THE DEVELOPMENT OF GEORGIAN DUBLIN IN THE CONTEXT OF A COLONIAL DISCOURSE

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INTRODUCTION

Histories of the development of Dublin generally agree that the Georgian period saw the most fundamental changes take place in the city's development. From the late 17th century the city began to expand beyond the confines of what was in effect a medieval garrison town, into what was by 1800 one of the finest Capital cities in Europe. What survives of Georgian Dublin, predominently in the Eastern part of the City, is today much celebrated, largely because it is the only era in the city's development which is comparable with any contemporary city in Europe. Hence it receives such praises as:

> **"The Georgian Architecture of Dublin is as fine as that of any city in the British Isles, including Bath and the New Town of Edinburgh". (1).**

The prevailing historical concensus attributes these developments to a new found commitment to Ireland and to Dublin as its Capital on the part of the country's most prominent residents, the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy. These accounts attribute the motivation behind, for example, the many large public building commissions that took place in the last twenty years of the 18th century, to an assertion of national identity and independence from colonial rule. This new-found commitment to the Irish nation was supposedly characterized by Henry Grattan, and his Patriot Party in the Irish Parliament.

However, when these developments are viewed in a broader historical context, a context outside the immediate frame of reference defined by these prevailing accounts, certain anomalies became apparent. The most obvious of these anomalies is the link between prescribed motivational factors like assertions of National identity, independant of British colonial rule, with architectural appraisal based upon its success according to British Georgian architectural criteria. There is a contradiction of sorts, between reasons of assertions of National identity etc., and buildings which were/are valued because of their architectural excellence

within the development of British Georgian architecture. This anomaly is confirmed on closer inspection, when it is realised that from a contemporary perspective, the architectural style of these buildings, Neo-Classicism was synonymous with England and Englishness. This view was supported by the fact that the earliest and most prominent architectural exponents of this style in Ireland , William Chambers, James Gandon and Thomas Cooley, were all architects of London origin, while their Patrons in Ireland, the Ascendancy, were in effect the long-term administrators of British colonial rule in Ireland, the administrators of a sort of "Pax Brittanca" in Ireland.

In this essay I intend to discuss the development of Georgian Dublin in the context of developments often excluded from the prescribed frame of reference for the study of that subject. I intend to discuss Georgian Dublin's development, not as an un-precedented event, but as part of a historical process and a colonial discourse, which, on the part of the colonisers was an attempt to secure cultural and political hegemony in Ireland. While my intention is not to dispute those prevailing historical accounts, the historical process into which I intend to place the development of Georgian Dublin would seem to contradict the reasons prescribed by them for the developments under discussion.

With this in mind I intend to begin this thesis with a discussion of those large public building commissions of the late 18th century which have been given such a central place in those explanations of assertions of National identity. I will stress that the motivational and financial factors behind these developments were in fact controlled, and when required supported by Westminister, via Dublin Castle (the centre of Colonial administration in Ireland) and that the role of Patriot politicans was minimal, if not even oppositional, to the development of these large public commissions in Dublin. By the end of chapter one I hope to have established that the role of Westminister in these developments was indeed very significant, undermining those prevailing accounts which

associate those buildings with assertions of National identity.

The motivational factors in the development of Dublin's major public buildings may be seen as part of Colonial administrative policies. I intend to discuss the broader historical precedent to colonial administrative "discourses" towards Ireland. Hence, I will attempt to chart aspects of the development of a colonial administrative discourse towards Ireland from the late 16th century until the end of the 18th century. I will be discussing this discourse as it at once attempted to identify, define, characterize, represent and reform Ireland in ways more suitable to colonial aims in Ireland. I will be mainly concerned with methods of gaining political and cultural hegemony throughout the whole of the country during the 17th and 18th centuries, and with the ways in which that hegemony served to reform the rest of the country in similar ways to those effected in Dublin, by changing concepts in the understanding of land, place and social order.

Finally , in chapter three I intend to discuss how this discourse was applied to the development of Dublin and to those of its native Irish population who didn't comply immediately with the terms of the colonial Order which this Colonial discourse attempted to apply. Hence I will discuss the application of colonial methods of understanding as the prime influence on the development of Georgian Dublin, particularly in its manifestation in the ordered streets of the east of the city, the home of the Ascendancy, and also in the application of a methodology for reforming those native Irish who lived outside the colonial social order. In both situations the prevailing colonial discourse articulated where and in what manner people could reside, within an imposed social order, which was applied to all areas of human behaviour in Dublin in the late 18th century through the development of institutional apparatuses.

NOTES

[1] Guinness, D., 1988, Back Cover.

CHAPTER ONE

As I have already mentioned above, when we look at Dublin today we see much that has survived since the Georgian period. We might also note how little survives from the pre-Georgian period. Although the city's development may have cleared most pre 1700 buildings away, a few remain, most notably the Royal Hospital (built outside the limits of the city of c.1680) and within the city, Dublin Castle, and the two Cathedrals. However, in comparison to the amount of buildings which survived from the 18th century, their amount is tiny, even accounting for the fact that they are older and more susceptable to demolition and re-development.

Although I will discuss this disproportionate ratio in greater detail later, for the moment it is enough to use it to make the point that the 18th century was a period of unprecedented development for Dublin. In the period from approximately 1700-1800 Dublin changed more completely, more rapidly then it ever had before, or has since from a medieval garrison town to a grand neo-classical city. What remains of that neo-classical city today however is predominently the streets and houses which were built for and occupied by the Ascendancy, most of which lie in the eastern part of the city centre. The houses of the merchants and tradesmen who made up the city's guilds and whatever buildings were available to house the city's poor have almost totally disappeared, leaving only the basic layout of their streets still visible in the old city to the west. Thus when we go looking for Georgian Dublin today, the city we see is the new eastern part of the city, the home of the Ascendancy. With the exception of the Royal Exchange (City Hall) we don't see many, if any, of the buildings which either housed or otherwise served the city's tradesmen and their families or the quarters of the poor; we only get part of the story. Likewise when we go to read about the history of the period, enquiring into the motives of those who changed the city so much in that period, we usually only

get one side of the story: that of the people who chronicled the events of that period. Since the poor were illiterate and the tradesmen more concerned with other more pressing economic matters, those written accounts of the period surviving were almost exclusively written by members of the Ascendancy.

The awareness of the social standing of those writers leads one to a healthy skepticism of those prevailing historical accounts (which can be traced back to those Ascendancy explanations historographically), which attribute Dublin's rapid growth during the Georgian period to a display of prosperity, national pride, aesthetic taste or even egalitarian principles on the part of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy.

What remains of Georgian Dublin is largely the legacy of the power of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy. But there were other power groups whose influence has been somewhat de-emphasized in more recent histories. Murray Fraser has identified three power groups in the 18th century, the Landowning Aristocracy, who sat in the Irish Parliament, (the Ascendancy), the wealthy Merchants who comprised the Dubin Corporation, and an Administrative Executive which resided in Dublin Castle and protected British interest (1). The development of the city was determined by the variations of interest within each group, but more importantly by variations of interest between the three groups.

The development of the city eastwards throughout the century was largely carried out by private developers, most notably Jervis, the Gardiners and the Fitzwilliams. However, quite apart from any internal rivalry, these developers had something in common. They were all members of the Ascendancy and they were all interested in boosting property prices in the eastern part of the city. Meanwhile, the Protestant merchants and tradesmen who occupied the old city area to the west were obviously opposed to any move in the direction of the city's expansion away from their area of business. Thus a social conflict arose between the merchants and tradesmen represented

by the Corporation occupying the western part of the city, and the Ascendancy, who largely controlled Parliament in the eastern area of the city.

With the replacement of the collapsed Essex Bridge in 1753-55 by George Semple (derived from the recently built Westminster Bridge in London), the Corporation lobbied the Parliament for money to build a "wide and convenient street" from the new bridge to the Castle and for provision to be made for the building of an Exchange in front of the Castle at the end of the street. However with little influence in Parliament the scheme was rejected in favour of simply widening the street to the Castle (present day Parliament Street), and for this purpose the "Wide Streets Commission" was established.

However in the early 1760's the Corporation again lobbied the Castle for the building of a new Exchange to cope with the city's increased commerce. This time the Merchants of the Corporation received a prompt and positive response which Fraser attributes to a desire on behalf of Westminster, via the Castle, to curb the power of the Ascendancy and the Irish Parliament combined with Westminster's own aggressive trade expansion policies.

The Royal Exchange was built by Thomas Cooley after a competition which apparently received great attention. Earlier designs for an Exchange by Irish Architects like Thomas Ivory were rejected in favour of a competition for which sixty one entries were received. According to Craig (2), there was a general consensus that an English architect would be selected and accordingly the first three places were given to the designs of Cooley, James Gandon and Thomas Sandby respectively, all of London. Fraser notes that there were allegations that Cooley had been chosen because he was assistant to Robert Mylne, an eminent London architect (3). Craig suspects that much of the design may even be the work of Mylne, and also suggests that the competition winning design was later changed, under the influence of Gandon's second placed design (4). Whether Cooley was chosen because of his associations with

London mercantile powers, over Gandon, who even then was friendly with members of the Irish Ascendancy in London remains open to speculation. However the fact that the building's two main porticos address Essex bridge and the old city, ignoring the new eastern quarters and College Green, is a more telling expression of the attitude of those who commissioned it to the prevailing spatial stresses within the city at that time (Fig.1). Although the building was the first significant example of neo-classicism in Dublin (or indeed Ireland) it was the last victory for the Corporation in the struggle for control over the city's development.

The next significant development occurred in 1774 when the Castle put the proposal to build a new Customs House before Parliament. During his period in office as Viceroy (1767-1772), Lord Lieutenant Townsend had made great efforts to regain closer control of the Irish Revenue Board, (including the appointment of John Beresford to the Commissioners in 1770). The newly appointed Commissioners, in an attempt to increase effective collection of Revenue had advocated the building of a new Customs House. However, with the demand for a new bridge down stream to the east to link the two sides of the new eastern estates of the city being proposed by the Ascendancy controversy was inevitable. It was obviously necessary for the Customs House to be down-stream at the lowest bridging point on the river and thus at the other end of the city to where the corporation's supporters resided. Dublin merchants and some powerful Aristocrats with estates to the west of the city and powerful connections in London protested. Despite this the proposal was supported by Parliament and, with the backing of the Lord Lieutenant Harcourt, Beresford went to London to seek support. Frazer says that Westminister rejected the initial proposal for rebuilding the Customs House down-stream because it, "was suspicious of any Irish initiative that proposed to increase the costs of administration at a time when the deficit of the Castle expenditure over its revenue had soared to £190,000.00 a year." (5).

However by the end of the decade dramatic changes had taken place in Ireland. There was a sharp down turn in the Irish economy due to the effects of the American War of Independence. The combination of civil unrest, Parliamentary attempts to coerce the British Government into granting trade concessions, (1779), the repealing of Westminster's legislative powers over the Dublin Parliament in many matters, (1782), and the formation of the Volunteer force under the command of Lord Charlemount and their subsequent "threatening postures" (Fig.2.), forced the British Government to reconsider its policies towards Ireland.

In 1780 Beresford went to London with the revised plan for the rebuilding of the Customs House as part of the new attempt to strengthen the British administrative position in Ireland. Beresford's plan was endorsed and by April, 1781 Gandon was in Dublin beginning work on the project. Despite initial protests by the Merchants, Beresford and other Castle politicians reassured the Westminster Government: "if the measure had originally been wrong, it would now be very prejudicial to all steady Government to revoke it", (6). The latter building of the Four Courts in the proximity of the old city also helped appease the protests of the merchants who continually contested the move. But with Westminster backing, just as with its opposition six years earlier, the project's fate was sealed.

In December 1780 the British treasury gave the Revenue Commissioners permission to draw the monies required for the project (7) at a time when the patriot group in Parliament, led by Grattan was protesting any expenditure on the part of the British Government towards strengthening imperial connections. This was a complex albeit secretive commitment to the project on the part of Westminster. The total cost of the project over the following two decades was approximately £300,000 and when the massive cost of this extravagance became apparent in the 1790's, patriot politicians protested. Frazer quotes Henry Grattan himself on the cost of the Customs House:

> "They are sweeping away the revenue and making palaces for the commissioners who have ordered a building which is more a proof of prodigality in the Directors then of taste in the architect - of sixth rate rank in architecture, but of first rate in extravagance" (8).

Frazer argues conclusively that the prime political motivators for the Customs House project and of all the most significant public commissions which followed it until the Act of Union were Beresford and his circle. This group were staunchly loyal to Westminster, via Dublin Castle. Grattan and his patriot political circle seem to have been indifferent, if not even opposed, to these developments. Thus it seems that the traditional attributions as to the motivations behind these developments as handed down by historians writing from an ascendancy perspective seem to be totally misplaced. This historical inaccuracy may have been a last ditch attempt on behalf of post-union historians to salvage some historical credibility for those Ascendancy parliamentarians who were bought off in 1800, but this is mere conjecture.

A more certain conclusion is that the Customs House and those other major civic improvements over the next twenty years were motivated and partly financed by Westminster. It seems that the Castle made use of the spatial conflict in the city's development to play off the Corporation against the Ascendancy, Parliament sanctioning or prohibiting Public Commissions for the purpose of strengthening political control under the prevailing volatile political circumstances. Frazer cites a revealing statement by the Lord Lieutenant Rutland to Parliament in 1784, thanking Parliament for help in the suppression of rioting, referring approvingly to;

> "The plans adopted for advancing the improvement of the metropolis, calculated not more for ornament and splendour than for health, convenience and security". (9).

Rutland de-emphasizes the use of ornament and splendour but

in late 18th century Dublin they were hard to ignore. Visitors arriving in late 18th century Dublin were surprised at the inordinately grand scale in which the city had been laid out and it's architectural grandeur, but also the degree of excellance of the Neo-Classical style of the public buildings nearly all of which had been worked on by James Gandon. Gandon was of course patronised by Beresford and his Castle circle and indeed he was linked by other means to Westminster. He had worked under William Chambers, the most prominent Neo-Classical architect of the late 18th century in England, who had close links with the King. Chambers had initially been approached with the Customs House project but was unavailable and recommended Gandon instead (10). In 1759 Chambers had published his Treatise on Civil Architecture in which he promoted his Neo-Classical style and also the interdependance of trade and architecture, pointing to the correspondence between the successful imperial trade of both France and England and their pre-eminence in the development of Neo-Classical public architecture (11).

From a contemporary Irish perspective Neo-Classicism as an architectural style was associated completely with England and indeed its earliest exponents in Ireland. Chambers, with the Casino Marino (1758) and the first three architects in the Royal Exchange competition ten years later were all architects resident in London. The frieze on the pediment of the Customs House articulates more clearly the interdependance of colonial trade and imperial architectural styles (Fig.3). Not only does it depict Hibernia and Brittania embracing, but it also depicts the virtues of over-seas trade, possibly given a more specific direction by the statue of Commerce surmounting the dome which faces towards England. When all things are considered the suggestion that these civic improvements of the last twenty years of the 18th century were an assertion of National identity independant of England seems unfeasable. Firstly the architectural style used was perceived in association with English imperial administration and trade, as was the use of English architects to execute the design of those commissions. Secondly, taking the Customs House for example there exists an

architectural rhetoric which, withoutdown grading Irish trade, serves to articulate an interdependance or a bond between the two nation's trade. Add to this the points made earlier that, if anything, the Patriot politicians were largely opposed to these commissions and that it was the loyal Castle politicians who used the commissions to their own political ends. The conclusion I come to is that these commissions had little to do with assertions of National identity, but may instead have been part of an attempt on behalf of Westminster via Dublin Castle to further increase its political and administrative control of Ireland.

NOTES

[1] Frazer M., 1985, Page 102.
[2] Craig M., 1982,Page 234.
[3] Frazer M., 1986, Page 105.
[4] Craig M., 1982, Page 234.
[5] Frazer M., 1985, Page 108.
[6] Frazer M., 1985, Page 110.
[7] Frazer M., 1985, Page 112.
[8] Frazer M., 1985, Page 112.
[9] Frazer M., 1985, Page 114.
[10] Frazer M., 1985, Page 107.
[11] Frazer M., 1985, Page 107.

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Fig. [1]

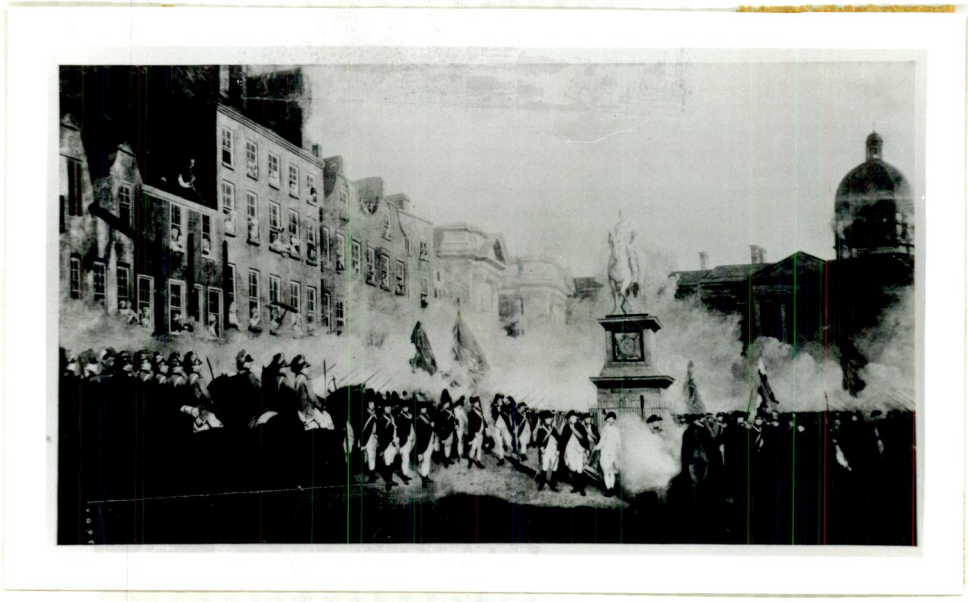
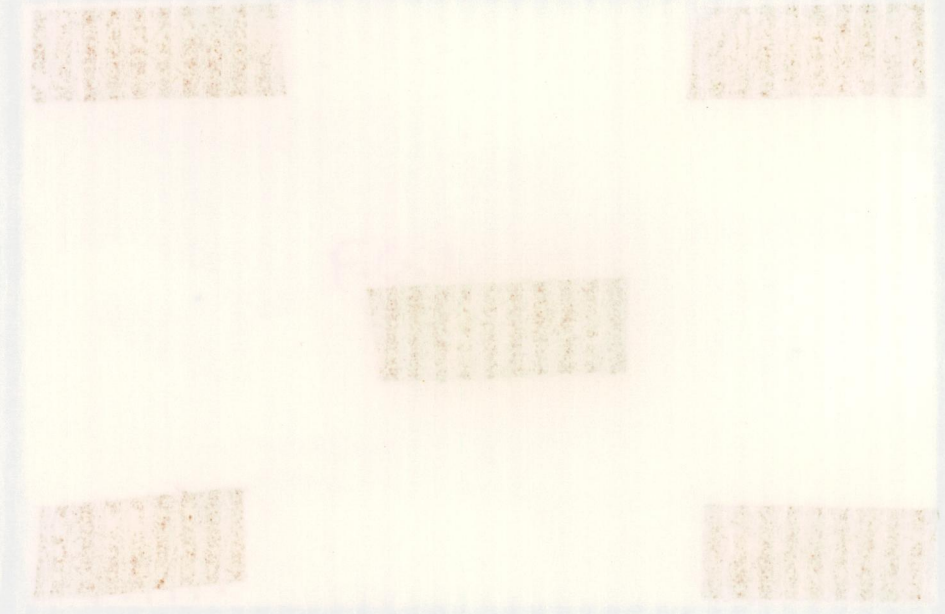
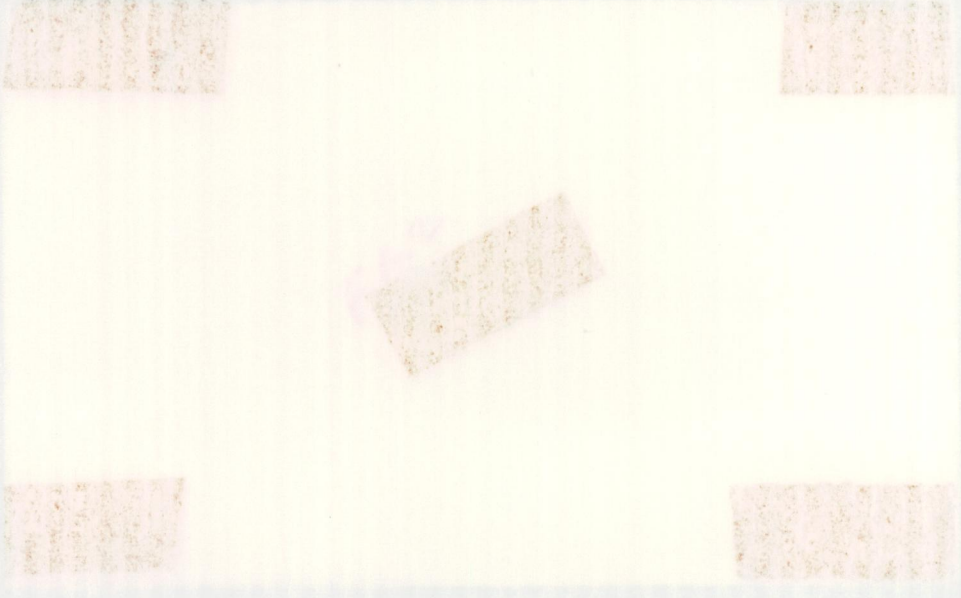


