



**IRISH  
GEORGIAN  
SOCIETY**

**1973**

**JANUARY  
TO  
JUNE**

QUARTERLY BULLETIN OF THE  
IRISH GEORGIAN SOCIETY

---

Vol. XVI. NOS. 1 & 2

JANUARY-JUNE 1973

---

*CONTENTS*

IRISH COUNTRY HOUSES AND CASTLES OF THE  
LATE CAROLINE PERIOD: AN UNREMEMBERED  
PAST RECAPTURED, I. Introduction

by ROLF LOEBER

1

Cover: Front door of Roundwood, Mountrath, Co. Leix, 60 miles from Dublin on the Limerick Road, property of the Irish Georgian Society, that is open for you to stay in. Write to Mr. Brian Molloy. (Telephone 0502 32120)

---

Full details of the various membership rates are available from the Irish Georgian Society, Castletown, Celbridge, Co. Kildare. All members receive the Quarterly Bulletin, and are entitled to attend lectures, join expeditions, etc.

---

The Society enjoys charitable status in the U.S.A., and contributions made out to the Irish Georgian Society Inc. are therefore tax exempt. Internal Revenue Service determination of May 1968.

---

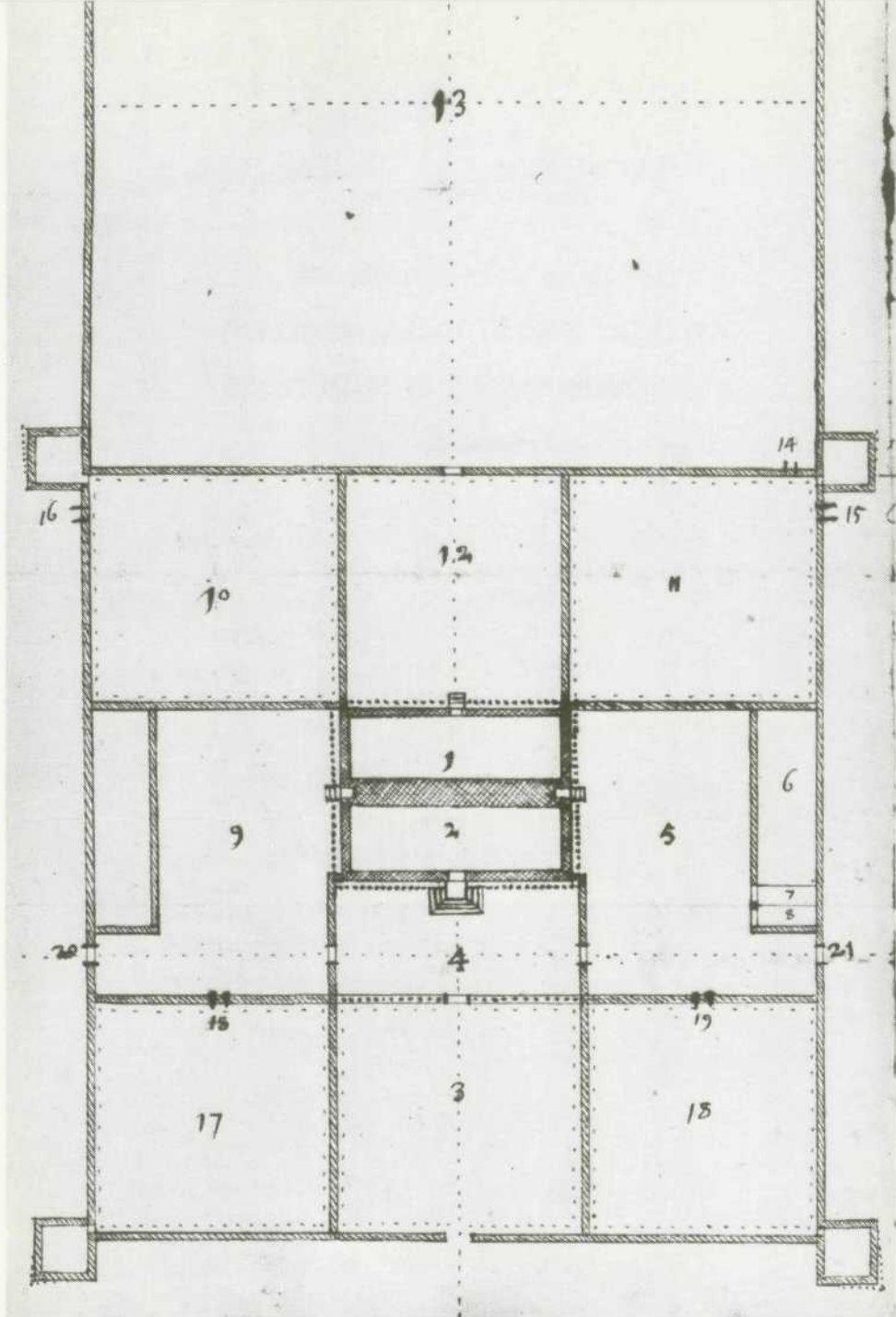
PRICE 25p

R. Loeber

Kingston, Ont., Canada

IRISH COUNTRY HOUSES AND  
CASTLES OF THE LATE CAROLINE PERIOD :  
AN UNREMEMBERED PAST RECAPTURED

I. Introduction<sup>1</sup>



Frontispiece: Proposed plan of Burton House, Co. Cork, by Thomas Smith, 1671. Legend: 1 & 2, the main house; 3, the forecourt; 4, a gravelled court; 5, the stable court; 6, the stable; 9, a court with the brew house, bake house and wash house; 10, a court for fire wood; 11, a court to serve the stable; 12, back court entering the garden; 13, the pleasure garden; 17 & 18, two waste courts.

". . . he would caligulate by multiplicables the alltitude and malltitude until he seesaw by neatlight of the liquor wheretwin 'twas born, his roundhead staple of other days to rise in undress *maisonry* upstanded (joygrantit!), a waalworth of a skyscape of most eyeful hoyth entowerly, erigenating from next to nothing and ceescalating the himals and all, hierarchitectitiptitoploftical, with a burning bush abob off its baubletop and with larrons o'toolers clittering up and tombles a'buckets clottering down."

—James Joyce: *Finnegans Wake*

When writing the above, James Joyce probably did not realize that Irish masons in the days of the Roundheads were far more prominent than most historians thought. Indeed, one might justifiably identify a myth: that of a non-building Ireland in the times not only of Cromwell but also Charles II. The otherwise authoritative Leask in his *Irish Castles*<sup>2</sup> would have us believe that "the latter half of the 17th century is . . . architecturally speaking, a featureless gap". Most writers, guilty of similar misleading pronouncements, try to buttress their statements by saying that the times were too eventful to allow the building of country houses. Many subsequent authors followed the same line of thought<sup>3</sup>, often emphasizing that no unfortified residences were erected prior to 1690<sup>4</sup>. At best, this is a half-truth. However, a few Irish books (such as the *Georgian Society Records, vol. V*<sup>5</sup>, and *Georgian Mansions in Ireland*) provide good leads to late Caroline country houses, although the latter of these misleadingly emphasises that during the period 1641 to 1660 country house building was not promoted<sup>6</sup>. Even in the extensive English literature on Cromwellian and Caroline architecture, virtually no mention is made of contemporary Irish seats<sup>7</sup>.

Whereas the building activity in 17th century Ireland prior to the rebellion in 1641 is documented to a degree<sup>8</sup>, the present series of papers will serve as prolegomena to the late Caroline period<sup>9</sup>. The first article will provide a general background, and the second a catalogue raisonné of the country residences built or rebuilt, while biographical information on Irish architects and craftsmen of Charles II's time will be incorporated in a Dictionary of Irish architects to be published. Thus, country seats and castles referred to in this paper will be discussed in more detail in the second article.

The seventeenth century in Ireland brought forth a succession of

IRELAND FROM 1660-1689

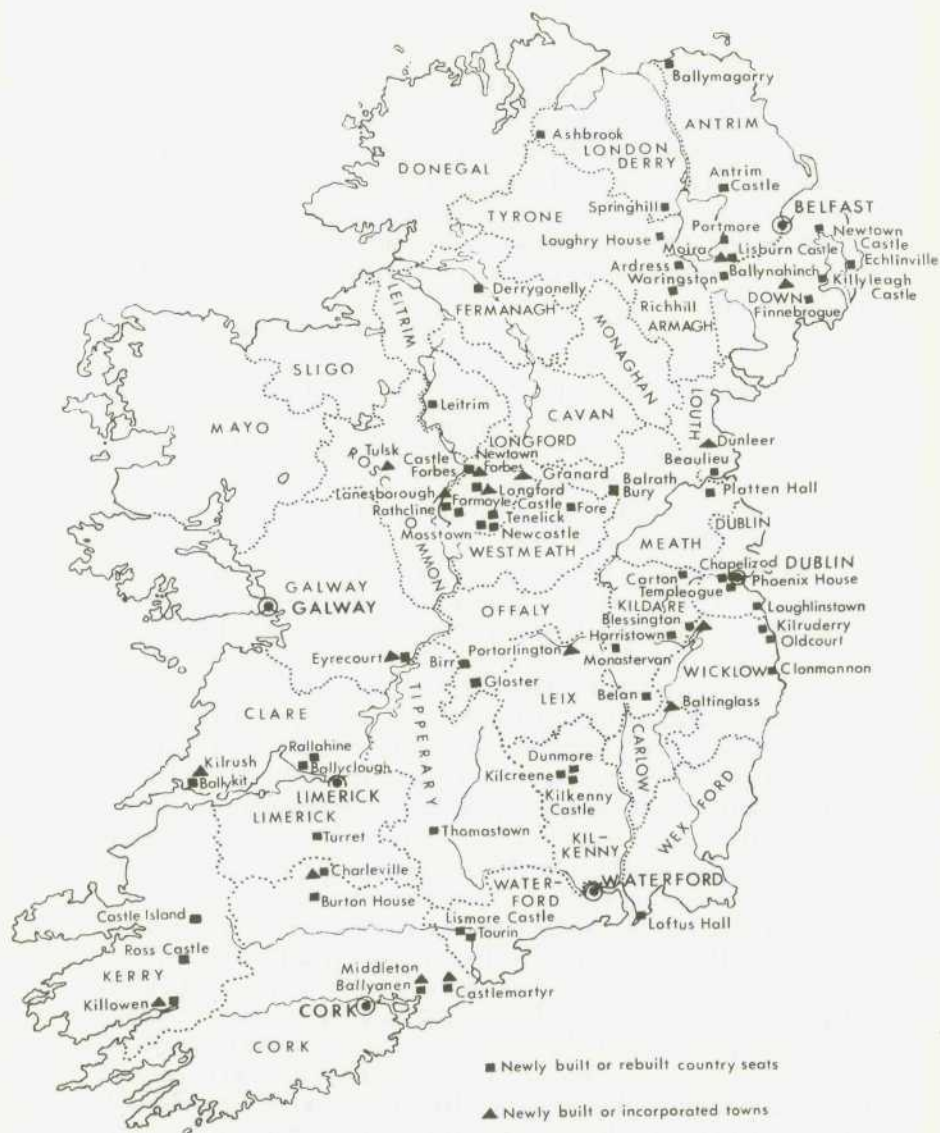


Plate 1. Map of Ireland, 1660-89, showing new and incorporated towns, as well as newly built or rebuilt country seats.

styles of building, which followed each other with unusual rapidity. Still mediaeval in its castle building at the beginning of the century, Ireland attained before 1690 the complete acceptance of the country seat. This turning point in Irish history is the main focus of the present series of articles.

*Cromwellian architecture.* The rebellion of 1641 and the subsequent military campaigns caused devastation on a scale previously unparalleled. ". . . there hath scarce been a house left undemolished," wrote the Commissioners for Ireland in 1654, "fitt for an Englishman to dwell in . . . nor [much] timber left . . . undestroyed."<sup>10</sup> Hundreds of castles, semi-fortified houses, and churches had been ruined; the unrest undoubtedly interfered with building activity for many years. The cromwellian settlement was followed by massive confiscations, causing the old freeholders to be transplanted to the area beyond the Shannon, or to emigrate to the continent. The subsequent depopulation was so extensive that whole districts became uninhabited<sup>11</sup>. The confiscated estates were allotted to English adventurers and soldiers, of whom many of the latter settled in Ireland. In his account of the Cromwellian settlement, Clarendon characterised the situation by stating that "Ireland was the great capital out of which all debts were paid, all services rewarded, and all acts of bounty performed."<sup>12</sup> Some speculate that Ireland during the Protectorate was probably a more agreeable residence than England for those whose property was confirmed by the settlement.<sup>13</sup> An historian who explicitly mentions the recovery of Ireland after the turbulent times is Bagwell, who points out the subsequent increase in building.<sup>14</sup>

The scope of this paper does not permit a thorough discussion of Cromwellian architecture, and thus only a few examples are given. First the forts will be discussed, then the private dwellings.

The anything but peaceful Cromwellian settlement necessitated the widespread erection of fortifications to defend the settlers from the hostile Irish. Although the settlement accelerated only until 1654-5, an undetermined number of fortifications and dwellings was built before that date. Already by 1650 Hillsborough Fort, Co. Down<sup>15</sup> had been erected, a combination of private residence and fort, certainly not the last of its kind in Ireland. In the South, Colonel Richard Le Hunt spent £1,000 to build fortifications near Cashel.<sup>16</sup> Also in county Tipperary, a stone citadel was started at Clonmel in 1652.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, a fortification was erected at Rosscarbery, Co. Kerry by Captain Robert Gookin, "ten miles nearer the enemy than any other garrison thereabout."<sup>18</sup> More westward, however, was a new fort at Bantry (Co.

Kerry), which was "capable to be very considerable",<sup>19</sup> with its four bastions. Especially county Cork saw a number of new fortifications, such as Bryan's Fort at Castletownshend of about 1650.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, the Earl of Orrery erected a fort at Dunboy in Castletown Berehaven, about which he wrote in 1666 that it was demolished by "the usurpers" [sic].<sup>21</sup> At Newmarket in the same county a strong fort was erected, while subsequently the market town near it was rebuilt.<sup>22</sup>

The brother Vincent, of the above mentioned Robert Gookin, was the author of a pamphlet directed against the transplantation of the Irish. In it he highlights the building trade of that time, by saying that there were five or six carpenters and masons among every hundred Irishmen, who "were more handy and ready in building ordinary houses and much [more] prudent in applying the defects of instruments and materials than English artificers".<sup>23</sup> Vincent Gookin's experiences with Irish craftsmen, during the building in 1653-4 of his house in Co. Cork,<sup>24</sup> must have been more fortunate than those of Daniel Thomas, a few years later. The latter was employed by Henry Cromwell, probably to restore Portumna Castle, Co. Galway,<sup>25</sup> the ancient seat of the Earls of Clanricarde, which together with 6,000 acres, had been reserved for the Lord Deputy, Henry Cromwell. Daniel Thomas was an experienced architect who had built numerous houses in London.<sup>26</sup> At Portumna he proposed a bridge across the Shannon, for which he needed "Sayers [sawyers], especially English, [who] both in Dublin and all ye nation over are very Rare and scarce to bee hadd".<sup>27</sup> Apart from this, his supply of labour was curtailed by the oath of abjuration for "ye Irish workmen ar Runn away from mee, for since the oath of abjuration is come amoungst them, they had Rather doe any man's worke then Build places of strength wh may subdue & keepe them in obedience and have skattered themselves some 10, some 20, some 40 myles from mee".<sup>28</sup> Henry Cromwell built also in Dublin, where probably Randolph Beckett and John Mills erected for him a wing to Phoenix House, the Royal Country seat.<sup>29</sup> Most remarkably, no pictures are known to exist of this house. Plate 2 shows only the view from the house towards Dublin at the end of the seventeenth century.

A large landowner, John Perceval, rebuilt Castlewarden, Co. Kildare in the beginning of 1655, and was so busy with building that a friend wrote to him, "I am afraid you . . . are infected with the Spanish curse, which is the spirit of building . . ." <sup>30</sup> Perceval moved in 1659 to Ballymacow, Co. Cork, later called Egmont, where the building of his "small nest" gave him much to do.<sup>31</sup> Another landlord, the later famous diplomat, Sir William Temple, moved in May 1656

to Ireland, and built probably a residence at Staplestown, Co. Carlow.<sup>32</sup>

The building activity during the Commonwealth was certainly not confined to the South of Ireland. Already in 1651 two residences were built both in county Down,<sup>33</sup> one at Kilwarlin, the other at Moira, the latter made of brick.<sup>34</sup> Not far from these, in county Antrim, the second Viscount Conway began, in 1654, what seems to have been additions to Lisburn Castle.<sup>35</sup>

There seems to be no reason to suppose that the quoted examples were isolated cases: many more seats were undoubtedly erected in Ireland before the Protectorate ended. Practically nothing is known about the physical appearance of these examples of Cromwellian architecture.. Whether they were based on contemporary English examples remains to be seen. The sparse references almost all show the fortified nature of the residences. Similarly, there is a dearth of information concerning the buildings of the transplanted Irish. Did the divided Ireland develop two styles of architecture? Or did the transplanted Irish completely fall back into utter poverty? Too little is known of this intriguing time.

*General Background of the late Caroline period.* The restoration of King Charles II in 1660 meant for many landlords renewed uncertainty about the rights to their estates. The Act of Settlement, followed by the Act of Explanation, brought relief to some, and misery to multitudes of the landed classes. In short, Ireland was handled as a cake which could be dealt out three times over. The forfeitures, as forced upon many loyal subjects, were in sharp contrast to the permissive attitude toward Cromwellian landowners such as the newly created Earl of Orrery, Viscount Conway, and many others.<sup>36</sup> Some years later, Orrery characterized Ireland to Conway as "a body sick of many diseases, and, if you cure but one, it will die of the rest".<sup>37</sup> In fact, Ireland proved to be far healthier than he suggested. The twenty-five years of peace after the Restoration stimulated the economy of the country, and brought about a considerable level of prosperity,<sup>38</sup> shown, in part, by an extensive increase in building activity over most of Ireland.

Whereas a traveller in 1670, who went from the Curragh to Limerick, reported that there were very few houses in the country,<sup>39</sup> subsequently the Lord Lieutenant Clarendon could write that "there were many buildings raised for beauty, as well as use, orderly and regular plantations of trees and fences and enclosures throughout the kingdom . . ."<sup>40</sup> Basic to the history of architecture at that time was the settlement of Ireland, or, as Orrery expressed it, the "planting of a

wild and dangerous country with industrious and faithful English . . .<sup>41</sup> Many new towns were founded, and old ones expanded. Saw mills were erected under a special patent for the cheaper rebuilding after the "trouble and injury of the late times".<sup>42</sup> Also, as will be shown later, a number of craftsmen from England were brought over to assist in the reconstruction of the country.

The renewed affluence was shown in increased rents and decreased interest.<sup>43</sup> William Petty estimated in his *Political Anatomy* that Ireland in the latter half of the 17th century had 16,000 houses with more than one chimney, and 160,000 houses without any chimney at all.<sup>44</sup> One should not, of course, forget that Ireland was considerably less wealthy than England (Petty estimated Ireland's wealth as 1/6 of that of England),<sup>45</sup> and had many poor inhabitants living in wretched circumstances. Travellers sometimes passed haughty comments on their condition as the one who wrote in 1662 "... I must complain of the bad inhabitants of this good country. A generation of people scarce one removed from savages, if not in the same form of brutality, their houses are like hog-styes, . . . and they themselves swine like in all things but shape . . . their homes are not to be gone but grope into, they make their doors as low and little as they can, and their ceilings thatch as low as a man's head".<sup>46</sup>

Ireland's wealth could have been much greater were it not that large sums were transferred to England. For example, in 1672 £20,000 was sent over from the Irish Revenue for the rebuilding of Windsor Castle.<sup>47</sup> Facts like these lead one to speculate on Ireland's appearance had these sums been applied to building in the country itself, rather than to enhancing English architecture. Also, on a smaller scale, non-resident landlords such as Lord Conway had regularly dispatched Irish rents to their English seats.<sup>48</sup> Notwithstanding these financial drawbacks, much was expended on country houses in Ireland, creating a style of life which was anything but "swinelike". In a later section this topic will be dealt with in more detail. First, the rebuilding of Dublin and other towns will be discussed, after which attention will be paid to the erection of churches, bridges and defense works.

*Dublin's buildings in the times of Charles II and James II.* The growth of Dublin after 1660 was so rapid that already in 1673 the then Lord Lieutenant Essex could report that the city was almost twice as large as at the time of the Restoration<sup>49</sup> (see plate 2 for a view of the city).

