very personal style, particularly in interior decoration. It traces his success, culminating in his appointment in 1805 as Architect of the Board of Works and Civil Buildings, and his career thereafter, dominated—despite the Chapel Royal—by the penitentiaries and asylums of the period 1805-1815. The aim of the essay is not purely documentary: it is also partly intended to be restorative for the reputation of a dedicated and important Irish architect.

4) *The Citizen*, Vol. IV, July-Dec. 1841, notice on Johnston in the series 'Native Artists.'

5) This letter was published in the *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, Jan.-Mar. 1963, pp 1 ff.



2. Townley Hall, kitchen wing.

1. DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

It is appropriate that a consideration of Francis Johnston's domestic architecture should begin with an account of Townley Hall in Co. Louth, designed for Blaney Townley Balfour in 1794. Although Johnston was thirty-four years of age when he made the designs, the house is an early work. If we accept the evidence that he alone was not entirely responsible for Rokeby Hall, then Townley Hall is his first major domestic commission. The interest of Townley lies not only in the intrinsic quality of Johnston's work, but also in the way in which he announced there themes of bleak austerity, primitive orders, attention to detail and an emerging style of interior decoration which were to become dominant in much of his later work.

The elevations in the 1794⁶ drawings show flat, two storey, seven bay facades, crowned with a cornice (Plate 1). There are no mouldings around the windows,

- 6) Photographs of these drawings are in the I.A.R.A. Coll., PF22. In PF20 there are three plans, signed by Johnston and dated April 1794, for Townley Hall, and one early elevation (unexecuted).

The following abbreviations are repeatedly used:

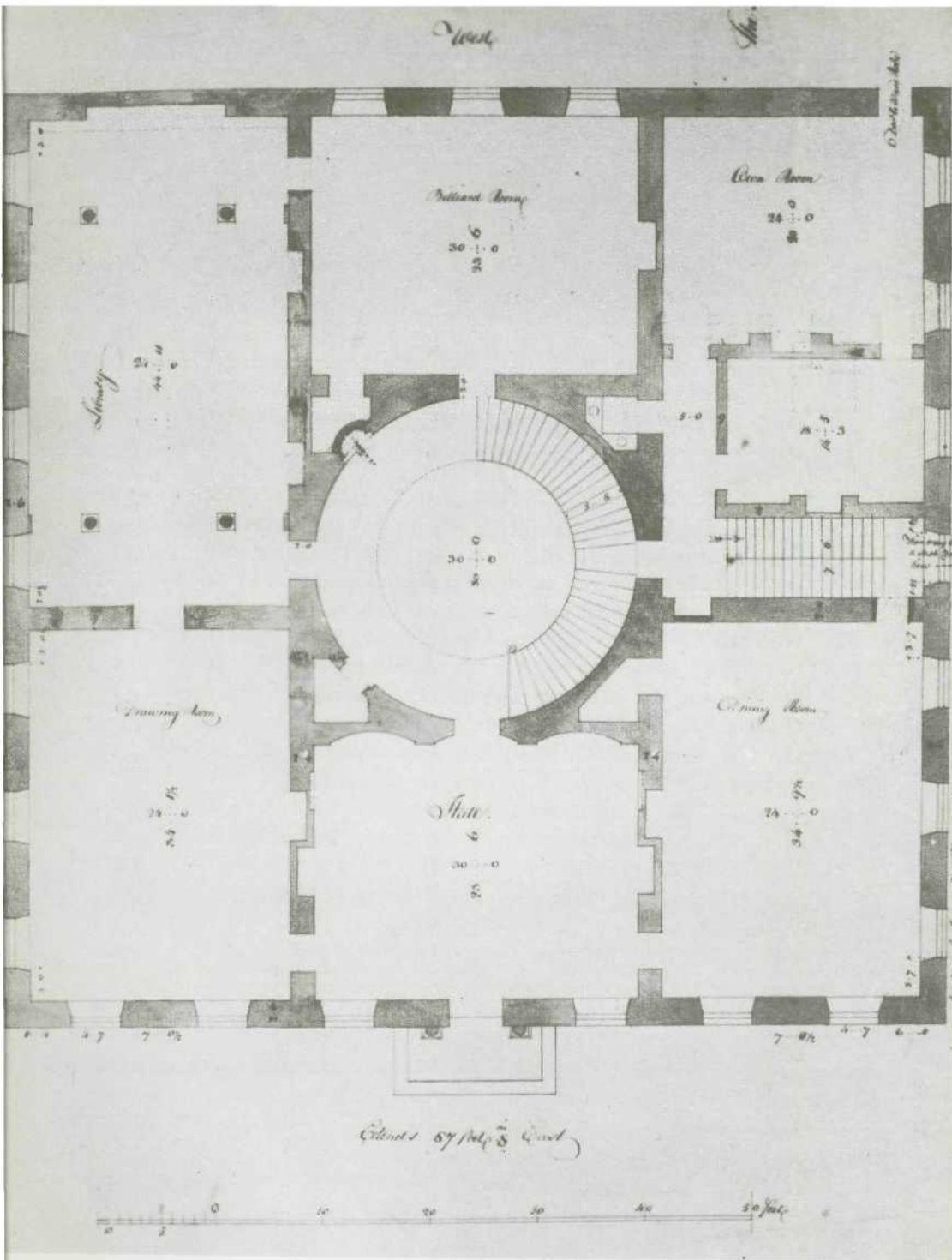
I.A.R.A. Coll: Irish Architectural Records Association collection of architectural drawings in the National Library, Dublin.

Murr. Coll: Murray Collection of drawings, mostly by Johnston, and part of the I.A.R.A. Coll.

PF: portfolio number.

Nat. Libr.: National Library of Ireland, Dublin.

I.A.D. Exhibition: Irish Architectural Drawings Exhibition 1965, Dublin, Belfast, London (R.I.B.A.).



3. Townley Hall, ground floor plan by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).

no decorative relief anywhere in fact, except a rather mean frame (not executed) with small engaged Ionic columns around the main door. On the west facade the cornice is interrupted and the attic windows become visible, while the basement windows too are revealed and look out onto a sunken kitchen yard. The one-storey kitchen wing, now derelict, extends from the north end of the west facade into this yard (Plate 2).

The plan (Plate 3) is arranged around a central top-lit domed rotunda which rises through two storeys from the ground floor and which contains the main stairs. Rectangular rooms are distributed around this central space. In the attic storey, rooms are lit by dormer windows behind the cornice, and are entered from a corridor lit by windows overlooking the dome. Describing the house in his letter to Brewer in 1820, Johnston referred with characteristic modesty to the remarkable rotunda—it is "open to and lighted from the top (and) has a good effect" (Plate 4).

The source for the "singular and impressive austerity"⁷ of the exterior is to be found in James Wyatt. In an early drawing for the entrance elevation for Townley there are specific allusions to Wyatt in the wide tripartite windows of the end bays. The development towards regularity in the later drawings, the increased austerity of the facades and the use of Greek Doric columns⁸ suggest further that Johnston was following a lead given by Wyatt in his Irish buildings.

That Wyatt's work should have been influential for an Irish architect of ability, who was still unknown, and who had received an important country house commission, was to be expected. Wyatt was the great man who had been called in from abroad for the prestigious work at Slane and Castle Coole. There were, however, other reasons why Johnston should have looked to Wyatt, as he was to do later in his Castle style phase. Johnston had been a protegee of Primate Robinson who had employed Wyatt for the building of Canterbury Quad in Christ Church, Oxford. Also, since Richard Johnston, a brother of Francis, had produced designs for Castle Coole in 1789, and with Thomas Cooley had actually built Newtownmountkennedy House" on Wyatt's plans, Francis Johnston must have been intimately familiar with, and much influenced by, the Attic simplicity of Castle Coole and Newtownmountkennedy House.

The precise source for the plan of Townley Hall, dominated by the central rotunda, is more difficult to pin down. An obvious parallel can be drawn between this plan and that of Palladio's Villa Rotunda without its porticoes, where the central space has a diameter of thirty Vicentine feet. The diameter of the Townley stair-well is also thirty feet. Gibbs in his *Book of Architecture* engraved the plan of a country house¹⁰ which develops this theme by placing a double branched curving staircase in a centrally placed top-lit space; also, as is clear

7) Christopher Hussey, *Country Life*, 23rd and 30th July, 1948.

8) The portico as built is Greek Doric. It is not clear from the Dublin drawings at what date the Ionic doorcase was replaced by the Greek Doric portico, but Johnston's interest in the primitive orders in the mid 1790's suggests a date not much later than 1794.

y> John Cornforth on Newtownmountkennedy House, *Country Life*, October 28th and November 11th, 1965.

10) J. Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture*, 1728, Plate 54.



4. Townley Hall, staircase.

in St. George's Church in Dublin, and in the General Post Office, Johnston knew Gibbs' book well, and used it as a source of inspiration. With these suggested points of departure must be mentioned the Irish habit of having spacious, centrally placed and top-lit bedroom halls.¹¹ Such a bedroom-hall, rising through two storeys, is found at Castle Coole, where the actual plan owes more to Richard Johnston than does the elevation. Circular bedroom halls are also found in both upper floors of Rokeby Hall.

From some such amalgam of influence, prototype and local practice Johnston evolved this Townley rotunda, this isolated grand gesture in a plan which is otherwise as rectangular and austere as the elevations.¹² It was typical of Johnston to concentrate in the staircase the single moment of spatial drama in a house. The staircase seems to have appealed to his interest in support and construction, as well as interesting him for its dramatic potential as the focal point of a plan—these two aspects are exploited at Glenmore and Corbalton Hall as well as at Townley (Plate 21).

In Townley Hall, the severe restraint of the exterior has been brought inside. The single suggestion of interior columnar interest—a screen of two columns at each end of the Library—was abandoned. There is little variation in room shape, no spatial variety as one moves from one room to the next. Where the walls are modelled, the emphasis lies on gentle, low relief and shallow recesses, rather than on a rich use of deep niches.¹³ Apart from the drama of the rotunda there is a restrained and antirhetorical approach to the planning. Just a year before the first designs were made for Townley Hall, in 1793, Richard Morrison had published his *Useful and Ornamental Designs in Architecture*. Here Morrison, who later became a serious contender for some of the more important commissions eventually given to Johnston,¹⁴ had given plans of houses of various pretensions and scale. The grander houses had internal screens of columns, lobbies ending in semi-circular apses, circular rooms straight from Gandon's work on the Parliament House, with deep niches scooped out from the intervals between recessed columns. These designs represent the consciousness, on the part of a contemporary Irish architect, of the Adamesque tradition so firmly rejected by Johnston.

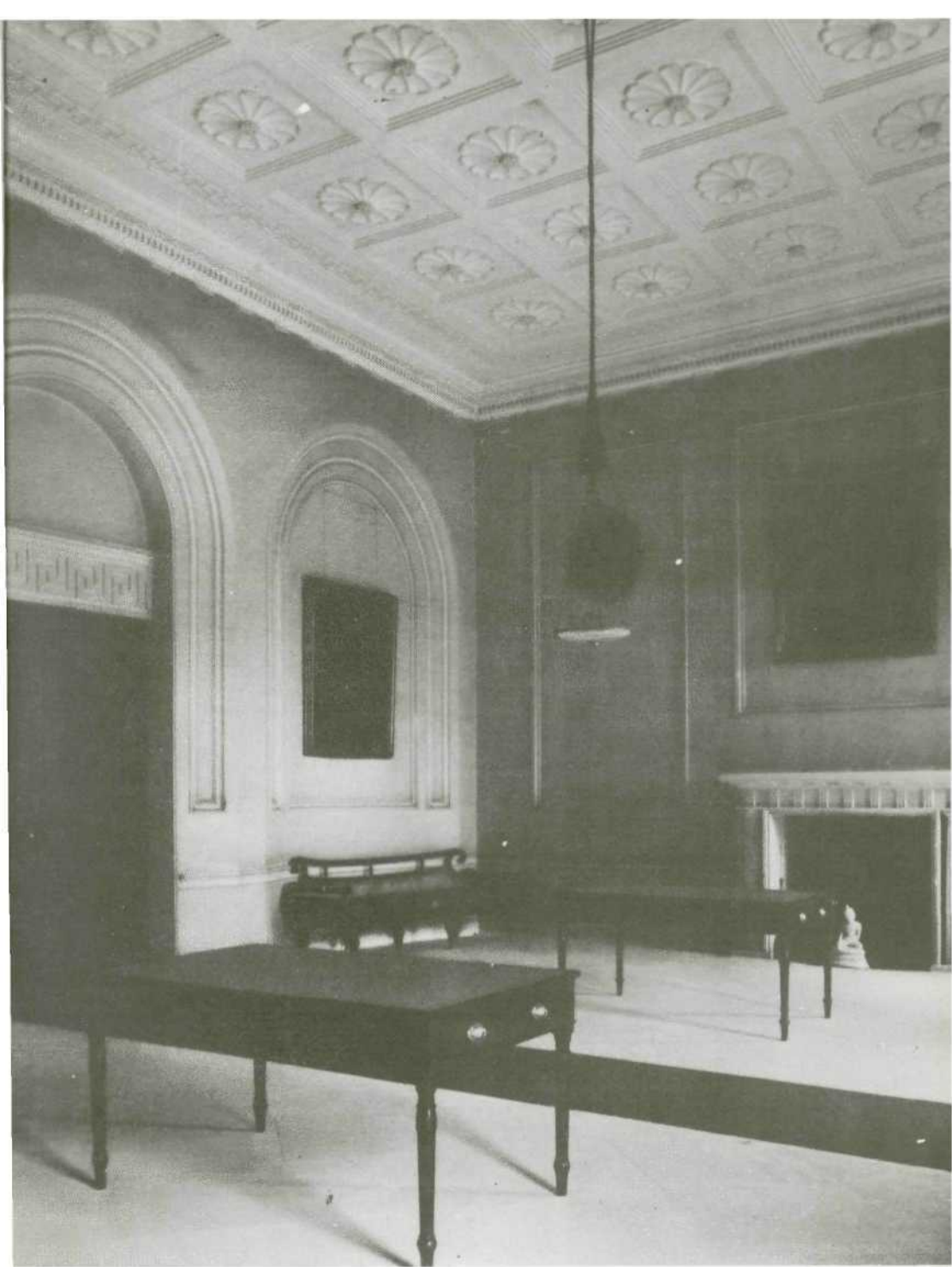
In some of the details of the decoration, too, there is an economy consistent with the austerity of elevation and plan. The entrance hall (Plate 5), with its heavy Greek fret, its Greek Doric chimney piece and the square coffering of the

11) Maurice Craig, *Country Life*, May 28th 1964 on Bellamont Forest, Co. Cavan.

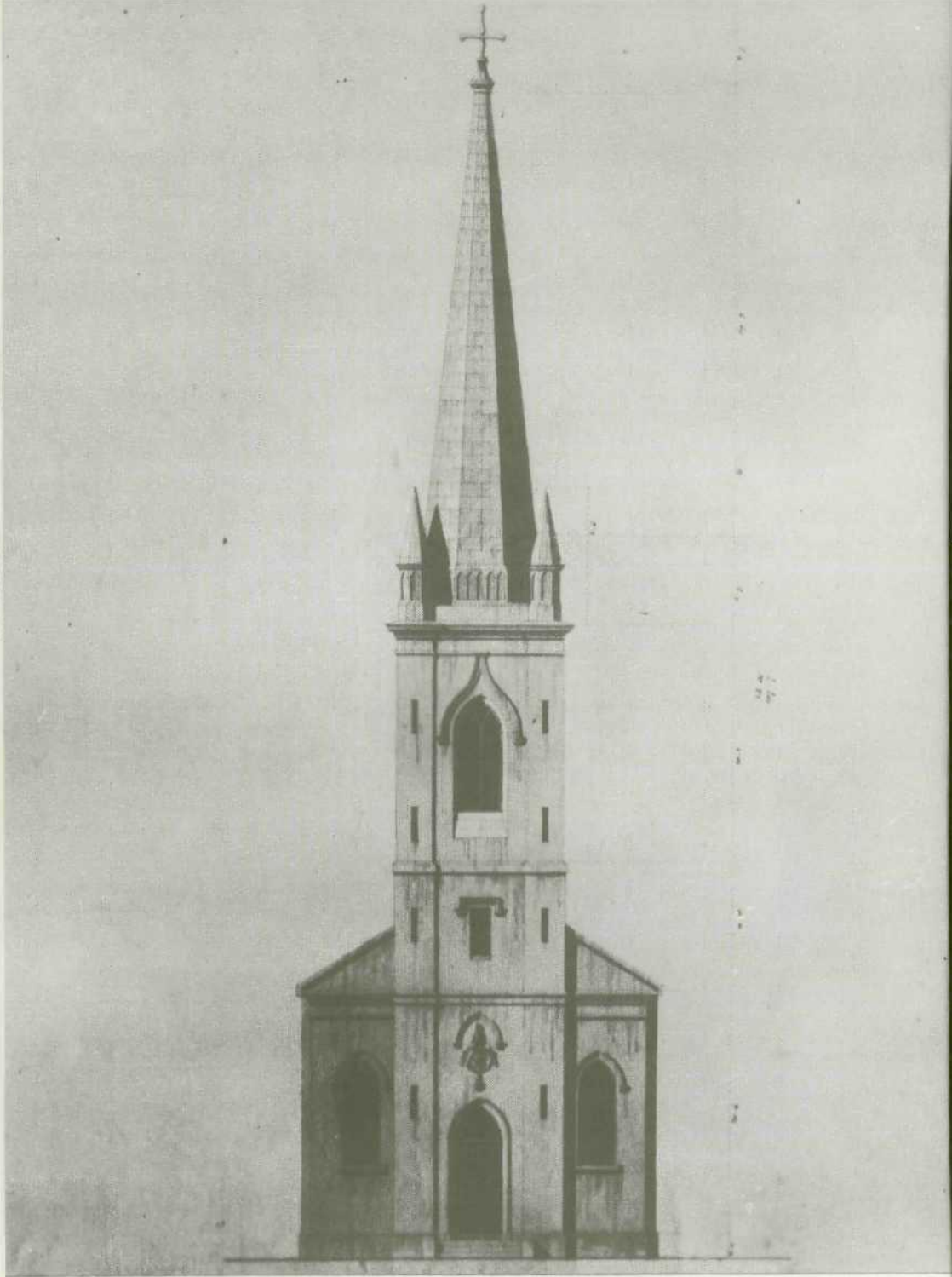
12) Of this staircase, Hussey (*op. cit.*) wrote "I would dare to say there is nothing lovelier than this rotunda in the Georgian architecture of the British Isles." In comparing this rotunda with Wyatt's circular staircase in Devonshire House of 1811, it is tempting to suggest that the Wyatt-Johnston relationship may have been, to some degree, mutually beneficial.

13) The very shallow recesses in the hall are also a feature of the hall in Garvey House. There is a plan of Garvey House by Johnston in the I.A.R.A. Coll. PF2.

14) The Knight of Glin has drawn my attention to an interesting comment made in 1822 by Morrison in a letter to Sir Charles Coote of Ballyfin: "I beg your permission to observe that my knowledge of this country and of the buildings executed in it, enables me to know that with the exception of Mr. Johnston, my son and myself, there is not any architect in it, in whose hands you could place your business with a prospect of such a result as you would desire."

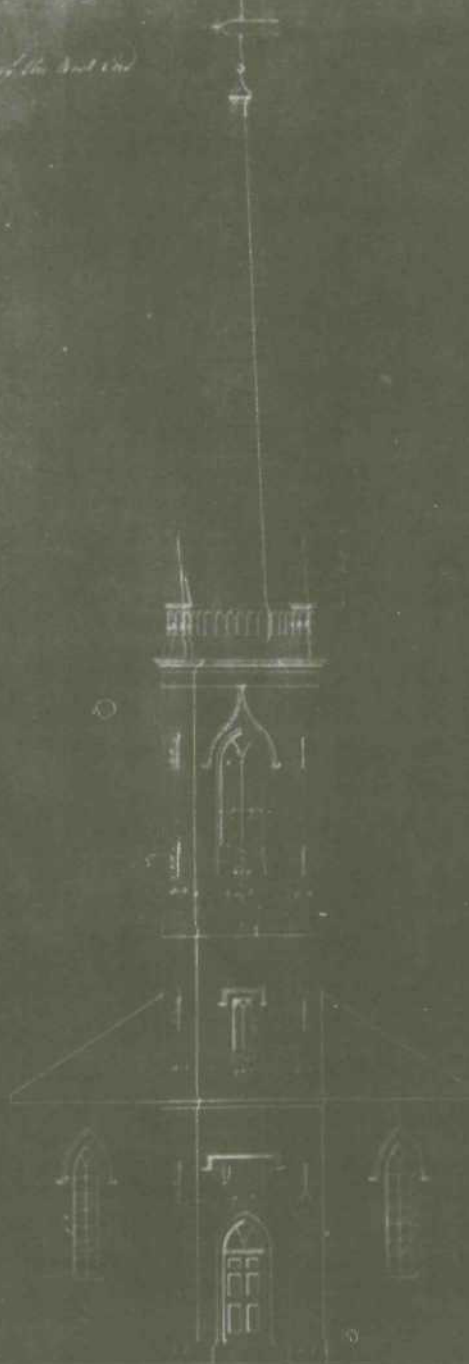


5. Townley Hall, entrance hall.

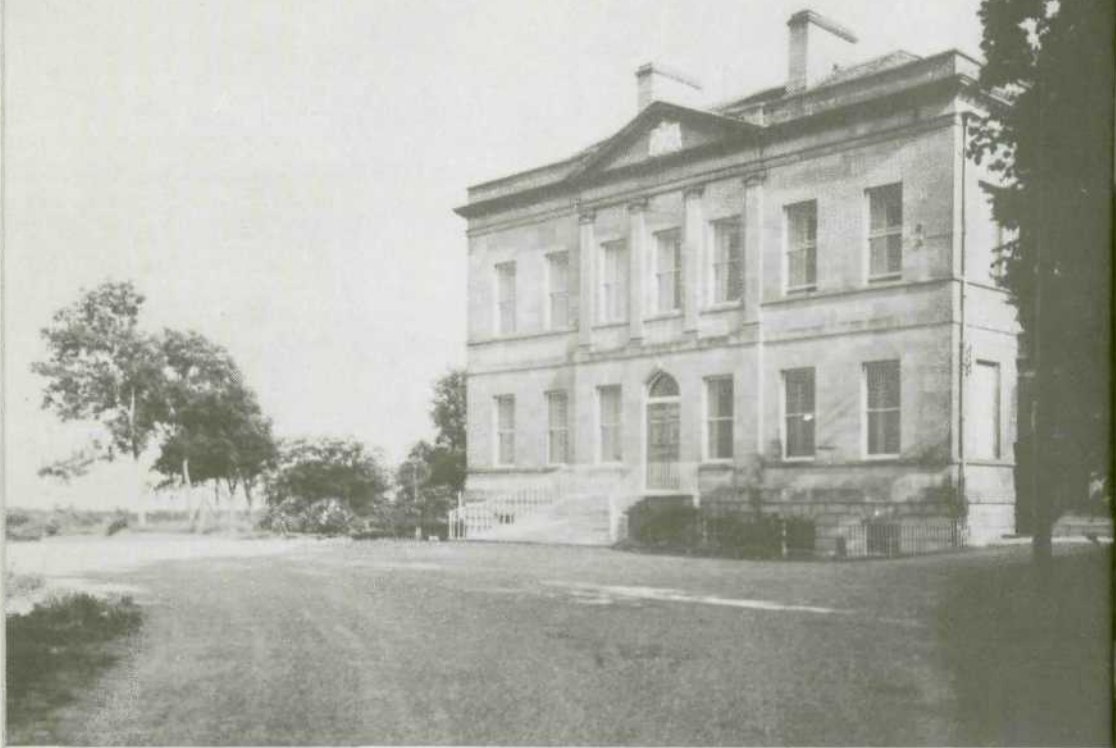


6. Ballymakenny Church, design for west front by Thomas Cooley (Nat. Librij.

Restoration of the West End



7. Kells Church, design for west front by Thomas Cooley (Nat. Libr.).



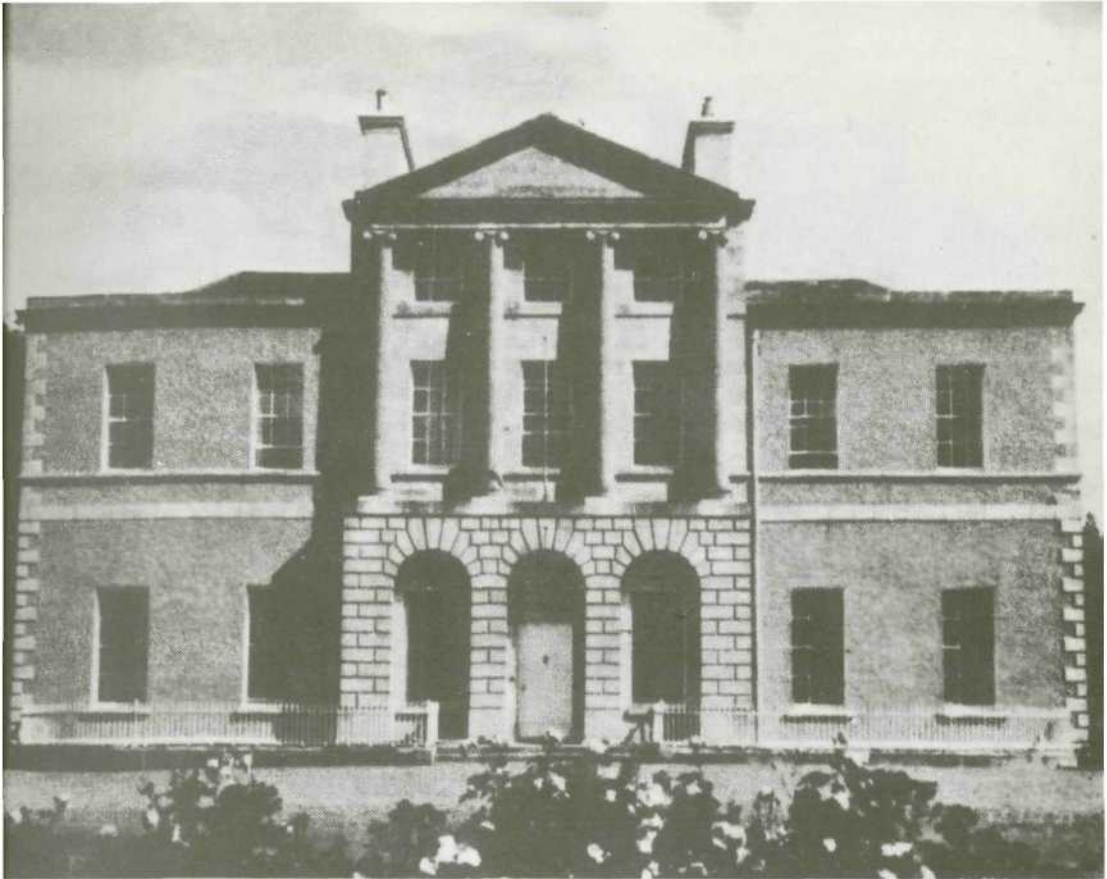
8. Rokeby Hall, entrance elevation.

ceiling, sets a serious tone which is echoed in the Library.¹⁵ The decoration of the rotunda is a little richer, but the traditions of Adam, and of the currently fashionable Michael Stapleton in Dublin, were rejected. The brittle elegance with which Johnston had toyed in the Primate's Chapel in Armagh has vanished, never again to reappear in his work. The different decorative strains of this rotunda are used together in an experimental but unsynthesized way. The ox-head frieze, the criss-cross vaulting, the naturalism of the oak-leaf and acorn moulding, the gauche draperies and lion heads, the lunettes with their high relief,¹⁶ the wiry simplicity of the running vine band threaded through a simple fret with acorns underneath—these are all exercises in different themes, combined, but not fused into a very satisfactory whole.¹⁷ In this rotunda Johnston

15) The drawing-room ceiling in Townley Hall is remarkably similar to the dining room ceiling in Castle Coole where economy had dictated a more restrained style than in the Saloon. (Compare illustrations in *Country Life*, July 30 1948, Plate 4; and December 26 1936, Plate 8.)

