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CARTON, CO. KILDARE

**A CASE STUDY OF THE MAKING
OF AN IRISH DEMESNE**

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Cover: Detail from 'The Castletown Hunt', drawn in grey and white chalk by Robert Healy in 1769. The 1975 Irish stamp 'Castletown' is another detail from the same picture.

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CARTON, CO. KILDARE

A Case Study of the Making of an Irish Demesne



The park, or demesne, became one of the outstanding features of the Irish landscape during the eighteenth century. A prolonged period of internal peace allowed landlords to create surroundings to their houses which were in keeping with contemporary taste. The making of the demesne was but one symptom of the age of 'improvement', which also saw the re-planning of many towns and villages, the building of large country houses, and the introduction of new techniques in agriculture. This 'improvement' was itself just one aspect of the Enlightenment diffusing all over Europe from origins in fifteenth century Italy. In many instances, the creation and development of a demesne indicates the extent to which society in Ireland was part of, and responded to, the dictates of international fashion. It also illustrates the power of the landlord to alter radically the life and landscape of a local area.

The making of the fine demesne at Carton, Co. Kildare — the subject of this study — is a good example of some of the attitudes, problems, and changing fashions which influenced the formation of demesnes all over Ireland. Moreover, Carton, the former seat of the Earls of Kildare (from 1766 Dukes of Leinster), is of special interest because its history can be particularly well documented and because much of its late eighteenth century appearance survives more or less intact. Articles by Lord Walter FitzGerald and others¹ have already provided some outline of its history, but further discussion now seems justified on two arguments. First, new material allows the earlier studies to be greatly extended. For example, several new maps have been discovered which enable almost all the major, and many of the minor, developments from the late seventeenth century onwards to be related to, or established from, map evidence. Memorials of registration of deeds have also been used to elaborate the land transactions which preceded the extension of the park in the 1740s, while the now published letters of Emily, Duchess of Leinster, have provided a valuable contemporary commentary on

events at a slightly later period². Second, recent studies now permit developments at Carton to be considered against a more general background of changes in Ireland and of trends in garden design. Two sources have proved particularly useful: Derek Clifford's *A History of Garden Design* (1962),³ which discusses the garden as a work of art in terms of the society which created it, and the perceptive articles by Desmond Fitz-Gerald in *Apollo* (1968), which provide the more specific framework on the history of garden design in eighteenth century Ireland⁴. Although more information may be established on some topics if the Leinster estate records come to light⁵, sufficient progress now seems to have been made to warrant a new assessment of the changes which have occurred at Carton since the seventeenth century.



EARLY CARTON

The name, Carton, was originally given to a townland located some ten miles west of Dublin and about one mile north-east of the present village of Maynooth. This townland, on the northern bank of the Rye Water (a tributary of the river Liffey), was part of the extensive lands in North Kildare granted to Maurice FitzGerald after the Anglo-Norman invasion. The FitzGeralds, who became Earls of Kildare in the thirteenth century, were among the leading Anglo Norman families in Ireland, their power reaching its zenith in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when, except for brief intervals, a Kildare was the king's lord deputy in Ireland for over sixty years⁶. Throughout the mediaeval period, however, their centre of power was the castle at Maynooth, which was enlarged and strengthened several times. Carton was of little importance by comparison. Lord Walter FitzGerald could find only a few references to the townland, all of which related to the mid-fourteenth century or later. From these, he suggested that a castle, or fortified dwelling of the tower house type, had probably existed near the churchyard in what is now (perhaps significantly) the townland of Old Carton. Such a location places the castle about half a mile north of the present house and outside the present demesne wall.

THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

More detailed records only appear in 1603 when the Manor of Carton was leased by the Earl of Kildare to Sir William Talbot, a kinsman of the old-established Anglo-Norman family, the Talbots of Malahide. The manor was then reported to have contained a castle, ten farmsteads, a mill, 352 acres, and a fishing weir⁷. Although there is now only a single farmhouse and a churchyard there, the farmhouses, as well as the castle, were almost certainly at the mediaeval site in Old Carton. As late as 1700, the forfeited estates entry for Carton mentions 'a stone-walled square castle on that part of the townland called Old Carton, eight houses and cabins'⁸. Although it has only limited internal detail, the complementary forfeited estates map confirms the Old Carton location, showing by a perspective sketch a cluster of trees and houses in the approximate vicinity of the churchyard. Sixty years later, however, when Rocque made his map, Old Carton was devoid of buildings, and only the churchyard, an orchard, an 'part of the gardens of Old Carton' remained. The final desertion may have occurred only about 1750, for a map of about that date still shows fields very different to those found a little later by Rocque. The two fields near the churchyard each appear as divided into five strips, possibly indicating that some settlement still remained. (Unfortunately, it is not possible to distinguish all the detail on the map, which is only known in facsimile form)⁹. The end of Old Carton may therefore have been in some way associated with the enlargement of the demesne in the late 1740s and early 1750s. However, further evidence is needed if such a conjecture is to be confirmed.

* * *

THE ORIGIN OF THE HOUSE

The beginning of development at the present site of the house in Carton is as obscure as the decline of Old Carton. Lord Walter FitzGerald claimed, without offering substantiation, that it was Sir William Talbot who 'built the house at Carton, which is the nucleus of the present house'¹⁰. If this were true, then the present site was occupied prior to 1633, when Sir William died.

More recently, Crookshank (1971) has also assigned an early seventeenth century origin to the site, claiming that its development was the enterprise of Richard Boyle (1566-1643), the Great Earl of

Cork, who, she writes, built the house for his son-in-law, the Earl of Kildare¹¹. She supports this assertion with evidence from the diary of the Earl of Cork and from a later painting. In the diary for April 13 1632, there is a reference to a decision to 'pull down all the rotten, decayed, disproportioned unusfull olde bwdings at Maynooth, and ... to rebwld three ranges of the square court in a fair and uniforme manner'¹². Crookshank interprets this decision as relating to Carton and claims that part of the house can be seen in a painting of Carton made prior to the mid-eighteenth century alterations¹³. She takes the four towers with cupolas shown in the picture as representing the corner towers of a house built by Lord Cork on three sides of a square — a house whose full detail is hidden by the late seventeenth century house built on the remaining side of the square.

It would undoubtedly be of considerable significance for Irish architectural history if the house at Carton were in fact built by the Earl of Cork, for it would provide further evidence of enterprise and of a capacity to innovate in early seventeenth century Ireland. Unfortunately, however, a closer examination of the evidence does not seem to support such an inference. Quite apart from the fact that Carton had been leased to the Talbots, the detail on the painting is insufficient to indicate conclusively whether a courtyard enclosed on all sides by buildings did in fact lie behind the late seventeenth century house. Moreover, the entry in the diary, which specifically mentions Maynooth, is much more likely to refer to Maynooth Castle, where the Earl of Cork undertook a very extensive rebuilding and enlargement between 1630 and 1634, at a cost of over £2,000. Records of accounts for 'the building at Maynooth' still survive, including one of payment for a commemorative tablet to be placed over the main gate¹⁴. This tablet still exists over the main entrance to Maynooth castle and indicates that the castle was rebuilt and enlarged by the Earl of Cork for his son-in-law, the Earl of Kildare. A contemporary plan of the castle area about 1630 — 1635 also exists¹⁵, and shows the 'Old Castle' as a single square keep building facing onto a large courtyard which is flanked on its remaining sides by 'The New Buildings' — which almost certainly constitute the 'three ranges of the square court in a fair and uniforme manner' described in the diary. The Earl of Cork *may* have been building at Carton as well as Maynooth, but surviving map and diary records seem to describe only the Maynooth project.

Had there been any building on the present site of Carton during the first half of the seventeenth century, it was probably of fairly modest proportions — or so the evidence of the Civil Survey of

*A Resemblance of the Improvements
of Carretown*

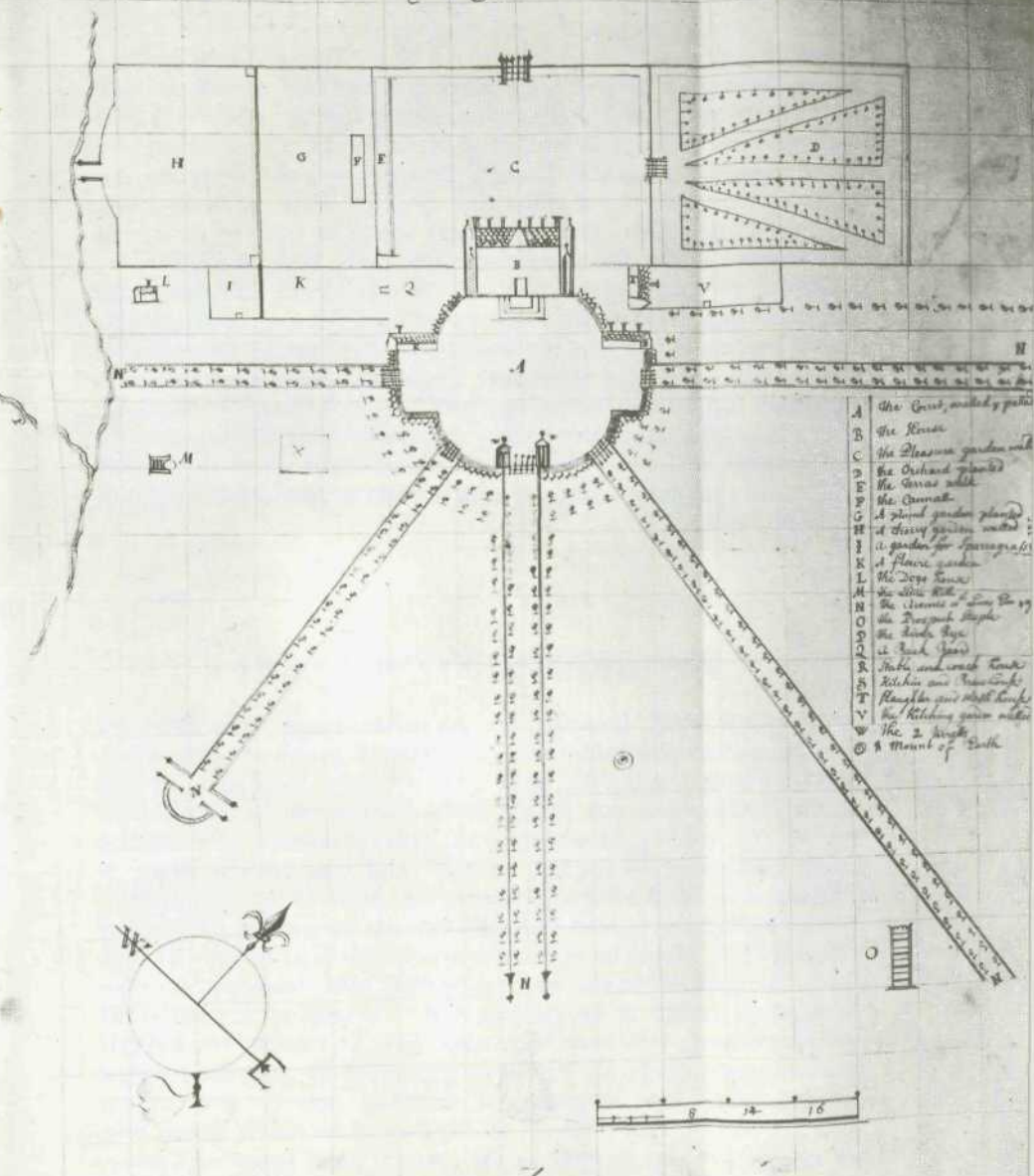


Fig. 1. The late seventeenth century improvements as shown on a contemporary plan, now in the library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham, Norfolk.

1654—55 suggests¹⁶. There was then a 'Stone House' on the lands of Carton reckoned to have been worth two hundred pounds in 1640 but 'wch being nowe ruined and decayed is valued to be worth butt sixty pounds'. There was also 'upon the lands of Cartowne aforesaid one Chapell of Ease One Ruined Stooone house with a garden and orchard thereunto belonginge one decayed water mill And one decayed Dovehouse.' The latter entry seems to refer to the site at Old Carton, while the stone house may have been there also, or, possibly, in some other part of the townland. However, the valuation of £200 assigned to the house does not suggest that it was in any way exceptional by the standards of the time. By comparison, the recently renovated Maynooth Castle was accorded a valuation of £3,000, and others, including Castlewarneing (Castlewarden), St. Wolstan's, and Lyons were given valuations of £1,000 or more. In this context, it does not seem as if the house at Carton, if it indeed existed on the present site, can have been other than a small country house in 1640.

* * *

THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

By about 1690, however, an important house with extensive formal gardens was to be found at Carton. It is still not clear when, and by whom, it was built. Little is known about the area at the time of the Restoration, but, by the 1680s, Carton was in the hands of one of the leading Jacobites, Col. Richard Talbot, who became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1687 and was created Duke of Tyrconnel in 1689. His pre-eminence was brief, for he died in 1691, shortly before the second siege of Limerick, yet even in the reign of Charles II he seems to have been one of the most influential Irish lords, the sort of person who might well have developed a major house and garden at his country *seat*¹⁷. In such an enterprise, he would certainly not have been alone for, as Loeber has recently pointed out, many of his contemporaries in post-Restoration Ireland were also engaged in building activity and in the development of their *estates*¹⁸. By the time of his death, at any rate, an Inquisition was to refer to the Duke's 'great house' of Carton, suggesting a building of *importance*¹⁹. Likewise, the forfeited estates record of about 1700 mentions 'a very fine House, with all manner of convenient offices and fine gardens &c, being the Mansion-house of the late Duke of Tyrconnell'²⁰, while the contemporary map,

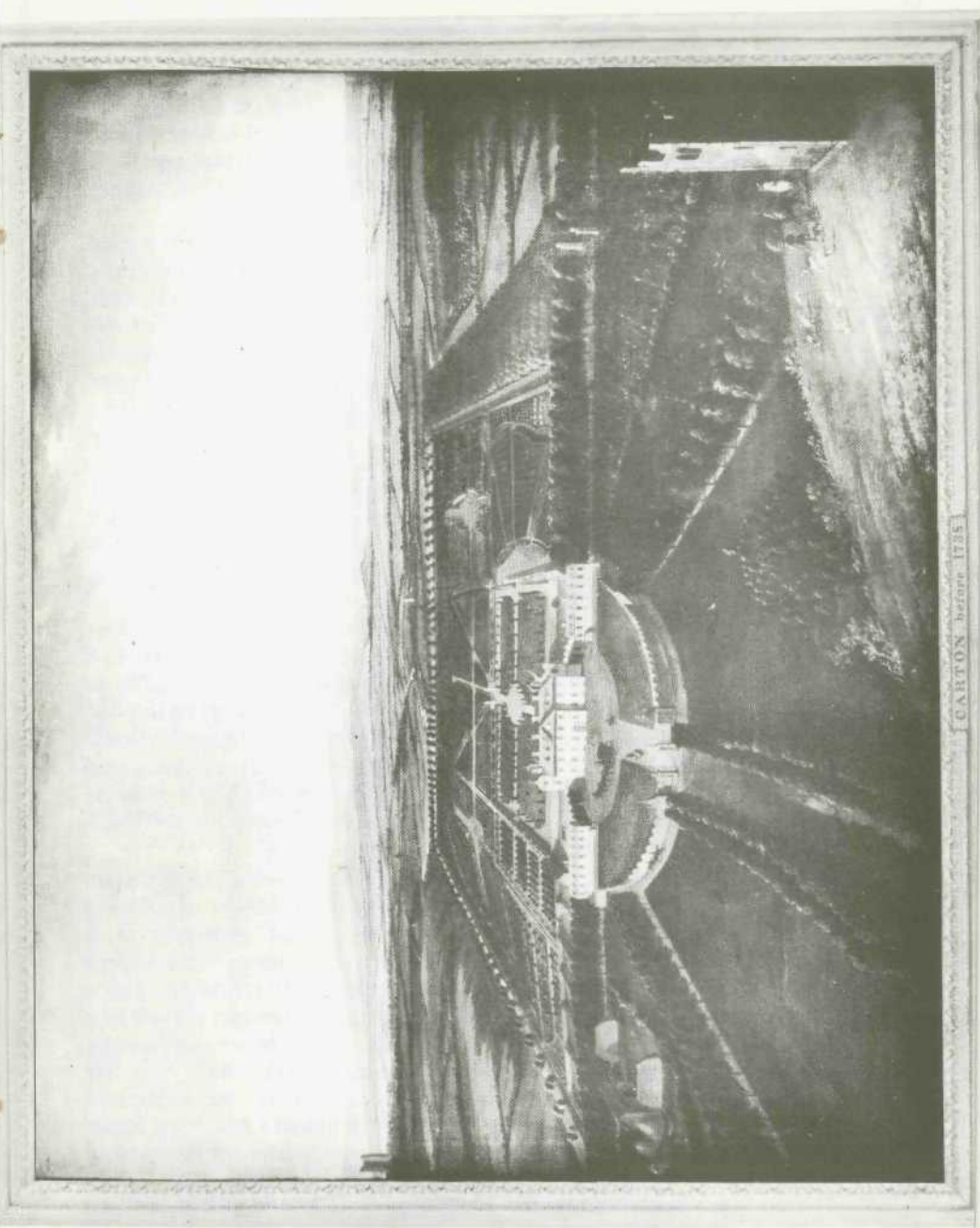


Fig. 2. A view of Carton attributed to Johann van der Hagen painted prior to its purchase by the Earl of Kildare in 1738-9. This painting still hangs at Carton.

which also depicted the settlement at Old Carton referred to above, includes a drawing of the house, showing it as two storey with towers and wings, surrounded by trees. It is on the 'Demesne' lands — presumably the garden and park area whose 97 Irish acres were thus distinguished from the remaining 305 Irish acres of 'Arable, Meadow and Pasture' on the townland.