By far the best architectural description of Caroline Dublin can be found in Craig's inspiring *Dublin 1660-1860*,<sup>50</sup> so that we will limit ourselves to some additional information. Already early after the

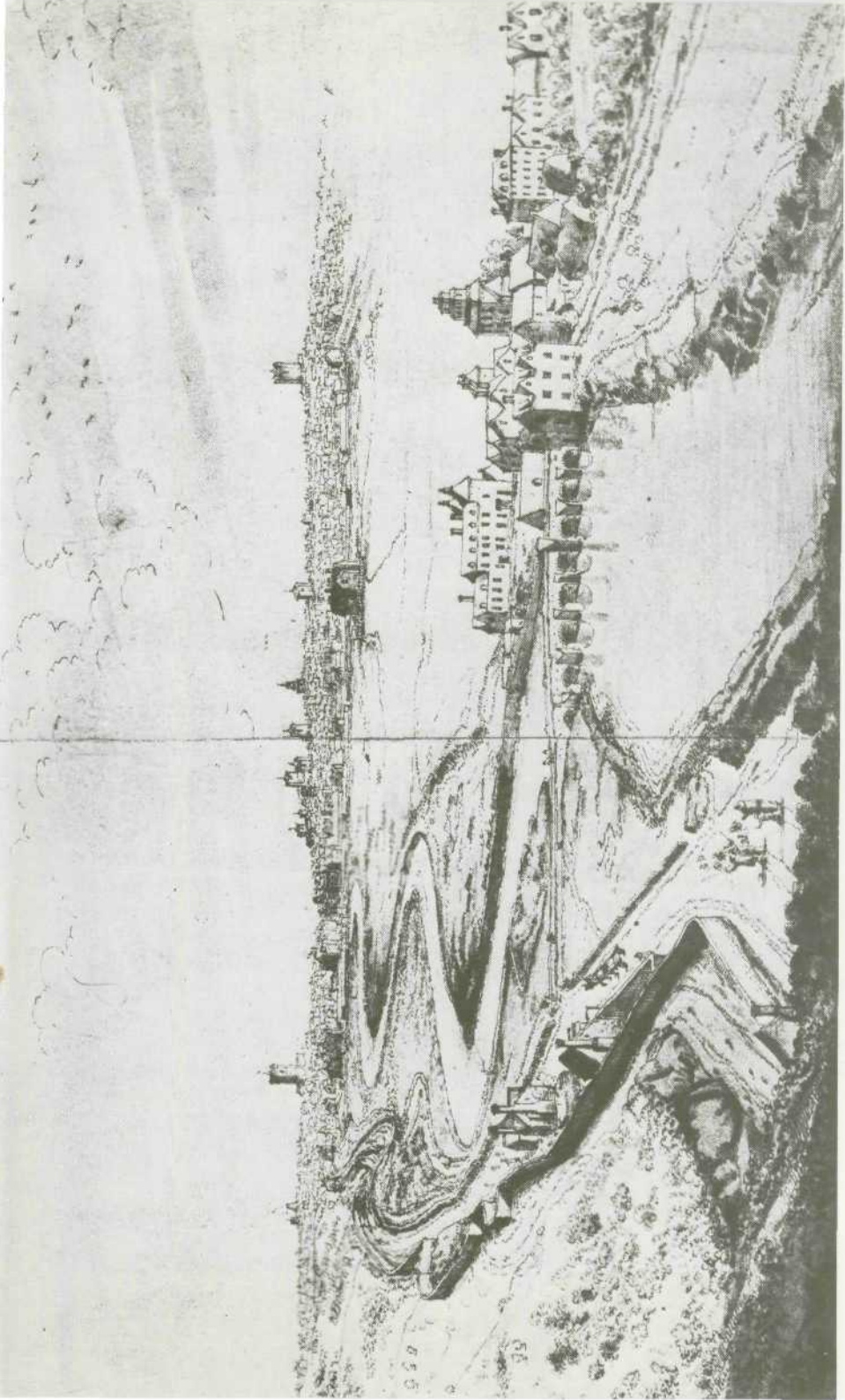
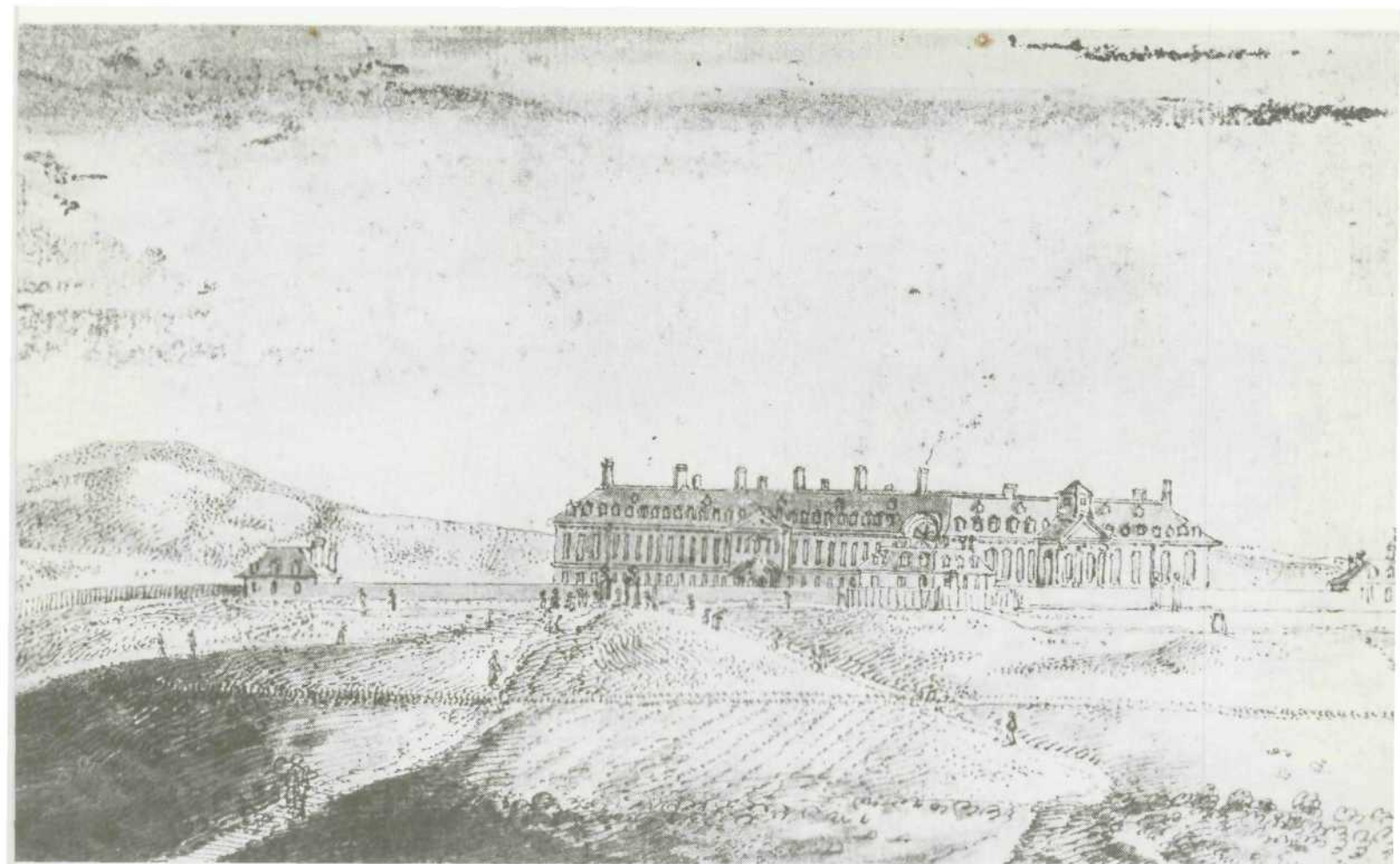


Plate 2: View of Dublin from the Phoenix House, by Francis Place, 1698-9.



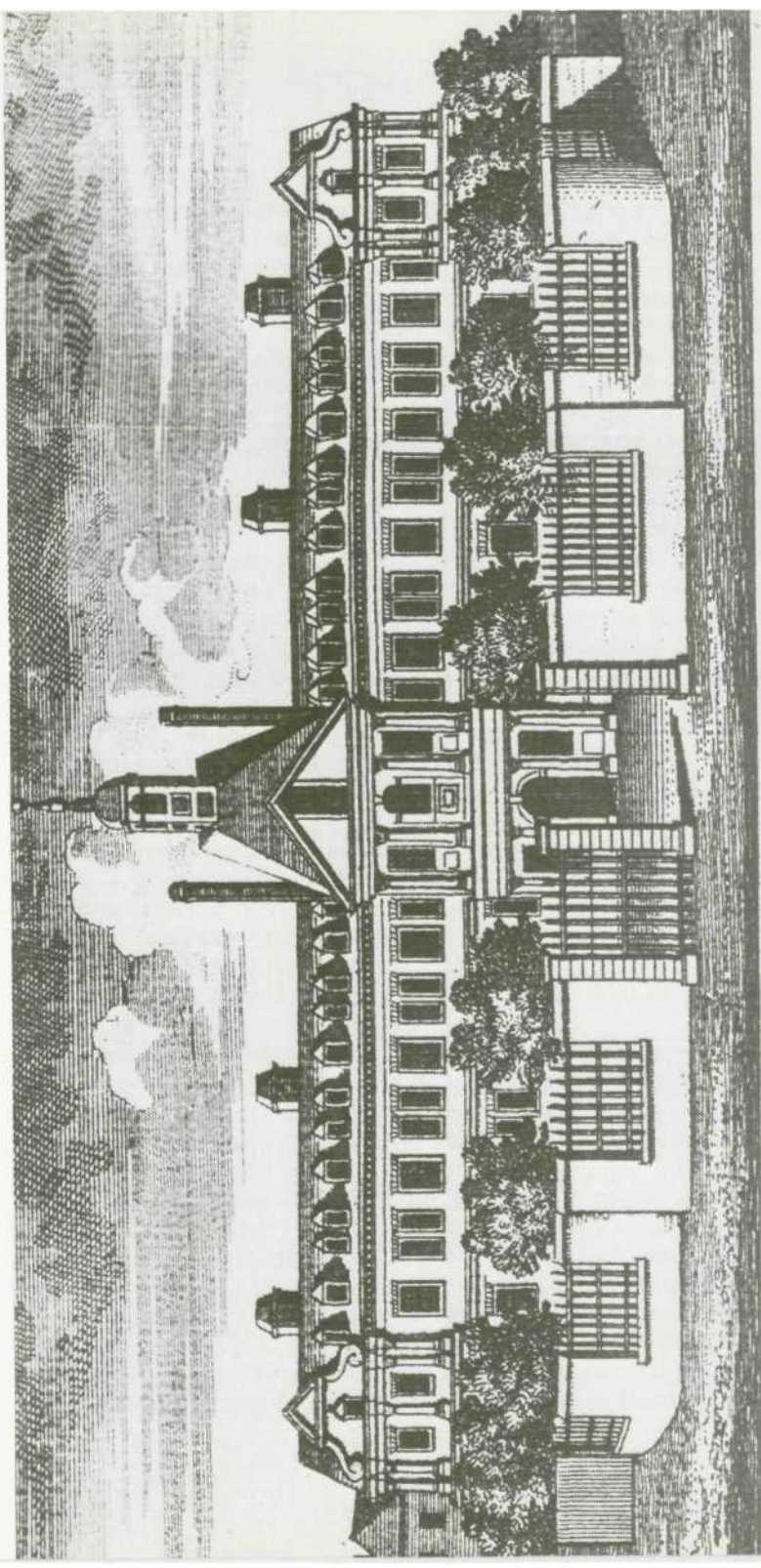
*Plate 3: View of William Robinson's Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, by Francis Place, 1698-9*

Restoration it became inevitable that regulations be imposed on building activity in the city. One statute of 1665 prohibited the burning of bricks within half a mile of the gates of Dublin, to preserve the health of the inhabitants.<sup>51</sup> Other measures, taken by the Dublin Assembly, were directed at the prevention of fires, such as the ban on the building of thatched houses within the city or its *suburbs*.<sup>52</sup> Four years after the Great Fire in London (1666), the Privy Council felt urged to issue a proclamation for the same purpose, probably modelled on similar building regulations devised in London. It prohibited "jutting out windows or any overhanging works whatsoever, balconies excepted", and required that the thatch which covered many houses and cabins had to be replaced by slate or *tiles*.<sup>53</sup> There was an apparent lack of adherence to these rules; up until the beginning of the 18th century houses with overhanging eaves were built.

The growth of Dublin consisted for the greater part in expansion of residential areas. Noblemen like Lord Longford and Lord Conway erected considerable houses, while shortly after the Restoration Sir Maurice Eustace, then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, had "a great house"<sup>54</sup> built in Dame Street, apparently envied by many, since after his death fights broke out between parties who wanted to occupy it. Many other landowners, although no Parliaments were held between 1666 and 1690, had their town houses in Dublin, possibly serving as safe retreats from the dangers of life in the country.

The city was embellished by public buildings such as the Smock theatre, built for £2,000, of which most was spent on the interior; the bookseller John Dunton speaks highly of this as being equal to theatres in London.<sup>55</sup> Most of the new buildings in Dublin were in the artisan mannerist style,<sup>56</sup> being a very loose interpretation of the classical style. For example, the Blew Coat School, begun in 1669, was charming in its details, but quite asymmetrical,<sup>57</sup> and the city Tholsel an amusing structure with an accumulation of pilasters, altogether anything but strictly classical, which took seven years to complete.<sup>58</sup> On the second floor it housed the Exchange, which had become more important due to the increase in trade. At the same time, the growing trade in the streets of Dublin became so obstructive that the *Ormond* Market was erected in 1682-3, patronized, if not designed, by Sir Francis Brewster,<sup>59</sup> who also in 1682 presented designs for a palace to replace Dublin Castle.<sup>60</sup> The market must have been an interest building, with a central rotunda; it survived until about 1890.<sup>61</sup>

Far more classical in outlook was the Royal Hospital in Kilmainham designed by the Surveyor-General William Robinson, the only unaltered Caroline building still existing in Dublin (Plate 3). Already in



FRONT OF THE COLLEGE

Plate 4: Front of Trinity College, Dublin, from Brooking's map of Dublin, 1728.

1677, plans existed at Whitehall to build a hospital for soldiers, as appears from a letter to the Marquis de Louvois, in which he is asked to send to King Charles II "the plan of the Hôtel des Invalides drawn with all the fronts . . ." <sup>62</sup> William Robinson might very likely have seen these drawings, as he went to London the next year, to obtain approval for his designs for Charles Fort, near Kinsale. <sup>63</sup> In 1680 the hospital was started, and became Dublin's largest building, preceding Wren's Chelsea Hospital in London by only a few years. Probably around 1683 the front of Trinity College <sup>64</sup> was started (see plate 4). The building is vaguely reminiscent of Rainham Hall, Norfolk, but its middle projection has very likely been copied from the center building of Hotel des Invalides, <sup>65</sup> suggesting William Robinson as architect. It shows, for the British Isles, an unusual high-pitched roof, behind a pediment extending the whole length of the projection. Here, the pavillions have remarkable Holborn gables. After 1682, Trinity College saw the erection of a Hall and a Chapel. The latter was described in 1775: "as mean a structure as you can conceive, destitute of monumental decoration within, it is no better than a Welsh church without," <sup>66</sup> which is in a sharp contrast to the beautiful carvings by James Tabary and the rich plasterwork in the chapel in the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham (1687). The newly erected Hall of Trinity College, about which little is known, emerges only vaguely from plasterers' and carpenters' bills preserved in the College. <sup>67</sup> Unfortunately, little trace remains of the 17th century buildings there.

Craig has shown <sup>68</sup> that as well as the building of new churches, old churches in Dublin were repaired, such as St. Patrick and Christ Churches. For the Christ Church quire King Charles II allotted a meagre £100 in 1679. <sup>69</sup> His successor James II was also close-fisted; while expending thousands of pounds on his Chapel in Whitehall and making use of Sir Christopher Wren, Grinling Gibbons and Arnold Quellin, he spent only £789 on the Royal Chapel in Dublin Castle. More significantly, the craftsmen employed there among whom was Frances Quellin, the wife of the sculptor Arnold Quellin, had also been working at James' Chapel in Whitehall, <sup>70</sup> which makes one wonder if Wren, Gibbons or Quellin might also have been involved at the Chapel in Dublin Castle. The vicissitudes of this building were obviously related to the political climate. In 1684 William Robinson made plans for the rebuilding of Dublin Castle, <sup>71</sup> on which he worked day and night to be able to send them over as soon as possible to England for approval. <sup>72</sup> Plates 5 and 6 show what are most likely his designs <sup>73</sup> for the Castle. The buildings excel in simplicity, and the usual paraphernalia of the artisan mannerist style, such as pilasters

and decorated window surrounds are not in evidence. Robinson did not see the completion of his buildings; he fled to England on the arrival of Tyrconnel as Lord Deputy in 1687, while his fellow Surveyor-General William Molyneux stayed on and built, as he himself explains, "the Great New Building on piers and arches"<sup>74</sup> (plate 5). Also, the other two Royal Residences, the Phoenix House and Chapelized House, were repaired, added to and embellished. In short, Dublin in the reign of Charles II flourished and probably set an example to other Irish towns.

*Building activity in existing and newly built towns.* At least in Munster, but probably also in the rest of Ireland, the towns, having forfeited their charters by the Rebellion of 1641, were given new charters after 1660. These charters were modified so as to force the Corporations to rebuild their official buildings and to improve their towns.<sup>75</sup> However, the forfeited houses in the towns like Athlone, Limerick and New Ross, were allotted to the '49 officers, which delayed the rebuilding process considerably, due to conflicting claims. Uncertainty about property rights caused a general deterioration of existing conditions, reflected in the observation of Sir John Perceval in March 1664 that "the towns daily decay beyond imagination, no man going to the charge of laying one slate on his house."<sup>76</sup> It was almost a decade after the Restoration before plans were made to rebuild Athlone and save it from utter-ruin.<sup>77</sup> Most of the towns had suffered terribly under the Rebellion, as for example the town of Antrim (Co. Antrim), which had been destroyed, but had been "in a good measure re-edified" before 1665.<sup>78</sup> From the limited information available, it seems that from c. 1670 onwards the rebuilding of towns accelerated. For example, in that year, the Duchess of Ormond approved the replacement in Kilkenny of thatched cabins by brick houses, decreasing the "mischief" of fires.<sup>79</sup> In 1684 the same city saw the building of an Exchange and a Court House. Although the city had an income of £500 per year, according to the correspondent, "I see no works of grandeur either in building, charity, or hospitality proceeded from them."<sup>80</sup> The relative reluctance of towns to spend money on official buildings can be substantiated by the fact that another Exchange was erected in Limerick in 1673, at the expense of its Mayor, William Yorke.<sup>81</sup> A drawing of it from 1681<sup>82</sup> shows that it was in the same artisan mannerist style as the Tholsel in Dublin. The first floor was an open arcade, supporting by pillars a six bayed second storey, covered by a stacketed roof with turret. The whole was crowned by two lions as finials, while a statue topped the turret.

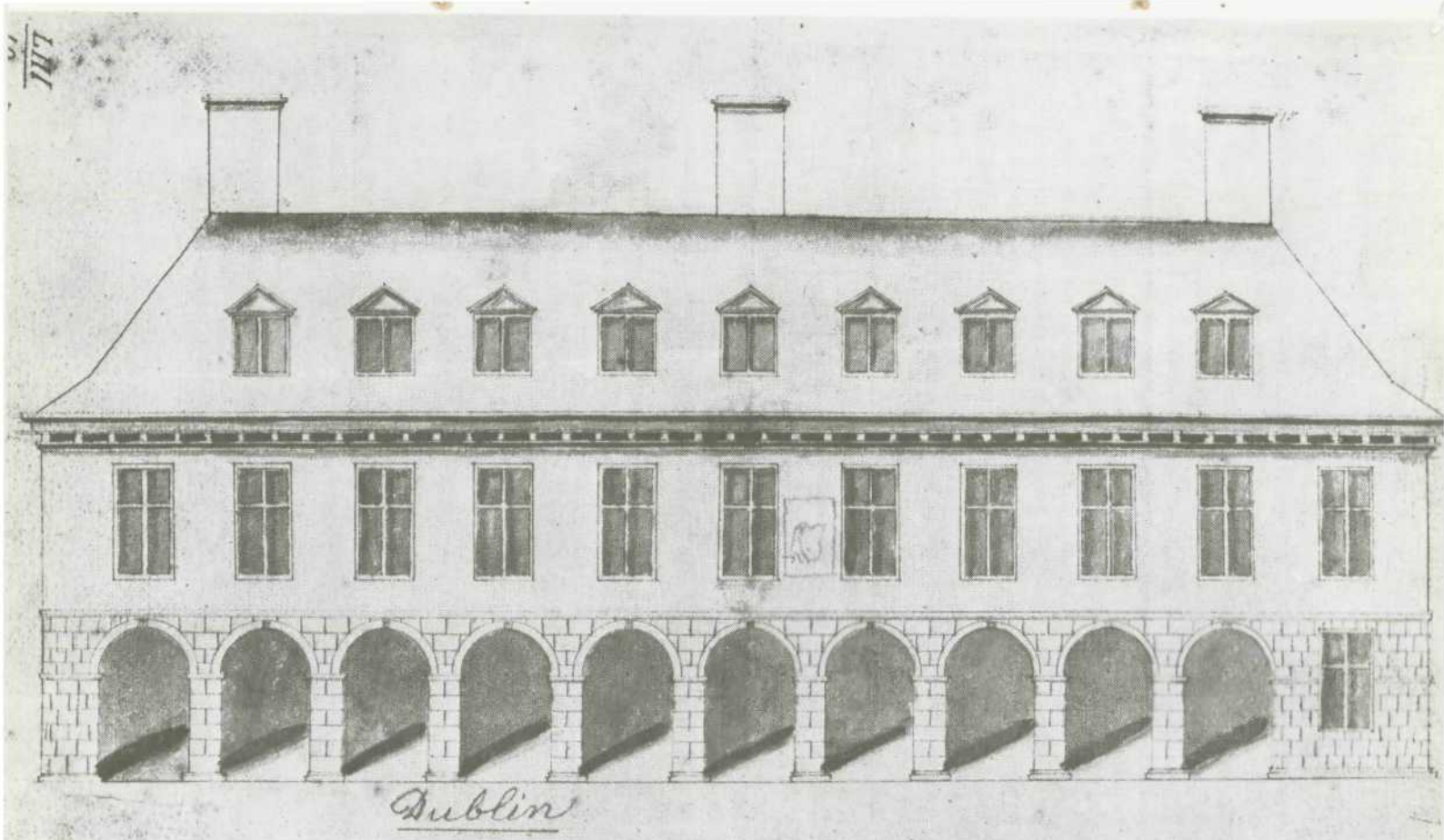


Plate 5. The "Great New Building on piers and arches" of Dublin Castle, most likely designed by William Robinson, executed by William Molyneux in 1687.

A Custom House was built in Belfast,<sup>83</sup> while the one in Limerick was repaired.<sup>84</sup> In the little town of Omagh had already been erected a session house for the assizes and a *gaol*,<sup>85</sup> before it was certain that the assizes for Co. Tyrone could be kept there. Another "commodious" session house was built at Naas, Co. Kildare, ". . . most of it new and advan't upon pillars which yet are soe disproportioned and dwarfish that a mean artist might judgee them set up in the darkest time of Barbarizme and before propocon or scimity was thought on."<sup>86</sup> The same correspondent remarks in 1682, when writing on country Kildare, that ". . . these towns seem to be to tall neglected, the Revenew being never applied to any publique use or generall good of the Corporacon or improvement of the towne noe [other] buildgens are here to be found . . .". It would be interesting to know if the same was true for the remaining counties. However, it is clear that some cities underwent considerable renovations. For example, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary, where Ormond had founded the woollen manufacture, and where his Palatine Court resided, saw the erection of the Main Guard in 1674,<sup>87</sup> and the plans by William Robinson for the prison,<sup>88</sup> as well as the building of many dwellings, and the strengthening of the fortifications.<sup>89</sup>

In some of the Irish towns, development was promoted by including building covenants in the lease. Sometimes, as in the case of the town of Dingle, Co. Kerry, this did not work out because of the anxiety of the people about a Turkish attack,<sup>90</sup> which, of course, never materialized. Many of the Irish towns must have looked like Dingle at that time, with its four or five houses with a roof, and thatched hovels.

The larger towns, such as Cork and Limerick, also expanded, even beyond their walls, but their consideration is outside the scope of this paper, as they are treated in more detail in other sources.

