

1 – *The Dromoland Album: plan and elevation of Leamaneh Castle*  
(NLI, MS 2791, p.27; courtesy Irish Architectural Archive)

# Leamaneh and Dromoland: the O'Brien ambition, part I

## ‘Improvements ... not so Inconsiderable’: the O'Briens' baroque landscape at Leamaneh Castle, county Clare

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FINOLA O'KANE

LEAMANEH CASTLE IS A FORTIFIED TOWER-HOUSE WITH AN ATTACHED MID-seventeenth-century dwelling house (Plate 2). It was the primary seat of the Leamaneh O'Briens in the seventeenth century, and became their secondary seat in the early part of the eighteenth century when the Dromoland Castle leases reverted to the family. Sir Donat O'Brien (c.1645-1717) survived the late-seventeenth-century upheavals in Ireland without declaring himself either Williamite or Jacobite.<sup>1</sup> Sitting capably on the fence, he joined his family's notable Gaelic ancestry with the new oligarchy in 1701 by marrying his son and heir Lucius to Catherine, daughter of Thomas Keightley, granddaughter of the 1st Earl of Clarendon, and a first cousin to queens Mary and Anne.

Sir Donat did not abandon Leamaneh once he had nominated Dromoland, county Clare, as his principal residence. Like many other country gentlemen in possession of multiple seats, he continued to visit, care for and alter them. His interventions at Dromoland were probably constrained by his leasing the property to a relative until her death in 1702.<sup>2</sup> A sub-lease made by the same lady in 1681 required the 'lessee to substantially repair and amend the castle of Dromoland with all other buildings on the premises'.<sup>3</sup> Sir Donat's preferred residence until 1702 was Leamaneh Castle, and the family letters reveal that he also spent long periods at Leamaneh after that date. In 1713 Patrick Hennessy was paid 'for worke done by him July last about his Honnrs Bedd at Leamaneh'.<sup>4</sup> His grandson and daughter-in-



2 – *Leamaneh Castle today*  
 (photos by the author unless otherwise stated)

law also visited and stayed at Leamaneh after his death in 1717.<sup>5</sup>

Sir Donat had a fraught relationship with his son and heir. Lucius O'Brien was continually in fear of the debtors' prison, and received little sympathy from his father, coldly resigned to such an eventuality. Catherine O'Brien and Thomas Keightley acted as go-betweens for father and son. In 1706, the beleaguered father-in-law, Keightley, wrote to Sir Donat that Lucius 'would both willingly & thankfully transfer all his present Estate into yr [Sir Donat's] hands & live cheerfully at Lemineay if once out of debt'.<sup>6</sup> Sir Donat, however, had other plans. Lucius and Catherine should move into Dromoland with him, while he made an 'enlargement to it [Leamaneh]' so that 'it may be fit for use again next winter'. At Dromoland, Lady Catherine would be allowed to 'manage & governe as she does now'.<sup>7</sup> Some of the improvements at Leamaneh seem to have been intended to provide Catherine, in particular, with a retreat from the censure of curious onlookers:

From the unhappy circumstances of her husband, as well on the account of his seeming to be out of your favour, as of the scarcity to which they shall be reduced, (let them live where they will) does not need the addition of a second disappointment in your helping them to sit down at Lemineagh where the greatest part of her proposed satisfaction, above other Places, appears to me to arise, from the opportunity she may find there better than anywhere else to hide her head & her husbands misfortunes together from the Eye of the World.<sup>8</sup>

Thomas Keightley worried about the 'lamentable distance and misunderstanding growing ... upon every slight occasion more ... between ... a Father & Son'.<sup>9</sup> Donat O'Brien's 'estimated income in 1713 was £1,500'.<sup>10</sup> In 1707 Lucius's expenses were calculated by Thomas to be 'at the rule of sixteen hundred a year'.<sup>11</sup>

