



# ‘A true Lady Chatellaine’: Frances Anne Vane-Tempest and the building of Garron Tower, part 1

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ANNE CASEMENT

GARRON TOWER, OR ‘THE TOWER’ AS IT IS KNOWN LOCALLY, MAY JUSTLY CLAIM TO be one of the most romantically located castles in Ulster. Perched on the edge of a cliff on the east coast of Antrim, it commands spectacular views up and down the North Channel and eastwards to the Scottish coast, a mere twenty or so miles away (Plate 2). The sumptuously appointed castle was constructed between 1848 and 1850,<sup>1</sup> the dream-child of Frances Anne, *née* Vane-Tempest (1800-1865), the second wife of Charles Stewart (1778-1854), 3rd Marquess of Londonderry (Plate 1).<sup>2</sup> In 1834, Frances Anne had inherited a portion of the Antrim estate from her mother, Anne Catherine, who had been Countess of Antrim in her own right. Anne Catherine and her sister Charlotte were daughters of Randal, 6th Earl of Antrim, who had no male heirs. George III thus graciously permitted the Antrim title and estates to pass through the female line for the sisters’ generation only, the land being divided between the two sisters and the title passing initially to the elder sister, Anne Catherine. As it turned out, Anne Catherine had only one child, Frances Anne, thus after her death the title passed to her sister and thereafter to Charlotte’s male descendants.<sup>3</sup> Such a state of affairs may have contributed to Frances Anne seeking some tangible means of associating herself with the lands, titles and noble deeds of her mother’s family. It was clearly manifested on the brass plate she was to place beside the front door of Garron Tower, declaring the owner to be the granddaughter of the late Earl of Antrim, who wished to ‘establish a residence on her portion of the ancestral domain’.<sup>4</sup>

During the late 1830s and the early 1840s, the Londonderrys embarked on a series

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1 – Sir Thomas Lawrence, *PRA* (1769-1830), *LADY FRANCES ANNE EMILY VANE-TEMPEST, MARCHIONESS OF LONDONDERRY (1800-1865) AND HER SON GEORGE HENRY ROBERT CHARLES WILLIAM VANE-TEMPEST, VISCOUNT SEAHAM, LATER 5TH MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY (1821-1884)*

*c.1827, oil on canvas, 269 x 178 cm (courtesy National Trust / Mount Stewart, Co Down)*



of European tours, terminating abruptly in 1841 when they were forced to return home following a dramatic fire in their principal seat at Wynyard Park, county Durham. Having been restored, this mansion was officially reopened in 1847,<sup>5</sup> by which time the family was also fully committed to the substantial enlargement and refurbishment of their Irish seat of Mount Stewart, county Down, where the official housewarming took place in November 1848.<sup>6</sup> Despite such major commitments on their time and resources, Lady Londonderry's attention was also turning to the possibility of creating a home for herself within her Antrim estates.

Frances Anne Vane-Tempest was very much a child of her time, being enthralled by the romantic fictional and semi-fictional worlds of popular literature of the day. The journals she wrote during the course of her European travels provide many examples of the lure and fascination fabled places such as the Alhambra held for her. She had 'read and treasured its romances, gazed on its pictures, and dreamed and fancied the scene, until I almost believed myself one of the heroines of yore'.<sup>7</sup> She also clearly felt that an almost feudal bond existed between herself and her Antrim tenantry:

Although I inherit but a small portion of that great Antrim estate, which in days of yore stretched from Carrickfergus beyond the Causeway and Dunluce, still I ever felt that all who held under me were as faithful and attached to as any who followed the McDonnell of that time.<sup>8</sup>

The existence of such a bond, in her mind at least, served to justify the creation of an environment where she might reign as mistress of her own romantic fantasies. She

intended her Antrim residence to be the embodiment of her idea of the chivalric ideal – a romantic, medieval castle. The choice of location and style would thus be crucial.

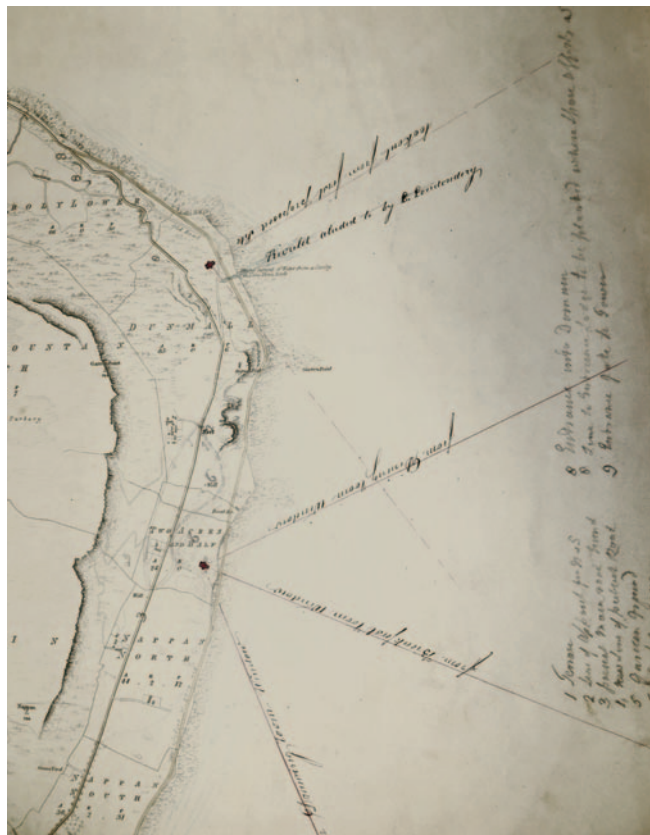
The Antrim Papers reveal that as early as 1844-45, Lady Londonderry's agent, John Lanktree, had spotted the opportunity afforded by the romantic ruins of Dunluce Castle, perched precipitously on a cliff-edge on the north Antrim coast. He considered that an outlay of a mere few hundred pounds would partially restore it, creating 'a unique marine residence established in a very celebrated neighbourhood'. Lady Londonderry had an individual interest in this property, but Lanktree's idea had to be abandoned as the agreement of all parties could not be secured.<sup>9</sup> A cliff-top site a short distance north of Glenarm Castle, the Antrim family seat, and overlooking the North Channel at Garron Point, was chosen instead. It comprised some of the finest land on her estate and lay in good sporting country.<sup>10</sup> In early 1847 the prospective builder, Charles Campbell, and Lord Londonderry's chief agent for his Irish estates, John Andrews, visited two sites proposed for the house.<sup>11</sup> The Antrim Papers contain a copy of the 1832 Ordnance Survey Map of the coast showing both the initial and selected sites, and the views to be enjoyed from them (Plate 3).<sup>12</sup> Included with this map are four lithographs of Burg Rheinstein together with its plans, elevations and architectural details (Plate 4). This castle, which

3 – Part of first edition OS 6" sheet with two possible locations marked for tower at Garron Point, c.1848 (D2977/37/8/3/4)

opposite

2 – Garron Tower, south front (courtesy Iain Bradley)

(all illustrations courtesy Deputy Keeper of the Records, PRONI, and Viscount Dunluce, unless otherwise stated)





4 – One of four lithographs showing various views of Burg Rheinstein, Germany  
(D2977/8/3/2A)

*opposite 5 – ‘Picturesque Co Antrim, Garron Point’ (courtesy Iain Bradley)*

enjoyed a splendid location perched on the cliffs high above the Rhine near Bingen am Rhein, some distance south of Koblenz, had been restored for Prince Frederick of Prussia in the 1820s.<sup>13</sup> Frances Anne had seen it during her European journeys, and noted in one of her travel diaries: ‘It is situated halfway up a rocky hill, perched like an eagle’s nest in a romantic situation, and commands no doubt a magnificent view.’<sup>14</sup> This description matches Garron Tower’s location very closely (Plate 5). Architectural historians, possibly misled by the images and some of the plans, elevations and detailing of Burg Rheinstein, have searched for evidence that this castle served as the architectural model for Garron Tower. Yet such investigations have proved largely fruitless, and only a scant similarity between the two buildings has been found, namely a general focus on a dominant pivotal tower, and some details of the machicolation.<sup>15</sup> Her comments indicate that in her own summer residence she sought to emulate Burg Rheinstein’s splendid location and the overall impression it created more than its architectural detail.

