



*1 – Portumna Castle, Co Galway, built by Richard, 4th Earl of Clanricard, c 1610-18  
(courtesy Dúchas the Heritage Service, Dept of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands)*

# Some early seventeenth-century building accounts in Ireland

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JANE FENLON

**T**HIS INTRODUCTORY ARTICLE SETS OUT TO EXPLORE, THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF documents, some of the facts about building in Ireland during the early years of the seventeenth century. Material is taken from account books and from contracts drawn up between employers and their workmen. A selection of relevant documents is reproduced at the end of this text.

According to Rolf Loeber, ‘buildings were erected at an unprecedented rate’, in Ireland during the first three decades of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> Large tracts of land had changed hands and newcomers like Richard Boyle, later 1st Earl of Cork, and Sir Laurence Parsons, with his brother William and others, were busy acquiring property. Once settled, building would help consolidate their claims on lands. Initially, many of the settlers enlarged and improved old buildings on the site; later new houses were built. Long-established landowners such as the Earls of Clanricard were also building at this time. A splendid new house was erected at Portumna, and improvements were carried out to other Clanricard properties at Loughrea and Tir Oileán (Terryland) (Plate 1). Others, like Walter, 11th Earl of Ormond, were making improvements to their ancestral castles. The O’Briens were also busy building, and at Bunratty Castle there are traces of the fashionable decorative plasterwork that was installed at that time (Plate 2).<sup>2</sup> Many other houses of varying sizes were being built or altered during the period, but these do not concern us for the purposes of this article.<sup>3</sup>

## SOURCES AND METHODS

Two account books dating from about the 1620s or 1630s have been consulted. The first, a meticulously detailed book of accounts at Birr Castle, Co Offaly, which provides the basis for this article, was kept for and by Sir Laurence Parsons from the time he took over the O’Carroll castle at Birr in 1620 until his death eight years



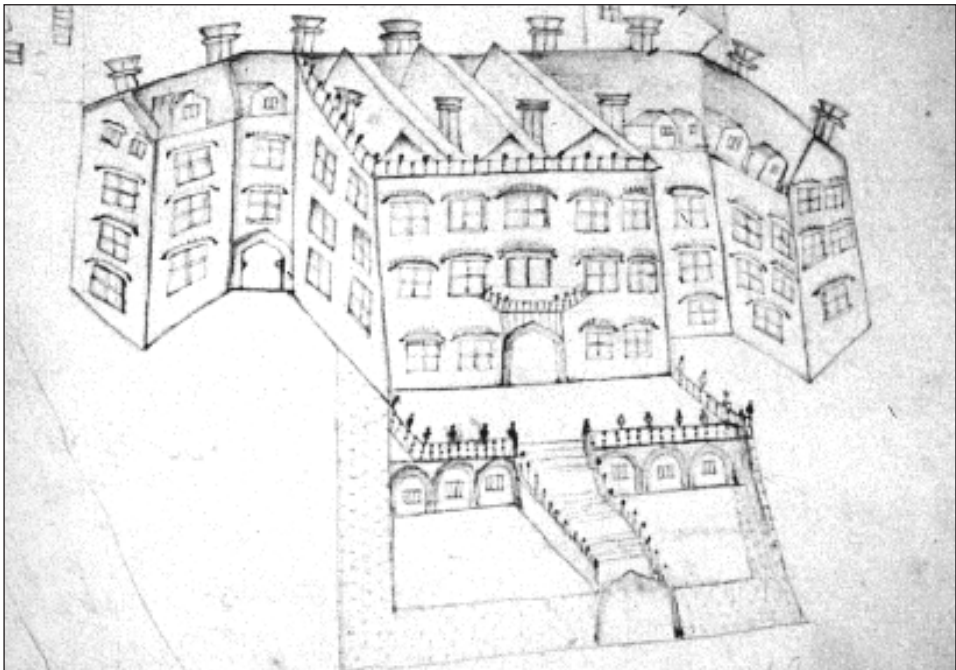
2 – *Detail of Plasterwork, Bunratty Castle, c 1600*  
(courtesy Dúchas)

later.<sup>4</sup> The second, an account book kept by John Shee, Steward, probably for Walter Butler, 11th Earl of Ormond, includes payments for work at Kilkenny Castle and other Ormonde properties.<sup>5</sup> In addition, from the huge archive of Cork papers, a few entries have been extracted in order to provide comparisons with those of Birr.<sup>6</sup>

