

KNOCKBREDÁ

ITS MONUMENTS & PEOPLE

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DEDICATION



Dick Oram

Richard William (Dick) Oram M.B.E.

1938-2008

Knockbreda – Its Monuments & People is dedicated to the memory of Dick Oram, a founder trustee of The Follies Trust. He was a delightful man with an extraordinary knowledge of Ireland's history and heritage. Dick was great fun and an ideal companion; his scholarship sat lightly on his shoulders and he shared his knowledge with infectious enthusiasm.

May he rest in peace.

A WORD FROM KNOCKBREDA PARISH

*The Venerable Philip Patterson*

Old graveyards are for many fascinating places to visit. They seem to capture something of the essence of a bygone era. This is certainly the case at Knockbreda. There are the very grand memorials to people of distinction and status who helped to shape the commercial, industrial and cultural life of the city of Belfast. There are also memorials to very ordinary folk – the villagers of Newtownbreda and the estate workers of Belvoir. As you stroll around you will also find the sad memorials to accidental deaths, premature infant deaths and victims of community violence, not just from our recent past. There are memorials to those who have achieved much, and to those who have achieved little. To all alike has been assigned a resting place in ‘God’s Acre’, irrespective of any worldly position or achievement. As you wander around the graveyard, other inscriptions will point you to the eternal hope of resurrection and glory. Over the years, the church has served the community by sharing this hope as well as providing a resting place for all, without regard to wealth or station. Knockbreda Parish continues to serve the entire community by proclaiming that gospel hope of life in Jesus Christ.

The Venerable Philip Patterson
Rector of Knockbreda
Archdeacon of Down

FOREWORD



*The Most Reverend A.E.T.
Harper O.B.E.*

I well remember the international excitement engendered when the footprint of *Australopithecus afarensis*, an early ancestor of *Homo sapiens*, nicknamed ‘Lucy’ after the name given to the remains of another individual found in Ethiopia, was found preserved in a dried up lake bed in Tanzania. It was as if a corner of a very personal veil had been lifted to give a glimpse of a real person at the dawn of human history. These were the marks of a living individual, walking upright like us and striding purposefully into her own living present.

The publication of *Knockbreda – Its Monuments & People* may not engender the same international excitement as the discovery of footprints in Tanzania, but it does come as a welcome addition to the synthesis required to make the past live. This volume does not merely focus upon a group of rather elegant funerary monuments, interesting though that might be, but upon people, interactions, relationships: footprints of the past made eloquently to speak above the ‘white noise’ of the vast corpus of information thrown up by documentary and architectural research. It is, also, a salutary reminder that a grand monument may appear to be the memorial of a single, wealthy and influential family, but it is also revelatory of the ordinary folk, not personally memorialised, who were part of the complete story. This is, therefore, a work for the present, not simply a record of the past. Only by understanding, appreciating and appropriating our shared past shall we be equipped to appropriate and shape a shared future.

+Alan Armagh

The Most Reverend A.E.T. Harper O.B.E.

Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland

'History and heritage are part of our cultural oxygen – often unseen or unthought about, but, nonetheless, a daily subliminal source of stimulation, awe, aesthetic pleasure'

(Dawnay, 2006).

INTRODUCTION



Primrose Wilson C.B.E.

There are certain geometric shapes – particularly cubes and spheres – which create interesting and exciting architecture. I suggest that the Knockbreda mausolea fall into this category, and that is why they are so aesthetically pleasing. Perhaps it is easier to create a particularly pure architectural form when designing mausolea, as their residents require neither modern sanitary facilities nor right to light!

Interest and delight is created not only by the architectural forms of the mausolea, but also their mystic significance. In early Chinese cosmology the earth was square and the heavens were domed. Therefore the cube with a domed top – the shape of the mausolea – may be seen as a powerful symbol combining earth and heaven. Just before his death, Dick Oram wrote: '[the] symbolism [of the mausolea], the association of the sphere with the eternal and the cube with the temporal goes back long before Christ...As an architectural expression, it is more common in the East than in the West. It is the perfect statement of death – that is, the moment the soul moves from the temporal zone to the eternal...'

For too long Knockbreda's noble mausolea have been neglected. The Follies Trust is proud to have played a major role in conserving them for future generations to enjoy. However, while the Trust raised the funds and managed their conservation, a debt of gratitude is owed to Hugh Dixon and James Stevens Curl, who, over many years, drew attention to their plight and urged their retention.

The Follies Trust is grateful to the funders of this conservation project – Northern Ireland Environment Agency, Pilgrim Trust, Esmee Fairbairn Foundation and Leche Trust – and to the sponsors of this publication – Awards for All and Esme Mitchell Trust. We were delighted to make contact with several descendants of the Greg and Rainey families. Their interest in, and support for, the project were invaluable.

Particular thanks are due to the authors of the articles in this publication and our editor, Lydia Wilson. Grateful thanks also go to our professional adviser, Chris McCollum, and his team, to the contractors and sub-contractors, and to the parish of Knockbreda and the Representative Church Body, who gave permission to undertake the project.

The Follies Trust was formed in 2006 to encourage the appreciation and conservation of Irish follies. We are delighted that so many people share our passion for these delightfully eccentric and unusual buildings. Our thanks go to all who lectured at or attended our lectures, who climbed the Mourne mountains in support of the cause or who contributed to our appeals. We hope that when you pause to ponder the quality of workmanship on the Knockbreda mausolea, you will share our enthusiasm for these amazing structures.

The work of The Follies Trust at Knockbreda is now close to completion, and we have our eyes on other interesting projects...‘Tomorrow to fresh woods, and pastures new’ (Lycidas).

Primrose Wilson C.B.E.
Chairman, The Follies Trust

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Brian Mackey is Curator of the Irish Linen Centre and Lisburn Museum, Lisburn.
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Chris McCollum is a chartered building surveyor specialising in historic building conservation.
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Lydia Wilson is a journalist and architectural historian, and senior associate at The Architectural History Practice Ltd.

THE CREATION
OF KNOCKBREDA
PARISH CHURCH AND
BELVOIR PARK

Brian Mackey



*Anne Trevor (1670-1747) in her robes
as Viscountess Midleton, c.1717.*

Knockbreda Parish Church owes its existence to Anne, the Dowager Viscountess Midleton, who proposed its construction at her own expense, and to her son Arthur Hill, the local landlord, who promised an acre of ground for its site just to the east of his Belvoir demesne. Lady Midleton's offer to provide a new parish church had to overcome some influential opposition when it was proposed in 1733. The parish of Knockbreda had been created by the union of the separate parishes of Knock and Breda in the 1650s. With the old church of Breda having been in ruins since the early seventeenth century, the dilapidated church at Knock served the united parish, but not it alone, for Knockbreda was at the time also joined to the parish of Dundonald, and therein lay the difficulty. Lady Margaret Ikerrin of Castle Hill¹ fumed at the proposed location of the new church at the western side of the large parish, which she deemed inconvenient. Notwithstanding her humiliation at being out voted on the issue at a vestry meeting chaired by Bishop Hutchinson, Lady Ikerrin appealed to the primate. Archbishop Boulter, however, believing the site 'more convenient for the greatest part of the parishioners', recommended his approval to the government. Within four years the church was completed. It was consecrated by Francis Hutchinson, the Bishop of Down and Connor, on Sunday 7 August 1737 (Carmody, 1929).

The site for the new church and its architect were well chosen. As was noted within a few years of its construction, the church, 'executed under the direction of Mr Castell', was erected 'on an Eminence commanding a Prospect of Belfast'. This was an important location for the surrounding graveyard, which became one of the

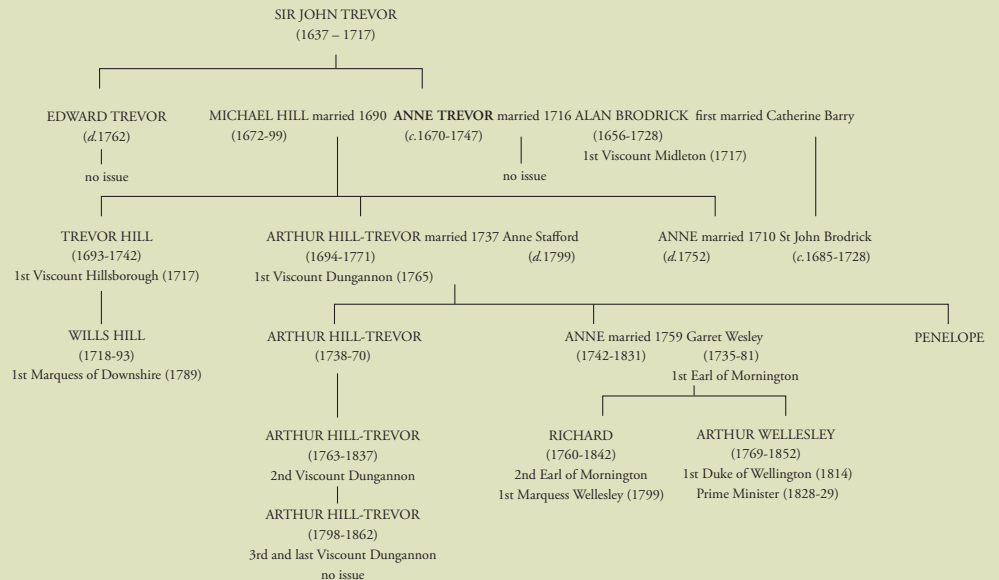
¹ Castle Hill is shown on Oliver Sloane's *Map of County Down* (1739) and would now be between Stormont and Campbell College.

most fashionable burial grounds in the vicinity (Harris and Smith, 1744). Lady Middleton's gift of the exquisitely designed church by Richard Castle², the most successful Palladian architect in Ireland in the first half of the eighteenth century, was a generous act of discernment by an interesting woman whose life deserves to emerge from the shadows.

Lady Middleton was born Anne Trevor in 1670, the only daughter of Sir John Trevor of Brynkinalt, Denbighshire in Wales. The Trevors were a long-established Welsh family who developed connections with the north of Ireland in the seventeenth century through military service and land acquisition. Sir Edward Trevor (*d.*1642), Anne's great-grandfather, who built Brynkinalt House in 1619, acquired an estate in south Down (later known as Rostrevor) and his younger son Marcus was created Viscount Dungannon in 1662³. Anne's father, Sir John Trevor (1637-1717), was a London lawyer and M.P. who rose to be Master of the Rolls and Speaker of the



ANNE HILL (néé TREVOR), later LADY MIDLETON, and her family descendants:



² On Castle, see Dixon in Oram and Reeves-Smyth (2003). According to James Stevens Curl, the architect's name is also documented as Cassels or Cassel (see footnote 16 on p37).