Thus far, only already existing towns and their development have been considered. However, the renewed policy of the government to extend its control over the whole of Ireland resulted in the promotion of new plantations and towns (see Plate 1). The numerous grants for manors after 1660 almost all referred "to the encouragement of all persons as shall settle themselves on the . . . lands,"<sup>91</sup> or "the better planting of the manor".<sup>92</sup> Some of the plethora of manors which were created, sporting such imaginative names as Gethingsgrott and Donovan's Leap,<sup>93</sup> probably never much materialized. On the other hand, many manors proved to be highly viable, mainly because of the strenuous efforts of their owners to build villages, attract industries and promote tillage. Thus there is often a direct relationship between the building of a country seat and the rise of a 'manorial' town. The

III  
D-C

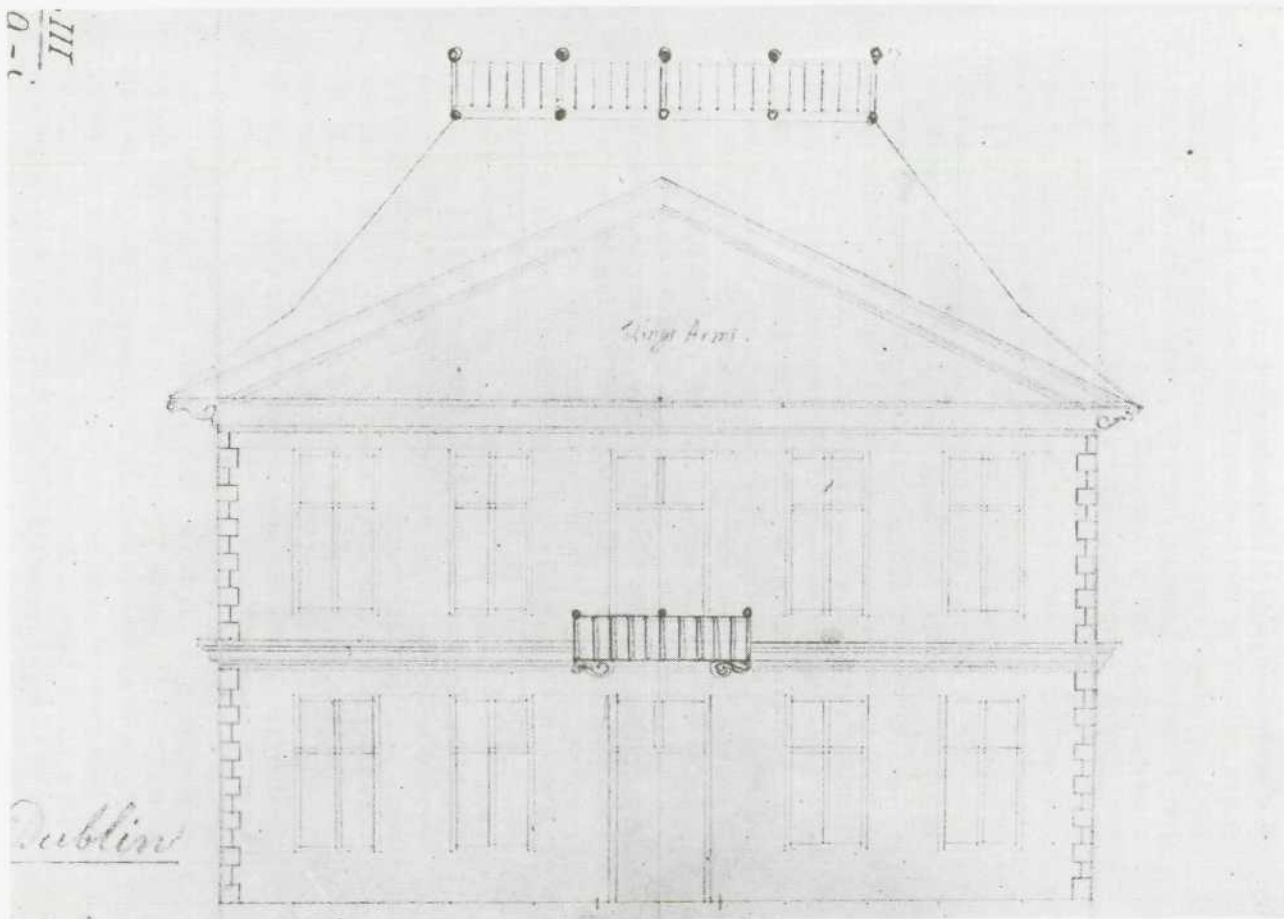


Plate 6: Design of the Grand Entrance of Dublin Castle, most likely designed by William Robinson, not executed as drawn.

Earl of Orrery's castle at Charleville, Co. Cork, started in 1661, was shortly followed by development of the town of Charleville (now Ráthluirc), where Orrery built a school as well as a church.<sup>94</sup> At Newtown Forbes, Co. Longford, a new village was founded near the renovated seat of the Earl of Granard,<sup>95</sup> where he also built "a fair and large Church Sumptuously adorned within . . ."<sup>96</sup> Lord Primate Boyle erected his palatial house at Blessington in the Wicklow Mountains, and founded the town of the same name, and built, not surprisingly, a church at the end of the vista leading from the house. The church was consecrated in 1683, and had a steeple containing "a ring of six bells" which was, with some difficulty, imported by Boyle from England.<sup>97</sup> Similarly, Sir George Lane (later Lord Lanesborough), enlarged his seat, Rathcline, Co. Longford, and promoted the building of stone houses at Lanesborough and a "very fair Church stately beautified within and with a Tall Steeple . . ."<sup>98</sup> More southwards, John Eyre founded the town of Eyrecourt, Co. Galway, near his newly built seat, and erected a chapel there in 1677. The high craftsmanship of the interior of his house stimulates speculation on the decoration of this little, now ruined, church.

By far the most enthusiastic developer must have been the third Viscount Conway, with his indefatigable agent Sir George Rawdon. They literally recreated Lisburn, Co. Antrim, after its destruction in 1641, while improving Lisburn Castle and building the country seat Portmore. Some of the houses of Lisburn town could easily have competed with town houses in England, such as that built in 1677 by the carpenter John Darley, which was "very fine work, set out to the street with medallions and cornice."<sup>99</sup> It would be supernumerary to list all the improvements wrought at Lisburn.<sup>100</sup> On his own estate, Rawdon made also many improvements, building the market town Moira, Co. Down, and that of Ballynahinch in the same county.<sup>101</sup> On Conway's estate, a number of churches were built, such as the one near his mansion Portmore, at Ballinderry (1666-8, recently restored),<sup>102</sup> and at Aghalee,<sup>103</sup> both in county Antrim. Furthermore the church at Lisburn was raised to Cathedral status, and subsequently a gallery was added.<sup>104</sup>

In some isolated instances, a town was erected away from the neighbourhood of a new seat. Such occurred with Portarlington, Co. Laois, which Sir George Rawdon laid out in 1667 for the Earl of Arlington,<sup>105</sup> an absentee landlord. Fortunately, a plan of the town has been preserved (plate 7), dated 1678, which shows its grid-outlay, with a market house in the centre, the whole enclosed by fortifications.<sup>106</sup> A printed memorandum from 1666 drawn up to attract sett-



Plate 7: Plan of the town of Portarlington, Co. Leix, in 1678.

lers to the town, stated, among other things, that timber for building could be had "above a musket shot from the town."<sup>107</sup> At the same time it provided stringent regulations, advising the new settlers how to erect their houses in the town, "to be made of good lime and stone . . . and to be roofed with shingles, tiles or slates, and to have dormant windows to the streets."

Sometimes a landowner of the old stock would order the laying out of a town. For example, in 1672 the Earl of Thomond granted a lease to Colonel John Blount, which contained a covenant to lay out the town of Kilrush, Co. Clare "and settle therein ten English families, or in want of them, ten tradesmen, and to build no houses but with brick or stone and lime, to be slated."<sup>108</sup>

Other landlords made minor improvements to the towns on their estates, such as Lord Herbert, who had a market house built at Castle Island, Co. Kerry,<sup>109</sup> and Sir John Perceval, who, after rebuilding Burton House, started a church at Churchtown (Co. Cork),<sup>110</sup> and planned an Inn, "But in ye mean time I think it will answere the Charge if I run up a stable of Cabins in the Towne with a sign to show Strangers there is Room for their horses tho there is none for themselves."<sup>111</sup> Perceval's guardian and relative, the well known Sir Robert Southwell, brought improvements not only to his own estate near Kinsale,<sup>112</sup> where he, among other things, raised almshouses in 1682,<sup>113</sup> (which fortunately have recently been well restored), but also built Killeshandra Church, Co. Cavan.<sup>114</sup> One of the landowners whose estates were the farthest west in the unsettled areas was the famed scientist and economist Sir William Petty. He built his house Killowen and settlement at the head of the Bay of Kenmare, in county Kerry, and developed fisheries, iron works, lead mines and marble quarries, and felt compelled to design a special chariot with a single wheel to reach his dwelling along the poor Kerry roads.<sup>115</sup>

Obviously, all the buildings, instigated by "improving" landlords, were in fact executed by a multitude of workmen. Most of these remain anonymous. Only in rare cases do contemporary records shed some light on their lives, as when the traveller Dineley depicted Staplestown village, Co. Carlow, mentioning the local mason, Hugh Brookshaw, and carpenter, Nicholas Langford, and drawing their humble cottages.<sup>116</sup>

*Church building.* During the preceding discussion on the building of towns, the erection of numerous churches was mentioned, all, as far as is known for Protestant services. Before elaborating on other Protestant churches built between 1660 and 1690, the other denominations will

be discussed.

From 1660 until 1669, Catholic priests enjoyed comparative freedom in Ireland, which must certainly have been a relief after the Cromwellian repression. About 1666, the friars of the Franciscan Friary, Bonamargy in County Antrim enlarged their vault and added a chapel,<sup>117</sup> but it seems likely that this was not an isolated case. Later, the position of Roman Catholics became less tenable, a situation accelerated by the Popish plot of 1678. The Earl of Orrery, a reputed hater of "Papists", upon return to his castle Charleville, Co. Cork, wrote to his friend, the Viscount Conway, in 1670: "Many convents have in my absence been erected. I am now pulling them down."<sup>118</sup> Apparently the Roman Catholic resistance to restrictive measures was greater than was supposed. Complaints about the building of four Roman Catholic chapels in Kilkenny, not far from Ormond's castle,<sup>119</sup> and the "hopeful progress of repair" of the abbey of Kilnalehine and the monastery of Kilconnell (Co. Galway),<sup>120</sup> occurred as late as 1684. It was only at the accession to the throne of James II in 1685 that the prospect of a Roman Catholic Ireland became brighter, although it proved to be a 'short exposure'. During Tyrconnell's time the religious orders came again into the open, and started rebuilding their churches, so that, even in close proximity to Dublin, a Benedictine foundation was erected in 1688.<sup>121</sup> In one case, it is known that a Roman Catholic landlord erected a domestic chapel on his estate within the Pale: Viscount Gormanstown had a chapel built at the manor of the same name in 1687.<sup>122</sup>

After the English Revolution, many Protestant churches were seized by the Catholics, disregarding James II's specific prohibition.<sup>123</sup> The ensuing Williamite War curtailed the Catholic supremacy, reducing the Catholics to a denigrating submission, which probably left them little subsequent liberty for church building.

The Puritans in the Commonwealth period frequently repaired the old parish churches, which they renamed "meeting houses". For example, in December 1653, the church at Carlow was ordered to be repaired, which was effected two years later. Similarly, meeting places in Jamestown, Swords and Waterford were restored during this period,<sup>124</sup> while in 1654, near Strabane, Co. Tyrone, the Urney Presbyterian Church was erected.<sup>125</sup> In many cases, residences for the ministers and their families were newly built or modified.<sup>126</sup>

In 1672, the Bishop of Derry reported that "a separate congregation" had built a large meeting house in the town of Londonderry, "within two to three doors of the Bishop's mansion house."<sup>127</sup> The Protestant Dissenters were concentrated in the North, and became so

"confident" that they built "oratoryes for themselves in almost every parish" near Lisburn, Co. Antrim.<sup>128</sup> They finally made plans to build a meeting house in Lisburn itself, which caused Rawdon to write to Conway in 1681, "It is near 50 years we have lived here in peace and I shall not willingly admit any such interruption in my days."<sup>129</sup> Conway, who earlier had stated his dislike of Anabaptist and Quaker tenants, "whose design is only to turn out the landlords . . .",<sup>130</sup> did however later employ the Quaker carpenter John Darley. Conway's wife became a Quaker, apparently not affecting Conway's attitude, as he directed Rawdon "to prosecute vigorously" any who intruded on his lands to preach.<sup>131</sup> Even in Dublin the Protestant Dissenters erected a meeting house not far from Dublin Castle in 1681, which was quickly repressed.<sup>132</sup> It would be most interesting to know if the Dissenters had already by then developed a distinct way of building, a question on which we have in later times more definitive information.

As pointed out, many landlords, while improving their estates, built Protestant churches as part of newly created towns. However, quite a number of other churches were erected, apparently apart from the raising of new villages or towns. Thus, for example, Richard Nugent, Earl of **Westmeath**, retired to the former Benedictine priory at Fore (Co. Westmeath), granted to his ancestors at the Dissolution of the monasteries, and thus rebuilt his castle and chapel before 1680.<sup>133</sup> Sir Robert Colville, after buying in 1675 the manor of Newtownards, Co. Down, converted the church there into a chapel. Judging from an 18th century description, it was the neatest church in Ulster, "The Pulpit is finely carved and gilded, and so are two large Seats of the Colvilles . . . the compass Ceiling divided into nine Panels, and curiously adorned with stucco work in Plaister of Paris, well executed in various Wreaths, Foliages, and the Figures of Angels. The Communion Table is raised and wainscotted, and encompassed with twisted Pillars carved and gilded."<sup>134</sup> Occasionally the name of the architect of a church is known. It is said that James Robb built the church at Waringstown, Co. **Down**,<sup>135</sup> after he had executed Waringstown House.

It seems likely that if classical examples were followed, they were loosely interpreted, as in the Protestant parish Church in Castlecaulfield, Co. Tyrone, erected in 1685.<sup>136</sup> Its 17th century doorway shows attached pillars of crude form, above which two cherubs hold a bible.<sup>137</sup>

Bolton, in his study on the Caroline tradition in the Church of Ireland, described the interior of a contemporary church as follows, "... the Royal arms either above the chancel door or in the centre of

the western gallery . . . The wide central passage is paved perhaps with black and white marble; the walls are wainscoted; the windows with cases and mullions of wood or stone and glazed with sheet glass . . . ; the roof of Irish oak is either uncovered, revealing finely carved hammer beams, or plastered and sometimes richly decorated with stucco work, and from it are suspended the branches in the centre and in the transept."<sup>138</sup> These churches, often laid out in simple aisleless cruciform or rectangular plan,<sup>139</sup> contained sometimes a finely carved bishop's throne, pulpit and reading desks, a chancel screen, often a Corinthian altarpiece, and other interior features worth a study in themselves.<sup>140</sup>

The upsurge in building of churches was promoted by the Commissioners specially appointed for this purpose as outlined by the Act of Settlement. That not all the bishops were favourable to this tendency, appears from the peculiar statement made by Lord Primate Boyle, that "this is not an age to build cathedrals, since it is so hard a matter to get one removed."<sup>141</sup> Notwithstanding this, many cathedrals were restored, such as the ones at Trim,<sup>142</sup> Armagh,<sup>143</sup> Lismore,<sup>144</sup> and Kilkenny. At the last, brass guns were melted for the casting of six bells.<sup>145</sup> Similarly, bells for the Cathedral of St. Patrick in Dublin were cast in 1670 by the Perdue brothers.<sup>146</sup> One new Cathedral was built by Bishop Jeremy Taylor at Dromore,<sup>147</sup> while the Cathedral at Kildare received a classical choir in 1686.<sup>148</sup> Cork was enriched by at least two steeples in the last half of the 17th century: in 1671 James Chatterton, John Seawell and "the best masons of Munster"<sup>149</sup> were to build the steeple of St. FinBarre Cathedral, while the spire of St. Peter's Church<sup>150</sup> went up in 1683. Undoubtedly, the list of renovated or newly built churches was in actuality much longer.<sup>151</sup> Their architectural history seems very intriguing.

*Bridges.* Communications in Ireland at the end of the 17th century must have been poor because of unpaved roads, often leading through bogs. Contemporary sources mention at times the repair of highways, for example in Ulster, undertaken by Sir George Rawdon, to prepare for a visit from the Lord Lieutenant.<sup>152</sup> Later writers call Rawdon, because of his improvement of roads, the "best highway man" of the North. Closely related with these improvements was the building of bridges. Sometimes acts were passed for this purpose,<sup>153</sup> or collections held, as in the case for a bridge in Galway.<sup>154</sup> In one case we know how much such a structure cost; that at Chapelizod, was built in 1668 for £195 1s. 7d.<sup>155</sup>

James Archer was the builder of a bridge, half of which was finished

within ten weeks, at Carrick-on-Suir, erected in 1668 for the Duke of Ormond.<sup>156</sup> Two years earlier, attempts to start the bridge failed because of the interference of the tories.<sup>157</sup> Fear of the Irish torpedoed some plans for bridges, for example in the case of a bridge over the Bann, given up, because "... the Bann being a great security hitherto from the Irish in Tyrone, Londonderry and the adjacent counties."<sup>158</sup>

According to a contemporary writer, the bridge built at Lanesborough, Co. Longford in 1677 was "in length and breadth the Largest in this Kingdom."<sup>159</sup> Another large, twelve-arched bridge, not yet finished in 1689, was erected at Belfast over the Lagan.<sup>160</sup> Dublin saw three new bridges over the Liffey,<sup>161</sup> signs that engineering was becoming a more prominent contributor to Ireland's landscape. The construction of bridges had a major impact on communications, but also changed drastically the defense of the country. As the engineer Thomas Phillips remarked in that time, the new bridges rendered the defense of the passes, formerly of crucial strategic importance, useless.<sup>162</sup> This in turn necessitated the development of new defensive techniques.

*Defense works of the country.* The Cromwellian erection of forts, subsequent to the destruction in the preceding years, has been briefly mentioned. The Caroline period is characterized by frequent reports on the fortifications, sometimes brought out by officers of the English Ordnance. These show something of the interdependent relationship between the Irish and English Ordnance. Although contemporary data on Irish fortifications are abundant, the information on the appearance of related architecture, such as the buildings inside the forts and the gates, seem to be rather scarce.

In one of the earliest reports after the Restoration, it was stated optimistically that about £5000 was required for the repair of the "King's castles, forts, citadels, bulwarks and platforms."<sup>163</sup> This move was brought on by the imminent threat of a French, and later, a Dutch invasion, on the one hand, and, on the other the frequent disturbances by the tories. The ruling class found itself impaled between the dangers of a foreign attack and the revenge of the disgruntled dispossessed. Recommendations for repairs of the fortifications followed each other at intervals of a few years,<sup>164</sup> directing attention mainly to the defense of the coasts. The Lord Lieutenant Essex felt the situation in February 1673 so urgent that he contemplated calling the Parliament *together*,<sup>165</sup> but four years later the bad state of the forts was still "no less shame than danger that it should be known, and concealed it cannot be."<sup>166</sup> At the end of Charles II's

reign the English Ordnance engineer Thomas Phillips was brought in, to examine the condition of the garrisons; his full report has been preserved, illustrated with admirable watercolours.<sup>167</sup> It notes too many weaknesses to enumerate here.

The continuous need for repair of the fortifications, was met in what now seem incidental emergencies. One of the first forts to be newly erected was the fort at Kinsale (later called Charles Fort). The imminent threat of a Dutch attack in 1667 on the valuable fleet in the Kinsale harbour, resulted in expansion of the fortifications, some of which were laid out by prince Rupert in 1649. The supervision of the work seems to have been solely in the hands of the gentleman-architect, the Earl of Orrery, then Lord President of Munster.<sup>168</sup> When the possibility of the Dutch attack subdued, the work on the fort was stopped, only to be taken up again in 1672. At that time, the engineer-in-chief was Paulus Storff, who thought himself indispensable for the progress of the work.<sup>169</sup> In the same year he had already been making maps and models of the towns and forts in Munster, and had stated that any place would fall in 48 hours, adding self-assertively that he could "take presently" the town and castle of Limerick.<sup>170</sup> It was only in 1677 that the building of Charles Fort was restarted seriously, although now in accordance with the designs of the Surveyor-General William Robinson, assisted by Captain James Archer, while the Earl of Orrery played again a supervisory role. The designs of the fort were brought over by Robinson to the English King, to obtain his approval.<sup>171</sup> Orrery must have been an enthusiastic promoter of the Irish defense, as before his involvement with Charles Fort, he had already erected three new citadels in the cities Cork and Limerick.<sup>172</sup> In the latter city, however, plans for the defense of its castle were again prepared in 1678, by a Colonel Hervey.<sup>173</sup> The repair of Galway fort was undertaken in 1666,<sup>174</sup> necessitated again fourteen years later, when William Robinson made an estimate.<sup>175</sup> Sir William Armorer, who was governor of Duncannon Fort (Co. Wexford), had this fort repaired in about 1672.<sup>176</sup>

Little is known about the rebuilding of the walls and gate houses of Irish towns. Especially the architectural features of these gate houses seem a promising field for study. The largest city, Dublin, had grown outside its walls, and consequently lacked proper defense. In 1673 the then Lord Lieutenant Lord Essex, resurrected an older plan for the erection of a citadel, "as ye Towne grows more considerable, so ye reasons for it become still more pregnant."<sup>177</sup> Probably he effected the arrival from England of Sir Bernard de Gomme, who made surveys of the city in 1673 and 1675,<sup>178</sup> designing a citadel so vast, and

undoubtedly expensive, that it remained an unfulfilled dream, although years later some hope of its execution still existed.<sup>179</sup>

The fortification of garrisons in the interior of the country such as Athlone and Charlemont seems to have had less attention from the authorities than the defense of crucial places at the coast. However the periodic threats of attacks by **tories** increased the importance of the inland garrisons and forts. For example, in 1666, a fort was erected at Belturbet, Co. **Cavan**, for the cost of £300.<sup>180</sup> An older fort at Charlemont, Co. Armagh, saw variegated renovations, starting after Viscount Conway became its governor in 1672. The work was supervised by the then relatively unexperienced William Robinson,<sup>181</sup> and much of it fell down the next year.<sup>182</sup> However, ten years later, **Robinson** was again requested to **provide** designs to fortify the place, which he declined because of the badness of the soil.<sup>183</sup>

The periodic presence of foreign engineers in Ireland was notable. Already mentioned were Storff and de **Gomme**. In themselves, the labours of foreign engineers in Ireland are less remarkable if one realizes that in England a similar situation existed.<sup>184</sup> Previous to the Irish Rebellion, John Rosworme, a German, had worked in Ireland.<sup>185</sup> During that time he was probably also active as a portrait painter.<sup>186</sup> A Danish engineer, very likely called Captain Frederick Fieffe, arrived in December 1684.<sup>187</sup> A month earlier, it is mentioned that an unidentified Italian engineer would work in Ireland.<sup>188</sup> Two English engineers crossed the Irish Channel in 1674. One of them, Andrew Yarranton, surveyed ironworks, woods and lands and projected a citadel at Ringsend to protect the Dublin harbour.<sup>189</sup> The other, the better-known Sir Jonas Moore, was one of the many to make a model of the citadel of Dublin.<sup>190</sup> He also completed a survey of the Irish Ordnance Stores, assisted in his task by William Robinson.<sup>191</sup>

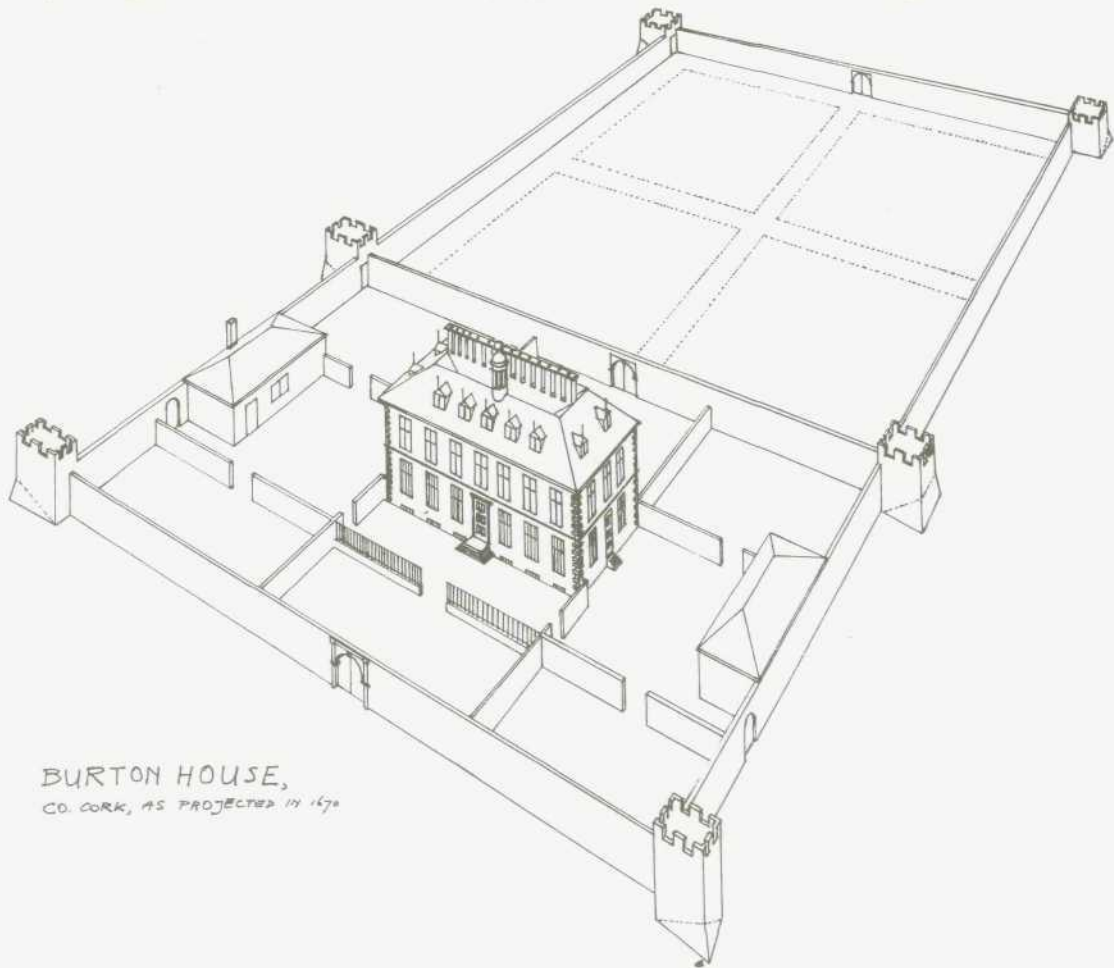
During the Williamite war, many foreign engineers were employed; James II made use of French engineers, while in William III's army could be found a Dutch chief engineer, called Meesters,<sup>192</sup> and numerous colleagues, mostly of German and Danish origin.<sup>193</sup>

What factors influenced the outlay of the fortifications? One such factor was the use of design books on fortifications. Information on the use of these books in Ireland is scarce, but it is known that the Duke of **Ormond** had a few such works in his library.<sup>194</sup> Also, of course, Irish engineers went abroad to study fortifications. The Catholic Captain James Archer, who supervised the work at Charles Fort, had been in the French service, and according to Ormond was more experienced in engineering than William Robinson.<sup>195</sup> The latter went several times to England, if not further abroad, and must have been

familiar with foreign fortifications. His fellow Surveyor-General, the scholar William Molyneux, was sent out in 1685 by the Irish Government to take draughts of the most important fortifications in Flanders. During the greater part of his travels through Holland, Germany and France he was accompanied by Lord Mountjoy,<sup>196</sup> which is not surprising, as the latter was Master of the Ordnance in Ireland. Much could be written on the Irish Ordnance and their care of the fortifications, of which only some illustrations are provided here.