To Sir Donat's dismay, the young couple refused to live with him in Dromoland, and took up residence instead at Corofin. The 'walks and gardens' which Lucius laid out at Corofin 'for his amusement and diversion',<sup>12</sup> and without his father's approval, are partially described in the series of letters he wrote to his wife while seeking preferment in England from her relations in 1712. His improvements included an 'upper terrace cleared of rocks', which required that a 'foundation be laid'. Palisades were also 'set up',<sup>13</sup> presumably to enclose the gardens. A 'charge for a Gardener', a Mr Cowden, who was directed 'to finish the pleasure garden',<sup>14</sup> particularly irritated Sir Donat. Lucius also sent instructions for the ground to be 'well stirred about all the trees, great and small in the orchard'. He ordered that 'if any of the wall trees in the pleasure garden' had failed, 'the best of the same kind to be had in the country' were 'to supply their places'.<sup>15</sup> Sir Donat was incensed:

What can your husband expect by his stay any longer there [Corofin], to continue still the expence he has been at, besides ye maintenance of a large family at home and not only that but to continue still the expense of an unnecessary Improvement and charge for a Gardner and walkes at a place that will never make any suitable returns for it and where my posterity cannot be presumed to make itt ye place of their residence, nor that any Tenant it may be let to will pay for any part of ye expence it cost because Tenants pay for ye land they take and not for walkes and gardens

Sir Donat considered his son's improvements 'so expensive & unnecessary, unless it be intended that place [Corofin] shall demolish & destroy Leamaneh where I think I may say my Improvements are not so Inconsiderable'.<sup>16</sup>

In 1710 Thomas Keightley had advised Sir Donat to let his son go to England to seek advancement from his wife's relations. Sir Donat was 'not so averse to it',

but thought that Lucius would 'rather stay at home without an Employment than go abroad for it & be disappointed'.<sup>17</sup> The disappointing Lucius was eventually sent to England, where, in 1713, he 'had the misfortune to kill his companion and friend Col. Hickman'.<sup>18</sup> This involved him in a lengthy murder trial in the Old Bailey in London. Once acquitted, he proceeded from London to France, where, 'being a great lover of Architecture and Statuary, he amus'd himself about the Improvements and finery of Versailles'.<sup>19</sup>

The history of the O'Brien houses and landscapes in Clare has been confused by J. Ainsworth's misattribution of one letter in *The Inchin Manuscripts*, which he edited.<sup>20</sup> This letter, misattributed to a Mrs M. Forde writing to Catherine O'Brien, was in fact written by Thomas Keightley to Sir Donat O'Brien on 6 May 1714 from Dublin:

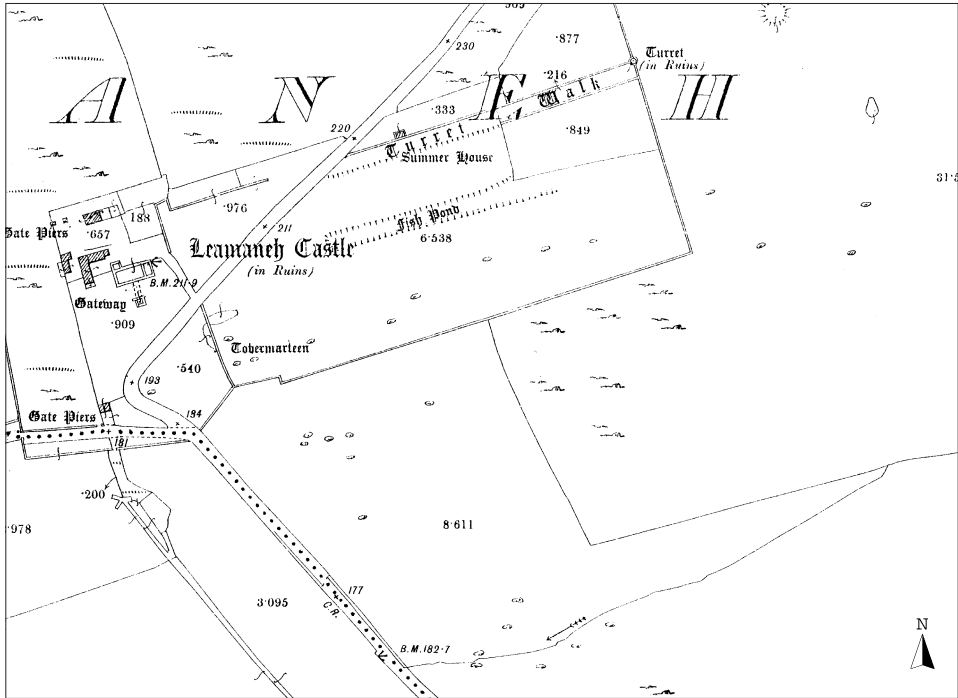
I ask leave at a venture whether you will let me ride by your new building at Dromoland, and just taking a short view of that, to overlook two Women and three Children, for one week, in your County.<sup>21</sup>