Fig. [2]





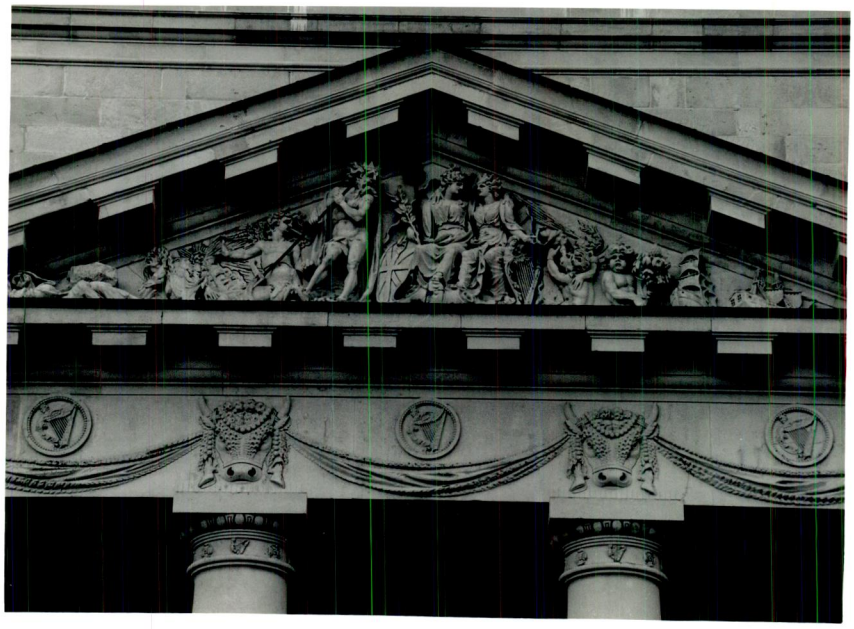


Fig. [3]

CHAPTER TWO

In concentrating on subtle balances of power such as those which existed in Dublin during the 18th century, it is easy to forget the context in which they existed. When we look at the developments that survived and read the written accounts of the period that survive, it is easy to forget that we are looking at and reading that which was created by the very small percentage of the country's population who had strong links with England in one form or another. The fact that the Catholic Irish considered themselves different to the English while under colonial subjugation is de-emphasised. It is easy to overlook the fact that legally Ireland remained a separate Kingdom to England sharing the same Sovereign. Thus there was a relationship between Ireland and England which was not the same as a relationship between, for example, London and Yorkshire. Rather it was a relationship between separate nations in two separate Kingdoms, who shared the same Sovereign and more besides.

The terms "Colonial" and "Imperial" when used in connection with the areas of the world subject to political control by England or Britain are historically associated with developments in far off places of the world outside Europe during the 19th and early 20th centuries. They are not so commonly used in connection with the application of political power within the British Isles. Yet for hundreds of years before the great expansion of the British Empire during the 19th century there was a cultural, political and sometimes military conflict taking place between the English and the Celtic fringes of the British Isles. Considering that to varying degrees the Welsh, the Scottish and the Irish considered
themselves as separate cultural and political entities to the English, and considering that to varying degrees they opposed the controls the English imposed upon them, to describe the relationship between England and these celtic fringes as

colonial seems to me to be justified.

In Ireland this colonial relationship had its successes and failures for the English. Without dwelling on the history of this relationship it is worth noting that despite the conquest of Ireland in the 12th century by the Normans via England, Ireland remained relatively unaltered, culturally or politically outside the Pale until the Tudor conquest in the 16th century. In the period between the Tudor conquest and the Act of Union the English tried various means, with various degrees of success to control Ireland and to make the effort in one way or another profitable. This history is usually seen in political terms, but it can also be seen as an evolving colonial discourse between at least two separate entities, one attempting to impose controls on the other for its own gain, whilst the other attempts to reject these controls.

Before the Tudor conquest colonial domination of Ireland was content or resigned to mere containment of Ireland, but during the 16th century a discourse which attempted to alter the internal cultural and political conditions of Ireland began to develop. Its most concrete articulation was through the use of plantations, the remnants of which can still be seen today in the grid planned towns which were created and survived. The motive behind the use of plantations were;

> **"In the contemporary English view an acceptable level of civilisation required an orderly social structure related to a stable system of land ownership and land use and a government system characterised by effective central control".**

But the motivation went further than that. Rather than impose the desired social structure on the native Irish, English and later Scottish people were imported along with this social model. The native Irish were left with no social or propertied position within the new social structures. The aim of the plantations was not to integrate the native Irish but to make them aliens in their own country to a new social order

in which, at best, they became second order citizens. The English attitude towards the native Irish was applied even more comprehensively with the Penal Laws and the "Popery Code" which were applied after the Treaty of Limerick, 1691. Apart from the prohibition placed on Catholic worship and on Catholic land ownerships, Catholics were prohibited from taking part in Government, the Military or any other aspect of public life and were expressly barred from membership of Dublin Corporation or from freedom of the city. The policy of the English who governed Ireland at the beginning of the 18th century towards the Catholic majority was not one of attempted religious conversion as claimed or of social integration so much as an attempt to make the practice of daily life in a a native Irish manner impossible, both economically, religiously or politically. It was an attempt to make their native cultural lifestyle extinct.

Stephen Ellis has argued that the loss of Calais (1558) finally ended the continental ambitions of English Kings such as Henry viii. They consequently turned their attentions towards conquering the Celtic fringes of the British Isles (2). Ellis goes on to argue that this was influential in shaping the characteristics of self identity in England, as the definition of Englishness and non-Englishness became more crucial and more closely defined.

Cairns & Richard discuss English writer's representation of Ireland to English readerships. They discuss Edmund Spencer's observations on Ireland in the late 16th century in "The Faerie Queen" and "A view of the present state of Ireland", both of which provide a revealing insight into the attitudes of those English who were directly employed with the administration in Ireland (3). In "The view", Spencer argued that the Irish could only be brought into civility by the extermination of their culture, citing a 12th century text which takes the supposed descent of the Irish from the ancient scythians as conclusive proof that they are "a Barbaric race who must be broken by famine and the sword before they can be

remade." (4). However Spencer also argues that native Irish culture was incapable of assimilation, and he feared the threat of pollution to the "New English", those who arrived in the late 15th and 16th centuries, in the same manner as had befallen the Old English who were now "more Irish than the Irish themselves". Spencer went on to argue that the Irish should be permanently surbordinated and remade for the purpose of labour.

> **"The process of describing the colonised and inscribing in discourse as second order citizens in comparison with the Colonisers commenced with the invocation of the Judicial and Military power of the State, but subsequently the Colonisers attempted to convince the colonised themselves of their irremovable deficiencies and the consequent naturalness and permanence of their subordination". (5).**

Cairns & Richard note how little actual effort lay behind Anglican attempts to convert the Irish Catholics, suggesting that the Church of Ireland put forward an explanation derived from Calvanist theology which views humanity as devided into those predestened to be saved and to those predestened to be condemned to Hell, the Catholic Irish fitting into the latter category (6.). This discourse on the place of the Irish Nation as opposed to and subservient to the English Colonies could be said to have progressed to a slightly different attitude in Shakespeare's "Henry v" written circa 1599 while Shakespeare's Patron Southhampton was involved in the Essex Military expedition to Ireland Cairns & Richard discuss the scene (Act 3, Scene ii) where English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish Captains meet at the camp of their army which is constantly referred to as "English". The use of the English language simultaneously unites and divides the captains, the Welsh, Scottish and Irish Captains deviating from standard linguistic pronounciation in their dialogue. Thus while on the one hand they are defined and indentified as opposed to the standard English cultural position they have never-the-less been integrated albeit at a subservient level, into English cultural and social structures.

They speak English and are in the English army. They have become useful but remain subordinate, more importantly for our discussion they have been identified as Welsh, Scottish and Irish and subsequently represented by characterisations.

Said discusses this charaterisation of the "other" in relation to colonial discourse about the Orient in the 19th and 20th centuries, but his comments could equally apply to colonial discourse in the similar situations of 17th and 18th century Ireland, (7).

"Orientalism" was an institutionalised ideological apparatus for dealing with the orient in order to dominate, restructure and hold authority over the orient. But it also acted as a cultural counterpoint which has helped the West to define an image of itself. Likewise representations of the Irish by and for the English during the post Tudor conquest periods before the Act of Union tended to "characterise" the Irish. Indeed there was an ever increasing demand for representations of "Ireland" and "the Irish". Said points out that these representations can not be understood without studying the configurations of power which surround their creation. He says that;

> **"The general liberal concensus that true knowledge is fundamentally non-political (and conversely, that overtly political knowledge is not true knowledge) obscures the highly if obscurely organised political circumstances obtaining when knowledge is produced". (8).**

Thus the colonial discourse that represented the "Irish" both to the English and the Irish themselves cannot be seen apart from the prevailing political relationship between the two nations.

Applying this observation to something already discussed, although it is possible to appreciate the purely formal qualities of the sculptural decoration on the Customs House,

it is not possible to deny the political circumstances in which the Hibernia and Britanica embracing on the south pediment were created.

Throughout the 18th century there was an unprecedented desire to represent the Irish and Ireland in terms the English understood. For example Maxwell notes the popularity of the publication of a collection of "airs" belonging to Carolan the Gaelic Harpist in 1780 and the popularity of harp playing at that time among the Ascendancy. Maxwell also notes the popularity of Moore's melodies, a series of Anglicized romantic gaelic poems (9).

But the desire to represent the Irish and Ireland in 18th century Ireland went further than the anglicization of Gaelic poetry. Rather, a concerted and thorough representation and characterisation of every aspect of Ireland and the Irish was undertaken by those who were literate, wrote in English and publishised in Ireland, i.e. the Ascendancy. Although the degree of awareness of the process of Colonial discourse that was taking place obviously varied greatly, nonetheless what developed haphazardly and somewhat unconciously was the availability of knowledge on Ireland for the English Colonisers which was unprecedented in the range of its scope and the thoroughness of its detail.

This increased interest in observation and representation is discussed by Foucault. He defines four epistemological phases in the history of Western European thought from the Renaissance to the present (10). He discusses the "pre-classical" episteme as based on similitude where for example signs resembled what they signified. However from the mid 17th century, epistemological changes taking place in Western European systems of thought replaced this episteme with what Foucault terms the "classical episteme".

> "The activity of the mind will no longer consist in drawing things together, in setting out on a quest for everything that might reveal some sort of kinship, attraction, or secretly shared nature within them, but on the contrary in discriminating, that is, establishing their identities." (ii)

Thus, instead of systems of thought based on resemblance they were based on representation, instead of being based on analogy they were based on analysis. The classical episteme was based around the identification of one as opposed to another, definition between the two, and representation of both by means of a system of definition. This epistemological change corresponds roughly with the English attempts to identify both themselves and "the other" who in this case were the Irish.

The earlier conquests of Ireland in the 12th and 13th centuries left the Irish largely unaffected culturally while "the Colonisers", the "Old English" as they are now known became integrated into the Irish way of life. As we have seen, Spencer, articulating the Coloniser's position at the beginning of the 17th century and the period of most active planting or "Colonizing" in Ireland, upheld that any integration was contamination. Rather, as Foucault has described in relation to the Classical episteme, Spencer and those who continued this Colonial discourse until the Act of Union strove to identify, define and represent the Irish and hence themselves as opposed to that characterised Irish representation.

A cycle existed in which knowledge provided power which in turn defined knowledge. Thus a thorough examination and subsequent knowledge of the "other" provided a degree of control, a power over "the other" which included the ability to characterise and represent that "other" even to itself. Thus the Irish captain in "Henry v" was depicted as a characterised Irish man unable to be anything more or less, because that was how an Irish man was defined in a Colonial discourse, a

production of knowledge based upon the subordination of one Nation to another.

Said discusses how in post Renaissance Imperialism expansion into the Orient combined with epistemological change created an Orient rife for study. Acadamies, museums, theoretical illustration and anthropological, biological and economic theses on the orient were based in a sovereign Western consciousness out of whose unchallenged centrality an oriental world emerged (12). Foucault describes the principal method of gathering and understanding knowledge during the classical episteme as the use of "Mathesis", a universal science of measurement and order using algebra and "Taxinomia" a principal of classification using systems of labelling (13). The study of linguistics was particularly affected by the Port Royal Educational Institution near Paris which published its "Gramaire Generale et Raisonnee" in 1662, which codified language based on a series of "transparent" representational "signs" rather than being based on a conceptual resemblance ¨14). Further, the methodology of Mathesis and the codified system of Port Royal Gramaire allowed no room for historical depth in language or any other form of representation. Objects and events no longer defined knowledge but were defined by knowledge.

During the 17th and 18th Centuries representations of Ireland and the Irish tended to show little or no appreciation or respect for the native culture in their production, under the prevailing Colonial circumstances. The system of understanding of the classical episteme when applied to Ireland by the English, applied an understanding of civility and an understanding of what "knowledge" constituted which had no place for an understanding of the historical depth of Genesis, but could only project idealised utopian Genesis on to an idealised primeval past, the image of "the other". Their analysis of Ireland and Irish culture was that it failed miserably according to this method of understanding. Thus Sir William Petty writing in his "Political Analysis of Ireland"

in the late 17th century failed to understand how civilisation could have been in existance in Ireland before its colonisation because;

> "There is at this day no monument or real argument that when the Irish were first invaded they had any stone housing at all, any money, any foreign trade nor any learning, but the legends of the Saints, Psalters, Missals, Rituals etc., viz, nor geometry, astronemy, architecture, engineery, painting, carving, nor any kind of manufacture nor the least use of navigation or the art military". (15).

Petty it seems, took it upon himself to be one of the people entrusted with providing Ireland with this system of knowledge. He helped to found a philosophical society in Dublin and was also one of the founders of the Royal College of Physicians in Dublin in 1654. However he is remembered most as a Statistician, Mathematician and Cartographer. The "Down Survey" which he instigated and supervised in the 1650's was the basis of all subsequent cartographical representations of Ireland until the formation of the Ordinance Survey in Ireland in 1824.

Declan Kiberd has argued that the notion of "Ireland" is largely a fiction created by the Rulers of England in response to specific needs at a precise moment in British History (16) Indeed throughout Irish History, with the final destruction of the clan social structure in the 17th century the "Irish" were never unified totally as a Nation. Although there had been Kings of Ireland there had never really been a unified concenting Irish Nation of any great stability. The English representation of Ireland as a simplified "other" was a characterisation.

This characterisation was based upon a systematic analysis of Ireland and the Irish (of which Petty was a leading figure) in the late 17th century. Said has argued that in the first place;

"Imperialism after all is an act of geographical violence through which virtually every space in the world is explored, charted and finally brought under control". (17).

One of the primary methods used to achieve this in Ireland was the mapping of Ireland. Although Ireland had been indicated on Ptolemy's Mappimundi, a Map of the known world published in his "Cosmography" in the second century A.D., there were very few cartographic representations of Ireland before the 16th century. Those that were produced were basically concerned with trading posts rather than any knowledge of the internal organisation, characteristics or structure of the country. Edwards discusses the earliest known English map of Ireland dating from 1483 which greatly exaggerates the importance of the Pale with little concern for what lay beyond it (18). The first serious attempts to map Ireland took place in the latter 16th century during the reign of Elizabeth I. But even these attempts were not thorough, as Andrew's notes;

"The many Elizabethan Maps of Ireland surviving in British repositories are themselves a consequence of Rule by outsiders, all to aware of their unfamilarity with the places they are trying to govern. The great variety of these maps - whether in subject, scale, or geographical merit - itself reveals the unsteady piece meal character of the English Governments concern." (18).

In 1610 John Speed published in London a Map of Ireland (Fig.4) as part of his "Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine". The Map shows the beginnings of a knowledge of the Country, dividing the country into sections and, whilst the size of Ulster and County Dublin are exaggerated, Connaught is disproportionately small. Of particular interest is the representation of the country in relation to the west coast of

England rather than as a separate entity, and also of the characterization of Ireland'a inhabitants on the maps left side. Although the map was limited it provided the representation of Ireland required at the time.

The surveying of the countryside was a hazardous business and many surveyors were killed by hostile native Irish. Since there was no native cartographic tradition in Ireland most maps of Ireland, including Speed's were partially copied from previous representations, many by cartographers who never set foot in Ireland (20). Petty revolutionised the cartographing of Ireland in the 1650's when he used soldiers to survey all the areas of the country he was required to survey, jotting down the required measurements which he then used to construct a representation of the areas. The survey was systematic, well co-ordinated and it had a specific purpose, i.e. to identify land which was then divided up for Cromwellian land settlement. However, in 1685 Petty published an atlas of Ireland the "Hiberniae Delineato" which could be seen to be for the purpose of making a knowledge of Ireland, more readily available in England. But it also served to further articulate and define the image of the "other".

Throughout the 18th century, the requirements of those English who now colonised large areas of Ireland changed. English commitment to the control of and dependance upon the Irish landscape had increased, and their knowledge requirements of the landscape became more specific. As a result, cartography in 18th century Ireland can be characterised by a desire to become more specific. Maps of individual Estates predominated. English Landlords required maps of the land they owned in order to sub-divide for rental to tenants as "property".