The Birr accounts record that Sir Laurence took over extensive buildings from the O'Carrolls; a castle, gate-house, flanker, dungeon and bawn are mentioned. These structures were extensively remodelled for their new owner, additions were made, and several new buildings were erected on the site (Plate 3). All of this activity, and more, is described on page after page of the account book. Written contracts are recorded in the same book.<sup>7</sup> A wealth of material about the settling in of a new landowner is available here; for instance, how Parsons arranged his finances, and how, as the years went by, his expenditure increased on his building projects. The Ormond account book contains far less information on buildings. Most of the entries are concerned with day to day spending on clothes, medicines, transport and suchlike.

Lord Cork's voracious acquisition of lands meant that he was engaged in a massive building programme that continued for most of his life.<sup>8</sup> This activity con-

*3 – Birr Castle, Co Offaly, pen and ink drawing 1668  
(courtesy the Earl and Countess of Rosse)*



tinued even during the later 1630s when Cork was spending more time at his English properties.<sup>9</sup> In Ireland, many of his building projects consisted of altering existing structures, as at Dublin, Youghal, Askeaton, Maynooth and other sites. He also spent a considerable amount of money on new building. There are accounts for the building of a church, school, five almshouses, and work on two market houses, the walls and other structures in the town of Bandon.<sup>10</sup>

In his work on building history in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Malcolm Airs charts the changes from the medieval system of direct labour to the more modern method of piece work.<sup>11</sup> He describes the principal methods by which workmen were paid. The direct method, generally, was when the employer undertook to supply all materials and equipment and workmen were hired on a daily basis to carry out tasks under instruction. Contracts formed the basis for a second type of arrangement, which often incorporated elements of the earlier direct method. Such contracts might sometimes be for the whole building, but more usual was the contract with a master craftsman who often had men working under him. The third method of organising payment was by measurement, whereby a craftsman would be paid for each foot or unit of work carried out. This last method grew in popularity as the seventeenth century progressed.<sup>12</sup> From the sources under discussion, it would seem that methods in use in England were also prevalent in Ireland at that time.

The sample contract documents presented here – for convenience listed as Docs 1-12 below – show that the different categories were not clearly defined; rather they flowed one into the other. On the occasion when Sir Laurence contracted with John Symons to transport stones, he supplied the horses (Doc. 1).<sup>13</sup> Symons was required to find his own help in the form of a boy to load the stones; he was then expected to pay the boy and also give him food.<sup>14</sup> In the next contract Parsons contracted with the mason, Coghlan, to build up the old castle and to carve springers for it (Doc. 2). He was to hire as many masons as he could get, and this was to be done with the approval of the agent Francis Morley.<sup>15</sup> Coghlan was to be paid at the higher rate of 15d per day, compared to the 13d, 12d and 10d daily rate of the other masons.