A ninety-nine-year lease of the land was being finalised in June 1848. An extension of the demesne northwards to include Dunmaul Fort was also under discussion. It was planned to secure this for an additional outlay of around £150. As this land is shown within the demesne on the 1857 Ordnance Survey Map (Plate 6), it is presumed that this suggestion was adopted. John Andrews had the necessary lease prepared, and sent it for signature on 17th July 1848.<sup>16</sup> Lady Londonderry laid the foundation stone of the house herself in February 1848.<sup>17</sup> The London architect, Lewis Vulliamy (1791-1871), was for some time understood to have been the architect of the original house. Although he was certainly responsible for the design of later additions, substantial evidence now exists to prove that it was the Londonderrys' builder/architect, Charles Campbell of Newtownards, who played a significant, possibly leading, role in the design of Garron Tower. He also oversaw the rebuilding of Mount Stewart in 1845-48.<sup>18</sup> Campbell was assisted in his task by his son, William, as he also had to supervise the final stages of the rebuilding work at Mount Stewart at this time. He nonetheless made regular visits to Garron Point to inspect and direct the work. He died, apparently unexpectedly, in December 1850.<sup>19</sup> The initial estimates for the building were prepared in December 1846, with work scheduled to commence in January 1847, and coincided with the Londonderrys' visit to the estate to witness the effects of potato blight, which began to affect their Antrim estate as early as autumn 1845.<sup>20</sup> Lord and Lady Londonderry put into effect a suite of measures to relieve the effects of the loss of the potato crop, described in the tenants' words as 'the sole sustenance of ourselves, our wives and our children'. Such aid was essential to farmers who, in the harsh winter of 1847, were quietly consuming all their crops for the sustenance of





6 – Ordnance Survey 6" map showing extent of demesne at Garron Tower surveyed 1832, engraved 1833, revised and contoured 1857, revisions and contour lines engraved 1859 (OS/6/1/20/2)

opposite 7 – Francis Grant, PRA (1803-1878), FRANCES ANNE EMILY (NÉE VANE-TEMPEST), MARCHIONESS OF LONDONDERRY (1800-1865)

c.1853, oil on canvas, 269 x 178 cm (courtesy National Trust)

their families and had no thought of rent in a community where oxen, sheep, fowl and turnips were stolen nightly.<sup>21</sup> The commencement of major building work at such an inopportune time seems extraordinary, and indeed John Lanktree declared it to be ‘No year for building the Tower – I anticipate severe times.’<sup>22</sup>

The detail, progress and difficulties of the building work are vividly chronicled in the many letters sent to Lady Londonderry by Charles and William Campbell.<sup>23</sup> It is quite clear from this correspondence that as far as this project was concerned, she, not her husband, was in the driving seat.<sup>24</sup> Campbell reported directly to her, required her approval for all projected and additional expenditure, and was obliged to adapt his plans to accommodate all her needs and suggestions. Although clearly intelligent and quick-witted, Frances Anne’s rudimentary education and poor parenting had left her lacking in skill, accomplishment and social finesse. She appears to have compensated for a low sense of self-worth by demonstrating an extraordinary willfulness and determination to govern her own affairs,<sup>25</sup> and Lord Castlereagh’s first impression of his young sister-in-law was that ‘for her time of life, she seems to have a great deal of decision and character’.<sup>26</sup> Her intellect and understanding are ably demonstrated by the in-depth explanations she sought from the Campbells respecting items as diverse as the use of sea sand in building and the





construction of the staircase. She did not know the estate well nor fully appreciate its geographic and social circumstances, and the Campbells were thus obliged to provide much fascinating and informative local detail. In particular, they strove to make their employer aware of the challenges and difficulties of conveying materials to such a remote and unsheltered location, especially during the winter months, and of the problems and risks associated with completing exterior building work to a tall building on an exposed coastline in wintry conditions. They also provided much information relating to the natural resources procurable locally such as stone, sand, lime and water, the transportation infrastructure, and the availability of skilled craftsmen. In 1846 the projected building work was estimated to cost £2,000. The specification called for 'best Scrabo or Scotch stone from Ayrshire', but Garron Tower was eventually built of basalt, probably in order to reduce costs, as an addendum in a different hand stipulated: 'In this estimate cut stone should be much reduced.' Campbell anticipated completion by August 1848, with the following payments to himself: '£100 per month for first five months from Jan 1847 – then say Nov 1st following £600 then May 1st 1848 £600 and on 1st Nov 1848 or 3 months after completion the balance of my contract.'<sup>27</sup>

Campbell assembled a team consisting of ten masons, eight labourers, three blackstone (i.e. basalt) quarrymen, three limestone quarrymen, five Craig Clughan quarrymen,<sup>28</sup> four stone hewers, two wood sawyers, four joiners, one lime burner, and eight to ten horse and carts, together with labourers hired by the day, with a weekly wage bill of £30-£35. A letter of Charles Campbell's dated April 1848 reveals the extent of the necessary preparatory work:

Having commenced building on the 4th inst the men prior to that time having been employed in excavating all the foundations and cellar storey, in quarrying stones, obtaining sand and mixing mortar. We have also built a lime kiln and have commenced burning lime. I have sent to Glasgow for a small cargo of coals for that purpose so that I will have a constant supply of that material. The second we got on Mr Turnley's beach with his permission,<sup>29</sup> which was obtained through the medium of Mr Lanktree, and now I see no reason why we should not go as rapidly as the weather will permit.<sup>30</sup>

By June 1848 the walls were five feet above the principal floor.<sup>31</sup> By August they had reached about six feet above the bedroom floors, and in September Campbell began roofing work. In order to make the most of the fine summer weather, he had increased the workforce from forty to fifty-three, namely eighteen masons, sixteen labourers in the field, six labourers at the quarry, four sawyers and joiners, and five stonecutters, without any apparent increase in the wage bill. Nonetheless, freight charges and other items had resulted in Campbell exceeding the expenditure agreed with Lady Londonderry.<sup>33</sup>

The ground floor of the resulting building comprised a suite of three public rooms, entered via a porch on the south leading into a hall flanked to the east by an octagonal boudoir and drawing room and to the west by a dining room. Accommodation for Lord

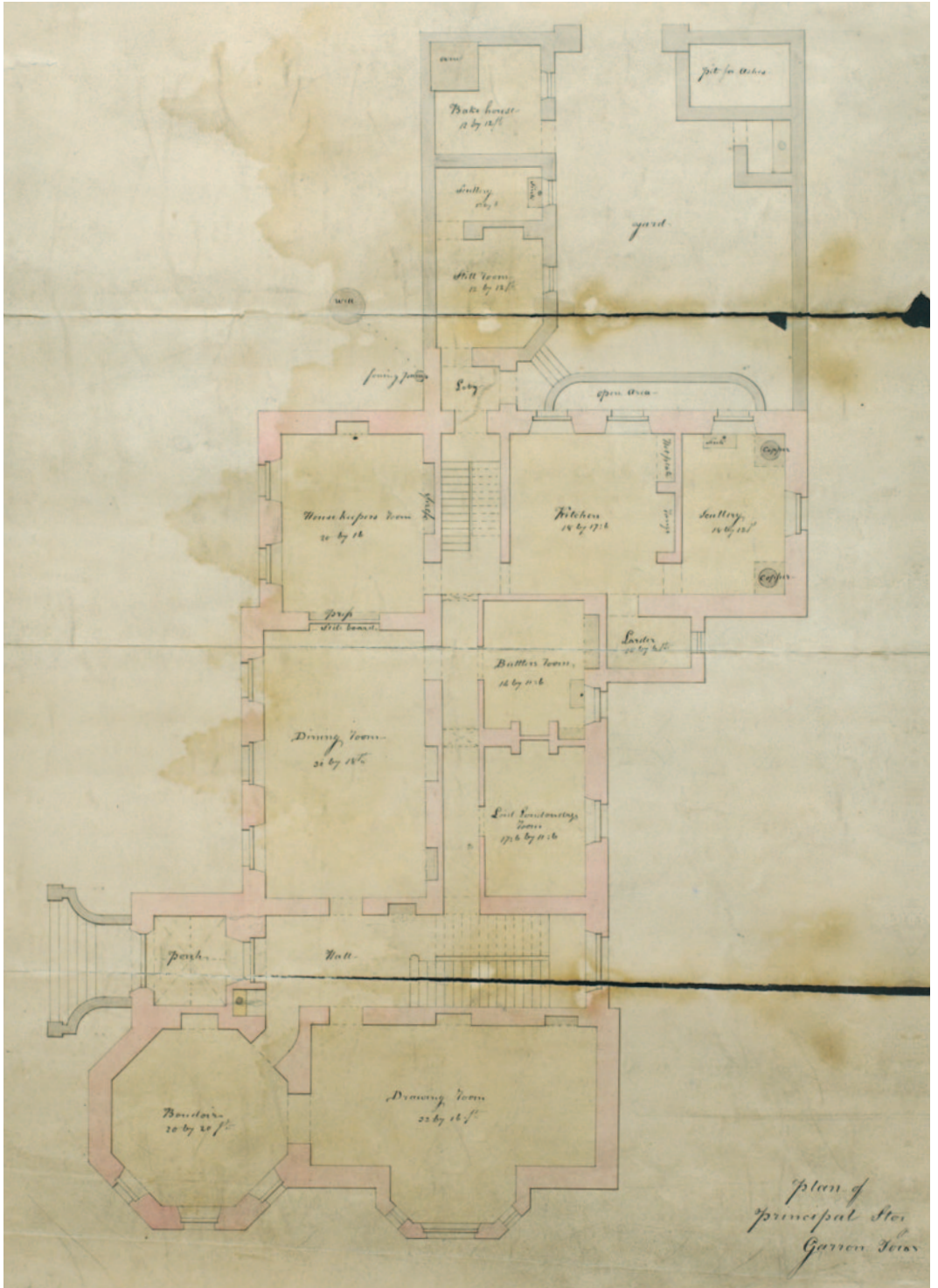
Londonderry and the butler occupied the north side (Plate 8). Above lay bedrooms, including a suite of apartments for Lady Londonderry on the east side overlooking the North Channel. The kitchen, scullery and housekeeper's room lay beneath the two bedrooms and dressing room at the west end (Plate 9).<sup>34</sup> Campbell had originally budgeted for the principal staircase to be constructed of wood. Lady Londonderry expressed a preference for stone, which Campbell was fortunate to be able to source from the same quarry at Scrabo, county Down, that had provided stone for a staircase at Mount Stewart.<sup>35</sup> No images of this Garron Tower staircase are known to exist, but fortunately the Campbell correspondence includes a sketch of a dog-leg staircase with half-pace landing.<sup>36</sup>