Sir Donat was in the process of building Dromoland, and his accounts record that on 20 May 1714, Dennis Flinn was paid 6s 5d in addition to '5s.5d in money & 3s2d in provisions by Halpenny to compleat 15s for 15 days worke as a Mason in the new building on the South Side the New House and Tower'.<sup>22</sup>

Ainsworth's misattribution led to the interpretation that the 'new building' was constructed by Lucius and Catherine while in residence at Dromoland. The early eighteenth-century design of Dromoland House has been erroneously credited to Lucius O'Brien, who predeceased his father in 1717, and never inherited or controlled the Dromoland estate.<sup>23</sup> What emerges from the Inchin papers is that the principal creators of the Dromoland house and landscape were Sir Donat O'Brien, his daughter-in-law Catherine O'Brien, and latterly Sir Edward O'Brien, 2nd Baronet, who married and inherited the estates at the age of twenty-one in 1726. Also apparent is that his mother, Catherine O'Brien, managed the estates during the period of his minority from 1717 to 1726.

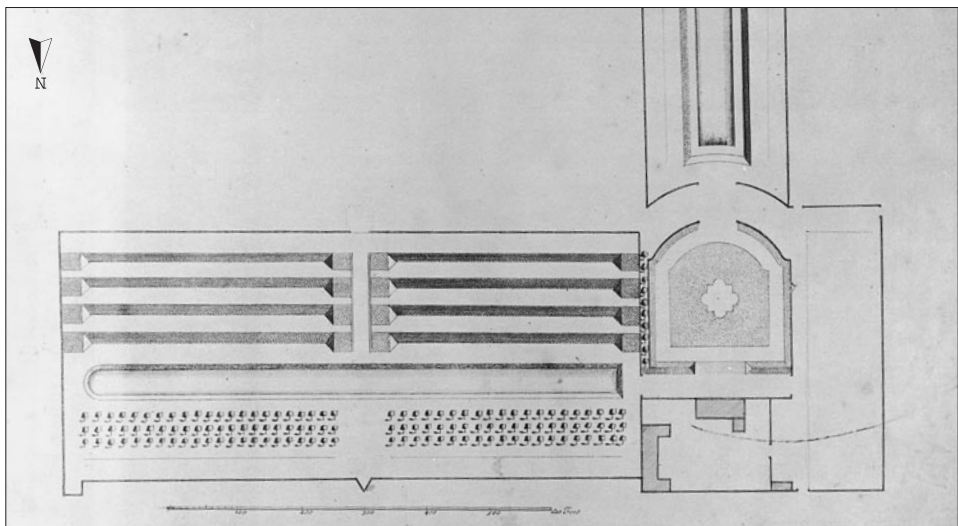
## THE LEAMANEH DRAWINGS IN THE DROMOLAND ALBUM

The Dromoland Album<sup>24</sup> of architectural drawings contains three untitled and undated drawings. These are considered to represent design proposals for Leamaneh Castle. Drawing No. 27 is considered to depict a plan and elevation of proposed alterations to Leamaneh Castle (Plate 1). The building described in the plan drawing measures 80 foot by 33 foot, with the square service block to the rear measuring 22



3 – Second edition Ordnance Survey map showing Leamaneh Castle and Gardens, county Clare (Sheet 16, surveyed 1894-95, published 1897, scale 1:2500; courtesy Board of Trustees of Trinity College Dublin)

4 – The Dromoland Album: garden plan for Leamaneh Castle (NLI, MS 2791, p.28; courtesy Irish Architectural Archive)