Mapping land provided the ability to own a knowledge, a coded two-dimensional representation of the land, beyond the experience of standing on or in it. This was the understanding of the land available to the 18th century Anglo-Irish

Colonisers. Generally this was not available to the native Irish, whose understanding of the same land was based on a different system of understanding based totally on historical experience. Maps of the landscape provided a representation, an identification, a knowledge outside of experience which in turn provided the power to define that land as property if so desired. This was part of a broader discourse which served to anglicize the landscape to negate the native historical experience of the landscape, through, for example the anglicization of Gaelic place names but also through the rationalisation of place names. County, Townland and Parish Boundries were fixed and definitely named, whereas the native Irish had known places by various different names depending on their historical/cultural experience of that place. This was part of a broader discourse which I mentioned earlier, the attempt to make daily life in the native cultural lifestyle impossible.

L.M. Cullen discusses the relative emptiness of early standing structures in the Irish landscape in contrast with other European countries, where towns usually have a solid core of old structures which are modified over the centuries. Irish towns, Dublin included, (noted above) do not display the same level of continuity. Cullen says;

> **"The Irish man made landscape is essentially one of the 18th century and its imprint is so heavy precisely because the preceeding human imprint was slight". (21).**

He goes on to discuss how foreign visitors to Ireland in the 18th century tended to inaccurately observe a binary class system, the wealthy landed Gentry and the poor native Irish. This was inaccurate because it failed to understand that among the native Irish there was not a tendancy to display wealth through property. Thus the wealthy "middle class" natives would dress just as poorly and live in just as poor housing as the poorer classes. He gives an example where in 1774 a lease for a 150 statute acre farm on the Talbot de Malahide Estate in

North County Dublin, prime agricultural land, required the tenant to build a farm house of a mere 21ft by 18ft. (22). As in Petty's "Political Analysis" of the previous century foreign observers misunderstood native culture, which placed less emphasis on the display of property in determining social status. This was possibly the result of the volatile nature of Irish agriculture which implied the volatile value of land as an economic resource. A dis-interest in the display of property would go some way to explain the relative weakness of a tradition in the plastic arts in native Irish culture.

The attitudes of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy contrasted sharply in regard to the display of property. The large country houses built mainly in the first half of the 18th century have extravagently elongated facades, the most extreme example being Russborough, County Wicklow (1756) by Cassels and Bindon, for the Dublin Brewer Joseph Leeson, where the facade is 700ft. long (20). This was only one aspect of a hugh change imposed on the landscape, especially in the early 18th century. Demesnes of up to 900 acres were walled in, with the creation of model villages outside the main gate, as at Mitchelstown, County Cork. The land was articulated, defined according to a geometric grid which negated the lands three dimensionality, its historical experience, in favour of its definition as property. For example at Castletown, Co. Kildare one of the earliest and grandest Country Houses built in the 18th century, an obelisk 140ft. high, was constructed two and a half miles from the house perpendicular to the line of the facade at the centre of the rear elevation (Fig.5.). On a less grand scale most of the landed gentry's Country Houses were surrounded by closed squares of trees and shrubs. Radiating outwards were avenues and canals leading to follies, eye catchers etc. This was part of an obsession with the centrepedial location of the house in the landscape, which itself had become defined according to its relationship to the house. Likewise the model villages built by Landlords were themselves defined by their relationship to those in the "big house", as was the local economy. For example, in the agricultural famine of 1740 local Landlords in Killiney, County Dublin and at Celbridge/Maynooth,

County Kildare paid the natives to build follies (the one at Castletown mentioned above) as famine relief projects. More than just an act of charity, it was part of a discourse which attempted to not only impose a new social order but to convince the native Irish to accept their subordinate position in that social order.

In Dublin circa 1710 the most significant secular buildings were the Royal Hospital, Trinity College (both of which were outside the immediate confines of the City) the Castle, the Tholsol and the Royal Barracks just across the River. A very large proportion of the activities that took place in the City evolved around the military presence. The City was in a transitional stage of development, from being a Medieval Garrison Town to being a Neo-Classical Capital. Throughout the century Dublin developed beyond the immediate proximity of the Castle and the Royal Barracks, along wide avenues laid out on axial grid patterns by private developers.

Edgerton discusses the place of the grid in the history of Western European metropolitan planning and map making (23). He traces the grid and town planning back to Alexandria and the Alexandrian cartographer Ptolemy, but more influentially, through the Roman use of the grid as a basic plan for the towns built throughout the Empire. Since then, the grid has been associated both with Imperial Conquest and subsequent social restructuring as well as the image of a social, moral, and political ideal which Ancient Rome embodied in the Western consciousness. Edgerton points to the development of grid based land division and town planning in the New World by Western European Colonists in the 17th century as, an example. Hence a map of New York in 1767 (Fig.6) is remarkably similar to an almost contemporary map of Dublin by Rocque, from 1756 (Fig.7.). Both Cities developed out of a disorganised maze of small streets into geometric grids of avenues during the 18th century. Under English colonial rule, cities like London and Paris acted as models of social order and Colonial Cities were developed along the lines of these models. Thus Dublin circa

1760 is developing in much the same way as New York is, circa 1760. Neither City reflects the particular characteristics of its native population or any local historical depth of experience in the social organisation of the City. Rather, both cities reflect the imposition of a similar social order and cultural model and both Cities reflect the desire on the part of the colonisers to ignore any specifically local topographical, cultural or social experiences. This was because, as described above, the systems of thought by which they understood their circumstance could only impose a utopian historical model, but could not represent a depth of historical experience.

However it would be inaccurate to think that Dublin's development was a centrally co-ordinated plan in the way that Hausmann re-planed Paris. The closest it came to central control of street planning was the Wide Streets Commission, or the Castle, discussed in chapter one. Rather Dublin's development was a series of speculative building ventures on the part of members of the landed gentry such as the Gardiner's or the Fitzwilliam's. Landlords would lay out grid-like street plans, but where old roads into the city intersected the street plan, such as with present day Leeson Street and Baggot Street, the grid sometimes gave way. Likewise where different Estates met, there was an uneasy readjustment of the grid. McCullough has noted that the earlier Estates, for example, the Smithfield/Queens Street and the Aungier Street Estates were planned almost as small towns in themselves, with Market Squares, Churches etc. (24). However those Estates which were developed throughout the latter half of the 18th century, predominately the Gardiner and Fitzwilliam Estates, show a much greater "awareness" of being part of a larger City in which their spatial position had been defined, as to house the Ascendancy, those who ran the country's Parliament. However, both the Gardiner and Fitzwilliam Estates made provision for certain social focal points in their grid like plans. Leinster House was the central focal point of Merrion Square, while the view down the South side of Merrion

Square and Upper Mount Street focussed on St. Stephen's Anglican Church (1823) (Fig.8.). Meanwhile on the North side the view down Gardiner Street addressed the North facade of the Customs House and Beresford Place, while an unexecuted plan for Mountjoy Square places St. George's Anglican Church in its centre (Fig.9.). As it was built, St. George's is the focus of three different streets, Eccles Street, Temple Street and Hardwicke Street (Fig.10.). This was to be part of a more elaborate plan linking all the Gardiner Enterprises at a Royal Circus near the North Circular Road (Fig.11.) and ignoring the ancient route into the City along Dorset Street which it traversed. The Royal Circus scheme was only partially built, but nonetheless the plan is of great value to us in that it reveals the ideal which its developers tried unsuccessfully to impose upon the land. In keeping with the character of the Colonial discourse under discussion, the route into the City created by native settlers over centuries was ignored by this newly imposed logical order while streets such as St. George's place go nowhere, existing only for the sake of the imposed grid. The focus points of the grids were the institutions of the Ascendancy in Ireland, Leinster House, the Customs House, the Anglican Churches, a Royal Circus which would contain Gardiner's finest house's, Trinity College and Parliament House in College Green ending Dame Street (also a proposed site for the Four Courts) and the Nelson Pillar at the apex of Sackville Street, Henry Street and North Earl Street. The layout of Dublin was very much part of the Cultural hegemony that had been taking place ever since the early plantations.

Returning to Foucault's relationship between knowledge and power which I have discussed earlier, it is possible to interpret this layout of the City as the physical embodiment of an idealised image of the City which itself is based around the system of understanding a particular circumstance (in this case Dublin but equally it could be New York or Edinburgh) by means of grids, mathesis and taxinomic classification.

Within this newly identified defined and classified City during the late 17th and 18th centuries there arose attempts to

establish methods of understanding according to what Foucault termed the "classical" episteme. The beginnings of institutionalised medical understanding began with the founding of the College of Physicians in 1654 (see above). This was followed in 1711 by the founding of a Medical School at Trinity College, and in 1784 by the founding of the College of Surgeons. Many other medical and educational institutions arose but I will discuss them more specifically in the next section.

Of particular interest is the institutionalization of systems of understanding Ireland and aspects of Irish culture. While the image of the "other" was very much maintained, the vast development in political, social and cultural control of the native Irish by the Colonisers in the 200 years since Spencer's "View of the present state of Ireland" meant that the culture from which it was derived had been somewhat displaced. Nevertheless the representation and characterization of what remained of Gaelic culture continued to serve as the "other" for an ascendancy in Ireland, who by the late 18th century had been largely abandoned as "Irish" by their mainland counterparts. They were caught in an identity crisis with some accepting the "Irish" lable and supporting Grattan, or in extreme cases Wolfe Tone. However the Act of Union confirmed that most of the Anglo Irish considered themselves more English than Irish. In the identity crisis in which they had found themselves in the previous thirty years, the image of the "other" had proved very necessary in maintaining their "Englishness".

The interest in Gaelic customs, poetry and legends which abounded among the Ascendancy in the late 18th century was the result, on the one hand, of an interest in romanticised, sublime, pagan or exotic cultures, including an interest in orientalism, which also was developing throughout Western Europe in the late 18th century. But it was also a specific response to the identity crisis which the Anglo Irish experienced in the late 18th century. The Royal Irish Academy was established in 1785 as an attempt to institutionalise the

understanding of Ireland, Irishness, the "other". I have already mentioned the interest in harp playing and in Carolin among the Ascendancy and the popularity of Moore's melodies. The interest in ancient Gaelic Culture also led to the publication of "Hibernica or some ancient pieces relating to Ireland" by Walter Harris in 1750 and Edward Ledwich's "Antiquities of Ireland" in 1789. This interest was however, part of a broader European interest in an idealised image of history. Throughout Europe during the 1760's James McPhearson's translations of the legendary Gaelic Bard Ossian's poems were very popular. The Scottish, Welsh, German, French and Irish all claimed Ossian was of their particular native culture, but since McPhearson's translations were later found to be fraudulent that question is of little consequence (25). What is worth noting is the desire in Ireland as in other countries for an idealised Gaelic Bard in the same mould as Homer.

The Royal Dublin Society founded in 1731 served a slightly different function in the production of knowledge about Ireland. It was mainly concerned with improving agriculture, manufacturing and other useful arts which in event also meant the Anglicization of the understanding of agricultural methodology. The Society is also of interest because of its schools of ornament and architectural drawing which were of fundamental significance in the production of knowledge of the visual arts, both "fine", "applied", and architectural areas in which, as I have pointed out earlier, there was not a particularly strong native tradition. But apart from the Society's involvement in the production of knowledge and its application it was also significant because of its interest in gathering information in Ireland through the study of natural sciences. In 1790 a Botanical Gardens was founded for the study of plants for identification, definition, labelling, etc., the methodology of which had been established by Linnaeus's binominial system of nomenclature earlier in the century (26) and which Foucault considered as the epitome of the Classical episteme. Six years later a chemical laboratory and the astronomical observatory at Dunsink, County Dublin were

opened. A large library was established and opened to the public in 1803, around the same time as Professors of Botany Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, Mineralogy and Mining were appointed (27). The production of and the classification of knowledge about Ireland even extended to the very substance which made up the island. Throughout the 1780's the society built up a collection of natural history including the employment of a Scotish geologist to search for fossils. By 1809, the Society had undertaken a geological survey of the whole of Ireland.

This production of knowledge about Ireland contributed to a self-consciousness which developed throughout the 18th century, visable in the numerous elaborate maps produced for landlords of their Country Estates, which Andrews notes were becoming increasingly celebratory (28). This is also apparent in the maps produced of Dublin depicting its most celebrated buildings and its new logical order. This self-consciousness also contributed to the rapid increase in the number of newspapers in Dublin in 18th century. Foster notes that in the earlier 18th century, they constantly compared and refetred to England, but later became more distinctively Irish. The production of books about Dublin also developed, Walter Harris (mentioned above) produced an illustrated history of Dublin in 1766, Pool and Cash produced a series of illustrated views in 1780 and in 1799 James Malton's "A Picturesque and Descriptive View of the City of Dublin" was published in a series of twenty five aquatint's of Dublin's principal buildings. Looking at Malton's views, we see the development of a discourse, a production of a knowledge of Dublin which was an ascendancy knowledge of Dublin. The views of Dublin depicted are almost exclusively views of Ascendancy Dublin, the Castle, Trinity College, Parliament House, the Four Courts, the Customs House, Leinster, Charlemount and Powerscourt Houses, the Royal Barracks, St. Patrick's Cathedral etc. Depictions of the poor or of the mercantile classes are minimal and incidental. The view of Dublin produced by Malton was very much a characterization of the City based upon the prevailing Anglo Irish espistemological methodology. This represented only

those aspects of Dublin which fitted into and were valued by the conceptual grid which was the Ascendancy understanding/experience of what Dublin was. Thus Malton's views were not so much a representation of Dublin which was new to the Ascendancy as a confirmation, a mirror, an "other" by which their understanding of Dublin was confirmed and supported.

In the first chapter of this essay I attempted to identify Dublin's major public building projects of the late 18th century with an attempt on behalf of Westminster to increase its control over Irish affairs in a volatile political climate. In this chapter I have placed this development in a historical context dating back to the late 16th century. I have discussed the representation and understanding of Ireland in the Coloniser's mind, and the subsequent attempt to create an Ireland that conformed to that understanding. Finally I have discussed the development of Dublin as part of a process of rationalising the City in the image of a Colonial Capital focused on the centripedial and pre-eminient position of Ascendancy Institutions. In the next chapter, returning more specifically to Georgian Dublin, I will discuss how this process of producing an image of the City, an "other" by which to define itself, affected Ascendancy attitudes to those who fitted that image somewhat uncomfortably.

NOTES

[1]	Clarke and Edwards	- 1976 Page 187.
[2]	Cairns D. & Richards.	- 1985 Page 15.
[3]	Cairns D. & Richards.	- 1985 Page 3.
[4]	Cairns D. & Richards.	- 1985 Page 4.
[5]	Cairns D. & Richards.	- 1985 Page 8.
[6]	Cairns D. & Richards.	- 1985 Page 6
[7]	Said E.	- 1985 Page 1.
[8]	Said E.	- 1985 Page 10.
[9]	Maxwell C.	- 1979 Page 105.
[10]	Merquoir J.	- 1985
[11]	Foucault M.	- 1970 Page 55.
[12]	Said E.	- 1985 Page 8.
[13]	Merquoir J.	- 1985
[14]	Collins English Dictionary	- 1987.
[15]	Craig M.	- 1980 Page 52.
[16]	Kippard D.	- 1985 Page 83.
[17]	Said E.	- 1988 Page 11.
[18]	Edwards R.	- 1973 Section 2.
[19]	Andrews J.	- 1978
[20]	Andrews J.	- 1978
[21]	Cullen L.M.	- 1986 Page 124.
[22]	Cullen L.M.	- 1985 Page
[23]	Edgerton S.	- 1987 Page
[24]	McCullough N.	- 1989 Page 30.
[25]	Greenhalagh M.	- 1979 Page
[26]	Collins English Dictionary.	- 1987.
[27]	Maxwell C.	- 1979 Page
[28]	Andrews J.	- 1979 Page.

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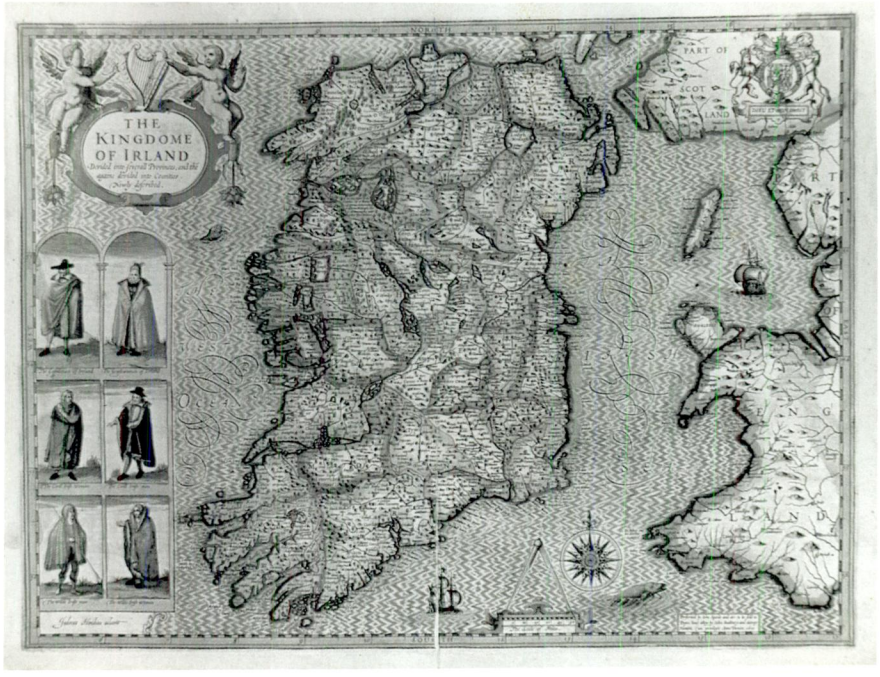


Fig. [4]

Fig. [5]