*Irish Country Houses and Castles.* It might have been possible to provide an exhaustive account of Irish fortifications and country houses, were it not that the last known copy of the only contemporary work covering both topics was lost some years ago. This book, by James Robb, called *An account of many fortifications and the seats of the Nobility and Gentry of Ireland*, appeared in 1688.<sup>197</sup> Fatefully, the Irish version of the *Vitruvius Britannicus*, entitled the *Vitruvius Hibernicus*, although planned in the 18th century, never reached the printing presses, so that also from that source no information has come to us on Irish Caroline country houses. Contemporary descriptions by travellers and others are infrequent. The most regular visitors of the "Big Houses" were the Irish poets, such as O'Bruadair, O'Rahilly and O'Carolan, but in their eulogies of the mansions they thoughtlessly present very few architectural details.<sup>198</sup> Original drawings of the houses excel in their rarity. In addition to this, practically all the known country houses of the period are ruined, or, more precisely, simply erased from the landscape, or changed beyond recognition. Only in the case of Beaulieu, Co. Louth, does Ireland still possess a sound example of a country seat, sole survivor of a former plenitude.

Fortunately, contemporary records show many details of the building of the country seats, and it is from these that examples will be chiefly drawn. Before going into details, it is perhaps enlightening to imagine the sort of landscape which served as background to these houses, in contrast to the contemporary scene. As MacLysaght in his *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century*, explains, the "innumerable fields of today, divided from each other and from the network of roads by hedges and walls and banks", did not exist in that time. Rather, "wide, unenclosed spaces . . . intersected by a few scarcely passable tracks . . ." <sup>199</sup> characterized lands on which the human hand had left few permanent traces. Here the Anglo-Irish gentry (about whom more in MacLysaght's work) erected their seats and, as we have seen, founded towns, often in the middle of their plantations.<sup>200</sup> Plate 1 gives an idea of the distribution of these seats across the country.



BURTON HOUSE,  
CO. CORK, AS PROJECTED IN 1670

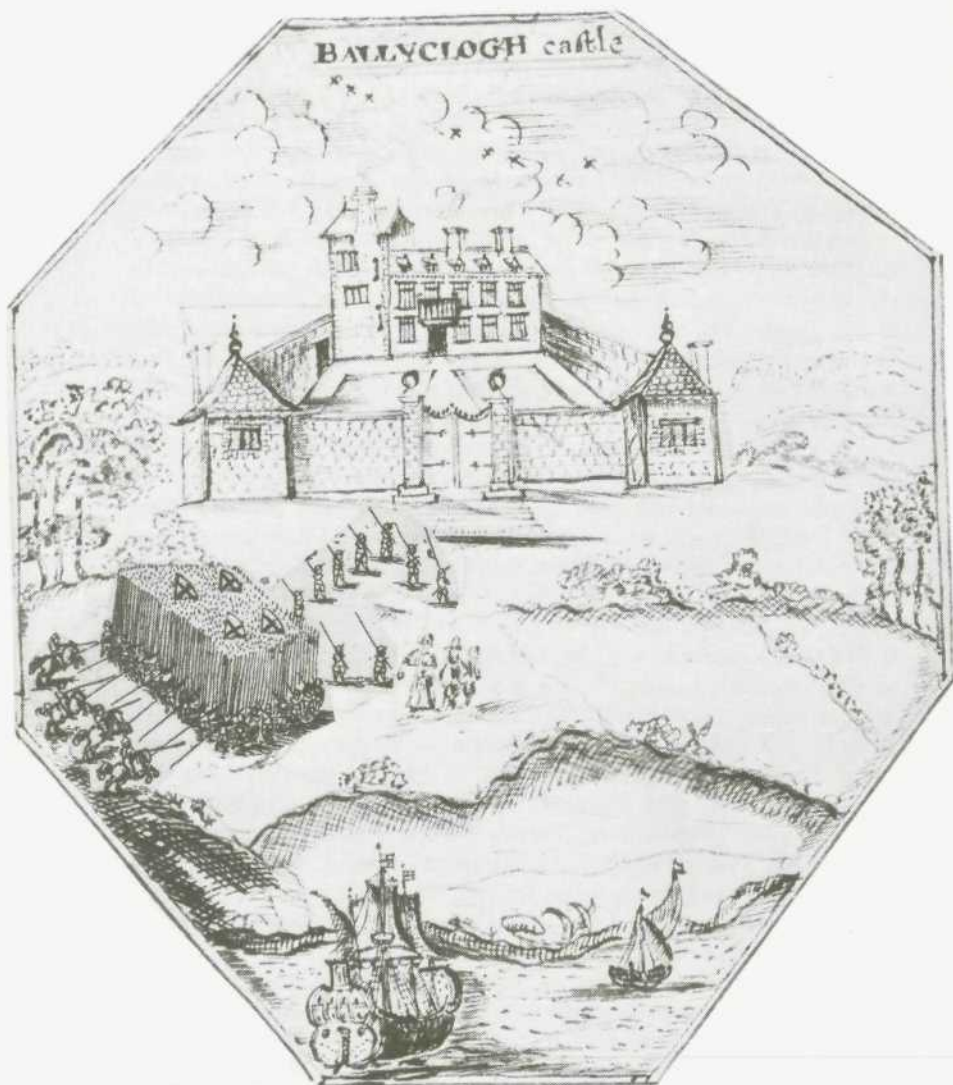
Plate 8: Conjectural reconstruction of Burton House, Co. Cork.

They were by no means concentrated in the Pale, but extended to untouched areas as far as county Kerry. Few of these lie in Connaught, and then only just across the Shannon, reminding one of the stipulations of the Cromwellian settlement. Although the findings of this study are hardly based on a random sample of Irish seats of the reign of Charles II, it still seems possible to make some tentative conclusions. Some counties in the centre of the country (i.e. counties Limerick, Tipperary, Leix, Offaly, Westmeath, Cavan and Monaghan) show remarkably few new seats as compared with most of the other counties. In Ulster, most of the houses seem to have been erected in the neighbourhood of Lough Neagh, together with a concentration in Co. Down. The aforementioned counties were allocated during the Cromwellian settlement to the Adventurers and soldiers, while other counties such as Dublin, Kildare, Carlow and Cork remained reserved for disposal by the government. Particularly around the city of Dublin and in county Kildare a number of country houses were built, a fact which seems contrary to what a contemporary writer noticed.<sup>201</sup>

In the occasional odd case, the policy of settling and planting came in the form of a royal bounty, as when Sir Henry O'Neale was granted 600 oak trees to encourage him to build a house at Killelaugh.<sup>202</sup> This nobleman was one of the few of the old Gaelic stock restored to his estates, similarly as the soldier Daniel O'Neill, cousin of Owen Roe O'Neill, who however, used his huge fortune to build in England Belsize House, near London.<sup>203</sup> He was probably an exception; a more usual situation was that a wealthy Irish landowner had an Irish as well as an English seat. The Duke of Ormond owned for a number of years Moor Park, Hertfordshire, the Earl of Orrery possessed Marston Bigott, Somerset, and Viscount Conway's estate in England comprised Ragley, Warwickshire. These are a few examples only.<sup>204</sup> Especially in the case of Lord Conway's estate, Ragley in England, and Lisburn Castle and Portmore in Ireland, the employment of the same craftsmen on both sides of the Irish Channel can be clearly illustrated (about which more below).

Certainly not all of the owners of land in Ireland, even though absentees, felt complete Englishmen. Lord Conway exhibited a keen interest in Ireland and calls it "our country."<sup>205</sup> Apart from their English country houses, many Irish noblemen had town houses in Dublin, as well as in London.<sup>206</sup>

More important for this paper are the Irish seats. Before going into detail about their features, one more word on the estates of which the houses were part. As shown, the plantation and subsequent improvement of estates was widespread in the late Caroline period. Part of this



*Plate 9: T. Dineley's drawing of Ballyclough, Co. Clare, in 1685.*

is reflected in the amount of money expended on improvements. Orrery reported in 1677 that he had laid out "in building and parks and their improvement for the good of posterity," the sum of £20,000.<sup>207</sup> A wall surrounding the demesne at Hillsborough, Co. Down, was estimated alone to have cost near £2,000, a considerable expense for that time. Of course, these amounts were outdone by the expense of building a wall around Phoenix Park, then a Royal deerpark, for a mere £7,890 1s. 5d;<sup>208</sup> the wall proved to be of such bad quality, that immediate repairs were necessary to preserve it.

Some of the landowners, like the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Thomond, had vast estates, which were leased to gentlemen upon "fee-farm or quitrents and military tenures, by which they were obliged to follow their lord . . . into the field upon any occasion of hosting . . ."<sup>209</sup> These gentlemen had often building covenants included in their leases, such as Donough O'Brien who had to enclose within seven years "his parts of the outbounds with a double stone wall; to build a house of four couples [=principal rafters] and two ends, with a double stone chimney . . ."<sup>210</sup> Plate 9 shows such a house, Ballyclough, Co. Clare, built by Henry Hickman, Esq., on land which he leased from Viscount Clare in 1668.<sup>211</sup> Usually, the Anglo-Irish landowners preferred English tenants, although many, such as Ormond, considered that husbandry could not be carried out without the aid of "very many Popish [i.e. Irish] tenants."<sup>212</sup> Also in many other ways the landowners were, obviously, mainly oriented towards England and English matters. For example, the Earl of Orrery repaired the Castle at Castlemartyr, Co. Cork, and made it "English like",<sup>213</sup> while Lord Conway's estate at Lisburn was called by the Earl of Barrymore, himself of old Irish stock, "the best and most absolute Englishlike plantation in this kingdom."<sup>214</sup> In the same way, a lease for the building of a house in Belfast, stipulated that it should be a "good handsome Englishlike house."<sup>215</sup> One might speculate at this point on the actual meaning of 'Englishlike'. Leases even included occasionally statements that the tenant should plough in the English manner, or that he should "preserve the underwood in the English manner."<sup>216</sup> It was not uncommon that the old Irish names of places had English ones substituted, following official policy to do so. Thus Orrery changed Rathgogan to Charleville, Conway's Lisnegarvy became Lisburn, and Perceval preferred Egmont above Ballymacow.

The Anglo-Irish country houses often stood as isolated islands in the hostile sea of Irish inhabitants, occasionally far from English garrisons. Irish landowners, who saw their estates forfeited, often turned into Tories, and started to rob houses. This became a grave threat to

the *Anglo-Irish*, as expressed in a letter of the Lord Lieutenant Essex to the King. "As for ye robbery committed . . .", he wrote in 1673, "they doe *dayly* increase, and are, I confess, grown too such an height [that they] look almost like petit rebellions, they going by 20 or 30 in a company, breaking open Houses even in ye day Time."<sup>217</sup> It is not surprising that, for example, Lord Herbert, who had built Castle Island, Co. Kerry, in 1671, wrote in a letter that he was living in "a country wild and barbarous by reason of the ill ways to it and the dangerous inhabitants."<sup>218</sup> The year 1673 must have marked a climax in robberies, as in the North many inhabitants left their own houses and fled to the towns to escape the *tories*.<sup>219</sup> Also the following years numerous reports kept coming in about robberies, only alleviated for short times,<sup>220</sup> due to individual and later organized persecution, leading often to the death of the *tories*. One gentleman, describing his sporting amusement, noted casually, "but we have not had more success in any sport than Tory hunting."<sup>221</sup> It is not known if the *tories* interfered with the actual building of houses; they were perhaps more interested in later theft of the valuable contents.<sup>222</sup> Some houses withstood the attack of the *tories*, such as Lord Aungier's house at Longford, attacked by a group of *tories*, who succeeded only in burning the village.<sup>223</sup> Many other seats had less fortunate fates, sometimes being besieged for a time before forced to surrender. This happened to Sir William Petty's distant Killowen House in Co. Kerry, which finally fell under the Irish in 1687.

Understandably, the threat of the *tories* had a major impact on the laying out of country seats. While the early seventeenth century castles still had pistol holes, corner turrets, corbelled galleries or machicolations, these disappeared in the middle of the 17th century. Instead, country houses were built which had, save perhaps for their heavy doors with spyholes, or the iron bars in the windows of the first floor,<sup>224</sup> and the "firelock musquets" of the *inhabitants*,<sup>255</sup> no other defense characteristics. A notable fortified seat must have been Charleville, Co. Cork, designed by the gentleman-architect the Earl of Orrery in 1661, which consisted of living quarters on one side of a walled court with flankers and which could be defended with sixteen guns.

The lack of defense of most seats was compensated to a degree by the erection of curtain walls around the house, or in front of it (see plates 8 and 9).<sup>226</sup> The basic difference of this arrangement from early 17th century examples was the placement within the enclosure of a house in the artisan mannerist style.<sup>227</sup> The defense purpose of most enclosures is unquestionable. The one at Killyleagh Castle, Co. Down

(probably of 1666), still has merlons, each with a gun hole, behind which runs a narrow wall walk. Sometimes, as in the case of Burton House, Co. Cork (see frontispiece and plate 8) and Rathcline, Co. Longford, the enclosures consisted of two almost square walled spaces,<sup>228</sup> one of which contained the house, the other the pleasure garden. This design created large outlays; the length of the two enclosures at Burton House measured at least 464 feet, with a breadth of 248 feet.<sup>229</sup> In many cases, including Burton House and Rathcline, both enclosures had turrets on each corner. Apart from the outward defense at Burton House, there was also inward defense: "Eyther of the 4 doors of the Maine House may be defended from two Turretts . . .", in the case of a surprise by the enemy.<sup>230</sup> To make this inward defense possible, the walls surrounding the different courts within the enclosure were intended to be only seven feet high, while the outer walls, between the turrets, would be 13 feet in height (see Plate 8). The importance of the defense purpose of these turrets cannot be underestimated, as is also clear from the restoration of the turrets at Lisburn Castle, Co. Antrim, in 1665.<sup>231</sup>

While some of the seats had but one entrance in the enclosure, like Ballyclough, Co. Clare (Plate 9) and Killyleagh Castle, Co. Down,<sup>232</sup> some had more, which makes the defense aspect less pertinent. Rathcline had three entrances, and Burton House at least four.<sup>233</sup> These were occasionally adorned with classical surrounds.<sup>234</sup>

When discussing building covenants for gentlemen tenants reference was made to stipulations to build a "double stone wall" around the house. In other cases also, regulations were drawn up to "enclose at least an acre of ground with a good stone wall or a double ditch."<sup>235</sup> Many country houses such as Springhill,<sup>236</sup> Co. Derry, and Old Court, Co. Wicklow,<sup>237</sup> had walled enclosures. These were not necessarily erected of stone: Beaulieu House, Co. Louth, was surrounded by a twelve foot hedge or pallsade,<sup>238</sup> while the one at Killowen House, Co. Kerry, was built of clay.<sup>239</sup> However, in the case of a few houses, traces of enclosures have not yet been found, such as at Kilcreene House, Co. Kilkenny, and Eyrecourt, Co. Galway. The latter house in particular, lying far out in the West, across the Shannon, seemed to have had remarkably little defense possibilities. Some of the largest houses, such as Blessington, Co. Wicklow, and Portmore, Co. Antrim, probably never had enclosures. Rather, their defense was more or less guaranteed by the quartering of soldiers in the direct neighbourhood,<sup>240</sup> or by having them sleep in the house<sup>241</sup> One should not forget, of course, that these measures were not immediately necessary for many of the older Irish seats, many of which were still inhabited, like Bun-

ratty, Co. Clare, and Carrigunnel, Co. Limerick, and numerous small keeps, which maintained their mediaeval defenses.

Besides the erection of new country houses, a number of old castles received additions, such as Ross Castle, Co. Kerry, which was finished in 1688,<sup>242</sup> and **Ballyclough**, Co. Clare (Plate 9). The rebuilding of Ballykit in the same county comprised the incorporation of the old castle in the new house, whereas at a new seat at Tourin, Co. **Waterford**, the old keep was left standing at the rear.<sup>243</sup> Some of the older castles were completely renovated, and like Kilkenny Castle, lost their defense characteristics.<sup>244</sup> It is known that some Anglo-Irish families, like the Moores lived in old abbeys such as those at Mellifont, Co. **Meath**, and Monasterevan, Co. Kildare, the latter of which was restored as dwelling house in 1661.<sup>245</sup>

The much favoured rectangular plan of the early 17th century, with flankers on the corners, as at **Kanturk**, Co. Cork, and **Portumna**, Co. Galway, fell into disuse in the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>246</sup> The same fate befell the Greek cross plan, on which houses such as Ichtermurragh, Co. Cork, and Castle Raw, Co. Armagh, were built.<sup>247</sup> Instead, the simple rectangular plan was preferred in the last half of the 17th century. As part of the rectangular plan some seats had a projecting frontispiece, set in the centre of the front facade, as at Eyrecourt (Co. Galway) and Carton (Co. Kildare). In an odd case, as at Beaulieu (Co. Louth) two projecting frontispieces were employed, not in the centre but on the extremes of the house.<sup>248</sup>

The older **H-plan**, as could be seen at Oldbawn, Co. Dublin, erected c. 1635,<sup>249</sup> was little imitated, except at Lord Primate Boyle's seat at Blessington, Co. Wicklow, and at the late 17th century Finnebrogue, Co. Down.<sup>251</sup> On the other hand, Loughlinstown (Co. Dublin), Platten Hall (Co. Meath), Richhill (Co. Armagh), and Kilcreene (Co. Kilkenny) were all built on **U-plans**, although these differed in the length of the legs of the *U*.

The size of the houses varied greatly, and can be differentiated into three groups. Blessington, with its eleven bays, and Dunmore (Co. Kilkenny), seem to have been among the **largest**.<sup>251</sup> A group of smaller, but still considerable country houses consisted of the old Carton (Co. Kildare), Richhill (Co. Armagh) and Finnebrogue (Co. Down).<sup>252</sup> An even smaller group of houses were formed by Burton House (Co. Cork), Eyrecourt (Co. Galway), and Beaulieu (Co. Louth), each of seven bays.<sup>253</sup> Outside the above groups of houses falls Killowen House (Co. Kerry), which measured only 44 by 44 feet.

Apart from the plans and sizes, the late 17th century houses also differed considerably from the earlier houses in their elevations.

Whereas the Jacobean houses had large windows, the Caroline ones had smaller window openings. Furthermore there was a distinct shift towards symmetry, and, most important of all, the use of classical details on the exterior of the houses. It is for the first time in Ireland that at houses such as Eyrecourt and Carton a pediment becomes a regular feature above the frontispiece, in the latter case decorated with a coat of arms. The pediment was not applied everywhere, as one can judge from *Beaulieu*, Kilcreene and Blessington. But these houses also exemplify classical ideas. They share with the others the regular placing of wall openings (windows and doors), always totalling to an odd number, so that the front door could be placed in the centre of the building. Moreover, the houses invariably had high pitched roofs sprinkled with dormers, features which only disappeared from Ireland in the beginning of the Georgian era. A particular feature of the roof could be a lantern, which, in the case of Burton House, Co. Cork, was planned with a copper ball on top of it, three feet in diameter.<sup>254</sup>

The roofs of country houses can be distinguished according to three types: 1) Hip-roofed houses (see plate 8). The roofs of these houses were often *stacketed*, i.e. they were slightly curved at the base,<sup>255</sup> giving the houses a frivolous elegance (see Plates 5 and 6). The projecting roof rims were often supported by gracefully carved cantilevers.<sup>256</sup> The chimney stacks were usually executed in brick and frequently adorned with recessed panels.<sup>257</sup> 2) Another type of roof carried Holborn gables. These embellished Echlinville (Co. Down), and can still be seen at Waringstown (Co. Down), and Richhill (Co. Armagh). Outside Ulster, this type of gable seems not to have been used in the late 17th century. 3) Gabled houses. These relatively simple houses had two large gables at each end. Houses such as Mosstown and Fermoy, both in Co. Longford, and Ballykit, Co. Clare, were of this type.

The classical *façades* were often based on architectural pattern books, published in Italy, France and Holland.<sup>258</sup> Although the information on the actual use of these books in Ireland is lacking, it is known that the Duke of Ormond had in his library Rubens' *Palazzi di Genova*.<sup>259</sup> Another person, who actually had read Wotton's *The Elements of Architecture*, and very likely also *Vitruvius' Dieci libri dell' architettura*,<sup>260</sup> was Anne, Lady Conway. Although she was not a regular visitor to Ireland, nonetheless she advised on the building of one of her husband's seats in Ireland.<sup>261</sup> Plate 10 shows her portrait by the Dutch painter Samuel van Hoogstraten, who painted her in a fictive setting dominated by classical features, emphasising a highly sophisticated sense for contemporary architecture.

A more direct source of influence on Irish architecture was the



**Pi** *Mr. Anna, Viscountess Conway, by Samuel van Hoogstraaten, in a fictive highly stylized architectural milieu.*

intensive relations with England. The English architect Daniel Thomas has already been mentioned. A considerable number of English craftsmen obtained letters of denization in Ireland, among whom the bricklayer, Richard Mills,<sup>262</sup> who in 1672 concluded a contract to erect Sir Hierome Alexander's building at Trinity College, Dublin.<sup>263</sup> He later became Assistant to the Master of City Works, in which capacity he was involved with a number of buildings, all in Dublin.<sup>264</sup> Richard Mills was only one of the four English bricklayers to obtain letters of denization. They were part of a larger group of 23 glaziers, carpenters, masons, and plasterers all of whom came from England between 1664 and 1673.<sup>265</sup> Not all of the English craftsmen, coming over to Ireland stayed there permanently. Some, like William Hurlbut, who was later to build Ragley, Warwickshire after the designs of Dr. Robert Hooke, visited Ireland at least once with three workmen to work at the enormous stable at Portmore.<sup>266</sup> Also his patron, Lord Conway, who seemed to have been an amateur architect himself,<sup>267</sup> very likely has left his mark on his own Irish houses, although no definite data are available, owing to the disappearance of most of his letters.