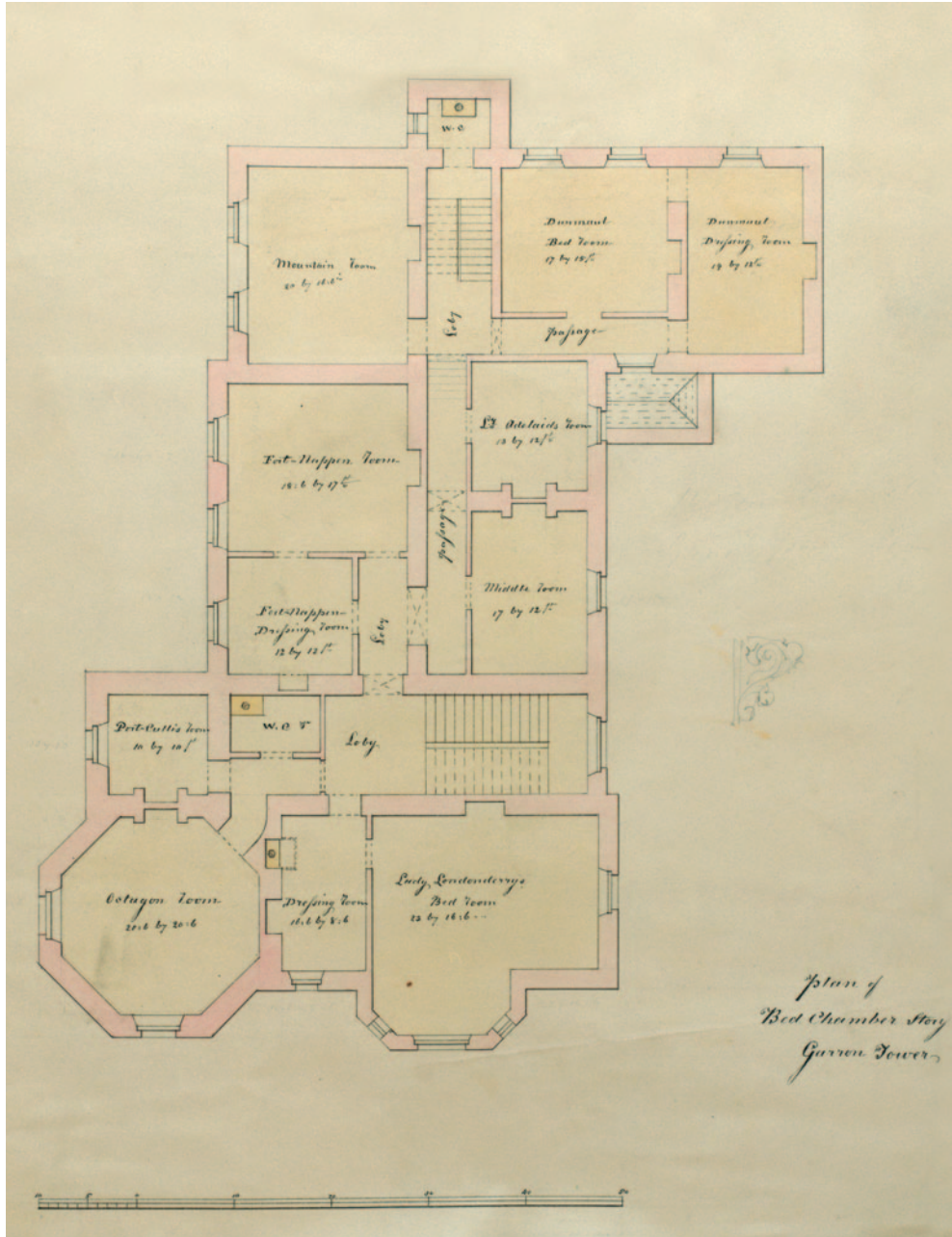
Inadequacies in the provision of culinary facilities capable of providing for the needs of a fine country house appear to have manifested themselves immediately, as on 20th November 1848, Campbell produced an estimate for a domestic yard(s) and offices (£138 8s 10d) to be built as an appendage to the point of Garron Tower, presumably that shown on an undated, damaged plan of the principal storey (Plate 8). This yard appears to have been accessed via gates on the west side, and was flanked to the north by an ash pit. The south side comprised a still room, scullery and bakery, whilst the eastern side was formed by the kitchen, scullery and housekeeper's room at the west end of the house. These were flanked by an open, albeit enclosed, area within the yard itself. The house itself was entered via a short flight of steps that led into a lobby in the southeast corner of the yard. Privys also appear to have been located within this yard.<sup>37</sup> The escalating cost of the works was a matter of some concern to Lady Londonderry, and at the end of 1848 she instructed Lanktree to approach John Millar, a Belfast architect whom she had employed on another project,<sup>38</sup> with a request to inspect the building work to date and examine the expenditure accounts.<sup>39</sup> Millar produced two reports in January 1849, when he concluded that the building work commenced in April 1848 had been pursued as rapidly as was consistent with the future stability of the building. He found that had other matters been pursued as diligently, the whole edifice would have then been in a more generally forward state.<sup>40</sup>

As well as the need for additional service facilities and improvements to the water supply, inadequacies in fitting up the building were also identified and addressed during the later part of construction work, increasing the cost from the original estimate of £2,000 to £2,927. The itemised account of this expenditure reveals that substantial changes and modifications had been made to the original agreed plan, such as the raising of the entire building by two feet and the rebuilding of the attic storey as a consequence; the raising of the octagon and square towers by six feet and provision of ten corner corbets [sic], forty smaller ones and fifty gothic arches. A flagstaff was also installed on top of the square tower together with a clock within an oculus on its west face.<sup>41</sup> Given the newness of the technology, it is perhaps not surprising that adjustments needed to be made to the original sanitary arrangements, which were not fit for purpose.<sup>42</sup>

These significant improvements clearly did not suffice as far as Lady Londonderry was concerned. Scarcely a year after its construction, Campbell produced a proposal to