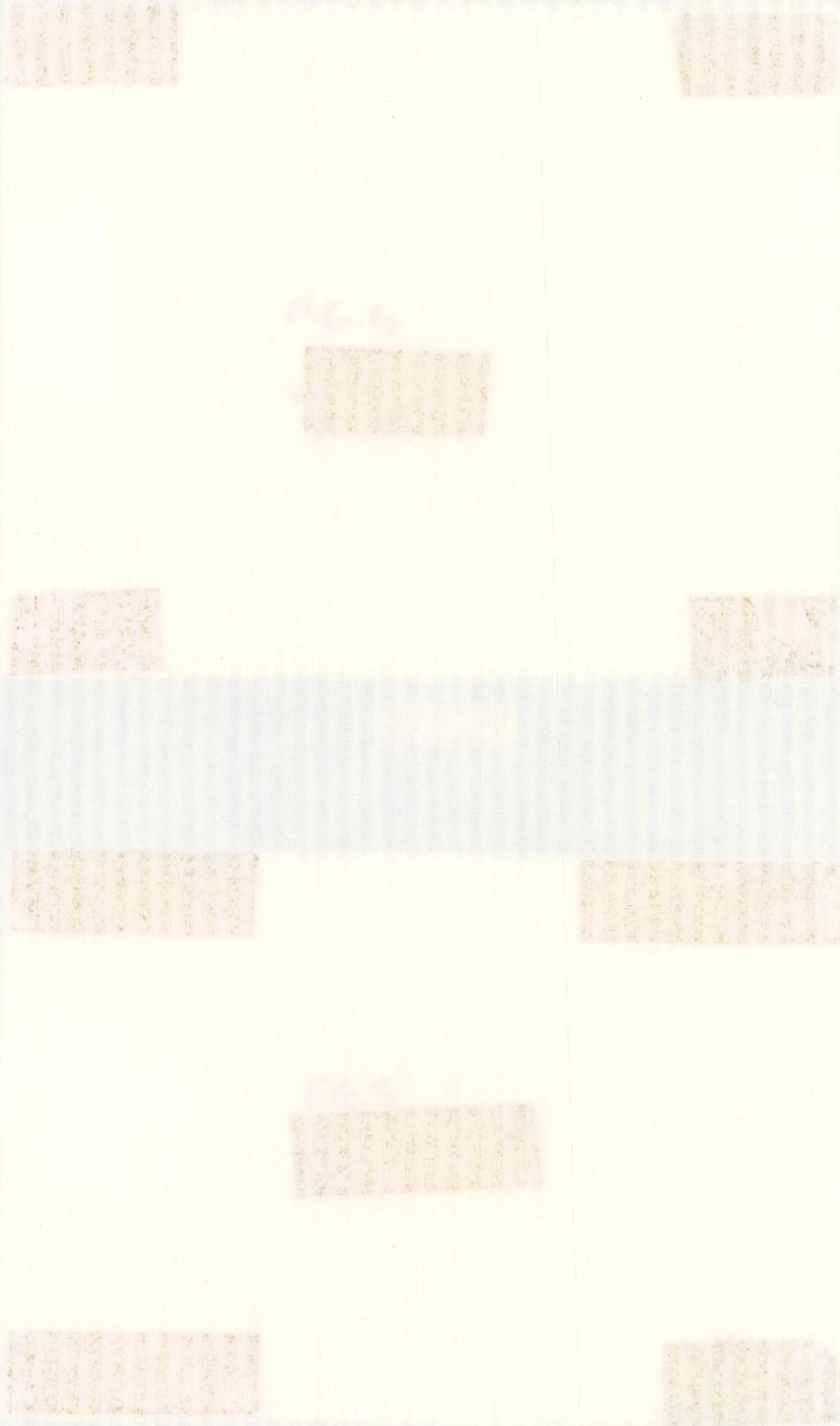


Fig. [6]

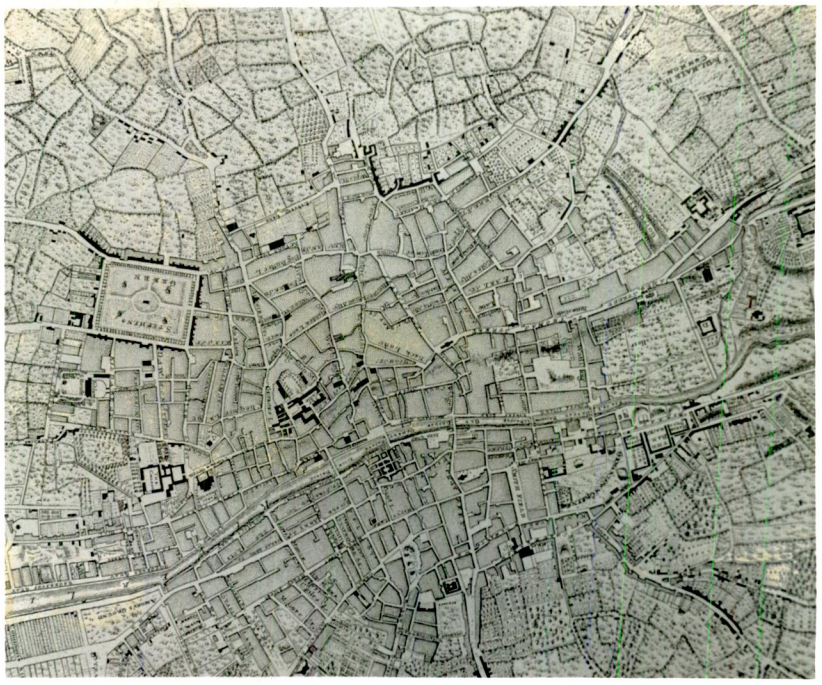


Fig. [7]

Fig. [8]

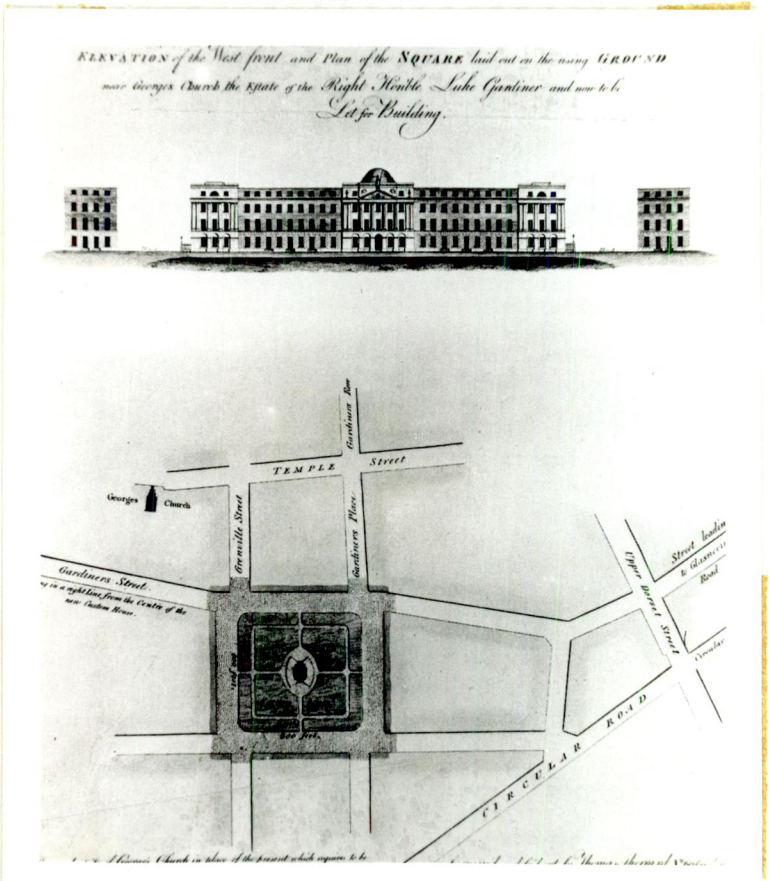

ELEVATION of the West front and Plan of the SQUARE laid out on the rising GROUND
near Georges Church the Estate of the Right Honble Luke Gardiner and now to be
Let for Building.
TEMPLE
Street
Georges
Church
Granville Street
Gardiners Place
Gardiners Street
CIRCULAR ROAD

Fig. [9]

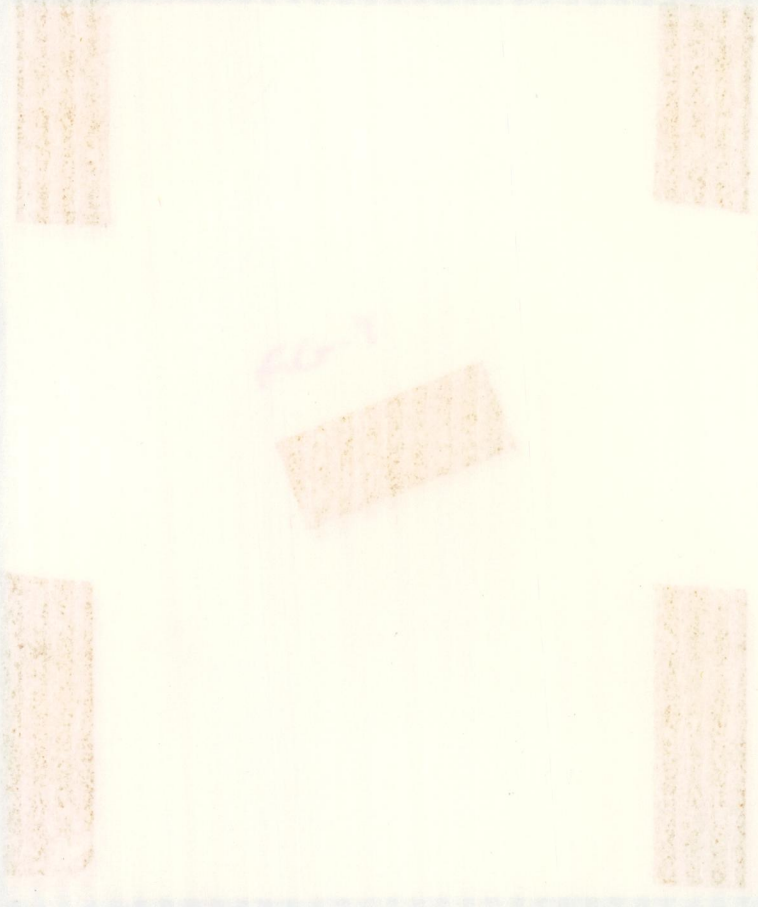
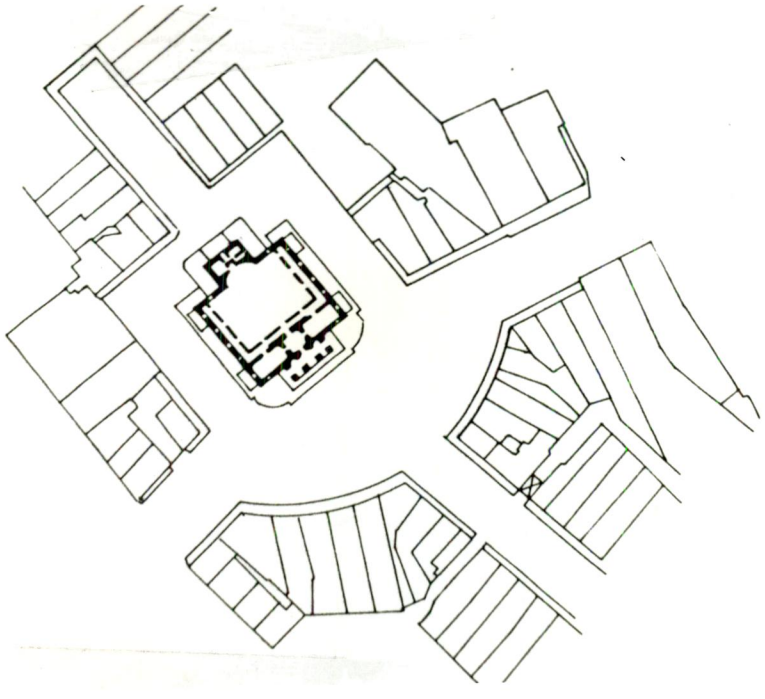
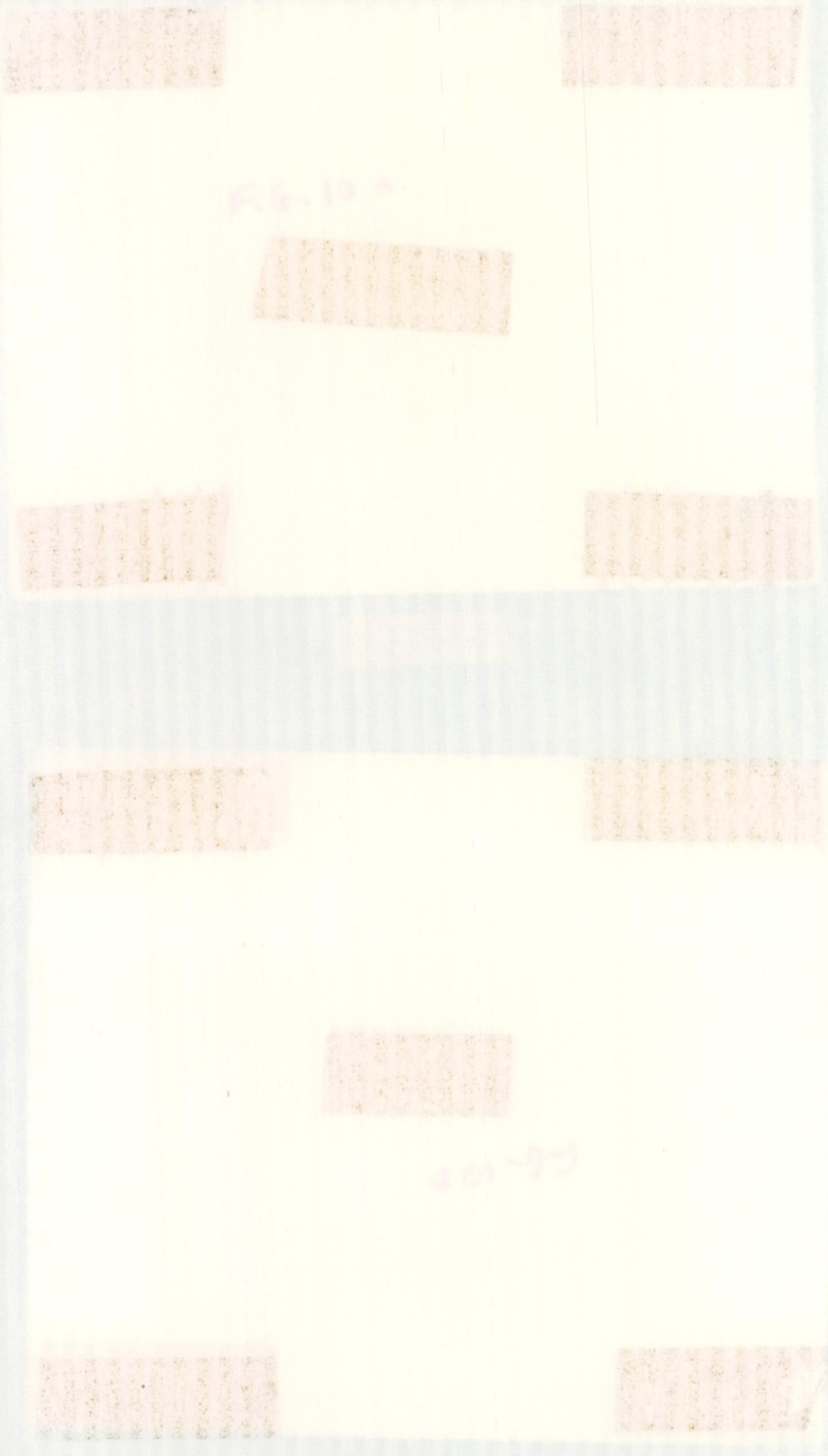


Fig. [10] A



B



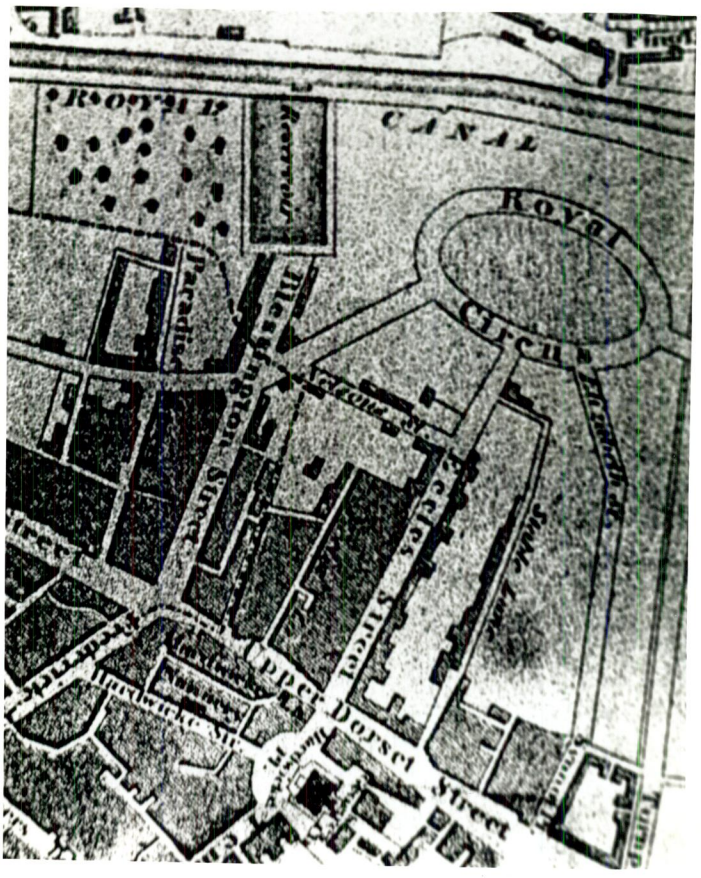


Fig. [11]

CHAPTER THREE

In 1662 Dublin Corporation began laying out a regimental series of plots in the rough form of a square on the Medieval Common of St. Stephen. What had been common land on the outskirts of the old city was now transformed into private property. Land which formerly belonged to nobody, or everybody, became exclusive, defined and identified. What had formerly belonged to nobody and was thus valueless, suddenly became the private property of individuals and consequently acquired a value. The relentless laying out of grids of streets or regimental plots around the hinterland of the old city over the next 150 years continued this process of defining land and identifying it with a specific owner, turning land into property. Rocque's Map of 1756 (Fig.7.) graphically displays this newly defined space of which every inch had an owner. The defensive garrison mentality and the planning of the old city had disappeared in favour of a new mentality that was characterised by definition, identification and commodification.

This rapid expansion of Dublin in the 18th century was accompanied by a huge increase in the trade passing through Dublin Port. Dixon calculates a 290% increase in the average yearly tonnage invoiced at Dublin Port between 1700 and 1800 based on 25 year averages (1) which in real annual terms probably means an even bigger increase in that 100 year period. This increase was a contributing factor to the rapid increase in the city's population, from approximately 60,000 people in 1700 to around 200,000 in 1800, making it the second largest city in the British Isles.

What we are seeing is an accumulation of people, which is a response to an accumulation of wealth, as a result of increased trade, combined with an ever increasing creation of property (land). However one increase does not necessarily correspond with or result from another. Craig notes that Dublin

was essentially an administrative and military centre and also a port, but never primarily a manufacturing centre (2). Hence the increased trade to the Port did not necessarily imply a corresponding increase in employment in the City. Likewise the population expansion does not correspond exactly with the City's growth. The property that was developed to the East was for sale to the Anglo Irish who were largely employed in administrative or military posts or who were "landed", or else to the wealthier Mercantile classes. What housing was available to the lower classes and the poor, those who made up the bulk of the population increase, has not survived redevelopment. Dixon has pointed to the fact that technical advances in manufacturing, which undermined certain trades, combined with rural "population growth", exasperated the problem of urban poverty by increasing the imigration of rural labourers and by undermining the earning power of skilled artisans (3). Dixon also points to the fact that Georgian Dublin was extremely compact. For a city with a population one fifth of that of contemporary Dublin, it occupied an area of approximately one twentieth of the size of present day greater Dublin (4). Added to this was the fact that the increasing population of the poor were precisely the people who could least afford the high property prices of the expanding city and were thus cramped together in slums, or were on the streets. To characterize the situation, Dublin was a City which throughout the 18th century accumulated large amounts of wealth and property but also accumulated ever increasing numbers of poor, particularly homeless poor.