16) Professor Mitchell, the present owner of the house, has pointed out to me that these lunettes have been enlarged and were probably not made for their present position. They are not unique in Johnston's work. They resemble the plaques which decorate the exterior of his own house in Eccles Street.

17) Many of these motifs appear together in the vault of William Chambers' Strand vestibule of Somerset House.



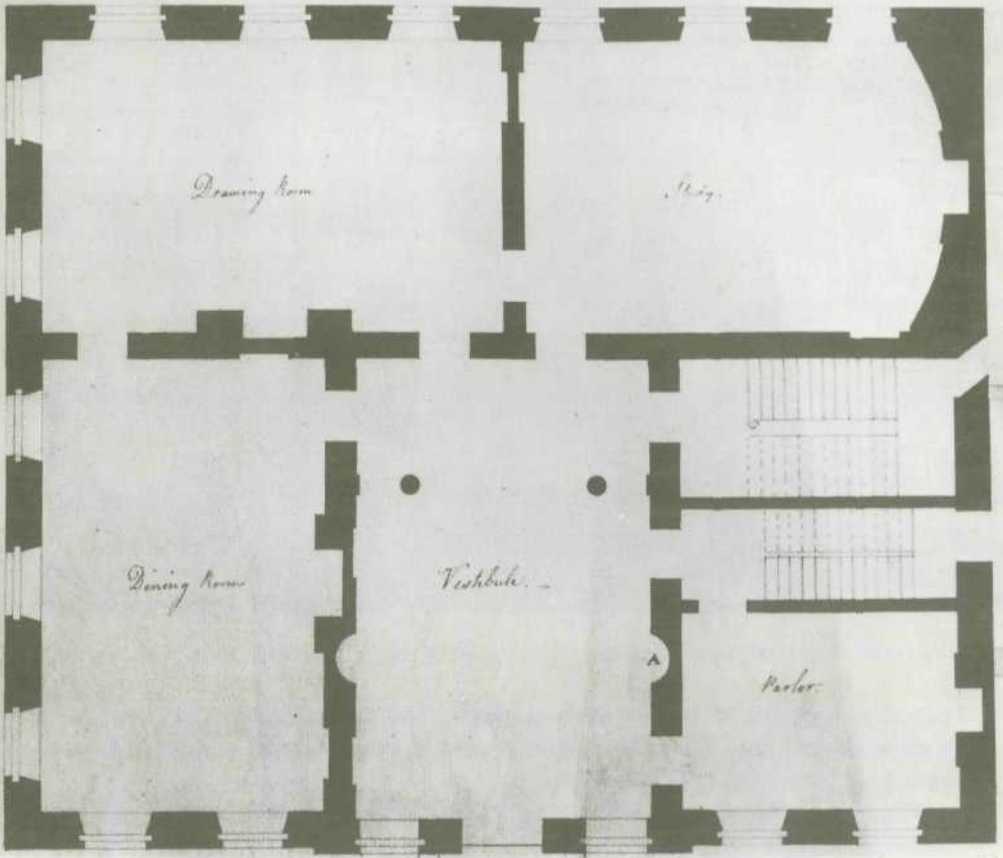
9. Lucan House, entrance elevation.

was experimenting with these themes. Some, like the naturalistic oak motifs, were to become almost inevitable in his interiors; others, like the ox-head frieze, were never used again.

More important than the experiment with individual motifs was the way in which he tried to solve the problem of applying ornament to large areas with a controlled economy, which would give to the most opulent scheme the unostentatious effect consistent with his own taste and personality. Rokeby Hall is decorated very sparingly; so too is the Armagh Observatory. The only important interior decorative scheme on which Johnston had worked before Townley Hall was therefore that of the Primate's Chapel in Armagh. In the Chapel and in Townley Hall we see the experiments that within ten years of Townley Hall were to develop into the maturity and assurance of St. George's and the Bank (see Plates 39, 40).

Townley Hall is a key work in Johnston's career, and it may be used as an illustration of many characteristics of his style, as seen not only in his classical country houses but in some of his ecclesiastical and public buildings as well. The austerity of the Townley elevations was first enunciated at Rokeby Hall. In 1820 in his letter to Brewer, Johnston says that from 1785 to 1794 he was employed by Primate Robinson in "erecting" a country house and two churches, one at

Plan of the Principal Story.



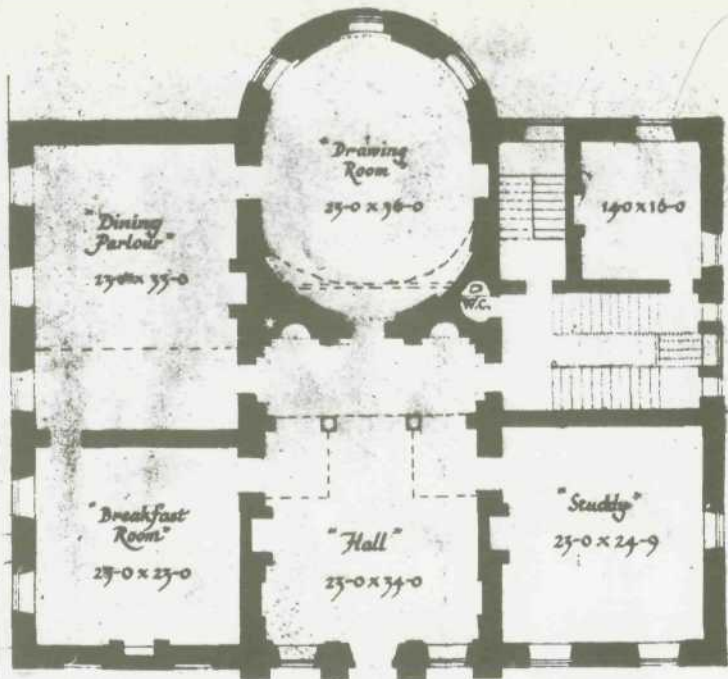
10. Rokeby Hall, ground floor plan (Nat. Libr.).

Ballymakenny and the other at Clonmore. It is clear from the context that the house is Rokeby Hall, and this letter has encouraged the belief that Johnston alone was responsible for the Hall and the two churches.¹⁸

The church at Clonmore is ruined, and can yield no evidence of authorship. The church at Ballymakenny is more interesting. In the Murray Collection in the National Library in Dublin, there are four drawings—a plan, a section and two elevations—for Ballymakenny church as it was built,¹⁹ but without date or signature (Plate 6). The plan is headed "Plan of Ballymakenny Church." They

18) John Betjeman, however, in *The Pavilion* (London, 1946, ed. M. Evans) described Ballymakenny church as by Johnston but "probably from Coolcy's designs."

19) These drawings are in the I.A.R.A. Coll., PF 2.



10.—" GROUND-FLOOR PLAN FOR MR. VESEY'S HOUSE AT LUCAN," BY MICHAEL STAPLETON

The following notes in Stapledon's writing have been transcribed from a fainter duplicate :

The dotted lines in plan show the manner of the division of Bed-chamber story.

The wall that forms the Oval room in parlour story is carried up no higher than the first story, which leaves an open lobby from great stairs to the wall at its the same width as stairs—the light at the end is not very strong as it is too great a distance from the Venetian window of stairs—a sky-light would be a vast improvement.

11. Lucan House, ground floor plan.

Country Life.

are catalogued as drawings by Johnston.²⁰ In the same collection, however (portfolio 17), there are photographs of drawings for a church at Kells, signed by Cooley and dated 1778 (Plate 7). Judging from these photographs the drawing style of the two sets of drawings is the same. Further, there is an almost exact correspondence between the designs of the two steeples. It seems clear, therefore, that the drawings for Ballymakenny are by Cooley. Johnston's reference in 1820 to his share in the work for this church does less than justice to his master, according to whose designs he completed Ballymakenny Church.

One consequence of the above is that one must question Johnston's share in the design of Rokeby Hall, which has always been attributed to him. Since it would be his first country house, elements in Rokeby which are untypical in his later work, for instance the engaged order on the façade, must be treated with caution. The existence in the National Library in Dublin, however, of plans

20) Betjeman, *op. cit.*, wrote of this drawing (Plate 6) "The drawing and design are almost indistinguishable from the work of Thomas Cooley."



12. Farnham House (Lawr. Coll.).

previously unrecognized as plans for Rokeby and which are not by Johnston,²¹ indicate that architects other than Johnston were involved in the design.

The most interesting of these plans (none of which is signed, or dated and none of which is in Johnston's drawing style) is a set of plans unquestionably by the same hand as a ground plan of Lucan House, Co. Dublin, built between 1773 and 1781 for Agmondisham Vesey.²² This plan is of unknown authorship, but it has been suggested²³ that it was drawn by Michael Stapleton. The common authorship of these plans suggests a comparison of the elevations of the two houses.

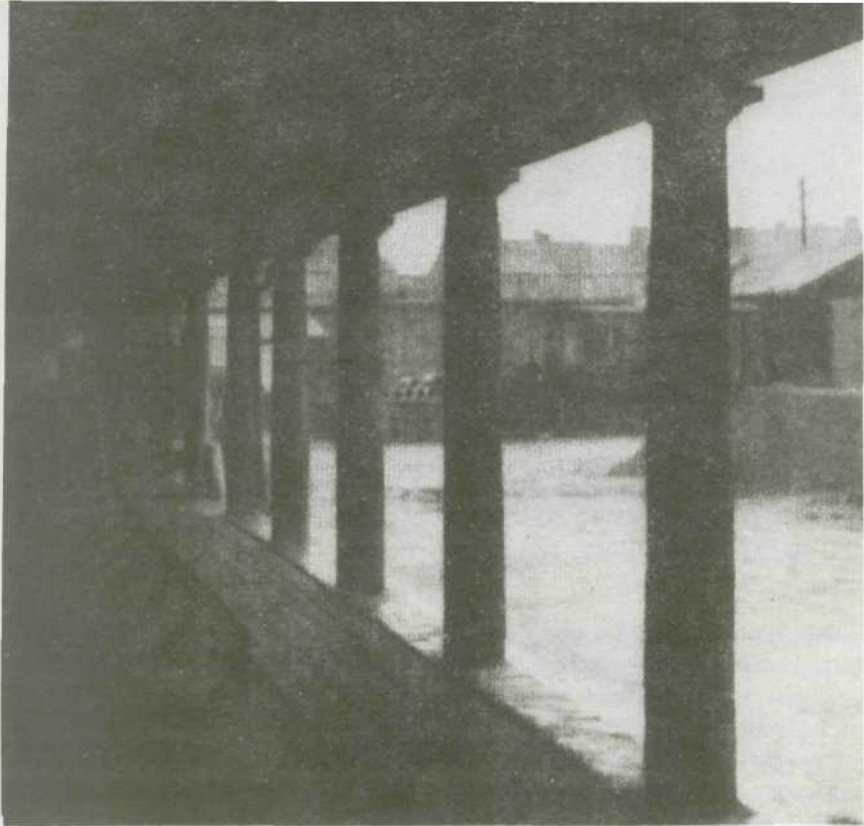
The front elevations (Plates 8,9) share such features as a 2-3-2 window rhythm, unmoulded openings in the first floor with a common sill threaded behind the order, and an Ionic order, supporting a pediment, rising in the slightly projecting centre block over the ground floor.

There are important differences, but they are all consistent differences between the richly modelled and the flat. The high central block of Lucan, with its tall engaged columns, was lowered at Rokeby; the columns became pilasters, ground floor rustication was lowered to the basement, and the deep recesses of the central ground floor were flattened out. Similar differences exist between the plans (Plates 10, 11)—the niches of the hall at Lucan, otherwise similar to the hall at Rokeby, were filled in; the oval projection on the rear elevation of Lucan was also flattened out.

21) These drawings are in the I.A.R.A. Coll., PF 20.

22) Christopher Hussey, *Country Life*, 31st January 1947; John Harris, *Quarterly Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, July-September 1965.

23) Catalogue of the I.A.D. Exhibition, 1965, No. 44.



13. Cornmarket, Drogheda.

Now if an architect other than Johnston was responsible for the original designs of Rokeby Hall, that architect would be Thomas Cooley, the architect of Primate Robinson, for whom the house was built. This raises a slight problem, since among the multiplicity of architects whose names are connected with Lucan House—Chambers, Stapleton, Stevens, Wyatt and Agmondisham Vesey himself—the name of Cooley does not appear. At this point it is necessary to mention Newtownmountkennedy House.²⁴ Briefly, its plan is closely connected with that of Lucan House; it was designed by James Wyatt in 1772; and it was built by Cooley and Richard Johnston, a brother of Francis, around 1782.

Therefore it may be suggested that Rokeby Hall was far from being an original idea of Johnston's, and that original plans were made by Cooley (and possibly by others).²⁵ The plans of the ground floor and first floor are adaptations from Wyatt's plans for Newtownmountkennedy and from the related plan of Lucan House. Johnston did "erect" Rokeby, as he said, but few details of the plan can be his. The scheme for the entrance elevation, too, he probably inherited, but treated it with a feeling which was reaching towards the simplification of Townley Hall. The entrance elevation of Rokeby Hall is, in fact, a neat

24) John Cornforth, *Country Life*, October 28th and November 11th, 1965.

25) A collection of drawings by Cooley which may throw light on this question has just recently come to light. The drawings are in Caledon Castle, Co. Tyrone.



14. Headfort House, suggested alterations for entrance elevation by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).

illustration of what an architect, tied to the basic scheme of Lucan House and developing towards Townley Hall, might be expected to produce.²⁶

The severity of exterior elevation which, inspired by Wyatt, began to emerge at Rokeby and which received its definitive statement at Townley, is characteristic of Johnston's classical domestic work. The additions to Farnham House²⁷ are varied in the ground floor (Plate 12) with semi-circular headed windows like in the kitchen wing at Townley. The severity is relieved sometimes by tripartite windows, as at Corbalton Hall,²⁸ and sometimes by a doorway with a small columnar frame as at Clown.²⁹ On the whole, however, these smaller classical houses present a rather dull picture, and some, without the happy proportions of Rokeby and Townley, anticipate Johnston's later "penitentiary" style. Often close at hand in his work is the "hardness" described by Craig¹⁰ The dividing line between Attic simplicity and this hardness was not always under control, even in Charleville Forest, the most picturesque composition of this least picturesque of architects. There, on the facades, between the corner towers, the relentless symmetry of Johnston establishes its claim over the picturesque demands of his patron. The regular rectangular windows glare out from a facade which shares the bleakness of Johnston's classical houses, of his penitentiaries and even of his General Post Office (Plate 24).

In the work of such a man we would expect to find, around the turn of the century, a ready adoption of the appropriately austere forms of the Greek Revival. And so it was, but to a limited degree. It is difficult to date accurately

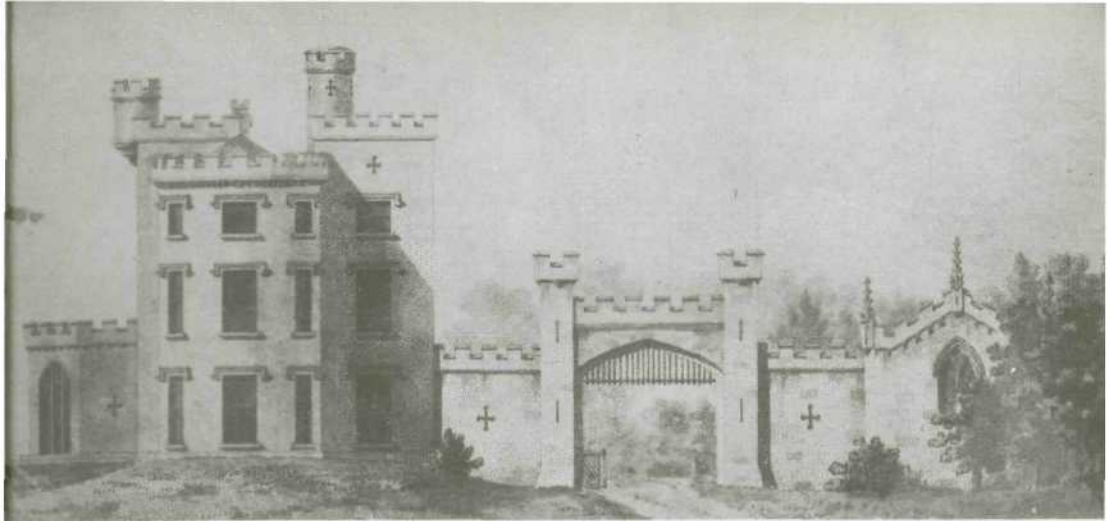
26) Dr. Alastair Rowan has suggested to me that a consideration of the authorship of Rokeby Hall might include a **consideration of the** house and gate lodge of Annesbrooke, Duleek, where several Johnston-like details can be seen.

27) Co. Cavan. Drawings for these additions, which were largely demolished in 1963, are in the I.A.R.A. Coll., PF 3, signed and dated 1802.

28) Co. Meath. Additions to an older house, built for Elias Corbally. Drawings in I.A.R.A. Coll., PF 2, signed and dated 1801-1807.

29) Co. Meath. Additions to an older house, built for Waller Dowdall. Drawings in I.A.R.A. Coll., PF 2, signed and dated 1801.

30) Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860*, p. 281.



15. St. Catherine's, Leixlip, Co. Kildare, suggested east elevation by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).

the Greek Doric portico of Townley Hall—it appears in none of the dated elevations³¹ in Dublin. It is unlikely to be much later than 1794, however, because during the years that Johnston was working at Townley, that is in the later 1790's, he began to develop an interest in primitive orders and their suitability to his evolving style of domestic architecture. In the hall in Slane Castle,³² for instance, the columns are baseless, but have Tuscan capitals with an enriched necking band. The real interest in the Slane hall is in the chimney pieces, where baseless Greek Doric columns support an entablature where the frieze zone is omitted, but with the guttae of the missing triglyphs remaining in the architrave.³³ The Townley Hall work includes, besides the portico, Greek Doric columns in the hall chimney piece, and columns of a Primitivist order on the kitchen wing (Plate 2). After Townley Hall comes the set of porticoes designed for Farnham House, Ballycurry House,³⁴ and the Adjutant General's Office.³⁰ These porticoes are all one-storey high with Doric columns, sometimes fluted, sometimes not. At Corbalton Hall the portico is also one-storey high, but unusual in Johnston's domestic work³⁶ in being Ionic. The columns are baseless. So we see, that despite his interest in the Greek Revival, as witnessed in the precocious use of a Greek

31) Only one drawing in the I.A.R.A. Coll. shows Townley Hall with this Greek Doric portico. It is an undated and unsigned drawing in PF 2.

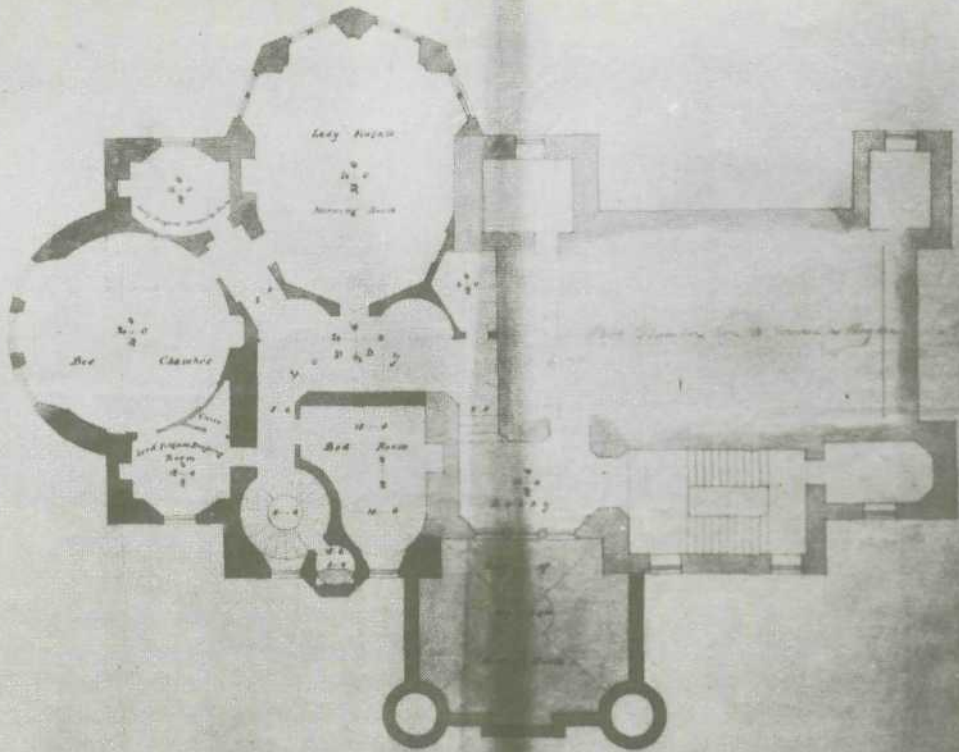
32) Johnston's work on Slane Castle was contemporary with his work on Townley Hall.

33) This order corresponds, detail for detail, with the order of the loggia surrounding three sides of the Corn market in Drogheda (Plate 13) (behind the Market House, now the Court House), where, however, the columns are unfluted. This market complex was built by Johnston, and the conjectural date suggested by Betjeman (in *The Pavilion*), is 1788. The building certainly looks later, and because of the similarity with the Slane chimneypieces, a more likely date would be in the mid '90's. On this order, Dr. Maurice Craig has suggested to me that it resembles a bit "the primitive style of Gandon as seen at Carriglass and in some Gandon drawings in the Lowther Castle collection now in Carlisle."

34) In Co. Wicklow. Rebuilding of an old house, for Charles Tottenham. Drawings in I.A.R.A. Coll., Nat. Libr., PF 5, signed and dated 1805-1806.

35) In the grounds of the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham. Though a military structure, it is built entirely in the style of a modest private house. It dates from c. 1805.

36) We can exclude the two-storey high Ionic portico added by Johnston to the Vice Regal Lodge in Dublin, a building by its nature more public than private.



15a. Killeen Castle, unexecuted plan by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.)

Doric portico at Townley Hall around 1794, and his later preoccupation with the forms of the Greek Doric capital in his public work (see below), his adoption of the forms of the Revival was quiet, unostentatious, and never monumental. The Revival, of which he was an early exponent, became fully established during his life, but the more established it became, the less Johnston used it in a conventional way, and the more it became for him a style of allusion.

