British solutions to Irish problems: Representations of Ireland in the British architectural press, 1837-53

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(10 May 2014 draft)

This article concerns what can be termed the British 'architectural press', and their perceptions and representations of Ireland over a fifteen year period which includes the great famine of 1846 to 1851. The study consists of four national publications: *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal,* published monthly from 1837; *The Art-Union,* monthly from 1839; *The Ecclesiologist,* monthly from 1841; and most importantly *The Builder,* weekly from 1843. Together they form a particularly useful source for investigating that section of Victorian society which concerned itself with architecture, urban planning, sanitation, engineering, industry, and the development of science. As commented by Michael Brooks, *The Builder* in particular played a large role in the shaping of the nascent architectural profession, and was welcomed by architects with "unexpected warmth".[1] Similarly Rosemary VanArsdel has highlighted what she has termed the "eclecticism" of *The Builder,* making it appeal to a "wider readership among the non-specialist public," people such as "reformers and decision-makers".[2] This broad readership, and the sheer wealth of material provided by its weekly detailed dispatches, makes *The Builder* a particularly useful source when considering British policy towards Ireland. The other three publications also had substantial readerships, and overlapping ones, as indicated by their degree of cross-referencing of editorial themes and news coverage. Many practising architects and engineers are likely to have regularly browsed three, if not all four, of the titles. Even the most bespoke title, *The*

Ecclesiologist, often strayed well beyond critiquing new ecclesiastical architecture and quickly grew to enjoy an international British colonial audience. In political inclination they all shared a pro-union pragmatic conservative standpoint and devoted few column inches to Irish nationalist political agitation, or the day-to-day tussle of Westminster politics.[3] They left many of the more unpalatable stereotypes of the Irish to their more well-known contemporary publications, *Punch* in particular. In the time period under study, Ireland appears in architectural press in some 461 articles, recently catalogued by the author as part of a larger study into the culture of architectural production in pre-famine Ireland (Fig. **1**).

Michael De Nie has recently argued that the "British newspapers lost interest in Ireland after 1849".[4] He suggests that around this time the popular press had largely given up on any further schemes for Ireland's regeneration and eventual Anglicization until they were forced to reconsider Ireland's future in the Union by the Fenian crisis of the late 1860s. However, it is clear from considering the architectural press, as set out in Fig. **1,** that the true picture is more complicated than this, and that in the early 1850s there was not so much a diminution of interest, as a sustained and intensive examination of Irish issues. In particular, coverage of the Industrial Exhibitions staged in Cork in 1851, and Dublin 1853 reflect a continued and indeed renewed faith in Irish issues, and in particular the further Anglicization of the country. This article sets out to expand on De Nie's work and challenge some of his assertions. British perceptions and depictions of Ireland in the nineteenth century have a historiography of their own, the crude depictions of Irishmen, especially in late Victorian periodicals, have been analysed in terms of race, values, and class.[5] Here the purpose is not to take sides in what has been at times a polarising debate, but to attempt to contribute new material to an old discussion: none of the scholars who have worked on the subject make any reference to the architectural press in their arguments. While it is generally agreed that the

famine years marked a sudden shift in perceptions of Ireland – with Edward Lengel recently writing that this is when "the British public soured on Ireland,"[6] it is here argued that it is a mistake to jump straight from the famine to the 1860s without considering, for example, the role played by *The Builder* in covering Irish issues, and the coverage of the large industrial exhibitions. Part of this shift is that throughout the late 1840s and early 1850s, Belfast and other urban centres are increasingly defined as separate and different to rural Ireland and all its failures, a dichotomy which permits rural Ireland to be seen, arguably, as a harbourer of values which represent the very opposite of Victorian modernity.[7]

First we must look at the pre-famine period. That Ireland in the early nineteenth century was in European terms a uniquely poor, unindustrialised and troubled country was a cliché even in its own time: William Thackeray commented that that one travels to England "for the wonders of its wealth – Ireland for the wonders of its poverty".[8] A lack of investment from both domestic and foreign capitalists precipitated a larger and more extensive role for the state than would have been countenanced in mainland Britain.[9] At the same time Belfast and north-east Ulster, which industrialised heavily in this period, are an exception to any national narrative, and this is reflected in the press coverage of the time.[10] An article in *The Builder* from August 1845, lifted from the *Northern Whig*, boasted that 400 houses had been built so far that year in Belfast, that "there is not in the town a machine-maker, iron-founder, boiler-maker, stone-cutter, stonemason, bricklayer, brick-maker, or carpenter, unemployed who is willing or able to work".[11] This linking of construction and employment hints an argument regularly employed by the architectural press in this period – that architectural activity, bypassing political or sectarian divisions, could act as a channel for Ireland's regeneration and continued Anglicization – and the purpose of including this short but positive article on Belfast was clearly to further this stand-point.