The drawing of the house is small, almost a caricature, yet it gives sufficient detail to suggest that the two storey house with towers and wings, which is shown with greater accuracy in the painting 'Carton before 1738', had already been built by 1700. Confirmation of this comes from an unsigned and undated plan which was recently discovered in the collection of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham and which provides much greater detail on the late seventeenth century house and *gardens*²¹.

This plan probably dates from the time when Tyrconnel lived at Carton, or, perhaps, from the period immediately after his death when the future of the house was uncertain. It is inscribed on the back 'A Draught of Carton, the Duke of Tyrconnel's House' in a hand which may well be that of the cartographer himself. On the front, it is entitled 'A Resemblance of the Improvemts. of Carretowne', so that it presumably shows alterations which either were being planned or, more likely, had already been undertaken. A 'plumb garden planted' and 'The Court, walled & pallasd' seems to refer to features which had been completed. It may be taken that the plan is reasonably reliable as, in many details, it corresponds closely to the lay-out of house and gardens shown in the later painting and on the map of 1744. We have, therefore, a contemporary or near-contemporary source showing the improvements undertaken during, or possibly completed in the 1680s.

The house itself appears as a perspective drawing on the plan. Only a limited amount of architectural detail is shown, so that it is impossible to establish how the facade looked. However, it is evident that the building was two-storey with dormers set in a steep roof making a third. There were six or eight high chimneys, and a small pediment over the door so narrow that it appears almost as a gable. Two towers appear on each side of the house, apparently already capped by the ogee-shaped domes with which they are shown on the later painting. Single storey offices, the stable and coach house on the south-west side and the kitchen and brew house on the north-east, comprised the wings, which were set forward of the main house and connected to it by a curving wall. A 'Slaughter and Wash-house' stood as a separate building to the north-east beside the kitchen garden.

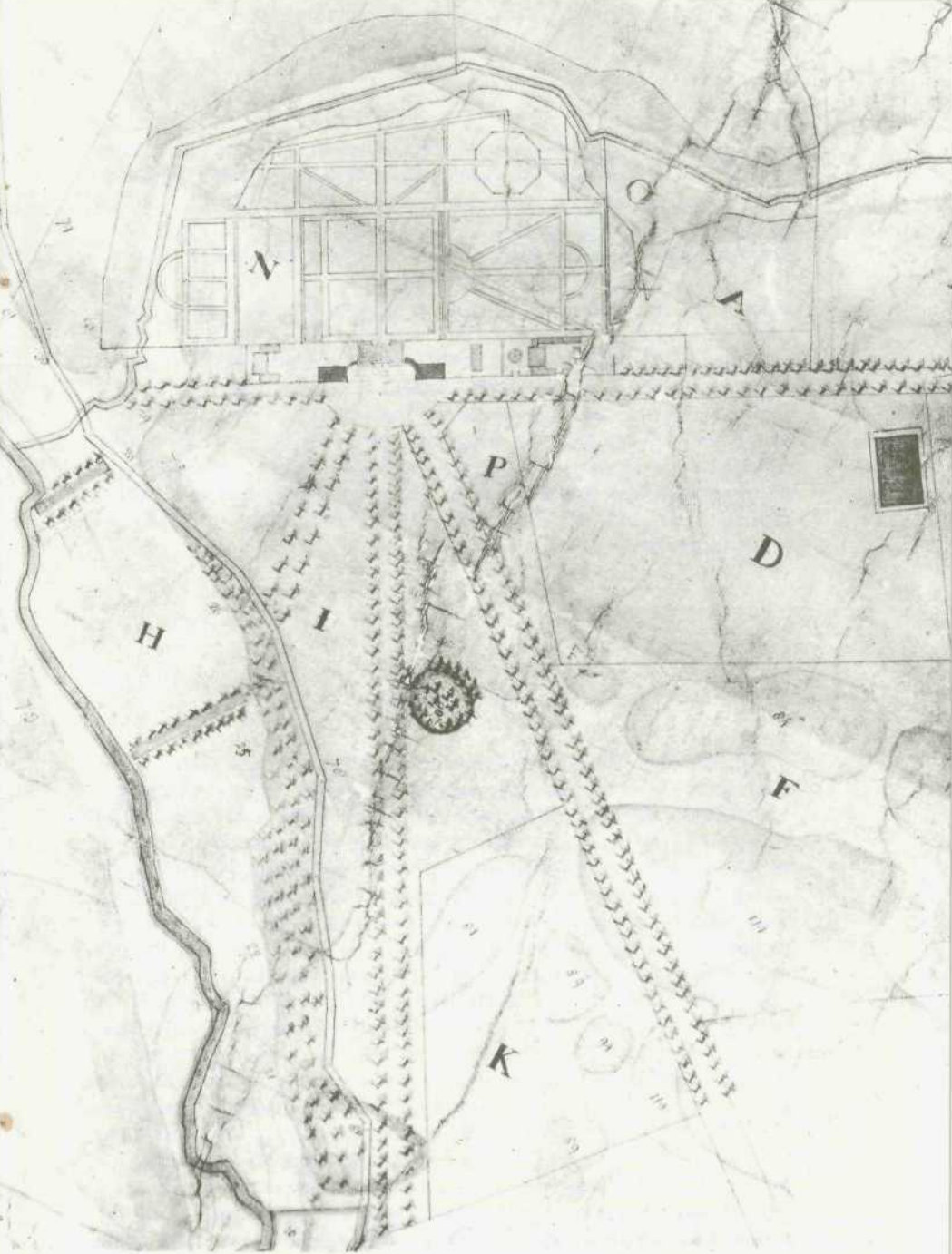


Fig. 5. The house, gardens, and avenues, as shown on Baylie and Mooney's map of 1744. Note the canals, the tree-covered viewing mount and the reservoir.

In general design, the house shown on the plan seems to have been very similar to that shown in greater detail in the later painting. From the latter source, it has been described as an example of 'the Dutch Palladian permeation of the late seventeenth century', and possibly 'the earliest central block and winged mansion in all Ireland'²². Loeber has remarked, too, that it is one of the earliest houses to incorporate a pediment above the frontispiece, one indication, with the wings, of the distinct shift towards symmetry and the use of classical details on the exterior of houses²³. Together with its French Baroque style garden, it would have served as a fitting residence for a person of the importance of Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnel. By English standards, it was probably unexceptional. By Irish standards, the house was in the forefront of architectural development; with its parks and gardens, it was a leading example of the early, but widespread, diffusion of Restoration taste.

* * *

THE GARDEN

On the plan, the fully fashioned formal garden and park, which must have stood comparison with similar developments in England, are perhaps more striking than the house itself. The house faced south-east towards the Dublin mountains. Immediately in front of it, there was a crescent-shaped area, 'The Court, walled and pallasd', which the painting shows to have been partly lawn and partly an area where carriages could park and turn. This forecourt was enclosed by a stone wall and a thin belt of trees or bushes, broken only where the five avenues that radiated into the park beyond approached the house. The straight, tree-lined avenues were up to three-quarters of a mile in length in the French Baroque style that became widely adopted after the Restoration²⁴. In plan, diverging to the side and in front of the court, they appear as a *patte d'oie*, or goosefoot pattern, thereby extending the view along selected lines into the park and beyond. Railed gaps or entrance gates in the stone wall around the court enabled the vistas along these lines to be enjoyed from the house itself. Such an arrangement, a geometrical pattern superimposed on the landscape, was an extension of the house into its surroundings, the style epitomised by the work of Le Notre at Versailles.

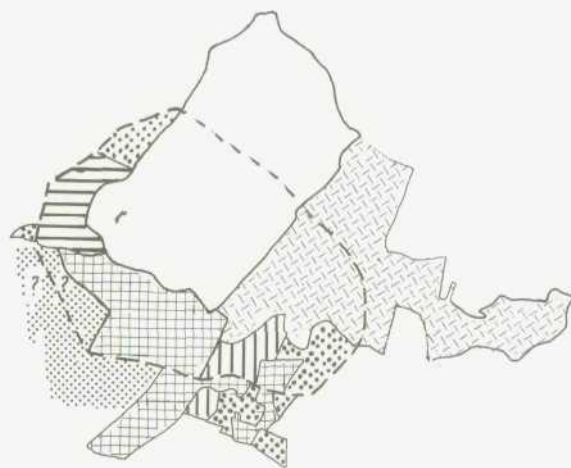
GROWTH OF CARTON



Carton 1739

Demesne as
enclosed by 1757

Lands intended for
a deer park 1744



LANDS ACQUIRED 1739-1750

By KILDARE from

Ingoldsby 1739

Luttrell 1745

Conolly 1749

Pechell 1749

By DOWNES from

Mannwaring et al.
1744

Besnard et al.
1748

NELSON'S holding

Fig. 4. (a) Growth of Carton.

(b) Lands acquired 1739-1750.

(Based on the evidence from contemporary maps and from memorial of registration of deeds).

Behind the house, there were the gardens proper. Immediately to the rear, 'The Pleasure garden walled' covered a large square of some 4-6 acres; the painting indicates it was a conventional parterre with lawns, some bushes, and gravel walks. On either side, there were fruit gardens and orchards; to the north-east, an 'Orchard planted'; to the south-west, at a slightly lower level below the 'Terras walk', 'A plumb garden planted' and 'A Cherry garden walled'. Each of these gardens occupied some 1-2 acres. Other smaller plots near the house — a garden for 'Sparragrass', a flower garden, and the kitchen garden — accounted for a further 2-4 acres. There were thus some 6-8 acres of enclosed plantations near the house at the time the plan was made. Gardens of such a size must have demanded considerable initial investment and large-scale planting, not to mention the man-power required for their upkeep. Yet by the 1730s, they occupied an even more extensive area. Both the painting, and Baylie and Mooney's map of 1744, show that almost half as much again was taken in when the gardens were extended back to the gorge of the Glashrooneen, a small tributary of the Rye Water.

Unlike some other contemporary gardens, there were few waterworks. A short straight canal, at the edge of the 'plumb' garden and just below the 'Terras' walk, is the only artificial waterwork on the late seventeenth century plan, and its purpose may have been as much to provide a reservoir near the house as to be ornamental. Possibly the relatively elevated position of the house and gardens, some 40-50 feet above the incised valleys of the nearby Rye Water and its tributary, the Glashrooneen, gave rise to difficulties in the creation of canals and ponds. Certainly in the various later landscaping schemes, waterworks were never very prominent. Even when the formal garden and park had reached a more mature stage, the 1744 map shows only two short, tree-lined, ornamental canals, and these were sunk from general view in the Rye Water valley. At that period, too, the canal in the 'plumb' garden seems to have disappeared, but a reservoir, possibly a new one, is situated some distance to the north-east of the house.

Two other features of the late seventeenth century park deserve note: a tall tower about a thousand yards to the east of the house and, somewhat nearer, 'A Mount of Earth'. The tower, which still exists, was thought by Lord Walter FitzGerald to have been intended for a mausoleum for the Talbot family²⁵. However, the plan describes it as 'The Prospect Tower' which seems to be a more accurate indication of its purpose, for it is on one of the highest parts of the demesne, and it is possible to see considerable distances



1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Denomination	A	R	P			
Manoeth						
Manerstown						
Barrowstown						
Cruckstown						
Killybeggs						
Cruckstown						
Cruckstown						
Cruckstown						
Cruckstown						

References.

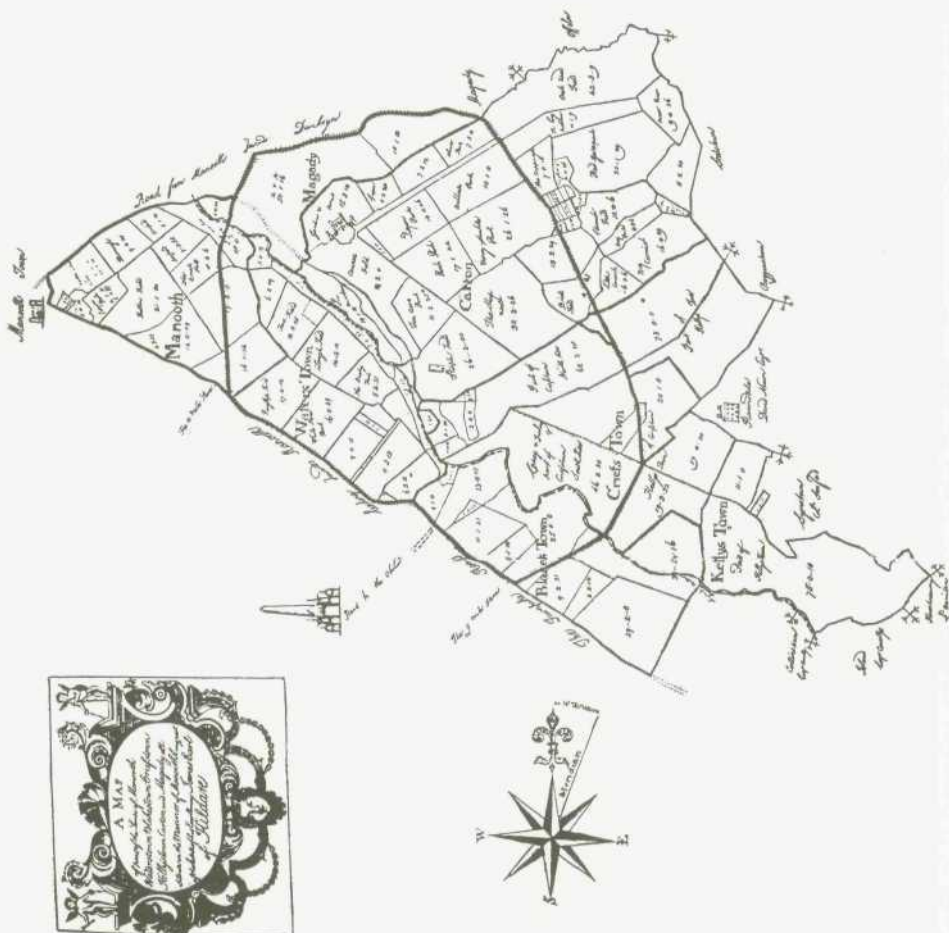


Fig. 5. An undated map probably made about 1749 or 1750 showing field boundaries in the proposed park. (Reproduced from the *Journal of the Co. Kildare Archaeological Society*, 1903. The present whereabouts of this map is not known).

across the flat countryside from its summit — Baylie and Mooney, making their map in 1744, were able to obtain sightings from it of the hills of Allen and Howth, both over twenty miles away²⁶. It must have been a fashionable attraction, not only for viewing distant features, but because it was probably the one position from which the full extent of the avenues and formal garden could be appreciated. The mount of earth may have served a similar function. It was about twenty to thirty feet high — sufficient to give a good view of the house and forecourt, but in a much less favourable position to give good views of a wider area. Its original purpose is obscure; possibly it was a relict from mediaeval or earlier times, or possibly it was constructed specially as a viewing mount, for such features achieved some fashionability in the early and mid-seventeenth century²⁷. It did not survive the landscaping of the 1740s.