³ Marcus Trevor (1618-1670) was created Viscount Dungannon by Charles II for having wounded Oliver Cromwell at the battle of Marston Moor in 1644. The title (by the first creation) became extinct with the death of the 3rd Viscount in 1706 (Burke, 1904).

English House of Commons in the reigns of both James II and William and Mary (Burke, 1904). In 1690 Anne Trevor married Michael Hill of Hillsborough who, in 1693, inherited extensive Hill estates in County Down amounting to almost 51,000 acres. Anne settled in Hillsborough and gave birth to two sons, Trevor and Arthur, and a daughter, Anne, before Michael Hill's early death in 1699, at the age of 26, left her to manage the Hill estates and raise her children under the provisions of his will (Johnston-Liik, 2002).

Widowhood, extending for seventeen years before she remarried, and the minority of her eldest son, forced Anne Hill to engage in matters she found onerous. Surviving letters to the Waringes of Waringstown reveal she was harassed by the heavy responsibilities⁴. She consulted Samuel Waring, a competent draughtsman and amateur gentleman architect, about building works at Hillsborough in 1707 and confided in him regarding her desire to be 'most fashionable' in her choice of furnishings for the house (Barnard, 2004a). She also dabbled in politics, at first clumsily, for she gave offence by promising the Hillsborough parliamentary seats to more than the two candidates the borough could accommodate. Yet she seemed abreast of the political issues of the day when, in 1704, she expressed her annoyance at seeing English opposition to Irish parliamentary bills sent to London for assent. Political gossip clearly fascinated her. In 1710 she conveyed news from Dublin about career disappointments endured by William Conolly, the future Speaker of the Irish parliament and chief political rival of the Brodricks, a family her daughter Anne married into in the same year⁵ (Barnard, 2003 and 2004a).

Anne Hill impressed all in Dublin society with her impeccable taste in furnishing, decoration and dress, and she became a consummate political hostess praised for the excellence of her hospitality (Barnard, 2003). In this regard she ably assisted the career of her second husband, Alan Brodrick, Lord Midleton, whom she married in 1716⁶. The benefits of the match seemed mutual, for he was one of the leading figures in Irish politics at the time and, as a frequently-appointed Lord Justice in charge of the government of Ireland, was in a most influential position to assist his

⁴ Anne Hill's letters to the Waringes, in a private collection, are referred to in Toby Barnard, 2004a, pp31-34; 2004, p258, and 2003, p258, 263 & 268-9.

⁵ Anne Hill's daughter Anne married St John Brodrick M.P., eldest son of Alan Brodrick M.P., later Lord Midleton.

⁶ It was reported to Dean Swift that Midleton's 'table [was] the neatest served of any I have seen in Dublin, which, to be sure was entirely owing to his Lady' (Ball, 1913).

new wife in realising her ambitions for her sons. In the year after their marriage, Lord Midleton was appointed Lord Chancellor and was advanced to a viscountcy, while her eldest son, Trevor Hill, was created Baron Hill of Kilwarlin and Viscount Hillsborough. This was the first important recognition of the Hill family's status and the first steps in the peerage that would culminate in Trevor Hill's son, Wills Hill, achieving the Marquessate of Downshire in 1789.

Anne's younger son Arthur Hill, born in 1694, had much more to do to make his mark, but his mother's ambition was seemingly matched by his ability. He pursued a career in parliament as M.P. for Hillsborough, and through his stepfather's influence was appointed Keeper of the Records in Bermingham Tower, Dublin Castle, in 1719, a minor government sinecure which he held until 1734. He was also a partner in the Dublin bank of Gardiner and Hill (Johnston-Liik, 2002). In 1722 Arthur Hill took the first steps towards the creation of an estate south of Belfast by buying 475 acres in the townland of Ballylenaghan, a process completed in the early 1730s with the purchase of the neighbouring townlands of Breda and Galwally. Early legal documents give his address as Dublin, but by 1731 'Bellvoir' or 'Belvoir' is used, perhaps indicating that he had acquired an existing house when he bought the townland of Breda in 1731 (Simon, 2005).

The early history of house construction at Belvoir is unclear. The earliest images of a house at Belvoir are those in a set of paintings by Jonathan Fisher dating from 1766, which illustrate a substantial two-storey house. Unfortunately neither its architect nor date of construction are known. As Richard Castle designed Knockbreda Church in the mid 1730s, it is possible he was also engaged to provide designs for Belvoir at the same time. There is certainly an indication of a house at Belvoir in 1739 on the *Map of County Down* by Oliver Sloane, and it was described as an 'agreeable seat' by Harris and Smith in 1744. However, in 1758 Mrs Delany described Belvoir as 'a very good house, though not quite finished' (Day, 1992). This brief statement might support an explanation recently advanced by Terence Reeves-Smyth, who thought the house indicated in 1739 and mentioned by Harris and Smith in 1744 could have been of modest size. In his view, the two-storey mansion illustrated by Fisher was probably built in the 1750s, and adjoined the dwelling described in



Belvoir Park by Jonathan Fisher, 1766.



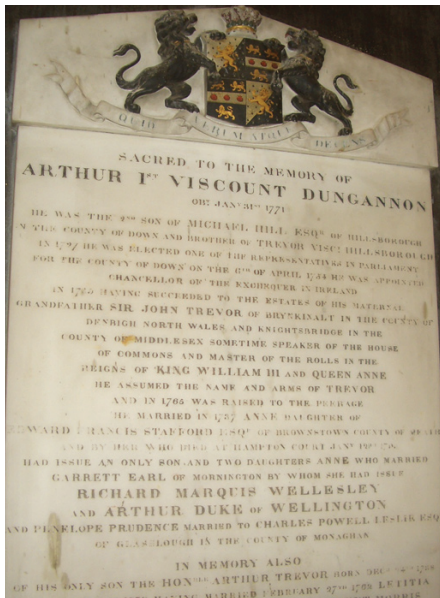
Belvoir Park from Malone by Jonathan Fisher, 1766.

1744. The older house was subsequently adapted to form part of the north-east corner of the service courtyard on the south side of the new house (Reeves-Smyth in Laffan, 2006)⁷.

Fisher's paintings of 1766 show the house before it was raised in height by the addition of a further storey in the late eighteenth century. It was an imposing, two-storey, brick edifice of seven bays on its western and northern facades. The former had a central pedimented entrance doorway, and the latter an elegant three-bay breakfront centre with four giant engaged columns supporting a pediment above the cornice line. The eastern elevation had, in the middle of the façade, a canted bay rising to the height of the cornice. The house was approached by a long avenue and its nearby formal gardens were, as Harris and Smith described them in 1744, 'formed out of an irregular Glyn into regular walks beautified with Canals, Slopes, Terraces and other ornaments'. 'The Demesne', they continued, was 'judiciously disposed planted and formed into proper enclosures round a variety of Meadow and Tillage Ground'.

⁷ The original house may be the structure shown by Fisher on the south side of the new mansion, in line with its east elevation.

'Mr Hill is a sort of an old beau, who has lived much in the world; his fortune a very good one.'



Dungannon Memorial in Knockbreda Church.

In 1758 Edward Willes wrote of Arthur Hill: 'Few people can brag of larger plantations which are of their own rising. He has a most noble demesne wall'd in with a stone wall I believe about 500 acres' (Kelly, 1990). The stone demesne wall was by then extended to the west side of the road from Belfast to Saintfield, or to Lisburn via Hillhall, running past Knockbreda Church, where it is now still obvious on Church Road. The demesne wall enclosed the old church of Breda's graveyard and apparently a small settlement nearby which, when removed to a new village near Knockbreda Church, was called Newtownbreda (Carmody, 1929).

Anne, Lady Middleton, was close to her son Arthur and praised him in her will for his care in handling her affairs (Simon, 2005). She continued to reside in Dublin even after Lord Middleton's death in 1728, though in 1731 she decried the new fashion for card-playing in Dublin society, lamenting the resulting loss of good conversation (Barnard, 2004). Lady Middleton died in Dublin on 5 January 1747, aged 77, and was buried with her first husband in Hillsborough (Carmody, 1929). Had she lived she would have been proud to see Arthur inherit the Trevor family estates in Wales after the death of her last surviving brother in 1762, and his subsequent change of the family name to Hill-Trevor.

A delightful portrait in oil of Arthur Hill and his family was painted in Dublin in the year of Lady Middleton's death by the visiting French artist Philippe Mercier⁸. In 1758, on her visit to Belvoir, Mrs Delany penned another intimate portrait of the family:

'Mr Hill is a sort of an old beau, who has lived much in the world; his fortune a very good one. A fine gentleman is the character he aims at, but in reality he is a very honest, hospitable, friendly, good man with a little pepper in his composition ... but he has the advantage of seeing his own peevishness, and making a joke of it himself. Nothing can be more obliging than his behaviour to us, as well as Mrs Hill's, who is a well-behaved, good-humoured woman; her eldest daughter, about sixteen – a fine woman altogether; rather a little clumsy, but fine complexion, teeth and nails, with a great deal of modesty and good-humour' (Day, 1992).

⁸ Arthur Hill's eldest daughter Anne (1742-1831) later became the Countess of Mornington. Her son, born in Dublin in 1769 and named Arthur after his grandfather, became the 1st Duke of Wellington, national military hero and victor at Waterloo, and later Prime Minister. There appears to be no evidence to support the belief that he visited Belvoir as a boy, for, at a very young age, he was taken by his parents to live in London (Hibbert, 1997).



*Arthur Hill and Family by
Philippe Mercier, 1747.*

Mrs Delany makes only a brief, uncomplimentary mention of Arthur Hill's eldest son (also Arthur), but she gives a charming account of the family's daily pleasure in boating through the locks on the new Lagan navigation which passed through their demesne.

Throughout his career in the Irish parliament, Arthur Hill demonstrated an interest in promoting the economy. He was a founding member of the Dublin Society and much involved in improving the Irish road system. As a supporter of the British administration he undoubtedly reaped the benefits of his loyalty, the high points being his appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1754 and as a Revenue Commissioner the following year. In 1757 he purchased 60 tons of wheat to sell in small quantities at cost to the poor (Johnston-Liik, 2002). There was, it seems, good reason for Mrs Delany's characterisation of him as a 'good man'.



View from Belvoir Park by Jonathan Fisher, 1766.

Arthur Hill-Trevor, who was created first Viscount Dungannon (by the second creation) in 1765, died in 1771. He was buried with his eldest son, who predeceased him by a year, in an unostentatious mausoleum in the graveyard of the old church of Breda⁹. Wonderful images of his achievement in creating the house and landscape of Belvoir are preserved in Fisher's paintings, completed in 1766 and exhibited in Dublin the following year¹⁰. The set of pictures, amongst the earliest painted landscapes in the vicinity of Belfast, record the setting of the mansion in Belvoir demesne and provide a beautifully-composed view from Belvoir down the Lagan Valley to Belfast, its long bridge and the lough beyond¹¹.