In general, however, in the years before the famine, Ireland occupied a peripheral position in the British architectural press, with many articles pleading ignorance of all matters Irish.[12] Reviewing a new pamphlet on Irish architecture in 1838, a contributor for *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* began with: "So very rarely does anything concerning architecture, even though limited to mere intelligence, come from the sister island, that even this pamphlet, small as it is, claims more notice than it might otherwise obtain from us."[13] Similar sentiments, though antiquarian in nature, were expressed in *The Ecclesiologist* in 1846 when reviewing George Petrie's new history of Irish medieval architecture: "We had no notion in fact, till we had looked through this volume, of the antiquarian treasures which Ireland possesses."[14] Their review article was published without illustration, but a similarly lengthy one in *The Builder* came with five woodcuts taken from Petrie's book, showing Cormac's Chapel, Cashel, as well as the round tower on Devenish Island, county Fermanagh.[15] The depiction of ruined medieval architecture, neglected and half-covered in ivy, signified Ireland's former status and achievements, noted around this time by the British architect George Wilkinson, then working on building Ireland's workhouses, when he commented that "we cannot but look upon [these ruins] as noble memorials of a vigorous and powerful race: these and other extensive remains, ecclesiastical and monastic, excite feelings of surprise and just admiration, which are rarely elicited by the structures of more modern date."[16] They also, implicitly, hinted at subsequent decay and decline – highlighted by the melancholy images of neglected graveyards and solitary men standing among ruins. Contributions to *The Art-Union* around 1840 suggested an ignorance of all things Irish had come from Ireland's own self-imposed isolation, and in recent years, its political agitation for repeal of the Union. The main victim, from their perspective, was the "state of the Fine Arts," which they variously described as "lamentable," "depressed," or having been "completed

outstripped" by Scotland, "a far poorer country […] in the race towards improvement."[17] More optimistic in tone is an article about church building which appeared in *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* in 1844: "It at all times affords us much pleasure to notice the works that are in progress in Ireland […] We hear of continual comparisons between England and Ireland, in which the relative prosperity and poverty, civilization and crime, learning and ignorance of these two countries, are descanted upon with no small share of skill […] Better times are upon us now, and church building, within these last twenty-five years, durably marks the vast spread of civilization, learning and religion, which have come, as it were, in a well regulated abundance upon the people."[18] The link between architectural activity and renewed Anglicization is here complicated by the fact that the churches described are not those of the Church of Ireland (the established church) but Roman Catholic churches funded by an increasingly wealthy and influential Catholic merchant class, adopting the latest and most luxurious of British architectural material culture.

Concern for Ireland's development, and interest in particular large civil engineering projects was often juxtaposed with more romantic comments on Ireland's primitive or quasi-Oriental origins, echoing much travel-writing from the period.[19] *The Builder* carried, within the space of six months, two articles on Ireland, the first by W.F. Fairholt on 'The Architectural Peculiarities of Galway, in Ireland', as he termed it, where he wrote lovingly of the "slender, tall, and graceful forms, long black hair and keen eyes" of the Irish peasant girls, which "brought forcibly" to his memory "the paintings of Murillo."[20] His piece was illustrated by scenes from Galway he thought particularly Spanish in influence (Fig. **2**) – the medieval Lynch's Castle with its curious and unusual Gothic features, and two ladies at work under the archway of a door. The second article, "Fall of a House at Limerick," was much more contemporary and striking in its gruesome details, as it chronicled a fatal accident at a