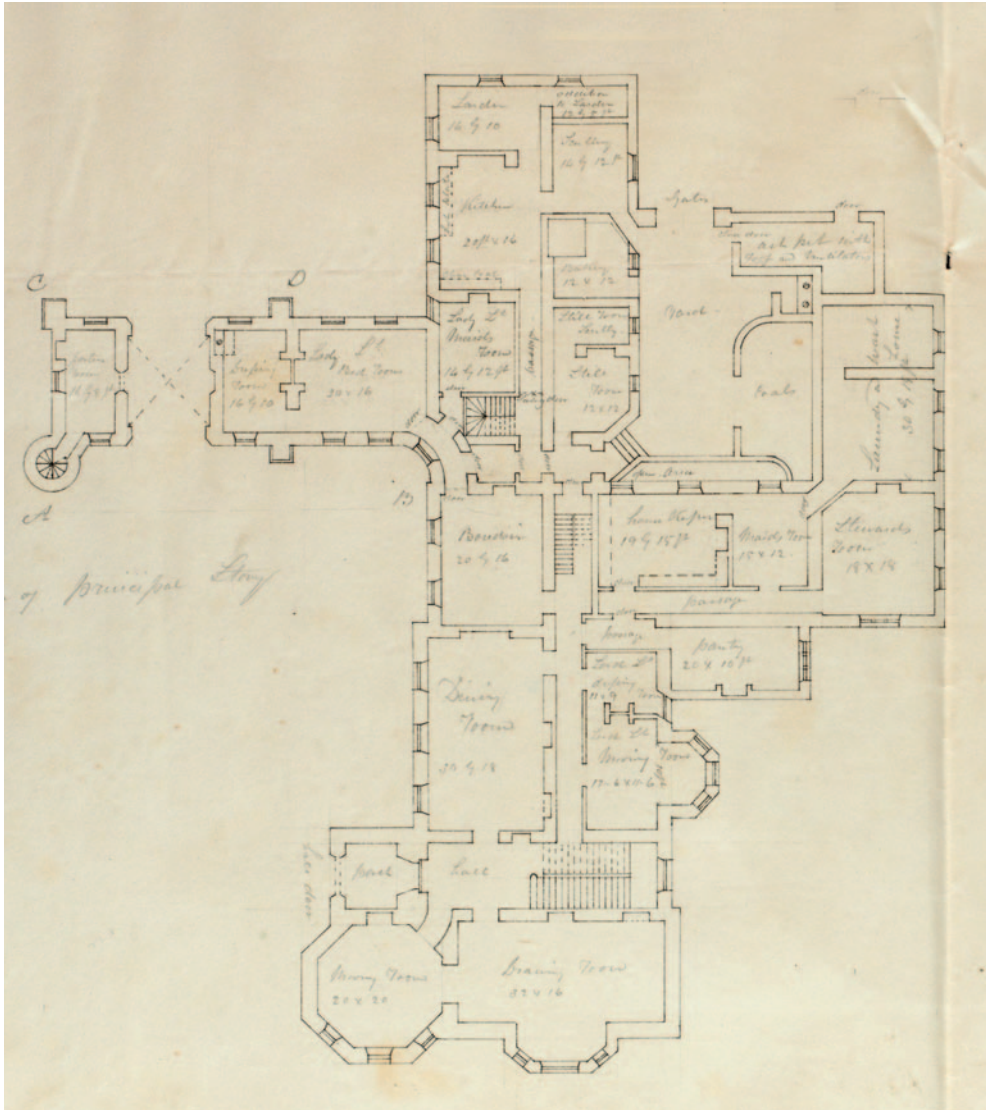
ANNE CASEMENT





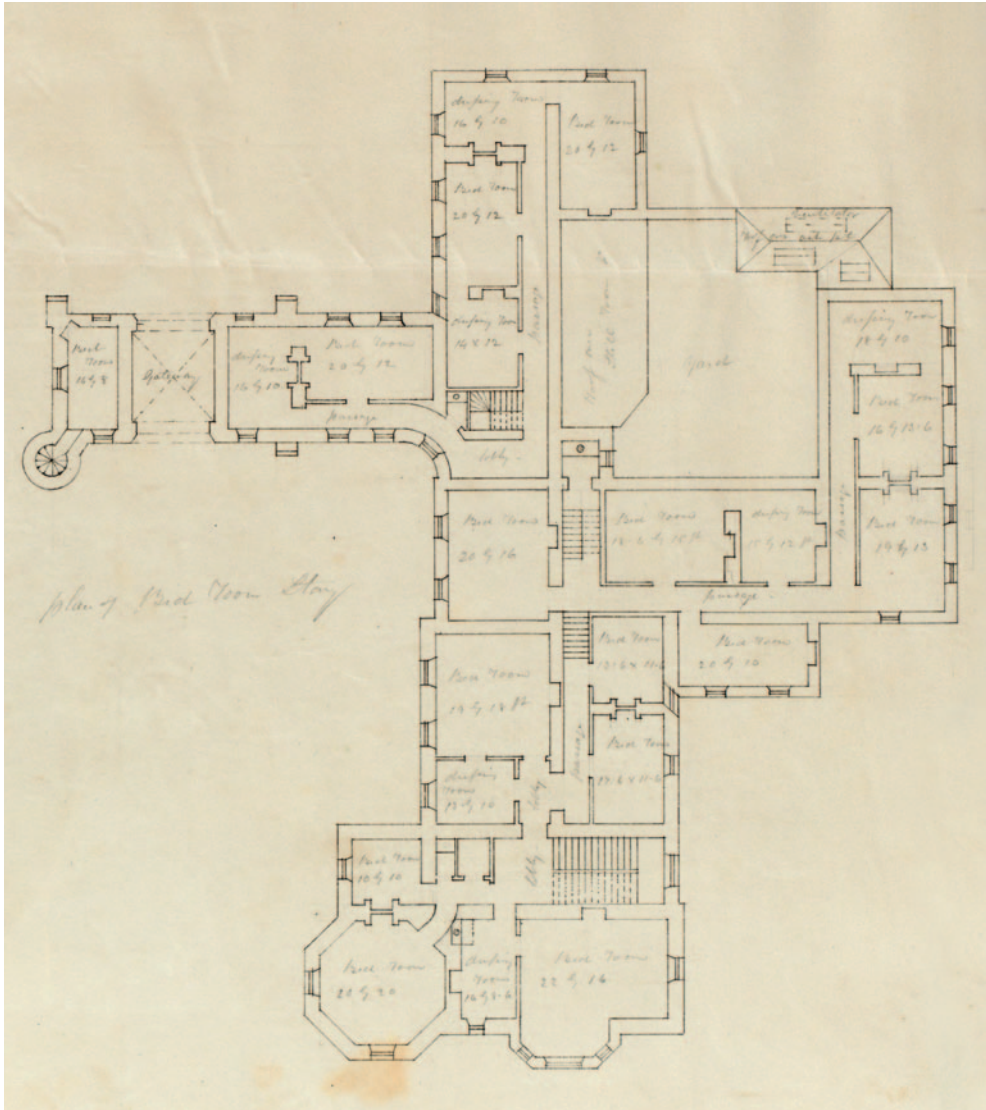
9 – 'Plan of bedchamber storey, Garron Tower' (first floor plan), pre-1850  
scale 10ft:1in (D2977/37/8/2/1C)

opposite 8 – 'Plan of principal storey, Garron Tower' (ground floor plan, at same scale), pre-1850  
(D2977/37/8/3/5)



10 – Ground-floor plan of proposed additions to Garron Tower, c.1850  
 showing much-expanded service range and new gateway building (D2977/37/8/2/3A)

extend the yard by thirty feet in a northerly direction, apparently to accommodate a steward's room, laundry and wash house. (An ash pit complete with roof and ventilations was also constructed on the west side adjacent to the entrance gates.)<sup>43</sup> This extension was, however, merely a small, albeit necessary element of a far larger scheme of improvements to a residence on which the paint had scarcely had time to dry (Plate 10). A set of undated plans shows two alternative schemes involving the widening of the existing single-storey service range to the west, and provision of a new gateway building. These



11 – First-floor plan of proposed additions to Garron Tower, c.1850  
(D2977/37/8/2/3A)

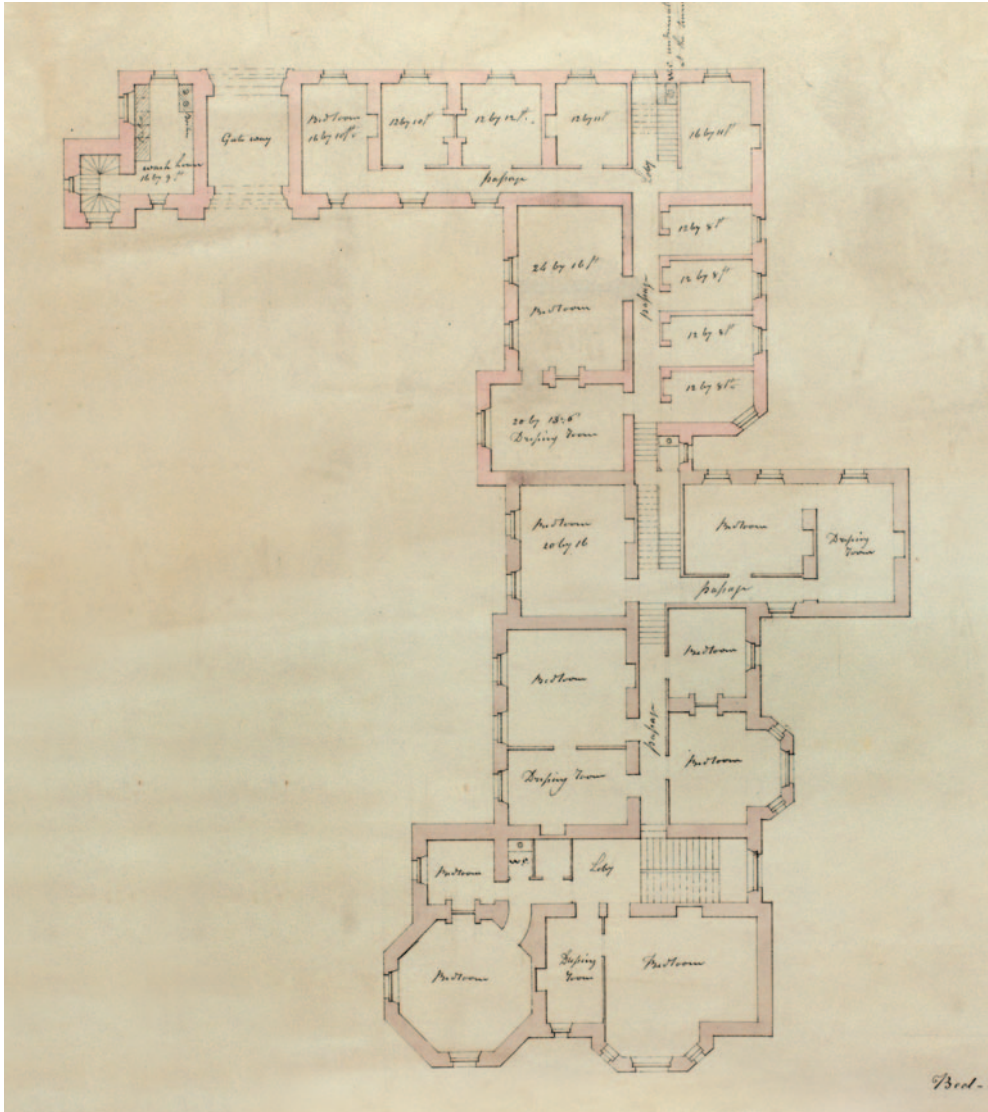
plans suggest that the motivation for this additional work may have lain, to some part, in Lady Londonderry’s concern regarding the location of her sleeping apartments on the upper floor. She was by this time nearing her fiftieth birthday, and the effects of ageing, coupled with an increasing corpulence, may have made mounting the stairs both challenging and debilitating.<sup>44</sup> One set of plans described the construction of a new entrance wing immediately to the south of the west end of the existing castle, comprising a porter’s room, gateway and bedroom and dressing room for Lady Londonderry below, and a bed-

room, upper gateway, dressing room and bedroom above. The existing single-storey service range to the west was to be widened and extended slightly to the north to accommodate a new kitchen, larder and room for Lady Londonderry's maid, and sleeping accommodation above them. Two bedrooms and a dressing room were to be provided above the spaces in the extended service yard, and the former housekeeper's room, kitchen and scullery at the west end of the house converted into a boudoir, housekeeper's and maids' room (Plate 10, 11).<sup>45</sup>

On 22 October 1849, builder/architect and client met at Mount Stewart where Lady Londonderry outlined her determination to increase the size of the central portion of the building by one tenth (seven feet). Undated, unsigned plans of a scheme, presumably agreed at this meeting, reflect this requirement, together with a reconsideration of the infelicities, both architectural and practical, of the alternative layout. The proposed scheme of work again comprised the widening of the existing westerly service block (referred to by Campbell as the centre building), though this time increasing the height of the entire range to provide a suite of bedrooms above,<sup>46</sup> and provision of a new gateway building, but this time abutting the west end of the service block to the south (Plates 12, 13).<sup>47</sup> The estimated cost of £2,555 also provided for some internal reorganisation, and the installation of a bay window in Lord Londonderry's room and the room above it.<sup>48</sup>