The scientist-architect Dr. Robert Hooke, was employed by Sir Robert Southwell<sup>268</sup> in England. Although it is not known that Hooke built in Ireland, it is certain that Southwell encouraged him to give advice to Sir John Perceval, who was then building Burton House, Co. Cork.<sup>269</sup> Perceval made several recommendations to alter this house, "because upon inquiry here in London I find ye fashion to have ye Doores of Roomes as much as may be in ye Corners of ye Roomes . . ." <sup>270</sup> At Kilkenny Castle, piers were constructed in 1681, probably for the Waterhouse, for which Hugh May was consulted, who in turn asked the opinion of Christopher Wren.<sup>271</sup> The latter might have been involved at the Royal Chapel of Dublin Castle, on which a number of English craftsmen were employed. Irish architects, such as William Robinson, went periodically to England and must have met their colleagues there,<sup>272</sup> and have seen the many new buildings in London and the country. Robinson's designs for the Royal Works were usually sent over to England for approval by the King, who undoubtedly was advised in these matters by others, adding another source of foreign influence in Irish architecture. Only one Anglo-Irishman reached the Surveyor General's office in England; this was Sir John Denham, the poet, who did not "possess any technical knowledge of architecture . . .",<sup>273</sup> and to whom no building can be ascribed with any certainty.

In any event, by external influences and probably also by less well defined influences from within Ireland, many country houses were

erected. Some of their architectural details will be discussed now. One of the notable features are the window surrounds. These were sometimes executed simply as plaster rustication,<sup>274</sup> or, as at Beaulieu, in delicately rubbed brick of very high quality,<sup>275</sup> together with string-courses which enclose the house firmly. At the same house, the windows on the side façade are grouped, thus avoiding monotony. Windows in these houses were small as compared with their Jacobean predecessors,<sup>276</sup> and made of wood instead of stone, as in the case of Eyrecourt (Co. Galway), where they were of the transom and mullion type, decorated on the outside with carvings.<sup>277</sup> Occasionally, very tall windows were projected, as at Burton House, Co. Cork, which were to be 10 feet high.<sup>278</sup> Although pediments above windows did not occur at any known Caroline country house, they had been used at an earlier date,<sup>279</sup> and were applied to crown two side doors at Beaulieu, supported by pilasters. The surrounds of the front doors often exhibited mannerist details as in its capitals,<sup>280</sup> which deviated from strictly classical rules. Frequently, the front doors were surmounted by either a scroll<sup>281</sup> or a segmental pediment.<sup>282</sup> An exception seems to have been the classical door surround of the front door at Killyleagh Castle (Co. Down), which was topped by heavy, but elegant strapwork, flanked by two lions, which unfortunately was replaced in the 19th century.<sup>283</sup> As a general rule the doors tended to be taller than the later Georgian front doors. It is interesting to note that two features, recurrent in English country houses, have not yet been discovered: platforms on the roof "for the pleasure of the prospect, [and] walk . . ."<sup>284</sup> as the English gentleman-architect Sir Roger Pratt described, seemed to have been absent on Irish country houses.<sup>285</sup> Having a good prospect from the house, was considered an asset when judging country seats. For example, the soldier John Stevens after passing Eyrecourt in 1691, wrote in his diary: "the house large with a pleasant wood in the back of it; but no good prospect any way, nor any river near it."<sup>286</sup>

Also, giant pilasters seem not to have been applied on the façades of Irish country houses (they were first used at the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham). However, at Clonmannon (Co. Wicklow), a small house can be found, possibly of the late 17th century,<sup>287</sup> where doric pilasters were placed on the front, of much reduced proportions. These rest upon a rusticated ground floor; the whole is executed in brick of a warm colour, a design more Palladian than Caroline, and probably one of the first of its kind to appear in Ireland.

The absence of giant pilasters and platforms, however, does not make late Caroline country houses that much different from many

English counterparts. On the contrary, most of the Irish examples of the artisan mannerist style reflect the English tradition of building at the time, although they tend to be somewhat later than in England.

Brick was not often used as the main building material, except at Blessington. At Eyrecourt, local bricks were used for the inner walling, while rubble covered by plaster was employed for the outside.<sup>288</sup> The late 17th century bricks usually measured approximately  $8\frac{1}{4}$  by 4 by 2 inches, but this could vary.<sup>289</sup> They often were fired near the site of the house.

More commonly, country houses were built of rubble, or hewn stone, from a quarry in the direct neighbourhood of the seat.<sup>290</sup> Similarly, although Ireland imported Norway timber, for building construction, the timber for many country houses was obtained from woods in the immediate neighbourhood of the house.<sup>291</sup> The condition of Irish woods steadily deteriorated during the seventeenth century, caused by extensive cutting for the iron works and marking of live trees for tanning. Much timber was also destroyed for shingling,<sup>292</sup> which was a regular roofing in those days. To control the use of shingling, in 1667 the manufacture of pantiles was promoted by the issue of special patent.<sup>293</sup> Other roofing materials were slate, and thatching, for we learn that some of the gentry in the counties Cork and Limerick lived in "thatched houses".<sup>294</sup> Thatching of larger houses seems to have been common in the planters' houses of the North. Probably Waringstown (Co. Down), for example, and several other houses originally had such roofs.<sup>295</sup>

Obviously, glass for windows of country seats could often not be obtained in the countryside, and had to be transported from bigger cities, such as Cork.<sup>296</sup> Already in 1656 and again in 1665 Sir George Rawdon considered the possibility of establishing a glass manufacture at Lisburn, for the production of bottles and window panes (mirror glass is not mentioned).<sup>297</sup> Five years later a small glass works was set up in Portarlinton, Co. Leix,<sup>298</sup> while Dublin counted at that period several glassmakers. In 1672 Sir George Rawdon could write to Lord Conway that "Gabiell is as good a glasier as can be had anywhere," and that "glass may be gott as well in Ireland",<sup>299</sup> implying that before that date import of glass from England was not uncommon.

From one of the earliest references after the end of the Cromwellian campaign, it appears that not only glass but also windowframes were to be sent over from Chester in 1653 for John Perceval's buildings.<sup>300</sup> The import of building materials from England covered a wide variety of items, from nails,<sup>301</sup> "linseed and colours" to elm-planks.<sup>302</sup> After the pulling down of Conway Castle in Wales, Lord Conway had about thirty-three tons of its lead transported to Lisburn Castle for use

there.<sup>303</sup> At Kilkenny Castle, Purbeck pavement was installed, similarly brought over from England.<sup>304</sup> The import of these building materials was to a certain extent reciprocated by the export from Ireland to England of timber after the great fire of London,<sup>305</sup> and, as we will see in the next section, also of marble.

*Interior.* Except for the plans of the interiors of Beaulieu and Kilcreen, little is known of the arrangement of rooms in late Caroline houses. In both houses no double-pile arrangement of rooms is found. Beaulieu is characterized by its great hall in the centre, which takes up two stories; its staircases were set in the back of the building.<sup>306</sup> Kilcreen, on the other hand, had a one storey hall, similar to Eyrecourt. Only at Kilcreen were the stairs placed in the centre of the building at the sides of the hall.<sup>307</sup> Although in most buildings the living quarters were on the first floor, there seems to have been a *piano nobile* at Eyrecourt,<sup>308</sup> taking up the second floor.

In some of the houses<sup>309</sup> innerwalls were erected of wood, a practice more common for Jacobean and Elizabethan buildings.

One of the main centrepieces of the houses was often the carved staircase. The one at Dunmore, Co. Kilkenny, was "so large that twenty men might walk abreast."<sup>110</sup> Burton House at one stage was to have a smaller staircase of elmwood imported from Bristol, which was to be cut through in "leaves and antics", after London examples.<sup>311</sup> Only one of the masterpieces of this type of carving has survived,<sup>312</sup> originally at Eyrecourt, Co. Galway, now packed in crates in a dead storage area of the Detroit Institute of Arts. This massive staircase (plate 11 and 12), delicately carved in oak, has two flights ascending *commodiously* to a common landing, where it unites to form one flight leading up to the second floor. While going up the stairs one had ample opportunity to rest upon one of the three landings in between, and to enjoy the curling wave of leaves of the balustrades, flaming down from two long-nosed masks upstairs. The staircase is adorned with a large number of masks, some of which are hidden among the acanthus leaves and strapwork. They carry ferocious expressions, fixating the powerless spectator, and are undoubtedly ancestors to the masks used on 18th century Irish furniture. In contrast with all the movements of the acanthus foliage are the 28 unruffled flower pots, also carved in oak, crowning each newel. Although England is rich in similar staircases, some of them carved by Edward Pearce or Grinling Gibbons, this Irish example excels in exuberance.<sup>313</sup> Whereas the staircases at Beaulieu and Kilcreene were completely disconnected from the hall, the one at Eyrecourt, was almost integrated with the



*Plate 11: Staircase of Eyrecoiirt, Co. Galway, when still in situ  
(now stored in the Detroit Institute of Arts).*

hall, were it not that a carved screen of arches separated the two (Plate 12).

At Eyrecourt, an elaborate bracketed cornice at the second floor landing led the eye to a plaster ceiling, executed in rectangular panels, decorated with elegant curly branches, complete with pendants. This ceiling, though less baroque than that of the Chapel in the Royal Hospital, showed a craftsmanship generally thought impossible for a seat so far west in the country. Nearer the Pale, Beaulieu House can still proudly show the visitor a different kind of ceiling. Here a heavy oval floral garland is set in the midst of four similar quarter circles. Contrasting with the light hue of the plaster, a skewed perspective painting in the centre, in the style of Verrio, shows a gallery opening into a clouded and cherubined sky, which is unlikely to deceive the observer. More examples of this type of ceiling must have existed in Ireland, as we learn that the banquetting room in the Waterhouse near Kilkenny Castle also had "a painted skye roof with Angells . . ."<sup>314</sup>

The late Caroline houses often had panelled rooms with heavy bolection mouldings<sup>315</sup> surrounding the projecting panels.<sup>316</sup> Doors, which interrupted the rhythm of the panels, were sometimes flanked with pilasters, also carved in wood,<sup>317</sup> or occasionally set into wooden arches.

It is known that late Caroline buildings in an odd case housed interior features from older houses. For example the marble doorcases and chimney pieces from the dilapidated seat of Lord Strafford, at Jigginstown, Co. Kildare, were to be brought over to Kilkenny for the use of the Duke of Ormond.<sup>318</sup> Similarly, the carved gallery (by Edmund Tingham) of the Earl of Cork's house in Dublin, was purchased in 1657 by the Lord Deputy Henry Cromwell, possibly to be incorporated in Phoenix House, to which he added a wing.<sup>319</sup>

Marble seemed to have been used frequently in country houses. Floors were sometimes executed in black and white marble, as at the aforementioned Waterhouse at Kilkenny and the chapel of Blessington, Co. Wicklow.<sup>320</sup> Probably for the embellishment of Portmore, Co. Antrim, 40 tons of marble arrived at Lord Conway's estate in 1671.<sup>321</sup> He had a marble chimney piece made by a Dutchman, Francis Cavenburge,<sup>322</sup> which, according to the Earl of Essex was "well wrought", but of a poor quality marble. Little is known of the appearance of these chimney pieces. One, formerly at Eyrecourt (plate 12), was very tall and showed heavy bolection mouldings, all executed in black marble.<sup>323</sup> At that time, chimney pieces contained portable grates, some of which must have been valuable, as one can judge from the fact that the Duchess of Ormond had them removed from Dublin



*Plate 12: The hall of Eyrecourt, Co. Galway, in 1900 (now destroyed).*

Castle, together with locks and keys, when Ormond lost his Lord Lieutenantship in 1669.<sup>324</sup> Chimney pieces were sometimes adorned with paintings,<sup>325</sup> as were doorways, executed according to the required size.<sup>326</sup> Irish marble must have had some fame in the reign of Charles II, as it was exported to England for the manufacture of chimney pieces,<sup>327</sup> and used for the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, and the decoration of Hampton Court.<sup>328</sup>

*Furniture.* Although the furniture inventories of such houses as Dunmore, Kilkenny Castle,<sup>329</sup> Rathcline,<sup>330</sup> and other places,<sup>331</sup> show large numbers of items, few pieces of the late Caroline period have survived in Ireland. These inventories, unfortunately, give us little idea about the craftsmanship of the furniture, but one's imagination is stirred when reading such entries as "a silver table and stands",<sup>332</sup> and 11 chairs in the bedroom of a lady.<sup>333</sup> Tapestry hangings could be found in large numbers at the rich Ormond houses, but also in such less well known seats as that of Sir William Domville at Loughlinstown, Co. Dublin.<sup>334</sup> Walls were usually decorated with paintings, which could be purchased in Dublin,<sup>335</sup> or were imported from England.<sup>336</sup> The pictures varied greatly in topic, from "a woman making sausages" which, appropriately, was hanging in the dining room at Burton,<sup>337</sup> to views of Versaille and Windsor.<sup>338</sup>

In a time when servants' beds were often occupied by two or three persons, the beds of the gentry were very luxurious, with damask hangings and "plumes of feathers".<sup>339</sup> One of those formerly at Belan, Co. Kildare, excelled in reputation because, it was said, "with an imagination that supplies a tradition for everything",<sup>340</sup> that the monarchs James II and William III both slept in it in the course of 1690.<sup>341</sup>

From 1660 to 1680 at least seventeen watch and clockmakers were active in Dublin.<sup>342</sup> This city and also the other large cities no doubt provided employment at the same time for cabinet makers, upholsters, and other furniture makers,<sup>343</sup> but this field is virtually unexplored. The extent of import of furniture from England, and perhaps other countries, is a little less obscure. The famous scientist Robert Boyle, for example, sent in 1671 a clock to his brother the Lord Orrery,<sup>344</sup> while Lord Herbert of Cherbury had several pieces of furniture sent over from England for his seat at Castle Island, Co. Kerry.<sup>345</sup> Similarly, when Lord Conway planned to stay at Portmore, Co. Antrim in 1683, he was advised that "furniture for a lodging chamber or two and linnen will be necessary to be sent over", but probably with relief he also heard that "table linen may be better provided here".<sup>346</sup>

The wealth of some of the furniture and silver must have been considerable, judging from the fact that plate to the value of £1,000 was stolen from Kilkenny Castle,<sup>347</sup> whereas Tyrconnell's troops robbed Antrim Castle, Co. Antrim, and got away with money, plate and furniture to the value of £4,000.<sup>348</sup> Altogether, this account of furniture is inevitably incomplete, because of the already noted rarity of Irish furniture of the period.<sup>349</sup> The craftsmanship was probably comparable to that of the interiors, but this cannot be verified until pieces are located.

*Sculpture.* Sculpture during the late Caroline period seems to have been much practised by foreign artisans. The Dutch "marble dresser" Francis Cavenburghe was already mentioned in connection with chimney pieces. In the North, two Polish sculptors worked in local alabaster, "making statues and many fine things" for Lord Donegal.<sup>350</sup> It is not certain if the statues enriched the exterior of one of his seats, as was done by Lord Primate Boyle at Blessington, Co. Wicklow.<sup>351</sup> Less extravagant stone carvings can still be found at Killyleagh Castle in the form of the arms of Charles II.<sup>352</sup>

As already noted, a statue adorned the City Exchange of Limerick, which was built in 1673. Although it is not known who this figure represents, we know that the Tholsel in Dublin was decorated with the Portland stone statues of Charles I and Charles II, carved by the Dutchman Willem De Keyser.<sup>353</sup> They are still preserved in the basement of Christchurch, Dublin, and show rather crude and inelegant figures.<sup>354</sup> From the *Ormond Papers*, it appears that De Keyser also executed a fountain, possibly for Kilkenny Castle, which according to Lord Longford "will exceed all works of that kind in [England]".<sup>355</sup> The gardens of Kilkenny Castle were embellished with four large statues and sixteen smaller ones, which were copied from Charles II's Privy Garden, while the famous carver Grinling Gibbons submitted a design for an iron gate,<sup>356</sup> the acceptance of which is uncertain. Undoubtedly, the foreign, and probably also the native sculptors, were involved in the carving of monuments in churches, such as that of the Southwell's in the Rathkeale Church, Co. Limerick. This has classical features of a pediment supported by baseless doric pilasters, and is executed in reddish brown and black marble.<sup>357</sup> Altogether, too little is known at this stage of Irish sculpture of the period.

*Outbuildings.* Although the accounts of the Caroline houses often mention the erection of brew-, wash-, and bake houses, and other outbuildings, it is unclear whether these were designed to match the

main house. However, at Burton House, Co. Cork, the outbuildings were projected symmetrically inside the enclosure (see Plate 8).

At the old house at Carton, Co. Kildare, a regular Palladian outlay could be seen, where two outbuildings were placed at the end of two curved walls, projecting symmetrically from the house, and possibly housing the kitchen and stables. Whereas these particular buildings seem to have been executed in stone, the paucity of information available on outbuildings in general does not exclude the possibility that others were executed in timber.

The importance attached to horses and horse breeding in the reign of Charles II can hardly be overestimated. "I begin to be the greatest breeder of horses in the King's dominions," wrote Colonel Daniel O'Brien from Carrigogaline, Co. Limerick, in 1670, "for I keep about my house 16,000 acres for my mares, colts and deer, which shows the bareness of my land . . ."<sup>358</sup> An idea of the influence of this kind of life on the household might be gleaned from the lady who wrote, "I believe we shall be eaten of house and home for my Lds horses and dogs . . ."<sup>359</sup> It is not surprising that the liking for horses moved the landowners to lay out racecourses and built stately stables.<sup>360</sup> According to the traveller Dineley, the one at Rallahine, Co. Clare, was "the fairest stable of the countrey".<sup>361</sup> Indeed, it was a pretty building of one storey, with dormers and scroll-pedimented doorway. However, he obviously had not seen the stable at Portmore, Co. Antrim, built for Lord Conway. One correspondent called it "the nonsuch of a stable in all the kingdom", and because of its vastness it was suggested that Conway had to enlarge his house "to make it suitable to that fine building".<sup>362</sup> This stable of two stories was probably designed by William Hurlbut, and could accommodate two troops of horse. It measured 140 feet long, 35 deep and 40 feet high.<sup>363</sup> Even the Duke of Ormond, a moderate man in building, intended to pull down the stables near Kilkenny Castle, to build new ones which would resemble Ampthill Lodge,<sup>364</sup> meaning at that time a royal building, probably the only proper sort in which to house horses.

*Gardens.* The development of gardens seems to have accelerated greatly in the reign of Charles II. Almost all the new seats were surrounded by deerparks, pleasure gardens, and waterworks. The frequent references to the importation of gardeners from England, as early as 1653,<sup>365</sup> demonstrates again the English influence in this field as in others. Sometimes, as in the case of Francis Hartley, the gardener at Lisburn Castle, this influence went amiss. After his death, Sir George Rawdon wrote to Conway, "None of the workmen he employed here



Plate 13: Estate map of Castle Waterhouse, Co. Fermanagh, showing the house and its gardens.

understand anything, for he would not show anybody any of his skill."<sup>366</sup> At Conway's seats was displayed the simultaneous development of Irish and English estates, where not only, as noted, workmen travelled from the one to the other to build, but also gardeners were sent to and fro.<sup>367</sup>

Usually, the most extensive part of the surrounding parks was the deerpark, which could be found near almost all the larger houses,<sup>368</sup> and which reached an unsurpassed height with the laying out of the Phoenix Park, which covered, in its heyday, over 2,000 walled-in acres.<sup>369</sup> The deer parks provided ample opportunity for the gentry to chase the bucks, which were sometimes imported, as were the Highland swine for the park at Portmore.<sup>370</sup>

Another type of divertissement was the catching of birds by use of decoys. The son of the Duke of Ormond, Lord Arran, and Lord Conway were each erecting a decoy around 1665.<sup>371</sup> At Conway's estate near Portmore, this involved the digging of three or four acres for a pond,<sup>372</sup> after an English example,<sup>373</sup> and at a considerable expense. When it was finished the Dutch fowler brought 200 tame ducks, after he had written to Lord Conway that, ". . . with the help of God I shall katch fowl enough".<sup>374</sup>

The gardens at the richest seats, as at Kilkenny Castle, Dunmore, and Portmore, included bowling greens, bowling being then a favourite sport also in Dublin, where there was a much frequented bowling green at Oxmanstown.

As mentioned, pleasure gardens sometimes comprised an integral part of the fortified enclosures, as at Burton House and Rathcline. Their usual design was in rectangles or squares, separated from each other by walks. The rectangles were often bordered by boxhedges and close walks of ashes, as could be seen at the Royal House at Chapelizod,<sup>375</sup> where the gardens were laid out by The Duchess of Ormond in 1668,<sup>376</sup> after she had started the gardens at her house Dunmore, Co. Kilkenny.<sup>377</sup> The walls surrounding the Irish gardens of the period provided ornament and shelter for a great variety of trees and flowers as at Longford Castle, Co. Longford.<sup>378</sup> The flowers were often put in flower pots, of Irish manufacture,<sup>379</sup> or imported from Flanders. The latter were disliked much by Francis, the gardener at Portmore, who deplored their "fashions".<sup>380</sup>

The sometimes extensive pleasure gardens would graduate into the landscape by the planting of rows of trees along radiating avenues, which finally dissolved into the surrounding nature. In this way, seen from the air, the manor house was the focus of cultivation and fine gardening, which decreased proportionally to the distance from the

house. The intermediate state of tree-planting along walks could be very extensive, as can be seen on plate 13 which shows the gardens of Castle Waterhouse, Co. Fermanagh in 1688.<sup>381</sup> Often the central axis of the trees in front of the house would lead the eye to the newly built church of the neighbouring settlement,<sup>382</sup> integrating the country seat with the plantation.

Many landlords must have spent much time and money in laying out these gardens. Like Lord Massereene, whose "greatest entertainment" was planting, especially of pines, with which he experimented.<sup>383</sup> As Ireland did not offer at that time all the trees required, it was necessary to turn to other countries. As early as 1653 John Percival imported a large number of fruit trees from England,<sup>384</sup> and possibly set a pattern subsequently much repeated,<sup>385</sup> which led even to the importation of French seed and trees from Bordeaux.<sup>386</sup> Together with this often intellectual interest,<sup>387</sup> some landlords, even before 1690 erected glass houses, to raise plants of delicate nature, apparently with much success.<sup>388</sup> Similarly, some of the gentry devoted much time to their orchards, not only to import the right kind of fruit trees, but also to make the best possible cider.<sup>389</sup>

The greenery and flowers of the gardens usually contrasted with the waterworks. These are often mentioned in the contemporary descriptions. At Longford Castle (Co. Longford), they consisted of "most pleasant Fishponds and Canalls in which are Fench in great plenty, and Carp with Store of Trout, Roach &c . . ." <sup>390</sup> Similarly, Rathcline in the same county had extensive fishponds, for which long canals were dug to obtain the necessary water.<sup>391</sup> Already noted are the ponds for the decoys. If a lake was near the seat, as at Harristown, Co. Kildare, one might discern a miniature ship, "perfectly rigged, sufficiently large for a pleasure yacht."<sup>392</sup> In the gardens of Kilkenny Castle stood several fountains, including one with a Triton and shell, which disgorged water from his mouth.<sup>393</sup> Another fountain in the Waterhouse, already mentioned in relation to Christopher Wren and Hugh May, was fed by an "Engine of curious artifice . . ." driven by a horse<sup>394</sup> to raise the water. The Kilkenny gardens furthermore were embellished by a grotto,<sup>395</sup> of which little is known. For one structure, probably in the garden of Portmore, 12,000 painted tiles from Ostend were imported by Lord Conway, of which only two thirds arrived unbroken.<sup>396</sup> The gardener, Francis, commented that he could not use half of these, inducing George Rawdon to write sadly "A very dear commodity they prove . . ." <sup>397</sup> Whether these tiles were meant for a grotto or garden building remains an intriguing question. Other buildings at an average garden could include a pigeon house, an

aviary,<sup>398</sup> and an ice house. The erection of ice houses in Ireland was solely entrusted to the Earl of *Carlingford*.<sup>399</sup>

The gardens of the country houses of the late Caroline period thus proved that a high degree of cultivation was possible, despite the unrest brought by the *tories*. Both in architecture and in gardening a promising trend was set, which was unfortunately curtailed by James II's accession and the subsequent *Williamite* war.