The **Mount** of Earth and the Prospect Tower are, of course, only two of the features whose precise origins are obscure. In spite of the discovery of the late seventeenth century plan which provides some information on the appearance of the house and park, it must be emphasised that much remains to be discovered about the people who undertook the development. The Duke of Tyrconnel would seem the most likely person to have been resident at Carton, and possibly to have been the person who commissioned the house, but who was the architect, and who was responsible for laying out the park and gardens? Who supplied the shrubs and plants for the improvements, and who maintained the gardens after they were made? Nothing is yet known about these people. Likewise, in spite of the research which is at present in progress, it is still difficult to assess the precise extent to which the house and park represented an innovation or advancement on other contemporary developments in Ireland.



CARTON 1691-1738

In 1691, Carton, along with other lands held by supporters of James II, was forfeited to the crown, who held it for over ten years. During this period, the future ownership was uncertain, yet it seems that at least some, possibly quite extensive, repairs were undertaken to 'His Majesty's House at **Carrtowne**'. The original records relating



Fig. 6. The new park, as shown on Rocque's map of 1757. The area immediately behind the house, where the formal gardens had been, has detail omitted and is uncoloured on this map, which is now in the library of Cambridge University.

to these repairs were probably destroyed in 1922, but Lord Walter FitzGerald has quoted four entries of payments totalling £165 for work at Carton, and has added that there were further similar entries²⁸. William Spike was paid almost £20, and William Robinson, Esq., over £90, for repairs, while John Gregory²⁹, employed as gardener at Carton, received two payments, amounting to £54, in 1695 and 1696 'for looking after the House and Gardens'. The house and grounds were thus being maintained at a cost which might lead one to speculate whether the government had considered plans for the house — had contemplated, possibly, retaining it as some sort of official residence. This can, however, only be speculation.

Some speculation must be made, too, on the William Robinson, referred to above. He was presumably Sir William Robinson, the Surveyor-General of Ireland between 1670 and 1700, and architect of the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham. If so, his connection with Carton might be of particular significance, for he had held a position of importance in the Irish administration for over thirty years, and he could conceivably have had earlier connections with Carton. Possibly he supervised only fairly modest repairs in the 1690s, but he may have also had an earlier role. Relatively little is known about Sir William as an architect of country houses.

Any plans the Williamite government may have had for the house seem to have been abandoned, for in 1703, along with other forfeited properties, the estate was sold by auction. It was bought by Major-General Richard Ingoldsby, who was then Master-General of the Ordnance and later a Lord Justice of Ireland³⁰. He was succeeded in the estate by his son Henry, who was M.P. for the City of Limerick and also kept a house in Mary Street, Dublin. On the death of Henry, Carton passed to his cousin, Thomas Ingoldsby of Walldridge, Buckinghamshire, who sold the house and the estimated 450 Irish acre estate to the nineteenth Earl of Kildare in 1739³¹.

Carton remained with the Ingoldsby family for over thirty years during which only minor changes seem to have been made to the house and park grounds. It was a period when the late seventeenth century avenues and plantations seem to have been left to mature, to become as they are shown in the painting of Carton before the change of ownership in 1739. It was a maturity which was abruptly truncated, however, in massive changes which followed the purchase of the estate by the Earl.





Fig. 7. The south-east view of the house in 1760, a vignette from a map by John Rocque, still at Carton.

THE YEARS OF TRANSFORMATION 1739-1770

Since the destruction of Maynooth Castle in 1647, the Kildares had been living in south **Kildare**, in Dublin, and in England. Maynooth continued to hold attraction, however, as it was the heart of one of the largest manors held by the Earl and was within easy reach of Dublin. Initially, Robert, the nineteenth Earl, had wanted to restore and live in the castle³². When he found it too dilapidated, he seems to have decided that Carton possessed the potential to be nucleus of his principal residence — a decision which cost him £8,000 in payment for the lease held by Thomas Ingoldsby.

By 1739, both the house and the grounds must have appeared small and old-fashioned. In Ireland, new and more elaborate Palladian houses had been built at Castletown in the 1720s and, by the 1730s, at other places including Westport and Powerscourt. In England, the changing fashion had produced the building or re-building of large houses such as Chatsworth, Blenheim, and Holkham, and, in addition, new style gardens such as those at Stowe, in Buckinghamshire, and Castle Howard, in Yorkshire. These gardens represented an approach which was a complete reversal of that adopted in the seventeenth century. Under Charles II and later under William and Mary, the influence of Le Notre and the Mollets dominated, as the garden designer sought to subordinate nature to his art; straight avenues and geometric patterns transgressed the countryside with little regard for natural features. Now, however, the aim was to develop a 'natural' garden in which the art was to emphasise and enhance the qualities of nature. Several distinct types of 'natural' garden evolved during the eighteenth century but, in the beginning, at least, all displayed unity on one point: straight lines and geometric figures had no place in the new style garden. In 1739, the 'Great Gardening Revolution', as Clifford has called it³³, had been under way in England for two decades, and the straight avenues and formal gardens at Carton, although perhaps not yet a complete anachronism, were scarcely of the type one would associate with the residence of one of the leading noblemen in Ireland.

In the circumstances, it is perhaps not surprising that the Earl set about renovating the house and grounds. Work on the house lasted over eight years, and reputedly cost over £21,000. Leading craftsmen were engaged to undertake the re-building. Richard Castle, a German-born architect whose country houses already included Summerhill (Co. Meath), Powerscourt (Co. Wicklow), and Castle Hume (Co. Fermanagh) was commissioned to re-design the

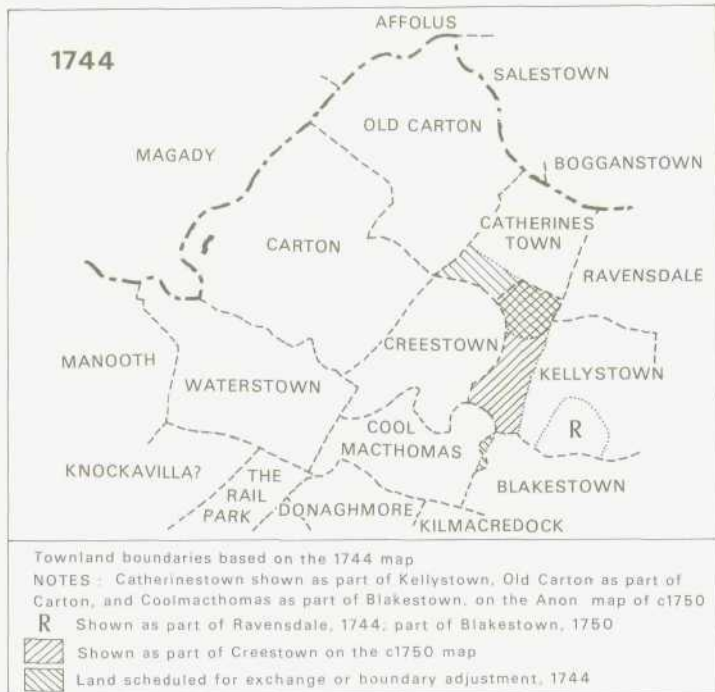
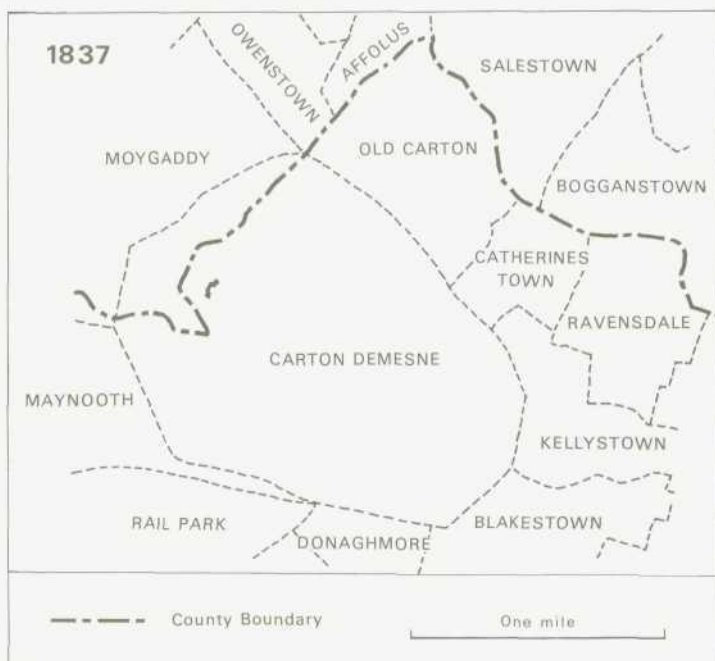


Fig. 8. Changes in townland boundaries, based on Baylie and Mooney's map of 1744 and the Ordnance Survey map of 1837.

house; and the Italian Francini brothers were employed to redecorate the interior. The body of the house was lengthened, and both it and the wings were raised a storey; open colonnades were erected to connect the wings with the house. Even if it was not of outstanding architectural merit, the re-built house was now on a scale more in keeping with the status of the Earl of Kildare.

Work on the grounds began in 1744³⁴, about the time that the nineteenth Earl's son James succeeded. The changes here were more ambitious and took longer to complete than the house. Extension of the estate involved the acquisition of almost 1,000 acres in the neighbourhood, followed by large-scale planting and landscaping. The new demesne spread over an area of almost two square miles and was enclosed by a boundary wall almost five miles in length. It was a distinctive unit of open parkland which represented a fundamental addition to the local physical landscape, a unit, too, which at a more intractable level emphasised the insulation of the landlord from the affairs and problems of his tenants. The aim, from the Earl's viewpoint of course, was to give the house surroundings which would harmonise with it and provide the currently fashionable 'natural' setting. In contrast to the house, it is not known whether professional landscapers were involved in the replanning of the grounds. However, it will be shown later that the enthusiastic Emily, wife of the twentieth Earl, was undoubtedly an important influence.



ACQUIRING THE LAND

Initially, the main task was to acquire the land which would be most suitable for the new demesne. In 1739, only Carton townland was in the possession of the Earl and it was, for the most part, flat, and uninteresting. While it had been suitable for formal gardens and a park traversed by straight avenues, it did not conform to the contemporary notion of what constituted a 'natural' landscape, for which undulating terrain, vales, and water were needed. Consequently, a landscape with a greater potential for the 'natural' had to be acquired. Such a landscape, although certainly not an outstanding example of its type, was to be found in the Rye Water Valley to the south and east of Carton and in the deeply incised Glashrooneen glen to the west. Both valleys were rather too much



Fig. 9. The New River, or Sheet of Water, as shown on Scalé's map of 1769.

incised, and had sides which were a bit too steep, to be of the highest landscape calibre, but here at least was the topographical variety around which the new demesne might be developed.

A survey of the 'Lands intended for a Deer-park' was undertaken by Charles Baylie and John Mooney in February 1744. The survey was a necessary preliminary to the land acquisition, and the resultant map emphasises the relief of the area, indicating, perhaps, the importance which was being attached to topographical features in the early stages of planning. The map, in fact, is of some interest in itself as it is the first Irish map, and possibly one of the earliest maps in the British Isles, to attempt detailed, quantitative measurements of relief variations³⁵. As such, it is important to scholars, but for the Earl of Kildare it had a more immediate significance as the blueprint on which he could plan the development of his proposed demesne.

Between 1744 and 1749, almost all the land shown on Baylie and Mooney's map was systematically added to the nucleus around Carton (Fig. 4). Five major land transactions are recorded by memorials of registration now in the Registry of Deeds³⁶. In July 1744, Robert Downes, who seems to have been the Earl's agent, reached a settlement with the five parties involved, and was assigned the lease of some 78 Irish acres originally held by William Mannwaring³⁵. A small portion of this holding, which was in the area known as Knockavilla and in adjacent parts of Maynooth townland, was incorporated into the new demesne. Early in the following year, some 30 Irish acres to the south of the Rye Water were annexed when Simon Luttrell 'in Consideration of the Rents and Covenants' mentioned in the indenture demised his 'severall intermixed parcellls of Land' in Donoghmore townland to the Earl³⁷. Three years later, in 1748, the largest acquisition was made when Robert Downes was assigned the interest formerly held by four separate parties in the 300 Irish acres of Kellystown (including Catherinestown) and Criefstown to the north of the Rye Water. The settlement, which also included the interest in the 200 Irish acres of Newtown, near Maynooth, was negotiated at a considerable cost to the Earl — £7,518-3-8d. being paid to the parties from whom the lease was bought³⁸.

Two further transactions in 1749 completed the programme of acquisition. In September, fifty Irish acres to the west of the Glashrooneen were leased from Col. Jacob Pechell of Dublin for 999 years at an annual rent of £35 — thereby significantly extending in width the rather narrow area which separated the house from the boundary of the demesne on the north-west side³⁹. Earlier, in April,



Fig. 10. Waterstown (marked 'cottage') and the newly-widened Rye Water, as shown on Scale's map of 1769.

two parcels of land west of the Glashrooneen, comprising 21 Irish acres, together with some 63 Irish acres to the south of the Rye Water in **Donoughmore** and **Coolmacthomas**, had been leased from the Conolly estate, apparently for ever, at an annual rent of £40-15s.⁴⁰ This deal consolidated the lands needed to the south of the river.

In one transaction, no legal record of a formal transfer to the Earl seems to have been made. The townland of Waterstown had been leased by the Earl to John Nelson in 1683 for three lives⁴², and had been further leased to Richard Nelson and his heirs in 1729⁴³; yet most of it was incorporated into the new demesne. Nelson, like Downes, appears to have been an agent of the Earl and some form of private accommodation seems to have been reached, whereby Nelson was permitted to remain on at Waterstown until his death in the 1760s.

It thus took almost five years before the final negotiations for land had been completed. It was a costly task. The amounts paid are not usually indicated in the memorials of registration of the deeds, but the £7,000 paid for **Kellystown** and **Criefstown** is evidence of the scale of investment that took place. *Indeed*, the expenditure needed to piece together the proposed demesne placed a severe strain on the financial resources of the Earl. Mrs. Conolly of Castletown noted that he had difficulty in raising the money for **Kellystown**. Apart from the outlay in excess of £20,000 spent by his late father and by his mother on the re-building and furnishings of the house, the Earl 'has spent a vast **sume**, and it's said he's got no fortune'⁴⁴. It was perhaps the financial strain; as well as the length of time needed to acquire the land, which caused the final demesne to be slightly smaller than the area originally envisaged in **Baylie** and **Mooney's** blueprint map of 1744 (Fig. 4).

* * *

DEVELOPING THE DEMESNE

It was only after the land had been acquired that re-modelling of the demesne could begin in earnest. An undated map, probably made about 1749 or 1750, shows the newly annexed lands as they were prior to transformation. Most of the area is divided up into large, semi-rectangular, fields of 20 to 30 acres each. The avenues were still in existence, together with the formal gardens behind the house.