O'Carroll mentions contemporary concerns over the links between poverty and crime in the city. He points out a number of incidences throughout the mid 18th century when high food prices concurred with rises in the level of urban crime (No.5.). However there was an awareness of the link between poverty and crime. In 1724 Swift wrote that;

> **"trade is the only incitement to labour; where that fails the poorer native must either beg, steal or starve". (6).**

This argument was further articulated when in 1753 Henry Fielding's influential pamphlet "An enquiry into the causes of the late increase of Robbers" was reprinted in Dublin. It sought to show a definite link between crime and poverty.

The establisment of a link between poverty and crime implies and acceptance of property or the lack of it as a motivation for committing crime. We can deduce from this that crimes against property, such as burglary, theft and vagrancy (a consequence of poverty) made up a large percentage of those crimes that were committed out of a circumstance of poverty. Indeed there were more prisoners in Dublin's Newgate Gaol convicted for crimes against property than for any other type of crime, circa 1798 (7). Foucault has pointed to a shift in the type of crime committed in Western Europe in the late 17th century. He says that criminals became more "professional" and there was a general decrease in the percentage of violent crime aimed at the individual in contrast to an increase in the number of crimes involving property. He puts this down to "a change in the operation of economic pressures, a general rise in the standard of living, a large demographic expansion, an increase in wealth and property and a consequent need for security" (No.8.).

All of these factors were present in the development of Dublin throughout the 18th century. As we know, due to the historical context which preceeded 18th century Dublin, it is safe to state that in general the people who had accumulated wealth and property were the Anglo-Irish and to a lesser extent the Mercantile classes, while in general those who were poor were also Catholic and native Irish. What has been discussed previously as a cultural or political hegemony has consequently resulted in this economic hegemony on behalf of the Anglo-Irish. By the end of the 17th century native cultural, political or military opposition to their Colonial counterparts was extinct. What was left was a virtual domination of cultural and political discourse by the Colonisers. As there was no longer a binary cultural or political situation in Ireland, no longer a real threat from

the Native Irish, from the "other", there was no longer an immediate need to define themselves as opposed to that "other" on the part of the Colonisers. The old frame of reference of this discourse became extinct with native cultural and political opposition. The Ascendancy of the mid 18th century were in many cases third or fourth generation Irish residents. The question of their "Englishness" was no longer an immediate issue and as a result opinions on the matter became blurred with its irrelevance.

However, I will continue to refer to them variously as colonisers, the English in Ireland or other terms to that effect because it was they who administered English Colonial rule over a native Irish majority who opposed that rule however incapacitated that opposition was. With the continued application of the Penal Laws, however laxed it had become, what had been a cultural domination of one nation over another was upheld even though "Nationality" was no longer an immediate issue. Although the cultural and political divide was no longer as visible because one side had been successfully surpressed, the divide continued. The various forms of Colonial suppression that had taken place since the Tudor conquest were directly responsible for the economic, political and cultural hegemony of the Ascendancy in 18th century Dublin, just as they were responsible for the impoverished situation of the Native Irish, economically, politically and culturally during the 18th century.

We have identified the position of the Coloniser with the Ascendancy, and noted how through various methods, being in the position of coloniser was responsible for the economic as well as cultural and political hegemony of the Ascendancy. Having also noted how being in the position of the colonised resulted in cultural, political and economic oppression for the Native Irish, it is possible to see that the colonial discourse that had been taking place between the English and the Irish was still taking place. However, now the term "English" or "coloniser" had been replaced by the term "Ascendancy" or the

"wealthy" and the term "Irish" had now been replaced by terms which included "the poor". Obviously there were some poor of colonized descent and possibly some wealthy native Irish, but these were exceptions rather than the rule.

Having pointed to the new terms in this continuing colonial discourse it is now possible to see the significance of a situation in 18th century Dublin where the huge population of poor were forced through circumstances to commit crimes against property, victimising other poor and merchants but also those with the vast majority of the country's wealth, the Ascendancy. Although the Native Irish, the "other", no longer posed a cultural, political or military threat, it posed a criminal threat. Pale ditches and fortresses were no longer of any use, other methods were necessary.

Corresponding with this process was the development of Dublin outside the immediate protection of the City walls, along the grid plans discussed previously. Colonial strategy had been altered in view of the demise of any immediate opposition to its forces. The "garrison" mentality was obsolete, even obstructive in the attempt to gain the knowledge which gave the colonizer the power to produce knowlege, to "represent" Irish society to ever more penetrative and widespread levels. I have discussed this discourse in relation to the grid street plans (see above). However, with the ever increasing saturation of every aspect of Irish Society under the control of the colonizers, visible in the extention of the City along these grids over the surrounding hinterland, came a need for a more effective means of controlling the Native Irish who were attracted to the Cities in ever increasing numbers. This was the result of the concentration of wealth in the Cities, particularly in Dublin and also, as Swift pointed out;

> **"the irresponsibility of rural Landlords failing to develop their Estates and deal equitably with their tenants, contributed substantially to the influx of foreign beggers into Dublin". (9).**

The argument presented by Spencer in his "View of the present state of Ireland" at the end of the 16th century when he suggested that the Irish culture should be broken and remade into the form of second order citizenry for the purpose of labour, was largely what had been achieved by the Colonisers by the mid 18th century however unconsciously. Hence in 1735 Berkeley could query whether;

> **"The Industry of the people is not to be considered as that which constitutes wealth which makes even land and silver to be wealth, neither of which would have any value but as means and motives to industry." (10).**

The production of a new consciousness among the native Irish, a representation of them as second order citizenry, the poor, labour etc. instead of the "Irish" was fundamental to the application of Spencer's suggestions. Althusser's critique of classic Marxism within a Colonial situation was that it failed to realise;

> **"That power could not be maintained without control over what he termed ideological state apparatuses: those social institutions which embraced the domains of religion, culture, eduction, familial relationships etc. and are distinguished from repressive state apparatuses in that they function by ideology" (11).**

Hence the process that was taking place in Dublin throughout the 18th century the accumulation of land as property, the accumulation of wealth and the accumulation of population which was more conscious of themselves as the poor rather than as the Irish, and as a labour resource (characterised above by Berkeley). These were the ingredients of a society in which industry could develop and in which power could not be maintained solely by "Repressive State Apparatuses". Consequently we see an unprecedented development of ideological state apparatuses in the form of social institutions in 18th century Dublin, in order to maintain Colonial domination.

In order to follow the development of these Institutions as part of the evolving Colonial discourse let us begin by examining that discourse's attitude towards those who most consciously opposed the representation manifested through that Colonial discourse.

Throughout Europe there was a great many judicial reforms introduced in the late 18th century. Russia in 1769, Prussia in 1780, Tuscany in 1786, Austria in 1788, France in 1791 and Pensylvania, U.S.A. in 1786 (12). Foucault has characterised these reforms as a move away from the spectacle of public torture towards a more carceral based punishment, and from a latter date, a gradual move away from capital punishment.

Similarly in Ireland throughout the century much of Parliaments time was taken up with judicial matters particularly from the late 1760's onwards. However in both Dublin and London these reforms used a multiplicity of devices for application including capital punishment. In the British Isles there were many more crimes punishable by execution at the end of the 18th century then at the beginning. However this fact is somewhat misleading because by no means does it imply an increase in the application of capital punishment. Indeed Doorley notes an increase in sentences of hard labour in Newgate, the Dublin City prison, in the late 18th century. She also notes that for example, of the 515 persons brought to trial from Newgate in 1798, six were placed under sentence of death (13). It would seem that throughout the 18th century there was an increase in the possible severity of punishment for many crimes in the British Isles, but this increased severity of punishment manifested itself through the use of carceral methods rather than capital punishment.

Foucault argues that the rise in application of carceral punishment rather than capital punishment was due to a number of factors including the rise in power of Parliament and the decline in power of the Sovereign, which characterised political developments of the 18th century. He associates the public execution with Sovereign power, claiming that it was a

means of public revenge by the Sovereign, for contravention of laws which were basically the Sovereign's will. Public execution as the exercise of the Sovereign's powers over the individual, remaining strongly embedded in the legal system for so long because it was an expression of Sovereign power (14). The reluctant disappearance of execuction can be seen in the fact that until very recently capital execution was on the Irish Statute books for offences which directly offended the State's Sovereign powers. The gradual demise of capital punishment is tracable backwards through the executions of the 1916 Easter Rising on the grounds of Treason within the private confines of the Gaol, to the public execution of Robert Emmett in 1803 on similar charges (Fig. 12). Although the demise of capital execution as a discourse on the Sovereign power of the State was a very slow process, as I have pointed out, by the end of the 18th century it was only uniformally applied for treason or similar offences, whilst crimes against property or against public morality were usually punished by incarceration.

However Foucault also cites socio-economic as well as political reasons for the demise of execution as a criminal punishment, saying that it was;

> **"the effect of a system of production in which labour power, and therefore the human body, has neither the utility nor the commercial value that are conferred on them in an economy of an industrial type". (15).**

This explanation belies some of the real motives for the demise of capital punishment and the development of carceral punishment in Western Europe, Ireland included, in the late 18th century. Capital punishment was associated with Sovereign power. It stems from the "garrison" mentality where power was incomplete, and any threat to that power resulted in aggressive revenge based in a fear of that threat. However, with the development towards complete subjugation of the native Irish by the end of the 17th century and the subsequent need for new powers of control, the discourses through which the colonizers had achieved cultural and political hegemony were also applied

to the individual who oppposed the representation of what he/she was supposed to be, which in one instance for example, was "available submissive labour". Hence a need to alter rather than exterminate arose within society and was reflected in Judicial Reforms.

The development of Dublin's prisons belies this change in attitude towards the criminal. Dublin's prisons before the era of prison reform were crowded, dirty and corrupt;

> **"Many Gaols of the times (Circa 1782) were located within run down property long in the ownership of the crown, and hurriedly converted after long disuse into a prison..... other gaols were privately owned.....and conditions within all prisons depended upon the proprietor to carry out any and every repair. What was certain was that all needed drastic reform in structure, administration and finance" (16).**

There was no standardisation of treatment in the prison system. Rather, treatment depended upon social standing, ability to pay the gaoler (who received no salary from the state) and the particular prison in which the prisoner was incarcerated. Doorley notes how;

> **"in 1728 a six week stay in the Black Dog Prison by John Adovin cost £300.00, a large part of which was paid to prevent his being moved Newgate". (17).**

It was these problems which prison reformers tried to address when in the 1760's they began to lobby the Dublin Parliament. Between 1764, when Legislation was introduced which forbid payment of extortionate fees to Gaolers, and the Act of Union, Penal Reforms took up a huge percentage of Parliamentry time. This was so, even during the years 1780-1782 when volunteering and patriotism were to the fore. Prison reforms took up a large amount of Parliamentry time with a series of investigations into prison conditions hearing evidence on the conditions of Irish Gaols by John Howard,

the acclaimed prison reformer. These investigations lead to the Prisons Act of 1784 which dealt with new prison building and the reconstruction of existing prisons whilst attacking reported abuses by Gaolers. Howard was so impressed by the new legislation that he used it as the model for similar English Legislation of 1787 (18). Howard was the great force behind penal reform in the British Isles. From his appointment as High Sheriff of Bedfordshire in 1773 he surveyed and reported on the conditions of prisons, hospitals and workhouses throughout the British Isles. He published three books on the matter - "The State of the Prisons" (1777), "Apendix to the state of the Prisons" (1788) and "An account of the principal Lazarettos in Europe" (1789), and he was responsible for much of the prison Legislative reforms of the 1770's and 1780's. Both Howard and Jonas Hanway, Author of "The defects of Police, the cause of immorality" (1775) argued for single cell accomodation in prisons. Whilst Howard's motives were more concerned with the spread of infectious disease, Hanways were based upon the belief that solitude leads to reflection and to self improvement.

Both motivations were present in calls for penal reform in Ireland. Kelly notes for example, that many prisons had little or no exercise yards and were consequently forced to exercise prisoners on public streets. (19).

It was also common practice for prisoners to beg out through the ground floor windows of prisons and in some instances even to beg outside on the street. Within the confines of the prison, the only criteria for separation of prisoners was according to how much they could afford to pay the Gaoler (20). These conditions led to the spread of Gaol fever which in many cases was fatal. Whatever about its spread inside the Gaols, the general public were very concerned will it spread outside the Gaols. Hence the Dublin Parliament introduced reforms in the prison system, partly because of fear of;

"The deadly infection extending from the precincts of the

gaol or crowded Courthouse [which] with retributive justice visited the homes of the wealthy and the houses of the great". (21).

The first prison to be built in response to the prison reformers lobbying was Newgate (Fig.13.), begun in 1773 to the designs of Thomas Cooley, Architect of the Royal Exchange (discussed above). The Architectural link reveals the social aspect of the "improving city patrons". However Newgate was a failure almost from the start. The design was based on George Dance's Newgate Prison, London, begun in 1770 (Fig.14.). The Dublin Newgate, which was the official city prison, was three stories high with protruding rounded corners and was built entirely of black calp except for the granite central pediment. Although it had cells and exercise yards which made it an advance on other Gaols of the period (Youghal, Fig.15.), it was, like its London counterpart, more effective architecturally with its piranesi-esque facade and hanging plank over the entrance, than it was at incarcerating criminals. This was because it marks a period when the problem of crime associated with cities in similar circumstances to Dublin (mentioned above) was real, but as yet no adequate methodology for dealing with the problem was in use in the British Isles. In short it marks the first stage in penal reform and carceral punishment.

Howard considered Newgate to be a disaster. By 1785 Gaol fever epidemics were rampant, and in July there was a mass escape from Newgate through a sewer. Amid this climate, Sir Jeremiah Fitzpatrick's "Essay on Gaol abuses and the means of redressing them" was published (22), which dealt with the reasons behind infectious decease in prisons. While in Dublin carceral punishment was proving problematic, throughout Western Europe the study of incarceration for the purpose of increasing its effectiveness economically was almost becoming as recogonized technological science.

Foucault charts the development of this technology of punishment which attempted to standardise punishment making it

more effective and precise, and also making it more economic within a changing social order "to insert the power to punish more deeply into the social body". (23).

He discusses how a new judicial system emerged under the influence of enlightenment Social contract principals which saw a crime as an offence against society, a breach of contract which resulted in loss of the liberty which that contract guaranteed. The power to punish, formerly the arbitrary decision of the Sovereign, now depended upon many different factors, including;-

[1] The penalty must be most effective on those who have not yet committed the crime, it must act primarily as a deterent.

[2] The Law must be stated clearly for every member of society to understand. Every member of society must realise the certainty that if they commit crime they will be punished. This certainty was achieved through the creation of a scientific methodology of judging which judged the accused's personality as much as it judged the evidence".

What developed was a methodolgy which did not judge the event so much as the individual's potentiality of re-committing crime. The natural sciences with their taxonomic classification of species were applied to judgement, and to punishment alike. Judgement became like a mathematical problem which had to be conclusively proven with the aid of admisable evidence only, and if convicted the individual, was not left solely to endure retribution but rather the "aim" was to alter the individual to make them fit into a pre-defined role in the order of society". (24).

In order to enact these reforms, strict disciplinary regimes were introduced into the penal system which attempted to enforce a sustained physical and mental disciplining of the individual. But these actions were not purposeless, rather,

through the imposition of the individual within progressive systems of discipline he/she could be reformed, corrected with the ultimate aim of creating "useful individuals". The fundamental element of this method of correction was consistancy. The disciplinary regime had to apply to every aspect of the individual's existance; surround them with a disciplinary system until it is their only frame of reference, all that gives meaning to their lives. This was characterised by the displinary distribution of individuals according to offence, character, progress etc., hierarchical levels of progress, punishment, observation etc; control of bodily activities, exercise, time tabling of daily activities, control of bodily actions, uniform appearance etc. These were some, among a number of methods used.

Foucault considered the fundamental element in this technology of power to be surveillance. The power of knowing where each individual prisoner was and what they were doing provided the power which was the basis of the power to reform. Foucault considered the "panopticon" to be the perfect architectural manifestation of the developing system. He considered it;

> **"the diagram of a mechanism of power reduced to its ideal state". (25).**

The panoptican (Fig.16.) was designed by the leading utilitarian philosopher of the late 18th century, Jeremy Bentham (circa 1791) Basically it was a circular building with individual cells around it's circumference divided from each other by walls, but with large windows on the outer walls of each cell, and a partition of steel bars on the inner wall. In the centre of the building there was an observational tower from which a prison guard could see the back-lit image of every prisoner in each cell from the one point. Prisoners were separated, and under potential constant surveillance. "visability is a trap" (6). According to Pevsner the panoptican was not directly influential on prison design until around 1800, but between 1801 and 1833 thirty seven prisons

were built in England and Wales alone based on the surveillance principal, (27). However there were other surveillance based institutional designs predating the panopticon. Howard's model prison was the "Maison de Forces" at Ackerham where prisoners worked together during the day and slept apart in cells at night.

However influential the panopticon or the Maison de Forces were on the design of Kilmainham Gaol (Fig.18.) built on the outskirts of the city, is debatable. Kilmainham received its first prisoners in 1796 but Howard who had died in 1791 had seen the initial plans for Kilmainham and it followed his recommendations. According to Kelly;

> "The new gaol contained at completion all the characteristics which Howard believed essential for the successful reformation of the criminal charater. Kilmainham had fifty two separate cells, isolating the prisoner from the outside world and from everything that motivated the offence which had been committed, while the isolation of one prisoner from another would annul any opportunity for conspiracy within the prison walls which might later lead to a disturbance or to riot. The thirty three and a half foot walls provided security from within and from without whilst the reformation of the criminal character was to be achieved in pursuit of a long working day made up of stone breaking, oakum picking, and the futile endeavours of the thread wheel". (28).

The disciplinary distribution of individuals which Foucault describes, existed at Kilmainham from the start. The East and West wings were broken into high security corridors, housing condemned prisoners (for which there was a hanging plank above the front entrance as at Newgate) and capital offenders awaiting trial. These prisoners, as with those sentenced to hard labour, were always separate and lived in silence. When not in their cells they always exercised alone and each day were employed in silence in a programme of

industrious labour under the watchful eye of a heavy military guard. The prisoner who was declared too lame or too infirm by the prison doctor worked from his cell engaged in the picking of oakum (29). The prisoner's diet was specified by law and was served at the specified times of 8.00a.m. and 2.00p.m. after which the prisoner would receive no more food. From 1810, solitary confinement of prisoners was extended to meal times (30.). It was further extended in 1816 when the recently erected workshops were closed in favour of oakum picking in solitary confinement (31). Kilmainham, unlike Newgate of only two decades before, shows the influence of the technology of discipline which Foucault describes. Although it does not display the architectural extreme of the panopticon the daily life of the prisoners belies the methodology described by Foucault, even to the point that from its beginning the Gaol had a thread wheel. This was a machine whose only function was the exhaustion of the prisoners who were subjected to it for lengthy periods of time.

The continuing evolution of this technology of discipline in Dublin reached something of a pinnacle in 1810 when work began on the Richmond penitentiary, Grangegorman (Fig.19.). Comparison of the plans of Newgate, Kilmainham and the Richmond penitentiary with Howard's model prison at Ackerham reveals the progress that had been made in prison design in approximately forty years, from tower prisons to the Richmond penitentiary in Dublin alone. The plan is half octagonal shaped, radiating concentrically outwards from a central administration area, flanked by wings forming the wide principal facade and other wings housing cells and work shops. The central wing perpendicular to the main facade, houses chapels, and a kitchen and also serves to divide the male and female accomodation (although it seems that for most all of its life it housed only female prisoners). Like many contemporary prisons, the administrative and religious areas occupied a similar central location at the gate; the discourse associating penal administration with moral guidance, and subservience to the patriarchy of both, leading to eventual release. Indeed according to McCollough prisoners at the Richmond penitentiary

were initially housed in the outer cells, working their way inwards with moral or disciplinary progress (32).