In another sphere of domestic building this quiet and scholarly interest in the primitive orders can be seen at work. In 1799, when he first drew up plans for alterations to the house of St. Catherine's in Leixlip, Co. Kildare,³⁷ he also made a drawing³⁸ for a dairy, with columns in a rustic order, covered in bark. The following directions accompany the drawing:

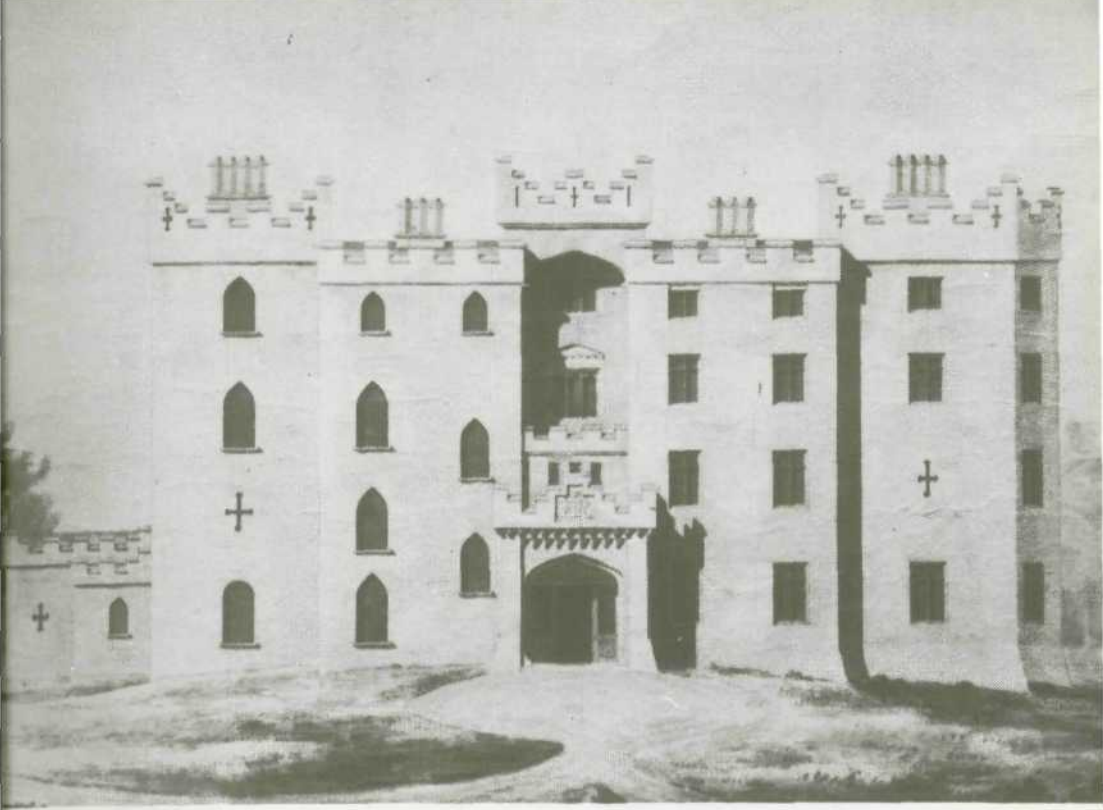
" . . . the plinths on which they (i.e. the columns) stand to be of stone, and the Caps of Wood. The Entablature to be finished (in appearance) from the hatchet, and coloured to match the bark of the pillars."

Later, in 1802, he made a "sketch for dividing and finishing the Wood Cottage at St. Catherine's."³¹¹ Here his primitivism went a stage further—the roof was to

37) Described in the catalogue of the Murray Collection as "now demolished (built) for Mr. Latouche." The house still stands. As was pointed out by Dr. Alistair Rowan in his thesis on the castle style (in the University Library, Cambridge) Johnston's gothicising alterations were not built.

38) I.A.R.A. Coll., PF 2, St. Catherine's folder No. 5.

39) I.A.R.A. Coll., PF 2, St. Catherine's folder, No. 10.



16. Killeen Castle, design for entrance elevation by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).

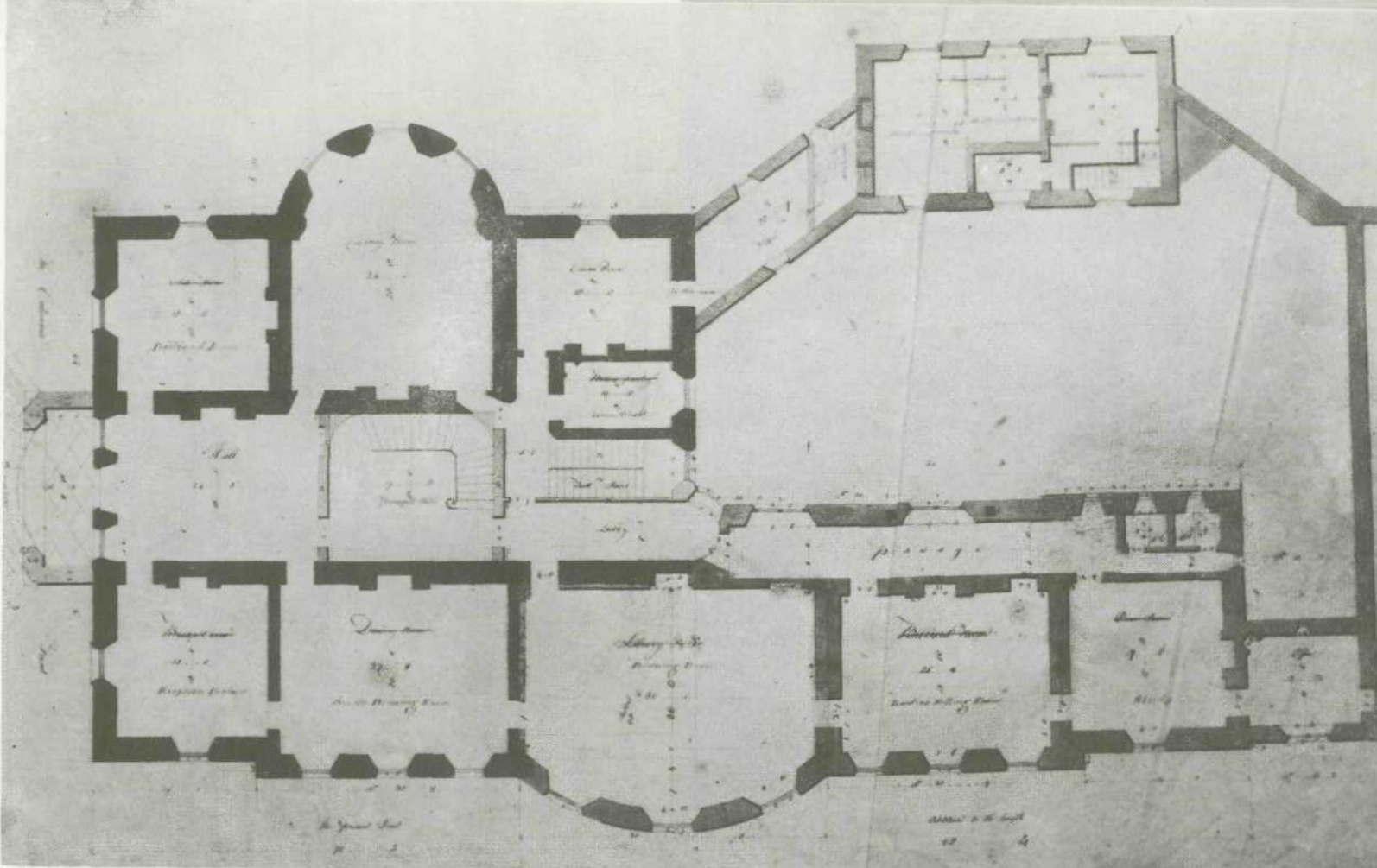
be supported by tree trunks without plinths or capitals, across which lay a simple wooden board acting as architrave. Beyond this, primitivism could not go.⁴⁰

As was appropriate for a disciple of Wyatt, Francis Johnston built in the Castle Style. His activity in this style was quite intense in the first five years of the nineteenth century, and falls quite naturally into three main groups. Firstly there are commissions, where his brief was to gothicize and castellate an existing classical house without making major structural additions. Secondly there were commissions for considerable alterations and additions to classical houses—and sometimes to genuine mediaeval structures. Finally there was the single commission for Charleville Forest, a new scheme to be built from the ground up. Johnston received only one such commission⁴¹ but its influence on later castle style building in Ireland was greater than that of any other of his works in this style.

In the first category there are only two projects—St. Catherine's and Headfort House at Kells, Co. Meath. Neither project was executed. At Headfort (Plate 14),

40) At least one later use of the rustic order by Johnston is known. In the I.A.D. exhibition 1965, the catalogue illustrated a plan and elevation for a seat at the Spa Well, Phoenix Park—a tetrastyle temple in a rustic order. The drawing, in the possession of Mrs. Desmond Forde, is signed and dated 1810.

41) It is not quite correct, as has been done elsewhere, to regard Glenmore, Co. Wicklow, as a fresh commission. Drawings in the I.A.R.A. Coll., PF 13 make specific reference to the original fabric which was to be included in the new, much larger, scheme.



17. Markree Castle, Co. Sligo, ground floor plan by Francis Johnston (Nat. Lib.).

*Henry Jones, Plan of the Markree Castle
 To which is added the plan of the present alterations.*



18. Markree Castle, view of south-east elevation (Lawr. Coll.).

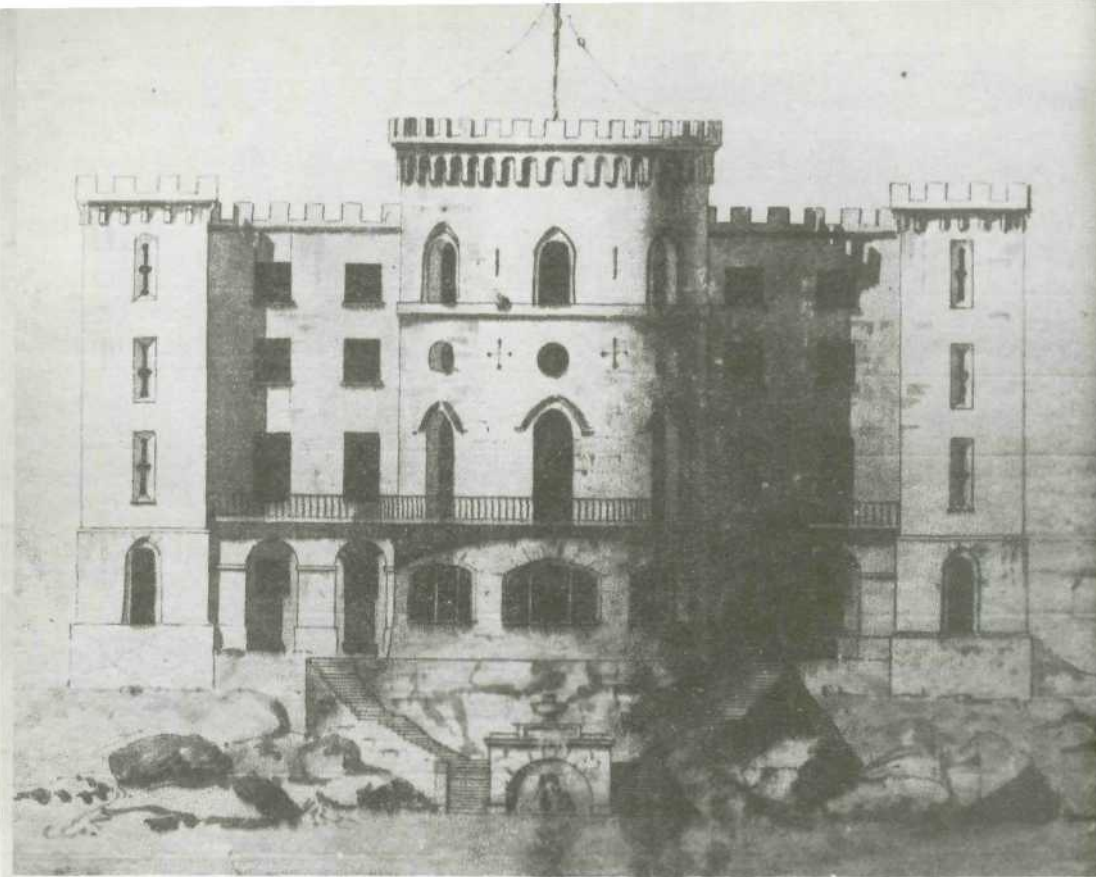
for which drawings dated 1802 are in the National Library,⁴² Johnston provided a rigidly symmetrical solution. Irish battlements enliven the roofline; chimney stacks have been turned into turrets; and over the centre of the house rises an Inverary motif; towers have been added to the corners of the house. Gothic formulae—labels, shallow pointed arches—have been applied to the windows, but Johnston's Headfort stubbornly remains a large classical country house that has been prettified in a castle style.

At St. Catherine's the following year Johnston suggested a genuinely prettier solution.⁴³ Again, gothic formulae were applied, but even less substantial additions were proposed than in Headfort. An elegant gateway joining the house to a little chapel to the north gives the east front of the design (Plate 15) as drawn, an attractive asymmetry. However, in the other elevations—the main entrance elevation and the long southern elevation overlooking the Liffey—Johnston made insistent demands on regularity and symmetry. On the southern facade these are disturbed by the projection from the side elevation of the oval bay.⁴⁴ The regularity of the window levels is disturbed by the lancets in the "towers," but again Johnston let St. Catherine's remain clearly a classical house, altered in a very routine and insubstantial way.

42) I.A.R.A. Coll., PF 3.

43) As well as drawings in I.A.R.A. Coll., PF 2. there are two elevations in I.A.R.A. Coll., PF 16.

44) This is a recurring feature of Johnston's designs—that the symmetry of complete facades is perfect, if we ignore what may project slightly from other facades. It appears at Killeen, Glenmore and Markree as well as at St. Catherine's. It is a relaxed symmetry, as distinct from a more abstract type which might apply to the plan considered as a whole.



19. Slane Castle, proposed elevation by James Gandon (Nat. Libr.).

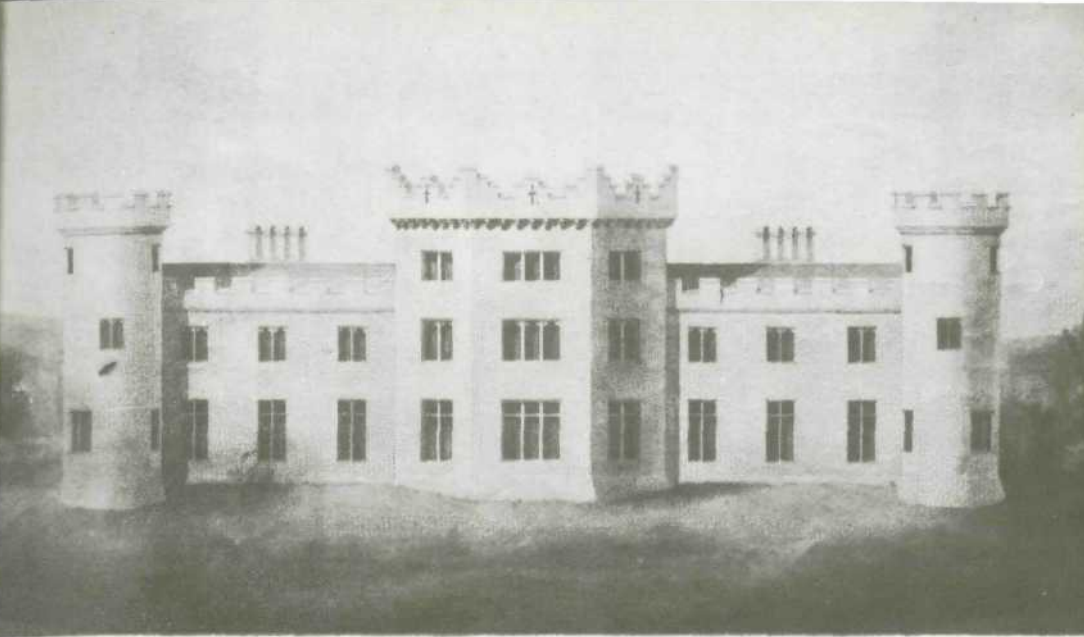
The major works in the second category are on Killeen Castle,⁴⁵ Markree,⁴⁶ and Glenmore.⁴⁷ Johnston's early, unexecuted designs for Killeen are interesting. There is a freedom and an informality of plan (Plate 15a) which appears elsewhere in his work; the attempt not simply to preserve the symmetry of the exterior but to introduce a symmetry which the original mediaeval castle never possessed is also typical. But the deep niches of the Library come as a surprise, and the informality of plan is brought to far greater degrees than anywhere else. Johnston liked a freedom in plan and he liked the large sweep of ample curves to play a part in the plan—one thinks of the half elliptical bedrooms of Corbalton Hall and of Markree; but the play with irregular room shapes, with circles, with ten sided figures and even with piano-shaped rooms is paralleled nowhere else in his work. These designs were not executed.

The design as built exploits the projections of the original façade, but only slightly (Plate 16). The chances these projections provided for varying the skyline

45) Co. Meath; for Lord Fingall; Drawings in *I.A.R.A. Coll.*, PF 3, signed and dated 1802 and alternative designs in 1803-4. Later enlarged by Shiel.

46) Or Mercury Castle, Co. Sligo, for Joshua Edward Cooper; drawings in *I.A.R.A. Coll.*, PF 3, signed and dated 1802-4.

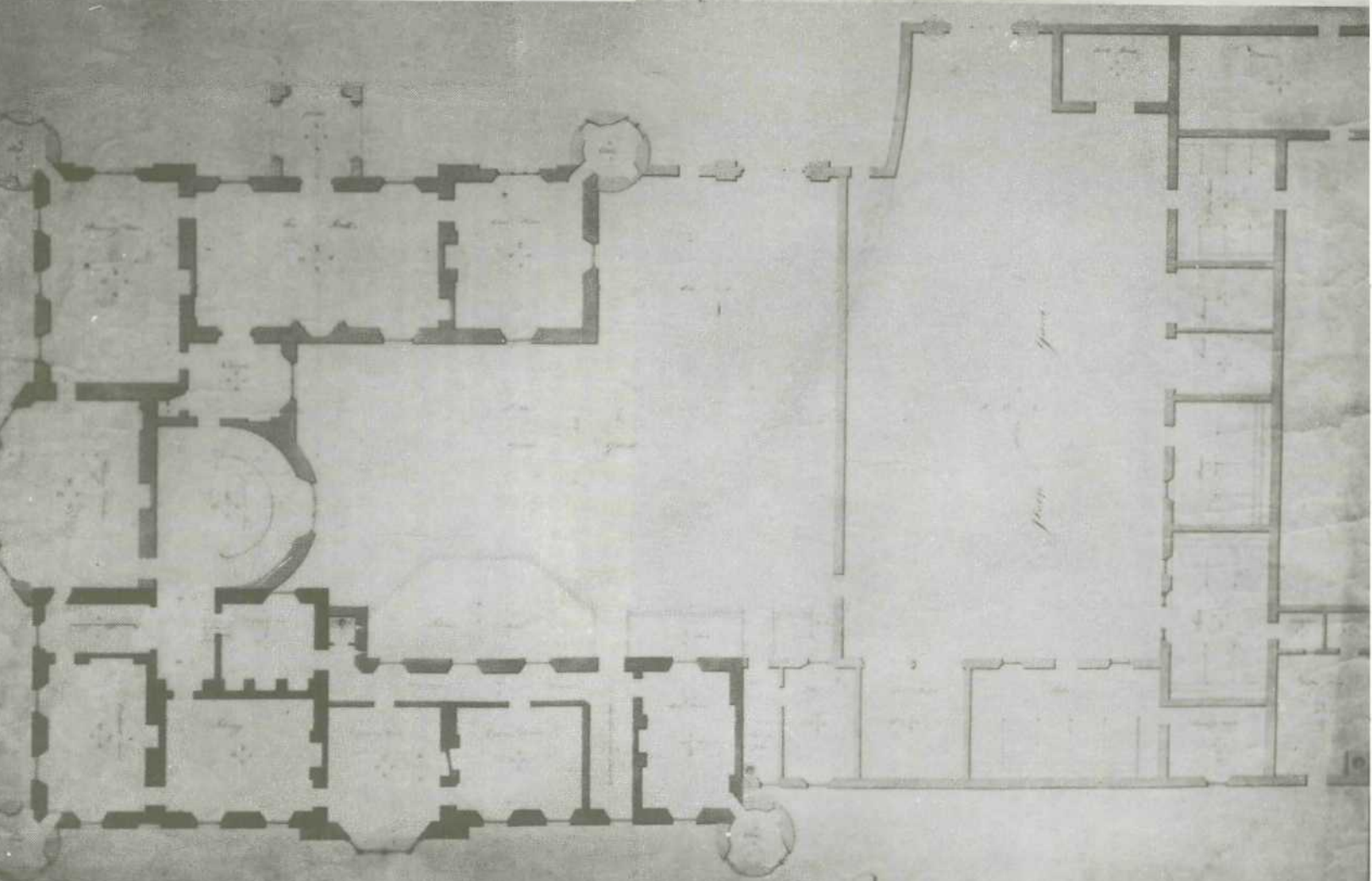
47) Co. Wicklow; for Francis Synge; drawings in *I.A.R.A. Coll.*, PF 13 and PF 14. Now in ruins.



20. Glenmore Castle, Co. Wicklow, design for south-east elevation by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).

in a picturesque way were ignored. Johnston started out here in Killeen with an original mediaeval castle and finished with a structure that almost looks as if it could be a cleverly gothicized classical house. The Romance of the castle was killed. The logical, serious, painstaking Johnston had no control over the powerful association of ideas, so important in the appreciation of the castle style. At Markree, Johnston built large additions in the castle style to an originally classical house (Plate 17). The long south-east front (Plate 18) repeats the basic scheme of Slane Castle, but the Slane as designed by James Gandon (Plate 19) rather than by Wyatt. The long facade is organised just as at Slane, but it has been flattened out, with the central semicircular tower replaced by a more gentle and a shallower curve. The pointed arches of the ground floor of the central tower¹⁸ echo Slane, and the circular openings below echo an alternative design by Gandon for Slane.⁴⁰ The skyline, though enlivened with Irish battlements, has been made more even than in Slane and this, together with the flattening of the facade and the discontinuity of floor levels and windows, makes of this main elevation of Markree a much less powerfully massed whole than Gandon's scheme. Markree, of course, lacks the dramatic situation of Slane overlooking a sharp fall of ground, sweeping down to the Boyne; but essentially it was Johnston's treatment of the theme,⁵⁰ with his reluctance to use pronounced vertical or horizontal projections, which denied Markree the drama of Gandon's design.

- 48) Johnston's original design was for three pointed arches in the ground floor of the central "tower"; only the middle opening was built arched.
- 49) Illustrated in catalogue of **I.A.D.** exhibition 1965, No. 68; drawing in I.A.R.A. Coll., PF 2. These openings were built square, at Markree.
- 50) The relationships between Markree and Slane Castle, and between RokebyHall and Lucan House, have some features in common. In both cases Johnston's houses are more static, less richly modelled than the earlier buildings.



1. Glenmore Castle, ground floor plan by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).

Johnston's plan of the castle of Glenmore



22. Charleville Castle, Co. Offaly.

Country Life,

The relentless symmetry of the separate elevations of Glenmore (Plates 20, 21), the shallow projections—this time in the form of canted bays as in the parlour at Killeen, the narrow corner towers as at Headfort, the central accent enlivened with Irish battlements as at Markree, and the classical proportions of solid to void in the flat intermediate wings, all these can be seen as predictable in a Johnston castle. The refusal at Markree to fuse the potentially powerful forms into a forcefully massed composition became, at Glenmore, a failure to synthesise the masses into satisfying elevations: the south-east front of Glenmore can be seen as an inverted Markree-Slane theme, with a polygonal projection of three bays in the centre of the façade separated by flat intermediate wings of three bays from circular corner towers. The corner towers and central motif rise up above the level of the neighbouring bays but this variation of level is compromised by the intervening chimney stacks. The interiors at Glenmore were classical, and the broad sweep of the curved staircases of Townley Hall and Corbalton Hall was repeated. Otherwise the plan is uneventful and informal and, like the elevations, a little dull. The bleakness which Johnston chose to impart to the elevations he imparted even to the surrounding landscape in this drawing. He was not fair to the country-side around the Devil's Glen: looking at the house, one feels that he may not have been entirely fair to Francis Synge either.

At first sight Charleville Forest, built for the Earl of Charleville from 1801 onwards,⁵¹ is spectacularly different from Johnston's other castle style houses. The entrance elevation (Plates 22, 23) shows a very marked asymmetry. The roofline develops the Inverary tower motif suggested for Headfort House, while the round north-east corner tower, a little self-consciously, makes a determined bid for irregularity. The main block of the house is nearly square in plan, with a tower at each corner—square towers at the corners of the rear elevation, and on the entrance front a broad circular tower on the left corner, and on the right

51) Drawings for Charleville Forest are in the I.A.R.A. Coll.. PF 2, signed and dated 1801. See Mark Girouard, *Country Life*, 27 September 1962.