By 1757, when John Rocque made his map of the new demesne, great changes had taken place, especially to the area near the house. Only a single wall of the old formal gardens remained, and it was soon to disappear. The gardens had been replaced by open grassland so that the view north-west from the house was across open ground to the wooded glen of the Glashrooneen. New trees and shrubs were planted on only a small part of the orchard site, away from the main line of view. On the south-east side, in front of the house, the court, its walls and railings, and four of the five avenues were swept away. Only the north-east avenue was maintained as the principal approach to the house from the Dunboyne road. Being at the side, it could not be seen, and so did not upset the requirement of a 'natural' view. The canals by the Rye Water, hedges, and the tree-covered mount of earth were also removed - - probably by about 1750, as the Countess is then reported writing that she was 'excessively impatient to see how the lawn looks, now that some of the hedges and ditches are taken away'⁴⁵. The south-east view was now across open grassland, planted with small, irregular, stands of trees. In the distance, the Dublin mountains might be seen, while, nearer at hand, the famous obelisk, built by the Conollys in 1740-41, appeared *near* the skyline. It was mid-way between Carton and Castletown and symbolised the close relationship between the Kildare and Conolly families. To the east nearer the house, the prospect tower of the late seventeenth century was visible above a stand of intervening trees, adding a romantic touch to a view which was indeed pleasant and now in keeping with the requirements of contemporary fashion.

In the newly incorporated parts of the demesne away from the house, field boundaries, *which* are shown on the maps of 1744 and 1750, were also removed in favour of unfenced parkland; by 1757, only a few isolated lines of trees indicated the former boundaries. The routes of roads and tracks were changed. The Dublin-Maynooth road was forced to divert slightly to the south near Donoughmore, and several roads which had previously passed through the new demesne were re-routed to a new perimeter road which skirted the outside of the high enclosing wall. New lodges were built by each of the four entrance gates to the demesne. Inside, it is not clear if there had been many buildings on the newly incorporated lands. Only the cottage and outbuildings of Richard Nelson at Waterstown survived.

Within the new demesne, extensive enclosures occurred only to the north-east of the main house. There, a new home farm of almost 43 acres was created. It included a gardener's house, a 'hott wall', a

kitchen garden (9 ac.), a nursery (5 ac). and four paddocks (each 3-10 ac); walls, not hedges, enclosed the various units. The farm, which must have been quite sufficient to supply the needs of the **Kildare** household, was the only part of the demesne where crops were grown. Elsewhere, the open land was given over to sheep, deer, and pleasure grounds.

On the north-east side, between the house and the farm, the reservoir shown on the map of 1744 had been retained. It was fed by a small stream channelled from Old Carton. A branch channel led through a small shrubbery almost to the house itself. Like the farm and the reservoir, the shrubbery was situated out of view from the house — in fact, its curving border appears to have been located with the line of sight from the house in mind. Even with such a minor feature, however, care was taken to ensure that it did not detract from the 'natural': it was separated from the park by a ha-ha, a sunken ditch which effectively protected the shrubbery from the depredations of park animals but which left the view uninterrupted.

The impact of the new demesne was not confined to the landscape alone, for there were radical changes to the boundaries of townlands, the basic Irish territorial units. Part of the original Carton estate was omitted from the enclosed area, and was subsequently referred to as Old Carton. The remaining part of Carton was included in the new demesne, together with the entire area of one townland, Coolmachthomas, and parts of seven others, Catherinestown, Creestown or Criefstown, **Kellystown**, Blakestown, Waterstown, Maynooth and Moygaddy. A new unit, Carton Demesne, which was five times the size of neighbouring townlands was thus created (Fig. 8). It completely transgressed older territorial divisions, even extending across the county boundary between Kildare and Meath. The impact of the change was still reverberating eighty years later in 1830, as correspondence between Richard Griffith, then undertaking the first townland survey, and the Duke of Leinster reveals⁴⁶. The status of the demesne as a single townland was then officially confirmed — but not until Griffith had offered to perpetuate the former townland boundaries by placing stones at the principal angle points of each boundary. The offer was never put into effect; that it was made at all indicates the radical nature of the boundary changes. Seven years later, Griffith again deferred to the Duke when he agreed to draw the boundary of the parish of Donoughmore so as to exclude that portion of the park which had traditionally been regarded as belonging to that parish. Thus, the official townland and parish boundaries confirmed the new unit which had been created at the

expense of so many traditional territorial units. In the process, the vestiges of the former landholding pattern in the area were also submerged.

Fig. 8 summarises the changes in the townland boundaries. Conflicting boundaries appear on some of the mid-eighteenth century maps. Baylie and Mooney's map of 1744 has been used as a basis for the present figure. It includes notes of minor changes in townland boundaries which appear to have been contemplated at the time. The boundary between Coolmacthomas and Blakestown was actually straightened as planned, but the projected exchange of a ten acre tract in Kellystown for a similar area of Catherinestown seems to have been superseded by the purchase of both townlands in 1748.

* * *

PLANTING AND PLANNING DURING THE YEARS OF TRANSFORMATION

The rebuilding of the house, land negotiations, and the removal of the existing landscape occupied the 1740's. The 1750's and early 1760's probably represent the years of greatest activity in the planning and furnishing of the park. There had already been extensive planting by 1757. At the eastern end, a labyrinthine 'wilderness' had been created to occupy much of the area that had once been united to Kellystown. Around the perimeter, too, a belt of trees and shrubs sheltered a boundary walk. There was also considerable planting in the Rye Water and Glashrooneen valleys. Elsewhere, isolated stands of trees were planted or preserved to enhance the parkland appearance. Planting took even more time than the negotiations to acquire the land. If the landscaping was to be successful, years of determination, vision, and perseverance were necessary. Such resources were found in Emily, Countess of Kildare.

Lady Emily Lennox was the daughter of the second Duke of Richmond and a sister-in-law of Henry Fox, later Lord Holland and a leading Whig cabinet minister during the 1750's. She had married the Earl of Kildare in 1747 when aged only fifteen. In the same year, she moved with her husband from south Kildare to the now completed house at Carton. For almost thirty years after that, she was hostess at Carton and throughout that period there was

great activity — a constant stream of visitors, and events such as the performance of the Beggar's Opera in the summer of 1761, as well as work on the house and grounds. The improvement of the demesne seems to have been a task to which she dedicated herself. Her interest was shared by a younger sister, Louisa, who stayed at Carton for some years before marrying Thomas Conolly, of nearby Castletown, in 1758. Both sisters remained in close contact throughout their lives. They must frequently have discussed plans for their gardens and benefitted from each other's ideas. At Castletown, Louisa appears to have been as significant an influence in the development of the demesne as Emily was at Carton.

Through her family connections, Emily must have been well acquainted with the gardens of the Richmond seat at Goodwood and, at a later period, with those at Holland House, the residence of Henry Fox. Both Goodwood and Holland House had some reputation as gardens and she may have been influenced by their designs, as she continued to pay frequent visits to London during her years in Ireland. In London, of course, she would have had access to the best professional advice as well as to current fashion. Her letters to Lord Kildare in June 1757 indicate something of her activity during a visit⁴⁷. She hired a new gardener to be employed initially as nursery gardener and later, if approved of, as head gardener; wages to be at £30 a year and board 7/- a week, his fare to be paid. He would come with his wife. 'He has never lived with any family, but has work'd at Williamson's; was bred up in a physic garden, and has of late undertaken pieces of work by contract, and understands lay-out ground in a garden, which may be useful to us hereafter'. She goes on to refer to the difficulty of getting a gardener to go to Ireland, 'none but those who are undone and can't live here will'.

In another letter, she mentions that the new gardener was to have discussions with Peter Collinson, the noted botanist, before leaving for Ireland, 'I hope in a very little time to have all our plantations, nurseries, etc., in a most flourishing condition'. Emily met Collinson, who had long been a friend of the Lennox family, during her visit, discussed proposed new plantations with him, and made him send Lord Kildare a paper on the subject 'which I beg you will read three times every morning for three days following for it's of infinite consequence to our plantation that *you* should be quite *au fait* of it all'. On other occasions, too, she seems to have met and corresponded with Collinson. For example, in 1765, she wrote to ask him to procure a gardener for the estate. She offered a house, seven shillings a week and board wages, garden produce and

'enough coal for an artillery officer', evidently hoping that such inducements might persuade some gardener to come to Ireland⁴⁸.

She received advice and suggestions from other sources, too, during her visit. She was advised to plant evergreens round the park wall as well as other trees 'because they are so pretty in winter' while Henry Fox 'begs you will plant and sow great variety, and mix foreign trees with natives' to which Emily adds 'Pray get a vast quantity of horse-chestnuts and sycamore, as well as walnuts and common chestnuts'.

This correspondence between Emily and Lord Kildare is quoted at some length because it seems to give some insight into the planning and landscaping of the park. It is logical to imagine that a professional, of similar calibre to Castle or the Francini brothers, might have been employed. Yet no such person is referred to in the letters of the Countess or in any other source. In later periods, the only reference is to the failure of the second Duke of Leinster to engage Capability Brown. On being offered an advance of £1,000 to come to Ireland, Brown is said to have retorted that he had not yet finished England⁴⁹, a remark which underlines Emily's plaint on the difficulty of getting gardeners to go to Ireland. It must have been difficult to attract, even for a short period, any reputable landscaper.

Yet could a transformation on the scale which occurred at Carton have been undertaken without professional supervision? If any one person had been involved, he would surely have occupied the centre of the stage for sufficiently long to have been noted in some contemporary record. As this is not the case, perhaps the new demesne was the product of several professional hands — people like Richard Castle, who was versatile enough to design canals as well as houses, or John Mooney, who made the preliminary survey in 1744 and had won a prize of the Dublin Society for an invention — perhaps such people had some influence in the early stages. However, the persons who provide continuity during the twenty years when changes were being made are the Earl and the Countess; they were present at the start and were still there some years after the main activity had ceased. Emily, in particular, seems to have been a driving force as her correspondence indicates. The library at Carton probably contained some important gardening manuals which could have provided basic guidance⁵⁰ after which she could draw on the experience of her visits to England and the advice of persons such as Collinson. Such a background may have been sufficient to enable herself and her husband to direct the landscaping themselves; even in England, where professionals could

be engaged more easily, some landlords seem to have been responsible for their own landscaping. However, men such as the unnamed gardener hired in London in 1757 would have been responsible for the execution, if not the design, of the plans.

* * *

CHANGES 1757-1770

Although the demesne had been enclosed and partly furnished by 1757, the new gardener would have found plenty of work, for planting was to continue for at least five more years. Modifications were also being made to the initial landscape as the Earl and Countess sought to develop a park in keeping with changing tastes. Essentially functional changes were made too, especially north-east

of the house. In 1759, a wide gravel path was laid to the kitchen garden at a cost of something under £400; the name of a gardener — Murray — is mentioned in this connection, one of the few occasions when the name of a gardener at Carton is **known**⁵¹. Over the next ten years, the smallest paddock on the farm was given over to melon ground and additional hot-houses. The two largest paddocks were also altered, being re-divided into three seven acre units. Nearer the house, an area of bushes was cleared, to be replaced by a lumber place, laundry yard, paddock, and small flower garden.

Other improvements made the area more pleasant. By 1763, the previously narrow feeder channel to the reservoir had been widened, so that a 'New River' now extended from the park wall. A small boat-house was built on the river, which is elsewhere described as the 'Sheet of Water'. By 1769, a 'Chinese Bridge' had been added nearby, presumably in deference to the increasing popularity of



Fig. 11. Sketch of the Rye Water Valley and part of Kellystown, 1788, showing the proposed new road and plantation on the north bank of the river.

Chinese-style gardens. Additional trees were planted on the island, and along the banks of the river. The home farm was thereby camouflaged from the park while, at the same time, a shady retreat was created near the house. It was an amenity which must have been specially valued in the early 1760's when the Rye Water, sunk in a narrow channel and in an incised valley made little contribution to the scenic qualities of the park. Emily Kildare was certainly satisfied with it when she wrote to her husband in London, in December 1762, telling him about her morning drive in the post-chaise⁵². The New River was beautiful, 'one turn of it is a masterpiece in the art of laying out, and I defy Kent, Brown or Mr. Hamilton to excel it. This without flattery, and now that you may not be too vain, the shape of the island in its present state is not pretty'. She went on to refer to the work of planting, 'I had great pleasure in seeing ten men thickening up that part of the plantation between the Dublin and Nine Mile Stone Gate (i.e. the south side of the park) with good, tall, shewy-looking trees — elm and ash; but there are still quantities of holes not fill'd, and I suspect that to satisfy our impatience last autumn Jacob Smith dug more than he will get trees to fill this winter'. As always, there was more work, more planting to be done.

Kent, Brown, and Hamilton may not have been able to excel the new river but, indirectly, they clearly influence its development and stimulated the attempt to emulate and better them. Capability Brown may have later scorned to come to Carton yet, by the end of the 1760's, the landscape there was of his *genre*. The 'natural' idiom had triumphed and there were few embellishments. Apart from the Chinese Bridge, there was little evidence of adoption of the cult for *chinoiserie* and, like her sister, Lady Holland, Emily showed little interest in 'building old ruins and gateways' as some sections of contemporary fashion demanded. Work continued to be directed mainly at developing the 'natural' park.

Work on the Rye Water and renovation of the cottage at Waterstown formerly held by Richard Nelson occupied the mid-1760's. From the commencement of planning of the new demesne, the Rye Water had been recognised as a central feature of the new landscape. Yet its appearance was unprepossessing, for it cut only a narrow channel in a fairly broad, but overdeepened, valley and was hidden below the level of most of the park. Any 'natural' vista must surely include some element of water, yet the river could not be seen from the house. The creation of a suitable prospect to enhance the background trees and mountains was a challenge to the aspiring landscape gardener, as the Marquess and Marchioness (as they now were) must have realised when they commissioned surveys of the

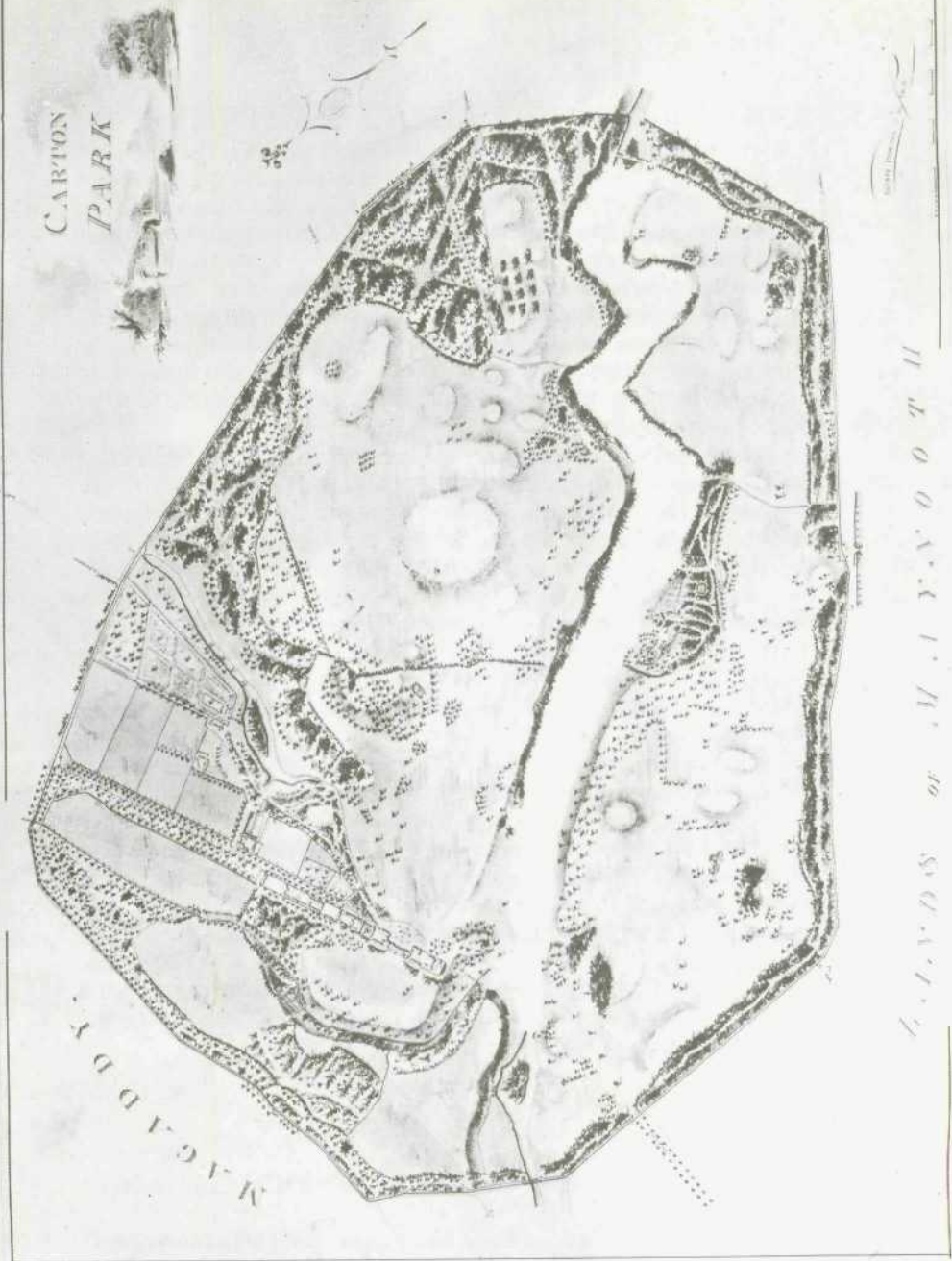


Fig. 12. Carton Park. 1821. Colour has been removed from the Rye Water Valley along the area of the proposed improvements. In fact, the new lake when completed only extended as far as the cottage at Waterstown. From a survey of the manor of Maynooth by Sherrard, Brassington and Greene which is preserved at Carton.