The whole building design was fundamental to a highly developed methodology of correction. When compared to those prisons which were being built before, or rather being adapted, up until only forty years before, an unprecedented methodological advance is apparent. Yet this advance was a direct response to the prevailing social and economic circumstances existing in Dublin at the end of 18th century. Heavy prison or city walls were no longer effective in meeting the changing demands of maintaining and extending the Colonial, cultural, political and social hegemony which was in existance. What the Colonisers now required was property accumulated wealth and a labour resource in order to make the colonisation of Ireland economically sensible, as well as being culturally, militarily and politically sensible. this necessitated the expansion of Dublin in many different ways, but it also created many previously non-existant problems. Whereas the plantations of the late 16th and early 17th century excluded the native Irish completely, the requirements of successful Colonial administration now required the native Irish as the labour resource Spencer had suggested two hundred years previously. As a result, exclusion was no longer the required tactic, rather reformation to useful socially productive citizens was now what was required.

Foucault discusses the development of the disciplinary institutions in 18th century Western European society, (those institutions which Althusser termed "ideological state apparatuses") as part of the extention of discipline as a system of power, rather than as any particular institutional apparatus. He calls this development "panopticism" and cites population expansion and the growth of apparatuses of production as two of the main reasons for its development (33).

> "therefore one can speak of the formation of a disciplinary society in this movement that stretches from the enclosed disciplines a sort of social quarantine to an

> indefinitely generalisable mechanism of panopticism. Not because this disciplinary modality of power has replaced all the others, but because it has infiltrated the others linking them together, extending them and above all making it possible to bring the effects of power to the most minute and distant elements. It assures an infinitestimal distribution of the power relations". (34).

We have been charting the influence of the development of a technology of disciplinary systems of power in relation to its treatment of criminals as part of an evolving Colonial discourse but as Foucault points out, the development of a disciplinary system of power in prisons was only an aspect of a wider development and application of the same methodology to the whole of society resulting from the circumstances mentioned above.

As with cartography (mentioned above) the institutional apparatus owes its existance in Ireland to the English who introduced it in the late 17th century (35). As late as 1714 when George T ascended to the throne of England (and Ireland) there was no institutionalised medical care in Dublin or Ireland, except for the Royal Hospital and the City Workhouse, neither of which were built with the intention of providing medical care. Corresponding with the institutionalisation of human behaviour and society which Foucault calls "panopticism", by the end of the Georgian period circa 1837, Dublin had thirty hospitals (36) providing various types of medical treatment covering every aspect of human behaviour.

Foucault has suggested that this "panopticism" was characterised by military structures, pointing to the supression of individual heroism in favour of order, regimentation and also in the layout of the military camp (37). If this was the case, and barracks were social models, then Dublin had one of the earliest and finest models anywhere. The Royal Barracks (begun 1701) put an end to the billeting of soldiers in defensive castles or forts, and the quartering of soldiers in private houses and other government owned non-

purpose built buildings. Throughout the century with an increase in the size of the standing army in Ireland, the Barracks were extended from initially three three sided ranges (Fig.20.) to a series of quadrangular planned ranges. Contained within was regimented accomodation for soldiers, according to rank and regiment. Unlike previous military accomodation, the barracks provided the basic apparatus for the implementation of a disciplinary system of power on all the soldiers in the one place at the same time. A key element in the implementation of this system was surveillance. Apart from the facility of knowing where each individual soldier was meant to be at all times within the barracks, and what they were meant to be doing the design provided the facility for inspection, parade and exercise in the quadrangular squares which the building was planned around.

In this regard the building was very similar to the Royal Hospital (circa 1680) nearby which was also built around a quadrangular parade square (Fig.21.). Likewise accomodation at the hospital, an almhouse for old soldiers, was regimented in cellular rooms with the chapel and the dining room occupying one range. In character it seems that the Royal Hospital displayed much the same system of discipline in its functioning as was displayed in the barracks. It seems that the military model as a model for a disciplinary society applied to all ages, since Royal Hibernian Military and Marine Schools were built in the late 1760's for the children of military and navy men providing for the application of military training and disciplinary lifestyle from early childhood until death.

It seems that military discipline was influential on the other institutions of Dublin society. Malton in his "View of the Bluecoat Hospital" (Fig.22.) includes a military inspection in the foreground. As a focus of society's attention, the military does seem to have been popular; five of Malton's views are of military buildings while another two depict military displays, while Wheatley's painting (Fig.2.) (mentioned above) shows a grand military display with onlookers hanging out of buildings as Lord Charlemount inspects the Volunteers. These private citizens who volunteered to defend Ireland from the threat of French invasion, stand regimented in their uniforms,

beneath the statue of William of Orange. In the background of the painting is the recently built facade of Trinity College (1752-1759), which in plan (Fig.23.), shows a dependance on the quadrangular range of buildings around a central square. This dependance, combined with a regimentation of the internal devisions of the buildings and the centrality of the large exam hall and the chapel (the places of most public inspection and representation, apparatuses for the application of administrative and moral Order) provide strong similarities both with the prisons of a latter date, and the Barracks and Royal Hospital of earlier dates.

It is interesting to note how effectively the system of disciplinary power, as articulated in the design of the Royal Barracks, was, at inflitrating even the most oppositional elements to Colonial hegemony. Maynooth College, County Kildare, built as a Catholic Seminary in 1795 thanks to the relaxation of the penal laws, has a structure to its plan which is similar to both the Royal Barracks and Trinity College (Fig.24.); quadrangular ranges around parade squares. McCullough describes the rhetorical character of the College as that of a Barracks, (38). It seems that the "binary oppositional prohibitions" of the Penal Laws could safely be abandoned by Westminster's Colonial administration in Ireland. The effectiveness and extent of the application of disciplinary systems of power (as described above) seemed to have punished so deeply into the social body, to characterise Foucault's term, that Catholics were now voluntarily disciplining themselves according to the prescribed system.

Coincidentally, it is another religious group, the Quakers who, showing similar disciplinary concerns, employed a panoptic system of surveillance in the Quaker poor schools built in School Street in 1786, five years before Bentham's design was first published. The school consisted of four school rooms, two for boys and two for girls, with a Master's appartment and meeting room in the centre; "the supervision of all schools is so circumstanced that he (the Master) can command a perfect

view of all the four schools by standing up and sitting down consecutively" (39).

Another variation on the panoptic principle, somewhat more elaborate and probably less effective, was employed at the Richmond Lunatic Asylum. The building designed by Francis Johnston (Architect of the Nelson Column and later the General Post Office) was a purpose built Asylum influenced in design by Bedlam in London. It was begun in 1810, around the same time as the nearby penitentiary, (also by Johnston) on the grounds of the North Brunswick Street House of Industry. The building was quadrangular in plan, each range consisting of small cells around a central courtyard. In 1813-14 Johnston was commissioned to design additions for separating the central courtyard into four sections, in order that different classes of prisoners could be exercised separately. This was done by the use of four communicating corridors, one from the centre of each range to the centre of the court yard. Each corridor entered the octagonal central observational building perpendicular to one face of its octagon shape, leaving four faces, one facing into each courtyard for observing all the separate classes of prisoners during exercise, at the one time, from the one point, in a similar fashion to the panopticon.

St. Patrick's, the city's other lunatic asylum, was built long before the influences of the panopticon could have been applied. It was begun in 1749 to the design of George Semple and was the first specialised hospital in Dublin. It was paid for, with monies specifically left for the purpose by Swift, who was a former Governor of Bedlam in London, and also of the Dublin Work House, the only place available for the retention of "lunatics" previous to the opening of St. Patricks.

The Plan (Fig. 25) reveals a distinct similarity with prisons in so far as that the primary aim of the building is incarceration and isolation, the withdrawal of the rights to liberty. Hence Casey cites a writer in the Dublin quarterly journal of medical science writing in the 1850's who noted that;

"Upto the 1840's the inspection of the Asylums had been entrusted to the Inspector General of prisoners, a fact which he claimed encouraged the belief that insanity was somehow a criminal condition." (40).

The very real, personal threat to members of the Ascendancy going about their daily business in Dublin's "wide and convienient" streets, from social mitfits such as criminals, lunatics, beggars and the disease ridden was one of the prime motivational factors for the patronage of carceral institutions of one form or another. Hence Sir William Fownes, writing to Swift regarding a possible site for St. Patrick's suggested that the site;

"Should be in good open air, free from the neighbourhood of houses for the cries and exclaimations of the outrageous would reach a great way and ought not to disturb the neigbours". (41.).

This attitude of removal of undesirables from the fashionable quarters of the city, fesable though it was for the transportation of criminals to other colonial domains, was not fesable or indeed desirable in 18th century Dublin. There were simply too many people to reform in the carceral institutions that were nevertheless appearing everywhere. Other methods had to be found to identify and control those who could not be accommodated. O'Carroll describes the system where the poor of each parish were registered and thereafter identified using badges which would thereafter indicate to charitable parishioners and the church whether they were strange or local beggers. In 1726, the Archbishop of Dublin, William King directed his clergy to carry out the badging operation but it proved wholly ineffective owing to "the fraud, perversness and pride of the said poor". (42). The scheme failed partly because of the inconsistancy of its application in different parishes and because the city beggers were reluctant to be identifed because of the limitations it would place on their charitable opportunities, the parishes choosing to support only their own poor. Despite its failure, it does show the

authority's desire for and need of information about the city's poor. The methodology used to obtain that knowledge, registration, charaterization, identification, would provide the basis of an ability to control the poor who opposed the system for precisely that reason.

Likewise the poor resisted incarceration in the work-houses. O'Carroll notes that by the latter 1770's the black cart with its armed beadles in pursuit of sturdy poor for the work-house was a common sight around the city (43.). The reluctance of the sturdy poor (those considered able to work as opposed to the sick poor) to incarceration in the work house was partly responsible for the fact that by the 1750's the work-house situated in James's Street had become almost exclusively a depository for foundling babies. As a result a new work house, the North Brunswick Street "House of Industry", was opened in 1773.

The first of a huge series of institutions for the treatment and control of human behaviour in this area, it was followed by the Bedford Children's Asylum (1798), the Hardwicke Fever Hospital (1803), the Richmond Lunatic Asylum (1810), the Richmond Penitentiary (1810), the Richmond Surgical Hospital (1811) and the Whitworth Chronic Hospital (1818), all of which combined, covered the treatment and control of virtually every aspect of behaviour through examination, classification, confinement and the required treatment towards effective cure and if possible return to usefulness.

Although there were new institutions constantly being initiated throughout the 18th century this did not result in increasing repetition of function, rather institutions became increasingly specific in their functions, whilst between them they became more extensive and at the same time more effective in their treatment. With this process developed an increasing knowledge of exactly what this mass of people, "the poor" actually constituted. As they were identified and characterised they were assigned to areas for specific treatment, often against their own will, in order that they

should be reformed to the requirements of society. However the reasons behind the concern for the poor were, according to O'Carroll;

> "Only slightly tinged by humanitarian feelings. It was pragmatic considerations which influenced their attitudes and particularly the twin threats posed by excessive vagrancy, the breakdown of law and order on the streets and the challenge to public health. Hence social policy aimed at greater control rather than greater care of the homeless poor". (44.).

But the policies of those who administered these institutions, the Ascendancy were also motivated by more general concerns than the maintaining of law and order and public health on a daily basis. In the broader historical context, the Ascendancy were motivated towards the maintenance of the colonial cultural and political hegemony of which they were the inheriters. The colonial discourse which we have seen develop over the previous two centuries had so infiltrated every aspect of Irish society by the beginning of the 19th century that it now formed the basis of Irish society. It was almost invisible. But to see the institutionalisation of every aspect of Irish society on the part of the Ascendancy, apart from the historical context in which it was situated, is to be fooled by the very methodology which was employed to make its institutionalisation seem necessary and morally right. It is also to overlook certain details which still give away the existance of a colonial discourse in these manifestations.

Maxwell notes that:

> "The declared objective of the Foundling Hospital was the preservation of the lives of deserted or exposed infants educating them there in such a manner as to qualify them for being apprenticed to trades or as servants and thus rendering them useful members of society. The greatest object of all, however, was to make good Protestants of all the foundlings". (45).

The instruction of patients in the Anglican faith was a fundamental aspect of the prescribed treatment of many institutions, from the work houses to hospitals. Casey notes that the layout of Steven's Hospital (1718), had a Chapel in close proximinity to the entrance which was visited by cured patients on their departure to thank God, a pratice common in all charitable institutions at the time. (46).

Simultaneously, religion played a fundamental role in the provision of education to poor children. Royal schools were established for the education of poor Protestant children, while in 1733 Legislations established charter schools for poor Catholic children. A fundamental aspect of these schools education programme was religious conversion to Protestantism, and as a result many Catholics were reluctant to send their children. However, in 1752, the Charter Schools were described as;

> **"... a charity that will make those who are at present a nuisance and burden to their Country to become a treasure and a blessing to it, that will make honest and industrious men of those who would have been bred up in thievery and rags; ... that will multiply obedient and peacable subjects to the King and render the Protestants of Ireland safe in their lives and possessions". (47).**

Charity, as noted above was motivated by specific concerns. The primary concern of the Charter Schools and the Foundling Hospital was the education of children in industrious and moralistic ways. The primary concern of the work houses and prisons was the detention and reformation of useless, troublesome individuals who were coerced into productivity. However as O'Carroll notes;

> **"The old who posed little danger were almost completely ignored". (48.).**

Within the economic and political situation which had developed

in the late 18th century Dublin, the native Irish were only of use as labour, as utility. When they were no longer capable of working they were no longer of any concern to the those whose position it was to exploit the situation.

Somewhat ironically, when the old passed away, they once more became useful to those who attempted to know the native Irish for the purpose of treating and controlling them. Fleetwood has charted the development of anotomical sciences (which Foucault considered the epiptem of the classical episteme) in 18th century Ireland. He notes that from the late 18th century there was a rapid increase in the number of bodies stolen from graves (an incidence not exclusive to Ireland) for the purposes of anotomical dissection, for educational purposes. In Dublin the pauper's graveyard "Bully's Acre" was particularly prone to grave robbing. The problems reached such epidemic proportions, that in 1791 Legislation was introduced allowing for the post execution dissection of criminals. In May of that year a woman executed at Kilmainham Gaol became the first executed prisoner to be dissected under the new Law (49.). Fleetwood goes on to describe how in the early 19th century the proliferation of Medical Schools in Edinburgh and London which required bodies for dissection raised prices paid in these cities to an inordinate level. As a result, the export of bodies to these centres from Dublin developed, and when steam ship routes were opened between the two islands, resurrectionism for export flourished (50.). It would seem here that the methodology used in the maintenance of English Colonial legacy in Ireland reached its most pointed extreme. Even in death bodies had become useful, their disection being the ultimate examination and identification for the purpose of gaining the knowledge to re-present, to re-impose, to re-inform.

NOTES

[1] Dickson D. - 1986 Page 109.
[2] Craig M. - 1980 Page 84.
[3] Dickson D. - 1987 Page 8.
[4] Dickson D. - 1987 Page 9.
[5] O'Carroll J. - 1987 Page 72.
[6] O'Carroll J. - 1987 Page 80.
[7] Doorley B. - 1987 Page 129.
[8] Foucault M. - 1977 Page 76.
[9] O'Carroll J. - 1987 Page 80.
[10] O'Carroll J. - 1987 Page 80.
[11] Cairns D. & Richards. - 1988 Page 13.
[12] Foucault M. - 1977 Page 7.
[13] Doorley B. - 1987 Page 128.
[14] Foucault M. - 1977 Page 55.
[15] Foucault M. - 1977 Page 54.
[16] Kelly F. - 1988 Page 17.
[17] Doorley B. - 1987 Page 12.
[18] Kelly D. - 1987 Page 113.
[19] Kelly D. - 1987 Page 109.
[20] Kelly F. - 1988 Page 18-20.
[21] Kelly D. - 1987 Page 108.
[22] Kelly D. - 1987 Page 113.
[23] Foucault M. - 1977 Page 82.
[24] Foucault M. - 1977 Page 86 - 104.
[25] Foucault M. - 1977 Page 205.
[26] Foucault M. - 1977 Page 200.
[27] Pevsner N. - 1976 Page
[28] Kelly F. - 1988 Page 28.
[29] Kelly F. - 1988 Page 31.
[30] Kelly F. - 1988 Page 54.
[31] Kelly F. - 1988 Page 59.
[32] McCullough N. & Mulvin V. - 1989 Page 115.
[33] Foucault M. - 1977 Page 215 - 218.
[34] Foucault M. - 1977 Page 216.
[35] McCullough N. & Mulvin V. - 1987 Page 99.
[36] Casey N. - 1984 Page 75.

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[37] Foucault M. - 1977 Page 162.
[38] McCullough N. & Mulvin V. - 1987 Page 104.
[39] McCullough N. - 1989 Page 135.
[40] Casey N. - 1984 Page 258.
[41] Casey N. - 1984 Page 231.
[42] O'Carroll J. - 1987 Page 68.
[43] O'Carroll J. - 1987 Page 71.
[44] O'Carroll J. - 1987 Page 79.
[45] Maxwell C. - 1979 Page 13.
[46] Casey N. - 1984 Page 221.
[47] Maxwell C. - 1979 Page 136.
[48] O'Carroll J. - 1987 Page 79.
[49] Fleetwood J. - 1988 Page 38.
[50] Fleetwood J. - 1988 Page 65.