23. Charleville Castle, view of entrance elevation.

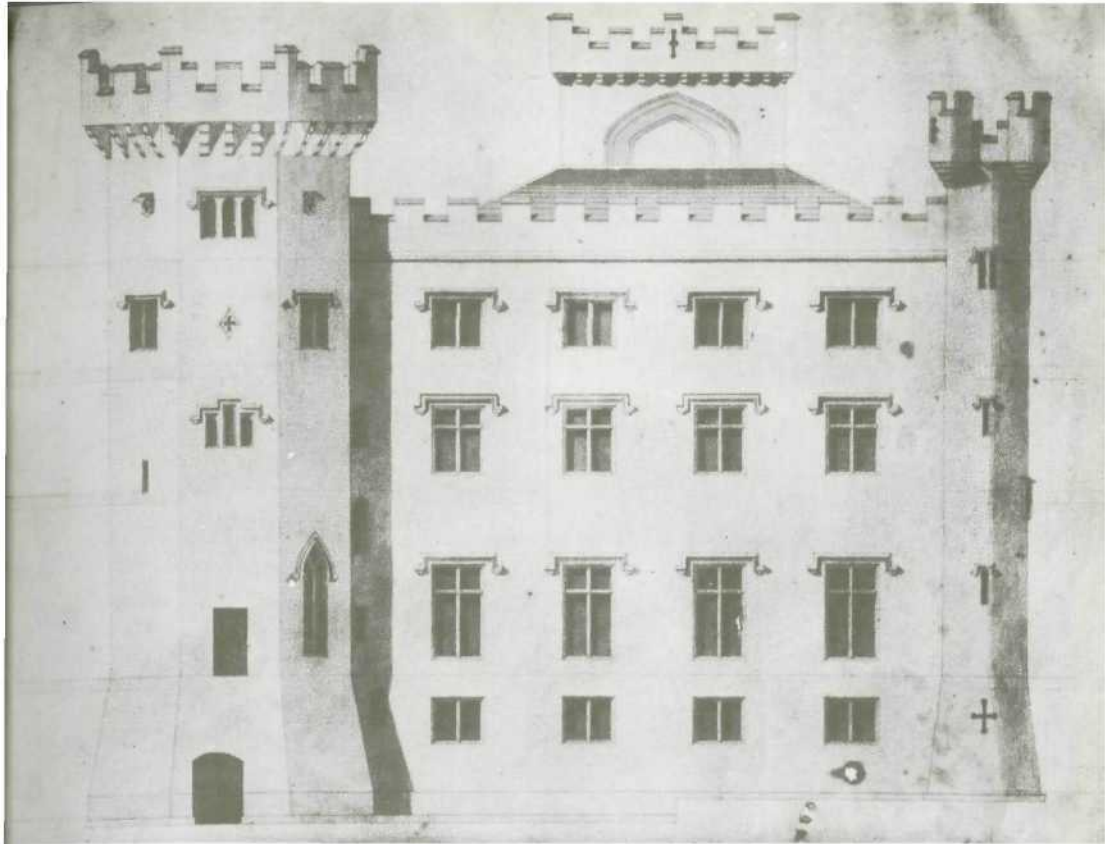
Country Life.

an octagonal one. From this octagonal tower runs out a lower range of buildings—chapel, kitchens, offices—on a diagonal axis. "Ore-like in its sprawl, the character of the house was forbidding, even cruel; and in Irish architecture this was entirely new."⁶²

A letter from Lady Louisa Conolly to Lady Charleville dated November 8, 1800,⁵³ mentions the very considerable part which the patron played in the design of this castle. Her statement, however, that he had "planned it all himself" is unlikely to refer to the castle as built. Johnston's drawings date from the following year, and throughout the building can be seen Johnston's attempts to assert himself over Charleville's demands which were basically foreign to his nature as an architect. The buildings beyond the chapel on the diagonal wing—the offices—are quite symmetrical. The elevations of the main block (apart from the entrance front) are, apart from the corner towers, as symmetrical, regular

52) Rowan, *op.cit.*

53) This letter is quoted in Girouard, *op.cit.* "I am very glad to hear that you have begun your Castle . . . and Lord Tullamoore I am sure will enjoy it much having planned it all himself."



24. Charleville Castle, design of east elevation by Francis Johnston (**Nat. Libr.**).

and austere as any elevation of Townley (Plate 24). Even with the corner towers, the rear elevation is entirely symmetrical.

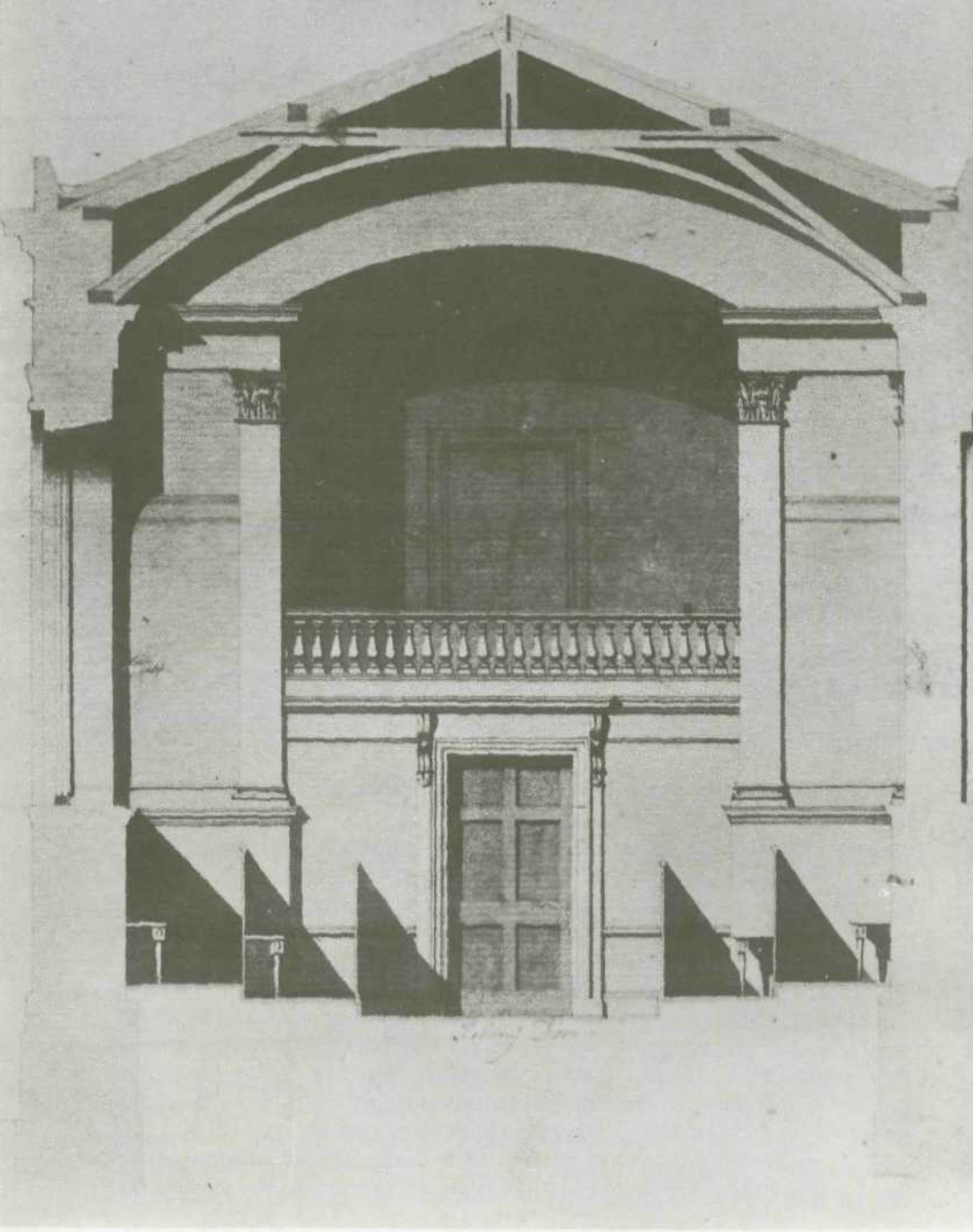
Inside, the details of plumbing, joinery and decoration are entirely Johnstonian. Water which is collected from the roof is piped to lavatories; there are open fan shapes in the window reveals,⁵⁴ gently convex chimney breasts,⁵⁵ crisply carved oak leaves and acorns on the chimneypieces, plaster vaulting in the passages leading from the centrally placed bedroom hall which rises through the first and second storeys and is top-lit by a dome in the Inverary tower. The fan-vaulting in the great Gallery anticipates the vaulting of the aisles of the Chapel Royal. The design for the chimneypiece in this Gallery is taken from a door in Magdalen College.⁵⁶ Further, the plaster moulding on the ribs of the small first floor room in the large circular tower reappears in the vaults of the Board Room and Governor's Room in the Bank of Ireland.

That many of the decorative details in Charleville should reappear in the Bank, in the Chapel Royal or in St. George's is not surprising since these works

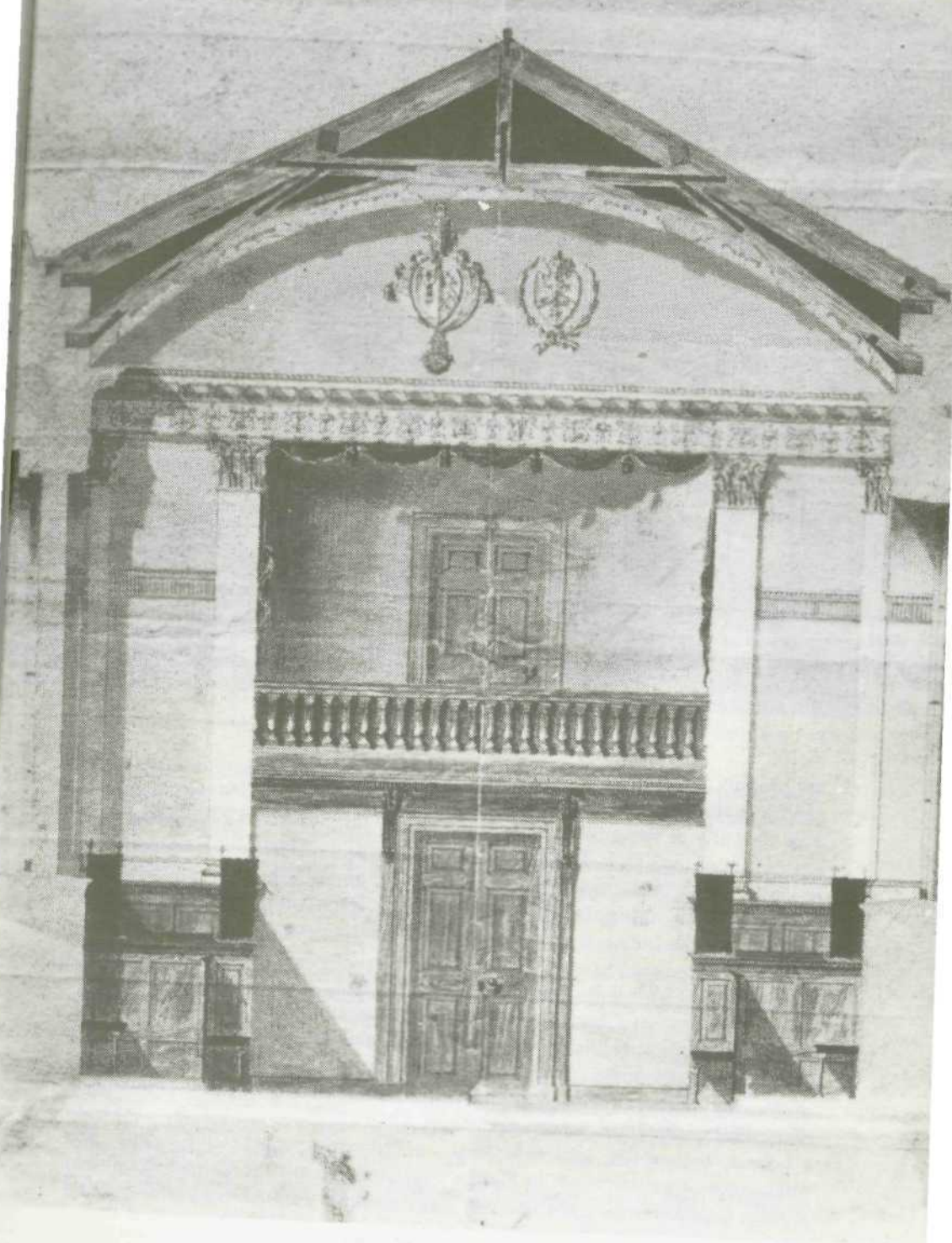
54) Dr. Maurice Craig has pointed out that these characteristic fan shapes occur in Kilcarty by Thomas Ivory.

55) As in Armagh Observatory.

56) This was pointed out by Girouard, *op.cit.*



25. Primate's Chapel, Armagh, design for interior of west end, by Thomas Cooley (Nat. Libr.).



26. Primate's Chapel, design for interior of west end, by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).



27. Primate's Chapel, view of west end.

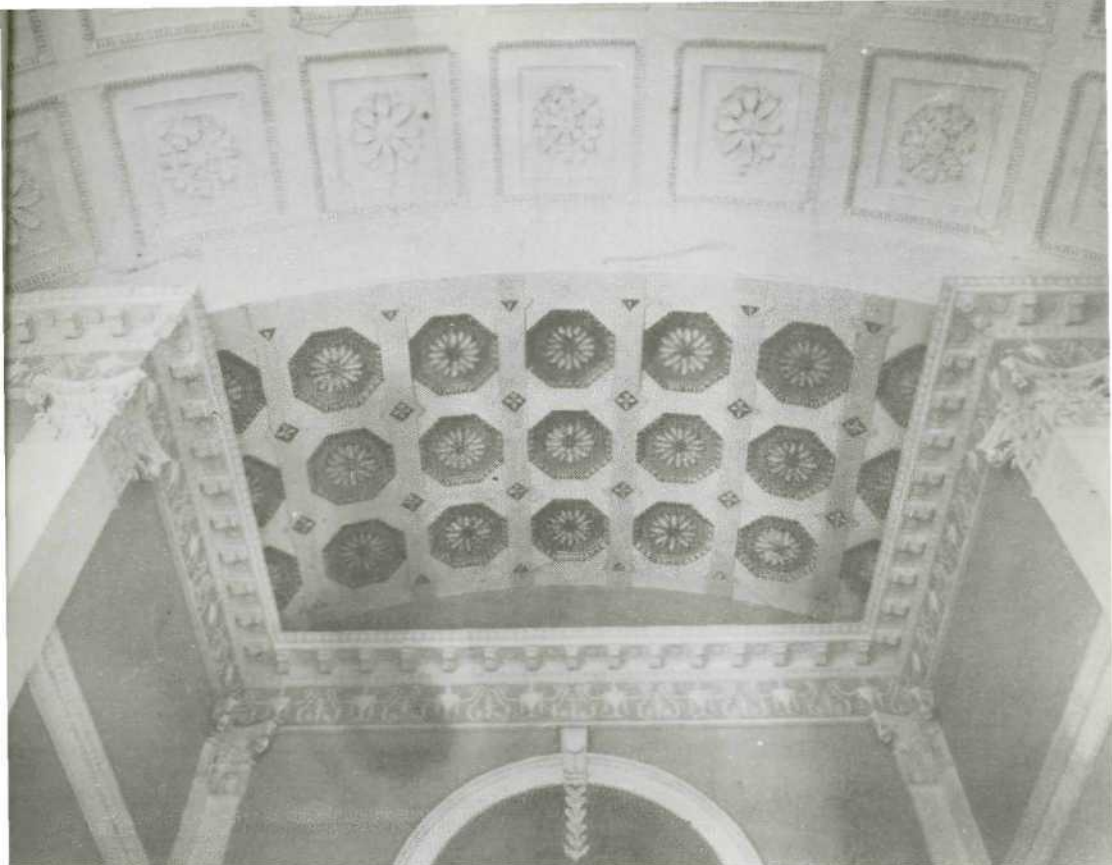
are roughly contemporary with Charleville.⁶⁷ But the fact that some such details can be shared by buildings as stylistically varied as these is more noteworthy. This property of versatility was pointed out by Dr. Maurice Craig.⁶⁸ The crisp naturalism of the oak leaf mouldings in St. George's or Townley Hall is entirely in keeping with the moods of the Dublin church and of the Louth mansion. Yet it attains a new appropriateness in Charleville Forest, not only to the Gothic character of the house, but to the site of the ancient oak forests of Offaly on which the house stands.

Part of the significance of Johnston's castle style houses lay in the fact that all of them, except Glenmore, had fully Gothic interiors. As with the Greek Revival, it was not Johnston who initiated the fashion in Ireland, but it was he who helped to popularize the style. Alistair Rowan has shown the importance of Wyatt's Library in Slane Castle for this development of the idea of a Gothic domestic interior.⁵⁹ In Slane we can see, not only the origin of the idea, but, I believe, the specific source for many of Johnston's decorative motifs. The abundance of plaster heads in Slane immediately recalls the Chapel Royal and Killeen Castle. Further, the low dado, the oak leaf and acorn mouldings, and

57) Charleville, begun in 1801, was not finished until 1812.

58) M. Craig, *op.cit.*, p. 282.

59) Rowan, *op.cit.*, p. 238.



28. Primate's Chapel, view of east end of ceiling.

the kind of bubbling-seaweed carving all lead back to indicate another aspect of the profound influence of James Wyatt on Johnston, and through him on Irish architecture.

Johnston's castle style phase was short.⁶⁰ Ironically, the most successful and influential building of this period—Charleville—was the one where his personality, though evident, was obscured by the demands of the owner, demands which Johnston could not have been happy to satisfy. The romance of the castle style was foreign to his cautious nature, and it was the last experiment he made in domestic architecture. His abandonment of the style when work on Pakenham Hall finished in 1810 reflects not so much a rejection of a style which he realized as unsuitable, but rather a slackening in the domestic side of his practice. For in 1805 he had been appointed Architect of the Board of Works and Civil Buildings, and the bulk of his work was to be centred in Dublin from that date, until his architectural activity began to decline with the rise of the General Post Office, sometime before 1820.

60) In 1806 he made alterations to Pakenham Hall (now known as Tullyally House), Co. Westmeath, for the Earl of Longford, Drawings in I.A.R.A. Coll., PF 6. Later additions are by James Shiel and Richard Morrison. In 1814 he suggested additions and castellations to Kiltruddery House, Co. Wicklow, for the Earl of Meath. Drawings in I.A.R.A. Coll., PF 6. These suggestions were not adopted, and are of interest only as extreme instances of how far Johnston sometimes went in the search for symmetry. In PF 19 there are plans by Johnston and Murray for unimportant extensions to Howth Castle, in 1825.



29. Primate's Chapel, pilaster capital.

2. CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

When Francis Johnston succeeded Cooley in 1784 as architect to Primate Robinson, his first task was to complete the buildings which Cooley had begun and left unfinished at his death. He erected the tower and spire over the crossing of the Cathedral in Armagh and an obelisk on Knox's Hill in the grounds of the Primate's Palace. He also decorated the interior of the Primate's Chapel, a little temple by Cooley with a tetrastyle Ionic portico standing beside the Palace. Some very fine stone details on the exterior of this Chapel, reflected in the very high quality of the stone details in Cooley's Royal Exchange in Dublin, suggest that one of Johnston's important debts to Cooley was a careful and meticulous attention to stonework.

As can be seen from Cooley's designs for the interior (Plate 25), Johnston was tactful in his approach and mindful of Cooley's original intentions. There is a drawing¹ in the National Library, signed by Johnston, and dated 1785 (Plate 26), which shows the interior of the chapel largely as it exists today (Plate 27). It is a superbly executed drawing,² and its phenomenal minuteness of detail shows

1) This drawing is in the I.A.R.A. Coll., PF 2, Armagh Palace folder, No. 4.

2) It must, however, be admitted that the light falls from the left. The only windows in the drawing are on the right. This photograph conveys none of the remarkably detailed quality of the drawing.



30. St. Peter's Church, Drogheda, view of steeple (Lawr. Coll.)



31. Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle, view of north elevation (Lawr. Coll.).

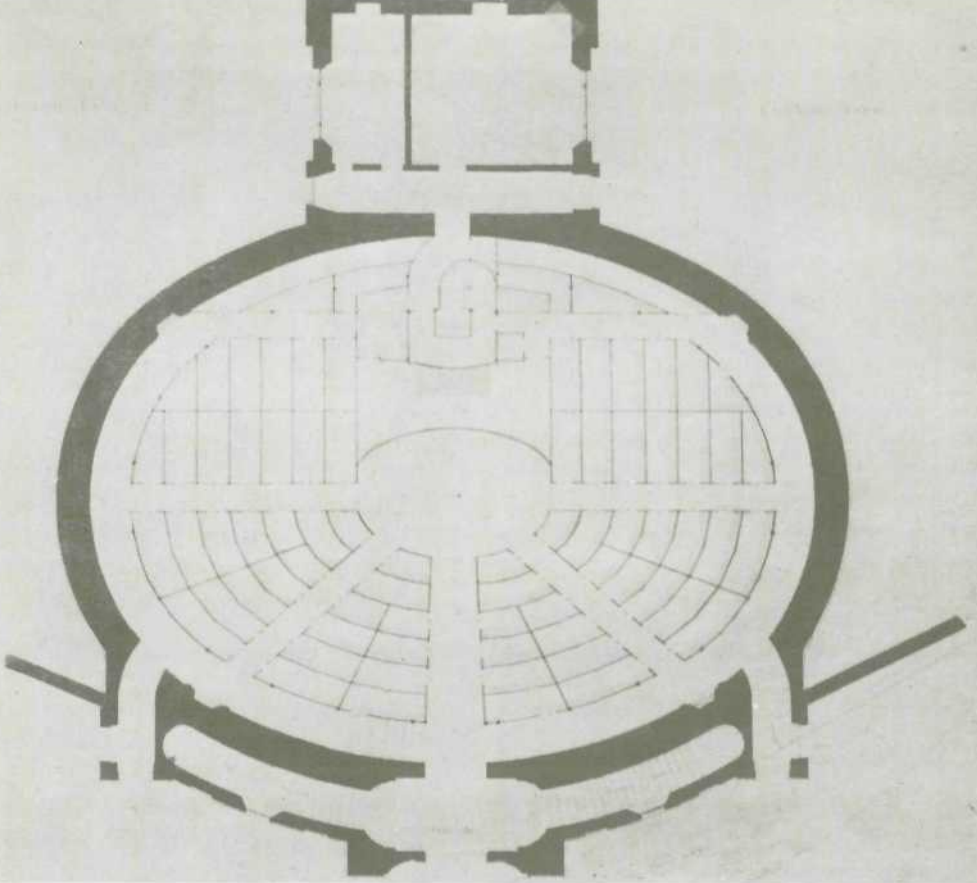
the exacting standards of the architect who demanded, and obtained, similar standards from his craftsmen. Structural changes from Cooley's design are few. The windows have been changed from the left wall to the right, the gallery has been given a curved rear wall and the entablature is carried in Johnston's design continuously over the gallery. Panelling has been added to the walls which thus become clearly divided into zones—the zone of pews, and raised above this, the zone articulated with pilasters.³ The gallery balusters have become attenuated and graceful. Draperies, always a favourite with Johnston, decorate the gallery. The ceiling has become coffered, with rosettes in the coffers; and a delicate frieze which almost looks as if it might have been designed by Michael Stapleton, surrounds the whole room (Plate 28).

The chapel interiors show two decorative strains. On the one hand is the effete and rather standard frieze, and the equally routine formalism of the capitals (Plate 29). On the other hand is the rectangular sobriety of the ceiling (Plate 28), with the petals of its rosettes curling up at the ends according to vegetable laws rather than the laws of plaster. For the first strain, Johnston had no time. He was more interested in experiment than in formula. He rarely used enriched friezes and in the General Post Office, when he decorated the frieze over the portico, he turned the traditional anthemion frieze into a knotted, rather wild and muscular affair. His real interest lay in the development of the second strain, and in the use of a crisp naturalism, sparingly used, and circumscribed by hard

3) This division of the walls into zones, with the pilasters rising from above the seated community, can be seen as the Bank Cash Office scheme in embryo.



32. Chapel Royal, view of east end.



33. **St. Andrew's Church, Dublin, plan by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).**

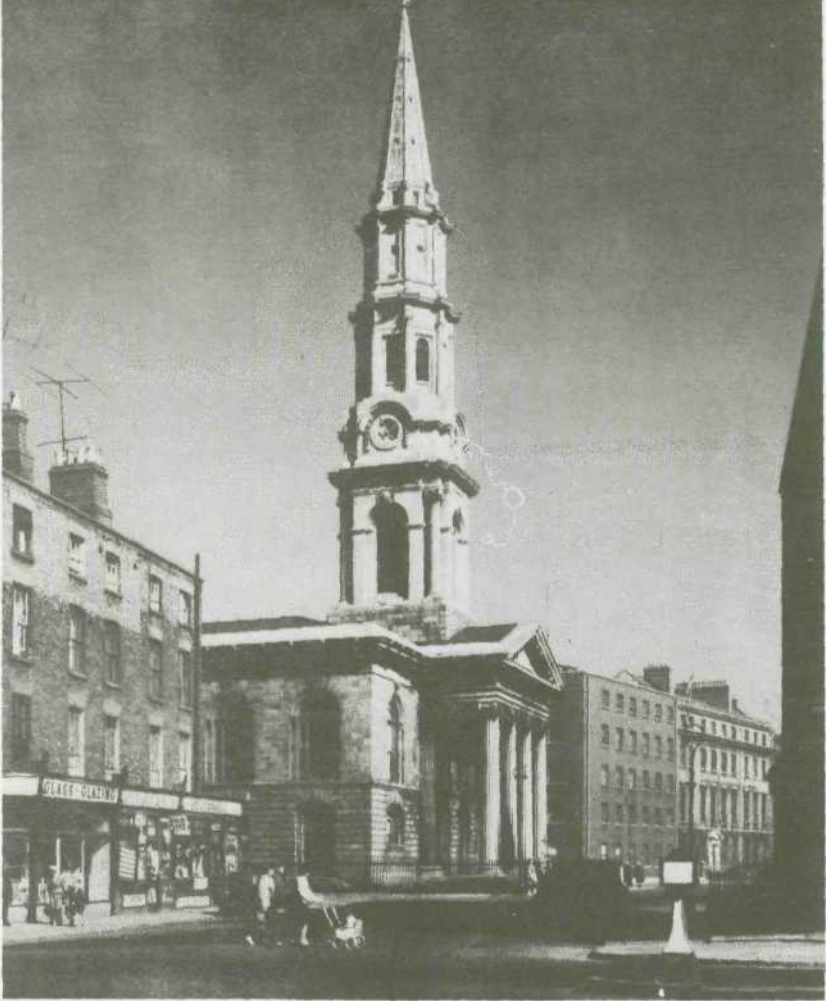
geometrical shapes. In the rotunda of Townley, there is the formula of the ox-head frieze; but there are the oak leaf garlands bent into semi-ellipses, and there is the vine running through a primitive Greek fret. In many ways, the Townley rotunda is more experimental than the Primate's Chapel, but both look forward to the full resolution of his style in the early years of the nineteenth century.