house in the Irish city of Limerick, whilst a wake was being held in the attic: "the floor gave way […] with a tremendous crash and wild shriek […] eleven persons were killed and from sixteen to twenty grievously maimed – some with legs and arms broken, skulls fractured, and one man had his back broken."[21] While the exotic beauty of an Irish peasant girl was to be much admired, her distinctly un-Anglican custom of a large, Catholic, public wake was just one aspect of Irish culture which must have struck readers of the time as utterly incomprehensible, and a facet of Irish life which would have to be reformed if the country were to escape its acute malaise. At the same time we find, perhaps understandably for journals interested in engineering, enthusiastic coverage of civil engineering work, such as early plans for Irish railways, and the construction of large bridges – projects which by their scale offered hope and direction for large-scale regeneration and modernization, such as the striking and novel suspension bridge at Kenmare, illustrated in *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* in 1838 (Fig. **3**). At the south-western edge of Ireland, this bridge spanned an estuary very exposed to the Atlantic winds, carrying a mountain road built by the British Government in an attempt to open up (and pacify) a backwards part of counties Cork and Kerry. The scale of building, and the use of new materials such as iron, makes this bridge a much more vivid display of architecture serving as a device for Ireland's regeneration and Anglicization.[22]

The outbreak of famine in late 1845 fundamentally changed the coverage of Ireland in the architectural press. While in ordinary times they were less inclined to fall into the usual British stereotypes for depicting Irish matters in terms of political animosity and religious sectarianism, and were, as shown above, interested in technological improvement and engineering projects, during the famine they tended to adopt the same stances as their more mainstream colleagues.[23] By November 1846, *The Builder* commented, a staggering

"273,023 persons" were being employed in public relief works in Ireland, "Able-bodied men – the individual representatives of at least a million of people – all dependant on the Government, not only for present but for future support".[24] Such large-scale state involvement ran contrary to many English capitalists conception of what they saw as English *laissez-faire* values. The tone had significantly soured by the following summer: "the destitute Irish," said *The Builder,* "are continuing to shew their gratitude for all these Saxon mercies in their own peculiar way […] At Glenfin, in County Derry, an agent of the Board of Works, and agriculturist of an estate, who had made arrangements for expending about 400*l.* or 500*l.* on the property in works, for behoof of the destitute, was attacked a few days since by upwards of a hundred armed men, headed by a man in woman's clothes, and forced to put out his tongue, while they cooly cut away an inch of it!"[25] This accusation of barbarity was echoed a few months later in *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal,* when it was suggested that a new kind of fast light railway system could be used as "a means whereby Ireland may easily be intersected and civilised, and the reproach taken away from us, that a wild people, knowing no law but the 'wild justice of revenge,' still dwells within the borders of our island domain."[26] In this and much other coverage of the great famine it is clear that "donor fatigue," in the words of W.J. Lowe, had set in.[27]

In *The Art-Union,* Anna Maria Fielding, whose husband was the editor of that journal, and who wrote using his name, Samuel Carter Hall, took up Ireland's famine suffering in three articles entitled "The Cry from Ireland": "Within a distance of *eighteen hours* from the English metropolis," she argued, "thousands of creatures, the echoes of whose wit have resounded round our hearths, and whose simple and earnest pathos is a truth in history – to think that they are dying of hunger, enduring the most awful of all deaths."[28] Calling for charitable donations to be sent to the journal for distribution in Ireland, Fielding used

gendered language to compare the Union of Britain and Ireland to a marriage (echoing very much her own Anglo-Irish union): "I believe England will be repaid a thousand-fold for its labour of love in lessening this calamity in Ireland. It will draw the bond of union between the two countries closely together; set the brand of shame on the forehead of the agitator who would seek to separate them; proving beyond the possibility of doubt, and by proofs that can never be hereafter touched by controversy, that IRELAND's EXTREMITY HAS BEEN ENGLAND'S OPPORTUNITY!"[29] These articles were not illustrated, but when Fielding returned in 1850 to publicise her new book about Killarney, she offered ten woodcuts, highlighting the desirable wildness and untouched simplicity of the landscape – in particular the lakes, forests and exaggerated mountain skylines, or a few people travelling on a tranquil country road. Other woodcuts showed quintessentially rural females – the vendor of goat's milk, shown in deep shadows as if to indicate her submissiveness and non-threatening demeanour, and a "keener," a lady employed at wakes to cry, tell stories and lament a deceased person (Fig. **4**).[30] These images of Ireland's landscape presented the country in a distinctly Anglicised manner, stressing the familiarity of its landscape and its shared history with Britain, while suppressing the violence or starvation of the famine years. Similarly, those showing working women emphasized their passivity or presented them as theatrical, if superstitious, performers. The threatening woman – brutalized, starved, crazed or criminal – is, of course, left out.