Belvoir, the Irish Hill-Trevor seat left by Lord Dungannon as a great legacy to his lineage, did not remain in his family's possession for much more than a generation, however. His grandson Arthur, the second Viscount Dungannon, added a third storey to Belvoir before the end of the eighteenth century and entertained there in lavish style, but vacated the house and park in 1796 in favour of Brynkinalt. In 1811 Belvoir was bought by the Batesons, who resided there for most of the nineteenth century. It was then occupied by several tenants before falling into disuse and neglect in the period following the First World War (Simon, 2005).

In 1961 the house was demolished. Only its stone stable range remains, close to the car-park that was made on the site of the house. The formal gardens described by Harris and Smith in 1744 have disappeared, but a significant part of the great informal parkland survives. It is now enjoyed by visitors to Belvoir Forest Park, who walk its woodland paths and stroll along the Lagan, or by those who play golf at the course established within the demesne in 1929, with a clubhouse accessed by an entrance directly opposite Knockbreda Church.

⁹ Arthur Hill-Trevor was not to rest in peace, however. The Dungannon mausoleum was desecrated in 1951 and the lead coffins stolen. The classical front entrance, now missing its pediment and covered in ivy, is without even a simple gate to keep further vandalism at bay. Simon (2005) includes old and more recent photographs of the mausoleum.

¹⁰ On Fisher see Crookshank and the Knight of Glin (2002).

¹¹ On her visit in 1758, Mrs Delany recorded that from the upper windows of Belvoir she could see Belfast, the long bridge and the Cave Hill (Day, 1992).



Rainey and Greg Mausolea, Knockbreda Churchyard.

KNOCKBREDA CHURCH

Hugh Dixon

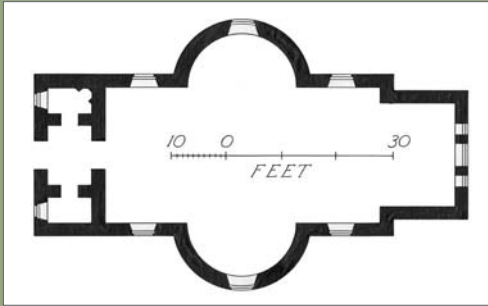


Knockbreda Parish Church.

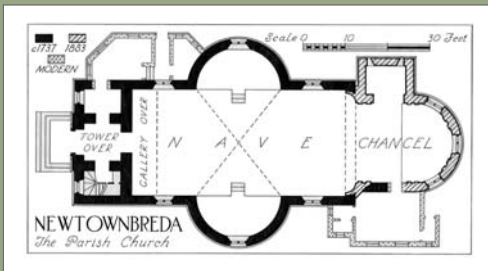
Knockbreda Parish Church is, in several ways, as unusual as the monuments which cluster about its northern shadows. Unlike most Church of Ireland churches it has no saintly dedication. This is probably because it was built at the expense of Anne, the Dowager Viscountess Middleton, and intended as much as an estate chapel for Belvoir Park as to serve the scattered inhabitants of the then united ancient parishes of Breda and Knock and Kirkdonnel.

Unlike most of the churches of its time it was not commissioned from a local builder but from Dublin, from Richard Castle, who, although the most important architect then working in Ireland, rarely designed churches. For this reason, perhaps, the design is unlike any of its era in Ulster, even in Ireland. By 1737, when the church was built, there was already a settled pattern of established church design which was to last with little interruption for another century. It combined a gabled hall, orientated with its long axis east-west, which housed the worshipping congregation, and a bell tower, usually placed against the west gable of the hall, functioning as a porch. When a tower could not be afforded, the west gable could be raised to form a bell cote. Another generation was to pass before structurally differentiated chancels began to appear. Only rarely, when influenced by earlier remains (Carrickfergus, Donaghadee) or episcopal ambitions (Hillsborough) was the plan of the church complicated with the addition of aisles or transepts. Knockbreda stands as an exception to all these generalisations.

Superficially, the church is of the 'hall-and-tower' type. Castle, operating in an unfamiliar area of design, looked first to local tradition. If his intention in doing this was to reassure his client, he was also sufficiently worldly-wise to know that something different was expected of him. Drawing on his experience of designing serene Palladian houses, he soon found a way of surprising Lady Middleton with novel



Knockbreda Parish Church plan of 1855.



Plan showing alterations to church.

features embraced in an essay in harmony, balance, proportion and logic. There is no record of what she thought of the design but she must have been pleased enough to sanction the building to go ahead.

Among those that passed the new church, and those that entered, there must have been a raised eyebrow or two. There is a hall and a tower but also much else that would have seemed strange then – and still does today. At first glance the exterior is undemonstrative, although the elaboration of the spire and the curved walls invite a longer look. The facade seems serene and uncrowded. The triangular pediment of the doorcase is echoed by the pediment of the slightly projecting main bay, and again by the pitch of the hipped (not gabled) roof. Unlike most Ulster spires, Knockbreda's does not soar direct from the tower. Instead it is neatly broached from a square to an octagonal plan, at an angle which reflects the pitch of the roof; its measured rise is then to only half the height of the tower. Atop is a finial with ball and cross separated by a dove-shaped weathervane.

The interior of the church is unique in Ulster, and difficult to parallel anywhere. The volume of the hall, a double cube, was one much favoured by Richard Castle and other Palladians for domestic interiors, as it had been by their heroes Inigo Jones and Andrea Palladio himself. The careful geometry of the plan suggests similar influences. The hall is extended on three sides. To the east there was, originally, a rectangular chancel which was structurally distinct from the hall, with a lower roof and a tall Venetian east window. In the middle of the long north and south walls there are semi-circular transepts set three steps above the level of the hall. The parts are carefully related. The hall and chancel have, respectively, the same widths as the external and internal diameters of the apses. The depth of the chancel is exactly the same as the portion of hall wall to each side of the apses. As on the exterior the decoration is sparing, neat and classical. The oddest and most dramatic features, the semi-circular transepts, merit some attempt at explanation.

In the Georgian world it was often as important to be seen at the theatre as it was to go to see whatever was being performed. Worship was not dissimilar. For some at that time it was as important to be seen worshipping, or, rather, demonstrating secular support for spiritual leadership, as it was to worship. The elevation of 'the quality' in special pews was a not-too-subtle transportation of social status to the devotional arena. This was not new when Knockbreda was built. Since late mediaeval

times, when seating was first introduced to worship, the lord and his family, or other leaders of the community, set themselves apart. The lord's pew, the squire's box, or the Scottish 'laird's loft' – often raised above the level of the congregation – served to emphasise the social structure of the community. These private pews were often comfortably furnished, carpeted and cushioned; eventually some even had their own fireplaces. Frequently, they were raised like a gallery so that, according to his mood, the lord might overlook his subordinates or, by placing himself further back, might be invisible to them. If the Knockbreda transepts were intended to perform the same sort of function, then they did so in quite a different way. They are not raised very far above the hall. They offer no hiding place; indeed their shape places their occupants as much on show as any theatre box. Moreover there must have been some difficulty in having two such distinct areas. No doubt the symmetry would have been essential to Castle but one is left to wonder how they were originally occupied. Did Lady Middleton divide her family into two parties before going to church? Was one transept occupied by the agent's family so that social leadership could be maintained even when the owners were away from home? The difficulty seems to have been overcome during the nineteenth century, when the transepts were colonised by two prominent local families with the sort of confidence which leads to memorial wall tablets.

Nevertheless, the apsidal shape of the transepts remains unexplained. Richard Castle would have known St. Anne's Church in Dawson Street, Dublin, which as Simon Walker (2000) tells us was the first post-reformation church to have an apse. But this is in the more usual place at the east end of the church. Was the introduction of apses to north and south something Castle himself invented in a fit of geometry? Or is there an earlier influence? Castle's family background was rooted in the heartland of European baroque, in Italy and southern Germany. His sojourn in London, only a couple of years after Wren's death, was at the moment when the English baroque was being superseded by the works of Lord Burlington's Palladian group. His early mentor in Ireland, Sir Edward Lovett Pearce, was both the foremost Palladian designer in the country in his short career but also a nephew of Sir John Vanbrugh, Wren's main baroque successor. With such associations Castle was well-placed to produce an occasional originality. As Dr McParland (2001) has observed, Castle was able 'to pep up his neo-Palladianism with hints of baroque'; and this is precisely what he seems to have done at Knockbreda. It remains worth mentioning that apsidal transepts



*Knockbreda Church from the south east, by
Andrew Nicholl, c.1830.*

are very rare, but one architect who used them, admittedly on an entirely different scale, at his Venetian churches of St Giorgio Maggiore and Il Redentore, was Andrea Palladio himself.

Purists tend to accept grudgingly that the changes made by Sir Thomas Drew in 1883 did not ruin the place. His western gallery, itself a sign of the church's popularity, is a bit squeezed below the ceiling but his apsidal chancel, with its coupled Ionic pilasters, is much more than a nod to the fundamental classicism of the church. And, it should be remembered, Drew was designing for a generation that had embraced the gothic revival, regarded classicism as pagan, and suspected even symmetry as being unnatural. Not for them the clarity of morning light streaming in through the Venetian window over the shoulders of the parson in his central pulpit; their spirituality was drawn instead from focus on a less measurable sanctuary, mysterious in muted light from stained glass windows. In such an intellectual climate the addition of vestry, organ loft and boiler room seemed entirely correct.

The essential character of the original church, nevertheless, can still be recognised; and the purposes of its creators were respected in changes made by the later generation. All in all there is reason to agree wholeheartedly with a view expressed before the building was ten years old, by Harris and Smith in 1744, that the church is 'a building the neatest and most compleat of its kind in the kingdom'.

The niceties of social standing extended beyond life, into the hereafter. Knockbreda, in its privileged setting 'on an Eminence commanding a Prospect of Belfast, the Bay and Town of Carrickfergus, and the county round it', became a fashionable place to spend eternity and there was strong competition for burial places close to the church (Harris and Smith, 1744). No matter where they lived in the town, prominent Belfast men increasingly chose Knockbreda as their last resting place. One typical example (and of interest to architectural historians) was Sir Charles Lanyon who, despite living far away to the north end of the city, chose Knockbreda for his family's tomb (gothic, of course). This, however, was a century after the fashion had been established. Nowhere had this trend been more obvious, more grand, or more original than in the great Georgian tombs which stand close to the church, and which, like it, deserve to be understood, admired and passed safely into the future.

THE EVOLUTION OF IRISH BURIALS AND MONUMENTS

Dr Finbar McCormick



Knockbreda Churchyard.