Rye Water by Captain (later General) Vallancey in 1763.

The only surprising aspect about this commission is that work on the river had been deferred so long. One might have expected that the development of the Rye Water would have been a priority in the new landscape. However, Rocque's map of 1760 indicates that there had been little, if any, alteration up to that time. The magnitude of the task may have been the main reason for the delay. Vallancey's section plans illustrate the problems. A view from the house would demand extensive alterations to intervening ground—in one place, the surface profile would have had to be smoothed and lowered up to twenty-five feet or, alternatively, the river would have had to be raised by this amount.

Changes on such a scale were not actually carried out. Instead, a series of weirs were constructed which widened the river, and raised its level by some ten to fifteen feet. As a result, the river remained about one hundred feet wide for three-quarters of a mile downstream from the house. Several small islands were also created, two of which were connected to the banks by new bridges, probably built about 1767. Work on the widening was completed in 1768 or 1769, for William Robert (later 2nd Duke of Leinster) wrote to his mother Emily from Italy in June 1768, commenting that he had no doubt that the river would be finished that year and that he would find great alterations on his return⁵³.

Whatever may have been the expectations, however, the project did not produce a view of the Rye Water from the ground floor of the house. Possibly further improvements were planned but never put into effect. Major earth-moving may have been postponed until the widening had been completed, by which time, perhaps, other matters occupied the attention of the Duke and Duchess, as they had now become. Nevertheless, the problem of relating the river to the view from the house continued to be important, and there were further attempts to solve it in later periods. The failure to achieve a satisfactory solution was probably the factor which most limited the landscape quality of Carton.



CARTON IN THE TIME OF THE SECOND DUKE, 1773-1804

After Emily left Carton, there was a period of almost forty years during which very few changes were made to the park. William Robert, the second Duke, seems to have had little interest in parks

and gardens, devoting most of his attention to politics. Carton suffered from the reduced interest, as Louisa Conolly noted on her visits from Castletown, brooding sadly on the memory of her pleasant visits to Emily in former days. Writing to her sister in June 1775, she tells of how she had ridden through the fields to Carton 'and saw the visible traces of my dearest sister's not being there; for the road is all overgrown with grass, and the locks of the gates are rusty'⁵⁷. Without Emily, it seems, the driving force was lacking. One of her sisters, Lady Sarah Bunbury, still lived at Carton and seems to have had some notions — she wished to replace Waterstown cottage with an Italian building as Louisa reported with some *distaste*⁵⁸ — but she had no influence to achieve her wishes.

It was presumably the second Duke who is reputed to have invited Capability Brown to Ireland shortly before his death in 1783. If the services of an acknowledged master could be obtained, the Duke was apparently willing to consider further landscaping. When the invitation was rebutted, however, he was content to make only some minor changes.

Like his parents, his plans included an attempt to create a view of the river from the house. In 1788, section plans were drawn up which showed that a cut of twelve feet would be necessary over a fairly extensive area, for the river was some forty-eight feet lower than the base of the house. According to one *source*⁵⁹, the Duke actually lowered the front lawn, but this does not seem to have created the desired view. However, a quarry on the north bank of the Rye Water, which appears on all later maps, may have been a result of his efforts. A second project, initiated at the same time, was also never fully completed. It envisaged the extension of the plantation at the east end of the park and the development of a new road from the house along the northern rim of the Rye Water valley. The plantation was duly laid out, and the road was made as far as the Kellystown entrance to the park, but the projected extension through Kellystown to the Luttrellstown road was never undertaken. Apart from these projects, the only changes which can be attributed to the second Duke are additional plantations in the north-west and north-east portions of the park.

The second project of the *mid-1760's*, the cottage at Waterstown, may have been influenced, albeit mildly, by the poetic garden trend then fashionable. An ornamental cottage was created amongst newly planted woods interspersed with labyrinthine walks. From it, there were views of the most eastern weir on the river, islands upstream, and a wooded far bank. The cottage served as a terminal point for riverside walks from the house, a place for picnics which



Fig. 14. The last estate map of the park, 1874. (Coll: Hon. David Hall-Cain).

was enjoyed by all the family. Making his Grand Tour, William Robert wrote from Lyon in October 1766 of how he envied his mother dining at Waterstown⁵⁴. From Italy in June 1768, he wrote that he was glad to find Emily continuing to add everything to the beautifying of Carton, commenting 'Waterstown by all accounts is delightful', and elsewhere writing 'Pray, do not let Waterstown (sic) be out of fashion before I return'⁵⁵. In later years, Louisa Conolly also recalled pleasant days spent at Waterstown, which undoubtedly became as popular as the New River had been earlier.

There were other minor changes before 1769. The Maynooth gate was re-aligned with the avenue leading from the village. A new approach to the house was formed on the south side of the park, leading from the Dublin Gate and Waterstown to join the Maynooth approach just south of the river. A small 'Moss House' was built on the north bank of the Rye Water to add a romantic touch. But such changes made little impact on the appearance of the demesne. As it turned out, the Waterstown and Rye Water projects were the last major schemes in the mid-eighteenth century landscaping. In 1773, the first Duke of Leinster died. A year later, Emily, who for twenty-seven years had devoted much of her time to improvements at Carton, remarried and left Ireland. Her departure marks the end of a period of intensive activity which had begun in 1739, a period during which the local landscape had been transformed.

The map of 1769 shows how the park looked towards the end of the period. A description to complement the map was provided when Arthur Young visited Carton in 1776⁵⁶. Written in his typically dry prose, it is the most comprehensive account of the park as Emily left it, a park which Young considered among the finest in Ireland. It was

a vast lawn, which waves over gentle hills, surrounded by plantations of a great extent, and which break and divide in places, so as to give much variety. A large but gentle vale winds through the whole in the bottom of which a small stream has been enlarged into a fine river, which throws a cheerfulness through most of the scenes; over it a handsome stone bridge. There is a great variety on the banks of this vale; part steep banks of thick wood; in another place they are formed into a large shrubbery, very elegantly laid out, and dressed in the highest order with a cottage, the scenery about which is uncommonly pleasing; and farther on, this vale takes a stronger character, having a rocky bank on one side, and steep slopes scattered irregularly, with wood on the other. On one of the



Fig. /J. The house from the east, an aerial view taken in 1965.
(Photo by J. K. St. Joseph, Cambridge University Collection;
copyright reserved).

most rising grounds in the park is a tower, from the top of which the whole scenery is beheld; the park spreads on every side in fine sheets of lawn, kept in highest order by 1,100 sheep, scattered over with rich plantations, and bounded by a large margin of wood through which is a riding.

* * *

EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY CARTON

The last major series of changes at Carton took place during the period 1810-1840 when the third Duke and his wife renewed interest in the house and park. The alterations to both were extensive⁶⁰. Initially, attention was devoted to the reconstruction of the house where Richard Morrison, one of the foremost Irish architects, made extensive internal alterations in 1812. Associated with these changes, the front of the house was moved to the north-west side and new approaches were laid out. On the south-east side, carefully spaced bushes and shrubs were planted on the lawn near the house. An extension of the ha-ha or sunken fence which protected the adjacent shrubbery was made in order to separate the lawn from the rest of the park. Sunken fences, hedges, and small sections of wall appeared elsewhere in the park too, dividing it into five or six major units. Such divisions presumably made the park management easier.

Between 1821 and 1837, the demesne was further altered by the creation of a new plantation near the prospect tower. The open aspect was maintained, but in this development, as in the lawn next to the house, the decline of the rigid adherence to the eighteenth century principles of the 'natural' garden is evident. Further formalisation of the lawn took place in 1837 when it was laid out to a design of the Duchess in four squares about a fountain. Alterations were also made to the kitchen garden which was reduced in size. Part of it was given over to a new nursery, while the old nursery and a pasture field on the home farm were replaced by plantations. At the same time, a new range of hothouses was built.

However, the major achievement was the creation of a lake on the Rye Water. Half a mile in length and up to one hundred and twenty yards wide, it extended from near the house as far as the Waterstown cottage where a dam had been built to permit the incised valley to be flooded. At the dam, a small picturesque waterfall straddled by a wooden bridge was created, enhancing the view from the cottage. The Duchess renovated the shell-room



View of Carton from the Prospect Tower.

created by the first Duchess which still draws admiration. Her work, in association with the new lake, added to the attractions of Waterstown as a pleasant spot for picnics and an end-point to lakeside walks.

The lake was completed in 1835. In one sense, it was a failure for the water still cannot be seen from the ground-floor of the house. Yet in another sense, it must be considered the final culmination of eighty years of effort to develop the river and thereby enhance the 'natural' appearance of the demesne. It was the last major landscaping enterprise to be attempted at Carton, and it now constitutes a central feature of the park.

The changes made by the third Duke and Duchess were extensive, yet they were essentially fragmentary. The lake was the fulfilment of a long projected objective. Other alterations were basically modifications of the existing design, not attempts at a co-ordinated re-planning of the park. In the early nineteenth century changes, there was nothing of the grand vision in the planning, as there had been when the late seventeenth century formal garden and the mid-eighteenth century natural garden were being laid out. The first ordnance survey map of 1837 thus shows a park which, in spite of modifications, was essentially the product of the far-reaching and sustained landscaping efforts of the period 1739-1770. It is that park which still survives to-day, for later residents at Carton had neither the determination nor the resources to make extensive alterations.

* * *

CONCLUSION

H. D. Inglis visited Carton during his tour of Ireland in 1834⁶¹. Unlike some visitors, he did not feel obliged to flatter the prestigious Duke with compliments on its beauty. His assessment was sober, and probably accurate. The exterior of the house, he felt, was 'greatly inferior in architectural beauty to many I have seen in Ireland', a comment with which the first Duke would surely have agreed for he had at one stage envisaged rebuilding the house and had had plans prepared⁶². As for the park, its scenery was not striking, 'for the country is too level to afford much diversity', a comment which seems to come close to the heart of the problem which confronted the eighteenth century landscaper. He recognised the noble extent of the park, however, and added, 'in the happy

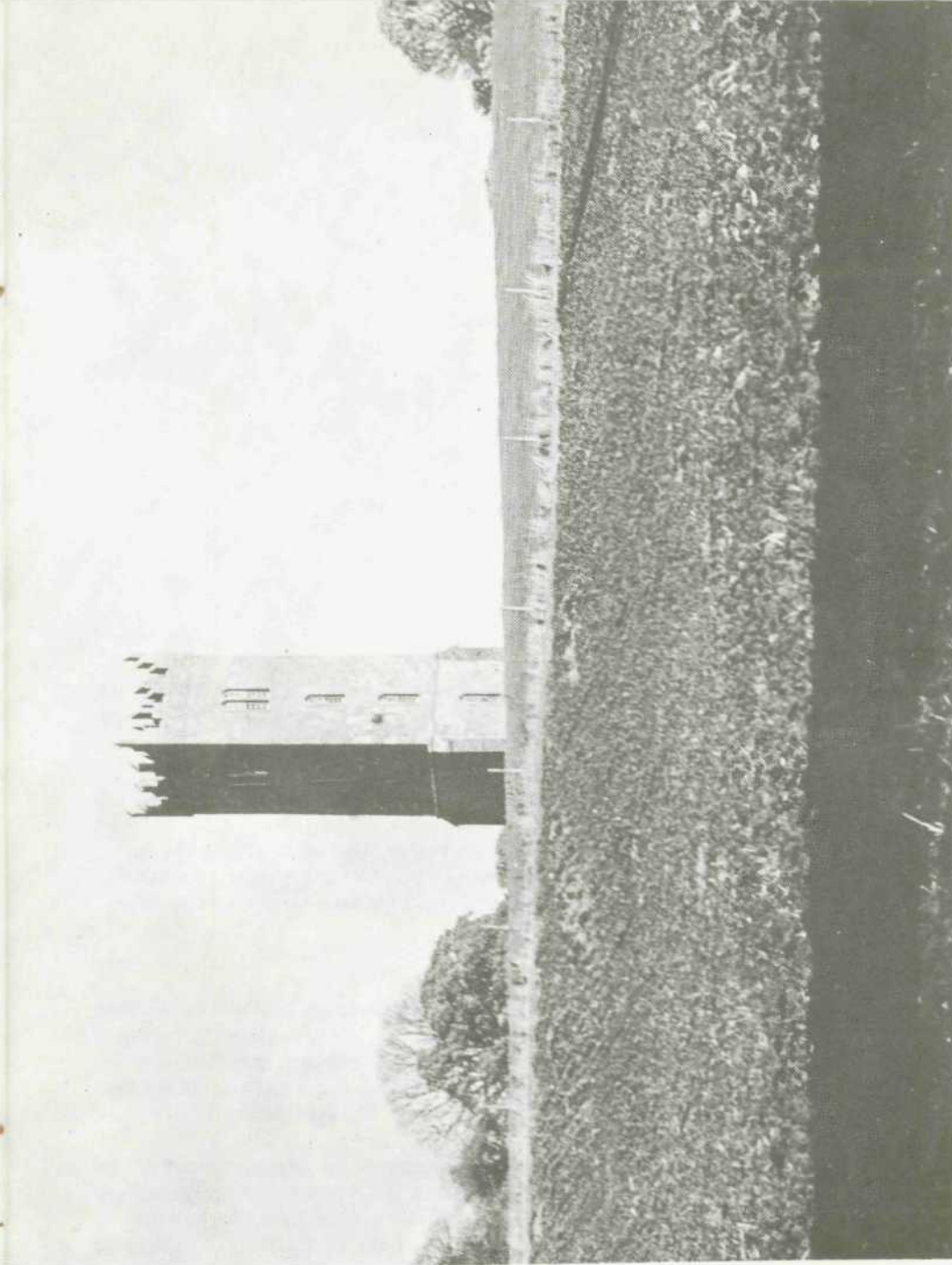


The Bridge across the Rye Water, built in 1767 by Thomas Ivory. A solid parapet now replaces the balustrade.

disposition of its wood — both clumps and single trees, — [it] is not surpassed by any park in Ireland'. Inglis's assessment is one with which the present author would not quarrel. In scale and variety of plantation Carton is perhaps unrivalled in Ireland, yet its very situation limits the extent to which it can display the 'natural'. It is a fine demesne, but not the finest, for no amount of attention and investment could provide the setting at Powerscourt or Westport.