But if the famine changed the content and tone of most articles in the British architectural press, we must look elsewhere to properly understand the revolution that took place in how *The Builder* reported on Irish matters in the period. The role of the state, and the prevalence of architectural monopolies in Ireland, came in for sustained criticism.[31] In particular the contributors' anger focused on the Irish workhouses, built following the passing

of the Irish Poor Law Act in 1838, and greatly tested during the famine years. The Irish architect Sir Richard Morrison, on behalf of the Royal Irish Institute of Architects, sent an address to the new lord lieutenant, the earl of Clarendon, "deploring the present condition of architecture in Ireland," in September 1847.[32] The tendency to grant large commissions to British architects was on their mind, as had been done in the implementation of the Poor Law, where the work for more than 100 Irish workhouses had been entrusted solely in the hands of George Wilkinson (previously quoted).[33] This distinctly un-British way of granting large commissions without competition would not happen again, they hoped. Claredon's response, printed in *The Builder,* offered little more than vague promises and generalisations and there the matter rested till February 1850, when an impassioned article on the recent collapse of some auxiliary workhouse buildings reignited the debate, which was carried over six letters during the spring and summer of that year.[34] Lord Dufferin, speaking at the Belfast School of Design, launched a broad attack on Irish architecture, saying there is hardly a country where it has been more "neglected, or rather abused […] Disfiguring the country, there are innumerable structures, churches, castles, mansions, public buildings, all vieing with each other in deformity."[35] Once again linking architecture with national regeneration, he asked: "What nobler, what more lasting possessions has a nation than its architectural structures?"[36] The fault, a letter-writer responded, lay with the professional Institute – what had they done to prevent large government monopolies? "The stranger sees nought in our towns and cities but abortions of churches, court-houses, banks, club-houses, &c., evidencing an absence of all taste and propriety, and a positive retrograde movement; instead of the noble progress that marks the profession where it is not tied down and trammelled, bound hand and foot […] stamped with the impress of illiberality, sameness, and mere utilitarianism. [The] last years of famine and general depression have almost ruined the industrious classes, and drained the country of its capital."[37] Another contributor was quick to defend the Institute and to suggest

a few recent buildings which he thought of some merit. He agreed, though, that blame rested with "the system of monopolizing public business by a limited number of (too often tasteless) individuals," to which a response came with a vicious attack on Wilkinson and his Irish workhouses.[38] "What would the profession in England say were Government to place the designing of every church in the hands of one architect; of every workhouse in those of another; and of every normal school and educational establishment in those of a third? Why, such a storm of indignation would burst from one end of your land to the other as would scare any Government from the commission of so unjust an act."[39] It is clear that if architecture was to be linked with national regeneration and Anglicization, the way in which it was controlled and commissioned would have to be more in line with British *laissez-faire* values, for it to succeed. The debate ended with a piece praising some recent buildings which were seen as exceptions to the general trend of monopoly and repetition, including the new Queen's College in Cork by Sir Thomas Deane, an institution set up in the British Government's then latest attempt to use state-provided education to reform and reshape Ireland, which had been previously illustrated by *The Builder* – a fashionably modern Gothic building set in an open and airy site.[40]

It was during the course of this debate that *The Builder* changed the way in which it reported Irish news – up till August 1850 notices were generally carried in the "Notes in the Provinces" section, but from this time onwards they were almost always given a completely separate and distinct article, generally "Architecture and Building in Ireland," or some variation on the same.[41] It is likely this decision was made by *The Builder's* editor, George Godwin, but it is unclear why exactly this shift occurred at this time, only that the angry debates of 1847 to 1850 may have had some impact. The decimated state of Ireland at the end of the famine meant that at no time was *The Builder's* ethos – that architecture and

engineering could be used to improve and advance civilisations – more in need, and Irish news more deserving of column inches. The result was that Irish matters were separated from English (or Welsh or Scottish) provincial news, and that Ireland moved from being provincial to being 'other'. The great growth of reporting on Ireland around this time, as evident in the aforementioned graph, arises almost entirely from this decision on the part of *The Builder* to divorce their Irish and provincial news coverage.