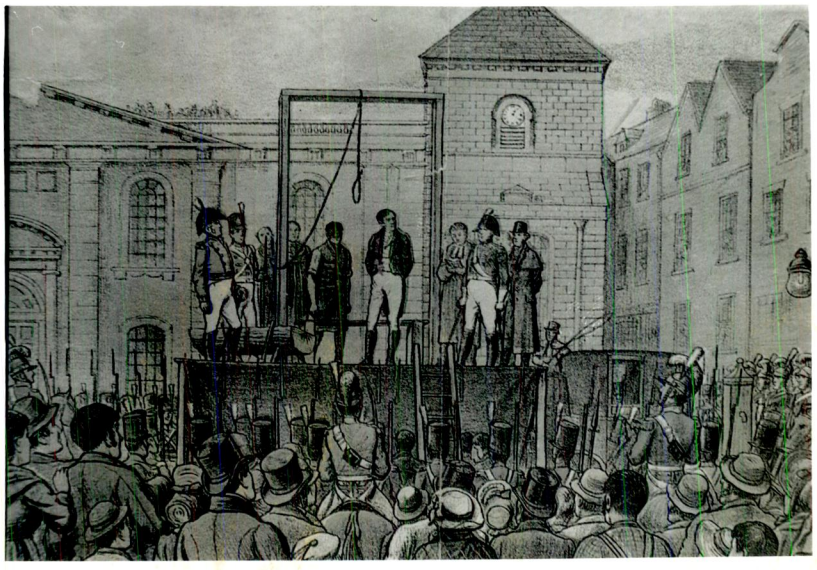
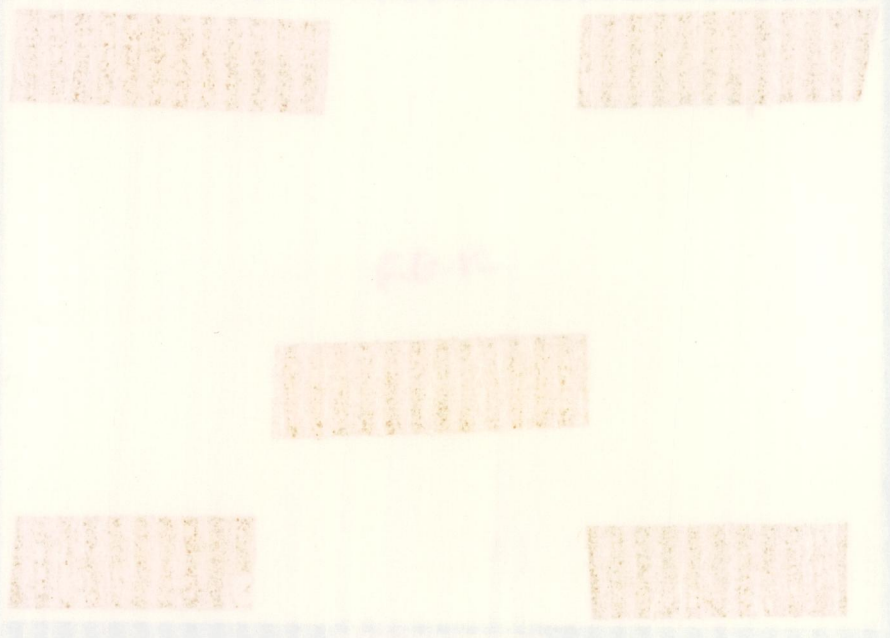
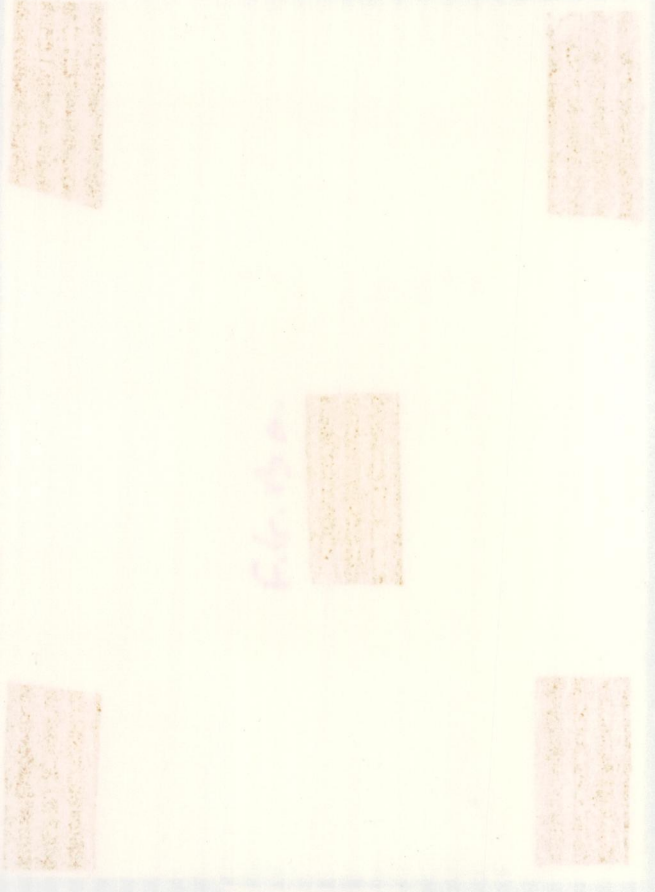
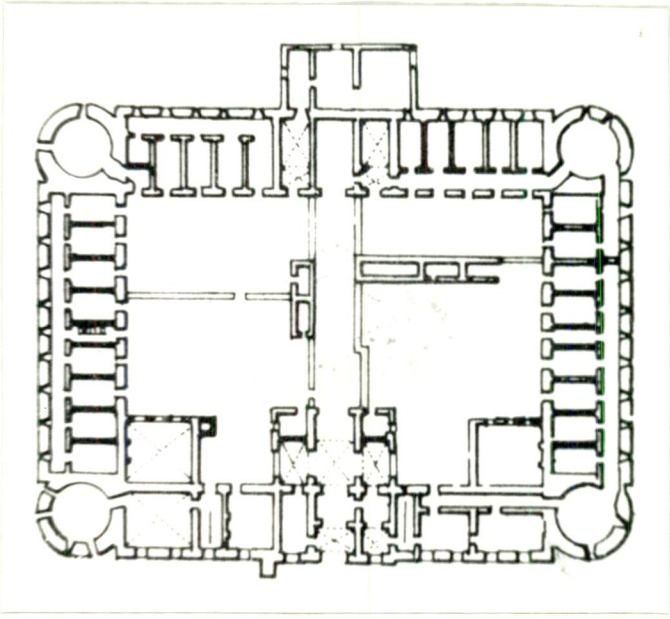


Fig. [12]

Fig. [13] A







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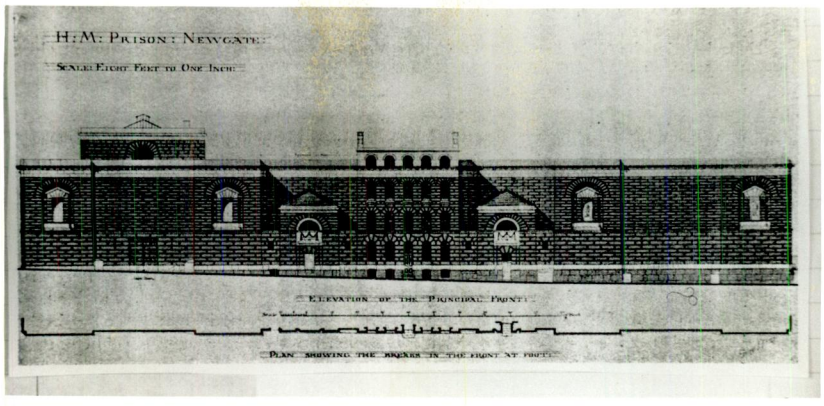

H:M: Prison: Newgate
Scale: Eight Feet to One Inch.
Elevation of the Principal Front.
Plan showing the recess in the front at top.

Fig. [14]

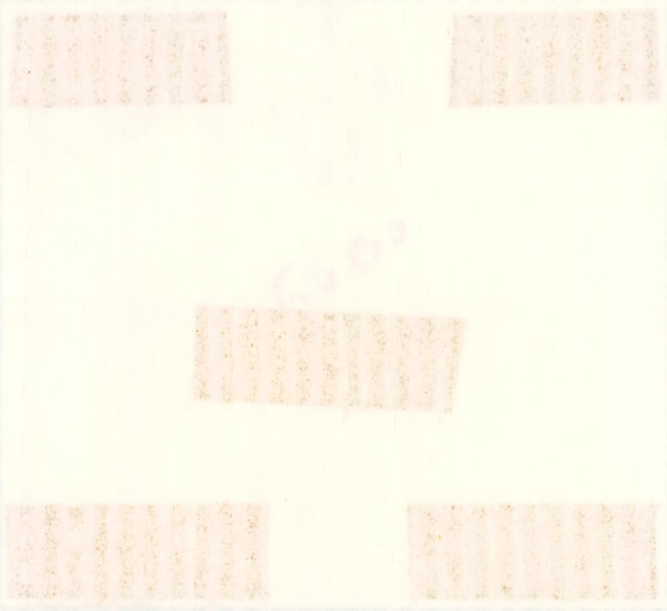


Fig. [15]

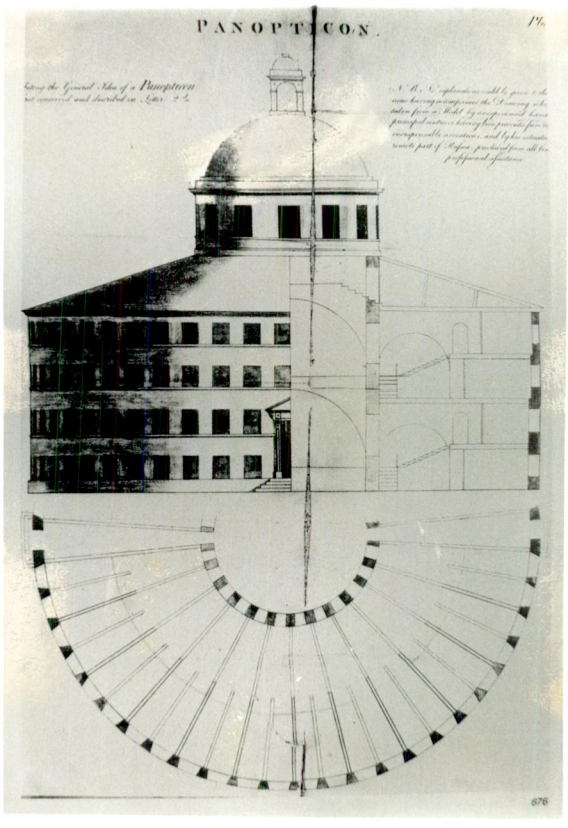
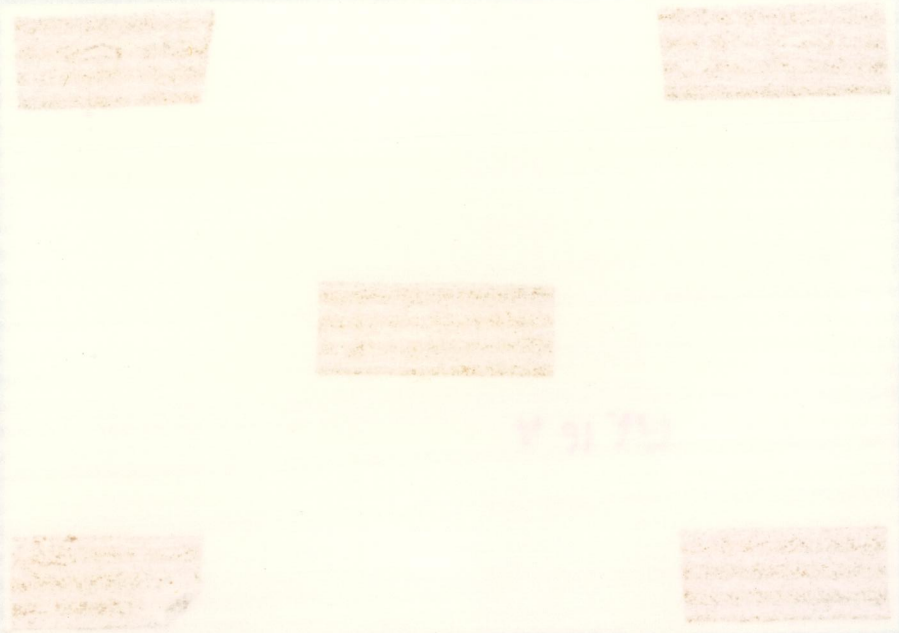
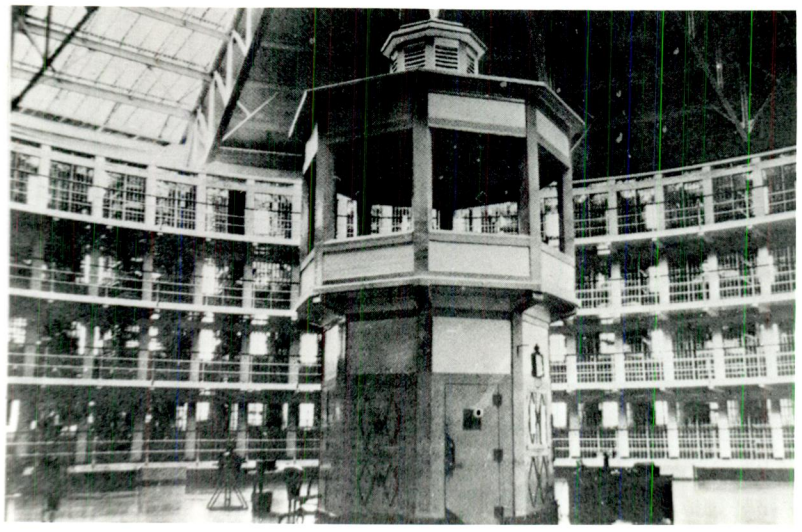


FIG.16 A





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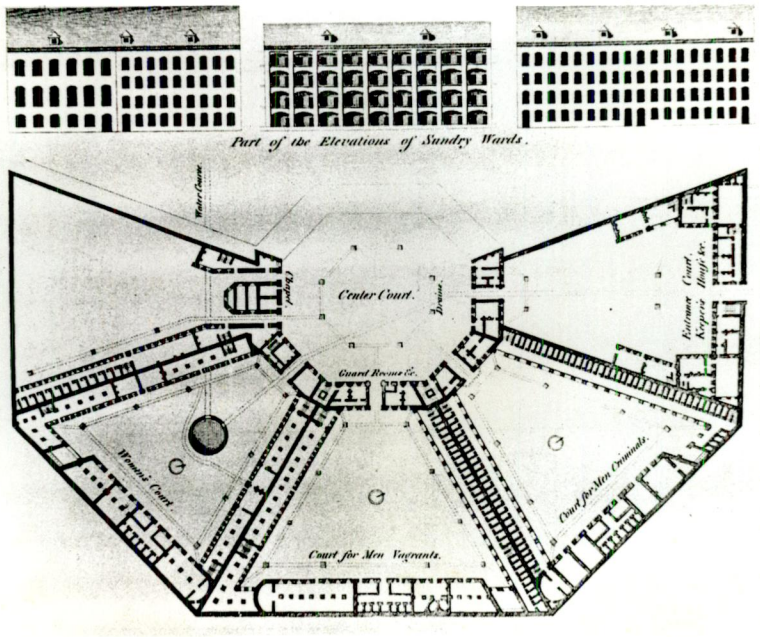
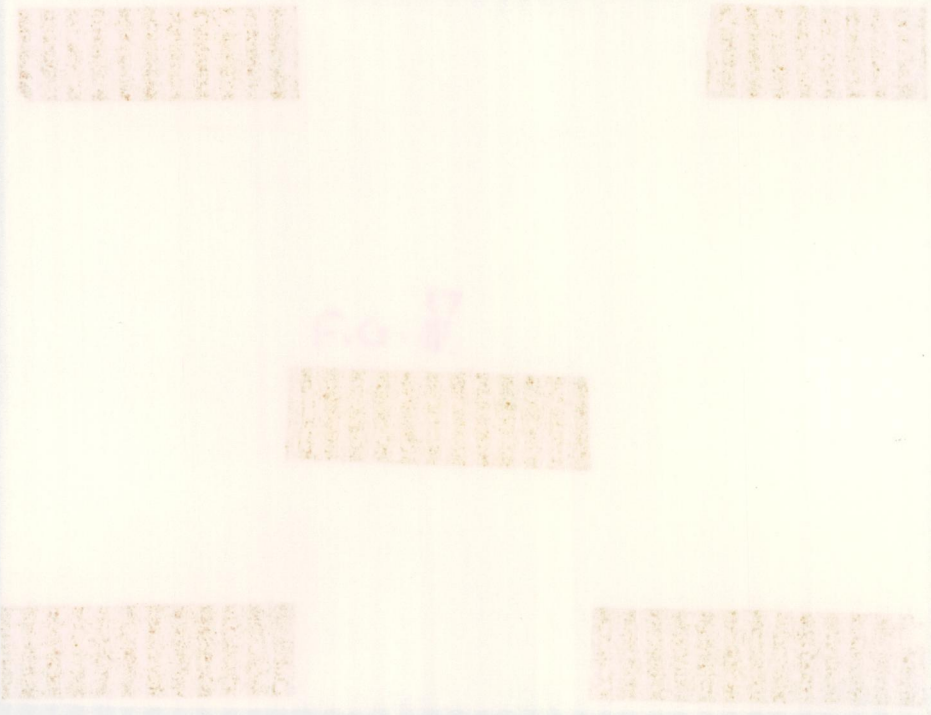

Part of the Elevations of Sundry Wards.
Center Court.
Guard Rooms &c.
Court for Men Vagrants.
Court for Men Criminals.
Court for Women Criminals.

Fig. [17]



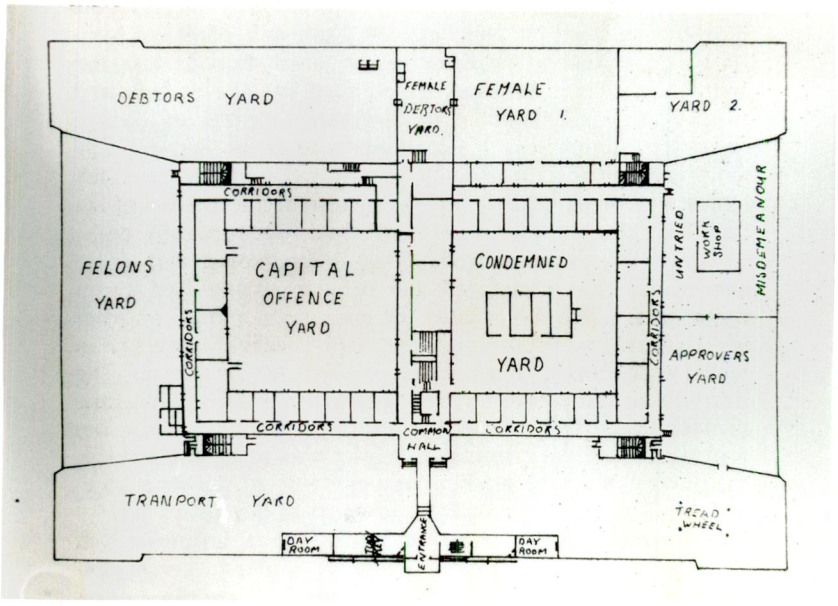

DEBTORS YARD
FEMALE DEBTORS YARD.
FEMALE YARD 1.
YARD 2.
CORRIDORS
FELONS YARD
CAPITAL OFFENCE YARD
CONDEMNED YARD
UNTRIED
WORK SHOP
MISDEMEANOR
CORRIDORS
CORRIDORS
APPROVERS YARD
CORRIDORS
COMMON HALL
CORRIDORS
TRANPORT YARD
TREAD WHEEL
DAY ROOM
ENTRANCE
DAY ROOM

Fig. [18]