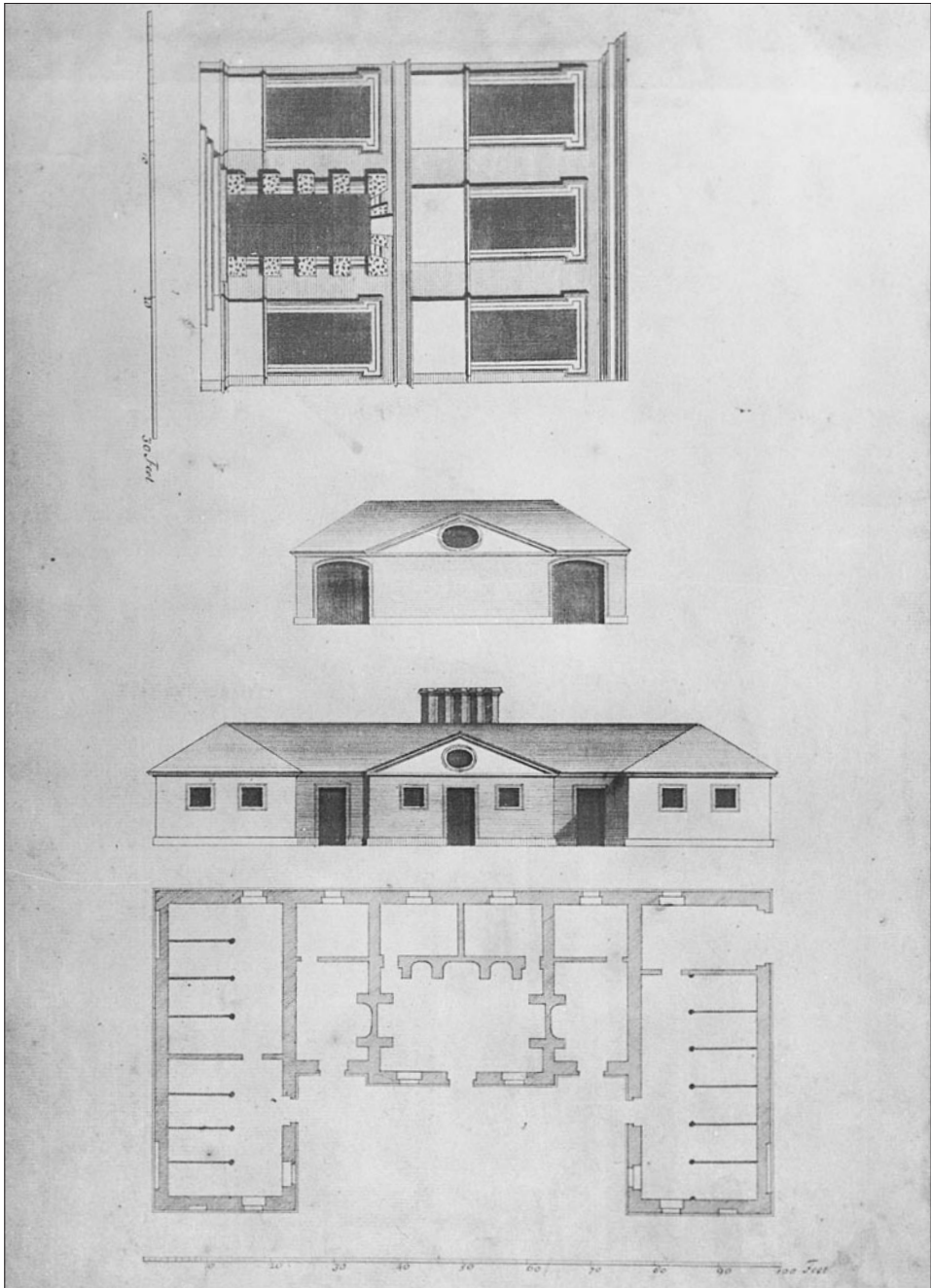


foot by  $14\frac{3}{4}$  foot. These closely approximate those of the castle footprint depicted on the second edition Ordnance Survey map, if reproductive and photocopying distortions are discounted (Plate 3). Drawing No. 28 depicts a garden design for Leamaneh (Plate 4). These two drawings were made by the same hand. Drawing No. 26 depicts a stable plan and elevation similar to that described in the footprint of the site plan, in a different hand (Plate 5). The orientation and aspect of Leamaneh Castle today matches that of the design drawings. The blind window of the façade's design (revealed in the plan drawing) reveals that it was intended for a tower-house (Plate 1). The drawings' location within the Dromoland Album suggests that it was a building owned and improved by the O'Brien family in the early eighteenth century. If the other family properties are successively discounted (Dromoland, Stone Hall, Corofin House), it appears highly unlikely that it could be anything else. The alterations and interventions that were made to the existing façade (Plate 2) appear to be consistent with those described by the drawing. There is some evidence that the windows were moved and that interventions were made to change the building's roof profile into something similar to that depicted in the elevation (Plate 1).