Johnston's supervision of work originally designed by Cooley at Ballymackenny Church has already been mentioned, and a close dependence on Cooley's style is evident later in Johnston's work on the steeples at Slane in 1797; St. Andrew's, Dublin and St. Catherine's, Tullamore. Johnston's activity in designing steeples for churches⁴ is probably an expression of his own interest in bell-ringing. (To house his own collection of bells, he built a tower, now demolished, behind his house in Dublin.) In the Public Library at Armagh there is an interesting collection of drawings by Cooley, dated 1773 and 1774, for churches. No specific parishes or locations for these churches are mentioned, and it appears

4) John Betjeman, in *The Pavilion*, lists as a "doubtful attribution" to Johnston the spire of Lismore Cathedral. The Dean of Lismore, Very Rev. Gilbert Mayes, M.A., has pointed out to me, however, that the spire was the work of the brothers Paine of Cork, in 1827/8. The Paines were pupils of Nash, and enjoyed a considerable practice in the south of Ireland.



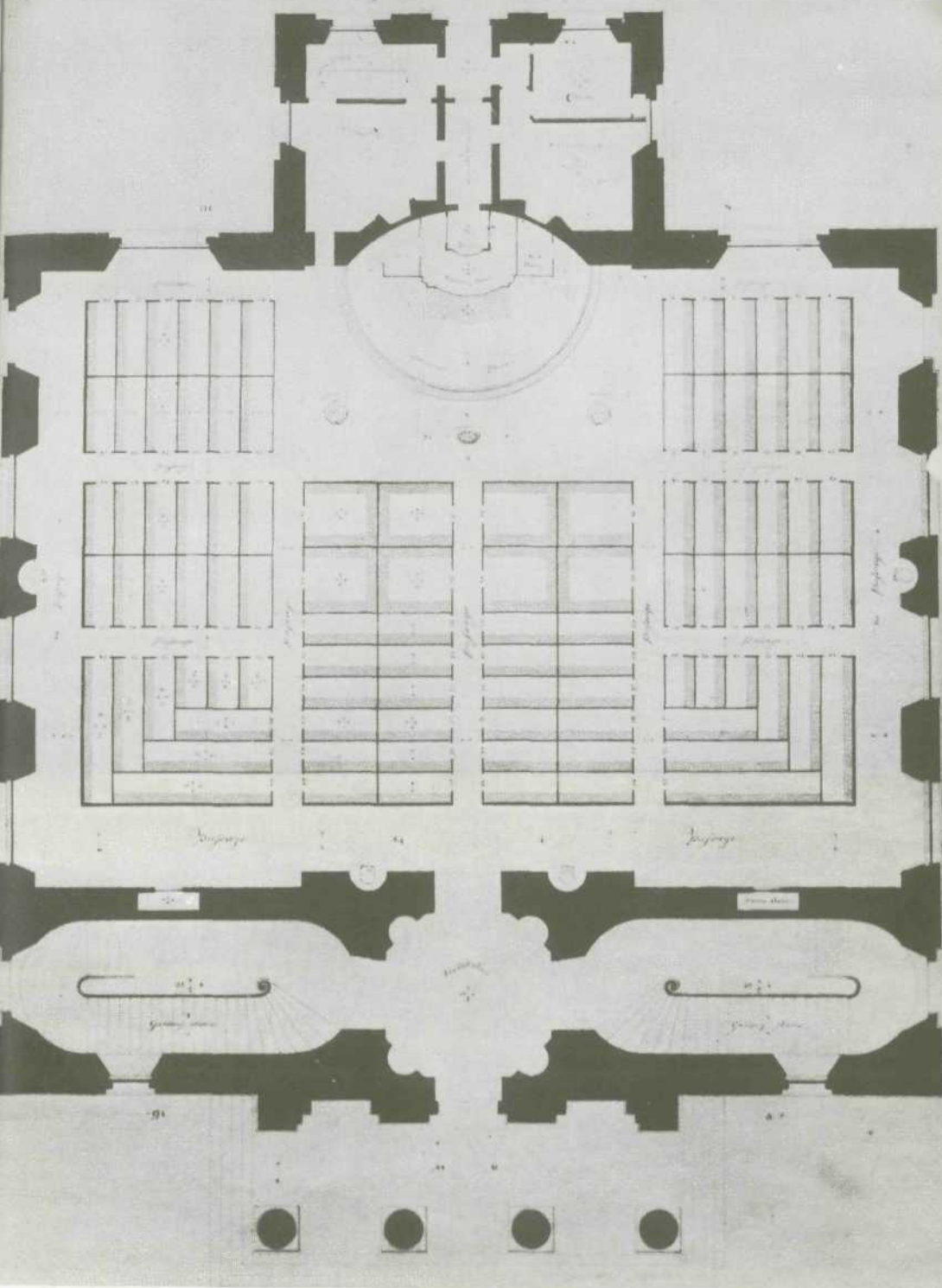
34. St. George's Church, Dublin, view from Temple Street.



35. St. George's Church, view from Eccles Street.

that the collection of designs was made as a sample book, with no particular commissions in mind. The plans, like those of the churches of Ballymakenny and Clonmore, are plain, rectangular, with towers on the west ends. The elevations of these towers, some with spires, others without, consist largely of assemblies of standard elements in different combinations—pointed windows, labels, rectangular openings with almond-shaped windows, circular elements, coats of arms, corner buttresses ending in pinnacles, battlements. This dull and unimaginative method of combining standard motifs in such a way appears often in Johnston's steeples, even in the very important steeple of St. Andrew's in Dublin. From one who had looked at the Gothic of the English cathedrals, and from one capable of the refined elegance of the St. George's steeple, more might have been expected than a routine reliance on Cooley's rather impoverished style.

The steeple of St. Peter's church in Drogheda (Plate 30), of about 1790 is slightly exceptional, in being more experimental than his other designs. Here he



36. St. George's Church, ground plan by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).



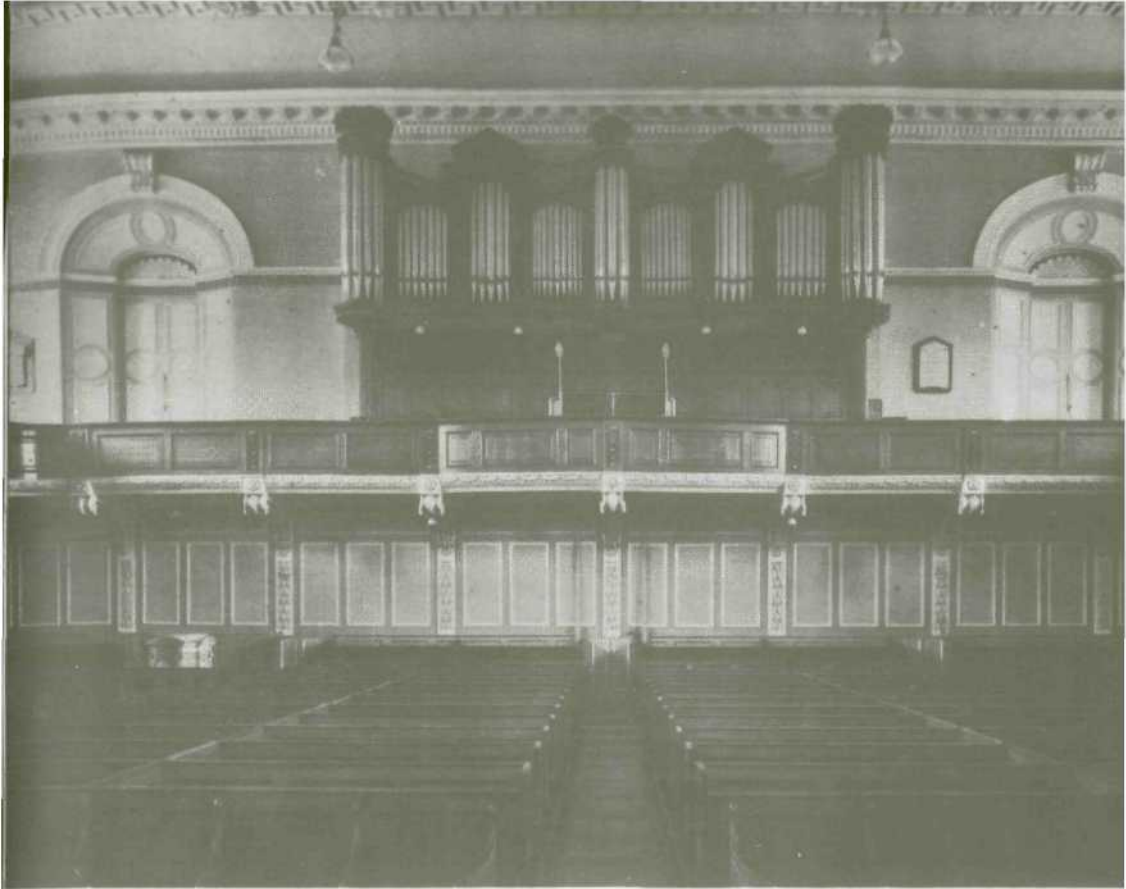
37. St. George's Church, view under gallery.

put a spire on a tower whose details are classical rather than Gothic. The small deep semicircular openings repeat a theme of one of the lower storeys of the tower of the Rotunda Lying-in Hospital in Dublin. The circular element with side brackets supporting a pediment comes from Gibbs⁵ as, perhaps, do the perforations in the spire. The base of the spire itself recalls the base of the spire of the church at Hillsborough, Co. Down,⁶ a favourite haunt of Johnston because of his interest in bell-ringing.

Many of Johnston's churches have fared badly down through the years. Clonmore is ruined. The church at Arklow, and the Roman Catholic churches at Kells and at Drogheda have been demolished. His designs for the church at Castlepollard, Co. Westmeath, were altered, and a cheaper church built. His work in St. Andrew's in Dublin, burnt in the middle of the nineteenth century, is the most tragic loss; but his two other masterpieces, the Chapel Royal in Dublin Castle and St. George's, not only stand but are, happily, immaculately preserved.

5) Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture*, e.g. Plate 23.

6) Alistair Rowan, *op.cit.*, p. 93, suggests that this "very fine example of Georgian Gothic . . . unique in Ireland" may be by Sanderson Miller.



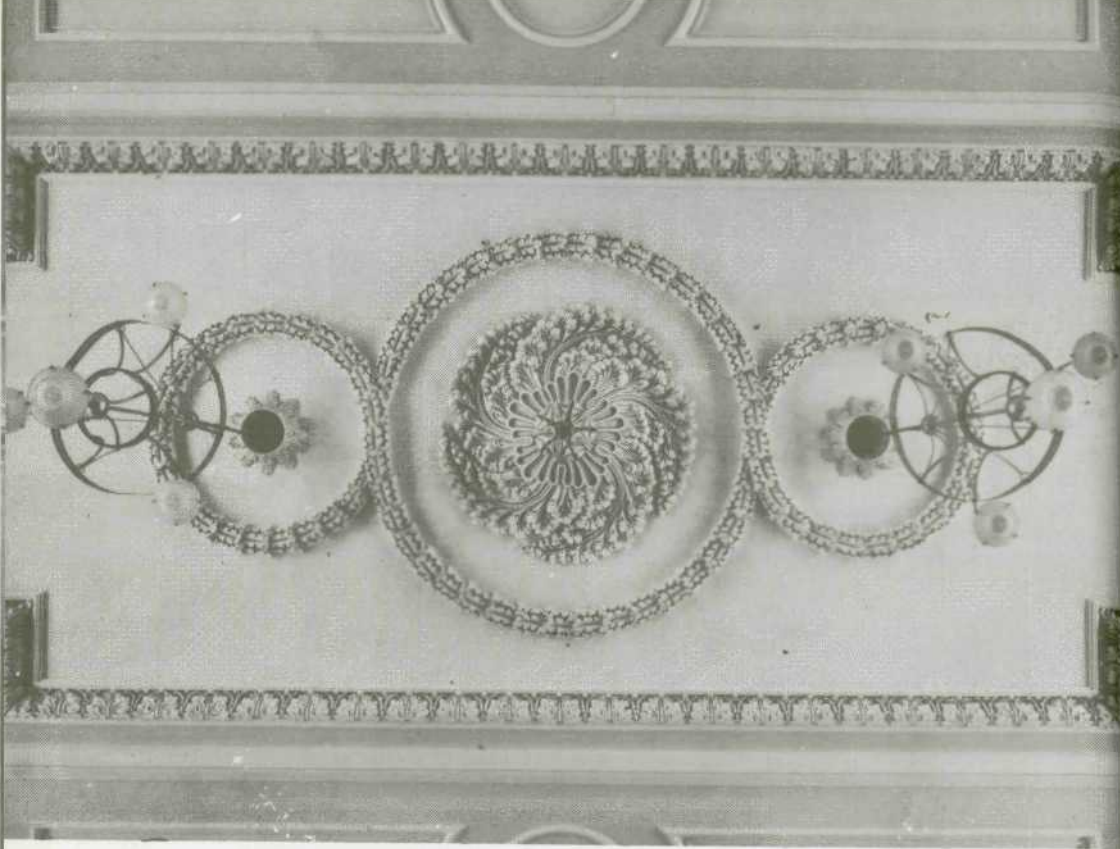
38. St. George's Church, view of west end.

The foundation stone of the Chapel Royal⁷ was laid by the Lord Lieutenant on 15 February, 1807, and the chapel was opened on Christmas Day, 1814.⁸ The exterior of the building (Plate 31) is restrained and not unlike part of the side elevation of Magdalen College viewed from the Quad, if the projecting lower storey—in fact part of the Quad cloister—is projected back onto the flat side façade of the chapel. The stone used is a dark limestone and the dimensions of the plan were confined to those of the original chapel. The plan is basically rectangular—inside, the chancel projects beyond the ends of the aisles, between offices and sacristies which on the outside can be seen, in fact, to protrude beyond the east end of the chancel. The long side elevations are each divided into six bays by buttresses ending in pinnacles. Each bay is of two storeys over a basement, with tall windows above lighting the galleries.⁹ On the pinnacles and under the labels of the windows are heads sculpted in stone, not out of keeping with the Gothic character of the whole. There is a suggestion, however, of something

7) The chapel was re-consecrated in 1943 as a Catholic Church dedicated to the Most Holy Trinity.

8) Johnston's own description of the Chapel Royal was printed by Patrick Henchy in the *Dublin Historical Record*, December 1949-February 1950.

9) The tracery in these windows strongly resembles that of the Magdalen Chapel windows.

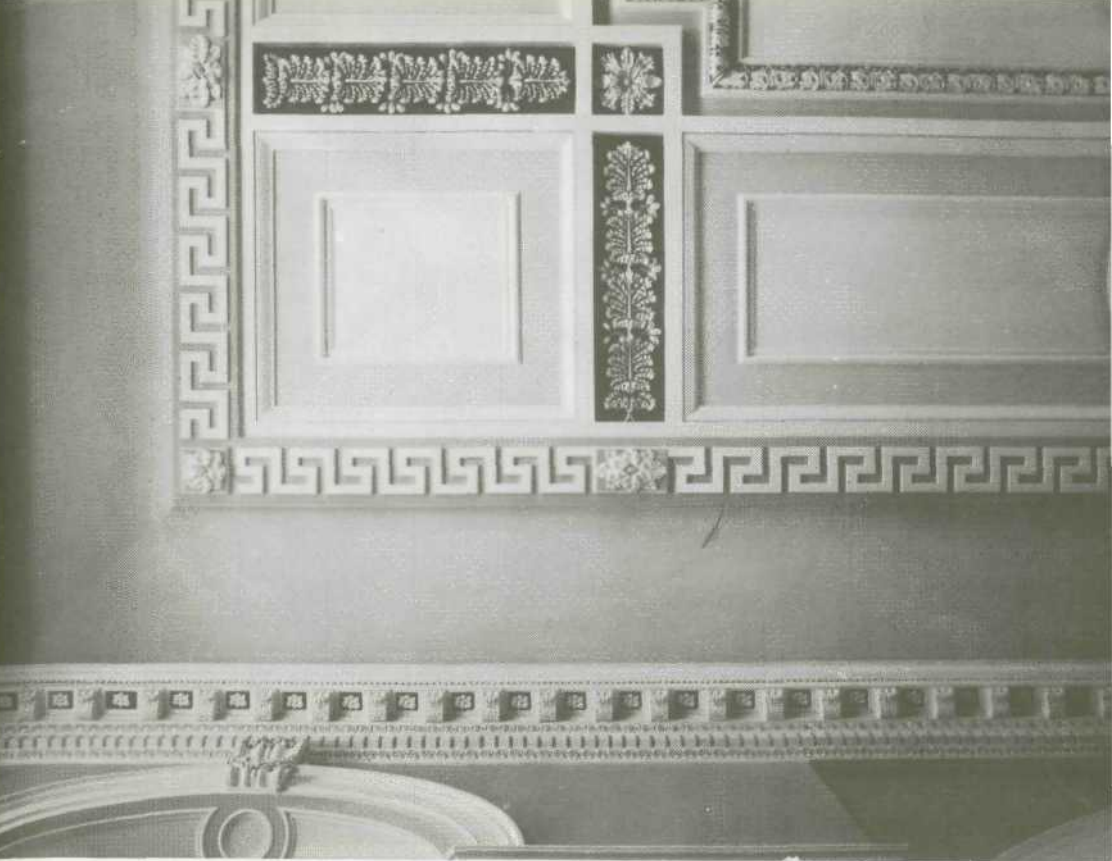


39. St. George's Church, detail of ceiling.

unexpected about to happen in the large full-blooded heads of St. Peter over the north door, of Brian Boru¹⁰ over the east door, and in the three-quarter length figures of Faith, Hope and Charity over the east window.¹¹ The whole effect of the grey severity of the exterior, however, does not prepare one for the exuberance inside. The entrance to the church is from a low, narrow vestibule on the west, above which is an upper vestibule opening into the gallery. No grander approach from the west could easily have been planned, since the space was limited by the proximity of the Record Tower.¹²

The interior measures 73 feet by 35 feet, and is divided, despite its narrowness, into a nave and side aisles (Plate 32). The aisles contain a gallery which continues around the west end where it holds an organ. The ceiling of the nave is groin vaulted, and over the gallery the ceilings of the aisles have a rich fan

- 10) Brian Boru was the first High King of Ireland. He died in 1014.
- 11) All the exterior figure carving, and the plaster figures inside, are by Edward Smyth and his son John. The stucco ceilings inside are by George, the son of Michael Stapleton, who decorated Belvedere House. Michael Stapleton died in 1801 and should not be confused—as sometimes happens—with his son whose style in stucco, seen in the Chapel Royal (and probably in the somewhat similar Killeen Castle) is totally different.
- 12) Towards the end of his work on the chapel, Johnston recased the upper storeys of the Record Tower, and added battlements. For engravings of this work, and his lay-out of the interiors see the Reports from the Commissioners . . . respecting the Public Records of Ireland 1810-1815.



40. St. George's Church, detail of ceiling.

vaulting with pendants, as if the ceiling of the Charleville Gallery had been contracted and squeezed into the confined narrowness of the galleries here. The ceilings under the galleries are laid out in tracery, whose lines agree with the lines of the fan vaulting of the upper ceilings, but projected onto a flat ground. The pendants are more compressed, and their terminations are decorated with cherubs' heads.

The general effect of this interior is one of pomp and richness, a richness of both colour and form. The pale plasterwork enriched with gold, and the darkness of the richly carved oak meet in a light softened by coloured glass. Plaster mouldings rise in a frothy spray in ogee shapes over the pointed arches of the nave. Everywhere are plaster corbel heads of kings, evangelists and saints. The glass panels of the side windows are filled with the arms of Viceroy's. The wooden gallery fronts, too, carry arms, as does the panelling of the chancel; and below these arms, running all around the galleries, is a carved wooden band of "bubbling seaweed" pattern which appears in the gallery of Charleville. The consistency of the decorative scheme is carefully planned—the heraldry in glass and wood, the heads in carved wood and plaster, and the foliage in glass and plaster and wood—these themes culminated in the pulpit, originally placed high in the centre of the east end, raising the preacher to the level of the gallery where the



41. Daly's Club House and Parliament House, from the engraving by R. Havell, after T. S. Roberts, c. 1815 (National Gallery of Ireland).

pew of the archbishop faced that of the Lord Lieutenant.¹³ The pulpit was central to the decorative programme of the whole chapel. On it, the carver, Richard Stewart, combined episcopal arms with naturalistically carved foliage, and set it on a shaft terminating in a cluster of four heads,¹⁴ a clear allusion to the clustered cherubs' heads on the pendants below the galleries. But here, the heads are those of the four evangelists and thus the pulpit—placed in the chancel over which rises a vault whose ribs spring at each corner from the head of an evangelist—acted as a focal point of the chapel, and with a thoughtful allusiveness perfected the consistency of the whole scheme. It is a pity to see here, and in St. George's, such thoughtfulness frustrated.

This consistency must be seen underlying the apparently undisciplined frivolity of the Chapel Royal, when we attempt to place this interior in Johnston's otherwise more controlled decorative work. It is also important to acknowledge that, unlikely though it may seem, Johnston in the Chapel Royal was trying to be authentically Gothic. Firstly, it appears from the diary he kept of his English tour in 1796,¹⁵ that the qualities he admired most in Gothic architecture were its lightness and elegance rather than its structural expressiveness. At Gloucester Cathedral, he admired

"the lightness and true proportion of the Buttresses, the neatness of the belt courses and elegance of the Gothic screen and pinnacles of the Tower. . . ."

13) The pulpit has been moved to St. Werburgh's Church, Dublin.

14) The pulpit is illustrated in H. Wheeler and M. Craig, *The Dublin City Churches of the Church of Ireland*, Dublin 1948, Plate **XVII**.

15) The diary is now in the Armagh County Museum.

Salisbury was looked at in the same way—he admired the "height, lightness and elegance of execution" of the Cathedral Tower. The Cathedral itself "is a beautiful light gothick structure with a just uniformity of style in every part." These are the only characteristics of Gothic which he mentions.¹⁶ He could hardly have been unaware of the structural expressiveness of Gothic, but his non-Gothic work shows a repeated avoidance of becoming explicit about actual means of support for such things as stairs and galleries. He was clearly therefore unlikely to feel at home with anything but the decorative details of Gothic.

It seems then that he sought to achieve a Gothic effect by the multiplication of such details as he considered "correct". His friend Brewer,¹⁷ spoke of the basic seriousness of Johnston's efforts in the Chapel Royal in describing it as "the most elaborate effort made in recent years to revive the antient ecclesiastical style of building." He went on to say that

". . . The plans of the groined ceiling, and of various parts in the detail . . . are derived from the most highly ornamented divisions of York Cathedral."

This seriousness of Johnston's intentions is further confirmed by early commentators on the Gothic Revival. Thomas Bell¹⁸ rather surprisingly wrote in 1828 "The revival of this taste in Ireland has been accomplished, or at least the correct ideas of it which now prevail in this country, have been principally introduced . . . (by) the architect of the Castle chapel."¹⁹

Whatever we may think of the "correctness" of Johnston's Chapel Royal, it seems that he wished it to be correct and authentic. It fails to be this, but remains, with its plaster ceilings, its Virtues reclining in billowing drapery over the east window, and its display of heraldry, the most intimate of his interiors, and precious evidence of the kind of surroundings in which the Viceregal Court felt itself closest to God.

Somewhat similar to the Chapel Royal but much less elaborate was Johnston's chapel of the Foundling Hospital²⁰ described in 1818²¹ as "lately finished." The same source mentions both its "uncommon elegance" and bad acoustics.²² Other Gothic churches such as the church at Kells and St. Peter's Roman Catholic church in Drogheda, both demolished, were of minor importance. St. Catherine's in Tullamore, completed in 1815, was slightly more ambitious. The florid Chapel Royal style was not appropriate for this* country church, so superbly sited on a hill overlooking the town. The interior, with its Latin cross plan, its nave with clerestory, and side aisles is plain and a little dull. For the tower Johnston fell back on the standard Cooley-inspired solution, and one is inclined to think that,

16) In London on 10th April, he wrote that he went to Westminster Abbey "which was open" (!) "took a glance at the monuments and thence to Westminster bridge which I looked at for some time."

17) J. N. Brewer, *Beauties of Ireland 1825-6*, vol. 1, p. 63.

18) Thomas Bell, *Gothic Architecture in Ireland, 1828*, p. 249.

19) Perhaps not unnaturally, Johnston wrote to Thomas Mulvany on 25th February, 1828 that he was assured of the fidelity and accuracy of Bell's work. The letter is quoted by Bell, p. 256.

20) The Foundling Hospital is now St. Kevin's Hospital: the chapel has been demolished.

21) Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh, *History of Dublin, 1818*, p. 585.

22) Direct influence of Johnston's Chapel Royal was seen in William Farrell's closely similar Chapel of the Female Orphan House, built in 1818-19. This has been recently demolished.



42. Armagh Observatory, view of entrance elevation.

on the whole, St. Catherine's is a reflection of Johnston's loss of interest in provincial commissions (apart from country houses) after his move to Dublin.