The idea of the communal graveyard arrived in Ireland with Christianity and reflected changes in burial practice during the final centuries of the Roman empire. In the centuries before the arrival of Christianity in Ireland the bodies of the dead were cremated and the ashes placed in isolated, circular, earthen barrows. These generally contained the remains of a small number of people, probably family groups. The new Christian cemeteries contained the bodies of the whole community, buried with their heads facing eastwards in anticipation of the second coming of Christ in Jerusalem¹².

In the late Roman Christian world, two major changes in burial practice occurred. First, the bodies of those regarded as saints began to be buried within churches. Previously, the dead and the living had been kept separate: burial was forbidden within towns, with cemeteries located beyond their boundaries. Christians in Ireland soon followed the Roman example, in the belief that the proximity of their bodies to those of the saints would ensure safe passage to heaven. In Ireland, it was increasingly believed that the local saint would lead the community to heaven at the time of the second coming of Christ and the Day of Judgement. In practice, those rich or important enough were buried within churches, while the rest were interred in the surrounding graveyards.

¹² In older graveyards the inscribed faces of headstones generally face east: this is the case with most of the older headstones at Knockbreda.



Uninscribed mausoleum in Knockbreda graveyard demolished c.1980.

Secondly, throughout most of Europe the inscription commemorating the name of the deceased disappeared from funerary monuments; soon the practice of erecting memorials, with a few localised exceptions, disappeared. The deceased was consigned to anonymity, to be cared for by the church until the day of resurrection. As a result, there are no memorials to early Irish kings or saints.

By the twelfth century, however, the memorial and the visible tomb began to re-appear, a revival led by the higher ranks of the church. Pope Innocent II (*d.* 1143) famously appropriated the sarcophagus of the Emperor Hadrian for his own resting place. While this revival might be attributed to vanity, the emerging belief in purgatory also played an important role. Praying for the dead in order to obtain their early release from the pains of purgatory became a central part of Christian belief. St Thomas Aquinas noted: 'It profits the dead insofar as one bears the dead in mind and prays for them through looking at their burial place.' Tombs and memorials to the dead slowly began to appear in Ireland, as elsewhere in Europe, but were confined to the rich and those of high clerical status. They were also invariably located within churches. The majority, meanwhile, continued to repose anonymously in church graveyards.

With the Reformation the belief in purgatory was forbidden to those who embraced the reformed faith, and the living could no longer intercede on behalf of the dead. For the rich, the shift in attitude meant that tombs were no longer the focus of prayer, and their role evolved to that of preserving the memory of the dead and emphasising their life's achievements.

Prior to this, little attention was paid to the actual physical remains of the deceased, and continuous burial both within and outside the church led invariably to intermingling of the bones. In many areas, including Ireland, accidentally disturbed remains were placed on the edges of graveyards, sometimes in charnel houses. A visitor to a graveyard at Kilconnel, County Galway, in 1709 noted that it was surrounded by a wall of skulls and bones which was about eighty eight feet long, four feet high and five feet broad. Partly as a result of the post-reformation emphasis on the importance of the role of the individual, who could pursue his own salvation by living a worthy life, the wealthy became increasingly keen to keep their bones and the bones of their family separate from those of others. To this end they built private

*'other bones shall not be
put in [the family vault]
to mingle with my
dear wives', and my own'*

burial vaults beneath the floors of churches to accommodate their family remains. William Montgomery of Rosemount, near Greyabbey, County Down, reflected this new attitude when he decreed that 'other bones shall not be put in [the family vault] to mingle with my dear wives', and my own'¹³.

In general, however, the Reformation had limited effect on the geography of funerary memorials in England, Wales and Ireland. The rich continued to be buried within churches, their resting place marked by memorials, while everyone else was confined, unremembered, to surrounding graveyards.

Burial affairs took a different course in Scotland, where Calvinist Presbyterians took a strict approach to burial practice. They believed that, since the soul departed the body at the moment of death, the body was of little consequence. It was to be interred with respect, but without any 'Popish' ceremony, and no funeral service was to be held within the church itself. It is therefore unsurprising that as early as 1560, burial within churches was prohibited by the Scottish Church Assembly. The Scottish church's attitude is aptly summarised by an inscription on an early seventeenth century mausoleum in Collessie, Fife, which bluntly states: 'Defyle not Christs kirk with your carrion'.

However, the Scottish aristocracy had little intention of joining the unremembered masses in their commonage burial ground. Soon they colonised burial areas within graveyards by building family vaults, mausolea, and large memorials, long before such monuments became common in the graveyards of Ireland, England or Wales. This, of course, set a precedent and soon the 'lower orders' were claiming their own burial grounds and attempting to erect memorials. The church and secular authorities were totally opposed to this development. In 1600, Edinburgh Council decreed that 'no stones ought to be fixed or set at any graves in the burial yard...and ordain[ed] the baillies to remove the same'. In Stirling, the Kirk Session books of 1640 record that people were erecting little stones at the head and foot of graves 'whereby in process of time they apprehend to have a property'. Again, it was ordained that all the stones should be removed. However, having banished the nobility into the graveyards, the Scots found it impossible to stop others aspiring to private graves from marking them

¹³ Montgomery had more than one wife.



Knockbreda Churchyard.



Rainey Mausoleum, 2009.

with a headstone. In time, headstones were tolerated but only on payment of a fee, the scale of which was dependent on the size and type of memorial. The modern graveyard had, effectively, finally arrived.

When Scottish landowners colonised Ulster in the early seventeenth century they established new family graves in graveyards where the Irish had traditionally buried their dead for centuries. The monuments they erected were usually large, flat ledger stones, often decorated with heraldic motifs and symbols of mortality. It was not long before the native Irish followed suit, and by the early eighteenth century people of all denominations were erecting headstones in Ulster, usually in the traditional graveyards that had been in use in Ireland since the arrival of Christianity.

In general, graveyards catering for a specific denomination were a nineteenth century development, but, in Belfast, burial segregation occurred slightly earlier. During the eighteenth century Stranmillis emerged as the preferred burial place for Roman Catholics, while Protestants tended to be buried in the old parish graveyard in High Street. Further burials in this parish graveyard were forbidden after the end of the century. Amongst the last to be buried there were Henry Joy McCracken and five fellow insurgents, who were hanged in front of the Market House in 1798. The present St George's Church was built in part of the former graveyard in 1816.

Irish Christian burial rites have a history that goes back to the fifth century, but graveyards as we know them today date only from the seventeenth century. The church at Knockbreda was built on a greenfield site in 1737 and its graveyard was used exclusively by those of the Protestant faith. The earliest surviving headstone dates to 1763. St George's graveyard in the centre of Belfast was closed to new burials in 1798 due to persistent problems with flooding and, as a consequence, Knockbreda became a popular burial place for many among the city's merchant classes. It is fortunate that Waddell Cunningham, Thomas Greg, William Rainey and others chose to build their splendid mausolea and funerary monuments at Knockbreda rather than at St George's, as the monuments at St George's were destroyed during the early decades of the nineteenth century, when most of the graveyard was razed and built upon.

THE PEOPLE
BURIED IN
KNOCKBREDA

Dr William Roulston



Knockbreda gravestone.

A graveyard can be likened to an open air museum where it is possible to walk among the exhibits – the tombstones – and discover art and sculpture from a bygone age. No study of a locality should ever be attempted without a visit to its older graveyards and a familiarity with the inscriptions on the memorials. These provide vital links with the past: not only do they record dates of death and ages at death, they may also include information on family relationships, occupations and contributions to society. This essay looks at the inscriptions in Knockbreda churchyard. For the most part, I will let the inscriptions tell the story but, in doing so, I depend a great deal on Richard Clarke's recordings of inscriptions in the churchyard, first published in 1968.

Before the consecration of Knockbreda in 1737, and the opening of its churchyard, parishioners were buried, for the most part, at the old graveyards at Knock and Breda, each the site of a medieval parish church. How soon after the consecration the first burials took place in the vicinity of the church is not known, but it was certainly within a quarter of a century. The earliest date of death recorded on a gravestone in Knockbreda is 25 July 1763 and is to Elizabeth, wife of Daniel Rowntree, who died aged 38.

The churchyard at Knockbreda was not exclusively used by the inhabitants of the parish. Many people from Belfast were buried here, including several from the leading merchant families. Those commemorated on memorials in Knockbreda come from a diverse range of backgrounds. Landed gentry lie alongside soldiers, and doctors beside farm labourers, the latter generally in unmarked graves.



Grave of Sir Charles Lanyon.



Mooney family grave.

PUBLIC FIGURES

Few of those buried in Knockbreda have left as lasting a legacy as the architect Sir Charles Lanyon. Born in 1813 at Eastbourne, Sussex, 'he was articled to Jacob Owen, Clerk of Works to the Royal Engineers Department in Portsmouth, and in 1832 moved to Dublin when Owen was appointed as principal engineer and architect to the Board of Public Works in Ireland' (Larmour, 1994). He was appointed surveyor of County Kildare in 1834, and two years later became surveyor of County Antrim, a post he held until 1860. Lanyon was responsible for the Glendun road viaduct, most of Antrim's railway lines, the Antrim coast road and the planting of the avenues of fir trees which flank the Frosses Road through the bog between Ballymena and Ballymoney. In addition, he designed or redesigned a number of important country houses, including Drenagh, near Limavady, and Ballywalter Park. He was responsible for designing nearly all of Belfast's important public buildings between 1840 and 1860, among them Queen's College (now Queen's University), the Crumlin Road gaol and courthouse, the Custom House and Sinclair Seamen's Presbyterian church. He was mayor of Belfast in 1862 and was Conservative MP for the town from 1866 to 1868. In the latter year he was knighted. He died in Whiteabbey in 1889 and is buried in Knockbreda in a gothic tomb of his own design.

Those who contributed to municipal government or held positions of importance in Belfast are commemorated on several memorials. That to John Brown, of Petershill, records: 'He supported through life a character strongly marked by integrity, honour, and diffidence. Warmly attached to the constitution of his country from his youth, he was a steady supporter and watchful guardian of her interests at the most critical periods of time.' He was High Sheriff of County Antrim in 1783. For many years he also held what is described on his memorial as 'the arduous appointment of sovereign of Belfast...with lasting advantage of the public good'. He died in 1801 aged 50, 'leaving no personal enemies but those of honour, honesty and the constitution'. Benn (1880) notes that at his death Brown was reputed to be the richest, or one of the richest, men in Belfast. He adds: '[the] great assemblage which followed his remains to [Knockbreda] attest[s to] the respect in which he was held'. Brown's Square in Belfast (between Peter's Hill and Brown Street) was named after him.

*Bateson memorial.*

A stone, now lost, commemorates Joseph Folingsby Esq., 'late Collector of Customs, Ballyshannon, and for many years Comptroler of the port of Belfast'. He died in 1853 aged 79. He was married to Ellen, daughter of the late Sir Broderick Chinnery of Flintfield, Co. Cork; she died in 1820. Two town majors of Belfast are also commemorated on gravestones at Knockbreda: William Fox of Fox Lodge Esq., died in 1818 in his 74th year, and Peter Stuart died in 1864 aged 94.