The garden drawing describes two great canal projects, one due south of the castle, beyond the enclosed forecourt, and another due east of the castle. The eastern canal could be appreciated from a generous flat terrace north of the canal, and from a stepped series of terraces on the southern incline (Plate 4). The dimensions, orientation and location of the building described in the plan drawing are approximately those of the castle footprint depicted on the second edition Ordnance Survey map, again allowing for reproductive and photocopying distortions (Plate 3). Their location within the Dromoland Album again suggests that they depict a building owned and improved by the O'Brien family in the early eighteenth century. The garden plan is very similar to that which exists on the ground at Leamaneh, with a canal depression located east of the house, and a long raised terrace walk, an end turret, a centrally placed garden pavilion and a forecourt to the south of the house (Plates 4, 6) .

The structure of the Leamaneh landscape was laid out in the seventeenth century, approximately at the same time as the construction of the house that adjoins the old tower-house. Massive coursed limestone walls delineate a series of courts, a substantial walled garden, walks, terraces, orchards and haggards, consistent with a substantial house of this period. The spatial organisation of the walls, courts and outbuildings probably developed from an earlier bawn enclosure, as is the case with the early eighteenth-century baroque garden of Breckdenston in north county Dublin. The turrets probably combined both ornamental and defensive functions (Plate 7).

The elevation proposal attempted to conceal the character of the tower-house



5 – *The Dromoland Album*: part-elevation of an anonymous building (top); side elevation, front elevation and plan of a possible stable building proposal for Leamaneh Castle (NLI, MS 2791, p.26; courtesy Irish Architectural Archive)





*6 –The existing garden remains at Leamaneh*

*Note terrace to left, canal depression at centre and some collapsed terraces or retaining walls on right-hand incline.*

by making the façade symmetrical (Plate 1). Classical detail was incorporated into the design of the door and window surrounds, and the proposed roof profile would have required considerable alterations to the building's fabric. The drawing also seems to answer queries regarding the location of Leamaneh's original staircase and fireplaces.

The seventeenth-century house and garden of Leamaneh were not particularly concerned with symmetry and axis. The early eighteenth-century garden plan announces the baroque in its axial and symmetrical emphasis, and in the increased scale of the design proposals (Plate 4). The early eighteenth-century canal typically



*top 7 –The east turret at the end of the terraced walk  
8 –The garden house (photograph: Jane Fenlon)*

replaced earlier fishponds, but it is unlikely that any fishponds were formally centred on the geometry of the house, in the manner of the later canals (Plate 3). It is also likely that considerable earth-moving took place in order to create the desired early eighteenth-century topography of terraces, steps and parallel walks. The pure geometry of the drawing, however, traditionally had to be altered on site.

The great terrace walk was ornamented centrally with a small brick and stone garden house (Plate 8). The canal's peaceful and geometrical reflection of clipped grass terraces could be enjoyed from the doorway of the small building. The two brick niches were probably inhabited by statues. In the 1720s, Lord Molesworth

peopled his north Dublin brick parterre walls at Breckdenston with statues housed in niches, and his son supposed that they would 'be fauns and satyrs', or 'pastoral figures of shepherds and shepherdesses'.<sup>25</sup> The drawing also suggests a planting plan. The north incline of the eastern canal is not as steep as its southern counterpart. The drawing proposed to plant this area with three parallel rows of trees, which would have been carefully pruned into a geometric profile. The long walls of the canal garden were scalloped, and probably covered with fruit trees in the early decades of the eighteenth century (Plate 9). Another line of pruned trees is carefully placed against the eastern wall of the forecourt. These probably carefully screened the eastern canal from the forecourt's perimeter carriage walk and central water or statuary feature (Plate 4). The curved forecourt wall to the roadside echoed its counterpart across the road. This design proposal was not carried out. The medieval gateway to Leamaneh Castle was still in situ in 1895, when the second Ordnance Survey was made (Plate 3). It now decorates a Lutyens-inspired garden within the nineteenth-century walled gardens of Dromoland (Plate 10).