The survival of the comprehensive series of plans, which permit the changes at Carton since the late seventeenth century to be analysed in detail is exceptional. They reveal the changing attitudes of successive owners to their surroundings, as well as the changes a landlord had the power to exert on a given area when he so wished. The mid-eighteenth century record is a history of sustained determination and investment over a period which absorbed almost the entire adult life of the twentieth Earl and first Duke. The self-confidence and perseverance necessary for such a long term plan is difficult to visualise to-day. Yet parks and demesnes were being created all over these islands during the eighteenth century and many areas went through changes similar to those at Carton.

Of course, there are still many imperfections in the record for Carton. Some of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century history is little better than speculation. Little is known about the financing of the changes, and too little is known about the people involved. We have no indication of the reaction of other people in the Carton area to the transformation of their landscape. We have still only fragmentary clues to the personalities of the people who initiated and planned the changes. In spite of the letters of the Countess of Kildare, many of the central figures in the landscaping process remain shadowy, perhaps indeed totally unknown. Places without people are lifeless yet, whatever its drawbacks, the Carton record might be claimed to provide a significant insight into one aspect of change in the Irish landscape.



The Prospect Tower

APPENDIX

* * *

THE MAPS OF CARTON

The map record is frequently the sole source whereby landscape changes at Carton can be accurately dated. It is fortunate, therefore, that there is a comprehensive sequence of maps relating to the area from the late seventeenth century onwards. The record is particularly rich for the crucial period of re-planning between 1744 and 1770, during which five complete surveys as well as several minor surveys, were made of the demesne area.

Several of the maps were drawn by men who were among the leading surveyors working in Ireland. Almost all display a high standard of accuracy and some also exhibit considerable artistry. From the stand-point of the history of Irish cartography, the maps trace clearly some of the major developments in style and method in the period leading up to the first ordnance survey of 1824-46.

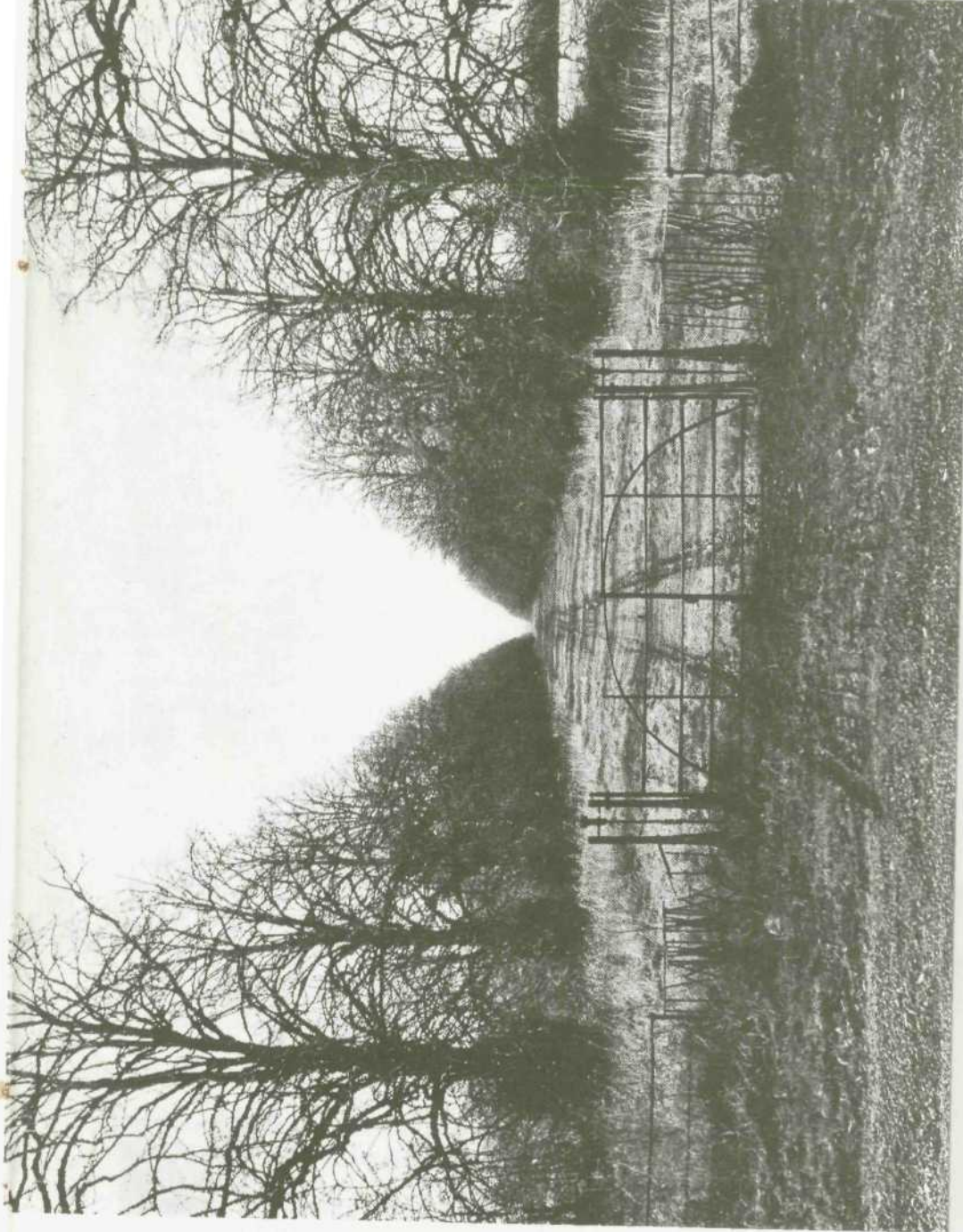
All the large-scale manuscript maps known to exist for the Carton area are listed below. They are divided into two groups: major surveys covering much, or all, of the demesne area, and minor surveys relating to small areas only. Architectural surveys and drawings have been excluded. The following information, when known, is given about each map: Date, surveyor, title, approximate dimensions in inches (breadth x height), scale, present location, if not now at Carton. The notes are intended to indicate briefly the range of information shown and points of cartographic interest.

MAJOR SURVEYS

1655 Down Survey. As an estate leased to an Irish papist, Carton may have been included on the Down survey map of the parish of Laraghbrian. No map seems to have survived, however, and the smaller scale map of the barony of Salt gives no detail other than the townland name, 'Cartonne', and 'The Rye Water River'.

Late 17th cent. Cartographer unknown. *A Resemblance of the Improvements of Carretowne*. (16 x 20). 4 perches to the inch. Now in the library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham, Norfolk.

Inscribed on the back 'A Draught of Carton, the Duke of



Lime Avenue, leading from the Demesne Gates to the village of
Maynooth

Tyrconnel's House' the plan probably dates from the time of Tyrconnel, or the forfeited estates period which followed. It is drawn on a grid of one inch squares, and shows only the demesne lands — formal gardens and park — in the vicinity of the house.

The map is now in the Irish volume (vol. 98) of a vast map collection entitled 'A General System of Cosmography, or Elements of Astronomy and Geography, Illustrated By Maps, Plans and Views, Collected from the most Eminent Authors, Ancient and Modern, by John Innys'. Innys was a London map dealer, from whom the Earl of Leicester purchased the entire collection, probably during the 1730s. The map may have found its way to Innys via Thomas Ingoldsby, who lived in Buckinghamshire.¹

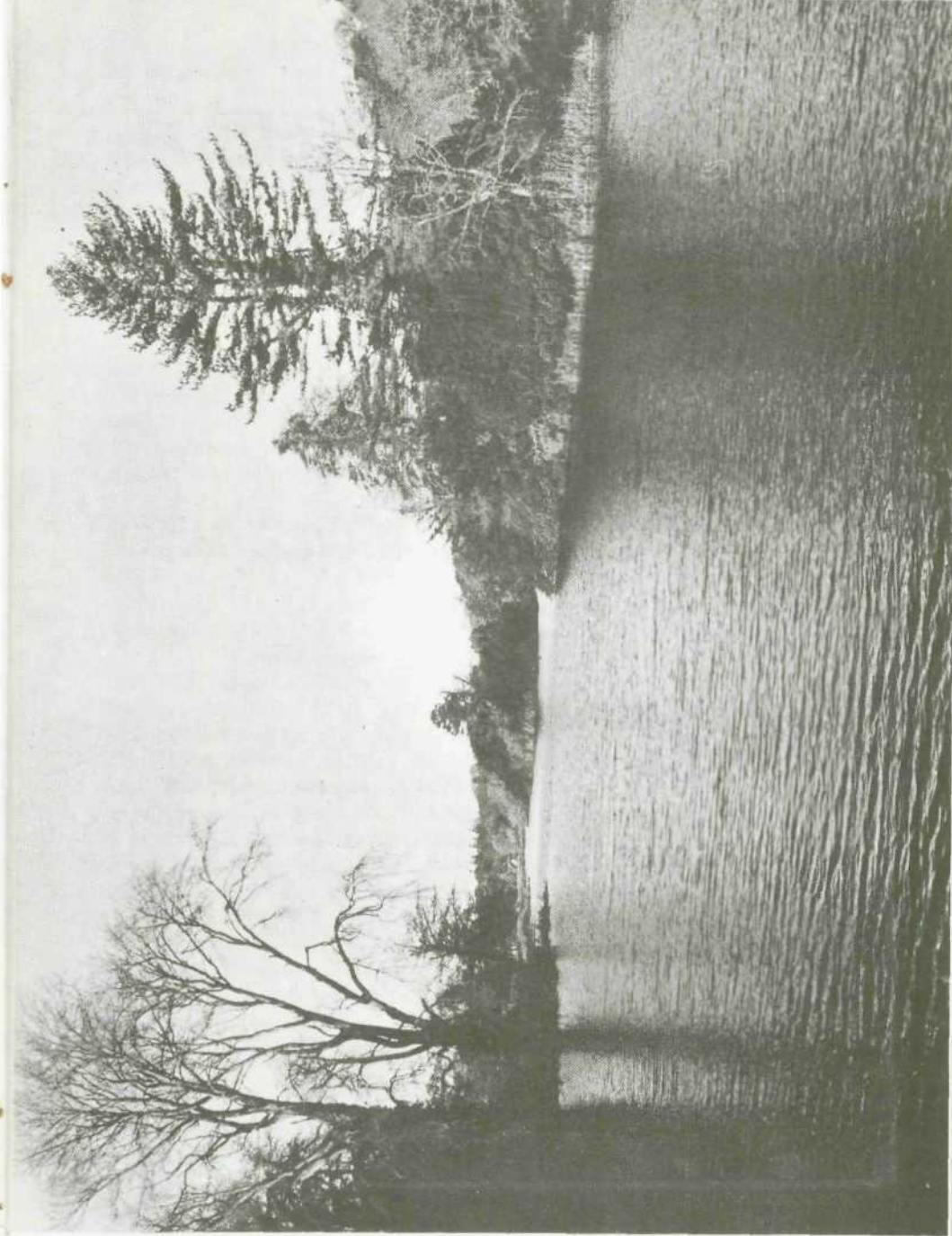
1700-02. Tho. Higginson. *Carrtown*. (probably about 20 x 15). 40 perches to the inch. Photograph of original now with Hon. D. Guinness, Leixlip Castle. The photograph is annotated 'From the County Kildare Volume of Maps of lands forfeited in 1688, in the Dublin Record Offices. May, 1910'.

The original was part of a series of surveys undertaken by the trustees of forfeited estates, following the Williamite land confiscations; it was probably destroyed in 1922². Thomas Higginson was one of the 'gentlemen nominated and appointed surveyors' on 12 July 1700 by the trustees who were then preparing the sale of the forfeited estates³.

Like the 'Resemblance of the Improvements', this map is drawn on a grid of one inch squares. Its main concern seems to have been to delimit the boundary of the estate accurately. There is little internal detail, other than the perspective sketches of the house, steeple, and the cluster at Old Carton. The boundary of the 'Demeasne Lands' is the only internal division shown.

1744. Charles Baylie and John Mooney. *A Map of the Demeasne of Carrtown Together with a Map of the Adjacent Lands intended for a Deer-park. Containing in the whole Eight Hundred and Sixty one Acres one Rood Twenty perches Irish plantation measure Exclusive of the Adjoining Roads belonging to the Right Honourable James Earl of Kildare, Surveyed in February 1744.* (58 x 56). 10 perches to the inch approx.

Containing considerable internal detail and extending over a much greater area than the earlier maps, this map seems to have been a preliminary to the acquisitions of the 1740s. All field boundaries are shown within Carton townland. Elsewhere townland and some other boundaries are marked; streams,



The Lake, looking west from Waterstown

woodland, houses, and some roads are also differentiated. Emphasis is given to relief features which are shown by 'clouded spots' and by their height in feet above one of the lowest points in the area. In this use of a system of spot heights related to a local base level, the map is one of the earliest Irish maps known which employs a sophisticated method of measuring and depicting relief⁴. Reference panels give the names of townlands, of fields in Carton, and bearings of other gentlemen's seats and topographical features seen from the steeple.

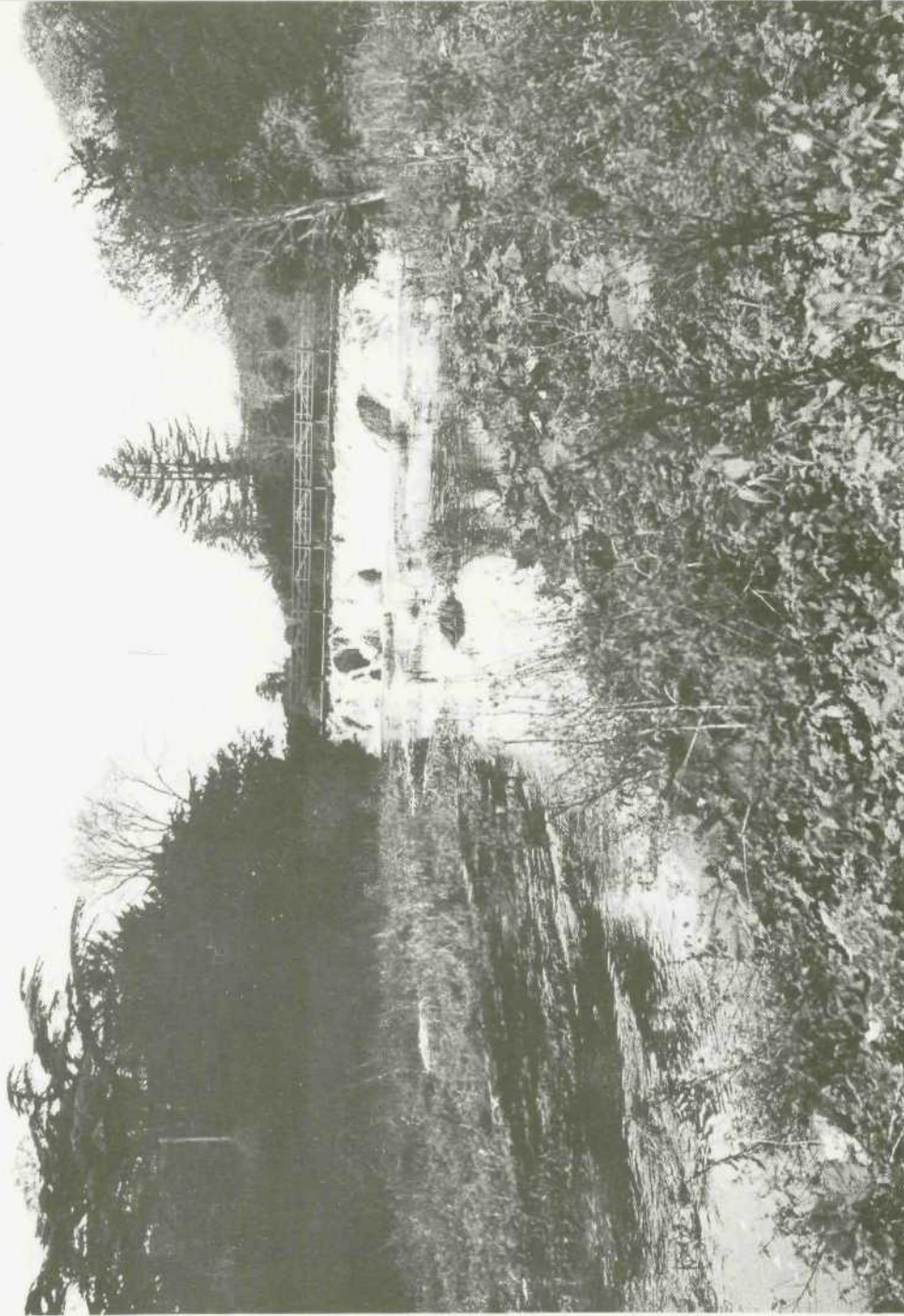
John Mooney seems to have operated from Geashill, Co. Offaly. When he made the map of Carton he had already established a reputation, for, two years earlier, he had been awarded a £20 prize by the Dublin society for inventing a new surveying instrument. At a later stage, he seems to have made a manuscript map of King's County.