The major loss in Johnston's ecclesiastical architecture was the destruction by fire in 1860 of St. Andrew's church in Dublin. In May 1793, a committee was appointed to carry out rebuilding of the church, which had become ruinous.²³ The architect was a John Hartwell, and it was found possible to use part of the original walls in the new structure, thus preserving the unusual elliptical plan. The church was used by the Members of the adjoining Parliament House, and in 1799, with little perception of what was to befall the Irish Parliament in the following year, they voted £ 1,000

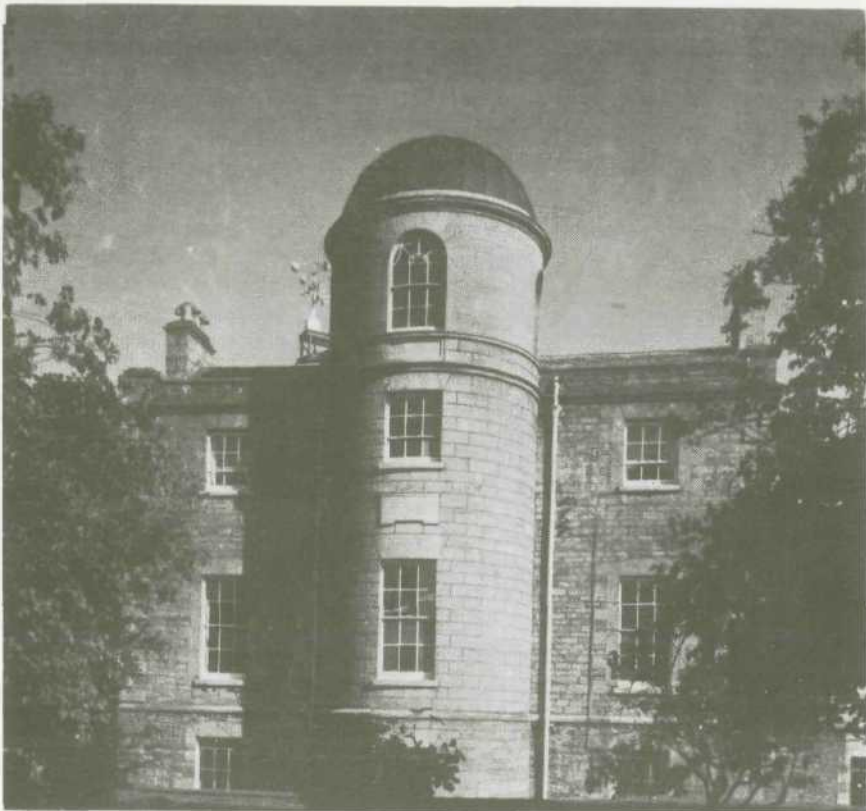
"to enable the parish to complete the repair of the church, and to make proper accommodation in it for the reception of the Members of the House of Commons and their Speaker."²⁴

In 1800 Johnston succeeded Hartwell as architect and worked on the church until it was re-opened in 1807. This work, his first major commission in Dublin, included the arrangement of the interior and the design for a gothic tower (which was never built).²⁵

23) An interesting account of the work on St. Andrew's from 1793 onwards is given in J. T. Gilbert's *A History of the City of Dublin*, Vol. 3, pp. 310 ff.

24) Gilbert, *op.cit.*

25) Illustrated in Betjeman, *op.cit.*, p. 31.



43. Armagh Observatory, view of rear elevation.

The exteriors of St. Andrew's²⁶ were of little interest. The steeple was dull, and the other elevations, though showing Johnstonian details, show little individual intervention on Johnston's part in walls which had probably been built by Hartwell. The "very splendidly decorated" interiors,²⁷ however, were Johnston's own, and on these he lavished his invention, his care and his controlled richness of decoration. The elliptical plan (Plate 33) measured 80 ft. by 60 ft. and a gallery surrounded the entire church, which was lit, according to the plans in the National Library, by four windows in the gallery.²⁸ Now it appears that the church was, nonetheless, so well lit that special screens had to be placed over the windows to reduce the light.²⁹ Some other light source must be suggested, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the church was lit by a large oval lantern in the roof. No drawings in the Murray Collection describe this explicitly; but one plan,³⁰ showing the seating arrangement, shows a marked shadow cast by the gallery on the floor beneath, which could only be explained by top-lighting.

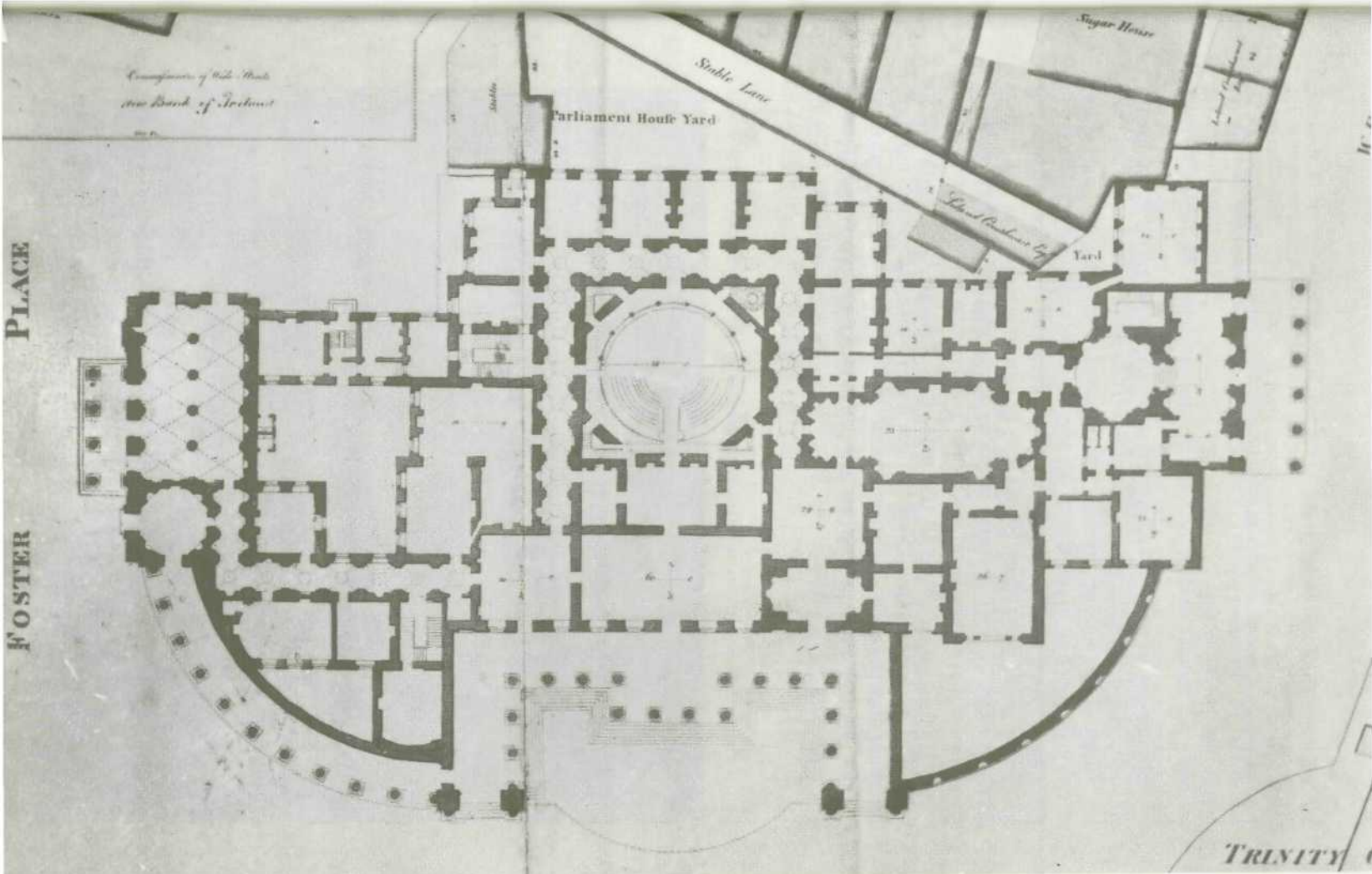
26) I.A.R.A. Coll., PF 4.

27) Gilbert, *op.cit.*, p. 311.

28) The plans show a window at each end of the major axis, and another two, both on the same side of the ellipse, with the organ between them. St. George's, too, is lit only by windows in the gallery.

29) Wheeler and Craig, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

30) PF 4, St. Andrew's folder, No. 1, top sheet.



Comparison of this Plan
with the Bank of Ireland

Parliament House Yard

Stable Lane

Sugar House

Stable Lane
Yard

FOSTER PLACE

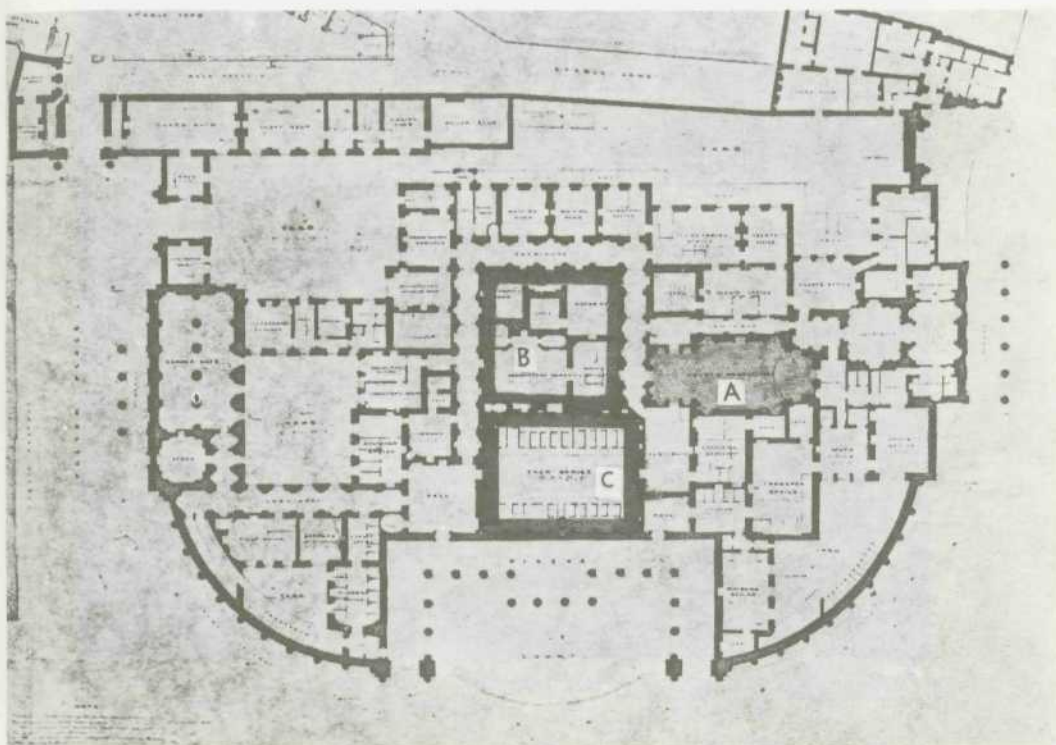
FOSTER PLACE

TRINITY

44. Parliament House, Dublin, ground floor plan, 1802 (Sir John Soane's Museum, London).

The gallery arrangement showed a reluctance to display the means of support which can be seen too in the solution adopted in St. George's. The beams supporting the gallery were not themselves supported at their extremities by columns, but were cantilevered on columns set close to the walls. It is recorded,³¹ further, that these columns were

"not reconcilable to any known order, yet do great credit to the taste of the architect, Mr. Francis Johnston, who seems to have taken the idea from Mr. Denon's drawings of Egyptian ruins."

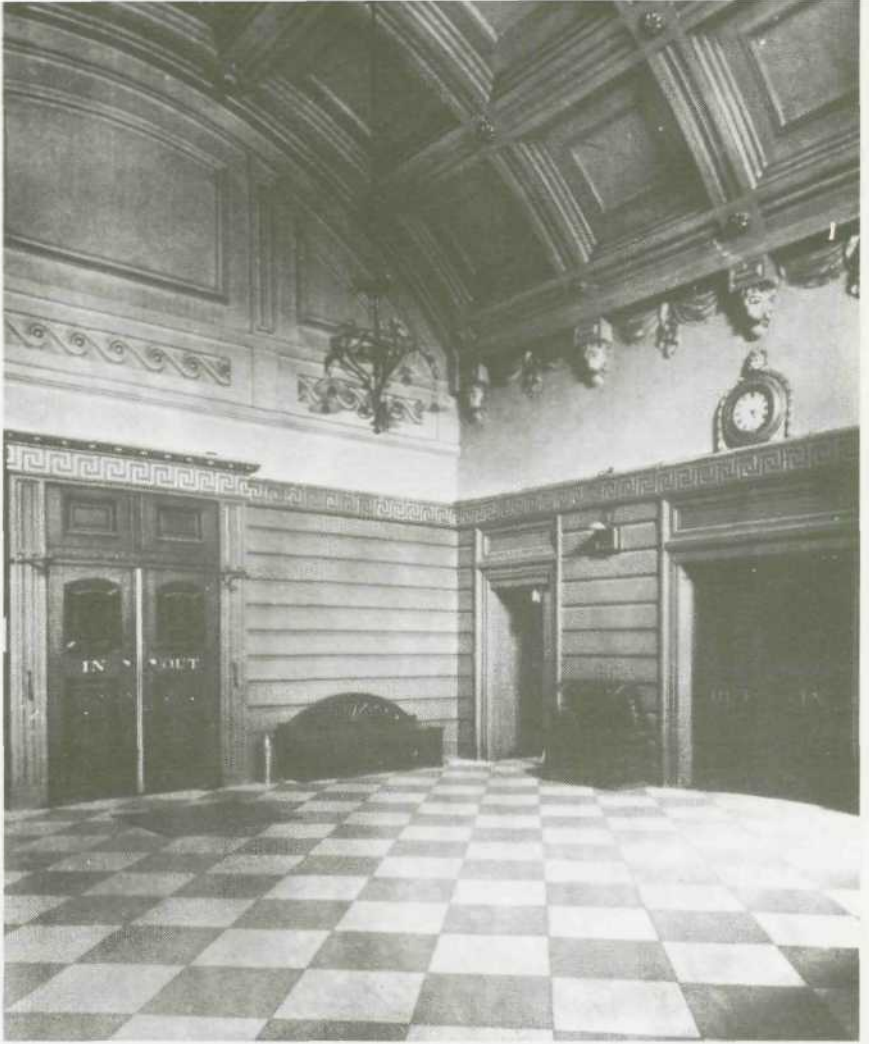


45. Bank of Ireland, Dublin, ground floor plan, 1855.

A translation of Baron Dominique Vivant Denon's *Voyage dans la basse et la Haute Égypte* had been published by J. Shea in Dublin in 1803, only one year after the original publication in Paris.³² This detail has led some commentators to think that the whole church was decorated internally in the Egyptian style. The drawings in the National Library contradict this interpretation, as indeed does the architect's character. Large scale innovations and experiments were eschewed; it was quite in keeping with his sense of what was proper to confine his precocious interest in the Egyptian Revival to scholarly allusions in the orders.

31) Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh, *op.cit.*, pp. 510-513.

32) A copy of this edition is in the National Library, Dublin.



46. Bank of Ireland, West Hall.

Brewer speaks³³ of the interior as being "irresistably affecting," and so indeed it must have been, with light streaming down from above onto the pulpit which was placed, not in the centre of the church, but half-way along a minor axis of the ellipse so that it rose up towards the gallery which surrounded it. Directly behind this pulpit, in the gallery, was the organ, and the pews were arranged so as to converge to this focal point of organ and pulpit. This must have been one of Johnston's most powerful interiors, where he was able to join his love of ample curves, with the excitement of top-lighting so as to develop the drama of the Townley rotunda to the solemn ends of the traditional Calvinism of the Irish liturgy.

Rising on a gentle hill on the north side of the city closing the vistas along Temple Street (Plate 34), Eccles Street (Plate 35), (and along the later Hardwicke Street) is the church of St. George's. Johnston began work on the church in

33) J. N. Brewer, *op.cit.*. Vol. 1, pp. 122-126.



47. Bank of Ireland, Chimney piece in West Hall, probably executed by Thomas **Kirk** from Francis Johnston's designs.

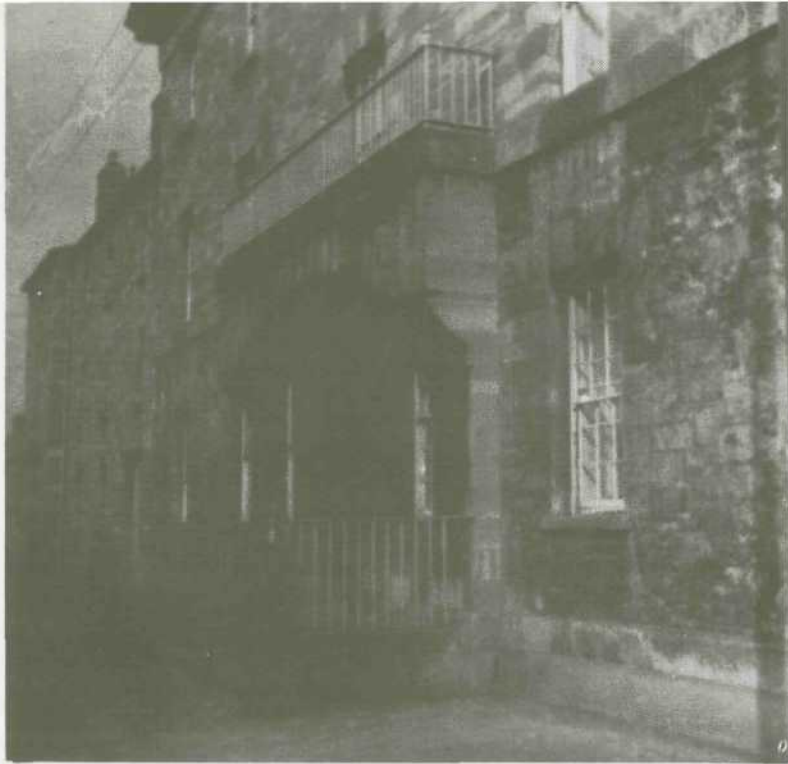
1802.³⁴ With a terrace of houses laid out in a crescent plan in front of it,³⁵ St. George's takes full advantage of its free-standing situation. Like the Chapel Royal, it is maintained in impeccable condition, but here also, a re-arrangement of the east end³⁶ has destroyed some of the gentle drama of the original interior.

The exterior of the ground floor is rusticated. The side elevations, like the entrance facade, are of two storeys, of five bays. The upper windows of the sides and of the end bays of the front are tall, semicircular-headed windows, while

34) In the Murr. Coll., PF 4, there are drawings for St. George's signed by Richard Morrison: an elevation was illustrated in the catalogue of the I.A.D. Exhibition, no. 89. Grouped with these in the same portfolio are undated designs for unnamed churches by Henry Aaron Baker and S. Smith. The Murr. Coll. catalogue describes these and Morrison's designs, as "competition drawings" for St. George's.

35) This crescent plan may have its origin in the crescent of Beresford Place, laid out shortly before 1790, as a setting for Gandon's newly erected Custom House.

36) The east end was rearranged c. 1880. Wheeler and Craig, *op.cit.*, Plate XIX, reproduce an old photograph of the church before alterations.



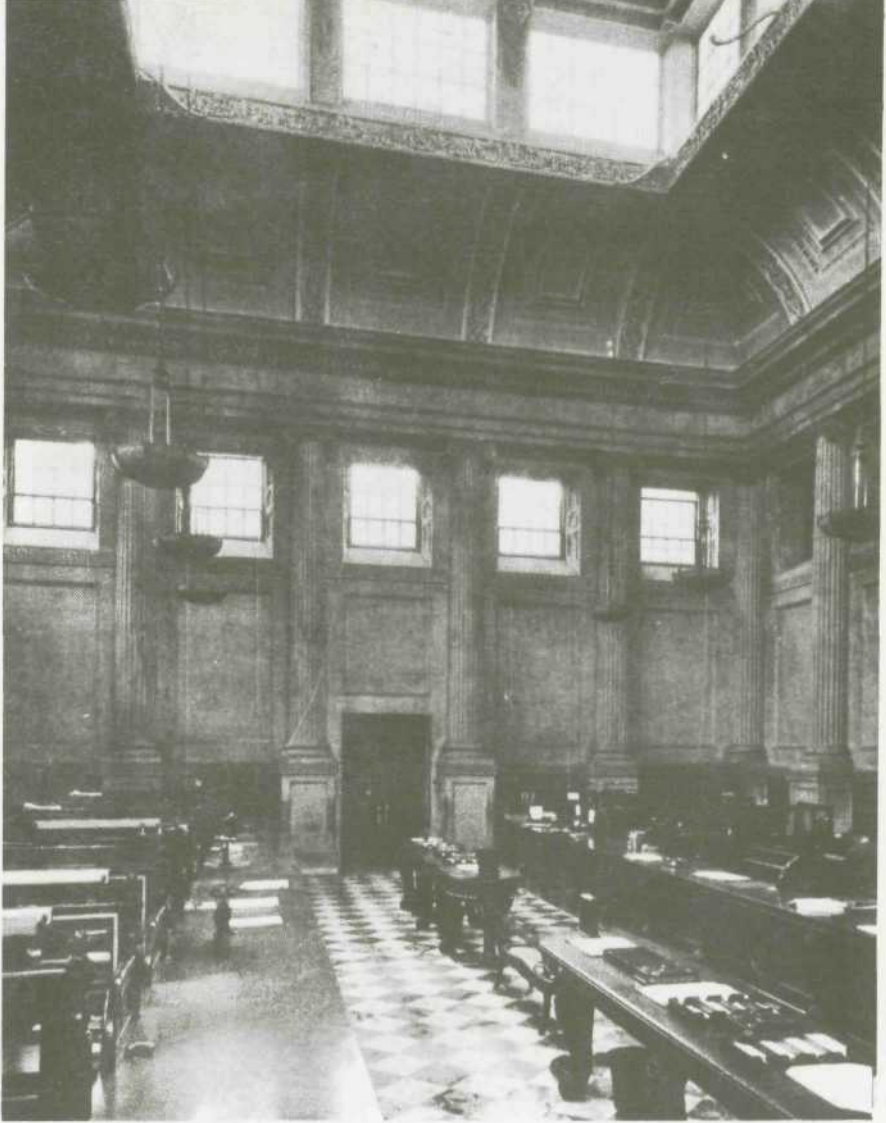
49. Richmond Penitentiary, view of entrance.

those below have segmental tops. A large tetrastyle Ionic portico occupies the middle of the entrance elevation and supports a pediment behind which rises, to a height of two hundred feet, the tall steeple which is derived from that of Gibbs' St. Martin-in-the-Fields.³⁷ The clock storey and the storey above correspond closely to those of Gibbs' steeple, but otherwise there are great differences. St. George's contrasts the sure succession of the different levels—each rising smoothly from the one beneath—with the nervous energy of the cornice levels which cast narrow bands of dark shadow on the white Portland stone. Johnston made this steeple more substantial than that of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, with its many perforations, and he modelled this solidity with greater attention to chiaroscuro than did Gibbs. This is particularly noticeable in the lowest storey of the Dublin steeple where the columns are deeply recessed into the corners.

The entrance door gives onto a tripartite narthex (Plate 36), in plan not unlike similar vestibules in Gibbs' Book³⁸ and similar, too, to the narthex suggested in Richard Morrison's designs for St. George's. Under the spire is an octagonal vestibule with deep niches, a more strongly modelled space than anything else in Johnston's work. In the space on each side of this octagon is a delicate elliptical staircase. Beyond this narthex, the interior of the church, unlike what has been described so far, is entirely Johnstonian in feeling, and owes nothing

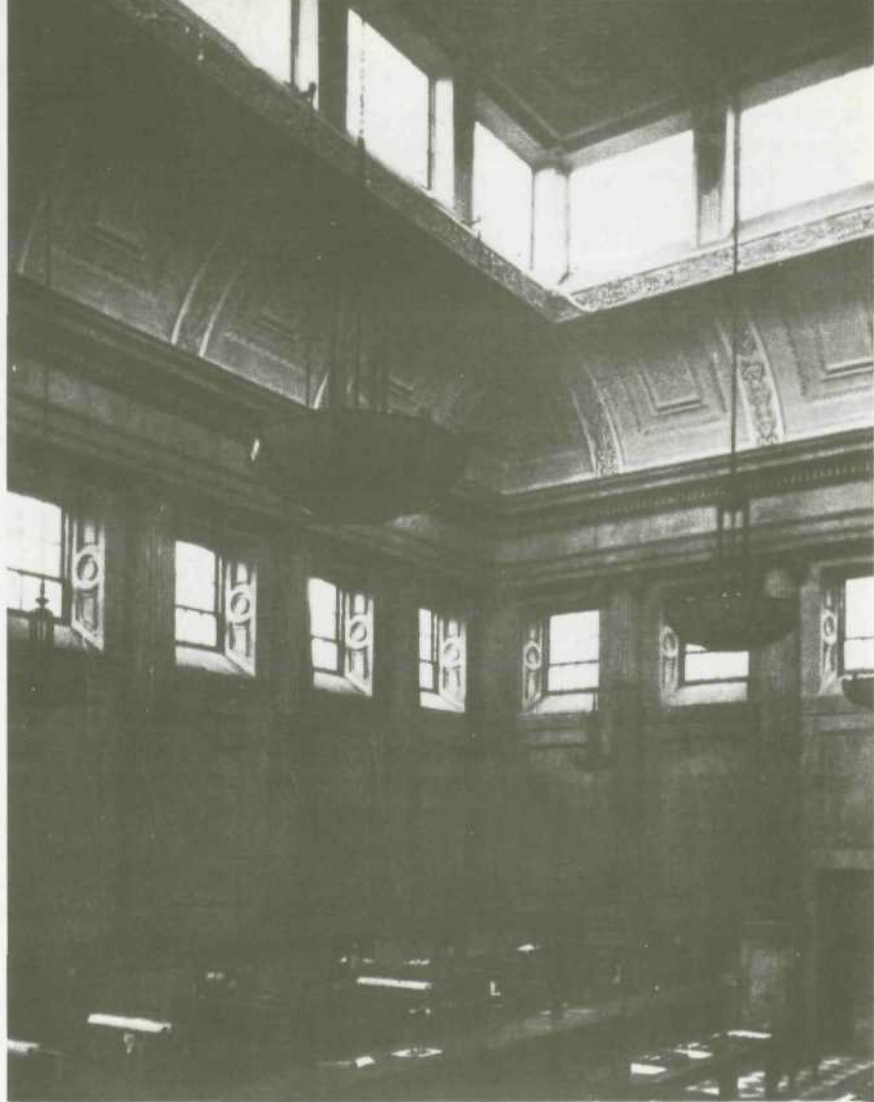
37) Apart from the design being available in Gibbs' *Book of Architecture*, it appears that Johnston was impressed with Gibbs' work on his visit to London in 1796. His diary records for the 10th April "In my walk I stop'd to look at many Churches . . . particularly St. Mary le Strand and St. Martins in the fields."