The garden plan also depicts a proposal to make another, broader canal beyond the forecourt across the road to the south. This canal was also set off by a flat ribbon of cut grass around the water level and before the incline (Plate 4). The technical expertise required for such an effect was rare. Molesworth had tried to ensure such accuracy in 1714, when he directed that his canal should be 'entirely laid out & contrived & levelled' before work started, and 'some computation' made 'of all ye earth that is necessary to be moved & how to dispose of it'.<sup>26</sup> In the field across the road, a portion of semicircular stone retaining wall remains. It may be part of a grandiose water project, but it is located off-axis from the house itself, and therefore does not appear to follow the design depicted by the drawing. The drainage works instigated by the nineteenth-century soil surveys of the entire O'Brien estate may have also required impressive drainage channels. Lord Molesworth's difficulties laying out a canal in the technical climate of the time lead one to wonder if the Leamaneh canal was ever successful, particularly in the Burren limestone district.<sup>27</sup>

Substantial brickmaking was completed at Leamaneh in 1717, immediately before Sir Donat's death. Leonard Nash, brickmaker, was paid £8 3s 6d for his bricks at a rate of four shillings per thousand bricks. The only brick construction still remaining at Leamaneh is the small classical garden house at the centre of the terrace walk. Some of these bricks may have been used to construct it. Garden gates were made from the '12 lengths of iron delivered ... for Gates at Leamaneh'. A certain Turlogh Row was paid 10s 10d 'towards further payment for making 3 New Gates at Leamaneh', and 'Stonehewers' were paid £10.11s on 10 August 1717.<sup>28</sup> The elaborate and unidentified drawing for metal gates in the Dromoland Album

may depict the gates which were made at Leamaneh, but which no longer exist. In 1719 Leamaneh was re-roofed and substantial 'repairs' completed.<sup>29</sup> The work continued into 1723 and 1724 when Patrick Cullinane and Mich[ael] Loghlan were paid 4s 6d 'for their work when last Mrs. O'Brien & Sir Edward was at Leamanegh'.<sup>30</sup>

The stable proposal for Leamaneh is identified merely from its unusual plan footprint, which appears on the larger site plan (Plates 4, 5). Some similarity exists between this design and Sir Edward O'Brien's 1736 stable block at Dromoland, and Sir Edward, a great horseman, may have commissioned the Leamaneh stable design. What is still unclear is who commissioned the designs for Leamaneh Castle and gardens. The Gibbs-inspired doorcase and window surrounds indicate that it could not have been commissioned by Sir Donat.<sup>31</sup> Either Catherine O'Brien or her son Edward proposed to continue improving Leamaneh in the aftermath of his death. Catherine's acknowledged fondness for the old castle 'at Lemineagh where the greatest part of her proposed satisfaction, above other Places, appears to me [her father] to arise', suggests that it was she.<sup>32</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The east canal and the parallel great terrace walk still focus the eye on the unrelieved elevation of the tower-house (Plate 11). The upright, eccentric form adds a dramatic vertical emphasis to the horizontals of the canals and terraces. No drawing for the alteration of this east tower-house elevation exists, and yet the landscaping plans were here, at least, partly successful. The O'Briens appear to have come to the conclusion that a landscaped tower-house was preferable to its uneasy alteration into a country manor house.

'It was the emphatic change in attitude toward nature, initially revealed in landscape theories in the 1710s and 1720s which informed the popular appreciation of the Gothic.'<sup>33</sup> Vanbrugh's famed suggestion to the Duchess of Marlborough that she include the ruined castle of Woodstock Manor as an eye-catcher within the park of Blenheim (which she ignored) was made in 1709.<sup>34</sup> Hawksmoor's fortifications at Castle Howard in Yorkshire, and Vanbrugh's outworks to the same estate in the 1720s are the first examples of 'towers and gatehouse lodges of Gothick form ... built to suggest, with various degrees of deception, the style and atmosphere of the houses within their parks'.<sup>35</sup> Some of the Gothic Revival's earliest indicators lie in the manner in which such buildings as Leamaneh were re-landscaped.