*The reign of James II, and the Williamite war.* Shortly after the accession of the Roman-Catholic King James II in 1685, a proclamation was issued for the securing of the firearms of the militia. This alarmed the Protestant settlers because it hampered them greatly in defending themselves against the Irish. The ousting of the Earl of Clarendon as Lord Lieutenant, and the arrival of the Earl of Tyrconnell in 1687, was perceived by many as a sign that the Protestant interest was waning rapidly. This resulted in an exodus to England, leaving, in Dublin alone, 1,100 houses empty as early as August, 1687.<sup>400</sup> In the next year the exodus reached a much higher volume.<sup>401</sup> Consequently, the building of country seats seems to have been almost completely stopped, with the exception of optimistic Roman-Catholics, like Sir Valentine Brown, who erected an addition to Ross Castle in 1688.<sup>402</sup> As mentioned, rebuilding of Dublin Castle continued until late in 1687 by William Molyneux, although it seems likely that not all the projected buildings were started. James II had a Mint erected in Dublin,<sup>403</sup> which was wide-eaved, a very common feature for that time. Although, as already noted, several churches were built in the reign of James II, it seems likely that the whole volume of building subsequent to 1685 decreased considerably.

In 1688, James II fled to Ireland, after William III was acknowledged King in England. The first Parliament in Ireland after more than twenty years urged James II to repeal the Act of Settlement and restore the dispossessed Roman Catholics. James II, however, was not so Catholic that he would favour such a move, and only supported an Act of Attainder, forfeiting the estates of those not loyal to him.

The subsequent destruction in Ireland, during the *Williamite* war, undid almost completely the fresh rebuilding of the last decades. This war, which was seemingly the battle of a new king against an old one, was in fact determined by the ownership of land. William III had already announced that he would forfeit the lands of his opponents for the benefit of his supporters.<sup>404</sup>

The account of the stewards, left behind at the country houses, gives one an idea of the anxieties experienced by many. "All here in this

kingdom . . . in a manner is destroyed", wrote William Taylor from Burton House (Co. Cork) in April 1689, "Our stock in this country is likewise destroyed, . . . so that I fear there will be a famine . . . Those of us that have not lost all, expect to lose every minute . . ." <sup>405</sup> From Dunmore, Ormond's steward John Baxter wrote courageously, "here, where most are fleeing from danger; but God be thanked, fear hath not yet seized me, and I hope never shall". <sup>406</sup> A few days later attempts were made to ship the goods from Kilkenny Castle to England, "if it is not too late". <sup>407</sup>

Ultimately, the fears were warranted, for the destruction of country houses occurred on a large scale. As early as 1688 the renovated Castlemartyr, Co. Cork was wrecked by Justin McCarthy, because of the rebellion of Captain Boyle. <sup>408</sup> During the Williamite war, the devastation reached a climax. The Duke of Würtemberg wrote to the Danish King, "The enemy under the Duke of Berwyck has carried out frightful burnings [which have] done damage to the country to the value of several millions and burned down more than twelve fine towns and very many beautiful castles, including Charleville, which was the finest in Ireland, and all such places in the counties of Cork and Tipperary. A message has been sent to the Duke of Berwyck to intimidate him saying that, if he continued burning, the Irish prisoners, including the officers . . . would be burned alive". <sup>409</sup> The burnings were certainly not limited to the counties Cork and Tipperary. ". . . God direct his judgement", wrote Sir Donough O'Brien in July, 1690, "for there is great destruction in the County of Limerick, Broof [Bruff] demolished Balligirana walls, Caraffa, Carless House all burnt . . ." The devastation was not only due to the Jacobite army; they undoubtedly found skillful allies in the Tories, who did 'enormous damage to the persons and property of both soldiers and civilians'. <sup>410</sup> Furthermore, many of the newly built suburbs of cities like Galway and Limerick were pulled down to make room for the fortifications. Also in the North, Tyrconnel's army plundered Hillsborough, Lisburn, Belfast and Antrim. <sup>411</sup> The destruction was exacerbated by the practice of using the lead of roofs for the manufacture of bullets. <sup>412</sup> The greater part of the late Caroline country houses surviving the Williamite war suffered unfortunate fates thereafter. Lady Ormond's Dunmore (Co. Kilkenny) and Lord Conway's Portmore (Co. Antrim) were neglected and subsequently pulled down in the 18th century. Lord Primate Boyle's seat Blessington (Co. Wicklow) went up in flames in 1798. Other houses, such as Carton (Co. Kildare) and Kilruddery (Co. Wicklow), were changed beyond recognition. Kilcreene (Co. Kilkenny) and Mosstown (Co. Longford) were levelled only a number of years

ago. Eyrecourt (Co. Galway) was dismantled probably prior to 1930 and is decaying rapidly. And so on and on. Only a very small number of country houses remain, of which only Beaulieu (Co. Louth) still shows the unchanged splendour and refinement of what once was late Caroline architecture in Ireland. It is an example from an age in which the turning point in Irish architecture took place: the metamorphosis of mediaeval dwellings into luxurious seats.

*Conclusion.* Obviously, there seems no reason to believe any more in the myth of a non-building Ireland in the times of Cromwell and Charles II. Since Irish architecture of the second half of the seventeenth century is still little explored, this introduction is inevitably incomplete. Architecture and the arts of the period flourished greatly, facts which have gone unrecognized for decades. In Irish country houses, the artisan mannerist style took shape in a form which resembled to a great extent contemporary English seats, although the latter lacked the fortified enclosures, prevalent in Ireland. Much remains to be learned. Whereas the English architectural history of Cromwellian period, and the reigns of King William III and Queen Anne is very well documented, Irish buildings of the periods before and after the reign of King Charles II have been virtually ignored.

The relative scarcity of surviving late 17th century buildings makes archaeological research and the consultation of primary sources a necessary and promising task for the future. However, the current lack of protection and care for surviving architectural remains of the late 17th century, is appalling. Only Charles Fort and the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, are national monuments. The other surviving remains of this period will, unquestionably soon be permanently erased, wiping out a national heritage, unless appropriate action is quickly taken.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- B.M.*: British Museum, London.  
*C.A.R.D.*: Sir J. Gilbert (Ed.), *Calendars of Ancient Records of Dublin*, Dublin, 1889-1944, 19 vols.  
*C.S.P.Dom.*: *Calendars of State Papers, Domestic*.  
*C.S.P.I.*: *Calendars of State Papers, Ireland*.  
*C.T.P.*: *Calendars of Treasury Papers*.  
*D.N.B.*: L. Stephen & S. Lee (Ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, London, 1885-1900.  
*Dineley*: T. Dineley, *Observations made on his tour in Ireland and France, 1675-1680*, N.L.I., Ms 392.  
*Dublin*: M. Craig, *Dublin, 1660-1860*, Dublin, 1969.  
*Essex Papers*: O. Airy (Ed.), *Essex Papers, 1672-5*, *Camden Society*, 1890, 47.  
*Herbert Correspondence*: W. J. Smith (Ed.), *Herbert Correspondence*, Cardiff & Dublin, 1963.  
*H.M.C.*: *Historical Manuscript Commission Reports*.  
*Inchiquin Mss.*: J. Ainsworth (Ed.), *Inchiquin Manuscripts*, Irish Manuscript Commission, Dublin, 1961.  
*MacLysaght*: E. MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century*, Cork, 2nd ed., 1950.  
*Montgomery Mss.*: G. Hill (Ed.), *Montgomery Mss*, Belfast, 1869.  
*N.L.I.*: National Library of Ireland, Dublin.  
*Orrery Papers*: E. MacLysaght (Ed.), *Calendar of Orrery Papers*, Irish Manuscript Commission, Dublin, 1941.  
*P.R.O.*: Public Record Office, London.  
*Shell Guide*: **Lord Killanin & M. V. Duignan**, *The Shell Guide to Ireland*, London, 2nd ed., 1967.  
*T.C.D.*: Trinity College, Dublin.

## NOTES ON THE TEXT

- 1 If I were to dedicate this paper, an unusual procedure for a non-book, I certainly would dedicate it to my wife, whose comments were by far the best stimulation I received. Furthermore, I am very much indebted to the Hon. Desmond Guinness for his encouragement, and his help to come to Ireland and work there. I also acknowledge the assistance I received from Dr. Maurice Craig and Mr. Edward McParland, and the kind suggestions from Mr. W. O'Sullivan and Miss M. Griffith from Trinity College, Dublin. Without the assistance of the staff of the Interlibrary Loan Department of Queen's University Library, Kingston, Ont., this study would never have materialized. I am particularly grateful to Dr. Richard Van Allen for correcting the English of the manuscript.
- 2 H. G. Leask, *Irish Castles and Castellated Houses*, Dundalk, 1946, 150.
- 3 See e.g. T. C. Croker, *Researches in the South of Ireland*, reprinted, Shannon, 1969, 267, and J. J. Ide, *Some Examples of Irish Country Houses of the Georgian Period*, New York, 1959, 3, while P. Harbison, *Guide to the National Monuments of Ireland*, Dublin, 1970, mentions nothing in this field.
- 4 C. Maxwell, *Country and Town under the Georges*, revised ed., Dundalk, 1949, 68-70.
- 5 *The Georgian Society Records of Eighteenth-Century Domestic Architecture and Decoration in Ireland*, London, 1913, V.
- 6 T. U. Sadlier & P. L. Dickinson, *Georgian Mansions in Ireland, with some Account of Georgian Architecture and Decoration*, Dublin, 1915, 4.
- 7 The most current, well-documented book on English country houses of this period, is O. Hill & Cornforth, *English Country Houses, Caroline, 1625-1685*, London, 1966, which contains a good bibliography. The only English book citing only Beaulieu, Co. Louth, is R. Dutton, *The Age of Wren*, London, 1951.
- 8 H. G. Leask, *op. cit.*
- 9 D. M. Waterman, Some Irish Seventeenth-Century Houses and their Architectural Ancestry, In E. M. Jope (Ed.), *Studies in Building History*, London, 1961, 251-269; and E. M. Jope, Moyry, Charlemont, Castleraw and Richhill: fortification to architecture in the North of Ireland, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 3rd series, 1960, 25, 97-123.
- 10 J. Thurloe, *A Collection of State Papers of John Thurloe*, II, 404, June 27, 1654, C. Fleetwood, M. Corbett & Jo. Jones to Secretary Thurloe.
- 11 R. Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*, London, 1909, II, 333.
- 12 Cited in *Ibid.*, II, 338, from G. A. Twentymann, (Ed.), *Macaulay's essay on Sir William Temple*, London, 1905, 23.
- 13 R. Bagwell, *op. cit.*, 11, 309.
- 14 R. Bagwell, *op. cit.*, II, 338. I am very much indebted to Dr. Maurice Craig for drawing my attention to Cromwellian architecture.
- 15 E. M. Jope, *op. cit.*, 1960, 98. For an article on Hillsborough Fort see *An Archaeological Survey of Co. Down*, Belfast, 1966, 409-411.
- 16 *C.S.P.I.*, 1647-60, 675.
- 17 J. Thurloe, *op.cit.*, II, 430. The citadel was pulled down in 1673

- (*H.M.C., Ormond*, n.s. III, 331).
- 18 *C.S.P.I.*, 1647-60, 623. See also p. 624-5, 803, 815-6. This seems to be an exaggeration, as Bryan's Fort, Castletownsend, in the same county, was erected c. 1650. Even more westwards, Bantry Fort was built during the Protectorate.
  - 19 S. P. Johnston & T. A. Lunham, On a manuscript description of the city and county of Cork . . . written by Sir Richard Cox, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1902, 32, 360. See also *C.S.P.I.*, 1660-2, 283.
  - 20 *Shell Guide*, 158. The fort was erected by Col. Richard Townsend. It consisted of a bawn with a house in it with spear-shaped flankers. For a description see *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 1938, 43, 55.
  - 21 *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-9, 92, April 18, 1666, Orrery to the Lord Lieutenant.
  - 22 *HM.C, Ormond*, n.s. VII, 12, April 13, 1683, Sir Richard Aldworth to Ormond. See also *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-9, 635.
  - 23 *MacLysaght*, 39, wrongly dated the pamphlet 1663; Vincent Gookin's *The Great Case of the Transplantation Discussed*, was published in London in 1655.
  - 24 *C.S.P.I.*, 1647-60, 573. In Co. Cork, Col. Robert Saunders disbursed nearly £1,000 in building improvements at *Ballymarter*.
  - 25 Portumna was besieged in 1651 by General Ludlow, and may have been damaged at that time. In Daniel Thomas's letter to Henry Cromwell he speaks of sawyers and slaters, which possibly were working on the castle. (R. W. Ramsey, *Henry Cromwell*, London, 1933, 226, who quoted from Landsdowne Ms. 822.) The gate to the bawn at Portumna resembles very much the classical gate at Rathcline, Co. Galway.
  - 26 *Ibid.*, 227-8. As Daniel Thomas explains, "All ye Buildinge of ye Inn of Chancery called *furnifall's Inn*, Holborne, South Hampton house behinde Gray's Inn, The Lord Grey of Warcke in ye Charterhouse yard, The Char. house itsealfe . . . and severall other good Buildings of my owne undertaking and pforminge".
  - 27 *Ibid.*, 226.
  - 28 *Ibid.*, 227.
  - 29 E. MacLysaght (Ed.), *Commonwealth State Accounts: Ireland, 1650-56, Analecta Hibernica*, 1944, 15, 292, 294.
  - 30 *HM.C, Egmont* I, 575 [Feb. 1655-6], William Dobbyns to John Perceval.
  - 31 *Ibid.*, 610, Nov. 29, 1659, Sir John Perceval to Robert Southwell.
  - 32 H. E. Woodbridge, *Sir William Temple, the man and his work*, New York, 1940, reprinted, 1966, 51-2.
  - 33 *C.S.P.I.*, 1647-60, 383, Nov. 20, 1651, G. Rawdon to Lord Conway.
  - 34 *Ibid.*, 386, Jan. 20, 1652, [Major] Edward Burgh to Col. Edward Conway.
  - 35 *Ibid.*, 542, Nov. 13, 1654, Mrs. Dorothy Rawdon to Edward Conway.
  - 36 Also in this category fall Sir John Perceval, and Lord Herbert of Cherbury.
  - 37 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1673, 173, April 25, 1673, Orrery to Conway.
  - 38 Sir William Petty in his *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, estimated that from 1652 unto 1673 the improvements in Ireland quadrupled (see Chancery called *Furnifall's Inn*, Holborne, South Hampton house

- C. H. Hull (Ed.), *The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty*, Cambridge, 1899, I, 197).
- 39 *C.S.P.I.*, 1669-70, 210, Aug. 6, 1670, Philip Froude to Joseph Williamson.
- 40 G. A. Twentyman, *op. cit.*, 1905, 23.
- 41 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. III, 59, July 8, 1663, Orrery to Ormond.
- 42 *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-69, May 8, 1667, renewed March 8, 1669, patent for Sir Hugh Middleton.
- 43 J. G. Simms, *Jacobite Ireland, London*, 1969, 14.
- 44 In C. H. Hull, *op. cit.*, I, 214-5. In a document of c. 1679, directed at disenabling the Roman Catholics, the figures are 225,000 families, whereof 15,000 in houses with one or more chimney. Of these families 8,000 were Protestant (*C.S.P.Dom.*, 1679-80, 353).
- 45 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1686-7, 91-3, Sir William Petty, *Political Arithmetike*.
- 46 *H.M.C.*, 15th Rep., App. VII, 169, Nov. 12, 1662, [Colonel Edward Cooke to Lord Bruce].
- 47 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1675-6, 515, Jan. 15, 1676, the King to the Lord Lieutenant.
- 48 Petty in 1672 estimated that the owners of about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the real and personal estate in Ireland, lived in England (C. H. Hull, *op. cit.*, I, 185).
- 49 *Essex Papers*, 103, July 22, 1673, Earl of Essex to Arlington.
- 50 *Dublin*.
- 51 *A Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Period*, II, 92, 26 July, 1665.
- 52 *C.A.R.D.*, IV, 197-9, 1660-1.
- 53 *C.S.P.I.*, 1669-70, 248-9.
- 54 Sir E. F. Tickell, The Eustace family and their land in Co. Kildare, *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archeological Society*, 1958, 13, 319.
- 55 *MacLysaght*, 214-5.
- 56 See J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830*, Penguin, 5th ed., 1970, 155// for English examples of this style.
- 57 See *Dublin*, 22-3, and *C.A.R.D.*, IV, 459-60, 485, 542. Page **495** contains the building accounts.
- 58 See *C.A.R.D.*, V, *passim*, and see drawing in *Dineley*. It was of modest dimensions (64 by 64 feet), while its tower was 100 feet high.
- 59 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. IV, 412, 514, 530.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 398, 421, 514. He also wanted later to use the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham for Trinity College, Dublin, and bring the Hospital's soldiers to the buildings of Trinity College.
- 61 *Dublin*, 26. It seems most likely that a picture of this building still exists.
- 62 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1677-8, 476, Nov. 29, 1677, The Duke of Monmouth to M. de Louvois.
- 63 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. III, 212, **Oct.** 8, 1678, Earl of Longford to Ormond.
- 64 See e.g. *C.A.R.D.*, V, 274 and 285.
- 65 Compare for example the engraving of the Hôtel des Invalides, in L. Hauteceur, *Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France*, Paris, 1943, I, pt. II, pl. 44, with pl. 4 in this paper.
- 66 Quoted in C. Maxwell, *History of Trinity College*, Dublin, 1946, 101, from Dr. Campbell's *Philosophical Survey*, 1775.
- 67 *T.C.D.*, shelf B4, Flat Box 9, Drawer 91, in which are bills from 1684-

- 86, mentioning plasterwork of James Smith, carpenter work of Thomas Lawson, and others. Even as late as 1688-9 work was done by John Whinrey at the College.
- 68 *Dublin*, and H. A. Wheeler & M. Craig, *The Dublin City Churches of the Church of Ireland*, Dublin, 1948.
- 69 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1678-80, 182, June 17, 1679, The King to the Lord Lieutenant.
- 70 J. Y. Akerman (Ed.), Moneys received and paid for secret services of Charles II and James II from 30th March 1679 to 25th Dec, 1688, *Camden Society*, 1851, 52, 155, 160. The craftsmen paid were John Coquins for silverwork, Rene Cousin for gilding, Francis Duddell, John Heysenbuttell for joyner's work, and Francis Quellin for "holland and laces, and making several things . . ."
- 71 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. VII, 227, May 15, 1684, Arran to Ormond, see also p. 253, 257.
- 72 *Ibid.*, 258, July 16, 1684, same to same.
- 73 First published in J. Cornforth, Dublin Castle, I, *Country Life*, July 30, 1970.
- 74 [Sir Capel Molyneux], *An Account of the Family and Descendants of Sir Thomas Molyneux* kt., Evesham, 1820, 63.
- 75 *C.S.P.I.*, 1660-62, 301, April 9, 1661, The King to the Lord Justices. See also *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-9, 172.
- 76 *H.M.C.*, *Egmont*, II, 8, March 23, 663-4, Sir John Perceval to Robert Southwell. See also *C.S.P.I.*, 1663-5, 21, for the decay in Galway City.
- 77 *C.S.P.I.*, 1669-70, 241, Aug. 23, 1669, Lord Lieutenant[?] to Lord Arlington. See also on the town New Ross, *C.S.P.I.*, 1664-5, 525.
- 78 *C.S.P.I.*, 1663-5, 599, June 28, 1665, the King to the Lord Lieutenant.
- 79 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. III, 446, Jan. 21, 1670-1, Dutchess of Ormond to Capt. George Mathew.
- 80 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. VII, 231, May 4, 1684, Samuel Gorges to Capt. Geo. Mathew.
- 81 *Orrery Papers*, 122, [Sir] [Fr]ancis Foulke to Orrery.
- 82 R. Herbert, Antiquity of the Corporation of Limerick, *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 1945, 4, 85-130, pl. IV. Its rusticated window surrounds are reminiscent of the window surrounds of Eyrecourt, Co. Galway.
- 83 *Montgomery Mss.*, n. 109.
- 84 *N.L.I.*, Ms 13, 777, Orrery Papers, bill of Joseph Grey Taylor, dated Aug. 1, 1678. The Custom House at Limerick was formerly called the Beare.
- 85 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1686-7, Jan. 30, 1687.
- 86 *T.C.D.*, Ms I.I.3, description of Co. Kildare in 1682.
- 87 M. Craig & the Knight of Glin, *Ireland Observed*, Cork, 1970, state that William Robinson probably designed it. It is one of the very few surviving buildings of the late 17th century in the smaller Irish towns. Unfortunately its arcade has been filled in.
- 88 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. IV, 44, Sept. 25, 1677, G. Mathew to Ormond.
- 89 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. V, 203, Sept. 12, 1679, Rev. Samuel Ladyman to Ormond. Ormond also planned the improvement of Nenagh, Co. Tipperary in 1681 (*H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. VI, 171, Sept. 30, 1681, Ormond to Col. John Fitzpatrick).