The enlarged western range was intended primarily to provide a bedroom and dressing room for Lady Londonderry on the ground floor, in spaces that had been intended for a kitchen and lady's maid's room in the alternative scheme. A new kitchen occupied the space where this block abutted the new gatehouse range (Plate 13).<sup>49</sup> Lady Londonderry clearly recognised that having her personal apartments downstairs might result in her being 'annoyed by any noise that might arise from that passage from the kitchen etc'. To overcome this, Campbell intended that her bedroom and dressing room should have no doors into the adjacent service passage.<sup>50</sup> This provision probably failed to satisfy her, leading to the relocation of the kitchen facilities yet again, this time to new premises on the north side of the service yard, as indicated on a sketch plan prepared for insurance purposes in 1860.<sup>51</sup> This change also permitted the servants' hall to be moved up onto ground floor, and other desirable improvements made.<sup>52</sup> By widening the central block by seven feet, a single corridor now connected all the apartments on the first floor, whereas that envisaged in the alternative scheme had an unfortunate dog-leg at the junction of the new work and the old (Plates 11, 12). The adopted corridor connected to all the first-floor rooms in the new gatehouse range, allowing guests and servants to pass seamlessly<sup>53</sup> throughout this storey with access provided via the principal staircase or service stairs in the north-west corner.<sup>54</sup>

In early December 1849, a Mr Liddel is mentioned in relation to the design of the proposed gatehouse. This was Henry Thomas Liddell (1797-1878), the elder son of Thomas Henry Liddell (1775-1855), 1st Baron Ravensworth of Ravensworth Castle, near Gateshead, county Durham, a castle in the Gothic style designed by John Nash. It was not surprising that Frances Anne chose to consult Henry Thomas, her childhood friend and



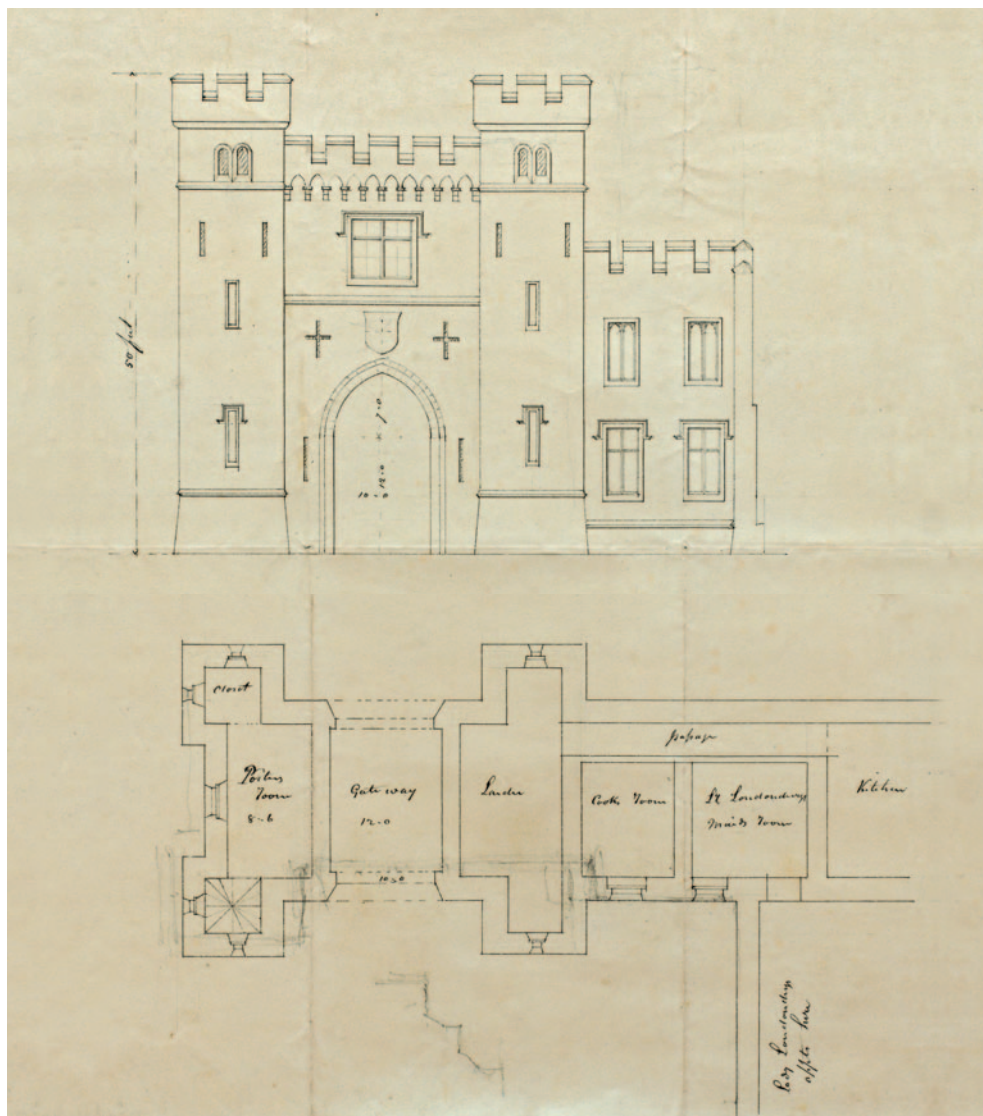
12 – First-floor plan of alternative proposed additions to Garron Tower, c.1850  
(D2977/37/8/2/3B)

long-time correspondent, respecting the design of her new castle-like residence.<sup>55</sup> A man of culture, he was an accomplished artist, poet and writer, and directed the implementation of the final stages of the Nash scheme.<sup>56</sup> Mr Liddell's initial proposal for the gatehouse building was out of the question as far as Campbell was concerned, due to discrepancies in the heights of the floors and the vulnerability of a fifteen-foot-high, inadequately supported turret to storm damage. Although Campbell approved a revised scheme that increased the height of the gateway in order to accommodate a laundry over



the entrance way, he was concerned at the extra cost involved, given that Lady Londonderry had what was ‘require[d] in the large Laundry’.<sup>57</sup> Choosing the most appropriate design for the archway of the gateway entrance, and its ceiling, took some discussion. Campbell thought that a Gothic arch would provide enough height for the ribbed ceiling that he considered to be most in character with the design, but this would preclude the existence of a room above.<sup>58</sup> Campbell’s preference for a Gothic arch was clearly respected, together with Lady Londonderry’s requirement for an additional laundry above it, presumably necessitating an increase in height.<sup>59</sup> The proposed three-storey building accommodated a porter’s room, covered way, larder, cook’s room and Lady Londonderry’s maid’s room on the ground floor, a washing room and bedrooms on the next floor, and a laundry and bedroom on the uppermost storey (Plate 13). The location of laundry facilities on an upper storey, let alone the upper storey of a gatehouse, was highly unusual, as such facilities were customarily accommodated in a service yard or service wing. Only a single other Irish example of a laundry on an upper storey has been identified, namely that contained in Richard Castle’s scheme for the service wing of Leinster House.<sup>60</sup> Campbell clearly felt that additional laundry facilities were unwarranted, and it posed a considerable fire risk. They also placed substantial added demands on the method and means of providing an adequate and reliable supply of water to the castle. Nonetheless the residence in its final form could accommodate a considerable number of guests,<sup>61</sup> resulting in the need to wash and dry substantial amounts of linen and clothing, often within short periods.

Lady Londonderry sent some fixtures and fittings for the house from England, including a kitchen range and some fireplaces. Other, highly specialised items were commissioned from British manufacturers, such as Mr Wailes of Newcastle,<sup>62</sup> who was engaged to make the staircase window. Presumably this was the fine painted glass window, now gone, that depicted Lady Londonderry’s ancestor, Sir Harry Vane, receiving a knighthood on the battlefield of Poitiers in 1356. Wailes was based in Newcastle, and Lady Londonderry would almost certainly have been acquainted with his work.<sup>63</sup> The balusters for the fine dog-leg staircase were supplied by a British manufacturer called Wright, and shipped from Carlisle.<sup>64</sup> The oak overmantels and doors in the principal reception rooms appear to have been sourced in England from a craftsman possibly named Street, and were apparently installed in 1850.<sup>65</sup> Although comprising some nineteenth-century work, they also seem to incorporate panels of a recognisably Flemish or northern French character, probably dating from about 1590 to 1670 (Plates 14, 15). These overmantels and doors are comparable in style to the oak room installed in Chatsworth by the 6th Duke of Devonshire in 1844. They were intended to evoke the informality of country houses compared with, say, the *bouffe marquetry* employed in town residences. The use of antique panels sourced from the Continent would explain the fact that some bear inscriptions in German, and they fitted perfectly with Frances Anne’s aim to evoke family history at Garron Tower.<sup>66</sup> Lady Londonderry was expected to make her first visit to the enlarged residence at the beginning of August 1850, and Campbell’s final letters to



13 – Plan and elevation of gateway building at Garron Tower, c.1850  
(D2977/37/8/2/2C)

her related to the completion of this phase of work. At the end of June, in what would prove to be his final letter to his employer, Campbell wrote that all of the apartments on the first floor (except the gateway and porter's room) would be completed in time for her arrival, and that the entire bedroom storey was so advanced as to have received its first coat of plaster.<sup>67</sup> Charles Campbell died in late 1850, and was succeeded by John Fitzsimmons.