The immediate post-famine years provided an opportunity for urban centres, especially Belfast, to set themselves apart from the failures of their rural hinterlands. In May 1851 *The Builder* ran with "A Growing Town: Prosperity in Ireland": "While in several of the large towns in Ireland, scarcely a mason, bricklayer, or carpenter is at work at this season, we, in Belfast, are in a position to give employment to a large number".[42] In *The Art-Journal* a contributor suggested that "were a few of the populous towns of Ireland to follow the example set them by the inhabitants of Belfast, we should cherish an ardent belief that a new era - one of bright expectation - was about to dawn upon a land where discord and commotion have too long predominated".[43] This call – to follow Belfast's path towards Victorian modernity, was taken up in Cork with the hosting of an Industrial Exhibition there in the summer of 1852. A gushing review in *The Art-Journal* stated

> "It was, in simple truth, A GREAT SUCCESS: commenced in Cork upon small means, by comparatively humble men, and with very limited hopes, it rapidly assumed a gigantic form: contributions in money and 'in kind' poured in from all quarters. [It] is unfortunately and unwisely, the custom to consider Ireland as exclusively a country for growing grain and fattening animals, and that, consequently, manufactures are to be for ever exotics there. Yet who that travels in Ireland can have driven beside the borders of any one of its broad lakes or brawling rivers without

mourning over a waste of water-power sufficient to turn all the spindles of all the towns of Lancaster and York!".[44]

Cork would soon industrialise, it was hoped – an indication that Ireland's regeneration would have to start in her cities, and would afterwards spread to the most backwards rural areas. The author urged English people to visit Ireland and to judge for themselves, commenting that "the one country cannot flourish unaided by the other – that their interests are, in short, MUTUAL AND INSEPARABLE."[45]

Cork's achievement was quickly overshadowed by enthusiasm for the much larger Industrial Exhibition in Dublin held the following year, whose enormous main hall, decorated with hanging flags in the manner of an English cathedral, and filled with gentile, well-dressed people was illustrated in *The Builder* (Fig. **5**).[46] These large exhibitions, emulating the Great Exhibition of London in 1851, were ideal staging posts for artificially distancing the horrors of the great famine and presenting a new image for these Irish cities. An editorial in *The Builder* commented "the fine streets of Dublin […] crowded with visitors, must have astonished those who know Ireland only in connection with famine, misery, outrage, and murder".[47] From the opening day in May 1853, it was predicted, to quote the particularly striking remarks of the chairman of the Exhibition's Executive Committee, that "annalists may date a period when industry and public order, with their inseparable companions, happiness and wealth, shed their abundant blessings over this portion of her Majesty's dominions."[48] Other commentators agreed that the Exhibition was an important part in the process of post-famine regeneration: *The Art-Journal* said it "was a great civiliser. It was intended to improve the people, to enlarge their understandings, to disabuse their minds of long-cherished prejudices, and to promote in them habits of industry and prudence."[49] In the

run-up to the Dublin Exhibition, *The Builder* carried a series of four front-page editorials concerning Ireland, the only time this occurred in its first decade of publishing. They offered an introduction to the country for a prospective English tourist: "you may breakfast in London," it was said, "and be in Dublin at half-past ten the same night".[50] Ancient and medieval ruins, such as those at Newgrange, with its exotic Celtic spirals and mysterious portal were discussed alongside new railway viaducts and station buildings – though seldom was there any positive comment for smaller provincial towns: Drogheda, illustrated by the medieval St Lawrence's Gate, was tarred by a sad foreground scene of a solitary man and a disused cart (Fig. **6**). The town, it was said, "shows much destitution."[51] The most remarkable was the third editorial, which opened with a stark comparison: "If the extraordinary ruins and ancient monuments to which we have already referred speak eloquently of the Ireland of the past – dead Ireland, so to speak, – BELFAST, in the north, illustrates no less forcibly and flatteringly, the Ireland of to-day, – living Ireland," and in the same issue illustrated the new Presbyterian College in that city, an ostentatious Italianate pile designed by Belfast's most famous architect, (later Sir) Charles Lanyon (Fig. **7**).[52] This "dead Ireland" was not simply the ancient ruins of a Celtic civilisation, but also the entire way of life of rural Ireland which harboured such different and irreconcilable values to those often expressed in the British architectural press, and by proxy British Government policy towards Ireland. This "dead Ireland" was the rural Connaught which Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Carter Hall took to imagining in *The Art-Journal* once more the following year, idealised scenes of rural life – fishing, playing sports – with unassuming bare-footed peasant girls given much prominence. "Their habits and customs are," they said, "comparatively as unchanged by time as their mountains, lakes, and old ocean".[53] By presenting rural Ireland in 1853 as seemingly unchanged, the Hall's brushed over the calamitous effects of the great famine: far beyond direct human loss, many aspects of rural culture were annihilated in these years, and if Ireland's urban centres