- c. 1750. Cartographer unknown. *A Map of part of the Lands of Manooth Waterstown Blakestown Criefstown Kellystown Carton and Magady all situate in the Mannor of Manooth being part of the Estate of his Excellency James Earl of Kildare.* (29 x 20). 40 perches to an inch. Published in *J. Co. Kildare Archaeol. Soc.* (1903). Whereabouts of the original unknown.

The map covers a slightly more extensive area than that surveyed by Baylie and Mooney. Relief features are not represented, but there is considerable information on the field pattern prior to landscaping. All field boundaries are shown, except in Kellystown and Criefstown, where individual holdings may be indicated. The areas of all fields are given too, as well as some field names. The boundary of the proposed demesne is shown by a thick herring-bone line which transgresses many existing boundaries. There is an ornate, baroque style, cartouche and a panel with the Kildare coat of arms.

1757. John Rocque. *A Survey of the House, Gardens & Park of Carton one of the Seats of His Excellency Jas. Er. of Kildare.* (27½ x 19½). 40 Perches to an Inch. Part of a volume of estate maps of the Manor of Maynooth. (Ms. Plans 690, University Library, Cambridge.).

This map is part of a series of over 160 made by Rocque of the Co. Kildare estates of the Earl of Kildare. These maps display a level of artistry which makes them more than mere geometrical diagrams and which marks the introduction of the superior 'French' style into Irish surveying⁵. Colour is used to great effect in an ambitious attempt to represent the landscape as realistically



The dam at Waterstown, controlling the level of the Lake

as possible. Various shades of green, edged with black and brown ink for additional effect, indicate land uses varying from open pasture to scrub and wilderness; streams and drains appear in turquoise; relief is shown by a grey shading akin to hachuring; buildings, stone walls and crops in the kitchen garden are outlined in red. Trees cast their shadows to the north, north-east and north-west sides of buildings are outlined most strongly, and north facing slopes are shaded most heavily, thereby suggesting an oblique light from the south being cast over the map area.

John Rocque was an Anglo-French cartographer of international repute. Before coming to Ireland in 1754, he had worked in England for some twenty years during which he had made maps and plans of some of the most famous gardens, several major towns, and three counties. In Ireland, his work included county maps of Dublin and Armagh, town plans of Dublin, Kilkenny, and Cork, and a general map of Ireland.

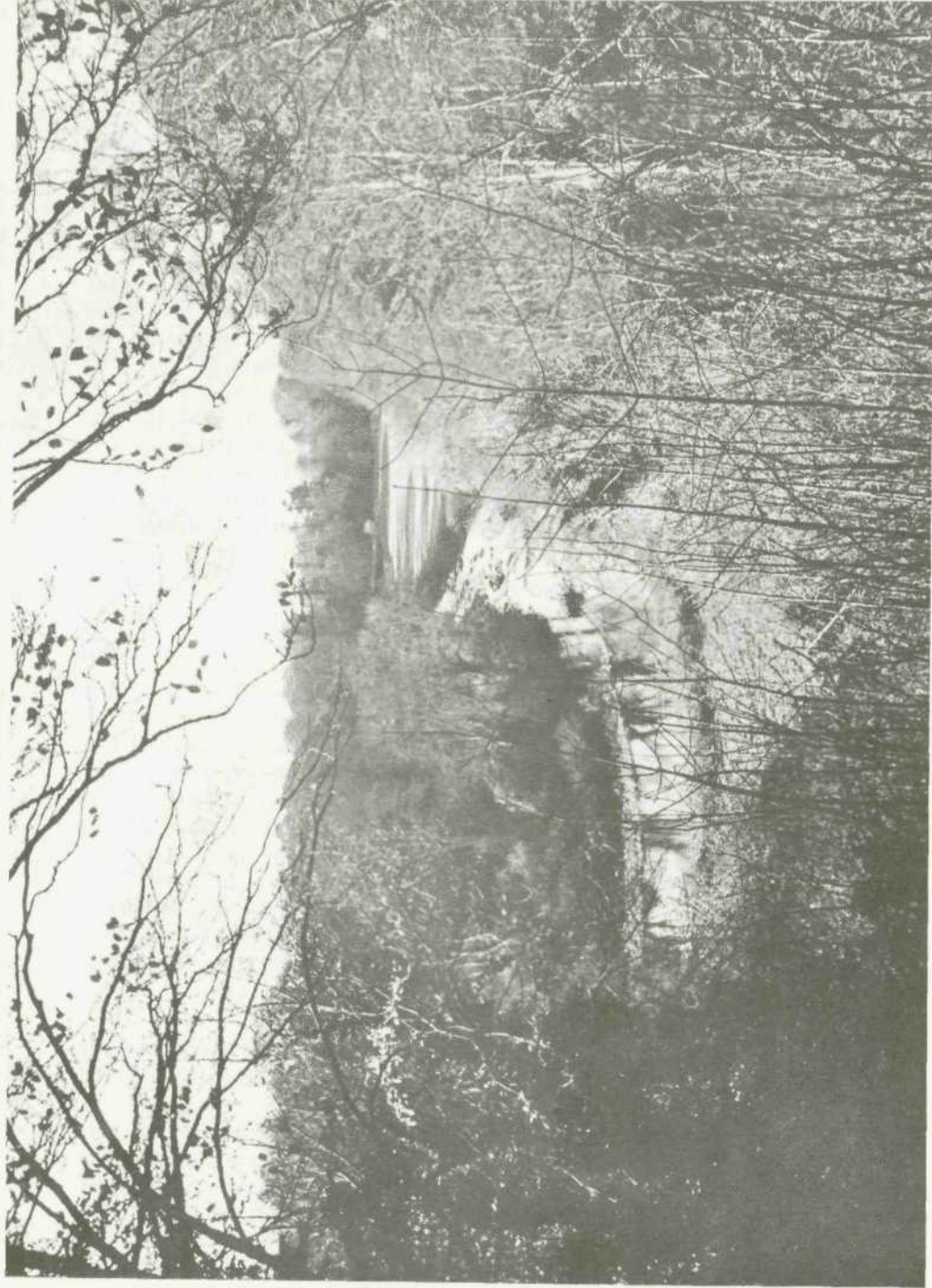
1760. John Rocque. *A Survey of the House Gardens Park and Plantations of Carton One of the Seats of the Right Honble James Earl of Kildare*. (41 x 28 $\frac{1}{4}$). 40 Perches to the inch.

The colours are slightly less brilliant, but the principal difference from the 1757 map is in the inclusion of much more border decoration. A reference panel is included, whereas it appeared as a separate page on the earlier survey. There is a delightful vignette of the house, and the map scale is set against a background of surveying instruments.

1769. Bernard Scale. *A Survey of the Demesne of Carton in the County of Kildare Seat of His Grace James Duke of Leinster*. (56 x 40). 10 perches to the inch.

Scale may have been a pupil and a brother-in-law of Rocque. His map of Carton certainly displays the Rocquian influence, although colours are again slightly less brilliant, and the symbols appear more stylised. A comprehensive reference panel describes all parts of the park, while many other features are named on the map itself. The annotation is particularly useful as the map marks the end of a major phase of landscaping. Both the reference and the title panels are framed in a motif characteristic of Scale, an elegantly-drawn torn scroll.

1821. Sherrard, Brassington, and Greene. *Carton Park*. (26 x 18). 20 Perches to the Inch. Part of a volume of maps of the Mannor of Maynooth.



A section of the deep Rye Water Valley east of the Lake

Sherrard, Brassington and Greene were the early nineteenth century successors and leading exponents of the 'French' school initiated by Rocque. On this map, much of the Rye Water valley appears only in pencil outline, probably because of intended changes to the river.

1824. Sherrard, Brassington, and Greene. *Survey of Carton Demesne in the County of Kildare The Seat of His Grace The Most Noble Augustus Frederick Duke of Leinster*. (41 x 57). 10 Perches to the inch.

Two maps exist. One version is largely uncoloured and unfinished, and includes many annotations in ink and in pencil. It may have served as a working base for the coloured map which additionally includes a detailed reference panel and may have been intended primarily for drawing-room display purposes.

1837. Matthew Warren. *To His Grace The Duke of Leinster this Plan of Carton Demesne is most respectfully inscribed. By Matthew Warren, Surveyor. Leixlip 24th Aug. 1837*. (16 x 21). Six Inches to One Statute Mile.

This map was probably undertaken as a special favour for the Duke of Leinster while Warren was in the employment of the ordnance survey, then making its first large-scale survey of Co. Kildare. Its style corresponds closely to that adopted on the printed ordnance maps; the only extravagances are the use of red for buildings, blue for the river, and a gold lettering for the county names. Individual elements are very much subordinate, however, for the map is basically the expression of the more general ordnance survey approach, a product of a collective craftsmanship which may be seen as incorporating and adapting the style introduced by Rocque for estate mapping to the needs of a national printed survey.

1874. James Kehoe. *Map of Carton Lake situate in the demesne of His Grace the Duke of Leinster*. (37 x 24). 12 Statute Perches to an Inch.

With the advent of the ordnance survey, the need for private surveys diminished. By 1874, the production of a coloured, hand-drawn map was an extravagance which could only be afforded by a person with the resources of the Duke. Kehoe's map of the south-west part of the demesne must be one of the last Irish examples of the colours and conventions of the 'French' school.

MINOR SURVEYS

1736. W. Steile. *A map of Waterstown in the Parish of Laraghbrian Manr. of Maynooth and County of Kildare Belonging to Mr. Richard Nellson containing One Hundred and Ninety Four Acres 3 Roods 31 Pearches plantation Measure and 3A 3R 22P Common with Carrtown now in exchange for Number P.* (25 x 17). 20 Perches to the inch. Published in *J. Co. Kildare Archaeol. Soc.*, 1903. Present whereabouts unknown.

The area surveyed includes part of the present Railpark and Donoghmore townlands as well as a single field near Maynooth. The general location of land held by the Luttrells and the Conollys in Donoghmore is indicated. The marginal panels include a view of Waterstown house, a single storey, L-shaped, building.

1749. Title obscure and surveyor's name indecipherable. Map showing the lands of Magaddy, Great Killenny, and Owenstown (part of the estate of Col. Jacob Pechel) together with Little Killenny and the adjacent Commons, in the parish of Moyglare, Co. Meath. Surveyed in June 1749. Scale approximately 20 perches to the inch. (23 x 27). National Library, Dublin.

This map was part of Lot 570 purchased by the National Library at Sotheby's auction of October 14-15 1974. It is chiefly concerned with townland boundaries and gives only limited detail within each townland. However, a fifty Irish acre portion of Magaddy, together with two units of eighteen Irish acres and of three Irish acres in Little Killenny, are labelled as 'set to Lord Kildare' and are in fact areas which were incorporated in Carton demesne. This map may be that referred to in the memorial to the lease which transferred fifty acres of Magaddy from Pechel to Lord Kildare in September 1749. The two units in Little Killenny set to Lord Kildare were part of the lands transferred from the Conolly estate in April 1749. However, the memorial relating to this transfer mentions 'several Maps or Surveys' which would have been completed prior to the making of the Magaddy map in June 1749.

1763. Cartographer unknown. *Plan of the Kitchen Garden and parts adjact. at Carton.* (37 x 27). 100 feet to an inch.

Badly tattered, with original title panel missing, this map shows a newly widened stream and island. (The 'New River' or 'Sheet of Water').

1763. *Levels of Rye River thro' Carton Park.* (c. 84 x 12). About 150 feet to the inch with ten times vertical exaggeration.

Marked on the back 'Levels of the River at Carton: April 1763 by Capt. Vallancey', this section may be by the man who, in the 1770s, as lieutenant-colonel and later as general, initiated an important military survey of the south of Ireland.

1763. *Section thro the Vale where the Bridge is to be built at Carton.* (c. 144 x 16).

Marked on the back 'June 1763', the section shows the extent of proposed changes in level of the Rye Water and the alterations which would be needed to produce a view from the house.

1788. *Sections of Ground in Front of Carton House.* (23½ x 13).

Framed and marked at the back 'Lt. Browne's Section of the Hill at Carton 1788', the cut needed to produce a view of the river from the house is shown.

1788? *Sketch of the Glen and part of the Park at Carton with the Farm of Kellystown.* (38 x 15). 250 feet to one inch approx.

Marked at the rear of the frame 'Plan of the New Road from Kellystown to Carton by Lieut. Browne'.

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO APPENDIX

- 1 The author is indebted to Mr. W.O. Hassall for information on *Innys* and on the origin of the Holkham collection.
- 2 J.G. Simms, *The Williamite Confiscation in Ireland, 1690-1703*, London, 1956, p. 134.
- 3 National Library of Ireland, Dublin. Microfilm P.259. Annesley MS. No. 2, (Trustees for the Sale of Forfeited Estates, minutes of proceedings, June 3, 1700-March 25, 1701).
- 4 A.A. Horner, some examples of the representation of height data on Irish maps before 1750 — including an early use of the spot height method, *Ir. Geogr.*, 7, 1974, 68-80.
- 5 J.H. Andrews, The French school of Dublin land surveyors, *Irish Geogr.*, 5(4), 1967, 275-292.

Apart from the maps listed above, other surveys, whose whereabouts are at present unknown, were certainly made. For example, the memorials of registration relating to the acquisition of lands from the Luttrell and Conolly families in the 1740s mention accompanying maps and surveys. These, and others, may yet be re-discovered. The appearance of the Moygaddy map of 1749 in Sotheby's Lot 570 in October 1974 was totally unexpected and illustrates how maps can sometimes re-emerge after being lost, or remaining in obscurity, for long periods.

* * *

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In making this study, I received help and advice from a large number of sources. I would particularly like to mention the Hon. D. Nail-Cain, of Carton, who gave me free access to the map records there, the Hon. D. Guinness who encouraged the completion of the study, Mr. Desmond Fitz-Gerald, who drew my attention to the important plan at Holkham, the Earl of Leicester and Mr. W. O. Hassall who facilitated the examination of the Holkham plan, and Dr. J. H. Andrews, Miss A. Crookshank, and Dr. Rolf Loeber, all of whom gave suggestions and criticisms.