LEADING FAMILIES

Among the leading families commemorated at Knockbreda are the Batesons. Thomas Bateson, son of Robert Bateson of Lancashire, moved to Belfast as a young man. He was a partner in the firm Mussenden, Bateson & Co., wine merchants in Winecellar Court, with trading links to the West Indies. Benn (1880) also notes that in 1752 Bateson was one three founding partners of Belfast's first bank, Mussenden, Adair and Bateson. Like many successful merchants, he invested in land, acquiring property at Magherafelt and Moira. He lived at Orangefield in the parish of Knockbreda, and died in 1791 aged 86. His grandson Robert purchased Belvoir Park and was created a baronet in 1818. In 1885 Robert's son Thomas was elevated to the peerage as Baron Deramore.

CLERGY

Clergymen feature strongly among those commemorated in Knockbreda. Rev. John Kinahan had been rector of Knockbreda for 43 years when he died in 1866. Rev. Charles Allen, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, was the curate of St Anne's Church of Ireland in Belfast and later the first incumbent of St Paul's Church, Belfast, where he died in his 70th year in 1883. Presbyterian ministers are also buried at Knockbreda: the churchyard was available to all parishioners, regardless of their religious background. Rev. Robert Workman, who died in 1921 aged 86, had been 'for 60 years the faithful minister of Newtownbreda [Presbyterian] Church'.



Greg Mausoleum, 2009.



Greg Mausoleum, 1966.



Cunningham Mausoleum, 1966.

MERCHANTS

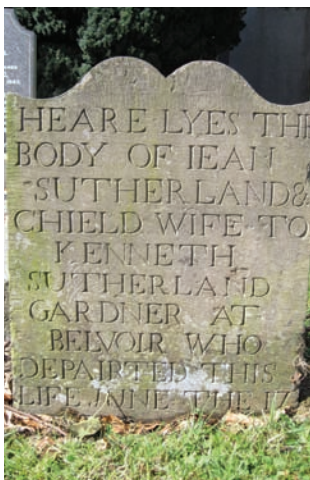
Heading the list of the many merchants buried at Knockbreda is Waddell Cunningham, who died in 1797 aged 68. The inscription on his mausoleum states that his ‘integrity as a merchant, generosity as a patron and... steadiness and hospitality as a friend will long be the objects of the most respectful and grateful remembrance’. Many of his contemporaries would not have agreed with these sentiments: there are numerous uncomplimentary stories about him and his business practices. A close associate of Cunningham, Thomas Greg, also a leading Belfast merchant, is buried nearby under an ornate mausoleum. He died in 1796 aged 75.

Among those at Knockbreda who made a major contribution to Belfast’s mercantile and intellectual life in the nineteenth century were brothers, James and Robert Shipboy, the sons of James MacAdam, a hardware merchant. In the late 1830s the brothers started the Soho Foundry in Townsend Street and for years they manufactured pumping machinery and turbines which were exported throughout the world. Both were active members of the Belfast Literary Society and Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society. Robert had a keen interest in Irish literature. His memorial records that he was editor of the first series of the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, from 1853 to 1862. He died in 1895; his brother James predeceased him by more than thirty years, dying in 1861.

Other merchants worthy of mention include Samuel Martin of Shrigley, founder of the Martin Throne Children’s Hospital, Whitewell, for children afflicted with spinal disease (*d.*1872), and Hugh Crawford Esq. of Orangefield, who was ‘for many years an eminent merchant and latterly a Banker in Belfast’. He died in 1819 aged 62.

An extensive network of family connections is reflected on a memorial to Samuel Brown, a Belfast merchant who died in 1818 aged 77. The memorial commemorates the death in 1783 of his infant son, George Brown, of his uncle James Simm, ‘late of Baltimore, mercht’, who died in 1785 aged 21, and of a grand uncle, Robert Ewing, ‘late of Barbadoes, mercht’, who died in 1790 aged 51. Another son, Samuel Brown junior, was a captain in the Honourable East India Company’s Service.

Most of the merchants buried at Knockbreda were of more modest means and could be more accurately described as shopkeepers. Ann Hadskis erected a memorial to



Various gravestones, Knockbreda.

her husband Stewart, a Belfast merchant, who died in 1801 aged 30. Ann kept on the business, appearing in the 1807 and 1808 Belfast directories as a grocer in North Street. A number of headstones at Knockbreda include the occupations of their owners, and this gives an idea of the nature of commercial life in late eighteenth century Belfast. Included in this category are Any Kattenhorn (possibly of Dutch or German origin), a ‘Sugar Baker’ who died in 1781 aged 47; John Brown, a smith; Robert Hodgson, a saddler; James McCracken, a builder; Kenneth Sutherland, a gardener at Belvoir; Alexander Taylor, an ironmoulder, and William Wilson, a whitesmith.

Among the more unusual occupations recorded at Knockbreda is that on the gravestone to Richard Cow Rowe, ‘a celebrated comedian’. Born in Dublin, he died in 1792 in Belfast, ‘where he was universally admired on account of his merits as an actor, and his gentleness of manner as a man’.

DOCTORS

Several medical practitioners are commemorated at Knockbreda. Robert Apsley MD, a surgeon who died in 1806 aged 67, appears several times in the reports of the Belfast Charitable Society between 1774 and 1794. Benn (1880) described him as a doctor with ‘considerable local reputation’, though in 1778 Dr William Drennan commented on the ‘unpopularity’ of his medical qualification. John Stewart Allen MD, brother of Rev. Charles Allen, was ‘Surgeon of St Marylebone Infirmary, London, and physician to the Joint Counties Asylum, Abergavenny’. He died in 1858, was buried in Abergavenny and is commemorated on a memorial at Knockbreda.

Dr James Moore, who died in 1883, was the son of Dr David Moore, a naval surgeon who settled in Belfast, and Margarita, daughter of Antonio Medin, governor of the Adriatic island of Curzula. He was educated at the Royal Belfast Academical Institution and Edinburgh University, from where he graduated in 1842. While at university he took up drawing and watercolour painting; the Ulster Museum has around 400 of his artworks. He was especially fond of sketching ancient buildings and ruins in Donegal, Dublin and Waterford, as well as many parts of Western Europe. On his return to Belfast he joined the General Hospital at Frederick Street

*'Not once or twice in our fair
Island story
The path of duty was the way
to glory.'*



Girdwood memorial.

(the predecessor of the Royal Victoria Hospital) and became a consulting surgeon in 1864-5. His inscription records that he was 'Hon RHA' (Royal Hibernian Academy), of which he was made an honorary member in 1868.

SOLDIERS AND POLICEMEN

Those who served in the armed forces appear on a number of memorials and the inscriptions contained thereon reflect the many conflicts the British army became engaged in around the world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. One who had a particularly interesting career but yet survived to old age was William Byers, a private in the 44th Regiment, who, according to his headstone, 'fought in the battles of Alma, Sebastopol, Inkerman and the relief of Lucknow'. He died peacefully in 1901. Many others were killed in battle. Percy Finlay, a lance corporal in the Royal Highlanders, Black Watch, was killed in 1884 at the 'Battle of Tamasi in the Soudan while trying to rescue one of his officers'. The inscription concludes poetically:

*'Not once or twice in our fair Island story
The path of duty was the way to glory.'*

Two soldiers who died in the Boer War are remembered at Knockbreda: Raymond Herbert Girdwood, who 'died of wounds at Mafeking' in 1900, and Frederick Raymond Coates, a captain in the 5th Fusiliers who was 'killed in action near Klersdorp, South Africa' in 1902. Several of the fallen from the Great War are also commemorated. Captain Francis Lee of the Royal Army Medical Corps was mortally wounded on 1 July 1916 and interred at St Sevres Cemetery, Rouen. Mathew Weir 'was lost serving his country with HMT Min[n]eapolis' in 1916. From the Second World War, there is a memorial to Norman Hewitt, killed in action in North Africa in 1943 aged 26¹⁴.

Several policemen are recorded on memorials in Knockbreda. Thomas Jordan, a constable in the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC), erected a headstone to his wife Mary, who died in 1874, and two of their children who died in infancy. William Jacques, a district inspector in the RIC, died in 1899 aged 69.

¹⁴ The website of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (www.cwgc.org) provides further information on all those who died in the First and Second World Wars.



Various memorials, Knockbreda.

REBELS

The churchyard at Knockbreda contains a number of memorials associated with the United Irishmen¹⁵ and the 1798 Rebellion. Samuel Neilson, one of the founders of the United Irishmen and the editor of the Northern Star newspaper, erected a memorial in Knockbreda over the remains of his son Alexander, who died in infancy, and two stillborn daughters. For his radical associations, Neilson was imprisoned in September 1796 and, after a short period of freedom, again in May 1798. His wife Anne was buried in Knockbreda and is described on the family gravestone as an ‘ornament to her sex, who fulfilled in the most exemplary manner & under the severest trials the duties of a daughter, wife and mother’. Samuel Neilson died in 1803 in exile in Poughkeepsie, New York, having travelled there following his release from prison the previous year.

A flat slab commemorates Rev. Robert Acheson, who died in 1824 in his 61st year. He was the son of James Acheson of Clough, Co. Antrim, and after studying in Edinburgh, he was ordained minister in Glenarm Presbyterian Church in 1792. He earned extra income by teaching in Cairncastle for a time. Acheson was accused of being involved in the 1798 rebellion, but was acquitted. The following year he resigned from Glenarm and was installed in Donegall Street Presbyterian Church in Belfast. His gravestone at Knockbreda was placed by the members of the Donegall Street congregation ‘as a tribute of love to his character & respect to his memory’.

Among those on the government side during the rebellion was Cortland Macgregor Skinner, Esq. His memorial records that he ‘commanded the celebrated troop of Belfast cavalry whose activities during the events of 1798 was so serviceable to the country’. The inscription continues: ‘Truly benevolent, he lived respected by all and in him the poor and afflicted ever found a friend, for charity marked his walk through life’. He died in 1842 in his 76th year.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF DEATH

A number of the inscriptions at Knockbreda provide details about the cause of death, or the circumstances in which death took place. One of the more unusual is

¹⁵ The Society of United Irishmen was formed in Belfast in 1791 as a liberal political organisation, but evolved into a revolutionary republican group and by 1794 had been outlawed.

*'We cannot tell who next may fall
Beneath thy chastening rod...'*

that of Alexander Corry, whose wife Jane erected a memorial recording the fact that he was 'accidentally strangled by his neck handkerchief being caught whilst turning at a lathe in his own works, Belfast 2nd December 1859 aged 25 years'. It concludes with a salutary reminder of the uncertainty of life:

*'We cannot tell who next may fall
Beneath thy chastening rod...'*

Another memorial records the demise of Robert Henry McDowell, who 'met with his death by an attack on the bank in Belfast' on 11th September 1880. The headstone was erected by Purdysburn Flute Band, with no more precise details of the location or the nature of the attack.