increasingly represented "living" Ireland, then the rural hinterland, unreformed and un-Anglicized, was the "dead" Ireland which, in the early 1850s, might finally be reshaped by extensive changes in land ownership under the Encumbered Estates Act.

De Nie concluded that "The British people, quite weary of Irish news by 1849 and convinced that they had done everything that should be done, were content to the leave the Irish to their fate."[54] Looking only through the pages of these four periodicals, such a statement clearly needs to be complicated. While the famine does occupy much space, and forces, arguably, an engagement with Irish regeneration and continued Anglicization, previously seen as too peripheral or unimportant, it is actually more traditional concerns of patronage, enterprise and capital, and specifically how the Irish architectural world was seen as distinctly un-British in its structure and operation, that really bring about the change in how Irish news is reported, particularly in *The Builder.* In spite of this, architecture is clearly seen as a vehicle by which Irish regeneration may take place, evident in coverage of, and illustrations of, large engineering projects. Studying the architectural press presents a counter-narrative to the dominant themes in the mainstream press, as explored by de Nie, Lengel, and others. After 1849, the architectural press's sustained interest in the large industrial exhibitions is clearly bent towards offering the opportunity to correct false impressions of a land decimated by famine, and interested in renewed Anglicization, but this is a proposition only made tenable if Belfast, Cork, Dublin and some other urban centres are increasingly defined as distinct and separate to rural Ireland. In the process, much of rural Ireland and its unique problems come to be defined as the antithesis of the Victorian modernity so aptly described in these publications. Most interesting, though, must be the positive outlook which *The Builder* in particular gives to its Irish news coverage in the immediate post-famine period. In this it offers a counter-narrative to the dominant trends of

the period, and questions current interpretations of depictions of Ireland in the immediate post-famine years.

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ABSTRACT

The existing scholarship on representations of Ireland in the British press has overlooked a subset of nineteenth-century publications here termed the 'architectural press', comprising four publications including *The Builder*. By analysing their coverage of Irish issues over a fifteen year period, which encompasses the great famine of 1846 to 1851, the suggestion that the immediate post-famine years were a period of diminished interest in Irish affairs is challenged, with an analysis offered of the Industrial Exhibitions staged in Cork and Dublin. The contemporary belief that Ireland's problems could only be solved through greater Anglicization is developed with reference to contrasting depictions of the romanticised Irish peasant, government-sponsored engineering projects and the construction of Ireland's workhouses.

BIOGRAPHY

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NOTES

[1] Brooks, '"The Builder" in the 1840s', 90.

[2] VanArsdel, 'The Builder Illustrations Index, 1843-1883', 352.

[3] See for example, 'Art in Ireland and the Provinces', *The Art-Union* 9 (October 1847), 353.

[4] De Nie, *The Eternal Paddy,* 140.

[5] Curtis, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts*. Curtis, *Apes and Angels*. Gilley, 'English Attitudes to the Irish in England, 1780-1900', 81-110. Gray, 'Punch and the Great Famine', 26-33. Foster, *Paddy and Mr. Punch*. De Nie, 'The famine, Irish identity, and the British press', 27-35. Lengel, *The Irish through British Eyes.* Curtis, *The Depiction of Eviction in Ireland*.

[6] Lengel, *The Irish through British Eyes,* 163-64. Williams, 'The Irish through British Eyes', 148. See also Leighton, 'The Irish through British Eyes', 423-24. And Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination,* 105; Curtis, *Apes and Angels,* 29; Peter King suggests the changing point could be closer to 1825, see King, 'Ethnicity, Prejudice, and Justice', 394.

[7] My discussion of 'values', as opposed to 'race', follows on from Gilley's criticism of Curtis, see Gilley, 'English Attitudes to the Irish in England', 93.

[8] William Makepeace Thackeray, March 16, 1844, quoted in Ray, *William Makepeace Thackeray,* 1.