Transport of materials was a major charge on building work in both Ireland and England, as confirmed by information contained both in the Birr and the Cork papers.<sup>16</sup> During the extensive alterations and additions carried out at Birr Castle in the period 1620 to 1628, numerous payments were made for the transport of stone, sand and gravel from nearby quarries. The rate paid in 1627 to John Symons was 3s 6d per hundredweight for drawing stones to Birr castle, using a garron [small horse] (Doc. 1). During the early days of his building campaign, Sir Laurence made numerous payments for the hire of men and horses to draw materials. Some entries

record the hire of just one man and his horse, others are for four men and four horses at a cost of 3s 4d per day, while twenty-two horses and twenty-three men cost 18s 3d for a day.<sup>17</sup> Labourers and horses were also engaged to draw wood and help with repairs on the bridge at Birr. In 1636, Lord Cork paid £39 15s for ‘the drawing and carriage of stone’ over one thousand loads a distance of about three miles, for his building at Bandon’ (Doc. 12).<sup>18</sup>

Due to the cumulative high costs involved in transport, it is not surprising to find that Sir Laurence gave instructions for the salvaging and reusing stones from earlier buildings on the site at Birr. Two contracts drawn up for this purpose give detailed information about the methods used. In the first (Doc. 2), instructions are given ‘to sort the coines [coignes] and wallstones by themselves, turning those all into the bawn’.<sup>19</sup> But it was not only the stones that were salvaged from the old castle; the mortar was also reused. Later, as noted in Doc. 3, when the masons were contracted to pull down part of the bawn wall they were required, in addition to saving the stones, ‘to save and screen the sand or old lyme comeing thereout’.<sup>20</sup>

Another method for reducing costs was to transport materials by water. At Birr, ‘a bargain’ was made with joiners to cut rails for wainscoting and to leave them ready for carriage by water (Doc. 5).<sup>21</sup> This method of transport was also used where possible in England, and for the same reasons. During the building of Woolaton in Nottinghamshire, the carriage of a ton of glass for two miles overland cost 4s, while the eighty-five miles by water for the same load was estimated at 7s 6d.<sup>22</sup> Another frequently occurring expense was payment for the cutting, debarking and transport of wood for building purposes. In 1621 Sir Laurence was paying 7d per tree for the felling of forty oaks and a further 8d each for ‘barking’.<sup>23</sup> The various contracts for wainscot are interesting because they inform us about the labour intensive nature of this task (Docs 5-8). Descriptions of the huge footage of rails, of five thousand and three thousand feet cut to various lengths, are recorded, and to these were added punchions and panels.<sup>24</sup> All the various sections were then transported to the site where the joiners would assemble them to line the walls of designated rooms.

Fitting-out work such as plastering, glazing and painting were carried out by a variety of craftsmen. Sometimes masons worked on plastering, as can be seen from the contract cited in Doc. 9, where William Denman and James Henderson agreed to plaster the church by the yard. Their contract also specified that ‘they must also be paid for any jobs of masons work to be done’.<sup>25</sup> An interesting and detailed memorandum concerned with the glazing and painting of Sir Laurence’s ‘English House’ and other buildings at Birr was drawn up in 1627 (Doc. 10). In this, the glazier, one Roger Peirce [?], contracted to ‘colour and putty all my windows and doors and stairs now made ... and also to refresh again with colour and oil all

windows, doors and stairs in my castle called the gate-house'.<sup>26</sup> Peirce was also sworn not to 'embezzle, sell or exchange any of my stuff or in any sort to misspend the same'. For this service, he was to be paid 40s for the work and was expected to supply the putty. It seems, however, that Pierce had managed to obtain payment in advance, and when he absconded without finishing the work, he owed 15s.<sup>27</sup>