- 90 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. III, 328-9, June 30, 1673, Sir Francis Brewster to Capt. Mathew, and *Ibid.*, V, 184.
- 91 *C.S.P.I.*, 1660-69, 595, April 16, 1668, grant of the manor of Bettrammon [Ballytrammon?] Co. Wicklow, to the Duke of Albemarle.
- 92 *Ibid.*, 722, May 3, 1669, grant of the manor of Blessington to the Lord Primate Boyle.
- 93 See *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-69, 770 and *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1671, 168-9.
- 94 The town of Castlemartyr, Co. Cork, developed probably after the Earl of Orrery settled at the castle there in 1672.
- 95 G. A. H. Forbes, Earl of Granard, *Memoirs of the Earls of Granard*, 1868, 72.
- 96 *T.C.D.*, Ms I.I.3, account of N. Dowdall of Co. Longford in 1682.
- 97 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1682, 230, and *C.T.P.*, VII, pt. I, 1681-5, 503.
- 98 see note 96.
- 99 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1677-8, 228, July 4, 1677, R. Millmay to Lord Conway.
- 100 See *C.S.P.I.* and *C.S.P.Dom.* for the years 1642 to 1683.
- 101 M. Archall (Ed.), *l. Lodge, The Peerage of Ireland*, Dublin, 1789, III, 104.
- 102 *Shell Guide*, 85.
- 103 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1676-7, 56, Feb. 17, 1677, Sir George Rawdon to Conway.
- 104 *C.S.P.I.*, 1669-70, 93, March 29, 1670, same to same.
- 105 *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-69, 318, March 16, 1667, Sir George Rawdon to Conway. The Earl of Arlington also built at the same time Euston Hall, Co. Suffolk (A. Oswald, *Euston Hall, Suffolk, I, Country Life*, Jan. 10, 1957).
- 106 *N.L.I.*, 21 F 55(1).
- 107 *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-69, 59-61. See also *H.M.C.*, *De L'Isle*, VI, 528, 1667, for building at the Earl of Leicester's estate in Co. Cork.
- 108 E. P. Shirley & J. Graves (Eds.), *Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Dineley, giving Account of his Visit to Ireland in the Reign of Charles II, Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1867, n.s. 6, 190 n.21.
- 109 *Herbert Correspondence*, 280, July 18, 1683, Edward Kenney to Lord Herbert.
- 110 *H.M.C.*, *Egmont* II, 131-2, May 19, 1683, Sir John Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell.
- 111 *B.M.*, *Egmont Papers*, Add. Ms 46958c, Feb. 25, 1681-2, same to Mr. Thomas Smith.
- 112 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1675-6, 50-1, April 2, 1675, The King to the Lord Lieutenant.
- 113 *H.M.C.*, *Egmont* II, 91.
- 114 *Shell Guide*, 334.
- 115 *H.M.C.*, 15th Rep. App. II, 175-6.
- 116 *Dineley*.
- 117 D. A. Chart, E. E. Evans, H. C. Lawlor, *Preliminary Survey of the ancient Monuments of Northern Ireland*, Belfast, 1940, 11.
- 118 *C.S.P.I.*, 1669-70, 267, Sept. 20, 1670, Orrery to Conway.
- 119 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. VII, 139, Oct. 2, 1683, Ormond to Arran.
- 120 *Ibid.*, 312, Dec. 22, 1684, Dudley Pearce to Francis Marsh.
- 121 T. King Moylan, The district of Grangegorma III, *Dublin Historical Record*, 1945, 8. D. F. Gleeson in his *The Last Lords of Ormond*,

- London, 1938, 216, mentions that the Franciscans returned to the Nenagh Friary, Co. Tipperary; their bell still carries an inscription dated 1687.
- 122 *Shell Guide*, 80.
- 123 J. G. Simms, *Jacobite Ireland*, London, 1969, 88.
- 124 St. J. D. Seymour, *The Puritans in Ireland, 1647-1661*, 1912, reprinted, Oxford, 1969, 45.
- 125 *Shell Guide*, 430, rebuilt 1695.
- 126 St. J. D. Seymour, *op. cit.*, 49.
- 127 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1672, 517, [1672] Robert Mossom to the Lord Lieutenant.
- 128 *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-69, 703, March 27, 1669, Sir George Rawdon to the same.
- 129 *C.S.P.I.*, 1680-1, 193, March 2, 1681, Sir George Rawdon to Conway.
- 130 J. Bramhall (Ed.), *The Rawdon Papers*, London, 1819, 199, July 5, 1659, Edward Conway to Sir George Rawdon.
- 131 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1680-1, 323, June 2, 1681, Sir George Rawdon to Viscount Granard.
- 132 *Ibid.*, 235, April 18, 1681, the Lord Lieutenant to secretary Jenkins, and *Ibid.*, 291, May 21, 1681, same to same. See also J. C. Beckett, *Protestant Dissent in Ireland, 1687-1780*, London, 1948, 22, who states that the Protestant Dissenters were hardly persecuted in the first years of James II's reign.
- 133 M. Archall, / *Lodge, The Peerage of Ireland*, 1789, I, 243.
- 134 Quoted in *Montgomery Mss*, 122 n.31.
- 135 Built in 1681. For a description see *An Archeological Survey of Co. Down*, Belfast, 1966, 336, and F. R. Bolton, *The Caroline tradition in the Church of Ireland*, London, 1958, 207//.
- 136 *Shell Guide*, 263.
- 137 See R. W. Oram & P. J. Rankin, *Historic Buildings . . . in and near Dungannon and Cookstown*, Ulster Architectural Heritage Society, 1971, 46.
- 138 F. R. Bolton, *op. cit.*, 213-4.
- 139 *Ibid.*, 207. Hillsborough Church, Co. Down, was erected in 1663, and had a plain cruciform plan. The churches at Middle Ballinderry, Co. Antrim, and Eyrecourt, Co. Galway (1677), were rectangular of plan.
- 140 *Ibid.*, 214-35.
- 141 *C.S.P.I.*, 1663-5, 548, Dec. 20, 1664, Major Rawdon to Viscount Conway.
- 142 R. W. Jackson, *Cathedrals of the Church of Ireland*, Dublin, 1971, 34, restored in 1660.
- 143 *Ibid.*, 73, restored 1663.
- 144 *Ibid.*, 75, restored 1682-3.
- 145 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1663-5, 536, and *H.M.C., Ormond*, n.s. III, 354-5, in 1674-5.
- 146 R. W. Jackson, *op. cit.*, 60.
- 147 *Shell Guide*, 207, soon after 1661.
- 148 *Ibid.*, 318.
- 149 *Herbert Correspondence*, 198-9, 1671, [Thomas Herbert] to Lord [Herbert].
- 150 T. A. Lunham, Some historical notices of Cork in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1904, ser. 5, 14, 65.

- 151 H. G. Leask in his valuable *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, 1960, goes only until the Dissolution of the monasteries.
- 152 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1678, 239, June 22, 1678, Sir George Rawdon to Conway.
- 153 The different acts comprised: a bridge over the river Bray between Dublin and Wicklow; one over the Liffey at Ballymore-Eustace; one over the Blackwater at Cappoquin, Co. Waterford; and one over the river Erne between the cos. Fermanagh and Donegal (*C.S.P.I.*, 1663-5, 81-2, 1663). A little later an act was transmitted to build a bridge at Ballyleague over the Shannon, between the cos. Longford and Roscommon (*Ibid.*, 228).
- 154 *H.M.C.*, 10th Rep., App. V, 39.
- 155 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. III, 291.
- 156 *Ibid.*, 142, Dec. 1, 1668, J. Archer to Ormond.
- 157 *Ibid.*, 244, April 3, 1666, Lord Le Poer and Curraghmore to Ormond. Although only the Carrick bridge is mentioned here, it seems likely that this was the one at Carrick-on-Suir.
- 158 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1676-7, 548-9, Feb. 10, 1677, Sir George Rawdon to Conway.
- 159 *T.C.D.*, Ms. I.I.3, N. Dowdall's account of Co. Longford in 1682.
- 160 *Montgomery Mss.*, 425n. 109.
- 161 *Dublin*, 1969, *passim*.
- 162 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, II, 312.
- 163 *C.S.P.I.*, 1663-5, 705, about 1665, Memorandum to Sir Robert Byron.
- 164 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. III, 227, in 1666, and again in 1672-3 (see *Essex Papers*, 59).
- 165 *Essex Papers*, 59, Feb. 11, 1672-3, Essex to Arlington.
- 166 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. III, 85, Jan. 7, 1677-8, Instructions to the Earl of Arran.
- 167 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, II, 312-33. See also his *Survey of Ireland (N.L.I., Mss: 2557 and 3037)*.
- 168 *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-9, 390, *passim*.
- 169 *Orrery Papers*, III, Nov. 19, 1672, Capt. Paulus Storff to Orrery. Storff probably was a German[?].
- 170 *Ibid.*, 105, Aug. 12, 1672, Sir Frances Foulke to the Countess of Orrery.
- 171 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. III, 212, Oct. 8, 1678, Earl of Longford to Ormond. For Robinson's papers on Charles Fort, 1677-8, see *B.M.*, Add. Ms. 28,085.
- 172 *Essex Papers*, 8, June 4, 1672, Orrery to Essex.
- 173 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. IV, 235, Nov. 15, 1678, Sir William King to Ormond.
- 174 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. III, 240, Aug. 3, 1666, Sir Robert Byron to Ormond.
- 175 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. V, 600-1, March 8, 1680-1, Col. Theodore Russell to the Earl of Granard.
- 176 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1672-3, 315, Dec. 24, 1672, The Lord Lieutenant to Lord Arlington. See also *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-70, 706-7.
- 177 *Essex Papers*, 94, July 8, 1673, Essex to Arlington.
- 178 H. M. Colvin, *A biographical dictionary of English architects, 1660-1840*, London, 1954, 240, and *C.A.R.D.*, V, 566-73.
- 179 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. IV, 95, Jan. 26, 1677-8, Arran to Ormond;

- H.M.C., Ormond*, II, 313, Report by Thomas Phillips. Sir William Petty in 1680 also drew up a plan to fortify Dublin, using wool for the defense (Marquis of Lansdowne (Ed.), *The Petty Papers*, 1927, reprinted New York, 1967, 62-70).
- 180 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1672, 329, [July?], 1672.
- 181 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1673, 148, April 16, 1673, William Robinson to Conway; and *Ibid.*, 181, April 26, 1673, same to same.
- 182 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1673-5, 175, Feb. 21, 1674, the Lord Lieutenant to Lord [Conway]. See also J. J. Marshall, *History of Charlemont and Mountjoy Forts*, Dungannon, 1921, and P. Tohall, Charlemont Fort, Co. Armagh, *The Irish Sword*, 1957-8, 3, 183-186.
- 183 *H.M.C., Ormond*, n.s. VII, 102, Aug. 9, 1683, Ormond to Arran, and, *Ibid.*, 108, Aug. 18, 1683, Arran to Ormond.
- 184 J. J. Murray, The Cultural impact of the Flemish Low Countries on Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century England, *American Historical Review*, 1957, 62, 853.
- 185 *D.N.B.*, XVII, 291-2, and *C.S.P.I.*, 1647-60, 284, and *C.S.P.I.*, 1660-2, 68.
- 186 *Montgomery Mss.*, 39. William Montgomery of Rosemount relates that he had his picture made by Colonel Rosworm, "an Hungarian"[?]
- 187 *H.M.C.*, 11th Rep. V, 121, Sept. 13, 1684, Ormond to Lord Dartmouth, and *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1684-5, 238, Dec. 6, 1684. The King to the Lord Lieutenant.
- 188 *Ibid.*, 211, Nov. 22, 1688, Philip Musgrave to Lord Dartmouth.
- 189 *D.N.B.*, XXI, 1199-1201, and *C.A.R.D.*, V, 573-76, for his report on the Dublin Harbour, dated 1674.
- 190 *D.N.B.*, XIII, 820-1.
- 191 Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, Ms H.IV.1, dated May-July 1674.
- 192 N. A. Robb, *William of Orange, 1674-1702*, London, 1966, II, 317.
- 193 See e.g. *D.N.B.*, XVII, 184-5 on Wolfgang M. Romer; *N.L.I.*, Ms 2742, plan for Irish fortifications c. 1690 by Goubet; and K. Danaher & J. G. Simms (Eds.), *The Danish force in Ireland, 1690-1*, The Irish Manuscript Commission, Dublin, 1962.
- 194 In the list of books in Ormond's library at Kilkenny Castle (*H.M.C., Ormond*, n.s. VII, 514-5), are mentioned a French work, *Perrot on Fortifications* (this was probably Sir J. Perrot's *Report on the State of Ireland*, dated 1581, see *B.M.*, Stowe Ms. 159 f. 182), and The King's Works[?].
- 195 *H.M.C.*, 6th Rep., 731, Jan. 26, 1677, Ormond to Orrery.
- 196 [Sir C. Molyneux], *An Account of the Family and Descendants of Sir Thomas Molyneux kt.*, Evesham, 1820, 30.
- 197 Mentioned in C. J. Robb, A unique collection of books on engineering and architecture, *Irish Builder and Engineer*, 1946, 88, 532. Till now James Robb's book has not been located. It is not present in the main libraries in the U.S.A., Canada, England and Ireland. The last known copy was lost in Detroit, U.S.A., some years ago (personal communication from Mr. C. A. Webb). James Robb himself was supposedly a Chief Mason of the King's Works in Ireland, after having been an apprentice assistant of Inigo Jones (*Shell Guide*, 103). However, I have been unable to find references on his background and work in any of the quoted primary sources.

- 198 *MacLysaght*, 100.
- 199 *MacLysaght*, 8. Although an admirable book, it contains little information on Irish architecture of the 17th century.
- 200 Sir William Petty in his *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, 1672, gives the following numbers and prices of houses (see C. H. Hull (Ed.), *The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty*, Cambridge, 1899, I, 142-3, 188): houses with 7, 8, 9 chimneys (of which are 2500) cost £300; houses with 10, 11, 12 chimneys (of which are 700) cost £600; houses with 13 to 20 chimneys (of which are 400) cost £1000; 20 houses with more than 20 chimneys, cost £78,000 (total). In contrast, the house of a common Irishman, was not worth more than 5s.
- 201 T. Monk, A descriptive account of the county of Kildare in 1682, *Journal of the County Kildare Archeological Society*, 1910, 6, 343.
- 202 *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-9, 156, [July 16, 1666], the King to the Lord Lieutenant.
- 203 E. S. de Beer (Ed.), *Diary of John Evelyn*, Oxford, 1955, IV, 92 n.3, Evelyn visited Belsize House in 1676; and his description is on p. 92.
- 204 Other examples are: Lord Burlington who had Hugh May build Burlington House, Piccadilly, in 1665; the Ranelagh's owned Chiswick, near London; Viscount Longford inherited East Clandon, Surrey; Sir Robert Southwell bought Kings Weston, near Bristol, in 1679; Lord Herbert of Cherbury owned two stas in Montgomeryshire, Llyssyn and Lymore, where he built, after he had erected Castle Island, Co. Kerry, in 1671.
- 205 J. Bramhall (Ed.), *The Rawdon Papers*, London, 1819, 231, Oct. 29, 1667, Conway to Rawdon.
- 206 The Duke of Ormond had a house at St. James Square; Viscount Longford owned a mansion in the fashionable quarter of Whitefriars; Viscount Conway had a house built in Queen St. Similarly, his friend Viscount Ranelagh erected a house at Chelsea. Sir William Petty leased a house in Piccadilly in 1673.
- 207 *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-9, 589, April 4, 1668, Rawdon to Conway.
- 208 *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-9, 258, 1666, Account by the Earl of Anglesey.
- 209 T. Carte, *History of the Life of James, Duke of Ormond (1610-88)*, IV, 212. The same was true for the gentleman-tenants of Viscount Conway.
- 210 *Inchiquin Mss*, 359, April 28, 1663, Lease by Murrough, Earl of Inchiquin to Donough O'Brien. See also p. 364-5, 367, 387-8 for similar leases to others. See also E. P. Shirley & J. Graves, *op. cit.*, 189 n.17.
- 211 E. P. Shirley & J. Graves, *op. cit.*, 193 and n.26.
- 212 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. V, 61, April 23, 1679, Ormond to Ossory.
- 213 K. M. Lynch, *Roger Boyle, First Earl of Orrery*, Knoxville, Tenn., 1965, 201, quoted from Stowe Mss 200, f. 255.
- 214 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1677-8, 445, Oct. 25, 1677, the Earl of Barrymore to Viscount Ranelagh.
- 215 Mentioned in C.E.B. Brett, *Buildings of Belfast, 1700-1914*, London, 1967.
- 216 *Inchiquin Mss*, 364 and 387.
- 217 *Essex Papers*, 147-8, Dec. 1, 1673, Essex to Charles II.
- 218 *Herbert Correspondence*, 214, 1673, [Lord Herbert] to—.
- 219 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1673-5, 62, Dec. 17, 1673, Rawdon to Conway.

- 220 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1676-7, 451, Dec. 12, 1676, same to same. The Militia played a major role in the persecution of the tories.
- 221 *H.M.C., Ormond*, n.s. VI, 544, March 17, 1682-3, Sir William Stewart to Ormond.
- 222 See e.g. *H.M.C., Ormond*, n.s. IV, 21, Nov. 22, 1678, Orrery to Ormond. As already mentioned, tories interfered with the building of the bridge at Carrick.
- 223 *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-9, 158-9.
- 224 As at Burton House (*B.M.*, Add Ms. 46947B-734C).
- 225 For example, Sir George Lane, then Lord Lanesborough, had in custody at Rathcline, Co. Longford, in 1684, twelve "firelock musquets" (*H.M.C.*, 14th Rep. App. VII, 390).
- 226 I acknowledge the kind advice of Mr. Pierre Duprey for the reconstruction of Burton House.
- 227 In fact, the placement of an indefensible house in a bawn meant the continuation of a much older type of building (see e.g. E. M. Jope, in the *Ulster Journal of Archeology*, 3rd series, 1960, 23, 97-123).
- 228 The projected enclosures at Burton House, Co. Cork, measured 216 x 248 and 248 x 248 feet for the pleasure garden (*B.M.*, Egmont Papers, Ms Add. 46958c, Feb. 7, 1670-1, Proposed plan by Thomas Smith of Burton House). I am indebted to Miss Anne Crookshank for some of the information on Burton House.
- 229 See note 228. The thickness of the walls is not taken into account in these measurements.
- 230 See note 228. Possibly Burton House also had turrets on the far side of the pleasure garden (the Ms is damaged here).
- 231 *C.S.P.I.*, 1663-5, 636, Sept. 2, 1665, Sir George Rawdon to Conway.
- 232 *Killyleagh* Castle, Co. Down, probably had one of the largest bawns, measuring almost 100 by 50 yards (see A. Rowan, *Killyleagh Castle*, Co. Down, *Country Life*, March 19, 26, April 2 and 9, 1970).
- 233 See note 228. Two more entrances were drawn later in the projected plan.
- 234 For example at Rathcline, Co. Longford (now incomplete).
- 235 *Inchiquin* Mss, 364-5, May 1, 1667, Lease by Col. Daniel O'Brien to Bryen Hanraghane.
- 236 M. Bence-Jones, Springhill, *The Irish Times*, July 2, 1963, 8.
- 237 Sir J. B. Burke, *A Visitation of the Seats of the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Great Britain and Ireland*, 2nd ser., London, 1853, II, 166.
- 238 D. Guinness & W. Ryan, *Irish houses and castles*, London, 1971, 242-3.
- 239 Lord E. FitzMaurice in his *The Life of Sir William Petty, 1623-1687*, London, 1895, 289, relates that Killowen House, because of the threat of an Irish attack, was encompassed by a clay wall fourteen feet high, and twelve feet thick, with flankers 'in the manner of an irregular pentagon'.
- 240 Also in the case of many of the houses with enclosures, garrisons were quartered in neighbouring towns.
- 241 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1683, Jan.-June, 36, Jan. 31, 1683, Richard Mildmay to Conway. In Portmore at that time, four soldiers were staying in the house.
- 242 E. MacLysaght (Ed.), *The Kenmore Manuscripts*, Irish Manuscript Commission, Dublin, 1942, 404; *N.L.I.*, Ms map 16.H.8 (12) shows

- that the wing had two stories, each of four bays.
- 243 Possibly also before 1690 additions were erected to the old castle at Doneraile, Co. Cork, after the castle itself was destroyed in 1641 (I am indebted for this information to Lady Doneraile).
- 244 In this category falls also Shane's Castle, Co. Antrim, possibly rebuilt in the same period. Lismore Castle, Co. Waterford, was made habitable again by the 1st Earl of Burlington, after it had been destroyed in 1645 (M. Girouard, Lismore Castle, Co. Waterford, I, *Country Life*, Aug. 6, 1964, 340).
- 245 J. Tighe, *Moore Abbey*, n.d., 1-3. Richard Nugent, Earl of Westmeath resided at the old priory at Fore, Co. Westmeath.
- 246 A notable exception seems to have been the old Carton, where four towers were placed, not on the comers, but on both sides of the house.
- 247 See E. M. Jope, Moyry, Charlemont, Castleraw and Richhill; fortification to architecture in the North of Ireland, *Ulster Journal of Archeology*, 3rd series, 1960, 23, 97-123, and also D.M. Waterman, Some Irish Seventeenth Century Houses and their Architectural Ancestry, and H. G. Leask, Early Seventeenth Century Houses in Ireland, both in E. M. Jope (Ed.), *Studies in Building History*, London, 1961.
- 248 e.g. Burton House, Co. Cork; Eyrecourt, Co. Galway; Beaulieu, Co. Louth; the old Carton, Co. Kildare. Attached to the last house were four towers on the sides, in all but strategic positions.
- 249 H. G. Leask, *op. cit.*, 250.
- 250 Dunmore, Co. Kilkenny, had the plan of an incomplete *H*.
- 251 The old house at Thomastown, Co. Tipperary (1670), seemed to have been very large with its 15 bays.
- 252 The old Carton measured about 95 x 55 feet, Richhill c. 98 x 50, and Finnebrogue (with its nine bays) c. 88 x 58 feet.
- 253 Burton, as projected {see *H.M.C.*, *Egmont* II, 22, contract for a house at Burton, Co. Cork, Sept. 27, 1670), measured 76 x 57 feet. Eyrecourt measures 78' 7" x 62' 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The dimensions of Beaulieu are c. 68 x 53 feet.
- 254 *B.M.*, Add. 46946A, Mss 13096, Jan. 31, 1681-2, Thomas Smith to Sir John Perceval.
- 255 As at Eyrecourt, Co. Galway, and Kilcreene, Co. Kilkenny.
- 256 At Eyrecourt, Beaulieu, and Kilkenny Castle (in the latter case, these were removed in the 19th century).
- 257 As at Richhill, Co. Armagh, Kilcreene, Co. Kilkenny, and the old house at Carton, Co. Kildare. An early seventeenth century example was at Brazeel House, Co. Dublin.
- 258 Notably, S. Serlio's *Tutte l'Opera d'Architettura et Prospetiva*, Venice, 1584; J. A. du Cerceau, *Les trois Livres d'Architecture*, Paris, 1559, 1561 & 1582; P. P. Rubens, *Pallazzi di Genova*, 1613; and P. Vingboons, *Afbeeldsels der Voornaamste Gebouwen*, Amsterdam, 2 vols., 1648, 1674.
- 259 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. VII, 514-5, Catalogue of the books of Ormond at Kilkenny Castle, Jan. 6, 1684-5.
- 260 M. H. Nicholson (Ed.), *Conway Letters*, London, 1930, 17, [after Sept. 1651?], Anne Conway to her father-in-law. Sir Henry Wotton's *The Elements of Architecture*, appeared in 1624. Vitruvius' book was

- published in 1567.
- 261 *Ibid.*, April 15, 1659, Lady Conway to her husband.
- 262 W. A. Shaw (Ed.), *Letters of denization and Acts of Naturalization for aliens in England and Ireland, 1603-1700*, Lymington, 1911, 344, letter of denization, April 25, 1671.
- 263 T.C.D., V MUN 1c, General Registry, vol.III, p. 157.
- 264 See *Dublin*, 75,78,112, where his name is mentioned in relation with the Workhouse (1703), Molyneux House (1706), and the tower of the Royal Chapel of St. Mathews (1713).
- 265 W. A. Shaw, *op. cit.*, *passim*, mentions 13 carpenters: John Baily, Solomon Sampie, Michael Banes, John Cook, Edward Hopkins, Thomas Goughton, Thomas West, John Street, Thomas Piggott, James Levesley, William Barloe, William Longwood, Hugh Kender; 3 glaziers: George Colvert, Daniel Halgan, John Beard; 2 masons: Anthony Drunton, and William Johnson; 3 plasterers: Robert Mullenax, Ralph Bayly, and Peter Nicholas; 5 bricklayers: Jeffrey Reeves, John Hearne, Thomas Collins, Thomas Crane, and the already mentioned Richard Mills; and one joiner: Euselius Creeke.
- 266 See e.g. *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1671, 349, June 29, William Temple to Conway.
- 267 *H.M.C.*, 14th Rep. App. II, 357, Nov. 22, 1677, Lord Conway to his cousin, Sir Edward Harley, and p. 374, May 5, 1683, same to same.
- 268 M. Espinasse, *Robert Hooke*, London, 1956, 99.
- 269 *H.M.C., Egmont*, II, 108-9, March 4, 1681-2, Sir Robert Southwell to Robert Hooke.
- 270 *B.M.*, Add. 46946c, Mss 13096, Feb. 25, 1681-2, Sir John Perceval to Mr. Smith.
- 271 *H.M.C., Ormond*, n.s. VI, 282-3, Dec. 27, 1681, the Earl of Longford to Ormond.
- 272 In William Robinson's case this is hard to substantiate. Although it is certain, beyond any doubt, that he was in England several times, he does not appear in the diaries of John Evelyn, Robert Hooke and Samuel Pepys, nor is he mentioned in connection with Wren in the publications of the *Wren Society*.
- 273 H. M. Colvin, *A biographical dictionary of English architects, 1680-1840*, London, 1954, 171-2.
- 274 E.g. the plaster rustication at Eyrecourt seems to be original. This type also appeared at Kilkenny Castle.
- 275 The bricks are very thinly pointed.
- 276 The windows of Eyrecourt measure 6' 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5' 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".
- 277 The remains of the wooden frames still show marks where the transom and mullians were attached, which were later replaced by sash windows. Kilkenny Castle also had transom and mullion windows. The carved decoration on the windows at Eyrecourt, is repeated on parts of the staircase, formerly inside the house (see below).
- 278 *H.M.C., Egmont*, II, 14-5, Aug. 3, 1665, William Kenn to Sir John Perceval.
- 279 D. M. Waterman, *op. cit.*, 256 and n.11, mentions that the early 17th century Killenure, Co. Tipperary, had pedimented windows.
- 280 See front doors of Beaulieu and Eyrecourt.
- 281 Kilkenny Castle, and stable of Rallahine, Co. Clare.
- 282 Beaulieu.