38) e.g. Gibbs, *op.cit.*, Plate 2.



50. Bank of Ireland, view of Cash Office.

to Gibbs. The interior measures 84 feet by 60 feet and is unusual in being wider than it is long: as in St. Andrew's, whose dimensions were very similar, the longer axis is transversal. Other features recall St. Andrew's. The body of the church is very airy and bright, with windows only in the gallery. (In St. George's, however, there is a flat ceiling with no top-lighting.) The lower windows seen on the exterior of the building light, not the interior of the church, but a low narrow corridor which surrounds three sides of the interior (not the east end), on the inner wall of which the gallery is cantilevered (Plate 37). Even the doors leading from this corridor into the body of the church are concealed in the careful panelling of this inner wall (Plate 38). Here again, Johnston showed himself reluctant to become explicit in the support of the gallery and one is



51. Bank, of Ireland, view of Cash Office.

immediately reminded of his remarks on Covent Garden Theatre. He wrote "This Theatre tho' smaller is in my opinion superior to that in Drury Lane both in style of finishing and in the convenience of seeing and hearing, the Galleries or Box ranges all hang without support, which gives an elegance of appearance (when fill'd with Company) not to be described."³⁹

His liberal use of cantilevered staircases; the supporting columns of the gallery in St. Andrew's set back close to the walls; the gallery of St. George's cantilevered on an inner wall rather than supported on columns, and the hidden support of the deep coving and lantern in the roof of the Cash Office in the Bank of Ireland are all expressions of a preference for apparently effortless support of

39) Diary of his English Journey, entry for 13th April 1796.

certain members, which shows consistently through his work, and at the same time explains his lack of affinity with anything authentically Gothic.⁴⁰

In all of these features there is a close connexion with St. Andrew's Church. Here in St. George's there is the added testimony of the interior decoration as evidence of Johnston's skill. This is the apogee of his sparing yet sumptuous style. The tentative suggestions of brittle elegance of the Primate's Chapel are a thing of the past. The unsureness of the Townley rotunda has been strengthened and clarified in St. George's, especially in the ceiling (Plates 39, 40).⁴¹ There is a balance of abstract geometrical form and naturalistic detail, a balance of minuteness and overall conception of the whole design; above all there is a restraint and controlled richness, also seen in the interiors of the Bank, which is Johnston's mature reaction to the decorative style of Dublin plasterwork in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

The first ten years of the nineteenth century, with commissions of such prestige as the Chapel Royal, St. Andrew's, St. George's, the Bank of Ireland, and with his experiments in the Castle style in domestic architecture, brought full achievement of maturity as an architect to Johnston. It was a period, however, which can perhaps be seen as one of regrettable fame, for success brought with it the official appointment as Architect of the Board of Works and Civil Buildings. In this post he engaged in the official commissions which were to dominate the rest of his architectural activity. These, by their nature, demanded the hard and callous manner of the elevations of the Richmond Penitentiary (Plate 55). But it was a hardness and callousness which reacted on Johnston himself, and which may have soured his sensitive touch. For in the last ten years of his life he turned from architecture to give his attention to increasing his extraordinary collection of paintings. All this lay ahead, however, when he designed St. George's, which takes its place eminently at the very peak of his career. In this church he worshipped, to it he gave his beloved bells, and in its graveyard he is buried. In a city admittedly poor in steeples that of St. George's is an inspiring sight, lovely in all lights but lovelier than anything in Dublin when its white stone is seen in a harsh white light against the background of a threatening northern sky.

40) As in the staircase of Slane Castle, his structural feats were occasionally too ambitious. The single span ceiling of St. George's, receiving no support except from the exterior walls, threatened to fall in 1836. It was saved by the efforts of the engineer Robert Malet. See *A Short History of the Parish of St. George, Dublin . . .* compiled . . . by Canon R. J. Kerr, M.A., p. 7. See, too, Wheeler and Craig, *op.cit.*, p. 20.

41) A hitherto unidentified drawing by Johnston showing an early—later much modified—design for this ceiling is in I.A.R.A. Coll., PF 29.



52. General Post Office, Dublin, view of east elevation.

3. CIVIC ARCHITECTURE

The first important work in Dublin with which Johnston's name is associated is the building of Daly's Club House. This was an exceedingly important commission, "the most superb gambling-house in the world."¹ It stretched from the Parliament House along Dame Street to Anglesea Street (Plate 41), and there is an interesting account of it in Gilbert's *History of Dublin*,² in which is quoted the lavish praise of travellers to the city who, impressed with the magnificence of its interiors, "concurred in declaring it to be the grandest edifice of the kind in Europe." Gilbert, and following him, all other commentators on Johnston, attribute the design to Johnston.

Now building began on Daly's in 1789, and it was opened two years later. Thus, if the building is Johnston's, it is his first independent work of any significance,³ unrivalled in its importance until the building of St. Andrew's more than ten years later. His connexion with the Club House must, however, now be questioned. Firstly, no drawings for this work are known. More important is the fact that Johnston does not mention it in his letter to Brewer in 1820, a letter in which

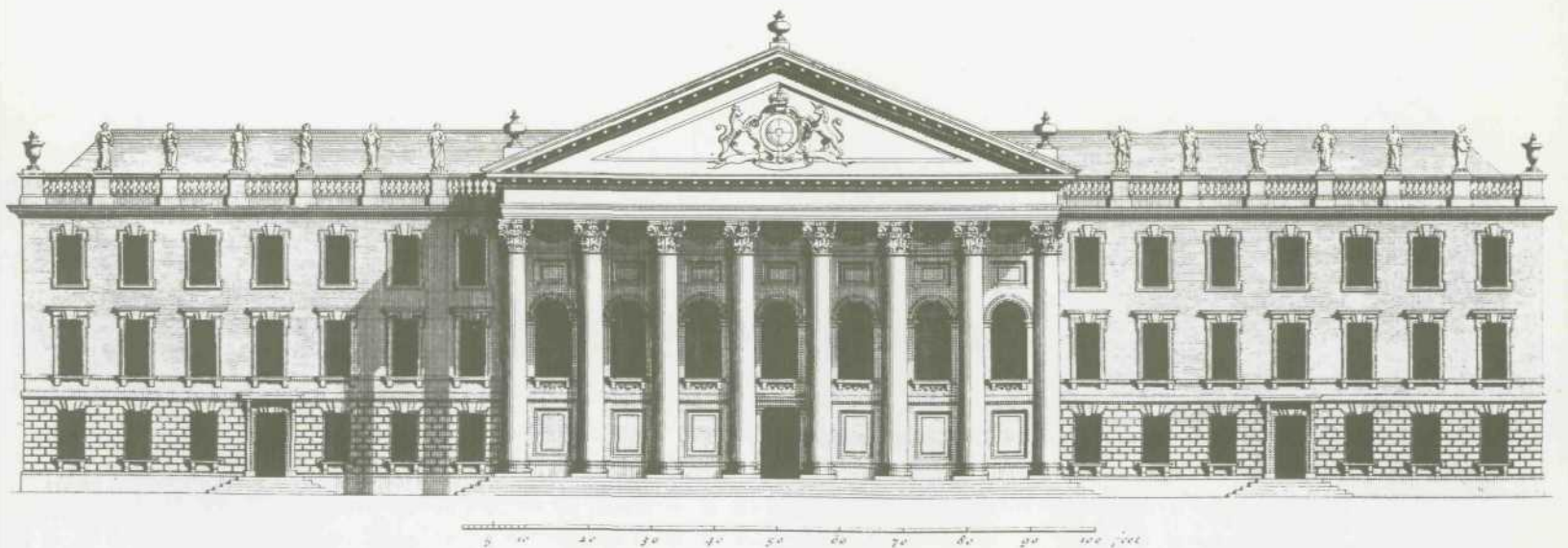
1) John Bowden, *Tour in Ireland*, 1791; quoted by Craig, *op.cit.*, p. 281.

2) J. T. Gilbert, *A History of the City of Dublin*, 1861; Vol. II, p. 305.

3) This is true if observations elsewhere on the dates and authorship of Rokeby Hall, Ballymakenny Church and the Drogheda Corn Market are accepted. Work on the Armagh Observatory did begin in 1789, but the Observatory consists simply of a tower attached to the rear facade of a small country house (Plates 42, 43).



53. General Post Office, design of east elevation by Francis Johnston (Mrs. Desmond Forde).

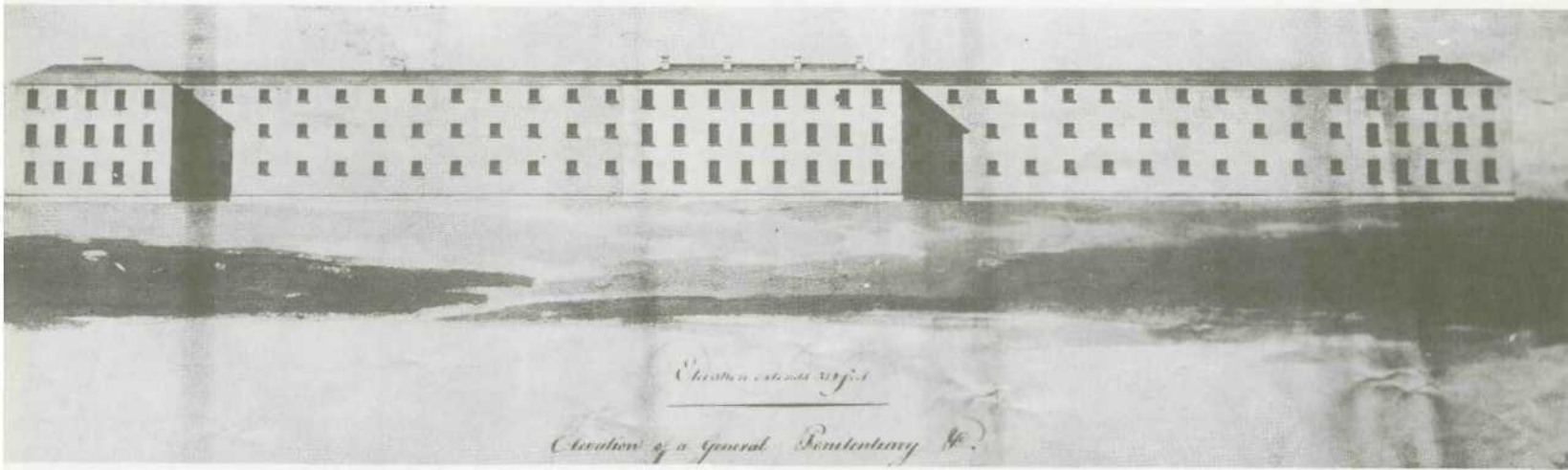


The upright of the South Side of King's College fronting the Chapel

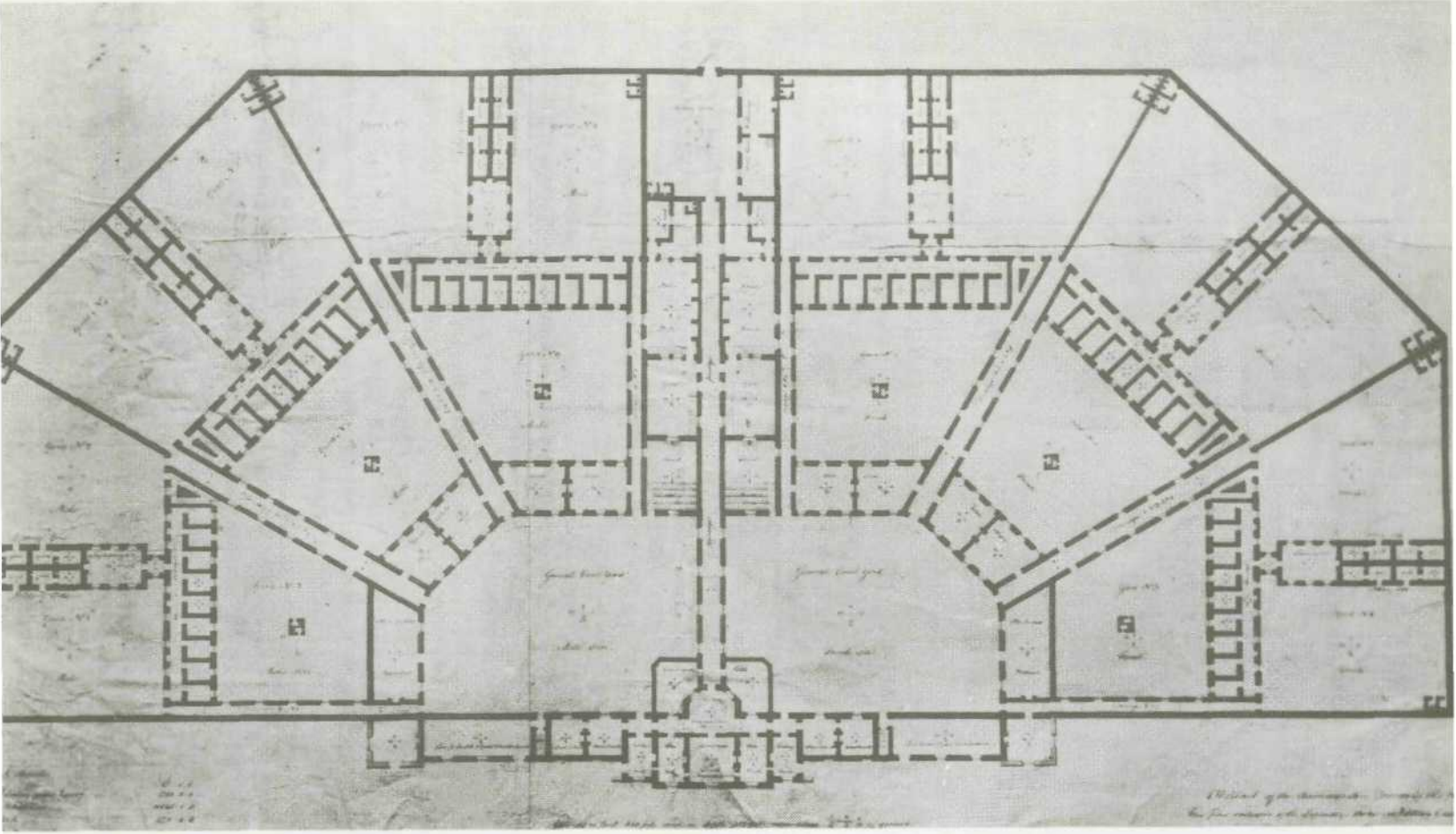
J. Gibbs Architect.

H. Holfbergh. Sc.

54. King's College, Cambridge, design for Hall and Offices by James Gibbs (from *A Book of Architecture*).



55. Richmond Penitentiary, design for unexecuted elevation by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).



56. Richmond Penitentiary, ground floor plan by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).

only the most paltry of his commissions was ignored. Johnston would hardly have ignored "the grandest edifice of the kind in Europe" if it had been his first important commission. Finally, it can be argued that the style of what still remains of the building—the centre block, with the top storey altered—cannot easily be related to Johnston's work at this time. Dr. Maurice Craig agrees with me that even in its original form the building was "not very characteristic" of Johnston.

The importance of Daly's lay in its relation to the neighbouring buildings of the Parliament House and Trinity College. The order is exactly that of Pearce's Parliament House, and the disposition of orders and masses is not dissimilar to the arrangement of the Trinity College façade.⁴ Daly's was important in extending the vista from College Green along the newly widened Dame Street in a coherent and impressive piece of town planning. It is difficult to regard it as likely that, so early in his architectural career, Johnston had any substantial responsibility for this major and ambitious project.

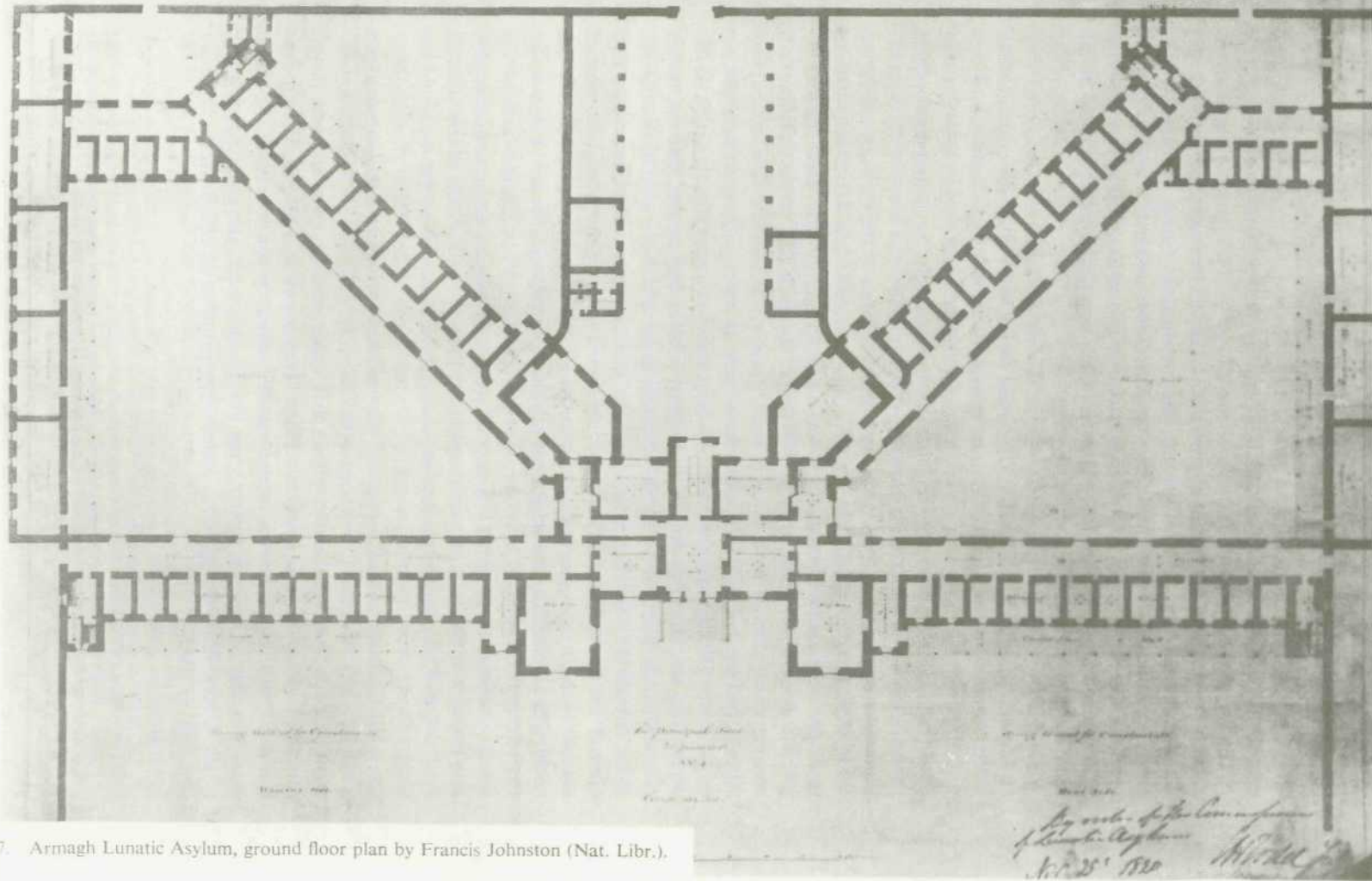
An undisputable and more enduring monument to Johnston in College Green is the Bank of Ireland.⁵ The Bank opened negotiations to buy the Parliament House in March 1802. In August 1802 a competition for designs to convert the building into a bank was announced. There was some initial difficulty in awarding the first premium to any one of the thirty-five competitors, and independently of the competition, and before announcing the result, the Board of the Bank appointed Francis Johnston as its architect.⁶ The foundation stone for the new work was laid on 8 March 1804. The conditions of sale stipulated that the chambers of the Lords and Commons be altered. It was also thought desirable that the exterior of the building should be made more uniform and more ornamental. The condition of the Parliament House, before alterations, can be seen from a plan prepared for the 1802 competition (Plate 44). By comparing this with a plan of the Bank in 1855 (Plate 45) the main outlines of Johnston's structural changes can be seen. Firstly, the House of Lords (Plate 45, A) and Gandon's approach to it were left unaltered. The House of Commons (Plate 45, B) on the other hand was subdivided into offices but Pearce's corridor surrounding three sides of the House was unchanged. The space between the Commons and the portico was extended slightly to the east and became the Cash Office (Plate 45, C). There were considerable additions in the north-west corner of the plan, which include a handsome gateway to the guard-house. The main external changes, however, affected the quadrants. Robert Parke's "piazza" was eliminated by rebuilding the western quadrant wall between the free standing columns which had screened it; and Gandon's screen wall joining the front portico to his House of Lords portico on the east was brought slightly forward and received engaged columns. As Curran has pointed out,⁷ most of these ideas

4) Daly's, however, unlike Trinity west front, has undiminished pilasters.

5) An invaluable history of the building of the Parliament House and its subsequent history as the Bank is contained in C. P. Curran's appendix to F. G. Hall's *The Bank of Ireland 1783-1946*; Dublin and Oxford, 1949.

6) The first premium was awarded to a design signed T.V.; second to John Foulston and third to Joseph Woods Jr.

7) Hall, *op.cit.*, p. 460.



57. Armagh Lunatic Asylum, ground floor plan by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).

were contained in the various plans by other competitors, or emerged from the comments on these projects made by the assessors of the competition.

The external changes made by Johnston are, in a way, typical of his fondness for symmetry and of his lack of appreciation of the Picturesque. Gandon's screen wall was rather dreary, and can only have gained by being enlivened by the Portland stone of the engaged columns. But a description of Parke's "piazza" given by Curran⁸ is phrased in terms which speak of its unusually picturesque quality. Picturesque or not, the sober Johnston completed the symmetry of the building and walled up the piazza.

The East and West Halls of the Bank are simple vestibules decorated in a strong and robust style (Plate 46). The walls of the West Hall⁹ are rusticated for threequarters of their height, with deep horizontal channelling, which contributes to the spartan feeling of this room. This effect is softened only by wave pattern panels and the draperies between the lion head corbels. Such draperies were a favourite theme of Johnston's. Nowhere did he use them as successfully as in the Bank where they are an important part of the scheme of the Cash Office. In the West Hall they are also used in the chimneypiece (Plate 47) which, though probably executed by Thomas Kirk, was designed by Johnston. Over the mantle-piece is a tondo with the arms of the Bank. On each side of the fireplace is a bracket richly carved with a lion's head from which issues a fold of drapery. Above the lion heads, the brackets have been given capitals such as a pilaster might have. The capitals are those of a disguised but unmistakable Greek Doric order. The echinus may be covered lightly with a leaf design, but the shape, placed directly over the three-ribbed necking band has the profile of a Greek Doric capital. This seems a small point but it is significant. The Cease to do Evil Gate of the City Bridewell (Plate 48) is crowned with a plain triangular piece of masonry which is supported on a moulding which has the same echinus and necking band profile as the Bank chimneypiece. At the entrance to the Richmond Penitentiary the balcony over the door is supported on brackets which have a similar profile (with a deeper echinus) (Plate 49). The Greek Doric capital profile also appears on the impost mouldings of the ground floor arcade of the General Post Office. This allusiveness and insistent return in details to the motifs of the Greek Doric order characterize his interest in the Greek Revival in his later work. In his early houses, when the Revival was an innovation, Johnston had used the Doric and the Primitivist orders as at Townley in a full, if **non-monumental**, way. Then, just as the public was ready to take a grand monumental statement of the Revival (Nelson's Pillar¹⁰ was begun in 1808; St. Mary's Pro-Cathedral in 1816), Johnston retired into the scholarly allusiveness of the above examples. His reticence is typical; fine though they were, the grand monuments of the Greek Revival implied a certain exaggeration of effect which Johnston could never use.

8) Hall, *op.cit.*, p. 446.

9) Dr. Maurice Craig suggests that the West Hall is still largely by Pearce.

10) The design of Nelson's Pillar is sometimes attributed to Johnston. Early topographical guides to Dublin, and more recently Dr. Maurice Craig, all give the design to William Wilkins and the superintendence of the work to Johnston. The scale of this vast single Doric column seems to be unlike anything Johnston would have designed. See Patrick Henchy, 'Nelson's Pillar,' *Dublin Historical Record*, June-August 1948.

The Board Room and Governor's Room are elegant rooms with groined ceilings, top-lit by pairs of lunettes.¹¹ The key patterns and scrolls are used here again, and the ribs of the vaults are enriched with gilt vegetation seen on the ribs of vaults in Charleville, and spring at the corners of the room from little clusters of three feathers which appear in Townley Hall and in the Armagh Sessions House. Such details show Johnston's peculiar attachment to certain motifs, as if, in the feathers, the acorns, the open fan motifs in window reveals, and the Greek Doric profiles, he wished to leave an unobtrusive signature of his presence.