In the Ormond account book, few tradesmen are named.<sup>28</sup> Several recorded payments suggest that much of the work carried out at various Ormond properties was for maintenance purposes. Some small items listed include payment of 5s to masons, 'for payment for mending ... at Coolnagary', and another of 1s 'for lyme for the tyler of Doonmore' [Dunmore].<sup>29</sup> During the year 1630, masons were paid £7 for work at Kilkenny Castle, and a tiler was paid £1 3s for slating 'the new building at Kilkenny' (Plate 4).<sup>30</sup> In the same year, John Sweete, the glazier, received a number of payments for glazing several rooms at the castle, '£1 5s for 44 foot of glass ... and 60 quarrells' [small panes], and '14 sheete ledde ... of six pounds and a half'.<sup>31</sup> The lead was used for making a framework for the quarrells. Work on windows at Kilkenny, and also at Ormond Castle in Carrick-on-Suir, continued on throughout the year (Plate 5). It is not entirely clear, but items in the accounts would suggest that wooden casements were being fitted, and several payments were made to a carpenter for his work on windows.<sup>32</sup> Payments were also made to joiners for building furniture in situ. Items recorded include payments 'to the Joyner for 3 bedstades £1.15s', and £1 was paid for two cupboards.<sup>33</sup> Several payments for furniture were also made at Birr; among the items made by the joiner there were a drawing table, cupboard and stools for £3.<sup>34</sup>

A preliminary list of craftsmen and others employed at Birr is included with the documents at the end of this article. Sir Laurence Parsons employed craftsmen from both Ireland and England to work on his building schemes. In the Birr archives there are several references to workmen with English names, and some of these men, with their families, became tenants in the town. Richard Roose [Rouse], Carpenter, was a tenant of Sir Laurence in 1628. One of the conditions of his lease was that he would build a stone chimney in his house, and for this purpose, he was to be supplied with lime and stone to carry out the task.<sup>35</sup> Other names on the list are obviously of Gaelic Irish origin. Many of these men seem to have worked as labourers; others such as James Bourke, Brian McHugh Coghlan and John O'Hogan are described as masons. The appropriately named O'Gowan and O'Gowna are recorded as blacksmiths.<sup>36</sup> The pool of craftsmen working in Ireland must have been fairly small, and further research will probably show that the same workmen moved about from site to site as they did in England, and, indeed, as they do to the present day. As more information becomes available it should be possible to ascertain how many were native to Ireland, what their particular skills were, and how many came in spe-

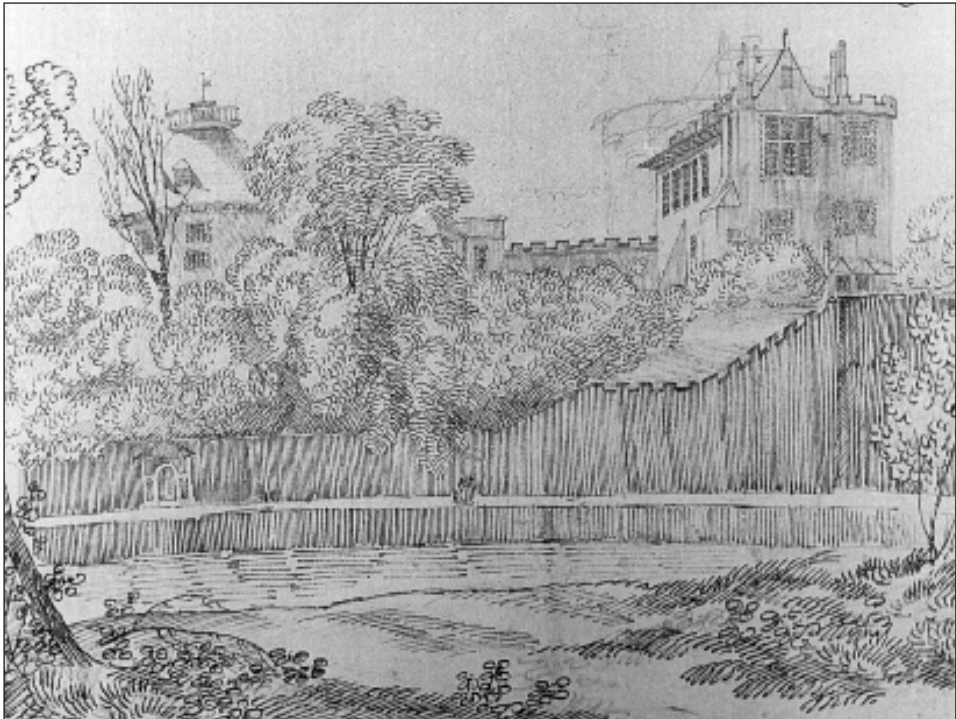
cially to work here, some to stay and some to return to their own countries.