- 283 I am indebted for this information to Lt. Col. D. A. Rowan-Hamilton. Parts of the old surround are incorporated now in a garden wall at Killyleagh Castle.
- 284 R. T. Gunther, *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*, Oxford, 1928, 253.
- 285 A drawing, probably by William Robinson (plate 6) of the grand entrance to Dublin Castle, shows a balustred platform on the roof.
- 286 R. H. Murray (Ed.), *The Journal of John Stevens, containing a brief account of the war in Ireland, 1689-91*, Oxford, 1912, 203.
- 287 M. Craig & the Knight of Glin, *Ireland Observed*, Cork, 1970, 32.
- 288 Castle Island, Co. Kerry, was also plastered on the outside.
- 289 The bricks of Eyrecourt, irregular of shape, measured  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 4 \times 2\frac{1}{8}$  inches; those at Beaulieu,  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 4 \times 1\frac{1}{8}$  inches; those at Killyleagh Castle,  $8 \times 3\frac{1}{2} \times 2$  inches,
- 290 Quarries were located near the Phoenix House, Co. Dublin, near Charleville, Co. Cork, and near Lisburn Castle, Co. Antrim.
- 291 *Orrery Papers*, 22-23, June 25, 1662, Sir St. John Brodrick to Capt. Kenn and Lieut. Greene.
- 292 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1678, 165, May 8, 1678, Sir George Rawdon to Conway.
- 293 *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-69, 285, 1667, Patent to Sir John Stephens and others to make pantiles.
- 294 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. V, 432, Sept. 24, 1680, Earl of Barrymore to Ormond.
- 295 *List of Historic Buildings . . . in the area of Craigavon*, Ulster Architectural Heritage Society, 1969, 6. See also the Grange (1968), p.7, and Berwick Hall, (c. 1700), p. 10.
- 296 *Herbert Correspondence*, 157, Feb. 22, 1658-9, Tho. Herbert to Lord Herbert.
- 297 *C.S.P.I.*, 1647-60, 602, April 5, 1656, Sir George Rawdon to Conway, and *C.S.P.I.*, 1663-5, 602, July 4, 1665, same to same.
- 298 *C.S.P.I.*, 1669-70, 301-2, Nov. 14, 1670, Robert Leigh to secretary Arlington.
- 299 *P.R.O.*, S.P. 63/331, 80, June 5, 1672, Sir George Rawdon to Conway.
- 300 *H.M.C.*, *Egmont*, I, 528, Dec. 2, 1653, Val. Savage to John Perceval. Probably for Castlewarden, Co. Kildare. See also *H.M.C.*, *Egmont*, II, 15.
- 301 See note 299.
- 302 *H.M.C.*, *Egmont*, II, 15, Aug. 3, 1665, William Kenn to Sir John Perceval.
- 303 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1664-5, 536, 636; and *C.S.P.I.*, 1663-5, 692.
- 304 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. VII, 110, Aug. 19, 1683, Capt. John Baxter to Capt. George Mathew.
- 305 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1667, Oct. 17, 1667.
- 306 One of the staircases was replaced probably on the same site.
- 307 I am indebted for this information to Dr. H. J. Roche. The late 17th century Richhill, Co. Armagh, has a projecting staircase at the rear of the house.
- 308 This can be concluded from the magnificent stairs leading up to it, in conjunction with the presence of the wainscot decoration on the second floor landing, while the first floor hall is relatively bare. The doors coming out on the landing of the second floor were very tall double ones (approx. 8' 8" x 4' 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", and 8' 8" x 3' 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ "). Burton House, as

- originally planned, had also a *piano nobile*, which was later given up for a first floor arrangement.
- 309 As at Burton House, Co. Cork, and probably at Eyrecourt, Co. Galway.
- 310 Quoted in T. J. Clohosey, Dunmore House, *Old Kilkenny Review*, 1951, 4, 47.
- 311 *H.M.C.*, *Egmont*, II, 14-5, Aug. 3, 1665, William Kenn to Sir John Perceval. A later version of the stairs at Burton House was to have a "strong raile, hand raile, posts, heads and pendants as also ballisters, all well turned and to be framed in . . ." (B.M., Add. Ms. 46947B-734C).
- 312 The yew stairs at Birr Castle, Co. Offaly, built between 1660 and 1681, are of a completely different design (see M. Girouard, Birr Castle, Co. Offaly, I and II, *Country Life*, Feb. 25, March 4 & 11, 1965). Thomastown, Co. Tipperary also had a massive staircase, made of oak (M. Bence-Jones, Thomastown Castle, Co. Tipperary, *Country Life*, Oct. 2, 1969).
- 313 The staircase at Thorpe Hall, Hunts., has similar inverted brackets as the one at Eyrecourt (see O. Hill & J. Cornforth, *English Country Houses, Caroline, 1625-1685*, London, 1966, pl. 160-1). The new building (1687) at Dublin Castle had also "a noble staircase", description by John Dunton (*Analecta Hibernica*, 1931, 2, 53). A carver, Peter Delalis, was responsible for carving work (of the staircase?) in the Tholsel in Dublin in 1685 (*C.A.R.D.*, V, 371). Other carvers in Dublin were the French Huguenots James and Louis Tabary (admitted to the franchise respectively in 1682 and 1685). James Tarbery was responsible for the carvings in the chapel of the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham. A John Tabary, sculptor, was admitted to the franchise of Dublin in 1685 (*C.A.R.D.*, V, 259, 367,373).
- 314 *Dineley*. For 17th century plasterers in Dublin, see C. P. Curran's *Dublin Decorative Plasterwork*, London, 1967.
- 315 Which still can be seen at Beaulieu, where the panels do not project beyond their frames.
- 316 As at the upper landing at Eyrecourt.
- 317 Both at Beaulieu and Eyrecourt. At the latter house some doors had simple, but highly projecting bolecting frames (see plate 12). At Burton House also, the doorframes of the principal rooms were embellished.
- 318 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. III, 357, Dec. 3, 1664, Duchess of Ormond to Dr. Hall. It is unclear whether these marble doorcases and chimney pieces were removed to Dunmore or to Kilkenny Castle.
- 319 *H.M.C.*, *Egmont*, I, 587, Oct. 30, 1657, Col. Randal Clayton to John Perceval.
- 320 See note 315 and description by P. Luckombe in 1779 in his *A Tour through Ireland*, Dublin, 1780, 66-7. At Kilkenny Castle, marble piers were used (*H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. V, 292, March 20, 1679-80, Capt. John Baxter to the Duchess of Ormond). Marble was also to be used for "the four coynes" of Burton House, Co. Cork (*B.M.*, Add. 46947b-734c).
- 321 *P.R.O.*, Conway Papers, S.P. 63/330 No. 204, Sept. 19, 1671, Sir George Rawdon to Conway.
- 322 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1673-5, 42, 52.
- 323 Surviving chimney pieces from Kilcreene, Co. Kilkenny, are very much of a similar type.

- 324 *H.M.C., Ormond*, n.s. III, 441, Feb. 16, 1668-9, the Countess of Ormond to Capt. George Mathew. In *Country Life*, Jan. 13, 1972, p. 97 is illustrated a fireback of "cast gold" from Chichester House, Dublin [!]
- 325 As at Beaulieu, where the chimney piece is made of wood.
- 326 *H.M.C., Egmont*, II, 145, Jan. 19, 1684-5, C. Smith to [Sir John Perceval].
- 327 See *H.M.C., Ormond*, n.s. IV, 170.
- 328 *Walpole Society*, XV, 8, and IV, 59.
- 329 For Dunmore, see *H.M.C., Ormond*, n.s. VII, 509-13, and for Kilkenny Castle, *Ibid.*, 501-8.
- 330 *MacLysaght*, 412-3.
- 331 For Phoenix House, Co. Dublin, see *H.M.C., Ormond*, n.s. VII, 500-1, and for Dublin Castle, *Ibid.*, 497-499. See also the inventory of Castlemartyr, Co. Cork, in the *Orrery Papers*, 168-79.
- 332 *H.M.C., Ormond*, n.s. VII, 499.
- 333 Inventory of Castlemartyr, see note 332.
- 334 F. E. Ball, *The History of the County of Dublin*, 1902, I, 91.
- 335 For example, Sir John Perceval went in February 1686 to Dublin to visit some painters (*H.M.C., Egmont*, III, 1739-47, 365-6). See also A. Crookshank & the Knight of Glin, *Irish portraits, 1660-1860*, catalogue, 1969, for painters of the late Caroline period. Before 1690 more than 18 painters were working in Dublin (compiled from W. G. Strickland, *A dictionary of Irish artists*, 1913, reprinted, New York, 1968, 2 vols.)
- 336 *H.M.C., Ormond*, n.s. III, 44, March 3, 1662-3, James Buck to Sir George Lane, on the painting of Sir George Lane by Sir Peter Lely
- 337 *H.M.C., Egmont*, II, 16, [1665].
- 338 See note 330.
- 339 *H.M.C., Ormond*, n.s. III, 453-3, Feb 6, 1673-4, the Countess of Ormond to Capt. Geo. Mathew.
- 340 As J. P. Prendergast calls these allusions in his *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, Dublin, 1922.
- 341 T. Cromwell, *Excursions through Ireland*, London, 1828, III, 8.
- 342 K. T. Hoppen, *The Common Scientist . . .*, London, 1970, 113.
- 343 In *C.A.R.D.* can be found the following persons admitted to the franchise of the City of Dublin: William Hill, upholsterer, 1653; Benjamin Archer and Thomas Arden, turners, 1655; Nicholas Wray, turner, 1660; Furthermore are mentioned, John Quelch, upholsterer, 1669; William Young, upholsterer, 1681; Thomas Tirrell, upholsterer, 1685, who made furniture for the Tholsel. W. A. Shaw, *op. cit.*, mentions two Englishmen who obtained letters of denization in Ireland: Herbert Rowe, upholsterer, 1669, and John Foulkes, turner, 1671.
- 344 *Orrery Papers*, 94, Dec. 2, 1671, Ro[bert] Boyle to Orrery. See also *H.M.C., Egmont*, II, 22.
- 345 *Herbert Correspondence*, 210, March 18, 1672-3, [Lord] Herbert to Richard Herbert.
- 346 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1683, Feb. 14, 1683, Sir George Rawdon to Conway.
- 347 *H.M.C., Ormond*, n.s. VII, 362, Sept. 23, 1685, Earl of Longford to Ormond.
- 348 *Montgomery Mss*, 279, n.56.
- 349 A few known pieces are the oak chairs of the archbishops Bramhall and

- Magretson in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Co. Armagh.
- 350 *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-9, 530, Dec. 24, 1667, Sir George Rawdon to Conway.
- 351 These statues were placed above the arcade in the centre of the house.
- 352 *An Archeological Survey of Co. Down*, Belfast, 1966, pl. 415.1.
- 353 *C.A.R.D.*, V, 271, 291, 319, 354, from 1683-5. He was the son of the famous Dutch architect/sculptor Hendrik de Keyser.
- 354 Photographs of these can be found in R. Loeber, An introduction to the Dutch influence in 17th and 18th century Ireland, *Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, 1970, 2 & 3, 20-1, where one of the statues is wrongly identified as James II.
- 355 *H.M.C., Ormond*, n.s. VI, 279-80, Dec. 24, 1681, Earl of Longford to Ormond.
- 356 *Ibid.*, 279-80, Dec. 24, 1681, same to same.
- 357 I am indebted for this information to Colonel S. O'Driscoll. It was erected by Sir Thomas Southwell in 1676.
- 358 *C.S.P.I.*, 1669-70, 206, July 26, 1670, Colonel Daniel O'Brien to Arlington.
- 359 Letter from Lady Broghill (daughter-in-law of Lord Orrery, quoted in C. J. Philips, *A History of the Sackville Family, Earls and Dukes of Dorset*, London, 1930, I, 432). Her husband, Lord Broghill, had a house called Mallow Park (*C.S.P.Dom.*, 1672-3, 164).
- 360 As at the Curragh, Co. Kildare, and by Lord Conway at Lambeg, Co. Antrim.
- 361 *Dineley*.
- 362 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1671, 375, July 8, 1671, Joseph Stroud to Conway.
- 363 S. Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland . . .*, London, 1839, I, 112.
- 364 *H.M.C.*, 15th Rep. App. III, 168, Nov. 12, 1662, [Colonel Edward Cooke to Lord Bruce]. *Amphill Lodge* at that time was a royal hunting lodge in England.
- 365 *H.M.C., Egmont*, I, 528, Dec. 2, 1653, Val Savage to John Perceval. See also *C.S.P.I.*, 1647-60, 621, 1656, Major George Rawdon to [Lord Conway] on sending over of a Dutch gardener; and *Herbert Correspondence*, 211, March 18, 1672-3, John Read to Richard Bowen.
- 366 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1672, 310, July 3, 1672, Sir George Rawdon to Conway.
- 367 See e.g. M. H. Nicholson (Ed.), *Conway Letters*, London, 1930, 227, Sept. 9, 1664, Lady Conway to her husband; and *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1676-7, 561, Feb. 17, 1677, Sir George Rawdon to Conway.
- 368 For example, at Portmore (Co. Antrim), Harristown (Co. Kildare), *Dunmore* (Co. Kilkenny), Glenarm (Co. Antrim), and Bunnatty Castle (Co. Clare).
- 369 *Dublin*, 14.
- 370 *C.S.P.Dom.*, 1678-80, 229, 241 and 258.
- 371 *C.S.P.I.*, 1663-5, 569, April 12, 1665, Major Rawdon to Conway. Lord Arran had his seat at Maddenstown, Co. Kildare, near the Curragh.
- 372 *Ibid.*, 569.
- 373 *Ibid.*, 582, May 20, 1665, same to same.
- 374 *Ibid.*, 569, and 637.
- 375 S. W. Singer (Ed.), *State Letters of Henry, second earl of Clarendon*, London, 1828, I, 237, Feb. 8, 1685-6, The Countess of Clarendon to John Evelyn.

- 376 F. E. Ball, *The History of the Comity of Dublin*, IV, 170.
- 377 *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. III, 282-3, Dec. 18, 1667, John Bryan to the Duchess of Ormond.
- 378 *T.C.D.*, Ms I.I.3, N. Dowdall's account of Co. Longford in 1682.
- 379 *H.M.C.*, *Egmont*, II, 128-9, March 13, 1682-3, Lord Shannon to Sir John Perceval. Lord Shannon had his seat Shannon Park (also called Balinrea) near Carrigaline, Co. Cork.
- 380 *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-9, 385, June 25, 1667, Daniel Arthur to Conway; and *Ibid.*, 530, Dec. 24, 1667, Sir George Rawdon to the same.
- 381 *T.C.D.*, Ms 1209.82. This was the estate of Dr. John Madden.
- 382 As at Blessington, Co. Wicklow, and Burton House, Co. Cork. A similar axis at Castle Island, Co. Kerry, leading to a bridge was to be planted with two rows of "Dutch willows, sycamore, or other spreading trees." (*Herbert Correspondence*, 244, May 21, 1678, Samuel Wilson to Lord Herbert). At Burton, Co. Cork, a "Firr Grove" was laid out in March 1686 (*H.M.C.*, *Egmont*, III (1739-47), 371).
- 383 Quoted in *MacLysaght*, 136. Sir William Petty wrote a short note on the cultivation of timber in Ireland (Marquis of Lansdowne (Ed.), *The Petty Papers*, 1927, reprinted New York, 1967, 126-7).
- 384 *H.M.C.*, *Egmont*, I, 531.
- 385 See e.g. *H.M.C.*, *Egmont*, II, 129, 130, 137; and *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-9, 587.
- 386 *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-9, 693, March 3, 1669, Sir George Rawdon to Conway. See also *H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. III, 132.
- 387 Sir John Perceval, for example, was sent from England, Dr. N. Grew's book the *Anatomy of Plants*, 1682 (*H.M.C.*, *Egmont*, II, 135, Oct. 26, 1683, Christopher Crofts to Sir John Perceval).
- 388 See note 165, where "Glasses" are mentioned at Castle Forbes, Co. Longford. Furthermore, Thomas Bellingham, when visiting Sir Arthur Rawdon's seat at Moira, Co. Down, in 1690, mentions "the conservatory" there (A. Hewitson (Ed.), *Diary of Thomas Bellingham, an officer under William III*, Preston, 1908, 123). Sir Bernard de Gomme's map of Dublin, also shows a glass house, now near the site of Westland Row Station (J. G. Simms, Dublin in 1685, *Irish Historical Studies*, 1964-5, 14, 216).
- 389 *C.S.P.I.*, 1663-5, 653, Oct. 21, 1665, Sir George Rawdon to Conway.
- 390 See note 379.
- 391 *N.L.I.*, Ms 8646(6) map of Rathcline, Co. Longford. Furthermore, a trench to bring "the water from Agaheel into Arther lough" was dug near Portmore, Co. Antrim, in 1679-80 (*C.S.P.Dom.*, 1678-80, 241, *passim*).
- 392 J. R. O'Flanagan, *The lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of Ireland*, 1870, I, 376. Sir William Petty built shortly after 1684 in partnership with John Skeffington, 2nd Viscount Massareene, his famous double-bottom ship. Massareene, who had been granted the fishing of Lough Nenagh provided that he built a barque for the lake (*H.M.C.*, *Ormond*, n.s. III, 246-8) planned to use the double-bottom boat for his own use, which led to a long dispute with Petty, which Petty finally won (Lord E. Fitzmaurice, *The Life of Sir William Petty, 1623-1687*, London, 1895, 112). In another case, the fowler of Lord Conway, proposed to build him a pleasure boat (*C.S.P.I.*, 1666-9, 585,

- March 17, 1667, Sir George Rawdon to Conway).
- 393 *H.M.C., Ormond*, n.s. VI, 279-80, Dec. 24, 1681, Earl of Longford to Ormond.
- 394 See note 108.
- 395 *H.M.C., Ormond*, n.s. V, 292, March 20, 1679-80, Capt. John Baxter to the Duchess of Ormond.
- 396 *C.S.P.I.*, 1666-9, 382, June 18, 1667, Sir George Rawdon to Conway.
- 397 *Ibid.*, 392, July 18, 1667, same to same.
- 398 *Ibid.*, 345, April 13, 1667, same to same.
- 399 *C.S.P.I.*, 1663-5, 632, Aug. 15, 1665.
- 400 Marquis of Lansdowne (Ed.), *The Petty-Southwell Correspondence, 1676-1687*, 1928, reprinted New York, 1967, 280, Aug. 4, 1687, Petty to Sir Robert Southwell.
- 401 J. G. Simms, *Jacobite Ireland*, London, 1969, 43.
- 402 E. MacLysaght (Ed.), *The Kenmare Manuscripts*, Irish Manuscript Commission, Dublin, 1942, 404, Ashbrook, Co. Derry, was to have been built in 1686 (Sir J. B. Burke, *A Visitation of the Seats of the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Great-Britain and Ireland*, II, 130). Perhaps the old house at Carton, Co. Kildare, was erected by the Earl of Tyrconnell in the same period. Viscount Gormanstown erected a chapel at Gormanstown in 1687 (see note 122).
- 403 For a picture of James II's Mint in Dublin see *The Georgian Society, Records of Eighteenth-Century Domestic Architecture and Decoration in Ireland*, London, 1913, II, 61.
- 407 J. G. Simms, *op. cit.*, 84.
- 405 *H.M.C., Egmont*, II, 190, April 24, 1689, William Taylor to Edward Lloyd.
- 406 *H.M.C., Ormond*, n.s. VIII, 15-6, Jan. 15, 1688-9, Baxter to Henry Gascoigne.
- 407 *Ibid.*, 29, Jan. 17, 1688-9, Henry Gascoigne to Gerard Bor.
- 408 J. A. Murphy, *Justin MacCarthy, Lord Mountcashel*, Cork, 1959, 16.
- 409 K. Danaher & J. G. Simms (Eds.), *The Danish force in Ireland, 1690-1*, Irish Manuscript Commission, Dublin, 1962, 90, Oct. 29, 1690, Würtemberg to Christian V. See also, H. J. Lawlor (Ed.), *Diary of William King, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin, during his imprisonment in Dublin Castle*, II, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1903, pt. 2, 33, 273.
- 410 J. G. Simms, *op. cit.*, 198.
- 411 *Montgomery Mss*, 279 n. 56.
- 412 See for example, A. Hewitson, *op. cit.*, 139.
- 413 Still existent but much altered is Finnebrogue, Co. Down. More in its original state is Richhill, Co. Armagh.

*Acknowledgements Photographs*

Frontispiece, 5 & 6, Trustees of the British Museum; 2 & 3, The Old Dublin Society; 4, The Irish Georgian Society; 7 & 9, Trustees of the National Library of Ireland; 10, Foundation Johan Maurits van Nassau, Mauritshuis, the Hague; 11, Detroit Institute of Arts; 12, Miss C. Bancroft; 13, Board of Trustees of Trinity College, Dublin.

A  
BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY  
OF  
IRISH ARCHITECTS, CRAFTSMEN AND ENGINEERS

Under the auspices of the Irish Georgian Society this illustrated dictionary is being compiled to integrate the eventful history of Irish architecture from a wide variety of sources. This work, the first of its kind, covers the period from the mid-seventeenth century up till the First World War. It will include detailed information on the careers of architects, craftsmen, and engineers, their creations, successes and failures. The dictionary will be an indispensable work of reference for laymen and architectural historians. The General Editor is Dr. John Harris, of the Royal Institute of British Architects, London, and the contributors are: Mr. C. E. B. Brett, Dr. Maurice Craig, Mr. Hugh Dixon, The Knight of Glin, Dr. Rolf Loeber, Mr. Edward McParland, Mr. Homan Potterton, Mr. Douglas Richardson, and Miss Jeanne Sheehy.

Information on architects, craftsmen, and engineers would be much appreciated. Please contact Dr. Rolf Loeber, Castletown House, Celbridge, Co. Kildare, Ireland.