The great glory of Johnston's work for the Bank is the Cash Office (Plates 50, 51). The room is rectangular, 70 feet by 52 feet. The walls are covered in Bath stone, while the twenty-four engaged columns around the walls are of Portland stone. These Ionic columns are fluted, and stand on high pedestals which lift them above the level of counters and desks—also designed by Johnston—where the business of the room is transacted.¹² High up between the columns, just under the entablature, are windows on three sides. On the fourth side, which is the inner wall of Pearce's portico (where windows would be possible, but high up in the shadow of the portico would be of unequal brilliance to the other windows) the corresponding spaces are set with mirrors. Above the entablature rises a deep coving which opens into a rectangular lantern with a flat ceiling, measuring 50 feet by 30 feet.

The lightness of the room is characteristic of Johnston's contemporary interiors at St. George's and St. Andrew's. The ceiling arrangement, although it is more elaborate than in the other two interiors, shares with them an expression of Johnston's interest in concealed support—the ribs of the deep coving supporting the lantern are cantilevered on the entablature, with the counter-weights outside, and therefore invisible from the room itself. As can be seen from the use of the mirror panels, Johnston's demands on symmetry were as insistent here as elsewhere, but in no other interior did he organise structure and symmetry into such a coherent and complete whole. The vertical linear accents starting in the pedestals and columns of the wall are continued above the entablature along the ribs of the coving, except at the corners where to continue the line of the corner columns would have added diagonal accents out of keeping with the strict rectangularity of the rest of the scheme. The ribs over the columns neighbouring the corner columns bend across the coving to meet at the point where the coving opens into the lantern. The mullions of the lantern continue the vertical emphasis of pedestals, columns and ribs, and the lines of these mullions bend across the flat ceiling, becoming the ribs which divide the ceiling into square coffers, and knitting together in a resolved horizontal pattern the vertical accents of the different walls.¹³

11) Illustrated in **Hall**, *op.cii.*. Plates 66, 67. These rooms are a direct reference to Soane's Governor's Room in tin- Bank of England, built in the previous year, 1804-5.

12) In the possession of **ihc** Bank is an early plan of the Cash Office showing, instead of engaged columns, a rectangular arrangement of free standing columns surrounding the area now beneath the lantern. The plan is unsigned and undated, but according to an anonymous pencil note on the reverse, is probably by Johnston.

13) The arrangement of the Cash Office recalls in some points, notably in the roof, Sir Charles Barry's stair court in Stafford House, of the early 1830's. However, the revived Louis XIV style of this court is less well adapted to producing the powerful effect of the Cash Office where the sparing application of rich ornament contributes to the totally organised character of the whole interior.

While the overall plan of the decorative scheme is subordinate to the structural network, the completeness of the design is enhanced by the consistency of the details. The heavy mahogany counters and islands in the middle of the floor share the lion heads and draperies of the lantern mullions; the panels in the window reveals, a favourite motif of Johnston's used in St. George's. Townley Hall and elsewhere, are repeated on the desk fronts; the key pattern of the ceiling ribs is repeated in the strip beneath the windows. Above all, there is a consistency between the character of Johnston's style in these Bank interiors and the detail of Pearce's work of the Parliament House. The articulation of the Cash Office walls with engaged columns is perhaps untypical of Johnston's style, but may come from a similar motif in the House of Lords. The high pedestals of Johnston's columns are related to the high pedestals of the House of Lords, but are related also to the lowest zone of the Primate's Chapel interior. The rectangular ceiling design echoes that of the House of Lords, but can also be seen as a repetition of themes of the Primate's Chapel ceiling, and of the hall and library ceilings in Townley Hall. The repeated use of the Greek fret by Johnston in the Bank may be an allusion to Pearce's use of the same motif (in the soffits of the portico), but the Greek fret was a theme commonly used by Johnston (in Townley Hall, and St. George's) independently of Pearce. Thus it appears that Johnston's own tastes were unusually sympathetic to those of Pearce, and in respecting the character of Pearce's decoration elsewhere in the Bank, Johnston was working in a style in which he felt fully at home.

Nothing remains of the interiors of Johnston's General Post Office, but it seems likely that the "opulent severity" of the exterior was reflected inside in a style of decoration not dissimilar to that of the Bank and St. George's.¹⁴ In an article on Francis Johnston,¹⁵ John Betjeman prefaces his remarks with the statement that much Irish Georgian architecture is facade only. Various factors united to make this unfortunately true of the General Post Office, whose interiors were rearranged many times before the building was destroyed in 1916. The street facade alone was left standing. This facade was filled up again from behind with new building, and the Post Office was reopened in 1929.¹⁶

It is, by any standards, a fine Post Office (Plate 52). The street elevation in cream granite is of three storeys, with fifteen bays arranged in a 5-5-5 rhythm. The ground floor is rusticated and there are rusticated quoins at the corners arranged so that the different courses in the quoins are not alternately short and long, but are all of an equal length. In the middle of the facade is a noble hexastyle Ionic portico of Portland stone, the only projection from an otherwise flat facade, the only florid gesture in what would otherwise be another exercise in Johnston's "penitentiary style". The portico spans the public footpath in a reference almost certainly to Gandon's similar arrangement at the entrance to

14) There is a sketch in the I.A.R.A. Coll., PF 4, G.P.O. folder, No. 30, for a ceiling which repeats a scheme similar to that of St. George's.

15) Betjeman, *op.cit.*

16) It can be suggested that this facade was probably preserved more as a monument to the events which had resulted in the destruction of the building rather than in appreciation of its architectural merits.

the House of Lords.¹⁷ The pediment over this portico is quite shallow and hardly breaks above the level of the balustrade which, with a continuation of the deep cornice of the entablature over the columns, crowns the side wings. All openings in these wings are rectangular, without mouldings, and in the original designs there was a door in the third bay from the end of each wing. Behind the portico the ground floor openings have segmental arches and the first floor windows are semicircular headed. Originally there was a door in the middle of the centre block.

An interesting comparison can be made between this elevation (Plate 53) and the design made by James Gibbs for the Hall and Offices of King's College, Cambridge (Plate 54).¹⁸ Gibbs' engraving shows a three storey façade which, though only twenty feet longer than the 220 feet long Post Office, contains twenty one bays instead of the Post Office's fifteen. As in the Post Office, these bays are distributed in an even rhythm (7-7-7) with a central portico which in Gibbs' design supports a pediment rising steeply above the balustrade crowning the wings. In both designs the ground floor is rusticated; in both, all openings in the wings are rectangular; in both, the first floor windows of the centre block are semicircular headed. The placing of the doors in both designs is identical.

Johnston took the elevation of Gibbs for King's Hall and did to it what, in some senses, James Wyatt had done to Richard Johnston's elevations for Castle Coole.¹⁹ Wyatt altered very little of Richard Johnston's work—in the main block he reduced the liveliness of the balustrade enriched with urns, he deepened the cornice, omitted the window surrounds and end pilasters, and made all the openings rectangular. Further, he reduced the projection of the portico. The changes, though few, were significant, and with them Wyatt strengthened the Castle Coole façade into a severe neo-classical design.

In the Post Office, a similar simplification and strengthening is seen in Johnston's treatment of Gibbs' elevation. Although the two façades are of a comparable length, the rhetoric of the 7-7-7 rhythm in King's was reduced. The balustrade statues disappeared; so did the window surrounds. The pediment was lowered and the climax of the portico was further reduced by lowering the columns to the ground and by abandoning the columns on the returns—as at Castle Coole the projection of the portico was reduced. The order was changed from Corinthian to Ionic. The changes, like those made by Wyatt on Richard Johnston's Castle Coole, were changes from the relief to the planar, from the opulent to the severe. The levelling of the skyline and the flattening of the façade are what separate Lucan House from Rokeby Hall. The appeal of an Attic simplicity was as great in this last great building of Johnston's as in his earlier work. But the line, always thin, between such a simplicity and "the hard and

17) A design by Gandon to have an open arcade in the ground floor behind an Ionic screen of columns at the entrance to the House of Lords, similar to an early design by Johnston for an open arcade at the Post Office, is a further point of comparison between Gandon's House of Lords entrance and Johnston's Post Office portico.

18) Gibbs, *Book of Architecture*, Plate 33.

19) The schematic resemblance of the Post Office to Wyatt's Castle Coole elevations was pointed out to me by Dr. Maurice Craig. Richard Johnston's drawings for Castle Coole arc in the possession of the Earl **Belmore**. They are signed and dated 1789. An elevation was shown at the I.A.D. Exhibition 1965, and was illustrated in the catalogue No. 39.

callous manner which can only be called institutional²⁰ was here crossed. The grand portico rests uneasily against the side wings which, in their relation of solid to void, are closer to the hardness of his penitentiaries than to the severe elegance of his earlier classical work. It seems as if in these side wings, Johnston showed that he had lost his touch, and it may have been a realization of this which made him turn from architecture as the Post Office neared completion.

If the nature of Johnston's institutional architecture was such as to frustrate his invention as an architect and, as seems likely, to make him emotionally dissatisfied with his practice in the last fifteen years of his life, it was nonetheless sufficient to provide the basis of a fortune which enabled him to provide a substitute in his fabulous collection of paintings. His very considerable institutional work included additions to the Foundling Hospital, to the House of Industry, and to the Royal Hibernian Marine School in the Phoenix Park.²¹ The projects for which he was wholly responsible include the Richmond Penitentiary,²² the first designs of which date from 1810, the Richmond House of Correction of 1811,²³ and the Richmond Lunatic Asylum, also dated 1810.²⁴ Designs for the Armagh Lunatic Asylum date from 1820, and designs for a Lunatic Asylum in Belfast, signed by William Murray and Johnston, are dated 1826.

In these buildings, the businesslike approach of Johnston to designing institutional elevations is seen at its most callous (Plate 55). Very occasionally, a characteristically scholarly detail of appropriate austerity is admitted, as in the Greek Doric allusions of the Richmond Penitentiary portico, or the Cease to do Evil Gate. But the routine approach to design is changed in his treatment of the plan. In the Richmond Penitentiary the priorities of Dance's Newgate were dramatically reversed. The excellence of the plan lies precisely in its rejection of the callousness implied in most earlier prison design. This penitentiary as designed in 1812²⁵ and completed in 1816—five years before the first national penitentiary in England was opened at Millbank—seems to have been unprecedented at the time in any city in the British Isles.

The plans of 1812 arranged buildings to house more than two hundred people over two and three-quarter acres. The plan was confined within an extended semi-octagonal shape measuring 630 feet by 312 feet (Plate 56). The prison was divided into two halves thus segregating the sexes. Each half was further divided into three distinct wedge-shaped portions. Each of these wedges had a single row of cells on each floor and at ground floor level three separate exercise yards, presumably so that the prisoners from each floor could exercise without having contact with those from another floor of the wedge. Furthermore, each wedge

20) Craig, *op.cit.*, p. 281.

21) This is now St. Mary's Chest Hospital. Johnston's additions, dated 1808-13, have recently been mutilated.

22) This has largely been demolished. The range facing on to the east side of Grangegorman Lane still stands and is part of the Grangegorman Mental Hospital.

23) This is now Griffith Barracks on the South Circular Road.

24) This is also part of Grangegorman Mental Hospital.

25) The principles governing the 1812 plan are not different from those governing the unexecuted plan of 1810. Signed and dated plans are in the I.A.R.A. Coll., PF 4.

was equipped with four solitary units (consisting each of a cell and separate yard), an infirmary and a work or store room. Each half of the prison had a separate chapel and, on the street front, a "Shop for Sale of Goods Manufactured." There were no common dining rooms as there had been in the plans of 1810— isolation of the prisoners and of small groups of prisoners extended even to eating arrangements.

The revolutionary humaneness of this design is not easily appreciated. John Howard had published his findings on the state of prisons less than forty years previously.²⁶ Reform came slowly and its progress up to the passing of Peel's Bill of 1823 is described justly by Sidney and Beatrice Webb²⁷ as "the squalid tragedy of the prison-house." Until the first national penitentiary was opened in 1821 in London at Millbank, its function was served by the hulks; exceptions to the general apathy were rare and confined mostly to county gaols. Two gaols are noticed in this regard by the Webbs—those at Horsham and Petworth²⁸—and in these it may be possible to see forerunners to the Richmond Penitentiary in Dublin. The separate cellular confinement and continuous employment of prisoners was an expression of concern in the moral rehabilitation of the criminal which was the principle on which the Dublin prison was organised. Also interesting is that the initiative for the reforms at Horsham and Petworth was taken by the third Duke of Richmond, whose successor gave his name as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to the penitentiary designed by his friend, Francis Johnston.²⁹ Whether or not the initiative for reform came from the Duke of Richmond, the thoroughness with which the plan is worked out is a tribute to Johnston's ingenuity—the same solution was applied later with equal thoroughness and appropriate modifications to the Lunatic Asylum of Armagh (Plate 57) and to the practically identical asylum at Belfast. The philanthropy which is evident in these plans considerably mitigates the charges of callousness in the elevations.

One of Johnston's last buildings was the Royal Hibernian Academy.³⁰ He founded the Academy in 1823 and in the following year he designed and built at his own expense the Academy's premises in Abbey Street. He offered the first presidency to James Gandon, who refused it because of ill-health—he died a few months later. William Ashford became first president of the Academy and Johnston its first treasurer. The building he designed is modest, as befitted his nature.³¹ He used the baseless Doric order in the two columns screening the recessed porch in the ground floor—the order he had used commonly twenty years, and more, previously. The four first floor windows with their surrounds and triangular pediments look as if they could belong to early in the previous

26) John Howard, *The state of the prisons in England and Wales*, 1777-1780.

27) S. and B. Webb, *English Prisons under Local Government*, London, 1922, p. 71.

28) The prison at **Petworth** was designed by James Wyalt in 1784. See James Dallaway, *The Parochial Topography of the Rape of Arundel in the . . . County of Sussex*; New ed. by Edmund Cartwright, Vol. 2 (1832) pp. vii et seq and plates preceding.

29) The **fifth** Duke was in his turn a notable prison reformer.

30) Illustrated in Betjeman, *cp.oit.*, p. 38.

31) Drawings for the R.H.A. are in the **I.A.R.A.** Coll., PF 4. An elevation was exhibited in the Irish Architectural Drawings Exhibition in 1965 and was illustrated in the catalogue, No. 21.

century. The keystones refer still further back in time—to Raphael, Michael-angelo and Palladio. As befitted an Academy, these solemn allusions were reminders of the past.

In 1820 Johnston had written³² "during my life of business, the arts have advanced from a very inferior state indeed to what they now assume." The founding of the Royal Hibernian Academy was an act of characteristic generosity in which Francis Johnston made his last great contribution to the arts of his country, the greatest contribution of which he was capable in that last sad period of architectural silence in his career.

32) Johnston's letter to Brewer.



58. Francis Johnston; bust by Edward Smyth
(Mr. Richard Graves Johnston.)

SUMMARY

What has been attempted in the previous chapters is an account of Johnston's main architectural works, with an occasional tentative definition of the personality revealed in these works. The main suggestion for a revision of traditional attributions concerns the early period, before 1794 and his designs for Townley Hall, when it appears that he acted far more as a spokesman for Cooley than as an independent designer. The inside of the Primate's Chapel was an elaboration of a Cooley scheme and Cooley was shown to be responsible for the major part of Ballymakenny Church. The Drogheda Cornmarket is more likely to belong to the mid 1790's than to 1788 where it is usually dated, and it is unlikely that Johnston played any significant role in the design of Daly's Club House of 1789. Finally, there is evidence that other architects before Johnston were involved in the design of Rokeby Hall and that Johnston's work there reflects some of their ideas as much, perhaps, as original ideas of his own. If this survey is correct, Townley Hall then becomes important as his first major independent work.

Johnston's emergence soon after 1800 as the most important architect in Dublin after Gandon was not wholly predictable from his work before that date. The first decade of the nineteenth century, with his designs for classical and castle style domestic architecture, his work for the Bank, his designs for the Chapel Royal and for the Churches of St. Andrew and St. George and with his official

appointment to the Board of Works was the period of most varied activity in his life. From this period of late and rather sudden success, dates much of his greatest work.

Johnston's premature retirement from architecture was also noted, and the suggestion was made that it may have been precipitated by a dissatisfaction with the type of commission which occupied his time as Architect of the Board of Works. It is a suggestion which concerns Johnston's personal life, the details of which are so elusive. It has been possible elsewhere, however, to feel closely in touch with the character of the man by approaching him through his work alone. His foundation of the Academy was an extraordinarily generous and public-spirited act. The respect he paid to the past, and to the projects of other architects such as Pearce and Cooley, which he was called on to complete is seen in the compliments he paid Gandon by inviting him to become first president of the Academy. No record of professional bitterness is left of his life. His desire to perpetuate his name, in his choice of very personal decorative motifs and in the incident of his arms in the Richmond Gate, is paralleled perhaps in his family pride as seen in his attempt to establish a claim on the Annadale peerage. His meticulous attention to detail, and the ruthless thoroughness he applied to understanding and solving the particular and minute demands of different commissions show a single-minded dedication of purpose. The search for symmetry and regularity are related, one feels, to a lucid and well-ordered, if slightly cautious, way of thinking, which, applied to each different commission, produced plans which were, above all else, practical and workable. This was a virtue of the plan for each castle, house, church, market, observatory, hospital, sessions-house, bank, prison, post office or record tower for which Johnston was responsible.

Guiding all his judgements was an unostentatious, unpretentious and restrained taste. His interiors show only a controlled opulence; there is even a control exercised in the Chapel Royal which makes a serious rather than a frivolous attempt to be Gothic. The Cash Office of the Bank is very grand, but its decoration is firmly subordinated to the structure. St. George's, and what has been described of St. Andrew's, were also very grand, but more important was the appropriateness for the Irish liturgy with which interiors were made to focus on the pulpits. In his houses there was a straight-forward arrangement of rectangular spaces, made informal with occasional canted bays or amply curved interior walls. Spatial drama was concentrated in one point where often, as in the Townley rotunda, the clarity of line of the rising stairs shared the elegance of the section of a sea-shell, whose forms seem to have fascinated Johnston, and many specimens of which are listed in the catalogue of his collection.

Complementing, in a small way, the serious atmosphere of his interiors, and compatible with the related austerity of his classical domestic exteriors, Johnston's primitive orders were never exploited for their potentially overwhelming expression of austerity. They were used by him in an unostentatious way which developed finally into the allusiveness of detail of the Cease to do Evil Gate.

Johnston's use of the primitive orders in the closing years of the eighteenth century indicates a certain readiness to experiment, if not to innovate. As has

been seen, his nature was cautious, and we may feel that Johnston would have been less willing to design the first fully Greek Doric portico in Ireland at Townley Hall, if Wyatt had not given the lead with at least a modified version of the order at Castle Coole. The same may be true of his exercises in the castle style and his use of Gothic domestic interiors. The fact remains that Johnston realized the potential of these novel forms, and used them in an original and fully personal way which, because of their development in his hands, became exceedingly influential.

On a smaller scale, he carried on experiments in decoration and structure which culminate in, but do not seem to develop beyond, the period 1800-1810. In decoration, the experiment of the Primate's Chapel, continued in the Townley rotunda, became refined into the style of St. George's and the Bank. A more insistently inquisitive experiment was that with concealed supports which achieved different solutions each time it was tried—in the galleries of St. Andrew's and St. George's, in the ceilings of these two churches and in that of the Cash Office of the Bank.

His initial interest in structure and his attention to details of wood and stone can be traced to his father's early instruction and to Cooley's example. For stylistic inspiration Johnston looked to greater men. He never travelled, except once briefly to England, and so his contact with all classical architecture and with nearly all of the major contemporary architecture was at second hand. As was to be expected therefore his models were provided by local example and from books. At the end of the eighteenth century, Gandon's Four Courts, Custom House and House of Lords entrance, had dominated the architectural activity in Dublin and Johnston's work alludes to Gandon, but in no fundamental way. The major inspiration came from James Wyatt.

As if to stress the importance to him of the printed word, Johnston chose to be represented by Smyth by a bust resting on three books. The authors of these books are Vitruvius, Palladio and Euclid. It is questionable just how significant Vitruvius and Palladio are to an analysis of his work. The choice of Euclid, however, was significant. The appeal of Euclid did not lie simply in the fact that he treated elementary geometrical forms—it lay in the clarity of expression with which his arguments were conducted. A loose parallel might almost be drawn between an argument of Euclid and a ground plan of Johnston, for instance the plan of the Richmond Penitentiary, where Johnston imposed an order on the different elements of the plan so that, with no irrelevance, each part in its relation to the other parts and in its relation to the whole plan might present an illustration of an argument for prison reform.

More so than to any other architectural publication, it was to Gibbs' *Book of Architecture* that he turned. Even in this a parallel can be drawn with Wyatt who, at Newtownmountkennedy House, had adapted Gibbs' version (*Book of Architecture*, Plate LXII) of Palladio's Villa Pisani. References to Gibbs' book appear in St. George's and in the General Post Office, where, however, Johnston's strong personality asserted itself, and the interest in St. George's and the Post Office remains primarily an interest in Johnston's independent contribution.

Despite the neo-classicism of some of his work, Johnston was cut off from much contemporary thought, probably due to his isolation in Ireland. His revolution was always gentle. He was no Romantic. He was too sensible ever to design an architectural fantasy, and of too practical a turn of mind to understand what the Earl of Charleville really wanted of him. Scarce though personal details are, it is genuinely possible to see from his work the kind of man he was. and to see that at all times he was a dedicated worker, often a designer of genuine inspiration, and occasionally an architect of very great distinction.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used :

Nat. Libr. National Library of Ireland.

Lawr. Coll. Lawrence Collection of photographic views, Nat. Libr.

Frontispiece : Francis Johnston ; from the engraving by H. Meyer after Thomas Clement Thompson (National Gallery of Ireland).

1. Towney Hall, entrance elevation.
2. Townley Hall, kitchen wing.
3. Townley Hall, ground floor plan by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).
4. Townley Hall, staircase.
5. Townley Hall, entrance hall.
6. Ballymakenny Church, design for west front by Thomas Cooley (Nat. Libr.).
7. Kells Church, design for west front by Thomas Cooley (Nat. Libr.).
8. Rokeby Hall, entrance elevation.
9. Lucan House, entrance elevation.
10. Rokeby Hall, ground floor plan (Nat. Libr.).
11. Lucan House, ground floor plan.
12. Farnham House (Lawr. Coll.).
13. Cornmarket, Drogheda.
14. Headfort House, suggested alterations for entrance elevation by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).
15. St. Catherine's, Leixlip, Co. Kildare, suggested east elevation by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).
- 15a. Killeen Castle, unexecuted plan by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).
16. Killeen Castle, design for entrance elevation by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).
17. Markree Castle, Co. Sligo, ground floor plan by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).
18. Markree Castle, view of south-east elevation (Lawr. Coll.).
19. Slane Castle, proposed elevation by James Gandon (Nat. Libr.).
20. Glenmore Castle, Co. Wicklow, design for south-east elevation by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).
21. Glenmore Castle, ground floor plan by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).
22. Charleville Castle, Co. Offaly, view of entrance elevation.
23. Charleville Castle, view of entrance elevation, main block.
24. Charleville Castle, design of east elevation by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).
25. Primate's Chapel, Armagh, design for interior of west end, by Thomas Cooley (Nat. Libr.).
26. Primate's Chapel, design for interior of west end, by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).
27. Primate's Chapel, view of west end.
28. Primate's Chapel, view of east end of ceiling.
29. Primate's Chapel, pilaster capital.
30. St. Peter's Church, Drogheda, view of steeple (Lawr. Coll.).
31. Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle, view of north elevation (Lawr. Coll.).
32. Chapel Royal, view of east end.
33. St. Andrew's Church, Dublin, plan by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).
34. St. George's Church, Dublin, view from Temple Street.
35. St. George's Church, view from Eccles Street.
36. St. George's Church, ground plan by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).
37. St. George's Church, view under gallery.
38. St. George's Church, view of west end.
39. St. George's Church, detail of ceiling.
40. St. George's Church, detail of ceiling.
41. Daly's Club House and Parliament House, from the engraving by R. Havell, after T. S. Roberts, u. 1815.

42. Armagh Observatory, view of entrance elevation.
43. Armagh Observatory, view of rear elevation
44. Parliament House, Dublin, ground floor plan, 1802.
45. Bank of Ireland, Dublin, ground floor plan, 1855.
46. Bank of Ireland, West Hall.
47. Bank of Ireland, Chimney piece in West Hall, probably executed by Thomas Kirk from Francis Johnston's designs.
48. Richmond House of Correction (Richmond or City Bridewell), Cease to Do Evil Gate, design by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).
49. Richmond Penitentiary, view of entrance.
50. Bank of Ireland, view of Cash Office.
51. Bank of Ireland, view of Cash Office.
52. General Post Office, Dublin, view of east elevation.
53. General Post Office, design of east elevation by Francis Johnston (Mrs. Desmond Forde).
54. King's College, Cambridge, design for Hall and Offices by James Gibbs (from *A Book of Architecture*).
55. Richmond Penitentiary, design for unexecuted elevation by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).
56. Richmond Penitentiary, ground floor plan by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).
57. Armagh Lunatic Asylum, ground floor plan by Francis Johnston (Nat. Libr.).
58. Francis Johnston ; bust by Edward Smyth (Mr. Richard Graves Johnston)

PHOTOGRAPHIC ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Armagh County Museum: Bust of Johnston.

Bord Fáilte: 32.

Country Life, London: 11, 22, 23.

Hugh Doran, Dublin: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 15a, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 48, 53, 55, 56, 57.

Green Studio Ltd., Dublin: 34, 52.

National Gallery of Ireland: Portrait of Johnston: 41.

National Library of Ireland, Lawrence Collection: 12, 18, 30, 31.

Sidney W. Newbery, London: 44.

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