This brief examination of account books may serve to sketch some of the background to the process of building and methods used in Ireland during the seventeenth century. It also provides facts about costs and about contracts with the workmen involved. A more thorough analysis is needed, but a careful reading of the contracts, as published, will, it is hoped, supply some useful material in this neglected area of research.



#### *4 – Kilkenny Castle c 1814*

*(courtesy Miller/Robertson Papers, Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland)*







*5 – Ormond Castle, Carrick-on-Suir, Co Tipperary  
(courtesy Dúchas)*

## THE DOCUMENTS

Documents 1 to 11 and names of workmen are taken from Birr Archives MS A/8, Birr Castle, Co Offaly. The contracts and accounts are written into a book, bound in a parchment cover. Accounts run from pages 1 to 88, and pagination is in pencil. Contracts occupy a section of twenty pages, which also contains details of leases, purchases of livestock, etc. The first pages at both ends of this book have corners missing, and the handwriting, which is in pale to paler brownish ink, is difficult to decipher. The contract documents were originally transcribed by Miss Frances Wilson in 1983. Amendments have been made to some of her transcripts. The accounts section of the manuscript had not been transcribed. Some of the transcripts of the contracts have modern spelling; I have inserted the original punctuation. Where words were difficult to decipher, I have sometimes suggested alternatives, using square brackets [ ] to indicate my interventions. The list of names is incomplete; it is a sample and does not purport to include all of the workmen named in the account book. The reader is directed to footnote 4 for further information.

## CONTRACTS

- 1. Transport of Materials* [In margin] (15th December 1627. For drawing stones Jo[hn] Symons with my garrans.) I have agreed with him to draw stones to my castle of Birr from twelftide next, till Michaelmas next dayly when weather serves, with two garrans of mine, at the rate of 3s 6d for every 100 load, for which he is to be paid as every 100 loads is brought in, And I am to find him truckles and gear and meat for the said garrans. And he is to find a boy and to load the stones and to give the boy meat, drink and wages. [100 load = hundredweight, 112 lbs]
- 2. Masonry* [In margin] (For pulling down part of the old castle and of the bawn wall – Paid them in hand 30s. Paid William McWalter 6d. Paid them in full of this contract £2.10s) 1st March 1627, It is contracted betwixt me on the one part and Brian McHugh Coghlan, W[illiam] McWalter Bourke, Ja.[mes] O Hogan and Dermot Reogh McCoghlan and James B... Hearn, on the other part, that they shall out of hand take down xii foot of the south east angle of the old castle, the dungeon there, and the west wall within the old castle in the western end thereof; to take down also the inside wall of the north side of the old castle so low as may serve for the loft to be layed thereon: to take

down the little flanker and that part of the bawn wall that reacheth from thence to the dungeon: To sort the coins [coignes] and wall-stones by themselves, turning those all into the bawn: to turn the lime and gravel of the old castle walls inward within those walls, and that gravel and stones preceeding [?] of the dungeon within the walls thereof likewise, And that of the bawn wall inward likewise. To rid the foundations for the new work sufficiently And all the aforesaid works are by all our agreement to be done as Fra:[ncis] Morley shall appoint; for which works I am to pay them four pounds sterling.

3. *Masonry* [In margin] (for ridding the foundation of the stable: Jo.[seph] Palmer and Edw.[ard] Reynolds whereof they have a note) The 24th September 1627, they have contracted in the presence of Richard Roose [Rouse] with me, to pull down my bawn wall all along betwixt the old castle and the storehouse tower and to cast or carry the earth outward without the bawn and the stones inward into the bawn and to save and screen the sand or old lyme coming thereout, And to rid the foundations for the stable and privy; in such length, breadth and depth as Rich: Roose shall appoint them aforehand and allow of after it is done, for which I am to pay them £4 as the work proceeds.