Several memorials record a death by drowning. For example, Andrew Gilmore of Pakenham Place, Belfast, drowned 'while boating in Bangor Bay' in 1865 aged 37. 'Lost at sea' appears on the memorials to Captain James McIlroy, who died in 1803, and William Morris, who drowned off Cape Horn in 1884 aged 19. Many memorials record people who died overseas, but who were remembered by their families back home. Some had emigrated, while others may have been travelling or convalescing in warmer climes. A memorial to the Aberdeen family records that George Aberdeen died in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1838 aged 28; James Lewis Folingsby died in Jamaica in October 1841; John Lanyon, eldest son of Sir Charles Lanyon, died and was buried at Orotava, Tenerife, in 1900 aged 60, and Clementina M. de Forrester erected a headstone to her husband Matthew Forrester, who died in Buenos Aires in 1884 aged 55.

One of the more striking features of the inscriptions is the way in which they indicate the high level of infant mortality in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. One example, a gravestone to Rose, wife of Major James Rowan, records that she died in 1829 in her 23rd year 'after giving birth to an infant who did not survive his mother but is interred with her'.

This is only a brief survey of some of the families and personalities commemorated on gravestones in Knockbreda. Like so many burial grounds Knockbreda, through its array of mausolea, headstones, flat ledgers and cast iron tablets, is a rich resource for studying the past and exploring the social and intellectual worlds of our ancestors. With this in mind, it deserves to be treasured.

Beneath this stone
are the remains of
ROSE the wife of major JAMES ROWLAND
and Daughter of
GEORGE RUSTOW Esq^r
and ELEANOR his wife
She died in the 23rd year of her age
on the 29th of December 1828
after giving birth to an Infant
who did not survive his Mother
but is Interred with her

THE KNOCKBREDA
MAUSOLEA

Professor James Stephens Curl



*Fig 1: Knockbreda Parish Church of 1735,
by Richard Cassels, photographed in 1980
(JSC).*

© James Stevens Curl 12 July 2005.

This article is reproduced by kind permission of the Mausolea and Monuments Trust, from MMT News, Newsletter No.14, Spring 2006, and was written when all three mausolea were still at risk.

Most mausolea in Ireland are found in graveyards (as opposed to cemeteries) (Craig, 1975): they are relatively common, and may be counted among the most favoured types of architecture in that country, not confined to either caste or sect (although some of the most handsome exemplars were erected to contain the remains of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy) (Curl, 1978). They are often discovered among what James Joyce (1882-1941) called the ‘moongrey nettles’, the ‘black mould’, and the ‘muttering rain’ of the Irish graveyard, overgrown, crumbling, and redolent of terminal decay and ineffable melancholy (Craig and Craig, 1999, p48).

An astonishing array of funerary monuments may be found in the Parish Churchyard of Knockbreda, once out in the County Down countryside, but now within suburban Belfast. Four large examples were erected in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, all square on plan, with elegant Adamesque arrangements of Classical columns, pilasters, and entablatures (Curl, 1978a). Above the crowning cornices are inventive superstructures of domes, steeply-pitched pyramids, and urns. These mausolea comprise the oddest and finest of all buildings in the genre in Ulster, and cannot be surpassed architecturally as a group, although one has already been demolished, and the remaining three are in a parlous condition, with weeds and trees growing out of the tops, pilasters and lumps of stone being displaced, and the fanciful upper works suffering rapid disintegration. Urgent action is imperative if these splendid memorials are not to prove ephemeral.

These fine tombs stand in a churchyard, that of the Parish of Knockbreda in the Townland of Breda at Newtownbreda. The Church itself, assured in its detail and massing, and with a fine Gibbs Surround doorcase (figure 1), was designed by



Fig 2: *The Greg Mausoleum in 1978*
(JSC).



Fig 3: *The Waddell-Cunningham-Douglas tomb (right) and Greg Mausoleum (left), photographed in the 1980s (JSC). The Waddell-Cunningham tomb is much deteriorated; the Greg Mausoleum has been conserved by The Follies Trust.*

Richard Cassels (c.1690-1751)¹⁶, erected in 1737, and paid for by Anne, Dowager Viscountess Midleton (died 1747) (Curl, 1980, p8 and Walker, 2000, p53). The site was presented by Lady Midleton's son by her first marriage, Arthur, Viscount Dungannon (Carmody, 1929, pp13-15). As with the Parish graveyard of Drumbeg, Co. Down, many members of the Georgian landed gentry and merchants of the Belfast area chose to be buried there. The Knockbreda tombs commemorate Thomas Greg of Belfast (died 1796) and members of his family; John Rainey of Greenville (died 1782) and his family¹⁷; and Waddell Cunningham (whose 'integrity as a merchant, generosity as a patron, and whose steadiness and hospitality as a friend will long be the objects of the most respectful and grateful remembrance') (died 1797) and his family, including that of Waddell Cunningham Douglas of the 17th Lancers (died 1904) (Clarke, 1968, pp48-101).

Let us take the Greg tomb first. Essentially square on plan, its corners are pulled out at 45 degrees and emphasised by full-height paired Roman unfluted Doric columns carrying the elegant entablature, the frieze of which is embellished with garlands of husks (or bellflowers) and horizontally elongated paterae. Above, fluted urns (most of which have fallen off since the photograph was taken in 1978) decorate all four corners and the top of the composition (figure 2). Materials are finely cut sandstone and Compo (a type of Roman Cement or Stucco).

The Waddell-Cunningham-Douglas tomb has a brick core, covered with sandstone and Compo, and is in a truly dreadful state. Crowned by pretty urns and very tall spiky pyramids (similar to the simplified unadorned Gothick pinnacles found on Georgian Gothick Anglican Churches in Ireland), it is still recognisable as a fine composition, but needs urgent and informed repair. Figure 3 shows the Waddell-Cunningham-Douglas tomb in the foreground, with the Greg Mausoleum to the left.

¹⁶ Or Cassel *or* Castle, a native of Hesse-Cassel, who established a successful architectural practice in Ireland, inheriting that of Sir Edward Lovett Pearce (c.1699-1733—arguably Ireland's greatest architect), a relative of Sir John Vanbrugh (1664-1726).

¹⁷ Illustrated in Curl (2002), p.172.



Figs 4a and 4b: Two views in South Park Street Cemetery, Calcutta, showing the streets of handsome tombs. Photographed by the late Mr K. T Groves at the request of the author in the 1970s (Collection JSC).



Now what prompted these remarkable monuments? It should be remembered that Belfast was and is a port, and that many families provided merchants and soldiers who served British interests all over the world, not least in India. It was in India, too, that Europeans were able to erect large mausolea from early days (note the tombs at Surat, for example), and even the South Park Street Cemetery, Calcutta (laid out from the 1760s) had whole streets of elaborate tombs (figures 4a and b). Those returning from India could hardly help comparing the possibilities for commemoration in India with those at home, and it seems clear that Vanbrugh (who had lived in India for a time) proposed cemeteries in the early eighteenth century for London, quoting the example of Surat as the model to be followed (Curl, 2004, pp28-32¹⁸). South Park Street Cemetery in Calcutta had numerous mausolea finished in Compo, clearly based on competent designs, and a careful examination of these demonstrates that the Knockbreda tombs have so many points of similarity that this cannot be accidental (Curl, 2002, pp136-145). Another source, obviously, is published designs. If one looks at the designs for tombs by Sir William Chambers (1723-96) published in his *Treatise on Civil Architecture* (1759), the key to the Knockbreda mausolea may become clearer, although Chambers's designs are very sophisticated (figures 5a and b), and the Knockbreda exemplars are somewhat attenuated and less robust. The essentials of the South Park Street and Knockbreda



Figs 5a and 5b: Two designs for mausolea by Sir William Chambers from his A Treatise on Civil Architecture (1759) (Collection JSC).

¹⁸ See, for example, Bodl. MS Rawl. B. 376, ff.351-2, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. See also James Stevens Curl (Ed.) (2001), pp2-3.



Fig 6: Waddell-Cunningham-Douglas tomb in the early 1980s. Since then the deterioration has progressed (JSC).

tombs are all there, however, and although it would be tempting to attribute the Knockbreda monuments to a local architect such as Roger Mulholland (1740-1818), the documentary evidence simply has not been discovered: nevertheless, Mulholland must remain a possibility as their designer, as he was well-connected, and Belfast was a small place in the 1790s. What seems most likely is a combination of published source (e.g. Chambers), memories of Calcutta (we know that Greg was a ship-owner too), and local man designing from perhaps several published sources (though Chambers is a strong presence in the finished work).

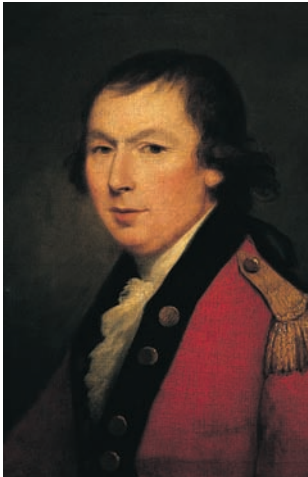
These Knockbreda mausolea are sumptuous, yet refined; ostentatious, yet delicate; and all are in great danger (figure 6). They were threatened with complete destruction in 1986, and early in 1987 they were listed, but not before one was destroyed¹⁹ (Brett, 2002, pp276-7). The problem is that such buildings are simply not appreciated, and the level of visual education in Ireland is not high. Rather than bother with repair, flattening will usually be preferred. The loss of much fine eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century ironwork from the graveyard is to be deplored: this was also clearly prompted for reasons of tidiness, but Death is not a tidy thing.

JSC or Collection JSC mean that the illustration is © James Stevens Curl.

¹⁹ Illustrated in Curl (1978), p5.

MERCHANTS &
GENTLEMEN:
THE LIVES OF THOMAS GREG,
WADDELL CUNNINGHAM
& WILLIAM RAINEY

Dr Nini Rodgers



Waddell Cunningham.

Thomas Greg's father John was a blacksmith who moved from Scotland to Belfast to forge a successful second career as a butcher and provision merchant. Customs regulations laid down in Westminster decreed that Irish provisions should not enter England, but cross the Atlantic to British islands in the Caribbean. John Greg and other Belfast traders circumvented this obstacle by salting beef to survive high temperatures, packing it in barrels and exporting it to feed planters and slaves. Other goods derived from cattle, including candles and soap, were also part of the cargo.