Although the finished building could accommodate a sizeable house party, the

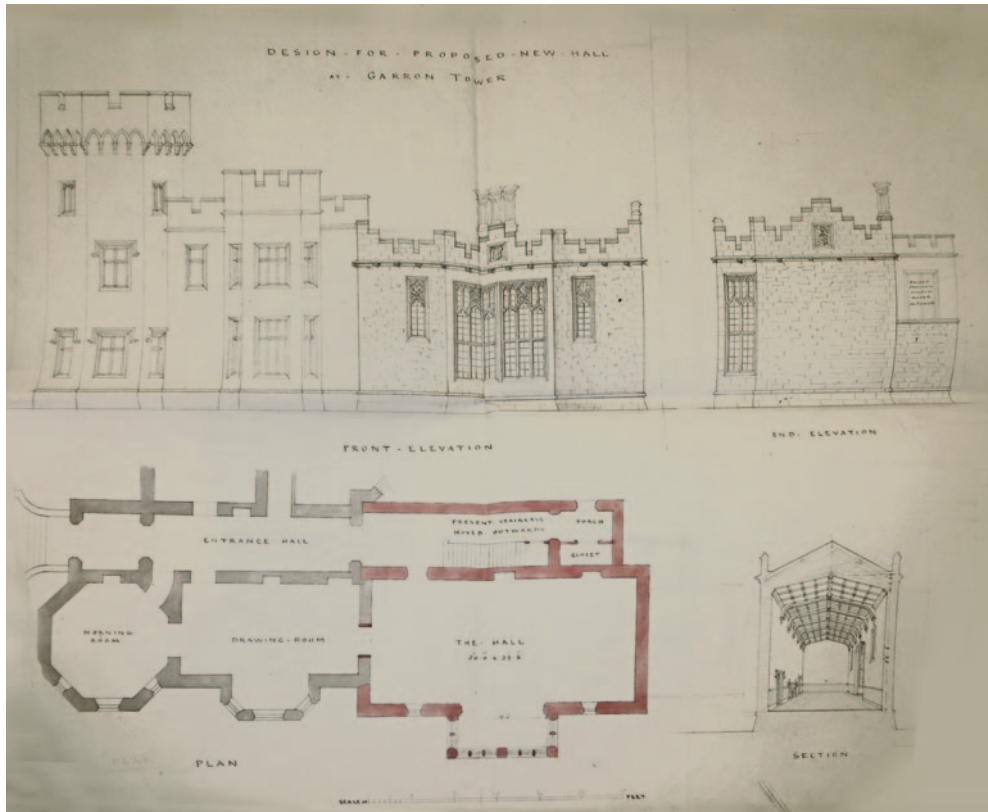
public rooms were only of modest size. The ability to hold large soirées or receptions was thus limited. Given the Londonderrys' love of public display and show, it is perhaps not surprising that measures were soon afoot to remedy this defect. Plans for a new hall by Lewis Vulliamy were prepared in 1852 involving the addition of a splendid new ball-room leading off the north end of the drawing room, with its own separate entrance to the west (Plate 16). They also planned to enlarge Lord Londonderry's room and the adjacent spaces northwards to align with this new extension.<sup>68</sup> Perhaps due to the prestigious nature of the project, the Londonderrys chose to employ one of the country's most highly regarded building contractors, William Cubitt of Gray's Inn Road, London. This firm had built many notable residences in London and halls for the London Companies. They had a long-standing relationship with Vulliamy, who presumably recommended them to Lady Londonderry. Despite extensive enquiries, no instance has come to light of other building projects with which Cubitt's were associated in Ireland, but it is possible that they were involved with work carried out by Vulliamy in Ireland, for example at Emo Court.<sup>69</sup> Terms of contract were agreed, together with a completion date of September 1852.<sup>70</sup> There appears to have been some discussion about the nature of the detailing, the Londonderrys opting, characteristically, for the more expensive scheme.<sup>71</sup> A subsequent tender from John Fitzsimmons for £97 for panelling the new hall, or Great Room, also

14 – Oak doors of Drawing Room

15 – Panel of an oak door bearing the German inscription 'Johannes' (photos: the author)

opposite 16 – Lewis Vulliamy, plan, elevation and section of proposed new hall at Garron Tower, 1852 (D297737/8/3/9)





exists, with a planned completion date of 1st August 1853. A contract was also agreed in the same year with Thomas Kirkwood of Cushendall for £90 for the ceiling of the Great Room and Dining Room, together with £59 for the Drawing Room and Octagon Room.<sup>72</sup> The resulting splendid new ballroom is revealed in one of a set of photographs of the interior of the castle taken in the late nineteenth century by William Lawrence (Plate 18). It shows the wooden panelling, presumably the work of John Fitzsimmons, which was used to display heraldic shields. Vulliamy's design for a sloping, panelled ceiling with arched trusses (Plate 16) was replaced by a flat, compartmented ceiling (Plate 17). Due to its exposed cliff-top position, the house was particularly subject to the vagaries of the weather. Depending on the direction of the prevailing wind, the chimneys smoked and there was a howling draught every time the front door was opened. The smoking chimneys were addressed in 1852, at substantial cost.<sup>73</sup> Frances Anne called on the help of Henry Thomas Liddell to devise a scheme for the construction of an outer porch on the south front. The related correspondence includes a sketch of the proposed porch and tower above, differing somewhat from the detailing of the windows and battlements of the present tower. This work appears to have been completed by John Fitzsimmons by October 1852 at an estimated cost of £98 (Plate 2).<sup>74</sup>

## CONCLUSION

THE INITIAL ESTIMATE FOR GARRON TOWER WAS £2,000, BUT ADDITIONAL EXPENDITURE resulted in this rising to £2,927. The subsequent major improvements and additions were estimated at £2,555. It has been generally assumed that the expenditure was met by Lady Londonderry personally out of the income from her Durham estates, but this proves not to have been the case. In the light of Londonderry policy respecting building costs at Mount Stewart,<sup>75</sup> it is perhaps not surprising to learn that a significant proportion of the cost came from the rents of Lady Londonderry's Antrim estate. This is borne out by John Andrews' statement that between November 1849 and November 1850 a large amount of Lanktree's and Cowan's<sup>76</sup> receipts were directed towards building Garron Tower.<sup>77</sup> The burden was mitigated to some degree by the fact that some tenants obtained rent relief by assisting in the construction of Garron Tower.<sup>78</sup> What is perhaps more surprising is that Andrews' comment reveals that funds were also directed to the project from Lord Londonderry's estates in Derry and Donegal.<sup>79</sup> A summary account prepared by John Lanktree in March 1850 reveals that the £957 spent on building work from November 1848 to February 1850 was met partly by three cheques from Lord Londonderry to the value of £160 and two bills to the value of £300, but most significantly by £500 from the Derry and Donegal agency account.<sup>80</sup> Unfortunately no detailed agents' accounts for the Antrim, Derry and Donegal estates have been found in the Antrim or Londonderry papers in PRONI to throw light on how this was achieved at a time of extreme economic difficulty. Presumably it was charged against Lord and Lady Londonderry to be met out of the surplus income of the estates.<sup>81</sup> The Antrim Papers also reveal that in 1852 £500 came from the receipts of Lord Londonderry's Down estate, when this estate was struggling to overcome arrears accrued during the famine years and subsequent Tenant Right disturbances.<sup>82</sup>

Garron Tower was built in the townlands of Dunmaul and Two Acres and Half, on



17 – *Compartmented ceiling in the ballroom*

(courtesy Seán Doherty)

*opposite*

18 – *William Lawrence photo of the ballroom at Garron Tower Hotel*

(courtesy Iain Bradley)



land leased to Stewart McAllister and his nephew Alexander. The local historian, Paul Magill, states that according to the 1832 Census there were seven houses and fifty inhabitants in Dunmaul, and six houses and fifty-two inhabitants in Two Acres and Half, which 'were to be cleared to make way for Garron Tower',<sup>83</sup> and another local historian notes that the 'agent made light of the distress of the poor farmers who had been displaced in order that the project could go ahead'.<sup>84</sup> There is, however, evidence to suggest their concern may be somewhat misplaced. Lanktree states quite categorically that 'neither party [the McAllisters] would make any obstacle to the work on receiving a valuation for the land taken.' Indeed, Alexander McAllister had reason to be grateful to Lady Londonderry as she had found a place for his son at Seaham Harbour.<sup>85</sup> Both farmers would have received a capital sum to invest in the purchase of land elsewhere, at a time when land prices were plummeting due to the effects of the famine.

The inhabitants of the clachans in Dunmaul and Two Acres and Half may have been subtenants of the McAllisters, and were thus in danger of eviction upon the termination of the lease. There is no record of how many people were resident in these two townlands immediately after the Great Famine, but it is more than likely that by the time Garron Tower was completed, the number had been substantially reduced as a result of the repeated failure of the potato crop, disease and emigration, despite significant efforts on the part of the Londonderrys to assist them. As far as those who remained were concerned, Lanktree described the paid domestic positions at Garron Tower on offer to female

members of the local community, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that many other local people would have found regular paid employment in the gardens and grounds. Indeed, Magill notes that the houses at Dunmaul continued to be used for labourers at the Tower. Employment would also have been available in the lime works established in Carnlough by Lord Londonderry. For many, the prospect of a secure regular wage was far preferable to the hand-to-mouth existence they formerly eked out as farm labourers. There would also have been many commercial opportunities for local farmers, fishermen and businesses to provide goods and services for the Garron Tower household. Indeed, at the laying of the foundation stone of the house, Lord Londonderry commented on Lady Londonderry's desire to 'spend amongst them ... part of the income she derived from their industrious labour'.<sup>86</sup> Garron Tower drew its workers from throughout the surrounding neighbourhood. It is recorded that the residents of the clachan at Galboly, roughly a mile to the north-west, worked on the Vane-Tempest estate and at Garron Tower, both during its construction and later as servants.<sup>87</sup> The wages for Garron Tower amounted to £72 in 1850, £307 in 1851, at least £284 in 1852, and at least £396 in 1853.<sup>88</sup> In August 1855 the *Belfast News-Letter* recorded:

The extensive limeworks and railways are in active operation, giving abundance of employment and excellent wages, and the large and commodious hotel erected by Her Ladyship, and the bathing lodges in the neighbourhood have been crowded with visitors during the season. When it is borne in mind that all this has been accomplished by the unaided efforts of the late Marquis and his widow who has carried out all his plans, and that, in the course of a few years, a comparatively poor and neglected district has been converted into a wealthy and prosperous one.<sup>89</sup>

The official housewarming took place in the summer of 1850 in the presence of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Clarendon.<sup>90</sup> The press reported that Lord Clarendon's arrival was greeted with a twenty-one-gun salute and that 'as gun after gun went off, the multitudinous echoes reverberating from the mountains and headlands, and booming from crag to crag as the sound dies away on the surface of the water, gave the effect of a broadside to every shot.' The dramatic effect was heightened by 'a distant echo, which caught up the sound as it died away, seemed to return the salute with a burst of thunder, caused much merriment, after his Excellency's entrance to the Tower.'<sup>91</sup>

Frances Anne's desire to create an environment where she might reign, mistress of her own romantic fantasies, had been realised. Now the mistress of a splendid castle on her own land in the heart of the Antrim estate, Frances Anne felt comfortable enough to invite her neighbour, Seymour, 9th Earl of Antrim, and his wife on the first of many visits.<sup>92</sup> As her close friend Benjamin Disraeli would write to her, 'I hope you are well and happy in your tower, a true Lady Chatellaine [*sic*].'<sup>93</sup>

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## ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

DRO	Durham Record Office, The Londonderry Papers, Irish Correspondence
Magill	Paul Magill, <i>Garron Tower, County Antrim</i> (Belfast, 1990)
Londonderry	Edith, Marchioness of Londonderry, <i>Frances Anne [...]</i> (London, 1958)
PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland
PRONI, Antrim	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Earl of Antrim Estate Papers, D2977

- <sup>1</sup> Further additions were made in the mid-1850s and 1860s.
- <sup>2</sup> Half-brother of Robert, Lord Castlereagh.
- <sup>3</sup> Anne Casement, *An Admiral's Eye View: Sketches of Ireland by Lord Mark Kerr* (Belfast, 2010) viii.
- <sup>4</sup> C.E.B. Brett, *Historic Buildings, Groups of Buildings, Areas of Architectural Importance in the Glens of Antrim* (Belfast, 1970-71) 22-3; Magill, 22.
- <sup>5</sup> Londonderry, 226.
- <sup>6</sup> Anne Casement, 'William Vitruvius Morrison's scheme for Mount Stewart, county Down: was it ever realised?', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, vol. 7, 2004, 33-63: 52, 58.
- <sup>7</sup> The Marchioness of Londonderry, *A Narrative of Travels to Vienna, Constantinople, Athens, Naples, etc* (London, 1842) 314.
- <sup>8</sup> Londonderry, 263.
- <sup>9</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/6/4A, 'Statistical Report' on the Antrim estates of the Marquis and Marchioness of Londonderry for 1845 by John Lanktree, 8th November 1845. See also Hector McDonnell, 'The Mad World of Captain Kerr', unpublished MS, 2004, 81; Magill, 22.
- <sup>10</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D/2977/5/1/8/8/41, John Lanktree to Lady Londonderry, 29th November 1847; Jimmy Irvine, 'Lady Frances Anne Vane's County Antrim Estate', *The Glynn's*, no. 3, 1975, 18-26: 23.
- <sup>11</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/5/1/8/8/24, John Lanktree to Lady Londonderry, 22nd[?] January 1847.
- <sup>12</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/37/8/3/4 (c.1848).
- <sup>13</sup> [www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burg\\_Rheinstein](http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burg_Rheinstein). PRONI, Antrim, D2977/37/8/3/2 and 3 (c.1848).
- <sup>14</sup> Londonderry, *A Narrative of Travels*, 13.
- <sup>15</sup> Brett, *Historic Buildings, Groups of Buildings*, 23.
- <sup>16</sup> DRO, D/Lo/C 512 (55, 57), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 13th June and 17th July 1848.
- <sup>17</sup> Magill, 28.
- <sup>18</sup> Irvine, 'Lady Frances Anne Vane's County Antrim Estate', 18-26: 24-5; Casement, 'William Vitruvius Morrison's scheme for Mount Stewart', 42-50; PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/5/2, Charles Campbell to



- Lady Londonderry, 23rd January 1849; DRO, D/Lo/C 512 (5), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 18th January 1847; Gervase Jackson-Stops, 'Mount Stewart, Co. Down – II', *Country Life*, CLXVII, 1980, 754-58: 756; PRONI, D654/H, Estate Accounts, D654/H1/6, Journal and Cash Book 1828-1850; *Post-Office Belfast Annual Directory for 1843-44* (Belfast, 1843) 373; Edward McParland to Anne Casement (pers. comm.), 2003; James Stevens Curl, *Mausolea in Ulster* (Belfast, 1978) 14-15; C.E.B. Brett, *Buildings of County Antrim* (Belfast, 1996) 107; Brett, *Historic Buildings, Groups of Buildings*, 23.
- <sup>19</sup> All the extant plans for Garron Tower appear to be in either, and sometimes both, of two hands, matching closely the hands of Charles and William Campbell as revealed in their correspondence with Lady Londonderry, and in this correspondence Charles refers repeatedly to plans he or William will send to her.
- <sup>20</sup> Anne Casement, 'The Management of the Londonderry Estates in Ulster during the Great Famine', *Familia*, no. 21, 2005, 15-68: 37.
- <sup>21</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/6/4B, 'Statistical Report' on the Antrim estates of the Marquis and Marchioness of Londonderry for 1847 by John Lanktree, 1st October 1847; D2977/5/1/8/8/5, John Lanktree to Lady Londonderry, 9th February 1847.
- <sup>22</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/5/1/8/8/41, John Lanktree to Lady Londonderry, 29th November 1847.
- <sup>23</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/2, D2977/54/5 and D2977/54/10.
- <sup>24</sup> See PRONI, Antrim, D2977/1/7/2, Copy deed for disentailing estates in Co. Antrim and empowering the Marchioness of Londonderry to charge the same by will with £5000, 1st May 1843.
- <sup>25</sup> Helen Rappaport, 'A Demon Hostess', unpublished manuscript, 1.
- <sup>26</sup> Londonderry, 44.
- <sup>27</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/1/2, Charles Campbell, 19th December 1846.
- <sup>28</sup> Basalt quarry at Aughagash, north of Glenarm.
- <sup>29</sup> Mostly likely Francis Turnly, the proprietor of the neighbouring Drumnasole estate.
- <sup>30</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/2/1, Charles Campbell to Lady Londonderry, 8th April 1848.
- <sup>31</sup> i.e. eight feet above ground level.
- <sup>32</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/2/3, 6th May 1848; D2977/54/2/4, 5th June 1848; D2977/54/2/8, 21st August 1848; D2977/54/2/10, 4th September 1848.
- <sup>33</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/2/12, Charles Campbell to Lady Londonderry, 21st September 1848, D2977/54/2/13, 30th September 1848.
- <sup>34</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/37/8/2/1A-C, Floor plans of Garron Tower (c.1850); D2977/37/ 8/3/5, Plan of principal story of Garron Tower (c.1850).
- <sup>35</sup> Campbell may be alluding here to the stairs at the east end of Mount Stewart which formed part of the 1845-48 programme of work.
- <sup>36</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/2/9, Charles Campbell to Lady Londonderry, 26th August 1848; D2977/54/2/10, 4th September 1848; D2977/54/2/12, 21st September 1848; D2977/54/2/13, 30th September 1848.
- <sup>37</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/1/6, Charles Campbell, 20th November 1848; D2977/37/ 8/3/5, Plan of principal story of Garron Tower (c.1850).
- <sup>38</sup> An unfulfilled project for a bathing lodge; see PRONI, Antrim, D2977/6/4C (1847).
- <sup>39</sup> Lanktree appears to have been unhappy in the choice of Millar, and questioned whether Campbell would place any value on his findings as Millar had laid himself open to animadversion by the mismanagement of his private affairs. Lanktree recommended instead the appointment of another architect such as Duff (who died earlier that year), Jackson or Lanyon; see PRONI, Antrim, D2977/5/1/8/10/22, John Lanktree to Lady Londonderry, 15th December 1848.