[9] This has prompted historians to view Ireland as a kind of laboratory for testing the reach of central government – see Burn, 'Free Trade in Land: an Aspect of the Irish Question', 61-74. MacDonagh, *Ireland,* chapter 2. Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment*, 1-16 & 376-91.

[10] See for example, see Beckett and Glasscock, *Belfast.* Cullen, *An Economic History of Ireland,* 100-45.

[11] 'Belfast', *The Builder* 3, 134 (August 30, 1845), 419.

[12] A point highlighted by De Nie with reference to the *Illustrated London News*, see 'The famine, Irish identity, and the British press', 28. Ireland certainly occupied a peripheral position, though arguably less so than twenty years previously – Caesar Otway began his 1827 book *Sketches in Ireland: descriptive of interesting and hitherto unnoticed districts, in the north and south* with the remark 'Ireland is such an unfashionable country' (Preface, i). When he revised it for a second edition in

1839, he offered a qualification: 'This, however true twelve years ago, is certainly not so now – for at present multitudes of tourists pass along' (2nd Preface, v-vi).

13 'Irish Collegiate Architecture; with Observations on Architecture in General. By Henry Fulton, Esq. Second Edit. Dublin, 1837' (review), *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* 1, 5 (February 1838), 93.

14 'The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland' *The Ecclesiologist,* 5, 13 (July 1846), 1. For other reviews of Petrie's important book, see Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination,* 134-35.

15 'The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland. Mr Petrie's Book', *The Builder* 4, 157 (February 7, 1846), 66-68.

16 Wilkinson, *Practical Geology,* 117.

17 'The Royal Hibernian Academy', *The Art-Union* 1 (July 1839), 105. 'Ireland', *The Art-Union* 2 (January 1840), 7.

18 'Church Building in Ireland', *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* 7, 77 (January 1844), 8.

19 See for example, Maxwell, *Wild Sports of the West of Ireland,* 3, and Noel, *Notes of a short tour through the midland counties of Ireland*, 158-59.

20 Fairholt, W.F. 'The Architectural Peculiarities of Galway, in Ireland', *The Builder* 3, 133 (August 23, 1845), 400 & 402.

21 'Fall of a House at Limerick', *The Builder* 3, 105 (February 8, 1845), 71. This can be seen as following on from an earlier editorial devoted to exposing the condition of tenement housing in the United Kingdom, likely written by the editor, George Godwin, see Editorial, *The Builder* 3, 100 (January 4, 1845), 1.

22 'Iron Suspension Bridge across Kenmare Sound, Ireland', *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* 1, 12 (September 1838), 315.

23 Gray, 'Punch and the Great Famine', 28. Curtis, *Apes and Angels,* 31. De Nie, 'The famine, Irish identity, and the British press', 28. O'Connor, *The Workhouses of Ireland,* 133-37.

24 'Public Works in Ireland', *The Builder* 5, 204 (January 2, 1847), 8.

[25] 'Notes in the Provinces', *The Builder* 5, 226 (June 5, 1847), 270. Comments of a very similar tone are to be found in 'The Life of James Gandon […] Prepared for publication by the late Thomas Mulvany' (review), *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* 10, 113 (February 1847), 48.

[26] 'Railway Extension for Speedy Travelling', *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* 10, 123 (December 1847), 387. The quote 'wild justice of revenge', is likely taken from a government report from around this time, see McLean, *The Event and its Terrors*, 87.

[27] Lowe, 'The Irish through British Eyes', 516. See Lengel, *The Irish through British Eyes,* 97-121.

[28] Hall, Mrs. S.C. 'The Cry from Ireland', *The Art-Union* 9 (April 1847), 141.

[29] *Ibid.* The other two articles are Hall, Mrs. S.C. 'The Cry from Ireland', *The Art-Union* 9 (May 1847), 180, and Hall, Mrs. S.C. 'The Cry from Ireland', *The Art-Union* 9 (June 1847), 221. Lengel calls attention to the metaphors of marriage used to describe the union of Britain and Ireland, see *The Irish through British Eyes,* 19-49ff. For further commentary on Fielding, see Curtis, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts,* 55.

[30] Hall, Mr. and Mrs. S.C. 'A Week at Killarney', *The Art-Journal* [as *The Art-Union* was renamed in 1849] 12 (August 1850), 253-56.