4. *Masonry* [In margin] (24th February? 1627, For building the old Castle Brian McHugh) I contracted with Brian McHugh Coghlan mason, that he should undertake the building up of my old castle in such part as he should be prescribed in writing, and make a watchtower there for me, to stand upon 13 springers on the outside: He is to bring as many masons under him as he can get, and to set on the work the first day of March next, and not to leave it till it be finished, And his own wages is to be xv d a day and such other chief, as he and Fra[ncis] Morley think worthy thereof, are to have xiii d a day, and the rest xi d a day or xd as Morley can agree with them, And Morley is to have vid a day to oversee that work, and I am to provide and bring in place all materials; and I gave Brian McHugh Coghlan vid in earnest to bind the bargain and the masons and to be p[ai]d every Saturday.

5. *Wainscot* [In margin] (Walter Hand and Hugh Fullon) [No date], I have agreed with them to hew for me 5000 of rails for wainscotting, some to be 4 foot long at 4s for 120: 5s for those of 5 foot long, and 6s for those of 6 foot long. And I am to draw them to the water side, and they are to

bring them by water to Clonahan [Clonahill] within the bargain, each rail to be four inches broad and inch and half thick on each side

6. *Wainscot* [No date] for wainscotting, Burrows hath contracted with me to cut half a thousand more half inch boards with the grain before All Saints for which he is paid in corn beforehand and he is hereby to cut 1500 more of like half inch boards with the grain before Christmas next, for which he is to have 2s 8d the hundred, and 3,000 foot of rail to be hereby sawed by Christmas next at 2s 9d per hundred: he is to fell, square, break and make the sawpits and when they are brought into the bawn by Francis Morley, he is to pitch the rail and pin the boards and he is to begin the work on Wednesday next and not leave it till all this be done, nor to take any other work in hand till this be finished.
7. *Wainscot* [In margin] (John Langtree Joiner:) I have contracted with him 21st April 1628 to wainscot as many rooms in my castle of Parsonstown as I shall appoint him at the rate of 15d a yard measure and Cipher I finding him timber, and I have lent him 20s as ... to be deducted out of his work
8. *Wainscot* [In margin] (For wainscotting: Walter Hammon pd them xxs for one thousand upon condition they shall make ... to bring them on land paid them 18s and 25s more Paid them by Barnes 18s ?more, which is all) 5th August [?October] 1627, I have contracted with Walter Hammon and Hugh O Folan Carpenters to make for me 3000 of punchion and panel by Candelmas next, 500 of each sort the punchion to be 20ins long at least, and the panel to be xviii inches long, 11 or 12 inches broad, for which I am to pay them xviiiis a thousand, and their payment to be made as soon as they have made ready a thousand and so for every thousand. And when a thousand are ready; they are to give notice thereof to Richard Barnes that he may measure, and pay them, and fetch them away.
9. *Plastering* [No date] I have contracted with William Denman and William Mathews plasterers, that they shall plaster divers rooms in my castle such as Fra. Morley shall appoint for 1d per yard, and they are to make their mortar, and to have a labourer to carry up the same, and to be p[ai]d weekly as their work is measured.

10. *Plastering* [No date] [In margin] (Denman and Henderson for plastering ye Church ... in toto...): They have agreed to plaster all the Church within for 37 yards at ?s a yard. And they must be paid weekly as they proceed in their work... And they must also be paid for any jobs of masons work to be done as Richard Rouse Carpenter shall pay betwixt us.