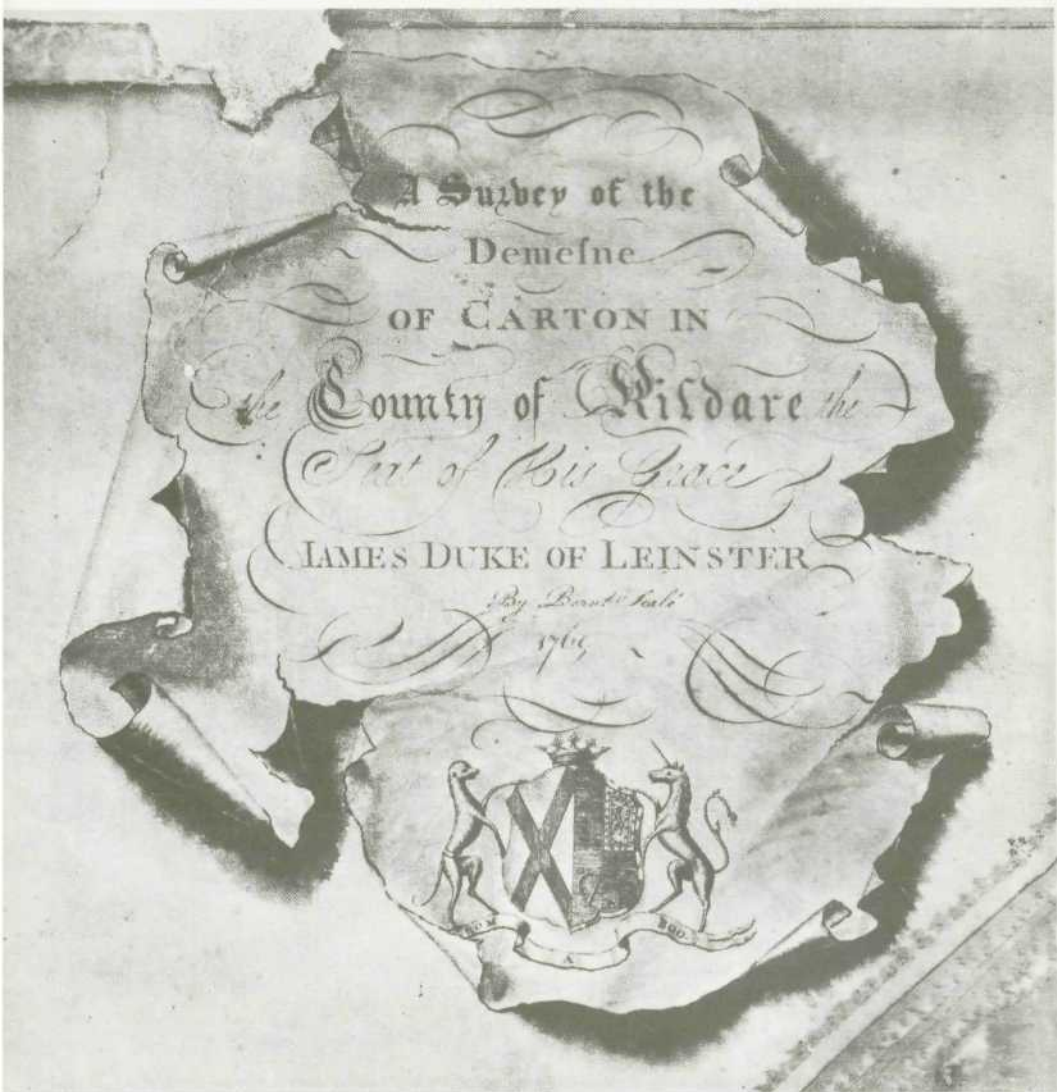
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NOTES AND REFERENCES

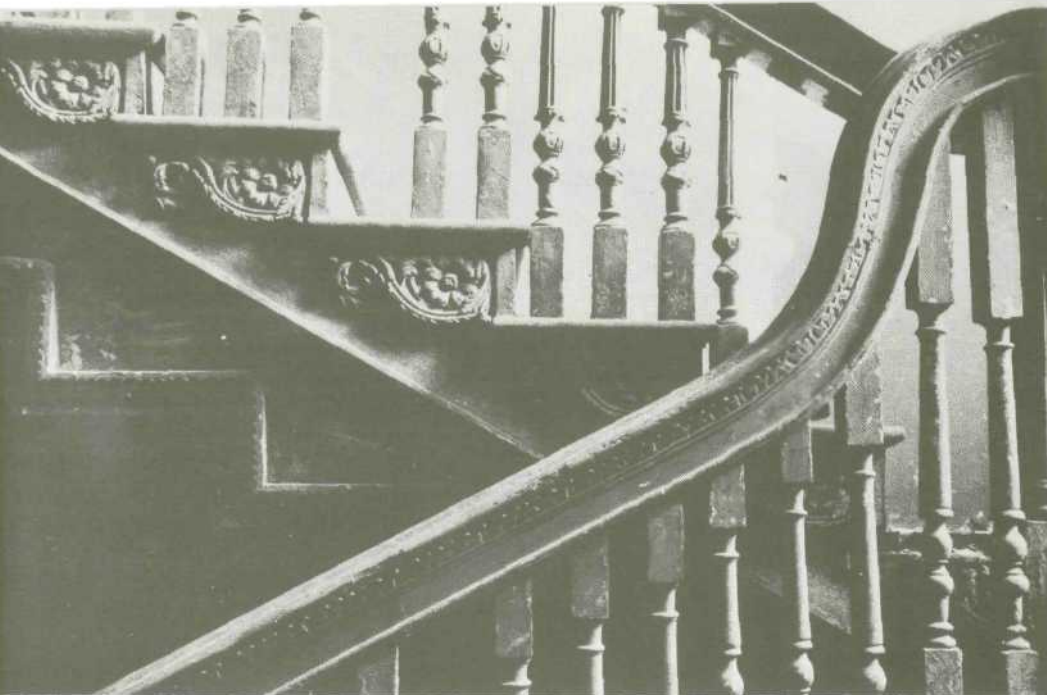
- 1 Lord Walter Fitzgerald, Carton, *J. Co. Kildare Archaeol. Soc.* 4(1), 1903, 1-34. Other accounts include: Anon, *Residences and Castles of the Duke of Leinster and of his Ancestors*, Dublin 1878. B. FitzGerald, Carton, Co. Kildare, *Country Life*, 1936, pp 488-93 and 514-519. D. Guinness and W. Ryan. *Irish Houses and Castles*, 1971.
- 2 B. FitzGerald (ed), *Correspondence of Emily, Duchess of Leinster (1731-1814)*, Dublin (Irish MSS. Comm.), 3 Vols, 1949-57, In later references, this work is given the short-title, *Letters*.

- 3 D. Clifford, *A History of Garden Design*, London, 1962.
- 4 D. Fitz-Gerald, *Irish Gardens of the Eighteenth Century*, I - The Baroque, II - The Rococo, *Apollo*, 1968, pp 185-197 and 204-209. Mr. Fitz-Gerald has recently completed a book on the history of the Irish garden with Edward Malins.
- 5 The present whereabouts of the estate records is not known to the author.
- 6 For some indication of the role of the Kildare family in Irish history see: Marquis of Kildare, *The Earls of Kildare and their Ancestors from 1057 to 1773*, Dublin, 4th Edn., 1864. Also, B. FitzGerald, *The Geraldines*, London, 1951.
- 7 Lord Walter FitzGerald, *art. cit.*, p. 5.
- 8 Lord Walter FitzGerald, *art. cit.*, p. 12.
- 9 Published in Lord Walter FitzGerald, *art. cit.* For details, see appendix.
- 10 Lord Walter FitzGerald, *art. cit.*, p. 5.
- 11 Anne Crookshank, Lord Cork and his Monuments, *Country Life*, May 27, 1971, pp 1288-1290.
- 12 A.B. Grosart, *The Lismore Papers*, London, 1886-88, Vol. III, p. 135.
- 13 A view attributed to the Dutch artist, Van der Hagen. See Cat., *Irish Houses and Landscapes*, 1965, pp 17-18.
- 14 National Library of Ireland, MS. 6246, Lismore Mss. William Cheatle's Disbursements, 1628-. (The author is grateful to Miss A. Crookshank for permitting inspection of a transcript of these accounts, which appear to have been mislaid in the N.L.I.).
- 15 Published in Duke of Leinster, Maynooth Castle, *J. Co. Kildare Archaeol. Soc.*, 1(4), 1894, 223-240. The whereabouts of the original is not known.
- 16 R.C. Simington (ed), *The Civil Survey 1654-55*, Vol. VIII, *Co. Kildare*, Dublin (Irish Mss. Comm.), 1952.
- 17 Biographical and other details on Tyrconnel are given in C. Petrie, *The Great Tyrconnel*, Cork, 1972, and in P.W. Sergeant, *Little Jennings and Fighting Dick Talbot*, (2 vols.) London, 1913. However, Carton is only mentioned in passing in both sources.
- 18 R. Loeber, *Irish Country Houses and Castles of the late Caroline Period: An unremembered past recaptured*, *Q. Bull. Irish Georgian Soc*, 16, 1973, 1-71.
- 19 Lord Walter FitzGerald, *art. cit.*, p. 11.
- 20 Lord Walter FitzGerald, *art. cit.*, p. 12.
- 21 See Appendix. Mr. Desmond Fitz-Gerald made this discovery.
- 22 Cat., *Irish Houses and Landscapes*, Catalogue of an exhibition in Dublin and Belfast, 1965, p. 18.
- 23 R. Loeber, *art. cit.*, p. 33.
- 24 See D. Clifford, *op. cit.*, Ch. 3-4.
- 25 Lord Walter FitzGerald, *art. cit.*, p. 25.
- 26 Details given in reference accompanying the map.
- 27 D. Fitz-Gerald, *art. cit.*, p. 186.
- 28 Lord Walter FitzGerald, *art. cit.*, p. 11. The payment to William Spike made by an agreement of 23rd February 1691-2 is elsewhere recorded in a list of disbursements to William Robinson, Esq., for repair to the 'King's Houses'. (Public Record Office of Ireland, Dublin, Wyche Documents, 1 A. 41. 65 (No. 63)).
- 29 Little is known about Gregory, but he may have given his name to 'Gregory's Orchard' near Maynooth College, shown on Rocque's map of 1757.
- 30 Lord Walter FitzGerald, *art. cit.*, p. 12.
- 31 Registry of Deeds, Dublin. Memorial 90-461-65674. Ingoldsby to Kildare. Date of Lease 27.1.1738-9.

- 32 Lord Walter FitzGerald, *art. cit.*, p. 12.
- 33 D. Clifford, *op. cit.*, Ch. 6.
- 34 This conclusion, and many others in the pages following, is based on an examination of the maps described in the appendix.
- 35 A. A. Horner, Some examples of the representation of height data on Irish maps before 1750 — including an early use of the spot height method, *Ir. Geogr.*, 7, 1974, 68-80.
- 36 These transactions are discussed in greater detail in: A. A. Horner, Land transactions and the making of Carton demesne, *J. Co. Kildare Anhaeol. Soc.*, 15, 1974, 387-396. Dates in this article follow the convention of a legal year ending on 25th March — consequently the date of purchase from Ingoldsby is recorded as 1738.
- 37 Memorial 114-431-79497. Nicholson et al. to Downes. Dates of indentures 30/31.7.1744.
- 38 Memorial 122-303-84113. Luttrell to Kildare. Indenture dated 27.1.1745[-6?].
- 39 Memorial 133-64-89177. Besnard et al. to Downes. Lease and Release dated 26/27.7.1748.
- 40 Memorial 135-466-92270. Pechell to Kildare. Indenture dated 20.9.1749.
- 41 Memorial 135-157-90825. Conolly to Kildare. Lease and Release dated 4/5.4.1749.
- 42 Lord Walter FitzGerald, *art. cit.*, p. 18.
- 43 Memorial 64-491-44853. Kildare to Nelson, Lease dated 8.2.1729.
- 44 Castletown Papers. Mrs. Conolly to Lady Anne Conolly, July 2nd 1747, as quoted in L. Boylan, *Castletown and its owners*, *Q. bull. Irish Georgian Soc.*, Oct.-Dec. 1968, p. 19.
- 45 Lord Walter FitzGerald, *art. cit.*, p. 42.
- 46 Public Record Office of Ireland, Valuation Office Letter Books, 2A.29.1 2. Letters dated 16.4.1830 and 21.4.1830. Also 1.3.1837 and 29.3.1837.
- 47 *Letters*, June 1757, Vol. 1. p. 42, 45, 52-3
- 48 N.G. Brett-James, *The Life of Peter Collinson*, London, [1925?], pp 88-96.
- 49 P. Toynbee (ed), *Supplement to the Letters of Harold Walpole*, Vol. III, 1783-96, Oxford 1918, p. 163.
- 50 In the late nineteenth century, the library at Carton included some twenty books on gardening and architecture which had been published prior to 1770. Among these were texts by Langley (1728), Miller (1732, 1754), Hill (1757), a publication by William Kent of the designs of Inigo Jones (1727) and a commentary by Sir William Chambers on Kew Gardens (1763). (National Library of Ireland, MS. 14.923, *Catalogue of Carton Library*).
- 51 *Letters*, April 1759, Vol. 1., p. 71.
- 52 *Letters*, December 1762, Vol. 1., p. 150.
- 53 *Letters*, June 1768, Vol. 3., p. 526.
- 54 *Letters*, October 1766, Vol. 3., p. 431.
- 55 *Letters*, June 1768, Vol. 3, pp 531, 521.
- 56 A. W. Hutton, (ed), *Arthur Young's Tour in Ireland (1776-1779)*, London 1892, pp 31-32.
- 57 *Letters*, June 1775, Vol. 3., p. 137.
- 58 *Letters*, May 1775, Vol. 3, p. 154.
- 59 Anon, *Residences and Castles*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
- 60 These changes are described in contemporary maps, and in Anon, *Residences and Castles*, *op. cit.*
- 61 H. D. Inglis, *A Journey through Ireland during .. 1834*. (2 vols. London. 1835).
- 62 Lord Walter FitzGerald, *art. cit.*, p. 16.



Carton is open to the public from 2.30-6.00 p.m. in summer.



IRISH GEORGIAN SOCIETY : OLD ROSCREA SOCIETY

DAMER HOUSE CAN BE SAVED!

At their meeting on 26th February 1974, the Tipperary (North Riding) County Council, Nenagh, decided to lease the Damer House to the Irish Georgian Society for 99 years. The architect is unknown, but the house is a distinguished example of pre-Palladian architecture and contains a very fine carved staircase and some original mantels. Used as a barracks for most of the nineteenth century, and a school in more recent years, it now houses the County Library and Engineering Offices, but no work has been done to make it safe or water-tight. The Council had voted to demolish the building at a meeting in November 1973, and use the site as a car park. The Society intends to save and restore Damer House, in conjunction with the Old Roscrea Society, as its project for European Architectural Heritage Year, 1975.

To the Irish Georgian Society, Castletown, Celbridge, Co. Kildare. I enclose £.....as my contribution to the saving of Damer House, Roscrea. I do/do not wish my name to be printed in a list of benefactors.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

.....

BOOKS FOR SALE

from

The Irish Georgian Society, Castletown, Celbridge, Co. Kildare, Ireland.

(Prices include V.A.T., packing, and postage anywhere)

* * *

Hunting in Ireland by Dr. Colin Lewis (London, 1975)	£8.00 or \$20.00
Irish Countryhouse Cooking by Rosie Tinne (Dublin, 1974)	£5.30 or \$15.00
Dublin Decorative Plasterwork by C. P. Curran (London, 1967)	£5.50 or \$ 16.00
The Gothick Taste by Terence Davis (London, 1975)	£11.00 or \$27.50
Follies & Grottoes by Barbara Jones (London, 1974)	£10.40 or \$26.00
The Book of Kells introduction by Francoise Henry (London, 1974)	£30.00 or \$70.00
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