[31] As it had in the Railway Commissioners report debate in 1838-39, see 'Preface', *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* 1, 1 (January 1838), v; 'Irish Railways', *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* 1, 11 (August 1838), 288-89; 'Irish Railway Commissioners Report', *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* 1, 12 (September 1838), 299-304; 'Irish Railways – Ballinasloe meeting', *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* 1, 14 (November 1838), 387; 'Irish Railway Commission', *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* 2, 16 (January 1839), 14-15; 'Irish Railway Commission', *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* 2, 17 (February 1839), 39-40; 'Irish Railway Commission', *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* 2, 18 (March 1839), 87-91; and 'Irish Railway Debate', *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* 2, 19 (April 1839), 130-33.

[32] 'The State of Architecture in Ireland', *The Builder* 5, 242 (September 25, 1847), 460. See also 'The State of Architecture in Ireland', *The Builder* 5, 243 (October 2, 1847), 468-69.

[33] For George Wilkinson, see Saint, 'Three Oxford Architects', 56.

[34] Anon. ["Corcagiensis"], 'How they build workhouses in Ireland', *The Builder* 8, 368 (February 23, 1850), 89.

[35] Dufferin, Lord. 'State of Architecture in Ireland', *The Builder* 8, 377 (April 27, 1850), 201.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] Anon. ["The Celt"], 'Degraded State of Architecture in Ireland', *The Builder* 8, 387 (July 6, 1850), 316.

[38] Anon. ["J.J.L."], 'Degraded State of Architecture in Ireland', *The Builder* 8, 389 (July 20, 1850), 340-41.

[39] Anon. ["The Celt"], 'Position of Architects in Ireland', *The Builder* 8, 393 (August 17, 1850), 387.

[40] See Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment.* Anon. ["J.J.L."], 'Position of Architects in Ireland', *The Builder* 8, 397 (September 14, 1850), 436. See also 'Queen's College Cork', *The Builder* 6, 308 (December 30, 1848), 630-31.

[41] See for example, 'Notes in the Provinces', *The Builder* 5, 226 (June 5, 1847), 270; 'Architectural and Artistic Doings in Ireland', *The Builder* 8, 392 (August 10, 1850), 375-76; and 'Architecture and Building in Ireland', *The Builder* 8, 395 (August 31, 1850), 416.

[42] 'A Growing Town: Prosperity in Ireland', *The Builder* 9, 431 (May 10, 1851), 298.

[43] 'Art in the Provinces', *The Art-Journal* 13 (June 1851), 172. See also 'Belfast', *The Builder* 10, 480 (April 17, 1852), 245-46; and anon. ["Honi Soit Qui Mai Y Pense"], 'Belfast: Its Buildings and Sanitary Arrangements', *The Builder* 10, 488 (June 12, 1852), 373-74.

[44] 'The Industrial Exhibition in Cork, June, 1852', *The Art-Journal* 14 (July 1852), 225-26.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] 'Dublin Industrial Exhibition', *The Builder* 11, 537 (May 21, 1853), 329. See also 'Building for the Industrial Exhibition, 1853, Dublin', *The Builder* 10, 502 (September 18, 1852), 593 and 'Building for the Industrial Exhibition of 1853, Dublin', *The Builder* 11, 517 (January 1, 1853), 8-9.

[47] Editorial, *The Builder* 11, 537 (May 21, 1853), 321-23.

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] 'The Great Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: Its General Results', *The Art-Journal* 15 (December 1853), 302. See also 'Dublin Industrial Exhibition', *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* 16, 232 (July 1853), 270-74. Similar sentiments are explored by De Nie, see 'The famine, Irish identity, and the British press', 32-33, and De Nie, *The Eternal Paddy,* 272.

[50] Editorial, *The Builder* 10, 494 (July 24, 1852), 465.

[51] Editorial, *The Builder* 10, 495 (July 31, 1852), 481-83 and Editorial, *The Builder* 10, 502 (September 18, 1852), 589.

[52] Editorial, *The Builder* 10, 496 (August 7, 1852), 495-96. 'Presbyterian College, Belfast', *The Builder* 10, 496 (August 7, 1852), 503.

[53] 'The Scenery of Ireland', *The Art-Journal* 15 (August 1853), 198-99, quoting from Hall, *Handbooks for Ireland.*

[54] De Nie, 'The famine, Irish identity, and the British press', 34.