The family's architectural and landscaping ambitions for Leamaneh did not end with their removal to Dromoland. Sir Donat and his descendants remembered their ancestral home, and planned to make it the secondary seat of a great native





*9— View of the scalloped limestone wall of the terraced garden*

Irish family. The fashion for building in the immediate environs of old ruins was gathering momentum in the early years of the eighteenth century, when the identity and loyalty of the native Irish families was still in flux. Those that could make minor alterations to an ancestral tower-house might accomplish much with comparatively little expenditure. Sir Donat sought to distinguish himself from the newly landed by retaining and improving his old Irish castle and landscape. His descendants briefly continued his ambition. The same family commissioned the great Gothic Revival castle of Dromoland some one hundred years later, demolishing the classical eighteenth-century mansion in the process. The early eighteenth-century





*top 10 – Leamaneh’s medieval gateway (now in a Lutyens-inspired garden at Dromoland)  
11 – View along the great promenade of the terraced walk*

improvements to Leamaneh, if completed, might have established the family’s identity with greater subtlety, if in a less spectacular fashion.

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#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to Dr Jane Fenlon, Dr John Olley, Desmond FitzGerald, the Knight of Glin, and Paul MacMahon, who read or commented on aspects of this paper.

## ENDNOTES

The following abbreviation is used:

NLI National Library of Ireland, Dublin

- <sup>1</sup> J. Ainsworth (ed.), *The Inchiquin Manuscripts*, VII (Dublin 1961).
- <sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, no. 1188: 'Nov. 1680, 32 Chas II, "Lease by Sir Joseph Williamson and Lady Catherine O'Brien, Baroness Clifton (late widow of Henry, Lord O'Brien); to Donough O'Brien of Leamaneh, Co. Clare, esq.; in consideration of £200; of the castles of Dromoland and Ballyconnell, with the lands of Dromoland Ballyconnell ... all in the barony of Bunratty, Co. Clare; for 61 years, or the lifetime of the said Lady Catherine; rent £166".'
- <sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, no. 1192, 17 May 1681: 'Lease by Sir Joseph Williamson and Lady Catherine O'Brien to Patrick Nihell'.
- <sup>4</sup> NLI, Inchiquin Manuscripts, MS 14,469, Domestic and Estate Accounts of Donat O'Brien 1713.
- <sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, MS 14370, 21, Mrs Catherine O'Brien's account with Sir Edward O'Brien 1723-1724: '1724 cash pd Patrick Cullinane and Mich' Loghlan for their work when last Mrs. O'Brien & Sir Edward was at Leamaneh £0.4.6'.
- <sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, folder 948, Thomas Keightley to Sir Donat O'Brien, 2 December 1706.
- <sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, folder 950, Sir Donat O'Brien to Thomas Keightley, 10 January 1706/07.
- <sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, folder 2576, Thomas Keightley to Sir Donat O'Brien, 4 March 1707.
- <sup>9</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>10</sup> Edith Mary Johnston-Liik (ed.), *History of the Irish Parliament 1692-1800*, 6 vols (Belfast, 2002), V, 367.
- <sup>11</sup> NLI, Inchiquin Manuscripts, folder 2576, Thomas Keightley to Sir Donat O'Brien, 4 March 1707.
- <sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, folder 1161, Sir Donat O'Brien to Mrs Catherine O'Brien, 8 March 1713/14.
- <sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, folder 1158, Lucius O'Brien to Mrs Catherine O'Brien, 8 February 1712.
- <sup>14</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>15</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>16</sup> *ibid.*, folder 1161, Sir Donat O'Brien to Mrs Catherine O'Brien, marked 'Copy of his Honable Sr to Mam O'Brien with his reasons why he could not furnish her with money to answer a bill of her husbands', 8 March 1713/14.
- <sup>17</sup> *ibid.*, folder 2580, Thomas Keightley to Sir Donat O'Brien, 13 February 1710.
- <sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, folder 2582, Thomas Keightley to Sir Donat O'Brien, 27 June 1713.
- <sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, folder 1164, Mr Hooke to Lady Catherine O'Brien, Paris, 29 January 1717.
- <sup>20</sup> J. Ainsworth (ed.), *The Inchiquin Manuscripts* (Dublin 1961).
- <sup>21</sup> NLI, Inchiquin Manuscripts, folder 2583, Thomas Keightley to Sir Donat O'Brien, 6 May 1714. The misattribution occurs in: J. Ainsworth (ed.), *The Inchiquin Manuscripts* (Dublin, 1961), 118: no. 381 '6 May 1714, Mrs. M. Forde (from Dublin) to Catherine O'Brien'.
- <sup>22</sup> NLI, Inchiquin Manuscripts, MS 14470, Domestic and Estate Accounts of Donat O'Brien.
- <sup>23</sup> Patrick Bowe and Keith Lamb, *A History of Gardening in Ireland* (Dublin 1995), 28.
- <sup>24</sup> NLI, The Dromoland Album, MS 2791 (photocopy of the original).
- <sup>25</sup> Historic Manuscripts Commission, *Report on Various Collections*, Clements MSS, 1913, VIII, 328: J. Molesworth to R. Molesworth, 10 December 1721.