- <sup>40</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/3/1, 1st January 1849; D2977/54/3/2, 1st January 1849; D2977/54/3, 6th April 1849.
- <sup>41</sup> See PRONI, Antrim, D2977/37/8/3/6 (c.1850), Elevation of Garron Tower with pencilled notes on proposed amendments. Unsigned and undated, but the handwriting is similar to Charles Campbell's, see Magill, 27. This work also included the provision of oak floors in entrance hall, morning, drawing and dining rooms, the upgrading of the fireplaces and provision of at least forty-three (plus those in Lady Londonderry's dressing room) cut-stone windows using stone from the Craig Clughan quarry. Matters relating to the provision of an adequate water supply for the building were addressed by the sinking a pump well thirty-feet deep, the digging of a second well, twelve-feet deep, together with piping associated with the conveyance of water to the house and the required destinations within it; see PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/1/7, 10th August 1849. Work is also itemised for excavating cellars, fitting up of wine bins and preparations for the servants hall presses[?]. A wine and beer cellar and servants' hall are all shown in the original plan of the foundation and cellar storey (D2977/37/2/1A).
- <sup>42</sup> Such inadequacies were highlighted by John Millar who could not 'omit forcibly from commenting on very defective and utter want of scientific knowledge displayed in the primitive attempt of the necessary sanitary management for said establishment'; see PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/3/3, Report by John Millar, 6th April 1849.
- <sup>43</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/1/8, Supplementary estimate, 13th October 1849; D2977/37/8/2/3A, Floor plan of Garron Tower (c.1850).
- <sup>44</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/37/8/2/3A-E, Floor plans of Garron Tower (c.1850).
- <sup>45</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/37/8/2/3A, Floor plan of Garron Tower (c.1850).
- <sup>46</sup> Compare PRONI, Antrim, D2977/37/8/2/3A and D2977/37/8/2/3B, Floor plans of Garron Tower (c.1850).
- <sup>47</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/1/9, 22nd October 1849 and D2977/54/1/12, 1849; D2977/37/2/2C, Plan and elevation of gateway building at Garron Tower (c.1850); D2977/37/8/2/3 B-E, Floor plans of Garron Tower (c.1850).
- <sup>48</sup> See PRONI, Antrim, D/2977/54/7/10, 13th September 1851; D2977/54/7/12, 3rd April 1852; and D2977/54/7/13. The estimates also provided for the construction of four cottages for the coast guard to replace the existing accommodation within a building on top of Garron Point. These were subsequently provided with improved harbour facilities.
- <sup>49</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/37/2/2C, Plan and elevations of gateway building at Garron Tower (c.1850); D2977/37/8/2/3A, Floor plan of Garron Tower (c.1850).
- <sup>50</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/10/12, Charles Campbell to Lady Londonderry, 9th March 1850.
- <sup>51</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/16/4, John Fitzsimmons was paid £334 for a kitchen contract in 1852 (see also D2977/54/21/3, payments to John Fitzsimmons ended October 1852 viz kitchen £300) and Robert Hardy £341 for building the larder, glass passage and sundry jobs.
- <sup>52</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/37/8/2/13, Sketch plan of Ground Floor prepared for insurance purposes, 1861. In addition, Lord Londonderry's former dressing room and adjoining pantry and passage to the west converted into accommodation for the butler (pantry, bedroom and lamp room); new passage to the larders, kitchen and scullery created on east side of service yard, together with a new passage on south side giving access to the bakehouse on the south side of this yard and the spaces, notably the butler's room and servants' hall, within the new gateway building; service yard reconfigured and enlarged northwards and slightly westwards to create a new kitchen, scullery and larders on north and west sides, and a scullery and still room occupying part of the former central open area; former porter's room on the ground floor of the new gateway building became a smoking room and the adjoining three spaces to the north two bedrooms and a wardrobe, presumably accommodation for

Lady Londonderry's clothing and her maids.

- <sup>53</sup> Albeit with the need to negotiate the flights of stairs required to accommodate changes in floor level.
- <sup>54</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/37/8/2/3B, Floor plans of Garron Tower (c.1850); D2977/8/2/3A, Floor plan of Garron Tower (c.1850). Note: no staircase shown on ground floor plan, D2977/37/8/2/13, 1861.
- <sup>55</sup> He was subsequently responsible for the design of a sepulchral chamber in memory of her husband at Wynyard Park; see Londonderry, 294.
- <sup>56</sup> Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840* (3rd edn., New Haven and London, 1995) 693.
- <sup>57</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/5/26, Charles Campbell to Lady Londonderry, 27th December 1849; D2977/54/5/27, 9th December 1849.
- <sup>58</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/10/2, Charles Campbell to Lady Londonderry, 5th January 1850.
- <sup>59</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/37/8/2/2B, Floor plan of Garron Tower (c.1850). A false ceiling was subsequently inserted within the archway precluding discovery of its original nature.
- <sup>60</sup> David Griffin (pers. comm.), 11th December 2013; Patricia McCarthy (pers. comm.), 9th December 2013.
- <sup>61</sup> It is hard to estimate how many guests might be accommodated at one time, but when the residence was subsequently advertised for letting it was described as having fifty-six bedrooms and dressing rooms. See extract from advertisement in the *The Times*, 18th July 1887, reproduced in Magill, 68.
- <sup>62</sup> William Wailes was the proprietor of one of England's most prolific stained-glass workshops, his masterpiece being the glorious west window of Gloucester cathedral. His firm carried out work for many churches throughout Ireland, but there is no trace of any other commission for a country house.
- <sup>63</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/5/5, Charles Campbell to Lady Londonderry, 3rd February 1849; D2977/54/5/21, 21st June 1849; D2977/54/5/12, 9th April 1849. See Wikipedia and www.dia.ie; Magill, 39.
- <sup>64</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/5/12, Charles Campbell to Lady Londonderry, 9th April 1849; D2977/54/5/15, 4th May 1849; D2977/54/5/17, 19th May 1849.
- <sup>65</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/10/21, Charles Campbell to Lady Londonderry, 27th June 1850.
- <sup>66</sup> Information generously supplied by Max Donnelly, Sarah Medlam and Nick Humphrey of the Victoria and Albert Museum.
- <sup>67</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/10/21, Charles Campbell to Lady Londonderry, 27th June 1850.
- <sup>68</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/37/8/3/9, Design for Proposed New Hall at Garron Tower, Lewis Vulliamy, 3rd March 1852; D2977/54/15/1, Specification for New Hall at Garron Tower signed by Lewis Vulliamy (n.d.); D2977/54/15/4, Plan of new lobby (n.d.).
- <sup>69</sup> See City of London Archives, Cubitt Estates, and Hermione Hobhouse, *Thomas Cubitt, Master Builder* (London, 1971).
- <sup>70</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/7/14, William Cubitt, 19th May 1852.
- <sup>71</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/15/5, Cubitt, 22nd April 1852; D2977/54/7/15, William Cubitt, 8th April 1852; D2977/54/16/4.
- <sup>72</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/21/5, John Fitzsimmons (n.d.); D2977/54/22/1, Memorandum of contracts for Lady Londonderry entered into by Thomas Kirkwood, 1853.
- <sup>73</sup> Alexander Boyd was paid £571 for curing the smoke and materials; see PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/16/4.
- <sup>74</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/20/6, D2977/54/21/6, undated document prepared at Wynyard Park specifies that the 'Present walls and steps to be removed to make way for new porch 20' high plus 4' of battle walls. Old door to be removed and replaced by glass mahogany inner door in same position as old door to be finished by May in order to avail of summer weather to dry out before arrival of family estimate £98.' John Fitzsimmons appears to have been paid this sum for the work by early October

- 1852 (D2977/54/16/6), though on 30th November 1853 he submitted a tender of £14 for ‘a new oak door and frame according to Mr Liddle’s plans of best [?]rizo oak’; see D2977/54/21/11, 30th November 1853.
- <sup>75</sup> At Mount Stewart the cost of the work was met by a charge of £12,000 on the estate, partially repaid by the proceeds of the sale of land for the construction of a local railway from the surplus income of the Down estates and the balance of a loan from a member of the Andrews family; see Casement, ‘William Vitruvius Morrison’s scheme for Mount Stewart’, 39.
- <sup>76</sup> David Cowan was another Londonderry agent who, from 1849, had special responsibility for the Derry and Donegal estates; see the *Londonderry Sentinel*, 9th November 1849.
- <sup>77</sup> DRO, D/Lo/C 158 (109), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 18th December 1850.
- <sup>78</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/5/1/8/10/12, John Lanktree to Lady Londonderry, 11th[?] September 1848.
- <sup>79</sup> DRO, D/Lo/C 158 (88), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 8th September 1850.
- <sup>80</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/11/1, Garron Tower Account no. 1 to 1st March 1850.
- <sup>81</sup> There was a surplus of £518 and £638 1848-49; DRO, D654/54/H, Estate Accounts: D654/H2/7, Ledger 1828-1850, 165, but not 1850-54; see D654/H2/8, Ledger 1850-1864, 82.
- <sup>82</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/14/2, 24th October 1851, agreement with Charles Campbell’s trustees Jno Murphy, Jno Musgrave, Jno Cuddy, whereby Lord Londonderry and trustees agree that Lord Londonderry should pay £1,010 ‘as sum owing to Campbell for building of Garron Tower, works, outworks and drains excepting only the rere range walls which is reserved until amount due established, £500 to be paid now and £500 in six months on a bill on John Andrews’.
- <sup>83</sup> Magill, 25.
- <sup>84</sup> *ibid.*, 5.
- <sup>85</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/5/1/8/8/41, John Lanktree to Lady Londonderry, 29th November 1847.
- <sup>86</sup> Anne Casement, ‘The Management of the Londonderry Estates in Ulster during the Great Famine’, 42-43.
- <sup>87</sup> John Hulme, ‘The Glens of Antrim Historical Society and Carrickfergus and District Historical Society Joint Project’, *The Glynn’s*, no. 42, 2014, 19.
- <sup>88</sup> PRONI, Antrim, D2977/54/16/4.
- <sup>89</sup> Magill, 54, 57.
- <sup>90</sup> Magill, 30. This event presumably took place in September 1850 as Lord Clarendon is known to have paid an official visit to Mount Stewart on Friday 13th September; DRO, D/Lo/C 158 (59), John Andrews to Lord Londonderry, 10th September 1850.
- <sup>91</sup> Londonderry, 249.
- <sup>92</sup> McDonnell, ‘The Mad World of Captain Kerr’, 81.
- <sup>93</sup> M.G. Wiebe et al (eds), *Benjamin Disraeli Letters: 1848-1851*, 5 vols (University of Toronto Press, 1993) V, 207, Benjamin Disraeli to Lady Londonderry, 21st August 1849.