In the 1740s, Thomas Greg, John's son, set up shop in North Street, Belfast, where he sold a wide range of goods including French wine, London porter, Spanish fruit, coal, brimstone, writing paper, hops, prunes and blue powder for bleachers. He saved to buy a small ship, *The Greg*, which he despatched to the West Indies with provisions. In search of a cargo which he could bring directly back to Belfast (sugar and tobacco had to be landed at British ports), the Belfast-based Greg had his crew purchase flax seed in New York. There Greg acquired a merchant partner, an emigrant from County Antrim called Waddell Cunningham. Cunningham was the youngest of five sons of a middle-class family who had arrived in Ulster as planters in the seventeenth century, settling in Ballymacilhoyle, an area now adjacent to the International Airport. Both men, from either side of the Atlantic, now invested in their joint business and supervised shipping activity at their respective ports.

Flax seed paid well enough, but it was the West Indies campaign of the Seven Years' War between Britain and France (1759-1763) which made the fortunes of both Greg and Cunningham. During the war, they successfully applied to the Crown for the right to become privateers, arming their merchant ships to attack enemy boats and



Thomas Greg and family.

take valuable slave-grown produce including sugar, coffee, tobacco and cotton. War raised the price of Irish provisions, and the captains of Greg and Cunningham's ships sold cargoes at record prices to British planters, as well as smuggled cargoes to the French islands, where inferior salt beef was a staple of the slave diet. When the war ended Greg and Cunningham became planters themselves, with the help of Thomas's brother John, the auctioneer of lands on islands taken from the French in 1763. With John acting as agent, Greg and Cunningham set up the sugar plantation of 'Belfast', on the island of Dominica, where John also established two plantations. All three estates were worked by slaves purchased by John Greg from British slave ships (Truxes, 2001).

While trading in New York, Cunningham's activities had made him enemies, and shortly after the end of the war he returned to Ireland. Greg and Cunningham subsequently emerged as Belfast's richest merchants, using their new wealth to improve the town's commercial infrastructure. They funded the Lagan navigation scheme, allowing ships to sail from Belfast to Lisburn. They also started a vitriol manufactory in Lisburn to provide an agent other than buttermilk for bleaching linen, an innovation which lost money. Greg built new docks and quays in Belfast, and in the 1780s Cunningham, as head of the Ballast Board (later the Belfast Harbour Commissioners), oversaw the deepening of the town's harbour. Both men supported the construction of the White Linen Hall, which rerouted the linen



Post-1800 stoneware attributed to Downshire Pottery, Greg's operation by the Lagan.



Delftware sundial tile, 1765. The only piece attributed to Greg's original pottery.

trade of County Armagh, the Lagan Valley and County Down through Belfast rather than Dublin. They also invested in glass manufacture in Belfast, a sound investment for an expanding eighteenth-century town requiring window panes, bottles and wine glasses. Greg, stimulated by Josiah Wedgwood's example, started his own pottery on the east bank of the Lagan. He also acquired the mineral rights to three northern counties including Antrim, where he determinedly and fruitlessly searched for coal.

Cunningham and Greg played a key role in transforming Belfast from a market town at the mouth of a sandy river into an efficient port and a potential industrial centre, but it was not done without ruction. In the 1770s both men acquired land on long leases from Lord Donegall, Belfast's principal landowner, and began to raise rents, a move which caused angry tenants to burn Cunningham's property in Hercules Lane and fire a shot into Greg's house.

In the nineteenth century, when Belfast became Ireland's only industrial city, it often drew strength from partnerships of local businessmen and non-Irish entrepreneurs. The most famous of these were Harland and Wolff (shipbuilding) and Richardson and Owden (linen). Though Thomas Greg and Waddell Cunningham were both born in Ireland, to some extent their partnership adhered to this pattern. Cunningham was the local businessman, from (as was typical) an agricultural background, who displayed impressive entrepreneurial ability in New York and at home, while Thomas Greg was the son of an outsider, a man who was not typical of the mercantile community into which he busily worked his way.

The Rainey, like the Cunninghams, originally settled in Ulster as planters in the early seventeenth century. They prospered, diversifying into linen and provisions. By the mid-eighteenth century the Raineys had established themselves in Greenville House on the edge of Belfast, and had a number of military members in the family – a sign of upward mobility. The first Rainey of Greenville was a contemporary of Thomas Greg; his son William Rainey, c.1740-1803, was near in age to Greg's eldest children.

William Rainey enjoyed family life, greatly extending Greenville House to hold his expanding family and entertain his siblings, in-laws and cousins. His first wife,



Typical eighteenth century ship.

who bore him at least seven children, died in 1790. He remarried quickly – a twice-widowed lady whose flirtatious behaviour he had previously condemned – and had a second family. William Rainey's life was much more leisurely than that lived by Thomas Greg and Waddell Cunningham, but the families were well known to one another. They were all Presbyterians, actively seeking marriage and business partners from within their own denomination. Catholics, perhaps one in ten in Belfast's eighteenth-century population, were encountered as employees. Belfast did have Church of Ireland merchants whom the Presbyterians met as social equals, but their greatest concern lay with the local aristocracy, whom at times they courted and at others denounced. Thomas Greg was more successful at co-operation and flattery in this respect than Cunningham.

By earlier and later Presbyterian standards, the Gregs, Cunninghams and Rainey were easy-going in belief and religious practice, attending balls, drinking wine, playing cards, reading novels and going to the theatre. William Rainey (whose first wife was a Presbyterian minister's daughter) apparently never attended a place of worship and was known as an unbeliever. All three families visited one another, took afternoon tea, gave dinner parties, attended Volunteer²⁰ conventions and reviews, and joined societies.

They also quarrelled bitterly over political matters. In the 1790s, for example, the families were divided over whether or not to support the United Irishmen's call for an independent republic. A decade earlier, Cunningham had had a radical phase, complaining about Lord Donegall's political control, calling for a union of all Irish people and inviting Catholics to join the Volunteers. Later he grew nervous of too swift a move towards Catholic emancipation, uncertain where all the change would lead. (If Catholics got the vote then even more unsuitable groups, including paupers and women, might come to expect it.) Thomas Greg was wary of politics but his children were not. Jenny Greg, his most intellectual daughter, was one of several Belfast women suspected of being a member of the United Irishmen, an organisation outlawed by 1794. In the 1790s Cunningham Greg, Thomas's youngest son (the baby in the cradle in the family portrait), was also believed to share his sister's views. However in 1797, having inherited his father's Belfast business, Cunningham

²⁰ The Volunteers were formed in 1778 to protect Ireland from invasion.



Quarry Bank Mill, Styal, Cheshire.

retreated from radical involvement and joined the Yeomanry, formed that year to suppress possible revolt. William Rainey, meanwhile, who was moderate when it came to eating, drinking and politics, was forced by fear of disorder into becoming politically active. At last accepting the public position expected of a man of his wealth and status, he was elected first lieutenant of the new Yeoman Cavalry Corps in 1797 and was later appointed Deputy Governor of Belfast.

Greg and Cunningham's hard work could have allowed their heirs to enjoy the kind of leisurely life lived by the Raineys. Cunningham did not have children; his heir was his favourite nephew James Douglas, his sister's son. However, Douglas was not a successful businessman, as his uncle had been. Thomas Greg's children, on the other hand, were hard-working and determinedly attached to mercantile life. Cunningham Greg inherited his father's Belfast concerns because his older brothers Thomas and Samuel left Ireland to make fortunes in England. Of the brothers, the most dramatically successful was Samuel, who established a cotton spinning mill at Quarry Bank in Styal, Cheshire, in 1784. When he retired in the 1830s, it was the largest such enterprise in the world. A hundred years later Alexander Carlton Greg gave the mill to the National Trust; it continued production until 1959 and is now open to the public.

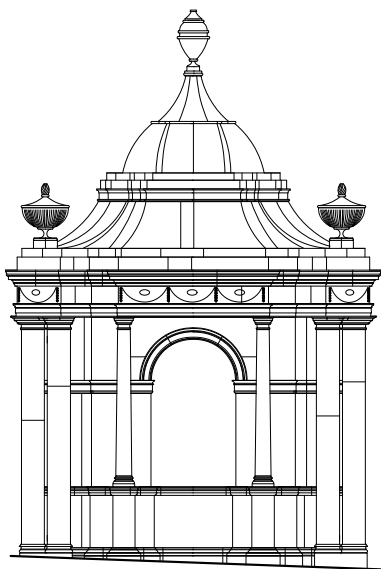
Today the mass production of cotton cloth is seen as the basis of the Industrial Revolution, which changed the face of the United Kingdom and all its inhabitants, for better and worse. Raw cotton grown in the slave plantations of north America and the Caribbean was an essential driver of industrial growth. In 1789 John Greg, Thomas Greg's brother, defended the slave trade in evidence given to a parliamentary committee in Westminster, citing his experience as a government agent and planter in the West Indies. The government did not ban slavery until 1833. In 1835 Thomas Greg junior, John Greg's heir, received £2830-15-9 in compensation for the loss of 100 slaves on the island of Dominica. In the early nineteenth century John Greg's nephew Samuel defended the use of unpaid child apprentices, again in evidence to a Westminster committee. As a result of this investigation parliament passed its first factory act, the Health and Morals of Apprentices Act of 1802.

In death at Knockbreda, as in life at Greenville, members of William Rainey's family are gathered around him. Buried in the mausoleum are his mother, father, sister, brother-in-law, first wife and ten of his children, some of whom did not outlive their father. The churchyard at Knockbreda reveals how often, in those days, children died before their parents. The most common cause was infectious diseases, now either eliminated by vaccination or cured by antibiotics. Rich families were no more immune to such losses than the poor. Waddell Cunningham Douglas, infant son of James Douglas (Waddell Cunningham's heir), may have been such a casualty: the name survived, however, passed on to a later-born sibling. Eighteenth century parents reacted anxiously to signs of illness, fevers, coughs, sore throats and disorders of the bowels. Fatal accidents among the young were also surprisingly common, partly because healthy children often led a casually unsupervised existence. For example, seven-year-old Boyd Rainey, William's son by his second wife, died at school in a shooting accident when two older boys, intending to hunt a cuckoo, stole a gun and hung the loaded weapon on the dormitory wall.

The Gregs, Cunninghams and Raineys described above lived through exciting and disturbing political times. While it is easy – and tempting – to judge these entrepreneurial families by today's moral standards, there is no doubt that their mercantile activity and influence was profound, and reached far beyond their home town of Belfast.

THE CONSERVATION
OF THE KNOCKBREDA
MAUSOLEA -
THE CONSULTANT'S VIEW

Chris McCollum



Elevation drawing, Greg Mausoleum.

In mid 2007 McCollum Building Surveying successfully tendered for a commission to act as professional consultant to The Follies Trust in the conservation of the Greg and Rainey Mausolea at Knockbreda. By mid 2008 work began in earnest to assess the condition of both structures. The team was fortunate to be able to draw on preliminary survey work undertaken by the Trust, and on the immense building conservation knowledge of trustee Dick Oram M.B.E. His experience framed the debate on how best to conserve the structures, and his critical analysis focused the team at each stage.