- <sup>26</sup> NLI, Molesworth Papers, P.3752, R. Molesworth to L. Molesworth, 25 May 1714.
- <sup>27</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>28</sup> NLI, Inchiquin Manuscripts, MS 14476, Domestic and Estate Accounts of Donat O'Brien, 1717
- 'June 21 for paper ... to Florence Carty for the use of Leamaneh whilst he was employ'd there last spring
- June 22 pd Domk Powe June for 12L[enghts?] of Iron del[ivere]d Terl. Row for Gates at Leamaneh 2s 9d
- June 28 paid Richd Fling the Mason by him at Leamaneh on the 22nd on acct. 5s 5d
- June 29 paid Leonard Nash towrds payment for a pcell[?] of brick wch he is to make at Leamaneh at 4s a thousand £1,10s
- July 15 paid Turlogh Row towds further payment for makeing 3 New Gates at Leamaneh 10s 10d
- July 20 Sent Leonard Nash the Brickmaker at Leamaneh towards his work there £1 1s 8d
- July 30 hearth money ... out of the hse at Leamaneh 18s
- Aug. 10 Sent Leonard Nash the Brickmaker by Mart. Cahill towards further paymt for the Brick now makeing by him at Leamaneh £1 1s 8d
- Aug. 10 the Stonehewers [listed]... £10 11s
- Aug. 19 Gave Richd. Flinn ... to goe to Corrofyn or Leamaneh to oversee worke there doeing by Roger Cunnigan 2s 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d
- Sept. 3 & to pay for Carrott & Collyflower seeds
- Sept. 9 Paid Leonard Nash ... worke for him by the ... labourers for 50[in] brick made by him at Leamaneh £4
- Oct. 3 paid for 2- [?] of Mutton sent to L when his Honn was there 0,2,6
- Oct. 21 paid Roger Conegan towd further payment for hewing stone for the Garden Gate near ye Castle at L. 2,0,2'.
- <sup>29</sup> NLI, Inchiquin Manuscripts, MS 14369, Mrs Catherine O'Brien's account with Sir Edward O'Brien 1719-1722, 34-35: 'Roofing Leamaneh House'.
- <sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, Ms.14370, 21, Mrs Catherine O'Brien's account with Sir Edward O'Brien 1723-1724.
- <sup>31</sup> I am grateful to Dr Jane Fenlon, Dr Christine Casey and Dr Edward McParland for their comments on this doorcase design.
- <sup>32</sup> NLI, Inchiquin Manuscripts, folder 2576, Thomas Keightley to Sir Donat O'Brien, 4 March 1707.
- <sup>33</sup> Douglas Scott Richardson, *Gothic Revival Architecture in Ireland*, 2 vols (New York and London 1983) I, 109.
- <sup>34</sup> John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis (eds), *The Genius of the Place: the English landscape garden 1620-1820* (London 1975) 120-21.
- <sup>35</sup> T. Mowl and B. Earnshaw, *Trumpet at a Distant Gate* (London 1985) 36.
- <sup>36</sup> NLI, Inchiquin Manuscripts, MS 14470, Domestic and Estate Accounts of Donat O'Brien, 29 October 1714.
- <sup>37</sup> *ibid.*, MS 14474, Domestic and Estate Accounts of Donat O'Brien, 13 June 1716.
- <sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, MS 14369, Mrs Catherine O'Brien's account with Sir Edward O'Brien 1719-1722, 30 November 1719.
- <sup>39</sup> *ibid.*, MS 14474, Domestic and Estate Accounts of Donat O'Brien, 13 June 1716.