11. *Glazing* [In margin] (for colouring my windows. Pd him 10s in hand. Paid him 5s more paid him more 10s 6d paid Jo. Evans for him Barnes pd him more 10s so he is overpaid 3s 6d & .. 18d he ran away before Christmas 1627 15s in my debt at least) 24th September 1627, Memorandum that Roger Peirce[?] glasier hath contracted with me the 24th September 1627 not only to colour and puttogh [putty] sufficiently; all my windows and doors and stairs now made in my English house, the 3 great towers [flankers crossed out] for the buttery, storehouse; and flanker, but also to refresh again with colour and oil all the windows, doors and stairs in my dwelling castle called the gate-house and not to cease the work till all be finished, without my leave or direction. And for his pains therein I am to pay him 40s and to find him all stuff except puttogh [putty] Which he is to provide at his own charge. And he is sworn not to imbeazill, [embezzle] sell or exchange any of my stuff, or in any sort to mispend the same.

12. *Transport of Stone* 21 March 1636/37

‘A Note of what materials are prepared for the Right Honoble. My Lorde the Earle of Corke his new building of a Schoolhouse and five Almes houses in Bandon Bridge and the charges disbursed about the same.’ [Chatsworth, Lismore papers, vol. xviii, no. 153]

‘Paid to John Webbe for drawing and carriage of stone for the building £39 15s for this he ath brought all the freestone from the quarrie being about three miles from the town: and hath reddy for the work 1000 loades or upwards of good hard stones which he hath drawn out of the quarrie and brought for the worke which he the most part of them ... reddy for the worke ... certaine plans where the building should stand being then unknown.

He is more to provide and bring in ... all other stones to finish the worke; for all of which he is to have ... the ... for every small p[ar]t of the wall of the building.

*Craftsmen**Masons*

Bourke, James, Mason  
 Coghlan, Brian Mc Hugh, Mason  
 Crosby, Laurence, Mason, 1626  
 Davis, Thomas, Mason  
 Denman, William,  
     Mason, Plasterer 1626  
 Hammond, [Hammill] Edward,  
     Agent for Masons hired 1626  
 Henderson, James, Mason, Plasterer  
 Hogan, Donal, Mason  
 Lowry, John, Mason, 1626  
 O Hogan, John, Mason

*Carpenters and joiners*

Burrows  
 Hamon, Walter  
 Langtree, John  
 O Folan [Fullon], Hugh  
 Tailor [Taylor], Ben, Carpenter  
 Williams, Morgan [Wainscot]

*Glaziers*

Sweete, John Glazier, Kilkenny  
 Pollard, William, Glazier

*Smiths*

O Gowan Dermot, Smith  
 O Gowna Eoin, Smith

*Labourers*

Clarke, Thomas, General Labourer

*Plasterers*

Denman, William  
 Mathews, William

*Not designated*

Ball, William – Supplies timber  
 Bennett, H?  
 Clarke, William  
 Condon, Patrick  
 Duffy, William  
 Evans, Thomas  
 Fuller, Bennett  
 Hogg, James  
 Humphrey, George  
 Jones, Taige  
 Mc Colgan, Donal  
 Mc Donagh, Teig  
 Mc William, Philip  
 Millburne [Willburne], William  
 O Donnell Taige,  
 O Duggan, Philip  
 O Hogan, Donogh  
 O Hogan, Thomas  
 O Kennedy, ?Borris  
 O Kennedy, Darby  
 O Logan, Dermot  
 O Logan James  
 O Logan, Teige  
 O Lynn [Lynham, O Lyne], Edmund  
 O Shea, John  
 Parving, George  
 Reynolds, George  
 Saddler, Liam  
 Stockdale, William  
 Tailor, Thomas  
 Wallace, John, Labourer  
 Walter [Waller, Mc Walter], William  
 Wilson, William  
 Willburne [Millburne], William