Drawings, details, schedules and specifications were complete by late summer and a contractor appointed shortly after. Work began on site in the autumn and finished in the spring of 2009.

THE MAUSOLEA

The Greg (1796) and Rainey (1771) mausolea are both square on plan, set on raised pedestals and with classical detailing to all faces. Both are topped with carved canopies below a central urn. Structurally, they are relatively uncomplicated objects consisting of a brick core, clad externally with ashlar and carved sandstone. Remains were known to be contained within a brick vault at the base of the Greg mausoleum, and assumed to be underground around the Rainey mausoleum.



Pre-restoration vegetation and damage.

MAIN THREATS AND ASSESSMENT OF DAMAGE

Under a separate contract, very heavy vegetation on the surfaces of both mausolea was removed to facilitate a meaningful inspection. Access equipment provided by the contractor was used to inspect the high level stonework. After removing the vegetation, a full structural and condition inspection of each element of the mausolea was undertaken – on a stone-by-stone basis – to record the condition of the monuments, assess the damage and find the causes of deterioration. In parallel, a detailed, 3D-point ‘cloud’ survey was commissioned to record the architectural detail. Some selective opening of the structure was undertaken to allow the condition of critical elements of classical design, such as the cornice, to be determined.

Direct observation confirmed that the primary mechanism of decay to both mausolea was persistent rainwater penetration, facilitated by heavy and progressive vegetation which had taken deep root within the structures. Symptoms of decay were loose, cracked and broken stone, large open joints between stones, eroded lime pointing and displacement of stone from original positions. Soil had washed into open joints in the stone and, where exposed, had started to erode the brick inner core. Soluble salts had also aided decay of the stone detailing. Original wrought iron cramps – used to construct the mausolea – were corroded to the cornice and blocking courses of the entablature (wrought iron is particularly prone to dramatic expansion as part of the rusting process). This, in conjunction with expansion and contraction caused by the weather, had blown the original sodden sandstone faces over time. The deep roots to some of the semi-mature trees growing on the mausolea canopies had caused isolated structural damage, particularly to the Greg mausoleum.

A secondary source of damage was the use of Portland cement for repairs in the recent past. This damage was restricted to individual stones, and it is fair to say that without these well-meaning repairs, the overall structures would have been in a much poorer condition. Some Roman cement repairs were also identified, and these remained in reasonably good condition.



*Work in progress, Rainey and
Greg Mausolea, 2008.*

CONSERVATION PHILOSOPHY

In line with current good practice, the significance of the mausolea was identified and a conservation philosophy drawn up to direct how the project of repair and conservation might proceed. The significance of both mausolea is recognised by the fact that they are listed grade B+. They are important by virtue of their group value, individual architectural composition, historic interest, commemorative and associative significance. Such significant structures require careful application of recognised national and international conservation charters. The aim – constantly in balance – was to do enough to safeguard the monuments, while appearing to do little. The risk of doing too much, and losing some of the patina of age, was constantly monitored.

The conservation philosophy was drawn up with The Follies Trust, and drew heavily on the founding manifesto of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (1877), the Venice Charter (1966)²¹ and the Burra Charter (1999)²². Our approach required that effective and honest repairs be the first consideration, and that we should do no more than prudence demanded. In conserving the monuments, we sought to preserve the integrity of the structures while resisting any tampering with sound fabric or ornamentation. Any intervention would be done using a cautious but common sense approach which aimed to protect, not restore, the structures. A combination of traditional and proven modern conservation techniques would be employed. The work would seek to eliminate the primary cause of the breakdown of fabric and to stabilise disturbed masonry. The natural process of change and long term general decay would not be interfered with.

In practice, the majority of the works would therefore be restricted to high level repairs, with attention also for loose sections of stone elsewhere. Existing plastic repairs, natural decay of sections of moulded stone and impact damage to ornamentation would remain untouched unless they posed a real and long-term threat to the integrity of the monuments.

²¹ International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS).

²² Australia ICOMOS (Updated version of Burra Charter dates from 1999).



*Stone cornice during work,
Greg Mausoleum.*



Work in progress, Rainey Mausoleum.

PROCUREMENT METHOD, CONTRACTS AND CONTRACTOR SELECTION

A contract which aims to retain rather than improve a structure is essentially different from a standard construction contract, and a different approach is required when considering procurement, documentation and contractor selection.

A dayworks contract was used for the initial, labour-intensive work to remove the vegetation. Daily monitoring allowed us to direct the work, and provided the necessary financial control. The contractor employed was familiar to the design team, as was his reputation for delicate attention to detail.

The need to appoint a main contractor with sufficient conservation and management skills was recognised as vital to the success of the project. The method adopted was to draw up a list of likely contractors based on the experience of the Follies Trust and the design team, and to invite these firms to complete a pre-qualification questionnaire. This was designed to test the economic standing, technical capability and conservation experience of each company. Based on an assessment using pre-determined criteria, the list was reduced to four suitable contractors. These firms were then asked to submit a tender on the basis of the contract documentation. The lowest tenderer was then chosen and subsequently appointed. The entire process allowed the design team to match the skills of potential contractors with those specifically needed for the commission.

The main contract was let on a lump sum with bill of quantities – that is, on the basis of a fixed cost determined by competitive tender before work begins – which provided the greatest degree of financial control. A comprehensive contract document listed all the activities to be performed, and the methods to be used. Particular preliminary clauses dealt with how the contractor should respect the sensitive graveyard location of the site. Contract documentation was exacting and detailed. Precise mould profiles were lifted from the monuments and added to large scale elevation and detail drawings. Each stone was numbered, its dimensions and location recorded and the exact repair to be undertaken scheduled. A detailed specification was prepared, providing a full description of the workmanship and materials needed. This information was then co-ordinated with the drawings and



Face and brick core, Rainey Mausoleum.



Propping of urn, Rainey mausoleum.

repair schedules. Finally, a full bill of quantities was prepared, reflecting information contained in the drawings, schedules and specifications. This approach provided the greatest degree of control.

REPAIR MATERIAL AND TECHNIQUES

The traditional materials of repair were natural stone, lime and brick. Modern materials were restricted to stainless steel (ties, cramps and dowels), and a clear stone epoxy for small scale *in situ* repairs to non-structural cracks.

Plastic repairs to stone (using a coloured mortar) were not used, given the limited life of this type of repair. Likewise, small-scale stone repair of purely decorative broken moulds were not considered absolutely necessary, and were therefore not specified. Existing cement repairs, while undesirable, were left untouched if they were performing satisfactorily and if their removal was likely to cause more loss of original fabric.

Analysis identified the original stone used in the monuments as a local Bally Alton sandstone, quarried near Newtownards. While this stone is no longer available commercially, a few small blocks were sourced with the help of the Northern Ireland Environment Agency. However, these blocks alone were unable to make good all the broken, cracked or missing stone, and a commercially-available alternative stone – of similar chemical make-up, texture and colour to the original – was sourced. It was decided to use the Bally Alton for the elevations, and reserve the new stone for the canopies, which were less visible from ground level.

A lime-based mortar was specified, using hydraulic lime (NHL 3.5 and 2) for the bedding and re-pointing of canopy stones and drips, and a non-hydraulic lime putty and mortar for repairs to the ashlar of the elevations. The ability of hydraulic lime with aggregate to set quickly and weather well made it a good choice for exposed stonework repairs. On sheltered stone, more traditional, non-hydraulic lime putty or mortar was employed. The aggregate was chosen to match the blue colour and texture of the original aggregate. One exception was the heavily-weathered cornice and blocking courses of the Greg mausoleum, where original stones were fractured and delaminating to such an extent that renewal was likely. This loss of original



Brick vault, Greg Mausoleum.

fabric was considered unacceptable, and so a compromise was reached: all original stones would be re-used in their original locations, but with lead over-flashings to limit further damage.

Where the brick core was exposed, the original brick could be inspected. Following research, a brick manufacturer was found who could provide a special order of bricks of a similar colour, texture and – critically – size.

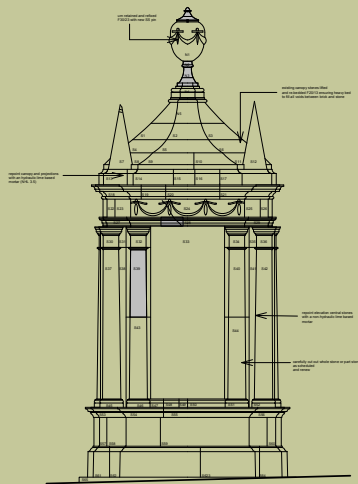
The method of fixing stone and brick followed techniques little changed since the late eighteenth century. To avoid the problems of corrosion and expansion of metal, original wrought iron cramps were replaced using stainless steel. Where cracking to stones had occurred but the stone was either non-structural or its removal for repair or replacement would have caused unacceptable secondary damage, a stone epoxy was employed. The use of epoxy was a last resort, and limited to a few stones.

MONITORING

A rigorous programme of site inspections, recording and reporting, testing and site meetings ensured the work was in accordance with The Follies Trust's requirements. Site visits were weekly and tailored to specific tasks, with staged approvals needed before further work could proceed. For example, all stone removal and raking out of joints had to be approved before any pointing or stone indenting could begin, and moulded stone was checked against original profiles before it could be used.

Brick and stone re-pointing was undertaken using traditional pointing irons; to minimise shrinking cracks, joints were deep-packed and re-pointed again. Pointing was finished flush with the stone arris and brushed to expose the aggregate in the mix. As it proved possible to dry and re-use all the original brick, no new brick was required. Full scaffolding inspections also meant fewer stone renewals than initially thought.

The single biggest surprise of the job occurred shortly after work started on the Greg mausoleum, when the contractor discovered that the core was hollow at high level, despite an electronic scan of the monument having indicated it was solid. The canopy stones rested on a half-brick vault, with a hidden chamber below



South

Detailed drawing, Rainey Mausoleum.

and the burial chamber below that. Removing a half-brick revealed the chamber, complete with rotten timbers (presumably used to support the vault while it was constructed). Further investigation of the vault base revealed that the vault was in reasonable condition, only requiring some support at its base to control outward thrust. A stainless steel band was inserted behind the blocking course and work continued as planned.

INTERVENTION RECORD

All interventions were documented during the conservation work; marked-up drawings provide a permanent record of what was done. The record includes photographs; updated elevations; sections through the structures; detail drawings, and revised specification and repair schedules.

McCollum Building Surveying favours a multi-discipline approach to building conservation. This approach was carried through at all levels and throughout the design, specification and on-site work. The work was regulated by a clear conservation philosophy, backed up by detailed design and executed by a contractor committed to the task of minimum intervention.

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