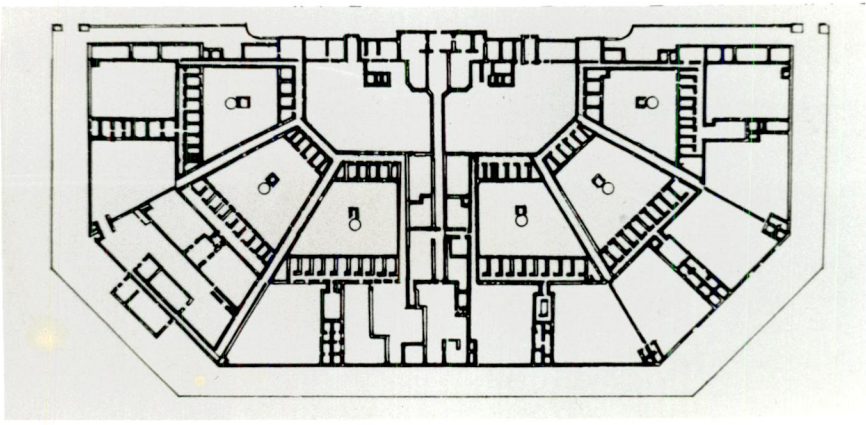
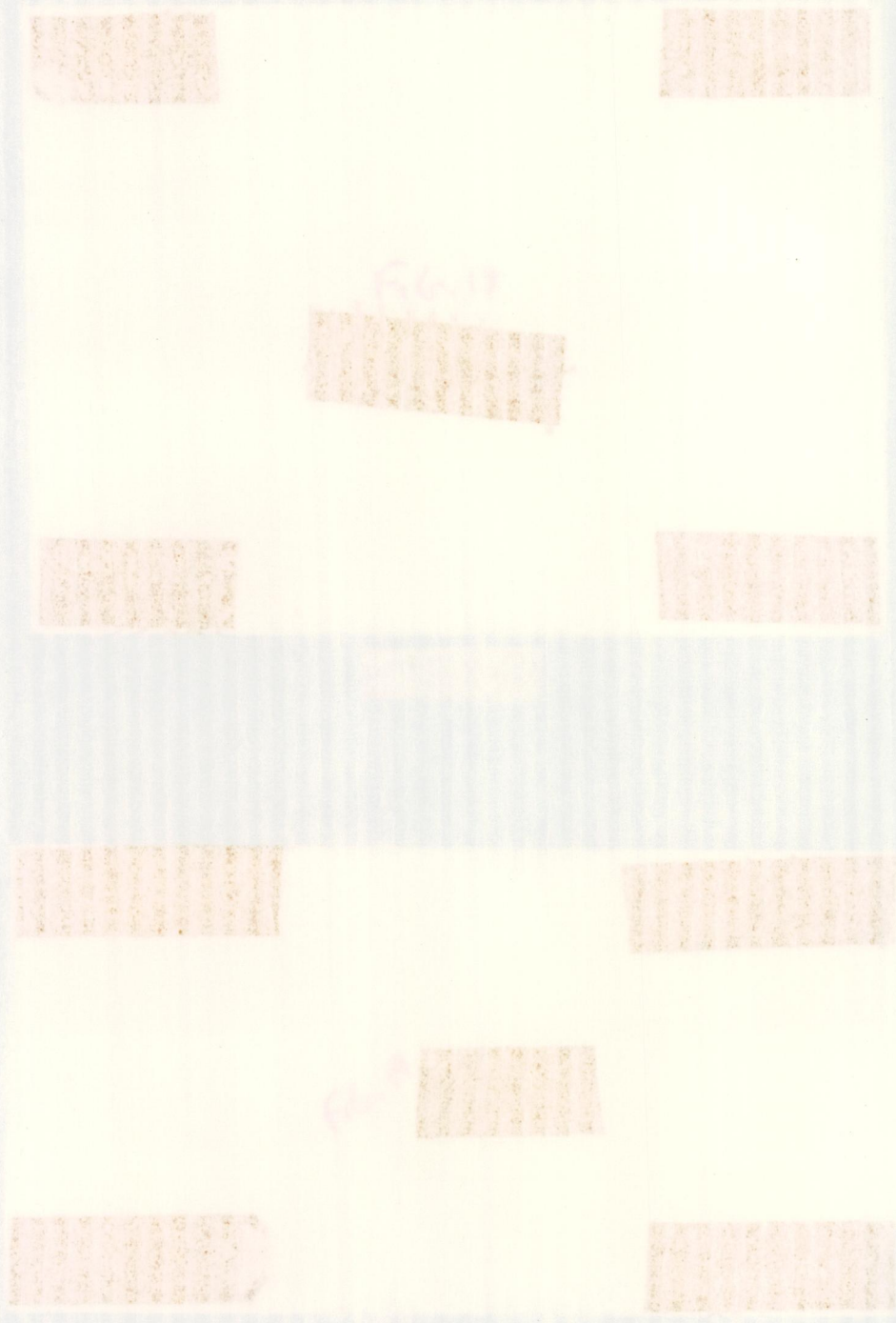


Fig. [19]



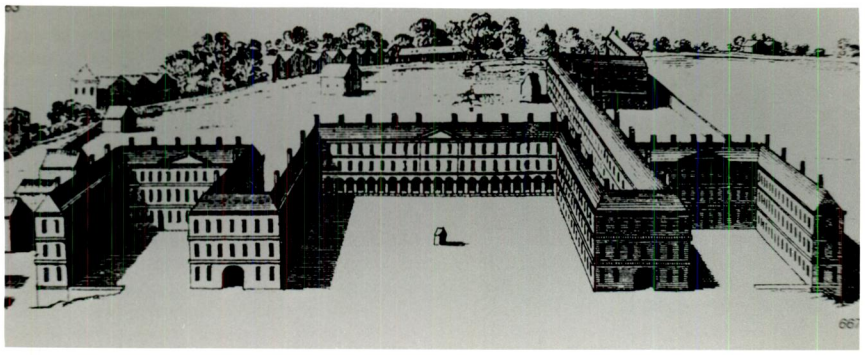
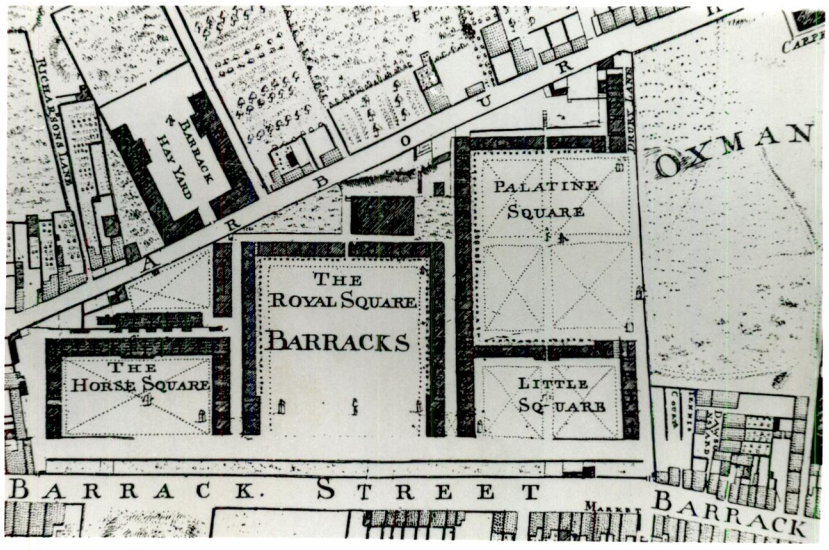


Fig. [20] A


THE ROYAL SQUARE
BARRACKS
PALATINE SQUARE
THE HORSE SQUARE
LITTLE SQUARE
BARRACK. STREET
OXMAN

B

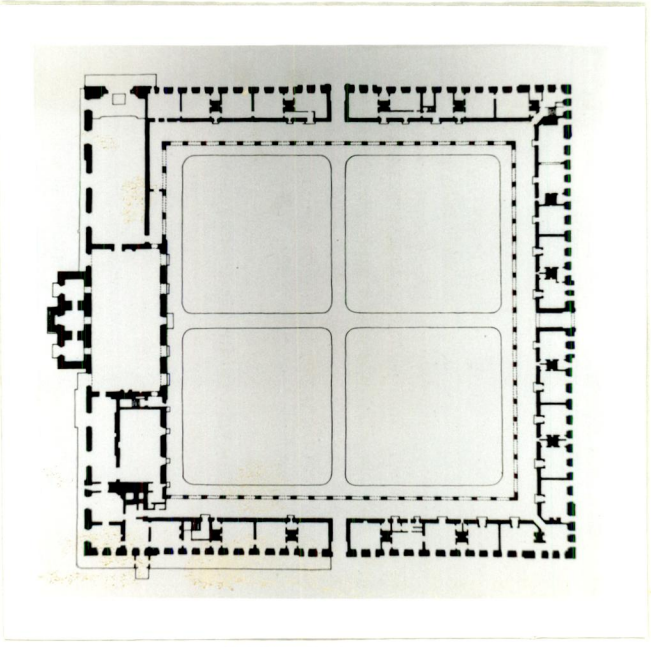


Fig. [21]

Fig. [22]

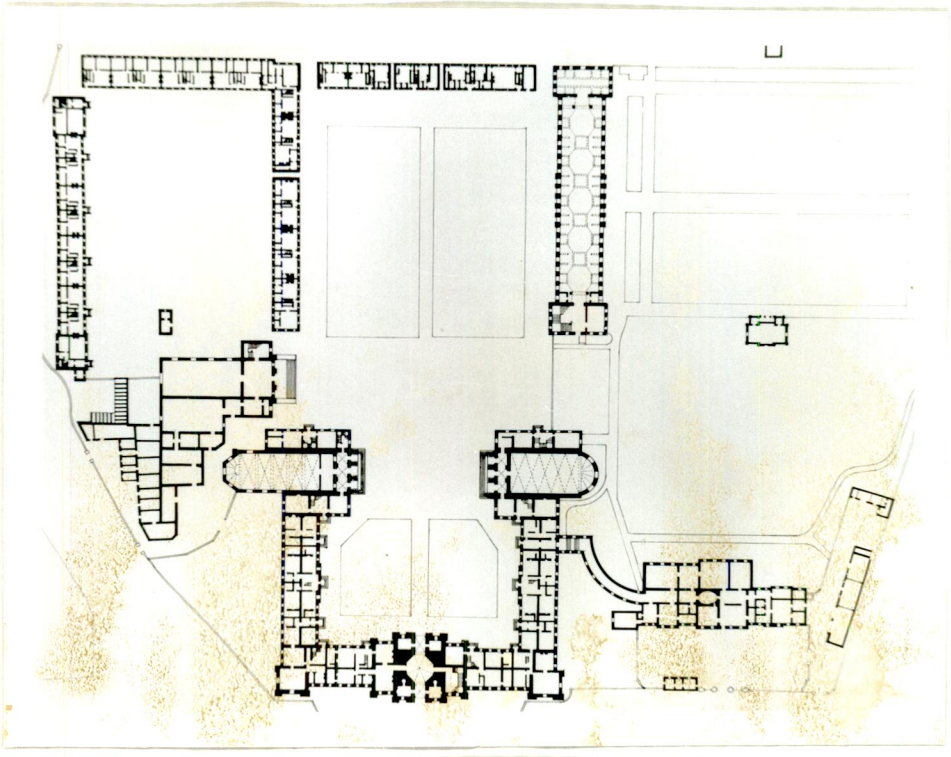


Fig. [23]

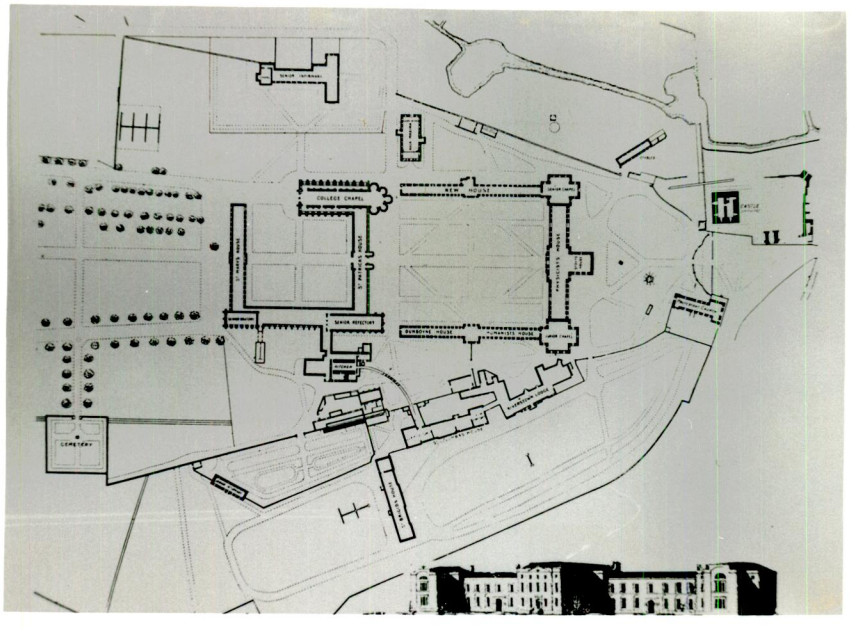


Fig. [24]

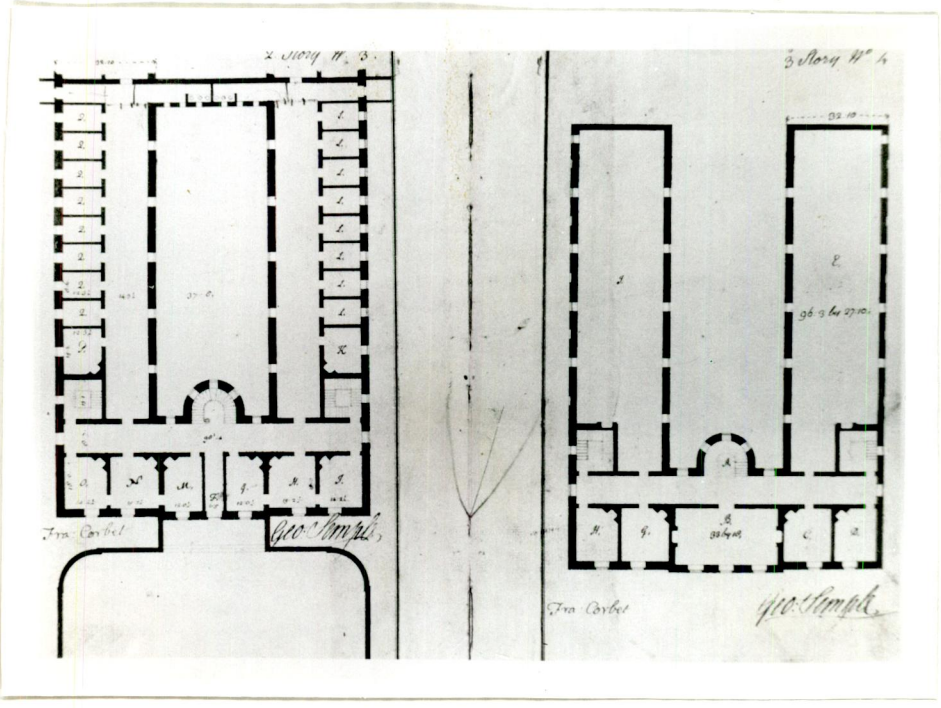
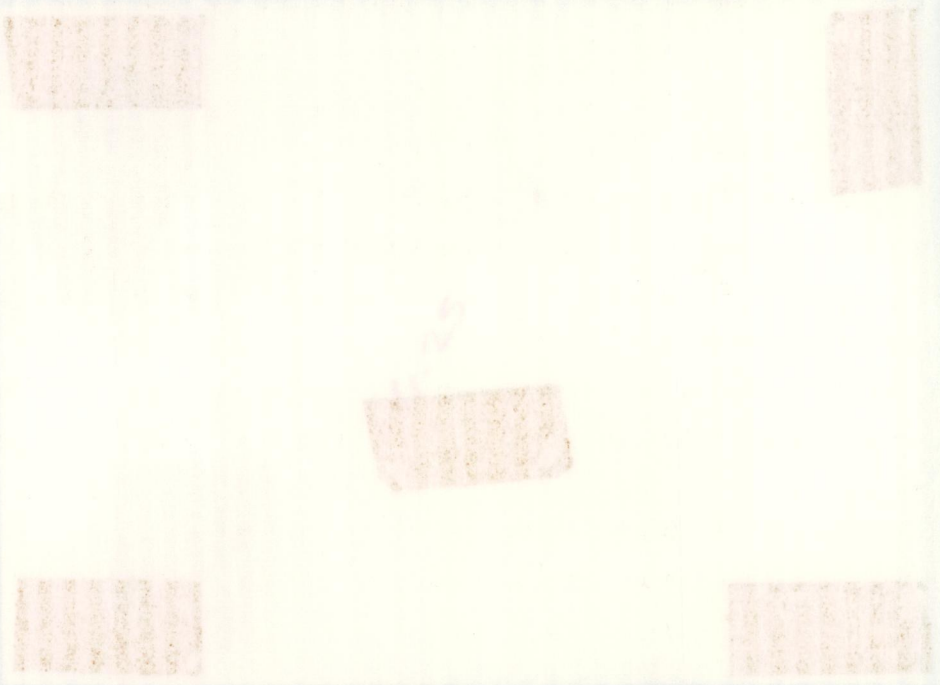

2 Story N. 3.
3 Story N. 4
Fra. Corbet
Geo. Semple
Fra. Corbet
Geo. Semple

Fig. [25]



CONCLUSION

This essay is not an attempt to chart the history of a colonial discourse, nor the history of the development of Georgian Dublin. Rather it is an attempt to place the development of Dublin in the 18th century in the broader historical context in which it developed. In a way this essay is a reaction to those "histories" which choose to ignore that historical context for reasons specific to the circumstances in which they were written. But ignoring the historical context, usually accompanies a conscious ignorance of the social context in which 18th century Dublin developed. As I pointed out in my introduction the Georgian Dublin which we see today is that which was built for the Ascendancy. Likewise, the historical accounts which we read are largely those written by the Ascendancy, about the Ascendancy, from an Ascendancy perspective. But the Ascendancy were a small minority of the population of 18th century Dublin.

Just as the awareness of the historical and social context of Dublin's development in the 18th century is necessary to any adequate understanding of that development, so an understanding of the political context is also necessary. I have attempted to discuss the prevailing power relations in terms of a colonial discourse between a coloniser and a colonised. In chapter one I attempted to discuss how this discourse developed through the power relations within the City at that time, ultimately arguing that the large public building commissions of the late 18th century served as part of a discourse which attempted to strengthen the colonial relationship between London and Dublin. In chapter two, the discussion is more concerned with charting the development of representations of the native Irish and Ireland (the colonized) and also for the colonizers, by the colonizers, of the colonizers. Finally in chapter three the discussion is concerned with the application of an idealised representation of Dublin upon the city itself, in the form of the street grids and focal points, and in its application of reforming treatment of the native Irish.

Excepting the revoluntionary/republican cultural tradition which is itself a reaction to the colonial representation of Ireland, and also a characterization of Ireland and Irishness, there is little or no record of native Irish discourse about the colonisers. Therefore, in effect the discourse under discussion is essentially that left by the colonisers.

However, while I am arguing that Dublin's development was part of a broader colonial discourse, I am not attempting to reveal some sort of master-minded colonial conspiracy. Rather, as I have pointed out, Dublin's development was haphazard, dependant on the concensus of different Landlords and power groups. Likewise the colonial discourse under discussion was somewhat haphazard and not always successful in its application, as with the attempted badging of the poor. Likewise colonial methodology for dealing with the native Irish poor in Dublin, discussed in chapter three, was not a methodology exclusive to Ireland in the late 18th century. Its development throughout Western Europe was not dependant on a prevailing colonial circumstance, but in Ireland that prevailing colonial circumstance was a fundamental motive towards its development.

I have discussed this methodology as characterising the broader colonial discourse in its dependance on the gathering of knowledge which constitutes power, and its subsequent representation, as an application of that power. In the context of this knowledge creating power which defines knowledge cyclical relationship, the development of a grand Georgian Capital City, as represented by Malton, is the representation of an image (knowledge) created in imperial capitals, like London and Paris and re-applied to colonial capitals like Dublin, Edinburgh, even 18th century New York. This re-application negated any specific historical or cultural context in which that city may have developed, while serving to maintain the prevailing colonial cultural hegemony.

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