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#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Rolf Loeber, 'Early Classicism in Ireland', *Architectural History*, 22 (1979) 49-63, 49. Maurice Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland from the earliest times to 1880* (London and Dublin (1982) 1989), especially chapter 8, 111-134. Harold G. Leask, 'Early seventeenth-century Houses in Ireland', and D.M. Waterman, 'Some Irish Seventeenth-Century Houses and their Architectural Ancestry', in E.M. Jope, ed., *Studies in Building History, Essays in Recognition of the work of Bryan H. St. J. O'Neil* (London 1961) 243-250, 251-274.
- <sup>2</sup> C.P. Curran, *Dublin Decorative Plasterwork* (1967) 10.
- <sup>3</sup> See note 1 above.
- <sup>4</sup> Birr Archives MS A/8. 'Receipts and disbursements 28 October 1620-7 June 1628', 1-88. [Acs.] There seems to be some confusion in the descriptions of this manuscript. It is described as both MS A/8A, missing 1620-21 Account Book and as MS A/8, 'Sir Lawrence Parsons' account book recording accounts and contracts mainly for the upkeep and maintenance of the castle and estate...' The latter description is correct. Most of the entries in the account book section of the MS would seem to be in Sir Laurence's own hand. This book also contains contracts between the various workmen and Sir Laurence. [Contracts]
- <sup>5</sup> National Library of Ireland (NLI) MS 2528, Ormonde Papers. 'The Book of Disbursements beginning February 21st 1629[30]'. This account book is signed by John Shee, Steward, 26 January 1632[33]. These accounts were probably kept on behalf of Walter Butler, 11th Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, born 1569, died 24 February 1632[33].
- <sup>6</sup> Papers relevant to Lord Cork's building schemes are at Chatsworth, Lismore Papers xviii, xxv, xxvi, xxvii, and in the National Library of Ireland MSS 6897, 6898, 6899, 6900, 6241, 6243. Some of these papers have been published in Alexander Bullock Grosart, ed., *The Lismore Papers*, 1st series, 5 vols (London 1886) and 2nd series, 5 vols (London 1888).
- <sup>7</sup> See note 4 above.
- <sup>8</sup> See note 6 above. Evidence for this is contained in page after page of building accounts covering a period of forty years.

- <sup>9</sup> Grosart, *The Lismore Papers*, 1st series, iv, 203. In 1636 Lord Cork purchased Stalbridge House, Dorset.
- <sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, 1st series, i, 102, 203, 216, 251.
- <sup>11</sup> Malcolm Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean country House, A Building History* (United Kingdom 1995), especially chapters 4 and 11. Mark Girouard, *Robert Smythson & the Elizabethan Country House* (New Haven & London (1983)1985) 8.
- <sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, p 63. Examples of payments by measure are contained in the documents cited as Docs. 7, 8, 9 and 10.
- <sup>13</sup> Birr Archives MS A/8, Contracts 12.
- <sup>14</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>15</sup> *ibid.*, 7.
- <sup>16</sup> Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean country House*, 136-143.
- <sup>17</sup> MS A/8, Acs. 8.
- <sup>18</sup> Chatsworth, *Lismore Papers*, xviii, no. 153.
- <sup>19</sup> MS A/8, Contracts 14.
- <sup>20</sup> *ibid.*, 8.
- <sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, 16.
- <sup>22</sup> Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean country House*, 138.
- <sup>23</sup> MS A/8, Acs. 10.
- <sup>24</sup> *ibid.*, Contracts 9.
- <sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, 5.
- <sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, 7.
- <sup>27</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>28</sup> NLI MS 2549, 10.
- <sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, v11.
- <sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, 2.
- <sup>31</sup> *ibid.*, The name John Sweete, glazier, Kilkenny appears also in the Birr Contracts, 3.
- <sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, 12, v12, 13, v13.
- <sup>33</sup> *ibid.*, 4, 5.
- <sup>34</sup> MS A/8, Acs. 72.
- <sup>35</sup> *ibid.*, Contracts 15.
- <sup>36</sup> O Gowan and O Gowna, Gabhann, is the Gaelic word for Smith.